

SIDNEY J. CATTS AND THE DEMOCRATIC PRIMARY OF 1920

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IN 1920 FLORIDA stood on the threshold of her "great boom;" economic optimism prevailed. However, to many people within the state one obstacle stood in the way of bountiful prosperity - "Cattsism," a term of derision applied to the political principles and campaign tactics of Sidney J. Catts, the governor of the state. Only four years before he had risen from obscurity to notoriety. A more disruptive and divisive personality has seldom appeared on the political scene of any state. There was no middle ground in the opinions of the politicians or the public about this political parvenu; he was either admired or detested.

Born in 1863 in Dallas County, Alabama, Catts had grown up in a typical rural environment, but unlike most of his childhood associates he had acquired a higher education. He obtained a law degree from Cumberland University in 1882 and for three years practiced law while managing his mother's plantation. At this point there occurred an event which deflected Catts from his intended legal career; he attended a "revival" and was converted. He became a rural preacher, instead of a practicing attorney, and held various pastorates in Alabama until June, 1911, when he accepted a call to be pastor of the Baptist Church in DeFuniak Springs, Florida. After three years he resigned this position to become Florida agent for a small fraternal life insurance company. While traveling around the state, Catts conceived the idea of running for governor and the issues that would enable him to win. A big, robust man over six feet tall and weighing approximately two hundred pounds, he was a typical extrovert whose greatest political asset was his vigorous style of oratory.¹

By capitalizing upon and playing up anti-Catholic sentiment, Catts soon gained tremendous strength in the primary of June 1916. This amazed many politicians who had at first felt that his candidacy was a joke. When the votes were counted, he was first by a small majority, but so much confusion had been engen-

1. The only biographical study of Catts is John R. Deal, Jr., "Sidney Johnston Catts, Stormy Petrel of Florida Politics" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Florida, 1949).

dered by the "second choice" provision of the Bryan Primary Law of 1913 and the claims of voting irregularities that the state Supreme Court was asked for a ruling. Catts was counted out. Undaunted, he ran on a Prohibition-Independent ticket in November and was elected governor by a sizable majority over the Democratic standard bearer. Thus becoming the first chief executive of Florida since Reconstruction days who was not a regular Democratic nominee, Catts was anathema to party officials. This fact made it almost certain that many of his proposals would be defeated in the state legislature.

The new governor had a very definite and constructive program. He sought to set up a state insurance commission, boys' and girls' industrial schools, and a bank guarantee and reserve fund to insure depositors against loss of funds. He wanted a reduction in the legal rate of interest from 8 to 6 per cent. He advocated the initiative, the referendum, and the recall and attempted to increase the number of state Supreme Court justices. He was instrumental in setting up a system of certification for school teachers, requiring them to take oral and written examinations. During his administration the compulsory school attendance law was passed. There was a general improvement in state institutions and the Florida Farm Colony for Epileptic and Feeble-Minded was established. Most of Catts' program failed, however, and he was even unable to secure the repeal of the Bryan Primary Law. His administration was an expensive one, but when he left office there was a surplus of \$2,000,000 in the state treasury.²

As early as 1917 it was rumored that Catts would run for the office of United States Senator, and on June 16, 1919, he issued a statement declaring his intention to do so. His opponent was to be the incumbent, Duncan Upshaw Fletcher. Fletcher's father, like Catts', had been an officer in the Confederate Army, and both had suffered economic reverses as a result of the war. Though the elder Fletcher's loss was more severe, for his plantation had been in the path of Sherman's march through Georgia, he had made a more successful recovery than Catts' father. His son Duncan received a law degree from Vanderbilt in 1880 and hung out his shingle in Jacksonville, Florida, the following year.

2. *Ibid.*, 175.

He soon succeeded eminently as both a lawyer and a politician.³

Fletcher was at first a member of the "Straight-out," or reform, faction of the Democratic party and worked closely with Napoleon B. Broward. But he began to drift away in 1897 from his former associates. He served in the state legislature and was mayor of Jacksonville for two terms. His appointment in 1905 as counsel for the Florida East Coast Railroad was evidence of his complete break with the "Straight-outs."⁴ From 1905 to 1908 he was chairman of the state Democratic Executive Committee and helped activate Florida's white primary. He resigned this position to run against Broward for a seat in the United States Senate. In this campaign Fletcher took a progressive stand; he advocated a federal income tax and regulation of trusts and monopolies. He promised to seek tariff revision and federal improvement of waterways and harbors. In the runoff primary against Broward, Fletcher polled the larger number of votes. As a result, the state legislature unanimously elected him to the Senate.

Fletcher ran again in 1914 and was re-elected, this time by popular vote.⁵ His legislative record was one of party regularity, for he consistently supported President Wilson's policies. He was sponsor of the Hollis Farm Loan Act of 1916 and author of the Merchant Marine Act, which resulted in the expenditure of \$50,000,000 in the shipyards at Jacksonville, Tampa, and Pensacola.⁶ A conscientious worker, Fletcher made certain that his state received its full share of waterways improvement money. A large, bald man of calm demeanor, he was the personification of Senatorial dignity.

Catts' influence on the primary of 1920, however, was not to be confined to his own effort to secure the Senatorial nomination.

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3. Fletcher's life has been the subject of two studies: William James Wells, "Duncan Upshaw Fletcher, Florida's Grand Old Man" (unpublished MA thesis, John B. Stetson University, 1936), and Gertrude H. Stephens, "Senator Duncan U. Fletcher-Legislator" (unpublished MA thesis, University of Florida, 1951). Also see William C. Carlton's sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography*, Vol. XXII, pp. 194-5.
 4. The best account of this early split within the Democratic party is found in Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville: University of Florida press, 1950), *passim*.
 5. The 17th Amendment, which provided for the popular election of United States Senators, was adopted in 1913.
 6. Stephens, "Senator Duncan U. Fletcher," 90.

"Cattsism" became an issue in many contests for office, and the voter's choice was frequently determined by whether the candidate wore the stigma of "Cattsism" or not. The *Tampa Morning Tribune* succinctly described the situation to the voters in an editorial concerning all the state and local candidates for office: "There is but one choice . . . all the way through, . . . Cattsism or anti-Cattsism."⁷ This issue was nowhere more apparent than among those seeking the gubernatorial nomination.

Cary A. Hardee was one of the first to announce his candidacy for governor. A banker from Live Oak, he had been born on a farm near Perry. At seventeen he was teaching in rural schools while reading law. Admitted to the bar, he served in the state legislature and was Speaker of the House of Representatives in 1915. A man with deep-set eyes, thin face and a pompadour, he had a great deal of confidence. "I believe the people want a man of my type and I believe they are going to choose me," he told the editor of the *Pensacola Journal*.⁸ Like Fletcher, Hardee had a "cool and collected manner" and was a "conservative in everything."⁹ His campaign was to be in sharp contrast to that waged by Catts four years before. "I have no hymn of hate to sing," he said, "no vituperation to pour out on the heads of my opponents."¹⁰

A man similar to Hardee in background and appeal was John W. Watson, a businessman from Kissimmee and Miami. He was a fruit and vegetable grower who had been in the hardware business for almost forty years. He had spent eleven sessions in the state legislature and had served one term as Speaker of the House of Representatives. A man with a prominent chin and straight, determined mouth, he advocated tax reduction, restrictions on labor unions, good roads, and Everglades drainage.¹¹ While he bid for the same type of vote as Hardee, his appeal was too obviously sectional and he had little support outside south Florida.¹² Many observers felt that he could win if Hardee were not running,¹³ but on May 5 Watson withdrew from the race. He gave

7. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 6, 1920.

8. *Pensacola Journal*, March 9, 1920.

9. *Tribune*, May 29, 1920.

10. *Jacksonville Florida Times Union*, March 9; *Tribune*, May 29, 1920.

11. *Ocala Weekly Banner*, February 13; *Tribune*, February 19, 1920.

12. *Times Union*, January 29, April 3, 1920.

13. *Tribune*, March 10, 1920.

as reasons business and legal matters, but one can hardly escape the conclusion that Watson was partially motivated by a fear of taking votes away from Hardee and enabling the latter's competitors to win.¹⁴

Of an entirely different political complexion were the other two candidates. The more prominent of them was Van Cicero Swearingen, Catts' friend and appointee to the office of Attorney General of the state.¹⁵ He, too, had been a farm boy, and at one time he had earned his living as a blacksmith. He had served as judge, "reform" mayor of Jacksonville, and member of the state legislature. His appointment to office by Catts had given him a badge of "Cattism," and there can be little doubt that he appealed to the same people to whom his mentor appealed and took a similar stand on many issues.¹⁶ He, like his opponents, was an advocate of better schools and roads.

The fourth and final candidate to file was Lincoln B. Hulley, the President of Stetson University and a senator from Volusia County. In his advertisements he called attention to the fact that he possessed "two bachelor of arts, one master's and three doctor's degrees."¹⁷ Some of the newspapers surmised that Hulley was inspired by a former President of Princeton, Woodrow Wilson, who had become governor of New Jersey and gone on to bigger things. Hulley's support was only nominal and he antagonized many voters by going into public schools during the campaign and drilling the students in cheers for himself. He and Watson, however, filled only minor roles in the political drama in Florida in 1920. The main participants were Swearingen, Catts, Hardee, and Fletcher.

Catts opened his campaign early. He toured the state in his Ford "flivver," using the same tactics and many of the same issues he had so successfully exploited in 1916. He made little effort to set up an itinerary, but went wherever he pleased, primarily into the rural areas. He would simply roll into town and start speaking. He relied principally on circulars rather than news-

14. See *Times Union*, May 6; *Banner*, May 14, 1920.

15. Thomas F. West had been re-elected as Attorney General in 1916. He resigned this position to accept appointment as justice of the Florida Supreme Court to the unexpired term of Thomas M. Shackelford. Swearingen was sworn in as Attorney General on September 4, 1917. See *Times Union*, September 1, 5, 1917.

16. *Tribune*, June 6, 1920.

17. *Banner*, March 12, 1920.

paper advertisement, no doubt because of an almost total lack of support by the press. By January 1920 his campaign was in full swing. Many people were disturbed by his apparent strength, and not the least of these was his opponent.

Fletcher did not make formal announcement of his intention to seek re-election until March 5, 1920,¹⁸ though it was understood long before then that he would do so. In his notice he called attention to the facts that there were only seven Democratic senators who were his senior in service, that he was ranking Democratic member of the Senate Committee on Commerce, and a member of the Democratic Steering Committee.¹⁹ Fletcher hoped to begin his campaign by the middle of March, but he was delayed in Washington by the League of Nations debate and was twice forced to postpone his return to Florida. He finally left the capital on March 20, after the defeat of the peace treaty, with the avowed purpose of remaining in the field until after the primary of June 8.²⁰

Fletcher spoke first at a rural school near Ocala, at a Farmer's Union meeting, but said little about politics. He extolled the virtues of education, then lauded the farmer and noted that he "was not reaping the full reward of his toil."²¹ He pointed to the benefits brought to farmers by the farm loan bank and reminded his audience that he was the initiator of this system. Next day, March 27, he spoke in the courtroom at Live Oak, Hardee's home town. The train which brought him from Jacksonville was accompanied by two airplanes engaged by the Live Oak Chamber of Commerce. In his speech Fletcher opened up on Catts, disparaging his record as governor and condemning him for campaigning when he should have been concerned with his gubernatorial duties.²² The senator again talked of the benefits of the farm loan measure, and called attention to his part in the Merchant Marine Act and the opportunities it had brought to Florida.

Fletcher was a competent speaker but not especially eloquent.²³ Throughout his entire canvass, in marked contrast to

18. *Tribune*, March 5; *Times Union*, March 5, 1920.

19. See campaign circular issued March 5, 1920 in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

20. *Tribune*, March 21, 1920.

21. *Banner*, April 2, 1920.

22. *Times Union*, March 28; *Banner*, April 9, 1920.

23. "Not a spellbinder," *ibid.*, April 16, 1920.

the demagoguery of his opponent, he maintained a quiet demeanor, speaking on the value of his congressional experience, the number of important committee memberships he held in the Senate, and how well he had handled his "stewardship" of public office.²⁴ He constantly elaborated on his work for the improvement of harbors and rivers and his part in bringing military installations to Florida. Nor did he forget to mention how he had secured large Federal appropriations for the eradication of the citrus canker.

Occasionally Fletcher felt the necessity for denouncing his opponent who, it must be admitted, was extremely vulnerable, Fletcher especially criticized Catts for practicing the "spoils system" and removing many state and local officials from office. And he accused the governor of gross nepotism. On January 6, 1920, Catts had appointed his son, Rozier D. Catts, harbor master for the port of Key West.²⁵ Rozier resigned this position after just two months, but while he held it the public was treated to the spectacle of the Catts family occupying no less than seven state positions. According to Fletcher these brought into the coffers of the first family of the state no less than \$32,200 a year in salary and fees.²⁶ The payroll sheet read as follows:

Daughter, Catts' private secretary	Salary	\$ 2,000
Daughter, secretary to the State Board of Institutions	Salary	\$ 1,000
Son, Naval Stores Inspector	Salary	\$ 4,000
Son, Adjutant General	Salary	\$ 3,000
Son, Harbor Master	Fees	\$ 1,000
Son-in-law, Tax Collector of Duval County	Fees	\$14,000
Governor	Salary	\$ 6,000
Governor's contingent fund		\$ 1,200
TOTAL :		<u>\$32,200</u>

An argument that Fletcher had used against Broward he now brought to bear against Catts. He reproached the latter for spending too much time campaigning when, according to Fletcher, he should have been attending to his duties as governor. Others expanded upon this theme. Judge William B. Young

24. *Ibid.*, April 16, 1920.
 25. *Times Union*, January 11, 1920.
 26. *Tribune*, March 28, 1920

of Jacksonville wrote to the *Florida Times Union* advocating an amendment to the state constitution which would prohibit any governor from becoming a candidate for another office while still serving as chief executive of the state.²⁷ Hardee, who often sounded as if he were running against Catts, replied to this letter. He promised, if he were elected, not to seek another political position during his term of office.²⁸

Another telling blow aimed at Catts by Fletcher was the charge of having raised the state property tax to new heights. The tax rate when Catts took office was 6 mills. It had been increased by 1920 to 12 mills.²⁹ There were, of course, many valid reasons for this rise, and even Fletcher had to admit that some increase was necessary. Prohibition had dried up one lucrative source of tax money. The war had called for a large expenditure of state funds, as did the improvement and increase in state institutions and welfare programs. Inflation, rife during these years, consumed funds at an alarming rate. Even so, the accusation that Catts had raised taxes was an effective argument with a public that was reacting against high prices. Many people felt that Catts was a spend-thrift, and looked for relief to a man like Fletcher, who was thought of as a "conservative,"³⁰ and who in private affairs was careful with his money.³¹

A typical polemic by the governor was a speech at the courthouse in Madison on February 5. A large, attentive audience was present despite inclement weather. Catts praised the condition then existing in the state prisons, hospitals, and industrial schools. While doing so he held up for public admiration a ring given him the previous Christmas by the prisoners at Raiford Prison Farm in gratitude for the inauguration of the honor system in that institution. Catts denounced President Wilson, the League of Nations (which was upheld by Fletcher), and the whole situation in Washington. He promised to clean up the federal government as he had the state. On this occasion he spoke only briefly against the Catholics, though he predicted that the one county he would lose west of the Apalachicola would be Escam-

27. *Times Union*, March 20, 1920.

28. *Ibid.*, March 25, 1920.

29. *Tribune*, March 5, 1920.

30. *Times Union*, February 11, 1920.

31. Stephens, "Senator Duncan U. Fletcher," 116.

bia, where he would be defeated by the many Catholics in Pensacola.³² Speaking elsewhere, Catts found other means of attacking Fletcher. He criticized him for his opposition to child labor legislation and derided him for sponsoring the Guam Bill, which, Catts said, would have made that island a penal colony for undesirable "anarchists and reds."³³

Catts, as usual, did not confide his verbal blows to the issues or candidates. The Catholics were again, as in 1916, raked over the coals. Whether he was as severe in his denunciations of them as before is debatable. In the rural areas he spoke very harshly, but it appears he was more moderate in his fulminations in the larger towns. How sincere he was in the matter is open to question for even while blasting the Catholics he appointed one of them sheriff of Brevard County. This was a tactical blunder because it opened him to an accusation of being inconsistent.³⁴

The governor felt that another charge brought against him was so serious that he did public penance for it. He had appointed a Negro as probation officer in Duval County. For this Catts apologized in a speech in which he stated that while farming in Alabama he had carried arms and maintained "a private cemetery for the reception of the less desirable of his negro employes [sic] from time to time."³⁵ This was a reference to an incident that had occurred while he was a youth. He had killed a Negro but had been acquitted on a plea of self-defense.³⁶

Another matter that caused an inordinate amount of debate between the two contestants was the "Camp Wheeler affair." Catts claimed throughout his campaign that on one occasion during the war he had visited Camp Wheeler, a National Guard training camp near Macon, Georgia, and had found thousands of Florida boys ill with pneumonia being neglected and improperly cared for. Hundreds, he said were dead or dying. Accordingly he had hurried off to a snowbound Washington where he stood knee-deep in snow sending telegrams to the proper officials. As

32. *Times Union*, February 6, 1920.

33. *West Palm Beach Post*, May 13, 1920.

34. "It is stated that Governor Catts has appointed a Catholic sheriff of Brevard county. Is this a change of front and does it mean that entirely different tactics will be employed in the approaching campaign?" *Banner*, March 19, 1920. See also *Times Union*, April 6, 1920, "Perhaps the governor is hedging."

35. *Ibid.*, April 29, 1920.

36. Deal, "Sidney Johnston Catts," 97.

a result of his demands, Catts concluded, the situation was soon rectified.³⁷ Fletcher replied that Catts "was not in Washington at all that winter, and there never was a time when snow was knee deep on the streets, much less on the sidewalks, for one day in Washington, and there is surely no need to hunt snowbanks in which to send telegrams."³⁸ Fletcher's version of the affair, which he claimed to have documents to prove, was that only 240 men had died at Camp Wheeler and of these only 48 were from Florida. Furthermore, he said, it was not Catts but he himself who had forced action by the Federal government.³⁹ A similar dispute arose between the two candidates over which one was really responsible for preventing the establishment of a federal leper colony on an island off the coast of Florida.

Besides Fletcher's formidable opposition Catts had other handicaps to overcome if he were to win the primary. He had been unable, despite his many removals of officeholders, to build a strong personal organization on the local level. Most of the party regulars were against him and he had practically no newspaper support. The Macclenny *Standard* helps to explain this fact by praising Senator Fletcher for having done "more on behalf of the newspaper fraternity, by way of preventing the paper manufacturers from going still further with their profiteering antics, than any other individual in Washington. . . . His efforts shall not be overlooked here in his home state," promised the *Standard*.⁴⁰ They were not. Number after number, the papers ridiculed Catts and held up his opponent as a paragon of virtue. There were, it is true, many other reasons why the newspapers opposed the governor. The personal preference of the owners was one factor; they tended to be party regulars and they were businessmen as well. They felt that Catts was not "respectable" and that his actions gave Florida a "poor press" nationally and thus made people reluctant to invest or settle within the state.⁴¹

Florida newspapers were not the only ones concerned with

37. *Times Union*, February 23, May 2, 1920.

38. *Tribune*, March 28, 1920.

39. *Times Union*, April 8, May 2, 1920. "It was at my urgent request that Surgeon General Gorgas, of the Army, went there and remedied the situation during the early fall of 1917." See Fletcher's campaign circular issued March 5, 1920.

40. Quoted in *Times Union*, February 14, 1920.

41. See *Tribune*, May 29, 1920.

the primary. Due to Catts's colorful methods, the contest received much attention outside the state. The *Baltimore Sun*, for example, commented that if Catts were elected "the current belief in the saving grace of democracy will receive an extremely severe shock. He is making . . . brutal and undisguised appeals to ignorance, prejudice and class feeling."⁴² However, the editors were discerning enough to see that the governor was not a mere apparition that would soon fade from view, that there was some basis for his popular support:

The only conceivable explanation of it is that there have been abuses and grievances in Florida that have given such a man as Catts his chance. The Florida "Cracker" may not have as much schooling as some other people, but it is probable he has a good deal of shrewd sense, and if he did not feel that old factions had discriminated against him in some ways, or that the corporations or the wealthy had been favored at the expense of the poorer classes, Catts could never set the state on fire.⁴³

There were some, then, who could see that Catts' impact on Florida's politics could not be explained by his campaign methods alone.

The contest for the gubernatorial nomination was as bitter as that for the senatorial. The voter was made aware that there was a distinct and definite difference between Hardee and Swearingen. Both waged an intense campaign. The former's supporters attempted to define the basic dissimilarity between the two in the form of a question. "Shall business be assisted to safety," the voter was asked, "and investments made sure, or shall class prejudice and political promises run rampant again as in the past four years?"⁴⁴ Hardee's adherents claimed that Swearingen was the "creator, in large degree, of Catts and in larger degree, the creature of Catts."⁴⁵ They declared that he and Catts were "one and inseparable. They stand for the same things."⁴⁶ While Swearingen spoke for better roads, Hardee dwelt on the importance of a tax reduction. Both men promised the development of inland

42. Quoted in *Banner*, May 21, 1920.

43. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1920.

44. *Tribune*, March 10, 1920.

45. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1920.

46. *Ibid.*, March 5, 1920.

waterways and made some general hints that they were not opposed to "adequate provision" for veterans.

One of the more significant and interesting aspects of this whole primary was the role played by organized labor. It was announced in Washington on February 8, 1920, by spokesmen for the American Federation of Labor, that an effort would be made by the organization to carry on active political work in every congressional district in the country.⁴⁷ Samuel Gompers, the organization's head, intended to wage a strictly non-partisan fight, siding with the friends of labor and withholding support from its enemies. In light of the split within the Democratic party in Florida, a positive reaction by the candidates to Gompers' announcement was to be expected. The response was varied but all the candidates appear to have over-estimated labor's influence.

From the first it was understood that labor would oppose Fletcher because of his vote on the railroad bill which had returned the lines to private operation after the war. At the same time it was said that while labor did not wholeheartedly endorse Catts it would support him till someone better came along.⁴⁸ The governor made an affirmative bid for its backing. He stated in a speech that he had told his son, Sidney, Jr., when he was a soldier that he would never put his foot under his father's table again if he ever fired on a striker.⁴⁹ Swearingen, also, made a positive effort to curry favor with labor though he had every reason to expect its support. As a young man he had been a union member, and later, when a magistrate in Jacksonville, it was said that he had been lenient with strikers brought before him for judgment. On April 6 he was one of the speakers at the annual convention of the state Federation of Labor at St. Augustine.⁵⁰ Growing needlessly fearful, Hardee felt compelled to run a large advertisement in the major newspapers denying that he was the enemy of organized labor.⁵¹

Labor support in Florida in 1920 proved, however, to be more of a liability than an asset. An unauthorized railroad strike broke out on April 8,⁵² and hundreds of carloads of Flor-

47. *Times Union*, February 9, 1920.

48. *Ibid.*, April 7, 1920.

49. *Ibid.*, May 7, 1920.

50. *Tribune*, April 7, 1920.

51. *Times Union*, April 21, 1920.

52. See *Tribune*, April 10; *Times Union*, April 14, 1920.

ida fruit and vegetables were tied up in the freight yards or left in the fields to spoil. The political repercussions were immediate. A large rally was held in Jacksonville on May 25 and the speakers censured both Catts and Swearingen for being candidates of the unions. Judge Henry Bethune Philips, who was a friend of Fletcher from college days, made the following observation: "In those counties of the state where the fruit and truck growing industries predominate, the people are bitterly opposed to Swearingen, because they know he is the candidate of the Northern radicals, who brought about the railroad and dock strikes which resulted in stopping the shipment of fruits and vegetables, thereby causing the loss of hundreds of thousands of dollars."⁵³ At the same time, Dr. Mark B. Herlong warned the audience of a danger he said he saw in the participation in politics by the American Federation of Labor. He accused that group of trying to bring about its own purposes by instructing the Negroes to qualify to vote.

Labor withheld its approval from any of the candidates until the very last moment. Then, on June 6, labor officials issued a statement that they endorsed Catts and Swearingen. Politically it was a kiss of death.

The campaign was not all heavy drama; it had its share of humorous and interesting incidents. The candidates often resorted to mild sarcasm. Fletcher gave a new twist to an old adage when he told the voters at Avon Park not to "swap a good horse in the middle of the stream for a jackass."⁵⁴ Catts replied with a lesson in craniognomy at Winter Haven when he claimed he was more intelligent than his opponent since he wore a larger hat.⁵⁵ Fletcher was a Unitarian and it was reported that Catts spread the word that the senator denied the divinity of Christ. When the governor suggested that each veteran be given 40 acres and \$100 cash, the response was prompt and caustic. For instance, the *Ocala Star* said, "Catts reminds us of the carpet-baggers of the sixties who promised every darkey 40 acres of land and a mule. And we suppose he thinks our soldier boys are about on a par with the ignorant negroes of 50 years ago."⁵⁶ Catts

53. *Ibid.*, May 26, 1920.

54. *Tribune*, June 7, 1920.

55. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1920.

56. *Ibid.*, May 21, 1920.

57. Quoted in *Tampa Daily Times*, January 27, 1920.

drew down a lot of scorn upon himself because of a statement in one of his circulars to the effect that the Florida "Cracker" had only three friends: Jesus Christ, Sears Roebuck, and Sidney J. Catts!

The candidates were not particular when nor where they spoke. When Fletcher arrived at Bronson on April 5, he found the circuit court room full; court had convened. The judge, John R. Willis, soon finished charging the grand jury and then suggested that they postpone their deliberations until after they heard Fletcher. The jury was agreeable and the judge introduced the senator to his juridical audience.⁵⁸ On one occasion Catts spoke at a Baptist church following a prayer meeting.⁵⁹ This procedure was a reversal of the usual one for he often closed his speeches with prayer. At Hastings, he ordered a company of the Florida National Guard off the street because its drilling interfered with his speech. "They should know enough to show respect to the governor," was his only comment.⁶⁰

As voting day drew nearer, Catts' prospects definitely waned. Early in the campaign there had been many who believed that his chances were good, but by the middle of April the consensus was that he was finished. Fletcher was drawing de larger, more responsive crowds, while the governor was being repeatedly heckled and abused by his audiences. Individual defections began to take place. Thus on one occasion when he arrived in St. Petersburg, Catts found that no preparations had been made and that he was denied the use of Williams Park because of the desertion of his chief aide in the area.⁶¹ Then whole groups withdrew their allegiance.

Catts had had the backing of the fishermen in 1916 when he had made much over the way the fish conservation laws were being enforced, but he was neither able to retain their loyalty nor bequeath them to his heir apparent, Swearingen. On February 10, at Cedar Keys, the Florida Fisherman's Association unanimously passed a resolution endorsing Hardee for governor. In addition the fishers stated that they wanted "safe and conservative"

58. *Times Union*, April 6, 1920.

59. *Ibid.*, March 13, 1920.

60. *Ibid.*, April 8, 1920.

61. *Tribune*, April 26, 1920.

candidates;⁶² this certainly was not, in the political vocabulary of the times, a description of Catts.

When it became apparent that the governor was no longer a threat in the primary, a new fear arose; some politicians surmised that he might run as an independent in November. This act would badly split the Democratic vote and almost anything might happen. The state might even elect a Republican! But this bogey was laid to rest at a joint debate on May 1 at Wakulla Springs. Fletcher asked Catts if he would abide by the verdict at the polls in June, and the governor promised to do so.⁶³

In the closing weeks the newspaper barrage against Catts slackened, and the verbal artillery was concentrated on Swearingen. His close affiliation with Catts was emphasized. In an effort to counteract the effect of this invective, Swearingen's backers ran a full page advertisement in the *Tampa Morning Tribune* two days before the balloting. It ended in bold letters: "In Defense of the Masses Vote for Van C. Swearingen."⁶⁴ This pronouncement was followed the next day with another advertisement in which an attempt was made to prove that not Swearingen but Hardee and his campaign manager, Marion L. Dawson, were the true followers of Catts, or as it so succulently stated, they were the real "kittens" of "Old Catts."⁶⁵

By this time the newspapers had come to feel that Hardee was certain to be the new governor. The *Morning Tribune* said, "The situation is reassuring to Florida business prospects, for with Hardee in the governor's office . . . there is a confidence that the state will quickly regain its hold on the would-be investor, and the would-be citizen."⁶⁶

Conscious that their strength was ebbing away, both Catts and Swearingen made efforts to revive the "anti-corporation" sentiment of the Broward Era. The former charged Fletcher with having done nothing about either the high cost of living or profiteering because he was a "corporation man."⁶⁷ Swearingen attacked the press as being subsidized and declared that Hardee also was a

62. *Times Union*, February 11, 1920.

63. *Ibid.*, May 2, 1920.

64. *Tribune*, June 6, 1920.

65. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1920. See also *Times Union*, June 2, 1920.

66. *Tribune*, May 29, 1920.

67. *Times Union*, May 2; *Palm Beach Post*, May 13, 1920.

tool of the corporations and a front man for "special interests." ⁶⁸ Hardee calmly asserted that his antagonist was attempting to raise the masses against the classes. ⁶⁹

The balloting took place on June 8; two days later the results were known. In Hillsborough County, for example, Catts received 2,148 votes to Fletcher's 4,146. Hardee got 3,947; Swearingen 2,207; Hulley 310. ⁷⁰ But the full extent of the political cataclysm was not evident until the final canvass of the vote. Out of a total of 87,311 votes, Fletcher received 62,304; Catts only 25,007. ⁷¹ The former had triumphed by almost a 5 to 2 ratio. The governor was victorious in only three counties, Holmes, Okaloosa, and Washington - all in rural west Florida, with a large number of former Alabama residents. It is doubtful that Catts could have done much better even if he had had considerable newspaper help. Significantly, he polled only 357 votes in Palm Beach County out of a total of 1,581, despite the fact that the West Palm Beach *Post* had championed his cause.

Swearingen did little better; he obtained 30,240 votes to Hardee's 52,591. Hulley got only 5,591. ⁷²

The post-mortems began with the tabulation of the last ballot. The *Morning Tribune* observed that the defeat of Swearingen and every man connected with the Catts family, even down to the county offices, "emphasizes the determination to be rid of the whole thing." It was felt that the people were tired of strikes, tieups and walkouts. "Four years of Cattsism with its appealing prejudices, its personal aggrandizement, its selfishly [sic] hoping to withstand attack by pledging to organized labor, has showed Florida what might be, what would be if de people did not wake up and exert themselves." ⁷³ The Ocala *Banner* jovially stated that the governor's administration had emphasized the importance of separation of church and state. "Florida has had her lesson that the pulpit is a failure in politics." ⁷⁴ The Palm Beach *Post* could only lament, "Some men who were old-line Catts men, including

68. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1920.

69. *Times Union*, May 2, 1920.

70. *Tribune*, June 10, 1920.

71. *Banner*, June 25; *Times Union*, June 25, 1920.

72. *Ibid.*, June 27, 1920.

73. *Tribune*, June 10, 1920.

74. *Banner*, June 11, 1920.

Van Swearingen, attempted to get away from Sidney J. Catts and in doing so got what they deserved - DEFEAT.⁷⁵

After stepping down from the governorship, Catts returned to his farm near DeFuniak Springs and opened a real estate office. Unsuccessful in this endeavor, he went into the patent medicine business. He sought the Democratic nomination for governor in 1924 and made a respectable showing, and in 1928 when the "Catholic question" was again an issue, he came very close to winning the primary. In 1929 he stood trial on a charge of counterfeiting but was acquitted. One of the attorneys that conducted his defense was Cary J. Hardee.⁷⁶ Catts died in 1936.

Fletcher went on to campaign in the general elections for Cox and Roosevelt. He won easily in November by a majority of 61,892 votes over his Republican competitor.⁷⁷ He had 16 more years in the Senate ahead of him, dying in office in 1936. Hardee won handily too. "The term safe and sane fits him as well as anyone who has served as chief executive of Florida" was the verdict passed on his administration.⁷⁸ Swearingen returned to his interrupted law practice where he enjoyed considerable success.

Years after the event, the historian of the Democratic Party in Florida wrote that Catts suffered in the 1920 primary "one of the greatest eclipses in political popularity of anyone who has ever served as governor of Florida."⁷⁹ What factors account for Catts' overwhelming repudiation by the voters? Probably a reaction against his campaign tactics set in. Certainly the people were less concerned in 1920 about the "Catholic menace" than they had been in 1916. They had just finished a war in which two of their major allies were predominately Catholic countries. Besides, there was the new factor of world communism which appeared to be a much more potent and imminent threat. It must be admitted that Catts' progressive impulses were not fashionable at this time. Many Floridians who had become reform minded under Broward's tutelage had grown conservative by 1920.

Catts' political strength, as expected, had been based primarily on a personal following. His exploitation of the automobile as a

75. *Post*, June 10, 1920.

76. See Deal, "Sidney Johnston Catts," *passim*.

77. *Times Union*, November 17, 1920.

78. William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee: Florida Democratic Historical Foundation, 1936), 135.

79. *Ibid.*, 133.

campaign device and his demagogic oratory had made voters, who were either indifferent to politics or were ignored by the politicians, politically conscious. His re-introduction of the "spoils system" into state government while he was governor is an indication of his desire to form this personal following into a stable political faction. Such support was necessary to a man who had antagonized the party regulars, the newspapers, the bankers and small loan operatives, and numerous other groups. But his efforts were futile because many observers of the Florida scene in 1920 "already viewed a boom period in the offing, which it would have been a crime to disturb by political agitation."⁸⁰

80. *Ibid.*, 134.

SPRING TRAINING IN FLORIDA

by J. ROY STOCKTON

SPRING TRAINING serves many purposes for the great American game and business of baseball. The primary objective, of course, is to get the players into the best possible physical condition for the arduous, 154-game pennant races during which the championships of the two major leagues are decided. During this conditioning process young players and others who may have been obtained in trades are inspected and tested in practice sessions, squad games, and exhibition contests.

During the off-season each major league club is permitted to carry a maximum of 40 players on its roster. There are modifications to this rule. For instance, returning service men may be carried for a specific period without counting as members of the 40-man squad. By the time the season opens, in mid-April, each squad must be reduced to 28 players and 30 days later the legal limit is 25 athletes. This prevails through the playing season, except that during the last month of play more than 25 may be carried, so that promising prospects may be summoned from minor league affiliates for late-season inspection.

Thus, during spring training, usually lasting six weeks or more, the manager must test, sort, discard, and finally select the squad of 28 and later 25 players who are to represent his club in the pennant race.

Instruction is another important phase of spring training. Long hours are devoted to batting and fielding practice, base running, sliding, bunting, and other things that are considered and described as fundamentals. The manager always has a staff of assistants or coaches, usually experts in their fields. One coach will take charge of the outfielders, another will demonstrate the fine points of tagging runners and making the double play for the infield candidates. The pitching coach, usually a big-name veteran, will be in charge of the pitchers and the catcher candidates also will have a special instructor. Although it is conceded generally that hitters are born and not made, most clubs will add a batting instructor to the staff if they can find a Rogers Hornsby, a Dixie Walker, or a Paul Waner available.

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An important by-product of spring training is the free advertising it gets for the major league club-and for the minors, too-back in their home cities. Each newspaper in a major league city will send a reporter and perhaps a columnist or feature writer to the spring training camp. Most sports writers are optimists; it is easy to look through rose-colored glasses in the bright Florida sunshine, and so most of the stories telling of the spring camp activities are hope-inspiring. Certainly the thousands of words sent back home by the sports writers make the fans in the major league cities extremely baseball conscious, thus stimulating the very essential business of selling tickets.

And while the baseball clubs are getting this valuable publicity back home and throughout the country, Florida is beneficiary of invaluable advertising, and in what the advertising industry considers the most effective form.

The average newspaper or magazine reader, when he sees a display advertisement about beautiful scenery, balmy breezes, plush golf courses, excellent fishing, and so forth, is inclined to take the blurbs with a large grain of salt. He knows that it is a paid advertisement. Somebody is try to sell him something. The advertisement becomes suspect and the reader develops resistance.

Back in the early days of our newspaper career there was a gimmick called a Business Office Must. In effect it was institution-payola, to borrow a word that recently made many disk jockeys unhappy. In those early days advertisers realized that de reading notice was much more effective as a medium than the display advertisement. And so some newspapers, in order to get the paid advertising, would guarantee the advertiser proportionate space in the reading or so-called news columns of the publication.

These reading notices, frequently written by bright young things in the advertising agencies, so they would be sure to say just what the advertisers wanted, would be dropped on the copy desk stamped in large letters: B.O.M.

That meant Business Office Must, and no matter how crowded the department space might be, those B.O.M.'s had to ride intact and uncut through all editions or somebody would be fired promptly the next day.

Advertisers still value the reading notice highly and even the great newspapers, some of outstanding integrity, still bow to the necessity of participating in the institutional payola. Just look at

any special section - Food Section, Automobile Section, Real Estate Section - and you'll see the payola. In the food section the markets will advertise their wares and the Food Editor will have a lead column on how tasty goody-good wieners broiled outdoors are on a tangy evening in the back yard or by the sea shore. And in a display advertisement nearby you can find just where you can buy the best goody-good wieners, and so forth.

But the point is that Florida gets a tremendous volume of these reading notices, without the necessity of having to bargain with publishers by buying display advertisements.

After the St. Louis Cardinals and the New York Yankees had trained in St. Petersburg in the spring of 1960, E. C. Robison, chairman of the city's baseball committee, made a revealing report to the governors of the Greater St. Petersburg Chamber of Commerce. Robison disclosed that 1,145,000 words had been filed by sports writers during the major league training season and that there had been 3,922 hours of time on baseball radio networks devoted to the baseball activity in St. Petersburg. There also was one live telecast witnessed by 2,500,000 persons in the New York area.

Attendance at games at Al Lang Field totaled 86,817, and \$116,061 was paid at the gate. The city was not without a share, collecting for itself \$10,923 and \$9,745 more as its share of concession receipts.

In a survey arranged by Robison, 71 per cent of the persons interviewed at the ball park gave the major league as their number one reason for wintering in St. Petersburg. And 19 per cent gave baseball as the secondary reason.

At about the same time Robison was stressing the value of baseball and spring training to St. Petersburg and Florida, there was evidence in New York, the country's largest metropolitan center, that a big city, too, placed a high valuation on major league baseball. The late lamented Continental League was striving to be born at that time, and Mayor Robert Wagner of New York announced that the city's Board of Estimate would vote in favor of construction of a \$15,000,000 stadium in Queens. After losing the New York Giants and the Brooklyn Dodgers, the city decided it would be wise to pay \$15,000,000 to persuade a club, that hoped some day to be major league, to settle in New York.

There have been refinements in the spring training operation since the early days of baseball. In the faraway old days the baseball players probably were more careless about their physical condition than are the businessmen-athletes of today. The old-timers were inclined to loaf and take on excess poundage. Their extra-curricular activities in several obvious fields were not conducive to trim waist-lines and supple muscles. And in the early days when a ball club went south the squad was pretty well set. The manager's only task was to work off the excess pounds that had been taken on during a winter of high and careless living. A baseball field in those days was not as important as mountains to run up and down and perhaps hot baths and reducing paraphernalia.

Gradually, however, baseball personnel changed. Men like Branch Rickey introduced sliding pits, batting cages, blackboard instruction, and lectures. Players were recruited from the colleges, instead of the sand lots. They reported, with rare exceptions, in excellent physical condition, especially as far as weight was concerned. More time, therefore, was available for instruction, for drilling on strategic plays.

Enclosed parks took the place of mere practice fields and the exhibition games and the income possible from them grew in importance. Back in the 1920's an exhibition game of the Browns, at Mobile, Alabama, rarely drew more than a few hundred paying spectators. And during spring training only a few games would be scheduled at the training base. In contrast, attendance at the 1960 exhibition games of the Cardinals and Yankees, training at St. Petersburg, went as high as 6,000, and an open date was a rarity.

Whereas make-shift fields were common in the earlier years of spring training, except when the training site was in a baseball city with a park designed for the purpose, many of the fields now available are well-designed, well equipped and excellently maintained, virtually matching what the ball clubs have in their home cities. Outstanding examples are the baseball plants at St. Petersburg, Tampa, Clearwater, and Miami.

The cost of the spring training operation has increased tremendously. A comparison of what the Cardinals paid for services in 1930 at Bradenton, Florida, and what they had to pay in St.

Petersburg during the 1960 operation shows the change in the economic picture.

At Bradenton the Cardinal athletes were housed at the Dixie Grande Hotel for \$1.50 a day each, two men to a room. They ate at a coffee shop in the hotel building for \$1.50 a day each. Each player was allowed \$1.50 a week for laundry. Those were days of thrift and the Cardinals were thrifty. The St. Louis squad, including manager and coaches, probably did not exceed 30 persons.

The 1960 Cardinals spent a minimum of 39 days at their St. Petersburg base and the party, players and officials, numbered more than 60. The hotel rate was \$4.50 a day a man, two to a room. The hotel bill amounted to approximately \$10,530. Each man was given \$8 a day for meals, the cost for the squad reaching a total of \$18,720. Each man was given \$25 a week for expenses, a total of \$9,300. Thus, without any incidentals such as transportation for the squad and rental cars for the executives, the sum for the three items alone totalled \$38,550.

Twelve clubs trained in Florida the same spring, and assuming that each spent as lavishly, that made the sizeable contribution of almost half a million dollars to the state's economy. And that figure does not take into account the considerable additional money that more than 700 baseball players, wives, officials and visiting friends would spend casually for entertainment, clothing, and incidental sundries.

One of the most popular changes in spring training practices, as far as the ball players are concerned, involved meal money. The custom years ago was to arrange for the players to eat in the dining room of the hotel where the club was staying. The club would make a deal with the dining room to feed the men for so much a day and the players would sign the meal check each time they ate.

On a stay of six weeks or more in a hotel any individual can tire of the fare regularly offered. The Cardinals had such an arrangement with a Florida hotel one spring about 20 years ago and the menu, designed primarily for thriftier spring visitors, didn't include big juicy steaks to please the sturdy athletes of the diamond. Early in the stay there were many complaints. The club secretary, sympathizing with the players because he had to eat

at the same table too, or dine elsewhere at his own expense, appealed to the late Sam Breadon, owner of the Cardinals.

The going rate for meal money then was \$3.50 a day for each man, and Breadon, who enjoyed good food and what went with it, told the secretary, Leo Ward, to give the boys meal money, so they could eat where they wished. This pleased the squad immensely and the dining room saw little of the Cardinals thereafter, except for one player, a young catcher named Arnold "Mickey" Owen. Mickey continued to take his three meals a day in the hotel eatery and when companions asked him why he wasn't taking advantage of the new dining freedom he explained.

It happened that when Mickey motored to the training base he and Mrs. Owen couldn't stand to be parted from their dog, a huge, heavy-eating Boxer. And the hotel had been feeding the Boxer with scraps left on the plates by the ball players.

"They've been feeding my dog," Mickey elaborated. "And what's good enough for my dog is good enough for me."

Baseball also can be educational for ball players, with the travel through the season to cities the athletes probably never expected to visit, and travel to beautiful sunny Florida in the spring. Mickey Owen figured in a yarn about baseball travel's educational values.

Mickey's first spring training trip of consequence was to Daytona Beach, when the Cardinals trained there in 1937. The late Dr. Harrison J. Weaver, the beloved trainer of the Cardinals in those days, took the green rookie Owen under his wing. On the first day in the Daytona Beach camp, after the training session had ended, Dr. Weaver took Mickey for a ride. Straight to the lovely beach the Doctor drove Mickey and when they reached the beautiful blue water, Mickey gasped in amazement.

"Doctor," he asked, "what in the world is that big body of water?"

"That, Mickey," said the Doctor, with relish, "is the Atlantic Ocean."

"The Atlantic Ocean," the amazed rookie repeated. "Gosh, Doc, I didn't know it came down this far."

Cash payments to clubs to persuade them to select a city as a training site were not uncommon in the early days of spring training, when few clubs had anything like a permanent spring base. For instance, in 1927, after the Cardinals of 1926 had won their

first National League pennant and world championship, the City of Avon Park, Florida, guaranteed the St. Louis club \$15,000 a year to train there. The late Sam Breadon signed a three-year contract with Avon Park and the club trained there in 1927, 1928, and 1929. The \$15,000 guarantee was paid for the 1927 season, but the Florida real estate boom ran into what might be called difficulties about that time and Breadon, keeping his contract, waived the guarantee the second and third years and took only the meager gate receipts.

Other cities have made financial concessions from time to time, but the situation has changed. The major league club is satisfied now to have a good ball park, preferably in a community where there are enough baseball-minded residents and tourists to make attendance at the exhibition games substantial. However, the cost of the operation has become so great that no club expects to approximate breaking even during the training season.

It's impossible to put a dollar value figure on the importance of baseball in Florida, but the amount would be tremendous, and if you started to figure what it would cost the various Florida Chambers of Commerce to purchase display advertisements equivalent to the space devoted to the reading notices in metropolitan newspapers and national magazines, the totals would be astronomical.

And, to repeat, there is nothing like the reading notice. When you read a display advertisement complete with splashing surf and pretty girls, you know it's just another advertisement. But if you are a baseball fan and you read that the Cardinals and Yankees played an exciting game at Al Lang field yesterday in bright sunshine, that description of the weather will hold your attention. In your home city of Portland, Maine; Altoona, Pennsylvania; Montreal, Toronto, or Winnipeg, Canada; you look out the window and see snow. Your furnace is going full blast, But down in St. Petersburg the sun is shining and people in shirt sleeves are enjoying a baseball game. It must be good weather for golf, too, and for sun bathing. Probably the fishing is good.

Advertising men will tell you, too, that the repetition of an idea is essential. Keep on mentioning a product, keep repeating a slogan, keep playing a singing commercial. People will become familiar with that product, children will be singing the commercials.

Well, consider what baseball spring training does for the products that Florida has to sell. Starting with the first day of Spring training, usually late in February, and continuing through all of March and part of April, newspapers throughout the country will carry the St. Petersburg dateline, the Bradenton, Sarasota, Miami, or Tampa dateline, with stories about baseball, baseball coupled with sunny days. Day after day the papers tell of the Florida weather, spring and summer sunshine. The fact that Florida is a great place to play and live becomes common knowledge in every sports page reading household in the land. Could advertising like that be bought with money at the display advertisement counter?

The latest Florida community to become a baseball training site is Homestead. Few people in the North knew about Homestead, 20 miles south of Miami. But the St. Louis Cardinals, seeking a training camp for their minor league clubs, were invited to inspect Homestead. Adequate ground for playing fields was available. Civic-minded men agreed to arrange financing of the needed clubhouse and field improvements, including stands for spectators.

Young ball players assigned to Cardinal farm teams - Rochester, Memphis, Tulsa, Winston-Salem, Winnipeg, Billings, Keokuk, Daytona Beach, and Dothan - were ordered to Homestead. Reporters started sending back dispatches about the baseball activity. Papers in all those cities and cities of the same league affiliations began carrying daily stories about baseball under a Homestead dateline. Next year the Cardinals probably will play another major league club in an exhibition game at Homestead. And so baseball fans, sports page readers in major league cities will hear and learn about Homestead. The community never could have raised enough display advertising money to get even a fraction of the value of those reading notices about Homestead.

There's no question about a baseball training site being a magnet for tourists. We knew of a couple from Portland, Maine, who for years spent winter months at Daytona Beach. They became acquainted with the Cardinals there while the club trained on the East Coast in 1937. The next year the Cardinals moved to St. Petersburg and the Portland, Maine, couple never went back to Daytona Beach. They wintered each year thereafter at St. Petersburg.

Spring training gives the Florida resident or visitor the same chance to see major league baseball teams that people in the cities in the leagues enjoy. An elderly St. Petersburg resident who spent his pre-retirement life in North Carolina carefully purchased tickets for the exhibition games so that he would see each of the 12 clubs training in the state. Television had made him a baseball fan.

There is tangible evidence that communities recognize the value of a major league baseball club. City administrations in Milwaukee, Baltimore, Kansas City, San Francisco, and Los Angeles offered amazing financial inducements to attract major league clubs. Ready-to-use stadia were offered, or ground for a baseball plant and parking lots. San Francisco has built a new ball park for the transplanted Giants and the Dodgers eventually will have one in Los Angeles.

There is no way of checking the number of visitors to Florida who picked a vacation area in which they could be entertained for a month by their favorite major league ball club and then decided to make that community their retirement home. But there is tangible evidence that many of the baseball players who came to the State for spring training fell in love permanently with the sunshine, flowers, and attractions of Florida.

Several years ago St. Petersburg began presenting an annual Old-Timers' baseball game to raise funds for the March of Dimes campaign. Lists compiled by the committee in charge of the benefit game showed that approximately 200 former and still active professional baseball players were residents of Florida. And the list included impressive names of diamond stars-Tommy Leach, Dazzy Vance, Paul Waner, Eddie Roush, Fred Hutchinson, Johnny VanderMeer, Spud Chandler and Early Wynn, just to name a few. These men, playing in the major and minor leagues, had travelled the country over. They liked Florida best. And for each ball player who came to Florida to train, many thousands of winter tourists came to see major league baseball.

If a brief personal reference will be pardoned, the writer is one of many newspapermen who thoroughly enjoyed annual trips to Florida and then decided to make their retirement home in the state. Our first glimpse of Florida sunshine and orange blossoms was back in 1915 as a baseball writer covering the Havana, Cuba,

spring training camp of the St. Louis club in the old Federal League.

We journeyed by train from St. Louis to Key West, with a stopover in Jacksonville. Leaving February snow and slush in St. Louis, it was amazing to see the orange groves and the flowers in the Sunshine State.

That was only a brief glimpse, but starting in Avon Park in 1927, we spent at least six weeks every spring in Florida. We saw much of the state, the inland lake region, and communities on the East and West coasts - Palm Beach, Miami Beach, Daytona Beach, Bradenton, and finally St. Petersburg, where we now make our home.

Looking back over a long and pleasant career in the newspaper beat, including 41 years on the staff of the St. Louis Post-Dispatch, we can recall many pleasant and exciting assignments. We covered golf tournaments, tennis tournaments, took in the Kentucky Derby for several years and didn't miss a world series time at bat from 1924 through 1957.

But in retrospect, the trip to Florida was the bright spot in each year. When weather in the middle west, where we lived, was at its worst, we would motor or fly away from it all and live six delightful weeks in sunny Florida. We would sun-bathe on the beach, play golf, go deep-sea fishing. No skid chains, no snow plows, no need for overcoats. How quickly those six weeks would pass!

Yes, we were sold on Florida long before we ever thought about retiring or what we would do when the time came. And we feel we owe a great debt to baseball. For it brought us to Florida.

CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA PART II

by EDWIN C. BEARSS *

I

THE BREAKDOWN OF THE MODUS VIVENDI

COLONEL CHASE resigned the command of the Confederate forces at Pensacola on March 1, 1861, to accept appointment as major general in command of the Florida State Militia.¹ Colonel John H. Forney, of Alabama, assumed temporary command of these forces until relieved on March 11 by Brigadier General Braxton Bragg.² Bragg, a West Point graduate and Mexican War hero, had been assigned to this command by President Davis on March 7.³ The new commander, a stern disciplinarian, set to work with his customary vigor to bring order out of chaos. Requisitions were made upon the governors of Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, Georgia, and Florida for additional troops in excess of 5,000 men. Forney was appointed inspector-general, and under his supervision a rigorous training program was instituted. Captain Hypolite Oladowski, Bragg's chief of ordnance, matured

* The Florida Historical *Quarterly* (Volume XXXVI, Number 2, pp. 125-65) contained the first part of Mr. Bearss's study of military operations around Pensacola during the Civil War. The third part of this account will appear in the April, 1961, issue of the *Quarterly*.

1. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: 1894-1927) Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 215. (Cited hereafter as *O. R. N.*)
2. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: 1880-1901) Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 449. (Cited hereafter as *O. R.*) John H. Forney was born in North Carolina in 1829. He entered West Point from Alabama July 1, 1848, graduated July 1, 1852, and was commissioned 2d lieutenant assigned to the 7th U. S. Infantry. On March 3, 1855, Forney was transferred to the 10th U. S. Infantry, and promoted 1st lieutenant to rank from August 25, 1855. Forney resigned from the United States service on January 23, 1861, offering his services to Governor Moore of Alabama. He was commissioned colonel of artillery and ordered to Pensacola.
3. *Ibid.*, 448. Braxton Bragg was born in Warren County, North Carolina on March 22, 1817. He was graduated fifth in the class of 1837 at the United States Military Academy, and commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the 3d Artillery. He served in Florida during the Seminole War. In the subsequent war with Mexico Bragg served with distinction, and was brevetted captain for gallantry in the defense of Fort Brown, Texas, and major for valor at Monterey, and lieutenant-

plans for the effective utilization of the Confederate siege guns fronting Fort Pickens.⁴

Eight days after Lincoln's inauguration an order was dispatched to Captain Vogdes by General Winfield Scott ordering him to land his company, 're-enforce Fort Pickens, and hold the same till further orders.'⁵ Even before the dispatch of Scott's order, Bragg had ordered work resumed on the batteries, and informed the Federal commander that such action seemed "fully justified as a means of defense, and especially so under the threats of the new administration."⁶ Thus the conditions of the *modus vivendi* were broken.

Despite these threats and counter-threats, relations between the Confederate and Federal forces in the bay area remained amicable. On the morning of March 12 four runaway slaves appeared before Fort Pickens with the erroneous idea that they would be granted asylum. That very afternoon the fugitives were returned to Pensacola had turned over to the city marshal for return to their masters.⁷ To add to the Federals' difficulty their supply of fresh beef was curtailed; the contractor alleged that he was without funds for the purchase of cattle.⁸ However, the actual reason for this curtailment of the garrison's provisions was an order from Bragg dated March 18 :

The commanding general learns with surprise and regret that some of our citizens are engaged in the business of furnishing supplies of fuel, water, and provisions to the armed vessels of the United States. . . .

That no misunderstanding may exist on this subject, it is announced to all concerned that this traffic is strictly forbidden, and all such supplies which may be captured in transit to such vessels, or to Fort Pickens, will be confiscated. The more effectually to enforce this prohibition, no boat or vessel will be allowed to visit Fort Pickens, or any United States naval vessel, without special sanction.⁹

colonel for his services at Buena Vista. Bragg resigned from the U. S. Army January 3, 1856, and became a planter at Thibodeaux, Louisiana. In February 1861 he was placed in command of the Louisiana state troops.

4. *Ibid.*, 449.

5. *Ibid.*, 360.

6. *Ibid.*, 362.

7. *Ibid.*

8. *Ibid.*, 362-63.

9. *Ibid.*, 451.

The new Confederate commander at Pensacola seemed omnipresent. In conjunction with Colonel William J. Hardee, commander at Fort Morgan, the bastion guarding the eastern approaches to Mobile Bay, a reconnaissance was conducted preparatory to the opening of a new line of communication between Mobile and Pensacola. It was hoped that an easier route could be developed between these two key points by utilizing water and land transportation, via Bon Secours, Bear Creek, and Perdido Bay, eliminating the long, slow overland trek from Blakely.¹⁰ By the end of March, 1,116 officers and men constituting Bragg's command, most of whom had never been away from home, had assimilated some of the rudiments of the soldier and formed an excellent cadre around which an expanding army could be organized. While the infantrymen learned the fundamentals of soldiery, Captain Oladowski supervised the emplacement of a number of siege guns in Fort McRee. In addition two heavy batteries, each consisting of four 8-inch columbiads, had been established, one near the lighthouse and the other in the neighborhood of the naval hospital.¹¹ Fort Barrancas, for the first time in its history, was armed and manned. Bragg and his staff had practically moved heaven and earth in their efforts to strengthen the defense of Pensacola Bay. The Confederate forts would now be very difficult for the Federals to reoccupy, and in the future could possibly constitute a serious menace to Fort Pickens. The Federal commander protested in vain against the continuation of these efforts, but Bragg, unlike his predecessor, Colonel Chase, would not halt his efforts to fortify the area. After each protest the Confederates seemed to redouble their efforts, and the Federals began to fear that the forts could only be repossessed at a fearful cost.¹²

10. *Ibid.*, 453-454. William J. Hardee was born in Camden County, Georgia, in October 1815. He was graduated from West Point on July 1, 1838, receiving a commission as 2d lieutenant in the 2d Dragoons, and was promoted 1st lieutenant in 1839. Hardee served in the Seminole Indian War. In 1844 he was promoted to captain, and in 1846 crossed the Rio Grande with General Taylor. Hardee was breveted major for gallantry at Medelin, and lieutenant-colonel for gallantry at St. Augustine, Mexico, on August 20, 1847. He was the author of *Hardee's Tactics* and appointed to be commandant of cadets at West Point on June 28, 1860, resigning from the U. S. Army on January 21, 1861, to enter the Confederate services as colonel of cavalry.

11. *Ibid.*, 365.

12. *Ibid.*

The *Brooklyn*, which had been ordered to Key West on March 22 for provisions, returned to Pensacola Harbor on March 31 with the dispatches from General Scott for Captain Vogdes authorizing him to land his command at Fort Pickens.¹³ The army officer immediately exhibited these instructions to the naval commander. Captain Adams noticed the date of the orders (March 12), believed that they were given without a clear comprehension of the state of affairs at Pensacola, and decided to ignore them. The naval officer felt the implementation of the order would be viewed by the Confederate authorities as a hostile act, and would undoubtedly precipitate a collision against the wishes of the Lincoln administration. Adams observed further that "both sides are faithfully observing the agreement entered into by the U. S. Government with Mr. Mallory and Colonel Chase."¹⁴ The senior naval officer present had visited General Bragg the day before, and the Confederate commander had assured him that the Confederates, for their part, would not violate the conditions of the agreement. In terminating his interview with Vogdes, Adams observed, "I can not take on myself under such insufficient authority as General Scott's order the fearful responsibility of an act which seems to render civil war inevitable."¹⁵

The exposed condition of Fort Pickens was brought to President Lincoln's attention by his advisors, and at a cabinet meeting on March 29 it was decided to reinforce the fort.¹⁶ To Secretary of the Navy Gideon Welles was left the selection of the ships and the manner of conducting the affair. Prior to this cabinet meeting Captain Montgomery C. Meigs of the Engineer Corps had been maturing a plan whereby the Federal Government would reinforce Fort Pickens, which was weakly manned by Captain Slemmer and eighty-two men, again asserting its authority in the area.¹⁷ Meigs' plan, initially proposed to Secretary of State Wil-

13. *O. R. N.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 125.

14. *Ibid.*, 110.

15. *Ibid.*

16. John G. Nicolay, *The Outbreak of Rebellion* (New York: 1881), 51.

17. David D. Porter, *Naval History of the Civil War* (New York: 1881), 100. Montgomery C. Meigs was born in Georgia and entered West Point from Pennsylvania on July 1, 1832. He graduated from the Military Academy on July 1, 1836, was promoted 1st lieutenant in the Engineer Corps on July 7, 1838, and captain on March 3, 1853. During the Civil War Meigs rendered excellent service as Quartermaster General of the United States Army. Harvey Brown was born

liam H. Seward, envisioned the chartering of a large steamboat capable of carrying 600 troops and their equipage, and a warship to protect the landing. Welles, after conferring with Seward, adopted the Meigs' plan and designated Colonel Harvey Brown, commander of the 5th Artillery, to command the expedition, giving instructions for him in an order dated April 1, 1861:

You will proceed with the least possible delay to that place [Fort Pickens], and you will assume command of all the land forces of the United States within the limits of the State of Florida. You will proceed to New York, where steam transportation for four companies will be engaged. . . . The engineer company of Sappers and Miners; Brevet Major Hunt's Company M, Second Artillery; Captain Jahns' Company C, Third Infantry; Captain Clitz's Company E, Third Infantry, will embark with you. . . .

The object and destination of this expedition will be communicated to no one to whom it is not already known. The naval officers in the Gulf will be instructed to co-operate with you, and to afford every facility in their power for the accomplishment of the object of the expedition, which is the security of Fort Pickens against all attacks, foreign and domestic. Should a shot be fired at you, you will defend yourself and your expedition at whatever hazard. . . .

You will make Fort Jefferson your main depot and base of operations. You will be careful not to reduce too much the means of the fortresses in the Florida Reef, as they are deemed of greater importance than even Fort Pickens.

On the same date that Colonel Brown had received his orders, Lieutenant David D. Porter was issued confidential instructions by President Lincoln "to take command of the steamer *Powhatan*,

in New Jersey and entered West Point on October 11, 1814. Brown graduated from the Military Academy in July 1818, and was commissioned a 2d lieutenant in the light artillery. At the time of the Seminole Indian War, Brown, a captain in the 4th Artillery, was breveted for gallantry several times. Brown participated in the Mexican War where he was breveted lieutenant-colonel for gallantry at Contreras on August 20, 1847, and colonel for gallantry at Garita de Belen on September 13, 1847.

18. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, pp. 365-366.

19. *O. R. N.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 108. David Dixon Porter was born on June 8, 1813, in Chester, Pennsylvania, the second son of Captain David Porter, naval hero of the War of 1812. Porter served under his father in his ill-fated Mexican adventure, and in February 1829 was appointed a midshipman in the United States Navy. Porter served in the Mexican War as 1st lieutenant on the side-wheel steamer *Spitfire*. While Jefferson Davis was Secretary of War, Porter, then in com-

or any other United States steamer ready for sea." ¹⁹ Porter was ordered "to New York, and with the least possible delay assume command. . . . Proceed to Pensacola Harbor, and at any cost or risk prevent any expedition from the mainland reaching Fort Pickens or Santa Rosa." ²⁰

That night Lieutenant Porter left for New York, and 10 A.M. the next day presented to Captain Andrew J. Foote (who was acting commandant of the Brooklyn Navy Yard) the order to fit out the *Powhatan*. Porter's instructions constituted a most unusual method of doing business and greatly surprised Foote. It required three hours to convince Foote that he must obey the President's order, and that he was not to telegraph the Secretary of the Navy for instructions to relieve him from his embarrassing position. ²¹ Foote at last consented to call Captain Samuel Mercer into the conference, and show him the letter. Mercer, after examining the document, considered it mandatory for Foote to obey the President's orders to the letter. He was rather pleased with getting rid of an old worn-out ship, and offered to remain with the *Powhatan* as her captain, fit her out, and take her down the harbor as far as Staten Island, in order better to conceal the important movement. Captain Meigs also urged Foote to obey the President's order, and he finally decided to do so. The outfitting of the *Powhatan* was then ordered to proceed. ²²

The *Powhatan's* engines were apart, and they were preparing to remove her guns in preparation for placing her in drydock at 2 P.M. on April 2. Foote's order directed a double force of men

mand of the U. S. storeship *Supply*, brought the camels to America in what was a novel War Department experiment. The *Powhatan*, a side-wheel steamer of 2,415 tons had been built at the Norfolk Navy Yard in 1853 at a cost of \$785,000. The ship had a maximum speed of 11 knots an hour while it cruised at an average of 8 knots. In April 1861 it carried the following guns: four heavy 12-pounders, one light 12-pounder, one XI-inch Dahlgren smoothbore, and ten IX-inch Dahlgren smoothbores.

20. Robert S. West, *The Second Admiral* (New York: 1937), 81.

21. David D. Porter, *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War* (New York: 1885), 17-20. Andrew H. Foote was born at New Haven, Connecticut, on September 12, 1806. He entered the U. S. Navy in 1822, and was commissioned Lieutenant in 1830. In 1849 he was made commander of the *Perry*, engaged for two years in suppressing the slave trade on the African Coast station, under Commodore Armstrong, and later helped capture the Barrier Forts near Canton. From October 1858 to the outbreak of the Civil War, he was in charge of the Brooklyn Navy Yard.

22. Porter, *Naval History of the Civil War*, 102.

should be worked day and night until she was ready for sea. The officers who had been granted shore leave were recalled, and on April 4 the crew was put on board. On April 6, four days after the *Powhatan* was taken in hand, steam was up, everything in place, the pilot on board, and the lines ready to cast off. Lieutenant Porter boarded the ship in citizen's attire, and was unobserved among the crowd of people who were bidding their friends goodbye. He went into the cabin and locked himself in the captain's stateroom. The ship pulled away from the dock at 1 P.M., proceeding as far as Staten Island before Captain Mercer left her.²³ While the ship was lying off Tompkinville, Staten Island, waiting for the return of the boat which had carried Captain Mercer ashore, a swift steamer came alongside and Lieutenant Frances A. Roe of the Navy handed Porter the following message: "Give the *Powhatan* up to Captain Mercer." This communication was signed by the Secretary of State.²⁴ The Secretary of the Navy had apparently convinced the President that the *Powhatan* should be diverted from the expedition for the relief of Fort Pickens to the one being formed for the succor of Fort Sumter.²⁵

Lieutenant Porter read the dispatch, and decided that there was only one thing for him to do - disobey it. The artillery for Brown's expedition was on board the *Powhatan*, and the steamer *Atlantic*, with the troops on board, he supposed had sailed at 12 noon and was at least ten miles at sea. If he stopped to restore the ship, the expedition might fail. In addition his orders were from the President and he determined to obey them. Porter had Roe telegraph to Washington: "I received my orders from the President and shall proceed and execute them."²⁶

23. *Ibid.*, 103.

24. *O. R. N. Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 112.*

25. The execution of the President's plan to reinforce Forts Sumter and Pickens had become involved in a series of muddles. Orders issued through Secretary Welles of the Navy Department assigned the *Powhatan* to the Sumter expedition; but Seward put through an order, which the President signed without reading, transferring the *Powhatan* to the fleet designated for Pickens. When Lincoln overruled Seward, directing him to restore the ship to the Sumter expedition, Seward bungled the matter by sending the new order in his own name; and the commander of the *Powhatan* refused to obey it in opposition to the previous order in the President's name. J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: 1953), 238-239.

26. *O. R. N., Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 112.*

Late on the evening of April 6, to supplement the orders to Colonel Brown, Welles sent for Lieutenant John L. Worden, of subsequent *Monitor* fame. Welles verbally instructed Worden to proceed with all possible speed to Pensacola with dispatches for Captain Adams; the substance of these orders was that Fort Pickens should be immediately reinforced.²⁷ Worden departed the next morning and reached Pensacola about midnight on April 10. Such a gale was blowing the next day that Worden was unable to deliver the substance of his dispatches to Adams until the afternoon of April 12.²⁸ Upon receipt of Welles' instructions, Adams inaugurated preparations to reinforce Pickens, first notifying Vogdes of the changed situation. Late that evening the troops under Vogdes and the marines of the naval squadron, under Lieutenant John C. Cash, were disembarked at Fort Pickens. The landing was unopposed. Once ashore the army commander deemed it probable that Bragg would land his men upon Santa Rosa Island in an endeavor to outflank Fort Pickens. To deter the Confederates from such a maneuver the *Wyandotte* and *Brooklyn* were anchored in position to sweep this exposed area with their broadsides.²⁹ Bragg reasonably inferred that Worden had brought the dispatches effecting the reinforcement of Fort Pickens, and ordered his arrest. Worden was apprehended by the Confederate authorities and incarcerated for several months.³⁰

The day after the landing of the reinforcements at Fort Pickens it was reported to Captain Vogdes that a small boat had landed at the wharf under a flag of truce, and that the bearer, Captain Robert C. Wood, solicited an interview with the commander of the base. Upon Vogdes' arrival at the dock, Wood informed him that he had a verbal message from General Bragg. Wood stated "I was directed by General Bragg to inquire why the armistice in respect to re-enforcing Fort Pickens has been violated by throwing re-enforcements into it." Vogdes replied "I have never been a party to any armistice; I have been sent by the General Government to take command of the post, and have entered under the orders of the General Government." Wood then addressed himself to Lieutenant Slemmer stating "I was directed to inquire of the former commanding officer why the armistice has been vio-

27. *Ibid.*, 111.

28. *Ibid.*, 137.

29. *Ibid.*, 115-117.

30. *Ibid.*, 118.

lated." Slemmer replied "I have always obeyed the orders of my superiors." The interview then terminated.³¹

Now let us return to the expedition being outfitted in New York City by Colonel Brown. The Colonel, accompanied by Captain Meigs, arrived in New York City from Washington on the morning the *Atlantic* sailed for Fort Jefferson where she arrived at making preparations for the expedition. During the afternoon of April 6 the troops were embarked on the steamship *Atlantic*.³² The ship weighed anchor at 3:30 A.M. the next morning and put to sea. After an extremely rough voyage the *Atlantic* put into Key West on the afternoon of April 13.³³ At daybreak the next morning the *Atlantic* sailed for Fort Jefferson where she arrived at 1 P.M. Brown inspected the fort and found its defenses in excellent condition. The *Atlantic* departed "the Gibraltar of the Gulf" on April 14 and arrived off Santa Rosa Island on the evening of April 16.³⁴ The voyage from the Tortugas was quite rough as a "heavy norther" had been encountered. Upon arrival at Fort Pickens, Brown immediately sought and obtained an interview with Captain Adams, who promised him every assistance in his power. Brown decided to land part of his force without delay. By 2 A.M. the Sappers and Miners and part of Captain Clitz's command had gone ashore.³⁵

31. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 378. Robert C. Wood was born in Louisiana and entered West Point on July 11, 1850. Wood did not graduate from the academy, resigning from the institution on August 15, 1853. He was subsequently commissioned 2d lieutenant 2d Cavalry on March 3, 1855, and resigned from the service on January 1, 1858.
32. *Ibid.*, 372-373. The troops embarked included Barry's battery (Company A, 2d Artillery), Hunt's Company M, 2d Artillery, Duane's company of Sappers and Miners, and Companies C and E (Jahns' and Clitz's), 3d Infantry, and twenty Engineer carpenters under Captain Gray.
33. *Ibid.*, 394. While at Key West in order to augment his heavy ordnance Colonel Brown drew from Fort Taylor a battery of 12-pounder howitzers and 6-pounder guns, three 10-inch siege mortars for which shells had been embarked at New York, and a supply of ammunition for the field pieces. *Ibid.*, 395.
34. *Ibid.*, 395. At Fort Jefferson four mountain howitzers with prairie carriages, light and suitable either for the sands of Santa Rosa Island or for service upon the covered ways of Fort Pickens, with supplies of fixed ammunition, spherical case and cannister, were taken aboard. To assist in landing artillery a scow was taken in tow, but it broke loose from its fastenings before the *Atlantic* left the harbor.
35. *Ibid.*, 378-379. The only casualties during the landing were three horses which drowned. Four had died previously and had been thrown overboard in the boisterous passage, making in all seven lost in passage out of the seventy-three originally embarked.

On her voyage south the *Powhatan* was buffeted by several gales which reduced her speed. Once at sea Porter ordered his seamen over the side to paint out the gunport shutters so the *Powhatan* might resemble a mail steamer. Camouflaged by this disguise Porter counted strongly on being able to run past the forts and batteries at the entrance to Pensacola Harbor before the Confederates were alerted to the ship's identity. Once inside and beyond Fort Barrancas he had nothing to fear from the Confederates and would be able to prevent any attempt on their part to land a force on Santa Rosa Island. On April 17, twenty-four hours after the arrival of the *Atlantic*, the *Powhatan* arrived off Santa Rosa Island.³⁶ The *Powhatan* stood in towards the bar, crossed it, and headed for Fort McRee with her crew at their guns. A large barge with Captain Meigs on board now spoke the *Powhatan*. The ship stopped and Meigs came aboard, handing Porter a message from Colonel Brown protesting against Porter's entering the harbor on the grounds that Fort Pickens was unprepared for an attack from the Confederate batteries, and if the *Powhatan* entered the harbor it would draw their fire upon the fort. After discussing Brown's protest with Captain Meigs and carefully considering the matter, Porter reluctantly turned the *Powhatan's* head toward the steamer *Atlantic* and anchored within twenty fathoms of the beach.³⁷

Brown's command now undertook to land the balance of the troops and horses carried aboard the *Atlantic*. The work associated with landing so many tons of supplies and equipment was most laborious and tedious. Wherever the heavy surf would permit, the disembarkation was carried on by the small boats carried on *Powhatan*, *Brooklyn*, *Wyandotte*, *Sabine* and *St. Louis*. The paddle-box boats carried aboard the *Powhatan* were especially useful for this work. One of them had a Dahlgren boat-howitzer aboard and was kept ready to protect the beach party from any marauding boats of the foe. None of the Southerners, however, interrupted the landing.³⁸ A detachment of one hundred marines and sailors heretofore constituting part of the garrison was allowed to return to the ships.

The next morning Brown inspected the condition of Fort

36. West, *Second Admiral*, 88.

37. Porter, *Naval History of the Civil War*, 103.

38. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 397.

Pickens and found the defenses to be in a miserable state. Brown was confronted by a most distressing task. The mounted guns were few in number - two 10-inch columbiads, four 8-inch siege howitzers, seventeen 32-pounders, seven 18-pounders, and eleven 12-pounders. All these guns were smooth-bores and Colonel Brown urged the immediate requisition from the Navy of a number of heavy rifled guns. Orders were issued employing the entire garrison in mounting additional guns, building roads, and preparing quarters.³⁹ Brown then dispatched the following message to General Bragg:

I have the honor to inform you that I have arrived at this post, and that I shall, unless assailed, act only on the defensive, and make only such disposition of my forces as is necessary to protect them from any enemy, foreign or domestic. I have also to inform you that no movement of the troops of my command or of United States vessels in this vicinity will have any other than a defensive object, unless we shall unhappily be compelled to act offensively, repelling aggression against the flag, persons, or property of our country.⁴⁰

In answer to Brown's message, Bragg proclaimed martial law in the area, and prohibited all intercourse between the mainland and the Federals.⁴¹

By April 20 the Federal's positions at Fort Pickens had noticeably improved. As reinforcements for the 690 men already ashore the steamship *Illinois* had arrived from New York that evening with two companies of infantry (Brooks' and Allen's) aboard. The *St. Louis* was sent to Key West to embark the additional companies of infantry destined for Fort Pickens. Augmented by these accretions Colonel Brown's force would soon total 1,012 officers and men with provisions to last for approximately six months.⁴² With this force available the Federal officers believed it would be impossible for Bragg to land a force upon Santa Rosa Island as he would be confronted by the fire of the heavy batteries of the *Powhatan*, *Brooklyn*, and *Wyandotte*, which

39. *Ibid.*, 379.

40. *Ibid.*, 380.

41. *Ibid.*, 464.

42. *O. R. N.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 140. Counting the crews aboard ship, the force subject to Brown's orders totalled 3,087 officers and men.

would expose his force to swift destruction. However, to provide for the security of the vital eastern portion of Santa Rosa Island, a larger force would be necessary. Until these reinforcements should arrive, Brown proposed to throw up field works in advance of Fort Pickens' eastern approaches.⁴³

Prior to his departure with dispatches for the government on April 23, Captain Meigs advised Colonel Brown to place the greater part of his command in an entrenched camp outside Fort Pickens. A favorable site for bivouac was found about four miles from the western end of Santa Rosa Island. The camp had a number of advantages; it was beyond the range of the 13-inch sea-coast mortars at the navy yard; it was overlooked by the guns of the Federal fleet; a good road could be built between the entrenched camp and the fort, protected by sand ridges forming natural epaulements from all horizontal fire for nine-tenths of the distance; a boat channel could be easily cut through the island just above the camp; and the men and horses would be healthy, and safe from the annoyance of hostile fire.⁴⁴ Two days after the arrival of the *Powhatan*, a flotilla, composed of steam tugs, schooners, and large launches filled with Confederate soldiers, was seen approaching from the direction of Pensacola. The Confederate vessels seemed to be heading for the two ships, *Powhatan* and *Atlantic*, on the Gulf side of Santa Rosa Island. There were about twenty-five of these small boats. The flotilla approached to within a mile and a half of the beach on Santa Rosa Island. They then halted and appeared to be making preparations for a landing. The 11-inch Dahlgren on board the *Powhatan* was cast loose, and a shell fired. The shell burst directly over the middle of the flotilla. The consequence was a rapid retreat of the expedition toward Pensacola. Undoubtedly the Confederates had taken the *Powhatan* and *Atlantic* for two supply ships which they hoped to capture. The Dahlgren was reloaded and pointed in the direction of the Navy Yard where a group of idle soldiers were watching the operations. It was fired, and a shrapnel shell exploded in the midst of the yard, at once clearing it of all occupants.⁴⁵

43. *Ibid.*, 140.

44. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, pp. 386-387.

45. Porter, *Incidents and Anecdotes of the Civil War*, 24-25.

Ten days after his arrival at Pensacola, Porter received the following order from Captain Adams:

The *Powhatan* will be a permanent guard ship for the present and hoist the guard flag. You will have all vessels bound in or out of Pensacola boarded by a lieutenant, who will report to me immediately if he learns anything of importance. . . .

If any vessels bound in are found to have munitions of war on board, they are not to be allowed to enter the harbor. No force is to be used in stopping those bound out. The *Wyandotte* will afford assistance in towing your boat and intercepting vessels when necessary.⁴⁶

This order was issued and enforced at Pensacola prior to the receipt of any knowledge of the President's proclamations of blockade (dated April 19 and 27). Intelligence of the President's order did not reach Pensacola until the evening of May 12.⁴⁷

Now to see what action the vigilant Confederate commander would take to counter these violations by the Federals of the truce agreement. On April 6 General Samuel Cooper, upon receipt of intelligence concerning the outfitting of Colonel Brown's expedition, warned Bragg, "the Government at Washington have determined to re-enforce Fort Pickens, and troops are now leaving for that purpose."⁴⁸ Bragg had already observed in a dispatch to Confederate Secretary of War Leroy P. Walker that the Federals had placed an officer of the Engineers in Fort Pickens in violation of the agreement "not to re-enforce." In addition, from information reaching his staff, he had reason to believe the garrison within Fort Pickens was rapidly becoming demoralized. Bragg believed the United States Government and some of its agents were acting in bad faith, and the Confederates were entirely

46. *O. R. N.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, p. 131.

47. *Ibid.*

48. *O. R.* Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 456. Samuel Cooper was born at Hackensack, New Jersey, on June 12, 1798. Cooper graduated from West Point in 1815 receiving his commission as brevet 2d lieutenant of artillery. For the period 1828-1836 he was aide-de-camp to General Macomb. During the Seminole Indian War he served at army headquarters as assistant adjutant-general. In the Mexican War he served as chief-of-staff to General William J. Worth, and was brevetted colonel of staff for meritorious conduct relating to the prosecution of the war. In 1852 he became adjutant-general of the United States Army and resigned that position on March 7, 1861, to enter the Confederate service.

absolved from all obligations under the agreement of January 29. However, he hesitated to attack unless specifically ordered to do so by his government. Bragg correctly believed an attack would constitute a political problem.⁴⁹

However, the Confederate Government was not ready to authorize a *coup de main* directed against Fort Pickens. In due course cognizance was taken of the critical situation and Secretary Walker called upon the chief executives of Alabama, Georgia, Louisiana, Florida, and Mississippi for additional troops.⁵⁰ These troops were rapidly forwarded to Pensacola and by April 12 Bragg's forces had been increased to about 5,000 men.⁵¹ During the night of April 12-13 Vodges' command had been thrown into Fort Pickens; however, its movement could not be observed from the mainland as the Federals were landed on the far side of Santa Rosa Island. When informed of this development, Bragg protested in vain and notified the Confederate authorities of the changed situation. On the morning of April 17 Bragg's scouts reported the arrival of the *Atlantic* with Colonel Brown's relief expedition.⁵² After the debarkation of Brown's men affairs grew more tense along the opposing lines of works frowning at each other across the bay. April passed thus into history with the *modus vivendi* violated to the Federals' advantage; but, unlike Sumter, hostilities had been averted.

II

WATCHFUL WAITING

With the breakdown of the *modus vivendi* an armed truce prevailed within Pensacola Harbor. Both the Federal and Confederate forces labored day and night to strengthen their relative positions. On the night of May 5 the Confederate engineers placed a number of obstructions in the channel between Forts Pickens

49. *Ibid.*, 457. Leroy P. Walker was born near Huntsville, Alabama, in what was then Mississippi Territory, on February 7, 1817. He was admitted to the bar in 1837 and soon became judge of the 4th judicial circuit in Alabama, holding this position until 1853 when he resigned. Walker then entered the state legislature, and in 1860 was a delegate to the Charleston and Baltimore Democratic Conventions.

50. *Ibid.*, 457-459.

51. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*. (Atlanta: 1899), 24.

52. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 463.

and McRee. These obstacles, it was hoped, would retard any serious attempt by the Federal fleet to force an entry into the harbor.⁵³ To help solve their difficult logistical problem the Confederates rushed to completion, by the second week in May, the Florida and Alabama Railroad.⁵⁴ Over this vital supply artery Bragg soon received a number of powerful siege guns and mortars. The Confederate commander ordered these heavy weapons emplaced in five positions which his engineers had recently completed. At this time (May 1861) Bragg viewed the shortage of cartridges and cartridge-boxes (forty dead men) as his most serious problems. In March, requisitions had been made upon the Baton Rouge Arsenal for these needed items, but no response was received. Bragg now dispatched one of his staff officers to Louisiana to expedite the matter.⁵⁵

The Confederates' exertions on the mainland were matched by the Federals on Santa Rosa Island. They were continuously employed in unloading ships, storing provisions, and erecting additional fortifications for their protection. In their labors the Federals were hindered by a shortage of sandbags.⁵⁶ Other problems now arose to plague the Federals. In the hurry and confusion of the departure of the expedition, commanded by Colonel Brown, from New York, articles of prime importance which were stored in warehouses ready to be loaded were left behind, while other items of little importance were taken aboard. Among the former were the 8- and 10-inch shells for the garrison's numerous heavy ordnance. A special request to have these shells loaded on the *Illinois*, which had sailed subsequent to the departure of the *Atlantic*, was also neglected. The garrison of Fort Pickens, by borrowing from the Navy, was able to obtain enough shells to last for one day's continuous firing.⁵⁷

53. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 467. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 26.

54. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 407. At the time the Confederates opened fire on Fort Sumter this railroad, running northeastward to Montgomery, had not been completed.

55. *Ibid.*, 465. Bragg's powerful batteries were located at the following places: Number I at the Navy Yard; Number II in the rear of the Warrington Church; Number III near Barrancas Barracks; Number IV near the old lighthouse; and Number V south of the new lighthouse.

56. *Ibid.*, 407.

57. *Ibid.*, 401.

As the hot summer months approached, there was a noticeable increase in the number of Federal soldiers reporting for sick call. This could be attributed to several factors, among which was the arduous labor in the torrid sun. In addition scurvy had broken out in Company G, 1st Artillery (the company originally posted at Pensacola Harbor), and Brown, on the certification of John Campbell, the senior assistant surgeon, that a temperate climate was necessary for the troops to recoup their health, had ordered them to Fort Hamilton, New York. Up until May 13 the Federals had lost two men by death and two by desertion to the enemy.⁵⁸

The ammunition shortage was rectified on May 18 by the arrival of the schooner *J. N. Genin* with a supply of 8- and 10-inch shells, and a large quantity of solid shot for the 42-pounder smoothbores. The work of unloading the vessel anchored in the open roadstead proceeded very slowly and was not completed until May 27. By this time the Federals had completed and armed two new batteries christened "Lincoln" and "Cameron." The former, located five hundred yards northeast of the fort, was armed with two 10-inch siege mortars and one 8-inch sea-coast howitzer, and the latter between Fort Pickens and Batteries Lincoln was armed with two 10-inch columbiads.⁵⁹

The primary problem continuing to plague the Federal officers was that Fort Pickens, being designed to cover the channel, had one extremely vulnerable point - its rear, provided the Confederates could establish a beachhead on Santa Rosa Island. Brown directed his Chief Engineer, Major Zealous B. Tower, to draw up a report on this critical situation. Tower responded:

It is my opinion that Fort Pickens cannot be successfully defended against the enemy's forces now arrayed against us unless a sufficient number of the steamships aid your command to prevent any landing upon Santa Rosa Island. If the enemy once establish themselves on this island in the absence of a powerful steam fleet, they can in a few days build batteries to prevent ships from approaching this end of the island, and rapidly advance and reduce this work by a short siege. The heavy fire upon the flank and rear of our land fronts will prevent us from making a strong resistance if it

58. *Ibid.*, 407-411.

59. *Ibid.*, 416-417.

does not dismount nearly all our guns. Two curtains of our land fronts have no guns upon them, and the flank guns are seen in reverse. The Navy must hold the island until reinforcements arrive, or our nation must suffer another disgrace in the loss of Fort Pickens. Circumstances have much changed during the past three weeks, the power of the enemy being nearly doubled in men and heavy guns.⁶⁰

The tensions built up during the past several weeks were to culminate in a rather amusing incident. At 3 A.M. on May 22 a greatly excited sentinel reported to Colonel Brown that the drydock was moving out into the bay from the Warrington Navy Yard. For some time previous it had been rumored that the dock had been fitted out as a water battery with heavy guns. The alarm sounded. Troops were ordered to their positions. Guns were trained on the approaching monster. Slowly the drydock moved toward Battery Lincoln, approaching to within less than a mile. Here she stopped, her broadside to the battery. Day-break revealed the drydock still anchored in this position. A thought then struck Brown. Here was an excellent opportunity to free himself from a false position, that of being obliged to act only on the defensive.⁶¹ He therefore dispatched the following message to General Bragg:

In my letter to you of the 17th ultimo I announced my intention of acting only on the defensive, unless assailed. Since then your so-called government has commenced an unholy, unjust, and parricidal war on our common country, and you personally have been almost constantly hostilely engaged in erecting batteries against this fort, and last night in anchoring a floating battery within range of and menacing my command. You will therefore be pleased to notice that I shall act on the offensive whenever the interests and honor of my country, in my opinion, require it.⁶²

Not receiving an answer, and having requested the concurrence of other officers of his command, Brown sent a second dispatch to Bragg which read:

60. *Ibid.*, 415-417. Zealous B. Tower was born in Massachusetts, and graduated from West Point in 1841 at head of his class. Upon graduation he was commissioned 2d lieutenant in the Engineers. He served in the Mexican War, and was brevetted three times for gallantry and meritorious conduct. Tower was promoted to captain on July 1, 1855.

61. *Ibid.*, 417.

62. *Ibid.*, 419.

It being impossible for me to know the character of the vessel now under my guns, or the object for which she is placed there, or of her removal from there, I can only consider her as designed to act in some manner against this fort or the shipping off this harbor. I have therefore to notify you that any attempt to remove or to occupy her will be considered an act of hostility, which I shall resist with what means I possess, unless I shall receive a satisfactory explanation.⁶³

Brown's messenger returned from the mainland with Bragg's reply which read:

Your communication of this date announced your intention to "act on the offensive whenever the honor and interests of your country, in your judgment require it." To any action you may take I shall respond with alacrity. Having voluntarily pledged yourself "to act on the defensive, unless assailed" I am no little surprised at your complaint that I, who acted under no such pledge, have been "constantly hostilely engaged in erecting batteries against your fort," when you have been all the while, under my daily observation, doing precisely the same thing against my position. The merits of the controversy between our respective governments I choose not to discuss with you. Impartial history will decide that question for us; but I must insist on the propriety and necessity of your observing those courtesies of style and language which I have a right to expect from one holding your high position, in any future communications addressed to these headquarters.

. . . I am surprised at the excitement which has been caused by the accidental position of the dry-dock from the navy-yard, without troops or armament. I cannot see how it could be regarded in any hostile light, and I had intended removing it as soon as my means and the wind and tide would allow.⁶⁴

The next morning the Federals discovered that the dock had been sunk within less than a mile of batteries Lincoln and Cameron. The incident was closed. Actually the Confederates had intended to take the drydock from Warrington to Pensacola where she would be safe in case of bombardment, but a strong northerly wind either broke her loose from the tugs or they were unable to control her movements. She then began to drift directly to-

63. *Ibid.*, 420.

64. *Ibid.*

ward the Federal batteries. To prevent the dock running aground on Santa Rosa Island the Confederates anchored her. Bragg, not knowing whether the Federals would accept his explanation as satisfactory, decided not to hazard the loss of any tugs which might be employed in towing the dock to a haven of safety. He therefore ordered the dock scuttled.⁶⁵

In the initial week of May the Federal government determined to enforce the blockade enunciated by President Lincoln in his proclamations of April 19 and 27 by sending additional naval forces to the Gulf. To implement this decision, on May 4 Captain Williams W. McKean, while aboard the steam frigate *Niagara* which was tied up at the Brooklyn Navy Yard, received the following instructions from the Secretary of Navy:

You will therefore on the receipt of this [order] proceed to the Gulf and take measures for instituting and carrying into effect a rigid blockade of the Mississippi, and such other ports, especially Mobile, as the forces under your command will admit, and in connection therewith use all diligence to capture the vessels with arms and munitions on board.

Herewith you will receive a copy of the President's proclamation ordering a blockade. This on your arrival out you will proceed to carry into effect, giving public notice thereof in the best manner you can allowing no vessels to obtain ingress into the port or river blockade. Neutrals will be allowed fifteen days to leave, with or without cargo. . . .⁶⁶

The *Niagara's* voyage to Pensacola was quite eventful. She weighed anchor and steamed out of New York Harbor at 2 P.M. on May 5. Five days later the steamer was off Charleston where she cruised for three days, warning off a number of vessels. From there the *Niagara* proceeded to Havana; and thence to Pensacola. She arrived off Santa Rosa Island on the morning of May 25. Upon arrival McKean, who was now the senior naval officer present, issued orders to the commanders of the *Brooklyn* and the *Powhatan* to proceed to the mouth of the Mississippi. He planned to cruise with his ship off Mobile Bay,⁶⁷ but was obliged

65. *Ibid.*, 417.

66. *O. R. N.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, pp. 155-156. The *Niagara*, a steam frigate of 4,582 tons, was commissioned on May 14, 1860. The vessel had a maximum speed of 14 knots, and cruised at an average of 7.47 knots an hour. At this time the *Nigara* was armed with twelve XI-inch Dahlgren smoothbore guns.

67. *Ibid.*, 181-207.

to change his mind as a result of a dispatch from Colonel Brown reading in part:

I respectfully present to you that de taking away of these ships will jeopardize the safety of this fort. The force of the enemy on the other side of the harbor is represented to be from 8,000 to 10,000. My force for duty is a little less than 700, excusive of marines and sailors, so that if the ships are taken away I cannot prevent a landing of the enemy on Santa Rosa Island, their making a permanent lodgment here, and subsequent approaches on this fort.⁶⁸

On receipt of this message McKean had an interview with Brown. Brown reiterated the theme expressed in his dispatch to the naval officer. McKean differed with the army officer and was of the opinion that the *Sabine*, with a small steamer to tow her if necessary, was sufficient to prevent a Confederate lodgment on Santa Rosa Island. Brown finally succeeded in convincing McKean of the importance the government attached to Fort Pickens. McKean now agreed that it was improper to send the *Niagara* to Mobile Bay. He therefore ordered Commander Charles H. Poor to station the *Powhatan* off Mobile Bay, and then proceed in the *Brooklyn* to the Mississippi Passes. On the return of the *St. Louis*, which had been ordered to Key West in the last week of April, he would send her and the *Huntsville*, which had left the Brooklyn Navy Yard on May 11, 1861, and arrived off Santa Rosa Island on May 26, to Mobile Bay, where they would relieve the *Powhatan*. Upon relief the *Powhatan* would proceed to the station initially assigned her.⁶⁹ On May 20, prior to McKean's arrival, the *Wyandotte* had been sent by Captain Adams to Key West to pick up the mail. As soon as she should return McKean planned to dispatch her or the *Mohawk* to blockade the mouth of the Apalachicola River. The *Mohawk* had arrived from Key West on April 30 and had been assigned to blockade the eastern exit from Pensacola Harbor at the far end of Santa Rosa Island.⁷⁰

McKean, as the senior naval officer present, was notified by Captain Adams that the supply of coal used by the steam ships

68. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 418.

69. *O. R. N.*, Ser. I, Vol. IV, pp. 181-211. The *Huntsville*, a steamer of 840 tons, was chartered by the Federal government in May, 1861. At this period the vessel was armed with one 64-pounder and two 32-pounders.

70. *Ibid.*, 182.

was in exceedingly short supply. To rectify this situation McKean ordered the *Water Witch* to Key West with instructions for Lieutenant Commander Thomas T. Craven, commanding the Naval forces there, to charter a vessel and forward a supply of fuel to Pensacola.⁷¹

Prior to the conflict, the Atlantic and Gulf waters of the United States, with those of the Caribbean, were the cruising grounds of one division of vessels known as the Home Squadron. At the beginning of hostilities this squadron was under the command of Flag Officer Garrett J. Pendergrast. The command had proved too extensive to be administered by any one man when it became the scene of active operations. It was now divided into three commands. The West India Squadron, having as its charge United States interests in Mexico and Central America as well as in the Antilles, remained under the care of Pendergrast. Flag Officer Silas H. Stringham assumed command of the Atlantic Squadron with jurisdiction as far south as Cape Florida. Flag Officer William Mervine on May 6, 1861, was assigned to command the Gulf Blockading Squadron, which patrolled the waters of the gulf from Cape Florida to the Rio Grande. Mervine, flying his flag from the *Mississippi*, reached his station on June 8, and assumed command.⁷²

The critical condition of the Federal defenses at Fort Pickens was called to Secretary of War Simon Cameron's attention. In a letter dated May 29, 1861, Cameron directed Colonel James W. Ripley, Chief of Ordnance, to expedite the shipment of additional pieces of heavy ordnance to Fort Pickens from Governor's Island.⁷³ On the same date Cameron forwarded a request to the Secretary of the Navy asking for the use of thirty IX-inch Dahl-

71. *Ibid.* In event of Craven's not having authority to do this a supplemental letter was dispatched to Shufeldt, the United States consul-general at Havana, to purchase a cargo there, and forward it without delay.

72. Alfred T. Mahan, *The Gulf and Inland Waters* (New York: 1883), 4-5. The *Mississippi*, a side-wheel steamer displacing 1,732 tons, had been built in 1841. In May 1861 its armament consisted of one IX-inch Dahlgren smoothbore gun, and ten VIII-inch Dahlgren smoothbore guns.

73. *O. R.*, Ser. I, Vol. I, p. 422. James Wolfe Ripley was born in Connecticut and graduated from West Point as a 2d lieutenant in the Artillery Corps on June 1, 1814. Ripley served in the Mexican War during which he was brevetted lieutenant-colonel for meritorious conduct in the performance of his duty. On April 23, 1861, he was made Chief of Ordnance.

gren guns.⁷⁴ On the next day Colonel Meigs, who had returned to Washington from Florida, was directed by the Secretary of War "to take charge of the organization and dispatch of an expedition to sail from New York and Portsmouth under sealed orders."⁷⁵ The energetic future Quartermaster General of the United States Army turned to this assignment with a will. A request was made of the governor of New York to designate a regiment of volunteers who had enlisted to serve for at least two years. The regiment was to be dispatched immediately to augment its garrison. Colonel William Wilson's 6th Regiment New York Volunteers was selected by Governor Edwin D. Morgan and ordered to embark immediately. Meigs, who seemed omnipresent, soon had reinforcements of men and material flowing to the gulf coast of Florida.⁷⁶

By the end of the second week of June, Colonel Brown was able to report the arrival of the *Star of the South*, the *South Carolina*, and the *Massachusetts* with smoothbores, siege guns, howitzers, ammunition, hay, oats, and twenty mules and carts. With these additional weapons the colonel was able to arm Battery Scott, a new emplacement on the southwestern tip of Santa Rosa Island opposite Fort McRee. However, the Federal commander was disappointed when the repeatedly called for rifled cannon failed to arrive.⁷⁷

The weather had now turned extremely hot and humid. The number of men reporting for sick call increased rapidly. By the fourth week of June at least ninety men reported daily to the surgeon. A majority of cases could be attributed to the hard work in the sun, sleeping in damp casemates, and drinking impure water. Nearly six weeks had passed since any rain had fallen. One of the cisterns leaked and the other had to be used with great economy. Brown ordered a temporary hospital built about

74. *Ibid.*, 423. Montgomery Meigs had returned to Washington from Fort Pickens in the initial week of May and had been promoted to the command of the newly organized 11th Infantry on May 14, 1861.

75. *Ibid.*

76. *Ibid.*, 427.

77. *Ibid.*, 429-30. At the time Colonel Brown had emplaced his heavy siege pieces as follows: 10-inch columbiads, one mounted in each of the five bastions of the fort, one in the salient of the counterscarp opposite E Bastion, and two in Battery Cameron; 10-inch seacoast mortar, two mounted in Battery Lincoln.

a mile from the fort.⁷⁸ Brown, in view of these sanitation problems, advised the government in Washington not to land a large body of troops on Santa Rosa Island until after the September gales had dispelled the "miasma" arising from the nearby swamps. He considered the Confederate batteries erected by Bragg to be so numerous and advantageously situated as to preclude the entrance of any large Federal ships into the harbor. After noting this fact Brown prepared an essay on ground strategy. Since he conceived the entrance of large vessels to be out of the question the army officer recommended the use of gunboats of a shallow draught. He believed the gunboats could enter the harbor by one of two avenues; through the main entrance in front of Fort Pickens following the shoreline and taking advantage of a dark and cloudy night, or through the channel at the eastern end of Santa Rosa Island. Once inside the harbor the Federal gunboats would be able to operate at an advantage since the Confederates did not have any gunboats and once in command of the harbor the Federals could cut off the water-borne supplies of the Confederates. In conjunction with these forces operating in the harbor, additional Federal forces would be landed near the mouth of the Perdido River. These forces would sever Bragg's communication with Mobile, and his position would be completely invested.⁷⁹

By the end of June the munitions that the Secretary of War had ordered Colonel Meigs to forward to Fort Pickens had arrived. In one shipment were the long-awaited rifled 42-pounders. Several days later the steamer *Illinois* arrived. Aboard this vessel were twenty-eight Dahlgren IX-inch guns sent by the Navy Department at the urgent request of the Secretary of War. Brown was overjoyed by the receipt of the rifled guns, but he was quickly disillusioned by the Dahlgrens. He found these guns unfit for service ashore and, of greater concern, their shells were fused in such a manner that only one-third of those sent could be used.⁸⁰ In anticipation of the arrival of the 6th New York, Brown was ordered to send Barry's and Hunt's company, 1st Artillery, to New York. This irked the Federal commander and he protested to Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas:

78. *Ibid.*, 431-433.

79. *Ibid.*, 431-432.

80. *Ibid.*, 433.

When, in the face of repeated applications and urgent entreaties for more regular officers, and of strong representations, repeatedly urged, of the necessity of more regular companies, and of my declaration that at this time volunteers would very much embarrass me, and the expression of a hope that none would be sent, nine of my officers, one-third my whole number, and two artillery companies are taken from me, and a regiment of undrilled New York City Volunteers, entirely undisciplined, are sent me, I can only attribute it to a want of confidence in my judgment, or of disbelief in, and disregard to, my urgent and repeated representations of the wants and necessities of this fort.⁸¹

Nevertheless, in conformity to these orders, Hunt's battery was embarked on the *Illinois*, and Barry's unit prepared to board the *Vanderbilt*, which had brought the garrison four additional rifled guns and three seacoast mortars.

On July 10 the New York Volunteers arrived, and Brown again took up his pen and composed another epistle to the War Department complaining of his exposed position and the inability of the garrison of Fort Pickens to stand a protracted siege. The colonel pointed out "while raw recruits and volunteers may be useful in the field and as infantry, but they are useless at Fort Pickens as an artillery soldier cannot be improvised in a day." He again reiterated his view that "the number of trained officers and men available is entirely insufficient to man the guns of the fort and the batteries, should they be bombarded." In Brown's opinion "twenty more officers and four more companies are required."⁸²

Brown then broached the question "what course should I pursue-act still strictly on the defensive, or open my batteries against the enemy?" He pointed out that his instructions had been to act strictly on the defensive and it would be to the Federal government's advantage to continue this policy. The reason he gave was "the relative strength of the enemy is very greatly superior . . . 8,000 men to watch 1,800; . . . if he attacks me and fails, his defeat will be disgraceful and fatal to his cause; . . . we gain more and lose less by delay than he does." The advantages to be gained by becoming the aggressor Brown listed as follows: "the moral influence which a successful bombardment of

81. *Ibid.*, 434.

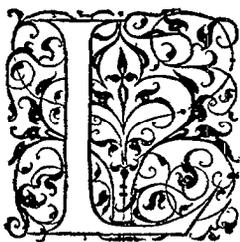
82. *Ibid.*, 435-437.

[forts Barancas and McRee], the destruction of the navy-yard and of the public and private buildings at Warrington, would . . . have in our country; . . . the immense amount of ammunition which he must expend; . . . the destruction and demoralization of his troops, being raw bodies, and the prestige obtained by an inferior force acting offensively. . . .”⁸³

The new hospital situated on the beach, about one and a half miles from the fort, was completed by the end of the third week of July. With the arrival of a shipment of 8-inch columbiads from Fort Jefferson in the Tortugas, Brown now had all the heavy guns he could use. A new battery, a quarter of a mile east of the fort and near the Gulf, containing two heavy sea-coast mortars (12-and 13-inch) was nearly completed. Brown’s plans called for his engineers to lay out one more battery containing three 10-inch mortars in the center of the island and about one and a quarter miles east of the fort. With the completion of these works Brown wrote “this fort will be in complete readiness, and I presume no fort in the United States was ever better prepared for offensive or defensive operations (if manned, which it is not half.)”⁸⁴

83. *Ibid.*, 436.

84. *Ibid.*, 438, 440.



A Floride est assés celebrée par les Historiés, qui ont décrit les singularités d'icelle, prenâs mire sur la fleur, qu'elle porte en son frôt, qui, estant toujours verde & espanouye, à acquis à ceste contrée le nom de Floride. Laquelle fut descouuerte en l'année mil cinq cens & douze, par vn Espagnol, nommé Iean Ponce de Leon, lequel, recherchant vne fontaine de Iouence, descouurit la terre ferme de Floride, qui est vne pointe de terre, à la semblance de l'Italie, entrant en mer plus de cent lieues: &

Nom & descouuerte de la Floride, & en quelle estimation elle est.

A 16th CENTURY FRENCH MANUSCRIPT BEARING THE ONLY KNOWN SIGNATURE OF RENE LAUDONNIERE

Translated and annotated by CHARLES E. BENNETT

The Fort Caroline National Memorial at Jacksonville, Florida, has been for several years assembling for ultimate display at its museum various objects illustrative of the methods of navigation used by the explorers and settlers of the 16th century. I have been assisting in this search, and as a by product of it we recently discovered and purchased by private donations the only known signature of Rene Laudonniere, the French Governor of Fort Caroline. Under this man's leadership the permanent settlement of what is now the United States was begun. A map dealer in England (Maggs Brothers) told us about the manuscript and sold it to us.

Fort Caroline inspired the later English settlements to the north, and required the Spanish to protect by conquest and settlement at St. Augustine Spain's claim to the area. Laudonniere went back to France after the French defeat in 1565 and lived in retirement on his estates. France granted him a pension of 200 livres tournois a year as a retired naval captain in the Western Fleet.

The manuscript which has just come to light and which is now on display at the museum is a signed acknowledgment for the sum of 50 livres tournois, being Laudonniere's salary for the first quarter of the year 1573. It is a vellum document, entirely in handwriting and is endorsed on its back side. Curiously, this installment of pension for the first quarter of 1573 was not paid until November! There is also acknowledged in this manuscript the prior payment of 8 livres tournois on account.

One livre tournois means one pound of silver minted at Tours, France. I have translated the document as follows:

"8. Monsieur Laudonniere, regular Captain of the Western Fleet, declares to have received in cash from Monsieur Guillaume Le Beau, Treasurer of France, the sum of fifty livres tournois.

"Our Treasurer has advanced from the allowance of the Fleet Captain for the months January . . . in the present year

one thousand five hundred and seventy-three, at the rate of two hundred livres tournois per year, the sum of 8 livres tournois which we have withheld and duly paid from the money due, quit and quittance, signed, subscribed, etc. In witness whereof we have signed with our own hand . . . day of November one thousand five hundred and seventy-three.

R. Laudonniere”

[endorsement] “By way of receipt for the sum of fifty livres tournois out of my budget, The Captain of the Western Fleet, for the quarter January, February, and March 1573.

to Capt. Laudonniere
city

January 1573”

250

ANNA MARIA

WIFE OF JOHN

of the County of ... State of ...

do hereby certify that

the within and foregoing is a true and correct copy of the original as the same appears from the records of the County of ... State of ...

8

A 16th CENTURY FRENCH "MUG BOOK" BRINGS TO LIGHT INTERESTING COMMENTS ON FLORIDA HISTORY - SATURIBA BEING FEATURED

Translated and annotated by CHARLES E. BENNETT

In 1584 Andre Thevet published in Paris a 16th century counterpart of the type of thing we call today a "mug book," a book containing portraits and biographies of leading citizens of the time and place involved. He titled his book "Les Vrais Portraits et Vies des Hommes" and it was printed by Keruert. It deals with the important French leaders of the 16th century - 150 of them. One of them was Charles IX, for whom Fort Caroline was named. The last article in the book is about Saturiba, the well known Indian chief who befriended the Fort Caroline settlement in 1564-65.

When the Library of Congress informed me that this work had never been translated into English, I decided to undertake the translation myself, with the help of an old French dictionary that once belonged to my grandfather and which Dad and I had used in successive generations of studying French at college. I have used it in other Fort Caroline translations; and, too, the Library of Congress advised me that they did not have a better one for the old fashioned French of this text.

There is one notable historical inaccuracy in the writing; that is, stating that the Florida discovery was in 1512. In 1512 Juan Ponce de Leon secured a royal grant, with the title of adelantado, to conquer the island of Bimini to the north of Cuba, on the assumption that thereon lay the Fountain of Youth; but he did not set sail from Puerto Rico until March 3, 1513, and did not land on the Florida mainland until April 2, 1513. So, Florida was not discovered by him until 1513, although his charter or legal right to make the discovery was in 1512. *

In the museum at Fort Caroline National Memorial is an original sketch of Saturiba, which has been attributed by some authorities to the artist Jacques Le Moyne, a colonist in the Fort Caroline settlement. Also in the museum is a 16th century map

* *Dictionary of American History*, 5 Vols. (New York: Scribners, 1940), IV, 305.

reproduced from Le Moyne's original draft; this map shows the location of Saturiba's forces and other sites mentioned in the French text. Some of the most interesting Indian artifacts in the museum, including a Timuquan man effigy, were found on an island in Lake Kerr, clearly shown in the Le Moyne map as the location of Utina, another Indian chief mentioned in this article about Saturiba. These artifacts at the museum may well be objects used in the burial of Chief Utina.

CHIEF SATOURIONA, KING OF FLORIDA *

Name and Discovery of Florida, and Where It Is Situated

Florida is fully acclaimed by the historians who have described its unusual qualities, holding the view that the flowers which she wears in her brow, always fresh and blooming, acquired for this country the name of Florida. It was discovered in the year 1512 by a Spaniard named Ponce de Leon who, seeking a fountain of youth, discovered the mainland of Florida, which is a point of land, similar to Italy, projecting into the sea more than 100 leagues; and the tip of it is 25 degrees of latitude from the Arctic pole.

The River May

This land teems with islands and rivers, among which the River May is the most renowned, not only because it was discovered by Captain Jean Ribault on the first day of May, which was why it kept the name of May, but also because of its unusual characteristics of which it has many. The impious and cruel acts which the Spaniards visited upon this *Norman* captain were so numerous that an account thereof could neither lessen nor remedy that bloody score; although Captain Gourgues afterwards well revenged this massacre, retaking from the Spanish Fort Caroline, which had been built and named by him for his King Charles IX.

* Andre Thevet, *Les Vrais Pourtraits et vies des Hommes* (Paris: 1584), Chapter 150, pages 663 ff.

Saturiona Welcomes the French

Rather than dwell further on this River May, I should introduce here Chief Saturiona who is called by others Satiroa, a man of great courage who had to cope with many and powerful adversaries and who was highly commended because of his open hospitality extended to Captain Gourgues and his company.

He felt such affection for anything French that, having discovered the fleet of Gourgues suddenly among them, he called out from a distance "Antipola, Antipola." With all the kindnesses he could show he made them the best welcome possible together with two of his children, as handsome and strong individuals as one could find anywhere. The older child was named Atore, a perfect man in handsomeness, prudence and honest countenance, one of the most gentle, humane and affable Princes who were in all this country.

Some Kings of Florida

After they had gone away together to exchange gifts and friendly pleasantries, this King disclosed to the French captain what enemies he had, namely Thimagoa and Olata Ouae Outina, two very powerful Kings, to whom several others were pledged for assistance: Even Olata had vassals under him called Cadecha, Chilaly, Esclauou, Eucappe, Calany, Onachaquara, Onittaqua, Moquoso, and Aquera, besides Molona and more than forty others who were their allies and friends.

For his part it was not much trouble depending on this show of such a formidable force, not only for what he could do with them, but also for the help of thirty other chiefs which were under his command and of whom he was as sure as of his own people, due to the duty of alliance, confirming their loyalty, and also due to the hatred that the majority of them held against Olata Ouae Outina; and among others, Onatehaqua and Houstagna, powerful and wealthy lords, and principally Onatehaqua, who ruled over lands fertile and abounding in several crops. Above all others he made sure of de Potanou, a man cruel in war who had one thing particularly over the great Olata, namely the barrages of the hard stones with which he armed his arrows; and

he could not overcome his lands and dominions. As to his ten brothers, injury to Satouriona did not faze them, both because of this subjugation which bound them to stand behind any wrong done to their master and because of their family connection holding them together so closely that the plight of one became that of all the others. All his forces, as strong and as frightening as they were when unified, could not assure Satouriona of the victory that he wished to gain over his enemies, who were well united to put him down.

Lightning Strikes Out of the Blue
Attributed to Burst of Naval Gunfire

Nevertheless, having observed this French fleet he considered opposing the power of Olata more for the natural prowess of a nation experienced in battle than because of the arquebuses they carried. These were so impressive for the poor barbarians that the Chief Allycamany, having seen the marvelous havoc that lightning had made coming from the skies on August 29, he sent to Captain Gourgues six Indians who after they had presented some baskets of honey, pumpkins and grapes made known the desire which their Lord Allycamany [had] to establish friendship and alliance with him; though finding it strange in view of the obedience that bound him to the French, that they had set off against their abode the gunfire which had burned a great quantity of green prairies even up to the water line, approaching so close to his shelter that he thought he could see the fire in his own home. However this may be, the pagans were not more terrified of the lightning of Jupiter, than were these poor Floridians of the terrible explosion of the guns which belched forth fire; and I cannot believe that Satouriona cherished and prized the assistance of the French on account of these pieces of ordnance in view of the hate that he later fancied against them, not only because of these thundering pieces but also for the refusal made by Captain Gourgues to escort them against Thimogoa, as he had promised him.

Captain Gourgues Refuses Aid to King Satouriona

But he did not consider that Captain Vasseur, Lord d'Ottigny and a few other Frenchmen were so greedy for the treasures which were in those parts, from which they had brought beautiful presents, and assurances of great wealth if they would be employed to aid a minor chief subject to the great Olata. This tied the hands of the French to such an extent that after holding out a long time their hand was forced in the end by Satouriona's discovery that they did not feel inclined to aid him. For this he was indignant. Finally he decided to go with the ten other chiefs against Thimogoa.

*Ceremonies Held by Satouriona
Before Going to War Against Thimogoa*

Before doing anything he had water brought to him. This done, he set out to discuss many things and looked to the heavens, showing nothing in himself but a furious temper. Having done this for the space of a half hour he poured with his hands on the heads of the ten chieftains some of the water which he was holding in a vessel and threw the rest as in fury and spite on the fire, which had been quickly built there. After several other ceremonies he embarked and proceeded with such good speed with his fleet that the next day two hours before the sun set he arrived at the territory of Thimogoa, where he made a terrible massacre. His men carried away the heads of the enemies and cut off all the hair of their heads with a part of the scalp.

Satouriona Wins Victory Over Thimogoa

They took twenty-four prisoners of which Satouriona took thirteen for his body guard. No sooner had Captain Gourgues heard of this than he sent a soldier requesting the sending of two of the prisoners to himself.

Captain Gourgues' Defiance of Satouriona

Satouriona refused this very arrogantly, which was the reason why he entered into the house of Satouriona with twenty soldiers without proper announcement, where he refused for a half hour to speak, then ordered the prisoners brought forward. After several delays Atore, son of Satouriona, went out to get them and brought them to Captain Gourgues who took them away in an off-handed way. Satouriona, very disturbed by this, sought means to avenge himself concealing his ill feeling; but he sent messengers to the French with two full baskets of very large pumpkins. Among the Indians the French leader made it understood that he wished for means of accord between the people of Thimogoa and Chief Satouriona, which might turn out to be a great advantage to him, considering that by being allied with the kings of those areas it would make possible a passage to oppose Onathagua, his ancient enemy, whom he could not otherwise combat. In addition, the great Olate was so powerful that Satouriona could not break up his forces and undermine him, if he wished to be obstinate, but with the state of accord between the two they could easily ruin all of their enemies and push their boundaries to distant Southern Rivers. To carry out his promise he dispatched Captain Vasseur, Lord d'Arlac and seven other soldiers to Olate Ouae Outina, to whom they returned their prisoners. This made him very happy, and also that they were to give a hand to Chief Ponano with a sailboat, which had loaded up at reville in such quick fashion with two hundred of his men and our French riflemen in the lead that the victory was his.

EARLY LETTERS FROM R. K. CALL

by WILLIE D. HALSELL

RICHARD KEITH CALL and Edward Brett Randolph were both born in Virginia, only a few months apart. Since they were distantly related, they may have known each other before their participation in the Indian wars in the southeast and Florida. By 1819, they had made exceptional reputations for loyalty and bravery, Randolph at Fort Erie and Chippaway, both in the Indian campaigns.¹

The two letters by Call that are printed below² were penned by him while he was on Andrew Jackson's staff and Randolph, recently resigned from the 4th Infantry, was sutler for that regiment.

How often these two met in later years is not known. Randolph married Elizabeth Bland Beverley in 1825, moved to Columbus, Mississippi, where he owned a plantation and, from 1843 to his death in 1848, held the office of Receiver of Public Moneys for District Lands. Sometime before 1835, he freed his slaves and sent them to Liberia.

Call, as is well known to Floridians, achieved fame through a distinguished career as envoy to the Spaniards, as railroad and town builder, and as governor of the state.

The originals of the letters here printed are in poor physical condition, age having stained and crumbled the edges of the fragile pages. Little of the real matter has been lost, however, and the result is that we gain a glimpse of Call's interests and friends while he was still in his twenties. His confidence in the future of Florida may also be seen.

1. The typed "Autobiography" of Edward Brett Randolph is in the Randolph-Sherman Manuscripts of which microfilm copies have been made at Mississippi State University. Originals are in possession of a descendant, Mrs. T. Bailey Hardy, Columbus, Mississippi. ** James Alexander Robertson, "Richard Keith Call," *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: 1934), II, 422-423; Caroline Mays Brevard, "Richard Keith Call," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, I (1908), 3-12.

2. Randolph-Sherman MSS.

Nashville 2nd May 1819

My Dear Randolph

A few days since I had the pleasure of receiving your letter of the 21st April than which nothing could have afforded me greater satisfaction.

I regret very much in my passage through Virginia that I had not time to visit our Relations, but the General had set out so many days previous to my departure from the City that I was compelled to ride like a Post Boy in order to Save my distance. From Washington I [went] to Richmond, via, Baltimore Norfolk and []burgh, a direct Rout that, but I had [heard] of the intended selebration [sic] of St. Patrick [Day] by the Hibernian association in Baltimore. I took that Rout alone with a view of p[articipation] in the amusement of that festival, and I assure you I never was more highly gratified in my life than on that occasion, it was attended by all the respectable Irish Gentlemen of the City and the most perfect decorum prevailed during the ceremony.

Since our return the General has laboured under the most severe indisposition, he was so seriously afflicted; for ten or twelve days we had but little hopes of his recovery. However the diseas[e] has been ultimately removed and his health is now almost entirely restored.

We have yet heard [sic] nothing from the Spanish Cabinet, in Relation to the cession of the Floridaies [sic]. There are some fears apprehended least [sic] the Treaty should not be ratified, but for my own part I cannot entertain a doubt on the subject. Spain is too sensible of our Strength, and her weakness [] hazzard, a contest in which she would have everything to loss [sic] and nothing to gain, when every political [misun]-derstanding between the two Government[s] may be honourably and amicably adjusted by [] compliance on the part of Spain, with the articles specified in the last treaty. I flatter myself that the 4th of July will find the American [Flag] waving over the walls of the Barrancas.

I regret extremely to hear of the difficulties which exist in the 4th. I have a high opinion of Hogan,³ and though Billy King⁴

3. Major John B. Hogan, Paymaster, 4th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

4. Colonel William King, 4th Regiment U. S. Infantry.

did not agree on the subject of catching Negroes and dividing Prize money, still I have a high Respect for him as a Soldier. I presume they are both [hard?] Characters in making out charges and specifications.⁵

Tel[] Neilson,⁶ to whom I beg you to [] me most affectionately that I have waited with anxious expectation for an answer to the letter which I addressed [] December last but that my pa[tience is] all most exhausted.

. . . [A short paragraph here is so faded and frayed that the sense is not clear.]

Present me Respectfully to [] Neilson and the rest of my friends [,] for your self accept the assurance [sic] of my Sincere regard

Your friend
R. K. Call

E. B. Randolph

P. S. I shall expect to hear from you very soon

[Addressed on back to] Capt. E. B. Randolph

Tensaw

Alabama

Hermitage 9 Dec. 1819

My Dear Randolph

Your letter of the 6th of Oct I had the pleasure of receiving by due corce [sic] of Mail and I should have given it an immediate answer but, being much engaged at the time it arrived, it was laid aside until a leasure [sic] moment would enable me to attend to it, and in that situation it remained unanswered and forgotten until chance directed it to my view to day.

You mention the death of your [] I sympathise with you most sincerely in your misfortunes, but if he was doomed to lead a life of insanity, his death should not be regret[t]ed, he has escaped the greatest [t] curse which can befall man in this life. He has gone to an other and I hope a better world.

5. He refers to activities later aired in the court martial trial of Colonel William King in which Hogan preferred charges. *American State Papers: Military Affairs*, II, 139-188.

6. Randolph and Neilson or Nelson were sutlers for the 4th Infantry under the firm name of Nelson & Randolph. Randolph's "Autobiography" gives William Walker as Neilson's first name, though some letters in the Randolph correspondence are signed Robert Neilson.

In your last you spoke of disposing of your property in Pensacola. I would advise you by all means [sic] to retain possession of it, as its value must be greatly increased by an annexation of the Floridas to the Territory of the U. States, and of this there is little doubt. It is generally believed that if the negotiation [sic] so long pending between the U. States and Spain should prove unsuccessful, that the Floridaies [sic] will be forcably [sic] occupied by our Troops during the Winter, in either case the Spanish Provincial Govenment [sic] will be abolished, and the laws of the U. States introduced, this will give encouragement to emmigration [sic], and hence an increased value to the land in that Country as well as every other pieces [sic] of property.

We have nothing new among us, we are waiting with much impatience to see what course Congress will pursue in relation to our affairs with Spain.

On leaving Pensacola I left two trunks I believe in charge of Lieut Houston.⁷ Will you be pleased to make enquiry for them and inform me of their destiny in your next. excuse this letter. I am ashamed of it but I have time to say no more.

Yours Affectionately
R. H. Call

E. B. Randolph Esq
[Addressed on outside to] Capt. E. B. Randolph
Fort Montgomery
Alabama

7. Probably Lt. A. M. Houston, 7th Infantry. His name is mentioned in the King trial.

PENSACOLA'S EXILED GOVERNMENT *

by W. B. SKINNER

ON FEBRUARY 8, 1862, Judah P. Benjamin, Confederate secretary of war, ordered General Braxton Bragg, commanding officer of Confederate forces at Pensacola, to send as many troops as he could to Tennessee. On February 18, 1862, Bragg issued orders to abandon Pensacola. Upon Bragg's departure, General Sam Jones assumed the command with the instructions to destroy everything in the Pensacola area which might be of use to the Federal forces who occupied Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island. The destruction was completed by May 9th and the following day the Federals occupied Pensacola.

The city officials of Pensacola had drawn up a plan to evacuate the town. On Thursday, March 27, 1862, the finance committee of the Board of Aldermen reported to the mayor and to the Board that it had entered into an agreement with Filo de la Rua, Clerk of the circuit court of Escambia County, for the removal and safe keeping of records and valuable documents from the City. De la Rua hid the records at Bluff Springs, a small community 35 miles north of Pensacola. For this responsibility he was to receive \$500.00 a month for the first month and \$100.00 each month thereafter.

The exodus of the Pensacolians was to Greenville and Montgomery, Alabama. By 1863, several hundred former residents of Pensacola were living in Alabama. They met together from time to time to discuss the events of the day and to hold board meetings. The following is the minutes of one of these sessions:

City of Pensacola - Proceedings

Greenville June 16 1864

Members Present - George W. Hutton, Chairman, Joseph Sierra, C. L. Le Baron, William H. Judah, James Knowles and Charles G. Barkley.

Minutes of the previous meeting being read, on a motion of

* The author gratefully acknowledges his indebtedness to Mr. T. T. Wentworth, Sr., for the use of materials in the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Museum, Pensacola, in preparing this article.

Mr. Le Baron that the minutes be referred to the meeting of the next board of confirmation.

Report of Committees. The committee appointed to examine the account of city treasurer and tax collector ask to be discharged and their accounts be referred to the board as committee of the whole for examination-carried.

On motion of Mr. Le Baron the following resolution was offered and carried-

That the treasurer's account up to the 29th January, 1864, showing-balance due him of \$2769.44 be allowed and the mayor be authorized to pay the same.

On motion of Mr. Barkley the following resolution was offered and carried. That the City change (or charge) bills amounting to \$215.35 which were redeemed by the treasurer be destroyed under the supervision of the mayor.

On motion of Mr. Judah the following resolution was offered and carried. That the accounts of the tax collector as presented showing a balance of \$686.68 is incorrect as compared with the vouchers by an error of \$10.00. Therefore the corrected balance is \$676.68 and that the same be paid him.

Communications. A communication from the mayor was received and read and upon the motion of Mr. Barkley it was received and moved to be taken up by sections. Whereupon

The following resolutions were offered and carried. That the action of the mayor paying coupons on bonds to 1st July 1864 is approved and he is authorized to pay the balance of outstanding coupons. That the mayor be requested to communicate with Dr. Brosnoham and request of him to give up such coupons as he holds that the interest might be paid up to July 1864. That the mayor pay the \$43,500 in Bonds due the Ala. and Fla. R.R. Co. and \$2,500 in Bonds in lieu of cash and notes already advanced making \$46,000 in Bonds in full subscription. [On July 27, 1863, Mayor F. B. Bobe received a shipment of \$50,000 in currency from the Southern Express Company of Columbus, Ga. The shipment was addressed to O. M. Avery, a Pensacolian, Columbus, Georgia. The source of this money is unknown to the author.] That the mayor be authorized to settle all approved obligations of the City up to date.

Whereas the board has been informed that the seal of the City of Pensacola has been taken by some unknown party and

fearing that it may have been employed for some illegal purpose. Therefore be it resolved by the mayor and the board of Aldermen of the City of Pensacola. That the said seal be and the same is hereby declared null and void from the 10th day of May, 1862.

Resolved that a committee of two be appointed to act with the mayor in procuring a seal for the City of Pensacola and said seal shall be considered adopted by the board of Aldermen in place of the former one.

Committee appointed to act with mayor. Charles G. Barkley and William H. Judah.

A communication from F. E. de la Rua being received and read the following resolution was offered and carried.

That the communication of Mr. de la Rua has had our careful consideration and however much we may wish to accommodate ourselves to his views and retain his services we cannot consent to change the resolution of 29th February last and that should he refuse to be the custodian of the City archives and treasurer that the mayor is hereby authorized to appoint a successor subject to the approval of the board. That in the event of Mr. de la Rua not resigning the bond he has furnished be accepted. Resolve further that the treasurer be required to deposit the City funds in the Central Bank of Ala. at Montgomery subject to his check countersigned by the mayor.

Resolved that the coupons paid on the City bonds up to the first of July, 1864 amounting [to] \$42,525 and those that will be paid shall be cancelled and filed by the treasurer.

On motion of Mr. Le Baron the following resolution was offered and adopted. That as B. D. Wright, Esq., does not attend the meetings of this Board thereby embarrassing the proceedings and has not qualified, he is respectfully requested to communicate his reasons for doing so to the mayor in writing, that some action may be taken in the proceedings.

The following account from the Greenville Observer amounting to \$20.50 was approved and ordered to be paid.

There being no further business on motion of Mr. Barkley the board adjourned.

Sometimes one exile would sell some land in Pensacola to another exile. When this happened, Filo de la Rua would record this transaction. Often these transactions would be recorded by a judge in Butler County (Greenville), Alabama.

Finally there was a movement underway to petition the General Assembly to permit the citizens of Pensacola to amend their charter. Under the proposed amendments, the state of Florida would recognize the legality of the city government even though its citizens were residing outside its corporate limits—even outside the state.

The amendments to the charter were drawn up and submitted to the General Assembly of Florida. The state legislature approved the amendments; thus the exiled government was legally recognized.

Here is the amended Charter:

An Act amending the Charter of the City of Pensacola.

Whereas the evacuation of the City of Pensacola by the people on account of circumstances growing out of the present war, has left said City without a government and Whereas when the people again return to their homes; a doubt may arise as to what course it is proper to pursue to again establish a government for the City.

Therefore

Section 1. Be it enacted by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Florida in General Assembly convened. That until the Election herein provided, F. B. Bobe shall be Mayor of said City of Pensacola and shall be and is hereby authorized to perform all of the duties appertaining to said office as prescribed in the Charter of said City.

Section 2. Be it further enacted. That until the election herein provided, Joseph Sierra, G. W. Hutton, W. H. Judah, C. L. Le Baron, C. G. Barclay, James Knowles and Benj. D. Wright, shall constitute the Board of Aldermen of the City of Pensacola and said Aldermen shall be and they are authorized to perform such duties appertaining to said office as may be required to protect the interests of the said City in this emergency.

Section 3. Be it further enacted. Should a vacancy occur in the office of Mayor or in the office of Aldermen by death, resignation or otherwise, the Board of Aldermen may fill such vacancy.

Section 4. Be it further enacted. That it shall be the duty of the Mayor to call meetings of the Board whenever in his opinion the interest of the City of Pensacola may be promoted thereby, or when any five members of the Board may request a meeting of said Board to be called and all acts done by the Mayor, or under the direction of the Board shall be as valid as though performed within the corporate limits of the City of Pensacola.

Section 5. Be it further enacted. That within six months from the conclusion of a peace, it shall be the duty of the Board of Aldermen to order an election for Mayor and Board of Aldermen for the City of Pensacola, which election shall be governed by rules and regulations heretofore in force and the persons so elected shall hold their offices until their successors are elected and qualified as required by the charter, to which this is an amendment.

Section 6. Be it further enacted. That in the election herein provided, no one shall be allowed to vote, who had not resided within the corporate limits of the City of Pensacola for twelve months prior to the first day of May, 1862, with the intention of becoming a citizen of said City.

Section 7. Be it further enacted. That upon the election and induction into office of the Mayor and Board of Aldermen herein provided, the municipal affairs of said City shall be governed by the same laws, ordinances and resolutions as were in force at the time of the evacuation of said City in May 1862, the government of said City to be in all respects restored as nearly as practicable to the condition it was in, at the time of the evacuation in May 1862.

Section 8. Be it further enacted. That should the Board of Aldermen fail to call an election as provided in this Act, ten or more of the citizens of the City of Pensacola qualified to vote at the election as provided in this Act, may proceed to order an election for Mayor and Board of Aldermen, such notice and the proceedings under it, to be governed by the rules prescribed in the Charter to which this is an amendment regulating the election and prescribing the duties of Mayor and Board of Aldermen.

Passed the House of Representatives November 24, 1863.

Thos. B. Barefoot
Clerk House of Representatives
Passed the Senate, November
24, 1863.

John B. Whitehurst
Secretary of the Senate
T. J. Eppes
Speaker House of Representa-
tives

E. J. Vann
President of the Senate

Approved November 27th, 1863

John Milton
Governor of Florida

I, Benjamin F. Allen, Secretary of State of the State of Florida, do hereby Certify, that the above is a true and correct copy of the Original Act, on file in this office.

(Seal of state of Florida)

In Testimony whereof, I have here-
unto set my Official Signature and
affixed the Great Seal of the State of
Florida. Done at the Capitol in the
City of Tallahassee this 23rd day of
February A.D. 1864.

(signed) B. F. Allen
Secretary of State

Possibly one of the most influential factors which brought about the recognition of the city government was the passage of acts which gave financial aid to needy soldiers' families. Early in the war the state had passed these acts but the Pensacolans were not included until December 4, 1863. On that date the General Assembly provided for the appointment of "State Agents in Greenville and Montgomery" who would "receive and disburse the fund appropriated for the relief of Soldiers' families who may reside on or near the line of the Ala and Fla Railroad, of Ala."

The State Agent appointed in Greenville was Filo de la Rua. The State Agent was "to receive no pay or emoluments whatever,

from either the State or the beneficiaries of the fund" and "is to perform the duties required, from regard to the great cause in which all are engaged." The appointment was signed by both Governor Milton and Secretary of State Allen on February 10, 1864.

Although he now lived in the state of Alabama, de la Rua had been "re-elected" clerk of the circuit court of Escambia County, Florida, on October 5, 1863. De la Rua's commission as clerk of the circuit court is also signed by the governor and the secretary of State. His commission is notarized by M. P. de Rioboo, justice of the peace of Escambia County. He also held the position of city treasurer and city archivist.

On April 1, 1865, Governor Milton committed suicide; however, Samuel Benezet, the governor's private secretary, on April 4 did send the needy soldiers' families \$1,000.00. This money was delivered by O. M. Avery.

On April 9, 1865, General Lee surrendered to General Grant. Federal forces entered Greenville, Alabama, on April 20.

According to a financial report which de la Rua prepared for the city on November 30, 1865, the city had received from Mayor Bobe during the period from June 17, 1864, to April 20, 1865, a total of \$10,200.00. During this same period the city had paid out \$9,791.54. (The source of this money remains a mystery to the author.)

Two entries in the report are particularly noteworthy:

April 20, 1865. Being city treasurer's salary from 29 June 64 to date and being the day on which the federal forces entered Greenville, Ala., being 9 mo. and 22 days at \$100 per month \$976.66

April 20, 1865. This amount returned with this account in Confederate notes as being worthless from the said 20th April, 1865 \$408.46

The refugees began to return to their homes in Pensacola. On June 15, 1865, de la Rua appeared before Captain J. R. Allen, Provost Marshall, and swore allegiance to the United States. He was the 491st person to do so in the Pensacola area.

BOOK REVIEWS

Juan Ponce de Leon. By Vincente Murga Sanz. (San Juan: Universidad de Puerto Rico Press, 1959. *Ediciones de la Universidad de Puerto Rico.* 386 pp. Illustrations, notes, bibliography and index.)

Juan Ponce de Leon (1460?-1521) is a vital figure in Florida's story. He started the written history of Florida. It was Juan Ponce de Leon who gave the land he discovered the name of Florida, yet the discoverer of Florida remains a rather obscure figure. Certain phases of his career remain vague. His biographies are scarce although he is venerated as the father of two important regions that belong to the United States, for he was also the colonizer of the island of Puerto Rico.

The dynamic University of Puerto Rico through its press has just published a 385-page biography of Ponce de Leon written in Spanish. This is the most detailed, most scholarly, and probably most accurate story of Ponce de Leon. It constitutes a vital addition to the history of Florida, even though Ponce de Leon's Puerto Rican doings are sketched at much greater length than are his Florida ventures. This is only natural since it is precisely the Florida phase of Ponce de Leon's career, especially his first voyage in 1513, that is shrouded in a veil of mystery. The author of this newest book has only been able to dispel a minimal part of this fog. But every little bit helps.

The book's author, Vincente Murga Sanz, who was chosen to go to Spain for research on a more definitive study of Ponce de Leon, sought in every possible place for Ponce de Leon records. His book is thoroughly annotated. Murga Sanz admits that he has failed to determine the exact genealogy of the father of Puerto Rico and Florida. The latter's birthplace and parents still remain in doubt. It is possible that he is the son of Count Don Juan Ponce de Leon of Spanish fame, a fighter against the Moors, who had twenty-one illegitimate sons. He could have had one more-or man of American fame. It is acceptable to place his birthdate in 1460; but, there is some doubt as to when he arrived in America. This latest biography sees no reason to doubt his arrival with Columbus on his second voyage in 1493. Ponce de Leon's Puerto Rican career starts in 1508 and is well accounted for.

Historians have questioned that Ponce de Leon discovered Florida in 1513; some say 1511, others, 1512. Murga Sanz has found incontrovertible proof that he sailed for Florida in 1513. He has discovered Ponce de Leon's registration of his ship before he set sail for Florida. This registration is dated January 29, 1513. There were three boats and the author has located the names of the crews of two of them. These were the men who discovered or were co-discoverers of Florida. We still lack the names of the men of the third boat.

These lists provide us with some revealing information. There was a woman on the first boat. Juana Ruiz was probably the first European woman to see Florida. Who was she? At least two Negroes were on these boats which fact brings Negro history of Florida back to 1513, something unknown until the present. No priest is listed on either boat.

Today's most controversial part of Ponce de Leon's Florida adventure is the location of the landing. Author Murga Sanz has found no primary records and none have probably survived. Ponce de Leon's journey from Puerto Rico to Florida is cited by one single source, which is the Antonio de Herrera history published in 1601. Herrera apparently possessed Ponce de Leon's diary or some other kind of source material. It is completely lost. Consequently we cannot identify the exact spot where the discoverer of Florida landed, except to say that it was on the northern Atlantic coast of Florida.

The author of this newest Ponce de Leon biography also discusses the question of the fountain of youth. He writes that "in documents known now there is absolutely nothing about it. On the contrary, a study of these [documents] will convince one that such fantasy never crossed Ponce de Leon's mind."

The book adds little new information to Ponce de Leon's second and final journey to Florida in 1521. This is not the fault of the author, for once again no new revealing documents have been located. One new source does, however, provide us with the names of two men who accompanied the discoverer on this journey: Juan Garrido and Alonso Martin de Jerez. Garrido was a free Negro.

In sum, the Murga Sanz biography of Juan Ponce de Leon deserves a good review. Naturally it has some weaknesses but they are greatly overshadowed by its merits. One must remember

that the study of Ponce de Leon requires intense paleographic skill. Thanks to Murga Sanz, an eminent Catholic prelate, we have taken a gigantic step forward in resurrecting the story of Juan Ponce de Leon. This is one of the most important books recently published in the field of Florida history. Since it is in Spanish it has passed somewhat unnoticed.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

State University of Iowa

THE SPANISH SETTLEMENTS within the Present Limits of the United States 1513-1574. By Woodbury Lowery. (New York: Russell & Russell. 1959. 2 Vols. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, appendices, index. \$13.50)

The handsome new edition of Woodbury Lowery's two volumes (originally published in 1901 and 1902) is well justified for two reasons: it is a work of nearly classic quality, and it is well suited both to the scholar and lay reader.

In the reading of these volumes, one becomes increasingly curious as to the kind of man the author must have been. One notes the steady, unfaltering care with which he verified each fact, selected each quotation, weighed each judgment, and rewrote each sentence until it satisfied him. What were the qualities of work that Lowery apparently demanded of himself?

(1) *Accuracy.* He is painstakingly concerned with such problems as that of establishing the correct order of the first voyages of exploration. With an air of relief, he comments on the famous 1513 voyage of Ponce de Leon as that "in which the historian first treads upon the solid ground of undisputed facts." Like Justin Winsor, a near contemporary in American historiography whose *Narrative and Critical History of America* he admired and cited several times, Lowery persevered in the search and collation of documents. Although he cites 197 titles in the first volume and more in the second (there is no complete bibliography drawn together and printed in one place), his passion for accuracy never leads him to ostentation. Nor does it lead to any sacrifice of clarity in narrative. The simple explicitness of the very title of his work is appealing.

(2) *Balance*. Aiming to deal with Spain in America in somewhat the same way as Parkman dealt with France in America, Lowery chose as the area of investigation for his first volume what "might be called the salvage of one only of her empires, the outlying, neglected and half-forgotten provinces of the Vice-Royalty of Mexico." In handling this subject, the author achieved a dignified balance. The geography, the Indian people and their mode of living, the Spanish intruders, the successive expeditions of exploration and settlement, the crossing of the continent, the conquest of New Mexico are all described or narrated clearly and coherently. For a man who spent over ten solid years in research for these volumes, it must have been an act of great discipline and self-restraint to have limited himself so closely to the main line of narrative.

(3) *Style*. Though not dramatic or compelling, Lowery's literary style fits his subject well, because (like Ponce de Leon or De Soto) it is disciplined, strong and purposeful. Lowery was trained originally as a chemist, then studied law to become a practicing attorney and legal editor, so that when he retired to devote himself solely to historical scholarship, he brought with him a mind and pen accustomed to precision. It is refreshing for the modern reader who is frequently bombarded with emotionally charged words (such as "bombarded!") to be able to read his history in clear, balanced and dignified prose.

Aside from the foregoing stamps of enduring quality, Lowery's work presented, when first published, new points of view in historical study. Assigning less importance to religion as a source of conflict and painting a new and more favorable portrait of Menendez de Aviles, for example, he made important scholarly advances over earlier writers.

One of the nineteenth century touches in Lowery's writing is to be found in the moral judgments that occasionally protrude through the crevices of objective scholarship. Commenting on the 1512 patent to Ponce de Leon which empowered him to enslave the Indians, Lowery exclaims, "What irony there is in the thought that the country whose name was given in commemoration of the resurrection of the Saviour of mankind should have been discovered and named under such a charter."

The most surprising and disappointing feature of these volumes is that, despite the fact that Lowery was a noted map col-

lector, neither of these two volumes contains a map that is adequate or even helpful to the reader in locating the many places and geographical features referred to in the text.

ROBERT CARLYLE BEYER

University of Miami

Dictionary of the American Indian. By John L. Stoutenburgh, Jr. (New York: Philosophical Library, 1960. vi, 462 pp. \$10.00.)

This book is devoid of preface, introduction, table of contents, and illustrations, as well as a bibliography or list of sources. Since the topics are presented alphabetically the lack of an index *per se* is immaterial, and a certain amount of cross-indexing has been effected in the text. By omitting a preface or introduction, the compiler has deprived himself of the opportunity to describe the objectives of his undertaking, and to explain his reasons for any self-imposed limitations.

A rapid glance at the pages affords an estimate they do not average eight entries per page, which justifies an opinion that the total number of entries does not exceed 4,000. The attempted scope of the work would make more appropriate its characterization as an encyclopedia than as a dictionary; unfortunately the insufficient number of entries and the superficial treatment of them make it fall as far short of an encyclopedia as the practical limitation of the entries to proper names makes it inadequate as a dictionary. It does have a ten-line entry under languages and a six-line entry under *linguistics*. Some linguistic families are at least represented by entries.

Contemporary Indian "events" are listed on three and one-third pages, and two pages are devoted to a listing of the Indian reservations.

Most entries consist of Indian words so-called, which only infrequently are more properly equatable with phrases or simple sentences than with *words* of the English language. No indication is given of the Indian language from which a "word" is derived, or of the root forms involved. Nor is the authority given for the orthography employed.

The greater proportion of the entries are of proper names,

chiefly of places and people; other significant entry groups relate to weapons, tools, crops, and prepared foods. In none is the treatment exhaustive.

The failure to cite the persons responsible for the factual statements is a serious deficiency. Failure to include a bibliography of the more important sources is likewise a serious omission.

The reviewer will limit comments to the southeastern Indians as this is the only region with which he has sufficient familiarity to be specific in his remarks. In this area there were made numerous misleading or inadequate statements. Only a few of them are noted.

Milly Francis (not Milly Hado) did not marry McKrimmon; she was the daughter of the notorious half-breed Red Stick, Josiah Francis or Hillis Hadjo. While the latter name has an entry, his relation to Milly is unnoted. There is an entry for John Hicks Town, but no mention that John Hicks was the American name for Takose Emathla. There is an entry for *Blount Indians* but no explanation for the adjective Blount, nor an entry for John Blount or Lafarka.

The book cannot be regarded as a substitute for the monumental two volume *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico*, edited by the late Frederick Webb Hodge, published 1907 and 1910 as Bureau of American Ethnology, *Bulletin number 30*, parts 1 and 2. This has long been out-of-print, but has recently been privately reprinted. Nor can it supplant the equally authoritative *Indian Tribes of North America* by the late John R. Swanton, published in 1952 as *Bulletin number 145* of the same Bureau of American Ethnology.

MARK F. BOYD

Tallahassee

The Fall of Richmond. By Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1960. ix, 144 pp. Illustrations, map, index. \$4.00.)

This small and readable volume is an expansion of the Walter Lynwood Fleming lectures delivered by the author at Louisiana State University in 1959, the twenty-first in that distinguished series. It is a study in depth of the three days, April 2-4, 1865,

when after four years of stout defense the capital city of the Confederacy finally fell to the invading forces. It is not an easy story to piece together. The conditions of evacuation, fire and looting which preceded the arrival of the conquerors did not produce coherent reports of the passing events. The scanty official records in the confused period of transition were in most cases lost or destroyed. This account is based upon the private correspondence, the personal recollections, and the newspaper accounts that have been preserved.

This fast moving narrative opens with the events of morning, afternoon, and evening of evacuation day, April 2, as they affected every segment of the population. There were soldiers marching in retreat from Petersburg, a novel spectacle to Richmonders, many of whom had never faced the possibility that their city might fall, and were reluctant now to accept the finality of this blow. In February President Davis had insisted to the Congress of the Confederacy that the fall of Richmond would not mean the end of the war, a view the *Richmond Examiner* had disputed. All day that fateful Sunday Davis and his advisers, while they took steps to evacuate the doomed city, clung to the hope that Lee might make a last stand and turn the tide of battle. Even when they had boarded a train for retreat, they held it up for hours waiting for the reassuring dispatches that never came, and only shortly before midnight finally conceded that the city was lost.

The departing Confederates made every effort to render the city useless to the onrushing Federals. They burned public warehouses, blew up the powder magazine, fired nine small gun-boats in the river, and then burned the bridges and railroad trestles out of the city to slow up pursuit. A century later this scorched earth policy appears worse than futile for it exposed the city to the danger of fire and could do little to save the lost cause. The government of the city was left in the completely inadequate hands of local and state officials long accustomed to the Confederate government policing and managing the affairs of the city. All known sources of whisky were opened and poured out, but the opening of the public warehouses before they were burned was followed by looting which ran riot as the city burned away in the night.

Early on the second day Federal troops did enter the city at the height of the fire and riot. Negroes, foreigners, Confederate

stragglers, poor whites and looters in general were blamed for the fire which destroyed the heart of the business district, but the combination of official decision to burn some buildings together with the breakdown of law and order are enough to account for the holocaust. But it made the entry of the blue clad soldiers somewhat disappointing; they found the prize about to be consumed by fire. Southern women resident in the city feared the worst, but generally had to agree that both the colored and the white soldiers were disciplined and courteous. Order restored and the fire put out, the city returned to peace and quiet.

Meanwhile, in Washington, when the anxiously waiting citizens and officials were finally convinced that this was not just another promise of victory, they gave way to the joyous celebration of victory. They knew the war was over. Among the many public officials who spoke was Vice President Andrew Johnson, who made the vindictive statement that treason should be made odious, and traitors punished and impoverished, a policy he failed to follow when the excitement of the moment of victory had passed. President Lincoln missed the celebration in the national capital. For a week he had been on the steamer *River Queen*, anchored in the James off River Point, Virginia, watching closely and anxiously Grant's progress at Petersburg. On the morning of April 4, he entered the fallen city and wandered about almost without a guard before his presence was realized and proper honor paid him. After several hours of conference with army and city officials he rode about the city in an open carriage, little dreaming that he had but another ten days to enjoy the victory which had finally come.

C. W. TEBEAU

University of Miami

The Little War of Private Post. By Charles Johnson Post. (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1960. xii, 340 pp. Illustrations. \$6.50.)

The "little war" of *Private Post*, was in fact, the same "splendid little war" that John Hay praised in his letter to Colonel Theodore Roosevelt, who no doubt concurred with the ambassador's judgment. But to private Charles Johnson Post of the Seventy-

First New York Volunteers, the Spanish-American War of 1898 was something less than splendid.

In the perspective of history it was indeed a little war, in the number of men engaged, in elapsed time, and in the number of American casualties, with only 385 battle deaths and perhaps five times that number dead of other causes, mostly disease. But it does have the distinction of being almost certainly the worst-bungled war ever fought by two major powers.

Charles Johnson Post, the author, was born in 1873 and died in 1956. Having survived the Santiago campaign, malnutrition, dysentery, and what was later diagnosed as "Compound-Enteric-Typhoid-Malaria," he went on to establish his reputation as a journalist, a free-lance writer and illustrator, and finally an official in the United States Department of Labor. His illustrations in black and white and in color add considerable interest to the book.

Unlike many autobiographical accounts of war of the private's eye variety, this book was written by a mature man with some literary skill. He does not refrain from criticising the almost criminal ineptitude in the handling of supplies, transportation, and sanitation and, indeed, in the tactical handling of troops in combat; but he does not set himself up as an expert - his comments are those of an intelligent man applying common sense to military situations.

Perhaps the most heartening feature of this book is the picture it gives of the volunteer soldier, his courage, his enthusiasm, his humor, his acceptance of hardship-much of which he knows intelligent planning could have avoided-and the spirit of fellowship and dedication which mark many civilians-in-uniform in almost any war.

But Post was well aware of what was going on: the crudely sensational journalism, the exhibitionism of popular heroes, the greediness of some civilians, of high and low estate, and the devotion and unselfishness of others.

Not the least interesting chapters are those that deal with the soldiers' experiences in the backwoods of Georgia and Florida, en route to the embarkation site at Port Tampa. The dockside confusion and congestion there-where all men and supplies had to be transported on a single track railroad-has been written of before. But the glimpses of Lakeland and Ybor City in those days,

and the "sporting sandbar" (a street of tent saloons and bordellos at Port Tampa), and Private Post's attempt to obtain food in its one wooden structure, euphemistically designated "Restaurant," are first rate local color writing.

The battle aspects of Post's adventures were confined to the Santiago campaign, including the ambushment of the Rough Riders at Las Guasimas, the capture of San Juan Hill, Bloody Ford, and the "fake bombardment of Santiago." His description of these actions and his observations on American military leadership may be of some value to historians.

The last five chapters relate the harrowing experiences of the American soldiers during their return home after this campaign. The inhuman treatment and the neglect which they endured from civilian contractors and the Army bureaucracy is almost beyond belief. But Post is, strangely enough, not particularly bitter as he looks back upon it. After all, as he says in his concluding words: "I was lucky. I had survived."

On the whole this book may be taken as a spirited, realistic, yet somewhat quizzical account of a nasty, mismanaged, lethal little war as seen by an intelligent and perceptive participant.

CLARKE OLNEY

University of Georgia

NEWS AND NOTES

The Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held at West Palm Beach on April 7 and 8. The new 165 room motor hotel, The Town House, located on the lakefront in downtown West Palm Beach, has been selected as the headquarters hotel for the meeting. The annual meeting will begin with the Directors assembling at 10:00 A.M. on April 7, and the first program session will convene at 2:30 P.M. The Friday afternoon and Saturday morning sessions and the Annual Banquet are scheduled for the Banquet Room, Stauffer's Restaurant, in the Town House. For the Saturday luncheon, members will meet in the Poinciana Room of the Palm Beach Towers in Palm Beach. This hotel is adjacent to the Flagler Museum, where the Saturday afternoon program session will be held.

The Committee on Local Arrangements has arranged a garden tour of lake front estates at 4:30 P.M. on Saturday. Members of the Committee are: Mrs. Frederick D. Morrish, Chairman; Mr. Roscoe T. Anthony, Mrs. Leone King (Chairman, Publicity Committee), Mrs. Lloyd C. Netto (Chairman, Registration and Information Committee), Mr. Harold Obst, Mr. T. T. Reese, Jr. (Chairman, Transportation Committee), and Mr. and Mrs. James R. Knott. Members of the Reception Committee are: Mrs. Henry Kohl, Mr. Paul L. Maddock, Mrs. Charles B. Watkins, Mr. T. M. Richards, Jr., Mr. Arthur Liebovit, Mrs. Roscoe T. Anthony, Mr. and Mrs. Bert Winters, Mr. James Y. Arnold, and Mrs. Grace Davis.

Dr. Charlton Tebeau is Chairman of the Program Committee and copies of the program will be sent to members in March. A noted authority in the field of history will be the speaker at the annual banquet at 7:30 P.M. on Saturday, April 8.

Reservations should be made by individuals who plan to attend the annual meeting by writing directly to the Town House, West Palm Beach, Florida.

Former President of the Society is Honored

Dr. Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee, a former president of the Florida Historical Society and a frequent contributor to the

Quarterly, received an Award of Merit from the American Association for State and Local History for "his leadership in the state and local history movement in Florida." No other Florida historian is more deserving of this national recognition than is Dr. Boyd.

Dr. A. Russell Mortensen, chairman of the Association's awards committee, announced the award on September 2 at the University of Iowa, where members of the group were convened for their twentieth annual meeting.

Designed to pay tribute to those people who promote a better understanding of America's heritage, these awards are given annually to individuals and groups deemed worthy by reason of outstanding achievement or significant new projects in the field of state and local history.

As in previous years, honors went to historical societies, books, newspapers, individuals, and organizations. Entries were judged in eight categories from ten regions in the United States and Canada. The citation presented to Dr. Boyd was the only one received in Florida last year.

The American Association for State and Local History is the professional organization of state and local historical agencies in the nation and in Canada. A non-profit educational institution it represents individuals and institutions striving to expand and improve the study of local history. The Association founded and still sponsors *American Heritage*, an illustrated magazine of American history.

National Historic Sites Registry

Historic landmarks of national significance and interest may be registered by the National Park Service under a plan announced in October by the Secretary of the Interior, Fred A. Seaton.

The National Registry of Historic Landmarks is designed to recognize and endorse the preservation and protection of structures and sites now administered by the states, other public agencies, or historical societies, and to encourage private owners of historic landmarks to maintain such properties.

"The establishment of this *Registry*," Secretary Seaton said, "serves a long-felt need for the Federal Government to give moral

support and recognition to organizations now concerned with the preservation of archeological and historic properties. Because of the number of important historic landmarks in our great Nation, it is manifestly impossible for the Government to acquire or manage these sites or support them financially, although they are an integral part of the American heritage."

The Registry will provide tourists and students a list of the more important of the large number of landmarks recognized by a variety of organizations throughout the country. The *Registry* is an outgrowth of the National Survey of Historic Sites and Buildings program of the National Park Service. That program, authorized by the Historic Sites Act of 1935, directs "a survey of historic and archeological sites, buildings, and objects for the purpose of determining which possess exceptional value as commemorating or illustrating the history of the United States." Studies of significant historic and archeological sites are submitted to the Advisory Board on National Parks, Historic Sites, Buildings and Monuments for review and evaluation. The Board then makes recommendations to the Secretary concerning which sites are eligible for *Registered National Historic Landmark* status. (For details, write Fred Sarles, Historian, National Park Service, St. Augustine.)

The National Survey is preparing a number of "theme studies" covering all the major periods of human history in our country. Although many sites are studied, only a few are designated as having "exceptional value." Administrators or owners of any site recommended shall be eligible to receive a certificate issued by the Secretary designating that site as a *Registered National Historic Landmark* upon application and agreement to certain standards of protection and management.

Five theme studies, covering English, French, and Spanish Exploration and Settlement; Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775; and The Advance of the Frontier, 1763-1830; have been completed. The five theme studies have been approved by the Secretary and may later be published for public distribution.

The list of sites eligible for *Landmark* status, developed as a result of the studies, includes seven in Florida:

1. San Luis de Apalache, Tallahassee. Typifies the Spanish mission system in Florida. San Luis de Apalache became the administrative center of the old Spanish province of Guale. It is privately owned.

2. Fort San Carlos de Barrancas, Pensacola. Built during the last Spanish occupation of West Florida, it was an important defense bastion of Pensacola. It is located on property administered by the United States Navy.

3. De Soto National Memorial at Bradenton.

4. Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine.

5. Fort Matanzas de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine.

6. Fort Caroline National Memorial, Jacksonville.

7. Plaza Ferdinand VII, Pensacola. In this square, on July 17, 1821, was consummated the transfer of Florida from the rule of Spain to that of the United States. It is owned by the city.

Additional themes relating to the development of our country are now being studied and it is hoped that a number of other Florida sites can qualify for the *Registry*.

State Marker Program

The first historic marker erected by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials was dedicated at Chattahoochee on October 27. The marker, which commemorates the old United States Arsenal, was erected on U. S. 90 at the east gate of the State Hospital.

Presentation of the marker to the park service was made by Mrs. C. R. Mayes, Jr., of Pompano Beach, president of the Florida Federation of Garden Clubs, sponsor of the event.

The arsenal, located on the grounds of what is now the State Hospital, was erected under an Act of Congress in 1832. Parts of the original building are still in use by the hospital.

Although other markers have been erected throughout the state by cooperating groups, with the assistance of the State Board, this marker at the arsenal is the first erected by the Board itself under the new program.

Historical Markers - Editorial Comment

The Tallahassee Democrat, Malcolm B. Johnson, editor, a strong advocate of the importance of historical markers, listed in a long editorial on September 18 many spots which should be

marked in the state's capital city. The need for implementation of a statewide program was stressed. There is an indictment in the last paragraph of Mr. Johnson's article which historical groups in Florida should not take lightly:

"But as of now, we're marking time while we should be marking history-not merely to back up the claims on our billboards and attract more visitors, but also to inform our own people about their heritage. *People who ignore the past don't have much future.*"

St. Augustine Quadricentennial

The Quadricentennial Committee has signed a contract with Paul Green to write a symphonic drama for St. Augustine. The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials has granted use of park property on Anastasia Island where an amphitheatre will be built for the presentation of the drama.

The Florida Anthropological Society

The Society will hold its annual meeting on February 25 in Miami at the Museum of Science and Natural History.

Dr. Charles H. Fairbanks spent nine weeks during the summer conducting excavations into the Fort Walton Temple Mound. This was made possible by a research grant from the Indian Mound Board of the City of Fort Walton Beach. One purpose of this work is to develop plans for reconstruction of the Mound and the design of a suitable museum and downtown park.

College and Personal News

Florida State University - Dr. Victor S. Mamatey will be a visiting professor at Columbia University during the spring semester this year teaching courses in European history. Dr. George A. Lensen will go to Russia this year under the auspices of the Department of State as a post-doctoral researcher. He will do research at the University of Leningrad on Russo-Japanese relations from 1875 to date. A biography of Charles Van Hise by Dr. Maurice M. Vance will be released this month by the Wisconsin Historical Society. Dr. Earl R. Beck has been promoted to the rank of full professor. *Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry: The*

Daybook of a Planter of the Old South, by Weymouth T. Jordan, was published last July. This unusually interesting account of rural life is based on daybooks kept by Martin Marshall (1782-1865), farmer-blacksmith-weaver of South Carolina and Alabama. Dr. George A. Lensen and Dr. Weymouth T. Jordan delivered papers at the Southern Historical Association meeting in Tulsa in November. Joseph D. Cushman, Jr., Titusville, who has been a doctoral student in the history department, 1958-1960, has joined the staff as an instructor while completing work on his doctorate. Another Floridian, Dr. James P. Jones, Jacksonville, is a member of the staff. The other members of the department (15 in all) hold degrees from universities throughout the nation, each specializing in a different branch of history. A record total of 3,419 students are registered in history this year and some 135 undergraduates are majoring in history. There are 40 graduate students, 19 of them studying for the Ph.D. degree and 21 for the Master's degree. Twelve graduate students have selected Florida subjects for study. This expansion in the graduate program is the result of ten National Defense Education Fellowships in history, more than at any other university in the nation. This was the first history department in the nation to be awarded these fellowships. The purpose of the fellowships is to train students to become professors of history in view of rapidly increasing college enrollment.

University of Florida - Dr. David Dowd is on a year's leave in France lecturing and conducting research. Dr. Charles W. Arnade is spending this year at Iowa State University as associate professor of history. Dr. Rembert W. Patrick spoke to the Confederate Round Table, Dade City, October 27 on "The Courage of Women in Defeat" and on October 29 to the Martin County Historical Society on "The Adventure of History." Last summer Dr. William E. Baringer taught at Southwestern Louisiana College, Lafayette, Louisiana. Miss Margaret Chapman, librarian, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, spent the summer as a member of the staff of King College Library and the University of North Carolina Library. Mr. Julien C. Yonge delighted his friends at the University by returning from his home in Pensacola for a month's stay at the library.

Jacksonville University - Dr. Lawrence E. Breeze, associate professor of history and head, department of history, government, and geography, earned his doctorate last June at the University of Missouri. Dr. Lee Goulding, well known for his long service on the faculty at Florida State University, will be at Jacksonville University for the next two years inaugurating a new departmental program.

University of Miami - Dr. Robert C. Beyer has been promoted to professor of history and Dr. William B. Munson to Chairman of Social Science, division of the newly created University College. Dr. Melvin H. Jackson is on leave to study in England and Dr. C. Harold King, for a writing project. Dr. Thelma Peters, a recent Ph.D. from the University of Florida, and Marshall Shapo, a Woodrow Wilson Fellow in the Harvard University graduate school in history, are new appointments to the faculty. Dr. Christos C. Patsovos visited his native Greece during the past summer. Dr. Gerald G. Govorchin took a class of students on a tour of Russia during the summer session. Dr. Charlton Tebeau was historical consultant to *Florida Fantasy*, a spectacular held during the Rotary International Convention last June. A cast of 1,400 took part in depicting the state's history.

Florida Southern College - "The Living Past," a syndicated column by Robert H. Akerman, appears regularly in the *Tampa Tribune*, the *Jacksonville Journal*, and in six out-of-state papers. The purpose of the column is to relate history to current news events and thereby popularize historical material. Dr. Durward Long has joined the faculty after receiving his doctorate at the University of Florida. Gilbert P. Richardson was on leave last year while campaigning as Republican nominee for the office of State Superintendent of Public Instruction.

University of Tampa - Dr. Stephen Speronis, associate professor of history, was appointed in June as dean of the newly established MacDill Division. Dr. James W. Covington served as counselor of students at MacDill during the last summer session.

Florida Presbyterian College - Dr. William Wilbur will head the history department at this new institution at St. Petersburg.

University of South Florida - The history staff at this new university (at Tampa) is composed of Robert A. Goldstein, assistant professor, William Habberton, lecturer, and Robert Heywood, assistant professor. John Hicks will serve as chairman of humanities.

Miami Public Library - Dr. Frank Sessa, director of Miami's library system, spent most of August in Sweden as a guest of the International Federation of Libraries. Dr. Sessa was one of fifteen American librarians to be honored with an invitation.

National Park Service - Regional Archeologist John W. Griffin plans to spend several weeks this winter in additional survey of archeological sites in the Everglades National Park. From the work of Dr. John Goggin and others, over fifty sites are known in the park area. Griffin's survey will be aimed at covering portions of the park not included in previous surveys. The eventual aim is to know the locations and cultural affiliations of all sites within the park. Mike Loveless, formerly with Fort Caroline National Memorial, is now at Moore's Creek in North Carolina, a newly developed park.

Local Historical Societies

The interesting and informative *President's News Letter* published by the Historical Association of Southern Florida (1340 DuPont Building, Miami) serves its members in many ways. Of special value are frequent listings of historical publications of recent release, which alone are worth membership in the Association.

"The Adventure of History" was the subject of an address by Dr. Rembert W. Patrick before the Martin County Historical Society on October 29.

Paintings of the Seminole, recently completed by Mr. and Mrs. Jim Hutchinson at the Brighton Reservation, were placed on exhibition in November in the Elliott Museum.

Last summer the Society retained Rush Hughes to tape record interviews with pioneers in the Stuart area. These recordings are part of a plan to collect materials for the publication of a history of Martin County. Mr. Hughes edited the tapes into a "highly informative, interesting and oftentimes humorous account with insights into the pioneer spirit of settlement problems." The tapes were heard at December's "Living History" program.

A precious find? A set of old railroad car wheels has been removed from St. Joseph Bay. The St. Joseph Historical Society holds high hopes that the wheels "date back to the old Baldwin locomotive that gave Florida its first railroad in 1836." This railroad ran from old St. Joseph to Lake Wimico and Iola. The wheels were located by high school history student Bobby Hurst of Panama City and a group of skin-diving friends. Port St. Joe Mayor J. L. Sharit and shrimp boat captain M. C. Woods helped the boys retrieve the wheels. It is planned to display the wheels at Constitution State Park at Port St. Joe.

The Society is working toward the creation of a national park or memorial on St. Joseph Point. This is the site of the French fort, Crevecoeur, dating from 1718. Other projects of the Society include the collecting of data on the lives of the signers of Florida's first constitution, the preservation and landscaping of historic St. Joseph cemetery, and the collecting of materials on the history of the area.

O. C. Harris was reelected president of the Old Settlers Association of Avon Park on October 21. Other officers elected were Mrs. Mary Reed Hopson, vice president; Mrs. T. J. Ward, secretary; Mrs. Jesse Bennett, treasurer; and Mrs. Cora Wray, custodian. More than 75 members, all of whom have spent 20 or more years in Avon Park, attended the meeting, and former residents came from various parts of the state.

Albert C. Manucy, National Park Service, and past president of the Florida Historical Society, spoke before the Jacksonville Historical Society in November on "Spanish Fortifications in the New World." His talk was illustrated with colored slides.

Papers, Volume IV, issued this summer, is a collection of articles on the discovery of Florida and early French and Spanish incidents in northeast Florida. Author Frank Slaughter and Congressman Charles E. Bennett are contributors to this issue, as well as several well-known professional historians. (Copies of this publication are available to non-members for \$3.00. Write the Society at P. O. Box 4343, Jacksonville.)

William M. Jones of Jacksonville, who with John Griffin, now of the National Park Service, excavated (under sponsorship of the Society) the site of Mission San Juan del Puerto on Fort George Island, is making further explorations. The site of an English plantation (now Greenfield Plantation) in eastern Duval County is being worked under the guidance of Dr. John Goggin. A full report of the findings will be prepared later. This is the first British plantation site of record to be excavated in the state, although surface collecting from such sites is not unusual.

The St. Augustine Historical Society has completed restoration work at the Oldest House. The Tovar House, the pre-1763 coquina home adjacent to the Oldest House, will be restored next. This building currently houses the Society's exhibits of Spanish glass and tile, the archeological and building techniques, and the British period exhibits.

Mrs. Harry L. Weedon was elected chairman of the Hillsborough County Historical Commission last summer. Other officers elected to serve with her were Theodore Lesley, vice chairman and curator; Mrs. J. H. Letton, treasurer; Dr. James W. Covington, recording secretary; Mrs. A. B. McMullen, corresponding secretary; and Mrs. George W. Worthington, librarian. Harry McDonald, assistant county attorney and former member

of the Florida House of Representatives, was appointed to the Commission to succeed Mrs. John K. Martin.

More as a public service than to mark a historic site, the Commission placed a metal plaque on one of the brick arches of Woodlawn Cemetery, established in 1888. While the second oldest in the city, the cemetery has been without a name-plate for over twenty-five years. Herein is the Confederate Veterans' plot where some three score of the soldiers of the War Between the States are buried and where annually Southern Memorial Day ceremonies are conducted.

By appropriate resolution, the Commission paid loving tribute to the memory of Honorable D. B. McKay, whose passing is a distinct loss to the cause of history throughout the state. Some of the contributions of Mr. McKay to his native Tampa are mentioned below in a summary of the Commission's resolution.

Honorable Donald Brenham McKay

Born in Tampa on July 29, 1868, Mr. McKay served his community in many capacities as it grew from a small settlement to a leading port city: fourteen years as mayor (a longer service than any other mayor of that city), as owner and publisher of the *Tampa Daily Times*, as champion of civic causes and of the Spanish groups in the city, as trustee of the University of Tampa and of Tampa Children's Home, and as director on many boards, including the Florida State Fair Association's governing body.

Probably Mr. McKay's best known historical activity was his editorship of the *Tampa Tribune's* "Pioneer Florida Page," a position he held from 1946 until his death. He has contributed extensively to history's cause in many ways.

Honors from universities, King Alfonso XIII of Spain, and civic and historical groups, all bear witness to a long life of usefulness.

THE EDITOR'S CORNER

For years the Editor of the Quarterly has considered the inclusion of a new section. Letters and other items of interest will be published from time to time in this section of our publication. The first letter is from Major Keenan, who has a large and valuable collection on the Seminole wars and who is an authority on names and locations.

Frostproof, Florida
September 3, 1960

To the Editor:

You may have anticipated my interest in Dr. Reynold M. Wik's "Captain Nathaniel L. Wyche Hunter and the Florida Indian Campaign, 1837-1841," Florida Historical *Quarterly*, Volume XXXIX, Number 1 (July, 1960) pertaining to the Seminole War as contained in the Hunter Diary. If you did you made a "bullseye."

First let me thank Dr. Wik for an article which gives an insight into the personality of our men at that time that can be learned only through those diaries and letters. For the benefit of World War II veterans, they can see that crabbing and gripping was not a new invention.

So, if you do not think I am out of order, I would like to make a few observations, which may be of use to students.

The diary mentions Fort Huleman. This should probably have been Heileman. It is so easy to misread "u" for "ei." When the 2nd Dragoons arrived in Florida for this term of service they went without delay up the St. Johns and with equal dispatch turned around and went to Fort Heileman on Black Creek (now Middleburg). Fort names accumulated over the years do not include any Huleman.

After being graduated from West Point, Hunter resigned but was later reappointed and joined the 2nd Dragoons. However, he was not commissioned Captain until he left Florida, or at the time he left.

Swearingen is not spelled correctly in the diary: it is Van Swearingen. This post was in St. Lucie County. To reach the site today one may take a country road leading east from the

Sherman R. R. station, a few miles S.E. of Okeechobee, go about eight miles until one comes to a bridge. The fort was just across the bridge: Sec. 33, T-37-S, R-37-E.

After Lieutenant Hunter abandoned Fort Van Swearingen (he was ordered away as Dr. Wik states), the fort was burned by accident. Hunter then built Fort Hunter on the east bank of the St. Johns about a mile and a half up the river from present-day Palatka. Here he entertained his sister. The site is now occupied by a house.

Hunter's sister complained about the accommodations she had there. Wonder what she expected at that time and under those circumstances? She remarked about the gates opening out like barn doors. Gates to all forts (except in the movies) opened out. If opening in, they would act like a funnel, but opening out would cause confusion to attackers.

However, Miss Hunter must have liked the place because she named it New Buena Vista. The lake she describes was a wide expanse of the river at Palatka that she could see from Fort Hunter.

Hunter was quite a man, but like some of us today let our pens run wild and get off base. He crabbed and kicked but never chickened.

Let me repeat, Doctor Pat, these lines are not a criticism of Doctor Wik, but a word of thanks for his telling us what he found. I hope others do likewise because there is so much of the inside story that we do not know. My cordial regards to him.

Sincerely,
Edward T. Keenan

* * * *

Ruby J. (Mrs. James T.) Hancock is responsible for the following letter and news item on the site of the Battle of Okeechobee. Mrs. Hancock is a former Officer and Director of the Society.

Lake Placid, Florida
September 29, 1960

Mr. Fred B. Sarles, Jr., Historian
Richmond, Virginia.

Dear Mr. Sarles:

I made the trip to Okeechobee yesterday to get some information you wished on the Okeechobee battlefield. I am enclosing copy of an article appearing in the Okeechobee News, November 3, 1939 issue, about the dedication of the memorial erected by descendants of Col. Richard Gentry and the Florida Society of the D. A. R.

I personally knew W. I. Fee, the Historian, of Fort Pierce, Florida, and Judge Henry H. Hancock, the two men who established the battle site of the Battle of Okeechobee. They were about a month tracing Col. Taylor's route from Fort Bassinger to the site of the battle.

To digress from the story. In 1898 Judge Henry H. Hancock and his brother James, both licensed surveyors, were commissioned by the government to re-survey or survey the lands along the lake shores of Okeechobee in the vicinity of the town of Okeechobee. Hopkins survey of 1881 of the territory - the lake shore or meander-line of the lake - was far to the north and east of the lake. Due to canals and drainage in the 1880's and lowering of the lake level, the above survey was made. The battle of Okeechobee was fought in these unsurveyed battlefield lands. I have visited the battlefield several times, once with Mr. Fee trying to locate the site where the officers and soldiers who were killed were buried. We were unable to establish anything definite. I later returned to the area for another look. In the pine and hammock land adjoining the battlefield, I found a ditch or a trench about 100 yards long which had been dug many years ago, as evidenced by the growth of trees and palmettoes on the embankment. The final disposition of the dead in this battle, to my knowledge, has never yet been conclusively proven. Some say they were dug up and interred in St. Augustine - they don't seem to have a record. This perhaps could be established from the archives in Washington or maybe from the heirs of Col. Gentry in St. Louis, Mo. I interviewed a Mr. Wesley Raulerson, age 82, who was born in Fort Bassinger and he told me he had talked to a Mr. William Underhill who was in the battle of Okeechobee. About 1880 Mr. Underhill moved to Fort Bassinger. He was quite an old man when he married there and raised a family. His descendants now live in the town of Okeechobee.

In summarizing, I wish to state I have every confidence in the ability of Mr. W. I. Fee and Judge Henry H. Hancock's decision as to the battle site of the battle of Lake Okeechobee. The battlefield with relation to the memorial marker on U.S. 441 lies north and east from the lake shore to the pine and hammock woods - probably $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles. The present owners of the land of the battle site are Mr. K. Solman and Mr. Ray Rowland, both of Okeechobee, Florida. The legal description of the lands within the battlefield are in Sec. 31, twp. 37 south range 36 east, also sec. 36, twp. 37 south range 35 east, also lands along lake shore of Lake Okeechobee west of route 441 on the Great Lakes subdivision in sec. 6, twp. 38 south range 36 east. Adjoining this property on the north along route 441, Mr. Tom J. Jones owns 20 acres.

A very interesting story I shall relate, when on one of my exploring trips to the old battlefield, accompanied by Major Keenan of Frostproof and my brother Park of Sebring, looking for something to further identify the battle site. The muck battlefield had been ditched, drained and plowed in preparation to planting pasture grass. I looked up the tractor driver and inquired of him if he ever plowed up anything-an old gun, or anything that might be found on a battlefield. His answer was "no." He stated the only thing he plowed up was the skeleton of a man. We discussed his story at some length. He stated it was covered by about a foot of muck. In a short time after being exposed to the air the skull fell to pieces. He took one of the leg bones and put it upon a fence post which was about 100 yards from us. We all then went to examine the bones. Sure enough it was a human thigh bone. The major and my brother looked at one another in a daze. Major says, "Albert, that is sure to be the bones of the soldier who was killed and never accounted for," as reported by Gen. Taylor in his letter of January 4, 1838, from Fort Gardiner to Brig. Gen. R. Jones, Adj. Gen. U.S.A. Reference, Sprague Florida War 1848, page 208.

Major Keenan of Frostproof now has the leg bone. Who knows, it could easily be the bone of the missing soldier in the battle of Okeechobee. Being embedded in the acid muck or peat could well have preserved it. With the great strides in modern science, it is certainly within the realm of possibility that this leg bone is the remains of the lost soldier in the battle of Okee-

chobee. If such were substantiated, he should be given a military funeral and buried in Arlington National Cemetery.

If I can be of any further assistance to you, please feel free to call on me.

I am very truly yours,

Albert DeVane,
Lake Placid, Florida.

OKEECHOBEE BATTLE SITE
ESTABLISHED BY HISTORIAN

(Okeechobee News, November 3, 1939)

Hon. Spessard L. Holland of Bartow will be the principal speaker here on Armistice Day at the dedication of the Historical Marker of the "Battle of Okeechobee" which was fought four miles southeast of the city of Okeechobee near where Connors Highway is now located one hundred and one years ago this Christmas day.

The erection of the monument was made by the Daughters of the American Revolution and the dedication ceremonies will be in charge of that organization assisted by the American Legion, the local post having invited all of the posts from the nearby cities. The plaque bearing the names of all those who were killed in this historical battle will be donated by the family of Col. Richard Gentry, who was killed at the first volley fired by the Indians in that battle. After the dedication ceremonies which will be held at the site off the battle everyone is invited to attend a barbecue sponsored by the American Legion Auxiliary which will be held at the Legion Hall. The Auxiliary will charge 40 cents per plate for the grown-ups and 20 cents for the children. The proceeds from this will go to the Sons of the Legion to be used by that organization. Post Commander Hutto urges every Legionaire to be present.

HISTORY OF BATTLE

Site of the battle of Okeechobee, turning point in the Seminole Indian wars and described as the bloodiest fight of the 37 listed engagements, has been established at a point south of the city of Okeechobee by W. I. Fee, of Fort Pierce.

This Christmas when residents of the lower East Coast celebrate their holiday, it will be just 101 years ago that Col. Zachary Taylor led a force of 800 men into battle against a force of about 382 Indians in the cypress land on the shore of the lake and emerged victorious with 27 dead and 111 wounded. Two soldiers were scalped.

For years legend had placed the battle on Taylors creek virtually in the heart of the present city, but Fee has definitely placed the site south of the present city. Old war maps of Colonel Taylor, letters, and other maps in the archives in Washington were studied. Colonel Taylor on his war map showed the site but to reach it through the swamp appeared impossible. H. H. Hancock, superintendent of public instruction of Okeechobee county, however, came to the area in 1900 to survey the lands over which the battle was fought and from his old maps and examination of the area the site was definitely settled.

PLAQUE TO BE PLACED

On Armistice day the Daughters of the American Revolution will dedicate a battle monument on the site facing Connors highway about five miles from the present city. The plaque will be donated by descendants of Col. Richard Gentry, who led the Missouri volunteers into the battle and was killed at the first fire from the Indians. Senator Holland of Bartow will deliver the address.

AIDED BY MAJOR

Fee's search took him to St. Louis where he met Maj. William R. Gentry who aided the historian with data in the hands of his family and arrangements were made for his daughter to unveil the monument.

Colonel Taylor had been ordered to take his army into the area and destroy any Indians in the territory. He started out from Fort Gardner which was on the Kissimmee river about 12 miles east of the present site of Lake Wales, and arrived at Fort Basinger, which as a community still exists. He left 188 men there and started again with an army of about 800. They marched along the river and Christmas eve arrived at Taylor's Ford which

is about three miles north of the present city of Okeechobee. Their march continued to Mosquito creek and the second Taylor's Ford where an Indian was captured with a new rifle and a supply of powder and ball.

FIGHT WAS ON CHRISTMAS

At 11 a.m. Christmas day the troops jumped off into Nubbins slough south of the second Taylor's Ford into waist-deep water. At the first volley from the Indians Colonel Gentry was killed. The advance pushed the Indians back into the deep cypress woods on the shore of the lake and at 3 p.m. they gave ground and fled.

It was the twenty-first battle of the Seminole war and after that although 16 engagements were reported, history shows them to be mainly skirmishes.

To this point Fee has traced the events of a century ago with great accuracy, but the burial ground of the forces is still undetermined. Colonel Taylor's maps show the burial ground but all bodies were disinterred later and taken to St. Augustine. Fee said there is much uncatalogued data in Washington on the battle and that next summer he hopes to go to Washington and establish this location.

TO PREPARE PAPER

Establishment of the site of the battle in conflict with legend has brought a request from the state historical society for Fee to prepare a paper for the annual meeting, and a rebirth in the interest in Florida historical facts has brought him so many invitations to speak before schools and civic clubs that he finds himself unable to fill all engagements.

In the 50 years which Mr. Fee has lived in the Indian River area, he was consistently told by pioneers that the fight took place within the present city limits of Okeechobee. Just for fun he set out to see if the legend was true and found that like most legends it wasn't. His findings also are being sent to the war department in Washington.

The year 1960 was the one hundredth anniversary of the birth of William Jennings Bryan. The following tribute to the memory of the "Great Commoner" was inadvertently omitted from the last issue of the *Quarterly*. Although this article does not relate William Jennings Bryan to Florida, he was active in the state during the latter part of his life.

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"THE PEERLESS LEADER" WAS IDOL OF MILLIONS

by BOYCE HOUSE

Perhaps no American political leader inspired greater devotion on the part of vast numbers of Americans than did William Jennings Bryan. His foremost rivals in this regard in the first 125 years of the Republic were probably James G. Blaine and Henry Clay. The name of the magnetic Blaine was itself a campaign cry which stirred audiences to frenzy; and Clay was such an idol that, when he lost to Polk, men wept and, in many places, business was at a standstill while citizens stood in groups and talked in hushed voices.

In 1896, Louis Brownlow was a youth living in a small Missouri town in the Ozarks. He tells in his book *A Passion for Politics* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1955) that, when the papers came, "we were thrilled to the marrow of our bones" by the "Cross of Gold" speech which won Bryan his first nomination for the presidency. Then, when Bryan lost the race to William McKinley, Brownlow says, "For me, a boy of seventeen, it was the climax of my introduction to politics; never again was I to feel so deeply that the very life of the world was tied up in my party and my candidate."

An uncle of a young Kentuckian was so grieved and shaken by Bryan's defeat that he became seriously ill, took to his bed and remained there a year. The nephew was Alben Barkley, who became a United States Senator and Vice President. He derived a large degree of his early inspiration from Bryan's speeches and career.

In 1900, Bryan again was the nominee. Brownlow had come of age and was a reporter on a small-town newspaper. He yearned for a job on a big city journal, and at last an offer came, on Oc-

tober 1. But he delayed going to the new field for more than a month. Why? Because, he says, "I could not, even to achieve my dearest wish, forego the opportunity to cast my first vote for the Peerless Leader of the Democracy, William Jennings Bryan."

Many men made freak wagers in that first campaign. Some vowed not to shave until Bryan was elected. As a schoolboy in Mississippi in 1909, I recall seeing, in the paper, a picture of a man who had made such a vow, and he had kept it for thirteen years.

The enthusiasm which the Nebraskan evoked even after he had been defeated was such that a Montana newspaperman was stirred to verse. The day after Bryan's visit in 1897, Charles H. Eggleston's "When Bryan Came to Butte" was published in the *Anaconda Standard*. The final lines went:

" Ah, when Bryan came to Butte, greatest mining camp
on earth,
Where the people dig and delve, and demand their
money's worth;
Though the Wall Street kings and princes spurn and
kick them as a clod,
Bryan is their friend and savior, and they love him
like a god.
Did they meet him when he came there? Did they
make a little noise?
Were they really glad to see him? Do you think
it pleased the boys?
'Twas the screaming of the eagle as he never
screamed before;
'Twas the crashing of the thunder, mingling with
Niagara's roar;
All the whistles were a-screeching, with the bands
they set the pace-
But the yelling of the people never let them get
a place.
Dancing up and down and sideways, splitting lungs
and throats and ears,
All were yelling, and at yelling they seemed wound
up a thousand years.

Of the earths great celebrations, 'twas the
 champion heavyweight;
 'Tis the champion forever and a day, I calculate,
 For it knocked out all its rivals, and, undaunted,
 resolute,
 Punched creation's solar plexus-
 When Bryan came to Butte."

That same year of 1897, Bryan spoke in a Utah town surrounded by mountains, from the second-story gallery of a hotel, his audience being miners with lamps on their caps. While the orator spoke, the shadows deepened; and twilight had settled as he closed with, "All my life, whether in victory or defeat, I will fight the battles of the people. My life is pledged to their cause through all the years to come." Instead of applause, there was silence—complete, absolute. Then a miner took off his cap, and another, and another until the entire audience stood with bared, bowed heads. Then the cheers came, such cheers as seemed to shake the very mountains.

While Bryan was on his trip around the world in 1905, a Nebraskan, who had supported him in all his campaigns, was stricken. The extreme rites had been administered and the members of the family were in the room. The dying man gestured and when the doctor stooped, he pointed to a picture of the Peerless Leader on the wall and whispered, "When Mr. Bryan gets back, tell him that his picture was before me to the last."

The loyalty which the Great Commoner inspired!

In 1896, Bryan spoke in Springfield, Illinois. In the throngs, there was a lad of sixteen. With him was his "best girl," wearing in her hair a prairie rose and holding her head high as her gold chums ignored her. Twenty-three years later, every detail still engraved in his mind, that observer, on a ranch in Colorado, wrote a poem. Says the poet's biographer, Edgar Lee Masters (in *Vachel Lindsay*, New York: 1935), the youth in Springfield had seen "that marvelous feat of physical strength, of amiable, smiling, satirical, oratorical, courageous, invincible crusading all over the country, in which Bryan traveled 20,000 miles and spoke to hundreds of thousands of people, with no radio, no magnifiers, with no newspapers to help him, with no other speakers of moment to help him, with no money to pay legitimate expenses, with

nothing but himself, his youth, his charm, his matchless skill of meeting hecklers and managing hostile audiences." Masters, too, had come under the spell, for he had seen and heard all this.

A century hence, Masters continues, when men want to get "the spirit and the meaning, the color and the drama of Bryan's campaign of 1896, of Bryanism in general," they will turn to Lindsay's poem, "Bryan, Bryan, Bryan, Bryan." (These quotations are with the permission of the publisher, The Macmillan Company, New York, *The Golden Whales of California*, by N. Vachel Lindsay, 1920, 1948.)

The poet declares that Bryan "sketched a silver Zion" and calls him "the one American poet who could sing outdoors," "prairie avenger," "gigantic troubadour, speaking like a siege gun," and "that heaven-born Bryan, that Homer Bryan." Then he describes the tragic outcome of the campaign:

"Election night at midnight:
 Boy Bryan's defeat.
 Defeat of Western silver.
 Defeat of the wheat.
 Victory of letterfiles
 And plutocrats in miles . . .
 Defeat of the aspen groves of Colorado valleys,
 The blue-bells of the Rockies,
 And bluebonnets of old Teaxs,
 By the Pittsburgh alleys.
 Defeat of alfalfa and the Mariposa lily
 Defeat of the Pacific and the Long Mississippi.
 Defeat of the young by the old and silly.
 Defeat of tornadoes by the poison vats supreme.
 Defeat of my boyhood, defeat of my dream."

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