JOSEPH E. BROWN AND THE FLORIDA ELECTION OF 1876

by DERRELL ROBERTS

FLORIDA MEANS various things to many people. For some it means restored health and for others it has built fortunes, but for Joseph E. Brown it revived a sagging political career. By 1876, Brown had served as Georgia's Governor for an unprecedented eight year period which included the Civil War era. He had been Chief Justice of the Georgia Supreme Court for nearly two years and earlier had served terms as Superior Court Judge and State Senator. In 1876, Brown was ready to rejoin the Democratic party which he had bolted in 1868 to vote for U.S. Grant for President, an action which almost ruined his career. He joined the Liberal Republican movement in 1872 and this made a reunion with the Democratic party easier. His service in Florida in 1876 made him a full-fledged Democrat again and helped carry him to Washington as one of Georgia's United States Senators from 1880 to 1890.

While the Democratic party which Brown rejoined was not new to him, neither was Florida. Early in 1876, he suffered from a throat ailment and took a trip to Jacksonville. From there he travelled to various points of interest along the St. Johns River by boat. On his return to Atlanta, he described the trip in detail in a letter to the editor of the Atlanta *Constitution.* [1]

Before the general election in 1876, Brown took another trip, this time to Colorado, back across the Northern states and thence to Georgia. This was another attempt to cure his irritated throat. The trip gave him a chance to observe the political affairs of these states. Since Brown was "universally conceded in all this section" to have more political judgment "than any other living man," he was interviewed on the prospects of the outcome of the approaching presidential election. [2]

The choice between Samuel J. Tilden, Democrat, and Rutherford B. Hayes, Republican, Brown believed, would be

1. Atlanta *Constitution,* April 27, 1876.
2. *Ibid.,* October 31, 1876.

very close "with chances decidedly favoring Tilden." Tilden had the advantage, he said, because of the military action Grant took in South Carolina. Many Republicans in Northern states feared that the same thing could happen in their own states in the form of a military dictatorship. Brown said, too, that he met many former Republicans who planned to vote Democratic because they simply "wanted to see things changed around." He said he got these opinions after talking to ordinary people over the country. [3]

The election on November 7, 1876, resulted in a dispute over the returns in Florida, South Carolina, Louisiana, and Oregon. Success in any one of these states would bring victory for the Democrats. Florida, it seemed, would be a logical state in which to center attention. While state officials were Republicans most of the county officials who had been recently elected were Democrats. This gave the Democrats the power to appoint local election officials. In the November election the Democrats gave Tilden a majority in the state and elected a Democratic governor, but the results were contested by the Republicans who charged the Democrats with fraud and illegal voting. There followed counter-charges by the Democrats. [4]

On November 12, Brown received a telegram from Abram S. Hewitt, of New York, Chairman of the Democratic Executive Committee, in which Hewitt said he and the party "earnestly" desired that Brown "go immediately to Florida and see that there is a fair and honest count and return." [5]

There were other requests, including a long petition signed by Atlanta people, asking that he go to Florida. Despite the rather serious throat irritation which had made the Colorado trip necessary earlier, he agreed to go, accompanied by his secretary. [6] P. M. B. Young, a North Georgia Democrat, also went as well as some other Democrats mostly from Pennsylvania. [7]

Henry W. Grady, then a young reporter who later edited the Atlanta *Constitution*, went to Florida soon after the election. He represented the Atlanta *Constitution* and the New York *Herald.* On November 14, he reported to the *Constitution* that Joe Brown

3. *Ibid.*
4. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 687-712.
5. Atlanta *Constitution,* November 13, 1876.
6. *Ibid.*
7. Brown Scrapbook, 1875-78, in the Brown Collection, University of Georgia Library. No title or date.

had "arrived and settled down to work." [8] Grady, who a few months before was writing violently anti-Brown editorials, now wrote about how glad he was to see Brown. Said Grady, "Wellington did not need Blucher more sorely in the crisis of the memorable day at Waterloo, than did the Democrats of this state and the nation need Joe Brown when that gentleman quietly walked into the Warwick Hotel [in Tallahassee] this morning. I was never so glad to see a man in my life! The Democrats are not the men for the crisis." [9]

Grady continued his reports on the situation in Florida. Except for two or three Democrats there, no one had any conception of the political situation, he said. The whole party was "inactive and inert" and the Democratic candidate for governor, George F. Drew, was still at home. There was no office open, no clerks were employed, there was no organization and no attempt at it. There was no money for any purpose and those "who sent dispatches paid the toll themselves." Added to the lack of enthusiasm and money on the part of the Democrats was the arrival of W. E. Chandler, according to Grady, "the smartest political adjuster in the north." Chandler held a blank check, with full authority to fill it out, and had willing workers to aid him in the Republican cause. [10]

Under these unfavorable circumstances Brown went to work. In two hours after his arrival, Grady wrote, "he had been all through the Florida law" on elections. After a meeting with the local manager, Brown, "with a smile on his lips and business in his eyes," told Grady that "things . . . [were] moving beautifully." The Democrats had acquired the necessary money; they would make no error of omission or commission. Even though it was "exceedingly inconvenient," Brown planned to stay in Florida until the dispute was settled. [11]

The Florida muddle moved from bad to worse. The Republican governor of the state, Marcellus Stearns, appointed a canvassing board made up of two Republicans and one Democrat to

8. Atlanta *Constitution,* November 16, 1876.
9. *Ibid.,* November 18, 1876. Grady and his partners published the Atlanta *Herald.* After some derogatory remarks in the paper concerning Brown, early in 1876, the Citizens Bank in Atlanta, of which Brown was a large stockholder, foreclosed on a mortgage given by the paper, thus putting it out of existence.
10. Atlanta *Constitution,* November 18, 1876.
11. *Ibid.*

canvass the disputed precincts. The Democrats filed an injunction against the action but despite the logical argument by Brown and others the Republicans were sustained. Brown's argument on the injunction was what Grady called "an exceedingly able opinion." His speech "won the highest plaudits . . . [of the day], and absolutely settled the law of the case." [12] Brown held that the governor had no right to appoint a canvassing board because one was already established by law, composed of the attorney general, secretary of state, and the comptroller. [13]

Brown remained in Florida to help argue the Democratic cause before the canvassing board appointed by Republican Governor Stearns. Brown's speech, Grady reported was "very exciting." He "gave the radical members thereof occasion to remember that he . . . [was] remaining in Florida for his health." [14] Following his speech before the board, Brown reported that Florida was "probably certain" for Tilden. [15] On the day the canvassing board finished its count, it was reported that the telegraph wires out of Tallahassee were cut. [16] Grady drove a rented team of horses to the nearest telegraph facilities at Drifton and by a "scoop," reported that the board counted the precincts in favor of Hayes and the Republicans. [17]

Brown commented: "The dark deed of infamy is done by throwing out Democratic counties and precincts in the teeth of the evidence and in shameless violation of the law." He said further that the "radical majority of the board of canvassers . . . declared the Hayes electors entitled to certificates." Nevertheless the attorney general, a Democrat and a member of the board, declared the Democratic electors victorious and issued certificates to Tilden electors. [18] Thus the Florida situation was not settled, and it was left up to Congress to decide which electors were valid.

After coming home, Grady reported that Brown had been seriously ill during the Florida trouble. Along with his throat ailment, he suffered from pneumonia which might have been "fatal in this changeable climate." His bed was surrounded by stacks of law books which were read to him, and ill as he was

12. *Ibid.*, November 25, 1876.
13. *Ibid.*, November 29, 1876.
14. Ibid., November 30, 1876.
15. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1876.
16. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1876.
17. *Ibid.*
18. *Ibid.*

he "made up the skeleton of the legal argument" upon which the Democrats based their case. [19]

En route from Florida to Atlanta by train, Brown was approached by two prominent Republicans from Ohio who asked his opinion of the Florida situation. Members of Brown's party believed that these men were sent to Brown at Hayes' request. Brown told them he was "morally certain" the state had given Tilden a clear majority; the Hayes majority had been built up by direct and simple fraud. "No man who had a regard for the good opinion of his fellow-people could take the presidential chair on such a title as was furnished by Florida." [20]

Back in Atlanta, Brown told a newspaper reporter nothing could be done to keep the Republicans from taking the Florida vote. He said the Democrats collected enough evidence to convince anyone of the fraud, but the Democrats labored on under the disadvantage of having the state government controlled by Republicans. The Republicans also had the occupying troops to aid them in collecting fraudulent affidavits. Some army officers became disgusted with the work they had to do for the Republicans. [21]

To his friend, L. N. Trammell of Dalton, Georgia, Brown wrote that he did not "suppose that any human effort or human foresight could have prevented the result" in Florida. There was some hope though, and concerning this Brown said: "We must leave this matter in the hands of our northern Democratic friends. If they stand firm and show no disposition to waver, we will inaugurate Tilden without difficulty, in my opinion. But if there is any backing down of the Democracy of the north, the military will take the matter in charge and inaugurate Hayes by military force. This will be a subversion of our republican form of government and our future will be that of subjects of a military despotism." [22]

Meanwhile, news came that the Democratic governor of Oregon had certified a Democratic elector to cast the disputed vote of that state, which would have given Tilden the one vote he needed for election. Although this decision did not settle the elec-

19. *Ibid.*, December 8, 1876.
20. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1876.
21. *Ibid.*, December 10, 1876.
22. Brown to L. N. Trammell, December 12, 1876, in the L. N. Trammell papers, Emory University Library.

tion, most Democrats, including those in Atlanta, thought it did. Consequently on the night of December 12, 1876, a torchlight parade was staged to celebrate Tilden's victory. Charles Fairbanks, an Atlanta artist, made some drawings on posters that were illuminated and carried in the night processional. It included coats of arms of Southern states and pictures of prominent people including Brown. Under Brown's picture was the motto: "My judgment is we are all right." Another poster carried a slogan reading :

"A man named Brown
Took them down."

The parade ended in front of the Markham House, where E. T. Clarke, an Atlanta *Constitution* official, opened the exercises there by reading a letter from Brown. [23]

In this letter, Brown explained his inability to appear on the program. While in Florida he had been stricken with pneumonia and his physician advised him not to go out into the night air to speak to the gathering. He believed as other Democrats did that Tilden would be inaugurated and that the Oregon vote could not be questioned. The Republican Congress would not investigate the Oregon vote because it would create a strong case for the Democrats to investigate the Republican frauds in Florida, Louisiana, and South Carolina. Under these circumstances, Brown said, "Believing that this will be the result and feeling that it gives us great cause for congratulations and rejoicing, I sincerely unite with you in the joy to which you will give expression on the . . . occasion." [24]

The press of Georgia was proud of Brown's efforts in Florida. An Augusta editor said: "Those who know the importance of Governor Brown's business interests can realize the magnitude of the sacrifice he is making. Governor Brown has labored earnestly and skillfully to prevent the Radicals from stealing the electoral votes of Florida from Mr. Tilden, and he deserves the thanks of the Democrats of Georgia and of the Democracy of the whole country." [25]

An Atlanta editor said that Brown's "labors in Florida in

23. Atlanta *Constitution,* December 13, 1876.
24. Brown to E. Y. Clarke, *et. al.,* December 12, 1876, in the Atlanta *Constitution,* December 13, 1876.
25. Augusta *Chronicle and Sentinel,* November 26, 1876.

behalf of justice and right have been arduous and long conditioned, and it is probably owing to his efforts, more than to any other cause, that the Democrats of that state will be able to make such an overwhelming and infamous showing of fraud on the part of the radicals." [26] On the trip from Florida, Grady wrote it was "quite a noticeable fact that of the crowd who boarded the special train bearing the 'visiting statesmen' home, nine tenths of them asked for Governor Brown first." Grady proclaimed him "the hero of the campaign and the hero of the homeward march." [27]

In a Rome, Georgia, paper an article on Brown characterized him as "a perfect man, the noblest work of God." [28] Brown, quite proud of his work in Florida, too, declared, "I feel the consciousness of having done at my own expense all that it was in my power to do there to protect the right and avert a calamity." [29]

The settlement of the dispute came shortly before the inauguration of the president on March 4, 1877. Congress appointed an Electoral Commission and it decided in favor of Hayes, who was inaugurated. Meanwhile, further court action in Florida gave the state government to the Democrats and Drew was sworn in as governor.

The work of the Electoral Commission was augmented by an agreement reached between certain members of both major political parties. Included in this group were Senator John B. Gordon of Georgia, and Representative John Young Brown of Kentucky, both Democrats, and Charles Foster and Stanley Mathews, both Ohio Republicans. This meeting took place in Mathews' room in the Wormley House in Washington. In these negotiations, the Democrats consented to allow Hayes' inauguration if, in return, his administration would end Reconstruction in the South, give some offices to Democrats and help build the Southern Pacific Railroad. [30]

26. Atlanta *Constitution,* December 7, 1876.
27. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1876.
28. Rome *Evening News,* December 15, 1876. A clipping in the Brown Scrapbook, 1875-78, Brown Collection.
29. Brown to Trammell, December 12, 1876, Trammell Papers.
30. C. Vann Woodward, *Origins of the New South, 1877-1913,* (Baton Rouge, 1951), 23-50. See also the same author's *Reunion and Reaction: The Compromise of 1877 and the End of Reconstruction* (Boston, 1951).

Even though the news of the agreement was not made public, Brown found out and was most displeased. Writing under the *nom de plume,* "Citizen," he exposed the agreement. He contended that had the commission been voted down the election would have been thrown into the Democratic House of Representatives and Tilden would have been chosen. He then would have removed the troops and ended Reconstruction in the South. As it happened the Democrats got only what they would have received under any circumstances, but they lost the national administration. [31]

In discussing the details of the agreement, Brown compared the situation in 1877 with the Adams-Clay "bargain" in 1824. He said that if no trade was made between the parties, then there was certainly a "capital understanding." He closed his letter with a statement to the effect that Gordon and John Young Brown had taken too much authority into their own hands and that "the consummation of that capital understanding . . . [was] not a feather in the cap of either of these statesmen. [32]

Gordon supporters were quick to ask for the name of the anonymous writer. Brown instructed the newspaper to publish his statement that he was "Citizen." [33] Gordon, in turn, denied any part in a trade. Brown then printed copies of letters between the principals in the agreement. He also answered charges by Gordon's supporters that he was a candidate for a Senate post. Brown replied that he was not a "candidate for election to the United States Senate, to fill the place now filled by General Gordon, at the expiration of his term. . . ." [34]

Brown's Reconstruction record as a member of the Republican party was attacked by the Gordon forces. To this charge, he replied that he had been a Republican in only one national campaign; the one in 1868. While he had been a Republican he was consistent and loyal. Nevertheless, said Brown, "I never was a party to the sale of four years of democratic administration for the performance of a single act by the opposition. And I certainly never would assume the responsibility as he [Gordon] did of making a trade for my party, if I could not make a better one than was made by him and his associates." [35]

31. Atlanta *Constitution,* April 7, 1877.
32. *Ibid.*
33. *Ibid.,* April 22, 1877.
34. *Ibid.,* May 2, 1877.
35. *Ibid.*

The Atlanta *Constitution,* by this time a Brown supporter but by no means an enemy of Gordon, had nothing to say editorially about the Brown-Gordon controversy. Dr. E. L. Connolly, Brown's son-in-law, wrote that E. P. Howell, President of the *Constitution,* told him that papers all over the state were "pitching into him for not having something to say about the Brown-Gordon correspondence. . . ." Connolly said that Howell went to see Brown to try to persuade him not to publish his latest letter, but he could not find him. Said Connolly, "I told him he would see which was the strong side before it was stopped." [36]

The New Orleans *Democrat* deprecated the dispute in view of all the work Gordon had done as a "visiting statesman" in South Carolina in 1876. Most of all, the editor disliked the hint of a split of any kind in the Democratic party at such a critical time. The real blame for the loss of the presidential election, he said, belonged to Tilden and "his eastern chiefs." "They were too deficient in pluck and common manliness to maintain what was gained," said the editor. [37]

The election of 1876, then, was significant in the nation in that it projected Republican domination of the executive branch of government for eight more years. For the South, it meant the completion of the Southern Pacific Railroad, the end of Reconstruction and the resumption of participation in the national government, Brown, on the strength of his work in the campaign, was reinstated as a member of the Democratic party and in 1880 he became one of Georgia's United States Senators.

36. E. L. Connolly to Brown, May 20, 1877, Brown Collection.
37. New Orleans *Democrat,* quoted by the Athens *Georgian,* May 22, 1877.

THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS IN THE BAHAMA ISLANDS: WHO THEY WERE

by THELMA PETERS

THE AMERICAN LOYALISTS who moved to the Bahama Islands at the close of the American Revolution were from many places and many walks of life so that classification of them is not easy. Still, some patterns do emerge and suggest a prototype with the following characteristics: a man, either first or second generation from Scotland or England, Presbyterian or Anglican, well-educated, and "bred to accounting." He was living in the South at the time of the American Revolution, either as a merchant, the employee of a merchant, or as a slave-owning planter. When the war came he served in one of the volunteer provincial armies of the British, usually as an officer. During the war, when the Patriots proscribed him and confiscated his property, he moved to East Florida and then found he had to make a second move as Florida was returned to Spain in 1783.

Lydia Austin Parrish's study [1] of eighty southern Loyalist families deals largely with the aristocratic planter-merchant class since she was guided by the availability of records, and educated people tend to leave more written records than do uneducated people. Of the eighty heads of families or leading individuals in this study the birthplaces of forty-six were established with reasonable accuracy. Twelve were born in Scotland, nine in England, two in the British West Indies, and twenty-three in the American colonies, eight in the North, and fifteen in the South. Most of the American-born were only one generation removed from the "Old Country." The Scottish parents of some of them had left Scotland after an abortive revolution in 1735. All eighty were of either Scottish or English ancestry with the exception of the following: Isaac Baillou, of French descent; David Zubly, born in Georgia, the son of a distinguished Swiss minister of

1. Lydia Austin Parrish, "Records of Some Southern Loyalists, Being a collection of manuscripts about some eighty families, most of whom immigrated to the Bahamas during and after the American Revolution," hereafter cited as Parrish MSS. A microfilm copy of this typed manuscript is in the Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. The original is in the Harvard Library.

Savannah, John Joachim Zubly; John and James Armbrister of South Carolina, who claimed to be Polish with ancestry going back to Thaddeus of Warsaw; and William Wylly, Irish.

Six of the eighty went to the Bahamas early in the war and some of these left temporarily when the Spanish gained control of Nassau in 1781. At least six others went elsewhere than to the Bahamas at the time of the evacuation, were dissatisfied, and then moved to the Bahamas. Mrs. Parrish, who was able to establish the place of death of seventy-three of the eighty, found that fifty-two died in the Bahamas, three in England (one of whom was merely there on a visit from the Bahamas), one in Scotland, four in the West Indies, and thirteen in the United States. Most of the eighty became planters in the Bahamas, since all were eligible for land grants and the desire to raise cotton amounted almost to a mania. Many of these had little aptitude and less training for agriculture, and lived in Nassau as business men, lawyers, or government officials, at least a part of the year, entrusting their plantations to overseers. Among the eighty were three medical doctors, one surgeon, one cabinet maker, two ship captains, one mariner, and one school teacher, the latter doubling as an auctioneer. The superimposing of this essentially landlubber culture upon that of the canny but uneducated seafaring Bahamians, the Conchs, led to inevitable conflict, some traces of which remain to this day.

The Parrish study does not include the humbler Loyalists, the soldiers and the free Negroes, most of whom arrived in the Bahamas from New York. These settled at Abaco, one of the northern islands, where, as long as the free food lasted, they showed a reluctance to undertake the arduous task of clearing the land. Some of the Southern slave-owning Loyalists also settled at Abaco in 1783 but most of them soon left it for the more hospitable islands farther south. The humbler ones, with no capital with which to follow the lure of cotton to the "plantation" islands south of Nassau, remained in the temperate northern islands and intermarried with the Conchs. In the long run they learned to adjust to the only practical economy of the Bahamas, one directly or indirectly tied to the sea, better than the cotton planters did, for ultimately the latter failed.

Among the Loyalists who remained in the northern islands and intermarried with the Conchs was the Curry family. Joseph

Curry moved to America from Glasgow, Scotland, about 1750 and became deputy surveyor of South Carolina. He died during the American Revolution and following the war five of his sons, Joseph, John, Richard, Benjamin, and William, moved to the Bahamas. Jane Curry, the mother, and her younger son, Stephan, believed to have been too young to have provoked Patriot displeasure, remained in South Carolina. All the numerous Currys in the Bahamas today, and some of them in South Florida, are said to go back to these five Loyalist brothers. [2]

William Curry settled in Nassau and became a merchant. At first his four brothers lived at Harbour Island, a small northeastern satellite of Eleuthera. Sometime after 1790 Richard and Benjamin, both of whom had married Conchs, moved to Green Turtle Cay, Abaco. Jane Curry, the first child of Benjamin and Mary Curry, was born at Green Turtle Cay February 14, 1793. A son, Benjamin, was born at Green Turtle Cay December 24, 1796. This Benjamin Curry married a Conch, Martha Albury, and their son, William Curry, was born at Green Turtle Cay September 11, 1821. This William Curry moved to Key West, Florida, in 1837 and became a leading citizen of Key West for almost fifty years. He was a merchant, a shipbuilder, a wrecker, and a public official and was known as "Rich Bill" or "Florida's first millionaire." [3] During the nineteenth century many others from the northern islands, Abaco and Eleuthera, moved to Key West where their traits of sobriety and sturdiness, their knowledge of the sea, of wrecking, and of shipbuilding, made them substantial citizens.

Except for a few Conch "squatters" Abaco and its off-shore islands were uninhabited when the New York refugees arrived there in 1783. Some of the early towns established by the newcomers were Carleton, named for Sir Guy Carleton, the general in charge of the evacuation of all British forces from America; Maxwell, named for the Bahamian governor at that time; Marsh Harbour; and Spencer's Bight. All of these except Marsh Harbour have disappeared. Green Turtle Cay, Abaco, was also settled by "Yankee" refugees and their influence on this island is seen in the name of their town, New Plymouth. Abaco and

2. William Curry Harllee, *Kinfolks, A Genealogical and Biographical Record* (New Orleans, 1935), II, 1504.
3. *Ibid.*, II, 1614.

its surrounding islands have been compared to coastal New England. The people who still live there have qualities of ruggedness and resourcefulness often associated with Yankee sailors. Aloof, fiercely independent, scornful of racial mixtures, these all-white islanders still get their main livelihood from the sea, though they also maintain fruit lots and kitchen gardens. Small, tidy frame houses, picket fences, clean-swept narrow streets and tiny flower gardens suggest a Cape Cod village. A recent article in the *Miami Herald Sunday Magazine* described New Plymouth Town as "an austere community given over to frequent churchgoing and simple pleasures" where families still bake their own bread and where automobiles are unknown. [4]

Among the northern settlers of Abaco was Philip Dumaresq, former captain of a Loyalist privateer, the *Young Eagle*, and the son of a well-known Boston Loyalist, Sylvester Dumaresq. Soon after arriving at Abaco Philip Dumaresq was made justice of the peace by Governor John Maxwell so that he could the better defend himself and other settlers against the "Blackguards," who were presumably the Conch squatters and beachcombers who resented the intrusion of the Loyalists. Philip wrote his father that the soil was so shallow and light and the sun so hot upon the rocks as to burn the vegetables. He also said the settlers were poor, had little fresh meat, and that he found them uncongenial. [5] Like many other disillusioned refugees Dumaresq soon moved away from Abaco in search of "greener pastures." He settled in Nassau where in 1789 he was appointed receiver-general and treasurer. [6] That his life had been a modest one may be inferred from the small value of his estate when it was appraised, September 22, 1801. The total value was only 177 pounds and that included one slave worth 60 pounds. [7]

Political feuds between the Conchs and the established colonial government on the one side and a majority of the Loyalists on the other side lasted for about thirteen years and resulted in eventual victory for the Loyalists. Those refugees who

4. Mike Morgan "Green Turtle Cay, Bahama Isle Harbors Loyalists from America:" *Miami Herald Sunday Magazine,* October 25, 1959.
5. Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Legacy of the American Revolution to the British West Indies and Bahaamas, A Chapter out of the History of American Loyalists* (Columbus, Ohio, 1913), 25.
6. *Ibid.*, 24-25.
7. Registry Office Records, Nassau, Bahamas, O, 299. Hereafter cited as Bahamas, Reg. Of.

represented "the rich, the well-born and the able," many of whom had held office in the American colonies, were determined to gain power in the Bahamas. They succeeded but only after plots and counterplots which brought the downfall of two successive governors, John Maxwell and John, Earl of Dunmore.

Dunmore had been Virginia's last royal governor. His overbearing manner had alienated the Virginians and he was no more popular in the Bahamas except with a small clique who shared in his various schemes to grow rich. Dunmore managed to get his salary doubled, to give himself large grants of crown land, and to get a cut from ship salvage and from various fees. The more responsible element of the Loyalists, a group organized under the name of the Board of American Loyalists, finally gained enough power in 1796 to bring an end to the ten year "reign" of Dunmore.

The Board of American Loyalists was composed of East Florida refugees, especially those who were a part of the trading company of Panton, Leslie or friendly with the partners of this company. This Board was organized in Nassau in 1784 "to preserve and maintain those Rights and Liberties for which they had left their homes and possessions." [8] The president was James Hepburn, formerly of Cumberland County, North Carolina. On at least one occasion the Board met at the home of William Panton in Nassau. At this meeting in May, 1785, the Board asked the governor to dissolve the Assembly and call a new election so that the newcomers might have a chance to be represented. The petition drawn up by the Board concluded with these Words: "Resolved: That we do not consider ourselves represented in the present Assembly, and, of course not bound by any laws they may think proper to pass." [9] The petition was signed by twenty-two Loyalists including John Wood, William Moss, James Hepburn, Peter Dean, John M. Tattnall, and John Wells, all of whom were to play important roles in the future business and political affairs of the Bahamas.

One of these men, John Wells, published the only newspaper in the colony and through the pages of this paper the Loyalists could express their grievances. One writer who signed himself "A True Patriot" and whose letter appeared in the *Bahama*

8. Bahamas, Reg. Of., M, 146.
9. *Bahama Gazette,* May 14, 1785.

Gazette, April 2, 1785, sardonically suggested a new motto for the Bahamas: "By wrangling and jangling, a country prospers." He must have had tongue in cheek when he suggested giving prizes to people "who by their violence, virulence, petulance, impertinence, partiality, locality, scurrility, and personality are best calculated to keep up a true and laudable spirit of faction in this much neglected and unbefriended country."

At the time of the general evacuation the partners of Panton, Leslie and Company, with the exception of John Leslie, moved to Nassau with as much of their inventory as they could manage to take with them. They secured a harbor-front lot in Nassau and soon opened a store. The *Bahama Gazette* for October 7, 1784, carried an advertisement for this company, offering for sale: "Porter in Barrels and Bottles, Beef, Pork, Tongues, and Tripe, together with a large assortment of European and East India goods."

The partners, William Alexander, William Panton, and Thomas Forbes were all in Nassau and all received crown grants of land. John Forbes, the younger brother of Thomas Forbes, was there also but he was only fourteen at the time of the evacuation and was not made a part of the company until 1792. William Panton returned to Florida in 1785, to run the store in Pensacola, but Alexander lived out his life in the Bahamas and the Forbes brothers continued to direct the Nassau branch of the business which came to be known as Forbes, Munro and Company.

A rival trading company was composed of John Miller, Broomfield Bonnamy, and William Augustus Bowles and had the backing of Governor Dunmore. The Miller Company was determined to destroy the Panton Company's Indian trade in Florida. The numerous clashes between the two companies in Florida were reflected in social and political division in Nassau. Panton, Leslie and Company had one big advantage, a special license from the Spanish government. The Miller Company could only operate illegally, running schooners into isolated Florida harbors.

West Floridian refugees in the Bahamas were generally snubbed by the merchant-planter East Florida Loyalists. Some West Floridians were humble people but others considered themselves as good as any East Floridian and resented being regarded as inferior. This snub may account for the fact that some of the

West Floridians lined up first with the rascally Maxwell and then with Maxwell's successor, Dunmore. Because they supported the government clique several West Floridians were soon given public positions in the Bahamas. John Miller, who had been a merchant in Pensacola before the evacuation, was appointed to the Bahama Council by Governor Maxwell in 1785. Michael Grant, who had been a British army doctor in West Florida, was appointed commissary by Dunmore in 1788 and also held the positions of member of the Council and vice-admiralty judge until his death in 1797.

That Grant had a variety of interests and hobbies may be inferred from an appraisal of his estate. Among the possessions which he left were:

1 microscope
1 Spanish dictionary
1 fiddle case
1 lot of music books
1 box of paints complete
4 Vols. Blackstone's *Commentaries*
Shakespeare's Works
Montesquieu, 4 Vols.
Abbe Baynal, 6 Vols.
Swift's Works, 13 Vols.
Plutarch's Lives, 6 Vols.
Prints with elegant frames
1 lot of bird cages
1 printing machine
2 cases of chirurgical instruments [10]

That Grant also practiced his profession when occasion arose is borne out by his own words. He stated in a public record of manumission, 1796, that he had delivered his Negro woman, Betty, of a male mulatto child "which Moment I emancipated him on account of the regard I had for his father, that he should never be a slave to any person whatever." [11] In the opinion of the East Florida Loyalist Grant was never anything but a quack doctor. [12]

Another Loyalist who held office in the Bahamas was Adam Chrystie, once a wealthy planter of West Florida. From the evacuation until 1790 Chrystie lived in his native Scotland in

10. Bahamas, Reg. Of., E/2, 21-25.
11. Parrish MSS, 350.
12. *Ibid.*, 348.

reduced circumstances. From 1790 until shortly before his death in 1812 he served as secretary of the Bahamas and also as a member of the Council. At the time of his arrival in Nassau he wrote to George Chalmers, the Bahamian colonial agent in London, concerning conditions in the islands. He wrote:

> When I arrived in the Province I found two violent and indecent factions, with which no honest man could at all times act, one headed by the governor and the other by the chief justice. They were agreed only in one thing, which was to do me all the mischief in their power and drive me out of the Province if possible. I was therefore prosecuted, fined, imprisoned; and my office rendered of no value.[13]

The governor to whom Chrystie referred was Dunmore and the chief justice was Stephan Delancey, the latter a member of a prominent Loyalist family of New York. Although by birth, position, and education Chrystie should have belonged to the "aristocratic element," the merchant-planter Loyalists, he was snubbed by this faction and this was no doubt galling to him. Three Loyalist judges, Delancey, John Martin, and Robert Sterling, fined him 200 pounds for extortion and malpractice in office. Chrystie asserted his innocence in a letter to the public in the *Bahama Gazette,* September 5, 1791. He declared that he did not intend to alter his conduct in any respect, nor submit to being defrauded of the offices which he held "whatever may be the Opinion of my Prosecutors, respecting the Impropriety and Illegality of my Conduct."

The unfriendly attitude of the East Floridians toward Chrystie may have been due to the fact he came from West Florida or it may have been due to Chrystie's tendency to lean toward the governor. Though sometimes friendly with Dunmore, nonetheless Chrystie did quarrel with the governor. On one occasion Dunmore took the official seal away from Chrystie because the latter would not apply it to a paper which he considered dishonest. Not until his death, which occurred in 1812 shortly after he had retired to Scotland, did anything good seem to be said of Chrystie. Then the *Royal Gazette,* April 19, 1812, eulogized him in the following words:

> In this Gentleman, to the acquirements of the accomplished scholar were added the greatest integrity in his official

13. *Ibid.,* 205.

> capacities, and the most pleasing and agreeable manners in private life. His worth being generally known, his loss will be as generally regretted in this community.

The East Floridians gradually gained some government positions. Henry Yonge, a London-born, English-trained lawyer who had held the position of Attorney General in East Florida, was appointed clerk of the Council in Nassau soon after he arrived there in the general evacuation. One of Yonge's duties was to receive the memorials of his fellow refugees regarding their Josses and claims and transmit these to the British Government. [14] In 1786 Yonge was appointed secretary, a position he held until his death March 30, 1790. Afterwards this position went to Adam Chrystie. [15] In 1786 Yonge was also made a notary, an appointment made by the Archbishop of Canterbury because the Church appointed all notaries. In taking his oath Yonge had to swear allegiance to King George III and renounce as a "damnable doctrine" the idea that the Pope or any authority of Rome had any "Ecclesiastical or Spiritual power in this realm." [16] He also had to swear that he would never be a party to fraud. Yonge received a crown grant of 400 acres on the island of Exuma.

Henry Yonge's daughter, Alicia Maria, married at Nassau John Armstrong, the son of William Armstrong, a Loyalist from North Carolina who was one of the East Florida refugees. John Armstrong became a highly respected attorney in Nassau and at one time served as Solicitor General. [17] The Henry Yonge mentioned in Bahamian records after 1790 must have been the son of the first Yonge and the brother of Alicia Maria. The younger Henry Yonge married Elizabeth Bellinger, a Loyalist from South Carolina whose uncle was Edmund Bellinger, the second Carolina landgrave. [18]

In 1789 Peter Edwards, a Loyalist from Georgia and East Florida, was elected clerk of the Assembly. Later he became a judge. His thirty years of service in the Bahamian government was marked by common sense and integrity. Georgia finally repealed the edict of banishment against him but he refused to

14. *Ibid.,* 31.
15. Bahamas, Reg. Of., M, 370.
16. Bahamas, Reg. Of., M, 270.
17. Parrish MSS., 101.
18. *Ibid.,* 452.

return to the United States. [19] Daniel McKinnon, who visited the Bahamas in 1803, found Edwards doubling as judge in at least two courts, an inferior court and a vice-admiralty court. He reported Edwards as "an amiable and very estimable gentleman of the profession." [20]

Three Armbrister brothers, James, John, and Henry, once of Charleston, went to the Bahamas from East Florida. From that day until this the Armbristers have been prominent in positions of leadership in the Bahamas. For twenty years James Armbrister was assistant to the secretary or registrar general as the office was also called. He was the assistant of Adam Chrystie. That Armbrister and Chrystie were friends as well as government associates may be inferred from the fact that Armbrister named his son Robert Chrystie. This son, Robert Chrystie Armbrister, * and Alexander Arbuthnot, a Bahamian merchant, were the two men executed by Andrew Jackson in Florida in 1818 as an example to other Indian traders and filibusterers who were keeping Florida in turmoil.

The Bahamians were stunned by the execution of Arbuthnot and Armbrister and James Armbrister, the heart-broken father of Robert, called it a "flagitious mockery of justice." [21] Robert was described as an intelligent, fine-looking boy of about twenty. The *Royal Gazette* of June 17, 1818, stated that Arbuthnot went to Florida to sell drygods and to pick up some skins and corn, valued at 4,000 pounds, which had been stored for him at an Indian village but which Jackson had discovered and seized. As for Armbrister the *Gazette* stated:

> It is well known here that Mr. Armbrister did not take any arms with him - Powder in small quantity he might have had - and how is an Indian to hunt or even exist without it? Mr. Armbrister was a high-spirited young man, and his pursuits probably were not of a mercantile nature - he had

* *Editor's Note:* In most American records, textbooks, and biographies of Andrew Jackson, the man's name is Robert C. Ambnster. In the English and Bahamian records, the name is Armbrister. Tracking down the source of the error (Andrew Jackson?) might make an interesting project for a historian or interested student of history.

19. *Ibid.*, 253-260.
20. Daniel McKinnon, *A Tour through the British West Indies, in the years 1802 and 1803, giving a Particular Account of the Bahama Islands* (London, 1804), 225.
21. P. W. D. Armbrister, handwritten manuscript in Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

> served along with the Indians under Colonel Nicholls in the late War and bore a commission in the Royal Colonial Marines. He made friends with the Indians and being taken with them became a sacrifice to the revenge of the American General. . . .
>
> This atrocious act, we trust, will not be overlooked by our government, and the perpetrator brought to that just punishment which he deserves.

When Alexander Wylly, one-time speaker of the colonial assembly of Georgia, was attainted and suffered confiscation of property he fled with his family first to the West Indies and then to the Bahamas. His daughter, Susannah, about eighteen years old when they arrived in Nassau, soon married John Anderson, another Georgia refugee, who had served with a British volunteer division during the Revolution and had then received a grant of land at Long Island, Bahamas. John, who became a planter, and Susannah lived out their long lives in the Bahamas, John dying in 1838 and Susannah in 1845. Both are buried in the cemetery which surrounds St. Matthews Church in Nassau. Together their two tombstones contain about three hundred words of biographical information. Such tombstones are a boon to historians in contrast to noncommittal modern grave markers. The son of Susannah and John, George Anderson, became chief justice of the Bahamas.

But it was Susannah's brother, William Wylly, a former captain in the Carolina Rangers, who became the most controversial figure in Bahama politics for a period of thirty years. His hot Irish blood got him into trouble on more than one occasion. He held a number of government positions, one being the office of attorney general. At one time while attorney general Wylly fortified his beautiful three-storied mansion, known as "Clifton," with Negro slaves bearing arms in order to protect himself from arrest. The Assembly, exceeding its authority, had ordered his arrest because they thought he was secretly plotting with the mother country to end slavery in the Bahamas. A writer in the *Royal Gazette* of February 5, 1817, called Wylly's arming of his own slaves a "dreadful example to the slave population of these islands," and accused Wylly of stirring up the fires of insurrection at a time when "the West India Colonies tremble for their existence." The fear of the plantation owners in 1817 that their way of life was threatened was real and foreshadowed what did

happen in 1834. When Great Britain freed all the slaves in the empire the plantation system of the Bahamas crumbled completely.

William Wylly's brother, Alexander Campbell Wylly, once an Oxford student, returned to Georgia from the Bahamas about 1800. When he got a chilly reception at his old home, Savannah, he moved to St. Simon's Island and there ended his days in peace.

Among the Loyalist cotton planters in the Bahamas was an inventor who rivaled Eli Whitney. Like many inventors he remained unsung and is today forgotten. Joseph Eve, probably born in South Carolina, was living in Pennsylvania at the time of the American Revolution and was thought to have been a Quaker. He and his brother, Oswell Eve, moved to the Bahamas with the general evacuation and became cotton planters on Cat Island. At this time cotton was ginned by a simple instrument composed of two parallel rollers spiked with nails and turned in opposite directions by either a hand- or a foot-operated crank. Joseph Eve invented a machine turned by wind and he advertised that he could make one to be turned by cattle or even by water power where there was an inlet through which the tide flowed. [22] Eve's machines must have been quite complex for they were costly. An appraisal of the "True Blue Estate" of William Moss in 1797 listed a "cotton machine of Eve's to go by wind or cattle" and put the value of 175 pounds. [23] Eve advertised that once a machine had been purchased he would keep it in repair at an annual rate of four guineas. The machine was able to gin upwards of 360 pounds of cotton in one day. A glowing testimonial to the efficiency of the machine was written by a fellow planter of Eve's, Charles Dames, and was published in the *Bahama Gazette* of May 1, 1794:

> Dear Sir, . . . This is now the third year in which I have enjoyed the benefit of your most useful machine for cleaning Cotton. The favorable opinion I conceived of it on the first trial, must be in your recollection. . . . Preparing our Cotton for market was formerly considered as the most tediout, troublesome, and laborious part of the agricultural process in this country. To you we are indebted for its having been rendered pleasant, easy, and expeditious.

22. *Bahama Gazette,* November 28, 1793.
23. Bahamas, Reg. Of., E/2, 44.

Oswell Eve died at Cat Island in 1793 and Joseph Eve moved back to the United States about 1800. There was then no one to build the gin or to keep it in repair. According to the journal of a cotton planter in 1831 the ginning of cotton was again done by hand. [24]

At least three Loyalists were shipbuilders. One of these was John Russell formerly a shipbuilder of St. Johns in East Florida. He moved all of his tools and equipment to the Bahamas in a brig of his own building, the *Live Oak.* Having located a good place for careening boats on Hog Island, across the harbor from Nassau, he established a shipyard. The others were William Begbie and Daniel Manson formerly of Hobcaw, South Carolina. According to the *Bahama Gazette* of March 5, 1785, Begbie and Manson launched a brigantine of 200 tons burden, the *Nassau.* The following year they completed a fine ship of 300 tons, the *Polly,* built for a Georgia mercantile company, Crookshanks and Spiers. [25] The *Polly* was the largest ship built in the Bahamas up to that time. Shortly after the *Polly* was finished Begbie and Manson apparently sold out their business to John Russell and returned to South Carolina. [26]

During the time East Florida belonged to Britain one of the most important plantations was Rollestown located on the east bank of the St. Johns River near the present city of Palatka. The owner of this plantation was an English gentleman, Denys Rolle. At the time of the evacuation Rolle hired a scow, the *Peace and Plenty,* and moved slaves, livestock, dismantled houses, and other possessions to Exuma Island in the Bahamas. There two new plantations were established, Rolleville and Steventon. Denys Rolle's son, John Rolle, inherited the title, Lord of Stevenstone, from his uncle, Denys's older brother, who had no children of his own. In 1797, when Denys Rolle died in England, this son, Lord Rolle, inherited the plantation at Exuma. When Great Britain freed the slaves in 1834 Lord Rolle gave this property to the Negroes whom he had owned. All of them took the surname Rolle and it was the custom for all men marrying into the clan to also take that name. [27] Today several thousand Bahamian

24. Charles Farquharson, *A Relic of Slavery, Farquharson's Journal for* 1831-32, edited by Deans Peggs (Nassau, 1957), 13.
25. *Bahama Gazette,* February 4, 1786.
26. Parrish MSS, 133-134.
27. *Ibid.,* 4.

Negroes, and their relatives who have moved to Florida, bear the name of Rolle.

The most important single contribution of the Loyalists to the cultural life of the Bahamas was the *Bahama Gazette,* probably the first newspaper ever published in the islands. Its editor, John Wells, was among those who went to Nassau from St. Augustine. In the latter city from February 1, 1783, to March 22, 1784, he had published the *East Florida Gazette.* [28] John was the son of Robert Wells, a prominent publisher and bookseller of Charleston and a Loyalist who had fled to England at the beginning of the war and remained there, later becoming a successful London merchant. John's sister, Louisa Wells, who ran the Charleston publishing business after her father went into exile, and whose later escape to England is delightfully told in her journal, [29] later married one of her father's apprentice printers, Alexander Aikman. Louisa and her husband, also a Loyalist, moved to Jamaica where they published the *Royal Gazette.* Like a modern career woman Louisa understood the printing business almost as well as did her husband. Another member of the family, Charles Wells, brother of Louisa and John, was the one who actually moved the printing press from Charleston to St. Augustine and reassembled it with the aid of a Negro carpenter. [30] At the evacuation Charles went to Europe where he made a distinguished name for himself as a physician and scientist.

John Wells published the *Bahama Gazette* in Nassau from 1784 until his death in 1799. It was a four-page paper, in format identical to the *East Florida Gazette,* and was issued twice a week. Wells joined the Board of American Loyalists in Nassau and used his paper to publicize government abuses and to aid the Loyalists in their fight for political rights. The paper had an exceptionally good coverage of European and United States news and a high literary quality. One can, for instance, follow the French Revolution, the adoption of the Constitution of the United States, the visit of "Citizen" Genet to America, and other events in its pages. It was a kind of sustained beacon of culture

28. Douglas C. McMurtrie, "The Beginnings of Printing in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXIII (October, 1944), 67.
29. Louisa Susannah Aikman, *The Journal of a Voyage from Charleston, S.C., to London undertaken during the American Revolution by a daughter of an eminent American Loyalist in the year 1778* (New York, 1906).
30. "The Memoirs of Charles Wells," Nassau *Royal Gazette,* August 12, 1818.

in an environment which had long been indifferent to the rest of the world. It cannot be supposed that the Conchs admitted to an appreciation of this good newspaper, since their tendency was to regard all innovations with suspicion, but those who could read no doubt read it. To the Loyalists, who soon felt the dreary isolation of the Bahamas, especially after they had scattered to distant plantations, the *Bahama Gazette* was a valued link with the outside world and with one another. The newspaper had a representative to take subscriptions in each of the main islands and it is also interesting to note that the paper circulated in Charleston, Savannah, and Bermuda.

Although Wells opposed both Maxwell and Dunmore and was a strong advocate of reform he got the contract for government printing. He also ran a book and stationery store. Among the newly-received books advertised for sale in the *Bahama Gazette* of June 3, 1786, were the following:

Hayley's Essay on Old Maids, 3 Vols.
Gibbon's Roman Empire, 6 Vols.
Rousseau's Confessions, 2 Vols.
Rousseau's Works, 10 Vols.
Sheridan's Rhetorical Dictionary

Wells was also a first lieutenant in the Nassau Volunteer Company of Infantry formed in 1797 because of the war between England and France.

Wells died October 29, 1799, at the age of forty-seven. His friends, who continued to run the paper, eulogized him as "popular, benevolent, and good-humored." His writings were described as "energetic and forcible as well as correct and elegant" and his style was compared to that of "Gibbon the Historian." He was buried in the churchyard of St. Matthews Church in Nassau under a stone bearing the inscription: "In him the public have lost a respectable and useful member of society."

Cotton growing in the Bahamas was not successful for long. The soil was too thin, attacks by insects too frequent. The few Loyalists still struggling with their plantations in 1834 when the slaves were freed must have felt a sense of relief that the losing game was over. The compensation which they received for their slaves may have enabled a few to leave the colony. Most of them remained in the islands and turned at last to an acceptance of the Conch way of life, a garden patch ashore, a ship at sea.

EAST COAST FLORIDA STEAMBOATING, 1831-1861

by EDWARD A. MUELLER

TRANPORTATION facilities have always played a substantial and significant role in the development and settlement of the United States. Likewise, in the early days of Florida's development, water transportation played a most important part, sailing ships helping to bring in some of the first settlers and visitors. Because Florida is a peninsula for the most part and has water access on most of its boundaries as well as many waterways serving the interior, transportation by water has always loomed large. Sailing vessels, however, have their difficulties not the least of which is the lack of a regular schedule and the difficulty in penetrating inland waterways. The early steamboats gradually supplanted them in the carrying of people and general cargo goods although sailing ships, mostly schooners, held their own or more for many years in the tranportation of bulk cargoes such as lumber and agricultural products. It is the story of these early steamboats, their advent on the scene in Florida waters, and their progress through the years with which this narrative is concerned. In their day they were centers of community activity and progress, and each arrival was longingly awaited.

By the 1830's steamboating was well entrenched in Savannah, Georgia, the first Atlantic Ocean crossing with steam (the Savannah in 1819) being largely accomplished through the efforts of residents of Savannah. Steamboats were built at both Savannah and Charleston in the 1820's and some type of steamboat service between Savannah and Charleston, as well as on the many rivers penetrating the Carolina and Georgia coastal plain, was available. Apparently the first steamboat to visit Florida's east coast was the *George Washington,* an adventurous eighty-six ton side-wheel paddler of 1827 vintage, built at Charleston. [1] She

1. *George Washington* data and that of other steamboats mentioned in this narrative is largely derived from *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868,* published by Steamship Historical Society of America, Mystic, Conn., 1952. This publication is commonly referred to as the "Lytle List" and is hereinafter so described. Some information as to dimensions also was obtained from National Archives records.

was ninety feet, eight inches long, nineteen feet, nine inches wide, and five feet, three inches deep and managed to reach Jacksonville on May 18th or 19th, 1831, while on an excursion from Savannah. The trip took thirty-four hours, not too bad for a pioneer in those days. [2]

In the 1830's in East Florida the principal settlements of any consequence were the small communities of Fernandina, Jacksonville, Palatka, and St. Augustine. Jacksonville and Palatka are on the St. Johns River which was the scene of Florida's later "Golden Age" of steamboating. The St. Johns, insofar as steamboats were concerned, was in the first part of the nineteenth century an excellent navigable stream for much of its length except where it met the Atlantic, where the bar, a constantly shifting mass of sand underneath the water surface, caused early navigators desiring to cross it much grief and destruction. It restricted use of the river to vessels of light draft, as only about six to eight feet of water was present during periods of low tide. The harbor at St. Augustine had a similar bar difficulty. [3]

Coastwise communication with and passage to Florida initially originated at Savannah, passengers and freight transferring there from sailing or steam vessels to the small coastal steamships. Most of these craft in wending their way to and from Florida traversed the general route of the present Intracoastal Waterway. Much of the passage was sheltered by islands and land groups on the seaward side and the small craft that were able to cross the St. John's bar did not have to venture into open water. There were good connections between Charleston and Savannah which tended to hold back direct service to Florida from Charleston. Except for the *George Washington,* which made at least six trips in 1831 and an unknown number in 1832, East Florida appears to have been ignored by steamboats until about 1834. At least the few available records (mostly newspapers) so indicate. The first regular service to the St. Johns area seems to have been the steam packet, *Florida,* 144 tons, built in Savannah in 1834. She was a side wheeler like all of the craft hereinafter mentioned and she started running once a week from Savannah to Picolata, commencing at least as early as April, 1834. Her cargoes were

2. *Niles' Register,* XXXX, 284.
3. Unpublished historical material collected by WPA. St. Johns River narrative, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

cotton, skins, and oranges. Her advertisements announced stops at Darien, St. Mary's, Jacksonville, and Mandarin. [4] Her dimensions were 104 feet, length; 20 feet, 5 inches, width; and 7 feet, 4 inches, depth.

A small rival steamboat from Savannah, the *Washington,* also made a trip in late November, 1834, under unusual circumstances. [5] According to the December 4, 1834, St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* "a number of individuals had been induced to go to Savannah (from Charleston) in consequence of the announcement that the FLORIDA would leave Savannah for Picolata regularly every *Monday*. On their arrival at Savannah, they found that the FLORIDA was about to be repaired and that she would not be ready to proceed . . . until the following Thursday. These individuals . . . endeavored to induce the owners of the FLORIDA to charter the WASHINGTON to take her place for the trip. This they failed to do and the passengers . . . succeeded in inducing the owners of the WASHINGTON to send her to Picolata notwithstanding the difficulties which they have reason to believe were thrown in their way by the owners of the FLORIDA.

"The WASHINGTON left Savannah on Tuesday evening . . . and arrived at St. Mary's near midnight on Wednesday. Here they expected to obtain a supply of wood to enable them to proceed: but in consequence of a letter written by Capt. Hill to the agent of the FLORIDA all the wood was bought with a view to stop the WASHINGTON. After a considerable delay one of the passengers obtained a few logs and pieces of old timber which enabled the boat to proceed to Jacksonville. A similar letter had been written to the agent at Jacksonville but he refused to comply with the directions.

"Much censure and blame is thrown upon the owners and captain of the FLORIDA for their failure to comply with their engagement to the public, and for their attempting to prevent others from performing it in their stead." Steamboat competition was rugged and private enterprise equal to the occasion when it arose, it would appear.

4. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* Sept. 11, 1834, said, "Capt. Hill informs us FLORIDA will resume her trips on the 22nd from Savannah to Picolata." The January 29, 1835, *Jacksonville Courier* (and other later issues) carried advertisements dated January 1, 1835.

5. There are too many *Washington's* and derivatives of the name to place this vessel in the Lytle List or elsewhere without further knowledge.

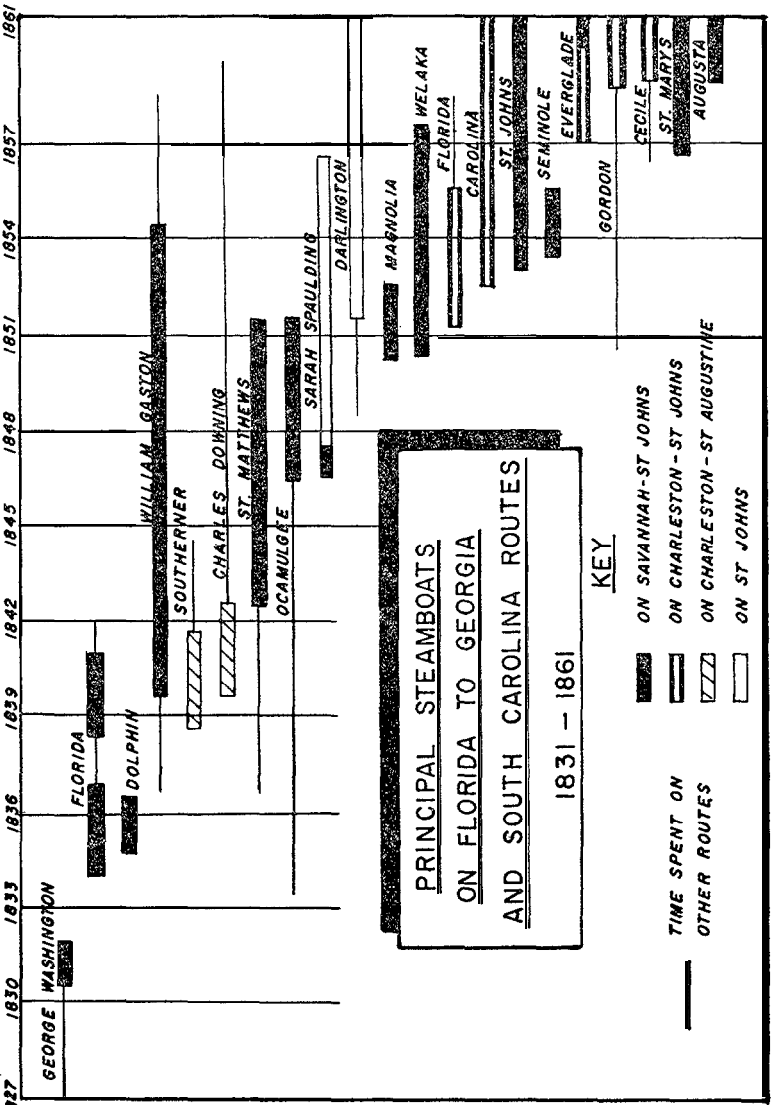
The *Florida* ran until May, 1835, (the passenger business being heavy in the winter and rather slow from May to October) and then was off the route for a time. The weekly *Jacksonville Courier* complained in its May 21st edition, "What has become of the Savannah steamboat? With the best telescope nothing can be discerned of her. Strangers who wait feel we should take out the advertisement. Gentlemen of the steamboat company, give us something even if it is nothing more than a wherry or lumber 'flat'." During her absence *Florida* had been repaired and repainted and made a fine reappearance on July 2nd. Communications being what they were and business being slack the local folk were just not notified of the stopping of service for two months! In August the *Florida* had a new captain and was advertised, "Steam Packet, FLORIDA, Captain Hubbard, will run once a week from Savannah to Picolata and will touch at Darien, St. Mary's, and Jacksonville . . . Freight payable by shippers. All slave passengers must be cleared at custom house. Conveyances for St. Augustine in readiness at Picolata." [6]

Newspapers of the day were rather careless in keeping records on arrivals and departures but they did this on occasion and when the spirit moved them would also list the number of passengers and sometimes their names. Some idea of the magnitude of the passenger business may be gathered from the numbers debarking at Jacksonville. Six arrived October 7th, twenty-seven on December 10th, and December 31st saw nineteen railroad engineers and laborers disembark with the view of building a railroad across the peninsula of Florida. As a harbinger of the future five Army officers also crossed the gangplank on the thirty-first bound for Camp King and the Seminole Indian War. [7]

About the first part of 1836, the second Seminole Indian War (1835-42) and its resulting logistical and transport problems stimulated the steamboat business in East Florida. [8] Although al-

6. *Jacksonville Courier,* Aug. 6, 1835.
7. *Jacksonville Courier,* selected issues, 1835.
8. *American State Papers: Military Affairs,* VII, 994-996, gives financial details of chartering vessels for the Seminole War through 1837. In all over forty vessels were chartered in this period. Examples of rates ranged from $4,000 per month for *Dolphin,* to $3,000 for *Florida* for one month in 1837. *Santee* went for $100 per day in January, 1836. Five steamboats were purchased by the U.S. in this period including *New Brighton,* renamed *Poinsett,* purchased August, 1837, for $27,000. This narrative largely ignores the chartered Army steamboats although their arrivals and departures are fairly well noted in the newspapers of the day.

most without exception they were used on Army business and did not especially cater to civilians their presence was encouraging and served to get the area used to the virtues of steamboating. The *Florida* kept on her regular civilian schedule for some time



but did manage to get in a few trips for the Army. In June of 1835 she had the misfortune of being sold at auction in Savannah to "close the concern." [9] This was not an uncommon occurrence in Florida steamboat days. Enrollment records of early boats show frequent changes of owners.

About the time *Florida* was making runs to the St. Johns area another pioneer steamer, the *Dolphin,* 133 tons, was linking St. Augustine and the world of the St. Johns to the remainder of the Southeast. She was completed in New York in 1835 and her first trip from St. Augustine appeared to be in February, 1835. The *Dolphin* was quite different from other steamboats visiting Florida, being a two-masted steam schooner, 115 feet by 16 feet by 7 feet. She made several trips on the St. Augustine, Savannah, and Charleston circuit, and it is known that she made at least one trip to Norfolk, Key West, and Havana. Some idea of the fares of the day can be ascertained from those charged by the *Dolphin* on this trip, e.g., Charleston to Havana, $40; Charleston to St. Augustine, $15; St. Augustine to Key West, $20; and St. Augustine to Havana, $30. [10] The June 18, 1835, *Jacksonville Courier* had this to say: "'Steamboat DOLPHIN, Captain Pennoyer, on her last trip was 11 days late reaching Charleston from Norfolk. She encountered gales and was run aground several times by unskilful pilots. They directed her aside, repeatedly, from the main channels which caused her to ground. At one place she lay aground nearly *four* days, at another place about *three* days." So much for the vagaries of "unskilful" pilots and the vicissitudes of steamboat travel in the 1830's.

The *Dolphin* was chartered by the Army for most of 1836 and on her first civilian trip after service came to an unhappy end six days before Christmas. While taking on a pilot at the St. Johns bar and starting her engines, her boiler exploded and fifteen persons were killed including the bar pilot, mate, two engineers, two deck hands, and three stewards. A pilot boat picked up some of the survivors and the *Santee,* on charter to the Army, came to the rescue and picked up the rest. This was the worst steamboat disaster in Florida before the Civil War in terms of lives lost. The crew at the time of the explosion consisted of

9. Savannah newspaper, May 23, 1836: "For sale - finest steam packet, *Florida* will be sold at public auction in this city on Monday, June 6, to close the concern. For particulars apply to John W. Long."
10. St. Augustine *Florida Herald,* Sept. 21, 1835.

the Captain, mate, two engineers, three stewards, one stewardess, and six deck hands. [11]

Getting back to the *Florida,* she reinstituted her Florida run in December of 1838 (perhaps earlier, she being engaged in Army service during much of 1837) and alternated her runs to Picolata on the St. Johns with an occasional run outside on the Atlantic to St. Augustine. It should be pointed out that Picolata was a small settlement and Army headquarters post but its main transport function was to serve as a point of transfer from the St. Johns River to St. Augustine. Conveyances, probably coaches, were available to take travellers to St. Augustine, a journey of about three hours in those days. [12]

The St. Augustine *News* of January 12, 1839, commenting on the *Florida's* making St. Augustine a port of call said, "Persons at a distance may now be assured, as well as invalids, of a residence in our climate and of a speedy transit on their arrival in Savannah in a very comfortable and handsome boat and under the command of a gentlemanly Captain [Captain Nock]." The *Florida* continued on the St. Johns and St. Augustine route until late 1840 when she left to run to Augusta and other points in Georgia and South Carolina. She did, however, return for an occasional trip. [13]

St. Augustine seemed gripped by steamboat fever about this time. In the fall of 1839 an enterprising group of St. Augustine and Charleston merchants offered the *Southerner* as a means of commuting between St. Augustine and Charleston. The August 17th *News* advertised, "Direct communication between St. Augustine and Charleston by steamboat once a week. Stops at Savannah as passengers offer. New and superior steamer, SOUTHERNER having been purchased . . . for the purpose of running her regular. Invalids, visitors, and the general public are notified she will commence trips October 15th regular and continuously without stop through the year. Leaves Charleston Tuesdays, 9 a.m. after the Wilmington boat arrives. Leaves St. Augustine Friday, 9 a.m. This is a new boat and for speed and safety as

11. *Charleston Mercury* as reported in Tallahassee *Floridian,* December 31, 1836.
12. St. Augustine *News,* December 31, 1838.
13. According to the Savannah papers of the day, *Florida* ran most of the winter of 1840-1841 to Charleston, Augusta, etc. She made at least one trip to Jacksonville in February, 1841.

well as comfort in all her appointments will not be surpassed by any boat in the South and having been purchased expressly for this route, travelers may rely on permanence and punctuality of arrival." All the steamboat advertisements stressed permanence and punctuality yet nothing seemed more subject to change.

The *Southerner* had been built early in 1839 at Charleston and was 178 tons. Her dimensions were 120 feet by 20 feet, 9 inches by 7 feet, 7 inches. She charged a regular $15 rate, St. Augustine to Charleston, $10 for servants, and children under 10, $7.50. She made her first run in October, 1839, under the direction of Captain Budd and ran at least until December of that year and quite probably to the winter of 1841 when she transferred to Mobile. [14] Prior to the purchasing of the *Southerner,* other St. Augustinians had commenced building their own steamer. She was the *Charles Downing,* 112 tons, ninety-six feet by eighteen feet by seven feet, and was finally launched on November 16th. She stuck on the ways and the steamer *Poinsett,* on Army service and just arriving from Key Biscayne, lent a helping hand to pull her off, Captain Dent, who also captained the *Florida* in 1840 was her skipper. [15] She was named after a prominent territorial legislator of the day, but in 1849 her name was changed to *Calhoun.* She apparently was the first steamboat built in East Florida. The *Charles Downing* evidently made several trips between Charleston and St. Augustine starting in 1841 and possibly made trips until early 1842 including a few on charter to the Army. [16]

About this period the *William Gaston* commenced a more or less regular service to Florida running from Savannah. She was of 161 tons and measured 120 feet by 18 feet by 7 feet. The *Gaston* had been around for some time on Army service having been built in 1837 at Charleston and had the dubious distinction of transporting the last Seminoles from Florida. She served the area until 1854 when she was taken off passenger service and put to work as a towboat in the St. Johns area. In length of time on the run the durable *Gaston* outlasted all others. After the conclusion of the Seminole War, steamboat service to the area diminished with rapidity as the chartered vessels departed for more

14. St. Augustine *News,* various issues, October, 1839.
15. *Ibid.,* various issues, November, 1839.
16. Newspaper records are scant, but vessel enrollment data indicates several owner changes about this time.

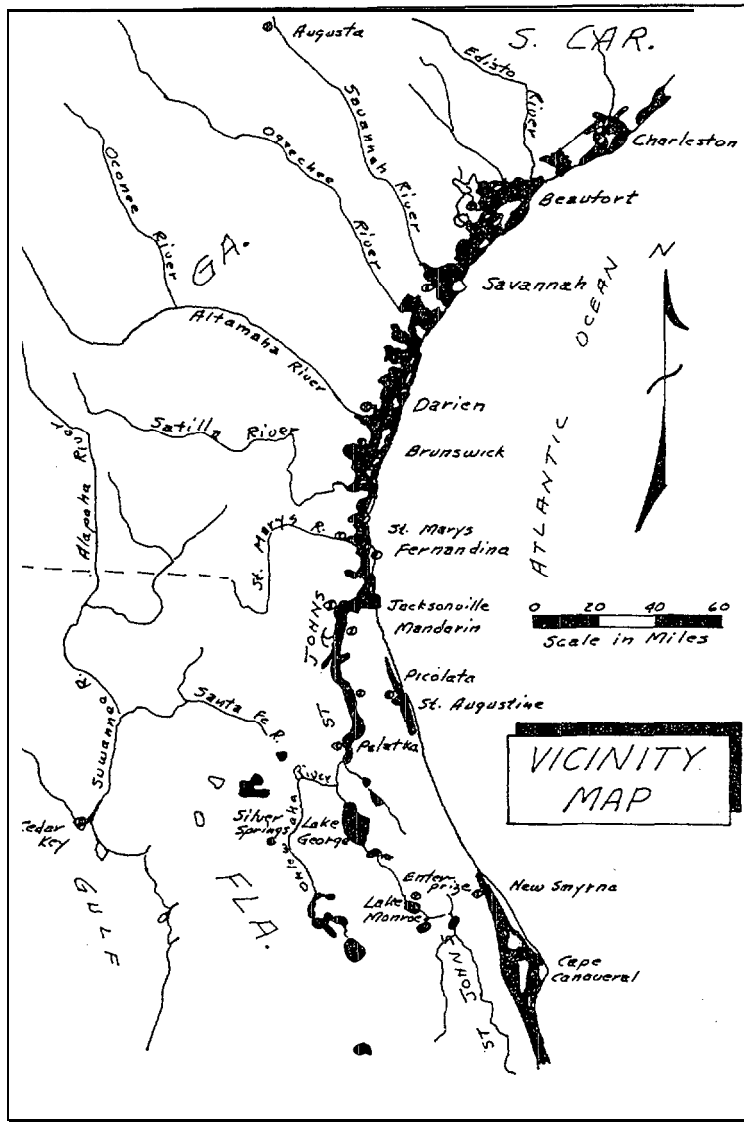
profitable climes. Some never left, their bones remaining to bleach on the hot Florida sands.

The *General Clinch* was a frequenter of the area. Measuring 131 feet by 24 feet by 8 feet, 8 inches, she was a large 256 tons built at Charleston in 1839 and named after General Duncan L. Clinch, a man active in transportation circles of the day, following a successful Army career.[17] An enlarged version of the *William Gaston* still ran (lengthened six feet in 1845) and the *St. Matthews,* 174 tons, measuring 120 feet by 22 feet, 2 inches by 7 feet, built in 1836 at New York started service in 1843 running from Savannah to Palatka via Darien, Brunswick, Jacksonville, Black Creek (about twenty miles south of Jacksonville), and Picolata. She and the *Gaston* paired up, offering twice a week service. The *Santee,* 170 tons, a Seminole War veteran, built in 1835 in Charleston and the *Ivanhoe,* 121 tons built in 1839 at Savannah, occasionally substituted for the *Gaston* along with the *Sarah Spaulding,* a fifty-five tonner built at Jacksonville, and rather small for the route.[18] The U.S. Mail was now carried on a twice-weekly contract to the St. Johns and Florida by the *St. Matthews,* and later by the *Ocamulgee* (264 tons). She was built in Charleston in 1836 and is described in 1847 as having one deck, one mast, a round stern, and a cabin. She was 132 feet by 25 feet, 10 inches by 8 feet, 5 inches.[19] The *Ocamulgee* had been in Florida waters during the Seminole War. Fernandez and Bisbee, Jacksonville merchants, were principal shareholders in her on her reappearance on the St. Johns.

Not all steamboat trips were dull and prosaic. For example, the June 18, 1847, Jacksonville *News* ecstasied, "THE EXCURSION-In the absence of theatres, and concerts, and circuses, a steamboat excursion will always prove a safety valve for the superfluous activity of any young and enterprising town. Since the last summer, Jacksonville has been abandoned to its own means of amusement, and balls, Spanish dances, and serenades have

17. General Clinch was elected President of the Florida Peninsular Railroad and Steamboat Company in January, 1839, and was a member of a successor company a few years later.
18. Lytle List has *Sarah Spaulding* built in 1849, but there is no doubt she was running in 1846 or 1847 according to papers of the day.
19. Notes in St. Johns steamboat file, Mills Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, Fla. Most early steamboats had one deck with one or more cabin structures for passengers. Later craft had two decks plus an elevated pilot house.

taken up the spare time of all its young men in the absence of a greater variety of pleasures. Great, therefore, was our delight when it was rumored that 'An Excursion' was to be made by the 'GASTON.' The town was in an uproar - ladies were in



ecstasies, and ladies maids were exhausted in their efforts to effect sundry profound combinations of ribands and lace, and divers inscrutable harmonies between old dresses and new dresses. The 'GASTON' arrived, and we are happy to state that all expectations were answered. It left here with the sound of music and dancing, and returned with the sound of music and dancing. Its hospitable and generous owner Mr. Sorrel and her officers, seemed to have resolved to leave nothing unattempted which could contribute to the amusement of the party. After touching at Black Creek, Picolata, and Palatka the boat returned, and a splendid dinner was served up to the hungry multitude on board, and well did they do justice to it. Champagne and generous Madeira flowed freely, and the inspiring strains of the Savannah brass band soon invited the joyous company to the waltz and cotillion upon the promenade deck. Amid the delights of the dance they arrived at Jacksonville, regretting the short life of pleasure, yet happy that no thorns had marred its existence during the previous twenty four hours. While yet at the wharf a grand ball was kept up until one o'clock at night and at length the company, weary with pleasure, retired to their several homes.

"From every quarter we have heard encomiums upon the generous proprietor of the 'GASTON,' Mr. Sorrel, and his gentlemanly and obliging son. We can only hope that a few short weeks will again bring the 'GASTON' to our waters, to meet the encouragement which her enterprising owner deserves, and which the increasing growth of our young State warrants."

In January, 1847, the Jacksonville *News* commented on the steamboat situation by saying, "The ST. MATTHEWS left on Tuesday with 123 bales of sea island cotton, by far the most valuable cargo ever shipped in a week. Every boat that now leaves is loaded with sea island cotton, sugar, oranges, lemons, hides, and turpentine and we trust it will not be too long before the business of East Florida will require a daily boat to Savannah." So much for winter-time editorial optimism!

It was also now more feasible to travel by steamboat up the St. Johns from Palatka to Enterprise (Lake Monroe) due to the efforts of the *Sarah Spaulding* which ran on a once-weekly basis, apparently the first civilian craft to run "regular." [20] The interior

20. Jacksonville *News*, May 14, 1847, advertizes *Sarah Spaulding* for Lake Monroe, under Capt. Bailey. This is the first such advertisement found.

of the state was becoming settled along the river fringes, Enterprise being the head of normal navigation. Passengers changed vessels at Palatka, a rapidly growing town tending to outstrip Jacksonville for the time being. Due to the mail contract, the St. Johns experienced twice-a-week service both winter and summer from Savannah in 1847. The *St. Matthews, William Gaston,* and *Ocamulgee* alternated, usually making two runs per week or perhaps three, depending on business and the state of repair of the craft. The *General Clinch* also visited the area upon occasion. [21]

The Jacksonville *News,* November 26, 1847, seemed well satisfied with the steamboat service commenting, "We are happy to learn the mail line derives a profit from a great amount of passengers and freight. It is owned by residents of Florida. These men are exerting themselves for the benefit of the state." However, the honeymoon and "exertions" seemed to be over some two years later, the Jacksonville *Republican* remarking in February, 1850, "The three 'antique and rotten' steamboats on the line between this place and Savannah are in a most interesting situation. The *St. Matthews* left here for Savannah week before last with her shaft broken and was relieved on the return trip by the OCKMULGEE *[sic].* The GASTON came down from Black Creek last week a perfect wreck and the OCKMULGEE which left here on Friday last is, we understand, run on a sand bank at 'the Sisters'."

The rival Jacksonvillle *News* also remarked on February 9, 1850, "We feel compelled by the universal sentiment of the public to call the attention of the Government to the miserable manner in which the mail service is performed by this line. Not once in ten times do the boats fulfil the . . . schedule and so frequently do they become disabled that they have become a bye-word in the country . . . the frequent breaking of the machinery proves the boats to be totally unfit for the service . . . the route is a long and arduous one and a portion of it in the open ocean. It lies through a thinly settled country where the patronage gives but a slender compensation. To meet expenses three antiquated rotten boats are devoted to the public service which they fail to fulfil where two good ones would perform all that was necessary. . . . As things are now, we had better have no mails at all, rather than

21. General Clinch arrived Jacksonville, October 13, 1847, according to Jacksonville *News,* October 15, 1847.

endanger the lives of the passengers or the property on the boats." Well, better days lay ahead.

In March the *News* hopefully suggested that the new high pressure steamboat, *Hancock* (152 tons; built 1849, Freedom, Pennsylvania; home port, Savannah), then running on the Savannah River and making a visit to the area, would run in competition with the *Gaston* and her ilk, but the owners after surveying the situation wisely decided to cease their efforts in this direction. However, *Hancock* did return to voyage on the St. Johns from Palatka to Enterprise for a brief spell prior to 1855. [22]

A ray of hope to the distraught editors in the form of *Magnolia* appeared on the horizon, or rather the river, in January, 1851. *Magnolia,* built in New York in 1850, was 260 tons, 140 feet by 24 feet, 6 inches by 8 feet, and very fast. In June she made the 750 mile round trip, Savannah to Palatka, in 43 "running" hours for an average speed of 17.4 miles per hour. According to the *Charleston Mercury,* she was the "fastest steamboat in Southern waters." [23] (This appears to be substantially correct, even some of the later boats did not do as well.) Many of the boats boasted and advertised twenty-four hours running time from Palatka to Savannah.

Another newcomer in 1851 was the *Welaka,* 256 tons, 137 feet by 25 feet by 8 feet, built in 1851 at Savannah, which appeared in the early spring.[24] In May the *St. Matthews, William Gaston, Welaka,* and *Magnolia* were on the Savannah-St. Johns route, the *Ocamulgee* having been retired due to the appearance of *Welaka* and *Magnolia,* with an assist from old age and a Georgia sand bar. However, the *Magnolia* was off the route for much of the latter part of 1851 and when she did return it was to meet a tragic fate. She exploded on January 12, 1852, in St. Simon's Sound, Georgia, killing thirteen persons including her Captain, McNelty. [25] Just before the *Magnolia's* return the Jacksonville *News* of December 13, 1851, commented, "The Mail Steamers

22. Jacksonville *News,* September 10, 1853, advertizes *Hancock* to run to Enterprise. *Hancock* was owned by Dr. Algernon Speers or Spiers (of Savannah?). *Darlington,* advertised to run a week later, may have driven *Hancock* off river.

23. Jacksonville *News,* June 14, 1851.

24. Various March, April and May issues of Jacksonville *News* in 1851 carried news of *Welaka's* building and first runs.

25. Lytle List.

-The manner in which the mail contracts between the St. John's River and Savannah have been fulfilled, for several years past, has been a subject of general complaint amongst our citizens. When the new contract was given out last July, to the present contractors, fine promises were made: we were promised a complete reform. The old crazy steamers called the ST. MATTHEWS and the GASTON were to be taken off the line, and new boats substituted, better adapted to the increasing trade and importance of the route. The fine steamer, the MAGNOLIA *was* put on, in place of the ST. MATTHEWS, but no substitute was furnished for the old GASTON. But after a few months, the MAGNOLIA was taken off the mail line and the old SAINT was put back again, to keep pace once more with her old acquaintance, the GASTON! These old boats have now been carrying the mails for several months past with admirable *irregularity,* rarely, if ever, arriving when due, and very seldom connecting with the Western mails. Last Sunday, the ST. MATTHEWS was due at 2 o'clock -but she did not make her appearance on Sunday or Monday or Tuesday or Wednesday. On Wednesday at 2 o'clock, the GASTON was due but she did not make her appearance till 10 at night, and then came laden with the freights and mails of her deceased consort, who, we learn, found a watery grave near Darien!-This is the last of the ST. MATTHEWS. The MAGNOLIA will take her place once more, and we hope some other equally good boat will soon supercede the GASTON. All will come right bye and bye. We are no grumblers, but we really think we have some cause for complaint."

In the early part of 1852, Louis M. Coxetter, perhaps the most famous of early coastal skippers and certainly a remarkable man by any standards, introduced direct service from Charleston to the St. Johns, eliminating the middleman transfer at Savannah with *Florida,* 350 tons, 135 feet by 26 feet by 9 feet, which was built in New York during 1851. She featured forty-four berths in state rooms and was built by Samuel Sneden who also built the *Calhoun* and *Gordon,* other successful southern steamers of the period.[26] (The *Gordon* appears on our scene later.) She was brought out by the Florida Steam Packet Company, a South Carolina company of which the principal share-

26. Jacksonville *News,* September 20, 1851.

holder was John W. Caldwell. The South Carolina legislature chartered the company for $70,000 in 1851. [27]

The service was eminently successful and Coxetter followed up his success by introducing *Carolina,* skippered by himself, in December 1852, *Carolina* alternating trips with *Florida. Carolina* was a bigger and better sidewheeler of 477 tons, built in Greenpoint, New York. The *Carolina* was "modeled after Atlantic steamers" according to her owners who also boasted that she was abandoning the "inside" route for the "outside" Atlantic passage, she being considered stout enough to stand the extra buffeting. [28] Actually she may have switched to the "inside" passage later, as sea-sickness was prevalent on the "outside." On her maiden voyage to the St. Johns she made the Charleston to Jacksonville distance in 20 hours! [29]

Business on the Charleston-St. Johns circuit seemed to be very good. A Charleston paper commented in February, 1853, that, "the latest Florida boat landed 46 passengers, 52 negroes as well as a number of mules, wagons, carriages, and the like. The receipts from each trip are over $1,000." [30] And this was in a day when a dollar meant something.

Due to the growing business, the Charleston competition, and the advancing age of *Gaston,* both a replacement and an addition to the Savannah-Florida circuit were being built in Savannah. The first, St. Johns (official registry number, 11962), built by H. F. Willink, Jr., who had been an apprentice of William Webb of New York, made her initial trip to Florida in August, 1853. She was described as follows: 130 foot keel, 150 foot length on deck, 5 $^{1}/_{2}$ foot rake forward, 26 foot width, 4 $^{1}/_{2}$ foot draught, 8 feet, 4 inches depth of hold, 47 feet outside to outside of side wheels, 24 foot diameter wheels, and 6 foot "bucket" length. She was around 355 tons, 126 horsepower, and could carry 80 passengers. [31]

The second of these craft, *Seminole,* made her first trip in March, 1854. She was built by D. P. Landershine and her dimensions were almost identical to *St. Johns,* 152 feet, 6 inches

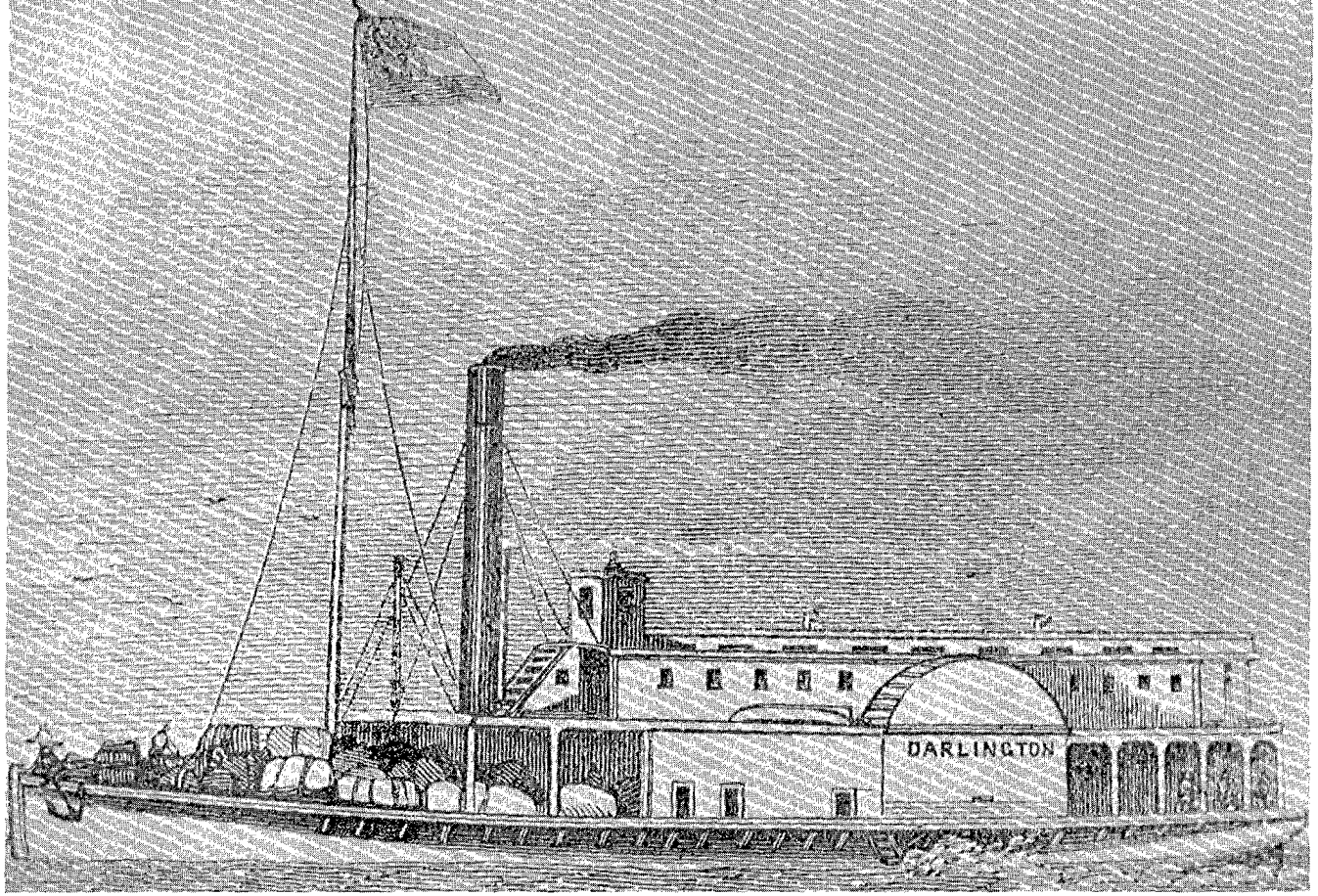
27. *South Carolina Statutes,* 1851.
28. Jacksonville *News,* January 8, 1853.
29. *Ibid.,* January 1, 1853.
30. *Ibid.,* February 12, 1853, quoting a Charleston paper.
31. Jacksonville *News,* May 7, 1853.

by 26 feet by 9 feet. She had 160 horsepower to propell her 319 tons. [32]

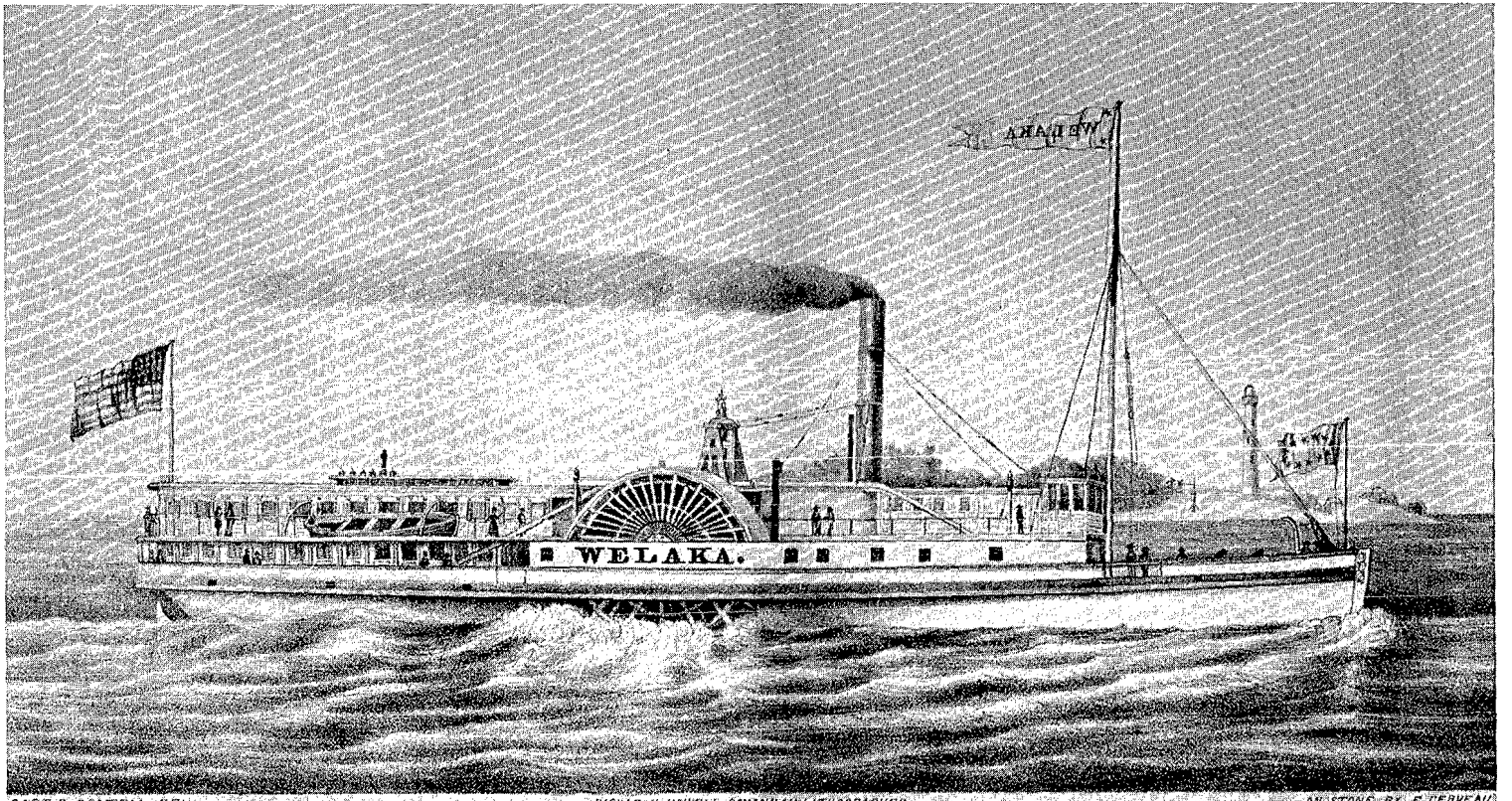
In the winter of 1854, *Carolina* and *Florida* ran to Charleston; *Seminole, Welaka,* and *St. Johns* to Savannah. *Welaka* also ran on the St. Johns River from Palatka to Enterprise, as did *Darlington* skippered by Jacob Brock, a most indefatigable steamboat personage. *Darlington,* (registry number 6125) was a refugee from the Pee Dee River in South Carolina and started her Florida career in September, 1853, perhaps replacing *Sarah Spaulding,* and *Hancock,* (at least little more of *Sarah* is heard after this time). [33] *Darlington* was 298 tons, built in 1849 at Charleston. She could accommodate forty passengers and had fair speed. Her upper deck was for passengers, her lower for freight and the necessary steamboat machinery. She had two saloons, one small one reserved for ladies and children and one large one frequented by all. Staterooms were arranged around the large saloon and it was used as a dining room during meal hours. [34] A *Thorn* was also advertised around this period as running on the St. Johns to Enterprise but particulars seem to be lacking. However, in 1853 she had substituted for *Gaston* on the Savannah mail run upon occasion.

Seminole came to an early and untimely end, December 20, 1855, in Jacksonville. She caught on fire at her wharf and drifted to the other shore. Captain Coxetter in *Carolina* tried to assist but having a deck load of hay had to helplessly stand by and watch her burn to the water line. Fortunately no lives were lost. [35] *Welaka* was the next victim of the December jinx, stranding on the infamous St. Johns bar December 2, 1857, with no loss of life. This left the service to Savannah quite short of craft but *St. Marys* was procured to take *Seminole's* place and in 1858 the *William Seabrook* was added for a brief period, probably as a spare boat. *St. Marys* (No. 18694), was the first iron hulled craft in the trade. She was built in 1857 at Wilmington, Delaware, and was 337 tons, 159 feet by 26 feet by 7 feet, a side-wheeler like all the rest of the early Florida craft. *William Seabrook* was an ancient 227 tonner 122 feet by 26 feet by 7 feet,

32. *Ibid.,* July 9, 1853.
33. September and October, 1853 numbers of Jacksonville *News* advertise *Darlington.*
34. Ledyard Bill, *A Winter In Florida* (New York, 1870).
35. Jacksonville *News,* December 22, 1855.



Darlington, shown flying the flag of the Confederacy at Fernandina, March, 1862. From a contemporary periodical.



Steamer WELAKA Capt. N. King

Entering the St. Johns River from Savannah.

Courtesy, Eldredge Collection, Mariners Museum, Newport News, Virginia.

7 inches, built in 1831 at New York and serving out her old age.

Around the latter part of 1855 *Florida* left the Charleston-St. Johns route for New Orleans. *Everglade,* commanded by Captain Coxetter and his cohorts who had shifted over from the *Carolina* was a newcomer after *Florida's* transfer. *Everglade* was a large 406 tons, 169 feet, 6 inches by 30 feet by 8 feet, 6 inches, constructed in 1856 at New York. She was a private independent venture furthered under Coxetter's leadership and financing. *Carolina* and *Everglade* were joined by *General Clinch* for a few trips and then by *Gordon,* a former Charleston to Savannah steamer, 518 tons, 177 feet by 27 feet, 6 inches by 11 feet, 2 inches, which was built in New York in 1851. [36] For a time business seemed to be plentiful. For example in November, 1858, *Carolina* carried 71 cabin passengers plus 110 deck, whilst *Everglade* was carrying 104 cabin and 60 deck passengers on a trip in the same week. [37]

This type of business and the eventual keen competition finally forced *Everglade* to the auctioneer's hammer. Her competitors, *Carolina* and *Gordon,* scheduled a steamer to run on the same day, cut freight prices, (cotton to 60 cents per bale) and also had the advantage of having the mail contract. *Everglade* went for $39,900 in May, 1860, much less than her construction cost. She was purchased by an East Floridian. [38] After a few months "on the beach" following the *Everglade* debacle, Coxetter shifted to the *Augusta* and plied to Savannah from Fernandina. (It is not quite clear as to just what vessel in the Lytle List that *Augusta* might have been, as the most likely prospects do not ring true.) *Cecile* also started on the Charleston run in 1860, she being an iron-hulled craft of 360 tons, 156 feet, 6 inches by 29 feet by 8 feet, 6 inches, built in 1857 at Wilmington, Delaware, and previously operated out of Charleston on another route.

On the Savannah-St. Johns route, *St. Johns* and *St. Marys* evidently had an easy time of it until *Augusta* came upon the scene. She promptly gave the devil his due and made life interesting by price cutting, proudly advertising that the freight on cotton was fifty cents per bale, freight rates were one third less than the competition, and passenger fares were one to two dollars

36. Fernandina *Florida News,* February 10, 17, 1858.
37. *Ibid.,* November 25, 1858.
38. Fernandina *East Floridian,* May 31, 1859.

cheaper. [39] *Everglade* was also shifted to the Savannah run by her new owners in the summer of 1860. [40]

Summing up, it would appear that the beginning of 1860 saw *Gordon, Carolina,* [41] *Cecile,* and perhaps *William Seabrook* as a spare boat, plying the St. Johns-Charleston circuit while *Everglade, Augusta, St. Marys,* and *St. Johns* were on the Savannah route. *Darlington* ran Palatka to Enterprise as did a newcomer starting in April, 1861, *Barroso,* 124 tons, built in 1852 at Astoria New York. *Barroso* ran Jacksonville to Enterprise as well as Palatka to Enterprise.[42] Most of these craft were in their prime, business was good, and prospects for the future appeared bright. However, the advent of the Civil War brought the coastwise service to and from Florida to an end although many of the steamers ran until well into 1861.

Most of the steamers had interesting war careers. *Cecile* became a blockade runner in January of 1862 and ran out of Wilmington at first. On her twenty-fifth run she ripped her bottom out on a coral head near Abaco Light in the Bahamas. She and almost all of her cargo, consisting in part of 2,000 rifles, 500 kegs of powder and 8 cannon, were lost. [43]

Everglade became the Confederate steamer *Savannah* and later the *C.S.S. Oconee,* and was used as a flagship by Tattnall in river and harbor defense. John Maffitt of later notoriety as captain of the Confederate raider *Florida* was aboard her for a brief spell but thought little of her war potential. [44] *Everglade,* as did the *Savannah* and *Oconee,* helped to defend some of the coastal waters she frequented in happier days. She was captured in August, 1863, by the Yankees. [45]

Carolina is, perhaps erroneously, listed in Lytle as being the *C.S.S. Gordon,* later renamed *C.S.S. Theodora.* It is more probable that she was the blockade runner *Kate,* a most remarkable

39. *Ibid.,* March 15, 1860.
40. *Ibid.,* August 31, 1860.
41. For an interesting albeit brief account of a March, 1861, voyage on *Carolina,* see William W. Rogers, "Florida on the Eve of the Civil War as Seen by a Southern Reporter," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXIX (October, 1960), 145-158.
42. *St. Augustine Examiner,* July 27, 1861.
43. Robert Carse, *Blockade; The Civil War at Sea* (New York, 1958).
44. "A more absurd abortion for a man of war was rarely witnessed." from Hamilton Cochrane, *Blockade Runners of the Confederacy* (Indianapolis, 1958).
45. Lytle List.

vessel which made forty runs in the early days of the blockade before being finally wrecked at the entrance of the Cape Fear River in the fall of 1862. [46]

Gordon, after a brief and successful career as a "letter of marque," performed a short hitch as a chartered harbor and coastal patrol boat. Confederate Commissioners James M. Mason and John Slidell on their famous interrupted voyage to England chose her for the first leg of the trip. She was chartered for $10,000 for a single voyage to the West Indies (renamed *Theodora* for some reason), and in October, 1861, made it through the blockade to Cuba. She made at least seventeen successful blockade runs after a freighting run for the Confederate Army to nearby West Indian ports, but was finally captured. [47]

Captain Coxetter was a successful privateersman at the onset of hostilities. He operated the former slaver *Echo,* renaming her *Jeff Davis.* She made a highly successful voyage taking many prizes and causing great consternation and indignation in the North. At the end of her one and only voyage she was wrecked on the St. Augustine bar. Coxetter had a price placed on his head for being a "pirate" in his *Jeff Davis* jaunt. He managed to escape capture and made many runs through the blockade on the British-built runner *Herald,* which he later renamed *Antonica.* After hostilities ceased he returned to the Charleston-Palatka run until 1873, when he passed to his reward. [48]

Darlington was captured at Fernandina in March, 1862, while attempting to flee and being prevented from doing so by a recalcitrant drawbridge. Jacob Brock was her captain and he was placed in "durance vile" for his efforts. *Darlington* was used by the Federal forees in waters of Florida, Georgia, and the Carolinas. [49] After the war Brock reclaimed *Darlington* and ran her on the St. Johns, along with several other vessels, to Enterprise where he built a famous hostelry, the Brock House.

The two "Saints," *St. Johns* and *St. Marys,* survived the war but not without incident, and after hostilities ceased they returned to their old voyaging pattern. *St. Johns* was captured as

46. William Robinson, Jr., *The Confederate Privateers* (New Haven, 1928.
47. *Ibid.,* and Carse, *Blockade.*
48. See *Dictionary of American Biography* for more complete information on Coxetter.
49. Steamboat card file, Mills Library, Rollins College

a Confederate steamer in April, 1863, and in December of that year renamed *Helen Getty.* After hostilities, she ran for several years.

St. Marys was renamed *Nick King* (after a famous Captain on the run) sometime before 1864 and did blockade running. In February, 1864, while loading cotton near Jacksonville she was blocked off in a creek off the St. Johns by the Federal gunboat *Norwich* and was sunk by her crew to prevent capture. However, she was raised and rebuilt as *U.S.S. Genessee.* After the war she reverted to Southern owners, and was renamed *Nick King* in 1868. Her career was climaxed with singular honor in April, 1870, when she transported the beloved Robert E. Lee on a scenic cruise of the St. Johns a few months before his death. [50]

So much for some of the early steamboat events of Florida. In retrospect the *Jacksonville Courier* of October 8, 1835, expresses one's sentiments in about as nostalgic a manner as they can be put: "Steamer, FLORIDA arrived at our wharves last evening from Savannah on her way to Picolata. We are glad to see her gliding up and down our river. It seems to give life to everything. The merchants moves with quicker step, the planter looks around and hastens the preparation of his crop and dreams of other sections which send such streams of activity to enliven his prosaic life. Even the negro drone wonders at its noisy velocity and proceeds with new energy in the completion of his task. Individuals feel its influence, the community feels it, and the streams of life course their way with quicker pulsation through the veins of society."

50. Lytle List and Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns, A Parade of Diversities* (New York, 1943).

THE COTTON MILL CAMPAIGN IN FLORIDA, 1828-1863

by RICHARD W. GRIFFIN

THE MANUFACTURING impulse in the South appeared as early as 1790 when primitive cotton factories were established in Kentucky and South Carolina. In Virginia an association to promote manufactures was launched at Richmond in 1786. This early interest in development of cotton manufactories was not comparable, however, to that which set off the cotton growing craze after the invention of the cotton gin.

This second, and more extensive, period of Southern textile manufacture developed in part as a result of the impulse created by the Embargo of 1807, and from that time on the manufacture of cotton was never entirely abandoned in the section. This period was, for many of the early promoters, a time of costly learning which saw the capital of many mills swept away in the years after 1815 when the competition of British manufacturers nearly destroyed the infant textile industry of the nation. The years after 1816 saw an increasing flow of dislocated Yankee machinists into the South, bringing with them the necessary skill and experience to add to the capital and enthusiasm of many Southern pioneer entrepreneurs. In the decade from 1816 to 1826 a new and firm foundation was laid, upon which the growth of the Southern industrial revolution was to permanently build and upon which an undreamed of expansion was to continue for generations thereafter.

The clarion call of the protectionists was heeded by the industrial pioneers of the South, for they were well aware that the section could enjoy many of the same advantages for manufactures as did New England. Thus the tariff defenders of the late 1820's had many sympathetic auditors in the not so solid agrarian South. The year 1827 marked the start of a significant cotton mill campaign which was only slowed by the Civil War. In 1827 the legislature of North Carolina established a select committee to investigate the opportunities for the manufacture of cotton

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and wool in that commonwealth. The committee made an exhaustive study of the subject, holding special hearings at which the few successful cotton manufacturers of the state testified as to the opportunities for further industrial expansion. The chief aim of this committee was to stem the tide of migration from the state by publicizing its many economic opportunities. [1]

In the same year the Georgia legislature made a similar study at the behest of John J. Schley, a native of Maryland who had migrated to Georgia and founded the state's first cotton mill at Louisville in 1808. Both studies attracted wide attention, but the report of the North Carolina committee was given more notice. It was published by leading newspapers in every part of the South in 1828, and was further broadcast to the planters through the columns of *The American Farmer.*

The Southern cotton mill campaign launched by *The Farmer* in 1827 and 1828 stimulated an immediate response in Florida. David B. McComb, a planter residing near Tallahassee, wrote a long letter proposing agricultural improvements for the region which would make the establishment of cotton factories easier. He was evidently an immigrant from New England for he cited his own experience with textile mills to strengthen his argument to his fellow planters to operate cotton factories in conjunction with cotton plantations. He pointed out that there was as much merit for the cotton planter to spin his cotton as for the rice and sugar planters to operate hulling mills and refineries. He argued that slave labor could be used in such factories and, indeed, was to be preferred to "white labour, both on account of its certainty and cheapness." The result he predicted for cotton planters would be "more profit, by 100 per cent., than any other investment of capital." He concluded his letter saying

> These ideas I have long entertained, and am happy to see them so ably illustrated and enlarged upon in late numbers of the Farmer. The ball of the "American System" has taken a Southern direction, and such will be its uniformly accelerated motion, and effect upon the merits of our southern nabobs, that while their orators are vociferously declaiming, on the floors of Congress, against internal improvements and tariffs, they themselves will be making strong and I trust, successful experiments, and complete the combinations

1. Richard Griffin, "The Fisher Report, 1828," *The Cotton History Review,* II (January, 1961), 46-67.

of the three *generic* branches of human industry, agriculture, manufactures, and commerce. [2]

It seems fair to conclude that other residents of Florida were not immune to the general excitement expressed in sister states with regard to this important subject. In any case in 1835 five citizens of Pensacola, Joseph Forsyth, A. P. and E. E. Simpson, George Williams, and Henry Ahrens, secured a charter from the territorial legislature for the Escambia Manufacturing Company which was to be a cotton mill located in Arcadia. The charter allowed the company a capital of $60,000 and was to extend for a period of fifty years. [3]

The efforts of these individuals were not rewarded by sufficient public support to immediately establish their novel project; probably because of its strangeness and the fact that the Panic of 1837 curtailed the investment of capital. The depression years had, however, shown clearly the need for a departure from the exclusive attachment to growing cotton, and by 1841 favorable public notice was made of their efforts.

The editor of the *Pensacola Gazette,* displaying an unwonted ignorance of their six year struggle to get the factory built and assuming that it was a new project wrote, "How strange it is that nothing of this kind has yet been done here!" It suddenly became obvious to him that the South was suffering from its colonial status as a producer of raw materials and buyer of finished goods. It became patriotic to question the wisdom of sending cotton to the north and Europe only to repurchase it in the form of clothing for planters and their slaves. This editorialist concluded that "the time is fast coming when the slumbering South will be awakened to the unwelcome truth, that she must manufacture her own clothes and raise her own provisions, or her people must become the bond slaves of the north and west." [4]

The enactment of a new tariff in 1842 by Congress, and the continuing downward spiral of cotton prices, brought a new urgency to the manufacturing question in the cotton region. Planters were seeking any way to stimulate consumption of the

2. *The American Farmer,* IX (January 4, 1828), 332.
3. *Laws of the Territory of Florida,* 1835, 286-287.
4. *Pensacola Gazette,* February 13, 1841; New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* February 18, 1841; Alexandria (Va.) *Gazette,* March 2, 1841; Jacksonville (Ala.) *Republican,* April 14, 1841; Franklin (Tenn.) *Western Weekly Review,* April 30, 1841; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* V (August, 1841), 140.

constantly growing surplus of cotton. The diversion of part of their capital and labor into manufactures was urged by many of the leaders of the South as a means of maintaining the planter's income. The effect of these suggestions was to stimulate a renewed enthusiasm for the scheme of cotton manufactures. In many areas this enthusiasm unfortunately developed into a craze promoting manufactures as a panacea for all the planter's difficulties.

By 1845 the price of cotton fell to the lowest position since the staple had become an important aspect of the South's economy. In face of this crisis the Pensacola investors redoubled their efforts to finance the projected company and secured a new charter under the name of the Arcadia Manufacturing Company. [5] The editor of the *Gazette* announced to his readers that the long projected and talked of cotton mill was about to become a reality. Editors in many parts of the South hailed this announcement as the dawn of a new day in the infant state of Florida, and at the same time urged their own readers to follow this excellent lead into manufacturing enterprise. The *Gazette's* editor launched into a bitter criticism of policies that he may well have supported at an earlier date when he said that "if Southern statesmen had all along employed their influence in getting up cotton factories instead of fighting against the tariff (As Don Quixotte did against the windmill, . . .) the South would now be independent of Northern capital; we should have everything within ourselves, and a fair division of labor would make us prosperous and happy." Many of the editorial fraternity of the South echoed these sentiments even when it represented a radical shift from the conventional line. [6] The editor of the New Orleans *Tropic* in taking note of this Florida enterprise pointed out that "there is much more wisdom in Southern men availing themselves of the benefits of the Tariff, than in whining and blubbering about its enriching the North at the expense of the South." [7]

By the fall of 1845 the Arcadia Company's mill was rising in the piney woods of West Florida. A correspondent of the New Orleans *Tropic* visited the village of Arcadia where the buildings were in process of erection. He reported that the proprietors of

5. *Laws of the State of Florida,* 1845, 139.
6. Greensboro (N. C.) *Patriot,* March 8, 1845, citing the *Pensacola Gazette;* New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* February 19, 1845.
7. Tuscumbia *North Alabamian,* March 7, 1845 citing the New Orleans *Tropic.*

the mill were planning to begin spinning and weaving in January, 1846. They had secured sufficient machinery to consume 3,000 bales of cotton annually, which they proposed to have woven into "different numbers of Lowells, and other heavy domestics. . . ." [8] The owners of the mill decided to employ only slaves in the factory and one of the proprietors went to Virginia to buy the necessary hands. "It is determined to incur this last expense at once, in order to avoid the possible inconvenience of white operatives becoming dissatisfied and leaving their work." [9] The company officials anticipated an immediate financial success which would finance further expansion of their plant and the manufacture of an even greater variety of goods. [10]

In the spring of 1846 the editor of the *Gazette* informed Floridians that the Arcadia Cotton Factory was both spinning and weaving cotton. This, he said, was an opportunity to prove that the staple could be successfully manufactured in competition with the mills of New England. In his opinion the savings on the cost of shipping the cotton North and in returning the goods to Florida would assure the owners of the factory a profit. The success he foresaw was to be assured by the fact that "here . . . at the very door of the factory, the raw material is produced, and the hog and hominy necessary for the operatives." [11]

The opinions expressed were not all favorable to the growth of a Florida or Southern industrial system. The editor of the *Southern Journal,* a paper published at Tallahassee, was unimpressed by the growing cotton mill campaign. In an editorial he warned his readers that the promotion of industry was merely a plot of Northern protectionists to win adherents for their unfair tariff views in the South. He seemed to be particularly fearful of the proposals for the employment of slave labor in such enterprises, not because of the competition this would make for the poor whites, but because success would invalidate the belief that the Negro was incapable of such advanced training. He ended his remarks with the peroration:

8. Columbia *South Carolinian,* September 24, 1845, citing the New Orleans *Tropic;* Hillsborough (N.C.) *Recorder,* September 24, 1845; Little Rock *Arkansas State Gazette,* October 14, 1845; Tallahassee *Floridian,* March 2, 1846, citing the Mobile *Herald and Tribune.*
9. *Pensacola Gazette,* September 13, 1845.
10. Columbia *South Carolinian,* September 24, 1845.
11. *Pensacola Gazette,* April 18, 1846; Washington *Daily National Intelligencer,* May 1, 1846.

> But what means this stimulating cry of "Southern Independence," which is to seduce our farmers from the fields to the factories? We confess that, for ourselves, we never wish to see the time when the South shall cease to be dependent on the North, or the North to be dependent upon the South. We assert that the one should be dependent on the other, and each will find its happiness in this mutual dependence. As it is now, the South is not more dependent on the North, than the North upon the South. . . .
>
> As for the establishment of manufactories in the South, we state with great deference, that we have nothing to hope from such a thing. So far from mitigating the evils of the Tariff, thereby, we would only make them more inevitable. [12]

It is, of course, obvious that partisan political opinion dictated this polemic rather than any serious consideration of the merits of the question. The significant manufacturing attempts at Arcadia were pointedly ignored. The entire case of Southern capacity and opportunity for cotton manufactures received its greatest support from the Whig Party-although the popularity of the cotton mill campaign forced many Democrats to climb aboard the band wagon of the growing Southern industrial campaign. That the industrial tide of the 1840's was against the editor of the Journal was evident from all sides.

The events at Arcadia were watched with interest especially as the company were employing exclusively slave girls in the mill. Its promoters were hailed as benefactors of the community for the important experiment they were making. The machinery for the plant arrived at Pensacola early in December, 1845, and was ready for installation as soon as the buildings were complete. [13] The mill occupied a two story building, ninety four by thirty-eight feet in size, and when the machines were in place it operated 960 spindles and 24 looms. The investment in the total plant was $60,000, and the product was 4,000 yards of twilled cotton cloth weekly. The addition of more machinery, as was then contemplated, was expected to increase production to 6,000 yards weekly and 300,000 yards yearly.

The mill hands were nearly all Negro girls, forty in all, between the ages of fifteen and twenty. They were "mostly married, and look as happy and contented with their vocation as it has been our lot to see anywhere; they are comfortably lodged, well fed,

12. Tallahassee *Southern Journal,* April 14, 1846.
13. *Pensacola Gazette,* December 15, 1845.

well clothed and kindly treated." The company furnished living quarters for their hands conveniently located to the mill. [14] The slave operatives proved a success and the production of the Arcadia Factory increased as they became more proficient in the operation of the machinery. The proprietors began to plan further expansion of the machinery in order to increase the manufacture of cloth to 10,000 yards weekly. [15] The continued experiment with slave labor in the factory attracted both national and sectional attention. At the end of the first year of operation the company was still operating its original equipment, which was powered by water; the workers included thirty-three girls and six boys who were taught and supervised by three overseers from Northern mills. The company had invested about $24,000 in its labor supply, the average cost being about $400 per slave.

A local editor reported that "as an experiment, we are happy to hear, it has more than answered the sanguine expectations of its worthy proprietors." [16] The slaves were not only well cared for, but were vying with each other in learning the various operations. The editor of the *Gazette* said that "to suppose as many have pretended to do, that they are not equal to white girls in a factory is ridiculous nonsense, it is to suppose that the manipulation depends on the color of the fingers." [17] At the end of the second year of operation the *Gazette* pointed out the obvious success of this factory and its labor system to those who were fighting the cotton mill campaign. Its editor said:

> Then as to the "problem" of adequacy of slave labor, it is now about as well settled as is the problem whether two things, each equal to a third, are equal to one another. It is no problem, and it never has been a problem. Doubtless you cannot make a good factory hand out of a grown woman who has been reared in a corn field, any more than you can make a good hand out of a white woman of the same description. . . . The thing is next to impossible; but with the native skill and ingenuity of mere labor-the labor of hands-the negro is just as richly endowed as the white.

14. Savannah *Georgian,* August 26, 1849, citing the Mobile *Register;* Huntsville, Ala., *Southern Advocate,* September 11, 1846; Alexandria (Va.) *Gazette,* September 1, 1846; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* XV (October, 1846), 417.
15. *Pensacola Gazette* October 10, 1846.
16. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* XVII (September, 1847), 323, citing the Pensacola *Live Oak; DeBow's Review,* IV (October, 1847), 256.
17. New Orleans *Daily Picayune,* October 17, 1846, citing the *Pensacola Gazette.*

> While so many dear lovers of southern interests have been whinning over the protection afforded to northern industry and northern capital, the enterprising proprietors of the Arcadian Factory, seem to have made the important discovery that the industry and capital which are really protected, belong to no clime exclusively, or if they do, it is to the south--to the cotton growing region-that they belong. [18]

The expression of such opinions were considered in some quarters as a danger to long held and oft expressed shibboleths of the arch-defenders of the "Southern way of life."

The Arcadia Factory continued to increase its production, which by 1848 had risen to 6,000 yards of cloth weekly, and consumed 1,000 pounds of cotton daily. It was claimed that this mill enjoyed a twenty per cent price advantage over distant mills in buying the raw material-a saving of fifteen dollars daily, a sum sufficient to cover the cost of the slave hands' food. [19]

The success of the proprietors of the Arcadia Cotton Mill stimulated interest in a similar project at Newport in Wakulla county. A Mr. Wheaton, resident of Gadsden county, who, said the editor of the Newport *Gazette* "possess much *practical* knowledge of the manufacture of cotton fabrics, and also much ingenuity as a machinist," selected as a suitable place for a cotton mill, a site then being used for a saw mill on the St. Marks river. The location was chosen because of the satisfactory water power and the safety of the place from flood damage. The cost of the projected factory-to contain 1,000 spindles to consume one bale of cotton daily-was estimated at between $15,000 and $20,000. The Newport *Gazette* predicted that if sufficient investors could be found the factory could be in operation in a few months. The estimate was a gross error, for even the most efficient companies took a minimum of a year from ground breaking to production. If this represented Mr. Wharton's "practical knowledge" it is just as well that local people took no interest in the undertaking and that it was abandoned. [20]

The popular Southern interest in the building of cotton mills was growing yearly and was reflected in Florida. The Florida

18. *Pensacola Gazette,* April 8, 1848; Huntsville, Ala., *Southern Advocate,* May 27, 1848, citing the Augusta (Ga.) *Chronicle.*
19. Franklin, Tenn., *Western Weekly Review,* May 26, 1848, citing the *Pensacola Gazette.*
20. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* July 12, 1847; Tallahassee *Floridian,* July 31, 1847; Savannah (Ga.) *Daily Republican,* August 10, 1847, all citing the Newport (Fla.) *Gazette.*

legislature in its 1847-1848 session, as an encouragement to the investment in manufacturing, passed a law specifically exempting the stock of manufacturing companies from taxation. [21] There was however no noticeable rush of investors into the cotton textile business.

Meanwhile the operations at Arcadia continued to expand with each year. By 1849 the number of slaves employed in the works had increased to one hundred and they were manufacturing 7,800 yards of cloth each week. [22] By 1853 this mill's capital had grown to $80,000 and it was manufacturing 624,000 yards of sheeting each year.[23] The Arcadia Manufacturing Company was the largest and most successful of the cotton factories operated in ante-bellum Florida. What eventually happened to the company is not now known, but it was apparently not operating in 1861. [24]

The political, economic, and social crisis created by the Wilmot Proviso stirred up further agitation for Southern industrial expansion and economic independence. It was doubtless this issue which led to an attempt to establish a cotton mill in Tallahassee. Interested persons began in 1849 to collect information about the cost of building a cotton factory and the advantages that such a plant would bring to the community. In mid-February, 1850, a public meeting was called to consider the statistics which had been collected and to make final plans for the factory if sufficient public interest and support was aroused. Information from one source suggested that the machinery for a factory of 600 spindles and twenty looms could be secured for $8,806.00. [25]

21. *Laws of the State of Florida, 1848*, 24.
22. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 17, 1849; June 18, 1851, citing the *Baltimore Sun.*
23. *DeBow's Review*, XIV (April, 1853), 329.
24. Kathryn Hanna, *Florida Land of Change*, (Chapel Hill, 1948) 256.
25. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, February 12, 1850.

"The first is for machinery for 20 looms and the manufacture of No. 6 yarn, although the machinery will admit of varying the size two or three numbers. One willow for opening cotton, $75.00; 1 Whiting's pick and spreader, $525.00; 6 36-inch cards, including clothing, at $215 each, 1,650.00; 1 grinder $100; twelve bobbin speeders, $364; 1 drawing frame, 150.00; 3 throstles, 120 spindles, each at $5.00, 1,800.00; 2 filling frames, 120 spindles, each at $4.00, 1,440.00; 1 speeder of 34 spools, 102.00; 1 warper, $100.00; 1 Dresser, 500.00; 20 looms at $60.00 each, 1,200.00. Total $7,806.00.

"Reeds, Shuttles, Bobbins, Harnesses, Belting, &c., &c., with labor for starting machinery, 500.00; 1 engine lathe and other necessary tools for repairs, $500.00; total $8,806.00.

One of the most complete statements came from the manager of the Waynmansville Factory, Upson County, Georgia, who recommended that the company employ slaves rather than depend upon finding sufficient white labor in their sparsely settled area. He said, "it is very essential when you commence operations to have experienced men, who understand the business, even if you have to pay them high wages. Their good management will save you more than their wages amount to." [26] He suggested such a trained supervisor could be obtained from New England or from one of the successful Georgia mills.

The project got support from the editor of the *Sentinel* who frequently reprinted articles dealing with manufacture of cotton in other Southern states as a means of encouraging local residents to invest in such undertakings.[27] He had in November, 1850, republished a long article by a Tennessee planter, Mark R. Cockrill, who in 1849 had received wide circulation in Southern newspapers for a persuasive article urging that "the spindles and looms must be brought to the cotton fields." Cockrill tried to show planters how they could pool their capital and build spinning mills throughout the cotton region. He suggested 350 mills with 10,000 spindles each. They would be sufficient to spin all of the cotton grown and not consumed by Northern mills in 1848. The effect on the planters would be to increase the value of cotton threefold, so that cotton which sold for $40,000,000 would bring the planter-manufacturer $120,000,000. He went into rather minute detail as to how this industrial revolution was to take place, as well as what should be done to make each unit most efficient. It was a plan grand in conception and one which may have had momentary appeal to many planters, but none-the-less one which displayed many flaws. [28]

Ten months after the original meeting to consider a Tallahassee cotton factory, John G. Gamble, knowing the editor's sympathy for local industry, wrote the *Sentinel* urging him to revive the interest of the people in the plan. Gamble said that "a matter so vital to the interest of the Cotton Planters, must not be buried."

"Operatives necessary, 2 superintendents, 1 machinist, 3 men and 2 boys, 22 young women and girls-30. Amount of cotton consumed per day 350 pounds, wast 12 per cent. Quantity of cloth manufactured 600 yards of 3/4 weighting 1/2 pound per yard."

26. *Ibid.*
27. *Ibid.*, October 8, 1850; June 17, 1851.
28. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* November 16, 1850.

He urged the building of a cotton factory in every county in the South. This, he said, would enable Southerners to spin their entire crop and by this means increase greatly the prosperity of the entire region.

Gamble pointed out that British mills were producing millions of pounds of yarn for domestic weavers on the continent and the obvious conclusion was that the South could just as readily supply the market and more cheaply than the English mills. He urged the residents of Leon county to join in the patriotic effort to raise $30,000 for the establishment of a cotton mill with 1,000 spindles.[29] Eventually sufficient interest was aroused to warrant the formation of a cotton mill company in Tallahassee. Stock was sold on subscription and the editor of the *Floridian* was enthusiastic in describing the manifold advantages that the city was about to enjoy.[30] However, his dream was not to be realized as there were not sufficient subscribers to the company's capital. This result was, perhaps, due to the fact that the price of cotton made a remarkable recovery and the planters' attention was drawn once more to the field and away from the factory.

Two more cotton factories were built in Florida in the 1850's. The earliest was the Madison Cotton Mill built by Captain N. P. Willard. This spinning mill was begun in 1851 and was in full operation by February, 1852. The capital invested in the mill was $30,000, secured by Captain Willard and others in the vicinity of Madison. The mill operated at first 800 spindles and produced 500 to 750 pounds of yarn daily. When Willard sent his yarn to Tallahassee merchants for inspection they reported to the editor of the *Floridian* that the yarns were equal to any manufactured in the South. The Editor said that "we are rejoiced to be able to chronicle the fact that one man in Florida has met with sufficient encouragement . . . to embark in the work of manufacturing." The implication must have been obvious to his local readers - "Go thou and do likewise."[31]

The factory offered employment to poor white families-the thirty employees being boys and girls between the ages of ten and

29. *Ibid.*, December 23, 1850. John G, Gamble was the chief promoter of planter investment in cotton manufactories before the Cotton Planter's Convention at Macon, Georgia, in March, 1852. J. D. B. DeBow, *The Industrial Resources of the Southern and Western States,* 3 vols. (New York, 1852-53) I, 139.
30. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* December 18, 1852.
31. *Ibid.*

eighteen, whose wages varied from eight to fifteen dollars a month. The Madison Cotton Mill consumed 320 bales of cotton yearly by 1853, and the owners planned to increase the machinery and double production by the following year. The company sold its yarns in the area around Madison and its surplus production was sold in New York. ln 1854 N. P. Willard shipped 757 bales of yarn from Wakulla valued at about $18,000. [32]

The editor of the *Floridian* mistakenly claimed for Willard the distinction of having spun the first cotton yarn in the state as well as being its first cotton manufacturer. Willard was accorded recognition for the advantages the mill brought to Madison and the surrounding countryside, for creating a local market for the small cotton producers, as well as for increasing the consumption of the surplus food produced by small farmers. [33] This cotton mill was destroyed by fire in 1857 with the loss of the entire capital of $40,000. The blow to Willard was considerable as the insurance on the plant had expired just prior to the fire. It was more disastrous, however, for the poor families who had come to depend on the mill for employment. Despite the hope expressed by the editor of the Madison *Messenger* that the mill would soon be rebuilt the Madison Cotton Mill was not destined to rise Phoenix-like from its ashes. [34]

The third and last antebellum Florida cotton mill was established by a group of Jefferson county men who called themselves the "Southern Rights Manufacturing Association." [35] Their intent was obvious when they raised the money to establish the Jefferson Cotton Factory near Monticello. Their mill was completed in December, 1853, and their plan to manufacture Osnaburgs was only retarded by a lack of suitable hands. The Tallahassee editor in reporting these activities at Monticello vainly urged his readers to give it their support. [36] The plan to furnish local planters with cloth suited for clothing slaves was not entirely successful. Lack of local patronage forced the company to sell a large part of its production in the New York market. [37]

32. *Ibid.*, December 3, 1853; Huntsville, Ala., *Southern Advocate*, December 28, 1853; *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* XXXI (September, 1854), 384.
33. *Ibid.*
34. *Ibid.*, February 14, 1857, citing the Madison *Messenger.*
35. Hanna, 257.
36. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* December 3, 1857.
37. *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine,* XXXI (September, 1854), 384.

Samuel Stevens, superintendent of the Jefferson mill, sent samples of the company's product to the editor of the *Floridian.* The letter which came with the sample goods was published by the paper. It urged Tallahassee capitalists to engage in the business. Stevens predicted that a half-dozen local planters could raise the necessary $60,000 which would produce all the cloth they would need and consume a large part of their cotton. Stevens said that "such a mill, with cotton and Osnaburgs at present prices, will clear its capital certainly in three years if not in two years." [38]

The Jefferson factory, although it had sufficient machinery to produce 600,000 yards of Osnaburgs and 100,000 pounds of yarn each year, was soon facing serious financial reverses. [39] It was unable to compete with Northern mills which were, by their sound financing, able to extend the long credit terms which the merchants had to have. The Jefferson concern could not, and its products were often without buyers. A visitor to the mill applauded the stockholders for their efforts which he called "a lasting monument of the enterprise, liberality and progressive spirit." [40]

Unfortunately for the owners, Samuel Stevens, their Agent, and their Delaware trained superintendent, were unable to offset the disadvantages under which the company operated. The debts piled up until bankruptcy faced the firm. Its closing was prevented by the efforts of General William Bailey who paid the debts, gave the investors a small part of their original investment, and took complete control of the enterprise. By 1860 the mill employed sixty-five men and women and produced cotton goods valued at $40,000 in that year. [41] General Bailey continued to

38. Samuel Stevens, Monticello, to C. E. Dyke, Tallahassee, March 14, 1857, in Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* April 1, 1857.
39. Hanna, 257.
40. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* April 1, 1857. "Mr. Samuel Stevens, kindly invited me to join him in a ride to the Factory. It is located about half a mile east of the village, and by the intervening woodland is concealed from view until you arrive within a short distance of its location. There it stands with its cottages for the operatives, and other necessary appendages, a lasting monument of the enterprise, liberality and progressive spirit of the stockholders, but more especially those who suggested the work and superintend its faithful execution. . . . I may remark that the whole concern does credit to the State, the Middle District, the County of Jefferson and the village of Monticello, as well as to its stockholders, agent and superintendent."

operate the Jefferson Mills during the Civil War furnishing to the hard-pressed Confederate government supplies of cloth for soldiers. In the same period he also supplied some cloth to local residents. He generously supplied the clothing for two companies of the Fifth Florida Regiment which were commanded by his two sons.

The ante-bellum developments in the Florida manufacture of cotton had no lasting impact as similar developments had in neighboring Georgia and Alabama. The introduction of cotton manufacturing was a hybrid activity which for a variety of reasons did not enjoy in Florida the same advantages of states to the north. Thus Floridians saw in a very short period the rise and fall of the cotton textile industry within their boundaries.

41. Hanna, 257.

BOOK REVIEWS

The South in American History. By William B. Hesseltine and David L. Smiley. Second Edition. (Englewood Cliffs, Prentice-Hall, 1960. x, 630 pp. Illustrations, maps, index. $8.00.)

In the last few years there has poured from the publishing houses a veritable flood of textbooks. This has been a welcome occurrence to most historians, as most of the volumes have been high in quality and have offered colleges a wide choice of readings. However, several fields of history have been sadly neglected. One such has been the history of the South. The need for a comprehensive text bringing the story of the South up to the present has long been felt. That need has now been met, and Professors Hesseltine and Smiley are to be congratulated on producing a readable, balanced view of the region.

The book, descended from the 1936 and 1943 volumes written by Hesseltine, continues to display the fine workmanship of the earlier volumes. Greatly enlarged and revised to bring it up to date, it still carries out the theme originally suggested by the first of the three treatments. The South is here pictured, not as an isolated, separate, and distinct entity, but as a vital portion of an expanding nation. Hesseltine gives ample space to those characteristics for which the South is widely known, but concentrates on showing its development as part of the nation, with its history affected by and affecting that of the country as a whole. The South is treated with sympathy and understanding but its weaknesses and faults are shown along with its strengths and virtues.

Criticisms can and will be offered, but without exception they are comparatively minor and can easily be corrected in the next edition. The majority of the faults to be found are the result of a compelling need to compress so much history into so small a space. It would have been virtually impossible to provide adequate treatment for every aspect of the long history of the South, and still to keep the story in one volume. Still, this reviewer feels that several of the annoying passages could have been eliminated. For example, one might frown at the statement that the Conven-

tion of 1787 inserted the provision for ratification of the Constitution by nine states merely as a means of showing its contempt for the Articles of Confederation. A rewording of the phrase could have eliminated any disagreement.

In another instance, the passages devoted to the tariff in the period 1816-1828 are far from clear. Was it really the "failure of some of their early industrial enterprises" that caused John C. Calhoun and company to alter their stand on the tariff? The whole matter of Calhoun's attitude to the tariff is somewhat unclear, and again another sentence or two or a reworking of the passage (pp. 137-139) would clarify the matter. A third instance is the section dealing with the Congressional election of 1858. Did the Republicans actually gain control of Congress? Or did they merely secure a plurality in the House, and the Democrats retain their hold on the Senate? That election may have foretold the future, but it did not result in the transfer of control of the government to the Republican party in 1858-1859.

These are rather minor points, and may easily be overlooked. But one section of the book leaves this reviewer puzzled. In dealing with the disputed election of 1876 (p. 388), why do the authors limit themselves to a brief mention of the Wormley House Conference? C. Vann Woodward who published *Reunion and Reaction* in 1951, demonstrated that the issues in that famous election were far more complex than any story about the Wormley House could ever indicate. Even if Hesseltine and Smiley should happen to disagree with Woodward, his findings were and are important enough to warrant attention. Surely this is an oversight, perhaps made in haste, or as a result of laboring under the pressure generated by the need to add so much to the older version of the book.

Actually the entire volume leaves the impression that the authors are convinced of the greater importance of the period prior to 1876 as against the era since that date. More space is devoted to the pre-Civil War era than to the post-war period, and this reviewer finds the first half of the book more readable, with more sparkle and life, than the last half. The same is true when comparing the sections dealing with social history with those dealing with strictly political history.

The decision to omit any bibliography is deeply regretted. It is true that the volume of writings on Southern history has in-

creased tremendously, but that is just one more reason to desire a bibliography that would reflect the considered judgment of two men as well known in southern history as are Hesseltine and Smiley.

Despite any of the above criticisms, it still remains true that *The South in American History* will for some time to come remain the best single volume in its field.

WILLIAM SCHELLINGS

Norfolk College of William and Mary

The Siege of *St. Augustine in 1702.* By Charles W. Arnade. *University* of *Florida Monographs: Social* Sciences, No. 3. (Gainesville, University of Florida Press, 1959. 67 pp. maps, plates. $2.00.)

In the fall of 1702, Governor James Moore of South Carolina led several hundred militiamen and Indians against St. Augustine, the capital of Spanish Florida. The news that France and Spain had become allies had shocked South Carolinians into a realization that joint action between the French, entrenched along the Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River, and the Spaniards in Florida might well mean an end to their hopes of expansion and of continuing their lucrative Indian trade. Governor Moore determined to capture St. Augustine before the allies could use it as a base against Charleston itself.

In a joint land and sea operation Governor Moore reached his objective early in the second week of November. He found St. Augustine an empty town. The enterprising governor of Florida, Joseph de Zuniga y Zerda, forewarned by friendly Indians and by reports from the Spanish posts to the north which had been attacked along the way, had gathered all the inhabitants (and most of their animals) into the fort of San Marcos. There he determined to withstand siege until reinforcements should arrive.

For over seven weeks the Spanish and English forces faced each other at scarcely more than pistol shot distance, neither side able to gain decisive advantage. Dr. Arnade has vividly described this fifty-two day siege from the Spanish point of view, sketching in the English action only briefly for continuity. From documents

(found for the most part in the Stetson Collection at the University of Florida) this Florida historian has reconstructed almost a day-by-day account of the life led within the crowded beleaguered *castillo*, from the moment when Zuniga received his first rumors of impending invasion, on through the dreary, frightening siege to the welcome arrival of the Havana fleet which spelled relief to the Floridians and disappointment and defeat to their Anglo-American neighbors from South Carolina, on, finally, to the rebuilding of the burned town, and the filing of government reports, along with the attempts to find legal settlement of the various claims that had arisen as a result of the siege.

The richness of detail is almost unbelievable-in fact, wellnigh indigestible. This reviewer would like to see Dr. Arnade retell this story in a greatly expanded, more effective form. Such a treatment seems justified by the inherent unity of the subject, its real historical interest and significance not only for readers interested in Florida history but also for those concerned with a clearer picture of colonial America, (both Anglo and Spanish) and finally by the fact that it contains so many human ingredients for a fascinating story. Not only would such a rewriting make this brief, dramatic moment in Florida history available to a much wider audience but it would also make it more satisfying for the serious student of Florida history.

Even so, as it stands now it represents excellent research, with a well-written, scholarly interpretation of the data. It emphasizes the wealth available in manuscript collections in Florida for the writing of its own history and reflects credit on the already distinguished monograph series published by the University of Florida Press. Both the author and the Press are to be commended for the excellent maps and illustrations which merit more attention than they are apt to get in this somewhat limited form.

IONE STUESSY WRIGHT

University of Miami

Hamilton Holt: Journalist, Internationalist, Educator. By Warren F. Kuehl. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1960. ix, 303 pp. plates. $7.50.)

Professor Kuehl has written an interesting and fascinating biography of Hamilton Holt who was born in 1872 and died in

1951. The author divides his book into three sections, each dealing with a different phase of the life of Holt; first, as a journalist; second, as an internationalist; and third, as an educator. Holt was not an overwhelming success in any of his endeavors, because as the author states, "He failed because he was a supreme idealist who set goals which were often beyond attainment. Yet paradoxically he succeeded because he was also a practical man who acted upon his ideals in vigorous fashion."

In 1894 Hamilton Holt, while a graduate student at Columbia, took a position with *The Independent*, a prominent religious weekly magazine. From a position as reporter Holt advanced to become managing editor, then editor-in-chief, and in 1912 he became its owner. Holt was a social and political reformer and championed the rights of organized labor. He thought of himself as one of the leading progressives of the day, but was not typical of the entire movement, and as the author asserts he "refused to contribute either his pen or his journal to the muckraking crusade."

Perhaps his most lasting contribution as a writer came through his columns in *The Independent* on the subject of world peace. Holt became known as a champion of world peace through international organization. In a day when this subject was seriously considered by only the most idealistic, the editor of *The Independent* became involved in the movement for a League of Nations led by Woodrow Wilson. Though he went down in defeat with Wilson, he spent several years trying to arouse the American people to a keener appreciation of the League and its possibilities.

Hamilton Holt had no background for the last major endeavor of his life, that of an educator. He became President of Rollins College in Winter Park, Florida, in 1925. From the start he criticized educational institutions of the day for becoming too large, for emphasizing research at the expense of teaching, and for the lack of contact between student and professor. He set about to make Rollins an outstanding small liberal arts college and attempted to draw around him an outstanding group of scholars and teachers. His first trouble lay in the fact that he was not able to raise the necessary funds for endowment which were necessary to accomplish all the aims he set forth, and sec-

ond, he veered too far off course from traditional educational practices to be recognized as a sound educator.

He abolished the lecture system and experimented with what he called the "Two-hour Conference Plan," which was in essence a seminar or workshop program. All study was done within the classroom, and evenings were free for the students. He abolished the traditional admissions requirements, the four year classification of college students, final examinations, and the usual method of grading. He fashioned new chairs for the faculty by creating a Professor of Leisure, a Professor of Things in General, and a Professor of Evil. His entire plan though sound in some aspects revealed many shortcomings. Though he believed in academic freedom, he was autocratic with his faculty and at one time ran into trouble with the American Association of University Professors. Rollins' physical improvements were one of Holt's lasting contributions to the college.

The book includes interesting pictures of many of Rollins' friends, a thorough essay on sources used by the author, and an adequate index. The University of Florida Press has added another attractive volume to its growing list of fine works.

S. WALTER MARTIN

Emory University

Okeechobee Hurricane and the Hoover Dike. By Lawrence E. Will. (Great Outdoors Publishing Company, St. Petersburg, Florida 1961. 110 pp. Illustrations. $3.00.)

When Lawrence E. Will was young, he was captain of a "run-boat" carrying supplies up the New River Canal from Ft. Lauderdale to his father's new town of Okeelanta, lost in the flat immensities south of Lake Okeechobee. Years later, a valuable citizen of Belle Glade (in that string of thriving Lake settlements, Canal Point, Pahokee, Kreamer, Rorrey and Ritta Islands, Chosen, South Bay and Bare Beach), he had seen the custard apple jungles cleared and the cane and vegetable fields reached out over the drained black mucklands from horizon to horizon. The watery wilderness was becoming an enormously valuable property.

But nothing he had ever seen of hardy men and intractable nature could equal the terror and drama of the hurricane of

1928, in which one raging black night changed green prosperity into a devastation of mud and ruin and two thousand dead bodies.

There is no man alive better fitted than Mr. Will to write the engrossing narrative of that disaster. He has done a wonderful job. He has piled detail on detail, name on name, story on story into an account that is so well written that it becomes a shared experience. No one but Mr. Will could have spent long patient years gathering these infinite details, listening to men's heart-broken stories of fear in roaring blackness and swirling waters, of loss and survival and endurance. He tells hundreds of tales of courage. He knew hundreds and hundreds of the people who died. He knew all the little towns and the way they were making something hopeful out of wilderness. He was there. He was one of them.

When the shrieking gray day drew into dreadful night he saw it all coming and did what he could to warn people who knew nothing of any possible consequences. In the first light of morning he had survived and not much more. With the other survivors he stared out over the ruins of his entire world.

And if that world today under the south rim of the Lake, now guarded by the great rock dike that President Hoover insisted should be built, is again peopled and clean and growing and more prosperous, it is because of the heroic endurance and the indomitable purpose of such men as Lawrence E. Will and the others who nearly worked themselves to death in the days after, changing destruction back into something alive.

It is a great pity that more such narratives of intensely dramatic local history cannot be written throughout Florida by men who have experienced them. It is a pity that people do not have the patience to accumulate the details of all such narratives and set them down as records of an important past for future understanding. It is the best of ways by which the materials of history are gathered. But it would probably be too much to expect that such local historians could all have the backgrounds of knowledge and experience, like Mr. Will's, combined with the educated writing ability that in organization of material and in descriptive force cannot in any way be improved upon.

As a whole, this little book is one of the best descriptions and narrations of the nature and effect of a hurricane I have ever read. It will take an important place in the literature of hurricanes

as well as in all collections of Florida books anywhere. It is very well illustrated with photographs that add to the total effect.

MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS
(Author of *Hurricane* and *The Everglades: River of grass.)*

The Story of Mount Dora Florida. By R. J. Longstreet. (Mount Dora Historical Society, 1960. xiii, 246 pp. Illustrations, index. $7.50.)

Mount Dora is neither large (3,756 in 1960) nor ancient (less than a century) nor even particularly important historically except to those who live there. It is an average small Florida community not yet overrun by the rush of modern progress. But it is unique in at least one respect. Its history is duly recorded in a book. People who wonder what a historical society may do in a sparsely settled area may well take a look at the work of the Mount Dora Historical Society, founded in 1953 for the express purpose of getting the history of the community written and published. Certainly the momentum built up in achieving this goal will lead to other projects, possibly, if this reviewer may suggest one, a county history.

In a sense this book is a community enterprise. This does not detract from the importance of the author who credits several articles on special topics to a number of different writers. For example, Frederick W. Sleight, archeologist and anthropologist, does a brief account of what is known of Indian antiquity in the region. That this was not an important part of its history does not make it less important that it be included in any effort at telling the whole story of Mount Dora. The book is full of accounts of community enterprises, from the cooperative effort that established the first school house to the history writing project. Here is a story that has happened over and over again in American frontier communities, but few of them have ever made the organized effort to get their history written. This book also reveals the important sources of local historical data. Until a regularly published newspaper begins to record passing events the reliance is chiefly upon personal letters, reminiscences, and documents and public records of school boards, county commissioners, and the like-if these have not been lost or burned;

Moral for people who would like to have the history of their communities preserved: see to the preservation of public and private records. The author is quick to acknowledge the doubtful authenticity of some of the recollections. He rightly regrets that the origin of place names has not been clearly established. If we knew the history of place names in Florida we would know infinitely more about early history.

A battalion of Alabama volunteers passed the Mount Dora region in the Seminole War in 1837. Squatters certainly lived there before the Civil War. But modern settlement begins with the first homesteaders in the 1870's. A narrow gauge railroad from Astor on the St. Johns River brought in more settlers in the 1880's and led to the establishment of a post office, though it was not called Mount Dora until 1883 when some sixteen families were living around the landing. Notes of more than local interest appear from time to time such as the continuing, disastrous effect of the freezes in the winter of 1894-5. Human interest items abound, such as paying the school teacher an extra sum at the end of the term for "teaching, janitoring and incidentals." Any country school teacher is likely to conclude the teacher doubled as janitor as he too often did.

In another sense this is a reference book with many lists of names of people who have held this or that office. An index includes nearly nine hundred names. But these are separate from the narrative and may be used for what they are. There is also a brief account of every organization that has ever existed in the community. Two of these are of particular significance for so small a place. The first annual assembly of the South Florida Chatauqua was in 1887. For twenty years until fire destroyed the auditorium and hotel the Chatauqua brought religious instruction, speakers of national Chatauqua reputation, and entertainment to Mount Dora and the region thereabout. In February, 1949, a little theater group started the Icehouse Players in an abandoned ice house and ten years later the players moved into their own building. Forty-eight full page plates each showing historic buildings or persons, and a number of maps and plats reproduced, add value and interest to the volume.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

University of Miami

Mississippi in the Confederacy, As They Saw It. Edited by John K. Bettersworth. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1961. 362 pp. Illustrations, $5.95)

Mississippi in the Confederacy, As Seen in Retrospect. Edited by James W. Silver. (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1961. 362 pp. Illustrations, $5.95)

The story of the American Civil War is always most interestingly told by those who witnessed it. What they observed and recorded cannot be rewritten more poignantly by historians of a later era. These two volumes record the day-to-day reactions of Mississippians to secession, war, invasion, army service outside of Mississippi, the struggle for existence on the home front, and all other facets of life which had to be lived during the Civil War. Great care has been taken to retain the flavor and authenticity of the original works and to preserve for the reader an atmosphere which creates a sympathetic tie between our times and the war years.

In *Mississippi in the Confederacy, As They Saw It,* John K. Bettersworth has compiled a comprehensive anthology from a large number of unpublished materials, diaries, letters, and personal papers, as well as from official records and public sources, to tell the story of Mississippians during the war. All material in this volume is contemporary to the war period and tells the day to day reactions of the people. Bettersworth, an established historian, has edited a volume of great interest and value both to the professional historian and to the Civil War "buff."

The second volume, *Mississippi in the Confederacy, As Seen in Retrospect,* edited by James W. Silver, is made up of post-war reminiscences of many persons who took part in the war and of accounts by later writers about Mississippi during the war. These writings blend together to take the reader on a fascinating journey into Civil War Mississippi and the triumphs and the sorrows of the war era. Mr. Silver makes excellent use of materials written by such diverse individuals as Jefferson Davis, Ulysses S. Grant, William Faulkner, Mark Twain, Bell I. Wiley, and Rembert Patrick.

Together these two books give a comprehensive view of the times and provide the reader an extraordinary insight into the

history of a state and its people during the trying times of the Civil War.

JOHN E. JOHNS

Stetson University

The United Colonies of New England, 1643-1690. By Harry M. Ward. (New York: Vantage Press, 1961. 434pp. Plates $4.50.)

Although cheaply bound, replete with typographical errors, and printed on poor quality paper, which is as hard upon the reader's eyes as the blurred illustrations, the physical make-up of Professor Ward's book is commendable for the very useful map of colonial New England and New Jersey inside the front cover, and that showing the territories of the various Indian tribes inside the back cover. It is also useful to have the full text of the Confederation of 1643 and 1672 in the first two appendices and a full summation of all their meetings in the third; the fourth gives brief biographical sketches of the Commissioners. Commendable also is the plan which the author used in writing the book: the first chapter, "Determining Influences," traces the background of the Confederacy to its origins in the United Provinces of the Netherlands, the lessons of history gleaned by the Puritans from their Humanistic learning, the covenant theology, and colonial experience with representative government. The second chapter gives a careful account of the specific situations, the Dutch threat, the French threat, the Indian threat, the absence of English support during the Civil War, and the need to maintain Congregational orthodoxy, that led to the formation of the New England Confederation in 1643.

An analysis of the structure of the United Colonies accompanied by a good deal of quibbling over the question of sovereignty, precedes an account of the role played by the Confederation in its relations with New France including the Bay Colony's ill-fated espousal of LaTour's cause against D'Aubrey, the initiation of the Synod which adopted the Cambridge Platform of Church discipline in 1648, the laying of groundwork for converting the Indians, and the settling of intercolonial boundary disputes. The author brings the first segment of his book to a

close at the end of Chapter Five, having traced the development to the year 1652, the last ten years of which Professor Ward calls "the decade of optimism" and sums up as follows: "the Confederation during the first decade had provided leadership in both internal and external affairs, creating a solidarity in action essential to the existence of the infant New England colonies . . . the singular outstanding contribution of the period, of which it cannot be denied that the Confederation was largely responsible, was the preserving of peace."

The three following chapters flash back to give full exposition of the Confederation's handling of Indian affairs, Dutch relations, and land disputes and are followed by a resumption of the historical narrative through the constitutional crises of 1653-5, the efforts of the three smaller colonies, Connecticut, New Haven, and Plymouth, to counter the powerful Massachusetts Bay dominance, the weakness of the Commissioners in dealing with Royal Commissioners after the Restoration, and its survival under circumstances "from 1655 to 1670, when by reason the Confederation should have collapsed, there appeared a cement of union - the spreading of the Gospel in the New World."

The final phase of the book begins with the Second Confederation of the United Colonies at Plymouth in 1672 and the new Articles of Confederation, differing from the older one in "that all the powers of the Confederation were to be delegated and there were no inherent powers derived from the freemen, as the earlier Confederation had implied. The Commissioners were subject to the same checks as other general officers of a colony and not members of nor perennial plenipotentiaries to a supergovernment." Major interest in this final segment lies in the account of the Commissioners acting as a supreme military council during King Philip's War and the domination interlude under Andros culminating in the revolt of April 18, 1688. The story comes to a close in April, 1693, with William Stoughton's letter to the Corporation in England for Promoting the Gospel as "a commissioner of the United Colonies." In the final chapter, "A Legacy for America," the author sums up the significance of the New England Confederation in ". . . implanting into the colonial consciousness an experience in federal union and an example of the capability of the colonists to shape their own destiny. Fifty

years of Confederation left a feeling for union and a longing for independence that was never to die."

Professor Ward's book embodies a painstaking research, making thorough use of the available materials pertaining to his subject; it is carefully documented, the usual chapter having over a hundred footnotes at the end; and, although marred by inept phraseology, is valuable in its forcing upon the consciousness of the reader the significance of the United Colonies of New England in our constitutional history. Perhaps there is little that is new in this book (the author makes his major claim to a contribution in showing that the Confederation was revived in the New England Union of 1689-90); but it does put a major segment of the Puritan contribution to democratic institutions into full perspective.

ROBERT S. WARD

University of Miami

NEWS AND NOTES

The 1962 Annual Meeting

On May 4 and 5 the Society will hold its annual meeting at the George Washington Hotel in Jacksonville. Hosts will be the Jacksonville Historical Society and Jacksonville University. A highlight of the meeting will be a symphonic drama centering around the French-Spanish activities in northeast Florida 400 years ago. The drama, written by Kermit Hunter, is a principal feature of Jacksonville's quadricentennial celebration.

Program chairmen are Dr. Ben F. Rogers and Miss Dena Snodgrass. James C. Craig, a former president of the local society, is chairman of the committee on arrangements.

It is suggested that reservations be made at the George Washington Hotel well in advance.

College News

Florida Southern College: Samuel Gwynn Coe, chairman of the Department of History and Political Science for many years, retired last summer. Dr. Coe was a member of the faculty for 35 years. Derrell Roberts, who joined the faculty in 1958, is currently the acting chairman of the department. Gilbert P. Richardson, assistant professor of history, resigned last June. Miss Dorothea Morrill, who has done graduate work at the University of Michigan, has joined the faculty as instructor in history.

Florida State University: Donald D. Howard, a doctoral student at the University of Minnesota, has joined the faculty as instructor in history. James P. Jones and William W. Rogers have been promoted to assistant professorships. Earl R. Beck spent last summer in Spain, France, and Germany doing research on "The German Image of America during the Weimar Republic." George A. Lensen returned in August from a eight-month stay in the Soviet Union where he carried on research on "Russo-Japanese Relations since 1875" at the University of Stalingrad. Weymouth T. Jordon completed a two-year term as a member of the advisory board of the John S. Guggenheim Memorial Foundation last June.

He has been appointed to a new term of four years on the board. Victory S. Mamatey has returned from Columbia University where he taught in the history department during the 1961 spring semester.

University of Miami: Gerald G. Govorchin led a group of college students on an educational tour of the Mediterranean countries last summer. Robert C. Beyer participated in the training of a unit of the Peace Corps at Dartmouth College and later went on a two-week research trip to Colombia. Melvin H. Jackson resigned to join the staff of the Smithsonian Institution in Washington.

University of Tampa: James W. Covington has been appointed dean of the evening division of the University. New members of the history department are Paul Gottlieb (Boston University), Theodore Dooley (Florida State University), and William J. Reinhart (Alabama University). Stephen L. Speronis, associate professor of history, has been made director of development for the University.

University of South Florida: Charles W. Arnade has joined the faculty as associate professor of history. The department is attempting to augment its collection of Floridiana and is accepting gifts. Address Dr. Arnade at the University in Tampa or at home, San Antonio, Florida.

University of Florida: William G. Carleton, professor of history and political science and long-time chairman of American Institutions, retired from active teaching on June 30, 1961. Since coming to the faculty in 1927, Dr. Carleton had gained national fame as a distinguished author and lecturer. Upon his retirement he was named professor emeritus.

Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., associate professor of history, has returned to the University after two years service with the overseas program of the University of Maryland, teaching in Korea, Japan, and Germany. Samuel Proctor, associate professor of history, was named historical consultant to the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission on July 1, 1961, and since December, 1961, has edited their monthly publication, *Florida A Hundred Years Ago.* Dr. Proctor is also consultant for the Hall of Fame Commission of the Florida Public Relations Association. Ashby

Hammond, professor of history, spent the summer of 1961 in London doing research on the medical history of medieval Europe. Arthur W. Thompson, associate professor of history, served as a U. S. State Department American specialist lecturing at various universities in Japan during the summer of 1961. He was also coordinator of the tenth annual American Studies Seminar in Kyoto. Franklin A. Doty, professor of history, has been named acting chairman of the department of American Institutions. David Dowd, professor of history, spent 1960-61 as visiting professor at the University of Toulouse, France, on a Fulbright grant. He also engaged in research on French Revolutionary artists and lectured at the University of Dakar, Senegal, and the Universities of Montpelier and Bordeaux. George E. Wolff, associate professor of political science, was in England last November for research in contemporary British politics. J. E. Dovell, professor of political science, has recently co-authored a history of the east coast of Florida, and served in the summer of 1961 as director of the Council on Economic Development. David Chalmers, assistant professor of history, has returned from a year as a Fulbright lecturer at the University of Ceylon.

Rembert W. Patrick, Julien C. Yonge research professor of history, director of the Society, and editor of the *Quarterly*, was elected to a one-year term as president of the Southern Historical Association at its annual meeting in Chattanooga last November. Dr. Patrick had served as vice president of the Association the previous year.

Dedication of the Delius House

For three-quarters of a century, the Delius house stood at Solano Grove near Picolata, thirty five miles south of Jacksonville. This was the home of the young English musician Frederick Delius (1884-5) when he came to Florida. Mrs. Henry L. Richmond of Jacksonville, long the owner of Solano Grove, gave the house to Jacksonville University. Through her generosity and that of other music lovers, the house has been moved to the University campus. The dedication ceremony was held on March 3, 1961, during the annual Delius Festival.

The Confederate Round-Table

E. M. Covington, Dade City, was reelected president and Leland M. Hawes, Tampa, vice president for the 1961-62 year. Serving with them are Claude F. Andrews, Dade City, secretary-treasurer, and William M. Goza, Clearwater, a new member of the board of directors. Milton D. Jones, Clearwater attorney, spoke at the September meeting on the first battle of Manassas, using slides of the recent re-enactment of the battle. In October Dr. Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, spoke on the beginning of hostilities in Florida. In November Father Bolton, St. Leo College, told of the relationships between the Confederacy and Great Britain.

Suwannee County Records Saved

The County Commission of Suwannee County met on October 5, 1868, in Live Oak in its first session after reorganization under the new state constitution adopted earlier that year. Records of the meetings through December 1, 1874, were rescued recently from a trash heap by E. K. Hamilton, local historian and chamber of commerce executive. Mr. Hamilton has had the minutes suitably bound and in October last year returned them to the Commission. Hereafter, they will be kept in a vault with other minute volumes.

Pine Jog Plantation

Mr. and Mrs. Alfred G. Kay of Palm Beach have donated part of their Pine Jog Plantation, typical Florida habitat, to the Florida Audubon Society. Mr. and Mrs. Kay were among the hosts to the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting last year.

The First Cross-Florida Railway

The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials and the General Duncan L. Clinch Historical Society placed a marker at the railway station in Fernandina Beach on November 5, 1961, commemorating the completion of the railway from Fernandina

to Cedar Key in 1861. An exhibition of memorabilia at the station included a full-size replica of a wood-burning locomotive made available by the Maddox foundry at Archer. Dedication ceremonies featured an address by John W. Smith, President of the Seaboard Air Line Railroad.

Florida Parks

The restoration of the Drew mansion, former home of a Florida governor near Ellaville, has been abandoned. The Florida Park Board was asked by the state cabinet to have the ruins appraised by a professional historian-architect to determine the feasibility of restoration. The cost of the project was found to be far in excess of historical values. It will be recalled that this property was once offered to the Florida Historical Society and was refused for virtually the same reason.

The history of Fort Clinch at Fernandina Beach may be heard by visitors over three newly installed push-button devices. Plans call for a total of five of these visitor-aids.

Work is progressing at Fort Gadsden Historic Memorial, north of Apalachicola, one of the newer park areas. Archaeological research at the site will be conducted under contract with Florida State University, Dr. Hale G. Smith in charge.

The museum and exhibits for Cedar Key Historic Memorial have been completed. The exhibits were prepared by the Florida State Museum.

Several historic areas were featured recently on Channel 12 television, Jacksonville. The program entitled "The Desperate Years" told in pictures and narrative the story of Florida during the Civil War. Olustee Battlefield and Fort Clinch were prominently featured.

Two sites have been marked in Pinellas County under the marker program of the Florida Park Service. The first is on Fourth Street, South, near Oakdale Avenue, St. Petersburg, and bears the following inscription: "In this vicinity stood the home of Abel Miranda, Seminole War veteran, who moved to the Pinellas Peninsula in the late 1850's. In February, 1862, the Union blockading squadron off Egmont Key sailed into Big Bayou and attacked the home. It was burned, the animals killed and the gardens destroyed. The Miranda family fled during the

action, and no one was injured. This was the only armed conflict in Pinellas County during the War Between the States."

The second marker, on the St. Petersburg side of the Gandy Bridge, reads: "Constructed as a toll bridge for auto and street car traffic by George S. Gandy, a pioneer West Coast developer, it was begun in 1922 and opened in 1924. The structure consisted of $3^1/_4$ miles of causeways and $2^1/_2$ miles of bridge, and at its completion was one of the world's longest bridges. It cut the distance from St. Petersburg to Tampa in half and played a prominent part in the development of the Bay area."

News of *Local Historical Societies and Commissions*

The Martin County Historical Society dedicated its Elliott Museum on Hutchinson Island, Stuart, in November. The building and collection of antique horse-drawn and automotive vehicles was donated by Harmon P. Elliott in memory of his father, Sterling Elliott. Other exhibits of a historical nature are on display in the separate wings of this magnificent museum. One of the Society's aims is to collect data and information on the Stuart area. Interviews with pioneers are being recorded as part of a "Living History" project. The Society requests that written reminiscences or materials be mailed to P. O. Box 1497, Stuart.

The Pensacola Historical Society museum in Old Christ Church now contains exhibits and historical objects worth some $15,000 according to a recent appraisal. The museum's collection depicts the various eras in the history of Pensacola and Escambia County. President A. O. Mortenson states that gifts of pertinent materials will be gratefully received.

The St. Lucie Historical Society, Fort Pierce, is another of the local groups collecting materials and working toward the establishment of a museum. Meetings of the group are held monthly on the third Thursday at the Southland Cafeteria. Circuit Court Judge James R. Knott, Palm Beach; Dr. Thelma Peters, Miami; and Miss Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville, have spoken before the Society recently.

The August 6, 1961, issue of *The Tampa Tribune* carried almost a page spread on the museum of the Hillsborough County Historical Commission in the Court House. Plans have been made to move the collection to the second floor of the building and to

improve its facilities considerably. In all, $14,000 will be expended in providing the new quarters, according to Theodore Lesley, curator of the museum and officer of the Commission.

The Walton County Historical Society, a group recently formed in DeFuniak Springs, held its first meeting on July 6 of last year. Mrs. L. Wells Nelson was elected president; Willis Kennedy, vice president; Mrs. Emmabelle Jones, secretary; and Kenneth M. Thomas, treasurer. A board of directors will be appointed by these officers. Angus Andrews acted as temporary chairman and Harold Gillis temporary treasurer during the organization period. There are sixty-six charter members. T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola historian, talked before the group about the work of historical societies. Several rare documents were presented as a nucleus for a collection.

The Jacksonville Historical Society participated in the Jacksonville Festival of Arts in October. President Egbert S. Moore was narrator for the showing of an early movie made in the city about 1920. The Society and the public libraries of the area sponsored the showing of the film. An exhibit panel carrying early maps was entered in the Festival. The Society's sponsorship of the Festival was made possible through the generosity of the Independent Life Insurance Company.

In November Honorable Giles J. Patterson, Jacksonville attorney, spoke before the group on "The Formation of Florida Counties," illustrating his talk with maps and stories.

THE EDITOR'S CORNER

Father Jerome of St. Leo's Abbey, St. Leo, Florida, sends us an interesting note relating the pro's and con's of the dispute centering about the identity of the first Catholic Bishop of Florida, and a document which he assures us provides "a definite silencing of the dispute." The search for this documentary proof led Father Jerome to the Library of Congress, the Hispanic Society of America, and to the Franciscan archives in Washington - all without success.

"I then appealed to Mr. A. F. Falcones," writes Father Jerome, "who is personally acquainted with archivists in Spain. He engaged them. Four archives were searched. Three of them were negative. Finally, the Archives of Seville had the document. I don't know how you rate the document. Personally, I think it is a *scoop."*

* * * *

THE FIRST BISHOP OF FLORIDA

by FATHER JEROME

THE INTREPID Panfilo de Narvaez arrived in Florida on Holy Thursday, April 14, 1528, three days before Easter. Nunez Alvar, Cabeza da Vaca disembarked Narvaez at Tampa Bay. Current commentators pinpoint the Bay variously. Their guesses extend from the shallows of the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River, northward, to the cliffy shorelines of Clearwater Bay, on the West Coast of Florida. Assumedly, Indian sentinels, screened in the live oaks ashore, espied Narvaez's caravels and signalled their fellow tribesmen of an impending white man's invasion.

Panfilo Narvaez landed, unopposed by the rightful owners of the land. He landed fully provisioned, adequately armored, and legally sanctioned by Charles V to establish a government in Florida. The royal sanction included the founding of an ecclesiastical regime, that is, the establishment of an independent bishopric in Florida. This privilege was granted to Charles V by

the Bulls of Pope Julius II who reigned from 1503 to 1513. The Bulls of Julius II granted to the Spanish Emperor Charles the courtesy of nominating a clergyman to the office of Bishop. The nomination was quite generally followed by Papal approval.

In 1527, Panfilo de Narvaez was commissioned to found a well-rounded government in Florida; that included a military, civil, and ecclesiastical government. Cabeza de Vaca in his narrative "Naufragio" supplies the details of the military and civil set-up of the commission. What about the ecclesiastical arrangement? Did Charles V nominate a clergyman to be a Bishop of Florida? He did.

Some historians are torridly at variance on the subject. The individual at the center of the arguments about the Episcopacy of Florida is the humble Franciscan, Juan Suarez. Who was Juan Suarez? Was he nominated to be Bisbop of Florida? If he was, we may accept him as the first Bishop of Florida, because in 1528, Florida was not under the jurisdiction of Havana and was never under the supervision of Mexican Bishops.

Now to the man of controversy, the much disputed Juan Suarez. Who was Juan Suarez? He was a native of Valencia, Spain. Initially, he was a professed member of the Franciscan Province of San Gabriel in Spain. In 1524 he migrated to Mexico and became Guardian of the Convent of Huexoteinigo. He was one of the group of twelve Franciscans who were called the Twelve Apostles of Mexico. He labored two years among the Mexican Indians, then returned to Spain to recruit more missionaries and to plead the welfare of the Indians.

On his arrival in Spain, he found that Panfilo de Narvaez was assembling his personnel for his expedition to Florida. The need of a Bishop to establish an ecclesiastical regime in Florida was imperative. Narvaez applied to Charles V to supply the need. Charles, in virtue of his privilege granted by Pope Julius II, nominated Juan Suarez. The nomination of a Bishop in those early years before the facilities of telephone, telegram, trains, and planes was not immediately followed by consecration. Narvaez was in a hurry to set sail. Juan Suarez did not have time to await Papal acquiescence of consecration. He set sail with the royal nomination. Did the nomination in those days spell the right of jurisdiction? Apparently it did, for there have been nominated Bishops exercising jurisdiction while waiting for the cere-

monies of consecration. What about Juan Suarez? Even his nomination is heatedly disputed by unsympathetic historians.

Edwin Ryan, D.D., states, "In July 1918, I said, 'Florida is said to have been made (ecclesiastically) independent of Cuba and a Bishop (Juan Suarez) appointed in 1527.' I gave the statement for what it was worth, but I have since come to suspect that it is worth nothing. It rests altogether on a single piece of evidence of Barcia." [1] The learned Dr. Ryan's research was not sufficiently extensive. There is more than a single piece of evidence.

Another historian, Dr. Gilmary Shea, writes: "Barcia in his "Ensayo Cronologico" speaks of Father Suarez as Bishop, but neither Cabeza de Vaca nor Torquemada evidently knew anything indicative of his being a Bishop." [2] One wonders if Gilmary's emphasis on Cabeza de Vaca's and Torquemada's silence invalidates Barcia's statement. Dr. Gilmary Shea is even more emphatic in questioning the appointment of Juan Suarez to the Episcopacy of Florida. In reviewing Alzog's history, Shea writes that Dr. Pabisch and Dr. Byrne, Bishop of Nashville, translated Alzog's history. He furthermore very dogmatically states: "In the Spanish portion we find the silly fable of Friar Juan Suarez having been Bishop of Florida." [3] These two notable historians, Dr. Ryan and Dr. Shea declare ungently against Juan Suarez's appointment. Are there historians more amiable to the Suarez claim? There are. Zeferin Englehardt presents a host of reputable scholars who admit that the priority of the Florida Episcopal nomination belongs to the Comesario of Narvaez's expedition of 1528.

Dr. Ryan found only one source, namely Barcia, as a defender of Suarez's appointment to the Episcopacy. Had he consulted the treatise *St. Francis and the Franciscans* [4] he would have found there this statement of Fr. Panfilo Magliano: "Annalists assure us that Fr. John Suarez was also Bishop of Florida." Dr. Shea quotes these annalists before his fateful condemnation that Juan Suarez's Episcopacy is a silly fable. Why he changed his verdict is not on the docket.

1. *Catholic Historical Review*, II (July 1918).
2. John D. G. Shea in *History of the Catholic Church*, 4 vols. (New York, 1886-92), I, 109.
3. *Ibid.*, IV, 138.
4. New York, 1867, page 571.

Two Irish historians of superlative historical fame declare in behalf of Suarez's appointment. The first of these, Francis Harold, in "Epitome Annalium Minorum" [5] writes (in translation from his Latin) "The religious were earnestly charged by the Emperor Charles V to see that the governors observed Cod's laws and his own and not to permit the Indians to be treated tyranically. The same duty was imposed upon the Franciscan Bishop-elect, [Juan Suarez], and the four friars who were making the voyage with Pafilo de Narvaez governor of Florida and the Rio de las Palmas." The second Irish historian, Luke Wadding, testified also to the nomination of Father Juan Suarez by the Emperor.

The first Bishop-elect of Florida, Juan Suarez, lay down his life 433 years ago. The dispute about his nomination (appointment) to the Episcopacy has remained alive to this day. The question of his consecration as a Bishop, however, never enters into the dispute. Historians, pro and con the Suarez case, are agreed that Friar Juan Suarez never was subjected to the majestic ritual of consecration.

* * * *

[Editor's Note: The following letter from Emperor Charles V af Spain to Father Juan Suarez was copied from the *Archivo General de Indias,* Seville, *Indiferente General, Legajo 421.* The edited English translation is by Sr. A. F. Falcones of Madrid.]

THE KING

Venerable and devout Father, Fray Juan Suarez of the Franciscan Order and Bishop of the Palms River and La Florida - I saw your letter of September 6th of last year which you wrote me from Hispanola Island and it seems that you have a good desire to serve Our Lord and the Holy Catholic Faith converting to it the Indians of those lands as you have done up to now and in confidence I entrusted you with the trip that you are taking with Panfilo de Narvaez, so, I have introduced you to the Holy Father as Bishop for the part that will be designated the Palms River so you may have more authority for the protection of the Indians and prevent the repetition in those lands of the offenses made in other districts before; and until the Papal Bulls arrive

5. *Monologio Franciscano,* 32, 155.

and same be sent you I am sending you herewith fund provisions from us to be spent together with the ecclesiastical incomes of the said bishopric according to your will.

I am also sending you a new provision herewith so you may be Protector and Defender of said Indians in the garrison of Panfilo de Narvaez. As you will see I urgently ask and request of you the execution of this order so that Our Lord may be served, and Father, be careful to redeem the consciences of the Catholic Queen my lady and mine especially in giving good treatment to the natives and by all means instruct them in the Catholic Faith. Burgos, February 15, 1528. I the King.

[The Spanish text of the document above follows.]

EL REY

Repuesta a Fray Juan Xuarez. Venerable y devotto padre Fray Juan Xuarez de la horden de San Francisco e obispo del Rio de las Palmas y la Florida vi vuestra letra de seys de setiembre del ano pasado que desde la ysla espanola me ecriuiste y tengos en seruicio todo lo que por ella dezis que bien paresce el deseo que theneys de las cosas del seruicio de Nuestro Senor y acrescentamiento de su Santa fee Catolica y conbersion a ella de los indios desas partes coma siempre lo aveys fecho que con esta confianca os encargue el viaje que hazeis con panfilo de narbaez con la qual os he presentado a Nuestro muy Santo padre por obispo de la parte que vos sera senalado en el Rio de las Palmas para que tengays mas avtoridad en la defension de los indios y para escusar que en ese descubrimiento no se hagan las ofensas que en los otros se an fecho a Nuestro Senor y para entretanto que vienen las bulas y se vos envian vos mando en biar con la presente vna nuestra prouision para que se gasten e destibuyan los frutos e diezmos eclesiastieos del dicho obispado a vuestra voluntad coma por ella vereys.

Asi mimo vos enbio con la presente otra nuestra prouision para que seays proteptor y defensor de los yndios de la gouernacion del dicho panfilo de Narbaez como por ella vereys mucho vos encargo que del cumplimiento y execution della tengais especial cuydado pues es cosa de que tanto Dies Nuestro Senor sera seruido y tendreys padre cuydado de descargar en esto las reales

conciencias de la Catolica Reyna mi senora a mia especialmente en el buen tratamiento de los naturales y en que por todas las maneras posibles sean instruidos en las cosas de Nuestra Santa fee catolica de Burgos a quinze de hebrero de mill e quinientos y beynte y ocho anos yo el Rey Refrendada de Couos senalada de los susodichos.

* * * *

We feel that readers of the *Quarterly* may be interested in some reminiscences of Florida in the early twentieth century which have been made available to us by Miss Alice R. Marsh of Birmingham, Michigan. The author of these reminiscences was the late Jane D. Brush, sister of Miss Marsh. Mrs. Brush was the wife of Alanson P. Brush, who spent his youth in the Sarasota region. Both natives of Michigan, Mrs. Brush spent her early years as a school teacher in that state, while her husband was known as a pioneer in the automobile industry. Alanson Brush was perhaps most famous for having designed the first Cadillac and for being the "father" of the Brush Runabout. He was also an organizer of the Oakland Motor Car Company, forerunner of the Pontiac Division of General Motors. Mrs. Brush's story will be carried in serial form through the coming year.

* * * *

TALES OF OLD FLORIDA

by JANE D. BRUSH

Chapter I: An Invitation

In this era of fascinating newness - new housing, new transportation, new forms of entertainment, radio, television, and so on - how can I make an appeal for that which is old, especially if it is not old enough to be called antique, but is simply out-moded? For I am asking you to come with me for a visit to "Old Florida." I do not mean the Florida which Ponce de Leon discovered in 1513 and named for its profusion of flowers, nor do I mean the Florida which became a bone of contention between England, France, and Spain until that latter country ceded it to the United States, and which finally, in 1845,

became a state. Maps of the "Old Florida" which I am inviting you to visit, looked about as they do today. They showed us a large lake in the southeastern part of the state; it had a queer Indian sounding name - Okeechobee - and was said to be, next to the Great Lakes, the largest body of fresh water in this country. South and west of this lake the maps were covered with short dashes marking off a section of the country called the Everglades; some maps added the words "Unexplored territory," and we were given to understand that it was considered practically unexplorable or at least not worth exploring.

Certain bands of Indians, the Seminoles, were known to have taken refuge in the inaccessible depths of the Everglades. Deep in this "unwholesome" region were some bits of solid ground large enough to hold a few tepees, and there, almost incredibly, these Indians had managed to survive.

The rest of Florida was just a section of this great country with semi-tropical climate and resources which, with the exception of fishing, and some orange groves, was almost entirely undeveloped. Most of the early settlers had come in from the surrounding states. A few were descendants of the early European settlers who had come to the islands near the coast. This "native" population was gradually being augmented by new arrivals who had come down from different parts of the North, lured by tales of tropical sunshine. Many of these "northerners" became permanent residents. My husband's family was one of those who had left the North for "the sunny South," but they did not take root there and soon returned to Michigan. They left behind them one son, however, a boy who spent his "teen" years at or near the little town of Sarasota. Here this boy from the North, Alanson Partridge Brush, and his southern chum Furman Helveston lived, mostly on the water. They knew that coast from Cedar Keys to Key West, and around the point up to Miami, which was at that time just a cluster of small houses, just a little fishing village.

Finally Al Brush (his name had always been shortened to Al), realizing that there was no chance in that part of Florida to add to his education, decided he must go back to Detroit for the schooling he craved, especially in mathematics. This period of training in mathematics was interrupted by the Spanish-American War, for which he promptly enlisted. He took his text books

with him, however, and spent most of his spare time while in camp working out difficult mathematical problems. In a surprisingly short time, after his return to Detroit, he had produced a successful marine engine and had designed a single-cylinder automobile, which was adopted by the directors of the newly formed Cadillac Company to become their famous Model A.

Al and I had been married two years before we were to have our first vacation. We had had neither the time nor the money for a wedding trip, but we were to make up for it now. He was to take me south - to Florida - and show me some of the things which, as a boy, had formed so large a part of his life. It had meant so much to him and it came to mean as much to me. We went there year after year whenever he could steal time from his busy life. This is the "Old Florida" I love - my husband's "Old Florida." It is very different from the Florida of today. The new Florida has largely drained the Everglades, built a highway from Tampa to Miami and turned the coasts, both the Atlantic and the Gulf, into a series of glittering resorts. This new Florida may be beautiful (indeed it is!) but to the few of us who are left, who remember the older, wilder Florida, there is something lacking. I for one would like to keep some record, however faint, of those early glamorous days. Hence these "Tales of Old Florida."

It was thrilling to think we were to have a real vacation - more thrilling still to be going to Florida. All trips involved some preparation, this one more than most. We were going south - I must have some summer dresses. A dress-maker was called in; she made me a number of pretty cotton dresses of dimity, lawn, or gingham - dresses with long, much beruffled skirts, and I indulged in several new summer hats to match the dresses. (Al must not feel ashamed of his bride, down among his old Southern friends. I wanted to feel very sure on that point!) Al finally added a little warning note himself.

'We are likely to have some boating, you know; take some things suitable for such occasions, and be sure to include some rubber-soled shoes." I think he had been somewhat appalled by the mass of fluffy clothes he saw, but his hint was enough. I added a short skirt - short for those days - some middy blouses, and both black and white tennis shoes. For himself, Al said not to bother; he knew the stores down there; he was sure

he could get everything he would need. At last, in 1904, everything was ready and we were on our way. A day train took us from Detroit to Cincinnati where we changed to a sleeper to Jacksonville.

I had not enjoyed my night rides on the Queen and Crescent road, with its mountainous curves and its succession of tunnels, but in the morning I thought, "Now my troubles are over; I'm in Florida. Nice flat country - no curves - no tunnels!" I exulted quietly to myself. I did not want my husband to guess how uncomfortable I had been. Then it was time for the next stage of our journey. I was particularly interested to see some Florida pines. From my childhood days in northern Michigan, where dense forests of tall pine trees were common, I had heard great tales of "Florida pines." Now I would see them! We got on our train. The coaches were old; there was no chair-car; we sat by open windows and were deluged by smoke and hot stinging cinders. The engine was fired by southern pine. For some time I had been watching for a glimpse of a pine forest. There were pines all right, many of them widely scattered over this flat Florida plain we were crossing. Finally I asked, "Al, is this a typical pine forest?" I hoped he would say "No," but instead he looked out as if considering the matter, and said, "Yes. This is quite typical of Florida pines. Of course there are places where the growth is heavier, but these are good pines." Then he gave me a little smile and said, "My dear, you will probably never see again such pines as you saw in your childhood."

When we reached Tampa, Al suggested instead of more train ride that we take the boat which ran between Tampa and Braidentown. That was a very fine change, but it was short. We reached Braidentown about noon on a very hot day. The first thing to do was to find something to eat. We went into a restaurant on the main street. It was terrible! It would not be tolerated anywhere today, North or South. It was unscreened, and flies were everywhere. They were on the tables, on the food, they covered the baked goods in the window. That luncheon did not add to my spirits. As we got up from the table Al said, "You stay here - I'll go get a team to drive us to Sarasota." He was soon back with a team, a surrey, and a driver.

"Are we going back to the station for our bags?" I asked as we started. "No," said my husband, "I don't know what the hotel

situation in Sarasota is. I think they have a hotel, but we may have to come back here tonight." So we set out on a twelve-mile drive, the first ten miles being over rough, sandy roads across an open prairie and under a broiling mid-day sun. My spirits were getting lower and lower. I did so much want to please this dear husband of mine who had set his heart on my liking his old home, but *I was afraid I was not going to like Florida!*

Just when my spirits were at their lowest ebb, there came a change. We drove up a sharp rise of ground, almost like climbing a small hill, and before us sparkled beautiful Sarasota Bay. Now the road turned and followed the shore line. The bank was fairly high and we were close to the water. Everything was different. There were trees, but they were not pines with towering trunks and sparse foliage, but live oaks with wide spreading branches and dense foliage. Mingled with the oaks were some beautiful palm trees. I had not yet learned the different kinds, but I knew they were palms; they looked beautiful to me. The afternoon breeze off the water was brisk and cooled the air delightfully. My ideas of Florida were changing rapidly. The farther we went the more wonderful it seemed. "Oh Al!" I cried, "Why didn't you tell me it was like this?"

"I couldn't" he said. "This was one thing you had to see for yourself."

We were driving past many beautiful houses, some quite pretentious, others just comfortable southern homes. There were no fences. We seemed to be driving through beautiful front yards - not on a public highway. We were really driving through "Indian Beach" in the old days when people were willing to share the beauties of their bay-shore lots with their friends and neighbors. I know that it wasn't practical to leave things like that, that a flock of today's tourists would ruin such loveliness, but I am glad that I knew "Indian Beach" before it became so exclusive, when we could drive through their front yards! Right here I got my first lesson on palm trees. "Look!" said my husband. "There is a good example of a date palm." I learned to know that date palm well as I took various snapshots of it. It stood in the lawn at "The Palms" next door to the John Helveston home.

Shortly after showing me the palm, Al spoke to our driver who turned in under some trees and stopped. Without a word to me my husband got out and walked toward a house which

stood well back from the road. What could be the trouble? To be sure the road we bad been following was dim - perhaps it did not go on through. We might have to go back. The house back under the trees looked inviting. On its broad front gallery or veranda sat a woman evidently dressed for the afternoon, a ruffled white apron over her fresh print gown. In her hands she held a two-quart jar which she was patiently turning up-and-down, up-and-down - churning soft, sweet butter for their supper, as I was later to learn! So far, I hadn't guessed a thing, and what happened next took me utterly by surprise. As Al approached the woman - to ask directions, I supposed - she suddenly looked up and saw him. Setting her jar down hastily, she rushed down the steps and throwing her arms around him and kissing him, she cried out, "Why, Ally Brush! Ally Brush!"

Before I could get my breath and gather my wits together, Al had me out of the surrey, others had come out of the house, and I was meeting the whole Helveston family. What a welcome they gave me! Surely, I could never feel like a stranger among this friendly group. Of course I realized that I owed the warmth of this greeting to my husband. To tell the truth, he was like a long lost son come home. He loved them and they very evidently loved him. Someway this did not surprise me; I had found him very lovable myself. Now to introduce these friends. The woman who greeted Al first was Mollie. Mollie was a lady, and a great friend of the Helveston's, but she was also the genius of the kitchen. Where did she come from in the first place? I cannot tell you, but *she was a lady,* and in the kitchen *she was a genius.* Then there were Johnnie and Nannie Helveston, the owners of the house. Next comes Furman's beautiful wife, Ida May Page Helveston and their little four-year-old girl, Mabel. Add John Helveston's mother, the elder Mrs. Helveston, and several cousins, and you have the Helveston group, in their home, Alzarti House. I saw almost at once what must have been in my husband's mind, all along - the hope that we might stay with these friends and not go to a hotel. Nannie Helveston, though she was little, quiet, and gentle, was the dominant one in this group, and she quickly decided the matter.

"Of course you will, stay here," she said. "Where else should you go?" Then turning to me, she said, "Our front room downstairs is vacant. Will you come in and see if it will do?" Would

it do! I had fallen in love with the place and with the people. I could think of nothing so desirable as to stay right here, in this beautiful spot, and with these new friends! I thought of the hot ride from Braidentown. "Al," I said, "Do we *have* to go back to Braidentown? Why can't we stay here tonight?" "My dear!" said Al - dismay in his voice - "we didn't bring anything with us! We have to go back and get our baggage." "But Al," I said, "our room is ready, we are near Sarasota, why can't we go there and get what we need for the night?"

This plan met approval all around, and we were soon in a small dry goods store. I had been told it was the "likeliest" for our purpose. "Likely" or not, my first request brought a polite negative. "No, we have no ready-made nightgowns," the proprietor said, but he promptly added, "we have a fine new line of fabrics for your inspection." Unfortunately that would not fill the bill in this case, but I had a happy thought. Al would need a nightshirt; I could wear a nightshirt - for a single night, so I confidently asked for two nightshirts. I thought our storekeeper looked relieved. "I think we have some," he said. "I *know* I ordered them, and I think they came in." He didn't know where they were, however, and I have never forgotten the scene that followed. Boxes were hauled out from under counters; boxes from high shelves were pulled down and opened. Several local customers dropped in and seeing what was going on joined in the search. All sorts of things showed up - from heavy camp blankets to palmleaf fans - but not a sign of a nightshirt. I was beginning to think I would have to face that drive, when one of the customers pointed out a lone box on a very high shelf. A step-ladder was brought, the box hauled down and opened - and behold! a full box of nightshirts! A few toilet articles (I had picked these out while the search was going on) and we were ready to go back to our first night under the hospitable roof of what was to me then - and continued to be in my memory - the most enchanting place in the South.

How long did it take me to get acquainted down here? Why bless you! I didn't have to *get* acquainted - I simply found I *was* acquainted; so completely did they take me into their friendly circle. I quickly became one of them. They let me help in the daily tasks which were routine to them, but were new and fascinating to me. I went with Nannie Helveston to pick figs

from the tree in their back yard - and how good they were. I had never tasted fresh, ripe figs before. One day Ida said to me, "Don't you want to come with me to get clams for a clam chowder?" So I was initiated into the mysteries of "heeling for clams." The process is interesting. Donning rubber boots, we went out on the flats in front of the house when the tide was low. We walked around on the soft sand, pressing hard with the heel. If we felt something hard under the heel, quickly the toe of our boot would be pushed under the hard spot. A quick little flip of the toe and up would come a big clam. I took to this game-it was great fun, and soon to my delight I had a pile of clams much larger than Ida's, "See!" I exulted, "You have let a 'tenderfoot' beat you at your own game." It was a joke to Ida and me, but not to little Mabel. Like a shot she was off, and pouncing on her "Uncle Al" who had been sitting on the shore watching us, she began pounding him with her tiny fists while tears streamed down her face. "Why Mabel!" said her "Uncle Al," as he caught her flying fists in his, "What is the matter?" "*She beat my mamma,*" said the sobbing child.

"But Mabel," cried Al, "I didn't do it."

"But she's *your wife!*" sobbed the little southern spitfire. It was quite a showery time for a few minutes, and it took a little careful explaining to make Mabel see the joke but she finally did see it and was as ready to laugh at herself as she had been to fight for her adored mamma.

When I first met the Helveston family Furman was away from home, but when he returned, he and Al enjoyed their reunion so much that I was thrown with him more than with any of the others. Very shortly after the clam episode Al said, "Furman and I are going after a mess of stone crabs. Don't you want to come along?" Of course, I always wanted to go along! In no time I was in the back of the row-boat and the two men were rowing me over to Bird Key, a place of which I had heard great tales. It was a favorite fishing spot and I had been told that some day they would go back of Bird Key and get me some of the beautiful white clam shells known as "Angel-wings." Now we were to go to the "Bird Key flats" for stone-crabs. I saw at once that Al was dressed for the occasion. His attire consisted of a thin white outing shirt, a pair of khaki trousers and a pair of rubber-soled shoes. Furman was dressed about the same and each man

seemed to be armed with a long slender pine stick. "What do you do? Beat them to death?" I asked.

"We will show you," they said. As soon as we reached the flats, the men got out of the boat. It was low tide and this shallow spot, known as "the flats," was covered with about a foot of water. They looked into the water a bit, studying it, and then got the boat placed to their liking. "See that hole down there?" they asked. I could just see it. "Now watch." Very carefully down into the hole went the stick, exploring-six, seven, eight inches. A short wait, not more than a few seconds, and then a man's hand and arm followed the stick, but was quickly withdrawn, holding by its back a large crab whose sharp lobster-like claw was embedded in the pine stick. "You see," explained Al, "these fellows are pugnacious If you put your hand down first they would grab that, perhaps take a piece out of your finger. But if they tackle the stick first they will not let go in a hurry. If you are quick you can get hold of them safely." It didn't look too safe to me, but these two men were old hands at the job, and I soon had a pile of lively, crawling, fighting, crabs in the boat with me. That night Mollie gave us the most wonderful crab-meat salad I ever ate. How about Bird Key today? Is it still there? It is indeed still there, but it is a Bird Key which has been so dredged, filled in, beautified, and built on as to make a new place of it. It now holds one of Sarasota's most imposing homes, but the old "Bird Key flats" are no more.

There was another kind of crab which intrigued me in those early days. These were the "fiddlers." They were small, but very bright-colored with curious markings. The most noticeable thing about them was the way they carried the big claws aloft, holding them high above their heads, as if they were fiddles which they were trying to protect. It was easy to see how they got their name. These little fellows amused me greatly, always hurrying around as if intent on keeping an appointment. One day we were on a piece of the shore where they were numerous. Suddenly Al said, "Want to see something funny? Watch!" He began walking quietly, in a wide circle around a spot where the fiddlers swarmed. As he walked they started running away from him. As soon as he completed his big circle he started a smaller one. Again they ran away from him. Faster and faster walked Al and smaller and smaller grew the ring as these little fellows,

coming from all directions, began to meet and climb over each other in their effort to escape from the menacing giant who had started all this trouble. But the giant and I, after an amused laugh at the struggling frantic heap which had piled itself up several inches high, were interested to see how quickly they untangled themselves and went about their own affairs, holding their fiddles as high as ever.

One feature of our trips to Florida was so common to all of them that it almost escaped special mention, it was so much a part of that life. The feature I am thinking of is our oyster roasts. I have, in other parts of the world, been where "an oyster roast on the beach" was an event to be anticipated for days; but with these friends-particularly Ida and Furman Helveston-it was so common as to call for no explanation, almost no preparation. Furman might show up in his work clothes-he was a digger of artesian wells and was apt to appear in curious work attire-of which his high boots were the most conspicuous item. "I saw Pete on my way home," he might say. "He had just come in from the oyster-beds. If you want to, we can pack up some crackers and things and go right down there. I'll have to leave you by two and get back to work, but the rest of you can take your time." Then quickly, in Ida's box would be stored some packages of the big crackers they liked so much, a jar of sweet butter, jars of guava jelly, and some pickles.

When we got to Pete's camp down on lower Sarasota Bay he always had wood ready for a fire, and what do you suppose would be ready to put over it? An old fender from a discarded Ford car. It was kept for just this use. Pete would take a bushel of his freshly gathered oysters, and pour them onto the hollowed surface, where they would soon steam and start to open. An oyster knife would be slipped into the tiny opening, some lemon juice and butter added, and we would soon all be filling ourselves with the most delicious oysters I have ever tasted. Of course a few of us had not waited for the oysters to become heated but had had a short course of raw oysters plus a little lemon juice. I never tasted better raw oysters but the main course that followed was the real treat. These impromptu oyster roasts did not occupy much of our time, but they fill a big place in my early memories.

We had been in Florida about ten days when Furman, Al, and Ida decided that it was time I should be initiated into the

mysteries of a southern camping trip. Furman came home one night with a report that he had been bearing some stories of wonderful bass fishing "out on the Myakka." If they needed a spur for such an enterprise, that report would have been enough. To "go camping," was not an episode with these friends; it was a part of their way of life; they were always ready for it. They loved hunting and fishing. Above all, they loved out-of-door living, and were always prepared for it. One consideration for making the trip right now, was that we could have the use of both horses. Without more ado, everything was settled. Ida would drive the light wagon with Mabel on the seat beside her. Their two northern guests would be in the backseat, while Furman would ride Flora, Ida's spirited young mare. The back of the wagon would hold all the camp equipment and supplies. The evening before we were to start Furman said, "I met George Prime in town today. I told him what we were planning, and he said they had heard these fishing tales, too, and would like to join us."

"That's all right," said Ida. "The Primes have their own equipment. They won't depend on us, and they're good company. I hope they will be on time."

"I told George," said Furman, "that we were going to make an early start, and would stop by their place."

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From one of the directors of the Society, Mr. Tom O. Brown, comes the following account of the location of old Fort Clinch at Frostproof.

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LOCATING SEMINOLE INDIAN WAR FORTS

by TOM O. BROWN

The student of Seminole War history will recall that as early as 1821 General Andrew Jackson, then Governor of Florida, had urged the United States Government to adopt measures to send back to the Creek nation those runaways, or Seminoles, who had fled to Florida in 1814 and 1818. He forsaw that an increase

in Indian population in this country would result in unpleasant and dangerous consequences. The outbreak of the second Seminole War which occurred in 1835 proved that he was right.

The need for a place from which the regular army could operate and which could provide a place of refuge for the settlers resulted in the building of the first forts. These extended in a line along the boundary between Georgia and Florida. As the Indians were driven further south by military action and treaties, more forts were erected following the line of retreat.

In March of 1839, Zachary Taylor, then a Brigadier General in the United States Army, wrote to Governor R. K. Call of Florida commenting on the need for additional troops for the direction of affairs against the enemy in Middle Florida. His letter in part says, "This force for the most part will be assigned to duty in Middle Florida, where they will serve until the Enemy are expelled from that portion of the country. . . . Arrangements are now in progress with an ample force to drive the Enemy from below the Suwannee, to East and South of the Oklawaha and Withlacoochee rivers completely; by a military occupation of the region of country lying between these rivers, with numerous small posts situated in squares 20 miles apart, to be garrisoned by detachments of foot and mounted men, [we plan to guarantee the security of the frontier]."

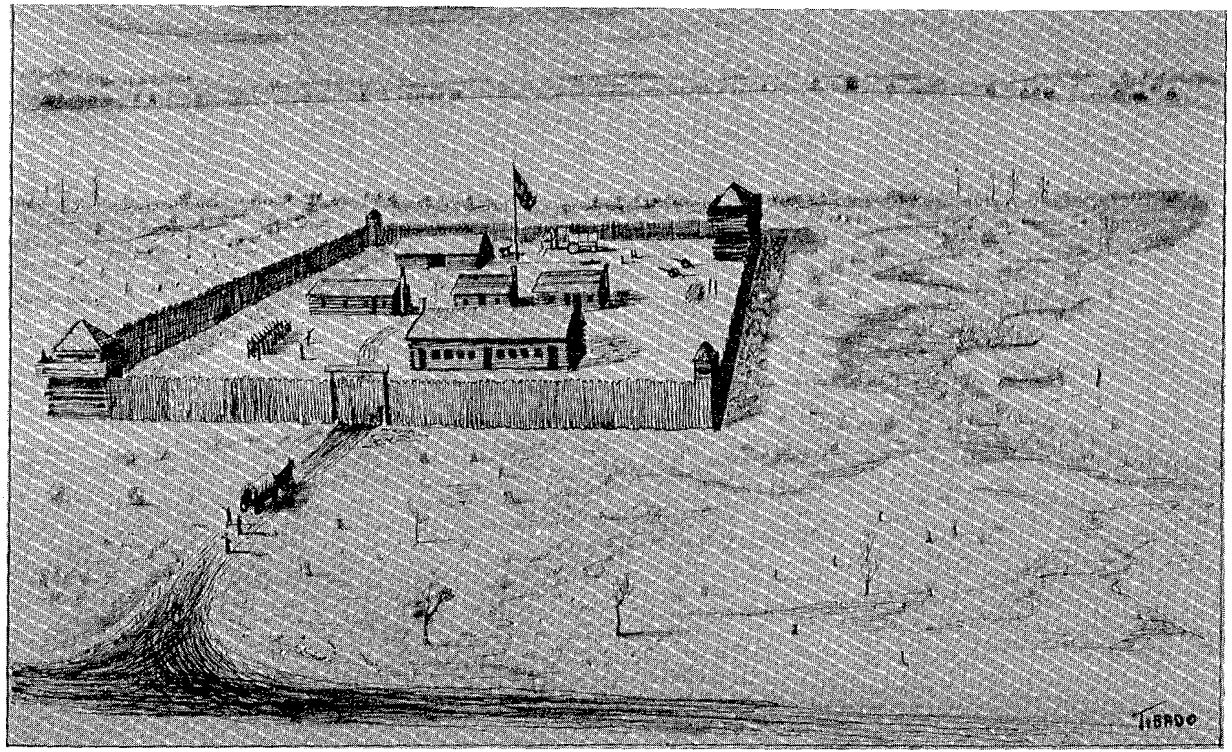
The letter continues, "The plan of operations heretofore carried on must be entirely changed, the Enemy being broken up into small parties, are enabled from their intimate knowledge of the localities of the country, to penetrate almost any part of the Territory without being discovered, murder the unsuspecting inhabitants, and making good their retreat to their fastnesses in spite of the utmost vigilance on our part, for although the regular troops have unceasingly pursued them since the opening of the campaign in large and small parties, amounting in many instances to recklessness unparalleled in similar warfare, yet have the Indians invariably fled from hammock to hammock and swamp to swamp without ever giving us battle in a single instance." The letter closes "Had the Indians confined their murders to the officers and soldiers however painful such occurrences might be, they would have been trifling to the indiscriminate slaughter now carried on by their people against helpless women and children. We must drive them from the country and therefore no means

that will so surely effect that end as the plan of covering the settlements and a short distance beyond by numerous small posts and operating daily from them in every direction." Thus the expressed need for the military posts discussed herein.

Following the termination of the second Seminole War in 1842, there resulted an uneasy peace for some fourteen years. Full fledged war again broke out in 1856 and was known as the "Billy Bowlegs War." Realizing the benefit rendered by a string of forts in the prior conflagration, General D. E. Twiggs who was in command at this time, caused additional forts to be erected. Among these was Fort Clinch at Frostproof on the north shore of the lake of the same name. This was one of a line of forts from Fort Brook at Tampa to Fort Capron near the present city of Fort Pierce on the East coast, and included such fort names as Alafia, Meade, Clinch, Arbuckle, Drum and Vinton.

A recognized authority on Seminole history, Major E. T. Keenan, a retired army officer and old friend of the writer, spent a great deal of his life accumulating the facts and history of this era and one of his interests was the actual location of the more than four hundred fort sites. It has been my extreme pleasure to accompany him on many of these jaunts in an endeavor to pinpoint the actual physical sites. We have experienced a gamut of emotions in our pursuit of this information and have enlisted the aid of Indians, cowboys, judges, men, women, and even children. Our sources included old maps obtained from the National Archives from which we had to lift oftentimes erroneous information, guessing at locations as indicated by latitude and longitude. Using this information as a guide we later pinpointed the sites with additional and corrected data. The search was rendered most difficult at times by the changes in the physical appearance of the land. We searched the courthouses and the records therein for original survey maps and field notes. We contacted "old timers" for verbal reports. We applied distances as mentioned on old documents, which at times were surprisingly accurate. In our travels we discovered that many of the present county roads follow closely the original military roads.

Confusion was added at times by the similarity of names of forts from different periods. For instance, there were four Forts Clinch. One at Fernandina, one at Pensacola, another on the Withlacoochee, and the one at Frostproof. We had no trouble



SEMINOLE WAR FORT. DRAWN FROM DESCRIPTION CONTAINED IN THE POST RETURNS OF FORT DAVENPORT IN 1839. PROPERTY OF EDWARD T. KEENAN. FROSTPROOF, FLORIDA.

Location of old Fort Clinch, Frostproof.

with the one on the Withlacoochee after we had located the general area, for we found a house situated near the bank of the river on the mound of earth that the fort formerly occupied. The owner told us that it was recognized as the site of the fort and several authorities confirmed this. The old ford or river crossing and the course of the river gave further evidence of the fact. There is an element of doubt in some cases as so much time has elapsed, well over a hundred years, and people's memories are not too good. We really are positive, however, of the location of Ft. Clinch at Frostproof, and this how it came about.

This discovery gave us delighted satisfaction and was brought about with the kind assistance of Mr. Calvin Britt of Bartow, Florida. Mr. Britt is a public surveyor and engineer and like so many of us is interested in history, particularly that part relating to Florida. Knowing of the interest of his good friend the Major in locating Seminole War forts, he became very interested himself when he discovered some old field notes of a surveyor named John Jackson. Mr. Jackson was running a base line for a township, and coming to the shore of Lake Clinch looked about for a bearing point. Seeing the flag pole of the fort at one end of the lake, he-made a fix on the pole and noted the angle. Journeying around the shoreline to the opposite side of the lake, he set up, made his bearing again on the fort's flag pole, and took his reading. Guided by these notes, Mr. Britt took a present day aerial map and denoting the lines on the map crossed "hairs" at a spot which at one time had been the location of the flag pole at old Fort Clinch.

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Our readers may be interested in the following letter from Jose Rivero Muniz, and the reply from Charles W. Arnade.

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To the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly:*

In the issue of the FHQ of October, 1960-which only recently has come to my attention-there is a book review by Mr. Charles W. Arnade of my *Los Cubanos en Tampa* [The Cubans in Tampa]. I wish to humbly give a few comments about this review. First of all, I must express my thanks to Dr. Arnade for

his most cordial praise, ideas and statements about my work. Then I want to answer some of his criticisms. During the third decade of our century I lived most of the time in Tampa. The relations between Cuban whites and Negroes were most cordial and there was no racial discrimination that the reviewer apparently found later in Tampa. Cuban Negroes and whites did live in different neighborhoods. But this was due to circumstances beyond their wishes and desires. They were mutually respectful and were true citizens who respected the law. These Cubans of Tampa showed little interest in religion. They all were Catholics but with the exception of the women, they did not go to church.

It was cheap to live in Tampa, incredibly cheap. Any worker could live in a comfortable place with abundant and nutritious food for no more than seven dollars a week. Families lived equally inexpensively. Clothing and shoes were sold at most moderate prices and anyone could afford them. I still believe that Tampa was an ideal place for any worker.

With regard to the important role played by the Cubans (Cuban emigration) in the development of Tampa I still am of the opinion that this was the decisive factor in its progress. I say this because I believe that any research, including what I have done, will prove this.

Finally, if I do not cite more United States authors in my bibliography it is simply because there was no need for it. Those sources I cite were enough for my professed purposes. The American sources were marginal to my topic and mostly dealt with the total history of Tampa. My study was only a sketch of a segment of the Tampa population. I was aware of and had read in the FHQ various articles dealing with Tampa. Among those were those dealing with Spanish fishery and the doings of William Bunce. If I had touched these subjects my task would have been endless.

I wish to end this already too long letter with my best wishes and appreciation to the editor of the *FHQ* and to my most cordial reviewer, Dr. Arnade.

Jose Rivero Muniz
Habana, Cuba
October 14, 1961

To the Editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly:*

It is a pleasure that I can respond to Mr. Jose Rivero Muniz' letter. Truly his most urbane comments do not require any rebuttal. I gladly accept his statements. Maybe as an author he has been too sympathetic to his subject while I have been too realistic as a reviewer. In the end his weakness is far more beneficial (and humane) than my academic puritanism. In these troubled days when our two countries, ninety miles apart, have suddenly become two different worlds I gladly express my thanks and appreciation to my Cuban colleague who still cherishes wonderful memories of old Florida of bygone days.

Charles W. Arnade
University of South Florida
October 20, 1961

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EDWARD A. MUELLER of Tallahassee has long been a devotee of the history of steamboating.

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