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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends, we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

Saint Augustine, April, 1857.

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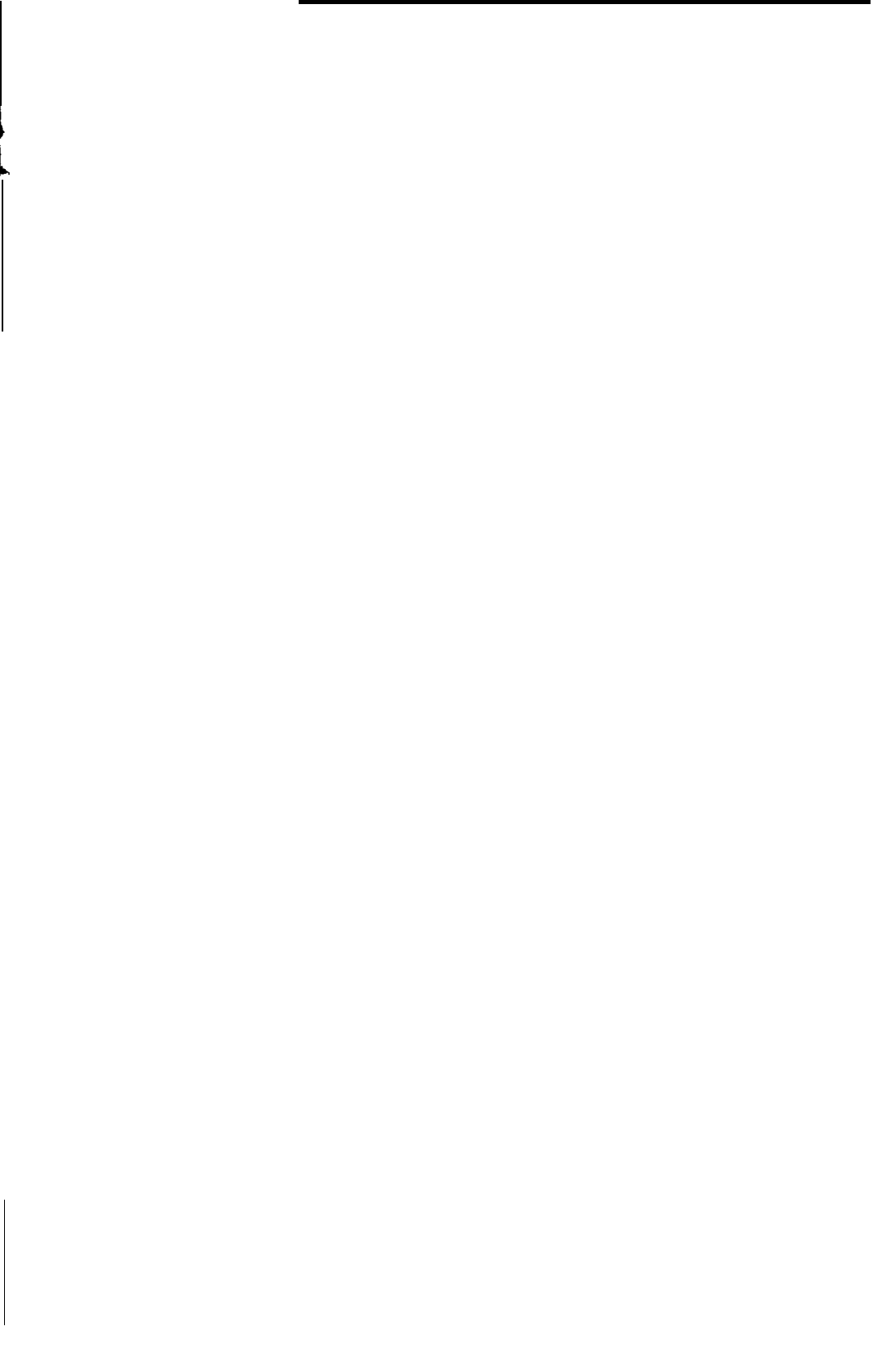
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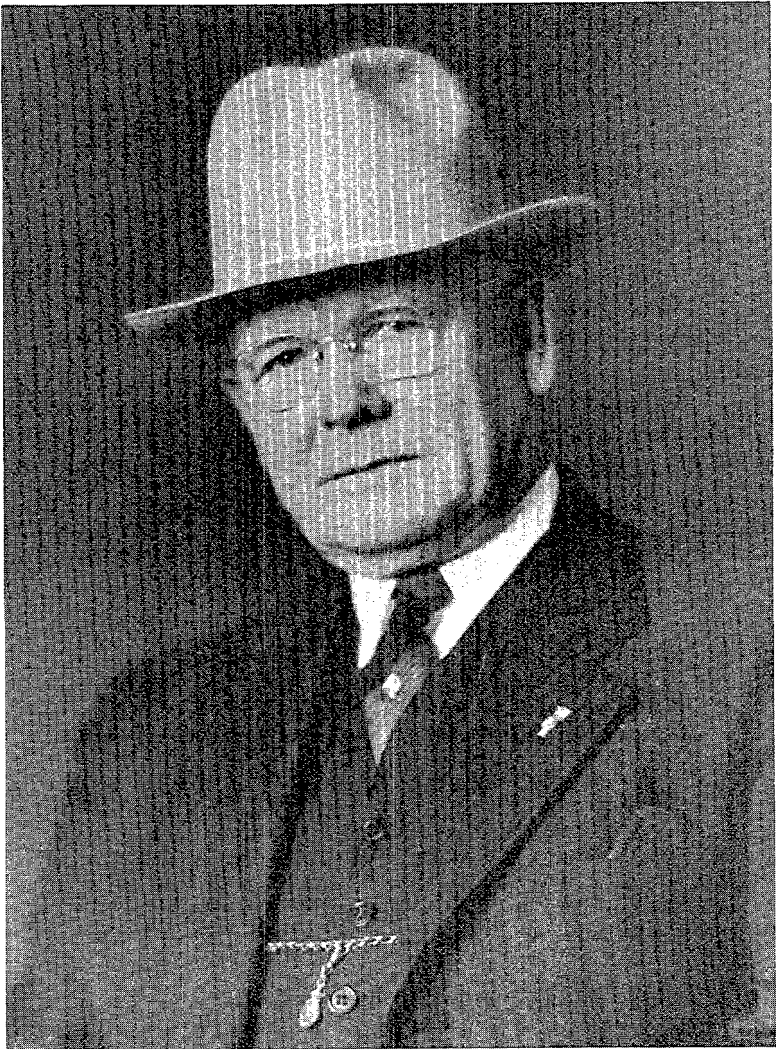
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Commissioner of Agriculture Nathan Mayo (ca. 1948).

AGRICULTURE AND ADVERTISING:
FLORIDA STATE BUREAU OF IMMIGRATION,
1923-1960

by MARTIN M. LAGODNA

THE SHADES WERE drawn in the back office of the busy white frame country store. As was his habit, the little man with the greying hair and starched collar lay down to rest after dinner. Out front the hitching posts were being bound with leather as customers hurried into the general merchandise mart which also served as a postoffice. The store was humming and the man's wife and his clerk-partner tended the people. After all, it was the largest supplier of its kind between Ocala and Dade City. Business was good but the man in the darkened back office was not content. As he lay down and closed his eyes, his mind wandered to the schemes which he loved to ponder and which transported him away from ledgerbook affairs. Though a busy trading community, Summerfield, Florida, was not a metropolis. A man with his visions and energy was hemmed in, but as a director of the Florida Development Board, he had some opportunity to transcend his own locale.¹ He had sampled almost every enterprise in his little world—the store, farming, citrus, turpentine, lumber, naval stores, cotton gin and mill, banking, even politics—and he prospered, too. He did suffer occasional setbacks such as the destruction of his cotton gin and mill business by the boll weevil and the ruin of the naval stores business by World War I. And he was restless. Carrying an alligator-skin satchel containing more starched collars and a pistol, he often rode horseback over his turpentine acreage to inspect the side camps and stills. Nathan Mayo was an ambitious man, a dreamer and a builder, and he had both the desire and the talent to be one of Florida's great promoters.

1. The Florida Development Board was the immediate predecessor of the state chamber of commerce. In 1916 the Florida Cattle Tick Eradication Committee came into existence. In 1920 the committee changed its name to the Florida Development Board and received a state charter. In 1925 the name was altered to the Florida State Chamber of Commerce. See Florida State Chamber of Commerce, *50 Creative Years: A Brief History of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce* (Jacksonville, 1966), 2.

When Mayo was appointed by Governor Cary Hardee in 1923 to succeed the retiring William Allan McRae as commissioner of agriculture, he was able at last to begin doing the things which he liked so much and about which he had thought so often back in Summerfield. No longer would he have to escape to his office couch or ride through the notched timber of Marion County. As commissioner of agriculture, he would have a broad vista for his activity and interests, at least so long as the state legislature would acquiesce.

Florida's constitution and statutes did not clearly describe the duties of a governmental officer or body, and their functions often evolved according to the character and enterprise of the man holding office. Though the constitution and statutes assigned some general obligations to the commissioner of agriculture, he was free to interpret the responsibilities to fit his temperament and expand or contract his functions. With a yen to be a promoter and a background with the Florida Development Board, Mayo quickly adopted advertising Florida as one of his major activities. By using the vague provisions for a bureau of immigration in the department of agriculture, Mayo reasoned that he was charged with this advertising responsibility.

After the Civil War, Florida instituted a policy of encouraging settlers to come into the state, and to serve this purpose the constitution of 1868 provided for a commissioner of immigration. The commissioner was directed to supply information about the state and to establish a program for attracting immigrants. A number of publications descriptive of Florida were distributed, and agents were hired to travel throughout the North searching for settlers and extolling the state. After 1868 a number of changes were made in the administration of the bureau responsible for attracting immigration until the new constitution of 1885 provided for a commissioner of agriculture responsible for a "Bureau of Immigration." According to the constitution, the legislature of 1887 was to prescribe the duties of the commissioner of agriculture, but the legislature neglected its duty. Finally, the legislature of 1889 delineated some duties of the commissioner and established a bureau of agriculture. The constitution had provided for an agriculture commissioner but no agriculture department. The legisla-

ture went a step further and established a bureau of immigration composed of the governor, secretary of state, and commissioner of agriculture who was to act as president and keep the bureau in his department. The legislature of 1891 discarded the three-man committee, and the bureau reverted back to the agriculture commissioner's sole control and became a part of his department.²

Under William McRae, the immigration bureau, as a part of the division of agriculture and immigration, printed the *Quarterly Bulletin* and *Biennial Report*, supplementary bulletins, and a large state map each biennium. The division took a census every ten years. The material was distributed free, and approximately 40,000 mail and express packages were sent out annually.

Just what pertained to agriculture and what to immigration in McRae's division was not made clear by him. Mayo and Thomas Joseph Brooks, who joined the department in 1920 as chief clerk of the agriculture and immigration division, felt that the immigration bureau was really dormant.³ Mayo and Brooks had a broad conception of what needed to be done by the bureau to encourage immigration, and their ideas included a kind of advertising not done by McRae. Indeed, McRae had advertised the state, and in a statement released at the time of his retirement he claimed that advertising had been the chief function of his department during his tenure.⁴ But advertising to him meant mailing out department publications and answering mail inquiries about Florida. Mayo and Brooks continued the same work, but they sought inquiries through magazine advertising and promotional projects.

The bureau of immigration became a more active and distinct division under Mayo. Previously there had been uncertainty about what was meant by immigration. Mayo and Brooks believed that the concept of immigration had changed and they altered the bureau accordingly: "In periods of earlier settlement of our coun-

2. *Laws of Florida* (1868), 202, 206; *ibid.* (1869), 5-6; *ibid.* (1877), 104-05; *ibid.* (1879), 88-89; *ibid.* (1889), 22-23; *ibid.* (1891), 98; A. H. King, *Constitution of the State of Florida Adopted by the Convention of 1885* (Jacksonville, 1887), 14-15, 17.
3. Nathan Mayo, ed., *Florida Department of Agriculture Activities* (Tallahassee, 1946), 5; Nathan Mayo, *Activities of the Florida State Department of Agriculture*, revised (Tallahassee, 1955), 5, 11; *Seventeenth Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1921-1922* (Tallahassee, 1922), part 1, 11-12.
4. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 2, 1923.

try, the term immigration had probably, a different meaning from what it now has. The day of vast, herd-like migrations of people to new lands seems to be past. People locating in new homes seek reasons for doing so with more intelligence than was used in past generations. This paves the way for a better development of new land and for the assurance of a better class of citizens where the choice of location is sensibly made. To this bureau go all letters and inquiries from people who want information about locating in Florida to farm or to follow special lines of agriculture.”⁵

To attain his objectives, Mayo secured legislative approval in 1925 to use money from the general inspection fund (fee moneys collected by the department of agriculture and set aside especially for the department's use). The commissioner was to collect information on the resources and possibilities of the state, publish the material, and generally advertise Florida. A statistician, advertising editor, and other assistants as required were authorized, and \$50,000 from the general inspection fund was appropriated. The first advertising editor was Caleb Jewett King, who later became editor of the *Florida Times-Union*. He was succeeded shortly by Phil S. Taylor who subsequently became supervisor of the inspection division. Finally, the advertising work was taken over by Brooks in what may have been an economy move since the appropriation was soon deemed inadequate.⁶

Although sometimes a cause for criticism by politicians, especially in the 1932 election, the department of agriculture published abundant literature. Much material was promotional, although some of it aided farmers. Material describing the department's activities and a history of Florida was published. In 1929 Mayo and Brooks collaborated on a booklet in which they related their advertising experiences since the first appropriation four years earlier, outlined their program, discussed their problems, and itemized the advertising budget.⁷

The new departure in state advertising inaugurated by Mayo placed advertisements in magazines, mainly agricultural journals.

5. *Twenty-Third Biennial Report of the Florida State Department of Agriculture, 1932-1934* (Tallahassee, 1934), 35.

6. Memoir dictated to Jack Shoemaker by Nathan Mayo, undated ca. 1959, in the Mayo Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. Hereafter cited as Mayo Collection. Mayo, *Activities* (1955), 11; *Laws of Florida* (1925), 54.

7. Nathan Mayo and Thomas J. Brooks, *Four Years of State Advertising* (Tallahassee, 1929).

Over \$20,000 was spent in such a manner by the bureau during the first year, and according to Mayo, "the response exceeded our expectations. Inquiries poured in by the thousands."⁸ But to give Mayo and Brooks all the credit would be unfair. Apparently the idea had existed for some time but had not been acted upon until Mayo became commissioner. Commissioner of Agriculture Benjamin Earnest McLin, in his biennial report for 1907-1908, proposed activating the bureau of immigration and "judicious advertising of the resources of the State in some of the leading agriculture and mechanical journals in the East, in the West and in our Southern States. . . ."⁹

Each respondent to the bureau's advertising was sent the literature, and his name was placed upon a mimeographed list which was circulated among newspapers, chambers of commerce, boards of trade, county demonstration agents, banks, state legislators, and the offices of railroads operating in Florida. The agencies were expected to contact the prospective immigrants and encourage them to move to Florida. Most inquiries concerned dairying, poultry, truck farming, and fruit growing possibilities of Florida.¹⁰ Mayo reported that "since the Bureau of Immigration has been actively engaged in advertising the state there has been an increase in the dairy and poultry business of 10%. Of course, I am not claiming all of that is due to our work, but I do think that a considerable part of it is. . . ."¹¹

Publication of promotional and informative literature had always been a prime function of the department of agriculture, and under Mayo the work was greatly expanded. In June 1926, the bureau of immigration began publishing the *Florida Review*, a digest of a clipping service of the state press showing Florida's development and progress. It also contained editorials by Mayo and Brooks and reports on the activities of various divisions of the department of agriculture.¹² During the second year of state ad-

10. *Ibid.*, 4.

9. *Tenth Biennial Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture, 1907-1908* (Tallahassee, 1908), 6.

10. Mayo and Brooks, *Four Years*, 4-5.

11. "Proceedings of the Agricultural Conference Held Under the Auspices of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce" (mimeograph), December 6, 1926, 44, Mayo Collection.

12. Mayo and Brooks, *Four Years*, 5. The mailing list for the *Review* and *Quarterly Bulletin* comprised 25,000 names; approximately fifteen tons of literature were mailed out from Florida in 1925-1926.

vertising by the bureau of immigration (1926-1927), magazine advertising spending shrank from \$20,098.28 to \$8,958.00. The increase from \$10,226.98 in the first year to \$24,051.00 spent on printing the second year probably reflects the inception of the *Review*. The cost of printing the journal was likely made up by reducing the spending for advertisements. Though reduced, magazine advertising continued in agricultural and other journals in the United States and Canada.¹³

As the 1927 session of the legislature approached, a movement was evident to increase the state's advertising expenditures to offset Florida's bad image due to the collapse of the real estate boom. The department of agriculture was very active in the movement but other agencies were also urging the appropriation. In a "Florida Takes Inventory Congress" convened by the Florida State Chamber of Commerce in April 1926, a resolution was adopted calling for an annual legislative appropriation of \$300,000 "to advertise and publicize the state, its resources and opportunities." It asked that the commissioner of agriculture be placed in charge of the program.¹⁴

Mayo opposed a plan to divert one cent of the state's gasoline tax to such a fund for state advertising. He felt that the department of agriculture could provide the necessary funds from inspection fees. The inspection division collected more money than was used by the department and the surplus was turned over to the general revenue fund. Mayo wanted the legislature to let him appropriate up to \$200,000 of the surplus for advertising. Because of the collapse of the boom and the resultant general disdain for promotional projects, the legislature defeated the measure to give the commissioner of agriculture a new advertising fund to be spent in cooperation with an advisory council, but the bureau of immigration's advertising allowance was raised from \$50,000 to \$75,000. In a bureau publication in 1946, Brooks lamented, "No other change has been made in this law."¹⁵

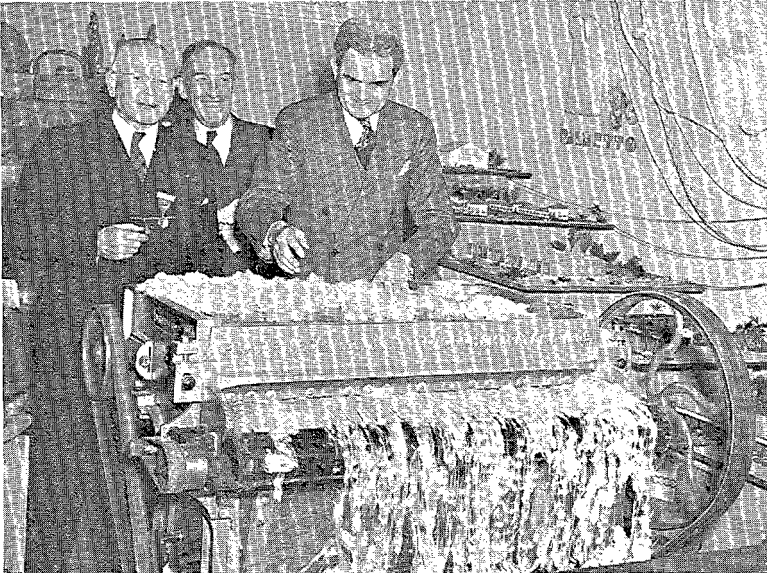
13. *Ibid.*, 4-6; Philip E. DeBerard, Jr., "Promoting Florida: Some Aspects of the Use of Advertising and Publicity in the Development of the Sunshine State" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1951), 81; Mayo, *Activities* (1946), 5; *Florida Review*, June 6, 1927, 2. The combined circulation of the publications in which the bureau advertised was from 12,000,000-15,000,000.

14. "Florida Inventory: Proceedings of the Florida Takes Inventory Congress Held at Palm Beach, Florida" (mimeograph), April 16, 1926, 66, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

15. Mayo, *Activities* (1946), 5; DeBerard "Promoting Florida," 81; *Bradenton Herald*, January 2, 1927, clipping in Mayo scrapbook,



Florida State Advertising Commission, 1953. Secretary of State Robert A. Gray is third from left and Mayo is fifth from left.



Mayo, William L. Wilson (director of the state farmer's markets), and Governor Spessard L. Holland reviewing a machine ginning long staple cotton (ca. 1941).



Reading from left to right: Miss Ann Daniel, Miss Florida for 1955; Commissioner of Agriculture Nathan Mayo; and Miss Lee Ann Meriwether, Miss America for 1955. Taken during 1955 Florida Citrus Exposition.

Though the advertising appropriation was increased by one-half in 1927, the bureau actually spent about a fourth less than in the previous year. Apparently, however, Mayo had big plans because the money not spent from the appropriation was "contracted for" the next year. A sum of over \$38,000 was carried over for use in 1928-1929 when the bureau inaugurated the policy of sending exhibits to northern state fairs and expositions.¹⁶ The Iowa State Fair in the fall of 1928 and the Chicago Livestock Exposition in the fall and winter of the same year received disbursements of nearly \$12,000.¹⁷

The bureau continued its display advertising program, greatly increasing the expenditure. In the summer of 1928, the bureau announced that it had chosen seven national periodicals for its advertising during the fall and winter season and that approximately \$20,000 would be spent. The fall advertising was directed toward tourists and the winter and spring campaign stressed agriculture and industry. Individual communities were invited to share in the advertising and the cost. Actually, over \$40,000 was spent on display advertising during the year and many more than seven periodicals were used.¹⁸ Utilizing the money carried over from the previous year and its regular appropriation, the bureau spent \$102,699.89 from July 1928 through June 1929.¹⁹ The tourist season was quite successful, and part of the credit went to the bureau's state advertising.²⁰

1901-1929, Mayo Collection; "Report of Legislative Activities of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce" (mimeograph), June 24, 1927, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History; St. Petersburg *Independent*, May 24, 1927, clipping in Mayo scrapbook, 1927-1935, Mayo Collection.

16. Mayo and Brooks, *Four Years*, 6-7.
17. *Twenty-First Biennial Report of the State Department of Agriculture, 1928-1930* (Tallahassee, 1930), 162 (the *Report* was incorrectly entitled the *Twentieth Biennial Report*); "Florida to be Shown in Motion Pictures," reprinted from the *Miami Herald*, in *Florida Review*, August 6, 1928, 12.
18. Included in the magazines were the *Southern Ruralist*, *Copper's Farmer*, *Farm and Fireside*, *Farm Journal*, *Manufacturers Record*, *Forbes*, *Wall Street Journal*, *Journal of the National Education Association*, *Literary Digest*, *National Geographic*, *American Magazine*, *Red Book*, and *World's Work*.
19. "Publicity Will Tell the Story of Florida," reprinted from the *Miami Herald*, in *Florida Review*, August 6, 1928, 15; *Twenty-First Biennial Report*, 159-62.
20. DeBerard, "Promoting Florida," 88.

For the next five years, 1929-1934, the bureau continued its advertising work along the established lines; the program was generally lauded and received favorable comment in the state press. ²¹ Mayo described the activities of the bureau during this period: "It prepares and edits publications going out from the department, such as special bulletins for farmers, all advertising literature, advertisements in magazines and other publicity for the department. It also prepares all fair exhibits sent out by the department and supervises all enumerations of agriculture and manufactures. And too, it is empowered to take a population census every ten years." ²² The bureau continued to send exhibits to fairs and expositions all over North America from Toronto to Texas. ²³ From the fiscal year beginning July 1, 1932, until June 30, 1935, nearly all the exhibit money was budgeted for the Century of Progress Exposition at Chicago. ²⁴

After 1935 the bureau continued its program of advertising and even added some promotional novelties, but it was no longer the state's primary advertising agency. ²⁵ Included in the several citrus laws enacted in 1935, which came to be known as the Florida citrus code, were three bills providing for an advertising fund for the newly created Florida Citrus Commission. The commission, responsible for advertising Florida citrus, received its funds from a one cent, three cent, and five cent per box levy on oranges, grapefruit, and tangerines, respectively. The tax was paid by the handler who first introduced the fruit into "the primary channels of trade." Florida, Wisconsin, and New York were the first states to advertise an agricultural product singly. ²⁶

21. "State Advertising Is Effective," reprinted from Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, in *Florida Review*, August 9, 1930, 3.

22. *Twenty-Third Biennial Report*, 35.

23. The fairs included were in Missouri, Arkansas, Kansas, Minnesota, Oklahoma, Texas, Michigan, Tennessee, Alabama, Louisiana, Eastern States Exposition (Massachusetts), National Dairy Association events at Atlantic City and St. Louis, and the Canadian National Exposition.

24. *Twenty-Second Biennial Report of the State Department of Agriculture*, 1930-1932 (Tallahassee, 1933), part 1, 38-39; *Twenty-Third Biennial Report*, 35, 42; *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report of the State Department of Agriculture*, 1934-1936 (Tallahassee, 1936), 123-26.

25. The hotel commission was authorized to do state advertising in 1927, but its work was not on the same scale as the bureau of immigration; it expended less advertising funds in six years than the bureau of immigration did in one year. The hotel commission advertising work ended in 1932. See DeBerard, "Promoting Florida," 88-95, 100.

26. *Laws of Florida* (1935), 234-52; James T. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus* (Gainesville, 1960), 145-48; Council of State Governments, *Advertising By the States* (Chicago, 1948), 7.

With Florida's new advertising program, two important points should be noted. First, a subtle change appeared in the advertising program. Whereas the bureau of immigration advertised Florida in general to induce individuals and businesses to migrate to the state and advertised agricultural products at random, the citrus commission's advertising was designed to advance the interests of a particular industry within the state—in short, to sell more fruit. Second, the advertising of the citrus commission was not intended to supercede or replace the bureau's advertising; it was a different type and an enlargement on the concept of state advertising.

The exhibits program of the bureau continued apace after 1935. An exhibit was placed at the Rockefeller Center in 1935-1936 and at Cleveland and Birmingham in 1936.²⁷ While the bureau was expanding its advertising program nationally, the program within Florida was being abetted. The department of agriculture cooperated with Florida fair and livestock associations in staging exhibits. During the 1936-1938 biennium the bureau spent \$37,000 on exhibits, prizes, and premiums for participants in Florida shows. It also maintained a traveling exhibit for small county and community fairs.²⁸

In the late 1930s Nathan Mayo was reaching the apex of his career as commissioner of agriculture. In January 1938 the *Progressive Farmer* magazine named him "man of the year" in Florida agriculture. In 1939 he was elected president of the National Association of Commissioners, Secretaries, and Directors of Agriculture, and the following year he served as chairman of the executive committee of the organization. In 1939 he was appointed by Secretary of Agriculture Henry Wallace to the federal Agricultural Advisory Council.²⁹ Mayo used his national prestige and contacts for the benefit of his state; he induced the National As-

27. *Twenty-Fourth Biennial Report*, 40.

28. *Twenty-Fifth Biennial Report of the State Department of Agriculture, 1936-1938* (Tallahassee, 1938), 30.

29. In September 1939, Secretary Wallace appointed an agricultural advisory council to advise him in preparing for emergencies in case of a world war. The council met with the secretary at intervals and the members were in regular communication with him and the heads of departments in the agriculture agency. See Henry A. Wallace, *Report of the Secretary of Agriculture, 1940* (Washington, 1940), 13; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, September 10, 1939, clipping in Mayo scrapbook, January-September 1939, Mayo Collection.

sociation of Commissioners, Secretaries, and Directors of Agriculture to bring its annual convention to Miami in 1938.³⁰

Bringing conventions to Florida became an important feat of the immigration bureau. In 1940, when George E. Hosmer of the Florida Press Association went to Mayo for assistance in bringing the national convention of the National Editorial Association to Florida, the commissioner gave a definite promise of help. He suggested that the state of Florida give a luncheon at the Florida exhibit building in New York in 1940 for the National Editorial Association which was then holding its annual convention. According to Hosmer, the luncheon did much to persuade the newspapermen to hold their next convention in Jacksonville in April 1941. Mayo's department contributed funds, along with \$5,000 from the state hotel commission, to help defray expenses. The delegates were taken on a seven-day bus tour of Florida, and at Plant City they were greeted by Mayo and treated to a "big feed." When the editors returned home, they extolled the Florida tour in newspaper editorials which Mayo collected and published in an 111-page booklet. Mayo was enthusiastic about all the free publicity: "Had we bought that much space in these papers it would have cost more than the annual appropriation of the bureau."³¹

Besides the activities of the bureau of immigration and the citrus commission, Florida and Florida products were extensively promoted by the state advertising commission and the state news bureau which were established in 1945. As an ex officio member, Mayo played an influential role on the advertising commission. In 1955, however, the commission was abolished and part of its work was taken over by the new Florida Development Commission. Mayo continued only the advertising done by the bureau of immigration.³²

Nathan Mayo had always cooperated fully with the advertising commission's programs. In 1949, when the commission's appropriation was earmarked for advertising Florida's recreation, agriculture, and industry, Mayo's department participated in the

30. Mayo, *Activities* (1946), 9; undated (probably 1940) typed press release, Mayo Collection.

31. George E. Hosmer, "The N E A Coming to Florida," *Florida Newspaper News*, July 1940; *Florida Newspaper News*, January 1941; "The N.E.A.," *Florida Newspaper News*, November 1940; Nathan Mayo, ed., *Florida as the Nation's Editors See It* (Tallahassee, 1941); Mayo, *Activities* (1946), 6; Mayo, *Activities* (1955), 11-12.

32. *Laws of Florida* (1945), 74-78; *ibid.* (1955), I, pt. 1, 504-13.

agriculture program.³³ By 1955, according to T. J. Brooks, the bureau of immigration printing budget had increased to \$250,000, and it was spending \$50,000 a year for fair exhibits and to lure national conventions to Florida.³⁴

During the latter years of his administration, Mayo devised his famous Cracker Breakfasts as another scheme for promoting Florida and its products. Jack Shoemaker, who succeeded Brooks as director of the bureau of immigration in 1955, described the breakfasts, which were staged for various national conventions meeting in Florida, as one of the "best promotional stunts ever devised by Commissioner Mayo."³⁵ The repast featured Florida products including triple-yolk eggs, citrus fruit and juice, pork, jellies, and marmalades. State egg producers saved the eggs specially for the breakfasts. Programs describing Florida and bags of Florida-grown products were presented to the guests. The breakfasts became so popular that Mayo was forced to refuse many requests for them.³⁶

Prior to 1955 the bureau had been duplicating some work of other state agencies—the Florida Development Commission advertising division and the University of Florida's agricultural extension service. Under the leadership of Jack Shoemaker, the bureau and the development commission worked out a plan to assist one another without duplicating functions. A cooperative publishing program was arranged between the bureau and the University of Florida's provost of agriculture, the director of its agricultural service, the director of the Florida agriculture experiment stations, and the editor of the university's agricultural extension service. According to Shoemaker, "the Bureau would publish bulletins having generalized information of a nature to in-

33. Harris Samonisky, "Burghard Looks at Advertising Florida," *Florida Newspaper News and Radio Digest*, November 1949, 8. The August Burghard agency had been selected by the state advertising commission to conduct the promotional campaign.

34. Mayo, *Activities* (1955), 12.

35. *Thirty-Fourth Biennial Report of the Department of Agriculture, 1954-1956* (Tallahassee, 1956), 18. T. J. Brooks, who had been with the department of agriculture since August 1920, died on July 20, 1955.

36. Cracker Breakfasts were provided for many organizations including the National Editorial Association, the National Association of State Budget Officers, the Southern Governors' Conference, the International Crop Improvement Association, the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs, the Florida Fruit and Vegetable Association, and the American Association of Agricultural Editors.

clude historical data, uses, planting locations, market facilities and information of a promotional nature, while the more detailed and technical information, such as fertilizers, insect and disease control and other phases of production should properly belong in an Agricultural Extension Service or Experiment Station bulletin." The university and the bureau also agreed to share one another's bulletins.

During the period from 1955 to Mayo's death in April 1960, the work of the bureau of immigration remained about the same. Many old publications were revised, speakers were furnished for various groups and organizations, and a number of new publications were printed and distributed throughout the country. County and local fairs were aided, and the bureau helped bring national conventions to Florida. In addition, a diorama exhibit was maintained at the Jacksonville railroad terminal.³⁷

In a magazine article published in 1949, Mayo listed some of the "rules" of advertising which he had developed over the years. First, place advertisements with magazines according to their dominant theme- agricultural in agricultural and farm journals, industrial appeals in industrial magazines, and commercial possibilities in commercial and financial publications; advertisements of a general nature should be placed with large, popular magazines. In determining the effect of advertising, Mayo advised noting the interest of people responding to the advertisements rather than the number of responses. He also believed that personal contact was the best form of advertising, and Mayo tried to have representatives of industries interested in settling in Florida visit bureau of immigration officials while touring the state. Of all the advertising media, Mayo believed that radio got the quickest results; fair exhibits and big magazine advertisements were also valuable.³⁸

In 1951, Representative S. Travis Phillips of Hernando County claimed in an article published in a state magazine that no state advertising had been conducted prior to 1945: "Advertising Florida on an organized national scale is a relatively new venture on the part of the State. It was only during the admin-

37. *Thirty-Fourth Biennial Report*, 16-20.

38. Nathan Mayo, "Immigration Bureau Advertises Florida," *Florida Newspaper News and Radio Digest*, July 1949, 7, 13.

istration of Governor Caldwell, who preceded Governor Warren in office, that this program was started.”³⁹

Actually Florida was one of the first states to advertise its potential nationally, and Mayo and Brooks were important leaders in the program. The great growth of Florida since the close of World War I was due in part to the fact that the state had adopted an advertising program designed to attract immigrants and industry. But the bureau of immigration was destined to cease operations; legislation passed in 1959, which became effective in January 1961, reorganized the department of agriculture under the newly elected commissioner of agriculture, Doyle E. Conner.⁴⁰ The bureau of immigration was abolished and the department of agriculture no longer exercised advertising functions.⁴¹

Without Nathan Mayo the department of agriculture probably never would have become so heavily involved in advertising the state and publishing promotional literature. When his influence was arrested by illness and eventual death, the function of the commissioner of agriculture as state promoter and public relations man was abandoned. Mayo often commented that he ran his department just like he would operate his own business: the enterprise must make a profit, operate efficiently, adopt new techniques, expand, and it must advertise. With the decline of his general store business in Summerfield, Mayo invested his business acumen in the department of agriculture, and in the bureau of immigration which became his advertising department.

As commissioner, Mayo was frequently commended, but he was also attacked as being too powerful. The bureau of immigration's advertising was often cited as an example of Mayo overextending the functions of his office. The gradual easing of state advertising out of the department of agriculture represented the feeling that the department was a monolith. But Mayo's impact on the development of Florida could not be negated and his contribution was in performing a state service long before the value of that service was recognized. In 1960, just one month before his death, Mayo's pioneering efforts were cited by the Capital

39. S. Travis Phillips, "Urges More Ad Funds to Sell Florida," *Florida Newspaper News and Radio Digest*, January 1951, 4.

40. Upon Mayo's death in April 1960, Lee Thompson was appointed to finish out his term by Governor LeRoy Collins.

41. *Florida Department of Agriculture 37th Biennial Report, 1960-1962* (Tallahassee, n.d.), 1.

Press Club of Florida when it presented him a certificate of life membership, which noted that "his promotional vision, leadership and enthusiasm long spearheaded the building of a bigger and better Florida through encouraging both year-'round residents and tourists to come here."⁴²

42. Certificate of life membership presented to Nathan Mayo by the Capital Press Club of Florida, Mayo Collection.

KEY WEST AND THE NEW DEAL, 1934-1936

by DURWARD LONG *

HISTORIANS OFTEN point out that the depression which began for the rest of the United States in 1929, started in Florida much earlier. The final collapse of the real estate boom in Florida in 1926, was followed by serious fiscal difficulties for units of government-local and state-as well as for private citizens. Even nature seemed to conspire against the economic well-being of the state. The devastating hurricanes of 1926 and 1928 were followed by the invasion of the Mediterranean fruit fly in 1929, to add to the deepening financial and economic distress which many Florida communities were suffering in the late 1920s. Bank failures occurred at an astonishing rate between 1926-1929; 125 banks closed during this three-year period.¹ Bank debits decreased steadily and construction was severely curtailed. Consequently the lumbering and naval stores market declined; citrus groves were neglected because of a shortage of capital; farm crops brought even lower prices as purchasing power steadily decreased; and Florida's tourist trade declined each year to a level far below normal.²

Few Florida communities were as severely affected by the depression as was Key West, the state's southernmost community. Changes in the city after 1925 destroyed almost completely its economic base. The economic foundations of the community had been jeopardized before, yet Key West had always managed somehow to spring back by the addition or substitution of a new source of payroll income, and she had always enjoyed one or more federal military installations to complement local industry. The community's main sources of income and payrolls through the years had been United States naval operations which had been located on the island ever since 1822, customs-house operations, freighting, the salvaging business, cigar and sponging industries, salt manu-

* This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, Key West, May 6, 1967.

1. *Unemployment Relief in Florida, July, 1932-March, 1934* (Jacksonville, October 1935), 18-23.
2. *Ibid.*, 25-26.

facturing, and commercial fishing.³ Almost without exception these sources almost completely disappeared in the seven years after 1925.

By 1932 the city had no viable economic base. Its population, wage-earners, and industry had decreased more than two-thirds in the preceding decade.⁴ The tourist trade had declined to a mere trickle of visitors by 1932. Once flourishing resort hotels such as the Casa Marina were closed, and access to the island city was now severely restricted by the decision of Florida East Coast Railway officials to run only one train a day into Key West.

As a result of these heavy reverses, Monroe County and Key West found it impossible to meet their fiscal responsibilities as early as 1928. In that year it was necessary to issue \$2,000,000 in bonds to refinance a bond debt incurred in 1925 and 1927 to build bridges and roads.⁵ Steady decreases in state taxes, which Key West and Monroe County shared, compounded local citizens' inability to meet tax assessments and brought the island municipality to bankruptcy in 1933. A large number of unemployed laborers and needy families aggravated the desperate situation. Some type of relief seemed to be absolutely essential.

Although Monroe County and Key West received relief funds in 1932 and 1933, they were pitifully inadequate, and the situation failed to improve. City and county officials were not able to collect adequate taxes to meet standing obligations and operating costs, and by the summer of 1934, Key West's governing officials concluded that they could carry on the affairs of local government no longer. The problems of unemployment and economic distress were larger than were resources available to solve them.

Consequently, in a meeting on July 2, 1934, the city councilmen of Key West, and, subsequently, the Monroe County commissioners adopted identical resolutions abdicating the powers of

3. For brief summaries of each of these economic enterprises to 1912, see Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912), 70-83, 99-114, 125-28, 162-67.

4. U.S. Bureau of Census, *Fourteenth Census of the United States* (1920), "Population," III, 195; "Manufacturing," IX, 260-61. *Fifteenth Census of the United States* (1930), "Population," III, Part I, 445; "Manufacturing," III, 116.

5. *Key West Citizen*, July 2, 1938; *Report of Board of Administration of the State of Florida*, October 1, 1935 to September 30, 1936 (Tallahassee, 1936), 154.

government. The local governing authorities surrendered "to the Governor [David L. Sholtz] all legal powers conferred upon the officers of the City of Key West by law in order that he may administer the affairs of the city of Key West [and Monroe County] in such a way as he may deem proper."⁶ The resolution declared that because of the widespread financial distress most of the people in Key West were unemployed; property owners were unable to pay state, county, or municipal taxes; and the local government was without funds to pay salaries and other operating expenses, and powerless to carry on the functions of government. Announcing that "about half of the population is on Federal Relief Rolls," the officials declared that assistance was inadequate and afforded "very little relief."⁷ The resolution also described the causes for Key West's impossible economic condition. The document isolated nine basic factors: loss of cigar manufactures; reduction of the army post; abandonment of Key West as a naval base; removal of the Coast Guard district headquarters; abandonment of the city as a port-of-call for the Mallory Steamship Lines' passenger ships; diminishing of through freight from Key West to Cuba because of an Interstate Commerce Commission decision to grant the Sea Trains Line the privilege of shipping from New Orleans to Havana; destruction of the local pineapple canning industry by a high tariff on pineapples; decline of the market for fish as a result of the depression; and removal of the headquarters of the sponge industry. According to local officials, these factors resulted "in a more acute and oppressive depression in Key West than any other portion of the United States."⁸ City and county leaders acknowledged that the government had defaulted in the payment of interest and principal on its bonded debt and that Key West was in arrears for salaries in the amount of \$113,000 and other expenses totaling \$150,000. Faced with this situation the officials confessed their inability to discover remedies and requested the governor to exercise his power to bring relief and assistance.⁹

Immediately upon receipt of these resolutions surrendering governmental authority to him, Governor Sholtz wrote Federal

6. The resolutions are reproduced in their entirety in *Key West in Transition* (Key West, 1934), 59-61; *New York Times*, July 5, 1934.

7. *Key West in Transition*, 59.

8. *Ibid.*, 59-60.

9. *Ibid.*, 60.

Emergency Relief Administrator for Florida Julius F. Stone, Jr., about the situation. Enclosing copies of the resolutions, Sholtz stated that he was accepting responsibility for providing relief to Key West and that he wished Stone to act as his agent since federal relief funds were administered through his office.¹⁰ Stone accepted the assignment from the governor, and he promised to exert every effort "to help the citizens of Key West again become self-supporting."¹¹

Stone promptly directed his energies to the new responsibility. He later recalled that three courses of action seemed to be open to the relief administration. It could provide adequate emergency relief including medical care and dietary improvement for the needy at a projected cost of \$2,500,000 over a five-year period. But that approach would not build an economic base for recovery, and the situation would not be changed materially at the end of the period without an economic reconstruction. The second alternative, according to Stone, was to discontinue all grants to Key West, evacuate the island, and relocate its 3,000 families at a cost of approximately \$7,500,000. In addition to the high cost of evacuation, the problem of relocation in a period of general depression made this plan undesirable.¹² The third course of action was to attempt to rehabilitate Key West through a work relief program designed to transform the city into a popular tourist town. This scheme, Stone felt, would in turn attract private capital and provide additional economic support.

Stone and his advisers concluded that the proposal to rebuild Key West as a tourist resort by a relief program would cost far less than the projected sum of \$7,500,000 for relocation and perhaps less over a five-year period than the estimated \$2,500,000 for direct relief. Therefore, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration embarked on a plan of rehabilitation for Key West, planning to spend \$1,000,000 during the first eighteen-months period to get the tourist trade going. After that, plans called for a reduction in relief expenditures. Stone's concept of Key West as a tourist town influenced the specific types of rehabilitation to be undertaken. In his vision of the city "there would be no blatant

10. David Sholtz to Julius F. Stone, Jr., July 3, 1934, reprinted in *Key West in Transition*, 62.

11. Stone to Sholtz, July 5, 1934, in *Key West in Transition*, 63.

12. *New York Times*, July 6, 1934.

race tracks, no blaring night clubs attracting people who cannot appreciate the beauty, quiet, and subtle charm of the city. . . ." Stone wanted to recreate the unique isolation of the tropical city "where the tired business man, or woman, the convalescent and the artist in the broadest sense of the word, who want peace and quiet can find the complete answer to their search."¹³

Elmer Davis reported in *Harper's Monthly Magazine* that two of Stone's associates, architect Donald Corley and former professor Harold Ballou, had suggested a unique plan for reorganizing Key West, but apparently it did not receive favorable consideration. They had recommended that Key West and Monroe County be consolidated under a single appointive administrative unit. The town would be recapitalized like a corporation in bankruptcy with every citizen a stockholder. Property would be recognized with former owners receiving more shares of stock than the former "proletariat"; the poor would be given senior securities, bonds that would pay enough to support their holders if they worked, while the rich would receive a much lower return at the beginning. There is little evidence, however, that Stone ever seriously considered this experimental suggestion.¹⁴

On July 15, 1934, the Federal Emergency Relief Administration inaugurated Stone's program. The federal government would provide direct relief, while the community was expected to give volunteer labor to implement plans to rehabilitate Key West as a tourist haven. The city and county governments would continue to function and to provide legal authorization and modifications necessary for the agency's program. Under Stone's direction the F.E.R.A. created a local organization, the Key West Administration, which consisted of relief administrators employed to implement the program.¹⁵ The agency's program consisted of two phases, a short range project to clean up the city, improve health and sanitation, provide swimming and other recreational facilities, and make available suitable transportation and housing facilities for tourists. Work was to begin immediately to attract a large tourist trade for the approaching winter. Long-range projects which included water and sewerage systems and adequate lighting

13. *Florida Keys Sun, Supplement*, July 5, 1935.

14. Elmer Davis, "New World Symphony:" *Harper's Monthly Magazine* (May 1935), 645.

15. L. M. Edmunds, "Action vs. Vision," *Florida Motorist* (October 1934), 2ff; *Key West in Transition*, vii.

facilities were not to begin until the first tourist season justified further activity.¹⁶

During the early stages of the program local direction was given by B. M. Duncan, an engineer employed by the state road department and loaned to the federal agency to assist in the Key West project. In addition to the director, the administration consisted of departments of social service, housing, art, research and statistics, engineering, beautification, recreation, and publicity. M. E. Gilfond, director of publicity, succeeded Duncan as local director of the program, and the latter devoted all his time to engineering. The administration director was assisted by a staff consisting of an auditor, a chief clerk, and a legal counselor.¹⁷ A volunteer work corps was organized at the outset of the relief scheme. More than a thousand Key Westers enrolled the first day recruitment was open, each pledging twenty-five hours a week for six months. An elaborate certificate signed by the governor and state and local relief administration officials was presented to each person promising to work.¹⁸ Stone insisted from the beginning that the burden of implementing the program had to be borne by volunteer labor since his agency had no rehabilitation funds as such and local and state tax was simply not available.¹⁹

The various departments began at once to carry out the design to restore or remake Key West. The social service department enrolled needy families and the unemployed in the direct relief program, provided a medical clinic for out-patient treatment to relief clients, instituted visiting nurse and dental services, supplied correction glasses, and began a public health service for the examination and treatment of school children. Fresh vegetables from the Miami transient camp and surplus relief commodities were distributed, and an all-out campaign was launched for prevention of typhoid fever. The department also sponsored an education program which put vocational teachers to work giving instruction in vocational skills and in making better use of leisure time.

16. *Key West in Transition*, viii.

17. *Florida Keys Sun, Supplement*, July 5, 1935.

18. *Key West in Transition*, 7; M. E. Gilfond, "Key West Under the New Deal Reconstruction-Rehabilitation," *Florida Motorist* (October 1934), 25.

19. Gilfond, "Key West Under the New Deal Reconstruction-Rehabilitation," 25; *New York Times*, August 12, 1934.

While the social service department helped to meet the personal needs of the population, other departments tried to make Key West attractive to tourists. The administration improved access to the island by subsidizing an air travel service from Miami and by influencing a reduction in ferry rates from the mainland. The housing department assisted property owners in repairing and refurbishing housing for tourists as well as effecting low rental rates for the accommodations. The Casa Marina was reopened under a financial guarantee which later proved unnecessary. The sanitation and beautification departments removed tons of garbage and rubbish and repainted many properties. Unsanitary and unsightly outhouses were demolished, improved sanitation facilities were constructed, and mosquito control was undertaken. The recreation department constructed bathing beaches, playgrounds, and parks.²⁰

The publicity department began advertising in the national press the attractions of Key West. With the cooperation of the national wire services and periodicals with large eastern readerships, Gilfond and his department brought free coverage to the program in Key West. As a result of the publicity, tourist travel increased more than fifty percent in 1934-1935 over the previous year,²¹ and hotel registration increased nearly ninety percent.²² Realistically, officials evaluated the success of the campaign, not only as a result of the publicity, improved transportation facilities at lower costs, better housing at reduced rates, but also because of a "cold northern winter, social unrest in Cuba, depreciated American currency, and a war scare abroad."²³ Nonetheless, a marvelous change had been wrought in Key West after only a few months of activity.

In addition to spending large sums of money for relief and carrying out successful activities to attract tourists, the administration made valuable cultural contributions to Key West. Architec-

20. Davis, "New World Symphony," 646-50; "Report of Mrs. N. R. Johnson, Social Service Director, July 29, 1935," unpublished mss. in Key West Writers Program archives; *Florida Keys Sun, Supplement*, July 5, 1935, 11-13; *New York Times*, March 30, 1935.
21. *Florida Keys Sun, Supplement*, July 5, 1935.
22. Julius F. Stone, Jr., "Facts About Rehabilitation of Key West," n.p., unpublished mss. in Key West Writers Program archives.
23. Manuscript report of research section, Key West Administration, Key West Writers Program archives; Stone, "Facts About Rehabilitation of Key West," n.p.

ture with a distinctive Key West flavor was repaired and emphasized; a little theatre and a dramatic group called the Key West Players was organized; a choral group was formed; classes of folk dancing were promoted by the arts department; and hundreds of water color paintings were produced by the outstanding artists brought to Key West by the F.E.R.A.²⁴

But scarcely had the rehabilitation program in Key West begun when it was faced with changes which made success difficult. Stone resigned in October, just three months after the program had gotten underway in July, to become F.E.R.A. field representative for the southeastern district. Writing to Governor Sholtz, Stone stated that he found the impression "rather general that the Federal Government is responsible for administering the affairs of the City and the County"; he wanted to correct this erroneous impression lest it "react unfavorably on the Key West rehabilitation movement."²⁵ Sholtz complied with Stone's request to be replaced as the governor's agent and promptly appointed C. B. Treadway, chairman of the state planning board.

The Key West Administration faced another crisis in the early spring of 1935, when it was announced that a new federal agency, the Works Progress Administration, would gradually replace the relief activities of the F.E.R.A. with a work relief program of construction on public projects under the direction of local governments.²⁶ The transition involved a new wage rate for workers which was lower per hour than the relief grants. While the hourly rate was lower, however, earnings per month promised to be greater because more hours of work were anticipated. Nevertheless, the laborers threatened to strike because of the decrease in the rate of compensation, ignoring the fact that they were threatening to strike against the one available source of work and wages. The threat brought an increase of ten percent in monthly wages during the first round,²⁷ but when other demands were made and a strike called in December 1935, the federal agencies made a counter-threat to pull out of Key West completely unless the workers returned to their jobs. Cool judgment prevailed among the workers, and they resumed work.²⁸

24. *Key West in Transition*, 31-33.

25. *Ibid.*, 64-65.

26. *Florida Social Security Survey*, June 22, 1937, 3.

27. *Key West Citizen*, May 29, June 27, July 19, 1935.

28. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1935; *Tampa Morning Tribune*, December 9, 1935.

The dissatisfaction which led to the strike was more than disappointment over wage rates, although that complaint was basic. New payroll procedures, irregularity of payment, charges of favoritism, and the requirement of the payment of a small fee to cash W.P.A. checks aggravated the workers' anger over the decrease in pay.²⁹ These problems were gradually resolved, however, and by the spring of 1936, the W.P.A. program had almost completely replaced F.E.R.A. activities. Purely relief activities had been taken over by the state's new agency, the state board of public welfare.³⁰

The program of rehabilitation in Key West had entered a new phase in 1936. Long-range projects such as the sewerage system were under way and others were being planned. Men and women were at work on ordinary work projects as substitutes for the purely relief activities of the F.E.R.A. Unemployment was reduced two-thirds in 1936 and local government was resuming control.³¹

The net effect of the activities of New Deal relief and rehabilitation agencies in Key West was simple but long-reaching: they preserved the island community and revived its citizens' confidence in the government's ability to cope with desperate economic needs. After the F.E.R.A.'s first year of operation in Key West, Julius Stone reported: "The most significant change has been that which has taken place in the minds of its citizens. Last year, hopelessness and resignation ruled: now hope and confidence are on the throne."³² Admittedly, many of the changes wrought by the first wave of F.E.R.A. activity were questioned and disliked by the natives of Key West. Some of the old timers simply could not accept the introduction of shorts for casual wear nor the "artistry" of some of the entertainment in the new night clubs.³³ Others disliked the creations of the artists. In fact, the owner of one of Key West's famous bars refused a painting for his establishment with a few well chosen words as to

29. Albert Manucy, "Key West W.P.A. Strike," unpublished mss. in Key West Writers Program archives.

30. *Florida Social Welfare Review*, Vol. I, No. 1 (December 1935), 10.

31. *Census of Unemployment, 1937*, I, "Final Report on Total and Partial Unemployment" (Washington, 1938), 486, revealed only slightly more than 1,000 total or partially employed as compared to nearly 3,600 in 1935.

32. *Florida Keys Sun, Supplement*, July 5, 1935.

33. Davis, "New World Symphony," 651.

its disposition. A few were not sure that public buildings should be decorated with the kind of murals and frescoes created by the artists. On occasions the city's leadership questioned administrative practices and priorities of the relief agencies. In addition to the differences in personal tastes that brought some unhappiness, there was on occasion confusion of direction and lack of coordination of activities. There was always a lack of confidence in continuity.

Beyond these disadvantages and liabilities however, the contribution of the New Deal relief and rehabilitation program in Key West have been of long-lasting value. The objectives were reasonable as were the methods, although they were not always efficient. Over and above providing substantial long-term economic and political benefits, the agencies met with amazing speed the desperate needs of people without work or wages, and of families without food, medical care, or hope. The fast-moving program of the New Deal, invited by state and local authorities when resources at their levels were exhausted and welcomed by people in need, diligently attempted to rebuild an economic base for the city while administering relief. Whatever else the historian may discover about this aspect of Key West's rich heritage and whatever errors scholarly hindsight may reveal, it seems of little controversy that a contribution of substantial human value and economic importance was made.

MILITARY RECONSTRUCTION IN FLORIDA

by MERLIN G. COX

THE SOVEREIGN POWER in Florida from March 15, 1867, to July 4, 1868, was the military arm of the United States government. Many interpreters have viewed military reconstruction as an illustration of man's inhumanity to man; it was, they say, a revenge mechanism to punish the vanquished for losing the war. Most members of democratic societies are so vehement in their condemnation of military rule that they admit no shades of difference in assessing the achievements of armies of occupation. If this blanket indictment were valid, Hitler's armies of occupation in Western Europe and American occupation armies in Japan were comparable in their roles as avengers and destroyers. Despite this popular view, historians of the Civil War and Reconstruction era have glimpsed shades of grey in military as well as civilian regimes. Revisionist interpretations of reconstruction have observed great variations in the conduct and exercise of federal military authority in the five districts set up in 1867.

The military government of Florida, a part of the third district, was not, as was once presumed, commanded by fanatics. During the period of fifteen months, properly designated as military reconstruction, power was generally exercised with reason and with proper regard for law and the rights of people. In moments of sober reflection even some contemporary Southerners admitted that Generals John Pope and George C. Meade, commanders of the third military district, and Colonel John T. Sprague, commander of the occupation forces in Florida, could have been far more severe. Even the *St. Augustine Recorder*, a conservative newspaper, admitted that "we in Florida have been fortunate in military appointments, and if we live under a military despotism, we have scarcely felt it's iron heel."¹ Traditional interpretations should be revised to indicate that the military in Florida played a positive role in protecting individual and property rights, in securing the acceptance of the moderate constitution of 1868,

1. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, September 3, 1867, quoting *St. Augustine Recorder*.

and in early restoration of Florida to her rightful place in the Union. There is convincing evidence that the intervention of federal military authorities ousted the Radical faction from control of the constitutional convention of 1868, and thereby defeated "a major conspiracy to overthrow the railroads of the state, wipe out their charters and turn them over to some villains" from outside Florida.²

Military reconstruction came to Florida and the South as a consequence of a quarrel between President Andrew Johnson and Congress over reconstruction policies. The congressional majority argued that Johnson's plan for readmission of the southern states, with constitutions that denied civil rights and ballots to Negroes, would restore political and economic supremacy to the same minority of plantation aristocrats who had led the southern states out of the Union. Congress ordered military rule in the South so as to secure changes in state laws, constitutions, and electorates necessary to protect the rights and privileges of the freedmen. Some congressmen hoped to produce a social revolution in the South through which underprivileged whites and Negroes could gain social and economic opportunities formerly enjoyed by only the large slave owners.

On March 2, 1867, Congress passed the first "military bill" over Johnson's veto. Provisions of this act divided the South into five military districts, with Florida, Alabama, and Georgia comprising the third district. Under military law, the southern states were to write new constitutions, grant universal suffrage to all males over twenty-one years of age, and ratify the fourteenth amendment. After complying with these requirements, the states could then resume their former roles in the Union. These reconstruction acts would seem to give unlimited power to any military commander who wanted to exercise such power. Indeed, it is not surprising that some military commanders subsequently exercised more authority than was needed to carry out the intentions of Congress. It was Florida's good fortune that its military commanders exercised considerable restraint.

General U. S. Grant appointed John Pope commander of the third military district, and President Johnson approved the ap-

2. Harrison Reed to David Levy Yulee, February 16, 1868, David Levy Yulee Papers, Box 8, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida. Hereinafter cited as Yulee Papers.

pointment on March 2, 1867; ³ General Pope understood civil law; his father, Judge Nathaniel Pope, had presided over the first territorial government in Illinois, had served as a representative in Congress, had won the respect of contemporaries for long and honorable service in the federal judiciary, and had managed admission of Illinois to the Union. ⁴ From his Jeffersonian father, the future Civil War general learned that in a democracy, military law must be subordinated to civil law whenever possible. Judge Pope's friend, Abraham Lincoln, had personally intervened to obtain an army commission for the son, John Pope. After victories and defeats in the Civil War, Pope administered the reconstruction of Missouri and supervised the return of the government to civil authority. ⁵ One of Lincoln's last official acts had been to commend Pope for his work in Missouri and to request that he inspect the military government in Arkansas and make recommendations. Acting under Lincoln's orders, Pope toured Arkansas where he found military commanders postponing restoration to civil authority. Finding civil government in the hands of able and loyal men, Pope recommended that Arkansas be readmitted to the Union and that the military be confined to military business; he thought several of the provost marshals lacked understanding of the subordinate role of the military in government. ⁶ Pope had already prepared his report for President Lincoln when he received news "of the awful calamity which had befallen the nation," the assassination of his friend and commander-in-chief. ⁷ Andrew Johnson approved Pope's proposals, but congressional reconstruction interrupted the President's plans for all the southern states. In presuming, however, that Pope, as commander of the third military district, would follow the Johnsonian reconstruction program, subsequent to congressional limitation of presidential power, the President completely misjudged the general. In his assumption that Pope would not exceed his authority as prescribed by law, Johnson was proved wrong.

3. *Senate Executive Documents*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial No. 1308, No. 14 (Washington, 1868), 5. Hereinafter cited as *Senate Document 14*.

4. Paul M. Angle, "Nathaniel Pope," *Transactions of the Illinois State Historical Society*, No. 43 (Springfield, 1933), 111.

5. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XLVIII, pt. 1, 1243.

6. *Ibid.*, pt. 2, 125-32.

7. *Ibid.*

When advised of his selection as commander of the third military district, Pope appointed Colonel John Sprague of the Seventh United States Infantry to administer Florida. Sprague had two major qualifications: he had been a loyal subordinate and friend to Pope, and he had served in Florida during the Second Seminole War. He had written about his experiences in Florida, and he was acquainted with Floridians and some of their problems.⁸ Sprague set up his headquarters in Tallahassee.

On April 1, 1867, Pope arrived in Montgomery, Alabama, to assume command of the third district. Southern newspapers, calling attention to his dress uniform, his long flowing beard, and his princely retinue, greeted this uninvited overlord from the North as "His Royal Highness, King John."⁹ Acting under authority vested in him by Congress, Pope issued General Order No. 1, in which he asked the civil officers of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida to retain their posts. He preferred that civil government function whenever it conformed to the intentions of Congress: "It is clearly understood that the civil officers thus retained in office shall confine themselves to performance of their official duties and whilst holding these offices they shall not use any influence to deter or dissuade the people from taking active part in reconstructing their state governments."¹⁰

The general believed in civil government, but the military was now responsible for carrying out the directives of a higher civil authority vested in Congress. Elections were forbidden until the commanding general could broaden the electorate to conform to the congressional plan; Pope was to fill vacancies in civil offices. Post commanders were under orders to report any failure of civilian officials to render equal justice to all people. The new commander's first complete report singled out Florida for a compliment, noting that "in Florida everything is quiet."¹¹

Very seldom did Pope remove civil officials in Florida; he even rejected pressure from radical forces to oust local officeholders. He vetoed the plans of the Republican Club of Jacksonville to

8. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848). See also facsimile edition with introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1964).

9. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, April 15, 1867.

10. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1867.

11. General Order No. 4, 3rd military district, April 4, 1867, *Senate Document 14*, 95, 108-09.

replace Democratic Governor David Shelby Walker, who had been elected without opposition in 1865.¹² The governor, a whig and former slaveowner, leaned toward President Johnson's moderate reconstruction policy. The *New York Times*, impatient with Pope's tolerance of ex-slaveowners, thought that northern holders of Georgia and Florida state bonds had organized a lobby to influence Pope in the matter.¹³

Vacancies in Florida's county and state offices did occur, however, from other causes, and the law required the third district commander to fill them. He appointed without opposition a mayor, council, and marshal for Gainesville in July 1867, and the town reportedly was "tranquil and orderly."¹⁴ Pope's military appointments did not always escape criticism, however. In 1867 the judge in the middle circuit of Florida died. Contending that no native Florida judge could qualify under the reconstruction act, Pope appointed a highly qualified member of the Pennsylvania bar. The Florida press objected not only because he had been a resident of the state for only four months and was not a member of the Florida bar, but also because his appointment was contrary to Florida custom.¹⁵ There was one well-publicized exception to the rule that Pope's appointees all performed well. When R. H. Summerville, registrar of public lands for Florida, mysteriously disappeared, the conservative press ran inquiries about the "lost, strayed, or kidnapped" official, but few others seemed concerned whether he was found or not. Even the people of Montgomery, Alabama, his home town, expressed surprise, but did not seem very worried over the disappearance of their distinguished fellow townsman.¹⁶ To answer charges of prejudice against native Union men, Pope dispatched Lieutenant George M. Larson to study the local situation and to recommend loyal residents for vacancies to civil offices. A Florida paper admitted that Pope appointees were generally the best citizens available.¹⁷

12. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 464. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Allen Nevins (Gainesville, 1964).

13. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, January 2, 1868.

14. Charles Halsey Hildreth, "History of Gainesville, Florida" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1954), 63-75.

15. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, September 2, 1867.

16. *Ibid.*, December 19, 1867.

17. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1867.

When the changes required by congressional reconstruction granted equal rights to Negroes, as yet unaccustomed to liberty under law, there were conflicts between defenders of the old order and the new. In contrast to policies of military commanders in other districts who sometimes incited freedmen to riot and often gave them license to punish their former masters, Pope and Colonel Sprague insisted that law and order must prevail throughout the district. Pope warned police and sheriffs that failure to keep order would result in their removal.¹⁸

The Florida press found isolated evidences of disorder during the period of military reconstruction. In September 1867 a Negro allegedly raped a white woman in Lake City, and armed Negroes set upon a school house filled with women and children in Jefferson County. The women were frightened and some thefts were reported, but no death or serious injury resulted. Civil authorities admitted they were unable to apprehend the guilty persons and bring them to trial.¹⁹ However, when there were problems of law enforcement, officials often called for and welcomed the support of the federal military. Civil officers asked for military assistance when they received reports that armed Negroes were attending night meetings in central Florida. Pope immediately forbade such meetings in Leon, Jackson, Calhoun, Liberty, Franklin, Jefferson, Madison, and Taylor counties. He also ordered all barrooms in the district to close for the period of July 3-6, 1867.²⁰

The federal military intervened when Unionist sheriffs attempted to punish former Confederate leaders and their families. On September 18, 1867, a mob attacked the home of Mrs. David Levy Yulee at Fernandina. The sheriff, a popularity seeker, wanted to restore the peace by ousting Mrs. Yulee from her home. She turned to Colonel A. H. Cole, local military commander at Fort Clinch, for help, and he responded promptly to defend her legal and property rights and advised Colonel Sprague of his action. He informed Mrs. Yulee: "I have been compelled to use military interference to preserve the peace. I have no hesitation in saying you shall at all times be protected from insult. As many of the parties as were engaged in the disturbances as I can learn

18. *Ibid.*, June 6, 1867.

19. *Ibid.*, September 16, 1867.

20. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, June 28, 1867.

the names of, I have ordered to be arrested. Tomorrow I will do myself the honor of calling upon you.”²¹ Nonetheless, these instances of military intervention were the exceptions and not the rule. Colonel Sprague’s orders for Florida were quite clear. Addressing himself to Florida post commanders on August 16, Sprague announced that “the statutes of the State, made and provided for the execution of the law, must be complied with, and before any step may be taken by the Federal military authorities all other means must be exhausted. If the sheriff is unable to execute the law, the governor of the state should be applied to, when he will adopt such means as will ensure the execution of the laws of the state.”²²

Military commanders reprimanded their officers for curbing unfriendly newspapers. General Pope’s order of June 17, 1867, forbade the military from interfering with the press under any pretext. When his subordinates, Generals Wager Swayne and Isaac Shepard, ordered several opposition newspapers to cease publication, Pope reversed their ruling.²³ However, Pope’s interpretation of freedom of the press did not preclude encouragement for papers that were friendly to congressional policies of reconstruction. State advertising went to those journals which supported Congress’s plan for conventions to reorganize state laws and frame new constitutions.²⁴ The conservative press freely assailed this favoritism. A Tallahassee paper reported that a Macon, Georgia paper had offered free advertising to civil officers in conflict with the military authority.²⁵

The most significant achievement of military reconstruction in Florida was the registration of voters under the reconstruction acts. By order of April 8, 1867, the work began. Pope grouped counties into registration districts or “divisions,” with a registration board of three persons appointed by the general on the advice of the state military commanders in each “division.” Whenever possible, civilians received these appointments. In each state, supervisors of registration were to visit the various districts, inspect registration procedures, and ascertain that every man entitled to

21. Mrs. David L. Yulee to A. H. Cole, September 18, 1867; Cole to Mrs. Yulee, September 18, 1867, Yulee Papers.

22. Sprague to Cole, August 16, 1867, Yulee Papers.

23. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, June 17, 1867.

24. *Ibid.*, August 19, 1867.

25. *Ibid.*, quoting Macon (Georgia) *Telegraph*.

vote had received information about his political rights.²⁶ On June 1, 1867, Pope issued general instructions for registration of voters: all male citizens of the United States, twenty-one years old and upwards, irrespective of color or previous condition, who would subscribe to the required oath were eligible to register and vote. The registrars posted hand-bills in post offices, taverns, and stores and at cross roads, advising prospective voters when to expect the registration boards in each precinct. Each person taking the prescribed oath received a signed and numbered registration certificate.²⁷ Special instructions, issued by Pope on June 17, advised the committees to refuse registration to any present or former federal, state, or city official who had ever given aid or comfort to an enemy of the United States. One purpose of the reconstruction acts was to prevent former Confederate officials from leading the new southern governments.²⁸ Registration in Florida was from July 15 through September 20, 1867, and was supervised by Colonel Ossian B. Hart, a native Floridian with Union sentiments.²⁹ In preference to a stipulated salary, each registrar received so much per head for the voters he registered. The object of graduating the registrars' pay was to provide an incentive to encourage the registration of the freedmen and "to make sure that the entire freedmen's vote will be brought out."³⁰ Assisting the boards in educating Negroes about their right to vote was the Freedmen's Bureau. For example, Lieutenant W. G. Purman, an agent of the bureau, visited three Florida counties and advised the military regarding registration progress. On June 10, 1867, O. H. Howard, the agent at Albany, Georgia, published a circular advising the freedmen of the third military district about their new political status.³¹

Conservatives in Florida charged that Pope was gerrymandering the state to make effective use of Negro majorities. If the general had respected traditional equal representation of counties, twenty-nine of the thirty-nine counties might possibly have elected

26. *Senate Document 14*, 107-10.

27. *Ibid.*, 119-20.

28. *House Executive Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., Serial 1346, No. 342 (Washington, 1868), 106-07.

29. *Ibid.*, 122.

30. *House Executive Documents*, 40th Cong., 1st Sess., Serial 1311, No. 20 (Washington, 1867), 40.

31. George R. Bentley, *A History of the Freedmen's Bureau* (Philadelphia, 1955), 185.

Conservative white delegates to the 1868 constitutional convention.³² Pope answered these charges by pointing out that some counties had twenty times the population of others, making a change necessary. His plan was to replace the old principle of equal representation by county with a system in which each delegate would represent 600 registered voters. Broward County had only eight voters, but the Conservatives insisted that it have at least one convention delegate. Research in Florida reconstruction would indicate the Conservative charge of gerrymandering was for the purpose of delaying the convention, and that the evidence did not substantiate this charge. Each new election district was carved from contiguous Counties with the areas of greatest population density receiving the largest portion of delegates.³³ If the Conservatives had used the same energies to incorporate Pope's plan into the Florida constitution that they exerted in sending complaints to President Johnson, the state might have been able to avert some of the serious twentieth century conflicts over the reapportionment. Conservatives, who were intractable in their opposition to all plans for carrying out the congressional reconstruction program, urged eligible white voters to register but to refrain from voting on the convention issue. The reconstruction acts stipulated that a majority of registered voters had to approve the convention.

Carpetbaggers, probably more interested in exploiting both whites and Negroes than in orderly restoration of Florida to the Union, became candidates for seats in the constitutional convention. Daniel Richards, from Illinois, and William Saunders, a Negro from Indiana, ran for seats as convention delegates without meeting legal residence requirements. Critics on the political scene complained that one convention candidate, Liberty Billings, invoked the Almighty's blessings on the campaign for ballots for freedmen, went about the state kissing white and black babies indiscriminately, and did his best to stir up strife between the races.³⁴

32. *St. Augustine Examiner*, October 29, 1867; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, October 3, 1867.

33. Philip D. Ackerman, Jr., "Florida Reconstruction from Walker through Reed, 1865-1873" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1948) 103-04.

34. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, February 18, 1868; Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 470, 489-90. Richards and Saunders were reputed to be representatives of the Republican National Committee sent to Florida to lead the local organization of the party.

Florida became the first state in the third military district to approve Pope's plan for a convention and to draft a state constitution under the reconstruction acts. Florida elections, held on November 14, 15, and 16, 1867, resulted in the selection of eighteen Negroes, thirteen Radical Republicans, thirty-one moderate Republicans, and two Conservatives. The surprising factor was the considerable number of moderate native Unionists wanting to comply with congressional requirements and to restore Florida to her place in the Union at the earliest possible date. General Pope issued General Order No. 110 declaring that the voters had approved the congressional plan for a convention to meet in Tallahassee on January 20, 1868.³⁵

The Conservatives, having failed in their attempt to delay the convention, angrily protested the election results to President Johnson. Confident that the President would obstruct the congressional plan with any legal means available, they complained that crowds of Negroes from Alabama had voted in West Florida counties and asked that the election results be nullified. Johnson replied that under the reconstruction acts he lacked this power and that it rested with the military authorities.³⁶ However, Johnson could and did remove Pope because he was not carrying out his reconstruction program. One of Johnson's weapons in his battle with Congress was the power to remove military commanders, but he had little voice in the choice of a successor., Pope's successor, General George Meade, remembered as the Union commander at Gettysburg, upheld the contention that the election results were valid. Convinced that reports of election frauds were exaggerated, he informed General Grant that "we have little extant evidence of fraud." In Meade's opinion, the Conservative charges served only to delay the convention.³⁷ When the military dismissed Conservative objections, two factions remained to battle for convention control. The radical Republicans sought to go beyond the letter of reconstruction laws and to reconstruct the class structure of the state before it was readmitted to the Union. Moderate

Richards had been in Florida shortly after the war as a federal treasury agent. Billings was an officer of a Negro regiment that had been stationed in Florida, and after the war he settled in Fernandina.

35. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 28, 1867.

36. *Report of the Secretary of War, 1868-69* (Washington, 1869), I, 74.

37. *Ibid.*, 86.

Republicans, on the other hand, wanted to carry out the legal requirements of congressional reconstruction and to return Florida to the Union at the earliest possible date. Both factions looked to the military commanders for support.

Undeterred by the strength of the moderates, the radicals plotted to gain complete control of the Florida convention by electing the officers and committee chairmen from their own ranks. Several days prior to the January 20, 1868, meeting date, the radical delegates began to arrive in Tallahassee. Liberty Billings, Daniel Richards, and William Saunders were among the early arrivals. These delegates included the most radical of the Republicans of Florida, and their followers were mostly Negroes and carpetbaggers. They rented a boarding-house and procured a team of mules. "As the Negro delegates arrived in Tallahassee they were met at the railway station, put into this carry-all, and hauled to the hospitable free boarding-house of the schemers."³⁸ The radicals, with twenty-eight delegates present, held a preliminary caucus on Saturday, January 18. At least three of those attending knew that moderate control of the convention would challenge their right to sit in the convention. In this caucus the radicals agreed to vote as a body, and Daniel Richards was selected as their candidate for president. On January 20, when the convention was called to order, only twenty-nine of the forty-six elected delegates were present; inclement weather had delayed arrival of the others. The moderates requested a delay, but the radical majority moved hurriedly to organize the convention with their faction in command. Richards was elected president according to plan, and he appointed seventeen committees, making sure that either Saunders or Billings would serve on each one. Both men were named to the important committee on privileges and elections, which would pass on election challenges. Moderates charged that all three members of this committee were ineligible to their seats in the convention.³⁹

By the end of the first week, reconciliation between the two convention factions appeared very unlikely. Lobbyists came on the floor to demonstrate for the radical element. The acknowledged leader of the opposition moderate faction was Harrison Reed, federal postoffice agent for Florida and later governor of the state

38. Davis *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 500.

39. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, January 21, 1868.

(1869-1873), and the radicals attempted to discredit him with the label of "Johnson's agent."⁴⁰ By the close of January the convention was in a constant state of turmoil. "The Hall is more like a gladiatorial arena than a sober convention of delegates to form a constitution," wrote Solon Robinson, correspondent for the *New York Tribune*.⁴¹ The moderates warned that no constitution would be written and no business would be transacted until the convention was properly reorganized, and they caucused day and night in their efforts to oust the radical leadership.

The climate outside the convention hall was almost as stormy as the debates on the inside. It was one of those rare winters when ice and frozen mud made travel on the unpaved streets quite hazardous; flowers and vegetation died from exposure to freezing winds. The many visitors to Tallahassee sought refuge in the warm interiors of hotel corridors and in the parlors of boarding houses. Among these visitors were lobbyists from the North who provided money, liquor, and food for the radical delegates. Toddies circulated as freely as gossip among the men seated before open fire-places. Apparently, the wenchies, decked in finery, circulated almost as freely.⁴²

Meanwhile, inside the convention hall, the conflict became climactic when some delegates counted as moderates were reported to have gone over to the radicals. The moderate opposition lost hope of control when N. C. Dennett of Jacksonville was called home by a telegram saying that his wife was dying. The radicals took advantage of Dennett's absence to postpone any decision on the dubious credentials of radical delegates.⁴³ In answer to the radical challenge, the moderate opposition withdrew to Monticello, some thirty miles from Tallahassee, organized a second constitutional convention, drew up their own constitution, and informed the military that the Tallahassee convention was now a rump. Actually, neither body constituted a majority of the delegates elected. Twenty-one moderates participated at Monticello, twenty-two radicals remained at Tallahassee, and three

40. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 503-04.

41. *New York Tribune*, February 8, 1868.

42. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 506.

43. *Ibid.*, 507; *New York Tribune*, February 20, 1868. Dennett had been elected in opposition to what was known as the Hart or moderate Republican ticket in East Florida. In the convention, however, he identified himself with the white or moderate Republicans.

delegates were boycotting both conventions. Forty-six delegates had been elected to the convention. The radical Richards-Saunders-Billings faction petitioned the federal military "to seize fourteen of the leading seceders and bring them back by force if necessary to the state house." The military refused to act, however, thereby permitting the moderates to frame a constitution.⁴⁴

The "seceders" secretly returned in a body from Monticello to Tallahassee on the evening of February 10. They rushed into the convention hall about midnight and elected their own members to places of leadership. To assure a quorum they induced the military to arrest two members of the other faction, drag them from their beds, and bring them to the hall. When the radicals returned, pandemonium reigned inside and outside the hall. General Meade, informed of new civil strife in Tallahassee, rushed from Atlanta to the Florida capitol where he found the radicals holding indignation meetings in the public square. General Grant was inclined to favor the radical faction, but Meade waited upon all the facts. On February 18, Meade ordered Colonel Sprague to act as temporary chairman to ward off an attempt by the radicals to usurp power and to preside over the new election of officers. In this reorganization of the convention, the moderates were victorious and Sprague accepted this decision. Once the convention had legally elected its leadership, Sprague voluntarily relinquished the chairmanship to a moderate, Horatio Jenkins, Jr.⁴⁵ The role of the federal military in providing aid and protection for the moderates, while they completed the task of constitution making, was a decisive one.⁴⁶ General Meade, according to one historian, was primarily concerned with peace and order and was impressed by the good relations between the moderates and the local leaders.⁴⁷

The Florida convention completed its work by approving the moderate constitution framed at Monticello. Actually, the Florida constitution of 1868 was a step forward in the direction of democracy. It provided for universal manhood suffrage and established intermediate and circuit courts in the state. There was

44. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 11, 1868.

45. Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 513-14.

46. *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 114 (Washington, 1868), 2, 7; No. 109, 2, 3, 4.

47. Jerrell H. Shofner, "Political Reconstruction in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLV (October 1966), 152.

administrative integration with most of the state offices to be filled by the governor; provision for free public education as a responsibility of the state and internal improvements; and Indian representation was recognized for the first time in Florida's history. It included all salient demands of the congressional plan of reconstruction. Blacks and whites were granted suffrage on equal terms with no class being proscribed politically or economically for previous condition or "rebellion." No county could have more than four representatives in the assembly; this limitation would prevent the few populous Negro counties from completely dominating the government until Negroes could be educated for such responsibility. Moderate Republicans, with the support of the military, planned deliberately to keep the balance of power in the hands of whites. The radicals from the "rump convention" appeared before General Meade to protest the entire constitution and especially the apportionment section, but Meade summarily dismissed the protest.⁴⁸ The completed constitution was subsequently approved, both by the voters of Florida and by Congress. On June 29, General Meade notified Colonel Sprague to prepare to relinquish the administration of affairs to the civil authorities. On July 2, Governor-elect Harrison Reed informed Sprague that all conditions for readmission of Florida to the Union had been complied with. Sprague then issued a proclamation that civil government would be resumed and Florida would be restored to her place in the Union on July 4, 1868.

The defeated radicals in the Florida convention apparently lost more than political office. There is convincing evidence that bribes and money were available from parties in New York. These conspirators had formed a ring to gain possession of the state's railroads.⁴⁹ David Yulee had worked closely with Harrison Reed to save the moderate constitution. When victory for the moderates seemed assured, Reed reassured Yulee that "there is a God in Israel and he will not abandon us to the tender mercies of vagabond adventurers." Reed was able to confirm Yulee's suspicions that "the conspirators had a scheme to overthrow the railroads of the state, wipe out their charters and turn them over to some villains in New York." He was thankful to the moderates and

48. *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 114, 9.

49. *Ibid.*, 7.

the military for their cooperation in preserving law, order, and private property rights in Florida.⁵⁰

In the light of evidence presented in this revisionist interpretation of military reconstruction, the old assertions that military government served only to persecute the natives are no longer valid. Actually, the military officials who governed Florida in 1867 and 1868 played a major role in averting the kind of social revolution planned by the Radical Republicans. Although military governors in other districts cooperated with the radical faction, Pope, Meade, and Sprague cooperated with the moderates in preserving law and private property rights. Indeed, it can be added that the military intervention made the adoption of the moderate constitution possible. Approval of this constitution by moderate and even conservative factions resulted in early readmission of Florida to her rightful place in the Union.

50. Reed to Yulee, February 16, 1868, Yulee Papers.

FLORIDA POLITICS AND THE TALLAHASSEE PRESS, 1845-1861

by THOMAS S. GRAHAM

IN 1849, THE EDITOR of the Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, one of the state's leading newspapers, recommended the compilation of Florida's news journals so that future historical researchers would be furnished with "extensive and otherwise unattainable data for correct history of opinions and events."¹ Today the common use of newspaper materials in the writing of history has amply validated the perceptiveness of the editor's foresight, and while the newspapers of the ante-bellum era have proved useful in writing history, they have also been found to be fascinating and worthy of study in themselves. The *Floridian & Journal* and its foremost rival the Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel* are outstanding examples of the state's newspapers in the period from Florida's entry into the Union in 1845 to her secession from the United States in 1861. Because of their political orientation, these publications are not nearly so valuable as sources for data on events as they are for information on the course of state politics. The primary purpose of these journals was the dissemination of partisan material for a political party, rather than the circulation of general news stories. In fact, the newspapers were a functional mechanism in the machinery of the state's parties. They did not conceal their party affiliation; they openly proclaimed it and took pride in the stanchness with which they supported their party's position.

From 1837 to 1848, the *Floridian's* editor was Samuel S. Sibley, a native of New Jersey who became a well-known public figure in Tallahassee and an influential leader in the Florida Democratic party.² As editor, he maintained a firm stand on Democratic principles and repeatedly clashed with the editor of

1. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, January 20, 1849.

2. Sibley was a colonel in the Florida militia. After his departure from the *Floridian* in 1848, he went to Savannah, Georgia, to become editor of the *Georgian*. He subsequently went into business in Savannah and died there in 1858 at the age of fifty after a prolonged illness.

the *Sentinel* in agitated editorial debates. The *Sentinel* was directed at the time by Joseph Clisby, a man whose dedication to the cause of the Whig party of Florida matched Sibley's adherence to that of the Democratic party.³ The state was not yet a year old when Sibley and Clisby began exchanging verbal blows through the columns of their papers over the results of the congressional election of 1845. The controversy began when late election returns reversed the accepted result of the balloting and gave the Democratic candidate, William Brockenbrough, a slim majority over the Whig nominee, Edward Cabell, who had already gone to Washington to take his seat. After a heated argument over election statistics and the action which Congress subsequently took in settling the dispute, the *Sentinel* was forced to accept Brockenbrough's victory.⁴ In succeeding years, Sibley published Democratic essays on the merits of a low national tariff to counter Clisby's Whig statements extoling the benefits of a high tariff; the approach of war with Mexico found Sibley taking the side of aggressive expansionism, while Clisby spoke for restraint in our foreign affairs.

When Clisby left the *Sentinel* in 1853, the *Floridian* complimented him by saying that "to him, more than to any other man of his party in the State, are the Whigs indebted for the reasonable share of success which has heretofore attended them."⁵ Clisby's successor was B. F. Allen, a bachelor whom the *Floridian* characterized as a Whig but "not an 'ultra' one."⁶ The editor of the *Floridian & Journal* in 1853 was Charles E. Dyke, who had joined Sibley as co-editor in 1847, and, with the exception of the years 1855-1857, continued as proprietor of the *Floridian* up through the beginning of the Civil War.⁷ Allen and Dyke had

3. Clisby acquired the *Sentinel* in 1843, and was its sole proprietor until 1853.

4. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, March 3, 1846.

5. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, December 31, 1853. Two years after his departure from Tallahassee, the *Sentinel* noted with displeasure that its erstwhile editor had become a Democrat and had purchased the Macon (Georgia) *Daily Telegraph*. Clisby explained his actions by saying that changing times had made the Democratic party the best hope for conservative government.

6. *Ibid.*, January 7, 1854.

7. When Charles Dyke became co-editor of the *Floridian* in 1847, he had already been associated with that newspaper for seven years. Beginning as printer's devil, he had worked with all phases of the paper. In 1855, he sold the paper, explaining that the rigors of the

occasion for hot editorial exchanges which resembled the earlier feud between Clisby and Sibley. In 1858 the *Floridian* published a letter from a critical citizen who spoke of the *Sentinel's* editor as a "miserable old, bald-headed mischief-maker."⁸ Allen maintained a steadfast opposition to the Democratic party even though the exact political affiliation of his paper blurred with the demise of the Whig party. Allen retired from the *Sentinel* in 1859, and the following year ran for United States Congress, but he was defeated by R. B. Hilton, former co-editor of the *Floridian*.⁹

Although the editors of Tallahassee's newspapers were occasionally called upon to become party candidates, their customary role during election years was that of party advocate.¹⁰ In the months preceding an election, the papers devoted half their space to campaign literature, and the price of subscriptions was reduced to the level of cost in the hope of spreading the party line to more readers.¹¹ The editors sometimes presided over local political meetings or took the stump to speak at campaign barbecues. The newspapers usually took the lead in determining the location and date of party conventions, sometimes several papers suggesting

editorship had caused his health to deteriorate, but two years later he was again editor of the *Floridian*, which he considered "a kind of pet." He was a delegate to the Democratic national convention in 1860, and after the Civil War, he became a strong leader of the Florida Democratic party.

8. *Ibid.*, October 16, 1858.
9. The following men were associated with the *Floridian & Journal* as coeditors: R. B. Hilton (1848-1851), A. E. Maxwell (1848-1849), and James S. Jones (1855-1859). R. B. Hilton (who had changed his legal name from Smith) was one of the founders of the *Southern Journal*, a pro-Democratic newspaper which began printing in Tallahassee in 1856. The *Journal* was merged with the *Floridian* in 1849, and thereafter the newspaper was officially known as the *Floridian & Journal*. In 1851 Hilton went to Savannah to work with Samuel Sibley at the *Georgian*. Later, he opened a law practice in that city, moving from there to Jacksonville, and finally back to Tallahassee. A. E. Maxwell became a coeditor of the *Floridian* in 1849 when it was merged with the *Journal*. He ran unsuccessfully for the Florida senate in the fall of 1849, and left the newspaper shortly thereafter. In 1852 he was elected to the United States House of Representatives. James S. Jones, who was formerly editor of the Tampa *Peninsular*, became editor of the *Floridian* in 1855, when Dyke left the paper. In late 1857 Dyke repurchased half-interest in the paper from Jones and became associate editor. Jones left the *Floridian* in 1859 to go to the Pensacola *Observer*.
10. A. E. Maxwell of the *Floridian* ran unsuccessfully for the Florida senate in 1849, and was elected to Congress in 1852. R. B. Hilton defeated B. F. Allen in the 1860 election for congress.
11. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, July 15, 1854.

alternative proposals before one was decided upon. In 1858 the *Sentinel* accused the *Floridian's* influential editor, Charles Dyke, of calling the state's Democratic convention himself, but the *Floridian* replied: "The *Floridian* has no authority to 'call' a Convention. But it did precisely what has been done on other similar occasions : suggested the propriety of holding such a meeting, and 'called' on the Democratic press throughout the State for their views on the subject."¹²

While election editorials were interesting, the questions raised were seldom as controversial as the wrangle in 1845, when Brockenbrough disputed Cabell's election. The regularly scheduled congressional election of 1846 followed closely upon the heels of the decision to give Brockenbrough Florida's house seat. In this contest Cabell was the uncontested nominee of the Whig party, but the Democrats dropped Brockenbrough in favor of William A. Kain after he failed to gain the support of two-thirds of the delegates at the Democratic caucus. Surprisingly, the *Sentinel* did not attack Kain and even printed one of his speeches.¹³ The paper's unusual deference toward the Democratic candidate may have been a result of its confidence in its party's ability to elect Cabell, but, in any case, it is a fact that the Whigs won a smashing victory in Leon County in October 1846. The following year, the Whigs continued their successful ways by winning majorities in both houses of the state legislature.

In that year, 1847, the Whigs also found the man whom they would make president in the next national election. The steady stream of articles on the exploits of General Zachary Taylor which began to appear in the *Sentinel* was accepted by the *Floridian* as the opening move to give Taylor the Whig nomination for the presidency.¹⁴ The *Floridian's* expectations were fulfilled in February 1848, when the *Florida Sentinel* added a notice to the masthead of its editorial column reading, "For President of the United States, Major Gen. Zachary Taylor."¹⁵ The rival papers believed that the candidates' stands on slavery would be the principle issue during the ensuing contest between Taylor and the Democratic nominee, Lewis Cass of Michigan. The Democrats questioned

12. *Ibid.*, March 20, 1858.

13. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 18, 1846.

14. Tallahassee *Floridian*, April 24, 1847.

15. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, February 15, 1848.

Taylor's "safeness" on the slavery issue, and the *Floridian* claimed that the Whig vice-presidential candidate, Millard Fillmore, was "in favor of abolishing Slavery in the District of Columbia."¹⁶ The Whigs also resorted to racial bias appeals in order to sway votes; the *Sentinel* reported an incident which allegedly occurred while Cass was governor of Michigan in which a white man had been sold as a servant to a Negro.¹⁷

During the summer a letter appearing in the *Sentinel* optimistically predicted a Whig victory on both the state and national levels.¹⁸ The *Floridian*, on the other hand, demonstrated a lack of enthusiasm which seemed to be well justified when the Whigs gained sweeping successes in the state elections held in October. It continued in the doldrums during the month leading up to the national election. Admitting that the Democratic party was plagued with internal differences, the paper made a forlorn effort to rally support for Cass.¹⁹ The expected news of Taylor's victory was taken calmly by the *Floridian*, although it remained critical of Fillmore.²⁰

The prominence of the slavery issue in 1848 foreshadowed the growing concern over the effect which the slavery controversy would have on the future course of events as the country expanded westward. The controversy reached crisis proportions in 1850, and it became a major issue in the congressional elections that year. While both the *Florida Sentinel* and the *Floridian & Journal* talked of the rights of the South and of the possibility of secession, they denied that they wished to see the Union smashed. While the *Sentinel* demanded that the North make immediate concessions so that a compromise might be reached,²¹ the *Floridian* adamantly opposed a compromise and maintained that unless the South firmly defend its rights, it would be forced into a corner where eventually "the only alternatives left us will be DISUNION OR ABOLITION."²²

When a compromise was effected, the Whigs welcomed it as the basis for a lasting peace among the states; the Democrats de-

16. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1848.

17. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, August 1, 1848, reprinted from the *New York Evening Post*.

18. *Ibid.*, February 29, 1848.

19. Tallahassee *Floridian*, October 6, 1848.

20. *Ibid.*, December 11, 1848.

21. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, March 5, 1850.

22. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, November 2, 1850.

nounced it as a southern defeat.²³ The emotional atmosphere cleared somewhat the following year, and the Democrats admitted that the South should not talk anymore of secession until the North gave it further reason for doing so.²⁴ By 1852 slavery and southern rights were only seldom mentioned in the Tallahassee papers.

The election of 1850 resulted in a split decision: the Whigs re-elected Edward Cabell to the house and the Democrats elected Stephen R. Mallory of Pensacola to the senate. Two years later, the Florida Whigs, which had experienced considerable success since 1847, suffered a rout in both the state and national elections, foreshadowing the party's demise. Not only did their candidate, George T. Ward, lose the governor's race to James E. Broome, but they also lost seats in congress and the state legislature, and their presidential candidate, Winfield Scott, was defeated by Franklin Pierce, the Democratic nominee. The Whigs, styling themselves the Party of the Union, frequently referred to Broome's advocacy of secession two years earlier.²⁵ This tactic was tied in with their national unity campaign and their support of the Compromise of 1850 as the "final settlement and adjustment of the questions involved in them."²⁶

In the presidential contest both newspapers traded the accusation that the opposition's candidate was anti-slavery, but the Democrats could also criticize Scott for his "infinitely humiliating insult to the people of Florida."²⁷ During the Second Seminole War, Scott had tactlessly claimed that the people of Florida had been seized by panic and that they "could see nothing but an Indian in every bush."²⁸ The *Floridian* in 1852 reminded Floridians of this slur, and all that the *Sentinel* could do was to print a letter of apology from General Scott saying that he had been given incorrect information at the time.²⁹

The Whig defeat in 1852, and the deterioration of the party, caused the *Floridian* on several occasions to note that "what was once known as the Whig party has ceased to exist."³⁰ While the

23. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, September 24, 1850.

24. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1851.

25. *Ibid.*, September 28, 1852.

26. *Ibid.*, June 1, 1852.

27. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, July 31, 1852.

28. *Ibid.*, July 31, 1852.

29. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 31, 1852.

30. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, July 17, 1854.

Sentinel acknowledged that there was dissention within the party, it still claimed to speak for the Whigs, and as late as 1854 it announced that former Governor Thomas Brown was the party's candidate for congress.³¹ Brown was defeated by incumbent A. E. Maxwell and later ran an unsuccessful race as Whig nominee for the senate.

In late November 1852, the *Sentinel*, without added editorial comment, printed a story which pictured the Know Nothing party as a vigorous, conservative party having sound attitudes toward slavery.³² In succeeding months, the *Sentinel* slowly moved itself into the camp of the American party, despite invitations by the *Floridian* asking it to join the Democratic ranks.³³ By the fall of 1855, the *Sentinel* considered itself a Know Nothing newspaper. Its editor, B. F. Allen, presided over the meeting at which the Whigs of Leon County officially became a part of the American party.³⁴ The *Floridian* declared that the Know Nothing party was "neither more nor less than the old Whig party in disguise,"³⁵ and, as the election year of 1856 approached, it stepped up the attack, pointing out that already the party was losing popular support, particularly in the North where the "Black Republicans" had captured large followings.³⁶ In May 1856 the *Floridian* reported that the Know Nothing party had "evidently collapsed in this County [Leon County]."³⁷ However, that fall the party ran a slate of candidates in both the national and state elections.

The state elections were a clear triumph for the Democrats; they swept both major state contests and placed a lopsided two-to-one majority in the legislature. In the interim between the state and national elections, the *Floridian* appealed to the Whigs and Know Nothings to join the Democratic party,³⁸ and following Buchanan's election, the paper predicted "that the great mass of the Whig and Democratic parties will now be consolidated."³⁹ The *Sentinel*, however, continued to claim that it spoke for the Know Nothings until that party undeniably had passed from the

31. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, July 4, 1854.

32. *Ibid.*, November 28, 1854.

33. Tallahassee *Floridian & Journal*, August 11, 1855.

34. *Ibid.*, October 20, 1855.

35. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1855.

36. *Ibid.*, December 29, 1855.

37. *Ibid.*, May 3, 1856.

38. *Ibid.*, October 25, 1856.

39. *Ibid.*, November 22, 1856.

scene; then the former Whigs of Florida became known simply by the Democrats as "the opposition."⁴⁰

Following the election of 1856 the Tallahassee papers found little to become excited about in reporting national developments. The Florida congressional election of 1858 resulted in a predictable Democratic victory. The Dred Scott decision was announced in March 1857, but it elicited only sparse editorial comment.⁴¹ Hope was raised that the spreading network of railroads and telegraph lines would bring a new unity to the whole nation, and editorials expressing unqualified patriotism for the Union and faith in the sound judgement of a law-loving nation appeared.⁴²

This tranquil attitude continued in the Tallahassee papers until October 1859, when the *Floridian* described the "Terrible Insurrection at Harper's Ferry."⁴³ The *Floridian* made no editorial comment, but the significance of dispatches from Harper's Ferry must have been clear to all Southerners; a month later, Leon County began formation of two volunteer militia units. Still, the *Floridian* wrote of unity and patriotism, although it was now speaking from a sectional viewpoint. Southern rights and protection of property became vital concepts again—concepts that seemed threatened by the newly-powerful Republican party.

In 1860 the *Floridian* supported the presidential candidacy of John C. Breckenridge, who had been nominated in Baltimore by errant Southern Democrats after dissolution of the Democratic national convention. The *Sentinel*, backed by old-line Whigs, endorsed the Constitutional Union party and its candidate, John Bell of Tennessee. The *Sentinel* viewed the split in the Democratic party as fatal to that party's chances for victory, and it urged the *Floridian* to join in support of the Constitutional Union party.⁴⁴ When the *Floridian* refused, the *Sentinel* labelled the Democrats the party of disunion, even though it had itself predicted that decisive action would be necessary if slavery were not left unmolested.⁴⁵ Indeed, the *Floridian* did not deny the *Sentinel's* charge, declaring that disunion was better than submission.⁴⁶

40. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1856.

41. *Ibid.*, March 14, 1857.

42. *Ibid.*, January 17, 1857.

43. *Ibid.*, October 22, 1859.

44. *Ibid.*, May 19, 1860.

45. *ibid.*, April 21, 1860.

46. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.

As expected, the Democrats carried Florida in 1860, but even before balloting had begun in the national contest, the *Floridian* conceded defeat.⁴⁷ When the announcement of Lincoln's election reached Tallahassee, the *Floridian* called it "the beginning of the end. . . . There is no longer any uncertainty, Sectionalism has triumphed at last, and now the question comes up, in view of the result so threatening to the peace and happiness of these States, WHAT IS TO BE DONE? We say *Resist*."⁴⁸ The paper brushed aside arguments for moderation which asked for faith in the promised conservatism of Lincoln;⁴⁹ likewise it avoided the question of secession's constitutionality. Regardless of the legality of his acts, the *Floridian* argued, "every man feels that he has a God-given right to protect his life and his property when the Government fails to do it for him, and if, in the exercise of this right, war ensues, he will not shirk from his duty, let the consequences be what they may."⁵⁰

On November 17, 1860, the *Floridian* called for a public meeting to be held in the capital square in Tallahassee for the purpose of discussing the need for "prompt and decisive action in consequence of the election of Lincoln."⁵¹ Two weeks later it called for Florida's immediate secession; further delay, it felt, would only increase the probability of a long and bloody war.⁵² The same issue of the *Floridian* carried Governor Madison S. Perry's call for a state convention to consider Florida's future program of action. On January 10, 1861, the secession convention took the step which the *Floridian* and the majority of Florida's citizens had insisted on and declared Florida an independent nation.

47. *Ibid.*, November 3, 1860.

48. *Ibid.*, November 10, 1860.

49. *Ibid.*, November 17, 1860.

50. *Ibid.*

51. *Ibid.*

52. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1860.

A FLORIDA SOLDIER IN THE ARMY OF NORTHERN VIRGINIA: THE HOSFORD LETTERS

edited by KNOX MELLON, JR.

A LONG NEGLECTED AREA of American Civil War history has been the thousands of unpublished letters and diaries still found gathering dust in hundreds of attics across the nation. The recent Civil War centennial brought out some material of this type, and the general public has grown more aware of the advantages to be gained from the publication of soldiers' memoirs. Despite this fact, it is rare indeed to find as moving and articulate a series of letters as the ten written by a young Florida Confederate officer, Lieutenant John W. Hosford, to his sweetheart, Miss Laura Rich, between November 1862 and April 1864. Hosford was a member of Company H, Fifth Florida Infantry, which was a part of General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia, and he participated in some of the hardest fighting of the entire war.¹

The battles of Fredericksburg in 1862 and Chancellerville and Gettysburg in 1863, and the long hard months of fighting in 1864 which saw Grant and 100,000 Union troops attack the forces of Lee in the Wilderness campaign, followed by Spotsylvania Court House and Cold Harbor, are all part of the background reflected in the Hosford letters. The value of this correspondence, however, is far more social than military, for Hosford was a junior officer and not involved in higher strategy.

Twenty-eight year old John Hosford enlisted at Apalachicola, Florida, on March 10, 1862, for the period "three years or the war," and he was mustered in at Ricco's Bluff on April 19, 1862. His company, the Liberty Guards under command of Captain William T. Gregory, became Company H in the Fifth Florida Infantry. He served first as a clerk, and on November 17, 1862, he was elected second lieutenant. He held this rank until he was mustered out on April 9, 1865, at Appomatox Courthouse, Virginia.² When the Fifth Florida was first organized, Colonel

1. Board of State Institutions, *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian, Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 135-36.

2. Information on the military activities of John W. Hosford are contained in "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who

J. C. Hatley was commanding officer, but because of a disability suffered in the fighting at the Battle of Sharpsburg, September 20, 1862, he was forced to resign on July 6, 1863, and the command passed to Colonel Thompson B. Lamar.³

The Hosford letters are written by an articulate and sensitive man with all the vivid impressions of warfare present. In early correspondence there is evidence of an optimism which was characteristic of Confederate troops everywhere during the initial stages of the war: "At the moment I read your letter we were just ready to go out in the direction of Jefferson City to hunt the yanks to see if we could get a fight." Because these Florida companies were staffed by men from the same area, most of the personnel knew each other and there is the feeling of close association in sentiments running through the letters. Even as early as 1862, the supply shortage in the South is noted by the young lieutenant: "We are all nearly bare of clothes, some of the boys are bare-footed." In his letters, Hosford also gives several moving descriptions of the horrors of war. He displays a magnificent love of nature and the outdoors; in one letter he describes a Sunday evening stroll with a Virginia girl, viewing the mountain peaks: "The rustling of the trees was perfect harmony and melody. I thought of the garden of Eden and my dreams were as of Paradise." Climbing to the summit of a nearby peak, he "gazed [down] at all the world as though it had been a football at our feet. . . . I felt as if I were an angel and quoted all the poetry I could think suitable to the occasion from Burns, Biron and Shakespear." In the letter written on April 1, 1864, he describes a great Virginia snow storm.

Once, in a moment of romantic enthusiasm, Hosford climbed another mountain, and while gazing on the villages below, writes to Laura of his love for her: "In these cottages are the fair women in her beauty, most blest of all creation, who can conquer Kings and Tyrants and whose soft smile greet man in his gloom and

Served in Organizations from the State of Florida, Fifth Infantry," H-I, Microcopy No. M251, roll 63, microfilm copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida. The records show some discrepancy on the date of his election as second lieutenant; on one roster, dated March 1865, it indicates that he was elected in October 1862, another lists it as December 1862.

3. *Soldiers of Florida*, 136.

make him glad. Thus he is blest by the angel women, without her he is miserable and with her he is happy." In his concluding letter, April 2, 1864, Hosford reaffirms his love for Laura and asks, "let me hear from you by the first chance and I shall ever be truly." Although he makes no mention of it in his correspondence, Hosford's company rolls show that he was absent sick from March through June 1864, and absent on sick furlough in July and August.⁴ This may have been the reason for the cessation of his letters, or it may have been that shortly afterwards Hosford received a letter from Laura telling him of her engagement to John Sealey.

The original letters are in the possession of Mrs. Sue Hemming Sealey of Tallahassee. They were brought to this writer's attention by her son-in-law, Thomas Morrill, a free lance writer. The letters are all written in ink; the script is far more legible than one usually finds in such correspondence, although there are some spelling and grammatical errors. A few changes have been made in periods and capitals, but the original spelling has been maintained. Brackets indicate a word so obvious that it has been inserted in order to make the narrative read more smoothly.

* * * * *

Near Culpepper C. H. [Court House] Va.
November 16., 1862

Miss Laura:

I rec'd your kind letter 2 days ago and since read and duly noted the contents. If you could imagine the noise and confusion [in which] I am now endeavoring to answer your kind epistle you would readily excuse the exercise. I cannot give you a description of any of the beauties around me in consequence of fatigue.

At the moment I read your letter we were just ready to go out in the direction of Jefferson City to hunt the yanks to see if we could get a fight and found them but it was running; our company lay in sight of the artillery shelling on yesterday and the most of the men slept, I for one, thus you can guess whether we are becoming hardened to battle or not. Though the knaves did not use but two or three batteries on us doing no damage only

4. "John W. Hosford's military service record," *op. cit.*

wounding two men and killing two horses and then they ran and we did not get a shot, and returned. We have been at this place now two weeks not doing anything only what just described. I cannot give you much news, for we do not hear much in the army. If I knew anything about the movement of our army I could not tell you, but our army is still at this time and may not have any mo[r]e active movements this winter, especially in this part.

The weather is quite cold having frost every morning and snow two days in a week. I am seated with my face to the north and a cold wind blowing from that quarter seems to pierce like cold pins. I am sitting on my blankets with a barrel head on my knees which serves as my desk. We are camped on one of these high hills or small mountains, and the Blue Ridge is in our view with its snow crested top which to the lover of nature's grand works and scenery is certainly magnificent notwithstanding the desolation has been laid on the land in this vicinity by the invading enemy. Cornfields are laid waste, houses are tenentless, fences are burnt and even little towns are vacated. But yet you can see that nature was certainly partial to this part of the globe for while its soil is productive to all the grains necessary to life its beauties are sublime. Our boys are now discussing what they are going to do if they ever reach home. Oh! if you knew how sweet that word is to us.

We have lost seventeen boys of our company that we know and several more supposed. Our company numbered 224 when we left Fla. and now we have 30 in camps, ballance in hospitals excepting the dead.⁵ This makes me feel sad and seams to add sweetness to the word home. Oh! how sorry I am for our poor fellows who are dead. My heart bleeds when I think that they may have lived. Four only were killed by Yankee bullets, the others by exposure and hardship. My brothers stand it well.⁶ Your relatives also. Your Brother "Wash" is well. Benj' Rich⁷

5. The muster role for Co. H, in *Soldiers of Florida*, 148-50, lists the names of 140 enlisted men and six officers. The company suffered heavy casualties throughout the war, particularly in the fighting at Sharpsburg (Maryland), Chancellorsville, Gettysburg, and Petersburg.

6. Sergeant Robert R. Hosford was wounded on May 6, 1864, in the fighting at the Wilderness. Another of John Hosford's brothers, Private Thomas J. Hosford was also a soldier in Co. H, 5th Florida.

7. Second Lieutenant Benjamin T. Rich was mustered in on March 10, 1862, and was mustered out at Appomattox on April 9, 1865.

and John Bryant ⁸ are here, health good. Jack Rich is in the hospital. ⁹ I do not know any more of your relatives in the Brigade.

Our Reg't. the 2nd. ¹⁰ and 8th. ¹¹ Fla. constitute a Brig'd and Gen. Perry commands. He is a Floridian and we are now in a Fla. Brig'd. ¹² We are in hopes we will be sent to Fla. this winter, this is the hope of the Brig'd. It is Sunday evening and everything goes on just like it does any other evening. I often loose the day of the week. We have no preaching for our preachers are not willing to follow the army. They cannot stand camp life. You must read and excuse, my hands are cold and I am tired. . . .

In my last letter I gave you an acc't of my fare while in Orange Co. One of the Girls died while before I left. She was kind and lovely. I will recolect her to my death. I will tell you all about her if I live to see you.-

We are all nearly bare of clothes, some of the boys are bare-footed. Shoes cannot be had at any price; it would astonish you to hear the prices of articles with the army. . . . ¹³ Archie Smith

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8. John R. Bryant was mustered in April 19, 1862; he was wounded at Gettysburg on July 3, 1863; and was mustered out of service April 9, 1865.
 9. Jack Rich was mustered in March 10, 1862, and mustered out April 9, 1865.
 10. The 2nd Florida was mustered into Confederate service at Jacksonville on July 13, 1861, and two days later it entrained for Virginia. Colonel George T. Ward of Leon County was commanding officer of the regiment, until its reorganization May 10, 1862, when Colonel Edward A. Perry was elected to the command. *Soldiers of Florida*, 77-79; J. J. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, in *Confederate Military History*, edited by Clement A. Evans (Atlanta, 1899), XI, 142-48.
 11. The 8th Florida was mustered into Confederate service in May 1862, and was ordered immediately to Virginia where it fought alongside the 2nd and 5th Florida regiments in the Second Battle of Manassas, August 30, 1862. In his dispatches after the battle, Brigadier General Roger A. Pryor noted: "The 5th and 8th Florida Regiments, though never under fire before, exhibited the cool and collected courage of veterans." *Soldiers of Florida*, 186-87; Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 148.
 12. After the fighting in Maryland, September 1862, the army returned to Virginia, and there the Florida regiments were assigned to a distinct brigade under the command of Edward A. Perry, who had been promoted to brigadier general. The Florida Brigade, as it was known, remained in R. H. Anderson's division, Longstreet's corps, until after Chancellorsville, when it became part of Ambrose P. Hill's corps. Dickison, *Military History of Florida* 149; Sigsbee C. Prince, Jr., "Edward Alysworth Perry, Florida's Thirteenth Governor" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 38.
 13. According to the account by Catherine Cooper Hopley, *Life in South; From the Commencement of the War* (London, 1863), II, 276-77, the cost in 1862, for "children's shoes, and very inferior ones, from

is here, came to bring donations to the Young Loves and Smiths. They are in the 2nd. Reg't, I believe I have told you. [About three words illegible] I am a critic by the very way you appologised and begging me to write by hoping it would improve you. Now don't copy mine for if I knew you did not expect better than this from me, you would not see it. *This is the way we thrive, flattering each other.* It is now dress parade. I wrote a letter to sister. I hope she rec'd it. Give my best regards to your kind mother. Write soon, Address as before. We receive all our letters from Richmond. I know your good nature would excuse this if you knew the ill convenence of writing. Believe me your sincere

John W. Hosford

Camp near Fredricksburg, Va.,
May 31st., 1863

Miss L. G. Rich

Dear Madam:-

I am again among the jovial soldiers and a Sabath day and pening you a few lines that may reach you in surprise, for you may think by this time that I have been numbered among the dead. But by the blessings of an alwise Providence I have weath-ered through a disease that has proved fatal to many of the 5th. Fla. Reg't., and to cap the climax I have had the Small Pox or more properly the Variola. I escaped without many marks in the latter case.¹⁴

I have been furloughed home for a short time¹⁵ and intended visiting your fathers while at home till time escaped and time to return had come, and I hastened to the army and arrived just in time to see the carnage of the battlefield which no doubt you have seen the acc't ere this. I will not and cannot describe to you de amount suffering I saw on and near the battlefield of Chancellors-

three dollars upwards; full-sized shoes from five to ten dollars a pair." All kinds of clothing for the troops was scarce, and, in 1863, the Florida legislature appropriated \$75,000 to purchase the necessary materials for shoes and uniforms and to pay for having them manufac-tured for use by Florida forces. *Laws of Florida* (1863), 47; John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville, 1963), 171.

14. Hosford's medical records show that he was admitted to General Hos-pital No. 25 on December 3, 1862, and again on January 1, 1863. The record lists his illness as "variola distinct."
15. Hosford was granted a thirty-day furlough beginning March 31, 1863.

ville and Fredricksburg. You have doubtless seen the acc't given by A.J.T. (who is our Adjutant) in the "Floridian."¹⁶ I had returned from home and arrived to Fred'g the day the battle ended and regreted not being here to be a participant in the fight. I saw a column of yankee prisoners near the length of a mile and a half long. I asked them where they were going and they said "down towards Richmond. Hooker had promised to carry them and they had concluded to go without him."¹⁷ They appeared to be in good spirits and full of jesting, no doubt glad to get out of the murderous scene they had been witnessing.

While I am writing we are having preaching as I said on the other page, being the Sabath day which we always have on Sunday, sometimes of nights through the week when we anticipate no trouble with the yanks. Sunday is always general inspection day in the forenoon afterwhich we repair to some place dissignated for preaching at eleven o'clock in the forenoon. We have no Chaplain for our Reg't. but some of the men preach and it is sublime to visit one of our humble Churches.¹⁸ We have no music save that of vocal and that consists of our men's voices who has been exposed to all the dews of heaven and cold till it is somewhat hoarse and harsh. Still the music is good and grand when collected in some grove with leaves for our seats and no one present but the masculine sex. The preacher reads his text and gives out the hymns something like they do in churches built of finer material than ours, as well as I can recollect. The choir takes up the time which consists of all nearly present and makes the woods ring with its melody, and I think if you were here you would be obliged to say it is good music. All is quiet in time of preaching, apparently interested in the discourse and I have no doubt they are, and

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16. The Tallahassee *Floridian*, a weekly, began publication in 1828, and by the Civil War it had become one of the most widely distributed and influential papers in the state. Winifred Gregory, ed., *American Newspapers 1821-1836, A Union List of Files Available in the United States and Canada* (New York, 1937), 95; J. Pendleton Gaines, Jr., "A Century in Florida Journalism" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 8.
 17. Union General Joseph Hooker was commander of the Army of the Potomac from January 1863 until after the Battle of Chancellorsville, May 1863.
 18. According to available records, the chaplain's post in the 5th Florida was never filled. *Soldiers of Florida*, 136. For information on Confederate army religious activities, see Bell I. Wiley, *The Life of Johnny Reb* (Indianapolis, 1943), 174-91.

I think these sermons do more for the salvation of our men than all the sermons they ever heard before.

Today is one of the finest I ever witnessed in this State before, being a soft mild sunshine with a cool soft wind blowing from the west; something like the first of April in our climate. Spring is just appearing here with few flowers and very few as they are held as sacred almost as those of the Garden of Eden were they here now as in the day of Adam and our mother Eve. This don't agree with the boys from the "Land of Flowers." I do not know of any of your acquaintances to tell you of except those in our Co., John F. & B. T. Rich, John Bryant are well also G. W. Bryant¹⁹ who is detailed now on Provost gaurd. G. W. Watkins is in good health and always in good spirits.²⁰

We have been under marching orders for several days, but were relieved last evening by orders from the Gen. to make ourselves easy and comfortable as possible. When we are under marching orders we keep our rations cooked and in our haversacks and ready to move at a moments warning and it always keeps us in awful suspense. We never know where we are going or anything of the kind.

You must excuse me in this hasty letter for I know not what to say or how to write an interesting letter. I think I have written you two or three since I received one from you and I know that your letters would be interesting to me and I do not now recollect of having rec'd but one from you since I have been in the State. I would be happy to see you and see the family and Oh! this makes me think how happy I once was when all was peace and plenty and I could spend the Sunday evenings with Florida's Belles and time past unlingering by and all was so pleasant that it now seams to me like an old sweet dream. But if we ever get out of the war I intend to make myself happy as I never was and I think I will appreciate what I never did before.-

I must tell you something of the fashions in this state and N.C. The Girls of the fashionable class and certainly they all do so, shingle their heads, that is cut the hair in the same fashion of the soldiers, parting it on the left side and combing it precisely as a

19. George W. Bryant was mustered into Co. H., 5th Florida, on April 19, 1862; he was wounded at Petersburg, Virginia, July 30, 1864; and was mustered out of service on April 9, 1865.

20. G. W. Watkins is shown on the rolls of Co. A, 8th Florida. He was mustered in on May 8, 1862.

man's. This does not agree with my taste, for I think when a Lady cuts her hair off then her beauty is gone and besides it is sinful before the Almighty, according to Scriptures "But every one to their taste."

Give my compliments to all especially to your Good Mother. Also to your Father. And all inquiring friends, and please write to me. Communicate all the news and if all are well & c. and if no news write anyhow and if you cannot write send me blank paper; anything from home is interesting here. This leaves me in good health hoping to find yourself and the family enjoying the same priceless boon.

Address J. W. Hosford Lt.
Co. H, 5th Reg't
Fla. Vols,
Richmond
Va.

Ask for any information you may want respecting our situation or any one here, and I will give it to the best of my humble abilities. Excuse bad writing and all errors which I know you would do if you could see a soldier's humble facilities-

I am as Ever
J. W. Hosford

Camp near Orange C.H. Va.
Aug. 19th. 1863

Miss Laura

My Dear Friend

Your much esteemed letter came to hand a few days ago under date 7th. Inst. I have read it many times and noted contents. . . . You seem to be fearful it would not be interesting but when I tell you that the most happiness I enjoy is in the reading your letters, when you note your mind as it appears you did this, I hope all such fears will vanish. And perhaps you will be dained to accuse me of flattery if I were to tell you or describe the pleasure it gives me to receive one of your letters when I am so far from you, but if, I occupy a place in your esteem as you define the word *Friend* then I am certainly happy and you can have more confidence in me than to accuse me of

deceit or flattery. It would be an injustice both to my conscience and yourself were I to withhold from you my feelings and sentiments between us. If you are acquainted with me (and I hope you are) you know I am one of those persons whose heart is warm and will give vent to my feelings to those I repose confidence in and a real friend is as myself. Alas, how many friends have I? Take my mother, father, brothers and sisters out and where are the others? Perhaps I have one or two but if you were to ask me to name them doubtful if I could do so.

I have often thought of this subject and accused myself of being to suspicious to repose confidence in those who indeed deserved the confidence of those more meritorious than myself. You will be ready enough to allow me to accuse myself [of being suspicious] or says you, you would not have lived so long as you have in "single cursedness" but would have made love to some "Fair One" and called her your own ere this. And I must confess that this has been a detriment. Yet I hope you will not accuse me or think I consolidate all within my acquaintance in this, but, would those whom I have confidence in allow me to love them? This is a question I would like to have answered. There is not in my opinion much difference between love and friendship. You must be friendly before you can love, and real love is from the soul and heart and gives a pleasure indiscrivable where it exists with a blot or detriment whatever. I do not mean love or friendship is impulse for the moment, or passion for the time; lasting, trusting, present or absent, and one you can think of as yourself. It is a pleasure to me to think of this subject and especially if I could imagine there is one I can love as a friend or lover and one that would repose confidence in me. Then music and melody would issue from all nature and the wind would waft the perfume from the Garden of Eden, I could seek some lonely spot to meditate in stillness, all calm, I could hear as it were the Angels singing in Paradise,

I have no news to write you only that we were in another battle last Saturday two weeks ago and the first day of this month. I presume you will see the casualties in the news papers ere this. I sent it in for publication as I did the Gettysburg battle.

The war has a prospect of continuation and the alwise only knows when it will close. Some times I am almost willing to give

it up and then I am willing to die, and it seems we will never have the pleasure of going home, till at last I almost murmur and think of *Job*, and then conclude all things are for the best, and think there is certainly happiness for me in the future. Some writer has said, This World is a Stage and its inhabitants are actors and every one must act their part.

You ask me to write something for your *Album*. I have intended to do so ever since I made the promise and will the first chance. I think your subject a good one were I able to control language to define it in space small enough to place in an *Album*. I sent you two copies of the *Illustrated News*.²¹ Please send one to Mrs. Sealey. There was a man in our Company whose name was L. E. Washburn I think some relation to Mrs. Sealey. He was killed in the last fight at Culpeper C.H. It is painful to me to have to write to wives of their husband's deaths which I am often compelled to do. James Nixon rec'd a wound that killed him in the same fight.²² Your father knew him.

My time is short and cannot write you an interesting letter amid so much noise as I have here in these camps sitting on the ground resting against a tree. I know that you must have been vexed with so much noise in time of the whooping cough but you can hardly guess the embarrassment we have to contend with here in attempting to write. . . . I hope you will consider me a friend and excuse all mistakes and will not hesitate a moment when convenient in answering my humble letters. And we must submit to the Alwise for our protection and hope for the time when we can meet and communicate without a slow method of writing.

Give my kind respects to all and believe I often think of you with a sence of love and good feeling.

Your Very Friend
J. W. Hosford

-
21. *The Southern Illustrated News* was a weekly paper published in Richmond, beginning in 1862 and continuing through 1863. Frank Luther Mott, *A History of American Magazines*, 4 vols. (Cambridge, 1930-1938), II, 112.
 22. James N. Nixon was mustered in on April 19, 1862, as a private in Co. H, 5th Florida.

Rhapahannock River near Rhap' Station, Virginia
October 20th. 1863

My Friend Laura: -

Yours of the 6th. came to hand yesterday evening and relieved me from much anxiety for I had been looking with impatience for it. It has been delayed probably in consequence of our being on a campaign after the enemy, having run them from Rapidan River to Manassas and our returning yesterday morning to this place when we met the mail and with it the things we most enjoy, our letters *from our friends far away*.

It seemed that the enemy did not intend to attack Gen. Lee and he determined to attack them. He sent our Corps on a flanking expedition something like Stonewall Jackson's movements but it seems our Corps Commander, who is A. P. Hill, did not have the energy or the military skill enough to accomplish the desired object in no way but what the enemy found out our movements [in] time enough to defeat us by falling back towards the Potomac and never offering us battle by a continual retreat.

We took a circuitous rout westward until we came to the base of the Blue Ridge mountains and thence by those mountains north 'till we came near flanking the yanks from the soil of Virginia. We overtook them at Bristow where they tarried to rest and engaged them for a short time on the evening of the 14th. Our Brig'd and a North Carolina Brig'd was engaged with them, many were killed, the North carolinians lost many. Our Reg't lost five killed, several wounded. Our Company lost none, none wounded, except myself and I only got a slight wound on the hand which is nearly well. ²³

We advanced near the enemy and they poured into us a hail of lead and iron for they had a Corps massed in a Rail Road cut and several pieces of artillery all playing on us at the same time, but we held our ground 'till night when the enemy silently retreated under cover of the darkness of a cloudy night, leaving many of their dead for us to bury which we did after burieing our own dead. But of a few we could only find some pieces of the body such as a hand or two or three fingers. Sometimes a foot, or part of a foot, sometimes a whole arm, or half of the head, and bodies mangled in every conceivable condition. But it would only make

23. There is nothing in Hosford's medical records to indicate this wound.

your heart ache for me to describe the battlefield were I able to control language to give you a description.

Many poor mothers weep, and sisters grieve, wives morn, children lament, brothers sad and their solemn reflections of where their relatives are laid, in some distant old field or on the side of some mountain or hill, silently in the land of strangers waiting the sound of the Trumpet that shall call all the nations together at the last day when everyone shall give an account of the deeds done in the body. My heart has ached when I have seen them carelessly buried or cramed in a grave to small to receive the body, with no coffin or shroud and the clod thrown over them as roughly as the Irishman throws his clay in digging a ditch. No one to mark the spot, shed a tear or plant a rose, or express a sentiment of compassion as though he had no friend on earth. How often I have thought of the song "I'll kiss him for his Mother,"²⁴ for it seems to speak a word of sympathy to the grieved. Perhaps you know the song or have heard it sung, and a sweet song it is to those who have experienced the life of a soldier.

After leaving near Manassas we marched to this place, where we have been resting since yesterday morn, and sweet it has been to us who so much needed it after our wearisome march, now south of the Rhapannock River. I do not think we will stay here long. I think our Corps will be sent to Tennessee. I am not willing to go, but of course our willingness will not be consulted about that. Our camps are a sad looking spectacle to one that never saw the like; our men lounging about on the ground, not on a beautiful mountain as we have had in some cases but on a plain and it rained the night before last till the earth is covered with mire, making it disagreeable.

You said your Father had gone to the Election and was endeavoring to have me elected. I do not know how the election has gone but if I am elected it will be with the greatest reluctance that I would accept a Cival office and retire from the army. My father knows this and I am almost sorry I suffered my name run, he being the cause of it. But if they elect me they cannot make me serve.²⁵ I would willingly go home and be happy to meet my

24. This may have been a line from the popular Confederate song "Somebody's Darling."

25. County and congressional elections were held in Florida in October 1863, but it is not known what office Hosford was seeking.

friends, but can I be happy knowing so many are absent engaged in this war? Notwithstanding I feel under many obligations to my friends. . . .

You said a report came from the Dark Corner that you were to be married, and wishes for you "connubial bliss." Your curiosity must have been excited not to know who was to be your share for "better or worse." I am very anxious to know who it could be that is to be the happy participant of your joys and cares, for I sincerely believe he would be a happy being. Now if you are about to make this sudden change do let me know so I may know how to address you. I would like much to see you before the change but if it is not so ordered then I submit to the Power and take my fate and will be ever your Faithful

John W. H.

Oct. 21st. 1863

You must excuse me for extending my already to long epistle and thus trespass on your patience with something that may be wholly uninteresting. Within enclosed you will find a letter I wrote yesterday evening and failing to send of[f] by the mail, being to late. We have a mail every day and as often look for letters when we are in camps. We never have a mail when we are on a march.

Everything goes on this morning as it did yesterday. We think we now will be sent to Fredr'b'g., that is about seventy five miles from here and we are ninety miles from Richmond.

John Bryant is here, though has not been put on duty, his hand not being well.

The Health of our company is good and we are in good spirits. I have not and cannot see any end to this war. How we pray for peace that we may go home and see all our friends and enjoy the comforts of home.

Give my compliments to all your relatives. I would be happy to see you and could tell you many things of Virginia. I hope the day may not be far in the future when we can meet. But we must not be impatient.

Your Humble Friend
John W. H.

Camp Near Rapidan, A.N.V.

Nov. 23rd. 1863

Yours under date 12th. last. came to hand yesterday evening and give great satisfaction to hear from you. . . I had been like you waiting with impatience and had even concluded I had uttered some sentence that had given offence and that you had concluded not to waste time in communicating with a correspondent so void of interest, and boldness of expression. I often think I am to bold but always to late, in pondering over what I have written I am fearful there is something not intelligable or something audacious and feel ashamed of what I have said. But I hope your good judgement with our long acquaintance will be sufficient to excuse any error I may commit in my extreme ignorance in expressing my humble thoughts to you.

You must not expect this to be interesting as I am as blank of anything to say as ever I looked, and you know I am as bare as an unwritten book. The last letter I wrote you was written on this side of the Rhappahannock River and a day after one of the most arduous marches we have ever taken in this army. We left those camps and came to these just two weeks since and we are now in the same camps we were in before we made the march and the same where we were in Sept. and first till 8th. Oct. If you recollect I mentioned in some communication about our erecting rifle pits and breast works at this place, well, we have been improving these since our return. I think Genl. Lee intends resting his army here for the winter, if the enemy does not make some move to draw him out of his fortifications. We think we will have another fight here this fall or winter. We never know when we are going to have a fight till we are into it.

I did not state in my last an incident that occurred to me the day we were in the last fight. We were marching at a quick time, you will understand we were within the yankee lines, - and as is usually the case the Ladies and children gathered to the road side to see, as they called us "Rebels," and, I might say, hundreds of ladies often scattered along the road to see us on the march. You will imagine when I tell you that it is a rare sight to see thousands of soldiers marching four men aside [one another] and you carry on some mountain peak to observe the column, and you can see neither end of it, and you can see for miles, but it seems to be

dragging its way out of some hole or cave at the rear, and its front seams to be making its way as it proceeds.

But my story, as stated we were marching quick time, and passing a group of beautiful girls as they were cheering us by waving their handkerchiefs and giving "Huzas" for the "Rebels" and telling us to go and kill all the yanks and throw them into the Potomac, and asking us if we had plenty to eat, and saying they had heard we were perishing to death, when we assured them we had plenty to eat. As I passed, one, in their excitement, she struck me on the shoulder with her 'kerchief saying "go it my brave fellow, you are the boys for me," just then I had a feeling, and felt as though I could fight "old Meade"²⁶ and all his yankee crew.

That evening we overtook the yanks and had the fight in which I rec'd the slight wound on my hand by the yankee minnie ball, and I thought of the fair Damsel and her encouraging words. Her beauty was perfect, her cheeks seemed to reflect the rose's tint and compare with the lillies freshness, making all within her presents smile. I think I must have loved her, but alas: she is in yankeedom and I cannot see her again I fear.

Not long since I went to witness a cavalry review, a scene that is rare to one, especially not in the army. Gen'l Stewart [*sic*]²⁷ with seven thousand of his cavalry were reviewed by Gen'l Lee. There was many Ladies to witness, among whom were many very beautiful. But when you see seven thousand men well mounted on line steeds with drawn sabres and ordered to pass in review, in charge, the scene is magnificent. Three or four horses fell and the others ran over them killing or disabling de horses and their riders. This is common at these cavalry reviews. I had a position on an embankment high up on the Rail Road that ran nearby and consequently could see all. The Gen's took a stand near where I sat and of course all the audience got as near them as possible. And the cavalry had to pass in many long columns by at a charge and the riders yelling like demons all the while. I envied old Gen'l Lee as I noticed him conversing with a very beautiful young Lady dressed in black silk. Jack Rich was with me and tried to "evedrop them" and learn what they were saying, but he could

26. George G. Meade was the Union commander at Gettysburg.

27. James Ewell Brown Stuart, Confederate cavalry general, was killed at Yellow Tavern, Virginia, in 1864.

learn nothing, only something about the army and we cared nothing for that. After the review was over I noticed old man Bob riding with her, both mounted on horse back, toward home, I guess, I don't know where she lives.

Now I will tell you of a scene appalling to me and shocking my nerves worse than battles, though I have seen men shot by my side, and mortally wounded, men have run over me in their deathly impulsive fits, making the scene horrible, and life's gore covering the ground; but of all to see men shot tied to the stake for deserting. Six men marched with their hands tied behind them and halted and ordered to kneel fronting twenty four men with bright shiny gund loaded, all drawn up in lines, and see the Cle'rgyman advance to the convicts and kneel and offer a word of prayer, blindfold and ask them if they are ready, they answer in the affirmative, and you hear the officer command of the guard give the orders "ready," "aim," "fire," and you see their lifeless forms sprawling on the ground, mangled, perhaps one or two may be breathing the last in the agonies of life, and others are wounded, and another file of men are ordered to advance to shoot those who have a spark of life left, and nothing remains but a heap of lifeless forms. . . .

You speak of seeing my Brother on the cars. You ought to have made his acquaintance. He is Hospital Steward at Tallahassee and I presume he had been off on a tour procuring supplies when you saw him. I guess you are mistaken about our resemblance for the girls all say he is pretty and I claim none of that. I wish to know very much what it was that you desired to tell me and would not attempt to tell me with your pen, with the excuse that you could not express your sentiment on paper. I desired to see you before you "make the change" because I know I would not enjoy your company as well after as before, as I never enjoy the company of married folks as those unmarried. I hope you will not take this as if I "about half way believed you were going to marry." I do not think you ought to say you cannot tell your desires on paper, as, so far as I am competent to judge, I think you are, and can express yourself if you would. But I am anxious for you to tell me, even if it appears simple to you, what you desired to tell me.

I must close this as I have already written more than I expected.

You speak of your preparing to make sugar, I very much desired to be a guest at such a place. I do not know when I was at a sugar boiling. We never see sugar or syrup here.

Today is raining and cold. We had snow not long since. President Davis is here in the army. He looks well. . . . Lt. Ben Rich has come since I commenced this, for the first time he has been with us since he was at home. He seems to be in good health. George W. Wadkins is here in very fine health. Health of the Company is good. We think we will have another fight here this winter. Give my kind regards to all the family and believe me your

Very Humble Friend,
John W. H.

P.S. Write soon, tell all the news

Camp Near Rapidan A. N. V.
Dec. 19th. 1863

My Dear Friend Laura: -

Again I am delighted to reply to one of your esteemed letters which came to hand yesterday under date 6th inst. Not that I know where to begin to make this interesting, but to engage my mind in that which is ever pleasant to my feelings.

I must in the beginning of this reply to some points in your letter. You seem to have withheld or have been indifferent or careless and somewhat distant, in this to that of others. If I have misconstrued and thus frankly tell you, I hope you will forgive me. I think you must have had your "Bonnet well over your face," when you wrote this letter, like you did in school. If it has not been for the Emblem contained in the envelop I would have believed my last was cold and distant and that you had concluded to reply in the same style.

You know I am not very exciteable but as I was finishing my last letter Lt. B. Rich came and it raised such an excitement among us as such always does and in extreme absence of mind I folded my letter, enveloped and addressed it without thinking to put your address in the face of the letter. I never thought of it untill I had mailed it, and that gave me no little uneasiness. I know you think I ought to address my letters first, beginning, but

I do not and this has no address now at the top. I withhold the address in consequence of being among so many men, and some are apt to be looking for the name at the top to see whom I correspond with, and I always leave the address till I close my writing.

You imagine that Ben is quite a personage among us that he raises excitement among us, but it is the case with any member of the Company who has been absent sick or any other cause, and *especially from home*. I know you would laugh at our folly could you but see us, so much like children.

It is useless for me to expect you to tell me what you withheld in your last. Also you say I am a perfect riddle and I need not ask you why; for you will not tell me "under present circumstances." I wish to know what those circumstances were. You asked the question would I tell you that, that I would not have the world to know I must conscientiously reply that I would, and if I did not have the confidence I claim in you, I assure you that my correspondence with you would be conducted in a careless manner. You have all my confidence (and sometimes I fear more than you desire) and would know the inmost secrets of my heart if I were aware that you would condescend to hear them, but my extreme timidity deters me from speaking to those I dearly love and I often wait to be driven by passion. You say you are always ready to drop correspondents and that you had no confidence, hardly in any one, and that you are almost ready to say you intend to live and die an old maid, only you disdain the name. Excuse me if I quote. I hope you will not drop me. I have already told you how much confidence I had in you and I believe you have some confidence in me. I would certainly be a very unhappy being if you were to drop correspondence with me. As to being an old maid, that is unnatural and I believe sinful, for it is natural for persons to marry, and if you act illegal to nature's law you must expect retribution.

I am like you in regard to love, I believe it is of slow growth. I know I don't love at first sight, and you know it, for you know my temperament is not of a hasty nature. Consequently I could not have loved the Girl in yankeedom, and I would not love any Girl for merely fading beauty, and besides, she may have been some old yank's *Sweetheart*. I have loved, and I know that it does not spring at first sight with me, and should have little confidence

in first sight love. You confess to know but little about love and I own that I do, but I am not prepared to describe it, now. Webster says love is sometimes stronger than death. I confess to know nothing about that kind of love. My love story is not a sad one to me. I must tell you this that you may not think my sad appearance, at times, are accountable for in some sad love affair. I may tell you at some future day. I promise you that I shall always answer your communications and that you need not prepare to drop correspondence with me. I have come nearly to a closing point in this and have not written what I intended at the beginning. I have written through an honest purpose, and if anything is wrong about it, I hope you will excuse my folly as having been committed through ignorance.

I came very near losing myself and company on the last day of Nov. in skirmish with the yanks. We lost Neil McPhaul²⁸ and George Hagan.²⁹ I have not time to give details. I made the closest escape I ever did with my life. But I was blessed with having escaped from fifteen yanks shooting at me not more than fifty paces.

Give my kind regards to all. Write to me.

And be assured that I am as ever

Your very Affectionate
Friend

John W. H.

Camp near Orange C. H.

Army of Northern Va. March 7th. 1864

My dear Friend Laura:

It is my happy privilege to write you again . . . in the same friendly language that I ever did. I had concluded that you had forgotten me or that my last was so void of interest that it had even excited your indignation. But Serg't Rich's case made me the happy recipient of your language in *blue violets* with your letter explaining clearly to my understanding what had

28. Neil L. McPhaul was mustered into Co. H, 5th Florida, on April 1, 1862, and was mustered out April 9, 1865. Apparently, McPhaul was only wounded in the skirmish and not killed as reported by Hosford.

29. George W. B. Hagan was mustered into Co. H, 5th Florida, on March 13, 1862.

been a mystery to me. I received it yesterday evening and you cannot imagine my joy after being extricated from my gloom, for I had imagined a thousand things that might have give[n] you offence and you had dropped my correspondence in utter contempt. It appears that Ed Bryant³⁰ with the ballance of his villiany has retained the letter you sent or intended to send me, and finally, he has skulked in the woods doing not only an injustice to me as his best friend, but keeps our Co. out of getting a furlough every thirty days which is of inestimable value to the members of our Co.

I saw a man belonging to the 8th Fla. Reg't shot for desertion and it would be Bryant's fate now if he could be caught, but as mean as he has done me, God forbid that I should witness his execution; for I assure you nothing shocks my nerves more than seeing a miserable man tied to a stake and shot. I am sorry that Bryant has done so badly for he acquired himself a gallant name as a soldier.

The yanks came near capturing Richmond not many days ago. We had a tramp after them which the boys will tell you better than I can on paper, for I intend to send this by them. . . . My long silence does not enable me to write you an interesting letter, now, and I hope you will excuse me for I am writing by candle light in my tent and the boys making every kind of noise that is usual to uncooth boys and soldiers.

We have no romantic scenes these times that I can try to describe to you but I must tell you of a novel thing of myself and a Va. Girl. I and she had been out on a soft, sunny Sunday evening viewing the mountain peaks and walking on a plank road, every thing was lovely, I am sure I was happy, the rustling of the trees was perfect harmony and melody, I thought of the garden of Eden and my dreams were as of Paradise. We noticed a very

30. Like Hosford, Edward J. Bryant was mustered into Captain Gregory's company first and then mustered into Confederate service, Co. H, 5th Florida, on April 19, 1862. He was promoted to second corporal on November 17, 1862. The company muster rolls for November and December 1863 show him on furlough. According to the records, he was "absent without leave" in January and February 1864, and on March 1, 1864 he was reduced to ranks. Later company rolls, September and October 1864, also show him "absent without leave." "Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from the State of Florida, Fifth Infantry," B1-C1, Microcopy No. M251, roll 60, microfilm copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

tall peak of the mountain just by which she had been telling me on the top of which we could see all Va., and we turned our course and after much climbing and helping each other we ascended to its topmost peak. We gazed at all the world as though it had been a football at our feet, seeing many villages spread out in vast expanse all added to the panorama.

I felt as it were I was with an angel and quoted all the poetry I could think suitable to the occasion from Burns, Biron and Shakespear and we turned to make our decent no[t] so precipitous as the one we ascended and I do not know what I had been saying, for it seems like a dream, when she said you officers from the South are so tricky I do not know how to answer you, and said she had heard of some of them that had married girls here and actually had wives and loving ones at home.

I assured her that old Nick would not be presumed to tempt me with such a sin and that I had never been married and that I had not and would not dupe her. We descended to our road again and when we reached her cottage it was quite dark, the time seeming to me as if it had been but a moment. I have not told you all that passed between us but I will tell you sometime. The time passed off pleasantly with me and she seemed well pleased and enjoyed my oddities as she called it, very much indeed.

We are camped now on a tall mountain and I know the scenery would be romantic to you and I wish you could be here for a brief period that your imagination might be completely enveloped in real mountain scenery and picturesque view, - I sometimes see my folly and only wish I could remedy it but it is beyond my power, and now I am alone the boys have all retired stillness prevails, my thoughts sound like words in my ears as I write. I stop to consider the frailties of human nature. Oh! Laura, would that God would put a period in this cruel war that we could all go home in peace and see our loved ones. My heart bleeds on this sad question. I see not end to it but the horizon seems to darken. Oh! that I could send the olive branch on the troubled waters. But I am a weak creature. . . .

I will come home some time between now and May next, I will see you if you will allow it and I believe you will, and I will tell you many things I feign would put on paper. You must excuse and allow for my folly, for I mean to be good and am actu-

ated by pure motives. I know you see many things curious and mysterious in me, and probably suspicious but I cannot see them - You must be sure to write me on the reception of this. Please do not be delicate for you are acquainted with me and know I am only an ordinary character, - I have not received but no letters from you since last Dec., Bryant kept the letter you intended to send by him.

Do not take this scribble as an example; I am in a perfect state of nothingness tonight. Give my love to all and be assured you have what the initials of the Valentine Spelled From

John

Quarles Mountain Near Orange
March 18th, 1864

Miss Laura:

My Dear Friend:

I have just ascended to the peak of this mountain to take a view of the scenery natural with paper, pen and ink in hand to write you a letter. I am so tired I do not know that [I] will do or write what I thought I would or not, for I am almost breathless and the wind blows so cold I can hardly grip my pen now.

Siting where I do now on a rock resting against a large chestnut oak located on the highest peak of this mountain I see the world at my feet as it were with hills and vallies, with mountains away far off and the whole is romantic, beautiful, and grand. . . . I am alone with nothing to greet my ears but the whistling of the wind. This is as sweet to me in mind as the scenery is gratifying to my vision, but this does not explain to you my feelings for you do not know anything of my passion for scenery, but when I tell you I am passionately fond of romance, then although I do not describe it, you can imagine nearly my feelings now. But I must try to describe some of the most prominent points of things in my view. I am sitting with my face to the west and the sun is passed the zenith on the decent to the western horizon, and the sky is so clear that it seems to have been swept by some artificial hand with a new broom and made bright.

I see in front of me our camps away below, for they look as if they were in a well, being one fourth of a mile down on the side

of this mountain below me, more precipitous than any hill I ever saw in Fla. I see beyond many other camps in the valleys with smoke rising from their rude huts like a distant town; here and there I see droves of horses grazing on the plains, I presume would compare with those of the wild horses in the western prairies. These are the army horses.-

Now I look northward, I see Slaughter mountain, and Cedar mountain, these are biographical with the history of this war, especially Stonewall Jackson's for he flogged the yanks on Slaughter mountain, the 9th. of June, 1862, when they gave this mountain its present name. I see their camps looking similar to ours but if I was there I would see that they are laid off more systematical and scientific than ours, and I guess of more costly material, and if I did not see men better clad I am sure I would pity them.

Now I turn from this sad scene, for such I consider soldiers camps, and nearly about face to the south. I see as I glanced all the eastern Virginia in one vast plain specked here and there with towns and villages, and some of the most beautiful cottages ever beheld. Europe might envy, France and Italy may cope but certainly none can compare with these. In these cottages are the fair woman in her beauty, most blest of all Creation, who can conquer kings and tyrants and whose soft smile greet man in his gloom and make him glad. Thus he is blest by the angel woman, without her he is miserable and with her he is happy. May heaven bless them-but I am lost from my subject-

Now I look south and can see no mountains, all seems to be even, one level, now I see the train or iron horse gulping his black smoke running from Richmond to Orange C.H. and I see another bound for Staunton; it appears to be mad and running at the mountain for revenge. Is it any wonder that the world has been called one great stage and its inhabitants actors, every one acting his part at his turn. . . Here you could witness to the extent of your wishes this saying. How I wish you were standing here. Your dreams of romantic scenery might be realized. I would be so happy to have you give expression to your thoughts. I would feel blessed to have the privilege of showing and telling you the names of different mountains and villages[.] For of course you would not know any of them not having been here, and I having had them shown me.

But you would rather have a more decent soldier than I to show you these things and I could not blame you, for, I will assure you I am not a dandy looking and you would even wonder that I had a taste for scenery were you to cast a glance at me now in my humble position trying to pen my thoughts to you as they occur to me. But I do not believe this, you are more compassionate and would rather sympathize than scorn.

But now the sun begins to approach the Blue Ridge, the wind has lulled its blast, and I soon must descend the mountain for it is nearly time for Dress Parade. - I feel as though I had been in a pleasant dream. I feel that only one thing is required to make me a happy mortal. I shall not tell you now what that is. Pardon me will you, I have already written you a long letter without the receipt of one, or permission from you. I sent you a hasty written letter by Lt. Rich for I hoped by this means you would receive it sooner. I was much chagrined at the way our correspondence has been delayed by Mr. Ed Bryant. I do not approve the sending letters by hand, especially between unmarried people. Uncouth suspicion gives vent to actions. You must not think my feelings are wounded with you for anything. You must pardon all errors in composition for I have no book for reference. "A word to the wise is sufficient."

Now our band plays and adds its melody to the surrounding scene, and I must repair to my duties. I will not dare glance over this scroll for I fear it is not right. - "Do not view it with a critics eye"- "But pass its imperfections by"- Give my love to all your friends. And my grateful compliments to your Father and Mother. Excuse my visionary dreams and write by the first opportunity to your Friend

John

Camps, 5th Fla. Regt.,
Perrys Brig'd,
April 1st. 1864

Miss Laura

My Friend: -

Yesterday's mail made me the happy recipient of your favor under date of 19th. ult. . . . in answer to mine, by Lieut. Rich, and although you must have been embarrassed for

time, by the visit of your Brothers, it was quite entertaining to me. I am well aware of your feelings in gratitude to the Alwise for guarding them through so many dangerous scenes and their having the privilege of visiting once more their happy home and fortunate ones there.

I wrote you a letter about the 22nd March and enclosed a note telling you not to write after receiving the letter, until you heard from me again. I had hoped that I would have the pleasure of going home and my hopes are not blighted yet, but I fear that they will be, I do not know. You seem to anticipate this for you say, I spake as assuredly as if I knew I was going, and truly I did when it was certain I did not know. When we cannot go any where without leif and Genl. Lee does not choose to give papers everytime one takes it into his head to go. In this instance you are something of a Prophetess.

You will see by the date of this that "today is all Fool's day" and it certainly verified in my case for I feel that although I have undertaken to write you a letter and although you are the most valued among my Friends, I have nothing to write you that can interest you.

But for a Commencement, On the 23rd. Ultimo, we had as great a snow storm as I ever witnessed in Va. or any where else for you know that my experience is limited in this matter. But snow with her white mantle enveloped every thing, and to the depth of about two feet. The scene was so magnificent and charming. The elements were bright with more than common gale blowing, a steady wind from the north with flakes of snow in driven whiteness and downy lightness filling the air, looking perfect, gentle, innoesent and pure. (We are camped the most of us in huts of our own building, and commonly from three to five of us in one of these dens, looking something like what your Father puts potatoes in, those he intends for the table in autumn. These have chimnies to them are called here, soldiers winter Qrs.) The canopy apparently was arraid in vengeance from ten or noon day until dark, and nearly all night, and sending its vengeance on the earth in the shape of hoary and harmless snow.

The morning of the 24th. found us all cooped in our dens with our doors litterally bared to the roof with pale snow. We soon devised means to extricate ourselves from what had become jails

to us by procuring some boards; turning these into shovels and lifting the snow immediately from our door. I have told you our camps are on the side of a mountain. You can imagine the scene when we stepped forth from our dens of a calm, still morning and the sun already peeping from above its purple horizon and down the side of the mountain at us, for we are on the western side. All greeting each other from den to den for it was useless for us to try to get together more than belonged to the same den. I stood amazed dreamily comparing this vigorous climate to that of the "sweet, sunny south." That day passed off and next day the snow had melted so that we could begin to snow ball. We had long lines of battle sometimes two or three thousand soldiers on a side, of all grades and ranks, from Brig'd Genls. down. The fighting similar to fighting yanks, displaying as much energy and determination. . . .

Today is rainy, the snow having all melted, but you must remember that we have not seen any warm weather. We can distinctly see the snow on the Blue Ridge, but cannot see it today on account of the mist. But the last three or four days were fair, the sun reflecting on the snow making the Blue Ridge look as if it was crowned with silver. But the most beautiful scene was yesterday evening as the sun retired behind the Blue Ridge, some clouds obscured its brightness and I could see apparently its purple rays descending as to the mountains and then they appeared as if crowned with bright, shining gold. I wish you could have seen it.-but I had reference to the scenery until you must be disgusted. I'll say no more on the subject.

I can hear the sound of artillery, and it almost makes me shudder. Gov. Vance of N. C. is making speeches to his N. Carolina troops and they are saluting.³¹ This brings to my mind the state of our country and casts a shady gloom over my dreams of pleasure through whose mists I see no happiness for our country. Can we not prevail on the Almighty to extricate us from this trouble? I do not believe we have done our duty to Him, from no other source need we expect peace-but enough-

I have sent you the southern "Litterary Messenger," a Monthly Magazine, commencing with last Jan.³² I hope you will receive

31. Zebulon B. Vance was governor of North Carolina, 1862-1865.

32. The *Southern Literary Messenger* was published in Richmond, Virginia, 1834-1864. Mott, *History of American Magazines*, I, 629-57.

it. I think it is the best in the South. I will write to you again and hope to be not so nonsensical in the next, but gloomy days always cast on my mind gloom that I am sure to give utterance to, but please excuse and don't forget to write to John.

2nd. Note-Morning
April 2nd.

Last night rain ceased falling and snow commenced and this morning it is falling something like that herewith described. I do not think this snow will be as deep as the last as rain is mingled with it and it will melt. It is now six inches deep and still falling. The mail leaves at ten o'clock, thus giving me time to add to my already uninteresting letter. As I told you what we had for dinner yesterday, I will tell you what we had for breakfast this morning. It consisted of bread and coffee sweetened with sugar, none of your rye or corn or confederate coffee, but *sure enough coffee*, and we actually drew it in rations.

I think the Confederacy is improving, I hope so at any rate. My spirits are considerably revived this morning. I am not one that would make the worst of everything, but I must confess that I have been greatly desponding. I could not think of anything that would give pleasure to my mind. Nothing half so sweet to my mind as love and this gives little pleasure here. . . . This brings to my mind what you said in your letter about the "*initials*" of the *valentine*. You say you were surprised if that was true, and then you evade saying any more about it by saying you will say more at some other time. I hope you will and I shall be in suspense until I hear. I may have hazarded our friendship, if so I do not think I was responsible. If I love you, it is not my fault, this is plain-Unless I find some time this morning, I cannot go into detail but will do like you, "say more at some other time."-

But Laura what is the use to love under present circumstances of affairs, this makes my heart shrink within my bosom. Far away from the object of my affections puts me in a deplorable condition, yet it comes like the winds, I cannot tell whither it cometh or whence it goeth. And plain it is that trouble comes and swift on the foot stops of pleasure. Pain follows pleasure as quick and sure as death follows life. Yet I love you though I am

far away from you and that love may be the consequent cause of pain, but we must see:-

Let me hear from you by the first chance and I shall ever be truly

John

BOOK REVIEWS

New Smyrna: An Eighteenth Century Greek Odyssey. By E. P. Panagopoulos. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966. xii, 207 pp. Prologue, maps, illustrations, epilogue, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This book has many faces and will appeal to a wide variety of tastes. It is a sound, well-researched local history of Dr. Andrew Turnbull's New Smyrna colony. It is also a biography of the irascible, visionary doctor and a chronicle of the Corsicans, Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans, who followed him to the mangrove swamps and pine barrens of coastal Florida.

Turnbull was the moving spirit behind New Smyrna. After the English occupation of East Florida in 1764, he and an associate, Sir William Duncan, each obtained land grants of 20,000 acres from the crown. In 1766, Turnbull sailed for St. Augustine to assess prospects in Florida. Here he met the new governor, James Grant, who awarded the two proprietors adjoining tracts along the coast seventy-five miles to the south and obtained an appointment for Turnbull as secretary of the East Florida Council. Turnbull optimistically returned to Europe to seek prospective immigrants. In 1767-1768, he traveled to Minorca, Italy, Greece, and Corsica, where his promises of land and a new life persuaded 1,400 people to join him. Assembling in Mahon, Minorca, this mixed group of South Europeans sailed for Florida late in March 1768. The voyage was hard, and by the time the expedition reached St. Augustine late in June, 148 colonists had perished. Life proved equally harsh at New Smyrna (named after the birthplace of Turnbull's wife). When they started clearing the land, the settlers had to face food shortages, mosquitos, the ravages of fever, and abusive overseers. Revolt broke out in August not long after their arrival. Three hundred malcontents seized a ship, looted storehouses, sliced off the ears and nose of one of Turnbull's petty tyrants, and attempted to flee to Havana. With Grant's help, Turnbull quelled the revolt, but this trouble and the death of 450 of the new colonists by the end of December 1768, cast a pall over New Smyrna. There were

other problems as well. Creditors began hounding Turnbull, even though Duncan and another associate, Lord George Grenville, went far beyond their original promises of support. Financial assistance from these two, aid from the crown in the form of head bounties and relief payments, and the production of corn, indigo, and naval stores in the early 1770s kept the colony from going under, but New Smyrna never prospered or grew. Its farmers resented brutal treatment at the hands of the overseers, Indians posed a threat, and Turnbull became involved in colonial politics. In fact, his pretensions on the governorship distracted him sufficiently from the New Smyrna enterprise to become a factor in its failure. The outbreak of the American Revolution combined with Turnbull's personal difficulties with Governor Tonyn to disrupt the settlement even more. By the end of 1777 the few colonists still remaining at New Smyrna migrated north to St. Augustine, leaving Turnbull with a large debt and bitter frustrations over not being able to fulfill his political or colonial ambitions. Staying on in Florida was a mistake. He was continually at odds with Tonyn until finally in 1780, authorities in St. Augustine threw Turnbull into prison for failure to pay certain debts. Upon his release in May 1781, he went into exile in Charleston, where he lived until his death in 1792. In the meantime some of the original New Smyrnans, particularly the followers of the dedicated priest, Pedro Camps, remained in Florida after the Spanish reoccupied the colony in 1784.

Professor Panagopoulos has made this book a labor of love. Like so many who have studied aspects of colonial Florida, he is infatuated with St. Augustine and has come to identify with his central characters - in this case Turnbull and his sturdy South Europeans. In carrying on his research, he has made his own odyssey to archives and libraries in Minorca, Corsica, Livorno, Athens, Paris, Seville, London, St. Augustine, and other places. At times the style of the book is a bit florid, at times the narrative strays from its basic themes and seems diffuse and extraneous, at times the professional historian might wish for less heart-rending compassion and more analysis and interpretation; but Professor Panagopoulos has done much to counter and to add to the earlier work on New Smyrna by Carita Doggett Corse. With attractive endpieces and an interesting series of plates, this book makes a

significant contribution to local Florida history and establishes another useful guidepost to the colonial epoch.

JOHN J. TEPASKE

Duke University

Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War. By John Bemrose. Edited with an introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville: University of Florida Press 1966. vi, 115 pp. Introduction, index. \$5.00.)

John Bemrose, an English teenager, arrived in the United States in 1831, and applied for army service at the Philadelphia recruiting office. Army examiners nearly turned him away because he was only five feet seven and one-quarter inches tall. An army surgeon noted that Bemrose had served time in England as a pharmacist apprentice and told him to "stretch a little." The officer then read off "five feet seven and three-quarters" and assigned the young Englishman to duty as hospital steward.

In relating his American experiences, Bemrose jumps from his enlistment in 1831 to the Second Seminole War prelude four years later. He depicts service at military posts in Florida, military medical practices including field treatment, councils with Seminole leaders, and describes Dade's Massacre and the Battle of Withlacoochee. Bemrose was fascinated with strong personalities and provided sketches of General Duncan L. Clinch, General Winfield Scott, General Edmund Gaines, and Seminole Agent Wiley Thompson, as well as Indian leaders Micanopy, Osceola, Jumper, and Sam Jones. Bemrose had a rare, simple talent for infusing his writing with feeling. One can almost share the sympathy and humanity he expressed for his suffering comrades wounded in battle or the contempt he held for militia forces mustered to assist the regular army in taming the fierce Seminoles.

The editor of *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, Professor John Mahon who is an authority on the subject, rates Bemrose's account of councils, battles, and general stream of events during 1835-1836 as "decently accurate." He adds that Bemrose's reminiscences "are unique" in one sense because they were written by an enlisted man; "in that era the enlisted soldiers

were not likely to be articulate. But because Bemrose was far better educated and far more observant than most of them, he opens for us precious glimpses into the life of the common soldier."

Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War is not free of faults. Its most serious flaw is that this volume is derived from a typescript of a typescript, raising such questions as possibility of dilution or alteration of content from the original through the various manuscripts. Dr. Arthur Freeman obtained from a distant Bemrose relative a manuscript "made on a very old and poor machine with a worn-out ribbon." Freeman never saw the Bemrose original manuscript. He brought the typescript to the United States and in 1939 sold it to Robert Charles Stafford. The latter made a copy from his manuscript and presented the copy to the Florida Historical Society, from which Professor Mahon apparently produced the present work. Another flaw, pointed out by the editor, is derived from the fact that Bemrose wrote his account at least thirty years after his service in the Seminole War. He drew heavily on published sources, especially M. M. Cohen's narrative in *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*. But to partially check this criticism, Bemrose must have kept a contemporary journal of sorts, for occasionally specific dates with entries appear. Dr. Mahon's interest in the manuscript and the scholarship he applied to it have at least reduced the seriousness of its flaws. His editorial comments, explanatory footnotes, and occasional interpolations strengthen the Bemrose account and provide a continuity which the author failed to accomplish.

John Bemrose was obviously a perceptive observer, interested in the non-military as well as the military, and he provides us with "precious glimpses" into frontier life in the Southeastern United States. He describes primitive Florida plantations, sugar works, including the sugar mill house, and the method of processing cane into molasses. He noted that "all the refuse and dirty juice was taken by troughs to the rum distillery . . . from which this dirty mixture comes out rum." Bemrose scorned slavery and on several occasions expressed his views on that institution. On one plantation where his unit camped during the early Seminole campaigns, he said the buildings used for headquarters were "only one remove from a pig-sty," and he described the plantation overseer or "driver" as "a tall muscular Yankee from the north,

a blacksmith by trade," "who knew how to use the whip as well as the anvil. He was frequently seen . . . cracking his whip, and in many ways indicating his unholy authority" over the slaves. He added that the whites "all soon learn a sad lesson from slavery, viz: to be idle, licentious, and useless."

For many readers the most instructive portion of *Reminiscences* will not be Bemrose's recollections of military operations and hardships of the army in the Seminole campaigns, but rather his effacement of English pride in characterizing the American. He was impressed with the backwoodsman's ingenuity. "We affect to despise our kith and Kin. John Bull is often depicted with asses ears and really they often become him. The majority of our people are so stupid and willfully green as to the Americans that before many generations are gone by they will allow the young giant to supersede them in education, skill, and all general and useful knowledge. They already excel us in ship building and photography. Why? Because they are more entergetic and open to learn, whereas we are afraid to communicate knowledge (except) only to a privileged few of the upper 10,000. We are stupid in our conservatism, keeping back information from the vulgar whence springs the stamina of intellect that renews a nation."

ARRELL M. GIBSON

University of Oklahoma

The New Land. By Phillip Viereck. (New York: The John Day Company, 1967.) xii, 244 pp. Acknowledgment, preface, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

In this handsome sourcebook, editor-compiler Phillip Viereck purposes to let the men who first saw the "new land" tell about their encounters with it. He confidently expects his narrators to enthrall many a reader who has never before sweated with Champlain through an Indian attack or shivered in the bitter cold at Plymouth. For is not the Age of Exploration comparable, he asks, to our own "rare and glorious Age of Discovery"?

The subject of the book is concisely set forth by its subtitle: *Discovery, Exploration, and Early Settlement of Northeastern United States, from Earliest Voyages to 1621, Told in the Words*

of the Explorers Themselves. From the proliferous writings of some two dozen explorers and others concerned with the business of exploration, Mr. Viereck has snipped out meaningful paragraphs and passages having the flavor of the times and strung them together with straightforward editorial connections which line the whole into a sensible narrative. The accounts are embellished by an interesting (if sometimes naive) commentary handily printed in the page margins, and even further with interpretive sketches by Ellen Viereck. The book designer has skillfully combined these and a scattering of maps, some in color, into a visual delight.

The New Land has twenty-three divisions which, except for two selections descriptive of terrain and Indian culture, are a sequential arrangement of the narratives. Verrazano (1524) receives the first major attention; then the other familiar names: Gosnold, Gilbert, Pring, Waymouth, Champlain, Popham, Hudson, Biard, Argall, Hunt, Harlow, Hobson, Block, Smith, Dermer, Bradford. All the selections are from published texts, though editorial revisions of punctuation and orthography have been introduced to ease the reader's task. General provenience of each text is given in the editorial connectives. Specific citations, however, are lacking.

Devotees of Florida history may wonder what in the book is pertinent to their interest. Not much. Even Pedro Menendez considered that for practical purposes thirty-seven degrees north latitude was as far as Florida should go. But these accounts show that whether Southeast or Northeast, first-hand history is exciting to read.

ALBERT MANUCY

Richmond, Virginia

Explorations and Settlements in the Spanish Borderlands: Their Religious Motivations. Papers Read at the Historical Symposium Sponsored by the Mission Nombre de Dios under the Auspices of the St. Augustine Foundation, October 26, 1966, St. Augustine, Florida. (St. Augustine: Mission Nombre de Dios, 1967. vii, 63 pp. Preface.)

Before the fall of the Hispanic empire in America, the so-called Spanish Borderlands served the viceroyalty of New Spain

in the struggle against foreign intrusion. By the eighteenth century these defensive realms extended 3,000 miles across the continent from Florida to California. Even after the emergence of an independent Mexico, the southwestern borderlands were still significantly extant. Mexico continued to claim the former Spanish Borderlands until the Treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo terminated the Mexican War in 1848. Spanish civilization therefore survived for 300 years in the vast hinterlands north and northwest of the Caribbean, the Gulf of Mexico, and the viceroyalty of New Spain.

Borderlands communities became more than defensive stations to deter foreign imperialism. Franciscan and Jesuit mission-villages protected the Indians of the peripheral territories as well as the crown of Spain. With the advent of missionary activities, the indigenous peoples of the borderlands experienced the food-producing revolution, religious conversion, and Spanish civilization. Too frequently, these aspects of Hispanic colonization have been forgotten as integral components of the conquest of America. Spain seized the Indies for gold, glory, and for God. In service to God the Catholic missions served the Indian populations of the New World.

The essays included in *Explorations and Settlements in the Spanish Borderlands* therefore appropriately examine religious motivation as an important force in the conquest. All five of the essays in this work are uniformly informative, interpretive, and important to borderlands historiography. Lewis Hanke's interpretive essay, based upon such well known works as *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* and *Bartolome de Las Casas*, evaluates religious and philanthropic processes in the Spanish colonization. It is Professor Hanke's opinion that religious themes were especially significant in the conquest because of the wars of religious attrition in Europe. For the Spanish clergy, the New World could become a Catholic haven far away from the Protestant wars and heresy. In such an atmosphere a critical figure like Las Casas chided his society for mistreating the Indians of America. Las Casas, the anthropologist, historian, and polemicist, advised his compatriots to proselytize the indigenous people as *gente de razon*.

Michael V. Gannon's account of "The Conquistadores of Florida" relates how a ubiquitous religiosity seemed to pervade the

sixteenth-century attempts to colonize *La Florida*. In "The Missions of Florida," Matthew Connolly summarizes the incredible story of the Franciscan struggle to build a missionary system. By the middle of the seventeenth century, intrepid friars of the Order of St. Francis had invaded the inland swamps and established forty-four mission-villages for thousands of uncivilized Florida Indians. "The 'Middle' Borderlands" or Trans-Mississippi Borderlands are studied by John Francis Bannon, S. J. In the Southwest, the missions, according to Father Bannon, became multi-purpose entities providing economic, military, and pious services. Maynard Geiger's incisive essay, "The Spaniards In California," concludes and culminates the arguments advocating that the Spanish colonization included serious concern for the native peoples of the Indies. In California and elsewhere in Spanish America, Indian life was altered by Iberian civilization. The changes both helped and hurt the Indians. But Spain, unlike other colonial states, integrated the indigenous people into its civilization and society.

ROBERT L. GOLD

Southern Illinois University

The Revolutionary Frontier, 1763-1783. By Jack M. Sosin. (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1967. xvi, 241 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, maps, bibliography, index. \$7.95.)

For a work in a cooperative series (the sixth of the "Histories of the American Frontier" to appear), *The Revolutionary Frontier* is a remarkably successful book. The period covered is sufficiently well defined to preserve an element of unity, yet the author's broad experience enables him to develop his subject comprehensively. An "imperial" historian by instinct, Sosin has nevertheless read widely in the manuscript collections and secondary studies bearing on the early American frontier, and demonstrates a refreshing interest in matters that bestow a larger significance upon the frontier experience. He writes easily, occasionally with verve, and, abandoning an earlier semi-polemical style, has achieved a fine overall balance distinctly his own.

Concerned not with *the* revolutionary frontier, but with several separate frontier areas, Sosin carefully avoids lumping together diverse regions with unique problems. Thus rapid expansion on the southern frontier after 1763, stimulated by liberal land policies, organized promotional campaigns, and occasional subsidies, is contrasted with northern expansion plagued by provincial rivalry, boundary disputes, frontier wars, and restrictive imperial policies. And while the well known activities of the northern land companies are predictably repeated, the less frequently studied movements into East and West Florida receive deserved attention. Viewed as "an extension of the settlement of the coastal region south of the Savannah River by wealthy planters from Virginia, the Carolinas, and Georgia," migration to the eastern shore of the St. Johns River is treated as a movement distinct from that which took settlers to the lands surrounding Pensacola and Mobile, up the Alabama, and to the Natchez country. And the disheartening experience of the Greeks, Italians, and Minorcans at the ill-fated New Smyrna settlement is recounted to symbolize the failure of officials to build up East Florida during its brief development under British rule.

After examining the historical and geographical setting and the complex dynamics of western expansion, Sosin turns in chapter five to "The Struggle with the Indian Tribes" before the War for Independence, and to "Political Allegiances during the Revolution" in chapter six. Two chapters on the war—perhaps the least successful in the book, betraying an apparent lack of enthusiasm for the subject—and a succinct chapter on "The West in the Diplomacy of the Revolution" precede a brief analysis of "State and Congressional Land Policy." Chapters eleven and twelve on "Government and Law" and "The Economy and Society" in the back country bring 192 tightly packed pages to a conclusion.

Overall, *The Revolutionary Frontier* will probably disturb frontier buffs, for it assaults nearly every tenet of Turnerian gospel. Sosin argues convincingly from research in frontier county court minutes, for example, that there was a "surprising degree" of governmental regulation over this society traditionally thought to be almost free of restraint, (p. 170). Wherever frontiersmen were prosperous, they favored slavery "as much as the coastal planters," (p. 175). And no political "leveling tendency" can be associated with frontier expansion. "Whatever may have been the

case on later frontiers-settled when a more democratic trend was affecting the political structure of the nation as a whole-between 1763-1783 the back-country gentry retained their grip on local government. Their power was not often challenged," (p. 171). Finally, "no typical 'frontiersman' or common frontier characteristics or traits emerged from the experiences of the early stages of settlement," (p. 181).

What was the influence of the frontier during the Revolutionary era? "it preserved and extended, rather than altered, the traditional values and structure of American society." For Sosin, then, the relatively complex culture of the advancing American settlers was not sharply modified by the "primitive environment," which was instead ultimately shaped to their needs.

PAUL H. SMITH

University of Florida

With the Bark On: Popular Humor of the Old South. Compiled and edited with introduction and notes by John Q. Anderson. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1967. xi, 337 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, index. \$7.50.)

Professor John Q. Anderson has selected an almost virgin land for cultivation in this annotated collection of some seventy frontier sketches drawn principally from little known and anonymous contributors to William T. Porter's *Spirit of the Times*, published in New York but popular with male readers in the old southwestern states of Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Tennessee, Louisiana, Arkansas, and Missouri. The title of Porter's newspaper reflects the focus of many of the sketches by correspondents in the Old Southwest. Though popular with readers in the 1840s and 1850s because they were entertaining, the sketches portray the boisterous "flush times" of the old southern frontier. This was, indeed, a rough, crude time when nature and man on the frontier had "the bark on."

Facets of frontier life which are vividly brought to view in these sketches are grouped under the following headings: "The [Mississippi] River," "The Backcountry," "Varmints and Hunters," "Fun and Frolic," "The Professions," "Jokes and Jokers," "Masculine Amusements," and "Politicians, Actors, Yokels in the City."

Except for the familiar "Quarter Race in Kentucky" and "The Harp of a Thousand Strings," most of the pieces had not been reprinted until this collection. In these narratives rough and ready "half-horse, half-alligator" keelboatmen rub shoulders with preachers, embarrassingly fond of drinking and horse racing; politicians who developed for the first time devices of political persuasion still practiced in countries where the vote of the unlettered man is courted; citizen-soldiers who as young boys learned to shoot squirrels and bears and who followed General Jackson to the Indian wars and to the Battle of New Orleans; hunters who made legends of their encounters with bears and panthers; frontier promoters whose grandiose claims make present-day subdivision developers seem like masters of understatement; and suitors who use techniques to win their beloveds that not even Hugh Hefner has dreamed of in his *Playboy Philosophy*.

The sketches reflect a time when the backwoodsman drank intemperately, gambled wildly, and soldiered dangerously; a time when most frontiersmen were indifferent to religion but respected the preacher, especially if he loved John Barleycorn and horses; a time when even minor disputes were settled in eye-gouging, nose-biting, ear-chewing fights; a time when story-telling was a favorite amusement-and a high art-and a man could start a story with a small germ of truth and weave a tale of such incredibility that would rival Beowulf's exploits. The sketches bring to life a period when man's inventiveness and energy had not been sapped by mechanical entertainments, when the hoax, the tall tale, and the practical joke challenged a man's wits and cunning. They display an era when the frontiersman could watch and appreciate a Shakespearean play and a cockfight the same day and see nothing incongruous in it; when frontier preachers took their instruction from God, not theological schools, and knew "within a fraction, how much brimstone and cordwood" would be used in "the great fire that ever burns in the bottomless pit." Conspicuous by his almost total absence is the Negro, who was to assume a central focus in later southern humor.

The southern frontiersman's love for rhetoric is seen in the elaborate yarns replete with such monstrous words as "ramatugenous," "homogification," "oncontankerest," and "discomboborate." Since many of the sketches were written by educated observers, there is often a striking contrast between the style and vo-

cabulary of the "frame" and the vernacular story which it encloses. The backwoods dialect is, nevertheless, surprisingly easy to read and is much superior to the phonetic spelling affected by the "literary comedians" popular after the Civil War.

Professor Anderson's general introduction and the introductions which preface each category of sketches demonstrate a thorough knowledge of the traditions of American humor and its literature. The notes are illuminating, without being pedantic. The drawings by Mary Alice Bahler display appropriate vignettes from the life so vigorously portrayed in the word sketches. The editor has not only performed a valuable historical and literary service by making these sketches available to a larger audience; he has put together a highly entertaining collection of stories. His book deserves a place on the shelf of American studies alongside such seminal works as Walter Blair's *Native American Humor* and Franklin J. Meine's *Tall Tales of the Southwest*.

WADE H. HALL

Kentucky Southern College

When The Eagle Screamed: The Romantic Horizon In American Diplomacy, 1800-1860. By William H. Goetzmann. (New York: John Wiley & Sons, 1966, xvii, 138 pp. Foreword, preface, introduction, maps, epilogue, index, \$4.95.)

Professor Goetzmann has given us a brisk, no-nonsense account of a stirring theme: the territorial growth of the United States . . . one in a series of eight books on American diplomatic history ("America In Crisis") issued by the University of Texas.

This short book has three estimable virtues: (1) it deals competently with a mighty topic; (2) it is written clearly, readably and simply; and (3) it is brief. Lest anyone think this is faint praise, let the reviewers state that in their opinion, it is not. Too much scholarly writing is unnecessarily hard going for the reader . . . and there is a need for short, clear books on important themes. (Lack of time presses heavily upon everyone.) Dr. Goetzmann states his own ground rules for the book: "Most of the facts upon which this book is based are already well known and can be checked in the standard works . . . my primary purpose is interpretation."

When The Eagle Screamed begins by tracing the territorial growth of the United States through the careers of Thomas Jefferson and John Quincy Adams. It sketches the details of the Louisiana Purchase, the younger Adams' complicated negotiations with Spain to acquire Florida, the annexation of Texas, the settlement of the Oregon boundary dispute with Britain, the acquisition of California and other territory following the Mexican War, the Gadsden Purchase, American adventures in the Caribbean and Central America, and in the Far East. Dr. Goetzmann has a talent for the readable, slightly acid phrase. (He describes the Treaty of Tientsin, for example, as "opening the way for a horde of missionaries and civilizers" in China.) It is a stirring and dramatic story, nicely told. The author has mercifully kept footnotes and other digressions to a minimum.

The American machinations involved in ending the Mexican War and wresting an empire from Mexico are particularly well described. This is the most neglected and whitewashed period in American history; regrettably, American intrigue in Mexico is usually squeamishly and rather apologetically passed over quickly by writers and teachers. This is nonsense, in the opinion of the reviewers . . . a throwback to the judging of the acts of one generation by the supposedly more enlightened standards of another. The squeamish to the contrary, James K. Polk ought to be a hero to every American, and his secretary of state, James Buchanan, was one of the ablest, and deserves to be remembered creditably, despite his miserable performance as president. Dr. Goetzmann tells well the intriguing story of Nicholas Trist, the all-but-forgotten chief clerk of the state department, who, despite his recall, defied the President and made the treaty of Guadalupe Hidalgo, which added 589,189 square miles of territory to the American flag.

When The Eagle Screamed hews to its subject well, and if you have not been over this particular ground recently, it is well worth the reading. No book is perfect and this is not. In the opinion of the reviewers, the author is far too dogmatic in far too many places about historical interpretation. He does not hesitate to characterize as "blunders" (a favorite word he uses with distressing frequency throughout) or as masterpieces of statecraft acts which do not deserve any such black and white label. Dr. Goetz-

mann is a man of strong opinions. In one passage, (fortunately short) he attempts to prove, in strong terms, other historians wrong and himself right, about matters which, are by their nature, slippery. This savors of academic pettiness, and the reviewers, as general readers, could not care less. We'd rather, in fact, that the facts as the author sees them, be stated, and the reader allowed to form his own opinion. Elsewhere, the author unabashedly turns from historian to military strategist, and second guesses the victorious General Taylor in the Mexican War, who he condemns in harsh terms.

Those who write history, should, in the opinion of the reviewers, be a bit more humble. Researching from documents, reports, diaries, newspaper accounts (often biased) is quite a different matter from being confronted with a real-life situation. In our opinion, at least, the truth is not quite so easy to grasp by the tail. The same event can be seen by a hundred different observers in a hundred different ways. Still, *When The Eagle Screamed* has flair, covers epochal events readably, and is worth anybody's time.

DEANE AND DAVID HELLER

Key West, Florida

The Reconstruction of the Nation. By Rembert W. Patrick. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. xi, 324 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

A by-product of our mid-twentieth century civil rights movement has been the tremendously increased interest in the histories of the post bellum South and the American Negro. Reassessments of the Reconstruction period have come by the score. Some, casting new light on the era, have provided us with new perspectives; others, in a zeal to negate objectionable interpretations of the past, have sometimes lacked balance. Professor Patrick's history of Reconstruction definitely falls into the first category. The only thing not completely convincing about this book is the title. While the author deals thoughtfully, albeit briefly, with developments elsewhere in the Nation, his overwhelming concern is with the South. As he puts it: "The South provides an almost irresistible theme for the Reconstruction era."

The book's structure follows traditional lines. Beginning with a comprehensive overview of the "prostrate" South, Professor Patrick takes the reader through a carefully analyzed and often brilliant account of the politics of presidential and congressional Reconstruction and the impeachment of President Andrew Johnson. Next follows a trenchant chapter on the South during congressional Reconstruction - one not likely to win hosannas from those who still revere the "Lost Cause" - and another on the Grant administration. After giving due attention to foreign affairs and social and economic developments, Professor Patrick returns to the main theme with a lucid narrative of the disputed election of 1876. He concludes quite appropriately with a discussion of the Redeemers and their shackling of the South with the fetters of white supremacy.

Claude Bowers termed the Reconstruction period "the tragic era." Professor Patrick agrees that it was but differs with Bowers as to wherein the tragedy lies. It was not, he says, in the "trampling" of white Southerners by vindictive Northerners and aggressive Negroes. Nor did it lie with the poverty of Southern whites. Instead "the Negro was the tragic figure of the Reconstruction era." While the Civil War preserved the Union and resulted in the emancipation of some 4,000,000 Negroes, Reconstruction failed to achieve for them equality and true assimilation into American society. The Negro's very pigmentation "limited his means of livelihood and denied him first class citizenship, the lawful and extra-legal acts of white people restricted or denied the freedman economic opportunity, political activity and social equality." But Reconstruction involved another tragedy, namely the baleful effects of the doctrine of white supremacy. "Even the poorest [white] comforted himself with racial superiority over Negroes, but his prejudice retarded the South and the methods he used to degrade Negroes rebounded on him."

Professor Patrick compassionately comes to grips with white Southerners of the period. As heirs to seldom questioned beliefs, their position was understandable. They took for granted that the Negro was biologically and mentally inferior, that he had criminal tendencies, and that he was incapable of exercising the ballot or holding public office. But in all these attitudes, he says, they were enormously wrong and unable to make "the superhuman efforts required to face reality."

Indeed, in the days, months, and even years following the war only a relatively few white Southerners comprehended the enormity of the Confederacy's defeat or were sensitive to northern opinion. The latter may have been hypocritical at times but it was nonetheless real. For example, whatever the putative need for the Black Codes, they infuriated Northerners who saw in them an effort to retain slavery in a scarcely disguised form. Professor Patrick takes issue with those who have maintained that some sort of a coercive system was necessary to get the new freedmen to work. On the contrary, he argues, from the very beginning of their emancipation, most Negroes sought work at fair wages. Those white Southerners who dealt equitably with them rarely had the problem of obtaining labor.

While taking note of the folderol of the carpetbagger-scalawag-Negro dominated state governments during congressional Reconstruction - hardly more corrupt than some found elsewhere in the nation at the time and less so than many of the Redeemer regimes - Professor Patrick also enumerates their solid achievements in the face of sullen opposition. Government services in the Southern states were literally dragged into the nineteenth century. Products of the Reconstruction legislatures were state-supported public education, asylums, hospitals, prisons, libraries, and internal improvements. "New laws offered physical and economic protection to women, children and laborers. In the Old South the sweet, demure, clinging-vine woman had protected herself by her wits and her sex; legislation in many states during the Reconstruction era gave her legal protection from grasping husbands, recognized the rights of mothers to have their children in case of divorce, and protected the children from unscrupulous or sadistic parents."

In most studies of Reconstruction, Florida receives relatively little attention, but not in this one. Repeatedly Professor Patrick, who for many years taught in the history department of the University of Florida, buttresses his analysis with data taken from the Florida scene. And the Sunshine State doesn't always fare particularly well. As a case in point, a report of an 1865 state legislative committee, precluding enactment of an excessively harsh Black Code and, according to Professor Patrick, "ridiculous for its pompous bigotry," describes slavery as a "benign institution and the

happiest and best system ever devised for a laboring class." When other southern states toned down their Black Codes in response to northern criticism, only Floridians he observes, "remained bigoted, vindictive, and shortsighted."

Senator Strom Thurmond of South Carolina and the few existent vestal virgins of the Daughters of the Confederacy undoubtedly will not take kindly to this powerful and eminently readable book. But neither they nor anybody else will be able to challenge the sound scholarship on which it is based. It is the best history of Reconstruction yet to be written.

HOWARD H. QUINT

University of Massachusetts

Before and After, or the Relations of the Races at the South. By Isaac DuBose Seabrook. Edited with an introduction by John Hammond Moore. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. 157 pp. Introduction, index. \$5.50.)

While the Tillman forces were preparing to segregate the races by law in South Carolina in the mid-nineties, Isaac DuBose Seabrook, a well-educated, aristocratic Charlestonian of modest means, wrote a thoughtful, dispassionate manuscript on racial relations from slavery times to 1895. The manuscript was recently discovered by Professor John Hammond Moore who recognized it as a useful addition to the protest literature of that troubled time.

Seabrook's impartial and often contradictory observations were not optimistic and he warned that the racial problem was soluble only if the two races were not segregated. His premises will antagonize some readers of the 1960s. In Darwinian fashion, he argued that Negroes constituted a docile, inferior race with a proclivity to slavery and that they could be uplifted to a "higher civilization" only by associating with southern white people over a long period of time. Consequently, legal segregation would be detrimental to both races, the South, and the nation, since it would deprive Negroes of the beneficent influence of this "higher race." He seemed to agree with Booker T. Washington that Ne-

groes should concentrate on economic improvement rather than political activity. Arguing that they were not yet prepared for political life, he thought the pursuit of property would develop a sense of civic responsibility. He condemned both political parties for using and abusing Negroes.

Much as Hinton R. Helper had done earlier, Seabrook criticized slavery because it had created an aristocratic class which was obliged to use its political dominance to enforce the institution despite its harm to yeoman farmers and workers. Because of it, labor was held in low esteem and free labor could not compete with slaves. The problem of white and Negro competition for jobs in the post-Civil War South continued as a major source of racial antipathy. Negro willingness to work for low wages enraged white workers unable to subsist on their earnings. At the same time Seabrook could agree with U. B. Phillips that slavery was a system in which benevolent owners cared for the backward slaves much as parents do children. This relationship also continued after the Civil War and for Seabrook was the best hope of the future. He condemned the white Republicans of the Reconstruction era in typical southern fashion, but specifically denied that Negroes were responsible for the debacle. It followed that Negro political participation would not threaten a return to Reconstruction days as some Democrats were claiming. But Seabrook also argued that Reconstruction was not a failure. The legal changes wrought at that time constituted a long step from slavery to the eventual, but still distant, arrival of Negroes at a level of ability which could permit full citizenship. Seabrook concluded that Negroes could ultimately become responsible citizens only if they were given equal opportunities with whites to develop their abilities and if they were allowed to remain in daily contact with white citizens.

Thoughtfully written in 1895 by an interested and informed observer with no personal interest to promote, the book emphasizes a southern dilemma. Seabrook believed that Negroes were inferior and was not certain that they could be improved, yet he was certain that the effort had to be made and that it could only be accomplished in an integrated society. Professor Moore's editorial work is competent and his introductory essay, important in its own right, places Seabrook's writings in historical context. *Before*

and After should be interesting to all who are concerned with the complex problems of southern history.

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

University of Florida

Hunting in the Old South: Original Narratives of the Hunters.

Edited by Clarence Gohdes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1967. xviii, 176 pp. Introduction, illustrations. \$7.50.)

The stories selected for publication in *Hunting in the Old South* will be enjoyed particularly by the outdoorsman, but the armchair sportsman will also find them delightful reading and exceedingly interesting. These original narratives and descriptions of hunting in the antebellum South occurred at the time when the South included a vast region of coastal and river swamp, as well as an extensive mountainous area, and was the chief wintering ground for migratory wildfowl. The events also took place at a period when the supply of game seemed unlimited and when little or no thought was given to conservation.

In all there are twenty stories written by journalists, naturalists, and sportsmen, selected and edited by Clarence Gohdes, professor of American literature at Duke University. They serve to illustrate a variety of methods involved in bagging game from wildfowl to deer and bear. The reader is sure to feel that he, himself, is on the turkey hunt in Texas, or is pitting wolves, possum-hunting in Alabama, or duck hunting in Florida. In reading experiences of a naturalist "Ibis Shooting in Louisiana," the uninitiated will learn, for its questionable practical value, that an alligator will not attack a man if he remains upright. Other hints on self-preservation, some of value even today, also are offered. There are accounts of "Spearing a Wild Boar," and such unusual hunting methods as "Woodcock Fire-Hunting," "Hawking in Fairfax, Virginia," or "Wild Cattle Hunting on Green Island." Several stories describe bear hunting, with suspense, thrills, and humor. One account of bear shooting is narrated by Davy Crockett, who admits to killing 105 bears in less than a year, a figure that may be classed among the "humorous exaggerations" credited to Crockett. There are thrills galore on almost every page. There is a good lesson

in marksmanship, and to be sure that no one affected by the life of a hunter is overlooked, the editor has included in the volume an account of "Miseries of a Sportsman's Wife."

Editor Gohdes explains that the selection of tales to be included in his book was made with the purpose of illustrating the variety of methods of the field sports of the South of more than a century ago through more or less authentic narratives of experiences as seen by the hunters themselves. In this he has been quite successful, for he has balanced the stories of life in the out-of-doors to give at least a sample of all sports of the times. At the same time he has maintained the old style of writing, or story telling, that fits the period and has not tampered with it editorially. Appropriate illustrations throughout add to the interest and quality of the volume. The stories will be thoroughly enjoyed for the action reported and for the descriptions of the various forms of hunting. They will be equally appreciated as a character study of many of the hunters, themselves.

JAMES C. CRAIG

Jacksonville, Florida

BOOK NOTES

The Florida Geological Survey, PO Box 631, Tallahassee, has reprinted J. Clarence Simpson's *A Provisional Gazetteer of the Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation Either Obsolescent or Retained Together With Others of Recent Application*. The volume is edited by Dr. Mark F. Boyd. The price is \$1.00.

A new edition of Carita Doggett Corse's *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony of Florida*, with a new preface by Mrs. Corse, has been published by the Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 4747 28th Street North, St. Petersburg, \$1.50. The book was originally printed in 1919, and it has been a collector's item for years. This new edition is published in cooperation with the Volusia County Historical Commission for the bicentennial of the founding of the New Smyrna colony.

Mrs. Sally Tileston and Mrs. Dottie Comfort of Cedar Key are co-authors of a booklet entitled *Cedar Key's Legends*, Volume I, which they are selling for fifty cents. The pamphlet contains five stories which have been collected from local residents. Orders for the booklet may be directed to the authors at Cedar Key, Florida.

The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513-1870 by Father Michael V. Gannon has been reprinted by the University of Florida Press. The hardback edition sells for \$7.50. A paperback edition is also available for \$2.91, and it may be ordered directly from the Mission Art Guild, Mission of Nombre de Dios, St. Augustine.

The Southern Historical Association announces publication of the cumulative index of the *Journal of Southern History*, Volumes XXI-XXX (February 1955-November 1964), available March 15, 1968. The price is \$7.00 for the black library buckram bound copy and \$5.50 for the paperbound edition. The twenty-year index (Volumes I-XX) is available in buckram for \$10.00, or \$8.00 if purchased with the new ten-year index. Copies should be ordered directly from Bennett H. Wall, History Department, Tulane University, New Orleans, Louisiana, 70118.

Please add twenty-five cents for postage and insurance for each volume ordered.

The Society of Paper Money Collectors has published *Florida Obsolete Notes and Scrip* by Harley L. Freeman. Copies may be ordered from Mr. Freeman, 253 S. Atlantic Avenue, Ormond Beach, Florida.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society is scheduled to begin Friday, May 3, 1968, in Daytona Beach. The two-hundredth anniversary of the founding of Dr. Andrew Turnbull's settlement at New Smyrna will be celebrated as part of the Saturday session of the meeting. Special ceremonies will be held in New Smyrna. The Daytona Plaza, Daytona Beach, is the convention hotel. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. is chairman of the program committee and anyone interested in reading a paper is invited to write to him at 352 Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, 32601. The recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History will be announced at the banquet Saturday night.

While publication of the *Newsletter* has been temporarily suspended, every effort will be made to publish the annual reports of the regional, county, and local historical societies and commissions and to distribute them at the annual meeting. Please send all reports to our *Newsletter* Editor, Dr. William Warren Rogers, Department of History, Florida State University, Tallahassee. They should be in his hands by April 1, 1968.

Florida Conference of College Teachers of History

The Florida Conference of College Teachers of History will hold its sixth annual meeting this year at the University of Miami on March 29 and 30, 1968. Dean H. Franklin Williams, University College, University of Miami, will open the session Friday with a talk entitled "Challenge to Historians." Professors Ivan Scott of West Virginia University, George C. Osborn of the University of Florida, Chester V. Easum of the University of Nebraska, Gerald C. Critoph of John B. Stetson University, Donald Curl of Florida Atlantic University, and Warren Samuels of the University of Miami will present papers. Dean John A. Harrison of the University of Miami's Graduate School, and Dr. Charlton Tebeau, chairman of the department of history at the

University of Miami are also on the program. Dr. Samuel Portnoy, chairman of the department of history at Florida Atlantic University, is president of the Florida Conference and will preside at the Saturday morning session and the business luncheon. Dr. Duane Koenig of the University of Miami is vice-president and program chairman.

State and Local History Merit Awards

The American Association for State and Local History, at its convention held in September 1967, in Toronto, Canada, recognized Adam G. Adams of Coral Gables for his significant contributions to Florida history. Mr. Adams, a former member of the board of the Florida Historical Society, was chairman of the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission. He helped to establish the Florida State Library and Historical Commission in 1965 and served as its first chairman. The association also awarded a certificate of commendation to Judge James R. Knott of West Palm Beach, former president of the Florida Historical Society, for his significant contributions to the founding of the Palm Beach Historical Society. The Tallahassee Junior Museum was recognized for developing the Pioneer Farm, a local history program for young people that has won national recognition.

Pensacola Historical and Preservation Commission

The Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission was established by the 1967 Florida legislature with an appropriation of \$200,000. The city of Pensacola has provided an additional \$60,000. A five-member commission, with Pat Dodson, secretary of the Florida Historical Society, as acting chairman, has already begun work on a long-range plan of historical development for Pensacola.

To administer a proposed twenty-five-block historical district in the Old City area of Pensacola around Seville Square and fronting Pensacola Bay, an architectural review board has been created to study boundaries and regulations. It is planned to restore the district into a replica of nineteenth-century Pensacola with emphasis on the Spanish borderlands and Jacksonian eras, generally covering the period from 1814 to 1845. Some ante-

bellum buildings still stand, and others, for which there are extant plans, will be restored. Special lighting will illuminate the historic area.

The commission is seeking an executive director to direct its work, and applications should be addressed to Pat Dodson, Pensacola Historical Commission, Seville Square, Pensacola, Florida.

Activities and Events

Isaiah D. Hart Bridge: On November 2, 1967, the Jacksonville Expressway Authority dedicated the new Isaiah D. Hart Bridge crossing the St. Johns River. The bridge memorializes Hart, the founder and "father" of Jacksonville. The Jacksonville Historical Society launched the move to name the bridge in honor of Hart, and its members were invited as special guests for the dedication.

Library History Seminar: Florida State University's Library School, Department of History, and Strozier Library, in cooperation with the *Journal of Library History* and the American Library History Round Table are sponsoring the Third Library History Seminar at Florida State University, February 8, 9, and 10, 1968. Papers on the subjects of library history, library media, and library relations with associations, libraries, and federal, state, and local government will be presented. Travel scholarships to qualified students of accredited library schools and university departments of history, English, or American studies have been offered. Reservations for the seminar can be made by writing to the Library School, Florida State University, Tallahassee, 32306.

The Florida Quarterly: A new literary magazine, the *Florida Quarterly*, is being published at the University of Florida. Its first edition featured a previously unpublished short story by the late Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings entitled "Fish Fry And Fireworks," and an interview by Gary Libby with Florida novelist Richard Powell who lives in Fort Myers and who has used the Florida scene as locale for several of his novels. Subscriptions are \$3.50 per year - \$10.00 for three years. Inquiries may be directed to *Florida Quarterly*, 207 Anderson Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, 32601.

Faver-Dykes State Park: The 752-acre Faver-Dykes State Park near St. Augustine was officially dedicated on November 10, 1967. The park encompasses the southern area of St. Johns' County and is located on Pellicer Creek. It was given to the state as a memorial to Alexander Hall Faver and Flora Ellen Dykes Faver. Mr. William M. Goza, president of the Florida Historical Society, represented the society at the dedication.

Everglades Park Anniversary: The twentieth anniversary of the dedication of the Everglades National Park was observed on December 6, 1967, in special ceremonies at the Flamingo Recreation Center. Government officials, private citizens, and heads of conservation groups instrumental in the long fight to preserve this aquatic wilderness area participated. Everglades National Park, located at the southern end of Florida, is the largest subtropical wilderness park in North America. Extending farther south than any other part of the United States mainland, it is the home of rare birds, animals, and plant life.

Florida History Award: The Peace River Valley Historical Society presented its annual Florida History Award to Dr. Samuel Proctor of the University of Florida at a dinner meeting held in October at the new civic center in Bartow. Previous recipients of the award were the late Father Jerome of St. Leo's Abbey and Albert DeVane of Lake Placid. Dr. Proctor's award was for the year 1966.

College News

Broward County Junior College: Professor Chester Handleman has returned to the college after a two-year absence at Duke University. Last summer Wayne E. Barton travelled in northern Europe.

Central Florida Junior College: Ira Holmes has returned after a year as exchange professor at Nottingham College of Education, Nottingham, England. Ernest H. Jernigan has a grant allowing him to study political science and history at the University of Florida. Leroy C. Reed attended the University of Missouri this

past summer as a participant in its summer institute in data processing for social science college teachers. Joel C. Tate, a national teaching fellow, is a new addition to the social sciences staff of the college.

Daytona Beach Junior College: New staff members are Jay R. Bushnell and LeRoy L. Stefen. Dr. Miles Malone has retired from full-time teaching and teaches extension courses for the University of Florida and a part-time American history course at the college.

Florida Atlantic University: New faculty include Dr. Tsung I. Dow and Mrs. Leigh Gall. Professor Samuel A. Portnoy, chairman of the department and president of the Florida Conference of College Teachers of History, served as visiting professor this past summer at the University of Wisconsin's Center in Marathon County.

Florida Presbyterian College: Dr. William C. Wilbur, chairman of history and social sciences, has returned from a sabbatical leave in England. Dr. Burr C. Brundage will spend his sabbatical researching Aztec history. This past summer he was in Mexico on a joint grant from the Presbyterian Church and Florida Presbyterian College. Dr. William F. McKee is a new addition to the faculty.

Florida Southern College: New members of the history faculty are James Campbell and Joe Dutton. Robert H. Akerman, a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, is chairman of the department of history.

Florida State University: Dr. Earl Beck, a member of the faculty since 1949, is the new chairman of the department of history, replacing Dr. Victor S. Mamatey who accepted a teaching position at the University of Georgia.

Miami-Dade Junior College (North Campus): Thomas Hartzel and Mercedes Sandoval are new members of the history faculty.

Palm Beach Junior College: David A. Forshay is the author of the recently published *Lure of the Sun: A Story of Palm Beach County*, which was reviewed in the October 1967 number of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Professor Forshay is a former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society.

Stetson University: John L. Evans is a new member of the history faculty. Professor Harold J. Schultz has returned from a nine-week study and travel tour of Africa under a Fulbright-Hayes grant. Dr. Evans C. Johnson spent the summer studying in Yucatan, and Dr. Malcolm M. Wynn was in Paris. Professor Gerald L. Critoph attended the National Colloquium on Oral History, sponsored by Columbia University, in November 1967.

University of Florida: New appointments to the social science faculty include Wallace M. Nelson, Augustus M. Burns, Charles A. Hoffman, Jerrell H. Shofner, and Walter H. Robinton. Dr. Shofner was the recipient of the Florida Historical Society's Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History for 1967. Harold A. Wilson was promoted to associate professor; John E. Walker and Robert F. Smylie were named assistant professor; George C. Osborn is chairman of the division of social sciences of the Florida Academy of Science, and Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., vice-president of the Florida Historical Society, is a director of the Alachua County Historical Society and a member of the Charles S. Sydnor Award Committee of the Southern Historical Association. New members of the history faculty are Cornelis Gosslinga, John Mugar, and Hunt Davis, Jr. Professor David Bushnell is on leave in Argentina. Professor David Chalmers directed the fourth annual American Studies Seminar in the Philippines last June; Professor Richard Chang attended the twenty-seventh International Congress of Orientalists at Ann Arbor, Michigan; Professor E. Ashby Hammond was the recipient of a grant from the National Institute of Health for work on medieval doctors and medicine in England; and Professor John K. Mahon was the recipient of an American Philosophical Society grant and spent the summer researching the British records relevant to the War of 1812 in the British Museum.

University of Miami: Duane Koenig is program chairman of the Florida Conference of College Teachers of History and is planning the 1968 convention which will be held at the university. He is also program chairman for the Society for Italian Historical Studies and served as a discussant on a panel at the American Historical Association meeting in Toronto in December. His article, "Teaching the Freshman Civilization Section," appeared in the April 1968 number of *The Social Studies*. Harvey Polster is a new addition to the faculty. Michael Davis was named assistant professor, Dr. Christos Patsavos spent this past summer visiting archaeological and historic sites in Greece; he is working on a new edition of his book *The Unification of the Greeks Under Macedonian Hegemony*. Professor Gerald G. Govorchin visited libraries in New York, Washington, Spain, Yugoslavia, and the Netherlands during the summer. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, former president of the Florida Historical Society, is editor of *The Carrell*, a magazine published by the Friends of the Library at the University of Miami. He will chair one of the sessions at the forthcoming Florida Conference of College Teachers of History. Dr. Iones Wright, president of the Southeast Conference on Latin American Studies, was chairman of the Latin American sessions of the Southern Historical Association convention in November.

University of South Florida: Robert B. Hilliard has been named acting chairman of the department. Appointments to the faculty include Edward B. Billingsley, Joseph A. DellaGrotte, Cecil B. Currey, and John W. Rollins.

University of Tampa: Dr. J. Ryan Beiser participated in a NDEA History Institute at Chaldron State College, Chaldron, Nebraska. New additions to the faculty include Samuel Rampello, Mrs. Sue McCord, and Douglas Smith. James W. Covington read a paper at the last annual meeting of the American Society for Ethnohistory at Lexington, Kentucky.

OBITUARIES

REMBERT W. PATRICK

A heart attack claimed the life of Rembert W. Patrick, one of Florida's and the nation's outstanding historians, in Athens, Georgia on November 16, 1967. For more than a quarter-century Dr. Patrick was a member of the history faculty at the University of Florida and served as its chairman for five years. At the time of his death Professor Patrick was graduate professor of history at the University of Georgia. He was a recognized authority on Florida and Southern History and on the Civil War and Reconstruction era. His books, articles, and textbooks received national recognition, and he was the recipient of a number of prizes and awards. His books included *Florida Under Five Flags*, *Florida Fiasco*, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch*, *The Story of Florida*, *Opinions of the Confederate Attorney General*, *The Fall of Richmond*, and *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*. His last book, *The Reconstruction of the Nation*, is reviewed in this issue of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. He served as editor of the University of Florida Press's Floridiana Facsimile and Reprint Series and edited two volumes in this series: Roman's *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* and Rambler's *Guide to Florida*.

Dr. Patrick was past president of the Southern Historical Association, vice-president of the American Association for State and Local History, and had served as vice-president of the Florida Library Association and secretary-treasurer of the Southern Political Science Association. He was a member of the editorial board of the *Journal of Southern History*. Dr. Patrick was closely associated with the Florida Historical Society for many years, serving as a member of the board of directors and as recording secretary. He was associate editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and became editor of the *Quarterly* after Julien C. Yonge retired. Dr. Patrick played a major role in bringing the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History to the University of Florida and for more than twenty-five years he was its advisor. Under his tutelage at the University of Florida many important studies in Florida and Southern history were written, and several of these have been published as books and monographs.

OLIVER GRISWOLD

Oliver Griswold, a prominent Florida historian, naturalist, and a member of the staff of the University of Miami, died in September 1967. He was co-author of *They All Called It Tropical*, a history of South Florida, and author of *The Florida Keys and the Coral Reef*. He was founding president of the Monroe County Audobon Society and later president of the Tropical Audobon Society of Dade County. As chairman of the historic sites and markers committee of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, he launched a program for marking many of the historic locations in the area. He was a founding member of the board of governors of the Florida Zoological Society, a long-time trustee of Miami's Museum of Science, and he served as radio and television coordinator for the University of Miami.

NOTICES

Anyone having papers or letters relating to the life and career of Henry Laurens Mitchell, governor of Florida from 1893-1897, is asked to contact George B. Church, Jr., 2427 Sunset Drive, Tampa, Florida, 33609. Mr. Church is gathering material for a biographical study of Mitchell who served as a member of the Florida House of Representatives from Hillsborough County and as a justice of the Florida Supreme Court before being elected governor.

An attempt is being made to compile a list of trade tokens, merchant store cards, advertising tokens, or anything else that was ever used in lieu of money and was redeemable in trade or for services rendered and was issued in Florida. Over 600 items, issued from over 180 different cities and towns, are already listed, but many more exist. Anyone knowing of such material is asked to send a description, giving complete wording on both sides, size in inches or millimeters, shape and type of material, or the rubbings (obverse and reverse sides) to Harley L. Freeman, 353 South Atlantic Avenue, Ormond Beach, Florida, 32074.

CONTRIBUTORS

MARTIN M. LAGODNA is instructor in social sciences at the University of Florida and is writing a history of the Florida Department of Agriculture.

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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