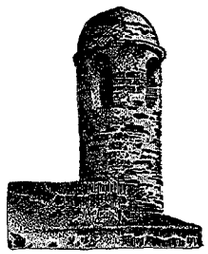

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by GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS, FRANCIS P. FLEMING, GEORGE W. WILSON, CHARLES M. COOPER, JAMES P. TALIAFERRO, V. W. SHIELDS, WILLIAM A. BLOUNT, GEORGE P. RANEY.

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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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C O N T E N T S

BOOK REVIEWS

THE UNITED STATES, FRANCE, AND WEST FLORIDA, 1803-1807

by CLIFFORD L. EGAN

ON APRIL 30, 1803, in one of the great real estate transactions of history, France sold the United States the Louisiana Territory, an immense land with inexact boundaries. Seldom in history has one nation purchased so much for so little. With the signatures of Robert R. Livingston, James Monroe, and Francois de Marbois, America's land area was almost doubled. At the same moment all differences between France and the United States seemingly were obliterated. Although President Jefferson had previously spoken of a British alliance since he feared Napoleon as a neighbor, he and his fellow Americans now looked to the future confident that their land was destined to span the continent. Meanwhile, the government sought a favorable adjustment of Louisiana's boundary, especially the acquisition of the strip of Spanish land between the Mississippi and Perdido rivers known as West Florida.

Coming so close on the heels of the Louisiana sale, French support of America's Florida claim could only have made relations between the countries even more amicable and further enhanced American opinion of France. Continued British arrogance on the high seas and off America's coast would have deepened this reservoir. Instead, Napoleon surrendered to the allures of a subsidy from Spain and perhaps the prospect of personal gain from a nation whose financial position was even shakier than his own. In the end Spain lost West Florida, but Napoleon was the real loser. Not only did he sacrifice his subsidy, but ultimately his failure to accurately gauge Spanish sentiment resulted in an uprising that in the course of six years drained French resources and contributed to the collapse of the First Empire.

Napoleon failed to proclaim his decision until well into the summer of 1804. Then Talleyrand disclosed his country's attitude in a series of diplomatic despatches. In essence, his announcement stated that the United States could claim only that territory

which France had received from Spain, and he claimed that the Louisiana-West Florida boundary followed the Mississippi and Iberville rivers and then Lake Maurepas and Lake Pontchartrain. [1] Relegated to limbo was the crafty foreign minister's earlier utterance about the United States "making the most" of the uncharted boundary of the wilderness.

Ignorant of France's decision, Jefferson disregarded Livingston's constant suggestions that the United States seize West Florida and present France and Spain with a *fait accompli.* [2] Instead, impressed with French assurances, the President and his ever logical secretary of state saw the territorial transfer as "nothing more than a sequel and completion of the policy which led France into her own treaty of Cession." [3] To this end they directed that Monroe, then minister to the Court of St. James, proceed to Madrid to aid Minister Charles Pinckney as soon as the press of Anglo-American diplomatic activity permitted. Monroe enthusiastically concurred with his orders to travel via Paris to "ascertain the views of the French Government." [4] But as he was receiving his orders, Napoleon was deciding against aiding the United States.

In retrospect it would be easy to fault Jefferson and Madison for not accepting Livingston's advice. On the other hand, how were they to know that Napoleon would choose to fol-

1. Talleyrand to Pierre de Ruel Beurnonville, July 5, 1804, Archives du Ministere des Affairs Etrangeres, Correspondance Politique, Etats-Unis (photostats, Library of Congress), LVII; Talleyrand to Louis Turreau, July 23, August 8, 1804, *ibid.;* Talleyrand to Gavina, August 30, 1804, in James A. Robertson, ed. and trans., *Louisiana Under the Rule of Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807,* 2 vols. (Cleveland, 1911), II, 196, 198. (Admiral Federico Gravina, Spanish representative to France, is incorrectly spelled in Robertson.)
2. Robert R. Livingston to James Madison, June 20, 1804, James Madison Papers, Library of Congress; Livingston to James Monroe, September 15, 1804, James Monroe Papers, Library of Congress; Livingston to Edward Livingston, September 18, 1804, Livingston Papers, New-York Historical Society.
3. Madison to Livingston, March 31, 1804, in Gaillard Hunt, ed., *The Writings of James Madison,* 9 vols. (New York and London, 1900-1910), VII, 127.
4. Madison to Monroe, April 15, 1804, *ibid.,* 141. See also Monroe to Thomas Jefferson, March 15, 1804, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

low so illogical a path? Franco-American relations were then more harmonious than they had been or were to be for several years; Madison and his chief reasoned that the French would continue such a course since it was to her interest to do so. [5] Seizure of West Florida would have clouded this amity and violated a primary Republican tenet: to avoid alienation of any nation. Thus Monroe's instructions were as valid as the tediously slow and often unreliable channels of communication of that day allowed.

Urged on by the secretary of state, Monroe left London in October 1804, and arrived in Paris a few days later. Livingston immediately informed him of intelligence that cast a pall over his mission. On the twentieth day of September, Marbois, betraying concern for his responsibility, the public treasury, had intimated that the United States might purchase East Florida as well as West Florida *"giving 60 millions* [of francs] *for them . . . ."* It was evident, Livingston cautioned, that *"France wishes to make our controversy favorable to her finances."* [6] Apparently undeterred by his fellow diplomat's revelation and his opposition to any correspondence, Monroe dispatched a lengthy letter to Talleyrand. He reminded the foreign minister that France had committed herself to aid America to obtain "Florida" when the Louisiana treaty was signed. After reviewing the immediate details surrounding Spanish-American differences, Monroe stressed the righteousness of America's claims and asked directly for France's "good offices" to aid his Madrid mission. [7] Expecting a prompt and favorable reply, Monroe decided to wait before proceeding to Spain. His calculation for a speedy answer proved unmerited. Days grew into a week, a week into a fortnight, and still Monroe received no official communication from Talleyrand.

Unofficially he had learned much. From Livingston he discovered that Pierre de Ruel Beurnonville, French ambassador to the court of Charles IV, had instructions to aid upcoming talks.

5. For this viewpoint see Madison to John Armstrong, November 10, 1804, Diplomatic Instructions of the Department of State: All Countries (Department of State Archives, National Archives).
6. Livingston to Madison, September 21, 1804, Livingston Papers, New-York Historical Society.
7. Monroe to Talleyrand, November 8, 1804, Archives du Ministere des affaires Etrangeres, LVII.

Livingston disclosed on another occasion that he had heard Napoleon himself express his desire to promote Jefferson's aims. [8] These hopeful indications, however, were offset by other information. With Livingston accompanying him, Monroe met Talleyrand and told him, as if the ex-Bishop of Autun did not already know, that he was en route to Madrid. "Aye, I understand you," Talleyrand replied, and then added darkly, "You will have much difficulty to succeed there." When Monroe alluded to the advantages of French offices in smoothing Spanish intransigence, the foreign minister managed a "smile." [9] Shortly after this tete-a-tete, Monroe conversed with Marbois and Alexandre Maurice Blanc de La Noutte, Comte d'Hauterive, Talleyrand's chief assistant. Frankly stating his objectives in Spain, he elicited Marbois' equally candid opinion that "suitable pecuniary accomodations" might promote a settlement. D'Hauterive spoke of both parties making sacrifices: "Spain must cede territory, and . . . the U. States must pay money." Perhaps with memories of earlier diplomatic incidents of a similar tenor, Monroe emphasized that the United States would pay no money under such circumstances. [10]

Fearful that he was missing opportunities at Madrid and weary of waiting in Paris despite such gala occasions as Napoleon's crowning on December 2, 1804, Monroe elected to journey to Madrid via Bordeaux and Bayonne. [11] His decision to do so has been severely criticized in view of Livingston's admonitions and obvious French uncooperativeness. [12] Yet Monroe's instruc-

8. Livingston to Monroe, November 12, Livingston to Madison, November 21, 1804, Livingston Papers, New-York Historical Society.
9. Monroe to Madison; December 16, 1804, in Stanislaus M. Hamilton, ed., *The Writings of James Monroe,* 7 vols. (New York and London, 1898-1903), IV, 280.
10. Monroe to Madison, December 16, 1804, *ibid.,* 281-82.
11. Armstrong to Madison, December 24, 1804, Despatches from United States Ministers to France (Department of State Archives, National Archives), thus explained Monroe's departure. In recollections written many years later Monroe stated he knew his instructions were outdated, yet he offered no reason for continuing his journey. See Stuart Gerry Brown, ed., *The Autobiography of James Monroe* (Syracuse, 1959), 205.
12. Irving Brant, *James Madison: Secretary of State, 1800-1809* (Indianapolis, 1953), 259.

tions left to his descretion the course to follow. [13] Aware of his superiors' desire for peace, Monroe possibly felt all avenues to avoid hostilities should be explored. Personal investigation of the Spanish scene would enable the administration to quash dissidents who might accuse the President of not pursuing peace. Nor had Monroe received an official answer-positive or negative-from Talleyrand when he left Paris on December 8. In light of these factors his avowal to "pursue the object intrusted to me with zeal and diligence, and I trust with success" seems plausible. [14]

Two weeks after Monroe left Paris Talleyrand answered his letter of November 8. Unfortunately for American purposes, France denied West Florida's inclusion in the transfer of territory. [15] This stance not only represented loyalty to their new ally, Spain having gone to war against Britain on December 14, but it was a victory as well for Talleyrand; solely by such a course, he argued to Napoleon, would America's arrogance toward Spain be curbed. Let them give up some of their unjust pretenses he urged, and only then would they merit a favorable word. [16] Left unmentioned in these communications was any reference to "pecuniary accomodations." Nonetheless, Madison was fully appraised that France "had determined to convert the negotiation into a job." [17] On his way to Madrid, Monroe remained unaware of these happenings.

Biding his time in Madrid until Monroe arrived was Charles Pinckney, a member of the distinguished South Carolina family. Though most Pinckneys faithfully supported the Federalists, Charles aligned himself with the Jeffersonian Republicans. Consequently, after Jefferson's inauguration in March 1801, his loyalty was rewarded with the appointment to the Spanish post. By late 1803 he was seeking agreement on three issues: first,

13. Madison to Monroe, October 26, 1804, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.
14. Monroe to Fulwar Skipwith, December 18, 1804, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.
15. Talleyrand to Monroe, December 21, 1804, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.
16. "Rapport a l'empereur," November 19, 1804, Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, LVII.
17. Armstrong to Madison, December 24, 1804, Despatches from France. See also Armstrong to Madison, December 20, 1804, *ibid.*

compensation for depredations caused by French vessels operating out of Spanish waters during the undeclared war from 1797-1800; second, Spanish acceptance of the Louisiana Purchase; and, third, the cession of West Florida. Recognizing the difficulties he faced in accomplishing any of the three aims, Monroe, with administrative sanction, had planned to travel to Spain immediately after Louisiana had been purchased. Resumption of the Anglo-French war had precluded this. Forced to carry on alone, Pinckney mistakenly had linked the three objectives and thus blocked individual accords. [18]

Monroe's arrival in Madrid changed nothing. The Spanish officials expertly sidetracked the Americans and the stalemate continued. Pinckney, familiar with the country's internal affairs, attributed Spanish stubbornness to France. The Emperor and Talleyrand evidently believed that they could "talk in high and arrogant terms of our country's aggressions . . . and we would shrink into nothing and give up claims and meekly receive reprimand for having dared to make them." [19] Conscious of the prevailing French attitude, Spain used it to her own benefit. On the other hand, Monroe, except for one dark moment of despair, refused to credit Napoleon with any devious plan. He was unable to comprehend why France would act against her personal interests. After all, he reasoned, France relied on American shipping to carry cargoes from her blockaded colonies to home ports. Was she not aware that American compliances with her desire to interdict trade with the Negroes of San Domingo might hinge on a Spanish settlement? Similarly, he calculated, the French certainly feared an Anglo-American rapprochement. [20] From these cogent reasons Monroe inferred that Talleyrand was withholding intelligence from Napoleon about the true state of affairs between Spain and America. Hence he appealed to John Armstrong, American minister to France, to approach

18. See J. Harold Easterby's account in Dumas Malone, et al., eds., *Dictionary of American Biography,* 22 vols. (New York, 1925-1958), XIV, 611-14; Madison to Charles Pinckney, October 12, 1803, in Hunt, *Writings of James Madison,* VII, 71-72.

19. Pinckney to Madison, March 7, 1805, in Isaac Joslin Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813: A Study in American Diplomacy* (Baltimore, 1918), 127.

20. Monroe to Armstrong, March 1, 1805, in Henry Adams, *History of the United States,* 9 vols. (New York, 1889-1891), III, 30-31.

the Emperor through someone other than Talleyrand, preferably Joseph Bonaparte. [21]

While Monroe and Pinckney were bargaining, Armstrong labored to win French support and offered reasoning paralleling that of Monroe's. Unhappily he found that regardless of his approach, the French were obdurate. When he alluded to the possibility of an Anglo-American accord allowing the Americanization of the Floridas, for example, he was informed that "we can neither doubt nor hesitate, - we must take part with Spain." [22] Other inquiries received similar rejoinders. Endeavoring to perceive the motivation behind France's policy, Armstrong gathered two possible explanations. Greed for money at Spain's expense was one possibility. He learned also that France had been seeking to purchase the disputed land since 1803. In French hands potentiality for financial gain would be definitely enhanced. These explanations alone did not suffice to illuminate France's course. Whereas Monroe viewed America in possession of compelling arguments, Armstrong discerned that the French were not at all convinced of this. Unperturbed about the prospects of a British-American alliance, they hinted at the seizure of exposed American property in Holland as well as in France should the United States break off negotiations. [23] Unknown to Armstrong, there was another reason why the French acted with disdain. On January 4, 1805, France and Spain had concluded an agreement whereby France undertook to guarantee Spain's "territorial integrity" in Europe "and the return of colonies seized from Spain in the course of the current war." [24] Even the opportunistic Talleyrand would have found it difficult to evade explicit guarantees so soon after the treaty was signed.

Almost as baffling as French policy toward the United States was Monroe's refusal to recognize Napoleon's knowledge of Spanish-American negotiations. In one letter from Paris, Arm-

21. Monroe to Armstrong, March 17, 31, 1805, in Cox, *West Florida Controversy,* 127, 129-30.

22. Armstrong to Monroe, March 12, 1805, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library. See also Armstrong to Monroe, April 15, 1805, *ibid.*

23. Armstrong to Monroe, March 12, April 1, 1805, *ibid.;* and H. Preble to Monroe, March 14, 1805, *ibid.*

24. Francis Gardiner Davenport and Charles O. Paullin, eds., *European Treaties Bearing on the History of the United States and its Dependencies,* 4 vols. (Washington, 1917-1937), IV, 189.

strong said Joseph Bonaparte himself had intervened on behalf of the United States with no consequences. Another note openly stated that "de l'argent-beaucoup d'argent is what they want, & what they insist on, and it is (they say) the only means of terminating our differences. . . ." [25] Armstrong could not have been more blunt when he informed Monroe that at French whim Spain and the United States "will in fact be a couple of oranges in her hands which she will squeeze at pleasure, and against each other, and that which yields the most will be the best served or rather the best injured." [26] In spite of the evidence accumulated, Monroe continued to deny that his erstwhile benefactor Napoleon could be at fault. From accusing Talleyrand for his frustrations, he shifted his denunciations to Livingston, who had since returned to the United States. The latter was guilty, Monroe charged, because one of his undetailed "projects" had persuaded Talleyrand to abstain from intervening against Spain during the mediation.[27] Why Monroe recoiled from reality is unclear. Conceivably he could not bear the thought of failure in Spain on the heels of no accomplishment in London and Paris. In any event he left Madrid in July 1805, for London via Paris. Three months later Pinckney left Spain, his mission unfulfilled.

In Washington the President and Secretary of State Madison observed the proceedings with equanimity. Jefferson felt that the failure of Monroe's mission meant simply that the United States would have to await peace to arrange a settlement. Expressing surprise that France would openly align herself with Spain, Madison nevertheless was confident of a settlement when the French awakened to the fact that they could not get their "hand into our pocket," and realized the serious danger of Anglo-American harmony.[28] Available evidence indicates that administration leaders and others trusted that the fates of war would work to America's advantage. At the same time they

25. Armstrong to Monroe, March 18, 1805, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.
26. Armstrong to Monroe, May 4, 1805, *ibid.*
27. Monroe to Armstrong, July 2, Monroe to Madison, July 6, 1805, in Hamilton, *Writings of James Monroe,* IV, 301, 302.
28. Madison to Livingston, July 5, 1805, in *Letters and Other Writings of James Madison,* 4 vols. (New York, 1884), II, 213. See also Madison to Armstrong, June 6, 1805, Instructions of the Department of State.

continued to believe, as Monroe doggedly did, that Napoleon would act as French interests dictated; that is, favorably to the United States.

This maddening American self-assurance was conveyed by Minister Louis Turreau to his master. Proud that French intercession had "stopped everything" concerning the Floridas, Turreau revealed that Jefferson was untroubled by this action. Since Napoleon wished it, the President said, negotiations would be "adjourned to a more favorable time," not negating the fact that the United States might eventually have her way. Pressing Madison to explain why America sought to expand southward instead of northward into the Canadas at British expense, the secretary merely affirmed, "When the pear is ripe it will fall of its own accord." Astounded as he was at American poise, Turreau marveled at the ambitious, aggrandizing policies pursued by Republican leaders who were supported by a feeble military structure. "To conquer without war" was America's principal aim, he asserted, and only France could thwart the Yankees. To this end he envisioned Spain's ceding Cuba and the Floridas to France; the Floridas would become a major base for French troops capable of striking into the vitals of the brash republic or into the Caribbean. Then the Americans would halt their bombastic oratory. [29] As interesting as this very lengthy communication was, it was unrealistic and erroneous on several points. Neither the President nor his confidant, Madison, intimated that they would meekly surrender chances for obtaining Florida. As Turreau divined, America sought additional territories which she deemed to be essential for her national security. His proposal to dispatch French troops to the Floridas should Spain cede the land actually contradicted itself. For in the same despatch that he broached this idea, Turreau admitted that defensively the Americans could be quite effective, though he scorned the numerous militia. Perhaps Turreau's report was most in error because it connoted the idea that Jefferson and his colleagues were content with the status quo. No estimate could have been more removed from reality.

By mid-summer of the prosperous year 1805 the administration had already moved on one front when Jefferson nominated

29. Turreau to Talleyrand, July 9, 1805, Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, LVIII.

James Bowdoin, a wealthy Massachusetts Republican with impeccable family credentials, as Pinckney's replacement. Desirous of Monroe's London post, Bowdoin settled for the lesser Madrid assignment despite extremely bad health. [30] To serve as his secretary of legation, his cousin, George W. Erving, was transferred from London where he was an agent for American seamen. The son of a "moderate loyalist," Erving was British educated. Returning to America in 1790, he developed a strong affinity for Jeffersonian democracy and was rewarded with office as a result of the "Revolution of 1800." [31] Incapacitated by his weak condition, Bowdoin was excused from the usual Washington meetings and left for Europe directly from Boston. In lieu of verbal instructions, the President forwarded a private letter which Bowdoin had ample time to peruse on his slow ocean journey. Describing relations with Spain as "vitally interesting," Jefferson emphasized America's desire for friendly intercourse. Spain, however, had "met our advances with jealousy, secret malice, and ill faith." Hence American patience was wearing thin. Bowdoin's mission was of crucial import because "the issue . . . depending between us will decide whether our relations with her are to be sincerely friendly, or permanently hostile." [32] Arriving at the Spanish port of Santander in July, the new minister learned of the inglorious fate of Monroe's efforts. Still plagued by ill health, he decided to beat a hasty retreat to London's more congenial atmosphere, reasoning that nothing could be resolved in Madrid. After conversing with Monroe, he journeyed to Paris where he hoped that the French, impressed by his presence, would promote a Spanish-American treaty. Apparently he overlooked or downgraded the possibility of John Armstrong, the accredited American representative in Paris, being jealous.

Of much more consequence than Bowdoin's appointment and contradicting what he had told Turreau in July about waiting

30. Henry Dearborn to James Bowdoin, November 13, 1804, in the *Bowdoin and Temple Papers,* Part II. *Collections* of the Massachusetts Historical Society (Boston, 1907), 7th Series, VI, 235.

31. See Charles E. Hill's sketch in the *Dictionary of American Biography,* VI, 181-82.

32. Jefferson to Bowdoin, April 27, 1805, Thomas Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

for a more "favorable time," Jefferson resolved that West Florida must be secured even if force had to be applied. Appreciative that fulfillment of this goal might result in a collision with France, the President asked for the views of his cabinet concerning Spanish affairs and an alliance with Britain. [33] Such a pact would strike at the Spaniards' "confident reliance" on the "omnipotence of Buonaparte"; America would have an ally even if a European peace was concluded. [34] Doubtless Englishmen would welcome such an opportunity. "The first wish of every Englishman's heart is to see us once more fighting by their sides against France," he assured Madison. [35] This was not the first occasion the supposed Anglophobe Jefferson pondered an alliance with Britain. Before the Louisiana acquisition, when it appeared France was to be America's new neighbor, he had brooded over the feasibility of an Anglo-American arrangement. The timely sale of the territory ended this flirtatious idea.

Now cabinet coolness killed the scheme again. Foremost in doubting the efficacy of any accord was Madison. Over a month and a half period he pointed out that any favors extended by Britain would have to be reciprocated. Another time he said he was not opposed to an understanding with Britain as long as it left America free to make adjustments with Spain. He left unanswered what nation would make a treaty on this basis. Cautioning his chief against a treaty on another occasion, the secretary of state enjoined him to realize the advantages presented by the spread of war across Europe in the autumn of 1805. Preoccupied on the Continent, France would remain aloof from Spanish-American talks, thus obviating the need for an alliance. [36]

33. Jefferson to Robert Smith, August 7, 1805, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Jefferson to Albert Gallatin, August 7, 1805, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
34. Jefferson to Madison, August 8, 1805, Jefferson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society; Jefferson to Madison, August 17, 1805, Madison Papers, Library of Congress.
35. Jefferson to Madison, August 25, 27, 1805, in H. A. Washington, ed., *The Writings of Thomas Jefferson,* 9 vols. (New York, 1853-1857), IV, 584-86.
36. Madison to Jefferson, August 20, September 30, October 16, 1805, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress. See also Madison to George W. Erving, November 1, 1805, in Hunt, *Writings of James Madison,* VII, 187-88, not in text.

Tactfully Madison never directly vetoed the idea of an alliance, but the overall gist of his communications left no doubt about his position. Echoing Madison's views was Albert Gallatin, secretary of the treasury. In a prolix paper entitled "Spanish Affairs," the secretary branded claims extending westward toward the Rio Grande River too tenuous to merit war. Although claims to West Florida were much stronger, Gallatin still opposed a resort to arms. War, he said, would diminish import duties, lead to the seizure of American shipping in France and Spain, and harm America's peaceful image overseas while linking the new nation's fate to that of Europe. "If Bonaparte, haughty and obstinate as he is, shall think proper to persevere, notwithstanding our taking Florida, then our fate becomes linked to that of England," Gallatin noted sadly, "and the conditions of our peace will depend on the general result of the European war." [37] Only Secretary of the Navy Robert Smith spoke favorably of an alliance, but then solely if France, "as there is reason to think," backed Spain. Danger to exposed seaboard cities and New Orleans would dictate "an alliance with a nation capable of affording us the requisite naval assistance." [38] The esteem with which the President held the opinions of Madison and Gallatin doomed his alliance mirage.

Unknown to the President and his colleagues, Minister Armstrong had been approached by an unnamed French agent. Extending propositions which he warranted would break the existing deadlock, the stranger averred that "The more you refer to the decision of the Emperor, the more sure & easy will be the settlement." Spain would part with the Floridas provided the United States accepted five provisions, the key one of which specified "ten millions of dollars to be given by the U.S. to Spain." [39] With his knowledge of similar suggestions made to

37. Gallatin to Jefferson, September 12, 1805, Gallatin Papers, New-York Historical Society.

38. Smith to Jefferson, September 16, 1805, Robert and William Smith Papers, Maryland Historical Society.

39. Armstrong to Madison, September 14, 1805, Despatches from France. See also Armstrong to Madison, March 9, 1806, *ibid*. Almost four years after this event, former Ohio Senator John Smith informed Senator Timothy Pickering that Navy Secretary Smith had shown him a letter from Armstrong describing the visits of an unidentified Frenchman. The latter spoke of the United States' purchasing the

Livingston and previous experiences himself, Armstrong could not have been aghast at the proposal which he duly transmitted to Washington.

Exactly when Jefferson received news of the offer to Armstrong is not clear.[40] But groping for an alternative to no policy whatsoever, he made the most fateful decision of his eight years in office. Sometime in October 1805, he anticipated the proposition to buy West Florida through France. An omen of this was a letter to Gallatin where he asked, "Is Paris not the place? France the agent?" With peace at least a year away, another effort to accommodate the Spaniards might prove fruitful.[41] More explicitly, he informed Madison that the European scene offered America ample time to bargain at Madrid and "at Paris, through Armstrong, or Armstrong & Monroe as negociators, France as the mediator, the price of the Floridas as the means. We need not care," he added, "who gets that: and an enlargement of the sum we had thought of may be the bait for France." In the interim it should be impressed upon Spain that any thrust to alter the status quo would be met with American countermeasures.[42]

Floridas "and that France would negotiate the purchase, if the U. States would take the bargain off their hands." On another occasion the Frenchman mentioned a $7,000,000 purchase price. While the transaction was being negotiated the United States, he said, should vigorously denounce Spanish attacks on American vessels. Napoleon could then cite these remarks to help him persuade the Spaniards that they should sell the Floridas "and get the proceeds of an honourable sale, than to loose *[sic]* them by American cupidity & conquest." Smith to Timothy Pickering, July 17, 1809, Timothy Pickering Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society. Adams, *History of the United States,* III, 373, identifies the stranger as an agent of the French speculator Gabriel-Julien Ouvrard and Marbois. Furthermore, he asserts Napoleon was cognizant of the "errand."

40. Entry of November 19, 1805, in Franklin B. Sawvel, ed., *The Complete Anas of Thomas Jefferson* (New York, 1903), 233-34.
41. Jefferson to Gallatin, October 23, 1805, in Henry Adams, ed., *The Writings of Albert Gallatin,* 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1879), I, 257-58.
42. Jefferson to Madison, October 23, 1805, Madison Papers, Library of Congress. Also Jefferson to Robert Smith, October 24, Jefferson to Wilson Cary Nicholas, October 25, and Jefferson to Samuel Smith, November 1, 1805, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

At a cabinet meeting in early November, the President presented his ideas in concrete form. France was to be informed that the United States was making her "last effort" to reach an "amicable settlement" with Spain. Through the French the Spaniards were to be tendered an unspecified amount of money for their rights to the Floridas. After enumerating other provisions more concerned with Spain than France, Jefferson justified his first proposal as a stimulus to France since the Spaniards were "in arrears" in subsidy payments to Napoleon. [43] Within a week Jefferson noted cryptically that Armstrong had enclosed French proposals which were almost "equivalent to ours." [44] Confident the differences in figures could be bridged, Jefferson scheduled a special message to Congress. Again he had a Spanish policy.

In acting so boldly Jefferson betrayed an uncharacteristic hastiness indicating he did not thoroughly comprehend the multifaceted aspects of the problem. Indubitably the President could not have foreseen that John Randolph would use the occasion to stage a dramatic break with his administration. He should have realized, however, that using the French as intermediaries would place Bowdoin in an awkward position. In effect, with Erving performing satisfactorily in Madrid and Armstrong capable of bargaining by himself, Bowdoin was not likely to fulfill a useful task. In short, he should have been recalled. Jefferson's decision also opened the Republicans to charges of corruption from Federalist ranks. The President could not help but be aware that when the secret details leaked to the public, the Federalists would again trumpet quasi-credible stories of "French influence." Lastly, adoption of such a proposal placed Jefferson on the same plane as the crafty Talleyrand.

There were several alternative courses open to Jefferson. He might have laid the facts before the American people and let them guide his hand, as Henry Adams has suggested. He could have continued with the status quo, allowing Erving and Bowdoin, whom he could have ordered to Madrid, to persist in the wearisome task of negotiating, in the hope they could wear the procrastinating Spaniards down. Another alternative would have

43. Entry of November 12, 1805, in Sawvel, *Anas of Jefferson,* 232-33.
44. Entry of November 19, 1805, *ibid.,* 233-34.

been to halt efforts, trusting to the future to let the Florida fruit ripen and fall into the hands of a stronger America. Whether the President and his associates weighed these possibilities is uncertain. In view of the fate of Jefferson's proposal, any of these alternatives would have been preferable.

On December 6, the President conveyed a special message to Congress which was meeting in closed session. In the message he listed many of the same points previously used with his cabinet. With Europe aflame the moment seemed ripe to settle with Spain. Moreover, Napoleon seemed predisposed to favor an amicable accord. Left unsaid was any hint of the unnamed agent's visit to Armstrong or the decision to channel money to Spain while the French stood by in a mediator's role. Only in attached papers was the latter disclosed, and then in veiled language. [46] Clearly Jefferson was seeking to develop congressional support for his policy even though it was not delineated.

Instead of rallying support to his standard, the President unleashed a Pandora's box of debate that lasted over a period of four months. The first phase of action ended on February 6, 1806, when the house voted the necessary funds to soothe Spain. [46] Needless to say, Federalists recognized France as the culprit which stood to benefit from any appropriation. Yet they were strangely quiet in comparison to their usual verbal vendettas. The reason was that Randolph had turned his withering sarcasm from the Federalists to the President and his Florida scheme.

Despite Randolph's antics the President elected to plunge ahead. To speed negotiations for the Floridas he nominated Armstrong to join Bowdoin as a special emissary accredited to Spain. Although in later years he said he "yielded (with a reluctance well remembered by all)," coming on the heels of Ran-

45. "Confidential Message on Spain," December 6, 1805, in Paul L. Ford, ed., *The Works of Thomas Jefferson,* 12 vols. (New York and London, 1904-1905), X, 203-05. See also the exchange of letters between Jefferson and Gallatin dated December 3, 4, 1805, in Adams, *Writings of Albert Gallatin,* I, 275-82.

46. *Annals of Congress,* 9th Cong., 1st Sess. Supplementary Journal, 1137-38. Shortly afterwards Turreau reported that congressmen looked on the Floridas as complimentary to the Louisiana territory. Consequently they would be willing to "pay dear" to obtain them. Turreau to Talleyrand, February 12, 1806, Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, LIX.

dolph's disaffection and coupled with knowledge that the two Americans were distrustful of each other, Jefferson merely complicated an already confused picture. [47] One Federalist saw Jefferson proceeding "pale and trembling in his capital, filled with anxiety and looking to Europe for events to justify his policy and extricate him from his difficulties." [48] As oversimplified and sarcastic as this opinion was, there was an element of truth in it. Once embarked on the program, Jefferson could not accept failure, and the further he walked into the thicket, the more enmeshed he became.

After a close vote confirmed Armstrong, Jefferson sought to soothe congressional sensibilities by enticing Wilson Cary Nicholas, a prominent Virginia Republican, to join the negotiating team. The addition of a Southerner, he reasoned, was one way he might "gain the confidence of the whole senate." [49] Whether Nicholas' acceptance would have achieved his aim, the President did not discover because Nicholas, begging the responsibilities of a large family, declined. [50] In retrospect Republicans might have been calmed with Nicholas in Paris. Whether Federalists, rigid as they were, would have changed their sentiments is problematical. More than likely they would have adhered, as one-time Representative Timothy Pitkin did, to a doctrinaire belief that the money for Spain had been shipped to France to go "into the pockets of Bonaparte and Talleyrand." [51]

47. Jefferson to Monroe, April 11, 1808, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress. Brant, *James Madison: Secretary of State, 1800-1809,* 360, ascribes the linking of Armstrong and Bowdoin to Jefferson's eagerness for the Floridas.

48. James McHenry to Pickering, February 19, 1806, in Bernard C. Steiner, *The Life and Correspondence of James McHenry* (Cleveland, 1907), 533.

49. Jefferson to Wilson Nicholas, March 24, April 13, 1806, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

50. Nicholas to Jefferson, April 2, 1806, *ibid.*

51. Timothy Pitkin to Simeon Baldwin, April 1, 1806, in Simeon E. Baldwin, *Life and Letters of Simeon Baldwin* (New Haven, n.d.), 451-52. More than seven years after Jefferson's death a diehard Federalist still clung to the idea that $2,000,000 was sent to France "for no other reason than that *France wanted money and must have it."* William Sullivan, *Familiar Letters on Public Characters, and Public Events; From the Peace of 1783 to the Peace of 1815* (Boston, 1834), 249.

Undaunted by the various blocks thrown up, Jefferson persisted in his belief that West Florida could be won. Doubtless he knew that his and his party's stature would be enhanced by such an acquisition. Working toward this goal, he trusted that the French would overlook Randolph's shafts while Napoleon coaxed the Spaniards into at least ceding West Florida. Respecting the ethics of working through France, the President certainly would have agreed with the views of a scribe calling himself "Timoleon," who wrote in the semi-official *National Intelligencer*. Ridiculing the Federalist recitations of "Millions for defense and not a cent for tribute," Timoleon queried his readers if it was not a fact that the Floridas were not of strategic importance. Did Spain not own them? Was it not true that French influence was dominant in Madrid? Alluding to the subsidy paid to France, he asserted that the Spaniards "dare not disobey the mandates of France." As Spain was in arrears on payments, suppose the former sold land to America to pay France? Stating that America was aware of this, he concluded his exposition by asking if it was "any reflection on his [Jefferson's] honesty under such circumstances to make the purchase?" [52] Appearing as they did in a newspaper closely linked to the administration, Timoleon's sentiments merited close scrutiny because they indicated the bent of high-level thinking.

While Jefferson and his colleagues were resisting Randolph's siege during the winter of 1805-1806, negotiations in Paris and Madrid remained at a standstill. Bowdoin had scarcely arrived in Paris when he lamented that *"Things . . . don't look so prosperous here as I expected."* [53] Echoing Bowdoin from Madrid, Erving stated categorically that no accord could be reached. It simply was impossible to communicate with "baseness and apathy on one side & the most barefaced corruption on both." Only a solid, swift blow, in Erving's opinion, would arouse the Spaniards from their torpor and "convince France that we are no longer to be trifled with." Despondently he heaped scorn on the "ignorant and preposterous pride which still hangs about" Spain's "tattered grandeur." "They have no statesmen, no force, and no money,"

52. Washington *National Intelligencer*, November 5, 1806.

53. Bowdoin to Erving, November 3, 1805, in *Bowdoin and Temple Papers*, 255-56; Bowdoin to Monroe, January 20, 1806, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

he added. [54] Together these letters convey the gist of numerous dispatches and private communications sent following Bowdoin's arrival on the Continent and reflect the hopelessness of any change in the status quo, the prime reason for Bowdoin's nomination.

Clouding his mission, in addition to Spanish intransigence and French procrastination, Bowdoin became involved in a bitter feud with Armstrong. Not recognizing that he would be remaining in Paris the many months he did, Bowdoin could not comprehend why Armstrong acted so jealously toward him. Admitting he was not accredited to the Empire, Bowdoin believed he and Armstrong should work as a team toward a common national goal. Senate approval of a Bowdoin-Armstrong joint commission naturally strengthened this sentiment. Yet Armstrong refused officially to introduce him to Talleyrand. Bowdoin was further rankled when Armstrong communicated what Bowdoin deemed to be vital information to the French foreign minister.

Armstrong's version presented a different picture. Bowdoin, he asserted, had arrived from Britain "red-hot" over British insults to America's neutral rights. He implored Armstrong to inform the French that if "we could be disembarressed *[sic]* of our controversey *[sic]* with Spain upon reasonable terms we should be in condition & sentiment to resist G. B. by force." Attempting to dissuade Bowdoin from doing anything rash, Armstrong pointed out that such a proposal was beyond his powers and that France "would expect a more solemn act, as a preliminary to the discharge of her part of the bargain." Dismissing Armstrong's reasoning, Bowdoin announced that he would make his proposal in person to Napoleon who was then in Germany. Only Daniel Parker, a fellow American from Massachusetts, was able to bring Bowdoin to his senses by telling him he would never get a chance to be near the Emperor, much less see him personally. Armstrong nevertheless claimed he and Bowdoin were "on the most friendly terms." [55] Armstrong made no claims for mutual friendship a few months later when he reported to Madison that Bowdoin had divulged confidential information entrusted to him

54. Erving to Bowdoin, November 19, 1805, *Bowdoin and Temple Papers,* 259.

55. Armstrong to Jefferson, February 17, 1806, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

directly to Talleyrand. By then hopelessly at odds, Armstrong assured Bowdoin that as long as he shared the commission as minister to Spain he felt justified in conferring *"exclusively"* with Talleyrand. [56]

Stymied everywhere, Bowdoin reflected on the course of events. He blamed his and Monroe's failure on "stockjobbers" who exercised undue influence on the unsuspecting Emperor. [57] In May 1806, he wrote Jefferson that the money appropriated by Congress was whetting "the avarice & increases the thirst for obtaining money" among the financial interests in Britain, France, and Holland. Moreover, it was these individuals who were blocking arrangements with Spain. He then related how Henry Labouchere, Sir Francis Baring's son-in-law and agent of the House of Hope in Amsterdam, had visited him and intimated "that I might give credence to his substitute, Mr. Daniel Parker." Labouchere claimed that he and his associates "hold the powers of the prince of peace [Manuel Godoy], to convey to the U. S. the two Floridas, upon the condition of the payment of a stipulated sum: that if we could agree upon that sum, the other parts of the treaty could be made easy, & that I would proceed to Madrid & execute it." Hiding his astonishment, Bowdoin failed to reach agreement with Labouchere upon a "stipulated sum," and the Frenchman departed.

Deliberating on Labouchere's visit, Bowdoin detected a web of conspiracy centering around Daniel Parker. It was from Parker that Bowdoin received intelligence of "Mr. Tallerand's *[sic]* office & thro him, [that] I obtained the information w^{ch} I had upon the subject of the propositions w^{ch} had been transmitted to the U. S. by Gen. Armstrong. . . . [Armstrong's dispatch of September 14, 1805?]" [58] Parker, he observed, was "daily closeted" with Armstrong. [59] So influential was Parker that Bowdoin charged he had "by means of intrigue . . . converted himself into a kind of minister of the U. S. !" [60] Similarly, years later,

56. Armstrong to Bowdoin, May 4, 1806, Bowdoin-Temple Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.
57. Bowdoin to Monroe, February 24, 1806, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.
58. Bowdoin to Jefferson, May 20, 1806, *ibid.*
59. Bowdoin to Erving, September 9, 1806, *Bowdoin and Temple Papers,* 326. Also Bowdoin to Erving, October 11, 1807, *ibid.,* 434.
60. Bowdoin to Erving, September 9, 1806, *ibid.,* 326.

Minister William H. Crawford noted that many said Parker was "in fact the minister for the last ten years." [61] Parker had been a partner in a New York shipping firm and a large supply contractor to the Continental Army. Deeply in debt in the mid-1780s, he had fled to Paris in 1787, where he immediately began speculating in American bills. Jefferson, then American minister to France, knew him slightly and was amazed at the funds he had at his disposal. [62] Baffled by Parker's manipulations, John Adams, American minister in London, admitted that "though I love him very well [he] is too ingenious for me." [63] Details of Parker's activities during the French Revolution are sparse, but he apparently made large sums of money judging by the lavish hospitality he provided guests at his 1,200 acre estate near Paris. The shadowy nature of Parker's activities only increased Bowdoin's suspicions.

Other acquaintances joined Bowdoin in informing Jefferson about Armstrong and Parker. George Sullivan, son of Massachusetts Governor James Sullivan and a frequent traveler between Paris and Madrid, said Armstrong's contemptuous attitude toward Bowdoin "disgraces our Govt." Worse, his "collusion with Speculators, whose avowed object is to swindle the money from the treasury . . . blasts all the blooming honors of Mr. Jefferson's administration." [64] To Monroe Sullivan reported that "P-----" [Louis-Andre Pichon?], a former French diplomat in America, advised him that his "gov^{t} have become insatiably avaricious, and will never cease their contrivances to draw money from our nation." [65] Sullivan neglected to expose Armstrong's role to Monroe, but the latter was aware of it from Consul Fulwar Skipwith's letters. [66] Even as Monroe and Armstrong recom-

61. Entries of July 28, 30, 1813, in Daniel C. Knowlton, ed., *The Journal of William H. Crawford,* Smith College Studies in History (October 1925), XI, 30-31.

62. Jefferson to Nicholas & Jacob van Staphorst, July 30, 1785, in Julian P. Boyd, et al., eds., *The Papers of Thomas Jefferson,* 17 vols. to date (Princeton, 1950---), VIII, 331-32.

63. John Adams to Jefferson, February 12, 1788, *ibid.,* XII, 581.

64. George Sullivan to Erving, May 5, 1806, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library.

65. Sullivan to Monroe, May 5, 1806, *ibid.*

66. Fulwar Skipwith (1765-1834), a Virginian and an acquaintance of Jefferson, served in France as a commercial agent and consul

mended "certain energetic measures with regard to Spain," Armstrong, Skipwith said, "was laying a project . . . of seducing our Government." Ultimately, he continued, Armstrong expected to finish with the "cash trunk" in his possession. [67] Though these writers all criticized Armstrong, it must be borne in mind that Armstrong, just as Livingston, occupied a controversial post where he was subject to abuse regardless of what he did. And those who accused him of corruption were drawn from a limited circle and were well acquainted with one another. At least one writer traces the Armstrong-Bowdoin feud to a Massachusetts-Virginia connection represented by Skipwith, Erving, Bowdoin, and Monroe, and its attempts to outflank the "Empire State group" that Armstrong and his predecessor sprang from. [68] Hence

general. Returning to America in 1808, Skipwith journeyed to West Florida in 1809 and was a leader of the West Florida Revolution of 1810. For a more detailed account see Henry Bartholomew Cox's published Master of Arts thesis, *The Partisan American: Fulwar Skipwith of Virginia* (Washington, 1964).

67. Skipwith to Monroe, May 31, 1806, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library; see also Skipwith to Randolph, September 24, 1808, *ibid.* Back in the United States nearly five years afterward, Armstrong forwarded Madison a letter and deposition signed by Ch[arles] M. Somers, an Irish-born speculator residing in Paris and a personal letter from Parker. Somers stated that "being much *questioned"* by Bowdoin about Armstrong's knowledge of speculative activities, "I did add a Post Script in which I mentioned your name," but only sketching Armstrong's acquaintance with Parker and other speculators. In his deposition Somers maintained these individuals had sought 3,000,000 acres of West Florida land. To speed this acquisition a sweetener of 3,000,000 francs was available for key figures as soon as the territory was in American hands. Paradoxically in forwarding these accounts to Madison, Armstrong declared that "Mr. Bowdoin should have had any confidence in the declarations of a man [Somers] so entirely destitute of principle & character" was surprising. See Somers to Armstrong, May 20, 1810, including a "Copie d'une declaration remis par M[r] Somers a M[r] Bowdoin, February 5, 1807," enclosed in Armstrong to Madison, January 23, 1811, Despatches from France. Upon seeing Somers' deposition on May 24, 1810, Parker wrote Armstrong that "nothing forbade me from buying from the King of Spain what certain[ly] belonged to him & what of course he had a right to sell. . . ." In any event Parker vowed Somers' declaration was "entirely false." Parker to Armstrong, May 25, 1810, in Armstrong to Madison, January 23, 1811, Monroe Papers, New York Public Library,

68. Cox, *West Florida Controversy,* 237.

it is not possible to indict Armstrong without more impartial evidence.

Shortly after Labouchere's visit to Bowdoin, Skipwith had a similar experience when a Frenchman identified only as Dautremont suggested two possible routes to reach arrangements with Spain. Through an aide of Talleyrand, Ernest Roux, "I might immediately open . . . a private, safe & direct communication" with an important Spaniard. The alternative was to meet the Spaniard, then referred to as "Mr. Es." [Don Eugenio Izquierdo de Ribera y Lezaun] through Dautremont's father-in-law, Doyen. However, this intervention failed too because Skipwith insisted that "Mr. Es." contact him first rather than Skipwith's taking the initiative. [69] The mutual antipathy Bowdoin and Armstrong shared for each other, the suspicions aroused by Randolph, and especially Bowdoin's rejection of overtures suggesting corruption again left the administration without a Florida policy.

Although these unofficial probes indicated France would see Spain part with the Floridas only for a price, official French records demonstrated otherwise. Talleyrand, for instance, had warmed to the point where he saw definite advantages in America's possession of West Florida. Would it not, he asked the Emperor, benefit France by promoting commercial rivalry and political disharmony among the states? [70] To the French charge in Madrid, Talleyrand declared it behooved the Spaniards to be realistic: West Florida straddled several rivers flowing into the Gulf of Mexico, thus blocking American commerce. The Americans doubtlessly would be ready to use the first pretext to seize the area. Would Godoy not be wise to heed American proposals? Acting on Talleyrand's reasoning, the charge won the unenthusiastic Prince of the Peace to Talleyrand's view. Exclusive of events taking place in Paris, Spanish-American difficulties could have been settled promptly if French pressure on the Spanish had remained constant.

Sadly though, the exigencies of the European power struggle dictated otherwise. Seeking a new kingdom for the Bourbons deposed from Naples, Napoleon settled on the Balearic Islands as an

69. Skipwith to Bowdoin, June 12, 1806, in *Bowdoin and Temple Papers*, 309-11.

70. Talleyrand to Napoleon, May 6, 1806, Archives du Ministere des Affaires Etrangeres, LIX.

ideal realm. Informed of this, the Spanish reacted so violently that the Emperor dropped his project. In an attempt to placate the testy Spaniards, Napoleon affirmed that West Florida was Spanish, because the Louisiana territory extended only to the Iberville River, not the Perdido. Furthermore, should the United States molest Spain's colonies, she would face joint European resistance. [71] Meanwhile, he urged the Spaniards to reinforce their troop strength "for encouraging a good and vigorous defense" where the Americans threatened. [72]

For all practical purposes American attempts to gain West Florida while Jefferson was in office ended. Disgusted with the course of events, Bowdoin cried that "being a minister is neither a source of pleasure or profit, it will not afford the first because deception and deceit characterize those with whom you must associate"; profit was impossible because a minister's salary covered no more than half one's expenses. For two years, Bowdoin complained, he had to contend with successive indignities only to observe the situation was no more promising than when he arrived. Inquiring to Armstrong about the prospects for a joint settlement, Bowdoin was assured that none appeared in the offing. Feeling his services no longer were needed, Bowdoin left for home.

Despite the bad news filtering across the Atlantic, administration leaders and other Americans saw no reason for altering ambitions. In May 1807, Madison warned that Spanish delaying tactics could not be tolerated indefinitely. From Madrid Erving, worried about the personal consequences of failure, renewed earlier calls for vigorous action: "An *ultimate* & decided course must be worked out which must be Executed by honest zeal & determined vigor. . . ." [73] Similarly Jefferson favored the utmost effort to arrive at an agreement, even under French auspices. Averring that Spain acted with "perfidy and injustice," the Pres-

71. Talleyrand to Turreau, July 31, 1806, *ibid.;* also Champagny to Eugene de Beauharnais, August 31, 1807, in Robertson, *Louisiana Under Spain, France, and the United States, 1785-1807,* II, 211.

72. Napoleon to Talleyrand, June 23, 1806, *Correspondance de Napoleon I^er^ publiee par ordre de l'empereur Napoleon III,* 32 vols. (Paris, 1858-1870), XII, 484-85.

73. Ewing to Monroe, January 24, 1807, Monroe Papers, Library of Congress.

ident declared that "we have kept our hands off of her till now . . . purely out of respect to France & from the value we set" on her "friendship." As a consequence of this amicability, "we expect . . . from the . . . emperor that he will either compel Spain to do us justice, or abandon her to us." [74] Aware of the bitterness existing between Bowdoin and Armstrong, Jefferson still refused to follow the suggestion of a friend that a mediator work to smooth tempers. In conjunction with his cabinet he said it was thought not "advisable" under existing circumstances. [75] Clearly Jefferson and his allies had not grasped the idea that much had changed from the previous year.

On June 22, 1807, H.M.S. *Leopard* attacked the American vessel *Chesapeake* off the Atlantic coast. This outrage not only aroused Americans to fever pitch, but also allowed the administration to break off the protracted Paris negotiations without losing face. Realizing this, Madison issued instructions accordingly. [76] Thereafter, little was said politically of this once explosive issue until 1810 when a "revolt" delivered part of West Florida to the American fold.

Nevertheless, Jefferson and his successor were vitally interested in the fate of the area. Aware of their concern and interested in dragging the United States into the war against Britain, Napoleon cleverly suggested a joint Spanish-American defense of the Floridas should America and Britain fight. As a further enticement, Napoleon hinted that a Franco-American alliance would stimulate him to pressure the Spaniards to cede the Floridas. [77] Perfectly aware of Napoleon's intent, Madison, speaking on his superior's behalf, vetoed any idea of joining France even for such a cherished objective as the Floridas. The United

74. Jefferson to Bowdoin, April 2, 1807, Jefferson Papers, Library of Congress.

75. Jefferson to Short, June 12, 1807, *ibid*. In the same letter Jefferson contrasted his regard for his cabinet's view to Adams: "I have heard indeed that my predecessor sometimes decided things against his council by dashing & trampling his wig on the floor. This only proves what you & I know, that he had a better heart than head."

76. Madison to Armstrong and Bowdoin, July 15, 1807, in *Bowdoin and Temple Papers*, 399.

77. Napoleon to Champagny, February 2, 1808, in *Correspondance de Napoleon*, XVI, 301; and Armstrong to Madison, February 15, 1808, Despatches from France.

States, he emphasized, would adhere to a fair and strict neutrality. [78]

Leaving office in March 1809, Jefferson looked back on eight momentous years at the nation's helm. Among his major accomplishments were the bridging of the transition from Federalist to Republican control, the Louisiana Treaty, debt reduction, and establishing his party as the predominant force in American politics. Conversely the major setback he had suffered, excluding repeal of the embargo in his last days in office, was in his drive for the Floridas. It is instructive to contrast his successes with this failure. Always with the former he refused to take rash actions, preferring to weigh the available pros and cons. Similarly he solicited his cabinet's advice and was not adverse to listening to and implementing the opinions of others. Moreover, he sought to act within the confines of Republican ideology. With the Floridas one notes a lapse in his usual caution. Certainly he acted rashly in seeking to use money to achieve his ends, aware as he was of previous incidences of corruption. Equally, his claim to the contrary, his nomination of Armstrong and Bowdoin reflected on his usual good judgment. His refusal to recall one or the other after he recognized the two ministers' mutual antipathy was inexplicable, even allowing for his gentleness in handling people. In sum, his Florida policy does him little credit. The United States eventually acquired what he desired in spite of his policy. The European war and geographic reality fortunately presented unmatched opportunities.

If Jefferson bungled his Florida policy, Napoleon did the same. Again, it was against the background of the European war that he did so. Needing money, the Spanish subsidy was more appealing than intangible American good will. Thus he turned a cold shoulder to the idea of aiding Pinckney in Madrid. Expediency triumphed again when the Emperor warmed to the proposal broached by Marbois to Armstrong to sell the Floridas for 60,000,000 francs. Why? Because Spain, as Marbois readily confided, was unable to meet her 6,000,000 francs per month commitment. These blunders, important as they were, portended even greater errors in the post-1807 period. Whereas a Florida policy

78. Madison to Armstrong, May 2, 1808, Instructions of the Department of State.

favorable to the United States might have lost some of its sheen as the war intensified after 1807, it cannot be doubted that a commercial policy after that year, even half-way considerate of American rights, would have reaped large dividends. But as his shiftiness with regard to the Floridas indicated, Napoleon, ever a prisoner of expediency, did not possess vision.

LIEUTENANT LEVIN M. POWELL, U.S.N., PIONEER OF RIVERINE WARFARE

by GEORGE E. BUKER

GEOGRAPHICALLY VIETNAM is half a world away from Florida. Historically over a century and a quarter separates the present conflict in Southeast Asia from the Second Seminole War. In both of these engagements the United States Navy has conducted similar operations of maintaining combat coastal patrols against guerrilla operations. Today the amphibious river assault forces of the navy wend their passage among the tortuous waterways of the Mekong delta in riverine warfare. [1] The lineage of such naval operations go back to the Second Seminole War of 1835-1842 in Florida. The conflict erupted in December 1835, when the Indians took to the warpath rather than accept the United States' demand that they leave Florida and resettle on lands west of the Mississippi. Even before hostilities broke out Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson had instructed Commodore Alexander J. Dallas, commander of the West India Squadron based at Pensacola, to render all aid possible to the army forces of Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch for his task of relocating the Seminole Indians. [2]

On the afternoon of March 17, 1836, at Tampa Bay, the normal routine of the U.S.S. *Vandalia* was interrupted by the

1. Victor J. Croizat, "Naval Forces in River War," *United States Naval Institute Proceedings*, XCII (October 1966), 52-61; *All Hands* (November 1966), this issue is devoted to small craft in Vietnam; E. M. Eller, ed., *Riverine Warfare: The U. S. Navy's Operations on Inland Waters* (Washington, 1968), *passim*.
2. Mahlon Dickerson to Alexander J. Dallas, October 29, 1835, Letters Sent by the Secretary of the Navy to Officers, 1798-1868, Navy Department, Naval Records Collection of the Office of Naval Records and Library, Record Group 45, National Archives. Microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Cited hereafter as "Officers, Ships of War." Brigadier General Duncan L. Clinch had been given command of the army forces in Florida on November 24, 1834, and actively participated in the talks held between the government and the Seminole Indians, John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville, 1967), 95.

boatswains pipe calling away the ship's boat expedition. This was the culmination of a little over a day's preparation on the part of the crew to organize, equip, and provision a small boat force to search for and to engage in combat hostile Indians. Two days earlier, Commander Thomas T. Webb, commanding officer, had received information that a large band of Seminoles, with horses and cattle, had encamped somewhere near the Manatee River, some twenty-six miles away. [3]

Supervision of the provisioning was entrusted to Acting Sailing Master Stephen C. Rowan [4] and Passed Midshipman William M. Walker, second and third in command of this expedition under Lieutenant Levin M. Powell. [5] Rowan requisitioned caulking

3. Thomas T. Webb to Dallas, April 2, 1836, United States Navy Department, Records Relating to the Service of the Navy and the Marine Corps on the Coast of Florida, 1835-42, mss. in National Archives, Washington, 50-52. Microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Cited hereafter as "Records."

4. Acting Sailing Master (Passed Midshipman) Stephan Clegg Rowan was born near Dublin, Ireland, on December 25, 1808. His parents settled in Ohio and he was appointed a midshipman from that state on February 1, 1826. Serving as a lieutenant along the California coast during the Mexican War, he later published his recollections of that war in the *United States Naval Institute Proceedings,* XIV, 1888. During the Civil War he remained with the Union navy and for his actions along the North Carolina coast he was made captain and commodore on the same day, July 16, 1862. He became commander-in-chief of the Asiatic squadron, 1868-1870, with the rank of vice admiral. He retired February 26, 1889, and died the following year on March 31, 1890 in Washington. Charles Lee Lewis, "Stephan Clegg Rowan," *Dictionary of American Biography,* 21 vols. (New York, 1935), XVI, 196-97; "Obituary," *New York Times,* April 1, 1890.

5. Levin Mynn Powell was born in Virginia on April 8, 1798. He was appointed a midshipman in 1817 and lieutenant in 1826. In addition to his servicess in Florida related in this article, he was commanding officer of the brig *Consort* and surveyed the coast from Appalachicola to the Mississippi River in 1840-1841. During the Civil War he commanded the U.S.S. *Potomac* from August 20, 1861, to June 29, 1862, on blockade duty in the Gulf of Mexico. He was appointed rear admiral on the retired list in 1869 and died in Washington, D.C., January 15, 1885. There has been some confusion among various biographical sources as to Powell's middle name and the year of his birth. In a petition for a naval academy, issued by the commissioned and warrant officers of the U.S.S. *Constellation,* he signed his full name as Levin Mynn Powell, the petition follows the letter of

mallets, caulking irons, broad axe, jack plane, chisel, saw, spike gimblet, auger, topmaul, adze, and wood axes from the carpenter's department; muskets, a musket scraper, pistols, a pistol scraper, cartridges, flints, priming powder, bayonets, and cutlasses from the gunner's department; and 210 pounds pork, 210 pounds beef, six gallons beans, six gallons rice, three gallons molasses, two gallons vinegar, twenty-four gallons whiskey, and 4,500 pounds of bread from the purser. Meanwhile, Powell, after drawing two boat's compasses, a chart, and spy glass from the master's department, consulted with the captain and Lieutenant E. T. Doughty, who had led a previous boat expedition in January. [6] Finally, when the preparations were completed, the men, attired in their white uniforms, blue collars, and straw hats fell in for muster and weapons check. Satisfied with his inspection, Lieutenant Powell reported his departure to the deck officer, and a log entry was made, noting the departure of two cutters for the mouth of the Manatee. [7] Powell's specific orders were to "proceed to the examination of the river Manatee, the Mullet Keys and to

January 25, 1839, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy From Officers Below the Rank of Commander, 1802-1884, Record Group 45, National Archives. Microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville. Cited hereafter as "Officers' Letters." The year of his birth is taken from his service record, "Levin M. Powell," Officers' Service Abstracts, 1798-1893, Navy Department, Records of the Bureau of Naval Personnel, Record Group 24, National Archives. Microprints are in possession of the author. "Levin Minn Powell," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1893), I, 383; *Executive Document,* 27th Cong., 2nd Sess., (Serial No. 404), No. 220 (Washington, 1842), *passim; Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1922), Series I, Vols. I, IV, XVI, XVII, XVIII, XXVII, *passim;* "Obituary," *New York Times*, January 17, 1885.

6. The provisions listed are based upon those provided for Lieutenant E. T. Doughty's expedition in January 1836, and pro-rated for Powell's group of forty-two men for a period of ten days, E. T. Doughty to Thomas T. Webb, December 31, 1835, Letters Received by the Secretary of the Navy From Commanders, 1804-1886, Record Group 45, National Archives. Microfilm in Graduate Research Library, University of Florida. Cited hereafter as "Masters Commandant" through 1837, and as "Commanders' Letters" thereafter.
7. *Vandalia* ship's log, March 17, 1836, "Records," 135.

cruise along the main coast North of Anclote Keys with a view to intercept the hostile Indians in their retreat coastwise." In other words, the navy was to perform a flanking and harassing action upon the Indians who were being driven southward along the west coast of Florida by the army. Powell and his men spent Friday, March 18, searching along both banks of the Manatee (to the head of boat navigation) but no Indians were sighted. The following day he sailed for Anclote Keys and arrived there on Monday, March 21. The sailors searched the area carefully and observed many signs of Indians, but from all indications these were old tracks and not of recent origin. This search took a little over two days and on the twenty-fourth the expedition sailed south to investigate Mullet Keys. There the process of searching and exploring the area for signs of Indians was repeated, but again the results were negative. The weather had turned stormy, provisions were running low, no Indians had been found, and the discomfort of living in an open boat prompted Powell to set sail for the *Vandalia* on the morning of March 27. The group arrived the following evening. [8]

Shipboard rest for Powell and Rowan was brief. On March 31, they and Midshipman Lafayette Maynard were dispatched with arms and provisions for fifteen days "to act against the Indians on the coast south of Tampa Bay." [9] Powell sailed to Charlotte Harbor with two boats - a launch and a cutter - containing forty officers and men. At the entrance to the bay they came upon two pirogues of fugitives from the fishing rancho at Josefa Island. [10] The refugees reported that on the previous eve-

8. Levin M. Powell to Webb, March 28, 1836, *ibid.*, 44-45; *Vandalia* ship's log, March 28, 1836, *ibid.*, 135.

9. *Vandalia* ship's log, March 31, 1836, *ibid.*, 136.

10. A search of contemporary maps of Florida during this period failed to identify Josefa Island, yet Powell mentions it in his report and again in connection with a later expedition, Powell to Webb, April 17, 1836, *ibid.*, 56-57; Powell to Thomas Crabb, December 8, 1836, reprinted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, New Series, IV, 298-99, These fishing ranchos were scattered along the west coast of Florida. Their inhabitants, a mixed population of Spanish-speaking Cubans and Indians, harvested and cured fish for the Havana market. The Indian agent Wiley Thompson felt, based upon hearsay, these ranchos were composed of "a lawless, motley crew; . . . [who] will leave nothing unattempted to induce the Indians to oppose emigra-

ning their settlement had been attacked by a force of about twenty-five Indians led by Chief Wy-ho-kee. The revenue collector's establishment was destroyed and it was believed that the customs inspector had been killed. Some of the residents had fled in small boats; others had hidden the women and children in the woods to elude the Indians who plundered the settlement.

Lieutenant Powell immediately directed his group to the stricken village. On the way another boatload of fugitives was picked up, and he urged the people in it to gather up the women and children hidden along the route while his force pushed on to meet the enemy. There were no raiders present at Josefa Island when the navy force arrived; the marauders were encamped on an island a few miles away. After helping the civilians return to their homes, guides were procured and Rowan was dispatched to investigate. The following morning, April 3, his party came upon a small group of Seminoles just south of Charlotte Bay and engaged them in combat; two Indians were killed and two were taken prisoner. The remainder of the expedition, in company with the U. S. cutter *Dallas*, arrived shortly afterward and the two captives, one of whom was called Punai, were placed aboard for safekeeping. While Powell was making arrangements for his prisoners, Rowan, trailing another band of Indians, continued on to Sanibel Island, but he made no contact with the enemy. [11]

Powell maintained his boat patrols along the coast and around the keys searching for Indians. Meantime some of the residents of Charlotte Harbor found the body of Dr. H. B. Crews, the missing customs inspector, on a small island where he had gone to hunt. [12] A report was sent to Tampa Bay, and just

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tion," Wiley Thompson to William P. DuVal, January 1, 1835, *American State Papers*, Class V, *Military Affairs*, VI, 454. Captain William Buner, an American owner and operator of a fishing rancho at Tampa Bay held a more favorable view, William Buner to Thompson, January 9, 1835, *ibid.*, 484-85. From a legal point of view, Judge Augustus Steele felt that these rancho Indians were excluded from the general Indian emigration, Steele to Thompson, January 10, 1835, *ibid.*, 484. For further information on this subject see fn. 27, *infra.*

11. Powell to Webb, April 17, 1836, "Records," 56-57.

12. Dr. H. B. Crews (Crewe) appears to have been a frontier entrepreneur interested in many projects. Before moving to Charlotte Harbor he lived in Webbville, Florida, where he had been appointed

after leaving Charlotte the messenger came upon Lieutenant Powell's group and gave them the news. Powell immediately set a course for the scene of the murder. As he neared his destination, Powell noticed an Indian canoe just off shore of an adjacent island and gave chase, but the natives were able to reach land before they could be overtaken. Powell ordered the sailors to open fire; one Indian was killed and the other gave himself up. A search of the canoe revealed some of Dr. Crews' personal effects. The *Dallas* was sighted and hailed shortly after this incident and the prisoner was transferred aboard. [13]

In the meantime, the army, in three wings, had made a sweep through northern Florida without being able to find the main body of Indian warriors. Thus since early April 1836, the army had been gathered at Fort Brooke awaiting some intelligence of the enemy's whereabouts. The arrival of the *Dallas* brought information of Lieutenant Powell's brush with the Seminoles, but more important one of his prisoners confessed that the hostiles had concentrated their families and supplies inland from Charlotte Harbor near the headwaters of Pease Creek. [14] Major General Winfield Scott, newly assigned military commander in Florida, ordered Colonel Persifor F. Smith and his Louisiana Volunteers to proceed by boat to Charlotte. Commander Webb through Colonel Smith instructed Lieutenant Powell to cooperate with

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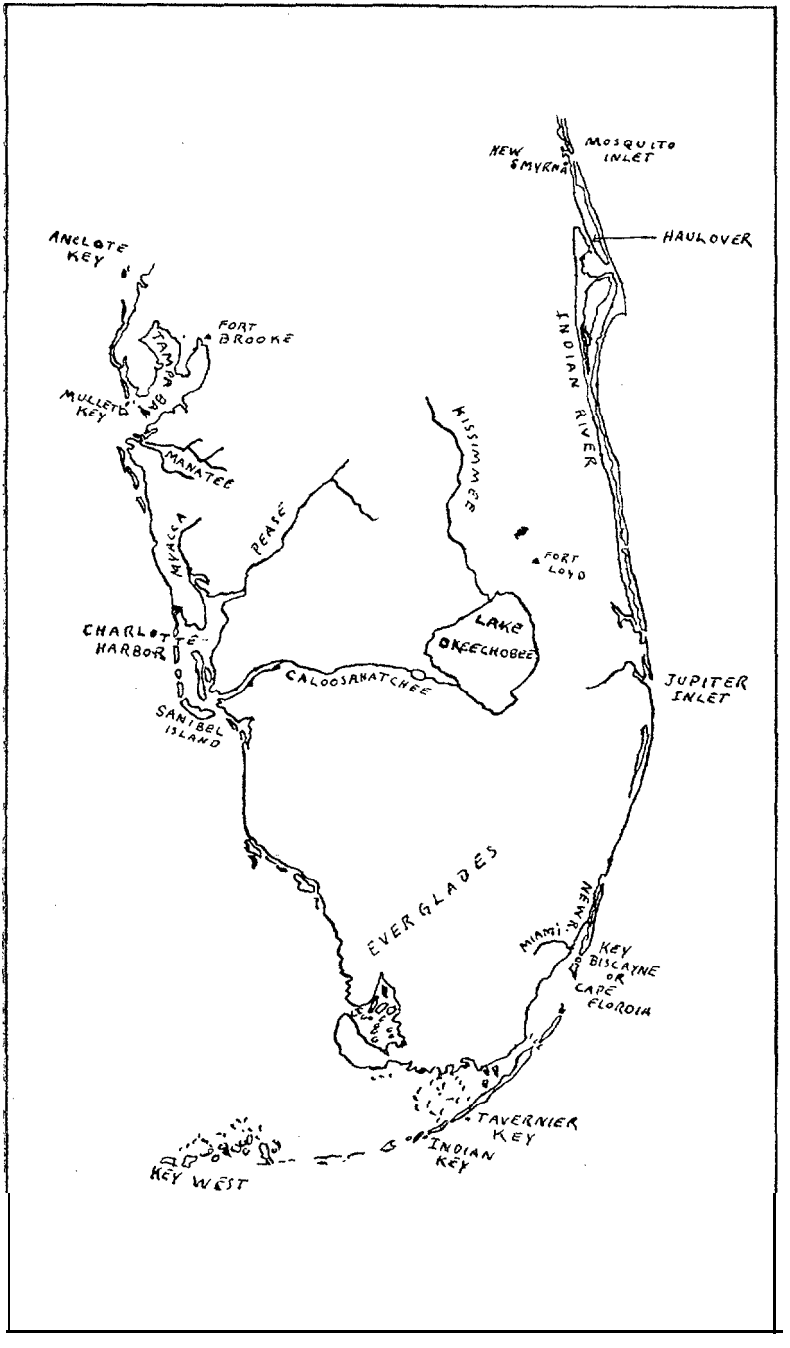
one of the trsutees for the school lands for Jackson County in 1832. Later that year, although recommended by the Seminole Chief Blount, he was unsuccessful in receiving a position as physician on the government-sponsored Seminole exploring party to view the western lands assigned to them. Finally, he had been one of the contractors associated with repairing and rerouting of the road from Tallahassee to Pensacola, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida, 1828-1834,* 26 vols. (Washington, 1956-1962), XXIV, 658-59, 740, 786, 788-89.

13. *Pensacola Gazette,* April 30, 1836; *Key West Inquirer,* April 30, 1836. It was later determined that Dr. Crews and a Spaniard had been killed by an Indian while all three were on a hunting expedition. The Spaniard and Indian were employed by Crews at the time of the murders, *Key West Inquirer,* May 7, 1836.

14. Woodburne Potter, *The War in Florida* (Baltimore, 1836), 179-80; M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns* (Charleston, 1836), 193. See also facsimile edition with introduction by O. Z. Tyler, Jr. (Gainesville, 1964).


NEW SMYRNA
MOSQUITO INLET
HAULOVER
INDIAN RIVER
ANCLOTE KEY
FORT BROOKE
TAMPA BAY
MULLET KEY
MANATEE
MYACCA
PEASE
KISSIMMEE
FORT LOYD
LAKE OKEECHOBEE
CHARLOTTE HARBOR
CALOOSAHATCHEE
JUPITER INLET
SANIBEL ISLAND
EVERGLADES
MIAMI
NEW R.
KEY BISCAYNE OR CAPE FLORIDA
TAVERNIER KEY
INDIAN KEY
KEY WEST

this force. The Volunteers commenced embarking on the troop transports late on the afternoon of April 10. Smith, however, was anxious to meet Powell before his force departed from the area, and he left with his staff in two boats at nine that same evening. The following morning, about twenty miles from Boca Grande, Colonel Smith met the navy expedition convoying the Josefa Island fishermen and their families to Tampa. The combined assault group headed south and arrived at Charlotte Harbor the next day. Powell, now under Smith's orders, took charge of boat operations, transporting the forces up the Myacca River as far as the depth of water would allow. Upon reaching the head of boat navigation, Powell's group was incorporated into Smith's volunteer units which marched up both banks of the river. There were signs of the recent passing of a small band of Indians and a deserted village was found, but there were no indications that the Seminoles had gathered in force. When Colonel Smith gave the order to proceed back to Tampa Bay, Powell returned also and they were accompanied by the Spanish fishermen and their families, a total of about 100 civilians. Powell, upon his arrival April 17, concluded his written report to his captain by saying, "We arrived last night after an absence of twenty-six days [he is evidently including his first boat expedition in his computations], and although greatly exposed in our open boats, and my people subjected to great hardship I am pleased to bear witness to the cheerfulness and industry which marked their conduct." [15]

April was the last month of the army's winter campaign. [16] Believing that military operations could not be conducted during the sickly season, the troops, with the advent of hot weather, moved into summer quarters. During this lull in the war Commodore Dallas dispatched the *Vandalia* to visit various Caribbean ports of call. When the sloop arrived in Pensacola on August 25 she had completed a cruise of just over 110 days, ninety-two of which were spent at sea. [17]

15. Webb to Dallas, April 12, 1836, extract reprinted in the *Pensacola Gazette,* April 23, 1836; Powell to Webb, April 17, 1836, "Records," 56-57; Persifor F. Smith to Winfield Scott, April 26, 1836, *Military Affairs,* VII, 290; Mervine P. Mix to Dallas, April 30, 1836, "Records," 54-55.
16. *Niles' Weekly Register,* L (May 14, 1836), 189.
17. Webb to Dallas, August 24, 1836, reprinted *ibid.,* September 24, 1836, LI, 55; *Pensacola Gazette,* August 27, 1836.

The winter campaign of 1836-1837 began for Lieutenant Powell on the morning of October 2, 1836, when the *Vandalia*, accompanied by the revenue cutter *Washington*, sortied from Pensacola Bay and headed for Key West. This small force carried all of the marines of the squadron's ships then in the Gulf of Mexico, except for the *St. Louis'* detachment. It was to augment the navy's seamen and provide a strike force capable of dealing with a group of Indians, believed to number about 200, gathered in the vicinity of Cape Florida or New River. [18] Enroute to Key West, Powell and Commander Thomas Crabb, the *Vandalia's* new commanding officer, sketched the broad outline of the forthcoming operation. It had been reported that the Indians harvested arrow-root, a substance they used to make bread, in this locality before moving northward. It might be possible, therefore, to surprise a large number of warriors before they took to the warpath; or, failing that, to deprive the hostiles of one of their basic foodstuffs and let hunger and starvation take their toll. The plan called for the *Washington* to transport boats and personnel from Key West to Cape Florida and to continue to act as the supply base for the ensuing operations. This assault force was larger than Powell's earlier expeditions and was tailored for the mission. In addition to the mobile support base provided by the revenue cutter, the detachment's fifty sailors, led by Lieutenant William Smith of the *Vandalia*, manned two schooner boats, *Carolina* and *Firefly*, and six smaller craft. First Lieutenant Nathaniel S. Waldron, U.S.M.C., from the frigate *Constellation*, commanded the ninety-five marines assigned. The medical duties were performed by the *Vandalia's* surgeon, Charles A. Hassler, who was assisted by a civilian volunteer, Dr. E. Frederick Leitner. [19] Furthermore, Powell had the services of Mr. Stephen R.

18. Richard K. Call to Dallas, September 14, 1836, Carter, *Territory of Florida*, XXV, 331-32; Dallas to Dickerson, October 2, 1836, "Records," 76.

19. Dr. E. Frederick Leitner was a German-born physician and naturalist who had resided in Charleston, S. C., for the previous seven years and had spent much of his time investigating the fauna of southern Florida, *Army and Navy Chronicle*, VI, 181; Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, ed., James F. Sunderman (Gainesville, 1953), 184, fn. 4, 299.

Mallory, [20] a resident of Key West, who had experience sailing the waters of the keys.

Powell left Key West October 13, 1836, and three days later, enroute to Cape Florida, he brought his force into Indian Key, one of the small islands just off the southern tip of the mainland, to replenish his water supply. Earlier, on October 5, a force of some seventy Indians had attacked Key Largo, destroying the garden and out-buildings belonging to Captain John Whalton. [21] On October 8, the Indians attacked the schooner *Mary*, a small coastal vessel of about fifteen tons, while she was riding at anchor at Key Tavernier, just off the eastern shore of Key Largo. The five crew members managed to escape by taking to the small boats, although two of the men were wounded in the fray. The Indians first plundered the schooner and then set her afire. This war party was in no haste and remained in the vicinity for several days. [22] Seeing the smoke from their campfires, about thirty miles away, Powell changed his plans and decided to make

20. Stephen R. Mallory, Sr., later Confederate secretary of the navy, obtained leave from his position as customs inspector to accompany Powell. In his diary he presents this expedition as a cheerful, carefree lark, quite contrary to most reports: "I had a very pleasant and somewhat independent position assigned to me, with the command of a fine body of seamen, and my superb long, center board schooner-rigged whaleboat, and our party was most successfully employed from Jupiter River to Tampa, through the Everglades and around the coast, beating up the quarters of the Indians ashore and afloat. . . . From the pleasant climate as from half aquatic, half hunting sort of service, and the pleasant association of the officers the campaign was to me a most agreeable one. In the fall following I again joined Capt. Powell in a similar service, over the same ground; with a larger force, which rendered timely aid to the coast, You have heard me often refer to the exciting incidents of the Indian service; though I never killed or wounded an Indian, I enjoyed capital health, good spirits, and reaped much useful experience, self reliance, and benefit generally from my service." Quoted in Occie Clubbs, "Stephen Russell Mallory, The Elder" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, August 1936), 52.

21. John Whalton was the keeper of the Carysfort Reef lightship; he was killed by Indians the following year in the same garden. St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, July 21, 1837; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912), 87.

22. *Charleston Courier*, November 3, 1836; Tallahassee *Floridian*, November 26, 1836.

a surprise assault on the band before proceeding to the Cape. He recalled his earlier difficulties maneuvering the large navy launches close to the shoreline while attempting to approach guerrilla bands undetected, and so he procured two light boats, one from Captain Jacob Houseman of Indian Key, [23] to augment his four smallest boats for his first attack upon the enemy. His plan of operation was a pincer movement. Lieutenant Smith was to take a division of boats and circle the east end of Key Largo, while Powell's group would stretch over the main under cover of darkness and try to stay hidden near the coast. Powell hoped the Indians would be travelling by water, and, not expecting a trap, they might move out away from the shore. He felt confident that he could force an engagement on the water if he could maneuver his sailors and marines between the Seminoles and land; this would be combat in the navy's element. Powell waited until the day was well along before deciding that the enemy unfortunately was not going to travel out upon open water. He ordered the force to proceed along the coast and try to flush the hostiles out. Shortly thereafter they came upon a canoe carrying two Indians and the chase was on. The Seminoles were able to prolong the pursuit by remaining in the shallow waters, but Powell urged his sailors on and the gap narrowed. Just as Powell ordered some of his men to open fire, the canoe turned into the shore and its occupants jumped out and fled inland. Only then did Powell realize that the two Indians would spread the alarm,

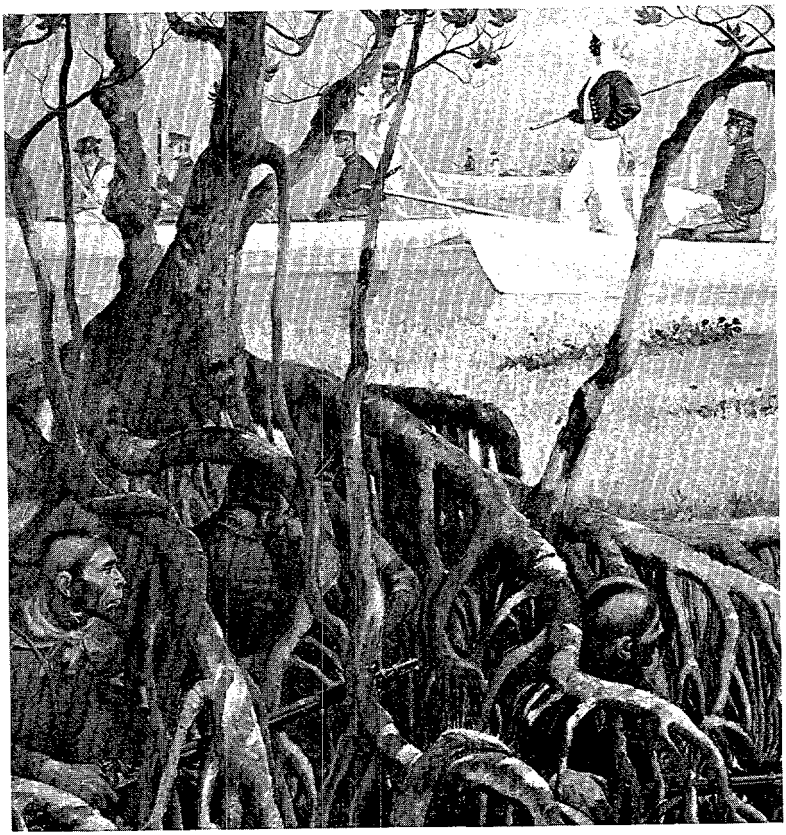
23. Captain Jacob Housman was a notorious wrecker who owned Indian Key. A few citizens of Monroe County claimed that "the undersigned know that petitions with numerous signatures have been sent to Congress, praying for a port Entry at Indian Key. . . . In one instance it is known, that men, constituting a large expedition against the Indians, under the command of Lieut. Powel *[sic],* of the U.S. Navy, signed one of these petitions at Indian Key, several times over, with different signatures, for a glass of grog each time," Carter, *Territory of Florida,* XXV, 252-53. Powell confirmed this accusation in a letter to William A. Whitehead on September 11, 1837, reprinted in *Senate Documents,* 25th Cong., 3rd Sess., Serial No. 339, No. 140 (Washington, 1839), Appendix A, 7. Because of the excellent water and harbor facilities of Indian Key and the supplies Housman kept there, the navy based its "mosquito fleet," under Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, on that key from mid-1838 to the spring of 1840. Dorothy Dodd, "Jacob Housman of Indian Key," *Tequesta,* VIII (1948), 3-19.

and by the time he arrived the whole Seminole force had vanished into the interior. The Indians had left their canoes, fishing equipment, and provisions behind, and before Powell returned to Indian Key he had destroyed everything that he thought had any value. Once again the force resumed its course for Cape Florida.

After such an auspicious start, Powell was determined to examine the coast thoroughly. Lieutenant Smith was placed in charge of the large boats, and he was instructed to take the outer passage to the Cape, while First Lieutenant Waldron and his marines accompanied Powell in the small boats and searched the passage between Key Largo and the mainland. While Powell probed the innumerable inlets and small keys which could have furnished a secluded retreat for the enemy he was concerned about the possibility of an ambush. Added to this hazard, nature took a hand and the force had to beat against a northeast gale. As a result it was October 21 before the group reached Cape Florida. From this base Powell dispatched exploring parties to seek out the enemy. The first evening Powell sent Lieutenant Smith to the Miami River to inspect the former settlement there. The next night Waldron took a large group up that river to the head of boat navigation. He reported that the settlements there had been utterly destroyed quite some time before his arrival. These movements were carried out at night to elude detection; Powell was trying to engage an elusive guerrilla foe and did not want the Seminoles to flee. Methodically he widened his search, sending Stephen Mallory to explore along Little River and Arch Creek, but with no positive results. Powell was convinced that there were no hostiles in the immediate vicinity, and he believed that they were somewhere along New River harvesting arrowroot. He was determined to find and surprise them.

The pincer movement would again become Powell's *modus operandi*. Accompanied by the marines, he would ascend to the headwaters of the Ratones River and then march overland to New River. In the meantime, Lieutenant Smith was to approach by sea. Powell left at nine in the evening and his group rowed all night, arriving at the Ratones at ten the next morning, a distance of twenty-five miles from Cape Florida. On the march overland they came across a deserted Indian village and set fire to the dwellings. Powell reached New River about eight miles below

U. S. Sailors and Marines operating in the Everglades. Seminole Wars.
Courtesy of the U. S. Navy



Marines battle the Seminole Indians in the Florida War - 1835-1842.
Courtesy of the U. S. Marine Corps Museum.

the Everglades and proceeded downstream until a junction was made with the boat force from the sea on October 30. Neither group had found any Seminoles. Therefore, Powell established a strong camp on the west bank of New River and again sent out probing expeditions. Smith was dispatched with three barges to operate as far north as Indian River. Meanwhile, knowing that the area to the south was clear of guerrilla units, Powell decided to investigate the Everglades, the *terra incognita* fastness of the Seminoles.

Powell started out with four of his lightest boats and a scanty allowance of provisions so as not to be burdened. The party included Drs. Hassler and Leitner, Mallory, Midshipmen Woodhull and Hunter, and William Cooley who acted as guide. [24] With this trek Powell hoped to add to the sparse military knowledge of the Seminoles' retreat. The coastal area of Florida was fairly well known by 1836, but the interior of the glades had not yet been penetrated by white men. Powell's report of his attempt pointed out the inadequacy of keel boats in such an area: "We anchored our boats that night in the great inland basin of South Florida, known as the Everglades [25] We had now a night view of the coast that encircles the glades. Forests of pines and cypress enclosed us on one side like a black wall; while on the other, the grass, which covers the whole surface of this shallow lake, offered no obstruction to the eye as it wandered over the dreary waste. Here, on the main land, or on the islands in the glades, if there were Indians, so commanding was our position, that their fires would certainly have been seen by us. With the dawn we pushed into the grassy sea before us, and endeavored to approach an island seen in the distance. Several other islands were above the horizon as we progressed; but the boats, although the smallest of our little fleet, could not near either of them. The matted sawgrass, which wounds like a razor, and the deep sluices, which

24. William Coolie, or Cooley, had been an early settler at New River. On January 4, 1836, while he was away from home, the Indians attacked and killed his wife, three children, and Joseph Flinton of Maryland who was employed as a teacher for the children, *Key West Inquirer,* January 16, 1836; Browne, *Key West,* 84.

25. According to Alfred J. and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades* (Indianapolis, 1948), 33, the name Everglades was not used on maps until 1823.

intersect the glades, prevented access to them on foot. I found it impracticable to navigate the glades, at this stage of water, in keel boats, though no labor had been spared; and we reluctantly commenced our return to the camp." [26]

On November 6 Lieutenant Smith returned and informed Powell that there were no recent signs of Indians as far north as the St. Lucie River. The latter concluded that the Seminoles had completed their harvest earlier and must now be operating in the northern part of Florida. He then ordered the expedition to move southward and continue to probe and explore the extremity of the peninsula. Powell rounded the tip of Florida and moved northward up the west coast inspecting the abandoned fishing ranchos and recording information about them for future use. [27] He reached Josefa Island in Charlotte Harbor November 30 and secured shelter against a northern gale. Two days later he decided it was time to return to Key West due to the condition of his men and boats. Finally, in early December, Lieutenant Powell's group began to report aboard their respective com-

26. Powell to Thomas Crabb, December 8, 1836, reprinted in the *Army and Navy Chronicle*, IV, 298-99.

27. From the very commencement of the war some Floridians were concerned that Cuban arms would reach the Seminoles through the Spanish Indians who worked the various fishing ranchos along the lower west coast of Florida. In a letter published in the Tallahassee *Floridian,* W. Wyatt remarked: "Three years ago when I examined this country, I met with a class of Indians in Towns and at fisheries, who seemed to know nothing about any white people except the Spaniards, with whom they were intermixed. The Spaniards having Squaws for wives and the Indian men and half-breeds engaged as fishermen and sailors. . . . If those Indians are not encompassed on the land side by blockhouses: and on the water by armed vessels or boats, so as to break up all communication between them and these Spanish fishermen, and our runaway Negroes, they may keep up a petty war with us for the next 5 years, . . ." Tallahassee *Floridian,* February 13, 1836. See also Dorothy Dodd, "Captain Bunce's Tampa Bay Fisheries, 1835-1840," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXV (January 1947), 246-56; James W. Covington, "A Petition From Some Latin-American Fishermen, 1838," *Tequesta,* XIV (1954), 61-68, and his "Trade Between Southwest Florida and Cuba," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XXXVIII (October 1959), 114-28; Wilfred T. Neill, "The Identity of Florida's 'Spanish Indians'," *Florida Anthropologist,* VIII (June 1955), 43-57.

mands. [28] On December 23, Commodore Dallas reported that the cutter *Dexter* had arrived in Tampa Bay with a part of the marines from the expedition and that the remainder were "expected here hourly in the *Washington* Cutter." [29]

This initial attempt of Lieutenant Powell to penetrate the Everglades, although not successful, provided the impetus for another expedition the following fall. Powell was both fascinated and challenged by Florida's vast acquatic land. This unknown refuge of the Seminole Indians, teeming with its amphibian denizens, must, he thought, be penetrated militarily by an equally amphibious task force. And so, on September 24, 1837, he wrote to Joel R. Poinsett, secretary of war, offering his services to lead a military expedition into the glades. [30] This offer was accepted and in correspondence between the two service secretaries it was determined that the force should consist of 100 sailors and the necessary naval officers to conduct such an assault boat group and an equal number of soldiers to be supplied by General Thomas S. Jesup, now commander of the army in Florida. Secretary Poinsett counseled the general to insure that the army officers assigned did not outrank Lieutenant Powell. By mid-October the lieutenant was in Charleston, South Carolina, gathering the equipage he considered necessary. He bought two boats and fourteen pirogues in addition to the twelve boats he ordered constructed. Finally, he chartered four schooners to transport the navy detachment and equipment from Charleston, first to St. Augustine where the army personnel were to be embarked, and then to the final staging area at New Smyrna. [31]

28. *Vandalia* ship's log, October 13, 1836, "Records," 137; Powell to Crabb, October 18, 1836, October 26, 1836, "Masters Commandant"; Powell to Crabb, December 8, 1836, reprinted in the *Army and Navy Chronicle*, IV, 298-99; *Vandalia* ship's log, December 9 and 15, 1836, "Records," 139.

29. Dallas to Dickerson, December 23, 1836, *ibid.*, 79.

30. Powell to Joel R. Poinsett, September 24, 1837, War Department, Secretary's Office, Letters Received, Main Series, 1801-187_, Record Group 107, National Archives. Microcopy in possession of the author.

31. Poinsett to Powell, October 14, 1837, and the enclosure, Poinsett to Thomas S. Jesup, October 14, 1837, War Department, Secretary's Office, Letters Sent Military Affairs, Record Group 107. Microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Poinsett to Dickerson, October 31, 1837, *ibid.;* Powell to Dickerson, October 24, 1837, November 29, 1837, "Officers' Letters." Dickerson to Powell, November 2, 1837, December 8, 1837, "Officers, Ships of War."

At the commencement of the campaign season Secretary of the Navy Mahlon Dickerson informed Commodore Dallas that Powell had been selected to lead this expedition into the Everglades, and that although he would explore the glades and render any aid needed by the army in its forthcoming campaign, he was to report directly to the commodore. [32] General Jesup planned to utilize three forces in South Florida to sweep the area and to hold the Indians while the main assault pushed south. The southern groups were Colonel Smith's Louisiana Volunteers in the west, operating from the mouth of the Caloosahatchee River; Colonel Zachary Taylor's 1st Infantry Regiment in the center, covering the area between the Kissimmee River and Pease Creek; and Powell's small mixed force of sailors, Company I, 1st Artillery, and a detachment from the Washington City Volunteers to operate along the east coast. [33]

Early in December, Powell's command left New Smyrna and sailed down the Mosquito Lagoon to the Haulover, a narrow stretch of land separating the lagoon from Indian River. [34] Some days earlier, Navy Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin [35] had transported First Lieutenant John B. Magruder's detachment of three companies of 1st Artillery to the Haulover. The two commands remained here throughout the month of December. At first Powell kept his men busy moving their twenty-eight boats across

32. Dickerson to Dallas, November 1, 1837, "Records," 11.

33. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 219-20.

34. The Haulover, or Sands Point, was the site of Fort Ann during this war. Because this was a gathering point for late pioneers moving south, the town of Titusville sprang up a few miles south of the Haulover. Walter R. Heller, *Indian River: Florida's Treasure Coast* (Coconut Grove, 1965), 11.

35. Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin had previously volunteered and served with the army in Florida. While attached to Colonel A. C. W. Fanning's command he was wounded in an engagement at Lake Monroe on February 8, 1837, *Niles' Weekly Register,* LII (March 11, 1837), 31. When recovered, he again requested duty in Florida. Later he was commanding officer of the U.S.S. *Flirt* and directed the naval forces operating around the southern coast of Florida, Secretary of the Navy James K. Paulding to John T. McLaughlin, December 2, 1839, reprinted in Carter, *Territory of Florida,* XXVI, 3-5. Also see Nell L. Weidenbach, "Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin: Guilty or Innocent?" *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLVI (July 1967), 46-52.

the land from the lagoon to the river. A more pressing problem for him was the lack of the military cohesiveness of his force. Therefore, he frequently exercised his conglomerate group in military formations and close order drill, a task certainly made necessary by the divergent backgrounds of his force of army regulars, volunteer militia, and navymen, especially the sailors. This period was also beneficial to the officers, for, like the men, they had only recently been assembled for this expedition. Lieutenant Powell was experienced, but his officers were new to this type of operations. Midshipmen Peter U. Murphy and William P. McArthur had been at the naval school at Norfolk until ordered to this expedition in the fall, and Passed Midshipman Horace N. Harrison joined Powell at St. Augustine. Surgeon Jacob Rhett Motte of Magruder's command wrote a most revealing eyewitness account of the drill formation of the expedition: "When drawn up in line they presented a curious blending of black and white, like the keys of a piano forte; many of the sailors being coloured men. There was also an odd alternation of tarpaulin hats and pea-jackets, with forage caps and soldiers trip roundabouts; soldiers and sailors, white men and black, being all thrown into the ranks indiscriminately, a beautiful specimen of mosaic, thus modifying sailor's ardour with soldier's discipline." [36]

The day after Christmas 1837, the expedition departed the Haulover to explore Indian River. Lieutenant Henry W. Fowler, commanding I Company, 1st Artillery, and Joseph E. Johnston, [37] a former army man, and the group's topographical engineer were to select and mark sites along the route for depots; later, Lieutenant Magruder's group was to follow and construct forts at the sites selected. On December 31 both groups were again in camp together on the Indian River Inlet while Lieutenant Powell awaited the arrival of his supplies from St. Augustine before moving inland. At last, the first week in January, he

36. Motte, *Journey into Wilderness*, 168.

37. Joseph E. Johnston, later a Confederate general, was graduated from West Point and resigned his commission May 31, 1837. While waiting for re-appointment he volunteered for duty in Florida. Johnston later accepted a commission as first lieutenant in the topographical engineers in June 1837, and he was cited for his actions during the Florida War, Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), I, 578.

departed to explore the St. Lucie River. He was concerned for the physical comfort of his men for he knew from previous duty the strength-sapping rigors of life in the swamps. Therefore, he left the Washington City Volunteers behind to alleviate the cramped conditions in the boats. He had not learned of the Battle of Okeechobee on December 25, and so was not aware that large numbers of Indians had been forced into the Everglades by army pressure. [38] Whether or not this would have influenced his decision cannot be determined.

It was at the headwaters of Jupiter River, as the expedition was leaving the interior, that Powell held his most serious confrontation with hostile Indians. Around January 10 or 11, 1838, while exploring the St. Lucie, he discovered an Indian trail with signs that a large band had recently moved southward. Military engagement was his prime purpose and so Powell set out following the trail. On the fifteenth, he overtook a squaw tending a herd who, when captured, volunteered information that there were several Indian camps in the vicinity. Twenty-three men were left to guard the boats and the squaw was pressed into service as a guide. She led the group down a well-beaten trail about five miles to a cypress swamp from which columns of smoke were rising. Lieutenant Powell formed his force into an extended line of three divisions with acting Lieutenants Harrison and McArthur each leading a division of sailors. Lieutenant Fowler led the army division. Powell had previously sent Midshipman Murphy and his men on detached duty. Therefore, Powell's entire force numbered about fifty-five sailors and twenty-five soldiers.

It was four o'clock in the afternoon when the force came to the swamp. A war-whoop echoed ahead and instantly Lieutenant Powell ordered a charge. The Seminoles were superb geurrilla fighters using the terrain to maximum advantage. They would emerge for an instant to shoot at the charging line and then disappear again into the underbrush. The nerve-shattering war-whoops, commencing as a low growl and increasing in pitch to a shrill yell, followed each shot as the warriors resisted the advance

38. The Battle of Okeechobee is described in Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 227-30. Powell departed for the interior before the news of the battle reached Jupiter Inlet, Motte, *Journey into Wilderness,* 178-80.

of the soldiers and sailors. The steady rifle fire from the underbrush, the Indians popping up here and there for a split second, and the treacherous swampy terrain added to the difficulty of maintaining a coordinated line of advance. In addition, acting Lieutenant Harrison was shot in the shoulder at the outset and his division was left without an officer to lead the men. Powell ordered Lieutenant Fowler to enter the swamp on the right and acting Lieutenant McArthur to lead the remaining two divisions along the original line of advance. One of the sailors near Powell was shot in the leg, but he continued the fight and killed his opponent with a blast of "both barrels of Captain Powell's double gun, loaded with buckshot." [39] The enemy was forced slowly backwards until the warriors were at the edge of the more dense portion of the cypress swamp. Here they held and maintained a steady and unrelenting fire upon the advancing line. This fire from the unseen enemy force of undetermined size took its toll upon the attackers. Lieutenant McArthur was seriously wounded and the expedition's surgeon, Doctor Leitner, was killed. [40] Some of the unofficered sailors began milling about, night was approaching, and the number of wounded was increasing. Lieutenant Powell realized his deteriorating position and ordered a withdrawal.

While recrossing the swamp Lieutenant Fowler's group came under heavy fire and that officer was shot in the thigh and side which forced him out of action. Mr. Johnston took charge of the soldiers and continued rear guard activity, and with his military background, he was able to direct effectively the operations of the regular army. The sailors were raw recruits to this type of land operation and with the coming darkness, the finer points of retreating and maintaining unit integrity weakened. The feeling of loneliness which can assail a man in combat, especially one who has not developed a strong sense of esprit de corps, can be most overpowering. For many of the sailors the savages moving in from behind, the lengthening shadows spreading throughout

39. The title of captain is generally accorded to commanding officers in the navy regardless of their rank. *Niles' National Register,* LIII (February 27, 1838), 401.

40. Later reports indicate that Dr. Leitner did not die at this time but was captured by the Indians and subsequently killed by them, Motte, *Journey into Wilderness,* 184-85.

the swamp, and the desire for the safety of the boats provided a strong feeling of insecurity which overcame their recently instilled discipline of how to maneuver effectively as a military unit. It was at this point that the nightmare of all commanders leading combat forces came to Lieutenant Powell; the sailors of the unofficered division broke ranks and ran for the boats! Had the rest of the detachment followed in rout the Seminoles would have had an easy task picking off the men at will. Fortunately Lieutenant Powell and Passed Midshipman Harrison, both wounded, were able to keep the remaining sailors in a ragged yet effective military formation. The brunt of the rear guard action fell to the army detachment and through their efforts the retreat did not turn into a rout. The firing was maintained until about seven-thirty in the evening when the expedition finally reached the boats and was able to pull off. Lieutenant Powell's final recapitulation to Commodore Dallas was five killed (one surgeon, two seamen, and two soldiers) and twenty-two wounded (four officers, including Powell, one non-commissioned officer, eleven privates, one boatswain's mate, and five seamen). Later Powell picked up a wounded man who had lost his way during the retreat, reducing the number killed to four. In addition, one of the boats, containing a keg of powder, rum, and whiskey, was inadvertently left on the bank during the retreat because it was not noticed in the darkness. [41]

Powell brought his force back to Indian River Inlet where the wounded could be cared for. Then he sailed to Fort Pierce. Meanwhile, the army units moved inland and, on Januray 24, 1838, engaged a band of Indians on the same battleground where Powell had suffered defeat. The natives retreated into the

41. The conduct of the battle of Jupiter River is derived from many sources. The following are the most pertinent. Lieutenant Powell's reports: Powell to Dallas, January 17, 1838, reprinted in *Niles' National Register*, LIII (February 17, 1838), 388; Powell to Dickerson, January 27, 1838, February 6, 1838, "Officers' Letters," Surgeon Motte, who was at the camp on the Indian River Inlet, and Surgeon Jarvis, who received his information three days later at Camp Loyd, both basically agree with Powell's reports, Motte, *Journey into Wilderness*, 182-84; Nathan S. Jarvis, "Diary Kept While a Surgeon with the Army in Florida, 1837-39," mss. in the New York Academy of Medicine, 38-40. Microfilm in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

interior and the army could not follow because of its short supplies. On the twenty-seventh the 1st Artillery reached Jupiter Bay, out of forage and with but two days of rations. Fortunately, Lieutenant Powell arrived with supplies that same day. Powell's boats made several trips provisioning the force at Jupiter until. February 4 when he was ordered to sail for Key Biscayne. General Jesup felt that by sending Colonel Benjamin K. Pierce with a part of the 1st Artillery and Powell's sailors to Key Biscayne bywater his force could proceed southward by land and trap the Indians. [42]

Powell's defeat bothered him so much that before he left Indian River Inlet he sent an additional report to the secretary of the navy presenting his reasons for the failure: "It is now too late. to refer to the original composition of the expedition which was not in accordance with joint instructions of the Secretary of War - yours, and my own. The seamen were all landsmen and three-fifths of the *regulars were volunteers.* I could have taught them to make watches as easily as to learn the one to handle an oar and the other the musket. Nor do I say this in reproach to either, but to show that service like this required men who had nothing to learn of the business before them." [43] For his new mission, Powell insisted that his assault group be strengthened with an additional company of regulars and that the volunteers be excluded. This was done and his command now consisted of himself as commander and acting Lieutenants Harrison and Murphy as division officers for the sailors. First Lieutenant John B. Magruder, replacing Lieutenant Fowler, commanded Company I; Second Lieutenant Robert McLane commanded Company E; Mr, Johnston continued as topographical officer; and Dr. Leonard, acting surgeon, replaced the deceased Dr. Leitner. With this group Powell sailed south. He arrived at Key Biscayne on February 11 and spent the rest of the month establishing a depot there and erecting Fort Dallas on the mainland. [44]

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42. Jarvis, *ibid.,* 46; *Army and Navy Chronicle,* VI, 159-60.

43. Powell to Dickerson, February 6, 1838, "Officers' Letters."

44. *Army and Navy Chronicle,* VI, 220; Nathan D. Shappee, "Fort Dallas and the Naval Depot on Key Biscayne, 1836-1926," *Tequesta,* XXI (1961), 20-24.

Early in March, General Jesup received information that Chief Arpeika [Sam Jones], [45] with the Mikasukis was in the interior of the Everglades near New River. He ordered Lieutenant Colonel James Bankhead to Key Biscayne and informed Powell that he should aid the colonel. At the same time, Jesup wrote to Commodore Dallas of Powell's performance: "Lt. Powell has not failed, he has cooperated with me most efficiently and is now at the point where he can enter the Everglades. He will penetrate them so soon as I shall have placed a force on New River sufficient to protect his movements which will be in a few days. His affair in this vicinity was most gallant though he was compelled to retreat to his boats with some loss." [46] The force Jesup spoke of was Lieutenant Colonel Bankhead, with six companies of the 1st and 4th Artillery; Major William Lauderdale, with 200 Tennessee Volunteers; Lieutenant Robert Anderson, with a company of the 3rd Artillery; and Powell's group. Colonel Bankhead moved into the Everglades after Arpieka and his band as soon as he assembled his force. The terrain was most difficult to traverse; the country had experienced a drought and the normally wet glades had been turned into a muddy swamp too dry for boats and too wet for walking. The soldiers had to put their muskets and cartridge-boxes in the small boats which were then pushed for miles through the marshes of saw grass. Finally, on March 22, 1838, they reached the island in the sea of mud where the Indians were encamped. Bankhead wanted to parley, but the Seminoles fired upon his flag of truce. The colonel immediately went into action even though it was only about an hour before sunset. However, he did not perform the usual army tactic of charging down the trail and assaulting the hammock from the front as the Indians had expected. Instead, he posted an extended line to cover the front, the hammock was about three miles in length and a quarter of a mile wide. On the right flank, where the water was not too deep, Major Reynold Kirby, with five companies of artillery and two of the Tennessee Volunteers, was dispatched in a flanking movement. Lieutenant Powell and his amphibian group was assigned to the left flank where the

45. Arpeika, or as he was known to the whites, Sam Jones, was a medicine man over seventy years old who had an intense hatred for the white man, Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War,* 127-28.
46. Jesup to Dallas, March 5, 1838, "Records," 92.

water was deep. The intention was to surround the Indians. When Powell's boats came within gun range the Seminoles opened fire, but before the lieutenant could link up with Kirby the hostiles realized the plan and fled in great haste, leaving behind food, lead, powder, and twenty skin canoes. This sortie was important for it was one of the early attacks, after two years of war, into the asylum of the Everglades where the Indians had boasted that "no white man could go." [47]

Upon completion of this venture, Powell resumed his routine duty of exploring the South Florida coast. Late in April Powell detached his army units at Key West and took his naval forces up the west coast to Pensacola. Early in May 1838, Lieutenant Powell completed his third and final boat expedition against the Seminole Indians. [48]

* * * * *

Other naval officers, including Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, Lieutenant John Rodgers, and Midshipman George H. Preble, continued using small boat assault tactics during the Second Seminole War. After the war this type of operation was neglected until revived again along the western rivers of the United States during the Civil War. Then, almost oblivion until the Vietnam conflict. Riverine warfare, by its very nature, defies rigid tactical doctrine. From across the span of time Lieutenant Levin M. Powell, a pioneer of this form of combat, would agree with Colonel Victor J. Croizat, U.S.M.C., a twentieth-century practitioner, that "the first sentence of a definitive U.S. doctrine of river warfare might very well read, 'River warfare is not combat *on* the water, it is combat *from* the water.' The second - and every other sentence thereafter - is still anybody's guess." [49]

47. *Army and Navy Chronicle,* VI, 268-69; *Niles' National Register,* LIV (March 24, 1838), 49; John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 195-96. See also facsimile edition with introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1964).
48. *Army and Navy Chronicle,* VI, 313; Dallas to Dickerson, May 3, 1838, "Records," 92.
49. Croizat, "Naval Forces in River War," 52.

APALACHICOLA: THE BEGINNING

by HARRY P. OWENS

EDMUND M. BLUNT, editor of *The American Pilot*, stated in 1822, that there were only three points of destination on the gulf coast of the United States: New Orleans, Mobile, and Pensacola. [1] Another port, however, Apalachicola, was slowly beginning to grow, and within twenty years it would supersede Pensacola as a cotton port.

Ships from Pensacola approached Apalachicola by sailing along St. Rosa Island, past St. Andrews and St. Joseph Bays, and by sailing southward to the point of Cape St. Blas. After rounding that cape, an easterly course paralleled St. Vincent's and St. George's Islands. Between these islands and the mainland was. Apalachicola Bay. The approaches to Apalachicola Bay, either from the west or from the southeast, offered little variation in scenery: thick growths of pine and oak trees, interspersed with beaches of white sand and occasionally a small shell mound. [2] A Swiss traveler, Heinrich Bosshard, recorded that it had taken him four hours to sail past St. George's Island, and all that he saw was a thick growth of trees, while the entire country appeared to "lie as level as the sea." [3]

Apalachicola Bay was accessible by three passes. The very shallow Indian Pass betwen Cape St. Blas and St. Vincent's Island was useful only to canoes and bateaux. St. Vincent's Island

1. Edmund M. Blunt, *The American Coast Pilot* (New York, 1822), 287.
2. *Ibid.*, 277; Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1775), appendix, lxviii-ixix. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Rembert W. Patrick (Gainesville, 1962). William Darby, *Memoir on the Geography and Natural and Civil History of Florida* (Philadelphia, 1821), 20; John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), 20-21. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. (Gainesville, 1962).
3. Heinrich Bossnard, *Anschauungen und erfahrungen in Nordamerika*, translated for the author by John M. Lippincott, 3 vols. (Zurich, 1853-1855), I, 604-09.

was triangular in shape and contained only a small amount of usable land. The main entrance to Apalachicola Bay, usually referred to as West Pass, lay between St. Vincent's and St. George's Islands. The narrower pass between St. George's and Dog Islands was known as East Pass. St. George's was about forty miles long and from one-half to two miles wide. [4] Apalachicola Bay, from Cape St. Blas to the eastern end of St. George's Island, was about fifty miles long, but large oyster banks near St. Vincent's and midway of St. George's reduced the usable length by one-half. The depth of West Pass and the bay was a matter for continuing dispute; generally ships drawing ten feet of water could anchor within a mile or two of the river's mouth, while ships drawing less than eight feet could almost always reach the wharves at the new port. [5]

The passes between the islands and the large bay were not sufficient reasons to warrant the erection of a port. There were numerous other harbors, bays, and inlets along the west coast of Florida, but Apalachicola Bay had one asset that all others lacked: a river system that penetrated deep into the interior. This river, the Apalachicola, entered the bay through a maze of swamps and bayous. Andrew Ellicott, while surveying the thirty-first parallel, tried to locate the river's mouth, but he found "the coast so intersected, and cut up by numerous water courses, nearly of the same magnitude, that the true channel was not ascertained until the 13th. . . ." [6] He later reported that the Apalachicola had three main channels into the bay: the eastern one was filled with logs and was impassable; the western one was serviceable; and the middle channel branched off into several forks, some of which led to dead ends. [7] The geographer, William Darby, described the Apalachicola as the only river, except the Mississippi, that had a true delta at its mouth. [8] At its mouth the port of Apalachicola was established.

4. Williams, *Territory of Florida,* 22-23, 30; John Lee Williams, "Journal of John Lee Williams," *Florida Historical Quarterly, I* (April 1908), 38-39.
5. *Niles' Weekly Register,* XVI (March 1819), 44.
6. Andrew Ellicott, *The Journal of Andrew Ellicott* (Chicago, 1962), 212.
7. *Ibid.,* 235.
8. Darby, *Memoir on Florida,* 14.

Interest in the Apalachicola River kept pace with interest in Florida after Jackson defeated the Seminoles in 1818. *Niles' Register* reported that 300 Georgians had settled on the Chattahoochee, [9] and Alexander Arbuthnot testified at his trial that "... hundreds of Americans came pouring into the Indian territory." [10] These statements, while exaggerated, did show that the interior was being considered for settlement. James Grant Forbes' *Sketches* helped publicize the opportunities offered by the river system; [11] Darby's *Memoir* contributed its part to stimulating interest in the Apalachicola River, [12] and Florida newspapers added to the propaganda. [13] *Niles' Register* predicted that the "fine harbor. . . will receive much trade from the interior and be the seat of a large commercial city - look at the map." [14]

Not all the comments about Apalachicola were complimentary. Bernard Romans complained of the "uncommon swarms of flies, gnats, and other insects . . . at St. George's Sound and Islands, they are intolerable." [15] *Niles' Register* warned that few persons would migrate to Florida unless they were prepared for a lonely and isolated existence, [16] while the *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser* claimed that "Apalachicola [has] . . . no convenient situation for a town; water is scarce and bad and the adjacent country low and unhealthy." [17] John Reynolds, Gadsden County pioneer, detested Florida so much that he was reported as saying that "no man would migrate to Florida - not out of Hell itself." [18]

9. *Niles' Weekly Register,* XVI (March 1819), 40.
10. National Archives, Record Group 46, Senate Territorial Papers, "Minutes of the proceedings of the special court for the purpose of examining charges against A. Arbuthnot, St. Marks, April 28, 1818," npn.
11. James G. Forbes, *Sketches, Historical and Topographical, of the Floridas; More Particularly of East Florida* (New York, 1821), 120-21. See also facsimile edition with introduction by James W. Covington (Gainesville, 1964).
12. Darby, *Memoir on Florida,* 14.
13. Pensacola *Floridian,* November 5, 1821.
14. *Niles' Weekly Register,* XVI (March 1819), 44.
15. Romans, *Natural History of East* and *West Florida,* 227.
16. *Niles' Weekly Register,* XX (August 1821), 353.
17. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser,* August 20, 1825.
18. J. Randall Stanley, *History of Gadsden County* (Quincy, 1948), 15.

Regardless of these diverse opinions, Apalachicola Bay offered an opportunity for those who would speculate on the future of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River valley. *Niles' Register* warned that Florida ports could easily be used by smugglers and that some "SPECULATIONS . . . in *human flesh* as in *other* commodities have been put on foot." [19] The government acted to counteract smuggling, and on May 23, 1821, James Monroe informed Governor Jackson that the area between Cape Florida and the Apalachicola River had been established as a customs district. St. Marks was named as the port of entry and Mark Harden was appointed collector. [20]

There is no evidence to indicate how many vessels put into Apalachicola Bay during the next year. It is reasonable to assume that coasting vessels may have used the anchorage or have used St. George's Sound as an inland passage. An important event occurred in the spring of 1822 when the brig *William and Jane,* the first square-rigged vessel to enter the port, sailed through West Pass. It loaded aboard 266 bales of cotton, "the product of the first seed ever planted in the neighborhood," for shipment to New York. Cotton cultivation, it was reported, had "succeeded beyond expectation" in the area. [21]

The potential commerce of the Apalachicola River system prompted the creation of a new customs district. The area between Cape St. Blas and Charlotte Bay was called the District of Apalachicola and Charles Jenkins, surveyor and inspector for the port at Pensacola, was named collector. Receiving his appointment in the spring of 1823, he soon moved to the mouth of the Apalachicola River, [22] and was there when John Lee Williams visited on October 13, 1823. [23] Jenkins' time was taken up with many small matters and his letters to the comptroller's office contained numerous references to such items as pencils, ink, paper,

19. *Niles Weekly Register,* XX (March 1821), 49.
20. James Monroe to Governor Jackson, May 23, 1821, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida,* 1821-1824, 26 vols. (Washington, 1956-1962), XXII, 55-56; *Niles' Weekly Register,* XX (June 1821), 224.
21. *Niles' Weekly Register,* XXII (June 1822), 224.
22. Pensacola *Floridian,* June 22, 1822; *Niles' Weekly Register,* XX (June 1821), 224; Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXII, 658; *Niles' Weekly Register,* XXIV (March 1823), 36.
23. Williams, "Journal of John Lee Williams," 40.

books, and reimbursement for a ten-dollar desk and chair set. Most of his questions concerned rules and regulations of the customs office, but he constantly asked, even pleaded, for a small boat. [24] In late 1824, Jenkins considered moving to St. Marks but changed his mind. He explained, "there is a prospect of getting a steamboat in this river, and several families and stores being established at this place. These circumstances induce me to alter my mind, and to prefer a continuance at this place, if I am allowed a boat and hands - but without I shall not remain here or at St. Marks." [25] There is no record that a steamer reached Apalachicola nor that any large number of families moved in. When he did not get his boat, Jenkins resigned and left Apalachicola in December 1825. [26]

His replacement, David L. White, arrived early the following summer, and when he found that the customhouse was occupied, he erected a temporary camp for himself and his family about 300 yards back from the bay. [27] Conditions improved, and in September White informed the comptroller that a small store, thirty by twenty-six feet, could be rented for fifteen dollars a month. His request for funds was probably denied, because in July 1827, he notified Joseph Andrews, his superior, that he had built a small office at his own expense. [28] White, like his predecessor, continued to press for a small boat and hands. He tried to show the urgency of having a boat by predicting that Apalachicola would cease to be an expense within the next twelve to eighteen months since business was increasing rapidly and two loads of salt from Japan were expected any day. [29] With each

24. Charles Jenkins to Joseph Andrews, January 5, 1824, April 30, 1824, February 7, 1825, Record Group 36, Records of the Bureau of Customs, Letters from Collectors of Small Ports, Alexandria, Annapolis, Apalachicola, 1790-1834, National Archives. Cited hereafter as NA, RG 36, Letters from Small Ports.
25. Jenkins to Andrews, February 7, 1825, *ibid.*
26. David L. White to Andrews, September 14, 1826. Jenkins was not entirely alone on the bay because Henry Yonge of Apalachicola was nominated for the Florida legislative council in February 1823. See Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXII, 616, 640-41.
27. White to Andrews, July 1, 1826, NA, RG 36, Letters from Small Ports.
28. White to Andrews, September 14, 1826; White to Andrews, July 19, 1827, *ibid.*
29. White to Andrews, November 15, 1826, *ibid.*

passing month the hope that Apalachicola would become a large port increased. In early 1827, White wrote that he was expecting a river boat with "five thousand bales of Upland Cotton and some Sea Island cotton." [13] Besides cotton, lumber, staves, cedar, and live oak timbers were arriving from the interior by way of the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. Business improved so rapidly that New Orleans newspapers reported 5,000 barrels of merchandise was being sent to Apalachicola from Mobile and perhaps "double that amount" from New Orleans. [31] William Neves, a merchant on Apalachicola Bay, advertised in Tallahassee that he had a "commodious store house" and could ship produce consigned to him to any port. [32] The Pensacola newspaper complained that all the business was going to Apalachicola and erroneously reported that 50,000 bales of cotton would be shipped from that port in 1828. [33]

Two important Apalachicola events occurred in 1827-1828. On April 24, 1827, the steamboat *Fanny,* under command of Captain John Jenkins, cleared Pensacola for Apalachicola. Two other boats, one of which was probably the 148 ton *Steubenville,* soon followed. During the winter, these vessels were busy bringing cotton and lumber down to the bay for shipment. [34] The *Fanny,* the *Steubenville,* the *Monroe,* and the *Virginia* reached the falls of the Chattahoochee at Columbus, Georgia, during the late winter and early spring of 1828, but the *Fanny* exploded just south of Columbus in January 1828. [35]

30. White to Andrews, February 26, 182[7], *ibid.*
31. New Orleans *Weekly Louisiana Gazette* quoted in *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser,* August 6, 1835.
32. Tallahassee *Florida Intelligencer,* March 24, 1826.
33. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser,* February 15, 1828; *Niles' Weekly Register,* XXXIV (April 1828), 124. This estimate was much too optimistic. The best estimates show that only 317 bales of cotton were shipped in 1828. See *Apalachicola Gazette,* March 24, 1836.
34. *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser,* April 27, 1827; White to Andrews, July 19, 1827, NA, RG 36, Letters from Small Ports.
35. Bert Neville, *Directory of Steamboats with Illustrations and Lists of Landings on the Chattahoochee-Apalachicola-Flint-Chipola Rivers* (Selma, 1961), 9; Green Beauchamps, "The Early Chronicles of Barbour County," Scrapbook of 1873, Department of Archives, Montgomery, Alabama, npn.

Of even greater importance was the beginning of legal existence for the little community. The territorial council constituted the trustees for West Point, Apalachicola Bay, in 1828. David L. White, Charles S. Masters, John Jenkins, Benjamin Buel, and Martin Brooks were named trustees and given authority to regulate liquor, gambling, and markets, and provide "regular streets, lots, fences . . . erect and keep wharves . . . [and] provide for interior police and good government." [36]

In 1827, fourteen West Point businessmen petitioned Congress; [37] and in 1828 "every man in the place," a total of fifty-six, [38] signed a petition to the postmaster general. This growth led the territorial council meeting in Tallahassee to incorporate West Point in 1829. The government was to consist of an intendant and a four-man council, each of whom was supposed to be "an occupant of a house and a resident within the town limits." [39] All white males over the age of twenty-one who had lived in West Point for one month were eligible to vote. As business and trade connections increased the inhabitants petitioned the council to change the name of West Point so that it would conform to the name of the bay and river. Apalachicola became the official name in 1831. [40]

Apalachicola was originally in Jackson County. It then became part of Washington County when that county was established in 1825, and finally when Franklin County was created in 1832, Apalachicola became its county seat. A county court and a court of common pleas which were needed by the merchants were set up. [41] Since these courts lacked authority to decide cases aris-

36. *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1827-1828,* 22-23.

37. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIII, 1034-35. The petition asked for $5,000 to clear the river; those who signed it were Brooks, Lathrop & Co., Benj. F. Buel & Co., Beveridge & Nowland, David L. White, William Congan, Joseph Baker, James Gordon, James Black, John Hugg, Sam Shannon, Jas. Martin, William Neves, Jr., David Myers, and Daniel Neves. Congress granted $3,000 to clear the river. See U. S. *House Journal,* 20th Cong., 1st Sess., 457.

38. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 108-10.

39. *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1829,* 49-55.

40. *Ibid., 1831,* 7; see petitions in Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV.

41. Kathryn T. Abbey, *Florida, Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1941), appendix, 377; *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, 1832,* 44-45; *ibid.,* 1831, 9-12.

ing under admiralty law, the citizens of Apalachicola petitioned Congress to create a court. They complained that the judge for the western district was prevented by inadequate transportation from holding regular admiralty court sessions in their community. [42] Port Collector Gabriel Floyd wrote both to the secretary of state and the comptroller emphasizing the need for an admiralty court, and action finally came in 1838. [43]

Population statistics for Apalachicola are incomplete, especially for the early years. The 1828 petition showed fifty-six names, including ship captains and engineers, so part of the population was obviously temporary. Some of the merchants probably were not married and others had not brought their wives and families with them. A very rough estimate would suggest that between 100 and 150 people were living in Apalachicola in 1828. [44] The 1830 census did not separate the town of Apalachicola from Washington County, but added part of Jackson County to Washington for convenience. Washington County contained 276 white males, 234 white females, 183 male slaves, 200 female slaves, seven free Negroes, and three "aliens," for a total of 893. Adding part of Jackson County increased this total to 965. When the census was taken in 1838, Apalachicola was enumerated separately and the town contained 1,890 whites, 169 slaves, and seven free Negroes, for a total of 2,066. [45]

42. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 656-58 (the petition was dated February 12, 1832); U. S. *House Journal,* 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 422-23.

43. Gabriel Floyd to John Forsyth, April 10, 1834, Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 1003-04; Floyd to R. B. Taney, April 10, 1834, Record Group 56, General Records of the Department of the Treasury, Letters to and from Collectors of Small Ports, Series G, National Archives. Hereinafter cited as NA, RG 56, Series G; U.S. *House Journal* 22nd Cong., 1st Sess., 422-23.

44. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 110. This estimate assumed that twenty-five of the men brought their wives to Apalachicola and that they had at least twenty children.

45. *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830. Population,* Washington County, p. 209, sheet 105; *St. Joseph Times,* July 18, 1838. The 1838 census was taken in order to apportion delegates for the St. Joseph Convention of 1838. *Sixth Census of the United States; 1840,* enumerated 1,616 total population for Tallahassee; Escambia County (Pensacola) - 3,993; Montgomery, Alabama - 2,197; Mobile - 12,672; New Orleans - 102,193. *Compendium of the Enumeration of the*

The population varied greatly with the season. It was heaviest in the winter months when produce was coming down river and lightest in the fever-ridden summer months. In 1833 William Price, postmaster at Apalachicola, noted that for "4 to 5 months during the year there prevail[ed] a most malignant fever which carrie[d] away a large portion of the inhavitants *{sic}* and all who [were] able abandon[ed] the place during the sickly season." [46] Port Collector Floyd was one of those who left Apalachicola during the fever months.[47] The Apalachicola *Advertiser* reported that there had been no more than an average of seventy people in the town between August 1 and November 1, 1835; thirty-four of these had the fever and "five only escaped the disease." [48]

Population had been drawn into the area to exploit the opportunities for trade. In a petition to Congress in 1832, Franklin County's delegation to the territorial council reported that goods valued at $250,000 were stored in local warehouses, and they estimated that 150 houses and stores had been erected in Apalachicola. According to the legislators' optimistic prediction "the extensive and increasing cultivation of the lands in the upper country near the Rivers Apalachicola, Flint, and Chattahoochee, in the states of Georgia & Alabama, and in this territory, justifies the ascertion *[sic]* that in a few years a town must grow at the mouth of the former river, second in size and importtance to none in the Southwestern country except New Orleans." [49]

Inhabitants and Statistics of the United States, Sixth Census, 1840 (Washington, 1841), 96-99, 55, 50.

46. William D. Price to Andrew Stevenson (congressman from Virginia), October 1833, in Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 902-03. Price was trying to justify his salary and may have exaggerated the conditions.

47. Robert Mitchell to secretary of treasury, January 11, 1831, NA, RG 56, Series G. Mitchell was the collector of Pensacola and was trying to pay Floyd a sum of money but Floyd was in the "Western Country," so Mitchell sent the money to the secretary of treasury.

48. *Niles' Weekly Register,* IL (November 1835), 170. This statement must be weighed against the fact that the *Advertiser* supported the move to St. Joseph.

49. Carter, *Territorial Papers,* XXIV, 656-58.

The following year the Apalachicola petitioners described their community "as the third port in the Gulph *[sic]* of Mexico." [50] They were exaggerating the extent of commerce, however, and they were not consistent in their statements. In a petition signed in February 1834, they claimed imports were over $1,000,000 and cotton exports equaled that amount. [51] On April 10, 1834, they reported "exports and imports . . . but little short of Five Millions of Dollars," and predicted "double that sum for the year 1835." [52] A more accurate statement was contained in the port collector's letter to his superior, Roger B. Taney, which stated that about 25,000 bales of cotton had been shipped from Apalachicola and imports amounted to $1,200. [53] According to a report in the New York *Evening Sun:* "Apalachicola . . . [is] protected by St. George, St. Vincent and Dog Island; under these last lay the vessels of large berthen. Those of 11 feet of water come within four miles of the town, & 8 to 9 can be received at the wharves. During the active season, thirteen steamboats plied in the river as far as Columbus, Georgia, transporting upwards valuable merchandise and downward 37,000 bales of cotton for exportation from this port - the quantity of both, and consequently the business will be considerably increased during the coming season." [54]

Apalachicola merchants received their trade goods from New Orleans and New York through the coasting trade, and these records were not maintained by the customs office. The few records still in existence record boxes and barrels of merchandise entering Apalachicola, but do not contain any other detail. Advertisements in the *Apalachicola Gazette* show that the merchants offered a wide variety of articles such as champagne, brandy, rectified whiskey, apples, hay, potatoes, millstones, assorted hardware, foodstuffs, pistols, rifles, jewelry, and a wide assortment of clothes and cloth. [55] The log books of revenue cutters that patrolled the Gulf coast show that the captain

50. *Ibid.,* 984-86, petition of February 24, 1834.
51. *Ibid.*
52. Floyd to Secretary of State Forsyth, April 10, 1834, *ibid,,* 1003-04.
53. Floyd to Taney, April 10, 1834, NA, RG 56, Series G.
54. Tallahassee *Floridian,* September 6, 1835, quoting the New York *Evening Sun.*
55. *Apalachicola Gazette,* (1837).

boarded many merchant vessels entering Apalachicola Bay. Some of these vessels had cleared from Liverpool and contained cargoes of salt, others sailed from Havana with fruit, and some entered in ballast. [56] These goods, imported either through the coasting trade or from foreign ports, were eagerly sought by the up-river merchants. One vessel entered the bay in April 1828, and the captain, rather than unloading his cargo immediately, took a small boat and sailed to St. Marks. Five up-river merchants, impatiently expecting a shipment, used a steamboat to tow the vessel to the wharves, induced the first mate to clear his papers with the port collector, and then proceeded to unload the cargo. [57]

The merchants tried to extend their business into the interior. William Price, advertising as the Apalachicola Drug Store, promised prompt attention to orders from physicans and planters. [58] Other storekeepers advertised in Columbus, Georgia, newspapers, and Hiram Nourse expanded his business by forming a partnership with a Columbus merchant. [59] In addition to supplying merchandise to the city at the head of navigation, the merchants sent goods to the increasing number of planters along the river. [60]

As soon as the Indians were removed from the fertile lands in the interior, farmers moved in to plant their cotton. Henry and

56. National Archives, Record Group 26, U.S. Coast Guard, Treasury Department, Journals of Revenue Cutters. The vessels and masters for this period are as follows: *Alabama,* Winslow Foster, 1833; *Washington,* Daniel P. Auguer, 1833; *Taney,* Henry D. Hunter, 1834; *Jackson,* Henry D. Hunter, 1835-1836; *Dallas,* F. Green, 1836. The coast guard cutters sailed along the Gulf coast and made periodic checks on the various ports; for this reason, it would be impossible to compile a complete list of ships or cargoes that entered the Gulf ports. Larger ports, such as Mobile or New Orleans, warranted a permanent vessel and inspector. Hereinafter cited as NA, RG 26.
57. White to Anderson, April 12, 1828, NA, RG 36, Letters from Small Ports.
58. Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate,* May 4, 1830. Price later served as postmaster and port collector; he also practiced medicine. See Price to Stevenson, October 1833, Carter, *Territorial Papers, XXIV,* 902-03.
59. *Columbus* (Georgia) *Enquirer,* September 1832-June 1833.
60. Marcus Cicero Stephens Papers, No. 3402, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill.

Dale counties in southwestern Alabama, just south of the old Creek territory, had a small population in 1830, and it almost doubled ten years later. The Alabama Creek lands, south of the falls on the Chattahoochee, had been divided into Russell and Barbour counties shortly after the Indian Removal Bill passed Congress. They contained the largest population in eastern Alabama: Barbour in 1840 had a white population of 6,476 and 5,548 slaves; Russell contained 5,917 whites and 7,596 slaves. [61]

The major river port on the Alabama side of the Chattahoochee was Irwinton, later named Eufaula, and settlers had moved onto the bluff there before 1833. It was a rough frontier town at first, and the inhabitants regularly carried knives, pistols, and rifles. As the farming population increased, Irwinton developed a more sophisticated society, and its location at the head of navigation during the dry months caused it to acquire significant importance as a commercial center. [62]

The two major towns in Georgia were Columbus, at the head of navigation on the Chattahoochee, and Albany, the head of navigation on the Flint River. Columbus was laid out for speculative purposes in 1828, and it became one of the boom towns of west Georgia. [63] Visitors venturing to Columbus were astonished at the rough frontier features. Mrs. Basil Hall included in her *Journey* a sketch of the community which showed a few log cabins facing streets which still had trees growing in them. [64]

61. *Fifth Census of the United States, 1830* (Washington, 1832) 100-01; *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840* (Washington, 1841) 244-45.

62. Green Beauchamps, "The Early Chronicles of Barbour County," no page numbers; J. A. B. Besson, *History of Eufaula, the Bluff City of the Chattahoochee* (Atlanta, 1875), 4-12; Harry P. Owens, "A History of Eufaula, Alabama" (unpublished Master's thesis, Auburn University, 1963), 9-10; William Irwin to Lewis Cass, July 30, 1832, U. S., *Emigration of Indians*, Vol. III, 410; Irwin reported eighteen whites on the bluff.

63. J. R. Jones Papers on Muskogee County, Georgia, File No. 106, Special Collection Division, University of Georgia Library, Athens; George G. Smith, *The Story of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1900), 544-49; E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia, A Short History* (Chapel Hill, 1947), 222.

64. Margaret Hall (Mrs. Basil Hall), *The Aristocratic Journey; Being the Outspoken Letters of Mrs. Basil Hall Written* During *a Fourteen Months Sojourn in America, 1827-1828*, ed. Una Pope-Hennessy (New York, 1931), 238-40, sketch opposite 38.

Another traveler, complimenting its location on the banks of the Chattahoochee, called it "the frontier town of Georgia." [65] While the hotel there was large, travellers found it dirty and ugly, and one expressed his amazement at seeing Bowie knives and "Arkansas Toothpicks" at nearly every shop. The same visitor emphasized the crude existence by citing an example which he found as an endorsement on a note he received in change: "Here goes the last of an ample fortune, spent in debauchery and every sort of vice. So now farewell dissipation-farewell to the courtezan-to the gaming table-to sleepless nights and haggard days. Farewell-Farewell-Reform, reform, I will reform-Spent in a brothel." [66] Columbus was a frontier town, but it was soon to shed those characteristics and become one of the major commercial and manufacturing towns in west Georgia. By 1838, the streets were filled with cotton and 1,000 bales arrived every week during the season. [67] Merchants did not worry about slow business; their major problem was getting a supply of goods. This was the role that Apalachicola merchants could perform, and for this reason the community flourished during the 1840s.

Albany was the other Georgia town which related to Apalachicola. In December 1836, Albany was represented by only one store and a small house. When Nelson Tift arrived to begin his career in the mercantile business, he used barges to transport cotton to Apalachicola and returned with $8,000 in merchandise. He conducted his business shrewdly and became the leading merchant in town, owner of several steamboats, and a land speculator. [68] The increasing farming population in Baker, Lee, Sumter, and Dooly counties used Albany as a trade center, and population and wealth increased.

65. Alexander Mackay, *The Western World; or Travels in the United States, 1846-1847,* 3 vols. (London, 1849), II, 264.
66. James S. Buckingham, *The Slave States of America,* 2 vols. (London, 1821), I, 515.
67. Paris Jenks Tillinghast to William Tillinghast, December 16, 1838, in William Norwood Tillinghast Papers, Duke University Library, Raleigh, North Carolina.
68. Nelson Tift, "Diary," No. 1219, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill. Apalachicola *Gazette,* May 14, 1836, urged the merchants to develop commercial relations with the farmers on the Flint River which ran "through a portion of the richest cotton lands in Georgia. . . ."

The triangle between the Flint and Chatttahoochee contained a mixture of good river bottom land as well as piney ridges sections. [69] Francis Ticknor, a young doctor, left Columbus during the early 1840s to practice medicine in that area. He complained to his friends about the loneliness and drabness of life at a place called Pine Woods about ten miles from Albany, and pointed out the perils that a young man could face: "A fellow is in danger here, thats a fact; he gets so lonesome, so sick of sickly faces and drawling voices and all that sort of thing that he is strongly dispossed to fall in love with the first sympathyzing Samaritan that passes that way." [70] As population increased in the Chattahoochee-Flint River triangle west Georgia lost its appearance as a frontier section. The 1840 census showed that for the twelve Georgia counties that used the river system as a means of transportation, the population was 55,188 whites and 34,064 slaves, or a total of 89,252." [71]

The Apalachicola River touched five Florida counties: Jackson, Washington, and Calhoun were on the west side of the river, Franklin County surrounded the mouth of the river, and Gadsden bordered the east side. Much of the produce from these counties came to Apalachicola, but Pensacola to the west and Tallahassee and St. Marks to the east also offered markets and merchandise to the Florida farmers. The 1840 population for these counties was:

	White	Slaves	Total
Jackson	2,045	2,636	4,681
Washington	507	352	859
Calhoun	732	410	1,142
Franklin	808	222	1,030
Gadsden	2,639	5,992	8,631
	6,731	9,612	16,343 [72]

69. Thomas P. Janes, *Handbook of the State of Georgia* (Atlanta, 1876), 221-25.

70. Francis O. Ticknor to William Nelson, June 6, 1844. M. T. Furlow Collection of Ticknor Letters, Collection No. 30, Duke University Library.

71. *Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, 232-37* (Baker, Decatur, Dooly, Early, Harris, Lee, Marion, Muscogee, Columbus, Stewart, Sumter, Talbot counties).

72. *Ibid.,* 454-55.

The farmers of the up-river country conducted their business with merchants at Columbus, Eufaula, and Albany, or they established commercial relations with merchants in Apalachicola. The farmers along the river had access to the river boats at many places; one captain listed twenty-six regular landings in 1844. [73] Apalachicola merchants established business connection with the increasing number of up-river planters and merchants. Steamboats left Apalachicola loaded with supplies for the up-country and returned with a cargo of cotton, timber, tobacco, and small lots of other farm produce. The major commodity was cotton. Fragmentary statistics show the amount of cotton handled by Apalachicola merchants during this early period: 1828-317 bales; 1829-1,500 bales; 1830-2,400 bales; 1831-5,500 bales; 1832-16,000 bales; 1833-26,000 bales; 1834-29,000 bales; 1835-32,864 bales; and 1836-51,673 bales. [74]

The yearly commerce and navigation reports issued by Congress offer little help in determining the amount imported or exported from Apalachicola. These reports for the years before

73. Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser,* January 8, 1844. The landings and their distance from Apalachicola were: Old Woman's Bluff, 7 miles; Fort Gadsden, 25; River of Sticks, 50; Iola, 75; Stone's Landing, 75; Richo's Bluff, 90; Stifnulgee, 100; Blountstown, 120; Ochessee, 140; Aspalaga 147; Chattahoochee, 157; Brown's Ferry, 172; Neal's Landing, 172; Porter's Ferry, 207; Columbia, 219; Howard's Landing, 239; Fort Gaines, 259; Eufaula, 294; Roanoke, 314; Florence, 319; Jernigan's Landing, 324; Bickerstaff's Landing, 336; Bryant's Landing, 348; Fort Mitchell, 360; Woolforf's Bar, 368; and Columbus, 378 miles.

74. The sources for each year are as follows: 1828, *Apalachicola Gazette,* March 24, 1836; 1829, *ibid.;* 1830, *Merchant Magazine,* Vol. IV (February 1841), 195; 1831, *ibid.;* 1832, *Apalachicola Gazette,* March 24, 1836, *Columbus Enquirer,* August 4, 1832; 1833, *Columbus Enquirer,* August 30, 1834; 1834, *Niles' Weekly Register,* IIL (March 1835), 60, 248; 1835, Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser,* September 30, 1843, and Floyd to Woodbury, November 28, 1835, NA, RG 56, Series G; 1836, Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser,* September 30, 1843. Mobile, the second largest port on the Gulf, shipped the following amounts of cotton: 1830-53,697; 1831-59,934; 1832-76,220; 1833-79,900; 1834-79,613; 1835-144,949; 1836-150,924. For the Mobile statistics see *DeBow's Review,* XVIII (January-June 1855), 506. For an account of the rise of Mobile, see Weymouth T. Jordan, "Ante Bellum Mobile: Alabama's Agricultural Emporium," *Alabama Review,* I (July 1948), 180-202.

1838 do not list the separate districts of Florida; they treat the territory as a whole. Some separate schedules, such as number of ships registered or tonnage entering, occasionally list Apalachicola, St. Marks, or Pensacola, but these spotty statements preclude any generalization. In 1841, Congress did issue a report showing the gross revenue and the cost of collection for each Florida port. It shows that the Apalachicola collector's office did not pay its expenses until 1832. Apalachicola and Pensacola were about equal in cost and occasionally Apalachicola grossed more than Pensacola. St. Marks was generally smaller than either Apalachicola or Pensacola, but in one year, 1831, it conducted more business than the other two combined. [75]

During the decade and a half after Major Jenkins moved to the mouth of the Apalachicola River, a town grew up, and it held the promise of becoming one of the largest ports on the Gulf. The people there built homes, warehouses, offices, grocery stores, a drug store, a hotel, and Dinsmore Westcott started the town's first newspaper, the Apalachicola *Advertiser*. [76] The merchants were handling 50,000 bales of cotton for the planters in the interior, and about fifteen river boats plied the river system. While this appeared impressive, Apalachicola was only a small town with no regular plan and the buildings were erected ". . . according to the notion of each person building." [77] Apalachicola, after surviving competition from the St. Joseph enterprise, dominated the cotton trade of the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee-Flint River valley. During the 1840s, it became the third largest cotton port on the Gulf of Mexico.

75. U. S. House of Representatives, *Collection of Customs Since 1829*, Document No. 61, 23rd Cong., 2nd Sess., 20-25.
76. Tallahassee *Floridian*, February 22, 1833; James O. Knauss, *Florida Territorial Journalism* (DeLand, 1926), 29-34.
77. City of Apalachicola *v.* Apalachicola Land Company, Circuit Court, Leon County, Florida, January 23, 1861, in Office of the Clerk, Supreme Court, Tallahassee, Florida.

THE FLORIDA RAILROAD AFTER THE CIVIL WAR

by DUDLEY S. JOHNSON

DAVID LEVY YULEE was the most enthusiastic of the early railroad promoters in Florida. On January 8, 1853, he incorporated the Florida Railroad to construct a line from the Atlantic Ocean to a point on the Gulf of Mexico south of the mouth of the Suwannee River. The charter was amended by the legislature in 1855, and the company was authorized to build from Amelia Island on the east coast to Tampa Bay on the Gulf of Mexico with a branch line to Cedar Key. In addition the company was authorized to own and operate steam vessels on Florida's rivers. [1] Yulee's dream was to construct a railroad across Florida and to establish a steamship line from Cedar Key to other Gulf ports, Central America, and the Caribbean islands. He believed it would be cheaper for the shipper to use ships and the railroad, even if it entailed loading and unloading at each end of the line, than to brave the waters of the Florida Straits. Also Yulee hoped to attract to the state immigrants interested in producing vegetables. Their products could be carried by the railroad to Fernandina where fast steamships would transport them to northern markets. 2

Early railroads needed aid to construct lines into and through undeveloped territory. They received support from the federal and state governments in the form of land which could be used as security for bonds and loans. One of the first acts to affect Florida was passed on September 4, 1841, when the United States government granted the territory of Florida 500,000 acres of land which were to be sold and the proceeds applied to in-

1. *Laws of Florida* (1853), 31-38; *ibid.* (1855), 16.
2. C. Wickliffe Yulee, "Senator Yulee: A Biographical Sketch," Part I, *Florida Historical Quarterly,* II (April 1909), 37; Afred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (Indianapolis, 1950), 128-29; *The Florida Railroad Company* (n.p., n.d.), pamphlet in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

ternal improvements. [3] Nine years later, the swamp and overflow lands in Florida owned by the federal government were granted to the state. [4]

In order to administer the internal improvement lands and the proceeds from the sale of those lands, the Internal Improvement Board, composed of the governor, treasurer, attorney-general, and registrar of state lands, was established in 1855. These men were known as the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. [5] The act creating this board permitted railroads to issue bonds to the amount of $8,000 per mile as each twenty-mile section of road was completed; proceeds from the sale of these bonds could be used in preparing the roadbed and for the purchase of material for the track. Each company was also allowed to issue an additional $2,000 per mile for the purchase of rolling stock. Bonds to the amount of $100,000 could be issued for the construction of each bridge over the Choctawhatchee and Apalachicola rivers and from Amelia Island to the mainland; the legislature set the amount for a bridge over the Suwannee River at only $50,000. Of greatest benefit to the construction companies was the state's guarantee of the principal and interest of the seven per cent thirty-five year bonds. The railroad companies, in order to qualify for this aid, had to meet certain conditions. A company had to locate the route in a manner approved by the state engineer, build to a five-foot gauge, use not less than sixty-pound iron rails, and pay into a sinking fund administered by the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund a total of one per cent of the interest on its bonds. If it failed to pay this premium, the state had the right to seize and sell the railroad. In addition, cities and counties were given permission to subscribe to railroad stock and to issue bonds to pay for the subscriptions. [6]

Yulee was the principal person in steering this legislation through the Florida legislature. He also used his influence in Washington, and in 1856 Congress granted the state a 200-foot right-of-way and every alternate section of land to a depth of

3. U. S., *Statutes at Large* (1841), V, 455.
4. *Ibid.* (1850), IX, 519-20.
5. *Laws of Florida* (1855), quoted in *Minutes of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund,* 6 vols. (Tallahassee, 1902-1906), I, 15-31. Hereafter cited as *IIF Minutes.*
6. *Ibid.*

six miles, designated by odd numbers, on each side of the proposed main and branch lines. If the designated lands were already settled, the state could select federal lands as near the railroad as possible. In addition the United States government agreed not to sell its remaining lands along the right-of-way for less than double the minimum price of public lands. Florida would grant the lands to the railroad companies as each twenty-mile section of line was completed. [7]

Yulee decided to build the branch line to Cedar Key first, and he began construction at Fernandina in 1855. He experienced financial difficulties even with the state aid, and called upon northern investors for the necessary funds. The northerners, Edward Nicoll Dickerson and various associates, exacted a heavy price from the southern promoter by refusing to furnish capital unless they were promised over one-half of the company's stock. Yulee agreed to the arrangement and construction continued on his line. [8] The railroad was completed in 1861 just as the Civil War was beginning. During that conflict Union forces captured both terminals, and Confederates used rails from the road to build a connector line to Georgia. [9] At the end of the war the railroad was in poor condition with only sixty miles of the line usable; the iron rails which remained were badly decomposed by rust, and much of the road was overgrown by vegetation. The company made every effort to resume service. On May 8, 1865,

7. U. S., *Statutes at Large* (1856), XI, 15-16. For Yulee's role see Mills M. Lord, Jr., "David Levy Yulee, Statesman and Railroad Builder" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1940), 124-27, 129; Arthur W. Thompson, "David Yulee: A Study of Nineteenth Century American Thought and Enterprise" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Columbia University, 1954), 82-91.

8. Robert L. Clarke, "The Florida Railroad Company in the Civil War," *Journal of Southern History,* XIX (May 1953), 180-81; Hanna and Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands,* 133-35. For a resume of Dickerson's career as a New York patent attorney see *Dictionary of American Biography,* 21 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), V, 288-89.

9. Hanna and Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands,* 137-38; Robert C. Black, *The Railroads of the Confederacy* (Chapel Hill, 1952), 208-13. See also Jerrell H. Shofner and William Warren Rogers, "Confederate Railroad Construction: The Live Oak to Lawton Connector," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XLII (January 1965), 226-27; Helen R. Sharp, "Samuel A. Swann and the Development of Florida, 1855-1900," *Florida Historical Quarterly,* XX (October 1941), 173.

company officials petitioned the Union army for a locomotive to replace one seized by the Confederates and captured by the Federals. [10]

The greatest difficulty faced by officials of the railroad concerned finances. The company was behind in interest payments on the bonds guaranteed by the state. In early January 1866, Marshall O. Roberts of New York, a bondholder, petitioned the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund for payment of interest on one $1,000 security, but was informed that there was no money in the fund. [11] This situation continued throughout the year with neither the railroad nor the state able to pay principal or interest on the bonds. The trustees had no alternative except to order the company sold to satisfy the bondholders. At a public sale on November 1, 1866, Isaac K. Roberts, acting for a group of bond and stockholders, bought the road for $323,400, one-half paid at the time and the balance at the time the deeds were delivered. The deeds were made to Edward N. Dickerson and various associates. [12] These were the same individuals who had owned the road before the sale, but they were no longer burdened by a mortgage debt. The old officials retained their positions, and David Yulee remained as vice-president. The officials followed a cautious policy. Only a minimum of work was done in replacing rotted crossties and bridges; iron rails were still defective, and delays were common. This policy enabled the management to

10. *IIF Minutes,* I, 270; *The Florida Railroad* (title page missing) 4, pamphlet in Florida Room, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee. This pamphlet is similar to *The Florida Railroad Company* but was published in a different year; David L. Yulee to John A. Henderson, April 30, 1886, Yulee Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

11. *IIF Minutes,* I, 272. Marshall Roberts was a wealthy New York merchant and former president of the United States Steamship Company. He owned the *Star of the West* which attempted to enter the Charleston, South Carolina, harbor on January 9, 1861, with provisions for Fort Sumter. For an account of Robert's career see *New York Times,* September 12, 1880.

12. *IIF Minutes,* I, 287, 290. The proceeds of the sale were used to retire the first mortgage bonds held by individuals willing to accept twenty cents on the dollar. Francis Vose refused this arrangement and began the law suit which culminated in limiting the trustees' action in disposing of state land until the Disston land purchase in 1881.

meet the interest requirement on its bonds. On July 21, 1870, Yulee paid $2,280 into the Internal Improvement Fund as the one per cent interest due on the company's bonds. [13] At that time the company had outstanding over $2,000,000 of first mortgage bonds which were held by John A. Stewart and Frederick Conkling of New York. Interest was seven per cent, payable semi-annually. [14]

Although the company was able to pay the interest on its bonds, there was no money for needed improvements. The officials refused to take advantage of a law enacted in 1869, permitting certain railroads to exchange railroad bonds for state bonds. That was one reason the Florida Railroad did not go through the various changes, receiverships, and legal battles that plagued the other large Florida railroad, the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile. However, difficulties did occur, and a reorganization took place on January 18, 1872, when the name was changed to the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Company. [15] Robert W. Davis, who settled in Florida in 1879, remembered those years and the railroad because the initials - A. G. & W. I. T. Ry Co. - covered the entire length of a railroad car. He stated that most people did not use the name or the initials, preferring instead "Yulee's Road" or the "Transit Company." [16]

The new corporation profited no better than the old one. The company had an income of $245,381.25 for the fiscal year ending in 1880; its total expenditures for the same period were $356,-974.51, resulting in a deficit of $111,593.26. [17] At that time the

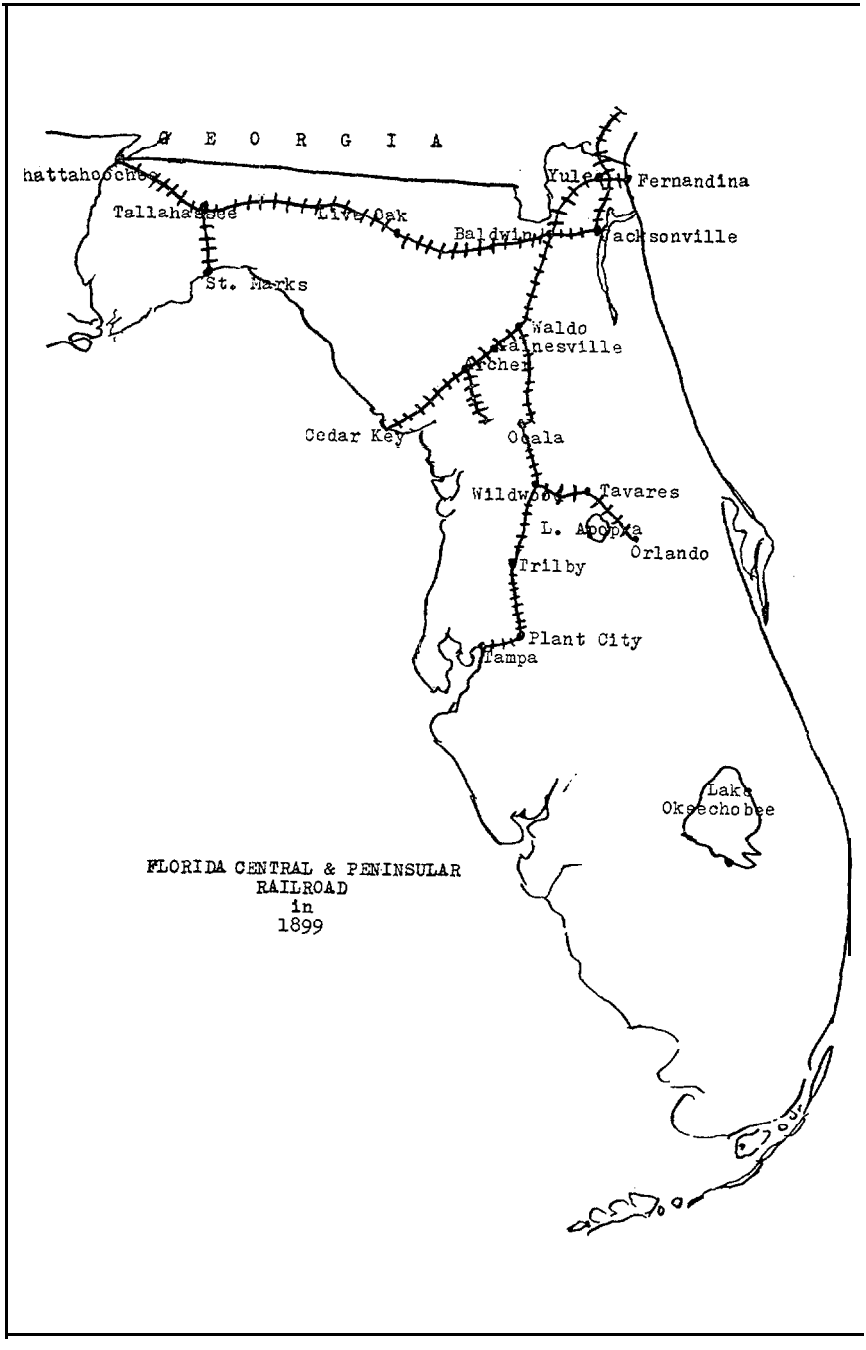
13. *Ibid.*, 434. Simon B. Conover, state treasurer, reported that the only other monies he had received for this fund since August 1868, was $315 paid in by Mariano D. Papy on November 29, 1869.
14. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, January 25, 1873, 118.
15. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Company, "Corporate Histories of the Seaboard Predecessor Railroad Systems," 22. Zeroxed pages in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Cited hereafter as "Corporate History"; *Laws of Florida* (1872), 89.
16. Robert W. Davis, "Recollection of Forty Years," *Sunshine, Florida's Magazine*, III (June 1924), 9. For biographical information on Robert W. Davis see *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1949* (Washington, D. C., 1950), 1064; Rowland R. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 131-35.
17. *Tenth Census of the United States: 1880, Transportation*, IV, 44-45.

company owned thirteen locomotives, six passenger cars, three mail or baggage cars, and ninety-six freight cars. There were 225 employees which included four general officers, two office clerks, fifty-six stationmen, thirteen engineers, eight conductors, twenty-five trainmen, ten machinists, eleven carpenters, forty-eight trackmen, in addition to forty-eight others. The yearly payroll amounted to $117,457. Some 268 stockholders owned $1,232,-200 in common stock, making ownership in this concern more widespread than in any other Florida railroad. [18]

The Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Railroad Company controlled approximately one-third of the 528.6 miles of track in Florida in 1880. It owned outright the line between Fernandina and Cedar Key and operated the Peninsular Railroad extending from Waldo to Ocala. The latter company had received the franchise rights of the old Florida Railroad between Waldo and Ocala; construction began in 1879, and the road was completed to Ocala during 1880 with a two-mile branch extending to Silver Springs. The line was constructed to a five-foot gauge and laid with thirty-eight pound iron rails. [19]

By early 1881, the Atlantic, Gulf and West India Transit Railroad again was behind in interest payments, and stockholders and bondholders made arrangements for a reorganization. A public sale was held on April 4, 1881, and E. N. Dickerson and Charles D. Willard, acting for the bondholders, paid $12,700 for the railroad. Three weeks later the Florida Transit Railway was incorporated. [20] The new company owned and operated the same property as the old one with one addition; it leased the Fernandina and Jacksonville Railroad, a 21.5 mile line constructed in 1880 by Edward Harriman and W. Bayard Cutting, extending from Hart's Road to Jacksonville. This road reduced the distance from Jacksonville to northern points by thirty-three miles. [21]

18. *Ibid.*, 106-07, 268-69.
19. *Ibid.*, 516-17; *IIF Minutes*, II, 135, 273, 502.
20. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 48; Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, April 16, 1881. Willard was a Washington attorney who represented Sir Edward J. Reed in the United States. For some of his interests in Florida see *IIF Minutes*, II, 211, 379, 506-07; III, 117, 173, 196.
21. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 48; Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, April 2, 1881. For Harriman's career see *Dictionary of American Biography*, VIII, 296-300. W. Bayard Cutting


G E O R G I A
hattahoochee
Tallahassee
Live Oak
Baldwin
Yulee
Fernandina
Jacksonville
St. Marks
Waldo
Gainesville
Archer
Cedar Key
Ocala
Wildwood
Tavares
L. Apopka
Orlando
Trilby
Plant City
Tampa
Lake
Okeechobee
FLORIDA CENTRAL & PENINSULAR
RAILROAD
in
1899

Henry Bradley Plant completed the Waycross Short Line between Waycross, Georgia, and Jacksonville in 1881. This route decreased the Plant System's time to the North, a fact that frightened the officials of the Florida Transit Company. The Plant System was an aggressive competitor having excellent connections with northern lines. There was no enthusiasm among officials of the Florida Transit Railway when Plant wrote Yulee suggesting the two cooperate in establishing a tri-weekly steamer service to Key West and Havana from Cedar Key. Plant wrote again in August urging a meeting between officials of the two systems to make arrangements for the interchange of freight and passengers. [22] There is no record of Yulee's reply to the first of these two suggestions, but he evidently declined to consider the first proposal because no steamer service was established. Plant did not pursue the subject, but officials of the Florida Transit were worried. The presence of Plant in Jacksonville convinced them that he had come to the state on important business. They were afraid he would absorb their company or the Florida Central and Western which controlled the track between Jacksonville and Quincy. The Florida Transit group decided to concede nothing to Plant, and Yulee was detailed to talk with him on the assumption that Plant would by-pass the Transit company if Yulee asked him to do so. [23] The two met and agreed upon a friendly alliance permitting the two systems to exist side by side. Yulee did not object when Plant insisted that he was obligated to construct a line from

was a New York lawyer and financier. He and his brother, R. Fulton Cutting, a New York banker and civic leader, were interested in many railroad companies, banks, and insurance companies. See *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942* (Chicago, 1942), 289-90; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York, 1898), XXVI, 442-43. According to John F. Stover, *The Railroads of the South 1865-1900: A Study in Finance and Control* (Chapel Hill, 1955), 272, the Cutting brothers owned a majority of the shares of the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad which they sold to John L. Williams and Sons of Richmond, Virginia.

22. H. B. Plant to Yulee, May 11, August 21, 1881, Yulee Papers; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* April 26, 1881; Henry V. Poor, *Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* 1881, 411. Title varies in subsequent volumes. Cited hereafter as *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States.*

23. C. D. Willard to E. N. Dickerson, June 13, 1881, Yulee Papers.

Live Oak to Rowlands Bluff. Shortly after their meeting, lesser officials conferred and worked out an agreement affecting interchange of traffic between Yulee's road and the Plant System. [24]

The Florida Transit owners incorporated the Tropical Florida Railroad in 1881 to continue the extension of the road down the peninsula. The new company received the franchise rights of the old Florida Railroad between Ocala, Tampa, and Charlotte Harbor. [25] Construction began immediately, and in 1881 the first locomotive steamed into Wildwood, a small village south of Ocala. The people of that community opposed the railroad, because they believed that when the trees were cut from the right-of-way wind would blow down the tunnel in the forest and kill their crops. Consequently, none of the local men would work for the construction company, and laborers had to be imported. The company met an even more difficult problem in that area: the Panasoffkee Swamp. As fill was poured onto the roadbed it sank into the muck. Efforts to determine the depth of the swamp failed; at one time five pine trees were driven down, one on the top of the other, without reaching bottom. [26] In 1884, after hard and expensive work, the railroad eventually reached Panasoffkee, eight miles beyond Wildwood. This road, like the majority of Florida lines, was constructed to a five-foot gauge and laid with forty-pound steel rail. [27]

The Tropical Florida, however, lost its identity before it reached Panasoffkee. On January 3, 1883, the company and the Peninsular Railroad were merged into the Florida Transit Railway to form the Florida Transit and Peninsular Railroad Company. [28] The new corporation owned a 280-mile network of rails extending from Fernandina to Panasoffkee and from Waldo to Cedar Key. In addition, the Yulee group incorporated the Leesburg and Indian River Railroad in 1881 to construct a line from some point on the Tropical Florida Railroad line through Leesburg to the Indian River. Construction began in March 1884,

24. Yulee to D. E. Maxwell, October 24, 1881; Maxwell to Yulee, November 3, 1881; agreement between the Plant System and the Florida Transit Railroad Company, November 2, 1881, *ibid.*
25. *IIF Minutes,* II, 434.
26. *Wildwood Echo,* March 22, 1956.
27. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 51.
28. *Ibid.,* 46, 51.

and on June 1, 1884, the road was completed from Wildwood to Leesburg, a distance of eleven miles. [29]

The owners of the successors of the Florida Railroad thus followed a policy of chartering a new company to construct each section of the proposed route as it moved down the peninsula. The Peninsular Railroad built the line from Waldo to Ocala. The Tropical Florida intended to extend the track from Ocala to Tampa, and it actually constructed the track as far south as Panasoffkee. Then the Leesburg and Indian River Railroad was incorporated to build a branch line. As each section was completed, and sometimes before, a merger occurred between the parent company and the subsidiary.

Now a greater merger was in the making; it created the largest network of Florida railroads to that date. The Florida Transit and Peninsular (Fernandina to Panasoffkee and from Waldo to Cedar Key), the Florida Central and Western (Jacksonville to River Junction on the Apalachicola River and from Tallahassee to St. Marks), the Fernandina and Jacksonville (Yulee to Jacksonville), and the Leesburg and Indian River (Wildwood to Leesburg) reached an agreement in March 1884, concerning consolidation of their properties. Papers were filed with Florida's secretary of state in January 1885, incorporating these companies into the Florida Railway and Navigation Company. [30] Officers of this new corporation were B. S. Henning, president; John Hodges, treasurer; J. W. Bushnell, chief engineer; and David Elwell Maxwell, general superintendent. All these men had extensive railroad experience. Maxwell, for example, had been associated with railroads since 1865, when he began work as a clerk in the St. Marks office of the Tallahassee Railroad. He entered the employ of the Florida Railroad in 1868, and remained with its successors the rest of his life, eventually rising to the position of vice-president. [31]

29. *Ibid.*, 54; Ralph G. Hill and James H. Pledger (comps.), *The Railroads of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1939), A14-15. Hill and Pledger give the wrong date for the incorporation of this company.

30. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 67. All these lines were subsidiaries of the Florida Transit and Peninsular except the Florida Central and Western which was a separate entity. The companies operated as a unit from the date of agreement.

31. John C. Cooper, "In Memoriam. David Elwell Maxwell," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, I (January 1909), 3-5. Bushnell, Florida, seat

The *Commercial and Financial Chronicle* reported that Yulee was named a director of the new company, but according to a letter written by Yulee in 1886, shortly before his death, he had severed all connections with the railroad in 1881. Yulee added that he had sold out when Sir Edward J. Reed bought into the company and agreed to complete the Tropical Florida branch to Tampa. [32] No other evidence indicates when Reed bought into the Florida Transit and Peninsular, if indeed he did. His controlling interest in the Florida Central and Western gave him an authoritative voice in the affairs of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company. [33] In any case, Yulee, Florida's first great railroad builder, had retired from active participation in the business he knew so well. His railroad schemes had added to his fame, but not to his wealth. Yulee said: "For myself I never got one cent return from my pecuniary contributions toward the creation of the Florida Railroad, even the salary I was allowed having been wholly absorbed in paying installments on stock." [34] Yulee was both hated and praised. When he built the line to Cedar Key, the people of Tampa burned him in effigy; later, the citizens of Polk County voted him a grateful thanks for bringing the railroad into their area. [35] Even in his last years, Yulee still dreamt of developing a railroad network throughout Florida. A road from Tampa to Pensacola was feasible, he thought, and he promised to work actively towards establishing one. [36]

While the officials of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company lacked Yulee's ability to dramatize the railroad business, they continued to follow a program of expansion. A line from Leesburg to Tavares was completed in June 1884, and one

of Sumter County, was named for J. W. Bushnell. Federal Writers Project, *Florida: A Guide to the Southernmost State* (New York, 1939), 536.

32. Yulee to Henderson, April 30, 1886, Yulee Papers. Sir Edward J. Reed was an Englishman from County Kent who purchased 2,000,000 acres of Florida land from Hamilton Disston. See *IIF Minutes*, III, 95, 103-06; *Who Was Who, 1897-1915* (London, 1935), 590.
33. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 27, 1881; Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 38.
34. Yulee to Henderson, April 30, 1886, Yulee Papers.
35. Ernest L. Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County Florida* (St. Augustine, 1928), 56; resolution from J. H. Humphries as secretary for Polk County Citizens' Group, Yulee Papers.
36. Yulee to W. Major Thompson, January 20, 1881, Yulee Papers.

from Panasoffkee to Terrell was finished in July. The DeBary-Baya Steamboat Line of seventeen vessels was purchased in September 1884. Thirteen boats operated on the St. Johns River and four sailed between Fernandina and Savannah, Georgia. The company officials expected the arrangement to prove satisfactory since practically "all competition" was eliminated, but they were overly optimistic.[37] Pointing out that over 9,000,000 people in the Caribbean area exported goods worth more than $50,000,000 a year, they expected the Florida Railway and Navigation Company to carry, either on the railroad or the boats, many of these products. The volume of traffic was expected to increase tremendously when the road was extended to Tampa and Charlotte Harbor. Local freight would pay all expenses and liabilities; the foreign trade would be all profit.[38] These plans revived Yulee's dream of tapping the markets and raw materials of the Gulf and Caribbean area. At the same time the production of Florida goods, especially vegetables, would be served by providing swift transportation to northern markets

In spite of the great hopes, the Florida Railway and Navigation Company faced difficulties from the beginning. Edward Lewis bought the St. Marks branch of the Florida Central and Western at a foreclosure sale on October 9, 1883. He received the deed on June 24, 1885, and on the same day leased the short line to the Florida Railway and Navigation Company. Lewis sold the branch line, subject to the lease, to W. Bayard Cutting for $25,000 on October 6, 1886.[39] Other difficulties arose which were more serious than the detachment of one of the branch lines. The interest on the outstanding bonds was not paid, and on October 27, 1885, the United States Circuit Court appointed H. Rieman Duval, former manager of the Erie Fast Freight Line, as receiver for the 529 mile network of rails. During his receivership Duval continued the building program, completing the thirty-nine mile section between Terrell and Plant City and a two-mile branch to Silver Springs.[40]

37. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* September 13, 1884, 290.
38. *Ibid.,* August 30, 1884, 233.
39. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 68.
40. *Ibid.,* 67; New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* October 31, 1885, 494. Duval was a native of Baltimore and a Confederate veteran. *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942,* 350.

The company's financial condition did not improve under the receiver, and the owners of bonds and stocks began devising means to regain control of their property. Interest on the receiver's certificates was unpaid, adding to the road's indebtedness. Creditors obtained a court order setting the date to sell the company on November 1, 1887, but that date was postponed to the first Monday in February 1888.[41] In the meantime, the owners of the first and second mortgage bonds met and agreed upon a plan of reorganization. There were $1,500 per mile of receiver's certificates, all held by individuals and companies. The Plant group was expected to buy the company at the sale, but some of the second mortgage holders also wanted the road. Led by W. Bayard Cutting, Wayne MacVeagh, Edward Dickerson, P. C. Van Weil, and A. N. Van Weil, they offered par value plus accrued interest for the first mortgage bonds. The offer was accepted and plans were made to end the receivership. It was decided to issue $5,000 per mile of first mortgage bonds bearing five per cent interest, $3,000 per mile of first preferred stock, and $8,000 per mile of second preferred stock. Common stock would remain as it then existed. The plan was agreeable to the stockholders and bondholders, and the separate divisions of the Florida Railway and Navigation company were sold at three separate auctions, the last one on May 12, 1888.[42]

The sale of the company was confirmed by the United States Circuit Court on July 5, 1888, and on November 17 letters patent were issued by the Florida secretary of state incorporating the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company. The new company took possession of all the properties of the Florida Railway and Navigation Company on May 1, 1889. At that time the company also received possession of the Tallahassee to St. Marks branch, which had been purchased from W. Bayard Cutting in July 1888.[43]

41. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, April 16, 1887, 494; June 25, 1887, 808; November 12, 1887, 642.
42. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1888, 75; February 4, 1888, 171; February 11, 1888, 200; March 3, 1888, 289; May 12, 1888, 609. Isaac Wayne MacVeagh had been attorney general in President Garfield's cabinet and was legal counsel for the Pennsylvania Railroad. See *New York Times*, January 12, 1917; *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 170-71.
43. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, July 7, 1888, 21; Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 85.

H. R. Duval was named president of The Florida Central and Peninsular and J. Hanson Thomas was appointed treasurer. [44] Capital consisted of $3,000,000 of five per cent thirty-year gold bonds, $1,660,000 of first preferred five per cent accumulative stock, $4,500,000 of second preferred five per cent stock, and $20,000,000 of common stock. Company assets included 576 miles of main line and eighteen miles of siding; fifty-six pound steel rail was in use on 359 miles. Thirty-seven locomotives and 858 cars made up the bulk of the rolling stock. [45]

Efforts to connect the line to a southern port continued, and, while every one wanted such a connection, there was some disagreement over the selection of the seaport. One group wanted Tampa and another supported Punta Rassa. Tampa was selected, however, after businessmen in that city guaranteed the right-of-way from Plant City. The railroad company experienced some difficulty when construction reached the edge of the old military reservation which had been settled by homesteaders. Trying to prevent the road from crossing their property to the waterfront, the settlers threatened an injunction. The railroad officials decided they could not wait for the long court process of condemnation, and between Saturday and midnight on Sunday they constructed the line across the property. When the courts opened on Monday it was too late for an injunction; the settlers could sue for damages but could not halt the progress of the railroad. The matter was eventually settled, and the extension between Plant City and Tampa was opened May 1, 1890. [46]

The company began construction on a second route down the peninsula in 1891. The point of origin for the second road was Archer, located on the line between Gainesville and Cedar Key. The section to Early Bird was completed by December 1891, but the route to Tampa was not finished until sometime after 1900. [47]

44. The directors of the company were W. Bayard Cutting, R. Fulton Cutting, W. L. Breese, Adolph Engler, Wayne MacVeagh, E. N. Dickerson, John A. Henderson, L. K. Wilmerding, Ferdinand W. Peck, H. Reiman Duval, David E. Maxwell, and F. W. Foote.
45. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* July 21, 1888, 81; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* 1889, 571.
46. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co,, "Corporate History," 85; New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* September 7, 1889, 300; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* 1891, 213; Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County Florida,* 63.
47. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 85.

In addition to construction the company added several short feeder lines to its system by purchase. It bought the Tavares, Orlando and Atlantic Railroad in 1891, a line that had been incorporated in 1881. The next year construction began, and the road between Tavares and Orlando was opened in July 1884. Part of the route was over the roadbed of the three-foot gauge St. Johns and Lake Eustis Railroad; longer ties were placed on the roadbed, and the standard gauge track of the Tavares, Orlando and Atlantic straddled the track of the narrow gauge line. The road was not particularly prosperous and the Florida Central and Peninsular purchased it at public sale on March 2, 1891. The court confirmed the purchase on April 14, and the deed and possession were given the next day. [48]

The East Florida and Atlantic was another short line that was added to the larger network in 1891. This road consisted of the Orlando and Winter Park Railroad, extending the five miles between Orlando and Winter Park, and the Osceola and Lake Jesup Railway Company, extending from Winter Park to Oviedo, a distance of ten miles. The East Florida and Atlantic combined these roads in May 1891 and then leased them to the Florida Central and Peninsular, which operated them until January 1894. At that time the roads were purchased by the operating company for $65,000. [49]

As the Florida Central and Peninsular expanded its network, it improved other services and paid more attention to public relations. The agricultural editor of a north Florida newspaper, after riding over the line on a free pass, reported the company had hired a tobacco agent to stimulate interest in that crop. Cotton had been replaced by oats, corn, and tobacco as the major farm freight. Vegetables from central Florida were increasing in importance as a freight item with the Clermont station shipping 15,091 crates of truck produce in one ten-day period. About the only discordant note in the public image the company presented came in May 1892, when A. A. James, agent at Ellaville and also agent for the express company, departed with a package containing $3,000 which had been consigned to Drew and Bucki, a nearby lumber firm. [50]

48. *Ibid.,* 55, 85.
49. *Ibid.,* 89, 100; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* 1896, 185.
50. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian,* May 14, 21, 1892.

The officials of the Florida Central and Peninsular decided that the company needed better connections with the lines to the North. The old Florida Railroad had depended on steamboats out of Fernandina to carry vegetables and other products to northern markets. Later, the company made arrangements with the Plant System for the interchange of freight and passengers, but that arrangement did not work well for anyone except the Plant group. It was decided that the Florida Central and Peninsular needed its own line paralleling that of the Plant System. With this in mind, the Florida Northern Railroad Company was incorporated in Florida and Georgia in 1892; it proposed to construct a line from Yulee, Florida, to Savannah. This company was merged into the Florida Central and Peninsular in January 1893. Construction began at Yulee almost immediately afterward, and the extension was completed to Savannah by January 1, 1894. The new route was approximately forty miles shorter than the existing route and about as many minutes were cut from the time table. [51]

In an attempt to further improve connections to the North, the Florida Central and Peninsular secured a ninety-nine year lease on the South Bound Railroad Company extending from Savannah to Columbia, South Carolina, in July 1892. The terms of the lease required the Florida company to guarantee five per cent annual interest on $2,130,000 of South Bound bonds. If the net earnings of the leased line exceeded the five per cent figure, the surplus would be divided evenly between the lessor and the lessee. The Florida Central and Peninsular deposited $700,000 for the fulfillment of the contract. [52] One year later the Florida company purchased the entire capital stock of the South Bound Railroad Company, totalling $2,033,000, and immediately took possession of the road. [53] The network now extended unbroken

51. Hill and Pledger, *The Railroads of Florida,* A8; Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 86, 100. The article "The" became part of the official name of the company with this merger so that it should be called The Florida Central and Peninsular after this date.

52. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* July 30, 1892, 177; August 6, 1892, 215; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* 1893, 614.

53. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* October 7, 1893, 595; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States,* 1896, 185.

from Tampa, north to Columbia, South Carolina, and consisted of over 800 miles of railroad lines; three-fourths of this mileage was located in Florida with the rest in Georgia and South Carolina.

The company appeared prosperous in the beginning. There was a surplus of $114,485 for the year ending in 1891, and 1892 was even better with a surplus of $323,274. Gross earnings for these years were well over $1,000,000, and all the interest was paid as it came due.[54] The gross earnings for the year ending in 1894 were $2,105,752; for 1895 the total increased to $2,272,148. The latter year would have been better if the freezes in December 1894 and February 1895, had not cost the company $800,000 in anticipated revenue. The surplus for 1895 was only $3,977 as compared to $156,710 one year earlier. All divisions of the company earned a profit except the South Bound which had a deficit of $75,836. The phosphate traffic had been dull although it was not affected by the freezes, and Plant's purchase of the Florida Southern Railway and the Sanford and St. Petersburg Railroad forced the Florida Central and Peninsular to build several short feeder lines.[55]

The deficit for the company for the year ending June 30, 1896, totalled $111,884, caused by a deficit of $129,375 on the South Bound division. The following year the deficit was reduced to $75,671, and the surplus for all divisions amounted to $51,439. Freight carried increased 83,958 tons to a total of 975,415; more important, average earnings per ton mile increased from 1.195 cents to 1.239 cents. The company's financial condition continued to improve, and even the bonds of the South Bound division were being purchased as an investment by banks by 1898.[56] Gross earnings for the first ten months of 1898 amounted to $2,554,224 as compared to a total of $1,876,192 for the same period in 1897. The deficit for the South Bound was only $31,835 for the year ending June 30, 1898; the entire company had a surplus of $325,194 for that fiscal year. Even though finan-

54. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle,* December 18, 1892, 1034.

55. *Ibid.,* November 16, 1895, 871; January 18, 1896, 135-36.

56. *Ibid.,* January 9, 1897, 71; December 18, 1897, 1170; September 24, 1898, 633-34.

cial conditions improved The Florida Central and Peninsular never paid a dividend in its history. [57]

That was the situation when John L. Williams and Company of Richmond, and Middendorf, Oliver and Company of Baltimore, Maryland, purchased a majority of the stock of The Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad Company. They planned to bring the line into close union with other roads under their control. The combine, masterminded by Williams, was in the process of forming a network of approximately 2,475 miles of railroad track extending over the eastern section of the United States between Richmond, Montgomery (Alabama), and Tampa. [58] John Skelton Williams, son of John L., became president of Florida Central and Peninsular on October 20, 1899, replacing H. R. Duval. [59] This move was a preliminary to the takeover of the Florida concern by the Seaboard Air Line Railway Company. The Florida Central and Peninsular was operated by the larger network from July 1, 1900, to August 15, 1903, when the merger was completed and the Florida road passed out of existence. [60]

Thus, David Yulee's railroad underwent many changes and eventually disappeared completely into a larger railway system. Yet, Yulee's dream of a vast network of rails spanning the Florida peninsula with rapid service to the North had become a reality, and his railroad was certainly not an insignificant part of the new system.

57. *Ibid.*, November 26, 1898, 1109; December 17, 1898, 1260; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1899, 414; William A. Joubert, "A History of the Seaboard Air Line Railway" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1935), 106-08.
58. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, November 26, 1898, 1109; December 17, 1898, 1260; *Poor's Manual of the Railroads of the United States*, 1899, 414.
59. New York *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*, October 21, 1899, 865; Stover, *Railroads of the South*, 273.
60. Seaboard Air Line Railroad Co., "Corporate History," 101.

BOOK REVIEWS

Settlement of Florida. By Charles E. Bennett. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1968. xvi, 253 pp. Introduction, illustrations, appendixes, index. $12.50.)

"No man who gives his life to support a worthwhile principle," writes Congressman Charles Bennett, "should be ignored by history." In Bennett's new book, Florida's early heroes are their own historians. And the portraits they evoke are giant size and in full color. *Settlement of Florida* is a source book, printing translations of records that illuminate mainly the French colony of Fort Caroline. Bennett has purposely narrowed the spotlight in order to stress "the role of the French Protestant colony in bringing about the settlement off St. Augustine." If his singleness of purpose be a fault, it is an admirable one which for the moment at least ensconces Florida in an unaccustomed position at the center of the historical universe.

Chronologically the book spans the years 1561 to 1574, and divides into four sections which are *not* necessarily chronological: the forty-two sketches of Jacques LeMoyne de Morgues relating to the French expeditions of 1562 and 1564; LeMoyne's Florida narrative; fifteen letters spaced over the years 1561-1566, written by such diverse individuals as Spain's Philip II, Charles IX of France, Catherine de Medici (his mother), Pedro Menendez de Aviles, and the Spanish ambassadors to England (Alvarez de Quadra and Guzman de Silva); and a contemporary account of Dominique de Gourgues' vengeful raid on Spanish Florida in 1568.

There have been numerous editions of the LeMoyne sketches since the first printing in 1591. This one reproduces the color plates of the Paris edition of 1928, which came from a unique presentation copy of the first edition. Color adds much to eye appeal, though it tends to obscure some of the fine detail in the engravings, and the printer has cropped the plates slightly. The competent 1875 translation by Fred Perkins is used both for the narrative and the picture captions. LeMoyne's straightforward narrative is a classic example of the eyewitness report relating

epic adventure on a new frontier. It lays the groundwork for the more complicated documents that follow. The first of these, written in 1561 by Philip II, requires his viceroy in Mexico to advise on whether attempts to colonize inhospitable Florida should continue. It is a poor land, says Philip, and *there is no danger of the French taking it.* Even Menendez has advised against colonizing it! This short letter, as source papers so often do, reveals that groping for the best decision was as frustrating in the sixteenth century as it is in the twentieth. Actually Jean Ribault was ashore at Charlesfort (South Carolina) only a few months later, and by 1565 Menendez had to move against Fort Caroline. Other letters tell of Ribault's imprisonment in the Tower of London after refusing to betray Charlesfort to the English, and of interviews with Captain John Hawkins after his visit to Fort Caroline.

At the front of the book, in color, is the little-known family portrait of Pedro Menendez de Aviles. It accurately depicts his physical appearance. But the real spirit of the man comes to us through a trio of his letters, translated and annotated by Jeanette Thurber Connor. The longest of these, written after the defeat of the French, is not only a masterful account of the military action, but a succinct resume of Florida's strategic importance as well as an outline of Menendez' enthusiastic plans for coastal fortification and settlement so that "Your Majesty . . . being master of Florida . . . will secure the Indies and the navigation thereto." The exciting *denouement* to the melodrama is, in a sense, the de Gourgues raid. The translation is by Connor, the first publication in English of the unabridged text. It is preceded by her biographical sketch of de Gourgues. An engraving of the attack, though not by a contemporary hand, is a rare and curious interpretation. Social historians will be interested in the proposal, presumably by de Gourgues, to eliminate France's poverty by shipping the poor to Florida, where all would become rich.

Appendixes include the last testament of Menendez (1574), in which he tried to assure the continued involvement of his family in Florida affairs, and a list of Florida governors from 1513 to 1967. Among source books on early Florida, *Settlement of Florida* helps to fill the hiatus between the publications devoted to Ribault, Laudonniere, and Menendez, and Connor's *Colonial Records.* While most of the volume is taken up with

description and narratives of action the selections also expose rather neatly the opposing outlooks of the principal protagonists. Regrettably, the bibliography was omitted and the documentation, not always present nor precise, does not fully supply its lack.

It should surprise no one that several of the documents in this book appear for the first time in English print. Language-whether Latin, French, Spanish, or English - is no small barrier in the study of American colonial history. Coming upon competent translations is like finding a welcome mat at the door.

ALBERT MANUCY

National Park Service
Richmond, Virginia

The Mulberry Tree. By John Frasca. (Englewood Cliffs, N. J.: Prentice-Hall, Inc., 1968. 184 pp. $4.95.)

John Frasca, onetime press secretary to the late Governor David L. Lawrence of Pennsylvania and a reporter for United Press, and *The Boston American,* came to Florida from Lynn, Massachusetts, and started to work as a reporter for the *Tampa Tribune* early in 1965.

A rash of minor robberies in the town of Mulberry, the phosphate mining town thirty-two miles east of Tampa, precipitated Frasca into an investigation which kept him busy from July through September 1965, and resulted in the freeing of an innocent man, Robert Watson, and the arrest of four guilty ones. Before he was finished, this demon reporter had dragged in no less a person, or persons, than Sy Deeb, millionaire Tallahassee industrialist; Manuel Garcia, fire-eating Tampa mouthpiece; and Major Clark Stone with his associate, Jack Alderman, a firm of Lakeland modern investigators. So great was the honest charm of Mr. Frasca's reporting for the *Tampa Tribune* that he not only hooked in the services of the big-wheels mentioned for free, but performed the almost impossible feat of stirring up some justice in an apathetic community - Polk County - certainly not an atypical county or condition from any other county in the State. Mr Frasca emerged with the well-deserved bonus of a superb book, *The Mulberry Tree,* plus a Pulitzer Prize for reporting awarded him in 1966. This is all yours for $4.95, provided you

are lucky enough to have a bookstore in your Florida home town, and can rush there fast enough to secure this BEST BUY!

Mr. Frasca begins his book by telling how the city, although deriving its prosperity from the mines, received its name from the stunted dying mulberry tree in the yard of the railroad station, only a block from the center of town. From its limbs several whites and Negroes were hanged during the turbulent 1880s when the mines were first operated. It is significant that Mr. Frasca titled his book *The Mulberry Tree*. "One old-timer remembered seeing the bodies of three murderers, two Negroes and a white man, moving softly in the early morning wind of a sun-spattered day in 1907. Some who were hanged may not have been guilty at all. Vigilante justice was not meant to be terribly just but awfully quick." So what's new? Mr. Frasca's book will convince any fair-minded reader that justice under the Mulberry tree is not too different today.

On March 11, 1965, according to two unshakable women witnesses, "a very tall, slim, blond, blue-eyed bandit wearing coveralls and a blue bandana," stuck up the Kwik-Serv grocery store and escaped with $900 in cash. A fast, almost farcical, trial before Judge Roy H. Amidon (a local landmark) and a six-man jury, in the face of an alibi from a man named Mims that Robert Lamar Watson (5' 10" tall) was 100 miles away in Sanford, sent Watson up for a ten-year stretch. Four days after Watson was imprisoned, Harold Weston, manager of a local supermarket, and an escort officer, Patrolman Dudley, were held up and robbed of $1,200 cash and $500 checks as they were about to place it in the night depository. Officer Dudley said: "I didn't see him when he put that gun in my back. . . . I got the idea that he was a tall man, though. It seemed like his voice was coming from a long way up."

"I think we've got something!" Frasca told Managing Editor Harold Tyler of the *Tampa Tribune* after Frasca had talked long-distance to Mr. Mims, Watson's Sanford alibi. "They've got a young fellow in prison for a robbery he probably didn't commit. There were two holdups in Mulberry that were very much alike. He was in prison when the second was committed. There was a white convertible in town the night of the first robbery. A man was seen leaving it and returning to it about ten minutes later, carrying a bag that might have contained the loot. The

man in prison, Robert Lamar Watson, has an old green Oldsmobile. It wasn't his car." They had something, indeed, as proved by *The Mulberry Tree*, and credit it not only due to Mr. Frasca for his persistence, but to Harold Tyler for his editorial "go ahead." Any managing editor might have been forgiven for being slightly skeptical about involving his paper with doin's under the ruins of that Mulberry tree.

This reviewer remembers only too well when the miners went out on strike, led by the Mineral Workers' Union, nearly fifty years ago in 1919, and more than 1,000 men held a noonday parade in town. Working ten to twelve hours a day for $2.50, white and Negro miners demanded an eight-hour day with a minimum of thirty-seven cents an hour as recommended by the National War Labor Board. Counsel for the mine owners was quoted by the *Tampa Tribune* as saying: "There are, of course, going to be no conferences nor any adjustment of matters between mine owners and the union because there is nothing to confer about, nor is there anything to discuss."

Blood ran in the streets! Mulberry was "shot up" by mine guards in a powerhouse at the edge of town. A train was stopped, fired on, and tank cars of oil emptied. This incident provoked a court injunction against the strikers, which in the end broke the strike. Did the miners win? Sure! They returned to work at an increased wage scale of $3.00 for an eight to ten-hour day.

Today, justice prevails in Imperial Polk (a name self-bestowed by a committee of prominent citizens some fifteen years ago which has somehow missed the state guide books) and there is fairness and prosperity for all. Well, so long as we have some John Frascas around, backed by the *Tampa Tribune*. Don't hang under the Mulberry Tree with anyone else but me!

BAYNARD KENDRICK

Leesburg, Florida

Vexed and Troubled Englishmen, 1590-1642. By Carl Bridenbaugh. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968. xix, 487 pp. Preface, note on documentation, index. $10.00.)

With this fine study, Professor Bridenbaugh has auspiciously launched a projected multi-volume series on "The Beginnings of

the American People." And those beginnings, in his view, can be discerned in the half century of English life he has selected for the present study. His focus is on ordinary men and women-those common folk who bulked so large in the great migration of English settlers to North America during the reigns of James I and Charles I. His aim is to recapture imaginatively the quality of their lives by viewing them in the perspective of their contemporary concerns and by permitting them to speak for themselves. The result is one of the finest books of its kind to appear in the eighty-odd years since Edward Eggleston and J. B. McMaster attempted to make early American social history a respectable enterprise for serious historians.

The climax of the present volume comes in two chapters on the "First Swarming of the English" and the "Puritan Hegira," which follow ten chapters describing several aspects of the old world life of the first Anglo settlers who came to America. His descriptive method is the conventional one of the social historian, but since his inquiry is so broad and penetrating it suffers little from a lack of analysis. His conclusions emerge almost automatically from the narrative and are largely conveyed in the title he has selected. The generation of migrants that peopled the first Chesapeake and New England settlements was a deeply disturbed one, troubled by fundamental social, economic, political, and religious problems. In short, this great movement of English people, which was directed to the continent of Europe as well as to America, was much more the result of a push than a pull.

Those familiar with Bridenbaugh's earlier works and his presidential address before the American Historical Association in 1962 will not wonder that he features so prominently the urban dimension of seventeenth century English life or that he has so successfully recaptured the flavor of the bygone age. What is neglected, surprisingly, is a detailed examination of the collective or organizational activities that lay behind the great migration. And this neglect, I feel sure, is more the product of his method than of his perception. Had he devoted more attention to analyzing his subject, many insights that are implicit in his work could have been probed more thoroughly and a few contradictions thereby resolved. Why, one wonders, is this "swarming of tens of thousands of Englishmen" "almost impossible to explain except as a consequence of what we may call national shock,"

(p.411) when we are assured that incessant internal migration was characteristic of English life and that loyalties were local rather than national? And can religion be assigned such a primary role in the "Puritan Hegira" when it is clearly implied that the religious malaise itself was a derivative of the social and economic unrest of the period?

Finally, the assumption that these few thousand earliest emigrants to North America played the dominant role in shaping "The American People" has long been an unexamined major premise among colonial historians that deserves critical examination by anyone who seeks to understand our "beginnings." Thus we can hope that Professor Bridenbaugh will in subsequent volumes make more explicit the precise influence of their experience compared with that of the several million emigrants from other regions who later made North America their home. I hope, but am not confident, that the old world background of many of those non-English settlers will ultimately receive as much attention as he has lavished on the chief characters of the present volume, which is an obvious labor of love.

PAUL H. SMITH

University of Florida

Was America A Mistake? An Eighteenth-Century Controversy. By Henry Steele Commager and Elmo Giordanetti. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1968. 240 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography. $5.95.)

The European conception of America in the eighteenth century is the subject of this volume, which includes four succinct essays by Henry Steele Commager, followed by ten major selections edited by the author and Elmo Giordanetti. Though the essays are brief and largely descriptive, they summarize admirably the eighteenth-century European thought and debate about the New World. Some *philosophes* argued that the conquest of America, the exploitation of the Indians, and the extension of Negro slavery were unfortunate, and that therefore the discovery of America was indeed a mistake. Abbe Raynal's *Histoire philosophique et Politique des Etabissements et du Commerce des Europeens dans les Deux Indes* (1770) asserted that nature was

generally weaker in the New World than in the Old. The Abbe wrote that not only were the Indians degenerate, but the English in America "had visibly degenerated" as a result of transplantation or "mixture." During the American Revolution the Abbe changed his thinking, at least about English America, which had produced Benjamin Franklin and original writings on "the rights of mankind and the rights of nations." However, America had always had its defenders, who maintained that the discovery of the New World had not been a mistake, but, in fact, a blessing, for in the pristine and uncorrupted environment of America, man could pursue happiness on earth. The defenders of America imagined the Indians not as degenerate humans, but as uncorrupted and noble savages. Professor Commager believes that the English "had never really subscribed to the degeneracy theory, nor could they, as long as their own colonies were loyal and flourishing, accept the notion that the whole enterprise of discovery and colonization had been a mistake." During the American Revolution, Englishmen such as Tom Paine, Dr. Richard Price, and the Reverend Joseph Priestley transferred their loyalty to America; others such as George III, Lord North, and Dean Josiah Tucker admitted that America was not "a weak and degenerate offshoot of the British race, but a formidable rival." However, as Professor Commager emphasizes correctly, the vehement debate about the nature of the environment and achievements of the New World was essentially a debate about Europe and European ideals and values. "With each passing year," Commager explains, "it became increasingly clear that those who took sides on the Problem of America were really using America as a kind of stalking horse for their own battles, campaigns, and crusades."

Professor Commager's brief and informal essays summarize the dialogue about America and suggest the significance of America in eighteenth-century European thought, particularly French thought. Moreover, the volume will be especially useful because it is the only anthology illustrating the principal arguments of such European writers as the Comte de Buffon, the Abbe Corneille de Pauw, the Marquis de Condorcet, and Friedrich van Gentz, as they debate the Abbe de Raynal's question, "Was America A Mistake?"

CHURCHILL E. WARD

Hiram College

The Mississippi Valley Frontier. By John Anthony Caruso. (Indianapolis: Bobbs-Merrill Company, Inc. x, 423 pp. Preface, maps, bibliography, index. $8.50.)

This volume is the fourth of a projected multi-volume narrative history of the American frontier and is the first of two volumes on the history of the Mississippi Valley frontier. As its subtitle indicates, it covers the period of French exploration and settlement. The study begins with a general description of the Mississippi River and the country through which it flows. Then follow six chapters containing rather brief accounts of the history and culture of some of the major Indian tribes who inhabited the region: the Sioux, Chippewa, Sac and Fox, Osage, Quapaw, and Caddo. While a number of the most important tribes of the region are covered, several equally important ones, like the Pawnee and Kansa, are not mentioned, and the descriptions of those included are rather fragmentary. Twelve chapters, constituting the main body of the book, contain descriptions of the activities of the principal French explorers of the Mississippi Valley in the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries. Notable among them are Nicolet, Radisson and Groseilliers, Jolliet and Marquette, Hennepin, La Salle, Le Sueur, Bourgmond, and La Verendrye and his sons. Although the author has used primary, as well as secondary, materials in his research, these are essentially standard accounts of French exploration of the interior of North America. On a related subject, one short chapter treats the Fox Indian wars of the eighteenth century.

In two chapters Caruso sketches briefly the history of the early French settlements in Lousiana and the Illinois Country up to the Louisiana Purchase. He concludes with a short description of Creole society as found in the Mississippi Valley. It covers their customs and manners, dress, houses, food, and fur trade activities. Caruso makes a point of declaring that Creoles were not persons of mixed Caucasian and Negro blood but were pure white persons born in the New World of French or Spanish blood or of both. The term is more commonly defined to include all non-Indians, including Negroes, born in Louisiana not only in the colonial period but even in the early nineteenth century. Inserted at appropriate places in the book are eight small maps which show generally the locations of the major Indian tribes of the region and the routes of the principal French explorers.

While this volume is designed to be a part of a series, it also stands alone. Some of the subjects discussed, however, are covered more fully in one of the other volumes of the series. Iberville's role in the founding of Louisiana, for example, is much more fully treated in Caruso's *Southern Frontier*. This work is rather well written; it is clear and easy to read. Its treatment is of necessity selective, but the basis of selection is not readily discernible. Furthermore, some topics are treated rather sketchily, while others, like the American Revolution in the West and the events leading up to the Louisiana Purchase, which would seem to be somewhat peripheral subjects for this study, are discussed at rather great length. This book appears to be directed mainly to the general reader for its contains little, if any, information not known to scholars in the field. While the notes and bibliography give a fairly comprehensive coverage of the pertinent sources, some of the works cited are outdated.

The work is marred by a number of errors. Some of the geographical information is misleading, as for example the indication that Kaskaskia is up the Mississippi from Cahokia, rather than down. Several historical facts are incorrect. The formal transfer of Upper Louisiana to the United States occurred on March 10, not March 4, 1804. The Winnebago and Puant are one and the same tribe; Puant is the name by which the French referred to these Indians. Some generalizations are not valid. The assertion that, "The French, moreover, were much more successful than the English in supplying the Indians, even the remotest tribes, with merchandise," is not in keeping with the evidence. Neither is the statement that, in punishing an Indian for a crime, the Americans, unlike the French, "hardly ever bothered" to impress his tribe with the fact that his sentence "was fully justified." Despite these and other shortcomings, Professor Caruso has written a book which the reader is likely to find both interesting and informative.

JOHN L. Loos

Louisiana State University

Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, Founding Father. By Marvin R. Zahniser. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1967. ix, 295 pp. Preface, bibliography, index. $7.50.)

This is a well-researched, well-organized book which brings together the pertinent data on one of the most important of the South Carolina patriots, Charles Cotesworth Pinckney, particularly information that pertains to the diplomatic phases of Pinckney's career. This account is based upon the Pinckney Papers in the Library of Congress, supplemented by a study of newspapers, public documents, the letters of Pinckney's friends, as well as material already published in the *South Carolina Historical Magazine*. The organization is that of the usual biographical account, in this instance of a gentleman who became a rebel.

The central purpose is to reveal the personality of Pinckney and to explain the motives that moved this member of the South Carolina elite to become a rebel. This is difficult to do because of the paucity of personal material which provides insights into character and into the formation of ideas. The author must therefore rely upon biographies of similar figures to help him solve his problems. Mr. Zahniser does not have much help in the existing biographies of Thomas Pinckney and John Rutledge. Edward Rutledge, John Rutledge, Jr., and Charles Pinckney await biographers. The close relationship between Charles Cotesworth Pinckney and his brother-in-law Edward Rutledge is the tie that binds the South Carolina Federalists together. Zahniser probes this relationship, explaining in the end how the death of Edward Rutledge undermines the political career of Pinckney. The relationship between the Pinckney brothers and their young cousin Charles Pinckney may be even more important because it is amid this family friction that the historian may find an explanation for the differences between the Federalist gentlemen and the Republican gentlemen in South Carolina, differences that chart South Carolina's change from ratification in 1788 to nullification in 1832. Zahniser speculates on the reasons for this friction but admits, as others have done, that the enigma is still there. Rather than a rivalry stemming from personal jealousies, this friction may have originated in the constitutional convention where the Pinckneys took different views concerning the protection of southern economic interests. But even if the historians should explain fully the motives of all of the Pinckneys and the Rutledges, the student would still need full-scale portraits of Rawlins Lowndes, Ralph Izard, John F. Grimke, Robert Goodloe Harper, Isaac Huger, Robert Barnwell, and many more. Out of a massing of such por-

traits there might then emerge the characteristics of these South Carolina Federalists.

At the moment the picture of Charles Cotesworth Pinckney is that of a man with a strong sense of duty, instilled in him quite early by his mother, a duty to his family, his group, and his state. This duty he never shirks. Neither military nor statesmanlike genius is his strength, but there is an ability to command respect from his followers - in the militia by discipline, in his peer group by his own prestige. About Charles Cotesworth Pinckney there was not even the saving grace of humor as there was about his brother Thomas, so that he remains the most imperious figure on the Carolina scene. He was South Carolina's Washington. This book, like Marcus Cunliff's study of George Washington, reflects on both the Man and the Monument and will lead to even further studies of this founding father.

GEORGE C. ROGERS, JR.

University of South Carolina

Twelve Years A Slave. By Solomon Northrup. Edited by Sue Eakin and Joseph Logsdon. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. xxxviii, 273 pp. Introduction, illustrations, appendixes, index. $7.50.)

Southerners of today, their concept of ante-bellum life largely formed by the newest re-release of *Gone With The Wind* in touched-up color, are often mystified by the hatred which much of Black America seems to bear toward the whites. Knowing the period only as a time when Step'n Fetchit was scared white in a graveyard, when the late Hattie McDaniel dispensed comfort and advice to weeping belles disappointed in love, and when faithful Uncle Tom guarded Little Eva, they are in for a shock when they read in *Twelve Years A Slave* what slavery was really like. Hopefully, that shock may produce more understanding and tolerance for the heritage of hatred that seems to be making black-white communication so difficult.

On January 4th, 1853, the recorder for the Parish of Avoyelles, Louisiana, witnessed the final document by which one Solomon Northrup was restored to freedom. Later that year the story of his experiences, *Twelve Years A Slave, Narrative of Solomon Northrup, a Citizen of New York, Kidnapped in Washington*

City in 1841, and Rescued in 1853, from a Cotton Plantation Near the Red River in Louisiana, appeared in book form and was an instant best seller throughout the North. David Wilson, who set down Solomon's story was, oddly enough, not an abolitionist, but the book nevertheless became a powerful weapon in the abolitionist cause. And well it might, for a more convincing or harrowing account of man's inhumanity to man could hardly be penned.

Published again by the Louisiana State University Press as part of The Library of Southern Civilization, with an excellent introduction and scholarly footnotes by the editors that give the story an authenticity which even the most skeptical can hardly doubt, Solomon Northrup's story is a shaft of ruthless white light, illuminating one of the darkest pages in American history. Beginning with the callous professional abductors who did a thriving business seizing black freedmen in the North, penning them in the barracoons of Washington and other border cities until they could be shipped like cattle to New Orleans, and selling them to professional dealers there, for resale to plantation owners and timber contractors of bayou shore and delta, the whole dirty business is graphically described by one who suffered everything with which it could flay him - except death itself.

Northrup's story is more than a simple tale of injustice and human brutality, however. He sets down in careful detail odd bits of human interest from plantation life, much of it documented by the editors, creating a conviction of authenticity. Not all his masters were bad; not all of slave life was painful, although the lash often waited at the end of the cotton rows for the laggard whose wounds from yesterday's whipping made every movement agony. And yet even the happiest events - and they were rare - cannot compensate for the degradation of being a slave or the constant threat of brutal separation on the auction block from loved ones.

Twelve Years A Slave should be must reading for every young Southerner. Only in accounts such as this can they understand the true nature of the curse which, more than a hundred years later, still hangs like a millstone around the neck of the South, hampering final emancipation for white and black alike.

FRANK G. SLAUGHTER

Jacksonville, Florida

Labor in the South. By F. Ray Marshall. (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1967. xiv, 406 pp. Preface, tables, index. $8.00.)

Announcing that his basic purpose is to analyze the factors influencing the growth of organized labor in the South, Professor Marshall produces a remarkably brief but valuable synthesis of the development of unionism and unions in the states of the Confederacy plus Kentucky and Oklahoma. He devotes the first two chapters to an analysis of the main factors which make the South's basic political, economic, and social institutions unique. Demonstrating "that the south can be identified quantitatively as a unique region in terms of economic and demographic factors, as well as . . . in geography and politics," he considers the presence of Negroes in large numbers as one of the most significant factors which influences all southern institutions. The introductory description of the general development of unions in the South prior to 1928 considers the effect of racial policies and other factors on the fortunes of the National Labor Union, the Knights of Labor, and the American Federation of Labor. It is regrettable that only two pages of the section dealing with the "institutional setting" and general developments before 1928 are given to "political action" and none to state legislation.

The second major part of the book focuses on union development by trade and industry before 1932, including chapters on the printing and building trades, railroad workers and longshoremen, coal miners and textile workers, agricultural and lumber workers, and the 1930 AFL organizing campaign. Each chapter presents a brief description of the growth of major unions in the trades, the influence of racial policies, and in some cases, a brief analysis of the style and reasons for success or failure. For example, he concludes that the 1929 strikes were more acts of desperation than indications of southern workers' conversion to unionism. Partly because of that reason, but more importantly because the AFL was not "financially nor structurally suited to organize the industrial worker," the campaign of 1930 failed. The Communists failed in their efforts also, and they were discredited by their leaders' interest in "publicity and sensationalism." Strike defeats are attributed to the employers' ability to recruit strikebreakers rather than the anti-union activities of the police, national guard, and injunction.

The survey of developments in the New Deal and World War II periods is replete with interesting observations for further research. Professor Marshall traces developments in the coal mining industry, the influence of communist and socialist organizations among sharecroppers, competitive unionism among textile and clothing workers, and the emergence of the CIO and its threat to the AFL. The AFL success in holding a majority of union members in the South is ascribed to the fact that its racial and political views were more conservative than those of the CIO. A survey of the effect of World War II on the southern economy and unionism, the post-war organizing campaigns of the AFL and CIO, and the rising anti-union sentiment provide an important overview and analysis that has not been available.

It is in the last 100 pages of the book that Professor Marshall makes the most substantial contribution. In one chapter, the author considers the factors influencing unionization among various organizations and states since 1939, and makes particular note of geographic location and company size. Another chapter analyzes "factors influencing union growth in the South" and makes an important contribution in theory in suggesting that union growth and the increase of collective bargaining is related to the industrial composition of the region, the size of establishments, the presence of branch plants of national companies, the occupational mix, and the location of industry in urban rather than rural sites. Professor Marshall also finds an "inverse relationship between the proportion of the industry located in the South and the extent of collective bargaining coverage," and he advances the sensible, although not always accepted, proposition that the explanation of union growth must include the entire "constellation of factors" at any given period.

The brief interpretative chapters on "Industrial Development and the Law," "The Unions and the Workers" and "The Future of Unionism in the South," maintain the interesting pace established in the preceding interpretative chapters. Anti-union sentiment is compared to the values of underdeveloped countries; right-to-work laws are interpreted as having relatively little effect upon industrialization or union growth and interestingly, in some cases, as restricting industrialization on the grounds that mostly small employers are attracted by right-to-work laws. The view that the Wagner Act's greatest value was psychological and that

most labor legislation is merely symbolic of public opinion has merit, but it may bring rebuttal, particularly when Professor Marshall himself points out that the effect of the War Labor Board was to translate elections into contracts. Suggesting that a union's growth and development is related to many internal factors, principally finance, structure, and "quality" of membership, the application of this idea to several unions is well done and points up an area of union development which still needs much research.

The final chapter predicts continued growth of unions in the South because of a number of favorable trends, among which the following are prominent: (1) migration of workers from agriculture and the South which will reduce the number of workers; (2) a change in southern ideology; (3) increasing encouragement by government, particularly in the unionization of governmental and white collar personnel; and (4) the South's industrial position relative to the non-South will increase unionization in the South to protect unions elsewhere.

Although the book contains much history and probably causes one to remark on the state of the writing of southern history because of the fact that it is written by an economist, it is principally a theoretical monograph which attempts to isolate and explain the factors determining the fortunes of organized labor in the South. It succeeds admirably in this purpose.

DURWARD LONG

University of Wisconsin Center System

The American Indian Today. Edited by Stuart Levine and Nancy O. Lurie. (DeLand: Everett/Edwards, Inc., 1968. 229 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, appendix, index. $12.00.)

This book consists of a series of thirteen brief essays written by twelve authors, nine of them practicing anthropologists and seven of them women. Two authors are themselves Indians. You have to wait until the last fifteen pages to find out how these several essays came to be associated. Editor Lurie sent a lengthy statement to eighty interested persons in the fall of 1964, in which she asked them whether or not they saw an American Indian

renascence in progress. Thirty-one of the eighty questionees replied, and twelve ended by preparing papers, accepted for publication. Their papers first appeared in a special issue of the *Midcontinent American Studies Journal* in 1965. It semed to the editors in 1967 that these ought to be updated and reissued in hardbacked form. Thus, considerably revised and regrouped to give them relationship, here are the same authors and for the most part the same essays in the present volume.

Apart from a foreword and a concluding essay telling how the volume came into being, Editor Lurie groups the remaining eleven units under three categories. The first called "The Background" contains an essay on historical background and one on Indian culture in the American culture. The second, "Current Tendencies" deals with "Nationalistic Trends Among American Indians" and "Pan-Indianism," The third category, "Cases in Point" consists of seven units, which are specific studies, unrelated to each other except that they all deal with Indians. Every essay is interesting and informative. The purpose of the collection is less to add to the fund of knowledge than to gain publicity for the problems of the Indian in our society. Unfortunately the price of the book is so high that the message cannot possibly be disseminated as widely as the editors surely intended it to be.

JOHN K. MAHON

University of Florida

The Negro's Image in the South: The Anatomy of White Supremacy. By Claude Nolen. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1967. xix, 232 pp. Introduction, bibliography, index. $6.50.)

In view of the quantity and complexity of historical writing on the late nineteenth-century South, nearly all of which has race relations as its central focus, one might legitimately question the value of another study of anti-Negro thought and practice in the thirty-five years following Appomattox. For more than a half century a substantial segment of the historical profession in America has been at work describing, analyzing, and interpreting the struggles of the Reconstruction period and the eventual over-

throw of the Radical Republican program for Negro uplift; the rationale of white supremacy constructed by white Southerners from respectable contemporary scientific opinion and the well-worn proslavery argument; the consolidation of white supremacy under the Redeemer governments; the final triumph of the movement for Negro disfranchisement after 1890; and the formulation of educational policies and labor laws designed to solidify the southern caste system.

At this point a sweeping reevaluation and reinterpretation of southern history in the late nineteenth century would seem practicable and appropriate. Such an ambitious undertaking is not what Claude Nolen has attempted. Rather he has contented himself with synthesizing a mass of material into "a descriptive narrative of the mind of the South in relation to the Negro during the period after the Civil War." The result is a concise, forthrightly written overview of how white men viewed the "Negro problem" after slavery and how they found a "solution" in the form of systematic economic and social repression and political exclusion.

Thus while Nolen's book has a certain handy usefulness, the specialist in the period will find little that is new and the general reader will probably find the discussion labored, sometimes fragmented. Nolen's survey, broken down into sections on the white supremacy theory and its applications in politics, education, and the treatment of black labor, is based entirely on published material, mainly contemporary magazines and daily newspapers. He also used many - but by no means all - of the rapidly increasing monographic studies on the post-bellum South. He evidently did not use files of the numerous county and small-town weeklies preserved in libraries over the South, and he does not acknowledge several vital secondary accounts, such as those of Thomas Gossett, Rayford Logan, John Hope Franklin, and Joel Williamson. One also looks in vain through his footnotes and bibliographical essay for citations of unpublished doctoral dissertations, of which a number would bear directly on his subject.

Punctuated by an abundance of colorful, often horrifying, quotations from righteous white men, Nolen's story remains absorbing despite its familiarity. After finishing the book one is initially struck by the distance both whites and blacks have traveled since the days when southern newspapers openly urged

violence against refractory Negroes. There is a tendency to agree with Nolen's conclusion that "the outlook for Negroes to achieve unfettered citizenship in the South is bright." But then, when the dogged present-day resistance to school integration, to equal employment, and to welfare programs for black people is remembered, one begins to understand how persistently Southerners have clung to their racist mythology, and how long and treacherous is the road to social justice.

CHARLES C. ALEXANDER

University of Texas

Woodrow Wilson: The Early Years. By George C. Osborn. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1968. ix, 345 pp. Preface, illustrations, bibliography, index. $10.00.)

This is a biography of Thomas Woodrow Wilson from his birth on December 28, 1856, until his elevation to the presidency of Princeon University on June 9, 1902. In it, Professor Osborn describes people and events which prepared Wilson to preside over Princeton and the nation. Professor Osborn treats with great care those crucial years of the twenty-eighth President of the United States usually glossed over quickly by other biographers.

The book begins with a brief sketch of Wilson's Scotch-Irish, Presbyterian family background, with its vigorous theological strains on both paternal and maternal sides. It covers Wilson's youth and early education intensively, drawing heavily on family letters, diaries, memoirs, and biographies. While Professor Osborn does not pretend to offer a psychoanalytic analysis of the subject, some significant insights into the foundation of his personality are revealed. Wilson's college experiences constitute a large portion of the book. Because of ill health, he had to drop out of Davidson College after one year. Nevertheless, he was showing the intensity and drive that was to mark his approach to intellectual activities. Professor Osborn provides a rich source of understanding Wilson's intellectual evolution in his description of the years as an undergraduate at Princeton College. By extensive references to literary society minutes, local newspapers, Princeton publications, letters, and private papers, he demonstrates how

Wilson's political philosophy grew. Professor Osborn balances his treatment of Wilson's collegiate career with an examination of the young man's family life and an early romantic excursion with his cousin. There are some amusing possibilities in the latter relationship, but the author handles it in a most straightforward fashion. Although he does not make it explicit, the incidents he describes picture Wilson as rather egocentric at this time.

The chapters on Wilson's abortive attempt to become a lawyer and on his later experiences in graduate school are especially valuable for anyone who wishes to understand his political and social philosophy. Here are the major formative influences on his thinking, and the published and unpublished expressions of that philosophy as it moved toward maturity. Here, also, are the beginnings of a number of relationships which played important parts in Wilson's later life. Professor Osborn deals with Wilson's second romance and subsequent marriage more sympathetically than he does the first. He shows strong approval of the match and, in his treatment of the first Mrs. Wilson in later chapters, he pictures her as a key factor in her husband's success. Once the author reaches the period of Wilson's college teaching career, he moves along with familiar ease. The reader experiences the struggles to make ends meet on a beginning college teacher's salary. The innumerable distractions pulling the professor and scholar away from his central goals are depicted with skill and intimate knowledge. The academic maneuvering for place and prestige on the campus and in the profession is described with a mixture of criticism and understanding. The climax of the book, Wilson's selection as president of Princeton, is a bit sketchy. There is no explanation by the board of trustees as to their reasons for picking him. Professor Osborn suggests some reasons, but they are not substantiated by statements from the trustees. Perhaps there were none available.

This biography adds to our knowledge of one of our most important presidents. It provides insights into the formation of his character and thinking by examining materials that have hitherto been ignored. It is necessary reading for those students and teachers interested in Woodrow Wilson, the process of developing political leaders, or in the history of higher education.

GERALD E. CRITOPH

Stetson University

The Ku Klux Klan in the City, 1915-1930. By Kenneth T. Jackson. (New York: Oxford University Press, 1967. xv, 326 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, index, tables. $7.50.)

In the nature of the beast, the Ku Klux Klan of the 1920s left few records behind for historians to probe. Yet indirect evidence on the subject is available, and gradually a useful body of knowledge is beginning to take shape. Popular and even scholarly tradition portrays the typical Klansman as a rural or small-town bigot, primitive in his Protestant faith, antagonistic to Negro, Catholic, and Jew, and suspicious of the city and its secular, cosmopolitan ways. Since 1924, when sociologist John Mecklin first gave it expression, this view of the Klan has endured. Several recent studies, however, have elaborated and sometimes qualified it, demonstrating that the Klan varied from state to state, that it was often respectable "middle-class" in membership, and that while it was frequently a potent political force it was primarily a moral censor, exercising much of its familiar violence against fellow WASPs who had broken the Fundamentalist code.

Kenneth Jackson has now uncovered another locale of Klan strength, tracking it through major cities scattered across the continent, notably Atlanta, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Detroit, Indianapolis, Knoxville, Memphis, and Portland. In some nine chapters, which are more anecdotal than analytical, he details the rise and fall of Klaverns in each of these nine cities. Seven other chapters deal generally with Klan activity in the South, in the Midwest, and in Atlantic and Pacific coastal cities. Each city's experience was unique. Protestant Dallas, for example, spawned an aggressive and powerful Klavern, which in one year (1922) collected $98,000 in klectokens (initiation fees) and dues. In Chicago's mass of ethnic and occupational components, the Klan claimed 100,000 members in the city and another 100,000 in the suburbs, yet quickly aroused an anti-Klan force called the American Unity League, whose tactics were sometimes as unprincipled as those of the Klan itself. In Oregon, Portland supplied the nucleus of a powerful Klan drive that gained passage of a compulsory school attendance law, though Klansmen wanted learning less than they wanted to abolish parochial schools and to place Oregon children in a "100% American" indoctrination

course. By about 1926, in city after city, the Klan reached its crest, then suddenly crumbled. Due to community opposition, internal dissension among Klansmen heady with new power, an occasional Klavern leader's graft or corruption, failure by the Klan to deliver upon promises or goals, or simply inability to maintain the emotional appeal that had first brought lonely and anxious men pouring into its ranks - for such reasons the urban Klan folded after five to six years of dramatic life.

Jackson has demolished once and for all the view of the Klan as a strictly rural or small-town sickness. Historians Charles C. Alexander and David M. Chalmers have already demonstrated the power of the KKK in certain cities, but they tend to view these urban Klansmen as country boys moved to town, carrying their "rural" prejudices and values with them. Jackson, however, discounts any rural orientation or background among his thousands of urban Knights. Yet the very characteristics that he finds among them strikingly resemble those that students of the Klan usually subsume under the term "rural," such as religious fundamentalism, near-illiteracy, antipathy toward minority groups, and a preoccupation with "100% Americanism" and traditional morality. Even in the city the Klan of the 1920s was a rear guard action by an older and "rural" American mentality against the new secular heterogeniety rising in the city. Jackson has added abundant detail to Klan history, including such precise material as Klavern membership lists and the residential distribution of Klansmen in several cities. But instead of refuting the "rural" nature of the Klan, Jackson, far more than he seems to realize, has reaffirmed it.

BURL NOGGLE

Louisiana State University

A Medical History of South Carolina, 1825-1900. By Joseph Ioor Waring. (Columbia: South Carolina Medical Association, 1967. xv, 366 pp. Foreword, preface, illustrations, index. $7.70.)

In 1825 Charleston stood with Philadelphia, Boston, and New York in the front ranks of American medicine. Its intellectual atmosphere was invigorating and the work of such eminent

physicians as John Glover, David Ramsay, and Alexander Garden had established Charleston's medical practice on sound and respectable foundations. Botany, always the ally of medicine, was claiming the interest of a group of able observers, among whom were Dr. John Lewis E. W. Shecut and Dr. Stephen Elliot. John James Audubon was soon to arrive in Charleston to become the life-long friend and collaborator of Dr. John Bachman, clergyman and natural historian. In brief, the situation augured well for even more important medical accomplishments for Charleston, and South Carolina, and the South.

Unfortunately, such was not to be the case, although modest medical progress was to continue for a couple of decades. The Medical College of South Carolina opened in 1824, and the South Carolina Medical Society, organized in 1789, was showing signs of vigor and professional responsibility, while its library could point with pride to its more than 1,400 books. Charleston claimed three hospitals. Such as they were, they represented the total for the entire state. Still the great promise for the future was only partially fulfilled. The story of medicine in South Carolina inevitably reflects the state's political and economic vicissitudes. It is therefore a chronicle of mild achievement followed by a period of disruption and bleak discouragement. Looking backward from the year 1865 it was difficult to realize that as recently as 1848 Charleston physicians had been instrumental in the founding of the American Medical Association, which, as late as 1851 had held its annual meeting in Charleston.

The present volume follows by some three years Dr. Waring's *History of Medicine in South Carolina, 1670-1825*. The sources for the later period are obviously more abundant and provide the author with a more substantial basis for his narrative. Seldom is Dr. Waring unmindful of the general medical developments of the national and Southern scene even though the brutal facts of South Carolina's history at times rendered her contacts with the important medical centers of the North tenuous at best. He has used national standards for evaluating the quality of his state's medical knowledge and practice.

The book contains valuable information on disease and death. Throughout the century the great South Carolina killer was consumption. This is explained by the fact that so many consumption sufferers sought Charleston for what was assumed

to have been its beneficial climate. Ailing when they arrived, many remained only to become a mortality statistic. Next in degree of incidence were the gastro-intestinal illnesses and malaria and yellow fever. Cases of dysentery and diarrhea were numerous and often fatal. Yellow fever was dramatic and in certain years virulent and deadly. Other aspects of medical history receive due attention. The sections on plantation medicine, medical colleges, public health, hospitals, and Civil War medicine are especially useful. Dr. Waring has devoted approximately one third of his book to "medical biographies," brief sketches of notable medical practitioners. Wisely omitting genealogical detail he has concentrated on the purely medical aspects of their careers. The range of background, interests, and achievements represented by these medical worthies is impressive indeed.

Students of Florida medical history will find the book of more than passing interest since Charleston provided so many of the early Florida practitioners. As early as 1783, Dr. William Charles Wells had established himself briefly in St. Augustine as physician and newspaper editor. Many others were to follow in his footsteps. The two volumes, tracing the development of medicine in South Carolina from 1670 to 1900, constitute a major accomplishment in historical writing. It is to be hoped that Dr. Waring will not abandon the enterprise before he has brought the narrative well into the twentieth century.

E. ASHBY HAMMOND

University of Florida

BOOK NOTES

The University of Florida Press has published two new volumes in its prestigious Floridiana Facsimile & Reprint Series. The first, *Through Some Eventful Years* by Susan Bradford Eppes is a valuable social history of the ante-bellum, Civil War, and reconstruction years in Florida. It is mainly devoted to the Leon County and the Florida cotton belt area. Professor Joseph D. Cushman, Jr., formerly at Florida State University and now teaching at the University of the South, Sewanee, Tennessee, has written an excellent introduction to the volume. Using the Brad-

ford and the Eppes family papers, Dr. Cushman presents a concise biography of Mrs. Eppes; he has also written a depth analysis of the book. In the latter he retells the intriguing story of Miss Letitia Hannah Damer, Mrs. Eppes' governess, and sets forth her claim that she was the granddaughter of King George IV and Mrs. Maria Fitzherbert. Professor Cushman also discusses the fascinating John Yates Beall-John Wilkes Booth legend about which there has been so much written over the years since 1865. Beall, according to Mrs. Eppes, spent several months at her father's home and with the Dr. English family of Tallahassee. Mrs. Eppes, Professor Cushman warns us, is a "bitter and unreconstructed Southerner," yet she had a penetrating eye. With all the many weaknesses of style and historical accuracy in her book, Cushman describes it as "a primary source of Florida history."

The other in the facsimile series is *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida* by Walter C. Maloney. Originally published in 1876, the basis for the book was a speech delivered by Colonel Maloney at the dedication of Key West's city hall on July 4, 1876. Dr. Thelma Peters, chairman of the social sciences department, Miami-Dade Junior College, has written the introduction to this volume. In it she describes how Maloney, who had been living in Key West since 1868, took the sixty-eight pages of his "speech," added an appendix, and sent it off to a Newark, New Jersey printer. Probably no more than 200 copies of the book were published at the time and today Maloney's book is rare indeed. Dr. Peters' introduction is an interesting account in itself and adds considerably to the value of this book. These two books, like all the others in the series, were under the general editorship of the late Rembert W. Patrick. The cost of the Eppes book is $10.00, and the Maloney volume sells for $5.00. Both may be ordered directly from the University of Florida Press, 15 N.W. 15th Street, Gainesville, Florida, 32601. Members of the Florida Historical Society receive a ten per cent discount on all University of Florida Press books when ordering from the Press.

Claude R. Kirk, Jr.: A Man and His Words was edited by Thomas M. Ferguson, Arthur H. Simons, Charles E. Perry, Richard W. Warner, and James C. Wolf, all members of the Governor's staff. The volume contains pictures and excerpts from Governor Kirk's speeches and public statements since he was inaugurated in January 1966. It is available in a cloth edition

($5.00) and in paperback from Executive Press, P. O. Box 652, Tallahassee, Florida.

Indians of the Florida Panhandle was written by Mrs. W. C. Lazarus, curator of the Temple Mound Museum, Fort Walton Beach. It is a brief but valuable account of the early Indians who lived along the Gulf Coast of West Florida beginning around 8,000 B. C. and continuing through the Archaic Burial Mound and the Temple Mound Periods to about 1,700 A. D. The descriptions of early Indian village life in the Florida Panhandle are particularly interesting. Pictures illustrating the Weedan Island and Fort Walton cultures are included. The pamphlet sells for seventy-five cents and should be ordered directly from Mrs. Lazarus at the Temple Mound Museum address.

Marie Volpe for "Music in Miami," published by Hurricane House Publishers, Inc., 14301 S.W. 87th Avenue, Miami, 33158, is the informal autobiography of an outstanding South Florida personality who has made major contributions to the musical history of her area of the state for more than forty years. "Music for Miami" was the theme for a radio show which Mrs. Volpe broadcast over Miami WKAT for almost six years. On it she interviewed the guest artists of the Miami symphony concerts. Her work in helping develop the symphony and the Greater Miami Philharmonic Society was recognized by the University of Miami when they awarded her an honorary doctor of music in 1963. The book, which contains a number of pictures of musical personalities, sells for $6.50.

Legal Rights of Women in Florida by Stephen H. Butter was also published by Hurricane House. Avoiding legal jargon and containing only a few technical terms, the author designed it "primarily for popular consumption, not for the benefits of the legal community." The appendix includes the cases, statutes and sections of the Florida constitution that were utilized by Mr. Butter in his research.

E. W. Carswell has made an additional contribution to the compilation of the local history of Bonifay, Florida, with the publication *Hatchee-Thalko Harmony.* According to the subtitle, it is "About Singing and Such in Cracker City Country Where Some Musical Americana From A West Florida-Flavored Fron-

tier Southland is Being Perpetuated." The booklet is available at Central Press, 108 W. Highway 90, in Bonifay.

The Country Doctor and the Specialist, the autobiography of Dr. Fred Lyman Adair, was published by Adair Charities, Inc., P. O. Box 65, Maitland, Florida, 32751. Dr. Adair, who retired to Florida with his wife in 1949, lived in Maitland, in a home fronting on Lake Sybelia. Although labelled an autobiography, the volume also details the life of the author's father, Dr. Lyman Joseph Adair, a general practitioner of medicine. Dr. Fred Adair's major contribution to medical science was in the field of gynecology and obstetrics.

The Brandon Family of Southwest Florida, by James Scott Hanna, is the intriguing account of Jarrett Brandon, a pioneer Alabama settler, and his Florida descendants. His son, John Brandon, settled in New Hope (later named Brandon), Florida, in 1857. For a few years he lived at Ft. Meade, but in 1874 returned to New Hope. Victoria Brandon became the first postmistress of that community. The chapters in Mr. Hanna's book describe the various Florida members of the Brandon family who played active roles in the economic and political growth of the southwest section of the state. There is also a description of the life and career of Cooley Sumner Reynolds, one of the founders of the *Tampa Herald* and publisher of the Ocala *Florida Home Companion,* an ante-bellum literary magazine. *The Brandon Family of Southwest Florida,* published by the Washington Press, Inc., Route 2, Box 315, Leander, Texas, 78641, sells for $9.50.

The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand, 1337-1967, compiled by Margaret Gibbs Watt, is a genealogical biographical study of a family which figured importantly in the nineteenth and twentieth century history of St. Augustine, Ft. George Island, and Jacksonville. The book contains a number of interesting pictures, excerpts from old wills, letters, marriage and burial records, and genealogical documents. There is information on Zephaniah Kingsley and members of his family, including Martha Kingsley McNeill, Anna McNeill Whistler, and the latter's son, James McNeill Whistler, the famous portrait painter. Whistler's study of his mother is one of the great art treasures of the world. The book was compiled by Mrs. Watt primarily for members of her family, but a limited number of copies are avail-

able for sale at $8.75 each. Orders should be directed to Mrs. A. W. Watt, 32 Mulberry Street, St. Augustine, Florida.

Stop-Time by Frank Conroy (Viking Press, New York, $5.95.) is a delicately drawn memoir of boyhood and adolescence, part of which was spent in a small isolated hammock about ten miles outside of Ft. Lauderdale. A visit to Jacksonville is also described.

Sloane Wilson, author of the *Man in the Gray Flannel Suit,* a best seller a few seasons ago, has written a new novel utilizing a Florida background. Most of the action takes place on *James Island* in the Florida Keys. It has to do with an elaborate plan to salvage gold cannon from a seventeenth century Spanish treasure ship. It is published by Little-Brown and Company of New York and sells for $6.95.

Of interest to Floridians because of the locale are two books dealing with the sensational trials of Dr. Carl Coppolino. The first trial was in New Jersey in 1966; the other at Naples, Florida, in April 1967. *The Trials of Dr. Coppolino* by Paul Holmes was published by the New American Library and sells for $5.95. The other book *No Deadly Drug: The Anatomy of a Celebrity Murder Trial,* is by the well known Sarasota author, John P. MacDonald, who covered all aspects of the trial. Mr. MacDonald's fascinating account of the involved legal proceedings was published by Doubleday and Company, Garden City, New York. It sells for $7.95.

Rosie: The Oldest Horse in St. Augustine is a unique book by Miriam Gilbert, well known author of children's books. It is published by Island Press of Ft. Myers Beach, Florida. It is written in three languages - English, Spanish, and French and contains a number of colorful and amusing illustrations by Jean Roach who lives in the story location. The cloth copy sells for $2.50, the paper, $1.50.

Another book of interest to children is *King Gator* by George Laycock, one of America's best known nature writers. It tells of the interesting life cycle of an alligator living in the Florida Everglades. John Hamberger who has done illustrations for the Museum of Natural History's *Nature and* Science is responsible for the excellent black and white drawings. It was published by W. W. Norton and Company and sells for $3.95.

The Lakeland, Florida Rotary Club has published a limited edition history of its organization entitled *Fifty Golden Years, 1918-1968.* The anniversary committee, with Chester F. Lay as chairman, assembled a mass of historical data and pictures into a handsome volume which sells for $5.35, including postage. Orders should be sent to the secretary of the club, P. O. Box 2171, Lakeland, 33803.

The third printing of O'Dessa Baker Banks' *The Legend of Princess Toronita* can be ordered from Mrs. Banks, 603 Earl Street, Daytona Beach, Florida. It is the romanticized story of a sixteenth-century Timucuan Indian girl who lived in what is now Volusia County. The booklet sells for $1.00, and Mrs. Banks gives fifty per cent reduction to libraries and historical societies.

The October 1968 number of *The Village Post* commemorates the eightieth anniversary of *National Geographic,* and contains a number of interesting stories about Dr. and Mrs. Gilbert Hovey Grosvenor who for many years directed the activities of the National Geographic Society. The Grosvenors spent some thirty winters at "Bay Breeze," their Coconut Grove estate on Douglas Road. The account of the Gilbert Grosvenors' life in Florida is illustrated with photographs made by their grandson, Joseph Blair. An interesting horticultural article deals with the gardens and grounds on the Coconut Grove estate. *The Village Post* address is 3405-A Main Highway, Coconut Grove, Florida, 33133.

Louisiana State University Press has issued an enlarged edition of C. Vann Woodward's *The Burden of Southern History,* which has become, since its publication in 1960, almost a southern classic. This edition, which sells for $4.95, cloth, and $1.95 in paperback, adds two new essays. In "What Happened to the Civil Rights Movement," Professor Woodward compares the reconstruction years of 1865-1877 to the Second Reconstruction, as he calls the period since 1954. The other essay, "Second Look at the Theme of Irony," is an extended footnote to his earlier essay, "The Irony of Southern History."

The Philosophical Library of New York has published a revised edition of Morris Talpalar's *Sociology of Colonial Virginia.* This study of the social and cultural institutions of colonial Virginia will be of interest to those who are students of the Old South. It sells for $8.75.

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society is scheduled to begin Friday, May 9, 1969, at Pensacola. Pat Dodson, newly appointed member of the State Board of Regents and immediate past chairman of the Pensacola Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission, is general chairman of the meeting. He and his committee are arranging a special program which will include an extensive tour of Pensacola's historical area. The recipients of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History and the Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Prizes will be announced at the banquet on Saturday night.

Professor William Warren Rogers of the Department of History, Florida State University, is chairman of the program committee and anyone interested in reading a paper is invited to write to him. Dr. James A. Services, chairman of local arrangements, announces that the meeting will be held at the new Downtown Ramada.

Florida Conference of College Teachers of History

The Florida Conference of College Teachers of History will hold its seventh annual meeting this year in Gainesville on March 28 and 29, 1969. Headquarters will be the Ramada Inn. Professor John B. Towers, editor of the *Catholic History Review* and professor of history at the University of Calgary, Calgary, Alberta, Canada, will speak at the breakfast session on "The Medieval Empire: A Plea For 'Realistic' Appraisal." A. K. Johnson, regional director of the National Archives and Record Center at Atlanta will be the luncheon speaker, and his topic will be "The Sources for Historical Research." Professor Duane Koenig, University of Miami, is president of the conference and will preside at the sessions. Professor George C. Osborn, University of Florida, is vice president and program chairman. Other officers of the conference are Theodore Carageorge, Pensacola Junior College; Sister Elizabeth Ann, O. P., Barry College; and Leedell Neyland, Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University.

State and Local History Merit Awards

The American Association for State and Local History, at its annual convention held in Washington, September 1968, recognized the Florida State Museum for its important contributions to Florida history by developing the interpretive museums which are administered by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, Professor John K. Mahon, chairman of the department of history at the University of Florida, for his *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842,* which was published by the University of Florida Press, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, chairman of the department of history at the University of Miami, for his contributions as an inspiring teacher, writer, and organizational worker in Florida history, and the St. Augustine Historical Society for upholding standards of excellence in the local history program of the St. Augustine community.

"Frontier Florida"

N. E. Bill Miller, director of the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, announces the availability of a twenty-minute color movie on Florida covering the period from discovery through the Civil War. It is available in sixteen millimeter prints for showing to clubs, organizations, schools, and on television. Free loan may be arranged by writing the Park Board office, Gaines Street at Monroe, Tallahassee, Florida, 32304. The only cost will be return postage.

Theodore Pratt Collection

A unique collection of the working papers and records of Theodore Pratt, member of the board of editors of the *Florida Historical Quarterly,* has been established at Florida Atlantic University Library, Boca Raton. Mr. Pratt is the author of thirty-five books, fourteen of which deal with Florida. The collection contains first editions of the author's books together with foreign editions and anthologies. The original manuscripts include his Florida trilogy - *The Barefoot Mailman, The Flame Tree,* and *The Big Bubble* - as well as the *Seminole, The Money, Mercy Island,* and his collection of short stories, *Florida Round About.* The collection also contains voluminous notes, outlines, research

material, galley proofs, and business correspondence. Many of the original jacket cover paintings hang in the room. The University of South Florida Library has obtained a sixteen-millimeter color print of the motion picture made from *The Barefoot Mailman*. There is a catalog file of the collection, and it is listed in the National Union Catalog of Manuscripts of Collections in the Library of Congress.

T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Library

The University of West Florida has established the T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Library of the University of West Florida. It will be a depository for Mr. Wentworth's voluminous collection of books, manuscripts, deeds, grants, wills, bill of sales, pamphlets, pictures, programs, hand bills, invitations, brochures, monographs, newspapers, magazines, rosters, city directories, maps, documents, broadsides, telephone directories, first day historic covers pertaining to local and state events, and related material pertaining to Florida and West Florida history.

Kingsley Plantation House

The historic Zephaniah Kingsley plantation house on Fort George Island was opened to the public for the first time on Sunday, November 10, 1968. The house, which dates to the early nineteenth century, was acquired by the State of Florida in 1955. Mrs. Elizabeth Ehrbar, chief of exhibits for the department of interpretation of the Florida State Museum, supervised the refurnishing and refurbishing of the house. It is under supervision of the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials.

Traveling History Museum

In cooperation with St. Johns County, the Florida State Museum has equipped a forty-five foot trailer with Florida history artifacts which will tour schools in north-central Florida. Funded by a grant from the U. S. Office of Education, this is the second phase of the traveling museum program. The first unit featured five glassless exhibits on Florida's Indian inhabitants, covering the period from 10,000 B.C. to 1,500 A.D. The second unit contains the replica of a captain's quarters on an early sail-

ing ship enroute to Florida and a Florida frontiersman's cabin. A teacher's guide, prepared by Mrs. Marilyn Maple, traces the history of Florida from its discovery to statehood (1845).

Activities and Events

Architectural Preservation Workshop: The Committee on Historic Buildings of the American Institute of Architects, in cooperation with the Florida Development Commission and the University of Florida's College of Architecture and Fine Arts, presented an architectural preservation workshop at the University on October 29-30, 1968. The program was arranged by Professor F. Blair Reeves of the University's College of Architecture and Fine Arts and chairman of the Florida A.I.A. Committee on Historic Buildings. Orin M. Bullock, Jr., author of the *Preservation Manual* and chairman of the advisory council of the Historic American Building Survey, spoke at the opening session on "The New Role of the Preservationists." Others participating in the program were James C. Massey, chief of the Historic American Building Survey, Robert Williams, director of the Florida Board of Archives and History, and William J. Murtagh, Keeper of the National Registrar. Restoration and preservation representatives from Key West, Pensacola, St. Augustine, Madison, Tallahassee, and Jacksonville met with Florida architects, University of Florida faculty and students, and representatives of the Florida Development Commission, the Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, the Florida Board of Archives and History, and the Florida Historical Society.

St. Lucie County Museum: In cooperation with the St. Lucie County Commission and the city of Ft. Pierce, the St. Lucie County Historical Commission and the St. Lucie Historical Society opened a new history museum in September. It contains a valuable collection of silver and gold coins recovered from Spanish ships sunk off the coast and photographs and mementos detailing the early history of the Ft. Pierce area. A Seminole Indian village exhibit is nearing completion. The St. Lucie Historical Society has also been active in developing an oral history program among the pioneer families of the area, and these tapes are in its library.

Fort Gardner Marker: The Polk County Historical Commission unveiled a historical marker showing the site of Fort Gardner on the Kissimmee River, near Lake Wales, on October 14, 1968. Established by Colonel Zachary Taylor in 1837 on his march to the battle of Okeechobee, the fort memorialized Captain George Washington Gardner who died in the Dade massacre in December 1835. The Polk County Historical Commission has already erected markers at the sites of Forts Meade, Clinch, Arbuckle, Fraser, Carroll, and Cummings.

Grayton Beach State Park: The Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials and the Walton County Board of County Commissioners dedicated Grayton Beach State Park (state road 283, south of US 98) on Thursday afternoon, October 24, 1968.

Barry College History Forum: Under the leadership of Sister Elizabeth Ann, O. P., chairman of the department of history of Barry College, a history forum was held on Saturday, November 16, 1968. The one-day session featured talks by Dr. John G. Stoessinger, acting director of the Political Affairs Division of the United Nations.

Conference of Southern Historical Societies: The fourth annual Conference of Southern Historical Societies which is sponsored by the American Association for State and Local History will meet this year on April 17-19, 1969, at Natural Bridge, Virginia. James W. Moody, Jr., director of the Virginia Historic Landmarks Commission, is in charge of arrangements. Information on the meeting can be secured from the AASLH office, 132 Ninth Avenue, North, Nashville, Tennessee 37203.

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