

COVER

Aviation was still in its infancy in Florida when J. A. D. McCurdy flew his Curtiss biplane over Daytona Beach in 1911. This photograph records that event. In the background is the Clarendon Hotel, now the Daytona Beach Plaza. In aviation history, 1978 marks both the seventy-fifth anniversary of the Wright Brothers's flight and the fiftieth anniversary of the founding of Eastern Airlines, Florida's oldest existing air carrier. Photograph courtesy of John P. Ingle, Jr., Jacksonville. (Aviation's Earliest Years in Jacksonville, 1878-1935, 7.)

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THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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CYRUS TEED AND THE LEE COUNTY ELECTIONS OF 1906 by Elliott Mackle

R. CYRUS R. TEED seldom used a single word when an ornate
phrase would do. By temperament he was an orator. The
length of his sermons was cut to nineteenth-century fashion. His
lectures on scripture were notable not only for novelty of doctrine
and idiosyncrasy of interpretation but for supreme grandilo-
quence. Nor did his style differ much in private discourse. Con-
versation was to him but the beginning of monologue. Simple
questions invariably called up complex answers.

Like most orators also, like a speaker in any debate, he never
said all that he thought. And what he did not say, the subject
which he did not raise, during his first visits to Fort Myers, in
early January 1894, is of particular importance to a consideration

of his career. He did not speak of local politics. He exchanged compliments with the editor of the paper, he recorded a real estate transaction at the Lee County courthouse, he preached twice on Sunday at the Baptist church. "Those who attended," said the Fort Myers Press, "were well pleased with the doctor's remarks, and no one, as far as we have heard, takes any exception to his religious teachings or beliefs." 1

Dr. Teed's reticence was not without purpose. Had he been closely questioned on the matter of politics, and had he been disposed to answer candidly, he would have admitted his intention eventually to rule the county. Less than two months previously, in the pages of his religious magazine, *Flaming Sword*, he had revealed to his followers a plan to gather together a group of six to ten million blacks and whites, and with them to build a "Wonder City" in a place which, though unnamed, was unmistakably intended to be Lee County. 2 And before the

* Mr. Mackle recently received a Ph.D. in American Studies from Emory University.

1. Fort Myers Press, January 11, 18, 1894.

2. "The Destiny of the Black Race," *Chicago Flaming Sword*, November 25, 1893, 322; Fort Myers Press, October 26, 1893.

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year was out, when the provision for black colonists had been dropped, and only a few dozen pioneers had arrived, he reaffirmed his intention to rule. 3 But in January 1894 in Fort Myers, he would have been prudent; he would have denied even the thought of such plans.

His sights were set much higher than a courthouse. Newspaper headlines in the 1890s referred to him as the Chicago Messiah. His followers addressed him as Koresh. He did in fact claim to be a messiah, one cast into the world to proclaim a scientific gospel for a modern age. He claimed also to be the prophet Cyrus reincarnate: Koresh, he said, was but the transliteration of that earlier, biblical name. He was founder and leader of the Koreshan Unity, a community of religious and celibate socialists. He numbered his adherents by the thousands, but it is safe to say that by the middle 1890s he held the allegiance of perhaps 200 souls. 4

In 1892 Dr. Teed had proposed a union of the Koreshan Unity with other utopian societies—the Shakers, the Harmonists, and Thomas Lake Harris's Brotherhood of the New Life. Newspapers made much of the idea, warning that Dr. Teed meant to form a celibate trust and charging that his sole interest lay in the assets of the Harmony Society and the United Society of Shakers. The union was never effected. Leaders of the other groups, though willing to accept Teed as a follower or even as an equal, were quite unwilling to unite behind his banner. 5

The warnings and charges were in a sense correct. Dr. Teed did intend to acquire the property of the celibate societies, just as two years later he planned to secure ultimate control of the political machinery of Lee County. Teed, speaking as Koresh the Prophet, proposed that everything-politics, business, society, sexuality-be united under the leadership and direction of the Koreshan Unity and of himself, Koresh.

All leaders of utopian groups, all prophets, draw plans for the radical reorganization of society. All propose to lead men out of the darkness, through a sort of apocalypse, and into a

3. Estero American Eagle, December 1975.

4. For further information on Koreshan history and doctrine see Elliott J.

Mackle, Jr., "The Koreshan Unity in Florida, 1894-1910" (M.A. thesis, University of Miami, 1971).

5. See, for example, the coverage given by the San Francisco Chronicle, February 26, March 11, 12, 17, 1892.

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millennium of righteousness, justice, and light. Such leaders hope ultimately to convert the world, or a significant part of it, to their own particular beliefs, and to rearrange that world according to their own priorities. The few who are blessed with an ability to attract followers (and Teed, in a minor way, was one of these) nearly always attempt to organize communities which are both models for, and microcosms of, the future society. In nineteenth-century America the typical model was the rural utopian town.

The model must be built before the world can be converted. It is both instrument and practical demonstration. Dr. Teed taught that it must also be a capital from which to rule once the conversions and the apocalypse have taken place. Koreshans believed that Dr. Teed's gospel contained the keys to meaningful existence on earth and to immortal life. This immortality, according to his interpretation of the Bible, was to be achieved through a sharing of goods; through organization into quasi-military, quasi-monastic groupings; through celibacy; and through acceptance of a peculiar cosmographical thesis whereby the world is seen to be hollow, with men, the sun, and the universe contained inside. The celibate, socialist Koreshans who had been personally converted by the messiah were to become the leaders of the apocalyptic revolution and were to erect with their own hands the model city from which they would rule. In 1893 most of them were housed in apartments and in a mansion, called Beth-Ophra, in the Chicago suburbs. Chicago was already a developed city and only in very small measure Koreshan, and it was not a model town at all. Thus, after failing to acquire property from the Shakers or Harmonists, Dr. Teed looked about for a rural spot, one which would be far away from the notice of newspaper reporters. In October 1893 he inspected an abandoned

hotel on Pine Island in Lee County, but he could not reach an agreement with the owners. After returning to Chicago, he was offered an undeveloped tract in Lee County as a gift, and he returned to Florida to inspect it. After checking the site and acquiring it early in January 1894, he decided that his city upon a hill would rise by the banks of the Estero River, some fifteen miles south of Fort Myers. 6

6. Fort Myers Press, October 26, 1893, January 4, 1894; Estero American Eagle, June 30, 1927.

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The city, to be called New Jerusalem, was conceived as the focal point of the universe, the seat of commerce, education, government, and, particularly, religion. The grandiosity of Koreshan dreams is suggested in the following passage drawn from a Unity pamphlet of 1895: "The construction of the city will be of such a character as to provide for a combination of street elevation, placing various kinds of traffic upon different surfaces; as for instance, heavy team traffic upon the ground surface, light driving upon an elevation of its own, pedestrianism upon a plane distinct from either, and all railroad travel upon distinct planes, dividing even the freight and passenger traffic by separated elevations. There will be no dumping of sewage into the streams, bay, or Gulf. A movable and continuous earth closet will carry the debris and offal of the city to a place thirty or more miles distant, where it will be transformed to fertilization There will be no smudge or smoke. Power by which machinery will be moved will be by the utilization of the electro-magnetic currents of the earth and air, independently of steam application to so-called 'dynamamos.' Motors will take the place of motion derived from steam pressure. The city will be constructed on the most magnificent scale, without the use of so-called money. These things can be done easily when once the people know the force of cooperation and united life, and understand the great principles of utilization and economy." 7

Work began early in February 1894 when a band of about twenty Koreshan pioneers arrived to cut trees, clear land, and build cabins. 8 But New Jerusalem did not rise from the sandy soil. In 1903, when the headquarters of the Unity were transferred from Chicago to Estero, as the place had come to be called, the settlement looked very much as it does today in 1978: a collection of woodframe houses, dormitories, an office, a store, a dining hall, a saw mill, cabins, barns, and outbuildings. 9 Dr. Teed and the early Koreshans nevertheless did acquire property as if to build a city housing several million. By 1907

7. Frank D. Jackson and Mary Everts Daniels, *Koreshan Unity. Communist and Co-operative Gathering of the People* (Chicago, n.d.), 3.

8. Estero American Eagle, June 30, 1927.

9. See the recent survey of Estero development, G. M. Herbert and I. S. K.

Reeves, V, Koreshan Unity Settlement, 1894-1977 (Winter Park, 1977).

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they owned or controlled more than 6,000 acres of Lee County land. 10

The removal of Unity headquarters to Estero was in fact a consolidation. Furniture and personal goods of Chicago Koreshans were brought south in carload lots. Printing presses used for the production of tracts and magazines were installed in a print shop near the river and publication resumed. 11 The population grew to about 200, a peak never significantly surpassed during Dr. Teed's lifetime. Meanwhile, however, the Koreshans' relations with nearby property owners, which had been relatively free of friction since 1894, began to change. Neighboring small farmers, alarmed at the influx of people into a sparsely populated district, began to speak out against Koreshan plans to build railroads and elevated boulevards through their fields. As a precaution against interference, therefore, Dr. Teed decided upon municipal incorporation of Estero. A meeting of registered voters and affected property owners was held on September 1, 1904. Incorporation was approved, municipal organization and ordinances voted, and officers, all of them Koreshans, were elected. The town's corporate limits conformed to plans for New Jerusalem: 110 square miles were contained within Estero's boundaries. The property of several non-Koreshans who objected to incorporation was not included within municipal limits. 12

Relations between Estero and Fort Myers, which had not always been cordial, improved considerably at about the same time. There was a Unity booth as part of the Lee County exhibit at the South Florida Fair in Tampa in 1904. The extension of the railroad south from Punta Gorda that same year made Fort Myers the principal link between Estero and the outside world. Koreshan boats began to run regularly between the projected New Jerusalem and the county seat, and members of the Unity were often seen in the streets and stores of Fort Myers. In May 1905, upon the opening of the Unity's new auditorium, the Art

10. 1907 Tax Book, Lee County, passim. I am indebted to Caroline H. Crabtree, St. James City, who scanned these tax records for me; her typewritten summary is in my possession.

11. Chicago Flaming Sword, October 16, 1903; Allen H. Andrews, A Yank Pioneer in Florida: Recounting the Adventures of a City Chap Who Came to the Wilds of South Florida in the 1890's and Remained to Grow Up With the Country (Jacksonville, 1950), 38-39.

12. Fort Myers Press, September 8, 1904; Lee County Incorporation Record Book 1, 10-15.

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Hall, citizens of Fort Myers and other towns and villages visited Estero for a showing of paintings by Dr. Teed's son, Douglas Arthur Teed. The Fort Myers Press began to publish an Estero community events column written by a Koreshan. This and other editorial favors were given in return for Koreshan support of the Press's editor, Philip Isaacs, in the 1904 election for county judge. The Koreshans bloc-voted, helping to elect Isaacs and other candidates nominated by the county Democratic ring. 13

Dr. Teed's relations with the press had not been very amicable. Reporters had portrayed him as a pompous schemer and a fraud. Teed often had turned such insults to good account by using them as excuses for playing the martyr in the pages of his own publications. Lee County, however, had now become his base of operations and the home of the Unity. Posturing was easily detected, and laughed at, in a small community like Fort Myers. Prudence was required; he wanted good publicity, and he also wanted treaties, however temporary, with the powerful. Isaacs's role as editor, coupled with his elevation from town councilman, his last official position, to the bench, must have made him seem an influential person. In fact he was controlled, as were both the Democratic party organization and the newspaper, by the wealthy Hendry family. 14 The treaty between Teed and Isaacs lasted two years. Teed brought disaster on himself, and on Isaacs, by neglecting to form some new arrangement. And Isaacs, like Teed, misjudged the power of his position, thereby contributing to his own undoing.

These personal disasters, which accompanied a severing of public ties between Estero and Fort Myers, were occasioned by the events of the election of 1906. The seeds of the conflict had been sown two years earlier. Municipal incorporation had entitled Dr. Teed and his officials to claim a share of county road tax funds, but they found that county officers were loath to divert dollars from their own projects, particularly those in Fort Myers. There was also, in some quarters, a resentment against the northern newcomers who sought to establish what might become

13. Estero American Eagle, October 18, 1906; Estero Flaming Sword, June 13, 1905, November 13, 1906; Guiding Star Publishing House Visitors' Record, unpaginated, Koreshan Unity Collection, Estero.

14. Karl H. Grismer, *The Story of Fort Myers: The History of the Land of the Caloosahatchee and Southwest Florida* (St. Petersburg, 1949), 154-55.

a rival county seat, who boasted that they would revolutionize the world and turn it inside out, and who followed a messiah other than Christ.

County officials, needing a bargaining chip, looked back to the records of the Democratic primary election of May 1904, when Koreshans had been permitted to register and to vote. 15 In the November general election, however, the Koreshans had voted

for Republican Theodore Roosevelt, rather than the Democrats' nominee. Although the Koreshans had otherwise supported the ticket, this defection provided an excuse to disenfranchise them for the election of 1906. 16

The instrument of this disenfranchisement was a pledge which participants in the first Democratic primary of May 1906 were required to sign if challenged. It stated that the voter would support all Democratic nominees of 1906, and that he had "supported the Democratic nominees of 1904, both state, county, and national." 17 Based upon laws passed to deny blacks the franchise, this pledge was so worded as to exclude those who had voted for Roosevelt and those who had not been in Lee County in 1904 and had therefore not voted. The Koreshans stubbornly refused to be intimidated. They appeared at the Estero precinct polling station on the day of the first Democratic primary, protested against the pledge, but then signed it after crossing out certain of the qualifications, and bloc-voted for the candidates of their choice. The Democratic executive committee, of which Philip Isaacs was chairman, thereupon threw out the entire vote of the Estero precinct, including eight votes by the non-Koreshan electors, and instructed election inspectors to bar Koreshans from voting in the second primary. Isaacs and the party had not found it necessary to curry Dr. Teed's favor. The Democratic candidates for county office could be elected without Estero support, and the Koreshans were ineligible to participate in Fort Myers municipal contests—a bond referendum, an election for town aldermen, in which Isaacs was a candidate, and the elevation of a Hendry to the office of mayor. 18 But the action

15. Fort Myers Press, October 4, 1906; Kenneth Edwin Anderson, "The American Eagle: A Unique Florida Weekly Newspaper" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1970), 17.

16. Estero American Eagle, June 14, 1906.

17. Fort Myers Press, May 31, 1906.

18. Ibid., May 17, 24, 31, 1906; Estero American Eagle, June 7, 14, 1906; Grismer, Story of Fort Myers, 203.

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against the Koreshans was also, of course, the party's answer to Estero's claims on county road tax revenue.

Dr. Teed decided to retaliate by opposing the Democrats in the November general election. The Koreshans, not staunch Democratic loyalists in any case, ignored the few powerless Republicans and turned first to the Socialist party. A union seemed to offer much. The Socialists possessed a following and a not dishonorable name in the politics of the period. The Lee County Socialists appeared to lack only an effective means of public communication. The Koreshan Unity, which had no following, owned printing presses and counted professional writers and

printers among its membership. Teed quickly discovered, however, that the Socialists were not only without a press but without any real political organization. Union was therefore discarded in favor of the formation of a new party, one in which Koreshans, Socialists, Republicans, dissatisfied Democrats, and other dissidents-but no blacks-could band together in opposition to the ring. The party was called the Progressive Liberty party and it, too, needed an organ of communication. The Koreshans correctly assumed that the Press would not favor the opposition with full and unbiased coverage. Thus was "hatched" the American Eagle. 19

The first issue of the American Eagle was published at Estero on Thursday, June 7, 1906. Thursday, not incidentally, was also the Press's day of publication. This initial edition gave notice that the paper was to be no ordinary country weekly. Printed on sixty to seventy pound book-quality paper, and hand set by Koreshan experts, the Eagle displayed typographical innovations not found in metropolitan dailies until years later, and was far superior in every way to the weekly Florida newspapers of the period. 20 Allen H. Andrews, a printer with no editorial experience, was chosen editor by Dr. Teed, and he was assisted by associate editor Rollin W. Gray. Most of the early articles and editorials were written by Andrews, Gray, John S. Sargeant, U. G. Morrow, and Teed.

Because the Eagle was begun as a means of rallying independents to the political banner of the Progressive Liberty

19. Fort Myers Press, May 31, 1906; Estero American Eagle, June 7, 21, 1906.

20. Anderson, "American Eagle: Unique Florida Weekly," 1, 29-33.

party, the only reference to Koreshan non-political beliefs in the first issue was the motto, "Riches and Poverty Cease where the Commonwealth Begins," which ran just below the paper's nameplate. More expressive of the paper's early intentions was the wording of the masthead: "The American Eagle: Exponent of Purity in Politics." The first issue ran four pages, and the editorial content was almost entirely politically partisan. The tone was set in the lead-off editorial: "As heat is one of the necessary factors in incubation, so from out of the heat of the recent political strife has been hatched The American Eagle, full-fledged and strong of beak. His flight is lofty-no place, though high, escapes his keen, far-seeing eye. From time immemorial the eagle has been the symbol of liberty from the thralldom of the oppressor's yoke, therefore The American Eagle-friend of the downtrodden and oppressed-is an adversary to be reckoned with by those who 'are thirsting for power' and dominion over others." 21

Several features which were to continue in use appeared in this issue, including political cartoons and "The Week's News

Boiled Down," a wrap-up of state, national, and international news items. Twenty-four business card advertisements appeared on the back page, each set in a different type face. Only two of these ads were placed by residents of Estero. Eleven of the remaining twenty-two were placed by financial and community leaders of Fort Myers and Lee County. Although the Koreshans were in dispute with the county's politicians they enjoyed the respect of other elements of the population. 22

The Eagle was an immediate success. By July 12, circulation was 532, and a month later it had risen to 668-this in a county with about 1,000 voters. Subject matter was broadened with succeeding issues but remained in line with Dr. Teed's views. The Jungle, Upton Sinclair's expose of the meatpacking industry, was favorably reviewed in the fourth issue, and muck-raking articles on national, state, and local questions followed. The same issue introduced the use of color. The first page was printed over the drab green silhouette of an eagle with outstretched wings. Community events columns from the county's small towns also began appearing with that issue. The Eagle

21. Estero American Eagle, June 7, 1906.

22. Anderson, "American Eagle: Unique Florida Weekly," 30.

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went up to six pages on August 23 with the inclusion of a supplement page.

The Progressive Liberty party (PLP) was organized at Estero by Dr. Teed and Unity members. A proposed party platform had appeared in the first issue of the Eagle, and the first official meeting of the Estero Voters' League had been held on June 15. In order to arouse interest among independent voters, however, a PLP organizing convention was held in Fort Myers on June

24. The proposed platform was amended and adopted, the Eagle was named official organ of the party, and a slate of candidates was elected. The elections to be contested included those for state representative, county commissioners, school board members, tax assessor, tax collector, and treasurer. Only one nominee, W. Ross Wallace, candidate for county commissioner from the Estero district, was a Koreshan. The others were generally friendly to the Koreshans and to their ideas of political independence from the county Democratic leaders. 23

The Eagle printed editorials on several political issues, including drainage of the Everglades and tax equalization, and the paper continually alleged corruption and political favoritism in reports on Lee County affairs. 24 These seem to have hit their marks. The Eagle reported receiving threats of a visit to Estero by armed men if the reports continued. The Koreshans replied that their own guns were ready and that they would continue to expose corruption, incompetence, and nepotism-the last a charge to which the Hendry family was particularly vulnerable-in public affairs. 25

The general election was set for November 6, and the PLP campaign intensified in September with a series of rallies in most of the small towns and villages of the county. Democratic candidates were invited to attend and debate PLP nominees, but none appeared. Speeches were given and music was provided by the Unity brass band which accompanied the PLP caravan from town to town during September and October. A genuine interest in the party was aroused among the citizens of the smaller settlements. Lee County politics was certainly no better than it should have been, and the practical and equitable ideas of the ambitious

23. Estero American Eagle, June 7, July 26, 1906.

24. Ibid., August 2, 9, 1906.

25. Ibid., August 16, 1906.

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reformers were not lost on the less wealthy members of the population. 26

The PLP platform contained many objectives which, although suspect to Florida conservatives of the period, were subsequently written into law. Other concepts gained support in the country as a whole, but were never totally adopted. These proposals included public ownership of utilities, taxation on an equitable basis, "government in the sunshine," free schooling, extension of good roads, equalization of wealth, and government conservation of resources and protection of the environment. 27 None of these differed significantly from contemporary demands made by radicals and socialists.

Much of the PLP's campaign invective was aimed at Philip Isaacs. The apparent conflict of interest in his roles as county judge, journalist, and political committeeman was made symbolic of the corruption in Lee County Democratic affairs. Among the uncomplimentary nicknames applied to him by the Eagle were "Fillup Isaacs" and "Judge (and Jew-ry)." 28 The editor, who was, in fact, a Methodist and a Mason, struck back, aware that the PLP campaign was making serious inroads in the strength of the Democratic regulars. Isaacs referred in print to the Koreshans as "sneaking," "underhanded," and "dupes," and called Teed "voracious," "this schemer," "this Koreshan humbug," and worse. One of Isaacs's strongest objections to Koreshan participation in the May primary had been that they bloc-voted, thus breaking "into the calculations of many." In early October, however, he lashed out in an editorial blasting Dr. Teed's alleged financial, moral, and political intrigues and irregularities, singling out for special wrath the Unity's practice of bloc-voting for benefit. The editorial, headed "Shall Koreshan Ideas Prevail in Lee County?" ends, ironically enough, with the statement that it is the duty of "Democrats and all other citizens" to bloc-vote against the PLP. 29

Isaacs and his fellow politicians were thoroughly alarmed by the intrusion of the PLP into their heretofore inviolate garden.

26. Ibid., September 20, October 4, 18, 1906; Andrews, Yank Pioneer in Florida, 43.

27. The full text of the revised and adopted platform is given in Estero American Eagle, September 27, 1906.

28. Ibid., June 7, October 4, 1906.

29. Francis P. Fleming, Memoirs of Florida (Atlanta, 1902), II, 571; Fort Myers Press, October 4, May 17, 1906.

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It may be that the Fort Myers regulars were looking for an excuse for violence; certainly there were those who wished to cause Dr. Teed and the PLP more acute embarrassment than was possible through the medium of intemperate editorials. The excuse came by telephone. 30

A man named W. W. Pilling who was, among other things, a song writer, had arrived in Fort Myers on September 24 on his way to Estero. Finding no Unity boat at the municipal docks he went to the post office and sent a note to Estero announcing his arrival. He then retired to the Florida House, a hotel operated by Mr. and Mrs. J. I. Sellers, for the night. Someone at Estero called the hotel by telephone at 7:00 the next morning asking for Pilling but was apparently told by Mrs. Sellers that "he is not here." Whether she was unaware that Pilling was registered or whether she meant that he had not yet come downstairs is unclear. A few hours later she again spoke to the voice from Estero and then called Pilling to the phone. Before summoning him she was asked by the voice, "I thought you told me no one by that name was stopping there," or words to that effect. A few more words may have been exchanged, but Pilling later recalled that Mrs. Sellers had not seemed upset by anything that might have been said.

Three weeks later, however, on October 13, Sellers met W. Ross Wallace in a Fort Myers street, accused him of calling Mrs. Sellers a liar, and physically attacked him. Wallace, the Koreshan candidate for county commissioner, was at that time unaware of the telephone incident. He had been campaigning at Caxambas, fifty miles south of Estero, on the day of the alleged insult and had clearly taken no part in the conversation with Mrs. Sellers. After attempting to defend himself, and after failing to secure protection from the mayor of Fort Myers who was standing nearby, Wallace fled.

Dr. Teed, meanwhile, had come into town to meet a group of Koreshans and their supporters due to arrive from Baltimore on the afternoon train. In front of Gilliam's grocery store, on

his way to the station, he caught sight of Ross Wallace, Sellers, and the town marshal, S. W. Sanchez. They were, at Wallace's

30. The account which follows is drawn from Estero Flaming Sword, June 12, 1906; Estero, American Eagle, October 18, November 8, 1906; Fort Myers Press, October 18, 25, 1906.

[picture caption]

Dr. Cyrus R. Teed, circa 1906. From the Koreshan pamphlet, The Koreshan Unity Co-operative (1906).

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request, discussing the telephone incident and Sellers's subsequent attack. Wallace told Sellers that he had not been in Estero on the day of the call and asked him to explain his actions. Sellers had just replied that he had heard that the caller was Wallace when Dr. Teed approached the group. Had the doctor kept silent the quarrel might have ended there. But Teed could not resist the temptation to preach; perhaps he felt himself already the master and peacemaker of Lee County. Observing that telephone conversations were often misunderstood, he repeated to Sellers what several people said they had heard the caller say. No one, he stated with finality, had insulted Mrs. Sellers.

Almost before the words were out of his mouth, Sellers yelled, "Don't you call me a liar," and hit the doctor three times in the face. Sanchez, the town marshal, did not move to stop the attack. Dr. Teed quickly stepped forward and raised his fists. Whether he actually struck back or, as he later said, moved to protect his face and spectacles is disputed.

A crowd quickly gathered around the four men. The train had by that time arrived, and the Baltimore party, escorted by the mayor of Estero and by a young Koreshan named Richard Jentsch, had begun walking toward a hotel in the center of town. Upon meeting the crowd they recognized Dr. Teed. Jentsch sprang forward to defend his messiah, and was followed almost immediately by the three Koreshan boys in his charge-Claude Rahn, Roland Sander, and George Danner.

Jentsch struck Sellers and was then himself struck down by blows from the crowd. Claude Rahn, trying to separate Sellers and Dr. Teed, was hit in the mouth by a stranger. George Danner, seeing this, ran forward, kicked Rahn's attacker, and then retreated. The man yelled, "Grab the kid." Someone did, and Danner was knocked into the crowd.

Roland Sander was pushed about by the milling people. His valise was pulled from his hand and thrown to the ground. When a stranger asked him if he was a Koreshan and he answered, "yes," he received a blow in the face that sent him sprawling into the gutter. From there he saw Sellers draw a knife on Dr. Teed,

but another man seized Sellers's arm and forced him to put the weapon away.

Marshal Sanchez, who had been standing no more than four feet from Sellers and Teed, but who had not hindered

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Sellers's attack, is reported to have then seized the doctor by his coat and to have said, "You struck him and called him a liar."

"I did not strike him," Dr. Teed replied, "nor call him a liar." Thereupon Sanchez is said to have replied, "Don't you tell me you did not strike him," while at the same time giving Dr. Teed a slap which dislodged his glasses. The marshal then told Teed and Rahn that they were under arrest, but before he could proceed, he was hit in the face by Jentsch who had freed himself from the crowd. Felling Jentsch with his billy-club, the marshal was heard to say, "You hit me again and I will kill you."

The free-for-all then ended. Other Koreshans hurriedly collected the younger boys and took them to the Hill House Hotel. Marshal Sanchez arrested Teed, Jentsch, and Ross Wallace, forcing each to post \$10.00 bond against an appearance in Fort Myers municipal court the following Monday.

The Koreshans wisely forfeited bond and postponed and then cancelled a PLP rally scheduled to be held in Fort Myers. 31 Other rallies were held, however, in the smaller towns and villages-Sanibel, Marco, Caxambas, Buckingham, Alva. 32 In the small settlements there were voters who would listen to PLP charges of political corruption and lawlessness in the county seat. The pages of the Eagle were full of the charges: PLP candidate wrongfully attacked by Fort Myers Democrat; Dr. Teed beaten while Fort Myers officials were refusing to intercede; Koreshan political activity was resulting in arrests by Democrats; Lies were filling the pages of Isaacs's slanderous Press. 32

The Press and the Democratic regulars replied in kind. The account of the altercation in Fort Myers was headed "Teed Starts a Street Fight!" Marshal Sanchez and the mayor of Fort Myers both swore that Dr. Teed had been the aggressor in the affair. 34 The Press began running a series of years-old expose articles, reprinted from Chicago newspapers, under such provocative titles as "Came Near Lynching Teed" and "For the Price of a Wife." 35 These reprints, though they dealt with allegations which, with one or two exceptions, had been dis-

31. Estero American Eagle, October 18, November 1, 1906.

32. Ibid., October 18, 1906.

33. Ibid., October 18, 25, November 1, 8, 1906.

34. Fort Myers Press, October 18, 1906.

35. Ibid., October 18, 25, 1906.

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missed by Chicago courts years before, were initially presented as news items.

Progressive Liberty party candidates won no elections. In several races, however, the results were extremely close. One PLP candidate for the school board ran ahead of his Democratic opponent in unofficial returns, but when the results were certified by the ring-dominated election board a number of votes were thrown out, and he lost. 36

The Fort Myers results made the difference. Although the PLP received a surprising twenty per cent of the vote in that town, the large number of voters in Fort Myers, together with mixed returns in about half the smaller settlements, was more than enough to offset PLP majorities in Denaud, Immokalee, La-Belle, Wulfert, Captiva, and Estero. Although the PLP won no races, the campaign was one of considerable achievement. The hastily-organized party captured at least one-third, and usually much more, of the vote in every race contested. 37 The Eagle, in a post-election editorial, congratulated itself upon its successes and predicted PLP victory in the elections of 1908. Publication would continue, readers were assured, and the paper's muckraking policy would remain unchanged. 38

Meanwhile, although Isaacs and the ring still controlled county affairs, the Koreshans and the politicians seemed to have concluded another uneasy truce, and the Koreshans returned to their more normal routine of work. Dr. Teed, convalescent from the beating in Fort Myers, began to write a book—a fiction in which Koreshanity triumphs over the world. 39 Picnics were held near Estero, and Dr. Teed often conducted Sunday services in the Art Hall. The Unity brass band played at a private garden party and at a public dance in Fort Myers and gave a concert at Immokalee. 40

The winter seemed quiet. There was a momentary editorial interruption in February when Philip Isaacs accused the Koreshans of child-stealing. The Eagle carefully and at some length

36. Estero American Eagle, November 15, 1906, January 24, 1907.

37. Ibid., November 15, 1906.

38. Ibid., November 8, 1906.

39. Publisher's Note, *The Great Red Dragon, or, The Flaming Devil of the Orient*, by Lord Chester [Cyrus R. Teed], (Estero, 1908), 6.

40. Estero American Eagle, December 27, 1906, February 14, 28, March 28, 1907.

explained the facts of the case to the "little Judge-editor," and the truce seemed to have resumed. 41 In March, however, it became apparent that Isaacs was not content with the situation.

A journal in the state capital, the Tallahassee Sun, printed a sensational article on Dr. Teed on March 2. Some of the facts cited were incorrect, the scandalous articles reprinted by the Press in October were used as part of the writer's background material, and the general tone was hardly unbiased. The article, "Here's Koresh King of Fakirs," despite its inaccuracies, was a devastating indictment nonetheless. The Unity and the Eagle exploded editorially and, when it became clear that Isaacs had assisted the reporter for the Sun, the Eagle began a fresh campaign against both the "Jedge" and his colleague in the capital. 42 Isaacs soon proposed to Dr. Teed that he would "forget that you are living" if his opponent would agree to stay out of Lee County affairs. 43

Isaacs and the Democratic regulars were not willing to stay out of Estero's affairs, however. On May 1, the county commission petitioned their state senator and representative to introduce a bill in the legislature abolishing the town of Estero or reducing it to smaller size. The reason given was that the "present charter covers so much actual unnecessary territory, and only seems to give them [the Unity] a claim for one-half the road tax assessed in said boundaries." The charter was, therefore, "a farce and a sham." 44 Obviously, the county politicians were still unwilling to forfeit the road tax money, but it is reasonable to assume that the petition was as much a retaliation for Koreshan political activity as it was a means of retaining tax revenue. The Florida legislature duly abolished the charter by unanimous vote. Governor Napoleon Broward, over Unity protests, allowed the bill to become law without his signature. Eventually, however, the bill was found to be constitutionally flawed, and thus null and void. 45

41. Fort Myers Press, February 14, 1907; Estero American Eagle, February 21, 1907.

42. Estero American Eagle, March 7, 14, 28, 1907.

43. Fort Myers Press, March 28, 1907.

44. Estero American Eagle, May 16, 1907.

45. Laws of Florida, 1907, Chapter 5801; Fort Myers Press, May 23, 1907; Estero American Eagle, May 23, June 6, July 4, 1907; Koresh [Cyrus R. Teed] and E. B. Webster, *The Koreshan Unity, Co-operative* (Estero, 1907), 56.

Estero remained. Philip Isaacs was defeated. He was perhaps weary of political war; he had certainly been stung by the well-aimed barbs of the Eagle. But he had also beaten himself by confusing the power of his patrons with his own authority. His mistake, in fact, had been committed in the 1906 election. Isaacs had helped defeat the bond issue for the improvement of Fort Myers. The Hendrys, as it happened, were at that time in favor of the issue. Isaacs had also lost his race for city alderman. He had then tried to recover his standing by driving Teed from the county, and he had failed. On April 4, 1907, he printed a fresh attack on bond issues. The ring, and Mayor Hendry, came to a decision. Isaacs had proven himself an untrustworthy, incompetent servant. He was allowed to sell his interest in the Press and to depart quietly for the North. 46

The Eagle bade him farewell with a sharply satirical editorial in which his rise and fall were compared to the flight of Icarus: "Thus the Judge, soaring upon the pinions of fame, flushed with success and ambitious to break the record, attempted still higher flight and sought to deprive a community of citizens of one of the highest privileges guaranteed them under the Constitution (the right of franchise), but in so doing he also ran up against a warm proposition, the wax fastening of his wings melted, and he fell with a dull, sickening splash into the sea of oblivion." 47

If Cyrus Teed was defeated politically, he did score a different kind of victory; he did not sink into so dark and total an oblivion as did Isaacs. He had often prophesied that he would die at the hands of Christians. Many of his followers believed that only martyrdom would prove his claims to divinity. Thus, when soon after the attack in the Fort Myers street he began to suffer violent pains and headaches, it was taken as a sign. When he died, two years later, on December 22, 1908, the agony of loss for his followers was mixed with the elation of triumph. A prophet had died in order to bring on the apocalypse. Koreshanite would soon rule the world. The faithful waited three days for Koresh to rise from his bier. When he did not, a simple tomb of concrete blocks was hastily prepared, and he was immured in it. 48

46. Grismer, *Story of Fort Myers*, 203; Fort Myers Press, October 3, 1907.

47. *Estero American Eagle*, October 10, 1907.

48. *Estero Flaming Sword*, January 15, February 15, 1909; private source;

Dr. Teed's oblivion was not total because he left followers behind. Some drifted off, many died, but a few-even today-believe in his divinity and in his teachings. The settlement at Estero, now Koreshan State Park, is a monument to him. Koresh suffered disaster; yet he won. He has not been forgotten. His efforts, his preaching, his writing, his political campaigning, even

his garrulity, did, after all, accomplish that.

Fort Myers Press, December 24, 1908; Tampa Morning Tribune, December 25, 1908.

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BEGINNINGS OF POPULAR GOVERNMENT IN FLORIDA by Allen Morris and Amelia Rea Maguire

AS A SOLDIER IN FLORIDA, Andrew Jackson asserted powers that stirred international protest. As a civil governor in Florida, Jackson worried about his use of lawful authority. Until Congress would establish a government for the territories of East and West Florida, Jackson took over the interim administration under a commission as governor of the Floridas, exercising "all the powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the Governor and Captain General and Intendant of Cuba, and by the Governors of East and West Florida within the said provinces respectively." 1

Embracing executive, legislative, and in at least one instance, judicial responsibilities, Jackson's writ was that of a virtual dictator. Although he was no longer a soldier, he could as civil governor use troops based at Pensacola if an emergency presented itself. 2 In President Monroe's commission of March 10, 1821, there were only two exceptions to Jackson's authority: he could levy no new or additional taxes, nor could he grant or confirm any title or claim to land.

Neither of the acts of Congress, passed in 1819 and 1821 providing for interim administration of the Floridas, spoke of a "governor," but vested "all the military, civil, and judicial powers" in "such person, and persons" as the President "shall direct." 3 The 1821 act did provide for a surveyor, commissioners, and staff to effectuate the transfer of sovereignty. Congress gave the interim government a life to expire no later than the end of the first session of the next Congress (May 8, 1822). With the convening of the Seventeenth Congress on

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1. III U. S. Statutes at Large, 654-59; commission of Andrew Jackson as governor, March 10, 1821, in Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida*, XXII (Washington, 1956), 10.

2. Niles' Weekly Register, April 20, 1822.

3. III U. S. Statutes at Large, 523-24, 637-39.

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December 3, 1821, President Monroe called to the attention of

the lawmakers, in his State of the Union message, the need for setting up a government for the Floridas. The matter was referred to the Senate Committee on the Judiciary. Shortly afterward Senator William Smith of South Carolina, as chairman, reported an organization bill to the Senate, where it was taken up on February 6, 1822. 4 The Senate passed the bill on March 8, and concurred in House amendments on March 27. President Monroe signed the act into law three days later. 5

The bill had moved swiftly through the congressional channels because the chief principles for territorial governments already had been established in the Northwest Ordinance of 1787, and refined in the subsequent laws for the Southwest (1790), Mississippi (1798), Indiana (1800), Orleans (1804), Michigan (1813), Louisiana-Missouri (1812), Illinois (1809), Alabama (1817), and Arkansas (1819) territories. 6

A significant departure from the other organic legislation was, in the laws for Orleans and the Floridas, the establishment of a legislative council. 7 In the others, only the governor and judges were empowered to adopt or pass laws. Thus, citizen participation in the making of laws was rooted almost from the beginning of American government in Florida.

The act vested legislative power in the governor, "and in thirteen of the most fit and discreet persons of the territory, to be called the Legislative Council, who shall be appointed annually, by the President of the United States, by and with the advice and consent of the Senate, from among the citizens of the United States residing there. The governor, by and with the advice and consent of the said legislative council, or a majority of them, shall have power to alter, modify, or repeal the laws which may be in force at the commencement of this act." 8

Likely through inadvertence, the governor was not given the

4. Journal of the Senate of the United States of America, 17th Congress, 1st session, 115.

5. Ibid., 176, 229, 237-38; III U. S. Statutes at Large, 654-59.

6. Territorial Papers, XXII, 390, note 50. Secretary of State John Quincy Adams was likely to be sympathetic toward the problems involved in the establishment of the Territory of Florida, since he had been involved in the United States' acquisition of East and West Florida through the Adams-Onis Treaty of 1821.

7. III U. S. Statutes at Large, 655, sec. 5.

8. Ibid.

authority to veto acts of the Council, a situation remedied the following year. The governor was directed to publish the laws throughout the Territory of Florida, and, no later than December 1 each year, he was to report the laws to the President for the consideration of Congress. Territorial acts were subject to congressional veto. 9

The law further defined the governor and Council's legislative scope extending to "all the rightful subjects of legislation; but no law shall be valid which is inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States, or which shall lay any person under restraint, burthen, or disability, on account of his religious opinions, professions, or worship; in all which he shall be free to maintain his own, and not burthened with those of another." 10 The governor and Council were forbidden to tax the lands of the United States, to dispose of such property, or to interfere with land claims. Congress decreed the Council should meet once a year for a maximum of two months. 11

The first session was to be in Pensacola commencing on the second Monday in June 1822. Sessions after the first were to convene on the first Monday in May, and be held in "such places" as the governor and Council directed. 12 The inclusion of Pensacola, but omission of St. Augustine by name, caused concern to citizens in East Florida. Since the Spanish provinces had capitals at Pensacola and St. Augustine, the omission of the latter community from the congressional authority to meet in other places could be regarded as early recognition of the impracticality of rotating the seat of government between these two centers of population which were separated by what was then calculated to be nearly 500 miles of wilderness. 13

Governor Jackson was among those who recognized the problem. In a letter to Secretary of State John Quincy Adams

9. Ibid., 751, sec. 6, 655, sec. 5.

10. Ibid.

11. Ibid., 655-56, sec. 5.

12. Ibid.

13. Evidence of the travel distance between the two capitals may be found in an advertisement by the United States Post Office Department for proposals to carry the mail between Pensacola and St. Augustine: "From Pensacola, by St. Marks, Volusia and Picolatta, to St. Augustine, once a month, 460 miles. Leave Pensacola on the first Wednesday in each month, at 2 p m and arrive at St. Augustine in 14 days on Wednesday by 10 a m. Leave St. Augustine same day at 2 p m and arrive at Pensacola in 14 days, on Wednesday by 10 a m." Territorial Papers, XXII, 487.

just before leaving Pensacola for the last time, he wrote: "The vicinity of the Suwany [sic] river possesses many advantages for the location of the seat of Government: it is equally central to the country East of the St. Johns-the Escambia and Florida point." 14 Jackson also recommended the consolidation of East and West Florida into one territory, and this was done in the organic act. 15

Members of the Council were to be paid \$3.00 a day during sessions, plus \$3.00 for every twenty miles in traveling to and from sessions. They were also declared free from arrest, except in cases of treason, felony, or breach of the peace, during sessions and while traveling to and from sessions. 16 Surviving notes indicate congressional debate over the lawmaking provisions of the organization bill touched three areas: Senator John H. Eaton of Tennessee wanted the Council to meet only in Pensacola; an effort was made to reduce the number of members of the Council from thirteen to seven; and the per diem of members was proposed to be raised from \$3.00 to \$4.00. All of these proposals were rejected. 17

When President Monroe, on April 28, submitted to the Senate the names of thirteen nominees, Senator Smith of the judiciary committee questioned the fact that at least two of the nominees did not meet the requirement that appointments should come from among the citizens of the United States residing in Florida. 18 On May 4 Monroe withdrew and resubmitted the same names, but noted: "Most of these citizens are actually residents in Florida, and the others are moving there, with intention to be present at the time appointed for the meeting of the Council." 19 This justification satisfied Smith, and the Senate confirmed the nominations the same day. Thus, fourteen months after Congress provided an interim government for the Floridas, a lawmaking body largely of its own citizens was created. It

14. Governor Jackson to John Quincy Adams, October 6, 1821, *ibid.*, 234.

15. III U.S. Statutes at Large, 654-55, sec. 1.

16. *Ibid.*, 657, sec. 8.

17. The Debates and Proceedings in the Congress of the United States [Annals of Congress], 17th Congress, 1st session, 277-78, 226.

18. Journal of the Executive Proceedings of the Senate of the United States of America, III, 17th Congress, 1st session, 298; III U. S. Statutes at Large, 655, sec. 5; William Smith to Adams, April 30, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 417.

19. Senate Executive Journal, III, 303.

Hernandez, Edmund Law, Thomas Lytle, Edgar Macon, John Miller, William Reynolds, Bernardo Sigui, and Joseph M. White. 20 Bronaugh, Call, Hanham, Law, Miller, Reynolds, and White were the only ones, however, who actually served. The Pensacola Floridian defended, perhaps sarcastically, President Monroe's selection of councilmen who were not then residents of Florida: "Why should not this legislative body be of the most respectable kind? For what other cause could the President of the United States have violated the Territorial law in the election of members out of Florida, but that of collecting talents from other parts of the Union to legislate for the good people of Florida? This is a peculiar concern, that he has manifested towards us. The result is this: Will the joy of the people of Florida at their good fortune counterbalance the regret that must be felt by the whole country, at the flagrant violation of the law, by the President, whom, we all know, is bound to support the law?" 21 Yet, if there was sarcasm in the Floridian's comment, it was tinged with reality for, as originally appointed, Florida had a respectable-to use the Floridian's word-legislative body. There were seven lawyers, a physician, two prominent Spaniards, the mayor of Pensacola, the sheriff of East Florida, and a former auctioneer/commission merchant.

Henry Marie Brackenridge (1786-1871), a native of Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania, had set out for Pensacola from St. Louis with "President Monroe's assurance . . . he would not be overlooked in the distribution of . . . [public] offices" in the Floridas. By lucky circumstance, Brackenridge traveled on the same Mississippi River steamer boarded by General and Mrs. Jackson and their staff after their vessel became disabled. 22 Brackenridge knew Spanish and French, was a lawyer and prolific writer, and he had been a district judge of Louisiana, a Maryland state legislator, and had served as secretary for an American mission to the newly-independent Spanish colonies of South America. Learning of Brackenridge's qualifications, Jackson asked him to serve as

20. Commission of Members of the Legislative Council, May 4, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 422-23.

21. Pensacola Floridian, August 10, 1822.

22. William F. Keller, *The Nation's Advocate: Henry Marie Brackenridge and Young America* (Pittsburgh, 1956), 255.

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volunteer civilian secretary and translator. 23 In Pensacola, Jackson assigned Brackenridge the local tasks of the transfer of the Floridas from Spain to the United States, and appointed him the alcalde and notary of Pensacola, a Spanish office whose powers Brackenridge was unable to define precisely. For a time before each was appointed to the Legislative Council, he and Richard Keith Call were law partners. 24

Dr. James Craine Bronaugh (1788-1822), was a native of

Loudoun County, Virginia, and a graduate of the University of Pennsylvania School of Medicine. "Hepatitis" was the subject of his graduation thesis. He was appointed an army surgeon during the War of 1812, and he served with Jackson until his discharge in 1821. 25 A Jackson biographer described Bronaugh as "The General's military surgeon, a high-spirited Virginian, a stickler for the code of honor, heartily believing in the pistol as the great social regulator, and always prompt to act in accordance with that faith." 26 Dr. Bronaugh came with Jackson, who appointed him resident physician of Pensacola. He served as president of the Pensacola Board of Health in 1821 and 1822. 27

Richard Keith Call (1792-1862) was born at Pittsfield, Virginia. His conduct in the Creek War endeared him to Jackson, whose personal aide he was thereafter. He first came to Florida with the general in 1814 as a soldier and returned with him to Pensacola in 1821 to set up the interim American government. Deciding to make Florida his home, Call resigned from the army in 1822. Meanwhile, he served as acting secretary of West

23. Territorial Papers, XXII, 38, note 23; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1971 (Washington, 1971), 624; Keller, Nation's Advocate, 425.

24. Temporary Organization of Pensacola by Governor Jackson, July 19, 1821, Territorial Papers, XXII, 131; Pensacola Floridian, August 18, 1821. After his appointment to the Council, Brackenridge was appointed (during the organization of the territorial government judge of the Western District of Florida (1822-1832). After his judicial service, Brackenridge returned to Pennsylvania and "engaged in literary pursuits until his death in Pittsburgh, Pa., January 18, 1871" at the age of eighty-five. Commission of Henry M. Brackenridge as judge, June 5, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 451; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 624.

25. "West Florida, Three Centuries Under Four Flags, Conquest and Disease," Journal of the Florida Medical Association, XXXIX (April 1953), 762.

26. James Parton, The Life of Andrew Jackson 3 vols. (New York, 1860-1861), II, 653.

27. Pensacola Floridian, August 18, 1821, August 17, 1822.

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Florida in 1821, and was associated in law practice with Henry M. Brackenridge.

William M. Gibson, a South Carolinian who practiced law in St. Augustine, was described by William DuVal as a gentleman of "ability and integrity." 29 James R. Hanham, a native of England, also resided in St. Augustine. In the reduction of forces

after the War of 1812, he was dismissed from the army after some fifteen years of service during which he had attained the rank of captain. Jackson made him the sheriff of St. Johns County in 1821. 30 Joseph M. Hernandez (1773-1857), a native of Florida and a resident of St. Augustine, owned a plantation twenty miles south of St. Augustine. Although he had been active in the affairs of Spanish East Florida, he became an American citizen after 1821. 31

Edmund Law, born in the District of Columbia, served for twenty-three days (March 1822) as judge of the St. Johns County Court. By appointment Law served also as alcalde of St. Augustine and as notary, recorder of deeds, judge of probates, keeper of the archives, and justice of the peace. Governor DuVal later received complaints concerning Law's negligent management of the public records: it was claimed that he had allowed official papers to be removed from his office, "and that on leaving St. Augustin [sic] to attend the Council at Pensacola he turned the papers over to some private individual." Earlier, DuVal had described Law as a "valuable" citizen. 32

28. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., Richard Keith Call, Southern Unionist (Gainesville, 1961), 1-15; Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 693; Pensacola Floridian, August 18, 1821. Subsequent to his appointment to the Council, Call was brigadier general of the West Florida militia in 1823, territorial delegate to Congress (1823-1825), and twice territorial governor (1836-1839 and 1841-1844). He died in Tallahassee on September 14, 1862, at the age of sixty-nine.

29. DuVal to Adams, December 10, 1821, Territorial Papers, XXII, 299-300.

30. Register of Public Officials of East Florida, February 1, 1822, *ibid.*, 357; James H. [sic] Hanham to Monroe, October 27, 1823, *ibid.*, 777.

31. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1110; Territorial Papers, XXII, 528, note 58. Subsequent to his appointment to the Council, Hernandez served as Florida's first territorial delegate to Congress (1822-1823), as a member and president of the 1824 Territorial Council, and as a brigadier general of volunteers in the army (1835-1838), during the Second Seminole War. He died in Matanzas Province, Cuba, June 8, 1857, at the age of sixty-nine. DuVal and others to Monroe, September 3, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 529.

32. Register of Public Officials of East Florida, February 1, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 361-62; DuVal to Adams, May 26, 1823, *Ibid.*, 687; DuVal to Adams, December 10, 1821, *ibid.*, 299-300.

Thomas Lytle had come to St. Augustine from Baltimore for the American takeover from the Spanish authorities. He was identified in the Baltimore city directory for 1822-1823 as a "gentleman." In the 1819 directory, he was listed as an auctioneer and commission merchant. 33 Edgar Macon (1803-1829), a native of Virginia and a nephew of President James Madison, attended Princeton. Known as "colonel," he practiced law and was only nineteen years old at the time of his appointment to the Legislative Council. 34

John Miller, who had served as a lieutenant colonel under Jackson, was appointed clerk of the county court at Pensacola by Jackson on July 19, 1821. Two months later, he became mayor of Pensacola, an office he held until August 24, 1822. 35 In an editorial regretting the death of Miller's predecessor, the Pensacola paper said its feeling was "only relieved by the certain assurance we have of the zeal and ability of his successor." Writing to Dr. Bronaugh from the Hermitage after his return to Tennessee, Jackson spoke of Miller as "a man of sterling worth-and under all circumstances to be relied on." 36

William R. Reynolds, a native of Lancaster County, Pennsylvania, served as interpreter and private secretary to Captain John R. Bell of the Fourth Artillery, acting secretary of East Florida, and he subsequently performed the same duties for Bell's successor as Acting Governor W. G. D. Worthington. Congressman James Buchanan of Pennsylvania, in recommending Reynolds for appointment to the Legislative Council, noted that

33. Samuel Jackson, comp., *The Baltimore Directory* (Baltimore, 1819), unpaginated; C. Keenan, comp., *The Baltimore Directory* (Baltimore, 1822), 175.

34. Bible of Sarah Catlett (Madison) Macon, Mss6: 4 M265:1, Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. Following his appointment to the Council, Macon was appointed U. S. Attorney for the Eastern Florida district (1823). He established in Tallahassee the weekly *Florida Advocate* in February or March of 1827. He died at Key West on November 11, 1829. Commission of Edgar Macon as U. S. Attorney, May 9, 1823, Territorial Papers, XXII, 680; James O. Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (DeLand, 1926), 103.

35. Miller received compensation of \$359.78 "being salary for ten months and twenty four days" for his service as mayor of Pensacola. Commission of John Miller as Mayor of Pensacola, October 1, 1821, Territorial Papers, XXII, 226-27.

36. *Pensacola Floridian*, October 8, 1821; Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Andrew Jackson's Cronies in Florida Territorial Politics, With Three Unpublished Letters to His Cronies," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIV (July 1955),

he had "studied law and also is well acquainted with the Spanish language, having resided some years in Spain." 37

Bernardo Sigui (also spelled Segui), a native of Spain and resident of St. Augustine, had been active in Spanish affairs in East Florida. Prior to appointment as councilman, Sigui served as syndick, or recorder, for the city council of St. Augustine. 38 Joseph M. White (1781-1839), an attorney and native Kentuckian, married Mary Ellen Adair, whose father, John Adair, was governor of Kentucky. White had sought appointments in the Alabama and Missouri territories without success. Seeking an appointment in Florida, White informed President Monroe that "the strongest motive I have for removing to that Territory is the delicate health of my wife . . . for this cause I am induced to abandon a lucrative Office, and extensive practice in this State [Kentucky] to locate myself in Florida." White sought the office of Commissioner for Land Claims, but said that he was also available for a seat in the Legislative Council. 39

These thirteen men were Monroe's first appointees to the Council. Five of the men—Bronaugh, Brackenridge, Call, Miller, and Hanham—apparently had been brought to his attention by Jackson in consideration for other Florida public offices. Judge DuVal had suggested Hernandez, Gibson, Law, and Sigui. Congressman Buchanan of Pennsylvania had recommended Reynolds, and Senator Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky had recommended White. Former President James Madison may have suggested Macon. Lytle's sponsor is not known. 40

Apportionment of the Council as concerned East and West Florida was discussed by DuVal, in a letter written in Washington, the day after his nomination as "Governor of the Floridas" was sent to the Senate, April 15, 1822. 41 "If population, and extent

37. Territorial Papers, XXII, 354, note 55; Buchanan to Monroe, April 26, 1822, *ibid.*, 415.

38. Temporary Organization of St. Augustine, July 16, 1821, *ibid.*, 120; Register of Public Officials of East Florida, February 1, 1822, *ibid.*, 358.

39. Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1911; Joseph M. White to Monroe, Territorial Papers, XXII, 406. Later, White was elected territorial delegate to Congress for six consecutive terms (1825-1837). He died at age fifty-eight on October 19, 1839, in St. Louis, Missouri.

40. Doherty, "Andrew Jackson's Cronies," 3-6; DuVal to Monroe, April 16, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 406-07; Buchanan to Monroe, April 26,

1822, *ibid.*, 415; *ibid.*, 406, note 21.

41. Commission of William P. DuVal as governor, April 17, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 469-70. The error in terminology having been pointed out,

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of Territory, will in any degree influence the appointment of the members of the Legislative counsel [sic], East Florida would have the majority of the counsel, as their [sic] are eight thousand souls in East, and but Five thousand in West Florida. . . . If eight of the counsel is taken from East and Five from West Florida, the representation of each will (as near as it can) be made equal." 42 Monroe's appointments, whether by design or not, fell into DuVal's formula: precisely so if it may be inferred that Macon would have been an East Florida member. Brackenridge, Bronaugh, Call, Miller, and White were from West Florida; Gibson, Hanham, Hernandez, Law, Lytle, Macon, Reynolds, and Sigui from East Florida.

If the President and DuVal thought their concern with the Council was completed for the moment, they were wrong. Hernandez and Sigui resigned; Hernandez because of ill health and the situation of his family, and Sigui also because of family circumstances. 43 Greenbury Gaither and George Murray were recommended as successors with the support of St. Augustine citizens. 44

Greenbury Gaither, born in Maryland, came to Florida from Kentucky. DuVal, recommending him for appointment as commissioner to decide land titles, called him "a gentleman of excellent legal knowledge . . . and whose standing, as a man of character, is unexceptionable-Mr. Gaither speaks the French language and reads the Spanish with fluency [sic] -" He previously had served as judge of the St. Johns County Court and the District Court at St. Augustine. 45 George Murray of Winchester, Virginia, had served in the United States Army as a lieutenant during the War of 1812. Jackson appointed him prosecuting attorney for East Florida on July 24, 1821. His St. Augustine supporters announced their "full confidence in his

Monroe sent a corrected document recommending DuVal as "Governor of Florida Territory," which the Senate received on April 16 and approved the following day.

42. DuVal to Monroe, April 16, 1822, *ibid.*, 406-07.

43. *Ibid.*, 423, note 64.

44. Gaither and Murray served the Council without the formality of Senate confirmation. Their appointments were finally confirmed by the Senate on January 31, 1823. Recommendation of Greenbury Gaither as councilor, 1822, *ibid.*, 448-49; recommendation of George Murray as councilor, 1822, *ibid.*, 449-50.

45. Register of Public Officials of East Florida, February 1, 1822, *ibid.*, 356-57;
DuVal to Adams, November 29, 1821, *ibid.*, 284-85.

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integrity, patriotism and talents." 46 There was one anonymous letter from St. Augustine to the Secretary of State which was highly critical of Murray, but this obviously did not stand in the way of his appointment. 47

Reynolds, Hanham, Law, and Gaither sailed from St. Augustine for Pensacola on May 30 aboard the sloop *Lady Washington*. Lytle sailed on another vessel. 48 Murray traveled first to Washington to lobby for his appointment as collector of customs at Key West. 49 Macon was still in Virginia, and Gibson was "somewhere in Georgia or So Carolina." 50

On Monday, June 10, 1822, the West Florida councilmen then in Pensacola—Bronaugh, Call, Miller, and Brackenridge—gathered in conformity with the act of Congress. Lacking a quorum, the meeting was adjourned until the following Monday. 51 Again there was no quorum. As the Council members marked time, two new problems arose. Brackenridge resigned to accept appointment as judge for West Florida. 52 White planned to leave to accept a position as secretary to the Board of Land Commissioners, but was persuaded by Governor DuVal to remain until the session ended. 53

The Brackenridge resignation and the impending departure of White from the council enabled DuVal to urge upon the President the desirability of recognizing the Spanish inhabitants of Pensacola who had been passed over in the initial appointments. In a letter to Secretary Adams, DuVal recommended the appointment of Juan de la Rúa and Joseph Noriega as "men of information and integrity" who were "looked up to by the Spanish population as their first men here." Their appointment

46. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army, From Its Organization September 29, 1789 to March 2, 1903* 2 vols. (Washington, 1903), I, 738; recommendation of George Murray as councilor, 1822, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 449; 133, note 12.

47. Anonymous to Adams, June 18, 1822, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 461.

48. *Pensacola Floridian*, July 27, 1822; T. Frederick Davis, "Pioneer Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (January 1946), 208.

49. Anonymous to Adams, June 18, 1822, *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 461; David Shannon to Adams, July 22, 1822, *ibid.*, 493.

50. Macon was still living in Virginia in May of 1823. Commission of Edgar

Macon as U. S. Attorney, May 9, 1823, *Ibid.*, 680; anonymous to Adams, June 18, 1822, *ibid.*, 461.

52. Commission of Henry M. Brackenridge as judge, June 5, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 451; Keller, *Nation's Advocate*, 296-97.

53. White arrived in Pensacola on June 20, 1822. *Pensacola Floridian*, June 22, 1822; DuVal to Adams, July 17, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 489.

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"would have an excellent effect in attaching the Spanish inhabitants to our Government; I have found those people much more orderly than the Americans who are here, and I do not believe I ever have seen a more moral or better people, they can be easily governed, if treated with kindness and confidence." 54

De la Rua was a colonel in the Spanish army who had elected to remain in Florida after the transfer of sovereignty. Noriega was a brickmaker. The output of his kilns was reported to be one of the chief exports from Pensacola. Both were appointed by Monroe in mid-August, but neither served in the council of 1822 since the commissions did not reach Pensacola until mid-September, possibly on the day the council finished its labors. Their appointments were confirmed by the Senate on January 31, 1823. 55

Bronaugh, writing from Pensacola to an agent of the state department, noted, "The Legislative Council has not yet proceeded to business, only five members being present. We have not heard a word from the other eight, it is therefore uncertain when we shall form a quorum." Three days later, DuVal voiced his concern in a letter to the Secretary of State: "The members of the Legislative counsel [sic] from East Florida have not yet been heard from there are but five members of the counsel [sic] here If the counsel [sic] should not meet, great confusion and dissatisfaction will prevail-much now exists [sic]" 56

On July 17, DuVal advised Secretary Adams that the *Lady Washington* had been engulfed by a three-day storm off the entrance to Pensacola harbor and "has never been heard of since. I have but little doubt the Sloop and every soul perished-" 57

What really had happened to the *Lady Washington* was described in a *Mobile Register* account reprinted in the *Pensacola Floridian*: "After experiencing an alternation of calms and squalls, she put into Matanzas [Cuba] on the 22d of June, to get a supply of wood, water and provisions. She proceeded on her voyage the 26th, and made the first land at Cape St. Blas [between Apalachicola and Port St. Joe] on the 4th inst. and

54. DuVal to Adams, July 17, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 490.

55. Ibid.

56. James C. Bronaugh to Fontaine Maury, June 27, 1822, *ibid.*, 475; DuVal to Adams, June 30, 1822, *ibid.*, 478-79.

57. DuVal to Adams, July 17, 1822, *ibid.*, 489.

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Pensacola on the morning of the 7th. The gale increasing, she was unable to enter the port, and obliged to lay too [sic]. On the morning of the 9th, she shipped a heavy sea, which stove in her companion way, and threw the sloop on her beam ends, and took in a considerable quantity of water. She righted immediately, and it was considered prudent to scud her, as it appeared that she had not sufficient ballast to enable her to lay too. This was accordingly done, and after scudding three and a half hours under bare poles, (the captain and mate at the helm) she gave a lee lurch and upset. In this perilous situation she remained about 15 or 20 minutes, the crew and passengers clinging for safety to the side of the vessel, when she righted, and two hours after she run on the beach of Ship Island [off Biloxi, Mississippi]. All on board were saved." 58

These East Florida members reached Pensacola July 20, which increased the number to nine. Thomas Lytle, who had left St. Augustine in a separate ship, was not as fortunate as his colleagues. His vessel was lost in a storm, and Lytle perished. 59

So, forty-two days late, the first meeting of the first Legislative Council of Florida convened at twelve noon on Monday, July 22, 1822. Likely the session was held in the residence of Juan de la Rua, situated northeast of Pensacola on Escambia Bay. De la Rua's three-story home probably was chosen not only because of its size and comfort but because neither funds nor a public building was available for the meeting. 60

Governor DuVal, writing the Secretary of State, explained: "The Government-house and the few public buildings, which belong to this City are in possession of the Military There are no funds here to meet any of the expenditures of the Legislative Council-to provide and furnish a house for their use-to pay for printing the Laws and for the Stationary [sic] and Clerk hire &c-" 61

Adams informed the governor that "No appropriation having been made by Congress at thier [sic] last Session to defray the necessary expenses [sic] of the territorial Government of Florida,

58. Pensacola Floridian, July 27, 1822.

59. *Ibid.*, July 20, 1822; Shannon to Adams, Territorial Papers, XXII, 493; Davis, "Pioneer Florida," 208.

60. The proceedings of the Legislative Council may be found in the Pensacola Floridian, July 27, August 3, 10, 17, 1822.

61. DuVal to Adams, June 21, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 470-71.

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such indispensable charges, as will not admit of delay have been, and will continue to be paid from the balance remaining of the appropriation of the preceding [sic] year for carrying into effect the Florida Treaty." 62

Under Article I, Section 5, of the United States Constitution, and Section 6 of Jefferson's Manual of Parliamentary Practice, a "majority" constituted a quorum. This would have been seven of the Council. Yet, as the Floridian reported on June 22, there were those who read Florida's organic law differently. "The doubters, doubtlessly, doubt-with considerable forcefainess [sic] of doubting-as thus, the Legislative Council consists of thirteen members, by the act of Congress-and thence it is concluded-that when the act recites `The Legislative Council'-its intent and meaning is, that there are thirteen members of the Legislative Council-this is certainly very clear-and it establishes most satisfactorily, that were the whole council present and in session to day-if on Monday next, any act should pass - absent one member, from any cause whatever, that act, would not be law-and all the rights secured by it, of no avail, because, twelve cannot constitute-the Legislative Council." 63 Fortunately for the organization of the territorial government, that view did not prevail.

Of more significance was the non-appearance of a quorum on June 10, 1822. Section 5 of the organic act allowed a maximum session of two months from the convening date of the council. Doubts concerning the legality of continuing in session beyond two months, or after August 8, created problems for the members present in Pensacola. DuVal asked John Quincy Adams to determine "whether the Council, under the Law, (when they shall meet) can from that time continue in session two months or must the time be calculated from the 2nd Monday in June as fixed by Law? " 64 The Council members had decided the matter for themselves. Convening on July 22, they continued in session for fifty-nine days to September 18.

The first order of business for the Council was the election of a president. This was accomplished on the second day, July 23, when Dr. Bronaugh was elected. In his acceptance remarks,

62. Adams to DuVal, August 20, 1822, *ibid.*, 510.

63. Pensacola Floridian, June 22, 1822.

64. DuVal to Adams, June 21, 1822, Territorial Papers, XXII, 470-71.

he said: "As the first Legislative body assembled in this Territory, we are called upon to perform a task of great importance to its future welfare; we are required to lay the foundation of the laws and government of a Territory, which at present, although but little known, is perhaps destined at no very distant day, to become one of the most wealthy and respectable members of the American confederacy." 65

John Coppinger Connor was named clerk and Jabez N. Brown sergeant at arms. Both men were Pensacola residents. Connor had served as clerk of the executive court, and Brown as city jailer. Jackson, writing from Tennessee, was pleased with Connor's appointment: "I feel happy to see him noticed by the council. I think him a [sic] excellent young man." 66

In his message to the Council, Governor DuVal listed the legislation that would be needed for the organization of the territory. He proposed division of the courts into Superior and Inferior courts, adoption of the common law as the "basis of our Code, engrafting upon it such provisions of the civil law, as are best calculated to secure to our citizens. . . speedy and certain redress for any injuries they may sustain," and taxation for revenue necessary "to meet the expenses which must arise in the execution of our local laws." He called on the Council to "tend to the harmony and prosperity of our new country," and to "encrease [sic] the respectability and wealth . . . by inviting into our Territory a population active, and enterprising, and by promoting her agriculture and commerce." 67

Parts of the governor's message were referred to committees; so much so as related to the judiciary was sent to a committee of four (Law, Gaither, Call, and Murray) and that relating to revenue was committed to another committee of four (Gaither, Miller, Reynolds, and Hanham). Each committee was clothed with authority to report by bill or otherwise.

Even though there usually were only eight or nine members present, the Council from its start set up several committees. There were two four-man committees to handle judiciary matters and revenue questions. A three-man committee was appointed to draft rules and regulations for the House. There

65. Pensacola Floridian, July 27, 1822.

66. Doherty, "Andrew Jackson's Cronies," 23; Pensacola Floridian, July 27, 1822.

67. Pensacola Floridian, July 27, 1822.

seems to be no surviving record of these rules, but it is safe to assume these were based upon those governing the United States

House of Representatives. Other committees were appointed to draft legislation, consider petitions and report on specific bills. Most of the committees had three members, but others ranged from two to five. Among the matters brought before these first committees were charters for churches and for the cities of Pensacola and St. Augustine, the conduct of marriage ceremonies, licensing of lawyers, creation of Escambia, Jackson, Duval, and St. Johns counties, establishment of courts, and definition of crimes and penalties.

Determining how Florida's delegate to Congress would be elected was still another responsibility of the Council. Determining the ground rules for this stirred up a divisive debate among the members. The issue was whether military personnel stationed in Florida could vote. Dr. Bronaugh and Richard Keith Call were rival candidates for election as delegate. Bronaugh wanted the soldiers to have the vote; Call was opposed. Bronaugh, as president, cast the deciding vote for soldier-voting when the Council tied.

The history of the first bill passed by the Council shows that some of the twentieth-century practices of the Florida legislature date back to territorial period. That early body struck everything after the enacting clause of the bill, "an act to regulate the Counties, and establish Inferior Courts in the Territory of Florida," as reported from committee and inserted a new text. There were motions to recommit to committee, followed by a motion to postpone further consideration until a date beyond sine die adjournment. The bill had its third reading and passage on August 6, 1822, and was approved by the governor on August 12. 68 All laws enacted by the governor and Council had to be approved by Congress also.

Yellow fever appeared in Pensacola in August, and it was believed that it had been brought in by a ship from Havana. Two crewmen had died en route. The ship was laden with twenty-five tons of rotting fruit which was spread on the shore to salvage

68. An Act to regulate Counties and establish Inferior Courts in the Territory of Florida, August 12, 1822, Acts of the Territorial Legislature, 1822, Florida State Archives, Acc. P68-01.

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what remained of the oranges, pineapples, and plantains. Some blamed the putrid fruit for the fever outbreak. 69

Dr. Bronaugh, as president of the Pensacola Board of Health, issued a statement which appeared in the Floridian August 17. It said: "For my own part I have no hesitation in declaring, that my confidence in the healthiness of Pensacola, has not been impaired, that the cases of a more malignant kind, may be ascribed to causes of a local nature exclusively, and that those of a milder type may be attributed in a great measure, to the unusual dryness and heat of the season, and to imprudence in eating unripe fruit."

The Floridian also sought to calm the fears of the citizens: "It is utterly inconceivable, how any infection can rage here, as long as our bay continues salt and the Gulph [sic] stream breeze continues in its daily luxurious office." 70

The fever raged throughout Pensacola. Chief Clerk Connor died about August 28. He was succeeded by Robert Mitchell, who had been serving as the engrossing clerk. 71 Dr. Bronaugh succumbed on September 2, and was succeeded by Law. The Council then decided to transfer its deliberations to Fifteen Mile House, the residence of Don Emanuel Gonzalez. Governor DuVal, writing from there to President Monroe on September 10, informed him "with deep sorrow" of the deaths of Dr. Bronaugh and of the United States attorney. "The best and most intelligent [sic] part of our American population has already fallen victims to this destructive [sic] fever-No hope is entertained of its abatement untill [sic] frost, which will not commence untill the last of October." 72

The records show that when the Council adjourned on September 18, it had enacted a total of fifty-six bills. Despite the delayed start and the toll of yellow fever, it had met the mandate of Governor DuVal and the federal government to provide the territory with a foundation of laws. At the time of adjournment, six members were present: Law, Miller, Murray, Call,

69. Celia Myrover Robinson, *The Crown Jewel: Fabulous Families of Old Pensacola* (Pensacola, 1948), 46.

70. *Pensacola Floridian*, August 17, 1822.

71. Act for the payment of the Clerks, September 18, 1822, *Acts of the Territorial Legislature*, 1822.

72. Tipton B. Harrison of Lynchburg, Virginia, was U. S. Attorney for West Florida. Interestingly, Richard K. Call and Joseph M. White each had had congressional support for this office. *Territorial Papers*, XXII, 414, note 43; DuVal to Monroe, September 10, 1822, *ibid.*, 531.

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White, and Gaither. Bronaugh was dead, Hanham had left in mid-August to campaign in East Florida for the election of Bronaugh as delegate to Congress, and Reynolds had departed on September 17. 73

Of the bills enacted, thirty-six likely were adapted from the laws of other states and territories. The Spanish civil code, on which titles to real and personal property were founded, was supplanted by the common law of Great Britain, likely to the dismay of the Spanish population. There were acts regulating descents, assigning of bonds and notes, concerning awards and arbitrations, regulating proceedings in chancery, concerning usury, regulating conveyances, concerning guardians and wards, masters and apprentices, concerning wills, providing for alimony,

prohibiting unlawful gaming, concerning dower and jointure, prohibiting frauds and perjuries, directing the mode of suing out and prosecuting writs of habeas corpus. Other laws regulated criminal and civil actions. There were also laws regulating the counties, establishing inferior courts, incorporating the cities of Pensacola and St. Augustine, providing for the payment of postage on communications directed to the governor and the secretary of the territory, establishing boards of health in Pensacola and St. Augustine to provide against the introduction of contagious diseases, raising revenue for the territory, and providing for the compensation of clerks and messenger of the Council and for other expenses of the lawmakers. 74 The device of laying a bill "on the table," in lieu of killing it, was used to dispose of a proposed charter for St. Peter's Protestant Episcopal Church of St. Augustine.

The Council drafted a 3,485-word memorial to President Monroe for transmission to Congress. It stressed Florida's need for roads: "as we are at present situated the nearest practicable road from one to the other (Pensacola-St. Augustine) by land, is seven hundred and fifty Miles, through Alabama and Georgia, and the water communication round the Cape is as difficult as a trip to Liverpool or Bourdeaux [sic]. " 75 The memorial also

73. Settlement of Accounts of Territorial Officials, February 25, 1823, *ibid.*,

629-32. News of Bronaugh's death was slow in reaching East Florida; Hanham and others continued to campaign for him as late as September. Anonymous to Adams, October 15, 1822, *ibid.*, 544-45.

74. Acts of the Territorial Legislature, 1822.

75. *Ibid.*

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explained the need for lighthouses, control of piracy and ship wrecking, repression of crime by reorganizing the judiciary, stimulation of immigration by settling land claims, and harbor development. Pensacola's advantages as the site of a military depot and fortifications were also set forth.

Assisting the Council were John Coppinger Connor, who served as clerk until his death; Robert Mitchell, who succeeded Connor; Alfred W. Hynes, an engrossing clerk; and Jabez Brown, the messenger or sergeant at arms. The Council authorized the payment of \$114 to Connor's estate, which represented a rate of \$3.00 a day from July 22 to August 28. Mitchell was paid \$110 as clerk for the period from August 28 to September 18 at \$5.00 a day. He also received \$87 as engrossing clerk from July 30 until August 28, which was figured at \$3.00 a day. Hynes was paid \$281 for his services as engrossing clerk from July 24 to August 28 at \$3.00 a day, and \$8.00 a day from August 28 to September 18 for the additional duties which he acquired upon the death of Connor. Brown was paid \$106, representing \$2.00 a day from July 22 to September 12. 76

The members of the Council were allowed their per diem of \$3.00 and mileage of \$3.00 based on each twenty miles traveled. For the St. Augustine members, this meant one-way mileage of \$129. The majority of the members received per diem from \$174 to \$177. Joseph White, however, apparently gained a month through some clerical error. He was paid \$261 for the period from June 22 through September 18, although the Council did not convene until July 22 . 77 In addition to these per diem and travel payments, the Council was also responsible for printing and distributing the laws, paying the clerks, printing stationery, and the hiring of a room and tables. It came to \$3,300 and Governor DuVal requested this amount from the state department. 78 Reviewing the work of the Council, the governor noted that "the code of Laws enacted by the Legislative Council, I believe well calculated for the situation of the Territory." 79

The second annual session of the Legislative Council was held in St. Augustine and the third in a log building at the newly

76. Ibid.

77. Settlement of Accounts of Territorial Officials, February 25, 1823, Territorial Papers, XXII, 629-33.

78. Acting Governor Walton to Adams, November 5, 1822, *ibid.*, 561-62.

79. DuVal to Adams, September 22, 1822, *ibid.*, 536.

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designated capital of Tallahassee. Popular election of the Council began in 1826. Congress on July 7, 1838, substituted a legislature for the territory with a House of Representatives and a Senate. Florida's present House of Representatives is the direct successor to the Legislative Council of 1822, which first gave the people of Florida a voice in the making of the laws governing them.

39

HELEN HUNT WEST: FLORIDA'S PIONEER FOR ERA by James R. McGovern

SINCE FLORIDA'S position on the Equal Rights Amendment is considered critical in the interim remaining before the time limit for the amendment expires in 1979, it would seem particularly relevant to examine the historical roots of ERA in Florida. 1 To do so is to unfurl the purple, gold, and white banner

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1. Historians are just beginning to examine the general subject of women in twentieth-century Florida. Three articles primarily concerned with

women have been published in the Florida Historical Quarterly during the last five years: Bernadette K. Loftin, "A Woman Liberated, Lillian C. West, Editor," LII (April 1974), 396-410; James R. McGovern, "Sport-ing Life on the Line': Prostitution in Progressive Era Pensacola," LIV (October 1975), 131-44; and Linda D. Vance, "May Mann Jennings and Royal Palm State Park," LV (July 1976), 1-17. Professional historians have yet to publish a significant interpretive study of women in Florida, although Kenneth R. Johnson's "The Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1966) is very use-ful. Excellent materials for a broad study exist, however, within and outside the state. The papers of May Mann Jennings are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. Mrs. Jennings was active in politics and conservation. The University of Florida is the repository for the papers and correspondence of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings, the noted novelist; Margaret Drier Robins, a social activist; and Zora Neale Hurston, black author and folklorist. The bulk of Mary McLeod Bethune's papers and correspondence are at Bethune-Cookman College, Daytona Beach. Records and papers of the Florida League of Women Voters (1920-1945), with some interruptions, are in the manu-script division of the Library of Congress. Records of the Florida branch of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation and the Associa-tion of Southern Women for the Prevention of Lynching are in the Negro Collection, Atlanta University. Information on the National Woman's party in Florida is available at the headquarters of the or-ganization in Washington, D. C. Two good collections relating to Florida women are in the Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College: the papers of Helen Hunt West and Maxine Elbridge Baker. Useful information on social reform activities of Florida women is found in the Eartha White materials at the University of North Florida. Reports of women's auxiliaries of churches and synagogues and records of the Community Chest and Red Feather organizations are scattered throughout the state. Abundant materials on a wide variety of activities of Florida's women are available in the archives of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, Lakeland, and in its magazine, The Florida Bulletin and Clubwoman, at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History (September 1922 to the

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of the National Woman's Party (NWP), the only organization which proposed ERA nationally in 1923 and which alone effec-tively propagandized on its behalf until the 1960s, and to focus on the activities of one of its key members, Helen Hunt West of Jacksonville.

The NWP was a lineal descendent of the radical suffrage or-ganization, the Congressional Union, founded in 1913. 2 The Con-gressional Union alienated the more conservative National Amer-ican Woman Suffrage Association led by Carrie C. Catt by its militancy. It had even picketed the White House, which resulted in the imprisonment of party leaders, including Alice Paul. Miss

Paul had been greatly influenced by the militant tactics of the Pankhursts in England and invested the American suffrage movement with similar zeal. Her tactics called for direct discussion between members of her organization and candidates for public office in recalcitrant states. NWP officials warned legislators that those who opposed suffrage would feel the wrath of disappointed women at the polls, directly where they could vote, or indirectly through men who sympathized with their position in states where woman's suffrage was denied. By publicity and pressure of this type, the NWP helped bring about the rapid success of the suffrage movement after 1913. 3

Helen Hunt West, who had been described as "a very pretty little thing with bright brown eyes," became a leading member of the National Women's party in Florida in 1917. 4 She was a

present). Sources relating to Florida women are also dispersed through local and county historical societies and archives of the state's universi-

ties and colleges. Noteworthy among them are the papers of Ivy Julia Stranahan, a devotee of Seminole Indian culture, in the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. Anne F. Scott makes only casual references to Florida in her article, "After Suffrage: Southern Women in the Twenties,"

Journal of Southern History, XXX (August 1964), 298-318. This author wishes to declare his indebtedness to James M. Olsen, associate professor

at Jacksonville University, for permitting him use of the paper, "Helen Hunt West: Jacksonville Feminist," which Professor Olsen delivered before the Conference on Jacksonville History, February 24, 1978.

2. The best book on the tactics and activities of women's groups working for suffrage is J. Stanley Lemons, *The Woman Citizen* (Urbana, 1973).

3. Sidney Roderick Bland, "Techniques of Persuasion: The National Woman's Party and Suffrage" (Ph.D. dissertation, George Washington University, 1972).

4. For a biography of Helen Hunt West, see her papers, Schlesinger Library, Radcliffe College, folder no. 1. Mrs. West was born in Oakland, Florida, February 10, 1892, and was raised in Orange County. She attended Stetson Academy and received her college degree from Florida

member of the editorial staff of the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union and a self-trained lawyer who had been admitted to the Florida bar. 5 Alice Paul, whose speech in Jacksonville in May 1917, had influenced Miss Hunt to join the NWP, later observed: "We got one of the best members we ever had in the whole Woman's Party history, Helen West . . . never faltered. She dedicated her life to this [ERA] campaign . . . she was a born feminist." 6

Ms. Hunt was a member of the intrepid NWP group which had demonstrated in front of the White House. 7 When Alice Paul realized Helen's superb organizing talents, she asked her to try to change the anti-suffrage positions of Florida Senators Duncan Fletcher and Park Trammell and to assess attitudes toward suffrage in the Florida legislature. Paul wanted to know whether Florida might possibly ratify the suffrage amendment even though other key states failed to provide support. 8 Hunt secured signatures on a petition for suffrage from thirty-eight members of the House and from seventeen senators. 9 She reportedly declared later that if Tennessee had not cast the decisive vote for the nineteenth amendment, Florida would have done so. 10

The effort to get Florida legislative support failed, but it did

State College for Women in 1933. She joined the staff of the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union in 1913 and was admitted to the Florida bar four years later. She helped found the Jacksonville chapter of the Panhellenic Society in 1914. See Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 27, 1964. Helen Hunt West served as chairman, Florida State Branch of the National Woman's party, 1917-1920. See National Woman's Party Headquarters, Washington, D. C.) There were thirty-five members in the Florida branch in 1917 and 160 in 1920. See National Woman's Party Papers, 1913-1972, membership lists, 1917-1920.

5. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, January 27, May 31, 1964.

6. "Conversations with Alice Paul: Woman Suffrage and the Equal Rights Amendment," Suffragist Oral History Project, Regional Oral History Office, Bancroft Library, University of California at Berkeley, 131. For Alice Paul's appearance in Jacksonville, see Johnson, "Woman Suffrage Movement in Florida," 29.

7. The Suffragist (n.d.), in the papers of Helen Hunt West, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 6.

8. Eunice Wood to Helen Hunt, July 13, 1920, *ibid.* For the efforts of Helen Hunt to influence Senator Duncan Fletcher, see The Suffragist, June 18, 1918.

9. Petition and signatures are in the papers of Helen Hunt West, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 6.

10. Tampa Tribune, April 7, 1920, *ibid.* The best discussion of the woman suffrage amendment in the Florida legislature is found in Kenneth R. Johnson, "Florida Women Get the Vote," Florida Historical Quarterly, XLVIII (January 1970), 303-05. See Wayne Flynt, Cracker Messiah: Governor Sidney J. Catts of Florida (Baton Rouge, 1977), 240-41.

not deter Helen West from becoming the first Duval County woman to register to vote on August 19, 1920. She told an inquiring newspaper reporter: "of course we don't expect the millenium by any means . . . but we hope now that we are represented in politics to make a better county for all." 11

After the suffrage amendment passed, some of its members wondered whether there was any reason for NWP to continue to exist, but a determined faction argued that there was much more work that needed doing; suffrage was not freedom, but only a first step. 12 Women like Helen West wanted to eliminate every vestige of inequality between the sexes. They resolved at Seneca Falls, New York, in 1923, to work for an equal rights amendment to the Constitution. Alice Paul stated their goal: "Men and women shall have equal rights throughout the United States and every place subject to its jurisdiction." 13

The first issue of the NWP's magazine, Equal Rights, published in February 1923, announced the party's new goals for American women: "Women are now free in the narrow political sense. They can cast their ballots . . . but in the deeper meaning of the word Liberty, they are still in much the same position as they were before the Suffrage Bill passed. . . . From legislative halls to the police force, in the shops and factory, in the schools, in the home, women are still in substantially the same position they occupied before the vote was won. . . . From one end of our land to the other are women who believe with passionate devotion in the ideal of Liberty. They believe in women, in their morality, their temperance, their love of peace, their devotion to their homes and their children. These women hold that an enduring civilization can never be built as long as women are in subjection. . . . The purpose of this publication is to bind these women together, to hearten them by contact with others of life spirit and to put forward for their use facts both with regard to

11. Certificate of Voter Registration, Duval County, August 19, 1920, Helen

Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library. For a photograph, see Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 31, 1964. For remarks to a correspondent, see Jacksonville Metropolis, August 19, 1920, in Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library.

12. "Conversations with Alice Paul," 257-61.

13. Ibid., 265. The present ERA was slightly reworded in 1943 by the Senate judiciary committee to read, "Equality of rights under the law shall not be denied or abridged by the United States or any state on account of sex." When sent to the states for ratification in 1971, it was also modified by a seven-year deadline for ratification.

the practical progress of the campaign and the present position of women throughout life." 14

Later in 1923, NWP representatives were startled to find themselves alone among women's organizations supporting ERA at the Senate's judiciary committee hearings. Opposition came from the League of Women Voters and the Women's Division of the United States Department of Labor, both of which espoused protective legislation, hence, unequal rights for women. 15 The NWP's exclusive dedication to ERA as against the League's interest in broad social reforms, such as pacifism and factory and maternity legislation, also created conflicts between the two major women's organizations. As a consequence, NWP found itself relatively isolated with only a small national organization which averaged about 8,000 members in the 1920s. 16 There were approximately fifty members in Florida. From its exhilarating role as the vanguard, of a popular feminist drive for suffrage, NWP, after 1923, shouldered the unpopular task of changing the attitudes of American women as well as the nation's lawmakers. 17

To obtain its objective, NWP relied heavily on the dedication and quality of its members. 18 They were, for the most part, elite business and professional women whose influence extended far beyond their membership. They often contacted women with similar backgrounds in other organizations, with the consequence that ERA came to be adopted as a goal of Women Lawyers, the Pilot Club, and the National Federation of Business and Professional Women's Clubs as well. 19 NWP's commitment to a single goal, the constitutional amendment for equality, and to a primary process, the amendment procedure, hence, direct pressure on legislators, strengthened its impact. 20 "Our little group," as

14. Equal Rights, February 17, 1923.

15. "Conversations with Alice Paul," 266-68, 481-82.

16. Official records of the NWP show, for example, 7,682 members in December 1923, with fifty-two members in Florida, and for November 1924, 9,469 members nationally with fifty-six in Florida. See National Woman's Party Papers, 1913-1972, Membership Lists, 1923-1924.

17. "Conversations with Alice Paul," 268, 443-44. The two programs often overlapped because persistent lobbying for ERA with legislators was designed, in part, for publicity and "consciousness raising" among women.

18. Ibid., 197, 502.

19. Ibid., 473-74.

20. West wrote, "Miss Paul, you know, has always taught we should stick to one point, equality-but do as we like as individuals." West to Alma

Lutz, August 1, 1938, in Lutz Collection, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 80.

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Alice Paul once described the membership, was bound as well by a close-knit, sisterly "enthusiasm to have every degradation put upon our sex removed," and by a confidence that they were thereby facilitating gains for American democracy. 21

Helen Hunt West's major activities on behalf of women in Florida and the South exemplified the goals and strategy of the NWP. 22 In talks before women's clubs in Florida, she reiterated the necessity for justice for modern women, hence equality under the law, for which women would willingly exchange deceptive social amenities. In a speech before the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs in Lake City in 1935 she set forth her views: "Women who are smug in their contentment in comfortable homes with husbands, brothers and sons of unrepachable characters who minister to their every need, seldom pause to think that their own daughters and granddaughters have to look to an entirely different set of men for justice. Generation after generation passes. The only measure of security comes through the fundamental law of the land and that is the reason women need an Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution of the United States. By the accident of birth we are women and we are dissatisfied with our inheritance of injustice and inequality. By the same accident of birth our brothers are men and they have inherited both. All we ask is the right to share that inheritance." 23

Ms. West conceded a major obstacle to the local success of ERA was that "in Florida the women were not really aroused over Equal Rights." 24 Much of this indifference stemmed from a misunderstanding of the intent of equal rights legislation. "The greatest difficulty in putting over the idea of the Equal Rights Amendment with women," she declared, "is the fact that some women do not understand what it means and what it proposes to do. . . . It merely means that the law applies the same to one

21. "Conversations with Alice Paul," 197. A typical speech by Helen H. West declared, "The proposed Equal Rights Amendment to the Constitution is one of those very simple things that has been made to appear complicated. It seeks not to make men and women equal-but only to make the law equal for men and women and, after all, that is democracy." See Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

22. Helen Hunt married Bryan M. West, city editor of the Florida Times-Union, in 1927. See *ibid.*, folder no. 1, and Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, May 31, 1964.

23. Speech of Helen H. West, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

24. Speeches of Helen H. West, *ibid.*

[picture caption]

Helen Hunt West

Photograph courtesy Jacksonville Florida Times-Union

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citizen as it does to another. It makes no attempt to change the laws of nature-of course two persons are not equal-either men or women-but the law applies equally to both." In addition, she argued, many women lived in sheltered domesticity and failed therefore to identify with the disadvantages experienced by working and professional women. They did not see the need for equality because, as housewives, the issue did not seem to touch them personally. And men would not jump on the ERA bandwagon either because, according to West, they were generally adverse to giving up their superior status and power. 25

Despite prevailing indifference or hostility to ERA in Florida and elsewhere, West believed that the NWP could bring about effective change. She called it "an organization of high-powered persons" and chided those who believed the group too small to effect its objective by asserting, "I hope you all believe as I do-that it is not the size of the dog in the fight, but the size of the fight in the dog that counts." 26

Helen West successfully implemented both the educational and lobbying tactics of the Woman's party in Florida. During the 1920s when most of her time was taken up in her position as society editor of the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, she also served as editor of the Southern Club Woman. This magazine, published in Jacksonville, was more concerned with the political activities and legal status of women than social affairs. 27 Articles such as "Legal Disabilities of Married Women in Florida," "Florida Woman Power is Mobilized," and "A Gallery View of the Florida Legislature by a Mere Woman," along with pointed editorials, undoubtedly won support for the women's movement. 28

West's remarks about the Florida legislature display a genius which H. L. Mencken might have envied. After observing one session in Tallahassee she wrote, "Some people may prefer

25. *Ibid.*

26. *Ibid.* This perspective not merely made a virtue of necessity, but accorded with the psychology of the enterprising women members of NWP who had themselves succeeded through strong personal efforts.

27. The Southern Club Woman ceased publication in 1929, a casualty of the

Depression. An editorial professed the magazine concerned itself with "an unbiased and true idea of what club women are doing." *The Southern Club Woman*, May 1929, introduction.

28. See Francis P. Fleming, *New Southern Club Woman*, February 1929, 5; Farris Davis, "Florida Woman Power is Mobilized," *ibid.*, February 1929, 3; "A Gallery View of the Florida Legislature by a Mere Woman," *ibid.*, April 1929, 13.

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vaudeville, the zoo or other forms of amusement, but for me I will take the legislature, and I think they were right when they tried to pass the anti-monkey law. Everybody believes in self-protection." 29

As a lawyer, West assumed special responsibility to acquaint Florida women with "the equal rights we women only think we have." She diligently researched inequities of state law affecting women and often wrote and spoke on the subject. 30 Florida's laws, she noted bitterly in 1934, too often prohibited women from the exercise of adult prerogatives. 31 Contemptuous attitudes toward women were responsible for laws which stated they could not enter a contract, except in specific instances, sue or be sued, manage property after being married, or even sign a promissory note, which was ruled by one judge as equivalent to a blank piece of paper." 32 Whereas a husband could collect damages when his wife was injured "for the loss of services and society of his wife," wives had no corresponding redress. 33 In the same spirit women were denied the right to become a "free dealer" except under humiliating conditions wherein the court, upon petition, appointed officials to inquire into their "capacity and competency." Helen West also cited Florida's discriminatory laws on illegitimate children. According to West, these freed males from virtually all responsibility for paternity, while establishing the woman's responsibility despite inadequate provision for child support. 34

West also took umbrage at "protective labor laws" for women because she believed they were designed by men not to protect, but restrict women's labor. 35 Legislation regulating the hours of work or working conditions for women were particularly threatening to Helen West; she feared these laws might lead to a curtailment

29. *Ibid.*

30. See speeches of Helen H. West, *Helen Hunt West Papers*, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3, and Helen Hunt West, "Florida's Laws Concerning Women," *Woman Lawyer's Journal*, XXI (November 1934), 22-26. See also West to Lu B. Gregg, September 14, 1935, *Helen Hunt West Papers*, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 5.

31. West, "Florida's Laws Concerning Women," 24.

32. Ibid. West cites the decision of *Dzialynski v. Bank of Jacksonville*, 23 Fla., 346.

33. Ibid. The author cites the decision in *Pensacola Electric Company v. Bisset, et. al.*, 59 Fla., 360.

34. Ibid., 24.

35. Speeches of Helen H. West, *Helen Hunt West Papers*, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

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of employment opportunities for women. 36 West contended that "protective laws" should be based on the type of work done, not the sex of the worker. For West, sexism explained the seeming preferential treatment of women in industry; no one cared whether housewives were protected because they did not compete with men. Her analysis of the relationship of housewives to the labor movement is typically feminist: "They belong to those unprotected women whose hours in the home cover a period of twenty-four hours a day and include not only the dishwashing, cooking, sewing, scrubbing, garden work and the thousands of nerve-trying and back-breaking tasks of the homes, but the training of little minds, the guiding of little feet, the moulding of character and pointing the way to that `far off divine event toward which the whole creation moves.' Those women, whose reward is only in achievement, poetry and song, are seldom the subject of legislation. But let one of those mothers cross her threshold on unlimited working hours and set foot into a man-made world to earn a living for herself and her brood--she is immediately the target for protective legislation--of laws enacted to limit her hours and her wages for her own good, while those of her male competitor are left subject to his own bargainings. He is then free to underbid her and get the job." 37

Helen West's major contribution to Florida politics came in the 1930s as sponsor and supporter of the bill which amended the state's election laws to guarantee that women be placed in equal numbers with men on the executive committees of its political parties. Mary W. Dewson, chairman of the woman's division of the Democratic party in the early 1930s, noted that women had little standing in politics except in states where they held executive positions on a mandatory fifty-fifty basis with men. 38 Women, of course, had the right to be elected to all party committees along with men, but they seldom succeeded in winning these races. Viewing the women's vote as critical to the outcome of the 1936 national and state elections, Dewson was able to convince James Farley, the Democratic party's national chairman,

36. Ibid. She stated in an address to a women's organization: "Had my own state passed a similar ["protective"] law, I would have lost my job which

happened to be on a morning newspaper."

37. Ibid.

38. Speeches of Mary W. (Molly) Dewson, April 1933, Dewson Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 23.

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that the fifty-fifty formula, if adopted widely throughout the country, would assure a greater turnout of Democratic women voters. Carolyn H. Wolfe, director of woman's activities in the Democratic party, then called upon women to lead the fight for fifty-fifty representation in their respective states. 39 Helen West ac-

cepted responsibility for Florida. She was an apt choice since she was a member of the Duval County Democratic Women's Club and as a reporter for the Jacksonville Florida Times-Union and the Pensacola Journal she had covered the legislature for five years. As a colleague in the Jacksonville Bar Association and another old friend noted, her political contacts, including campaigning for David Sholtz when he was running for governor in 1932, gave her "real clout" in the legislature. 40 She won immediate endorsement of the Duval County women's organization, and then obtained promises of support from Governor Sholtz and the president of the Florida Senate and speaker of the House, by stressing the increased strength that would accrue to the Democratic party if women were added equally to the party's leadership. 41

The "50-50" bill" appeared side-tracked in the House when, just one day before it was to reach the floor, Chairman S. P. Robineau of Dade County inaugurated a special order calendar, requiring unanimous support to introduce a bill. 42 Sensing parliamentary subterfuge, West swung into action. In the best lobbying style of the NWP, she contacted her friends and professional acquaintances in other women's groups supporting ERA and asked them to write letters to members of the Florida House of Representatives. She also contacted James Farley who immediately pressured Democratic legislative leaders to place the "50-50 bill" on the special calendar. 43 Finally, when the bill still

39. Speeches of Helen H. West, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

40. William A. Hallows to author, telephone conversation, December 1, 1977. See also F. P. Beddow to Whom It May Concern, March 29, 1935, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 5. For information on Helen H. West as lobbyist and campaigner for Governor David Sholtz, see Olsen, "Helen Hunt West: Jacksonville Feminist," 7. Professor Olsen interviewed West's secretary, Birse Shepherd, August 19, 1977, for this information.

41. Speeches of Helen H. West, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

42. Ibid.

43. West to James A. Farley, *ibid.*, folder no. 10.

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appeared to be buried, she went directly to the chairmen of powerful committees seeking their intervention. When one of them suggested her best technique might be to "vamp" the chairman of the rules committee, she understandably was irritated. 44 Her legislative friends finally managed to bring the bill to the floor of the House when Robineau was temporarily absent from deliberations. Telegrams between Helen West, Mary Dewson, and Carolyn Wolfe tell the outcome: "Our bill just passed House. 75 to 8. Love, Helen" 45 "Congratulations, you are a peach. We appreciate greatly the help you have been. Mary W. Dewson, Carolyn H. Wolfe" 46

The new election law, signed by Governor Sholtz on May 24, 1935, required equal participation by women at all levels of state party organization and established equal opportunity for women to be elected as chairmen or vice-chairmen on state and county political committees. 47 If the chairman were a man, a woman automatically became a vice-chairman and vice-versa. West happily summarized the import of the new law: "By virtue of the bill becoming a law, about 1400 Florida women take their places in the ranks of the Democratic party in Florida on an equal footing with men. This is the most revolutionary thing in Florida politics since the passage of the Suffrage amendment and is the greatest gain for Florida women since that epochal event." 48 Mary Dewson concurred when she wrote her Florida colleague that the "50-50 plan" was "the next necessary step after suffrage." 49 But she warned, "Don't expect too much, for the men will still try to get the most easily manipulated of our sex on to the committees."

While Helen West's major accomplishments for ERA in Florida was the state's new election law in 1935, she had already become a major figure in the equal rights movement at the national level. From December 1935 to October 1938, West served as acting chairman of the Congressional Committee, the NWP's executive board, and from 1937 to 1940, as editor of its national

44. Speeches of Helen H. West, *ibid.*, folder no. 3.

45. West to Mrs. James H. Wolfe, May 22, 1935, *ibid.*, folder no. 10.

46. Dewson to West, May 23, 1935, *ibid.*

47. General Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida, 1935, 470.

48. Speeches of Helen H. West, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

49. Dewson to West, May 28, 1935, *ibid.*, folder no. 10.

magazine, Equal Rights. 50 Although NWP's membership nationally had plummeted to only about 2,000 in the 1930s, some gains were made because of the skill and persistence of leaders like Alice Paul and Helen West. "Would you like to know what we do in Washington and how we work?" West once rhetorically asked a group of interested women. 51 She then explained the lobbying tactics of the NWP: "We see to it that members of Congress are informed about the Amendment [ERA], the need for it and the result of our interviews. If he [the congressman] is for, we thank him-give him support back home. If he is against-we find out why and try to meet his opposition with argument that will change his mind. Democrats interview Democrats and Republicans interview Republicans. In other words-we have to use a little diplomacy. We also try to have the lobbyist have something in common with the person she interviews. If a man is a strong supporter of labor, working women see him [etc.]." 52

Helen West was herself the NWP's most useful lobbyist with the judiciary committees of the United States Senate and House between 1935 and 1939. 53 She exerted leverage on legislators through her friends in the Democratic party, a result of her work in the "50-50" campaign in Florida. Indeed, Alice Paul once suggested, "since you have more access to those in authority in the Democratic Party than most of us, you could have a real discussion of the equality program with Mrs. Roosevelt." 54 She was also the NWP's chief educator during the late 1930s. In addition to editing Equal Rights, she disseminated publicity to newspapers and radio stations and provided "ammunition" for interested women's groups with talks and brochures. 55

There were two principal gains for ERA nationally while Helen West occupied a major leadership role in the NWP: the

50. Biography of Helen Hunt West, *ibid.*, folder no. 1; "Progress Report to NWP," *ibid.*, folder no. 10; Scrapbooks of Helen Hunt West, Vol. 2; *ibid.*

51. In October 1937 there were 2,612 members in NWP, but in October 1938, only 1,933. See National Woman's Party Headquarters, Washington, D. C.

52. Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

53. West to Alma Lutz, May 16, 1939, Alma Lutz Papers, Schlesinger Library, MC 182, Vol. 1.

54. Paul to West, May 9, 1936, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 11.

55. West distributed 4,500 pages of publicity to news media before the national convention of the NWP in 1939. West to Lutz, Alma Lutz Papers, Schlesinger Library, MC 182, Vol. 1. For her speeches and brochures, see West to Lutz, *ibid.*, A-34, folder no. 13.

reporting out by the Senate judiciary committee to the Senate a bill to implement ERA and the endorsement of the ERA amendment by both Democratic and Republican party national conventions. West held that the decision by the Senate judiciary committee in 1938 responded to a massive letter writing campaign engineered from NWP headquarters. 56 She believed the decision by the Senate committee gave "great impetus to the [ERA] campaign" especially through publicity. Alice Paul regarded the adoption of ERA by the 1940 Republican and 1944 Democratic national conventions as the "great turning point" for ERA. 57 She later declared that ERA partisans felt success was at hand once a resolution supporting the amendment was included in the two major party platforms. 58 Helen West addressed the resolutions and platform committee of the 1940 Republican convention before its decision to support ERA. She asked the committee "to give us justice" and declared, "we will take our chances on chivalry." 59 When speaking before the resolutions committee of the Democratic party the same year, she asserted her request was "so obviously just that I wonder that we should have to speak about it at all." 60 She continued, "Don't let uninformed persons tell us there is dynamite in granting women and men equal rights. If that be true . . . then there is dynamite in the Constitution-There is dynamite in democracy." Although the Democratic party did not adopt ERA in 1940, allegedly, according to West, because of Eleanor Roosevelt's opposition, it did so in 1944. 61 By that time Helen West had become estranged from the Democratic party. In 1936 she charged that President Roosevelt had let women down: "Patted on the back and slapped in the face." 62 In 1940 she became a Republican and was named chairperson of the

56. "Progress Report," July 16, 1938, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 10. The House did not receive a favorable report on ERA until 1943, when the House judiciary committee gave the ERA bill its approval. The Senate judiciary committee's decision to report out the measure in 1938 was based on a 9 to 9 deadlock. See "Conversations with Alice Paul," 270-71, 506-09.

57. "Conversations with Alice Paul," 515.

58. *Ibid.*, 517.

59. Speeches of Helen H. West, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

60. "An Address to the Resolutions Committee of the Democratic Party, July 12, 1940, *ibid.*

61. West to Lutz, August 8, 1940, Alma Lutz Papers, Schlesinger Library, A-34.

62. New York Times, June 27, 1936.

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woman's division of the Anti-Third Term Democrats. Roosevelt's bid for a third term, she declared, was "one step too many on the road to dictatorship." 63

Although the period from 1934 to 1940 produced genuine breakthroughs for ERA, West hoped for more rapid results. She lamented, "It has been difficult to reach the White House with our side of the case." 64 West also called for new strategies for NWP, especially to reach women college students. Soon after Equal Rights suspended publication in 1940, West returned to Jacksonville to take up the practice of law. She continued, however, to serve the causes of the NWP, including holding the high office of second vice chairman from 1949 to 1956. 65 This dedication may have also prompted her decision to run for Congress in 1942, the only woman from Duval County to seek election to Congress. 66 Although West lost the primary, she was pleased by "the tremendous number of men doing all they can to help me." 67 Her importance to NWP is evidenced as late as 1952 when Alice Paul requested that she consider accepting the post of United States representative on the Status of Women Commission at the United Nations, and steps were taken to secure the position for her. 68 Her contribution to the National Woman's party had truly been, as Alice Paul described, a "value beyond words." 69

Undoubtedly, Helen West's later years were cheered by emancipatory social changes for women. In 1958, she predicted, "I think we will see a woman in the Supreme Court before too much time elapses." 70 In 1964, "Jacksonville's lady lawyer, journalist, and nationally-known suffragette" died. It seemed fitting that a major civil rights act forbidding discrimination on the basis of

63. Paul to West, August 8, 1946, *ibid.*

64. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 22, 1958.

65. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, September 26, 1940. See also Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder 16, for a surviving badge of the "Anti-Third Term Democratic Convention" which declares "Hands Off the Court."

66. "Progress Report" (1938), July 16, 1938, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 10.

67. National Woman's Party Papers, 1913-1972, Officers Lists.

68. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, October 16, 1941.

69. West to Lutz, June 26, 1942, Alma Lutz Papers, Schlesinger Library, MC 182, Vol. 1.

70. Senator George Smathers to Secretary of State John Foster Dulles, December 18, 1952 (copy), Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 9.

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sex was enacted that same year. 71 At that time the National Woman's party was the only major women's organization working exclusively for ERA. Helen West had left an enduring legacy for her state and country. It remains to be seen if her prophecy announced in the 1930s will also take form. She then declared, "Before long the Equal Rights Amendment will be part of the Constitution . . . and those who fail to support it will be just as anxious to forget their failure as were the men and women who a generation ago lagged in supporting the Suffrage Amendment." 72

71. Ibid., May 31, 1964.

72. Speeches of Helen H. West, Helen Hunt West Papers, Schlesinger Library, folder no. 3.

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"ROGUES AND BLACK HEARTED SCAMPS": CIVIL WAR LETTERS OF WINSTON AND OCTAVIA STEPHENS, 1862-1863 by Ellen E. Hodges and Stephen Kerber

AT THE OUTBREAK of the Civil War, Winston J. T. Stephens and his wife Octavia lived on a small plantation, Rose Cottage, near Welaka on the St. Johns River. In 1861 Stephens, although a Whig and not a proponent of war, joined and was later elected lieutenant in a militia company. He was later its captain. The letters which passed between Winston and Octavia during the war years are replete with personal, social, agricultural, racial, and military observations. Portions of the Stephens letters dating from 1861 to January 1862 were earlier published in the Florida Historical Quarterly (Vol. LVI, No. 1, July 1977, pp. 45-74). These earlier letters dealt with family anxieties and political conflicts during the first year of the war. The letters published below contain much more military information.

Secession and the war did not go at all the way militant Floridians had hoped. The Union commands at Fort Pickens near Pensacola, Fort Taylor at Key West, and Fort Jefferson in the Dry Tortugas failed to surrender to the Confederates, and the bombardment of Fort Pickens in late November 1861 produced no results. On January 6, 1862, Federal sailors made a successful raid against Cedar Key, which was the forerunner of future raids and a progressively more effective Union naval blockade. The failure to take Pickens, coupled with the need for reinforcements in Kentucky and Tennessee, led the Confederate

Ms. Hodges is a graduate student in United States history at the University of Florida, Gainesville. She is currently writing a history of the Stephens family. Mr. Kerber is a doctoral candidate in United States history at the University of Florida, and is project coordinator for the University's Oral History Project. The Winston and Octavia Stephens letters were a gift to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, by Winston B. Stephens, Jr., of Riviera Beach, Florida. The editors wish to thank Mr. Stephens for permission to reproduce the letters.

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government to remove most troops from the state. By the spring of 1862 many Floridians felt, and with some justification, that the Confederate government had abandoned them to the tender mercies of President Lincoln's armies.

The Stephens letters written between March 1862 and April 1863, reflect a steadily-increasing awareness on the part of both husband and wife of the dangers accompanying insurrection and conflict. Winston has become disenchanted with the pettiness and political maneuvering that exist in the military. He also resents the heavier discipline and tedious regulations to which he and his men have become subject. He misses his family and worries about their safety, as well as his home and property. Winston is concerned about his wife's health while she is carrying a child, and he is desperate to be with her when her time comes.

Octavia also has become thoroughly unhappy with the course of the war. Appalled at the cost in human life and suffering, she is terrified her husband will be killed. Now that the true consequences of secession have become evident, both Winston and Octavia are looking for a way out. Unfortunately, there is no easy solution to their problem. Despite a succession of bloody defeats, Lincoln holds the national government together with grim determination. Union gunboats control Florida's coasts and rivers, while Union soldiers occupy Fernandina, Jacksonville, and St. Augustine. Slaves flee or are seized by force. There are shortages everywhere. Confederate military and civilian government apply many restrictions and yet cannot protect the population from invasion.

In the midst of public disruption and danger, private sorrow strikes the Stephens family. After a difficult pregnancy, Octavia gives birth to a daughter, only to lose the child to disease within six weeks. This tragedy, coming in addition to many other problems, severely tests the couple's relationship. The way in which they respond to it demonstrates a great deal about their marriage, their hopes, and their courage.

Portions of the letters dealing with personal matters have

been deleted due to space limitations. Punctuation has not been altered. Persons or events identified at length in the first selection from these letters have been given only a very brief description below. The following group of letters begins on March 10, 1862,

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after Winston Stephens has become company commander of Company B, 2nd Florida Cavalry, replacing Captain Benjamin Hopkins, who had died of fever in February 1862.

My Dear Wife

Volusia March 10th 1862

I arrived in camp last night from Ocala & found all well but considerable excitement. The Hattie arrived from below soon after I landed & brought the intelligence that the enemy were expected every hour in Jacksonville & thought it unsafe to go so far down. 1 Now my Dear I cant come in several days more but will as soon as I get everything organized & ready for the reception of the enemy if they come up this far-If they come up the river & stop any where about you I want you to take the mules & get back from the river 2-I dont think they will stop but if they do I dont want you where they can insult you . . . I am nearly crazy to think of what might happen to you take the woods, anything but disgrace by the poluting touch of those scoundrels- We are going to plant some guns on the river & scatter the company on the bank and I think if they will give us a few days to mature our plans that we will stop them. I think if you & your white family could get back out of their way that Burrel can carry on the farm and make his escape when they approach. 3

My Dear Wife

March 11th 1862

. . . I think you all had better get as far back from the water as you can. as I feel sure they will not go out in the country-I'll trust Davis & tell him to save you Rosa Mother & the boys & if he cant save the rest to let it rip 4-save all the

1. The Hattie Brock, a small freight and passenger steamer owned by Jacob Brock and named for his daughter, transported cotton from the Oklawaha River up the St. Johns River to Lake Harney during the height of blockade-running.

2. The river is the St. Johns. The Stephens lived close enough to the river to see some of the larger ships, and they could hear the Union gun-boats fire their weapons.

3. Burrel is slave foreman on the Stephens plantation.

4. Davis H. Bryant (1839-?) is Octavia's brother. Rosa Stephens (1860-1883) was the infant daughter born October 17, 1860. Rebecca Hathorne

Hall Bryant (1813-1864) was Octavia's mother, who lived with her until her death in 1864. The boys are probably Octavia's younger brothers, Henry H. (1847-1930) and George P. (1849-1876), who also lived with her.

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provisions you can-as they will be scarce plant no cotton but all corn and tell Burrell to keep out their way-Oh how much I want to see you & good by & God bless you all-I will be careful & try to live to see you all. . . . If the enemy lands divide the powder among the neighbors & let them fight-if they wish

My own dear husband

Wednesday March 12th 1862

. . . I think you may as well give up & come home as to try & keep the enemy back for they have a very large force. Mr. Lewis Roux stayed on Fernandina a day or two as a sort of spy, & passed himself off as a union man, & the enemy told him they had 25000 men & 21 gunboats that they expected a hard fight & came prepared to conquer all Florida & establish territorial government. 5 I suppose you have heard that the Government has abandoned this State & the Governor has ordered all the regiments that are mustered into the Confederate service away from East Fla. 6 What is to become of us. I think we will have to leave or be made Lincoln's subjects. I forgot to say that Mr. Roux left just as the Yankees began to find him out, but left two or three more spies there. I think we are safe enough here if the Gun boats come up for they can not see us from the river, & they probably will not come from Welaka here. 7 I think there is no fear of my being insulted, if any attempt should be made I think whoever did would rue it. if they come we intend to be civil as long as they are so. Mother thinks she will not be insulted that she is too old & she will be "spokesman." We have taken care of a small portion of the corn & a barrel of meat, & the bale of cotton. Burrell thinks that some of the corn that we thought killed will yet come out. he is getting along finely. I would not like to leave the negroes if I should leave, for it would give them more of a chance to be unfaithful, & if faithful would not like to leave them. . . . I hate to stop writing. God bless my husband. . . .

5. Probably L. F. Roux, sergeant in Company K, 2nd Florida Cavalry.

6. The military crisis in Tennessee in the spring of 1862 led the Confederate government to remove most troops from Florida. John E. Johns, Florida During the Civil War (Gainesville, 1963), 114-15.

7. The Federal navy used gunboats of about 500 tons armed with from four to seven guns throughout the Civil War for blockading and fighting.

Volusia March 13th 1862

My Dear Wife

Again I have the opportunity of writing you by Lieut Gray, as he goes to Palatka to make some arrangements for the safety of his family. 8 Oh! What a dark hour in this our Country and I fear we have not seen the worst by a goodeale-but I have hope even now when every thing is so unpromising. I think our cause a just one & I believe that the God of battles will yet crown our arms with more & greater victories & that the cause will yet prosper. Nothing of a common nature can be achieved without an effort and some sacrifice-& in this great struggle we must suffer in proportion to the benefit we are to derive from the struggle-One thing gives me more trouble about this matter than all others, & that is that this State is to be abandoned to the enemy & if true we will have a rebellion in this State, as the people are determined not to go out of the State & leave their families to the mercys of the enemy & fight for others. And your good for nothing old Man is one of that number. I will not abandon my family for any cause.-What I most fear is this that you my beloved wife should fall into the hands of the enemy & that they might treat you as they did a poor girl in Fernandina. A poor man that was left had a Daughter ten years old & the second day after they got possession three of the men took her in the scrub & raved her & when it was reported to the officer he merely made them mark time one hour-Now if that is to be the rule I want my family out of their reach-any where so you do not fall into their way. . . .

My own dear husband

Wednesday Mar. 19th 1862

. . . You can not think of the different plans &c we have had & thought of today. at one time I thought they would send Rosa & I to Ocala anyhow. as you have such fears for me, but all think it entirely unnecessary & in fact "jumping out of the frying pan into the fire" for the enemy will go there next for they know that Marion is the richest place. . . . 9 if the enemy come I will hide, & they are not going to hunt me up. Mother & the boys will stay at home as long as permitted, every one thinks without being

8. Probably H. A. Gray of Stephens's St. Johns Rangers.

9. Marion County, Florida.

molested, if they come to burn why they'll burn. but much quicker if no one is there. we will have to meet them at some place why not now & have it over, We can not go to Ocala, & if your life is spared we will get together somehow & somewhere, so much depends on our crop now nearly planted, and it is left to us, we

will get along for awhile, if not why then we will have to do the best we can, going to Ocala will not help, but I think make it worse. Oh if I could only talk with you, why did you not come yesterday, or the day Lt Gray got back if only for one night, the officers could have spared you that long. . . . Why do you not disband your company? I hear you have only one months provisions, & there is no governor I hear, Pearson's company have mustered out. 10 do give up come home parole & let us try and be happy here for the present at least. the State will be conquered anyhow, so give up now as many others have had to do, territorial government will be better than none & we have none now. Gov Milton took the State papers into Geo- & when he returned the people put him out of office. 11 My dear if you lay down arms now they will parole you all think, do my dear, think of our baby & me if you & my property should be taken away what would become of us, when if you should come home you might save all. You need not talk of the defence of your home & country for you can not defend them. they all too far gone now. so give up before it is too late. I fear it is now too late for I think they are on their way up the river now. we heard last night through negroes that two boats one the Darlington, 12 had gone up Dunns creek, 13 but heard there were 10000 men on three boats which you know can not be so, so no telling how much is true, they seem to be stringing their boats all up the river. I suppose you know that the coffee the enemy took was not private property, it was government property. I have not heard of their injuring any private property yet. they say they will not. they have opened a store in Jacksonville I hear & selling flour at five \$ a barrel & coffee 8 lbs to the dollar. . . . I have tried to write in

10. Captain John W. Pearson, Company B, 9th Florida Infantry.

11. This was likely an unfounded rumor; Milton remained a devoted Confederate until his death in 1865.

12. Jacob Brock built the Brock House at Enterprise in the early 1850s. He owned several St. Johns steamers, including the Darlington, which saw service both in the Confederate and later the Union causes.

13. Dunns Creek connects Crescent Lake with the St. Johns; it intersects the St. Johns at Rat Island, south of Palatka.

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good spirits to you, for I had some hopes of our State's being saved, but now all that hope is gone. I tell you I am miserable, & I say come to me, & let us bear what comes, together.

I think the negroes will run, then if the enemy burn why they'll have to burn, all think they will not burn the house if Mother is here, be sure my darling they shall have nothing to do with your wife, I will keep out of their way. . . . take care of yourself & come as soon as possible. the State can not be defended, so give up now while you have life and quickly to, for

things are coming to a crisis. . . .

You speak of our going in the woods & not letting the negroes know where we are. it is impossible & we are afraid to go far for fear they may cross from Dunns creek & find us. No my darling I think it best as it is arranged. I dislike to leave home but will as you have such fears for me. . . .

Camp Hatley 14 July 6th 1862

My Dear Wife

You will see that I have arrived in camps all O.K. My Camp is nearest Jacksonville & I am in two miles. I have a beautiful camp ground, but the water is not so good. We are near Mrs. Haddocks on the North side of the R. Road. 15 The Regiment or a part of it is in half mile with a branch between us & Capt Row has part of his command near the Regiment but on the other side of the road. 16 We number about 420 men and Capt Chambers is about four miles farther out but he is going up to Magnolia. 17 We have the Most glorious news of the whole War. On the arrival of the cars yesterday I saw the Confederate flag flying & thought something good was coming-& sure enough We

14. Probably named for Colonel John C. Hatley of the 5th Florida Infantry.

15. Possibly Esther Haddock, listed in the 1860 census as a farmer, aged fifty-six and a native of South Carolina, with four children. U. S. Census Office, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, original population schedules on microfilm, Duval County, Florida, copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville.

16. Captain Samuel F. Row, Company F, 2nd Florida Cavalry.

17. Captain William E. Chambers, Company C, 2nd Florida Cavalry, commanded a cavalry squadron protecting the Confederate St. Johns Bluff battery. Charles F. Hopkins to Joseph Finegan, October 8, 1862, in U. S. War Department, The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 70 vols. (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, XIV, 138-41. Hereinafter cited as ORA.

Magnolia Springs, in Clay County, stood on the west bank of the St. Johns, north of Governor Creek and Green Cove Springs.

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have whiped the Yankees at Richmond capturing 30 thousand & no telling how many killed & McLelland had asked Lee for an armistice of two days to bury the dead & Lee had replied, let the dead bury the dead, the only proposition I will listen to is an unconditional surrender. 18 I say well done Genl Lee, as the object was to gain time & get away & our good brave Genl has defeated his army & has now defeated his cunning & will likely

capture the whole army. They are fighting at Tampa but no damage to our side the last news. . . . 19

I think my Dear that you will have me with you before many months as the war is obliged to stop I was in Jacksonville the first day but did not see any one but Mr. Burrett & Gower & Col Hopkins. 20 Mr. Burrett has made a report of his trip north and will be in the papers & perhaps you will see it Capt Chambers was on the Isaac Smith a few days ago & thinks I killed all the officers but one & a great many of the men and told me the Lt on the boat was afraid to go up the river any more. 21 We have no arms now but I expect them soon and then hope to have one chance before the War ends as I do want to shoot a Yankee. . . .

Campt Stephens July 24th 1862

My Darling Wife

. . . I have just returned from Jacksonville where I have been writing passes for the Buckra as the negroes call us. 22 none are allowed to cross the river without a pass & as I am in Command have them to write. I hope to be relieved of the command soon. The men were waiting on me when I got to camps and I cant write you a long letter this time.

18. Probably refers to the Seven Days' Battles (June 25-July 1, 1862) in the Peninsular Campaign in Virginia. Lee removed the Federal threat to Richmond by forcing George McClellan to withdraw.

19. On June 30 and July 1, 1862, the Federal gunboats Sagamore and Ethan Allen shelled Tampa, inflicting little damage on the town or the Confederate battery. Johns, Florida During the Civil War, 73.

20. Probably Samuel L. Burrett, an attorney originally from Connecticut and a Union man. William Watson Davis, The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida (New York, 1913; facsimile edition, Gainesville, 1964), 158; Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Duval County, Florida. Gower may be E. H. M. Gower. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Duval County, Florida. Hopkins is probably Colonel Charles F. Hopkins of the 10th Florida Infantry.

21. The U.S.S. Isaac Smith, a shallow-draft vessel, had formerly been used as a ferry and freight boat. Virgil Carrington Jones, The Civil War at Sea, 3 vols. (New York, 1962), II, 358.

22. "Buckra" is slave vernacular for "white man."

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I am well & my Company are in reasonable health. I returned from Tallahassee yesterday & find that we are certainly to be formed into a regiment but the Genl assures us we are not to

go out of the State. 23 I cant tell what is the programe, but it has appeared to me lately that the object was to abandon the State to its fate & make a strong and determined stand near the border & especially near Richmond. We gained a Glorious Victory at Richmond but not such a success as we were led to believe at first-Curtis was not captured as I wrote you but escaped because we had no ammunition. 24 Col Forest captured 1200 at Murfreesboro. 25 Killed three or four hundred & captured two Genls & destroyed half million of stores. We getting all the advantages in the late battles. Maj Genl Polk is chief in Command of the Northern forces & McLelland is in command only of one division. 26 This is going to act in our favor as it will get them to quarrelling among themselves-but I fear we are to have a few more hard fought battles before we can have peace. . . .

Jacksonville Sept 11th 1862

My Dear Wife

I returned last night & can say to you that so far I am unharmed. I went down to May Port & carried out my orders & I was shelled for more than an hour with my men not over 1/4 mile but no one was hurt. 27 the sand was knocked in their faces but no damage done. they fired 62 shots at me & while I was keeping the Gun boats down there Genl Finegan crossed some cannon & had them mounted at St. Johns Bluff & this morning they opened the ball & have been fighting some four or five hours but no news as to results. 28 they continue to fight & God grant we may succeed. I am on my way to Tallahassee & cant be back before one week. I am now camped on the East

23. Brigadier General Joseph Finegan commanded the military department of East and Middle Florida. Johns, Florida During the Civil War, 71.

24. Possibly Newton Martin Curtis (1835-1910), lieutenant colonel, 142nd New York Infantry. Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 214.

25. Nathan Bedford Forrest (1821-1877). Leaving Chattanooga on July 7, 1862, he led a brilliant raid into Tennessee. *ibid.*, 288-89.

26. "Polk" is John Pope (1822-1892).

27. Mayport Mills on the south bank at the mouth of the St. Johns River.

28. St. Johns Bluff, on the south bank of the river, between Mayport Mills and Jacksonville. In the summer of 1862 the Confederates erected batteries here and at Yellow Bluff on the other side of the St. Johns in an attempt to deny control of that vital waterway to Yankee gunboats. Johns, Florida During the Civil War, 73-74.

side of the river about 7 miles from this place at what is called

Tiger Hole. 29 I am to keep up a scout on the rear of the post to keep off a surprise & aid the command at the Fort. 30

. . . You will see from the news sheet that we are gaining complete victories & driving the Federals back & destroying their forces & every thing. I think we are obliged to have peace soon. . . .

Sunday Sept 21st 1862 In Camp near St Johns Bluff

My Darling Wife

On my return from Tallahassee I rec'd your two long & interesting letters & you may imagine how delighted I was to get them. I will answer your questions at the conclusion. I went to Tallahassee as a Witness in the case of Maj Barnwell but I was not questioned before the Court for which I felt obliged as I knowed nothing to benefit or condemn. 31

. . . We have the game plaid out with the Gun boats on this river. the first fight you have doubtless had the particulars. 32 the second took place on the morning of the 17th at 5 A M & lasted till 10 A M. 33 In which time the Gun boats threw as estimated between one thousand & 12 hundred shots & our guns replied very slowly only throwing some 50 shots. the boats then retired, our loss was 2 killed & 2 wounded. Capt Dunham lost one man &

29. Tiger Hole may refer to Tiger Ho, a plantation on Pottsburg Creek, southeast of Jacksonville opposite Commodore's Point.

30. Probably the St. Johns Bluff battery.

31. Stephens stayed fifteen days in Tallahassee at the general court martial of Confederate Major J. G. Barnwell. Major R. B. Thomas summoned Stephens as a witness on September 1, 1862. See the file on Winston Stephens in U. S. Adjutant-Generals Office, Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, National Archives, Washington, D.C., 1957, microcopy M-251, roll 12, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

32. Stephens probably refers to the morning of September 11, 1862, when the Confederate battery on St. Johns Bluff opened fire on the U.S.S. Uncas. Acting on information from a runaway slave, Acting Master L. G. Crane of the Uncas had fired on the bluff the previous evening without drawing return fire. The engagement between the Uncas, and later the U.S.S. Patroon, and the battery lasted four hours and twenty minutes. Acting Master L. G. Crane to Rear Admiral S. F. Du Pont, September 11, 1862, in U. S. Naval War Records Office, Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion, 30 vols. (Washington, 1894-1922), Series I, XIII, 324-25. Hereinafter cited as ORN.

33. This second fight, September 17, 1862, involved the gunboats U.S.S. Paul Jones and U.S.S. Cimarron. Charles Steedman to Du Pont, September 17, 1862, in *ibid.*, 329-30.

Maj Brevard one, the bateries received no injury during the firing, but the shell & shot fell like hail . 34 It was certainly Providential that we did not have more injury on our side. The Enemy was hit several times & forced to retire. but returned the Friday next day after the 18th & fired 18 shot & retired before we fired a gun, & on Friday one boat came up in long range & our big gun was about to open on her when I asked the Capt to hold on & not let them get the range of his best gun which he did & after looking at us for a short time she turned around & went back & then all the boats went out over the bar but two large side wheel steamers. Some think they have gone for reinforcement & others that they have given up. but I am of the first opinion, as they feel it a burning shame to have allowed us to mount guns in sight of them & drive them back when they try to pass-The only fear I have is they will get guns of longer range than we have, which will allow them every advantage & we may lose men & not be able to retaliate-Capt Chambers & myself are about three miles & a half from the boats acting on the rear to prevent a land attack which I do not fear as they have not got the land force to spare for this place. Genl Finegan is down here looking at the positions & SC, he has asked for a regiment from Georgia. I am not a favorite as I am a Whig & I came near offering my resignation as he refused to give my men good arms. . . . The old Granny thinks I have done a little more than I should have done & he is afraid I will get more credit than some of his Democrat friends, & I think he would like to see me whiped. I shall try to prevent such a disaster as I will not expose my men until I am armed. We have 38 inch guns or Columbiads two 32 rifle two 8 inch short siege guns mounted ready for action & the last fight we had none of the 8 inch ready. 35 We have over 300 infantry in the Batallion & one Independent Co of 117-Chamber & My Cavalry 227. men besides about 150 that work the guns making our force now 794

34. Captain Joseph L. Dunham, who commanded the Confederate battery on Yellow Bluff, had raised the Milton Light Artillery in Apalachicola in 1861. Soldiers of Florida, 303-04; Hopkins to Finegan, October 8, 1862, ORA I:XIV, 138-41. Major T. W. Brevard, of the 11th Florida Infantry Regiment, commanded the infantry protecting the rear of the St. Johns Bluff battery. Hopkins to Finegan, October 8, 1862, ORA I:XIV, 138-41; Soldiers of Florida, 236.

35. Columbiads refers to the large cannon developed by Colonel George Bomford, and first used in the War of 1812. Boatner, Civil War Dictionary, 167-68.

& we will have one company more next week on this side & two companies on Yellow bluff on the opposite 36 You see by this that we are pretty strong & if we get the Georgia Regiment we will be ready for anything. but I dont like sending our men out of the State & then having to call for help from some other State. Finegan is trying to force an appointment on the Cavalry but I

think we will have a chance yet to vote for the Field officers. & your boy Winie will be one of them. . . . I send the 3 pr needles & hope the size is right. some one went in my trunk while I was gone but did not get much as I had Valise with me & that had all the valuables but clothing. Mr. Greely got me a course uniform for sixty dollars which looks tolerably well. . . . 37

My dear husband

"Rose Cottage" Welaka Sunday Sept 1862

Mr Smith arrived at last with two letters from you. I received them last Friday. you cant imagine what a relief it was to my mind to get those letters, for I was in a great state of anxiety about you. for I had heard of your trip down the river & your fight with the boats, and that six men were killed on our side. & I thought if you were not among that number you might suffer in a few days after. I was so glad to hear from your letter that you were going to Tallahassee. I exclaimed "I'm so glad I wish he would stay there a month." What a narrow escape you and your men had from the shells of the Gunboat. Oh how thankful I am & you ought to be that you escaped. I shall be in constant fear the whole time now that I know you must have returned from Tallahassee for I fear that blocking the Gunboats will not be such an easy thing as you think, for the fifteenth time I say will we ever have peace? When I feel that you are not in danger I do not realize the troubles half so much I suppose I have my share of the anxiety to bear. You say we must certainly have peace soon. God grant that we may but I have but little hope, for that has been said so many many times. if it is true about Pope & McClelland there are plenty more men in Yankeedom that may make better Generals than them. We

36. Yellow Bluff, site of a Confederate battery opposite the St. Johns Bluff

battery, defended by Captain Joseph L. Dunham's Milton Light Ar-

37. tillery. Located on the north side of the St. Johns.
J. C. Greely of the Rangers, or B. B. Greely of Palatka.

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have certainly gained a great many victories (if we can believe all) for which I am very thankful, but, oh such loss of life & seems to me to no purpose if we do ever have peace how few there will be to realize it. and how many of them will be desolate and unhappy. God grant that I may never be one of that number. . . .

You ask me what I think of your uniform. I think it a great pity that the wives of Confederate officers have to wear unbleached homespun chemises, when their husbands can afford to buy uniforms. 38 You told me to manage things to my liking. I have sent with others to buy some factory thread. Clark & I counted it all up &c, & it would be cheaper to buy the thread & have it woven at 10 cts a yard than buy the cloth at 50 cts, &

we are obliged to have the cloth. & the Winter will be over before we can get our cotton ginned, & spun at home, and having it spun elsewhere is not very cheap. I hope it will be to your satisfaction, I could not wait to hear from you again as I am behind the others in sending already. Mr. Fleming is to buy it at Monticello at 2.50 cts a bundle. . . . 39

My Dear Wife

In Camp Near St Johns Bluff Oct 1st 1862

. . . I give Lt Gray a permit to go home yesterday & he got down to the bluff & Col Charles Hopkins turned him back saying he could not allow any officers to go home now. 40 & I presume you have seen me the last time for several weeks & perhaps months. as a matter of course he must go before I can expect to. Lt Shedd started home this morning under orders so as to make a chance for him to get off . 41 We are now being drawn more & more under a rule of Despotism every day & sometimes I fear we are to have hard rule until this war is over. Civil law is thrown by the board for military dictation & some men seem to forget their obligations to their fellow man after getting in position. I

38. A loose, straight-hanging dress.

39. Although there is no Fleming listed in the Jefferson County census for 1860, this might refer to Louis Michael Fleming, Tina's father, or her brother, Louis Isadore Fleming, a Jacksonville attorney and former resident of Monticello.

40. Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Hopkins, commander at the St. Johns Bluff.

41. Lieutenant William W. Shedd, Company B, 2nd Florida Cavalry. Soldiers of Florida, 263.

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hate to write with my feelings that I have at times but I must let it out & I suppose you will make allowances for me. We have been treated badly in some respects since we were moved on this side of the river. I had on my yesterdays report 15 men on sick report & one Lt. which is McLeod. 42 I have but six tents for 90 men & the rain falling nearly constantly. I sent some men after lumber & Genl Finegan had them turned back & they have to sleep in the woods with a blanket over them & their clothing all wet sometimes a plenty to eat. & then again nothing. this morning we got a beef but for the last two days we had nothing but dry bread. The men look to me & you may imagine my feelings with a hungry crew & as hungry myself with them calling for something to eat. I dont complain of my men for they stand it as well as men can & all of them know I do all I can, but it makes my position unenviable. It is a weakness of the Comissary department & Maj Canova cant get any votes in this section. 43 I

think he is like the rest of Manauicians when he gets in power he feels he is of more importance than he should. 44 Our whole Comissary & quartermasters business is managed badly & all have more or less favoritism to show & thats spoils every thing, and to cap the climax my Dear Wife has given me a cut that I don't think I deserved-When I was at home you laughed at my coat & made all sorts of fun of it & I supposed you would take a pride to know that I had changed to a better one when thrown in Company-but instead of that you censure me for getting a new suit when my Wife has to wear yellow homespun-I ask you the question did you ever ask me to get you any thing that I did not get if I could? you asked me to get you some yellow domestic & I got it & left money with you & told you to get any thing you wanted. I have cautioned you about my debts & only asked your cooperation with me to get clear of debt but I have never intended you should not have what you wanted, but on the contrary I have taken pleasure in getting you what you have asked me & you have been one of the most equinomical women

42. Lieutenant R. H. McLeod, Jr. Ibid.

43. Major A. A. Canova. Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, General Orders No. 17, April 18, 1862, ORA I:XIV, 477; Chief of Staff and Assistant Adjutant General Thomas Jordan, General Orders No. 127, December 19, 1862, *ibid.*, 726-27. See also Davis, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, 192n.

44. Probably a corrupted popular phrase for a Minorcan.

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I ever saw & you have asked for as little as any one could get along on. I have often thought you wanted things & would have anticipated your wants but I don't know enough about womans wants to know what you required. & I hope you will always make your wants known frankly & they shall be gratefied if possible. I have sent after some flannel & will send it if it is in Jacksonville. . . . I am satisfied with your arrangement about the thread & hope you will be when you get it but fear you will have to wait some time for it. I will send you some rice by the first chance. I have it in Jacksonville. . . . We have some days six boats & some days five & some of them very large, they are about four miles from the bluff but we sometimes go in one mile while on picket duty. I think one of these days or nights they will try us again but if they dont come with an overpowering land force they had just as well stay away as we have good guns & a plenty of them & then we have a batery on Yellow bluff to keep them back if one or more should pass this bluff. We are not as strong as we wish to be but we can kill four to one in these woods. . . .

My Dear Wife

Middleburg, 45 Oct 15th 1862

I send back these few lines to inform you of what the Enemy have threatened to do & I have no doubt they will do it if they have an opportunity-They say they intend to force the negroes to go with them. that they intend to pay the expense of the War with the negroes & that they will make us suffer in the destruction of our property as much as they can. They took some negroes by force in Jacksonville & they even took women that refused to go-I hardly know what to advise you to do but I want you at least to call the negroes together & tell them what they may depend upon & tell them when the Gun boat is about my place or Welaka they had better keep on the watch & run into the woods if they come to the house-If Sarah will cling to you they may not take her as they have allowed some to stay that did so. 46 Several negroes have been shot in this neighborhood -one was killed last night. I wish Clark would kill the officers if they land & I think they will be afraid to come out-the neighbors

45. Middleburg in Clay County, near Black Creek.

46. A Stephens slave.

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should band together for mutual protection & I think they can keep them from coming out-I wish you were out from the river & I should not be alarmed-I think the mill had better stand awhile & let us see what they will do-let Burrel & Tom split rails & the rest can be employed on the new ground & fences-unless you can find a place back in the country & you think it best to move the negroes to it. 47 I do not fear much for any thing but them & the provisions & cotton dont think they will disturb you or Mother but they will take all the property of mine they can get-as I am a Rebel Capt. . . .

Camp Finegan 48 Oct 23rd 1862

My Dear Wife

. . . I am well, thats right so far. We are generally well but on short allowance which makes soldiers in bad humor, but I am in good humor as I have just had dinner-Baked beef potatoes (at one dollar pr bushel) and rice with a little sugar for desert. We have no syrup since the run. We have to purchase feed for our mess servants which makes bill of fare pretty high I have sent to Blk Creek for a load of grub & hope to get it cheaper than I can here. 49 Swep & the rest of my extensive family are well with a few exceptions of cases of mumps 50- We are in camps eight miles from Jacksonville & with the whole command under one rule-That rule is Col C. Hopkins. We are satisfied with his as our ruler but Finegan has made his rules quite Military & formal. Old Barny finds public sentiment changing in favor of Hopkins & against himself & he is in quite a fret & is trying to get up something sustaining for his case & he is like a drowning man he will catch at a straw & Finegan is drumming up every thing to throw blame on others & rid himself of part of

the load. 51 Madam rumor says he intends to have me Court-
martialed for going up the river but I dont believe it. 52 Enough
of Finegan & his. The Yankees behaved more like rogues & black

47. Tom (1846-?) is also a Stephens slave.

48. Camp Finegan was west of Jacksonville. Davis, Civil War and Recon-
struction in Florida, 303.

49. Black Creek flows past Middleburg and empties into the St. Johns.

50. Swepton Stephens, Winston's younger brother, and a corporal in the
St. Johns Rangers. Soldiers of Florida, 265.

51. Probably Joseph Finegan.

52. Winston attempted to go up the St. Johns to Welaka to visit his
pregnant wife Octavia whenever possible.

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hearted scamps in Jacksonville then they ever have on the river
before. They sent out a man who represented himself as quarter-
master and he took any and every thing he wanted for his depart-
ment. then, came out the soldiers & rob'd what they wanted.
then came armed negroe men & demanded what they wanted &
swore & shined around in uniform quite extensively & last came
the sailor & got their share of the spoils. They not only took
things but they broke & destroyed furniture & smashed in doors
& windows & SC to a great extent. And Col Garner told me Willis
trunk was broken & every thing stolen so that he is one of the
sufferers. 53 I guess they got all of his fine clothe. . . . Mr. Ochus
told me he watched for two nights & that it was all he could
do to keep them from taking every thing from him. They took all
his poultry & pigs. I did not hear of any insult to the ladies.
Only four or five negroes were left in Jacksonville. . . . It is re-
ported that 10,000 men are coming down here & the Comissary is
down here making arrangements to feed them. I expect you will
be astounded with the news of the capture of St. Johns Bluff. . . .

"Rose Cottage" Thursday Oct 23rd 1862

My dear husband. . .

I hardly believe the Gunboats are going to pay us a visit
for they have stayed away so long. I have concluded to stay
here and run the risk of their coming, for I know of no place
to go to & I thought by the time we could get moved the
Yankees if they were coming would be here & do all the damage
they wanted for there is no place near. No place at all around
here where we could go without building & a complete break up
here. & I think we have places enough now. & I thought getting to
Marion impossible. The Negroes seem much afraid of the Yankees
& keep a watch for them, & say if they catch them they will have
to do it with a bullet. . . . I thought last Friday night and
part of Sat- that my troubles had come, but no not yet. we spent

the day Friday with Tina & I rode to town & felt quite sick that night and could hardly move about most of the next day. 54 I will now have to give up riding on horseback & stay at home until I get my buggy. which I have the promise of having soon.

53. Possibly Lieutenant John Garner, Company D, 15th Florida Cavalry. Soldiers of Florida, 282. "Willi" is William A. Bryant.

54. Tina is Augustina Alexandrina Fleming Stephens (1831-1900), wife of Clark Stephens and sister-in-law of Winston.

71 LETTERS OF WINSTON AND OCTAVIA STEPHENS 71

. . . You may be sure Mother is anxious now as we have heard of the great battle fought in Kentucky. 55 The Savannah paper has begun again about the prospect of Foreign intervention but I have no faith in it, but I wish to heaven that something would stop the war. I begin to fear again that we will have to give up as I hear our soldiers in Virginia are so poorly off for clothing that if they do not have ready assistance they will, have to disband. there are some stirring letters in the Savannah papers about it, one from Aunt Julia. 56 Mother & Tina are high for doing something, but I think we can do no good worth counting, as I believe there is no such thing as stirring up these country people. & without their help we could do nothing but knit a few pairs of socks. Tina has not heard from Mr Fleming yet. have you heard how Our rice & pans fared at Jacksonville, whether the Yankees routed Lieut Caulk or not? 57 I hear they destroyed furniture & other things they could not carry off with them.

. . . I was sorry to see you did not enjoy your visit more when you were here, you did not seem yourself. I hope it was not my "crossness" altogether. I knew I was more cross than I used to be but did not know I had got so bad, I hope your next visit will be more pleasant. perhaps by then some of my troubles will be over and may be better natured. & you may have another little one to make you happier. I have heard that women in my situation are always more cross & I hope it may prove so in my case & that my husband will again love me as he used to. I hope you do not see so many prettier & more agreeable persons in your travels around as to wean you from me. . . .

My Dear Wife

Camp Finegan Oct 29th at night 1862

I will write you only a short letter to night as I have to start on a scout soon tomorrow and I must write Ma a short letter as Swep will start up there tomorrow. 58 I received orders this eve to go down to Yellow Bluff & scout that section for the purpose

55. Perryville (Chaplin Hills), Kentucky, October 8, 1862.

56. Julia Maria Bryant Fisher, Octavia's aunt.

57. Lieutenant William Caulk, Company A, 3rd Florida Infantry (Jacksonville Light Infantry). Soldiers of Florida, 103.

58. Mary A. J. Stephens Gaines, Winston's mother, who lived near Middleburg, Florida.

72 FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

of preventing the Enemy from killing Beeff & SC. I will take 40 men with me & return in three or four days & I do not expect to see a Yank while I am gone as we are confidently told only one Gun boat remains in the river & they have removed the guns from the "St Johns Bluff" & nothing remains but the Earth works-I had the pleasure of meeting Genl Finegan yesterday & we had quite a tongue lashing and every one standing by said I got the best of him. At any rate he stoped talking and said there was no use of talking more about the matter & today he met me in a good humor & seemed better pleased with me than I have ever seen him. so I suppose my independent talk did me some good that time. I had my mind made up to make him respect me or I would not respect him. The Genl blames the Commanding Officer & some spicy articles have appeared & the Genls side has so far got decidedly the worst of it. I will try to send you "Fair Plays" reply to "Justice" by next letter and you will see a true statement of facts. 59

We have now in this camp one Squadron of Cavalry `two companies' which I command. Capt Dunham's artilery & Maj Brevards Batalion of Infantry (three Companies) & one Company of Col Hopkins Batalion & Col Hopkins in Command but he goes tomorrow & Maj Brevard will command. I suppose we have 500 effective men in all, perhaps not quite so strong. We entertain no expectation of a fight here. In my last I think I told you we were expecting 10,000 men, but now it appears doubtful as they have given notice both at Savannah & Charleston to have the women & children removed & the City Council determined to leave the Cities in ashes before they would surrender. They have already had a fight on the R.R. between the places & drove them back to their Gun boats. Beauregard is there & I have great confidence & him & the troops will fight well under his command. 60 & If we can drive them back at those two points I think our cause will gain considerable strngth & they will be more & more discouraged. I am sorry to see that our men are in

59. Evidently pennames used by authors criticizing and defending the actions surrounding abandonment of the St. Johns Bluff artillery position. Colonel Hopkins abandoned his position because he felt Union troops advancing upon him from the rear could not be successfully resisted. He chose not to sacrifice his men in what he regarded as a hopeless fight. Johns, Florida During the Civil War, 74.

60. Pierre G. T. Beauregard (1818-1893).

such bad plight, but I dont want you to have any thing to do with it. not that I am not willing to give to the soldiers but I know you cannot do any thing of yourself & the means of transportation would prevent its reaching Richmond before the winter is out. Try and clothe those under your immediate controll & you will do well. I think I wrote you about all I know of your friends in my last. I have not been in Jacksonville but when I return I will call on Mrs. Foster & see if I can render her any assistance & learn more of your friends. . . .

I was glad to get your long & interesting letter this evening by Henry Hopkins, as Lt Grays party came in. 61 I am sorry you have to stop your riding but my Dear I am glad you think it best as I have thought so some time but I would not say so as you would perhaps think I did it to stop your going to Tinas so much. . . . My Dear as to not loving you as much as ever I say if it is possible I love you more than I ever did not because you are sometimes cross but because I know that no one is perfect & you can compare creditably with any wife & I have hoped you will get rid of your little bad humor & then we can be so happy-It is our duty to try & cheer each other & get the other in a good humor when the other is out of humor. We are all frail creatures & subject to err & the best of us will do wrong at times. Never let it cross your mind that I will ever be drawn off by any other woman or women. You know the promise I made you before the alter & rest assured that vow is sacred with me & if I am cool at any time it will not be that I love you less, but that something has troubled me when I was home last I was not aware that I was not myself, but I do admit I was troubled about many things & my mind was constantly trying to plan for the future for you & those that are dear to me. remember my situation when I was last home & I must think you cannot blame me for being troubled & perhaps I appeared changed. I am well with the exception of a cold which troubles me some but I think camping out will fix things up again. The company are not so good as some 10 or 12 are on sick report. I am glad you have the facilities of mail matter & presume Mr Smith will continue it. I want you to let me know again when you look for an increase & I will ask for a furlough at that time & if I

61. Henry T. Hopkins, Company B, Second Florida Cavalry. Soldiers of Florida, 264.

am refused I will resign & come any way as I must be with you if possible on that occasion. I want you to have some Dr with you and I must say I had rather have some one besides Dr Currell. . . .62

My Dear Wife

Camp Finegan Nov 4th 1862

. . . I called on Mrs Foster & Daughter on Sunday & found them in delicate health, Mis Foster does not look like the same person. I think of the Winter is cold & she is disturbed much by the War that she will fail & die. though with quiet & good care she may live longer. I found them alone & doing all their house work, making fires cooking & SC. Some Man in Town does their marketing & Mr Burret & others visit them & assist them as much as possible. They told me only about 12 families were in Town besides Jews & Manaucians. Miss Foster told me to tell Mother that Wm Livingston had been paroled & that he saw your Father in New York but did not know what he was doing. 63 but said he was well. Wm Livingston has been back about two weeks so that it must have been about a month since he saw Col Bryant. I hope he is taking sides with the Democrats North & that they may cause a cessation of this War.

I went into Mrs. Maxeys house & every thing was torn up side down, two trunks had been broken open & everything gone. I saw the picture Mother sent down for old Mother Bryant & gave it to Capt Mitchel take care of until otherwise ordered. 64 I saw some books with Mr Tidings name in them, but every thing but the furniture was carried off by the Vandals & negroes. 65 Mrs Douglas went up to the Reads for a short time but is now living in Jacksonville by herself & doing all her work. . . . 66 Mrs

62. Dr. Thomas Currell was a Marion County physician who died in the summer of 1865.

63. Probably Lieutenant William A. Livingston, Company E, 5th Florida Infantry, Soldiers of Florida, 143. A Confederate Lieutenant Livingston, who had been wounded in Virginia, returned to Jacksonville on July 30, 1862. J. W. A. Nicholson to S. F. Du Pont, August 4, 1862, ORN I:XIII, 220.

64. Ann Andrews Bryant, Octavia's paternal grandmother. Either Captain Henry L. Mitchell, Company K, 4th Florida Infantry, or Captain Thomas Mitchell, Company B, 7th Florida Infantry. Soldiers of Florida, 134, 173.

65. R. M. Tydings, a Jacksonville minister, married Lou Reed, a childhood friend of Octavia in Jacksonville, in 1860.

66. A. M. Reed, Duval County banker, and his wife Harriet, had two

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Foster said the chaplain of one of the Yankee Regiments did more harm in Jacksonville than any one else, as he was an abolitionist & allowed negroes to take any thing they claimed, no matter who they claimed it of. & they striped every house that was not occupied by its owner. I think if the families had remained nothing like the damage would have been done. . . .

Tallow is worth 75 cts & hies 80 cts pr pound.

My Dear Wife,

Camp Finegan Nov 15th 1862

. . . I want the cotton gined at once if Mr Priest can gin it and I want the hogs from Mr Braddock. 67 Clark tells me he is going after some as soon as he gets home & you can send Tom if he will do it if not send Burrel, it will not require but one of them. If Tom drives the hogs Burrel can haul the cotton. I hope you have it all picked by this time, send me how much you made. I am going to try to sell it down on Indian river as they are offering 50 cts for it at that place. If I can sell, it will more than put us out of debt which will be a relief to me. I want you to have pet & the colt put in the Pea field & then if the colt dont improve you must have him fed. I hope you have killed some of the hogs as the weather has been very good. Caution burrel not to use more than salt enough to save the meat & to rub that well in. tell Sarah & Jane to make some sausages nice as they know how & I hope to enjoy some of them with you. 68 Keep the sides to use last as they will keep best. I want you to give Burrel the new pants you made for me & fix up the old ones for the boys as they will be warmer than any cloth you have & caution them to wear them only in the coldest weather. I have sent for some cloth for pants by Swep & he will return this evening I think. do the best you can to get the clothes made for them. Clark will assist or get the cloth & assist you in getting a wheel or any thing of that sort. . . .

As to war news we have none, only Genl Cobb is to command

children - Louisa and Harriet. The Reeds had been Octavia's neighbors in Jacksonville.

67. Possibly either Gabriel W. Priest of Winston's company, or Gabriel Priest of Welaka, or Gabriel C. Priest, a farmer, also of Welaka. John, Joseph, or William Braddock.

68. Jane is a Stephens slave.

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the Middle & West & Finegan the East & South I was in hopes that we were to have a change but we are to have our same commander. Genl Cobb is from Ga. 69 I think by having two Genl in Fla. that we are to have more troops-You know the Yankees say they intend colonizing Fla & Texas this winter, & this may be a preparatory move to prevent it. . . . The Yankees are getting quite saucy about this part of the world. they go out in the creeks & some of them have gone out on land. I think they will be interrupted soon. I intended to go up to Jessups but an order is out prohibiting any one being absent without the consent of Genl Finegan & I will ask no favor until I want to come home and then I will perhaps be allowed to come. 70 I had a man by the name of Livingston desert last night he had not been absent from home more than three weeks & did not ask to go. 71 I have

sent after him & If I get him he will be punished severely. . . . Rest easy on one score & that is about my being with you for I will come unless they put me in irons. Keep in good heart you know how easy your time was with Rosa & that was the first & likely to go the hardest with you. . . . I forgot to mention that the Yankees have burned St Marys down. 72 the cause as stated to me was that they sent 150 negroes out near there to burn a mill & they were caught & killed & hung & they retaliated by burning the place. . . . We have been in the service one year to day. that is Confederate service. You will see the Democrats have carried the most of the North & they will speak out for Constitutional rights & conflicting opinions will have a tendency to bring about peace. Swep got me a pair of gloves but no cloth you may give the pants any how & I will do the best I can the negroes must have the clothes or they may go off on that account. . . .

69. On November 11, 1862, General Howell Cobb (1815-1868), former Georgia governor and congressman, assumed command of the Department of Middle Florida, extending from the Suwannee to the Choctawhatchee rivers with headquarters at Quincy. Adjutant and Inspector General S. Cooper to General H. Cobb, November 11, 1862, ORA I:XIV, 677. See also Beauregard to Cobb, November 21, 1862, *ibid.*, 684.

70. Jessup, possibly a son-in-law or relative of Ma Gaines, lived in Middleburg.

71. Morgan, Warren, or William Livingston. *Soldiers of Florida*, 264.

72. On November 9, 1862, the U.S.S. Mohawk drove the Confederates out of St. Marys, Georgia. The Federals fired some of the buildings, and also a large mill down the river. Lieutenant Commander A. K. Hughes to S. F. Du Pont, November 11, 1862, ORN I:XIII, 442.

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Camp Finegan Jany 27th 1863

My Dear Wife

Yours of 17th has just been received and the contents noticed & I cannot express to you the anxiety I feel & shall continue to feel until I hear again from you. I shall trust in God who giveth & in whose hands our dear child must rest. If I should lose her I shall think it a punishment because I have been so much taken up with my Dear family that I have not paid the devotion to him that I should. I know how much you & Mother must have suffered during the time you write about in your letter, & oh how much that dear babe must have suffered. I would that I could be the sufferer & not my babe that cannot express its want & explain where are its pains. but Gods will be done & not mine. I hope the crisis has passed as you thought & that dear Belle is now recovered & that I may see her lovely face again. 73 I fear for her safety as Dr Merideth tells me the disease is hard to manage with one so young & that it is contagious & Rosa will be sure to have it & perhaps all the family of children both black & white. 74

I wish I could be with you so that I could divide the watch necessary in such cases. I do hope you may not have any more cases. I am quite well & doing as well as circumstances will admit. This wicked war is the means of so much unhappiness & distress & yet our Enemys appear disposed to try every means of subduing us to their will but so far they have failed and in all the recent moves they have been foiled & defeated. In the West they are defeated & at Richmond they were defeated with terrible loss, but from last accounts they are gathering their strength for another on to Richmond & we may expect to hear startling news from that place soon. & at Murfreesborough they are confronted & another desperate battle is inevitable & I feel confident in our ability to defeat them at both places. North Carolina is also to be a place of much importance & a large force is threatening us in that direction & our forces from Savannah & Charleston have been sent to the help of our force & they will be able to drive them back. The weather has so crippled the fleet of the Enemy that they cannot do any thing at Charleston & Savannah for some time so that we can spare our forces for the present

73. Isabella Stephens lived only a few weeks, December 14, 1862, to January 23, 1863.

74. Dr. Merideth, although unknown, probably belonged to the company.

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very well. Some of the Military think the attack or demonstration at Fredricksburg to be a mere feint & that the real attack is to come from some other point. 75 Our Cavalry in the West have won imperishable laurals by their deeds of Heroism! Wheeler has captured 4 transports & sunk one Gun boat & captured 400 prisoners on the transports besides destroying Millions of dollars worth of Gov property. 76 One of the Kentucky Genl made a speech to his force & told them to go home & if Lincoln did not recall his emancipation proclamation in 20 days he should join the Confederates.

I feel that we are obliged to have peace during the Spring & God grant it may soon come. The disposition appears to be to place us on an equality of Regulars & they take it regular giving new orders each day & they grow more & more strict & I pay but little attention to some of them & would not be disappointed to be called to account & I dont care as I will not make Regulars out of my men & they will not accept a Resignation & I dont care much what happens. I am doing my best to get rid of Genl Finegan & We hope to succeed & then I will be satisfied. Catholic religion has controlled the organization of this Regiment & other denominations have been tolerated only where it could be used to elevate the other Church. Now I am for rebelling against such things. I do not believe in bringing Church matters in this trouble & I will fight it to the death. . . . 77

"Rose Cottage" Welaka Saturday P.M. Feb 14th 1863

My dear husband

. . . Your latest letter spoke of going on the scout to Kings Ferry. 78 when will all these scouts end? seems to me the war is no nearer the end now that it was months ago. seems to me we have as well live together under Lincoln's Government than to

75. Lee chose to contest the Federal crossing of the Rappahannock River on the south bank at Fredericksburg, Virginia. The Union attack on December 13, 1862, resulted in 12,700 dead and wounded. Ambrose Burnside withdrew his men on the night of December 15.

76. General Joseph "Fightin' Joe" Wheeler (1836-1906), Confederate cavalry-man. Stephens here refers to Wheeler's raid of October 1-9, 1863, against General William Rosecrans in Tennessee.

77. The editors have been unable to determine whether Finegan was at any time a Catholic. His funeral service took place in Jacksonville's Newman Street Presbyterian Church, and he is buried in a Protestant cemetery. Jacksonville Florida Times-Union, November 6, 1885.

78. King's Ferry, site of extensive lumber mill activity, in Nassau County.

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live separate most of the time under this Government, & are you now much more free than negroes, and the discipline becoming more & more strict. I suppose before long none of the soldiers will be allowed to go home at all. that will be great doings. . . .

I fear you have been very anxious about Rosa since I wrote by Mr Shook that she had fever, for I think from one of your letters that the Dr must have thought out little Belle had scarlettina, & I fear you have thought Rosa had it. 79 I watched her anxiously for many days fearing it might be the same. I suppose by this time you have received my last letter saying she was well with the exception of a cough. She seems very bright now, & her cheeks are as rosy as ever. she has seemed to miss the baby only once. my thoughts are more easily turned from the thoughts of her but seems to me I am not much more reconciled. for at times it does seem soo hard. she would have been two months old to day. sometimes it seems as though the six weeks she was with us was a dream. I know it wrong to wish her back in this wicked world, but seems to me I would give all I have to have her. I mean all my possessions, not my relatives for I often think that if one of our relatives had to be taken it was better to have her taken who was as pure as pure could be, and we know will go to Heaven, she never knew a wicked thought even. What a sweet little angel she will make, but will we ever meet her again?

I received the vaccine matter which you sent, and Clark came over on Thursday and vaccinated all on the place except

Mother & I who Mother thinks safe, me especially. he vaccinated his children too. we heard the other day that it was not the small pox, but chicken pox.

Please do not be so dont care about your military matters, for if you should be called to an account for disregarding orders I would care, and what would you make by it. you say you can not resign your commission, so you had better be resigned where you are and not make things worse by disobeying orders, for I fear you will get yourself deeper into trouble than you think you might be put out of office & made a private and then I am sure you would be worse off. I fear you are not going to have such

79. B. F. Shook, a blacksmith, Company B, 2nd Florida Cavalry. Soldiers of Florida, 264.

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quiet times down there as you have been having, as you say the Gun boats shelled so much, I guess from that too that there is no communication & that Mother's and my letters will not go to the North. It is almost time Father was carrying out his plan he spoke of. I am afraid for him to try it. . . .

While I think of it, Clark heard that Dr. Ashurst sold medicine at Middleburg at the old prices and when you come home you had better try and get some medicines, we need paregoric, camphor blue mass, & oil. 80 and please bring a bottle of Creole Liniment with you, and if you want any more eye water you had better get some from the Doctor, for we used all yours trying to cool our dear little babe's face when she was first sick. . . .

In Camp at Mooneys place 5 miles out from J. 81 March 16th 1863.
My Dear Wife

I can feel this morning how very anxious you must be for my welfare, as you have no doubt heard ere this of the fight at Jacksonville with all its exagerations that follow such events. 82 I wish I could send this direct to you & I did ask to be allowed such a thing but was refused & now I have to trust to the slow process of mail. On Tuesday the Yankees & negroes in transports accompanied by three Gun boats came up to Jacksonville and Lieut Gray & the pickets barely had time to get out before they had landed & were going in every direction trying to capture all they could. Lt Gray lost his sword uniform & papers & SC. He then sent an express out to camps & I was sent with my Company & the rest followed. Nothing was done that day of any consequence, but that night Genl Finegan with some reinforcement arrived & Wednesday morning we were thrown in line of battle & the Cavalry went on the north side & the Infantry on the three mile branch so as to cut off the retreat of the enemy & we were to charge them every thing went on quietly until we got to Mr Jones place approaching the plank road when the Yankee pickets fired upon Lt Gray who was thrown out in advance. 83 I then

80. Dr. Josiah Asherst lived in Middleburg at the time of the 1860 census.

81. Either the residence of Hugh Mooney, or of George Mooney. Eighth Census, 1860, microfilm, Duval County, Florida.

82. Around March 10, 1863, Union forces occupied Jacksonville for the third time during the war. Johns, Florida During the Civil War, 74.

83. In 1859 the Alligator Plank Road started at Bay and Newnan streets, extended up Newnan to Duval, and then went on towards Alligator (or Lake City). Otis L. Keene, "Jacksonville, Fifty-three Years Ago. Recollections of a Veteran," Florida Historical Quarterly, I (January 1909), 14.

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formed my Company under the hail of bullets & moved up & fired upon them & they ran off. I then noticed two Companies in front & about two hundred yards out on the same street that Col Hopkins built a house. I then moved up near the road pouring a fire into their lines & they began soon to give way and & Capt Chambers about this time formed his Company on my right & across the road & they broke like wild animals. not waiting for a charge. The Infantry had not moved up fast enough & consequently all of them got away except those that were killed. Mrs. Younge who came out yesterday says we killed one officer & 15 negroes. 84 We lost Dr Merideth who was shot through the head & two horses killed & one wounded. Mr McLeod a brother of Lt McLeod was struck with a spent ball on the thigh, but was not hurt much. 85 Jessup had the stripe of his pants on the thigh cut into by a ball. Poor Dr Merideth did not know what hit him, he lived about five hours after he was shot but was not sensible nor apparently in pain. We have lost a good friend & a valuable Phisician.

3 P.M. I was cut short by an express man riding in to Camps stating the Yankees were advancing, but after getting ready and going down we learned that after exchanging a few shots they returned to Town. I am to go down this evening to ambush them & I hope to get some of the scamps. Capt Dickerson is coming up & has offered to send this up to you. 86 I want you to arrange so that the negroes can go at once into the woods if they come up as high as you are & get Clark if the Yankees stay up there to try & get the negroes across the river & send them up on the road, to me. but I hope it will not be necessary to break up, tell Burrel al about it & tell him I shall depend upon him to take care of the rest of the negroes. The negroes in arms will promise him fair prospects, but they will require him to take up arms against us & he will suffer the same fate those did in Town that we killed, & the Yankees say they will hang them if they dont fight. I think it a good plan for Clark & Henry to secrete some provisions where no one knows of it but the whites, that is the older ones & not any of the negroes, or perhaps if

84. Probably Harriet Young, a dressmaker, listed in the census as coming from Massachusetts.

85. D. C. McLeod, private, Company B, 2nd Florida Cavalry. Soldiers of Florida, 264.

86. Captain J. J. Dickison, commander, Company H, 2nd Florida Cavalry.

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they were to do such a thing it might create the suspicion of the negroes. 87 I want Burrell to see that I have the utmost confidence in him. Tell him to keep something hid away so that if they are forced to take the woods they will have something to live on. & you had better consult Clark about the cotton. I want you to take care that none of the negroes or the mules fall into their hands. I hope Capt Dickerson will be able to keep them from going up above Palatka as his Company will return to that point. The Yankees or negroes went up to Doctors Lake and captured Col Bryant & three of his negroes and three horses & killed some of his stock. 88 They threaten to do big things but they will not fight and if they come up a few resolute men can drive them back, they will steal every thing they put their hands on so you had better get Henry to bury every thing some place & what money you keep put it around your body. I would not wear any Jewelry or show any thing that will tempt them. I hope your Father may come out & keep them from injuring any of you. The famous Kansas Montgomery is in Command of one of the negroe regiments & your Mother knows his character. 89

We are getting strong as we have some 16 Companies & some Cavalry is now arriving from Ga I think God being our helper that the Yanks & negroes will be cleared out of Jacksonville in a few days. We look to God & trust in him to sustain us in this our just cause. I want you to put your trust in him & he will not forsake you. If I fall it will be in defence of a just cause. I hope very soon to see you when we will be fearing no enemy. This I regard as our greatest tryal. . . .

87. Henry H. Bryant (1847-1930) lived with his sister Octavia throughout most of the Civil War.

88. Doctor's Lake is north of Fleming's Island on the St. Johns River. Probably named after Dr. Thomas Stirling.

89. James Montgomery, a Kansas Jayhawker and radical abolitionist. Montgomery's black 2nd South Carolina Regiment raided up the St. Johns.

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The Work of Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues, a Huguenot Artist in France, Florida, and England. Edited by Paul Hulton. 2 vols. (London: British Museum Publications, 1977. xii, 241 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, abbreviations, illustrations, appendix, bibliography, index. 65 pounds.)

This study which has been many years in production makes a magnificent presentation of the life and work of Jacques Le Moyne, the artist who accompanied Rene de Laudonniere on his expedition to East Florida in 1564. Paul Hulton edited the volumes, wrote the foreword and introductory studies and compiled the catalogue of artistic works. D. B. Quinn is responsible for the paper on the French colonization efforts of 1562-1565; R. A. Skelton contributed the article on the Le Moyne map of Florida; and William T. Stearn produced the paper describing Le Moyne's activities as a plant portraitist and herbalist. William C. Sturtevant of the Smithsonian Institution discussed the ethnological evaluation of the Le Moyne-De Bry illustrations in his essay. Neil M. Cheshire and Mr. Hulton present a needed fresh translation of the 1591 Latin narrative of Le Moyne concerning his Florida adventures and the explanations of his illustrations. Finally, the 144 plates of pictures done by or connected with Le Moyne round out an exciting two-volume work.

This product is a tribute to all the scholars who were involved in the project. There has long been a need to have the artistic accomplishments of Le Moyne catalogued and evaluated. This is the principal thrust of this work. But no effort has been spared in a full presentation of Le Moyne, not only as an artist but as an adventurer who recorded his adventures both in prose and on canvas. Some of the illustrations are in color, and they are so beautiful that the viewer will want to see all of the originals in color.

The primary purpose of the work is to assess accurately the importance of Le Moyne as an artist, and this is achieved. For anyone who has seen Le Moyne's original paintings, there is regret that fiscal considerations resulted in only a few color

plates being included. An analysis of the drawing of Satouriwa now on display at the Fort Caroline National Memorial would have been appropriate. Although probably not from Le Moyne's pen, it is a competent sixteenth-century drawing. It is essentially the same as the depiction of the chief that appears in De Bry's engraving numbered thirty-four. Both pictures are probably from an original sketch by Le Moyne which is now lost.

D. B. Quinn's history of the French settlement in Florida is scholarly and well written. It is not a rehash of the substantial work previously done by others in this field. And therein lies its value, and also some of its weaknesses. There is fresh material on the lives of Le Moyne, Ribault, and Nicolas Barre. On the other hand there is a rather labored effort to prove that the French never reached the gold mines of northwest Georgia. Too much space is given the argument; it is not that important. But claiming that part of the reason for this lack of action was due to "vast swamps" en route makes little sense to anyone who knows the area or has studied its colonial history. The maps show that Indian paths were well known to the early Europeans. During the American Revolution more than 2,000 Patriot troops twice traversed much of the same route in less time than the six months utilized by the Ferriere expedition. And the Revolutionary soldiers had to cut roads and ford streams with wagons and artillery, something the French did not have to do. But the weaknesses in this work are few and inconsequential. The strengths far outweigh them. The persons who have contributed to this study are all specialists of great reputation, and their work has been very carefully done. The result is a splendid contribution not only to the history of art but to the early history of Florida and America.

Washington, D. C.

CHARLES E. BENNETT

The Life of Henry Laurens Mitchell, Florida's 16th Governor. By George B. Church, Jr. (New York: Vantage Press, Inc., 1978. 145 pp. Preface, notes, conclusion, appendix, bibliography. \$7.50.)

Henry L. Mitchell served as governor of Florida from 1893 to 1897. This biography by George B. Church, Jr., is basically a

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reproduction of his master's thesis completed at the University of Florida in 1969.

Mitchell was born in 1831 in Jefferson County, Alabama, and moved to Hillsborough County, Florida, with his parents in 1846. He received a rudimentary education from his mother and from an itinerant Methodist minister, and read law in the office of Tampa attorney James A. Gettis, being admitted to practice in 1849. With the coming of secession and Civil War, he enlisted in 1861, rising to captain in the Fourth Florida Infantry. After serving in the West with his regiment, Mitchell found himself detailed to conscript replacements in Florida from September 1863 to February 1864. When voters of Hillsborough County elected him as a representative to the state legislature in 1864, he resigned his military post. After the legislature adjourned, he returned to Tampa and the practice of law.

Mitchell advanced slowly but steadily in the politics of post-war Florida, aided by his position as editor of the Florida Peninsular. An enthusiastic supporter of Hillsborough County and the Democratic Party, he won a seat in the legislature in 1873 and 1875. He became judge of the Sixth Judicial Circuit in 1877, and he was reappointed in 1887. The following year the Democratic state convention nominated Mitchell for a Florida Supreme Court justiceship which he subsequently won unopposed.

Tallahassee life evidently did not appeal to Mitchell, for in October 1890, he resigned his court position and accepted the governor's appointment as judge of his old circuit. Yet strangely enough, he allowed his friends and supporters to arrange for his nomination as the Democratic gubernatorial candidate in 1892. Despite his age, Mitchell campaigned throughout the state and defeated People's party candidate Alonzo P. Baskin, 32,064 votes to 8,309.

Ignoring those planks which had been inserted in the Democratic platform to attract Populist votes, Mitchell stressed economy in government as the major goal of his administration. He persuaded neither of the legislatures which met during his term to enact significant legislation. Once again displaying his aversion to Tallahassee, Mitchell in the spring of 1896-before his term as governor expired-campaigned for and won the clerkship of his old court circuit. Although he technically served out his gubernatorial term, he spent his remaining days in Tampa.

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Church has produced a well-researched and well-written biography. His favorable evaluation of Mitchell's career and personality, however, seems a bit too laudatory in view of the evi-

dence he offers. While Church concludes "Mitchell must be labeled a conservative with liberal tendencies," the harsher view of Edward Williamson seems more accurate. Williamson has called Mitchell a "doctrinaire conservative" and the "picked" 1892 candidate of the "Bourbons-the Fleming administration, the railroads, and conservative county leaders" (Florida Politics in the Gilded Age, 1877-1893, pp. 180, 187).

The greatest failing of this book is the lack of an index. Considering that nine years elapsed between the time the author wrote his thesis and the time it appeared in book form, this omission is inexcusable. It seriously mars what is otherwise an interesting and informative monograph.

University of Florida

STEPHEN KERBER

Intervention in Spanish Floridas 1801-1813: A Study in Jeffersonian Foreign Policy. By Wanjohi Waciuma. (Boston: Branden Press, 1976. 371 pp. Notes. \$7.95.)

The story of American involvement in the acquisition of the Gulf coast from the Mississippi River to the Perdido, and in various filibuster expeditions into East Florida during the War of 1812, have been sketched previously by Isaac Joslin Cox in his classic *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813, a Study in American Diplomacy*. Spanish officials such as Intendant Juan Buenaventura Morales, who wrote a lengthy, confidential memoria on "acts of aggression, hostility, etc., committed by the government of the United States of North America against the Spanish possessions in the Floridas," and Luis de Onis, whose numerous pamphlets and dispatches described American ambitions against both Floridas presaged his signing away all Spanish rights to the Floridas in 1819 and 1821, all add to the rich documentary source material on the subject.

Unfortunately, this book virtually ignores Spanish sources and even published secondary accounts. It is an attempt to describe various official and non-official attempts to "win" the Floridas for the United States. The cast of characters reads

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almost like a "Who's Who of Villainy"-General James Wilkinson, whose loyalty was never in question when it applied to his faith in Wilkinson, but whose treasonous actions and double-agent dealing made him a favorite among biographers; Governors W. C. C. Claiborne and David Holmes; former Opelousas landbaron William Wykoff; and that triumvirate of filibusters for Florida-General George Mathews, Colonel John McKee, and Governor David Mitchell.

Waciuma's account of the various movements into Florida and the Jeffersonian attempt to annex the Gulf coast sections of West Florida is not particularly original. Charlton Tebeau, in *A History of Florida* (pp. 103-15), makes the same points and in a much more concise, clear manner. The author has based his re-

search on documents in the Jefferson, Madison, and Monroe Papers (whose archival locations are not given in the notes); American State Papers; and Annals of Congress. The Florida Papers in the National Archives and the published Territorial Papers of the United States, edited by Clarence E. Carter, are also consulted. One of the main defects of the book (and here reviewers always should comment) is the lack of an index. Nor is there any bibliography or essay on sources. End notes appear at the conclusion of each chapter. There are no illustrations, not even a map, which might have been helpful to the general reader.

The author sets forth his aim for writing this book in the introduction: "to evaluate the principles and policies adopted by the founding fathers concerning relations between the United States and foreign nations, and to evaluate the impact of those principles and policies on the history of the United States" (p. 11). How this is possible when American foreign policy is studied on a unilateral, one-sided, parochial manner, as in this book, is beyond this reader's comprehension. Ms. Elena Sanchez-Fabres Mirat, a Spanish Fulbright scholar, has studied the same period in her *Situacion historica de las Floridas en la segunda mitad del siglo xviii (1783-1819): Los problemas de una region de frontera* (Madrid, 1977), which shows the other side of the question, one which is obviously ignored by Waciuma. It is a disappointing addition to Floridiana.

University of Alabama in Birmingham JACK D. L. HOLMES

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Fort Mellon, 1837-1842: A Microcosm of the Second Seminole War. By Arthur E. Francke, Jr. (Miami: Banyan Books, Inc., 1977. xi, 148 pp. Foreword, acknowledgments, illustrations, maps, notes, appendices, bibliography, index. \$8.95.)

One approach to the study of history might be called the jig saw puzzle approach. The object is simply to find the missing pieces. Typically, the jig saw puzzle approach begins with an interest in some local historical site or event, an interest that is not satisfied with the resources of the local library. Only the puzzle has been found; the pieces must be sought. Letters are written, calls are made, trips are undertaken, and one by one the pieces begin to appear. Lost people of the past begin to come into focus, ancient forts take form and substance. Given the actors and the stage, the script takes on new meaning. What began as simply a puzzle has become a valuable part of the mosaic of history.

Fort Mellon by Arthur E. Francke, Jr., is such a work, a thorough examination of the structure, the personnel, and the significance of what was, in many ways, a typical military fort in Florida during the Second Seminole War. The puzzle of Fort Mellon has been deeply researched by Mr. Francke, the missing pieces found in virtually every Florida collection from the Library of Congress to the Sanford Public Library. As he assembles the

pieces in documentary order his fascination with the emerging picture is infectious. More than 200 footnotes authenticate his finds. Without a time machine no research can recover every detail of a person or place, but Mr. Francke has assembled as complete a picture of Fort Mellon as one could hope for. Pertinent maps, sketches, Lieutenant Picknell's "Brief Notes of the Campaign against the Seminole Indians in Florida, in 1837," review of the post returns of Fort Mellon and Colonel Fanning's report of the engagement at Camp Monroe give color and life to the finished picture. Mr. Francke has brought to his efforts substantial grounding; a history major in college, he did graduate work at Princeton and New York University and received a master's degree from the latter in 1937.

Now for the bad news. Mr. Francke takes an unnecessary and apologetic view of Fort Mellon and of his own work of research and writing: "The actual battle of Camp Monroe, it must be

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admitted, was not a major engagement . . ." (p. 108). "Some may ask whether the story of Fort Mellon should be retold . . ." (p. 110). To imply that because a battle was not a major engagement it is therefore not worthy of research is to imply that a study of the nation's history should include only the major events and ignore the circumstances that brought them about. Surely all are parts of the whole and the one would not have been what it was without the other. We would not be what we are, individually or as a nation, without every event that has made up our history. For the author to state that "the Fort Mellon story is a genuine part of American history" is to suggest that there might be some question as to the fact.

The paragraphing of the book is a minor distraction. The first paragraph in each chapter begins at the left margin while all succeeding paragraphs begin on the right hand side of the page. A change in custom that provides an advantage of some kind should be applauded. Changes that are only a distraction might better be avoided.

A brief errata sheet is provided with the book, a regrettable comment upon the publisher. An error not mentioned on the sheet and critical to the segment of history covered is the site of "The Capitulation" of Chapter 4. The records seem to show that this occurred at Fort Dade rather than Fort Drane. The author was aware of this, to judge by the text, and thus this appears to be either a typographical or printing error.

Fort Mellon is a fine piece of research. Florida history fans may well hope that Mr. Francke accepts the challenge of other Florida puzzles.

Dade City, Florida

FRANK LAUMER

Old Mobile: Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711. By Jay Higginbotham. (Mobile: Museum of the City of Mobile, 1977.

xiv, 585 pp. Preface, abbreviations, prologue, notes, illustrations, maps, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$25.00.)

In commemoration of the 275th anniversary of the founding of the city, the Museum of the City of Mobile has published this handsome history of the origins of French settlement in Alabama.

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It is written by one of the foremost authorities on the French establishment on the Gulf coast. All parties involved deserve the highest praise for their endeavor. The first Mobile is recreated in fascinating detail; its people are limned in vivid colors; richness of illustration, fine typography, and sumptuous binding make the book a delight to the hand and eye of any reader. This is, of course, the tale of a town long since disappeared. Old Mobile was planted by the LeMoynes brothers some twenty-six miles north of the modern city. Its river bluff barely provided space for Fort Louis, and during the rainy season of 1711, nearly two-thirds of the surrounding settlers' homes were flooded. The happiest day of its short life was that on which the town escaped its unfortunate site and Bienville's intention that it should become "Immobile" (even as Louis XIV rejected that unharmonious name). Whole houses, as well as families, were moved down to the bay, nearer the Dauphin Island supply depot and contact with the life-supporting sea.

At the heart of Higginbotham's narrative are the men who created old Mobile and who by their fortitude held it together for a decade. Iberville, the founder, was an aristocratic adventurer who soon left the scene. Young Bienville struggled valiantly to infuse a population of between 200 and 300 souls with something of his own iron determination and dogged faith. Dartaquiette, a late-comer, brought much-needed moderation and order to a community riven by jealousy and personal animosity. Compared with these, and all too often opposed to them, the religious leaders of Louisiana made a sorry appearance, contributing little and criticizing much. In the background loomed the shadowy figures of the minister, Pontchartrain, and the Grand Monarque whose narrow policies and European ambitions all but smothered the infant colony at birth.

One of the most interesting features of Higginbotham's account is his close attention to the ties between the Mobile French and their Spanish neighbors at Pensacola. In these years the two European Gulf coast towns were, of dire necessity, desperately dependent upon one another. The author shows that while Mobile contributed significantly to the survival of Fort San Carlos, Fort Louis itself was virtually dependent upon the resources and goodwill of the Spanish at Veracruz.

Higginbotham's work is thoroughly grounded in French and

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Spanish manuscript sources located on both sides of the Atlantic. His book reflects their nature (official reports of civil and ecclesiastical officers) and their contents (highly personal, self-serving encomiums and diatribes). A host of minor figures (mostly Canadians) and infant baptisms gain an attention they seldom merit, and the author's style is noticeably (perhaps appropriately) Gallic at times. Intending a local history of "personalities and events," he sticks to "straightforward narrative" which consciously rejects analysis and interpretation-an approach that indeed has its merits, but greater detachment might have sharpened the lineaments of his heroes and the marvel of their sojourn in the wilderness. A concluding word regarding their fate would have been most welcome. Yet all who pursue the subject further will certainly be in Higginbotham's debt and must take pleasure in acknowledging their obligations, for *Old Mobile* is a landmark in Gulf coast historiography that will guide professional investigators as well as casual historical beachcombers for many years to come.

Auburn University

ROBERT R. REA

Correspondence of James K. Polk, Volume IV, 1837-1838. Edited by Herbert Weaver and Wayne Cutler. (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 1977. xxxvi, 692 pp. Preface, chronology, notes, index. \$25.00.)

This volume covers the first two years of the Van Buren administration. Polk and his Democratic friends rejoiced over Van Buren's victory but felt humiliated over the failure of their candidate to carry Tennessee. Their greatest fear was that those who had supported Hugh Lawson White for president would join the Whigs instead of rejoining the Democrats. There was also concern over the economic depression that had settled upon the nation and the tendency of the Whigs and even some Democrats to blame the monetary policies of the Jackson administration for this economic chaos. Further, during the recent campaign the White-Whig groups had controlled the major portion of the Tennessee press, and even the few Democratic papers that had survived were victims of poor management and editorial inefficiency. Democratic recovery depended to a great extent upon

the development of a vigorous press, but where were needed funds and competent editors to be found?

Most of the correspondence in this volume is devoted to attempts to revive the Democratic party, especially in Tennessee. Political friends requested assistance, reported conditions, and offered suggestions, some even going so far as to propose re-establishment of a United States bank. State election results were not encouraging. Polk had no serious opposition in his district, but a number of his friends lost their seats in Congress. The Democratic candidate for governor of Tennessee was decisively defeated, and the opposition took control of the legislature. This

presented a haunting possibility of Tennessee senators being instructed on how to vote for national measures and of Senator Felix Grundy being prematurely defeated for reelection. Still more gloom settled upon Democrats everywhere with news of Whig victories in Van Buren's home state of New York.

Polk and his friends expected much from the special session of Congress called by Van Buren in 1837. They were disappointed. Through correspondence among themselves and the insertion of documents in newspapers Tennessee Democrats called again and again for a continuation of the policies of Andrew Jackson. Polk received numerous invitations to participate in celebrations commemorating Jackson's great victory at New Orleans. He declined most if not all, but he seized the opportunity to praise the Old Hero now in retirement. Again and again he unburdened himself to Jackson and to Andrew Jackson Donelson. They responded with long letters offering suggestions and denouncing the opposition, especially John Bell. But Polk and his Democratic friends could no longer escape realization of the fact that the name of Andrew Jackson had lost most of its political magic.

This volume also contains numerous letters from friends of Polk who as a result of political defeat or economic disaster had left for greener pastures in other states, especially Arkansas and Mississippi. These letters are valuable for their political and economic reports. There are few letters in the volume dealing with national affairs since few were written by Polk himself. He continued as speaker of the House, and he and John Bell continued their political feud. But Polk was already secretly considering an attempt to revive Democratic strength in Tennessee by making the race for governor.

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With the completion of Volume IV Herbert Weaver retired as editor of *The Correspondence of James K. Polk*. His superior performance set a standard of excellence that his successor will find difficult to continue.

Winchester, Tennessee

J. H. PARKS

Jefferson Davis. By Clement Eaton. (New York: The Free Press, 1977. xii, 334 pp. Preface, notes, illustrations, bibliographical note, index. \$12.95.)

Confederate President Jefferson Davis has long been one of the most neglected figures in nineteenth-century American historiography. Despite his prominence in ante bellum southern politics, his outstanding career as secretary of war in the cabinet of Franklin Pierce, and his role as leader of the Confederacy, there has never been an adequate study of his life. Professor Eaton's *Jefferson Davis* does not fill the void. This book is not really a biography. It is instead a history of the nineteenth-century South and the Civil War strung together around a factual sketch of the events in Davis's life. As such it bears some resemblance to Eaton's *History of the Southern Confederacy* and to many of his

justly famous studies of the Old South.

About twenty essays are published in this book on such varied topics as the nature of Negro slavery, Confederate diplomacy, the general course of the war in the Trans-Mississippi, the Confederate governors, and the Confederate homefront. In almost all of these essays Eaton displays the research of a lifetime spent studying southern history, the vast knowledge that he has of the South and its people, and his skill as a writer of prose. In many of the essays, however, the reader all but loses sight of Davis. This is certainly the case in Chapter 19, "Davis and the Trans-Mississippi West," in which Eaton devotes only a few sentences to Davis and spends most of his energies writing an account of the generals who tried to serve the Confederacy west of the Mississippi and the battles they fought.

The essays contain much fascinating material (some of it trivia) and a great deal of it unrelated to the reader's attempt to understand Davis. For example, Eaton notes that on January 9,

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1865, William Gilmore Simms wrote Governor Andrew Magrath of South Carolina requesting exemption from state (not Confederate) military service because he suffered from hemorrhoids and an enlarged testicle (pp. 142-43). While this tidbit may enliven many professorial lectures, it seems to be of only peripheral value in evaluating Davis's career.

Despite all the distractions, Professor Eaton does present the outline of an interesting thesis of Davis's growth under the pressure of war from an extreme advocate of state rights into a Confederate nationalist. Eaton explores, but never really deals with, the personal limitations that rendered Davis incapable of leading other Confederates along the same path.

Professor Eaton asserts (p. 315) that "to a much greater degree than any previous biography" his study is based on manuscript sources. This statement is, no doubt, true, but, while Eaton uses manuscripts, many of the manuscript sources do not relate to Davis. Neither the bibliography nor the footnotes indicate an extensive use of Davis manuscripts or manuscript material in general. Several important collections of Davis papers are not listed in his bibliography.

In summary, this is a disappointing book for a reader who wants to learn about Jefferson Davis; it is a fine, even enthralling, work for one who wants to read a series of essays about the South. Jefferson Davis still awaits a good biography.

Valdosta State College

RICHARD M. MCMURRY

Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction. By James L. Roark. (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1977. xii, 273 pp. Preface, notes, bibliography, index. \$12.95.)

This is a fine book composed in a vigorous, clear, and sophisticated style. This reviewer is happy to be able to express this judgment of the book of a young writer, for he recalls how keenly he suffered from a prejudiced review of his first book by a neo-Confederate. This study begins with a consideration of the response of the planters to the secession crisis. The author

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describes the conflicting feelings of the planters about the security of slavery and the need to preserve the Union by citing from the manuscript papers of the planters. After Fort Sumter, however, they rallied with great unity to the Confederate cause. In the early stage of the war a significant number of planters revealed very conservative ideas, including a surprising skepticism concerning democracy. Their skepticism concerning the loyalty of both the poor whites and of the slaves subsided as the non-slaveholding whites supported the Confederate cause, and the slaves continued peacefully, though lackadaisically, to labor in the fields. Believing their cause just, and being provincial-minded, they were confident that the Confederacy would be victorious, particularly because of the power of King Cotton. In the course of the war, however, they were forced to quit planting cotton and turn to raising food crops, although some of them became smugglers of cotton through the lines. The war revealed that women had unsuspected ability to manage plantations and farms, but never once did the Confederates think of arming the women to fight, as the Israelis later did.

The planters faced insuperable problems in maintaining their way of life. One of their greatest problems was preserving the discipline of work over the slaves without the steady routine of cultivating cotton and with the gradual dissipation of the isolation of the plantation. They succeeded only partially. They discovered the ingratitude of their most trusted slaves with their rapid flight when Federal armies approached. Mr. Roark gives a most interesting insight into the psychology of the planters under the stress of war, illustrating their agonies, doubts, and vacillations by quoting from their papers. Alfred Huger of South Carolina, John Houston Bills of Tennessee, and John Hartwell Cocke of Virginia (the latter changing his humanitarian views to a belief that God designed the blacks to be slaves) furnished striking examples. Some of the planters (the author estimated 3.8 per cent) remained or turned Unionists during the war out of original conviction, expediency, or for profit. Discounting the fact that the Confederate army contained a large number of illiterates, the planters believed that their president and the majority of the army were gentlemen in contrast to the northern army and President Lincoln.

The author maintains that after the war the planters had a

continuity of belief in regard to the blacks, namely that they would not work without slavery or compulsion. The despair of the planters after Appomattox continued for years, but only a relatively few sought refuge in colonization in Mexico and Brazil. One of the most interesting conclusions of the author is that there was a great decay of paternalism during Reconstruction and, I might add, also a decline of honor. This study is based on an impressive collection of planters' papers and on a discriminating use of modern studies. In calling the Civil War a "War for Security," I dissent, for I believe it is too simplistic a term. But I agree with the author in his rejection of Kenneth Stampp's harsh generalization about the planters having a sense of guilt over holding slaves (they were not twentieth-century men).

University of Kentucky

CLEMENT EATON

Blacks and the Populist Revolt: Ballots and Bigotry in the "New South." By Gerald H. Gaither. (University: University of Alabama Press, 1977. xviii, 251 pp. Preface, introduction, illustrations, epilogue, appendix, notes, bibliography, index. \$14.50.)

The relationship of blacks to the Farmers' Alliance and later to the southern Populist party was most paradoxical and complex. Gerald Gaither with skill, understanding, and comprehension traces the various coalitions which attempted to unite the farmers, both black and white, against their elitist enemies, the Bourbon planter-businessmen Democrats. Always, racism among southern whites was an albatross around the necks of the agrarian reformers. The rhetoric of farsighted leaders badly needed to be supported by the activism in the grass roots of the rank and file. This, sadly, was not to be.

The victorious Bourbons not only demolished the southern Republican party during Reconstruction, creating the Solid South, but acquired a number of black voters. Corruption became a way of life in several southern states as black politicians assisted in the delivery of votes. Low wages made the small bribes extremely attractive. Then, too, the Bourbons were no more

willing to allow a fair count in elections against the Populists than they had against the Republicans. Mention of the Sacred Cause and black reconstruction by these regular Democrats served to keep dissatisfied whites from bolting. Appeal by the Populists for black support enabled the Bourbons, who controlled most of the Negro vote, to claim that white supremacy was the only issue. To challenge this shibboleth was tantamount to being a traitor to the region. Yet the Populists were not disloyal to the South; they were true reformers. Their intellectual and ideological foundation combined with religious thought the idea of a social democracy. However, Populist racial attitudes overlapped between economic and political reform and social inequality.

Gaither is obviously an avid researcher. His contention that history can be both objective and scientific might be open to question. Our cultural and historical background is very much with us. Though he claims that he disagrees with many of Vann Woodward's conclusions on Populism, rather than disagreement he expands and examines with considerable depth Woodward's earlier views. Gaither does not hesitate to make bold generalizations, such as Populism helped to further the separate but equal philosophy of Booker T. Washington. In proving this thesis he mentions that Tom Watson, the great Populist leader, regarded the Tuskegee doctrine of thrift and industry as basically sound. Populism, Gaither maintains, "connected the ascetic virtues of the Protestant ethic with the Washingtonian belief in social separation of the races." And Populism, like Washington's Atlanta Compromise, offered biracial reconciliation.

Unfortunately, Florida with the exception of the famous Ocala meeting of the Farmers' Alliance is largely ignored. Like the Populists elsewhere, "Farmer" A. S. Mann and A. P. Baskin bid for the black vote. An effort was made to bring ex-Congressman Josiah T. Walls out of retirement to rally the blacks who were fast losing what little clout remained with them. Still, Gaither's findings are applicable to Florida.

An epilogue ties Populism with contemporary southern politics. Gaither mentions that Alabama blacks have given Governor George Wallace considerable support. He fails to mention the lack of alternatives. He sees as heirs of Populism Wallace the conservative and Jimmy Carter the liberal. Perhaps the recent farmers' strike will provide valuable evidence that

among small southern landholders and farmers, black and white, Populism still touches a popular chord.

In conclusion, Gaither has amassed a considerable amount of statistical evidence to substantiate his interpretations. This is placed separately in an extensive appendix. In addition to these statistical tables and charts, an excellent bibliography is included. His writing style provides a most readable and well-organized text. This volume is a signal contribution to both Populism and southern history.

Auburn University

EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Travail and Triumph: Black Life and Culture in the South Since the Civil War. By Arnold H. Taylor. (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1976. viii, 325 pp. Preface, tables, illustrations, notes, bibliographical essay, index. \$15.95.)

This extremely well written book is a testimony to the strength and resiliency of black Americans. In the fact of white oppression blacks developed a culture and community life which, despite its flaws, enabled them to hold on to such intangibles as courage, hope, patience, and love of freedom. A prominent theme

of the study is that southern blacks have been more than passive victims of an oppressive social order. In the author's words, "black Southerners transformed the travail of living under the imperative of the white South's tragedy into a triumph of the human spirit."

Believing that it was in the South that the "most significant, the most representative, and the most dynamic patterns" of black life have developed, the author concentrates on that region. Within this context he discusses the abortive attempt of blacks to gain full citizenship during Reconstruction, the black economy, social and institutional life, black literature, and the freedom movement. Taylor's determination to focus on the South of necessity creates some problems and leads to some puzzling inclusions and exclusions. Paul Laurence Dunbar of Ohio is discussed at length, apparently because he wrote about the South occasionally, but we learn nothing of black labor unions, northern leadership and newspapers, national politics,

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the Garvey movement, the Niagara movement, and formation of the NAACP because they were northern phenomena. No doubt the task of deciding what is southern black life and culture, as opposed to black life and culture generally, is a monumental one and must be somewhat personal and arbitrary.

This is a work of synthesis rather than original research. No manuscripts or newspapers are cited. Indeed, articles are used only rarely. Most of the author's references are to well-known books. But Taylor has done a marvelous job of synthesizing, and his interpretations are sound. His discussions of the family and class and leadership were especially interesting. *Travail and Triumph* is a readable and useful introduction to black life and culture in the South since the Civil War.

Florida State University

JOE RICHARDSON

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 6: 1901-1902. Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977. xxx, 661 pp. Introduction, symbols and abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index, \$17.50.)

The Booker T. Washington Papers, Volume 7: 1903-1904. Edited by Louis R. Harlan and Raymond W. Smock. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977. xxviii, 574 pp. Introduction, errata, symbols and abbreviations, notes, bibliography, index. \$17.50.)

These volumes of the Booker T. Washington Papers cover four seminal years when the president of Tuskegee became a national force both in politics and Negro leadership. Washington's relationship with President Theodore Roosevelt comprised a dramatic chapter in influence and in national press coverage. Three incidents excited the press, and especially the southern segment. The first was the widely publicized luncheon with

President Roosevelt at the White House. The extremes to which many southern editors went to obscure the truth about this occasion still defies imagination. The same can be said about the appointment of William Demos Crum to be collector of customs at Charleston and that of Effie Cox to be postmistress at

Indianola, Mississippi. Nothing revealed more the paranoia of the southern press at the turn of the century than comments on these incidents. The White House luncheon became a peg on which racially prejudiced editors and politicians hung their ill grace. For the first time these Papers give a dependable documentation of what happened in all three cases.

In a more mature vein these volumes reveal how gingerly Negro leadership had to maneuver to gain any political recognition. Any incident which involved the lowering of racial barriers was almost certain to provoke an angry storm of protest. In this area Booker T. Washington had to keep his hand well obscured, while at the same time he was seeking to advance the civil causes of his race. He was also faced with bitter criticism from much of the Negro leadership itself. The correspondence reveals the eternal challenge of reconciling the dissensions and differences of points of view in this area.

The four years covered by these two volumes was a period of almost furious activity. There was the challenging and successful lecture adventure on the West coast, frequent visitations to the Midwest, the East, and Washington. There was an endless series of lectures, conferences, and writing of essays and editorials, all of which generated a certain amount of criticism and stirred a cacaphony of response. Possibly none of the crusading during this time was as important as the effort to gain recognition for Negro education as part of the drive to advance public education in the South. Despite the fact that the Southern Education Board was comprised of men friendly both to the cause of blacks and to Booker T. Washington there was a strange reluctance to allow Negro educators admission to its councils. Because of this Washington wrote William Henry Baldwin, Jr., in January 1904, that he believed the various educational boards and their leadership were losing "touch with the colored people engaged in education in the South."

These papers constitute a tremendously important panorama of a key segment of American social history in the adolescent years of the twentieth century. Reflected here are many of the rivalries and jealousies among Negro leadership and the sharp divisions which developed over philosophical approaches. Crammed into the interstices are glimpses of unadorned and raw primitive processes by which Tuskegee Institute attempted

to accomplish its broad educational mission. Involved in this

was the effort to feed out into the southern Negro community a sense of the potentialities of the race and of an almost Grundy-like decorum.

These volumes go well along toward documenting not only a cardinal era of black history, but they fill in a rich background of regional and national history. The series comprise a necessary social and political documentation which heretofore has been unavailable. The Papers are made all the more valuable by superb editing and annotation, and by excellent graphic production.

Lexington, Kentucky

THOMAS D. CLARK

The Immoderate Past: The Southern Writer and History. By C. Hugh Holman. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1977. ix, 118 pp. Preface, notes, a note on sources, index. \$7.00.)

Literary criticism in recent years has been hit with an epidemic of little books, the clever titles of which, in contrast to their texts, usually contain all the ingenuity of their authors. The Immoderate Past, though another cleverly titled little book, contains more substance than most such studies, but still has serious flaws stemming from the disparity between its small size and its vast topic.

The purpose of Professor Holman's study is to explore "the southerner's view of the past and time, as opposed to the received standard American view of the present and space." Holman's rather shaky thesis is that southern writers have consistently expressed their "obsession with history" within a Hegelian (history as social process) rather than a Nietzschean (endless repetition of patterns in individual lives) historical perspective. To work out this thesis, Holman attempts to analyze twenty-two historical novels by ten southern authors while also defining, however broadly, the shifting ante bellum view of the relationship of the Revolution to the secessionist controversy, the general social history of the South during and after the Civil War, and the role of history in twentieth-century experimental

southern fiction. Obviously, this is too much for a hundred pages. The book also fails to break significant new ground. Its explanation of the unique heritage of the South outside the mainstream of American history is at least as old as C. Vann Woodward's *The Burden of Southern History* (1960). The less than convincing theory of William Gilmore Simms's changing attitudes has been advanced in numerous other works, notably W. R. Taylor's *Cavalier and Yankee* (1961) and J. L. Wakelyn's *The Politics of a Literary Man* (1973). The discussion of Ellen Glasgow's historical "novel of manners," *The Battle-Ground*, owes more to Glasgow's own critical commentary than to Holman's analysis.

Most analyses of novels in *The Immoderate Past* are too brief to do more than indicate how they fit within Professor Holman's general scheme, and a few discussions, such as those concerning Warren's *All The King's Men* and Faulkner's *Light in August*, overlook significant aspects of the novels which cast doubt on the validity of Holman's historical thesis as it applies to twentieth-century experimental fiction.

Professor Holman's study also contains a number of questionable statements and assumptions which cannot be left unchallenged. Examples of these are, first, that Simms used his Revolutionary War romances as principal tools in his defense of the South and slavery; second, that Faulkner's use of time in his novels is essentially linear; third, that the magnolias-and-white-columns image of the South in postbellum southern writing signified nostalgic longing on the part of the authors, rather than exploitation of a prevalent taste among northern readers. The list could easily go on.

On the positive side, the strongest portion of the book is the passage devoted to the realistic "novel of manners" and to *Ellen Glasgow*. The discussion of Simms and the Revolution, though marred by questionable assumptions, contains several useful insights. The discussion of history in twentieth-century experimental southern fiction is perhaps the least satisfactory portion of the book. Taking a more general view, I find the book on the whole stimulating and thought provoking. Professor Holman has brought to his subject so much thought, research, and critical experience that the book cannot be taken lightly even by those who disagree with it. I have little doubt that readers of *The*

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Immoderate Past will find many useful insights to carry away with them; however, I would caution everyone to use the book with care, to leave no assumption unexamined and no critical judgment unchallenged, for this little book, though provocative, is too limited and flawed to function as anything more than a point from which to begin a study of this interesting, worthwhile, and extremely large topic.

University of Tampa

STEPHEN E. MEATS

In Search of the Silent South: Southern Liberals and the Race Issue. By Morton Sosna. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1977. xvi, 275 pp. Preface, acknowledgments, notes, bibliography, index. \$11.95.)

Morton Sosna's search for the silent South is a useful, yet at times frustrating and confusing odyssey. Its principal value is as an introduction to the thought of several southern liberals in the years 1900-1950. For students of twentieth-century southern race relations, little new information will be found, although the sketches of individual racial liberals are at times informative and reflective. Sosna focuses on four individuals and two organizations in explaining the cross-currents of southern liberal thought

prior to 1954. Included are chapters on writer George Washington Cable, University of North Carolina sociologist Howard Odum, Virginia newspaper editor Virginius Dabney, and Florida-born author Lillian Smith. The organizations examined are the Commission on Interracial Cooperation, which evolved in the 1940s into the Southern Regional Council, and the much shorter-lived Southern Conference for Human Welfare, organized in 1938 and dissolved in 1948. Florida readers will find the chapter on Lillian Smith of considerable interest; indeed, Sosna's evaluation of the author of *Strange Fruit* is, to this reviewer, the high point of the book.

Sosna uses the term "liberal" strictly in a racial context, suggesting that a southern liberal prior to the 1954 Brown decision was a native white Southerner "who perceived a serious maladjustment" in southern race relations. Southern liberals, moreover, worked for, or sympathized with, programs to halt

lynching, black disfranchisement, segregation, and other forms of discrimination. The "ultimate test" of southern racial liberality, Sosna suggests, was a willingness to criticize southern racial mores, and, after 1920, to feel a common bond with the plight of southern blacks. Sosna finds southern liberals to be "an extremely diverse group, whose views on the overriding race issue differed greatly," complicating any effort to define their beliefs. They were, in addition, sensitive to "outside interference," defended their region from northern attack, and felt a regional kinship which was at times both mystical and religious in its dimensions. While Sosna acknowledges the contribution southern liberals made in improving southern race relations, he is continually critical of their willingness both to work within the confines of statutory segregation, and to refuse to denounce racial separation per se. Such timidity, he suggests, hampered their effectiveness as racial issues became more complex in the New Deal and World War II years. Perhaps this is a deserved criticism. Yet one could argue that Sosna's complaint fails to acknowledge fully the power context within which southern liberals had to work. As Gunnar Myrdal wrote in 1944, even the tactics of the Commission on Interracial Cooperation-which seems today little more than a remnant from antiquity-were radical in the South of the nineteen twenties and thirties.

Sosna thus argues that the dilemma which most confounded southern liberals-their unwillingness to confront segregation-stemmed in part from a reluctance to take the risk: "As long as Jim Crow was not threatened, it was relatively easy for white southerners to demonstrate their racial liberalism." One reads such a conclusion skeptically. As Sosna shows, such a "relatively easy" demonstration of southern liberalism in part cost UNC President Frank Graham a seat in the United States Senate in 1950, Aubrey Williams his appointment to head the REA under Franklin Roosevelt, and generated countless difficulties for other southern liberals in the thirties and forties. Their failure to enact significant change in southern racial practices prior to 1954,

Sosna thus attributes, not only to their lack of power, but to their lack of desire to compel social change. His evidence, however, does not yield such a willing conclusion.

The legacy of these liberals, Sosna writes, is not to be found in the changes they brought about, but rather in "their belief

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that the South would eventually resolve the race question in a manner that would surprise Americans outside the region." In other words, their legacy was their belief that a "silent South" of racial fairness did indeed exist, if it could be called forth. While the nurturance of this hope is doubtless a part of the liberals' legacy, the evidence in Sosna's book seems also to suggest that southern liberals tried to do much more than to keep alive a vision of the South's potential goodness.

University of Florida AUGUSTUS M. BURNS, III

Witness in Philadelphia. By Florence Mars and Lynn Eden.
(Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1977. xx,
296 pp. Foreword, preface, notes, illustrations, index. \$10.00.)

This is an extremely interesting and often frightening story of the evolution of race relations in Philadelphia, Mississippi, following the Brown decision of 1954. Florence Mars, a member of an old and respected family in Neshoba County, recounts the collapse of a "very well-ordered and generally uncomplicated" society and the subsequent murder of three civil rights workers (p. 40). As James Silver has noted, Mississippians closed ranks when the civil rights movement threatened the continuation of their segregated society. State and local leaders villified the Brown decision and supporters of the civil rights movement. Mars observes that Philadelphians were especially fearful of the possibility "of Negro men desecrating white women" (p. 53).

The election of Lawrence Rainey as sheriff in 1963 enabled local whites to respond physically to their personal fears. Rainey gave the Ku Klux Klan a free hand and assisted the organization in terrorizing local blacks. The murder of the three civil rights workers seems to have been just another violent act in a steady progression of lawless acts that marked Philadelphia society from 1963 to 1964. Rather than denouncing or attempting to stop this violence, respectable white Philadelphians chose to ignore it. This attitude extended even to the slaying of the civil rights workers. Philadelphians initially denied that the murders had occurred and then refused to admit that there had been any local involvement.

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Mars sees the conviction of the murderers as a turning point for Mississippi in general and Philadelphia in particular. It freed the people from the strait-jacket of racism, she argues, and enabled

the moderates in the community to reestablish control. Since the trial, Mars notes that Philadelphia has desegregated its facilities and restored, to some degree, racial harmony. Ms. Mars offers the reader a thoughtful, balanced account of a southern town that virtually rejected civilization in its dire struggle to retain racial separation. Witness in Philadelphia describes an event in our past that we should not forget and adds a great deal to our understanding of the civil rights era.

University of Florida

DAVID COLBURN

American Forts: Architectural Form and Function. By Willard B. Robinson. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977. xiii, 229 pp. Acknowledgments, introduction, illustrations, notes, glossary, selected bibliography, index. \$15.00.)

In 1970 the Smithsonian Institution published Ray Lewis's brief (145 pages) *Seacoast Fortifications of the United States*. It is a well-documented and discerning survey of harbor defense constructions and their weaponry from 1794 to 1945. Lewis brought to the general reader for the first time an overview of concepts in United States national defense as manifested in fortifications.

American Forts is broader in scope than the earlier work, and architect-author Robinson uses an architectural-engineering approach. His text is an orderly exposition of five parts: (1) evolution of fortification design from ancient times to Vauban's seventeenth-century precepts; (2) colonial fortifications in the great arc from eastern Canada along the Atlantic and Gulf coasts and through Texas to the Pacific; (3) transitional work from about 1763 to 1816, comprising not only frontier defenses and Revolutionary War works, but the so-called First and Second Systems protecting water approaches to major cities of the early republic; (4) the Permanent System of masonry forts, most of which are still on the landscape; and (5) forts or military posts on the changing land frontiers, spanning in time from 1785 (Fort Harmon, Ohio) to 1879 (Fort Assiniboine, Montana). An eight-

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by-ten-inch format nicely accommodates the 119 illustrations which include plans and maps from the archives, rare sketches, paintings and photographs, and the author's location maps.

The book is not a history of individual forts. Rather, it is an explanation of the national defense plans and their implementation by the construction of fortifications-works that were based upon European theory and design, but adapted to the changing needs of the young nation. A recurring theme is that clarity of purpose results in beauty of form. Consequently, some of these American forts, having evolved from precise military principles, rank among the most functional and beautiful constructions pre-dating the twentieth century. Describing design and construction requires exact terminology, the meanings of which are carefully defined in a glossary and schematic diagrams. Robinson cites Fort Pulaski, a National Monument near Savannah, as

"one of the clearest and handsomest expressions of the structural function." Ironically, the siege rifles of 1862 breached the walls of Pulaski within two days to mark the onset of another revolution in defense design: massive reinforced concrete protecting new weaponry such as big disappearing rifles and rapid-fire batteries.

Dr. Robinson has made significant contributions by identifying the role of each fort in the national master plan of defense, and in explaining the tactical functions of the various elements in defense constructions. Inasmuch as it has not been his purpose to write an encyclopedia, there are omissions that may dismay regionalists and specialists. One looks in vain for mention of Charlesfort or its Spanish successor in South Carolina, for Fort Raleigh (North Carolina), or Fort Loudoun (Tennessee). Gunpowder buffs will find little on weaponry. Documentation is somewhat uneven. Although sixteen Florida forts are noted, some of the Seminole War posts failed to make the author's location maps, and so did Fort McRee. On the other hand, Key Westers will rejoice to see Seth Eastman's painting of Fort Taylor on the jacket.

St. Augustine, Florida

ALBERT MANUCY

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A History of Georgia. Edited by Kenneth Coleman. (Athens: The University of Georgia Press, 1977. xvi, 445 pp. Foreword, preface, maps, illustrations, appendixes, bibliography, index. \$12.50.)

Acutely aware of fundamental changes in the life of the people of his native state in recent decades, Governor Jimmy Carter in 1973 commissioned the University of Georgia to produce an up-to-date history of Georgia. The result is a volume remarkable for its breadth and brevity. It not only brings the story down to 1976 but also incorporates into the record the significant results of recent research.

The assignment of covering adequately in a single volume the history of 243 years from the first settlement at Savannah to the election of the first Georgian as president of the United States has been carried out with imagination and skill. Under the editorship of Professor Kenneth Coleman, authority on colonial and Revolutionary Georgia, the span of years was divided into six approximately equal periods, and each one was assigned to a member of the Department of History who is a specialist in the the period to be covered.

Phinizy Spalding, author of Oglethorpe in America, begins the volume with a novel touch: a brief account of Spanish and French attempts at settlement before the English succeeded. He then recounts in perceptive detail the colonial experience down to the Revolution. Coleman next covers the Revolution and the beginnings of statehood, 1775-1820, emphasizing the impact of the hunger for new land in the back country. F. Nash Boney

guides the reader through the complexities of shifting political alignments, 1820-1865. He presents the factors that made Georgia the Empire State of the South, emphasizing the strong Unionist sentiment which persisted even during the Civil War years.

It is the second half of the volume, however, which introduces most of the new material and reflects the impact of recent interpretation. In narrating the events of the shortest period, 1865-1890, Charles Wynes presents Reconstruction from a revisionist point of view and outlines clearly the techniques utilized by the Bourbon oligarchy to dominate the Democratic party. Assigned the longest period, 1890-1940, William F. Holmes makes a major contribution in a hitherto neglected era. His depiction of the

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Populist Crusade and the Progressive Era against the backdrop of Tom Watson is full and perceptive. His chapter on civil rights is particularly useful and confirms Vann Woodward's thesis on legal segregation. In bringing the story from 1940 to the present Numan Bartley ploughs new ground. His chapter on race relations and his analysis of the impact of "one-man-one-vote" on Georgia politics are provocative interpretations presented in lively style.

One of the most impressive aspects of the study is the broad coverage. Although the political story serves as the basis for chronology and is adequately presented, each author includes much useful new material on such topics as economic development, transportation, education, religion, and other social and cultural factors. Contributions of Indians, blacks, and women are at last given recognition. Of unusual value is the large number of maps and charts which depict demographic changes, military campaigns, transportation lines, Indian grants, and other basic data. There are also numerous pictures which add to the attractiveness of the book. The lengthy critical bibliography which includes periodical articles and unpublished dissertations is a major contribution in itself.

Striving for the ideal one might wish for a two-volume coverage, for a more uniformly elegant literary style, for more comparisons to give perspective, or for more efforts to interpret the character or soul of the Georgia people. Realistically, however, the authors have carried out their assignment with remarkable and commendable success. Their work has unity and breadth. It is well organized and written in a clear, straightforward style.

This volume is no filiopietistic apology. It recounts Georgia's past "warts and all." At the same time the authors are not iconoclasts. They have presented the materials with an objectivity worthy of the best tradition of historical scholarship. Georgians now have a record of their past which provides the basis for a keener perspective and a deeper appreciation of their roots. They may read with shame or pride, or with some of each, but certainly with a new understanding. The book deserves a wide reading.

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BOOK NOTES

Tourists and travelers began writing about Florida almost as soon as the first explorers and colonizers moved into the area. The accounts of Fontaneda, Cabeza de Vaca, those who came with Hernando de Soto, and Laudonniere have provided valuable information about the Indians, vegetation and wildlife, and the geography of early La Florida. As more people arrived and settlement began, more written accounts appeared. One nineteenth-century traveler who provided important data about Florida was Daniel G. Brinton. This Philadelphia physician and scientist spent the winter of 1856-57 in the state, and subsequently published two books about Florida. The second of these, *A Guide-Book of Florida and the South*, appeared in 1869. Long out of print, it has now been republished as one of the volumes in the *Bicentennial Floridiana Facsimile Series* by the University Presses of Florida in cooperation with the Florida Bicentennial Commission. William M. Goza of Clearwater and Madison edited this volume. He has written an Introduction which includes both an evaluation of the book and a biographical study of Brinton. There are also indexes to the book and to Goza's Introduction. It sells for \$9.00.

Tales of Old Hollywood, by Don Cuddy, is the result of an oral history project which he began some time ago. Old-timers were interviewed, and their tales, anecdotes, and memories provide the basis for this volume. Joseph W. Young began the development of Hollywood in the early 1920s, and many of the stories contained in Cuddy's book pertain to him and his associates. The Florida Boom, the hurricane of 1926, the Depression era, Florida Seminoles, and Prohibition are some of the topics covered in this book. *Tales of Old Hollywood* may be ordered from Spectator Books, 145 North Main Street, Decatur, Illinois 62523; the price is \$6.95.

Clearwater, "A Sparkling City" is by Roy Cadwell, a former Canadian who has been a long-time winter resident in the area. Mr. Cadwell gathered his information by examining old records

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and documents and by interviewing many "locals" and visitors who could remember "the old days." There are a number of illustrations. The book was published by T. S. Denison and Company of Minneapolis. It may be orderd from the author at 1109 North Betty Lane, Clearwater, Florida 33515. The price is \$7.95.

Aviation's Earliest Years in Jacksonville, 1878-1935 is by John

P. Ingle, Jr. There is a foreword by Laurie Yonge, one of Florida's pioneer airmen. Mr. Ingle's story begins in 1878 when a Jacksonville paper reported the sighting of a balloon floating over the city. Charles K. Hamilton, in the spring in 1906, took aloft a bamboo and silk biplane, a tow-glider that "flew" by means of a tow line tied to a moving automobile. Robert Kloepfel, later a prominent hotel owner, and D. D. Wells designed and built the first plane in Jacksonville. It was twenty-three feet long with a forty-foot wing span, and it was propelled by a Franklin automobile engine. Mr. Ingle has included numerous photographs in his book which was published for the Jacksonville Historical Society by Eastern Airlines. The proceeds go to the Society. Aviation's Earliest Years in Jacksonville sells for \$3.00, and it may be ordered from the Society, Box 6222, Jacksonville, Florida 32205.

History of Banking in Florida, 1964-1975, by John W. Budina, Jr., is a supplement to the earlier studies by J. E. Dovell published in 1955 and 1964. Many important banking changes have occurred in the United States and in Florida since the mid-1960s. Professor Budina describes these changes in his book, and shows the impact they have had on Florida's economy. Florida's gross state product increased annually by 11.7 per cent in the period 1963-1974. This was much larger than the national average of eight per cent. Per capita personal income also increased at an average of four per cent annually in Florida, after eliminating the effects of inflation. The recession of 1973-1975 threatened this sound economy, but Budina notes that most Florida banks weathered the crisis and had begun to recover satisfactorily by the end of 1975. There are a number of charts and tables, and a section describing some of the major banking personalities in

Florida. Order from the Florida Banker's Association, Box 6847, Orlando, Florida 32803. The price is \$15.

Surf, Sand & Post Card Sunset is the history of Pass-A-Grille and the surrounding Gulf beaches. It was written by Frank T. Hurley, Jr. He gathered his data by examining old records and memorabilia including scrapbooks, newspapers, and photographs. He also talked to old-timers in the area, and he recounts many of their anecdotes and stories. There are a number of photographs and a short bibliography. The book may be ordered from Mr. Hurley, Box 46768, Pass-A-Grille Beach, Florida 33741. The price is \$4.95.

Marjory Stoneman Douglas's *The Everglades, River of Grass*, first published in 1947, has come to be regarded as a Florida classic. Its author is recognized as one of Florida's leading writers and conservationists. In this revised edition of her book, Mrs. Douglas notes the changes that have taken place in the Everglades during the last thirty years and the many threats that have imperiled its existence. Mrs. Douglas has been in the front ranks of those who seek to conserve this great national treasure. Published by Banyan Books, Inc., P.O. Box 431160, Miami, Florida 33143,

The Everglades, River of Grass sells for \$12.50.

Several of Zora Neale Hurston's books are set in Eatonville, Florida, the all-black town near Orlando which was her birthplace. These include two of her four novels. One of these is *Their Eyes Were Watching God*, which first appeared in 1937. The University of Illinois Press has reprinted it as a paperback with a foreword by Sherley Anne Williams which contains biographical information on Ms. Hurston. The price is \$3.95.

Yo Solo: The Battle Journal of Bernardo de Galvez During the American Revolution was translated with an epilogue by E. A. Montemayor. Dr. Eric Beerman, in his introduction, describes Galvez's military operations in West Florida and the lower Mississippi Valley after 1779 when Spain and France signed an alliance. The campaign resulted in Galvez's capture of Manchac, Mobile, and finally Pensacola on May 9, 1781. At the close of the American Revolution England relinquished her claim to Florida,

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and the territory was retroceded to Spain. An equestrian statue of Bernardo de Galvez, Spain's Bicentennial gift to the United States, was dedicated in Washington in 1976. The message of King Juan Carlos I, which was delivered at that time, is also included in this volume, along with a proclamation by President Ford. Published by Polyanthos, Inc., P.O. Drawer 51359, New Orleans, the book sells for \$20.

Georgia is a beautiful volume. The photography is by James Valentine and the text by Charles Wharton. The photographs reveal the great variety of geography in Georgia, ranging from the beaches of the Sea Islands and along the coast to the mountains in the northwestern part of the state. One picture shows the snow along the Chattooga River near the "Rock" that marks the corner of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia. Georgia is the largest of the states east of the Mississippi and the book does full justice to its beauty. James Valentine produced an earlier volume, *Guale, The Golden Coast of Georgia*, and has been commissioned to document the natural resources of Georgia. Charles Wharton is professor of biology at Georgia State University in Atlanta. *Georgia* sells for \$27.50, and it may be ordered from Graphic Arts Center Publishing Company, 2000 Northwest Wilson, Portland, Oregon 97209.

The Colonial Records of the State of Georgia, Volume 27, covers the years 1754 through 1756, mainly the period of Governor John Reynolds's administration. The twenty-five volumes of Georgia's colonial records, published between 1904 and 1916, have provided a valuable source for research in the colonial period. The Georgia Commission for the National Bicentennial Celebration is now sponsoring the publication of the remaining records. Kenneth Coleman and Milton Ready are editing the new series which is being published by the University of Georgia Press, Athens. The price for Volume 27 is \$15.

Two members of the famed Beecher family of Massachusetts played an important role in Florida history. Harriet Beecher Stowe, author of Uncle Tom's Cabin, owned an orange grove along the St. Johns River near Jacksonville. Later she and her family built a cottage at Mandarin on the south side of the river.

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Mrs. Stowe wrote articles about Florida, and her husband was pastor of the church. Her brother, Charles Beecher, was the state school superintendent during Reconstruction and lived in Tallahassee. Together with the other members of the family, they are the subjects of the book by Marie Caskey, *Chariot of Fire: Religion and the Beecher Family*. Published by Yale University Press, it sells for \$25.00.

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1979 Annual Meeting

Arva Moore Parks, 1006 S. Greenway Drive, Coral Gables, Florida 33134, and Dr. John Hebron Moore, Department of History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida 32306, are program chairpersons for the seventy-seventh meeting of the Florida Historical Society to be held in West Palm Beach, May 4-5, 1979. They invite anyone interested in reading a paper to contact them immediately. Papers dealing with any aspect of Florida political, economic, social, intellectual, and military history will be considered.

The West Palm Beach Holiday Inn has been selected as the convention hotel. Dr. Jerry Weeks, Palm Beach College, and Judge James Knott are in charge of local arrangements. The Florida Confederation of Historical Societies will be holding a workshop in West Palm Beach on Thursday, May 3, 1979, at the time of the annual meeting.

Awards

The Rembert W. Patrick Memorial Book Award went to Dr. Eugene Lyon for his *The Enterprise of Florida* which was published by the University Presses of Florida. It is a study of Pedro Menendez de Aviles and the Spanish Conquest of Florida, 1565-1568. Dr. Lyon, an authority on the first Spanish period in Florida, is presently in Spain, acquiring material from the archives there for the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida. His writings have appeared in many scholarly publications, including the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. The judges for the Patrick Award were Dr. Dorothy Dodd, former Florida State Librarian, Tallahassee; Dr. Peter Klingman, Daytona Beach Community College; and Dr. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., Florida State University. The award memorializes Professor Patrick, who served as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

and as secretary of the Florida Historical Society. He was professor of history and chairman of the Department of History,

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University of Florida, and later graduate research professor at the University of Georgia.

The Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize for 1977-1978 was given to Dr. Robert P. Ingalls, professor of history, University of South Florida, for his article, "The Tampa Flogging Case, Urban Vigilantism," which appeared in the July 1977, number of the Florida Historical Quarterly. The judges for the Thompson Prize, which is given annually for the best article in the Quarterly, were James Ward, Jacksonville Florida Times-Union; Dr. Louis Perez, Jr., University of South Florida; and Dr. Lucius Ellsworth, University of West Florida. The award honors the late Dr. Arthur W. Thompson, professor of history at the University of Florida, who was a recognized scholar in Florida, Southern, and American history. The prize was made possible by an endowment established by Mrs. Arthur W. Thompson of Gainesville.

The Charlton W. Tebeau Junior Book Award honors Dr. Tebeau, professor emeritus, University of Miami, and former president of the Florida Historical Society. The award goes annually to the author of the best book published on a Florida subject for young adult readers. The award for 1977 was given posthumously to George Walton for his *Fearless & Free: The Seminole Indian War, 1835-1842*, which was published by the Bobbs-Merrill Company. Colonel Walton, the author of several books on military history, was living in Cedar Key at the time of his death. Mrs. Walton accepted the award in his behalf. The judges for the prize were Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville; Dr. Overton C. Ganong, South Carolina Museum Commission, Columbia; and Henry B. Watson, Daytona Beach.

Wentworth Foundation Grant

The trustees of the Wentworth Foundation, Inc., presented a check for \$1,000 to the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting in Pensacola. This is the sixth successive year that the Foundation has made a gift to the Society and directed that it be used for the Florida Historical Quarterly. The gifts from the Wentworth Foundation have enabled the Quarterly to use

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additional graphic material. The late Fillmore Wentworth of Clearwater established the foundation to help educate worthy young people and to support philanthropic and educational activities. There are a number of Wentworth Scholars studying at the University of Florida, The Florida State University, and other Florida universities and community colleges. The Founda-

tion has made grants to the Florida Anthropological Society, the Florida State Museum, and it has established a revolving publication fund for the Florida Historical Society.

Announcements and Activities

J. Mills Thornton III is the winner of the 1977 Jules F. Landry Award, a \$1,000 prize given annually for the best manuscript in southern history, literature, or biography submitted to the Louisiana State University Press. His book, *Politics and Power in a Slave Society: Alabama, 1800-1860*, is an analysis of the forces that underlaid and motivated ante-bellum Alabama politics and society. The 1978 Jules F. Landry Award was received by Louis D. Rubin for his book, *The Wary Fugitives, Four Poets and the South*. In his study, Rubin explores the works of John Crowe Ransome, Allen Tate, Donald Davidson, and Robert Penn Warren.

Dr. J. Paul Hartman, Florida Technological University, is continuing his search for examples of industrial and engineering works within the state of Florida. Of interest are bridges, industrial buildings (abandoned or still in use), industrial equipment (or ruins), and other examples of typical or unique industrial or engineering works which might be placed on an inventory. Individuals knowing of any items that might be of interest should contact Dr. Hartman at the College of Engineering, FTU, Orlando, Florida, 32816.

The Georgia Study Symposium, a multi-disciplinary gathering interested in the people and culture of Georgia, will meet at Georgia State University, Atlanta, February 1979. The program committee invites proposals for sessions. For information, write Harvey H. Jackson, Department of Social Sciences, Clayton, Junior College, Morrow, Georgia, 30260.

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The Peace River Valley Historical Society presented its 1978 Florida History Award to Richard M. Livingston, editor and publisher of *South Florida Pioneers*. For many years, Mr. Livingston, of Fort Ogden, Florida, has been actively engaged in genealogical research of families and individuals in the Peace River Valley area. The presentation was made at a banquet held in May 1978.

A copy of *Cemeteries of Leon County, Fla.; Rural White Cemeteries; Tombstone Inscriptions and Epitaphs*, compiled and edited by Joy Smith Paisley of Tallahassee has been presented to the the Florida Historical Society Library. It was published by the Dominie Ederardus Bogardus Chapter, Colonial Dames XVII Century, Tallahassee, to commemorate the Bicentennial. Copies were deposited in research libraries throughout Florida and the Southeast.

Dr. William T. Alderson, former director of the American Association for State and Local History, has been named director

of the Museum Studies Program and William Watson Harrington Distinguished Lecturer of History at the University of Delaware. The Association for which Dr. Alderson served as director since 1964, is the major publisher in this country of technical material on the administration of historical organizations and museums. It has gained national recognition for its program of seminars and workshops for the training of paid and volunteer staff members and for the many audiovisual training units on historic sites conservation and museum practices which it has created. It has also developed independent study courses for professionals. One of AASH's major undertakings in the recent past has been the creation of a fifty-one book series on "The States and the Nation," a Bicentennial project scheduled for completion this year.

The Oral History Association has begun an advisory service to assist individuals, institutions, foundations, and groups beginning an oral history program or for those desiring help in assessing the progress of an on-going project. The advisory program is organized by the Association's Committee on Evaluation to explore new ways to help the growing number of oral history

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programs started each year and to develop higher standards for all oral history activity. A number of experienced oral history practitioners from all parts of the country, representing many kinds of programs, will serve as advisors. While no charge is made for the services, requesting groups will pay all expenses (travel, food, lodging, and any other legitimate expense) of the evaluation. After an on-the-spot consultation with the contracting person or group, the advisor will send a confidential report to the requesting agency and to the chairman of the Oral History Association's evaluation committee for permanent filing. Inquiries should be addressed to the Oral History Association's Evaluation Service, North Texas State University, Box 13734, NT Station, Denton, Texas 76203.

William G. Dayton of Dade City has written A History of the San Antonio Area which is available on request. The Bank of Pasco County published the material on the occasion of the opening of its San Antonio branch. Anyone desiring a copy should send a stamped return envelope to the San Antonio Branch, Bank of Pasco County, San Antonio, Florida 33576.

U.S. Army Military History Institute, Carlisle Barracks, Pennsylvania 17013, is sponsoring an advanced research program in military history. Awards will be made to cover expenses while conducting research and writing at the facility. Recipients will be designated Advanced Research Project Associates. Applicants must submit an information form describing the subject, scope, and character of their projects; time estimated for residence at MHI; how the Institute's facilities, personnel, and materials will aid in their research projects; and a budget. Forms can be obtained from the Institute. Applications are due by January 1, 1979.

The Orange County Historical Society recently received a Walt Disney World Community Service Award for its civic community services program. It was recognized for its programs which stimulate interest in local history and preserve Orange County's heritage, and its educational work with elementary school children and teachers. The award included a trophy and check for \$1,000.

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The Louisiana Historical Association has awarded the General L. Kemper Williams Prize for the best book published on Louisiana History in 1977 to Jay Higginbotham for his *Old Mobile: Fort Louis de la Louisiane, 1702-1711*. This book is being reviewed in the current issue of the Florida Historical Quarterly by Robert R. Rea of Auburn University.

The Zora Neale Hurston Fellowship Award has been established at the University of Florida by the Friends of Anthropology in the Department of Anthropology in cooperation with the University of Florida Foundation. The Fellowship will recognize Zora Neale Hurston, who was trained as an anthropologist and folklorist at Columbia University, and who is recognized as one of Florida's most eminent writers. Her papers are in Special Collections, University of Florida, and in the James Weldon Johnson Collection, Bienecke Library, Yale University. Miss Hurston was born in the black community of Eatonville, Florida, and her autobiography, *Dust Tracks on a Road*, describe her early life there. The Fellowship will go annually to an outstanding black American for graduate study in anthropology. Individuals, groups, or foundations who wish to make donations may send their contribution to the Hurston Fund, University of Florida Foundation, Gainesville. Contributions are tax-deductible.

The Department of History, University of South Florida, is establishing a new historical journal entitled *Tampa Bay History*. It is designed to promote the study and understanding of the history of the communities that constitute the Greater Tampa Bay area. The journal will be published semi-annually, and will include articles, oral history interviews, historical documents, genealogy, bibliography, book reviews, and announcements. Historical societies and educational institutions are invited to join in this enterprise as institutional affiliates. This involves each organization making a commitment to take out a charter institutional subscription to *Tampa Bay History* at the tentative annual rate of \$10.00. For information write Louis A. Perez, Jr., Department of History, University of South Florida, Tampa, Florida 33620.

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The Florida State Museum, University of Florida, is launching a state-wide project to locate, record, and preserve all known

dugout canoes and associated wooden objects which have been exposed along Florida's lake and river shores during the drought of 1977. With the summer rains beginning to raise the levels of all these waterways, it is necessary to act quickly. Fishermen, hikers, hunters, bird watchers, nature lovers, and others who know where such artifacts are located are asked to notify the Dugout Canoe Project, Florida State Museum, Department of Social Sciences, Gainesville, Florida 32611 (904-392-1721). If the canoe is waterlogged, do not allow it to dry out. Drying prior to laboratory preservation techniques usually results in extensive, non-reversible warping and cracking. Do not try to remove it yourself; waterlogged canoes are very heavy, awkward, and fragile.

Contributions for this work are being solicited. Checks should be written payable to the University of Florida Wooden Artifact Project Fund. Mail to the Division of Sponsored Research, 223 Grinter Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida 32611.

The Pensacola Home and Savings Association has published *The 14th Colony: British West Florida, 1763-1781* in its series as part of Florida's bicentennial celebration. All of the pamphlets were written and produced for the Pensacola Home and Savings Association by the John Appleyard Agency, consultants to the Association.

The Honorable Joseph John Jova, president of Meridian House International and former United States Ambassador to Mexico and the Organization of American States, presented a specially commissioned high-relief sculpture of the Battle of Pensacola to the City of Pensacola on June 8, 1978. Mayor Warren M. Briggs accepted the art piece, a facsimile of the original bronze executed by the prominent Mexican sculptor Gabriel Ponzonelli. The ceremony took place in the new General Chappie James Judicial Building in downtown Pensacola, where the sculpture will be permanently installed. Mrs. Rosalyn Carter sent a message in honor of the occasion. Based on an eighteenth-century Spanish engraving, the art piece depicts General Bernardo de Galvez, Spanish governor of Louisiana, and Francisco

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de Miranda, Venezuelan patriot, leading the Spanish forces which defeated the British at Pensacola in 1781, thus obtaining control of the strategic Gulf of Mexico and the Mississippi River basin. The original sculpture was commissioned by the U.S.-Mexico Bicentennial Committee and Ambassador Jova. It is permanently located near the statue of George Washington in Chapultepec Park in Mexico City.

OBITUARIES

Alfred Jackson Hanna

Dr. Alfred Jackson Hanna, historian and vice president emeritus of Rollins College, died in March 1978 at his home in Winter

Park. Dr. Hanna, who graduated from Rollins in 1917, served the college for more than sixty years and was the author of many books on Florida, southern history, and Latin America. Among his best known-works are *Lake Okeechobee, Wellspring of the Everglades* (with Kathryn Abbey Hanna); *Florida's Golden Sands* (with Kathryn Abbey Hanna); *Flight Into Oblivion* (concerning the Confederate cabinet at the end of the Civil War); *A Prince In Their Midst, The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier*; *The St. Johns* (with James Branch Cabell); and *Napoleon III and Mexico* (his last completed work Dr. Hanna played a very active role in the affairs of the Florida Historical Society, serving on the Board of Directors from 1927 until 1936. He was a frequent contributor to the Florida Historical Quarterly.

Carita Doggett Corse

Mrs. Carita Doggett Corse, Florida author and former director of the Federal Writers' Project in this state, died in May 1978 in Jacksonville. She was the author of several articles which have appeared in the Florida Historical Quarterly. Her books include *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony*, *Supplementary History of Florida*, *Key to the Golden Islands*, and *Florida, Empire of the Sun*. Mrs. Corse, a graduate of Vassar College and Columbia University, had long been active in the Florida Historical Society and in efforts to promote and preserve the history of Florida and of the Jacksonville area. Mrs. Corse was honored by the Florida Historical Society at its annual meeting in May 1978 for her many contributions.

GREAT EXPECTATIONS.

- 1978
- Sept. 19-23
- Oct. 3-6
- Oct. 5-6
- Oct. 11-15
- Oct. 19-22
- Nov. 8-11
- Nov. 15-18
- Nov. 17-19
- Dec. 28-30

American Association
for State and Local
History Annual Meeting
Society of
American Archivists

Annual Meeting
Gulf Coast History and
Humanities Conference
National Trust for
Historic Preservation
Annual Meeting
Oral History Association
Annual Workshop
and Colloquium
Southern Historical
Association
Annual Meeting
Society for the History
of Discoveries
Annual Meeting
Southern Jewish
Historical Society
Annual Meeting
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