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**The
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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BOTANICAL EXPLORERS OF THE SOUTH-EASTERN UNITED STATES

by H. HAROLD HUME

The southeastern United States, and in particular the part now embraced within the state of Florida, is an unusual area from the standpoint of its plant life. Here nature with a lavish hand scattered far and wide an unrivaled flora. It has no counterpart either in the United States or in the whole world. The number of species is great and individual specimens of the higher plants so numerous that in the pristine condition they completely covered the surface of the soil on all but the poorest lands. In support of this statement it may be added that there are known to be more than 3,500 flowering plants (3,512 are listed in Small's Manual) and there are 314 trees, all native to Florida alone. By way of further emphasis, attention is called to 8 pines, 5 magnolias, 27 oaks, 15 hollies and 17 sunflowers native in Florida.

Why this great variety of plant life? In brief, the presence of such a variety of plants is due to geographical location, present climatic conditions, topography, water and land relations, and those climatic and geological factors that affected plant distribution in ages past. We may divide the plants now native in this great region roughly into three groups: (1) those with extended distribution northward, which we may designate as northern plants, (2) tropical plants, and (3) plants peculiar to the region,— that is, not native elsewhere. In this area are found some of the most useful, some of the most beautiful, and some of the most interesting plants to be found anywhere on the earth.

NOTE: This paper was in part read by Dr. Hume in St. Augustine before the last annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society.

Is it any wonder, then, that the southeast section of the United States almost from the time of its first settlement attracted the attention of many who for various reasons were interested in plants and plant products? Such was the case, and into this region there came a number of plant explorers searching out the plant life of the region and making it available for various uses in other parts of the world. Botanists and plant explorers came notably from the northern United States and from Ireland, Scotland, England and France. For the most part those who came from foreign lands selected Charleston, South Carolina, as the center of their operations, because even at an early date Charleston was a good port, a gateway of ingress and egress for the whole area. Through summer heat and winter cold, through storm and flood, through fair weather and foul they traversed the land, gathering its plant treasures to cure the sick, to add to economic wealth, to grace the gardens of distant lands, and to increase the knowledge of botanical science. Through their efforts, knowledge of the plants of our state and of the adjoining southeastern area was built up and today we are their debtors. In all, the study of plants of the southeastern United States carried on through exploration extends back over a period of more than two centuries.

Who were these men? As already stated, they came from various places and for the most part returned whence they came. A few stayed on and lived out their lives in the land they explored. In three noteworthy cases fathers were accompanied by their sons and some of these sons continued their fathers' work after they had laid it aside. Listed chronologically with the date of their first coming into the southeast, the more important of these men were: Mark Catesby (1722); John

Ellis (1764); John Bartram (1760, 1762) and his son William (1765); Thomas Walter (settled in South Carolina in early life. Date perhaps (1760†); John Fraser and his son John (1780); Andre Michaux and his son Francois Andre (1785); Alvan Wentworth Chapman (1831); Hardy Bryan Croom (1834); John K. Small (1891).

Sketchy biographical details are uninteresting and perhaps the more so since they must in this instance cover the lives of peaceful men in one of the ordinary pursuits of life, but they are all that space will allow. Seldom are monuments erected to the memory of those who have blazed a trail into unknown fields of scientific knowledge. History records the lives of statesmen, of warriors; it records the details of tremendous battles where thousands died, but history has taken little note of painstaking endeavor, of long years of diligent research in scientific fields. There is nothing spectacular about the goings and comings of such men. They have not caught the public fancy. They have made neither news nor history in the usual sense of those two words, but it is to such men that we owe our present day knowledge of the plants of this southeastern area of which Florida is a part.

Here then, are a few notes on the lives and work of some of those who made botanical explorations in the southeastern United States. The list is by no means complete, and it is not intended to be. The names of Alexander Garden (1730-1791), Stephen Elliott (1771-1830), Charles T. Mohr (1824-1901), Abram P. Garber (1838-1881), Charles S. Sargent (1841-1927) and Allen H. Curtis (1845-1907) for instance might well be added, but it is left for some one else to fill in the omissions.

MARK CATESBY

Born Sudbury, England, 1679

Died London, England, Dec. 23, 1749

Mark Catesby, before entering actively upon his botanical explorations or studies, had lived in Virginia for seven years. No doubt it was during this period of contact with the plants of that section that his interest was aroused. He came to Charleston, South Carolina, in 1722, at the age of forty-three, and gave his time to collecting plants, illustrating and writing about them. The results of his work were published in eleven numbers beginning in 1730 and ending in 1748 just prior to his death. These publications were under the title "Natural History of Carolina, Florida and the Bahama Islands," a magnificent work. He was interested in animals as well as plants and with each plate of plants he illustrated an animal. His plate of *Zephyranthes atamasco*, for instance, was accompanied by a picture of our native quail or bobwhite. The illustrations throughout were beautifully executed. Several plants have been named for him,— one of the most interesting being *Lilium Catesbaei* named by Walter. It is the only true lily native in the peninsular part of Florida.

JOHN ELLIS

Born Dublin, Ireland, 1710

Died London, England, Oct. 15, 1776

John Ellis, the Irishman, became a wealthy merchant in London and in 1764 was appointed King's Agent for West Florida, an office that was extended for him to include Dominica in 1770. His first botanical interest was in fungi and in marine algae, although he also collected flowering plants and sent specimens and seeds in large numbers to England.

JOHN BARTRAM

Born Marple, Pa., March 23, 1699

Died Kingsessing, Pa., Sept. 22, 1777.

Of all those who came into this region, John Bartram perhaps has attracted wider attention than any of the others. Essentially he was a plant explorer. His interest in plants began in early years and he devoted a large part of his lifetime to studying, collecting, and disseminating them. His explorations extended over a large part of the eastern United States from New York to Florida. His first excursion into the southeast took him as far as Charleston in 1760 and he was again in South Carolina in 1762. His excursion into Florida started from Philadelphia July 1, 1765. He arrived at Charleston, South Carolina, July 7, 1765, and remained in the area until April 10, 1766, when he set sail for his home in Pennsylvania. His explorations in Florida were for the most part confined to the St. Johns river, its lakes and its vicinity. He explored the river to its source in the region west of Titusville. He visited St. Augustine and left the state by boat from that city for Charleston instead of returning northward by land. On this exploration he was accompanied by his son William. Over a period of many years John Bartram sent plants and seeds in large numbers to England and he was responsible for the introduction of many American plants into the gardens of Europe. His principal correspondent in England was Peter Collinson. He established a botanic garden at Philadelphia, the first in America, and to this sent seeds and living plants gathered on his journeys. Much interest has been attached to one of his findings, a beautiful flowering tree for which his son William proposed the name *Franklinia Altamaha* in honor of Benjamin Franklin. This was found

in Georgia in the vicinity of Fort Barrington in 1765. He sent a specimen or specimens to his botanic garden where it was established. All plants of this species now growing in America or elsewhere trace back to Bartram's garden as it has never been found in the wild since William Bartram last saw it.

WILLIAM BARTRAM

Born Kingsessing, Pa., Feb. 9, 1739

Died Kingsessing, Pa., July 22, 1823

As already stated, William Bartram accompanied his father on his expedition that extended down into Florida. He was so pleased with the beauty of Florida's plants and the Florida landscapes, of which plants are so large a part, that he prevailed upon his father to establish him as an indigo planter on the St. Johns river in 1766. This proved to be an ill-advised venture and a dismal failure. He returned to his home in Pennsylvania within a year. In April of 1773 he embarked upon his own explorations in the southeast and continued them until 1778. Part of his travels covered about the same territory that he had journeyed over in company with his father in 1765-66, but he extended his journey through western Florida and as far west as the Mississippi river. Hence, it will be noted that his travels in the southeast and south, in part with his father and later alone, took place within the period 1765-1778 and that he was actually in the field for a period of about six years. He published (Philadelphia, 1791) an account of his explorations in a volume that has attracted extended attention both in time and printed space. It is commonly referred to as "Bartram's Travels" but actually it bears the title "Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, the Cherokee Country, the Extensive Ter-

ritories of the Muscogulges, or Creek Confederacy, Soil and Natural Productions of these Regions, together with Observations on the Manners of the Indians." It was reprinted in England and Ireland and was translated into German, Dutch and French. There is a recent reprint in the United States dated 1928 and two other books on Bartram's travels and his writings have appeared recently— "William Bartram, Interpreter of the American Landscape" by H. B. Fagin, 1933; and "John and William Bartram, Botanists and Explorers, 1699-1823" by Ernest Earnest, 1940. Another, Bartram's report to his London patron, annotated by Francis Harper, is now in press.

In his "Travels" Bartram listed and described many plants of the regions he traversed, estimated their values and recorded their habitats. The work is a botanical contribution of real merit in addition to its great human appeal. From the very beginning it was appreciated and it will be appreciated through the years to come.

THOMAS WALTER

Birth date (uncertain) 1740 (?)

Died St. Johns parish, S. C., Jan. 18, 1789

The exact date of Walter's birth is uncertain but probably it was 1740. At any rate he came to South Carolina and spent the remainder of his life there. His classic botany, "Flora Caroliniana", attests his ability as a botanical student and writer. He established a botanical garden at his home in St. Johns parish, South Carolina, and was buried there.

In the British Museum I saw a herbarium prepared by Walter, the plants beautifully mounted in a large bound volume. It is sincerely hoped that this treasure has not been destroyed in the reckless and fiendish bombings of London.

JOHN FRASER

Born Tomachloich, Scotland, 1750

Died Chelsea, England, April 26, 1811

From Scotland, John Fraser came to America from time to time. He was in Newfoundland during the American Revolution and afterwards in our area. He explored as far south as Cuba and was accompanied by his son John from 1799 to 1810. After his death his son took up his plant work in the southeastern states. He was of great assistance to Walter in the preparation of the "Flora Caroliniana."

ANDRÉ MICHAUX

Born Satory, France, March 7, 1746

Died Madagascar island, Nov. 13, 1802

Of all those plantsmen who came into the southeastern region André Michaux was the one who covered the greatest amount of American territory. He came to collect plants for the King of France, and his explorations extended from Hudson bay down to Florida as far south as Lake Munroe, and from the Atlantic ocean to the Mississippi river. His well-kept diary attests his careful scrutiny and accurate observations on the plants of our area. Unfortunately, a large portion of it was lost so only a part has been published. He arrived in New York on October 1, 1785, and sailed from Charleston for France on August 13, 1796. His plant explorations in the southeast began in 1787. In America he established two gardens, one across the river from New York city in New Jersey and the other in Charleston. These gardens were used in preparing plants for shipment to France. He is credited with having brought several plants into the gardens of the southeastern states, among them the sweet-scented *Olea fragrans*, the Persian pomegranate

and the tallow tree. *Flora Boreali Americana* is his contribution to an understanding of American botany. Shortly after his return to France, he embarked upon another exploration and in far-away Madagascar died of a fever.

FRANCOIS ANDRÉ MICHAUX

Born Versailles, France, Aug. 16, 1770

Died Seine-et-Oise, France, Oct. 23, 1855

André Michaux had as his companion his son, Francois André, who after the death of his father carried on his plant explorations. He, too, was a tireless traveller under what were, at the time, most difficult conditions. He was in America from 1785 to 1790, and again from 1801 to 1803 when he made his headquarters in Charleston and traveled in South Carolina, Kentucky and Tennessee. Trees were his main interest and he published extensively about them. After his return to France in 1809 he gave the principal part of his time to the culture of American trees.

ALVAN WENTWORTH CHAPMAN

Born Southampton, Mass., Sept. 28, 1809

Died Apalachicola, Fla., April 6, 1899

Dr. Alvan Wentworth Chapman must be regarded as our own botanist because he lived and worked in Florida for so many years. He was graduated from Amherst in 1830; taught in a private family, 1831-1833; became principal of an academy at Washington, Georgia, in 1833, and remained there until 1835. He studied medicine, moved to Quincy, Florida, in 1835 and began his medical practice. In 1837 he moved to Marianna where he lived for a short time, returned to Quincy, and finally located in Apalachicola in 1847 where he continued the practice of medicine until his death in 1899. Chapman's "Flora of the Southern United States,"

dated 1860, published in New York City, was, for more than forty years, our manual of the plants of this region. Though dated in 1860, Doctor Chapman did not see a copy of his work until after the War Between the States was over, and it was due to the interest of Dr. Asa Gray that the plates from which the work was printed were preserved during that troublous period. This manual ran through three editions, the second being issued in 1883. The main portion of this volume was the same as the first but new plants were added in a supplement and later a second supplement was added. This second edition with two supplements is comparatively rare and perhaps is the most prized of the three. The third edition was issued in 1896, three years before his death in 1899. Doctor Chapman added many new species to the list of Florida plants, among which may be mentioned, in passing, *Zephyranthes Simpsonii*, *Viburnum densiflorum*, *Asdropogon maritius* and *Salvia Blodgettii*. The whole number is very considerable. A genus of mosses, *Chapmannia*, was named for him. Doctor Chapman was a contemporary of Dr. Asa Gray and Dr. John Torrey. He carried on a wide correspondence with botanists both in America and in Europe, and many interesting stories are told of his life and work. Some of these were brought together by Miss Winifred Kimball and published by Dr. John K. Small in the *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden*. From these the following items have been gathered.

He was an unusual and interesting character. He stood over six feet, erect, dignified and handsome, hard and stern, with a strong profile and snow-white hair. In his late years he became very deaf, which affliction he said was not entirely detrimental because, "if I can't hear people's groans they won't send for me". He admitted that except

for easing a soul into or out of the world he had done his best practice with hot baths and bread pills. He strongly believed in fresh air and sunshine.

Dr. Chapman was an ardent Union man and his wife was a southerner from New Berne, North Carolina. About the war they could not agree, so they separated for its duration and she went to live in Marianna, and they did not see each other for four years, though he heard from her once. When I visited the little graveyard in Apalachicola to photograph his tomb, I found at the foot of the grave two little Confederate flags. Miss Kimball, who accompanied me and who had known the doctor intimately for many years, said, "I believe he would turn over in his grave if he knew those flags were there." Because he favored the Union his life was constantly in danger, and whenever the guerillas overran the town they raided his drug store. Then he would betake himself to Trinity Episcopal church and hide there until they left. There were cushions in his pew for as he said, "If I must hide, I decided I might as well be comfortable." Doctor Gray, America's most famous botanist, came to Florida to visit Chapman, who had been writing him about a new rhododendron he had found. The two went out to where it grew. Kneeling beside it, Doctor Gray examined it carefully, then rising and extending his hand, said, "You are right, I never saw this species. I congratulate you on *Rhododendron Chapmanii*". And so it was named for Chapman.

He was an associate of Dr. John Gorrie, our pioneer in refrigeration. When asked how much Gorrie made from his invention, Chapman replied, "Relatively nothing. He was no business man, was Gorrie. If he had been he never would have invented artificial ice."

Dr. Chapman's modest monument in the little cemetery in Apalachicola bears this inscription:

Alvan Wentworth Chapman
1809-1899
The Eminent Botanist
Whose Writings and Researches
On the Flora of the South Met
With Distinguished Recognition
At Home and Abroad.

HARDY BRYAN CROOM
Born Lenoir county, N. C., Oct. 8, 1797
Died near Cape Hatteras, Oct. 9, 1837

Among the early students of southern plants whom we may distinctly claim as Florida botanists was Hardy Bryan Croom, who studied the flora of the western portion of the state. He was born in North Carolina in 1797 and moved to Quincy, Florida, in 1830. Though he had studied law he never practiced it, for botany was his first love. He lost his life in a steamship wreck in 1837, but during the seven years prior to that time he studied Florida plant life assiduously and has handed down to us through his communications in the American Journal of Science and Arts much valuable information covering the region in Florida where he lived.

He it was who found and described that interesting pitcher plant, *Sarracenia Drummondii*; and he it was who first found and brought to the attention of botanists that rare and unusual tree, *Torreya taxifolia*, which was named for Dr. John Torrey, an associate of Dr. Asa Gray. There still stands on the grounds of the state capitol in Tallahassee an old, wide-spreading specimen of *Torreya taxifolia*, said to have been planted by Croom— a living monument to his deep interest in Florida plant life.

Croom's untimely death prevented the carrying out of his plan to explore the entire state of Florida

with Doctor Chapman. A shaft bearing a beautiful inscription has been raised to his memory in Saint Johns Episcopal churchyard at Tallahassee, which described Hardy Bryan Croom as "Amiable without weakness; learned without arrogance; wealthy without ostentation; benevolent without parade."

JOHN KUNKEL SMALL

Born Harrisburg, Pa., Jan. 31, 1869

Died New York city, Jan. 21, 1938

Dr. Small's first contact with the southern states was in 1891 when he made a trip into North Carolina. He came on his first journey to Florida in 1901. Until his death his interest in the floristics of Florida never ceased, and he made one trip or more every year up to the time of his last illness. He brought to his studies of the plant life of Florida a trained mind, fixity of purpose, and great physical stamina. No journey by land or bog or water was too difficult, and hardships challenged his powers. About his journeys and the plants he found he wrote more than ninety papers and his was the rare gift of taking his readers with him on his travels. He was a field botanist but he was equally at home with dry herbarium specimens.

In 1903 his "Flora of the Southeastern States" was published, a great volume of 1370 pages followed by a second edition in 1913. These volumes he revised completely and in 1933 brought out his "Manual of the Southeastern Flora." This contains 1,554 pages and deals with 5,500 different kinds of plants. As a result of his explorations and his studies, knowledge of the plants of this our area has been advanced more than it could ever be except through the lapse of many years. He found a limited scattered knowledge; he expanded it, added to it greatly, and made all of it usable. Those

who knew him as I did through many years appreciate his ability, his integrity and his devotion to botanical science. To him we are indebted beyond all others.

These then, are some of the men who have made possible our present-day knowledge of the plant life of the southeast. They have been the explorers who have opened up a great field of botanical knowledge and broadened our scientific horizon in that field.

THE GIBRALTAR OF THE GULF OF MEXICO¹

by ALBERT MANUCY

A hundred years ago the United States was suffering frequent growing pains. The Louisiana and Florida cessions had uncorked the Mississippi, and the hardy pioneers of its valley were floating tons of produce down-river to New Orleans. From that growing port Yankee merchantman, flying Dutchman, and British brig edged out into the Gulf Stream and headed for the narrow mouth of the Gulf where they swept through the Straits past Tortugas with the Havannah to starboard, and the two scarce thirty leagues apart.

It was Ponce de León who first found the Tortugas islands.² Waterless and barren, uninhabited save for thousands of birds and the great turtles that gave the keys their name, the Tortugas gained an unsavory if hazy reputation as a pirate nest, a tradition substantiated somewhat by the later discovery of buried silver on East Key and long guns of brass and iron on the reef.³ Nor was this tip of the Florida archipelago entirely secured to the United States until Porter and his mosquito boats finally drove the pirates from the region, a good three centuries after León's discovery. The

1. The author makes grateful acknowledgment to Mrs. Mary Sweeting Lowe, Enrique Esquinaldo, Jr., Dexter Waldo Woods, and Harper L. Garrett. Their studies furnished much of the material for this narrative. It is regretted that wartime economy permits the inclusion of essential documentation only. However, comprehensive references are available in National Park Service files. Correspondence regarding them should be addressed to the Coordinating Superintendent, Southeastern National Monuments, St. Augustine, Florida.
2. The most accessible account of the discovery is in T. F. Davis, "History of Juan Ponce de León's Voyage to Florida", *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIV, 1.
3. J. B. Holder, "The Dry Tortugas", *Harper's Magazine*, July 1868, p. 260.

lighthouse built in 1825 on Garden Key, the central isle of Tortugas, was a significant mark of progress – tangible recognition of the importance of the isolated group to the commerce of an expanding nation.

Jackson was president when the Navy strategists marked their maps with black flags to show British bases in the West Indian area and began to call Tortugas the “Key to the Mexican Gulf,” the logical spot for the bottom link in the chain of coastal forts from Maine to the Mississippi. Lt. Josiah Tattnell, who in 1829 surveyed the keys in the U. S. sloop *Florida*, wrote strong words: “A naval force, designed to control the navigation of the Gulf, could desire no better position than . . . the Tortugas . . . And there can be do doubt that an adversary, in possession of large naval means [*i. e.*, Great Britain], would, with great advantage, make these harbors his habitual resort . . . [But] defence of these harbors would . . . transfer to our own squadron, even should it be inferior, these most valuable positions; and it would afford a point of refuge to our navy and our commerce at the very spot where it would be most necessary and useful.”⁴

In other words, it was a dog-in-the-manger proposition. The U. S. had to fortify to keep the islands out of enemy hands, for this location was ideal for an aggressor who wanted to cut the lifeline between the Mississippi and the Atlantic seaboard. Ironically enough, during the great blockade of the Confederacy, Tortugas was useful to the Union for just that reason.

The fortification at Tortugas was to be more than a defense for a strategic harbor. It was, wrote Gen. Winfield Scott, “wholly national, being of far

4. *Report of the House Committee on Military Affairs*, 28 Cong. 1 sess., v. II, Report 407, pp. 1-19.

greater value even to the most distant parts of the Atlantic coast and to the people on the upper waters of the upper Missouri, Mississippi, and Ohio rivers than to the State of Florida."⁵ Moreover the fort was to be a partial answer to problems recognized by the Monroe Doctrine. United States citizens looked with mixed feelings toward the boiling pot of Latin-American independence. "The unsettled condition of the governments of the former [Spanish] provinces on the Gulf of Mexico," wrote the Secretary of the Navy, "requires that our trade in the interior of that gulf should be protected by a suitable naval force."⁶

And free Texas, increasingly impatient with United States scruples against annexation, was negotiating with European Powers for recognition and protection. Paradoxically enough, even the Far West entered the strategical picture, for the dream of a Central American railway, soon to be realized, showed the Gulf to be an important link in communication with the Oregon Territory.

When James Polk was elected president, the die was cast for expansion. Events moved rapidly. In the election month of 1844, Capt. J. G. Barnard made a reconnaissance of fortification sites on the Florida reef. On February 18, 1845, Congress voted for the annexation of Texas. On March 3 the Territory of Florida became a state and in July Florida's legislature cleared the way for transfer of strategic lands to the Federal government. Before the year was out a board of survey definitely selected Tortugas as a fortification site and on September 17, 1845, President Polk by executive order made the Tortugas a military reservation.

5. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies during the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1883-1902), Series I, v. 1, p. 112.

6. *Pensacola Gazette*, Apr. 2, 1842.

Maj. Hartman Bache completed a topographical survey early in 1846— the year of the Mexican War.⁷

To hold the tiny islands of Tortugas, the War Department conceived an American Gibraltar. Under the supervision of the Army's Chief Engineer Joseph G. Totten, young Lt. Montgomery C. Meigs drew the plans for a mighty six-sided fort, three tiers high.⁸ It was to be a super-fortification of 250 guns, manned by a wartime garrison of 1,500 men. Through the gun rooms of one tier alone would be a half mile stroll. And for thirty years the engineers, the slaves, the Irish laborers and the craftsmen worked to materialize this dream of another Gibraltar.

The start was made in December 1846 when a second lieutenant of the U. S. Engineer Corps reached the eight islands.⁹ Garden Key, proposed site of the fort, was barely three feet above sea level, a rough oval about three hundred yards long covered with mangrove and buttonwood. There was a stagnant pond in the middle. The lighthouse stood near the shore. Key West, the nearest civilization, lay almost seventy miles eastward. True, it was a "naval depot," but it was hardly more than a little fishing village whose daring wreckers already had a reputation.

That the beginning of a great fortification should be entrusted to a young officer hardly out of West Point may seem peculiar, but Horatio Gouverneur

7. Barnard to Engineer Dept., Nov 14, 1844; J. B. McCrellis, *Military Reservations, National Military Parks, and National Cemeteries. Title and Jurisdiction* (Washington, 1898) pp. 25-26; Executive Order, Sept. 17, 1845; Welcker to Dutton, Feb. 2, 1846 (in the Key West Barracks Records of Fort Jefferson, hereafter cited as KW).

8. "Projected Fort for Garden Kay [*sic*], Tortugas", June 9, 1846 (U. S. Engineer Dept., Washington, Drawer 74, Sheet 2).

9. Fort Jefferson Quarterly Returns, 1846, voucher 60 (KW).

Wright was no ordinary young man.¹⁰ Besides, most of the ranking officers were busy at the moment fighting the Mexicans.

Wright brought two Yankees like himself in his schooner. Jeremiah Peabody knocked a shelter together while Wright and George Phillips, the mason laid out sites for temporary buildings to house the work gangs and materials. Meantime, in New Hampshire a firm was actually prefabricating these structures and was to bring out the sawed lumber and put everything up inside of sixty days. It sounded easy, but a good year went by before Wright had his wooden shacks.¹¹

The first permanent work began in the fall of 1847 when a score of slaves started digging the foundations for the three-storied officers' quarters, where were to be living quarters and office space for the Engineer.¹² Two years later in February Wright began construction of the moat wall, which for this great marine fort served the double purpose of protecting the main walls against the pounding of the sea, and enclosing a deep, unfordable ditch that discouraged assault.¹³

The year 1850 was an eventful one. It marked the advent of a nameless fever. A storm drove away the fever— and damaged the work. And on

10. Wright is perhaps best remembered for his heroic defense of Washington, when in 1864 the Confederates made a daring attempt to take the Capital. On this occasion, in spite of Gen. Wright's repeated remonstrances, President Lincoln exposed himself to enemy fire by standing on the parapet of Fort Stevens to watch the Confederate attack. Only after a surgeon by his side was wounded did the President take cover.
11. Monthly Report of Operations, Dec. 1846 (KW); Annual Report of Operations, 1847 (KW); Vennard to Wright, Nov. 3, 1847 (KW).
12. Monthly Reports of Operations, 1847.
13. *Id.*, 1849; Wright to Totten, July 27, 1848 (Engineer Office files, Washington, W794. Hereafter only call letters in this archive will be cited).

November 4, 1850, the "Fort at Garden Kay" [*sic*] was formally named for Thomas Jefferson.¹⁴

Early next spring the first concrete was poured for the foundations of the main walls.¹⁵ It was slow and difficult work. Virtually all foundations were five feet below water, and Engineer Corps knowledge of submarine construction was frankly in the experimental stage. Wright used a cofferdam, with windmill- and steam-powered pumps to remove the water from his foundation ditch. Immense amounts of materials were required to lay the foundation—fourteen feet wide and two feet thick.¹⁶ Fortunately there was plenty of sand and coral debris on nearby islands for the mortar.

Slaves were the backbone of the labor gang, sweating in the broiling sun, sloshing in the tepid water, digging the foundations for the ponderous walls, dumping barrow after barrow of mortar into the forms. There were usually a good two dozen or more of them at the Fort, hired to the Government by their Key West owners. The first Negroes arrived May 26, 1847. That first summer, seven slipped aboard a schooner and disappeared into the Gulf, only to be picked up a few days later by a passing vessel and returned to Key West. But most of the colored contingent seemed fairly contented. From time to time they were on "furlough" to Key West, or were gratified with "delicacies" sent them by their masters. An occasional hiding took care of petty thievery and such. Originally Wright contracted to pay the owners \$20 per month per slave and furnish rations, shelter and medical care, but the increas-

14. Whitehurst to Wright, Aug. 23 and Sept. 9, 1850 (KW); General Order No. 38, Nov. 4, 1850.

15. Monthly Reports of Operations, 1851.

16. [Totten] to Fraser, [draft], [c. May 1846] (KW); Totten to Wright, Mar. 22, 1849 (KW); Wright to Totten, Apr. 5, 1849 (W840).

ingly delicate question of using slave labor on Government work was compromised after 1855 with establishment of a basic pay of \$1.12 a day with rations and lodging for both white and colored labor. In the case of the slaves, however, the wage money was still paid to the masters. Wealthy James Filor of Key West, who had seventeen chattels at the work in 1859, received as much as \$478 a month in wages earned by his "boys." The influential Senator S. R. Mallory also had slaves employed at Fort Jefferson.

Good white labor was scarce. Practically all the skilled workmen and the laborers were northerners (many of them Irish) and in the enervating tropical climate it took two men to do the work of one. Nor was there anything to attract good workers ; not even high wages. Above the laborer's pay, wages ranged from \$1.50 and \$2 for skilled workmen to \$3 a day for master workmen. The men toiled ten hours a day, six days a week.¹⁷ Between times there was little to do except fish, gig crawfish, or hunt the big turtles by moonlight. True, some of the officers and men became interested in the wildlife around them, and many friends up north were delighted with tropical gifts that might include the purple sea fan or several delicately hued seashells.

Wright early had trouble with the fishermen and wreckers, many of whom he described as lawless and immoral characters who flouted his authority. A minor problem was the sale of liquor by these unwelcome visitors to men on' the job. Wright's major concern, however, was with establishment of a quarantine, since fishing smacks constantly

17. Wright to Totten, June 1 (W717) and July 21 (W726); Whitehurst to Wright, July 12, 1847 (KW); Moreno to Woodbury, Feb. 25, 1858 (KW); Quarterly Return, May 1859, and Time Rolls (KW).

made trips to Havana or other ports where yellow fever prevailed.¹⁸ Materials were hard to get. Most Gulf freighters were too busy handling cotton to risk carrying brick to Jefferson and then sailing light to the next cargo port, hundreds of miles away. Dozens of vessels suffered in the vicious seas approaching the fort— four were lost in the first few years. A great deal of the purchasing was done through the New York agency of the Engineer Department though the Engineer at the fort handled many matters himself. Early in 1847 Wright was buying lumber, iron and other supplies in Mobile. The first contract with a southern brickyard was not placed until 1853, but from that year until the Civil War, companies in Pensacola, Mobile, New Orleans, Charleston and Savannah pressed millions of bricks for both Fort Jefferson and the fortifications at Key West. Southern brick was preferable not only on account of its larger size, but because it withstood the climate better than the northern product first obtained. Of all the companies, Bacon and Abercrombie of Pensacola proved to be the mainstay. Good bricks could be had elsewhere, but only from this firm were the engineers able to get a sufficient supply at stated intervals— at the reasonable cost delivered of \$21 per thousand. Cement came from New York; granite was shipped all the way from New England quarries.¹⁹

Ten years went by— it was 1856— and the fort walls barely showed above the harbor waters.²⁰ Nevertheless, yeoman work had been done, the foundations were laid. Wright's successor had but to finish the fifty-foot walls and build the hundreds of

18. Wright to Totten, Apr. 23, 1847 (W704).

19. See the Annual and Monthly Reports of Operations; the Material and Accounts Payable Books (KW); and numerous letters (KW).

20. Annual Report of Operations, 1856.

gunrooms – a staggering assignment of extremely complicated brickmasonry. To do it, the Engineer Corps picked another Yankee, Capt. Daniel Phineas Woodbury of New Hampshire.

Tropical isolation had no great appeal for Dan Woodbury. But he was an authority on arch construction (one of his monographs was then due for publication) and Gen. Totten kept him on the Tortugas station until the major part of the masonry work was finished.²¹ To faithful George Phillips, chief overseer and master mason, must likewise go much of the credit for the superb brick arches in the giant fortification.

It was during Woodbury's administration that Louis Agassiz came to Fort Jefferson. "It almost repays us for our long banishment," wrote Capt. Woodbury, "to see and hear so much from the first naturalist of the time . . ." ²² Certainly Agassiz left a lasting impression upon the inhabitants, for the records of the Smithsonian Institution show that thenceforward many choice specimens of bird life came to the museum from the builders at Tortugas.²³

On the eve of the Civil War, the fort was nearly half finished. A million and a quarter dollars had been spent. Woodbury said it would take that much again to finish the job.²⁴

But though they did not yet fully realize it, the engineers had lost their battle. The fort was beginning to sink under the weight of each new brick that the masons put on. The island was literally slipping from beneath the gigantic mass of masonry.

21. *Id.*, 1856-1860; Thayer to Woodbury, June 12, 1856 (KW).

22. Woodbury to Hunt, Mar. 19, 1858 (KW).

23. P. Bartsch, "Bird Rookeries of the Tortugas", *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution*, 1917 (Washington, 1919).

24. Statements showing the condition of the work, June 30 and Sept. 30, 1860 (KW); "Estimate of the Cost of Completing the Fort Proper from July 1, 1859" (KW).

Ominous cracks appeared in the walls. Wright had early made subsidence tests. He built a table carrying a load of brick theoretically equivalent to twice the weight of the completed wall. The table went down only 9/16 of an inch. As actual construction got under way, Wright's search for the elusive "bedrock" led him to the wondering conclusion that the Washington engineers had planned to build this fort on sand! The Department made adjustments in foundation design, but saw no cause for alarm. It was not until certain foundations sank three inches within six months that definitive subsoil experiments were made. They revealed no solid rock within 80 feet of sea level.²⁵ What the engineers had thought to be a coral island was nothing more than a heap of shell and coral sand, cast up by powerful ocean currents. There was no way to stop the fort from sinking into the sea. Moreover, in a year or so artillerymen were to prove at Port Pulaski that 8-foot brick walls were obsolete as a defense against the new rifled cannon.

Still, the work went on.

Capt. Montgomery Meigs, the very man who had drawn the plans for the fort, was detailed to the fort in 1860. His trip to Tortugas took him overland through many of the southern states. "The temper of the South is excited— is dangerous," he wrote to Gen. Scott. Fort Jefferson had, he continued, "not a single gun, and I doubt whether among the seventy or eighty persons, white & black, employed or permitted on the island half a dozen fowling pieces could be found."²⁶ Scott saw the danger. "There is . . . not a soldier in Fort Jefferson to resist a handfull of filibusters or a

25. Annual Reports of Operations, 1851, 1853, 1855, 1859; Holgate to McFarland, May 3, 1864, Letterbook 1862-1880 (KW).

25. Meigs to Scott, Nov. 10, 1860 (M3765).

rowboat of pirates, and the Gulf," he predicted, "will swarm with such nuisances."²⁷

With the fighting words of the South ringing in his ears, Meigs hastily closed the gaps in the walls left by workmen for bringing in materials, built a drawbridge for the sally port, and transformed the sprawling mass of unfinished masonry into a citadel. But it was a citadel without guns. And every day the rumors that Florida forces were coming to seize the defenseless fort came closer to reality. Good reason there was to fear an early attempt on the fort. Several successful seizures of coastal fortifications were reported, and the *U.S.S. Wyandotte*, in dry dock at Pensacola, had likewise fallen into Confederate hands.

One January day in 1861, a sheriff sailed into the harbor. He brought news Meigs feared: Florida had seceded from the Union. At the fort, there were 30 men who would stand for the Union in case of attack. Meigs sent a smack boiling to Fort Taylor at Key West for cannon.²⁸

Next morning, January 19, 1861, a big steamer hove to off the reef. She showed no colors. Watching her small boat coming into the harbor, Capt. Meigs fully expected a summons from the Confederates. Instead came word that the transport brought Maj. L. G. Arnold of the U. S. Army and 66 artillerymen all the way from Boston harbor. And there were guns. Meigs heaved a sigh of relief. "The work is now secure to the United States," he wrote fervently, "and I trust that its flag once raised upon these walls will never again be lowered."²⁹

Every fort has a traditional story, and the tale about the Confederate privateer has probably been

27. *Official Records*, *loc. cit.*

28. *Id.*, Series I, v. 52, pt. 1, pp. 2-3, 5.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

told for more than one seacoast defense. The "Little General", as Maj. Arnold was called, speedily began mounting his guns. One afternoon, as he was anxiously supervising the working of his very first carriage, an armed privateer appeared off the fort and a message came ashore demanding the surrender of the fort to the State of Florida. While the courier waited outside, the officer of the guard brought the note to Arnold. The peppery Little General rushed to a gun port. "Tell your captain," he roared at the startled messenger, "I will blow his ship out of the water if he is not gone from here in ten minutes!" The bluff worked. The schooner was soon blending with the horizon.³⁰

Correspondence at the outset of the civil conflict shows the great value which Federal officers attached to Fort Jefferson. Even Col. Harvey Brown, who during the spring of 1861 stopped at Fort Jefferson to augment his forces on the way to reinforce Fort Pickens at Pensacola, was instructed to be "careful not to reduce too much the means of the fortresses in the Florida Reef, as they are deemed of greater importance than even Fort Pickens . . ." ³¹ And Brown himself cautioned Maj. Arnold: "The importance of Fort Jefferson can hardly be overestimated . . . Your fort may not improperly be considered the Gibraltar of America . . ." ³²

Dozens of big guns and plenty of reinforcement came to the fort. It was manned by over 1,000 men in 1862 (though the average wartime garrison was only about 500).³³ There were 68 guns at Jefferson when the bombardment of Sumter began; when Apomattox came, the fort mounted 89 pieces; 15 in

30. J. H. Shinn, *Fort Jefferson and Its Commander* (Governor's Island, 1910), pp. 19-20.

31. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 1, p. 366.

32. *Ibid.*, p. 377.

33. *Id.*, Series I, v. 34, pt. 4, p. 277; Brown to Finley, Apr. 1, 1862, Letterbook 1858-1865 (KW).

barbette atop the fort, 8 in the second tier, and 66 in the lower tier. Some of the ordnance soon became useless, however. The Columbiad barbettes in the bastions, for example, were on wooden platforms that soon rotted. One day the gunners tried one. It capsized at the third fire.³⁴

Construction continued. During the war Garden Key became a Devil's Island as men and more men came to Fort Jefferson. One garrison after another was relieved after a few months' service; there were Regulars, Zouaves, Volunteers and Colored Troops—there were men from New Hampshire and New York and Pennsylvania, infantry, artillery, bandsmen, doctors and engineers. And there were the prisoners. The commandant was hard put to find quarters for the 1,400 people who crowded the fortification at the peak of wartime activity. The shack outside the fort was jammed with workmen.³⁵ Prisoners and soldiers alike, shutting out the weather with rough lumber, slept in unfinished gun rooms. Building barracks and quarters was pushed as rapidly as possible with a few bricks that could be had. Maine ran out of them in 1863.

Much of the fort was finished during the war years. By the end of 1862, most, if not all the walls were up to the full height of 50 feet. At the base, these massive bulwarks were 10 feet thick, tapering to an 8-foot breadth a few feet above the foundation. Yellow, handmade bricks, pressed and hard-burned, were used to face the outside. And behind the main walls were the heavy bombproof arches of the gunrooms, supported on huge piers in which drains were fashioned to carry rainwater

34. *Official Records*, Series I, v. 1, p. 377; Annual Report of Operations, 1864; Monthly Reports of Operations, May, June 1865; Frost to Delafield, July 31, 1865, Letterbook 1862-1880.

35. See especially Letterbooks, 1858-1865, 1862-1880; Prisoners' Roll Book (KW); and Daily Report Books (KW).

from the roof of the fort down into the cisterns under the gunrooms.

By 1863 several magazines and a hot shot furnace were done. The barbette magazines on the top of the fort were basically finished late the next year. On the parade inside the fort, construction of soldiers' barracks and completion of the officers' quarters were commenced in 1863 and were well along at the end of the war.³⁶ In that same fateful year of 1865 the engineers conceded their failure: the Department ordered a halt in construction of the second tier.³⁷ To this day the unfinished embrasures gape darkly in the yellow walls.

Slaves were used at the fort until they were freed in 1863, and the Northern troops fraternized with the Negroes and put new ideas into impressionable minds. Mingo took the Yankee doctrine to heart. With the New Hampshire boys at his back, he was saucy to the overseer. Poor Mingo was at once clapped into an empty powder magazine— an excellent dungeon. A few days later, when the overseer was taking Mingo his meal, the officer of the guard and several of his detail rushed to the scene. Their side arms bristled and there were shouts of "Lock him up! Put him in and see how *he* likes it!"³⁸ The overseer simply complained to the commandant. Mingo stayed in the dungeon— until he saw the light.

Prisoners eventually replaced the slaves and even most of the paid white labor. The first contingent, 33 of them, came in September 1861. And as the war dragged on the fort became notorious as a military prison— "the terrible Dry Tortugas." In 1864 President Lincoln increased the prison roster by

36. Monthly Reports of Operations, 1862-1866; Annual Reports of Operations, 1863-1866.

37. McFarland to McAlester, Jan. 31, 1865, Letterbook 1862-1880.

38. Phillips to McFarland, May 28, 1862 (KW); also Pearsall to McFarland, same date (KW).

mitigating the death sentences of deserters to "imprisonment at the Dry Tortugas."³⁹

One of the unfortunates was "Fat Charley." Charley's colonel at Bull Run ordered him to retreat. So he had retreated to Vermont, where, finding that the regiment had not followed, he sat down to await further orders.

It was Charley who conceived the idea of converting the shallow, unfinished moat into an aquarium. Food turtles were kept there, so why not other specimens? He got a 10-foot "man-eating" shark over the wall, and next he proposed to put on a feeding show. The soldiers watched with excitement. Would the shark turn belly up to seize his food? Snaring one of the sundry cats on the island, Fat Charley hurled this tempting morsel into the water before the nose of the "man-eater." The shark turned tail in great fright. Pussy bravely swam the length of the moat, clutched a rope let down from a prison window above, and with three cheers from the onlookers, she was hauled up to find refuge among deserters and bounty-jumpers.

The shark, named "Provost Marshal" by the soldiers, lived for about two months and was said to have "inspired with a wholesome terror many of the inmates of this great prison."⁴⁰

Most of the convicts were put under the engineers at hard labor tasks such as digging the moat, and naturally, many of them were more trouble than they were worth. Unloading a freighter, they sabotaged thousands of the precious bricks; assigned to a job, they slipped away and even on little Garden Key managed to keep out of sight; a lot of them did not even report for work.⁴¹

39. General Order no. 76, Feb. 26, 1864; Time Roll Book 1859-1861 (KW).

40. Holder, *op. cit.*, p. 262.

41. See especially Letterbook 1862-1880, pp. 322-323.

It was on July 24, 1865, that the young country doctor from Maryland stepped onto the wharf in front of the fort.⁴² Dr. Samuel A. Mudd was the physician who treated John Booth's leg, fractured when that assassin leaped from Lincoln's box at Ford's theatre. Booth was disguised when he found the doctor's home on that eventful night, and Mudd, ignorant of the tragedy, gave him shelter for a few hours until he again resumed his flight. Dr. Mudd was charged with knowledge of the conspiracy, convicted and sentenced to life imprisonment at hard labor. With him on the wharf at Tortugas were Michael O'Loughlin, Samuel Arnold and Edward Spangler. Others of the alleged conspirators were hanged.

Escape from this isolated Tortugas prison, miles from civilization, would seem impossible but in fact prison breaks were not uncommon. Mudd told his wife he had passed up several chances to get away, because, he thought, flight would amount to a confession of guilt.

Then came the Negro troops of the 82nd Infantry. Mudd found it unbearable to be prisoner to what he called "unbleached humanity", so one September day he walked out of the fort and into the hold of the U. S. transport *Thomas A. Scott*, where he hid under some loose planks. The soldiers found him within ten minutes, escorted him to the guardhouse, and locked irons on his hands and feet. He was doomed to stay in irons for months, and whenever a ship was docked, he went back to the "dungeon". He lost the job of hospital steward and was put to cleaning old brick. "I worked hard all day," he recorded with wry humor, "and came very near finishing one brick."⁴³

42. N. Mudd (ed.), *The Life of Dr. Samuel A. Mudd* (N. Y. and Washington, 1906), p. 115.

43. *Id.*, p. 121; also see pp. 113 ff., 127-129.

A young sailor named Henry Kelly had helped to hide the doctor, and he too was put in irons. "The Major," Kelly is said to have boasted, "is a fool if he thinks he can keep me here." Somehow he got free of his shackles and broke out the barred barrier to freedom. It was an easy matter for this escape artist to steal a small boat and vanish into the Gulf. With Kelly went a thief named "Smith". Together the two men were bold enough to rob the post sutler of money, clothing and supplies for their contemplated voyage. Their flight was an example for another brazen escape a fortnight later, when at high noon three convicts took a boat from under the very eyes of the guard. The fugitives were three leagues from the fort before the loss was discovered. Then the observation was made that it was useless to pursue!⁴⁴

Not all attempts, however, were so successful. A "very hard case" named J. W. Adare once slipped through a gun embrasure, crossed the moat and, accompanied by a Negro prisoner, swam a plank across three miles of shark-infested water to Loggerhead Key, where he stole a lighthouse boat and sailed to Cuba. At Havana, being short of funds, Adare endeavored to sell his companion into slavery. The Negro, naturally enough, failed to see the justice of such a negotiation, and his loud complaints returned both of them to Tortugas. Again Adare aspired to a freer field. In spite of ball and chain he navigated his plank a second time to Loggerhead. This time a corporal's guard brought him back.⁴⁵

At the outset of 1866 Mudd painted an unusually depressing word picture of prisoner conditions. "I

44. *Ibid.*

45. "Thirty Months at the Dry Tortugas", *The Galaxy Miscellany* [Magazine], Feb. 1869, pp. 286-287. This source will be cited hereafter as *Galaxy*.

am beginning," he wrote, "to realize the saying of the Psalmist— 'I have grown old in my youth,' etc. Imagine one loaded down with heavy chains, locked up in a wet, damp room, twelve hours out of every twenty-four during working days, and all day on Sundays and holidays. No exercise allowed except in the limited space of a small room, and with irons on. The atmosphere we breathe is highly impregnated with sulphuric hydrogen gas . . . highly injurious to health as well as disagreeable. The gas is generated by the numerous sinks that empty into that portion of the sea enclosed by the breakwater, and which is immediately under a small port hole—the only admission for air and light we have from the external port. My legs and ankles are swollen and sore, pains in my shoulders and back are frequent. My hair began falling out some time ago . . . My eyesight is beginning to grow very bad, so much so that I can't read or write by candlelight With all this, imagine my gait with a bucket and broom, and a guard, walking around from one corner of the fort to another, sweeping and sanding down the bastions. This has been our treatment for the last three months, coupled with bad diet, bad water, and every inconvenience."⁴⁶

Finally Dr. Mudd found himself sharing less uncomfortable quarters with four congenial men. Three of them were his fellow "conspirators", Arnold, O'Loughlin and Spangler. The fourth was a soldier of fortune named Col. George St. Leger Grenfel, an aging Englishman who had been right hand man to the Confederate raider John Morgan. Grenfel was something of a mystery, and the mystery was deepened when one stormy March night he disappeared, along with the sentry guarding the

46. Mudd, pp. 161-162.

boats and three other prisoners, including the irrepressible *Adare*.

By midsummer of 1867 the prisoners had dwindled in number to less than 50 men. There were four companies of the 5th Artillery and a small engineer force working on the barracks— about 400 people altogether. Life was not altogether pleasant. The fortnightly arrival of the New Orleans steamer with mail and supplies, and the schooner every week from Key West, roused the inhabitants from their “usual condition of torpid monotony” by providing relief from the dull routine of drills, roll calls, guard mounts, dress parades and the like. The post boasted a well stocked library and there was occasionally a chaplain to hold religious services. But these attractions paled beside the universally popular amateur theatre which for perfection lacked only “a real live woman” to personate the female characters.⁴⁸

Fort Jefferson was regarded as a healthful post. Epidemic sickness had been recorded from time to time, but had never reached serious proportions. Yet the hospital always harbored cases of mild fever, dysentery and diarrhea, especially among the prisoners. And small wonder. Practically the only fresh food came from the sea. Beef cattle were usually brought from Punta Rassa, near Tampa, Florida. After a week’s passage in the hold of a schooner, they were unloaded on a small barren island near the fort and fed with dry forage. Under such conditions a full grown bullock seldom dressed 300 pounds. Even under the most favorable conditions, rations of fresh meat were limited to three issues in ten days. Mudd recorded several complaints about dessicated food,

47. *Id.*, pp. 136 ff.; Letterbook 1866-1870, p. 94 (KW); *Galaxy*, p. 287.

48. *Id.*, pp. 284-286.

and intimated that prisoners' fare was worse than that for the garrison. The ration records, however, show no discrimination. A typical list of provisions included beef, ham, pork, cans of lobster, clams and oysters, flour, corn meal, hominy, beans, rice, dried apples, cans of milk and potatoes, corn, tomatoes, peas, onions, assorted cans of preserves, syrup and molasses, brown and white sugar, salt, pepper, vinegar, ketchup, hops and lard. Very prominent in such lists are quantities of coffee and tobacco. Despite apparent variety on paper, actually the diet was monotonous. Cases of scurvy were not uncommon.⁴⁹ Occasionally watermelons, bananas and pineapples were brought in from Cuba – at extravagant prices, but a “good head of plain vulgar cabbage, so little esteemed in the outside world,” wrote one soldier, “would sell readily for a dollar here.”⁵⁰

In addition to usual vicissitudes and notwithstanding the previous health record at Tortugas, every summer the threat of yellow fever hung like a pall over the fort. The very mention of the “scourge” terrified these men in the tropics. Once a fever-ridden vessel came into the quarantine. All of her crew were stricken, but there was not one volunteer nurse from Garden Key.⁵¹ The “black vomit” that marked the fatal case, the yellowed skin of the unfortunate victim— these things did not bother the brave man so much as the uncertainty of when or where yellow jack would strike.

49. Commissary Book 1861-1868, pp. 416-431 (KW); Report of Board of Officers, Dec. 16, 1867 (encl., Townsend to Chief of Engineers, July 7, 1868, files of the Adjutant General's Office, to be cited hereafter as AGO).

50. *Galaxy*, p. 285.

51. Mudd, p. 115.

It came on the night of August 18, 1867.⁵² The evidence points to Capt. George Crabbe as the man who unknowingly brought the disease from Havana. But Major Joseph Smith, the post surgeon, blamed it on the stinking miasma rising from the shallow and stagnant moat, where the sewers emptied. Mudd was one of the prisoners detailed to board up the gun ports over the moat.

The fever spread. Dr. Smith died on September 8; his little son Harry soon followed him. Those in the fort were panic-stricken. Their doctor was gone—the scourge was spreading. Word came to Sam Mudd. The chains were forgotten. Once again he was Doctor Mudd, the only man who could help.

Old Dr. Daniel Whitehurst sailed from Key West to take charge, and side by side the two medicos worked day and night in a long, uphill fight to relieve their burning, retching patients. The hospital nurses, the laundresses—even the Negro prisoner-orderlies fell sick. Out of six officers, five died. The worst night was September 16, when half of Company M took the fever. Some thirty men, in beds side by side, were attacked between eleven and one o'clock that night, and within forty-eight hours every soldier in M Company was sick.

For three long, hot months the epidemic raged. Almost every man felt yellow jack's fetid breath. Mudd himself had a touch of fever. Out of 270 cases, there were 38 deaths. Wrote Mudd: "No more respect is shown the dead . . . than the putrid remains of a dead dog. The burial party are al-

52. Source materials for the 1867 epidemic, though abundant, are mainly the observations of one man: Dr. Mudd. In addition to Mudd, especially pp. 254-302, see the contemporary letters in the Whitehurst Papers, collection of Mrs. J. V. Keen, Tallahassee, Fla.; Report of Board of Officers cited *ante*, n. 49; Letterbook 1866-1870, p. 71; Post Order Book 1867-1868 (KW); and *Galaxy*, pp. 285, 287.

lowed a drink of whiskey both before and after the burying, which infuses a little more life in them. They move quickly, and in half an hour after a man dies, he is put in a coffin, nailed down, rowed a mile to an adjacent island, the grave dug, covered up, and the party returned, in the best of humor, for their drinks."⁵³ But one burial party, a corporal and three guardhouse prisoners, deserted en masse.

When it finally ended, the doctors and many others were heroes. The garrison petitioned for the release of Dr. Mudd, and Commandant Valentine Stone, who had lost his wife and was sorrowfully on his way north with his two-year-old son, had told Mudd that he was going to try to arrange a pardon; but fever overtook the unlucky major on his way to Key West, and Mudd went back to his cell. Meanwhile, Mudd's energetic wife had been storming the Washington strongholds, and on March 11, 1869, the doctor finally left Fort Jefferson with a pardon signed by President Johnson. Back home to Charles County he went, and there, 14 years later, he died in harness.

A half dozen years after the 1867 epidemic, on a breathless, sweltering day, the scourge walked again in the echoing galleries of the fort. As Commandant James Bell— who was himself doomed to die— realized that new tragedy was impending, he ordered all the well people except a few volunteer nurses out of the fort. Hastily they rowed to distant Loggerhead Key— but a few had to be brought back.

It was a terribly personal epidemic for the two doctors: Dr. Porter's⁵⁴ child was a fever ease; distracted Dr. Gould had four of his brood burning

53. Mudd, pp. 270-271.

54. Dr. J. Y. Porter, who later became a widely known public health officer in Florida.

with the disease at the same time. Yet none was more brave than Henry Campbell, a Negro life-terminer. Henry did everything—nursed the sick, burned bedding, helped with the coffins— and laughed at the fever.

And when at the end of it all, Private M'Cormack took little Marie Horner's fever-wasted hand to start the long trip to her Indiana grandpa, the child could look across the water to a dozen new graves on Sand Key. In two of them were her father and mother, both of them hospital workers.⁵⁵

Another hurricane was the final discouragement. Troops left the fort in January 1874. "There is not the slightest probability in my opinion of this fortification being completed within the next fifty years," wrote the last commandant.⁵⁶

In spite of this accurate and gloomy prognostication, the story was not yet done. "I would finish it up," said Gen. Sherman, the man who marched through Georgia.⁵⁷

But it was the end of an era. While the ordnance sergeant left at the fort pattered through the long days brushing the rust from his 140 cannon, shifting the 800 barrels of powder, and watching the ranges of cannon balls sink deeper into the parade, while a handful of engineer workmen were busy repairing the storm damage and mounting big 15-inch smoothbores on the top deck, the Engineer Corps was marking time, memorizing the lessons it had learned, digesting new developments in the art of war as practiced by the Europeans.

It was Horatio Wright, now Chief Engineer of the Corps, who stated the defense problem facing

55. Bell to Asst. Adjutant General, Sept. 5, 1873, and Langdon to Asst. Adj. Gen., Sept 20, 1873, Letterbook 1872-1873 (KW).

56. *Ibid.* See also Dagenfield to Deputy Quartermaster, Feb. 26, 1874, Letterbook 1865-1902 (KW).

57. *House Reports*, 43 Cong. 1 sess., v. 2, Report 384.

the maturing nation, spread now from Atlantic to Pacific. "With old casemated works (than which there were none better in the world in their day)," Gen. Wright pointed out, with perhaps a touch of nostalgia for his fort on Garden Key, "designed long before the introduction of the 800 to 2,000 pounder rifled guns into modern warfare; without iron armor or shields, and but partially armed . . . with new ones for modern guns and mortars but partially built and rapidly being destroyed by the elements . . . with gun batteries without guns, and mortar batteries without mortars . . . we can make but a feeble defense against the powerful fleets now prepared and rapidly increasing which will sooner or later be brought against us by some of the most powerful maritime nations on the earth, or by others nearer at hand whose offensive naval means exceed our own, and whose powers are not to be despised."⁵⁸

During the decade of the '80's, the problem of what to do with the obsolete fortification remained unsolved. Plans for modernizing Jefferson were not completed, and if they had been, Congress, unalarmed, was on a peacetime budget. By 1886 it was unsafe to roll a barrel of Mammoth powder over the rotten wharf, and before the year was out, a hurricane removed that feature almost completely, along with most of the officers' quarters veranda and a goodly portion of the galvanized iron roofs that had been nailed on a dozen years before. And the 15-inch Rodmans might better have been back in their arsenal, for they had been hurriedly mounted during the excitement of the *Virginia* episode of 1873. Ten years of tropical weather had rotted the platforms from beneath them. The sand that "bombproofed" the roofs of the top deck

58. *Report of the Secretary of War, Chief of Engineers* (1880), v. II, pt. I, p. 18.

magazines had blown away,⁵⁹ but then modern gunners would have laughed at such anyway.

As if it were not enough for Sergeant Wilkens to watch his fort go to pieces around him, new cares came to turn his hair gray. A Mallory Line steamer churned up the harbor mud and there was a steward aboard from the Key West hospital with the news that he had a smallpox patient to inhabit one of the fort rooms. Over the sergeant's remonstrances, the crew deposited the patient on the dock. Wilkens observed that "this was not a proper place for a sick person", and bowing to the force of circumstance, he directed the steward and his pox victim to one of the shacks outside the fort.

Meanwhile, old George Phillips, here again for a few days, was bossing a gang packing away Engineer property. As the patient came ashore, the laborers jumped aboard their own vessel. Her captain began to put distance between himself and the fort. Phillips perforce chased them, but had to go all the way back to Key West for pox-proof men to finish his job.

The doctor at Key West had been rather precipitate in dispatching the smallpox case before negotiations were completed for transferring Tortugas to the Treasury Department for a quarantine station. But within the next few years was built quite an extensive station which had the distinction of being the only place within several hundred miles where a cholera-infected ship could be handled. Along with the sulphur fumigating and steam disinfecting paraphernalia were tents for the patients, an expensive new wharf and a warehouse.⁶⁰

59. See the War Secretary reports for this period; also Letter-book 1865-1902.

60. Wilkens to Asst. Adj. Gen., Apr. 30, 1889 (AGO2616); Fisk to Phillips, Feb. 25, 1889 (KW); Phillips to Fisk (two letters), Apr. 23, 1889 (KW); Sec. of War to Sec. of Treasury, June 28 1889 (AGO3234); Sec. of Treasury to Sec. of War, July 12, 1889 (AGO) and Feb. 8, 1893 (AGO3540).

It was only an interlude. The War Department was soon clamoring for the removal of the quarantine station. "The Dry Tortugas," argued Gen. Schofield, "is too valuable a military station to be surrendered for any other purpose whatever."⁶¹ By 1896 revised plans for the Tortugas defenses were under consideration.⁶²

In January 1898 the White Squadron lay in Tortugas waters. One midnight, Admiral Sicard sent a lifeboat from his flagship for Capt. Sigsbee of the *Maine*. Before long, the *Maine* washed the marl from her hook and began drifting seaward; the sailors who were rowing Capt. Sigsbee back from the Admiral's conference had to pull hard to catch her. These sailors, resting a moment before the long haul back to the New York, were the last to see the *Maine* in U. S. waters.

In spite of talk about dangerous Tortugas reefs, the Admiral decided he could do without the Key West pilot, so the man went back to his station. Then the anchors of the fleet came up. The *Texas* was hardly under way before she struck a reef and had to be sent back to Brooklyn for repairs; the *Iowa* went aground and stayed there fourteen hours while the Admiral mopped his brow and the *New York* and the *Detroit* pulled and hauled on a steel cable. Luckily there was no serious damage.

For a few days the squadron was off Key West, improving the eyes of the gunners. Then a torpedo boat came full speed alongside the flagship and manuevers abruptly ended. The *Maine* had been blown up in Havana harbor.

The war heads went on the torpedoes. On Sunday, February 27, the White Squadron went out of

61. *Ibid.*, Gen. J. M. Schofield's endorsement of Feb. 14, 1893.

62. *Report of the Secretary of War, Chief of Engineers* (1896), v. II, pt. 1, p. 7.

existence as the seamen slapped on the black paint, and then the wartime gray. On April 22 the fleet steamed for Cuba.⁶³

Before the year was out twenty-three vessels of the U. S. Navy knew the shelter of Tortugas harbor. The Navy began dredging the channels yet deeper and started building a station to hold 20,000 tons of coal— a depot capable of coaling the heaviest battleship right at its piers, for at Key West, big ships could not then come within six miles of the naval station.⁶⁴

But coal rigs are not raised in a day, and it was fortunate that the war was soon over. The Navy Secretary wrote: "Had the war with Spain continued many months more the absence of docking facilities in these waters would have been most seriously felt, and the failure to possess such might, in a more prolonged war, seriously affect its fortunes."⁶⁵ The marines who had set up their tents on the parade at Fort Jefferson took them down again. And the Army had had enough of Dry Tortugas, for in 1900 the entire reservation was transferred to the Navy, which believed that steel and concrete would stand against the elements. A condensing plant, just completed, distilled sea water at the rate of 60,000 gallons a day, which was considerable improvement over the 7,000-gallon capacity of the two Civil War condensers. The coal storage sheds were finished in spite of trouble with the contractors, and work went ahead on the piers and rigs for dumping the coal into the bunkers of the warships. A cable boat laid a submarine line to connect Fort Jefferson with Key West. In ad-

63. Samuel Feltman to Sister Louis, n. d., Convent of Mary Immaculate, Key West, Fla.

64. *Report of the Secretary of the Navy*, Bureau of Navigation (1898), v. I, pp. 329-359; Bur. of Yards and Docks (1899), p. 219.

65. *Id.*, Bur. of Yards and Docks (1898), p. 215.

dition, wireless masts towered over the fort walls and the operators were soon reporting reception from the remarkably distant points of New York and Colon.

In the meantime, the War Department removed all of its munitions and most of the cannon. Vandals had already taken scores of brass bolts and rings from the stone cistern-covers, many of the silvered, mirror-like door knobs from the officers' quarters, and even entire doors and windows. The quarters were littered with tons of fallen plaster, soggy with the rain that came through rusty roofs. Salvagers pulled out embrasure irons, gun tracks and practically everything else of the sort except the 25-ton cannons on the top deck that were too heavy for either Army or junk men to bother with. A few of the thousands of cannonballs were left half buried in the parade.

It was in 1904 that the Naval Coal Depot was finally completed. Not sixty minutes after the contractors turned the equipment over to the Navy, a "cyclone" came along and twisted one of the two coal transporters almost beyond recognition. It was repaired. Next, the dredging contractor gave up, 40,000 cubic yards short of his contract. And now that war was once more past, again there was a difference of opinion upon the value of Dry Tortugas. This time the antagonists enjoyed a permanent victory, for in 1907 the Tortugas coal depot was "discontinued".⁶⁶

The islands passed to the Department of Agriculture the following year for protection of the same wildlife that Audubon recorded there in 1832. As for the fort, the vandals could prowl unmolested. Fire gutted the barracks in 1912, and the story was

66. *Id.*, Bur. of Yards and Docks (1899-1905); Bur. of Equip- (1899-1908); U. S. Marine Corps (1902, 1904, 1905); General Order no. 59, Apr. 30, 1900 (AGO).

later repeated for the once grandiose officers' quarters. True, the days of 1917 brought the "key to the Gulf" once more to the mind of the military for a little while. The wireless station was rehabilitated and a few seaplanes landed in the harbor, but this flurry of war activity was soon past.

Over the course of half a century, the Army had spent over \$2,700,000 on Fort Jefferson. Navy work brought the total well past \$3,500,000.⁶⁷ And if the ordeal was long and painful and costly in terms of work and human lives, yet this homely pile of brick will remain a fitting memorial to the vigor of a young nation. For by Proclamation of January 4, 1935, wherein Franklin D. Roosevelt named the area a national monument, the Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico is saved from oblivion. But the story is not yet finished.

67. Compilations by H. L. Garrett, National Park Service, from U. S. Engineer Office accounts 1844-1877 and *Reports of the Secretary of the Navy* (1899-1909).

RICHARD KEITH CALL, FLORIDA TERRITORIAL LEADER

by SIDNEY WALTER MARTIN

One of the most colorful figures involved in the destiny of the Territory of Florida was Virginia-born Richard Keith Call. He was an Indian fighter, served two terms as governor, and left behind him an impressive political career. Most of his early years were spent in Kentucky; and the recollection of a happy childhood in that state often caused him to return for visits after his permanent home had been established in Florida. He spent several years in a military academy in Tennessee, but with the outbreak of the War of 1812, the restless and impetuous youth left the academy to join an expedition to hunt down a hostile band of Creek Indians who had murdered a family on the Tennessee river. The Indians were not found, and Call returned to his studies at the academy. But the attraction of military life got the better of him, and he left school again, permanently this time, and joined a volunteer company under General Andrew Jackson to serve against the Creek Indians.¹

Call served faithfully in Jackson's army as a third lieutenant throughout the Indian campaign which ended with the battle of Horse Shoe Bend and a victory for the whites. During the campaign every one of Call's company, fearing death from the Indians or starvation, deserted and went home. The loyalty which prompted the young lieutenant to remain and fight in the ranks despite the desertion

NOTE: This paper, which was read before the last annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society, is, in substance, a chapter of the author's dissertation, "The Formative Period of Florida History," hence it relates to only a part of Call's career.—Ed.

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1. Caroline Mays Brevard, "Richard Keith Call," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, I (July, 1908), 5.

of his entire company, won for him a place of esteem with Jackson. This was the beginning of a warm friendship between the two men, and of a military and political career which took the young soldier to the Territory of Florida. He was given a commission in the regular army, and after the War of 1812 promoted to the rank of captain. Call was with General Jackson in the first Indian campaign which the General made into Florida against the Seminoles, and he was with him again when Jackson was sent to the Territory to become its provisional governor.²

Arriving in Pensacola, Call became so enthralled over the Spanish town that he decided to make his home there. He resigned his commission in the army and took up the practice of law, but his friendship with Jackson continued. After Jackson left Florida and returned to his home at the Hermitage in Tennessee, an intimate correspondence was carried on for several years between him and Call. The following letter, written by Jackson to Call on November 15, 1821, indicates the intimacy of the two men.

I had the pleasure last evening of receiving your two letters of the 14th ult [in those letters Call had thanked Jackson for all he had done for him]. Nothing can afford Mrs. Jackson and myself more pleasure than in hearing from you often, and particularly that you are well, and doing well. Your gratitude expressed of my friendship towards you, shews the godlike virtue of a heart susceptible [*sic*] of friendship. Believe me when I first met you in the field, your youthful appearance, your manly and soldier like deportment, attracted my attention, and when mutiny and desertion pervaded my

2. C. M. Brevard, "Richard Keith Call," *loc. cit.*, 6-7.

camp, when situated in the howling wilderness with the savage yell it was your soldier like and honorable conduct . . . that drew my particular attention to you . . .³

Jackson as governor was anxious to appoint Call to a high position in the Territory, but the appointive power was taken from him by President Monroe, much to Jackson's disgust. Mrs. Jackson wrote that

There never was a man more disappointed than the General has been. In the first place he has not the power to appoint one of his friends, which I thought was in part the reason of his coming [to Florida]. But far has it exceeded every calculation; it has almost taken his life. Captain Call says it is equal to the Seminole Campaign . . .⁴

Call became so prominent as a lawyer in Pensacola that his many friends endeavoured to get him to announce his candidacy for the Territory's delegate in Congress in 1822, but Call felt that he was not strong enough to make a successful race and declined to run. Jackson congratulated him upon the decision not to make the race, saying that after he had become better situated financially, he might launch out upon a political career. "Recollect as long as you are rendering important service to your country you will be extolled," said Jackson, "but should these services reduce you to want, then you will find, that your greatest eulogist will desert you . . ."⁵

3. Jackson to Call, November 15, 1821, Jackson Papers. These papers are located in the manuscript division of the Library of Congress.

4. Mrs. Jackson to a friend in Richard Keith Call's journal, 247. The journal is located in the library of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine.

⁵ *Ibid.*, 254.

Call's popularity grew fast, and by 1823 he was considered a brilliant lawyer and one of the foremost in Pensacola. Honors came to him in rapid succession in that year. In January, President Monroe appointed him brigadier-general of the militia of West Florida. Jackson, who was always ready to promote the interest of his young friend, had suggested the appointment. Call was also made a member of the Pensacola Municipal Board, and a delegate to the Legislative Council which sat that year in St. Augustine.⁶

During the summer of 1823 Call, for the third time, was requested to become a candidate for Congress; this time he gave his consent. The election was a complete triumph for Call, who polled 100% of the votes in Escambia county, and a large majority of all the votes in West Florida. His popularity had not spread to East Florida, for there he received only six votes, but J. M. Hernandez, Alexander Hamilton, and H. Bethune, the other three candidates, split the vote in such a way that Call received a majority of the total number of votes in the Territory.⁷ This victory brought further advancement and recognition and was the beginning of his political career.⁸

As a delegate from a territory, Call had no vote in Congress but he attended its sessions faithfully, and worked hard for his adopted Florida. His main interest was in internal improvements, and he was successful in securing appropriations for the construction of roads, lighthouses, bridges, and canals in the Territory. He was also responsible for an appropriation of \$100,000 for the construction of a navy yard and depot somewhere on the west coast

6. Daisy Parker, "R. K. Call, Whig Leader," *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual*, IV (1939), 13.

7. *Pensacola Floridian*, June 14, 1823.

8. *Niles' Weekly Register*, XXIV, 336.

of Florida. The yard was finally established at Pensacola. Call had the assistance of Andrew Jackson and John H. Eaton in securing these appropriations.⁹ Jackson had on many previous occasions befriended Call, and his influence combined with that of Eaton proved most effective to the newly elected Florida delegate at this time.

But bitter opposition developed in Congress against the Jackson-Eaton-Call group of Florida benefactors. The opposition claimed that Florida was getting more than her proportionate share of the Federal appropriations. This feeling was strongly expressed by John Randolph of Virginia who opposed all assistance to Florida, and declared the Territory worthless.¹⁰ But Congressional interest in Florida was maintained throughout the Territorial period, and Florida continued to be favored with Federal appropriations.

Call was married to Mary Letitia Kirkman on July 15, 1824, at the Hermitage near Nashville, and the young couple found much pleasure in the company of the General and Mrs. Jackson. Mrs. Call returned to Washington with her husband, but their tenure there was very short, as Colonel Joseph M. White was elected to Congress from Florida in 1825.¹¹

Upon his return to Florida in 1825, Call moved to Tallahassee, and became interested in the economic development of that section. He bought a large tract of land on Lake Jackson, a few miles north of the city, and was later appointed receiver of public lands for Middle Florida. This office gave him the opportunity of becoming a speculator in lands, and an investor in many projects connected with the development of the Territory. The

9. Call journal, 261.

10. *Ibid.*, 266.

11. *Ibid.*, 270.

income from his land sales netted him a handsome sum from year to year, but he never made a show of his money. He lived a plain life, enjoying the profits from his labors in a very modest way.¹²

Through the years the friendship between Call and Jackson became more mature as their political ties strengthened. The ambitious young politician never passed up an opportunity of letting the old General know how much he thought of him. When Call announced to him the birth of his first child in September, 1825, he lamented the fact that it was not a boy, for, he said, it would have been named for "my dearest and best friend— Andrew Jackson."¹³

By nature a politician, Call continued to manifest an interest in politics while living at his plantation on Lake Jackson, and took issue with some of the leading figures in Florida over matters pertaining to the Territory. He engaged in a bitter controversy with the editor of the *East Florida Herald* over the conduct of Judge Joseph L. Smith of St. Augustine. The affair was none of Call's immediate concern, but he publicly lambasted the *East Florida Herald's* position. The editor replied: "We take more than great pleasure to tell the General we reciprocate the feelings." The editor of the *Pensacola Gazette*, who had prior to this time been friendly to Call, joined the *Herald*, and Call soon found himself one of the most criticised men in the Territory. But he continued to have many political friends despite the opposition he had created in East and West Florida.¹⁴

When Jackson was elected President of the United States in 1828, Call felt certain that he would receive a political appointment from his old friend.

12. Lula Keith Appleyard, "Plantation Life in Middle Florida," (Unpublished M. A. thesis, F.S.C.W., 1940), 33.

13. Call to Jackson, September 23, 1825, Jackson Papers.

14. *East Florida Herald*, October 25, 1825.

Call's interest and enthusiasm were at fever's pitch throughout the presidential campaign and, though the people in Florida had no voice in the election, Call aroused much concern over the outcome in the Territory.

After Jackson's inauguration he gave his friend a complimentary appointment in 1829; one that required much tact and diplomacy, but one of short tenure. Call was sent to Cuba as a special agent to secure from the Spanish authorities the archives pertaining to Florida, which had never been yielded by the Royal Government of Spain. While there, Call was entertained in the highest Cuban society.¹⁵ His mission was unsuccessful, as were all the other similiar ones; but doubtless this had nothing to do with his receiving no further honors from the President. His political ambitions had been whetted and he was naturally disappointed by his forced return to private life in Tallahassee.

In 1833 the opposition to Joseph M. White as Territorial delegate rallied and asked Call to become a candidate for that office. He accepted; but White, who had held the office for six years had made many friends, and Call's attempt to win the election was futile. He was a-gain sorely disappointed, and wrote to Jackson that the "nullification element" defeated him.¹⁶ The question of nullification had not reached Florida in any great proportions, however, and probably played little part in the election. The people of Florida were simply not ready to exchange Joseph M. White for Richard Keith Call.

The next few years of Call's, life were filled with bereavement and anguish. He lost five daughters, his only son, and his wife by death. Furthermore

15. Call journal, 282.

16. *Ibid.*, 283.

the Indians of Florida began a series of raids. Duty called, and in 1835 Call again became actively engaged in military life at the age of thirty-five.¹⁷

A few years prior to this Call had organized a band of volunteers for protection against and to overawe the Indians. The red men had begun to get restless and Call had sensed this need. With the outbreak of depredations Call and several hundred mounted volunteers marched to Fort Drane on the Withlacoochee river, where they were joined by General Clinch with his contingent of the U. S. Army. A battle ensued on December 31, 1835, known as the battle of Withlacoochee, the first organized battle of the Seminole war. Osceola, the shrewd Indian chieftain, had heard that the white army was attempting to corner him in the swampy lands along the river and defeat him decisively before he could escape to more favorable territory. He had only 250 warriors with him in the swamp, but he decided to intercept the white army as it attempted to cross the river to the southeast bank where he and his warriors were situated. Realizing that he was many times outnumbered, Osceola arranged his men in ambush at the ford of the river where he expected the whites to cross. But General Clinch, who knew Indian tactics, ferried his men across the river some distance north of the ford, and surprised the waiting Indians by an attack on their flank. Here on the south side of the river, in the thick hammock and scrub land, a fierce battle raged for several hours. Finally the Indians withdrew to safety in the thick swamp lands farther south. The battle was fought without the aid of General Call's volunteers, for very few of them crossed over and took part. Some accounts are that 460 volunteers under Call were spectators of

17. *Ibid.*, 284.

the battle from across the river, and that only 27 crossed to join Clinch. Call was bitterly criticised by the Army and by his opponents in Florida for not rendering Clinch more aid and was accused of ordering his men to stay on the safe side of the river.¹⁸

Call and his volunteers retired to their homes and Call spent the next few years trying to explain his action in the battle. Clinch and others of the regular army were very bitter toward Call, but no official criticism was registered with the War Department since he commanded only a band of volunteers. After this incident the volunteers were never held in much respect by the regular army. The newspapers took up the story and made life miserable for Call. His friends and fellow-volunteers took his side of the argument of course, and most of the volunteers vowed that they could not possibly have crossed the river at the particular point where the battle was fought. In 1837, while the controversy still raged, N. P. Hunter wrote to Call as follows:

In reply to your question whether you gave an order prohibiting the men from crossing and joining in the fight, I must say that I heard no such order, and if one had been given, I must have heard it, as I was near you the greater part of the time, until Genl. Read came to the opposite bank of the river and called to you, "Come over, or they were all [will be] lost." I heard you frequently order and encourage the men to cross over to support those who were

18. Sprague, *Florida War*, 92 ff. For light on this controversy see this *Quarterly* the issue of October 1940 (XIX, 128-139). There, Samuel E. Cobb of the staff of The National Archives has brought together and edited a number of contemporaneous documents from the Archives and from other sources. These documents are upon both sides of the issue. Sprague was an officer of the U. S. Army. *Ed.*

engaged on the opposite side . . . But this was found utterly impossible and abandoned. The bank was so precipitate that a horse after taking a few steps would plunge into swimming water, and carry himself and rider almost under, wetting arms and ammunition . . . The reason assigned by Genl. Clinch why the volunteers did not cross over the river and join in the fight, namely, that they were prevented from doing so by your order . . . I know to be extremely erroneous, and the main reason . . . was the utter impossibility of crossing the river with the means provided.¹⁹

Despite severe criticism and censure by the people and the newspapers over the Withlacoochee affair, Call, remained in the front ranks of political and military life in the Territory. His banner year in public life was 1836. Andrew Jackson was still President of the United States and, while he had been tardy in placing Call in any permanent high ranking office, he had not forgotten his friend. Much to the displeasure of Call's many enemies, Jackson appointed him governor of Florida on March 16, 1836.²⁰ Call wanted the governorship but hated to relinquish his position as brigadier-general to his successor, Leigh Read.

Hardly had Call become acquainted with his new duties before he again turned his attention to the Indian hostilities. Feeling that the armed forces needed his leadership, he yearned for the battlefield. Before being appointed to the governorship, Call wrote to Jackson: "I would be highly gratified to command the army and believe I could soon bring the war to a close."²¹ After all his greatest desire

19. Call journal, 317-348.

20. Jackson to Call, March 16, 1836, Florida Territorial Papers.
Located in the National Archives.

21. Call journal, 354.

was to be an outstanding military leader, and he kept the matter constantly before the President. He all but begged Jackson to give him command of the Florida army. One of his letters reads, "Nothing have I so much desired as to have the direction of the Florida War . . . The sooner I am placed in command, the sooner I shall be prepared for the field . . ." ²² Finally in May, 1836, less than two months after he was appointed governor, Call received the following message from the War Department:

Should General Scott leave or have left the Territory, and should Genl. Clinch not continue in office, you are then authorized to assume command of the Regular forces and militia serving in Florida, and to employ the same in the best manner for the defence of the country, and the speedy subjugation of the Indians. ²³

Governor Call, meanwhile, had been making elaborate plans for a summer campaign against the Indians, which he hoped would end the war. He was, therefore, deeply gratified and overjoyed with the word that he was to take command of all the Florida forces in case Scott and Clinch left. Both of these generals had become disheartened with the prosecution of the war, and were on the verge of leaving the Territory when Call received his order. Scott left immediately, and Clinch, who was at that time in St. Marys, Georgia, resigned his command on June 18, 1836. ²⁴ Call assumed command at once, since he had already been ordered to do so by Secre-

22. R. K. Call War Department correspondence, June 1, 1836, Call collection in Florida Historical Society library.

23. Cass to Call, May 25, 1836, War Department Military Book. Located in the National Archives.

24. Clinch to Cass, June 18, 1836, Secretary of War Document Files. National Archives.

tary of War Lewis Cass.²⁵ Call's joy knew no bounds. He was not only governor of Florida but also commander of the Florida forces.

There is no doubt of Call's sincerity and of his honest efforts to rid Florida of the Indian menace. The continued depredations aroused within him a fiery passion to avenge each hostile act committed by the Seminoles. He convinced the War Department that a summer campaign would result in a successful termination of the war, and he was given the authority to raise several thousand volunteers in Florida.²⁶ In addition, the Governor called upon Tennessee, Georgia, South Carolina, and other Southern States to send volunteers to Florida's aid.²⁷

But Call's summer campaign plans met with every hindrance imaginable. His enemies in Washington opposed him, and the many jealousies and hard feelings that existed in Florida were obstacles thrown in his way. His volunteers became dissatisfied because he could not secure their pay, and Call had to resort to a draft to raise men for the defense of their own homes. The Tennessee volunteers, on whom he had relied so heavily for the summer campaign, did not arrive until the middle of September, and that delay caused further embarrassments. General Call's ability came in for criticism when the post at Micanopy was abandoned to the Indians in the late summer of 1836. Micanopy was only ten miles from the all-important post of Ft. Drane, and after the loss of the outer defense, the place soon fell into the possession of the Indians.²⁸

The belated summer campaign got under way on September 19, when General Call marched with the

25. *Florida Herald*, July 2, 1836.

26. Cass to Call, June 18, 1836, War Department Military Book.

Also *Florida Herald*, July 9, 1836.

27. *National Intelligencer*, August 2, 1836.

28. Call journal, 386-388.

Tennessee brigade from Tallahassee to "Suwannee" or Old Town. From there they marched to Ft. Drane and reoccupied that important post.²⁹ After a short stay there, and a number of skirmishes with the Indians, Call and his brigade pushed on towards the Withlacoochee river, where he hoped that contact with the Indians could be made. Meanwhile General Leigh Read had been sent to establish a supply depot near a proposed place of encampment on the river, but when Call arrived at the given point with his soldiers they found no such station. After searching in vain for Read and the food supplies which he was supposed to bring, Call commanded the brigade to return to Fort Drane on October 17, for food and other provisions were almost exhausted. The incident was embarrassing for Call, for he was responsible for the expedition into the Withlacoochee swamp. The Withlacoochee swamp had been the scene of his earlier defeat, and the retreat to Fort Drane, despite the dire need of supplies, was certain to give rise to further adverse talk. More in fault that Call, however, was Read, who failed to establish the food depot at the right time.³⁰

The futile expedition was ill-timed and badly planned, and was condemned by the authorities in Washington. Some officials felt that the Indians could easily have been defeated had Call pushed on into the swamp at that particular time.³¹ Probably for the first time in his life, Andrew Jackson angrily criticised Call's action. He is reported to have said that he wished the Indians would murder every man in Florida., so that the women might get new husbands and raise children equal to the defence of their Territory.³² Call was mortified and

29. Letter book, September 23, 1836, Call collection.

30. Call journal, 393-394.

31. *Ibid.*, 404.

32. *Ibid.*, 405.

disappointed, so much so that he became ill and weary of the task assigned to him. The command was promptly taken from Call, and given to General Thomas S. Jesup. Benjamin F. Butler, Secretary of War *ad interim*, wrote Jesup on November 4, saying that the "retrograde movements of Governor Call . . . have for a time suspended offensive operations." Butler referred to the feeble state of Call's health, and explained that the campaign against the Indians would require the "promptitude and energy which the crisis demands. The President has therefore determined to commit to you the command of the army serving in Florida, and the general direction of the war against the Seminoles . . ."³³

Call's removal from command of the army came as an insult rather than a punishment, and resulted in a heated correspondence with the War Department, of which Joel R. Poinsett was Secretary. For a matter of record, Poinsett wrote to Call for the full details of his abandoned campaign, but the Governor lost his temper and overlooked entirely the reason for the inquiry. He treated it as a censure for presumed misconduct, and refused to cooperate in giving the details. Since he refused to communicate directly with either Poinsett or the President, there was more reason than ever to believe that he was at fault.³⁴ Call's pride was deeply injured by his removal and his sullen actions were a result of that fact alone. Realizing that Call was a very sensitive person, and that his recent actions were not those of a normal person, President Jackson attempted to arbitrate matters

33. Butler to Jesup, November 4, 1836, War Department Military Book.

34. Compiled correspondence between Call and War Department, November, 1836, through January, 1837, War Department Military Book.

immediately before leaving the presidency. In January, 1837, he explained through the War Department that "it was originally designed and so made known to you Call at an early day, that the command should be taken by General Jesup on his arrival in Florida." He further explained that he was anxious for Call's health, and felt that a rest was, for his own benefit.³⁵ Call's stubbornness still prevailed, and he insisted upon a court of inquiry but the President thought that was unnecessary. Because he valued Call's friendship, Jackson regretted that the unpleasantness had occurred, but the temperamental governor nursed the grievance, and finally let it, carry him from the ranks of the Democratic party, though he denied his break with the party.³⁶ When Martin Van Buren succeeded Jackson in 1837, the controversy reached a new peak of intensity. Governor Call exposed Van Buren's lukewarm interest in the Florida War, and the incompetence, as he called it, of Poinsett, the Secretary of War. It was not surprising that Call became an enemy of the Van Buren Administration and a target of much criticism from Washington.³⁷ Finally in 1839, Van Buren asked Call to relinquish his duties as governor of the Territory, although he had been assured of another three-year appointment. The President gave as his reasons for rescinding the appointment, first, that Call had taken too active a part in national politics; second, that many citizens of Florida had asked for his removal; and third, that his ridiculous course in the war called for his removal from public life.³⁸

35. Jackson to Call. January 14, 1837, War Department Military Book.

36. Daisy Parker, "R. K. Call, Whig Leader," *loc. cit.*, 12.

37. R. K. Call War Department correspondence, January 17, 1838, Call collection.

38. Correspondence included in Reid to Secretary of State, December 10, 1840, State Department Miscellaneous Letters. National Archives.

Call became exceedingly bitter towards Van Buren and the Democratic administration, and in the coming presidential election gave his whole-hearted support to William Henry Harrison, candidate of the Whig party. Floridians watched with interest the rising popularity of the "Log Cabin and Hard Cider" candidate despite their inability to vote in the election. Call spent three months in the Northern states during the summer of 1840 making political speeches against Van Buren.³⁹ He could not forget the treatment he had received from the President and his cabinet. He continued to call himself a Democrat but others looked upon him as a Whig; Call's future career in politics in Florida was thereby ruined. Shortly after the election, Call wrote:

I am a democrat, such as democrats were under the administration of Mr. Madison, but I have adopted none of the heresies of modern democracy, especially those of Florida. I am no disorganizer of the moral formation of society, I am no repudiator of the public faith. I am no believer that the baptism in this newly revealed democracy, redeems from all moral and political sin . . .⁴⁰

Call received very little support from the people of the Territory in his campaign for the Whigs. The *Pensacola Gazette* exclaimed after the election was over: "The election for President is all over but the shouting, and for our part we feel very little inclined to take part in this."⁴¹ As was expected, much of Call's popularity was gone, but the Whigs in Florida boosted him as the leading Territorial

39. E. C. Long, "History of Florida," 150. This is an unpublished manuscript found in the Call collection in the Florida Historical Society library.

40. E. C. Long, "History of Florida," 154.

41. *Pensacola Gazette*, November 21, 1840.

citizen.⁴² He realized that he was finished with the Democrats in Florida, and it was only in that party that one might have political success.

Meanwhile Robert Raymond Reid, judge of the East Florida district, was appointed Call's successor. The new governor, a South Carolinian by birth who had moved to Georgia, received the appointment through the influence of Joel R. Poinsett. Reid was heartily welcomed by the Democrats of the Territory who, by 1839, were thoroughly disgruntled and dissatisfied with the conduct of Call. Reid followed a more conciliatory course toward the national administration, hence he received more cooperation from Washington; but the Indian problem was no nearer being solved by Reid than by Call. In fact, Reid showed such poor judgment about the war and methods of defense that he was rebuked by many of his so-called followers. Tallahassee citizens became angry when he took soldiers out of action against the Indians and stationed them in the city. They charged that he did this in order to create a military despotism in the capital city.⁴³ Many newspapers throughout the South condemned Reid, among the most critical was the *St. Augustine News*.⁴⁴ Reid explained to the Secretary of War that disorders in the form of lawlessness among the people in Tallahassee had become so violent that it was necessary to retain part of the militia in the city in order to maintain peace.⁴⁵

After his inauguration as President of the United States in March 1841, Harrison began to displace Democratic office holders with members of his own party. Party favoritism, as was expected, reached

42. Daisy Parker, "R. K. Gall, Whig Leader," *loc. cit.*, 17-18.

43. Citizens of Tallahassee to the President, August 5, 1840, State Department Miscellaneous Letters.

44. *St. Augustine News*, July 17, 1840.

45. Reid to Poinsett, August 12, 1840, Joel R. Poinsett papers. Located in the Library of Congress.

into the Territory of Florida, and Richard Keith Call was re-appointed governor within a few days after the presidential inauguration took place. Reid's short and unsuccessful term came to an abrupt close.⁴⁶ Call's re-appointment was none too popular in the Territory; although his Whig friends and followers received the news with much pleasure. Benjamin A. Putnam wrote to the Governor as follows:

Your friends were all much gratified by the intelligence of your re-instatement to the office of Governor from which you had been so rudely removed by a corrupt and wicked party. The same evening after the information was received we got out a cannon [in St. Augustine] and fired a glorious salute of about 50 rounds, continued at intervals through the night . . .⁴⁷

No man ever worked harder to reinstate himself in the good graces of a people than did Call among the Floridians, but all to no avail. The political wave on which he rode to the governorship in 1841 was not popular in Florida, for the Whigs constituted a minority of the voters. And Call further alienated himself from the Democrats by his close alliance with Benjamin Putnam, who violently opposed that party's policy in the Territory. When David Levy, whom Putnam called "that little Jew politician,"⁴⁸ won the congressional election in 1841 from Charles Downing, Call's chances for a cooperative term dwindled rapidly. Another thing which hurt Call's second administration was the

46. *National Intelligencer*, August 17, 1841. Reid lived only a few months after he left office. He became ill of conjunctive fever and died on July 1, 1841, at his home, Blackwood, seven miles from Tallahassee. W. T. Cash, *Story of Florida* II, 624.

47. Putnam to Call, March 26, 1841, Call collection.

48. *Ibid.*

death of President Harrison, only a few weeks after the inauguration.

Vice-President Tyler, who succeeded to the presidency, followed a policy more favorable to the Democratic party than to the Whigs, despite his earlier affiliation with the latter group. With the Democratic party in power everywhere about him, Call received little cooperation from Washington or from his people in the Territory.

Among the issues with which Call had to deal between 1841 and 1844 were Indian troubles, banks, and the question of statehood. He solved none of them, although he strove conscientiously to do so. His messages to the Legislative Council in 1842, 1843, and 1844 were filled with earnest pleas for cooperation among the political factions in the Territory.⁴⁹ But Call was never again effective or influential with the people of Florida. He was succeeded in 1844 by John Branch. After a year of inactivity, Call ran for the office of governor on the Whig ticket in the newly created State of Florida. In 1845, but was defeated by William D. Moseley, a Democrat.⁵⁰

Call played an important role in the development of Territorial Florida, but he lost in the game of politics. From the beginning, he showed little aptitude as a politician. He gained most of his political offices through his friendship with Andrew Jackson, but lost his Democratic standing through his hostility to Martin Van Buren. Call had many close personal friends, yet many bitter enemies. His disposition was such that after having formed a dislike for a man, there was never any reconciliation. And having broken with the Democratic

49. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the Territory of Florida*, 4 Session (1842), 8; *ibid.*, 5 Session (1843), 13; *ibid.*, 6 Session (1844), 7.

50. *Pensacola Gazette*, July 5, 1845.

party, he was forced to affiliate with the minority Whigs, hence he no longer had a chance for success at the polls.

Call was virtually inactive in politics the remainder of his life. When the slavery controversy between the North and the South became bitter he aligned himself with the Unionists, and tried to save Florida from secession although he was a slave holder. He died on September 14, 1862.⁵¹

51. Daisy Parker, "R. K. Call, Whig Leader," *loc. cit.*, 25.

YELLOW FEVER ON THE BLOCKADE
OF INDIAN. RIVER

A TRAGEDY OF 1864

Letters of Acting Master's Mate John F. Van Nest

United States Schooner *J. S. Chambers*

At Sea Friday, July 8th, 1864

Dear Mother:

I received your kind and welcome letter dated May 21st and was very much pleased to hear from you and as I knew that you would be pleased to hear from me I thought that I would write you a few lines and let you know that I am still well and in the land of the living. We are now on our way to Indian River on the East Coast of Florida to blockade there. We have captured about fifty Bales of Cotton which will bring a little prise money for me. We have also a share in a small sloop with sixteen bales of cotton captured by the Steamer Merrimac, we being in signal distance are entitled to share also, The weather is very warm and makes me feel very uncomfortable and millions of Mosquitoes, and they almost eat me up and I can scarcely sleep at night for them. I hope that I shall not have to spend another summer down on this coast for it will use me up for I can not stand this weather.

I think of you all the time and hope that we will all meet again and that you will be completely restored to health and that you will live to a good old age. I shall always be pleased to hear from you and I will always write you. I have written to father and will send this letter to him and he will forward this letter to you. I shall never forget you, dear mother. I cannot tell when I will come home, but I hope this war will soon be over and that I will get off Blockade duty for it is a very dull lazy life and I am sick of it. The vessel is very comfortable and

the accommodations are better than in any other vessel in the squadron.

Well I will bid you good Bye for the present. I hope that you will write and let me know how you are. So farewell dear Mother until I meet again with you. I send my love to you

from your affectionate son
John

[In pencil]

My dear wife, I am just in receipt of the foregoing letter from John and knowing your anxiety endorse it to you at once. I wrote you two days since. We are all as well as usual but busy packing up. It is a miserable job and I wish it was over. We hope to get through this week or Monday. All join in much love to you.

Your affectionate husband

N. Y., August 4.

Off Indian River, Sunday, Aug. 7th, 1864

Dear Father,

The last few days have been terrible on board this vessel, between twenty-five and thirty men down sick with some kind of fever. The doctor has been sick over a week with it and he says it is not the yellow fever, but does not know what to call it. The Purser Steward died with it on Friday morning, a Seaman at night, and another died at 6. A. M. Saturday morning. They are sick but a few days. The Captain has sent word to the Admiral at Key West, and possibly he may send the ship home. She is no use now, hardly men enough, well, to man one gun. This vessel is badly ventilated, no air ports on her berth deck, and he ought to send her home. I am pretty well, thank God. Some of the officers are complaining but as yet, none of us are down. I

think the men are better today and hope the worst is over. The weather is very changeable. It rains hard for a few minutes, then the sun shines again. The men who are and have been sick, receive the best of care; their messmates, who are well, nurse them as a mother would her own child. I never saw the like of it. I think it is owing to the care taken of them that they are getting over it. I was away on an expedition, in a boat, for a week, inside and was taken sick. I was unwell for four days. I suppose it was the same fever, but I held out for a week and when I came on board I felt pretty well and have been so ever since, and hope I may continue so. I hardly know what to write about and will bring my letter to a close. Hoping to see you all again in health and happiness, I send my love to you all at home and mother, Grandpa and Aunt Kate. Good bye until I hear from you

Your affectionate son
John

Sunday eve Aug. 7th

No change. Thirty three men down with the fever, but I think they are rather better tonight. I am still well, thank God. We are anxiously looking for a vessel with assistance. No one has died thus far today.

Your son
John

Monday, August 8th

Fever still increasing. More than two thirds of this ship's company down, but no more fatality as yet. I am still well, thank God. Some of the sick are better.

Your affectionate son
John

Tuesday, August 9th

I am still very well, thank God. The fever is better I think. Love to all. One of the boys died this morning. Three officers are down with the fever but are getting better.

Your affectionate son
John

Wednesday, Aug. 10

Two more of the men died this morning and I think more will die. I am still well, thank God. No assistance yet. It is hard to see the men die and still this vessel lies here on the Blockade. I hope God will send us assistance soon.

Your affectionate son
John

Thursday, Aug. 11th

I am still well, thank God. Two more of the men died last night. Some of the rest are better. The officers I think are getting better. Love to all at home and mother.

Your affectionate son
John

Friday, August 12th

Two more dead with the fever. I am still well, thank God, and I hope God will preserve me through this sickness. Some are getting better. No more new cases, thank God. Love to all.

Your affectionate son
John

Saturday, August 13th

A Steamer has just arrived from Key West bringing another doctor and some ice. She will return im-

mediately. I am still well, thank God. An officer and two men died yesterday and last night. *Pray for your wayward son.* I hope that God will preserve me. The Captain is down. There are but two watch officers well, myself and one other. I send my love to you all. God bless you.

from your affectionate son

John

P. S. I expect we will come home in a short time. Do not worry about me. I hope God will spare me to see you again.

Indian River
Saturday, Aug. 13/64

Dear Brother,

We are in great trouble. We have the Yellow fever on this vessel. Have lost one officer and twelve men. There are twelve down sick now. The Captain and three other officers are also sick. I am still well, thank God and God only Knows if I will be permitted to go clear or not, but I hope he will spare me and if I live I think I will be home before long for this vessel will not be left here. Tell father not to worry about me. I hope God will spare me and permit us to meet again on earth. I am well, thank God. I cannot write much and you must excuse me. I send my love to all. God bless you.

Your affect. brother

John

Aug. 13 P. S. We are bound home. If I live I will see you soon. Tell father.

(Excerpt from an official report made August 24th, 1864, by Acting Ensign William J. Eldredge who commanded the *J. S. Chambers* after the death of her commanding officer:)

“Our captain and executive officer being down sick, the command devolved on myself.

There remained but one other officer fit for duty, Acting Master's Mate, J. F. VanNest At sea at 1 p.m. on the 15th instant, Acting Assistant Surgeon Williams was seized with nervous debility and insanity, brought on by over exertion, anxiety, and attention to the sick for many days and nights previous.

At 6 p.m. on the 18th instant, Acting Master's Mate J. F. Van Nest in, it is supposed, a fit of derangement jumped overboard and was drowned in spite of every effort made to save him*

**Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I. v. 17, pp. 748, 749.

John Field Van Nest (1838-1864) was the son of John Van Nest and Elizabeth Leiper Janeway Van Nest. The above letters are published with the Bind permission of Sarah Hayes Van Nest and Niel W. Upham, relatives of the writer. They are in the possession of Mr. Upham.

BOOK REVIEWS

North Carolina Historical Records Survey, *List of the "Papeles Procedentes de Cuba" (Cuban Papers) in the Archives of the North Carolina Historical Commission* (North Carolina Historical Records Survey, Raleigh, 1942), VI+78 pp., mimeographed; bibliography, index.

This calendar, prepared under the aegis of the North Carolina Historical Commission, will be welcomed by students of southeastern colonial history. The *List* covers the period 1777-1800, which was a time notable for frontier diplomacy, intrigue, and schemes of empire. Long-established Spanish colonials looked with distrust upon American aggressiveness and "duplicity", while hard-bitten American pioneers hungered for land and followed the streams of the South into Spanish territory; and Spain and our young nation, struggling for solution of their own peculiar frontier problems, found matters doubly complicated through the intervention of France and Britain. "Many questions of grave import to the future of America," reads the Introduction to the *List*, "clamored for decision during this quarter-century, but final adjustment was rendered impossible because of primitive methods of transportation, piracy, and misunderstanding These colonial papers make very real the difficulties encountered as well as the earnest endeavor put forth to overcome them [They] constitute primary source material on some of the burning questions of that day, including free navigation of the Mississippi River, boundary disputes between Spain and the United States, Indian policies and relations: immigration, the State of Franklyn, the founding of Kentucky, the South Carolina Yazoo Company, and Spanish and American intrigues involving citizens of both nations."

It should be clearly understood that the North Carolina photostats and transcripts comprise a selection from— not a complete duplication of— the voluminous *Papeles de Cuba* in the *Archivo General de Indias* at Seville. Nor is the collection complete, for this and other copying projects were halted in 1927 by royal Spanish order. Selections of documents were made, of course, on the basis of significance for North Carolina history, and it naturally follows that value to other states is limited. Nonetheless this collection may be cited as of definite importance to Florida historians, and the publication of this calendar of 474 items has made the material gratifyingly accessible.

There are approximately 100 items relating specifically to East Florida and about the same number for West Florida, though the coverage for the latter province is the more extensive. It should be pointed out that the collection at Raleigh is supplemented by other *Papeles* material in the Library of Congress, in the collection of the Florida State Historical Society, and, to a degree, by scattered *Papeles* copies elsewhere. The guides published by Carnegie Institution of Washington are helpful for determining the relative coverage of the North Carolina papers.

The calendaring was competently done by Ruth Kuykendall, the young translator well known for her work in Spanish and French materials (including the *Papeles*) in the Spanish Records of the North Carolina Historical Commission. A typical entry adequately reflects the hectic nature of the times:

1795, June 9. Bart [olo]me Morales, Temporary Governor Florida, Saint Augustine, Fla. To Luis de las Casas [Havana, Cuba]. No. 13. Encloses copies of letters which show the desperate condition of affairs on the frontier; many new people have come from the United States because of

crimes committed there; others to escape payment of debt; thinks province better uncultivated and deserted than to have "this gang of rogues"; still fears that General Clarke will attack Florida. Typed copy, letter, signed. 3 pp. Papeles de Cuba bundle 1438; no. 13.

ALBERT MANUCY

John Bartram: Diary of a Journey. Through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, 1765-66. Annotated by Francis Harper. Transactions of the American Philosophical Society XXXIII, part I., 1942. 120 p. \$2.

A part of John Bartram's diary is well-known through its publication with Stork's *Account of East Florida*, but the whole has never been published. Now that we have it all it is realized how large a portion of the observations of this eminent botanist during his ten months of travel has been denied us. This Quaker botanist to the king of England made his journey through the South Atlantic costal area presumably in a search for natural resources which might be developed by the home government, especially in the lately acquired sub-tropical Florida.

The Diary from December 18, 1765 to the following February 12, which appeared with Stork's work, related especially to Florida and this has become a standard reference to East Florida, St. Augustine, and the St. Johns river for the early years of the British occupation. But the hitherto unpublished part is of even greater interest to the Florida, historian; and information long desired in St. Augustine now becomes available, set forth in minute detail by the very careful Bartram.

Dr. Harper followed Bartram's route himself throughout, with identifications of places, plants, and animals; so these, with numerous other anno-

tations, add greatly to the value of the publication as well as interest to the reader. His introduction shows how wide the interest was in its preparation and how intensive his own study was in correlating its natural history with natural features and clarifying numerous moot questions of the past century and a half.

Dr. Harper is research director of the John Bartram Association of Philadelphia. He has edited also a report which William Bartram made to his London patron, Dr. John Fothergill. This publication will be to William Bartram's famous "Travels . . ." what the other is to his father's "Diary" It will appear soon, when the two will be available in a single volume, or they may be had singly.

The Bartrams hold a noteworthy— even a unique place in the botanical and historical literature of Florida, and this is emphasized by tributes and brief sketches of their lives in Dr. Hume's paper in this number of the *Quarterly*.

KATHERINE S. LAWSON

THE UNION CATALOG OF FLORIDIANA

This project at Rollins College has often been told of in the *Quarterly*; especially, in our issue of October 1937 (XVI. 119), is an account of its founding and of the well-laid plans for its growth and usefulness. So far as has been possible, these plans are being carried out, and today the Catalog is a well-established and constantly growing medium for the dissemination of information on every kind of printed or manuscript material relating in any way to Florida.

The Union Catalog of Floridiana is now recognized as an important cultural institution of the state, and this recognition is extending beyond our borders. A description of the Catalog and the service it is rendering appeared in the last number of *Hispanic American Historical Review*, which said:

“ . . . Rare Florida materials are so widely scattered that researchers . . . are bewildered and delayed for want of ready answers to the questions: What material is there on Florida? and, where is it?

“Librarians, historians, and others interested in the only partly explored Florida field are endeavoring to aid investigators through the development of a Union Catalog of Floridiana, a cooperative project established in 1937 under the trusteeship of Rollins College. The purpose of the Catalog is twofold: To list materials relating to Florida by author, title, and subjects, and thus provide a comprehensive and readily usable index; and to indicate by means of symbols the location of these materials.

“ . . . ‘Floridiana’ includes here all records, published and unpublished, treating of the geographic division recognized at any time as Florida, such as (1) printed books, pamphlets, reports, public and

private records and documents; (2) newspapers and periodicals published within the state, and newspaper and periodical articles about Florida published elsewhere; (3) diaries, letters, and other manuscripts; (4) maps and charts; (5) pictures, photographs, motion picture films and microfilms.

“The Catalog is maintained and developed by contributions of listings and other services from librarians and historians, and by funds from public-spirited laymen”

The work of the Catalog is carried on by an editor, Della F. Northey, and it is under the direction of Miss Northey and an advisory council with Professor A. J. Hanna, its founder, as chairman.

In order to make readily available the material in the more important Florida periodicals Miss Northey has undertaken to make an analysis on cards of each of those periodical files. Sets of these cards will be available separately at cost, and she would be glad to give any information about the securing of the cards to those interested.

The first of these analyses has been made of this *Quarterly* from its beginning. In a statement, which will be sent to any one interested, Miss Northey says: “The *Florida Historical Quarterly* was selected as the first periodical to be analyzed because of the value of its contents and because files are preserved in most of the public libraries of the State Few, even of those who often read this *Quarterly*, realize that its file covers much that is not generally looked upon as history, and the history itself has the broadest coverage. There are articles, of course, on the early settlements, on colonial days, the Spanish missions, the Indians, on all of the wars (and Florida has had many), and the forts, built mostly in times of peace. There are letters and diaries to give intimate contact with the

life of all periods, and numerous biographies of Floridians of every era. All that was to be expected; but also there is more or less information on education, on roads and every kind of transportation, newspapers with a list of extant issues, the courts, citrus, land grants, the churches, censuses, meteorology, yellow fever, slavery and free Negroes; and something of the culture of each age can be gleaned from its pages if it is not directly described. Economics is featured, with much on plantations, trade, the early banks, and railroad building. Pre-history is included with several articles on the archeology of the region, and what the white man found when he first came here. And, least expected, there is an article on the music of the Seminoles with notes and cadences recorded from their dances.

“The analysis has been made on library cards to make possible a continuing service as each number appears. There are annotations, and where source material has been cited its location is indicated by means of symbols. Another reason for making the analysis on cards is to conform to the custom of libraries to collect and segregate all material on their state, county, and city with a detailed card index to that material. Such a plan has been suggested at Florida library conferences and several libraries have used this method with success.”

THE JOURNALS OF EARLY TERRITORIAL FLORIDA LEGISLATIVE PROCEEDINGS

Professor W. S. Jenkins, of the Department of Political Science of the University of North Carolina, has carried out an important project for the Library of Congress. A special effort has been made by the Library to secure files of the printed legislative journals of all of the states. Some of these journals were never printed, and in a few cases apparently no copy of the printed journals has survived.

Professor Jenkins has completed a project of making, from many sources, microfilm copies of all of these journals. Where no printed copy was found, he secured copies of the original manuscript journals, and where these latter have not survived he searched all available newspaper files for the full journals or any synopses or extracts of the proceedings.

The Florida journals— He has made microfilm copies of seven of the eight printed Florida journals which the Library of Congress lacks. Some of these he filmed in the State Library, one came from the library of the University of Florida, and others he filmed in the library of Julien C. Yonge. No copy of the printed journal of the 8th session, of October 1829, is known.

He writes: "I have now completed the legislative journals microfilm project. The Florida film goes down through the November 1848 session. It is composed of four reels of approximately 100 feet each I was able to find newspaper reports for all of the sessions beginning with the 2nd session, May 1823, through the 8th session, October 1829, although some of the sessions are not completely reported. I found the manuscript journal of the 9th session, January 1831 I agree with you

that the evidence is fairly conclusive that no journals were printed prior to the session of 1829. Although I have not yet had the opportunity to thoroughly search through the proceedings published in the newspapers, a casual reading of them reveals no evidence of separate publication.”

THE TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES

Volume X of *The Territorial Papers of the United States* has appeared. This series was fully described in the *Quarterly*, the issue of October 1941 (XX.216). It consists of one or more volumes for each of the former territories, in which the most important documentary material found in any of the government depositories in Washington is edited and printed. The present volume is the first of three relating to Michigan territory. As the volumes are issued in the order of the creation of the territories, it will be several years before the volumes of Florida documents are reached. Dr. Clarence E. Carter of the Division of Research and Publications of the Department of State, is the editor of the series.

The January issue of *Bulletins of the American Association for State and Local History* (I.5) is “Publicity Program for the local Historical Society,” by J. Martin Stroup.

The author, who has successfully handled just such programs, gives an account of his experience, with numerous suggestions applicable to any local historical society.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The war has had its effect on the activities and plans of the Society, and of course it should. The annual meeting was of the usual pattern but much curtailed, and, under the conditions, was very successful. Watt Marchman, our librarian and corresponding secretary, our wheel and motor, is in the Army; but the Society is fortunate in that our secretary-treasurer, Albert Manucy, historical technician of the National Park Service, is in St. Augustine, and fortunate too that Mrs. Alberta Johnson who is experienced in such, has taken up Mr. Marchman's work while he is away. So the library is still continuously at the service of our members and of every one interested in Florida's history.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in the Seminole hotel in Jacksonville on March 9. Notwithstanding the times and transportation difficulties it was a very successful meeting with interesting historical papers and rare exhibits, and our usual luncheon and dinner with many members and guests. This issue of the *Quarterly* has been held so as to include the program, the Minutes, and the president's and the treasurer's reports. Sketches of the new officers and directors will appear in the next number.

THE PROGRAM

10:30 A.M. Meeting of the Board of Directors.

11:30 A.M. Presiding: Gaines R. Wilson, 2nd vice president.

Greetings: Mayor John T. Alsop, of Jacksonville.

- “Folk Songs of Florida and their Cultural Backgrounds” by Alton C. Morris, professor of English, University of Florida, and editor of *Southern Folklore Quarterly*.
- 1:00 P.M. Luncheon. Toastmaster, Richard P. Daniel.
“Steamboat Navigation on the St. Johns River” by John M. Sweeney;
- 3:30 P.M. Presiding: Calvin Horace Curry, past president.
Reports of local historical societies.
- 3:30 P.M. Business meeting. Presiding: Herbert Lamson, president.
Reports of officers.
Reports of committees:
Archeology, Mrs. Charles D. Towers, member.
Cooperation with St. Augustine Restoration Program, A. J. Hanna, chairman.
Finance, A. J. Hanna.
Library, Mrs. William C. Bowers, chairman.
Preservation and Restoration of Florida Antiquities, Mrs. Millar Wilson, member.
Robertson, Bibliographical, Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna.
New business and election of officers.
- 7:00 P.M. Annual dinner. Toastmaster, Philip S. May.
Moving pictures of the State Parks on historical sites in Florida, by Mrs. Lynwood Jeffreys.

“Jacksonville’s Wartime. History” by
T. Frederick Davis;
Introductions, including former president
Joshua C. Chase of Winter
Park.

COMMITTEES

Program: F. Eberhart. Haynes, chairman. Mrs.
Charles D. Towers, A. J. Hanna.

Local arrangements : Richard P. Daniel, chair-
man. Dr. Carita Doggett Corse, Philip S. May.

Exhibits: Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, Dr. Carita
Doggett Corse.

MINUTES OF THE ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING OF THE
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, HELD AT THE SEMINOLE
HOTEL, JACKSONVILLE, MARCH 9, 1943

The meeting was called to order by Mr. Herbert
Lamson, president, who requested Mr. C. H. Curry
of Quincy to preside at the presentation of reports
from local historical societies.

Mr. Thomas P. Caldwell of Miami, treasurer of
the Historical Association of Southern Florida,
summarized the work of the Association since its
establishment and mentioned the successful recep-
tion given *Tequesta*, the publication of the organi-
zation. Mr. Caldwell also reported that the officers
of the Association were successfully working to
increase membership in the Florida Historical
Society.

Mr. X. L. Pellicer of St. Augustine, vice-president
of the St. Augustine Historical Society, reported
the pleasure with which his organization welcomed
the establishment of the Florida Historical Society
library in St. Augustine, and pledged full coopera-
tion. Mr. Pellicer’s report indicated the significant

work of the St. Augustine society in connection with naval and military visitation.

Mr. Curry announced with regret the absence and illness of Dr. Edmund L. Dow, president of the Palm Beach Historical Society.

Mr. W. T. Cash of Tallahassee, state librarian and past president of the Tallahassee Historical Society, gave an entertaining resume of the work of that group, stating that several tangible results had been obtained.

Dr. Carita D. Corse of Jacksonville reported for Mr. Herbert M. Corse, president of the Jacksonville Historical Society. She described briefly the types of programs which had been presented and said that several papers had subsequently been developed for publication in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Dr. Corse also mentioned certain researches in progress by members of the Jacksonville society, and the erection of historical markers by this organization. She concluded by mentioning that the Jacksonville Historical Society had offered to cooperate with other organizations for the development of museums in Jacksonville.

Before relinquishing the chair, Mr. Curry offered a tribute to the retiring president, Mr. Lamson. The loss of Mr. Watt Marchman, corresponding secretary and librarian, to the armed service, said Mr. Curry, had made Mr. Lamson's administration unusually difficult. Mr. Pellicer also rose to express appreciation of Mr. Marchman's work and to voice the hope that he would return to his position in the Society after the war. Professor A. J. Hanna, of Rollins College, told the members that Corporal Marchman had been selected for the Army's officer candidate school. This news was received with manifest pleasure.

President Lamson accepted the chair from Mr.

Curry. Roll call was dispensed with, since a quorum was present.

Mr. Lamson then read the report of the president.

Mrs. Alberta Johnson of St. Augustine, acting corresponding secretary and librarian, reported on membership, which is now 800, including 24 contributing members, 49 libraries and 68 exchanges. A total of 33 new memberships were received during the past year. Mrs. Johnson also talked briefly about the type of work in which she is engaged for the Society and the present value of the library to students. Of special interest to the members was the information that the Society had acquired on permanent loan the duplicate files of the Florida Federal Writers' Project. For the further information of members, Dr. Corse, former director of the project, indicated the types of materials to be found in the extensive collection. The President expressed the appreciation of the Society to Mrs. Johnson for her work, and described the present library establishment of our organization in St. Augustine.

Mr. Albert Manucy of St. Augustine, treasurer, next read his report. The President remarked on the encouraging status of both membership and finances, in spite of the impact of wartime conditions. It was indicated, however, that continuous effort must be expended in order to maintain the Society during the coming year.

Dr. Kathryn T. Abbey (Mrs. A. J. Hanna) of Rollins College moved the acceptance of the officers' reports, and their filing with the secretary. The motion carried and it was so ordered.

Mrs. Charles D. Towers of Jacksonville, chairman, reported for the archeology committee, which is laying plans for post-war activities.

Professor Hanna, chairman, gave the report of the committee for cooperation with the St. Augustine Historical Program. This committee, he stated, has very much in mind the importance of the restoration project, to post-war culture and hemispheric solidarity. Professor Hanna called upon Mr. Pellicer, who said that the historical and archeological collection of the Historical Program had been deposited with the St. Augustine Historical Society. The work of cataloguing the collection was interrupted by the war, but he expressed the hope that a brief report might soon be completed in order to show the type of material in the collection. Mrs. Towers exhibited the scrapbook of the historic Fatio house of St. Augustine, now owned by the Colonial Dames. She also described the preservation work on the house done by that organization, and mentioned the growth of the library at the house. In conclusion she touched upon the work of the Colonial Dames in collecting photographs of historic houses.

Mrs. William C. Bowers of Winter Park, chairman, reported that the library committee is attempting to foster interest in the library and to encourage the donation of books and other gifts. There were numerous valuable accessions during the year.

Dr. Abbey, chairman of the Robertson bibliography committee, stated that groundwork was being laid for the essential work of transcribing Dr. Robertson's manuscript notes on which the compilation is to be based. She also called attention to the recent publication of the Robertson memorial volume, *Hispanic American Essays*.

Mrs. Millar Wilson of Jacksonville reported for the committee for the preservation and restoration of Florida antiquities. She spoke particularly about the work on the Munsillia house on Fort

George island, entertaining the members with the story of how the present name of the house was acquired. She said that the former names of "ghost house" and "tabby house" were both unsatisfactory, and when Munsillia's ownership was established through investigation of an early record, it was decided to use this more euphonious and specific name. Mrs. Wilson pointed out the marker which was on display among the exhibits prior to its erection at the house. In concluding, Mrs. Wilson expressed the hope that further investigatory work on the site might be done after the war.

Mr. Gaines R. Wilson of Miami suggested that greetings from the Society be sent to Mr. Marchman at Camp McCain, Mississippi. The members also decided that greetings should be sent to Mr. Julien C. Yonge of Pensacola, editor of the *Quarterly*.

The President appointed a committee of Messrs. Wilson, Hanna and Caldwell to compose and send the telegrams.

Mr. Philip S. May of Jacksonville reported the recommendations of the board of directors.

Mr. May moved that the following recommendations of the directors be presented to the incoming board of directors: (1) that certain unimproved land owned by the Society in Volusia county be sold advantageously and the proceeds used for the purchase of war bonds; (2) that the quiet solicitation of war bond gifts to the Society be continued. It was seconded, and discussion followed.

President Lamson explained the plan by which the Society hopes to acquire war bond gifts to be used for post-war acquisition of a permanent headquarters building, or home. Mr. Pellicer added that Series F bonds of \$100 denomination could be

purchased and placed in the name of the corporation. He offered a contribution of one quarter the purchase price of such a bond.

Mr. May's motion was carried.

Mr. May next reported that the directors recommended continuation of the Society library in its present quarters. This recommendation was made in view of the fact that the City of Marianna had offered the Society space for quarters on a permanent lease basis at a nominal rental.

Mr. May moved that the acting corresponding secretary write the City of Marianna expressing appreciation of the offer and explaining the feeling of the Society that the location in historic St. Augustine, birthplace of the Society, should be retained. It was carried.

There was another brief discussion about the location of the Volusia county land owned by the Society. As a result of this discussion,

Mrs. Alton B. Whitman of Orlando moved that the incoming board discover the location of the property in relation to the historic sites in the region, investigate its status, and consider carefully its values before deciding upon the desirability of disposing of it. It was carried.

The recording secretary read a letter from the U. S. Maritime Commission requesting the Society to submit 25 names of leading personages (deceased) in the history of the state, together with authenticating biographical information, which names might be used for liberty ships.

Mr. Wilson moved that the request be referred to the new board with power to act. It was carried.

Mr. Richard F. Daniel of Jacksonville moved that the Society recognize the historical sig-

nificance of St. Johns Bluff in Duval county by instructing the President to write the senior and junior senators from Florida to the effect that it is the sentiment of the Society that the Federal government should take action to establish the St. Johns Bluff area as a unit in the national park system. It was seconded.

Mrs. Towers endorsed the motion, as did others. Dr. Corse said that in the past the Jacksonville Historical Society had adopted resolutions of a similar nature.

The motion carried.

Mr. Lamson read a letter from Mr. Yonge, indicating that issuance of the April number of the *Quarterly* would be withheld until reports of the annual meeting could be included.

Mr. Daniel proposed for the consideration of the membership the suggestion that important talks presented at the various programs of the Society be transcribed literally by a stenographer. He cited the source material value of extemporaneous reminiscences, materials which are likely to be lost unless steps are taken to transpose them into a permanent record. Dr. Corse agreed. Mr. Cash asked for a statement of the Society policy on preservation of the various papers which were read. Mr. Lamson said that some papers were subsequently published in the *Quarterly*, though not as a part of the proceedings of the program meetings. Professor Hanna remarked that the editor's policy is to publish as many of the higher quality papers as possible, and suggested that the practical way to preserve all historical materials presented was to request the contributor to present a copy of the paper to the library. He explained further that some contributors were reluctant to furnish copies, inasmuch as their work may be either incomplete or scheduled for publication elsewhere. Mr. Pellicer

took this occasion to mention the work of Mrs. E. W. Lawson in interviewing old inhabitants for the St. Augustine Historical Society. Dr. Corse touched upon the similar work done by the Federal Writers' Project.

Mrs. Pillar Wilson read the following report of the nominations committee:

GAINES R. WILSON, Miami, *president*.

MAJOR JOHN B. STETSON, JR., U.S.M.C., DeLand, *first vice-president*.

PHILIP S. MAY, Jacksonville, *second vice-president*

ALBERT C. MANUCY, St. Augustine, *recording secretary and treasurer*.

WATT P. MARCHMAN, U.S.A., (on leave), *corresponding secretary and librarian*.

MRS. ALBERTA JOHNSON, acting *corresponding secretary and librarian*.

KARL A. BICKEL, Sarasota, *director-at-large*

CHARLES T. THRIFT, JR., Southern College, *director-at-large*.

RICHARD P. DANIEL, Jacksonville, *director, 2nd congressional district*.

WILEY R. REYNOLDS, Palm Beach, *director, 4th congressional district*.

Nominations committee for 1944 election:

A. J. HANNA, Rollins College, *chairman*,

C. H. CURRY, Quincy.

HERBERT LAMSON, Jacksonville.

MRS. F. B. CROWNINSHIELD, Boca Grande

MISS DENA SNODGRASS, Orlando.

The President called for further nominations. Professor Hanna moved the acceptance of the report, the close of nominations, and that the secretary cast the ballot for the nominees. The motion carried and it was so done.

Professor Hanna moved a rising vote of thanks to the retiring officers. It was carried and so done.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted

ALBERT C. MANUCY

Recording Secretary

Approved:

HERBERT LAMSON
President

REPORT OF THE PRESIDENT

The president is glad to report that, after a little over one year of war, the Society appears to be holding its own. The *QUARTERLY* has been published as usual, under the able direction of the editor, Mr. Julien C. Yonge. The library has been kept open for use by interested people.

The directors have held four meetings since the last annual meeting. The first directors' meeting was held at the home of the president, 3022 Riverside avenue, Jacksonville, at which several matters referred to the Board by the annual meeting were taken up and discussed and plans made to carry them into effect. The second board meeting was held on May 9th, 1942, at the Lodge in the bird sanctuary at Fort George island, as the guests of Mrs. Millar Wilson. An interesting feature of this meeting was a visit to the historic tabby house on Fort George island. Both of these meetings were attended by a quorum of the board and were enjoyed by all in attendance.

The Society, through a committee appointed by the president, assisted materially in plans for several historical floats that appeared in the Navy relief day parade held in Jacksonville of April 30th, 1942.

On December 8th, 1942, four members of the Board of Directors met at the Castle Warden hotel, in St. Augustine, to consider the situation brought about by the imminence of induction of our valued corresponding secretary and librarian, Mr. Watt Marchman, into the United States Army. Owing to transportation difficulties a quorum was not present, so no official action could be taken. Since it was imperative that something be done toward obtaining a successor to Mr. Marchman, so that the library could remain open and the business attendant upon the offices of corresponding secre-

tary and librarian could be transacted, the directors present unanimously agreed that the president should be authorized to request Mr. Marchman to obtain the services of Mrs. Alberta Johnson, of St. Augustine, to take over the duties of corresponding secretary and librarian upon Mr. Marchman's induction in the Army. Upon authority of the president, Mr. Marchman invited Mrs. Johnson to take over his duties, which she did at the time he went into the Army a short time thereafter. Mrs. Johnson has filled this post admirably.

The last meeting of this present Board was held this morning at the Seminole Hotel, here in Jacksonville. At this meeting the action of the unofficial meeting of December 8th, held at St. Augustine in appointing Mrs. Johnson to be acting corresponding secretary and librarian in the place of Mr. Watt Marchman was ratified and approved, and the Board recommended to this present meeting that Mrs. Johnson be continued in those offices for the ensuing year.

Details of the various matters that have come before the Board of Directors are set forth in the minutes of the several meetings held.

It is felt that the Society has been of great benefit throughout the past year in placing its facilities at the disposal of those seeking knowledge of Florida history for various purposes of interest to them, and it is felt further that such knowledge cannot fail to be of benefit to all who seek it. An acquaintance with the characters who have passed across the stage of Florida history is an inspiration to all who learn of their doings. In times like these this inspiration is needed and is of inestimable value.

One cannot fail to be inspired with faith in the past and hope for the future when seeking to uphold the ends for which this Society was organized, as those ends were expressed by one of the great men

of Florida, George R. Fairbanks, and which appear on the inside cover sheet of each copy of the QUARTERLY, and are as follows:

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

Respectfully submitted,
 HERBERT LAMSON
 President

REPORT OF THE TREASURER

To the president and members of the Florida Historical Society:

The following statements comprise the treasurer's report on the financial condition of the Society as of March 1, 1943. Due to an increasing deficit in the librarian's salary fund, this fund has been consolidated with the general fund.

General fund			
balance, March 6, 1942		\$1,084.92	
less deficit in librarian's salary fund as of March 5, 1942		-100.00	
		<hr/>	
corrected balance, March 5, 1942		984.92	
receipts			
dues	\$2,059.86		
gifts	19.00		
sale of publications	16.05		
	<hr/>		
		2,094.91	\$3,079.83

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FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

expenditures			
Florida Historical Quarterly			
(four numbers)			
salaries	1,065.65		
	<u>1,660.00</u>		
balance, March 1, 1943		2,725.65	
		<u>354.18</u>	3,079.83
State of Florida fund			
new account, May 10, 1942			
receipts		1,650.00	1,650.00
expenditures			
rent	325.00		
other	<u>961.39</u>	1,286.39	
balance, March 1, 1943		<u>363.61</u>	1,650.00
Building fund			
new account, March 6, 1942			
receipts		25.00	25.00
expenditures	none		
balance, March 1, 1943		25.00	25.00
Archeology fund			
balance, March 5, 1942		\$33.50	
receipts		<u>56.00</u>	\$89.50
expenditures	none		
balance, March 1, 1943			89.50
Robertson memorial fund			
balance, March 5, 1942		4.00	4.00
receipts	none		
expenditures	none		
balance, March 1, 1943			4.00
Life membership fund			
balance, March 5, 1942		200.00	200.00
receipts	none		
expenditures	none		
balance, March 1, 1943			200.00
Consolidated statement			
balance, March 5, 1942		\$1,222.42	
receipts		<u>3,825.91</u>	\$5,048.33
expenditures		4,012.04	
balance, March 1, 1943		<u>1,036.29</u>	5,048.33

Respectfully submitted,
 ALBERT C. MANUCY
 Treasurer

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Numerous donations have been made to the library during the past quarter. Paul A. Hardaway, of Pawtucket, R. I., has added the following to his former generous contributions:

"History of Pinellas Peninsula" by J. A. Bethel. 1914.

Dodge, "Sub-Tropical Florida" (from *Scribner's*, March 1894).

"The Cruise of the Wallowy" (from *Harper's*, January 1885).

"The Key to the Gulf" by C. P. Holder (from *Scientific American*).

Numerous other articles from *Scientific American* 1872-1907.

Congressional Globe, Feb. 27, 1855, "Construction of Rail Roads in Florida."

From Mrs. Vivian Yeiser Laramore, editor, "Florida Poets" An anthology of poems published in *Miami Daily News*.

"Palmetto Country", by Stetson Kennedy.

From Mrs. Laura Emerson Gradick, author, "Ballard of Winonah, a Legend of Silver Springs."

U. S. Government documents relating to Georgia-Florida boundary, 1834.

Documents relating to West Florida claims.

Spanish land claims in Florida, 1835.

The Society has purchased 150 miscellaneous articles on Florida subjects from magazines and newspapers.

The value of such as historical material is sometimes underestimated. While these are often colored and are frequently from unreliable sources, yet they sometimes contain information that can be found nowhere else and give clues to unthought-of sources.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

H. HAROLD HUME is Dean of the College of Agriculture of the University of Florida. He has written much on the horticulture of the region, including *The Cultivation of Citrus Fruits* and *Gardening in the South*.

ALBERT MANUCY, secretary-treasurer of the Florida Historical Society, is historical technician for the Southern National Monuments of the National Park Service.

SIDNEY WALTER MARTIN is assistant professor of history in the University of Georgia. He has made extensive research on the territorial period in Florida.