

Florida Historical Quarterly

Volume 26
Number 1 *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol 26,
Issue 1

Article 1

1947

Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 26, Issue 1

Florida Historical Society
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Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1947) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 26, Issue 1," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 26: No. 1, Article 1.

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The
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

Volume XXXVI
July, 1947-April 1948

PUBLISHED BY THE
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. AUGUSTINE

CONTENTS OF VOLUME XXVI

ARTICLES AND AUTHORS

- Apalachee 1946*, reviewed ; 103
- Banking and Currency in Florida*; 356
- Book Reviews; 101, 105, 264, 275
- Boyd, Mark F.: *Foreword to Essay on Middle Florida*; 199
- Boyd, Mark F.: Translation of *The Siege of St. Augustine . . . 1702*; 345
- British Development of West Florida*, C. N. Howard, reviewed; 101
- Broward, Napoleon B., *The Years to the Governorship*; Samuel Proctor; 117
- Castelnau, Comte de: *Essay on Middle Florida, 1837-1838*. Translated by Arthur R. Seymour; 199, 300
- Cespedes, Governor, and the Religious Problem in East Florida, 1786-1787*; Richard K. Murdoch; 325
- Chase, Joshua C.; 364
- Clubbs, Occie : *Stephen Russell Mallory, Part III*; 56
- Collier County, A New Map of*; John M. Goggin ; 353
- Contributors to Florida Historical Quarterly*; 115, 197, 369
- Dodd, Dorothy : *Locating the County Seat of Jacksonville County* ; 44
- Doherty, Herbert J. Jr.; *Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928*; 174
- Dovell, J. E.: *The Everglades Before Reclamation*; 1
- Dovell, J. E. Review of *The Everglades, River of Grass*; 275
- Douglas, Marjorie Stoneman : *The Everglades, River of Grass*, reviewed ; 275
- Everglades Before Reclamation*: J. E. Dovell; 1
- Essay on Middle Florida 1837-1838*: Comte de Castelnau; 199
- Everglades, River of Grass*: Marjory Stoneman Douglas, reviewed; 274
- Flagler's Associates in East Florida Development*: S. Walter Martin; 256
- Florida and the Presidential Election of 1928*: Herbert J. Doherty Jr. ; 174
- Florida Historical Society ; 107, 187, 279, 358
- Florida in the North Carolina Spanish Records, Part II*: Albert C. Manucy ; 77
- From Pensacola to St. Augustine in 1827*: Rt. Rev. Michael Portier ; 135
- Goggin, John W.: *A New Collier County Map*; 353
- Gorrie, Dr. John, and Refrigeration*: Ruth E. Mier ; 167
- Governor Cespedes and the Religious Problem in East Florida, 1786-1787*: Richard K. Murdoch; 325
- Howard, Clinton N.: *The British Development of West Florida*, reviewed ; 101
- Historical Association of Southern Florida, *Tequesta 1946*, reviewed; 105. *Tequesta 1947*, reviewed ; 264
- Jackson County, Locating the County Seat of*: Dorothy Dodd ; 44
- Jacksonville Historical Society ; 104
- Key West, view of; 320, 321
- Lockey, Joseph Byrne*; 98
- Magnolia, view of; 317

- Mallory, Stephen Russell, Part III: Occie Clubbs; 56
Manucy, Albert C.: *Florida in North Carolina Spanish Records*, Part II; 77
Martin, S. Walter: *Flagler's Associates in East Florida Development*; 256
Middle Florida, Essay on: Comte de Castelnau. Translated by Arthur R. Seymour ; 199
Mier, Ruth: *More About Dr. John Gorrie and Refrigeration*; 167
Moore, Governor, *Siege of St. Augustine*: Translated by Mark F. Boyd; 345
Mt. Vernon, Arsenal at, view of; 215
Murdoch, Richard K.: *Governor Céspedes and the Religious Problem in East Florida, 1786-1787*; 325
Osceola's Wife, The Episode of: Kenneth W. Porter ; 92
Pensacola on its Own, Secession in Florida; 283
Porter, Kenneth W. : *The Episode of Osceola's Wife*: 92
Portier, Rt. Rev. Michael : *From Pensacola to St. Augustine in 1827*; 135
Proctor, Samuel: *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, The Years to the Governorship*; 117
Secession in Florida, Pensacola on its Own; 283
Seymour, Arthur R. : Translation of *Essay on Middle Florida, 1837-1838*; 199, 300
Siege of St. Augustine in 1702 by Governor Moore: Translated by Mark F. Boyd; 345
St. Marks, Fort at, view of 1833; 214
Tallahassee, a street scene in, 1838; 196. capitol 216
Tallahassee Historical Society, *Apalachee*, reviewed ; 103
Tallahassee, railway at; 214
Tequesta, 1946, reviewed; 105
Tequesta 1947, reviewed; 264
Zuniga y Zerda, Report on Siege of St. Augustine, Translated by Mark F. Boyd; 345

The
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

CONTENTS

- The Everglades Before Reclamation
J. E. Dovell
- Locating the County Seat of Jackson County
Dorothy Dodd
- Stephen Russell Mallory, Part III
Occie Clubbs
- Florida in North Carolina Spanish Records, Part II
Albert C. Manucy
- The Episode of Osceola's Wife
Kenneth W. Porter
- Joseph Byrne Lockey
- New Books:
Clinton N. Howard, "The British Development of
West Florida, 1763-1769"
- The Tallahassee Historical Society
"Apalachee 1946"
- The Jacksonville Historical Society
- The Historical Association of Southern Florida
"Tequesta 1946"
- The Florida Historical Society
The annual meeting
Minutes
Report of the treasurer
Donations to the Library
New members
- Contributors to this number

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Published quarterly by
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
St. Augustine, Florida

THE EVERGLADES BEFORE RECLAMATION

by J. E. DOVELL

Within our own generation a scientist who always weighed his words could say of the Everglades:

Of the few as yet but very imperfectly explored regions in the United States, the largest perhaps is the southernmost part of Florida below the 26th degree of northern latitude. This is particularly true of the central and western portions of this region, which inland are an unmapped wilderness of everglades and cypress swamps, and off-shore a maze of low mangrove "keys" or islands, mostly unnamed and uncharted, with channels, "rivers" and "bays" about them which are known only to a few of the trappers and hunters who have lived a greater part of their life in that region. ¹

This was Ales Hrdlicka of the Smithsonian Institution, the author of a definitive study of anthropology in Florida written about 1920 ; and it is not far from the truth today.

After crossing the lower Everglades in 1897, Hugh L. Willoughby commented :

It may seem strange, in our day of Arctic and African exploration, for the general public to learn that in our very midst, as it were, in one of our Atlantic Coast States, we have a tract of land one hundred and thirty miles long and seventy miles wide that is as much unknown to the white man as the heart of Africa. ²

These words ably describe the veil of obscurity which

NOTE. This account of the Everglades and their early history is one result of the author's extensive research into all available sources. The full story of the Everglades including reclamation is the subject of an unpublished dissertation by the author which was accepted as partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy at the University of North Carolina. *Ed.*

1. Ales Hrdlicka, *The Anthropology of Florida* (Deland: The Florida State Historical Society, 1922), 5.
2. Hugh L. Willoughby, *Across the Everglades* (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1898), 13.

covered the interior of Florida below the twenty-seventh parallel from its discovery to the twentieth century. It seems almost incredible that Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades should be the objects of exploring expeditions as late as 1897. The military records of the Seminole wars, and even the Thomas Buckingham Smith report of 1848, failed in large measure to dispel the mythical fancies popularly and naturally ascribed to the region.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION

The Everglades of Florida occupy an irregularly marked shallow slough thirty-five to fifty miles wide and a hundred miles in length—an area of approximately four thousand square miles, all south of the twenty-seventh parallel of latitude with the exception of a small strip bordering the shores of Lake Okeechobee.³

Bounded on the east by a coastal fringe of sand dunes and on the west by the Ocaloocoochee Slough and the Big Cypress Swamp; the Everglades extend to the southern and southwestern coast, where salt water marshes and mangrove swamps form the southern border.⁴ The line of demarcation between the glades and adjoining areas is extremely irregular: the actual boundary between the Everglades and the contiguous prairie is where the sedges are met by grasses, cypress, salt marsh or mangroves. The soil of all is of organic origin.

This whole area constitutes the third or downstream

3. Samuel Sanford, "The Topography and Geology of Southern Florida," Florida Geological Survey, *Second Annual Report* (1909), 189; C. Wythe Cooke and Stuart Mossom, "The Geology of Florida," Florida Geological Survey, *Twentieth Annual Report* (1928), 43; E. H. Sellards, "Geologic Sections Across the Everglades," Florida Geological Survey, *Twelfth Annual Report* (1919), 67-68; J. C. Stephens and C. C. Schrontz, "The Principal Characteristics of the Kissimmee-Everglades Watershed," The Soil Science Society of Florida, *Proceedings*, IV-A (1942), 14, 24; Garald G. Parker and C. Wythe Cooke, *Late Cenozoic Geology of Southern Florida, With A Discussion of the Ground Water*, Geological Bulletin No. 27 (Tallahassee : Florida Geological Survey, 1944), 46-53 ; John H. Davis, Jr., *The Natural Features of Southern Florida, Especially the Vegetation and the Everglades*, Geological Bulletin No. 25 (Tallahassee : Florida Geological Survey, 1944), 240-294.

4. Parker and Cooke, *Geology of Southern Florida*, 46.

unit of the watershed of the interior of the Florida peninsula below the twenty-eighth parallel. The first or tributary section of this drainage area, the Kissimmee-Okeechobee Everglades watershed, comprises some five thousand square miles.⁵ The drainage elements of the first area are the Kissimmee river and numerous smaller streams. The second or middle unit of this watershed is Lake Okeechobee, a shallow body of fresh water of seven hundred and twenty square miles whose surface elevation was often twenty-two feet above sea level, but now by drainage it is regulated between fourteen and eighteen feet. The total area of the three units approaches ten thousand square miles. Formerly, under natural conditions, the outflow of the waters of the first two units passed onto the third unit.⁶

GEOLOGICAL BACKGROUND

"Taken as a whole," wrote Samuel Sanford, "the topography of the [southern] Florida mainland has all the aspects of infancy. Drainage is defective, sloughs, shallow ponds and lakes abound."⁷ These infantile aspects are due, insofar as the Everglades are concerned, to the gradient of one-tenth of a foot per mile over the hundred miles from the southern shore of Okeechobee to the Gulf. This vast basin has been the scene of the growth and slow decay of vegetation in an area of low elevation enjoying a warm climate and heavy rainfall.⁸

Scientific interest in the geology of the Everglades began after the middle of the nineteenth century. The first Florida state geologist, E. H. Sellards, brought together the geological investigations of the peninsula prior to 1908 in a section of his first report. He states that in 1825 James Pierce visited "Central Florida"

5. Stephens and Schrontz, "Characteristics of the Kissimmee-Everglades Watershed," *loc. cit.*, 14.

6. Cook and Mossom, "The Geology of Florida," *loc. cit.*, 43-44.

7. Sanford, "Topography and Geology of Southern Florida," *loc. cit.*, 179.

8. John H. Davis, Jr., *The Peat Deposits of Florida: Their Occurrence, Development, and Uses*, *Geological Bulletin* No. 30 (Tallahassee: Florida Geological Survey, 1946), 17-18.

and described its great savannahs, one of which, seen by Colonel James Gadsden, was a hundred miles in circumference, but, "The existence of a large permanent lake located by maps in the southern part of the peninsula is doubted."⁹ As late as 1838 Henry Whiting was inclined to doubt the existence of both the Everglades and Lake Okeechobee.¹⁰ But the publication of Thomas Buckingham Smith's documentary report on the Everglades in 1848 established the existence and general location of both.

Smith believed the geology of the southern portion of Florida to be similar to that of the sea-coasts of Georgia and South Carolina. "Oolitic lime-rock, filled with the shells and corals of species that still exist, forms the great geological feature of the country."¹¹ He found the rock floor to be porous and susceptible of easy excavation; exposure to air hardened the rock and made it useful for building purposes.¹²

In 1851 Michael Toumey examined the limestone at the falls of the Miami river leading into the Everglades. These rocks, he found, were identical with living shells in the surrounding waters. He regarded the glades as resting on a basin of what he termed Miami limestone, clearly distinguished from the Tertiary limestone at Tampa bay.¹³ Because of their accessibility the fossil bearing beds of the Gulf coast and the Caloosahatchee river aroused the interest of geologists before 1900. But the investigations of early workers were restricted to the seacoasts and river banks.¹⁴

Had the mass of data now at hand for geologists been

9. E. H. Sellards, "Geological Investigations in Florida Previous to the Organization of the Present Geological Survey," *First Annual Report of the Florida Geological Survey* (1908), 56.

10. *Ibid.*

11. Thomas Buckingham Smith, "Report of Buckingham Smith, Esquire, on His Reconnaissance of the Everglades, 1848," *Senate Documents, The Reports of the Committees, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 15*. Hereinafter cited as "Smith Report."

12. *Ibid.*

13. Sellards, "Geological Investigations in Florida," *loc. cit.*, 58-59.

14. Garald G. Parker, "Notes on the Geology and Ground Water of the Everglades in Southern Florida," *The Soil Science Society of Florida, Proceedings, IV-A* (1942), 53.

available to Louis Agassiz in 1851, or to Joseph Le Conte in 1878, they would never have proposed their theory that the southern half of the peninsula was of coral growth.¹⁵

Angelo Heilprin, exploring the Caloosahatchee and Lake Okeechobee in 1886 found no evidence to support a coralline theory of growth of Florida; he decided that the growth had been through accessions of organic and inorganic material in the usual methods of sedimentation and upheaval.¹⁶ Matson and Clapp expressed the belief that the deposition of the Pliocene rocks began with an encroachment of the sea which extended beyond the latitude of Lake Okeechobee. Following the deposition of the Pliocene the land emerged to a probable greater height than at present, and "It was during this period that the major features of the present topography were produced".¹⁷

ORIGIN OF THE EVERGLADES

The gently sloping basin of the Everglades was originally Pliocene sea bottom, and Lake Okeechobee ". . . is an original hollow in the Pliocene sea floor."¹⁸ This floor was subject to erosion, solution, and a series of depositions. Later the younger deposits were also subject to erosion and solution, and still later partly covered by sand. "The sea withdrew leaving a large area that became occupied by fresh water marshes and lakes in which solution and erosion were at first dominant, then deposition of . . . marl commenced. In Recent times deposition became dominant, and beds of fresh water marl with peat and muck were laid down. This association of principally organic soils is 8 feet thick near Lake Okeechobee."

15. *Ibid.*

16. Angelo Heilprin, *Explorations on the West Coast of Florida and in the Okeechobee Wilderness* (Philadelphia: Wagner Free Institute of Science, 1887), 65.

17. George C. Matson and Frederick C. Clapp, "A Preliminary Report of the Geology of Florida with Special Reference to Stratigraphy," Florida Geological Survey, *Second Annual Report* (1909), 167. See also Garald G. Parker and Nevin D. Hoy, "Additional Notes on the Geology and Ground Waters of Southern Florida," *The Soil Society of Florida, Proceedings*, V-A (1943), 37-55.

18. Parker and Cooke, *Late Cenozoic Geology of Southern Florida*, 51.

chobee but gradually thins out in all directions to the margins of the Everglades. The accumulation of peat and muck is still continuing in certain untouched areas of the Everglades where each year's growth of plants dies and sinks below the surface of the shallow water and is incorporated in the organic mass below."¹⁹

SOIL DEPOSITS OF THE EVERGLADES

The Everglades almost everywhere have a rocky bottom on which are soil deposits ". . . the result of slow vegetative decay . . . and would continue to build up on a surface having even steeper gradient than that now existing" under natural conditions.²⁰ Much of this deposit has come from saw-grass. The northern and eastern sections of the Everglades are nearly devoid of trees, being covered with saw-grass (*Mariscus jamaicensis*), "which is not a grass but a large sedge with short sharp spines on the edges of its leaves. . . ." ²¹ The saw-grass covers most of the glades although bushes and trees of myrtle, willow and bay often appear in sporadic clumps or little islands. On the eastern and western edges many islands or hammocks appear in close proximity to the mainland. These hammocks consist of a dense growth of broad leaved trees and shrubs and appear as true islands during periods of high water.²²

A rank growth of herbaceous vegetation has occupied this large trough through the center of southern Florida, and from its decay and settlement has built up the ground level at the southern shore of Lake Okeechobee to fourteen feet above bed rock. This thickness of the cumulative soils at the southern shore gradually thins.

19. *Ibid.*, 49-50. See also Davis, *Natural Features of Southern Florida*, 244-248.

20. Parker, "Notes on the Geology and Ground Water of the Everglades," *loc. cit.*, 52.

21. Davis, *Peat Deposits of Florida*, 88.

22. John K. Small, *From Eden to Sahara: Florida's Tragedy* (Lancaster, Pennsylvania: The Science Press Company, 1929), 14; M. H. Gallatin and J. R. Henderson, "Progress Report on the Soil Survey of the Everglades," *The Soil Science Society of Florida, Proceedings*, V-A (1943), 95-104.

out to a feather edge at the sides of the Everglades.²³ An examination of thirty-five samples of soils taken from Lake Okeechobee showed an exceedingly high nitrogen content with comparatively small quantities of potash and phosphate.²⁴

A survey of the Everglades soils from the rock rim at the head of the north branch of New river at Ft. Lauderdale to Lake Okeechobee covering a strip five miles in width was made in 1915 by the United States Department of Agriculture.²⁵ The survey located three classes of soils. Along the lake shore for a width of one to two miles, the material was found to be black and well decomposed, and averaged sixty per cent ash content. Because of the growth of the custard apple tree on this type of soil, it has been called the custard apple muck.²⁶ "The best land in the Everglades is where the custard apple grows."²⁷ South of this is a belt of less decomposed material with a smaller percentage of mineral matter which is called peaty muck. Known as "willow and elder land," it is a transition strip between the lake border soils and the Everglades peat at its rear.²⁸ This peat averages up to ninety-three per cent combustible, and comprises sixty per cent of the area mapped.²⁹ The agriculturally important types of *soils* determined to 1943 are: custard apple muck, 25,000 acres; peaty muck, 30,000 acres; everglades peat, 350,000 acres; and

23. Sanford, "Topography and Geology of Southern Florida," *loc. cit.*, 190-191; Charles Torrey Simpson, *In Lower Florida Wilds* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1920), 119.

24. Rufus E. Rose, "Analyses of Everglades Soils," Florida Department of Agriculture, *Florida Quarterly Bulletin*, XXXIII (January, 1913), 11.

25. Mark Baldwin, H. W. Hawker, and Carl F. Miller, *Soil Survey of the Fort Lauderdale Area, Florida* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1915), 1-4.

26. *Ibid.*, 16.

27. John C. Gifford, *The Tropical Subsistence Homestead* (Coral Gables: University of Miami, 1934), 89.

28. Charles B. Evans and Robert V. Allison, "The Soils of the Everglades in Relation to Reclamation and Conservation Operations," The Soil Science Society of Florida, *Proceedings*, IV-A (1942), 43.

29. Baldwin, Hawker, and Miller, *Soil Survey*, 35.

everglades peat over sand, 130,000 acres.³⁰ Between 1940 and 1943, 5,800 of the 7,000 square miles in the general Everglades region had been surveyed and mapped by the United States Soil Conservation Service. The information obtained indicated that some 435,000 acres of the land examined was "suitable for long time use for crop production."³¹

FLORA AND FAUNA

The Everglades are situated in a semitropical climate where the average yearly rainfall varies from sixty inches at Miami to fifty inches at Okeechobee.³² The yearly variation is considerable, the distribution within the year producing wet and dry seasons. Temperatures vary from the summer high of 98° F. to winter temperatures far below freezing under conditions of very low water in the open glades.³³ "The region is . . . remarkable for the fact that it is a meeting place for many temperate and tropical types of plants and animals."³⁴

The ecologist has divided the *vegetation* of the whole Everglades region into six broad types, with the general areas covered by them as follows: (1) custard apple and willow-elderberry zone along the eastern and southern shores of Lake Okeechobee-140,000 acres ; (2) saw-grass marsh plains of the northern and central glades-1,000,000 acres; (3) saw-grass and wax myrtle or bayberry thicket areas, along the sides of the central plain-240,000 acres ; (4) slough and tree-island areas south and east of Lake Okeechobee-775,000 acres; (5) mixed marshes and wet prairies east and west of the central plain at the southern end of the glades-300,000 acres;

30. M. H. Gallatin and J. R. Henderson, "Progress Report on the Soil Survey of the Everglades," The Soil Science Society of Florida, *Proceedings*, V-A (1943), 97-100.

31. *Ibid.*, 104. See also Davis, *Natural Features of Southern Florida*, 261 *et passim.*, and *Peat Deposits of Florida*, 116-129.

32. Stephens and Schrontz, "Characteristics of the Kissimmee-Everglades Watershed," *loc. cit.*, 24.

33. Robert V. Allison, "The Soil and Water Conservation Problem in the Everglades," The Soil Science Society of Florida, *Proceedings*, I (1939), 38.

34. Wallace Edwin Safford, "Natural History of Paradise Key and the Nearby Everglades of Florida," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution* (1917), 377.

and (6) bordering prairies with scattered hammocks and strands of trees along the borders of the Everglades-145,000 acres.³⁵

A majority of the plants in this great partially submerged bog stem from aquatic families. Covering the larger part of the Everglades, the saw-grass has been the prominent growth which has impressed every traveler in the area. In the sloughs, on the islands, and along the borders of the Everglades where not crowded out by the saw-grass are found hundreds of other grasses, plants, shrubs, and trees. Among the latter, the royal palm is noteworthy for its clean, gray, and smooth trunk, crowned by ten or twelve shining and deep, dark green leaves rising as high as a hundred and twenty feet above the earth. Describing the royal palms on Paradise Key, Charles Torrey Simpson wrote:

Viewed from a distance of half a mile or more this forest is one of the most beautiful my eyes have rested on. The whole forms a superb emerald island decorated with splendid palms which everywhere cut the skyline with unsurpassed effect and it is set in a sea of green everglades.³⁶

The animal life of the region of the Everglades is equally as varied as the plant life. Safford wrote that "the insect fauna alone must certainly include thousands of species. . . ." ³⁷ Simpson commented that one hundred twenty-eight species of birds had been sighted on or near Paradise Key and a considerable variety of small mammals, fish and frogs.³⁸ Of great interest to naturalists, the shell life of the Everglades includes many specimens of crustacea and gastropoda. The tree snails found on the trees of the islands are among the most attractive of

35. John H. Davis, Jr., "Vegetation of the Everglades and Conservation from the Point of View of the Plant Ecologist," The Soil Science Society of Florida, *Proceedings*, V-A (1943), 105. See also Davis, *Natural Features of Southern Florida*, 244-272 and *Peat Deposits of Florida*, 105-112.

36. Simpson, *Out of Doors in Florida*, 241. See also Safford, "Everglades Natural History," *loc. cit.*, 275, *et passim*.

37. Safford, "Everglades Natural History," *loc. cit.*, 390.

38. Simpson, *Out of Doors in Florida*, 241.

their species, with their shells of varying and beautiful colors.³⁹

Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades have been near perfect homes for fish, especially in times of high water. Without doubt, the most interesting species of fish in the region is the predatory alligator gar.⁴⁰ The black or big-mouthed bass is found throughout the region. Mud-fish, catfish, shiners, kill fish, sunfish, bream, and numerous minnows are seen in the lakes, pools, and sloughs.⁴¹

Perhaps the family of the fauna which most quickly comes to mind at the mention of the Everglades is the reptiles the largest of which are the alligators. "These huge animals are not at all dangerous, but will flee at the sight of a man and will not show fight unless brought to bay."⁴² The Everglades are well supplied with a great variety of snakes. The cottonmouth or water moccasin, which is very poisonous, is the most unpopular and predominant of the snake population. Rattlesnakes, garter, water, black racer, gopher, coachwhip, and green tree snakes are additional members of the family encountered in the glades.⁴³

Virtually all of the birds which frequent the states of the eastern seaboard are found in or near the Everglades at some time of the year. The roseate spoonbill and the flamingo have almost disappeared and the parakeets are gone, but the snowy egret and the white ibis are present in large flocks throughout the area.

There are few mammals. Deer graze in open spots and an occasional wildcat will make his home on one of the islands. Opossum and raccoon thrive along the borders and sometimes on the islands. Perhaps the mammal best adapted to the glades is the Florida otter, whose trails Willoughby saw by the thousands.⁴⁴

39. *Ibid.*, 243.

40. Simpson, *In Lower Florida Wilds*, 128.

41. Safford, "Everglades Natural History," *loc. cit.*, 411.

42. Zane Grey, *Tales of Southern Rivers* (New York: Grosset and Dunlop, 1937), 75-76.

43. Safford, "Everglades Natural History," *loc. cit.*, 416-418.

44. Willoughby, *Across the Everglades*, 160.

THE ARRIVAL OF MAN

The Aborigines

The seasonally inundated shores of Lake Okeechobee, the grassy waters of the Everglades, the swampy isolation of the Ocaloacoochee Slough and the Big Cypress, and the tidal flooded islands of the mangrove coast could never have been habitations for a large population; but ancient campsites have been found on a number of Everglades islands. Diggings in a series of deposits at the fork of New river several miles west of Ft. Lauderdale revealed pottery of a primitive nature.⁴⁵ On Long Key, in the Everglades, a refuse deposit two hundred feet in diameter gave up numerous potshreds which bore shell-cut workings on marine shells. The inhabitants of the region used terrapin shells extensively as well as alligator, fish, and bird bones in their primitive handicraft.⁴⁶

Excavations in mounds near Opa Locka and Golden Glade unearthed a large variety of shells, beads, pottery, and other artifacts which indicated two distinct Indian cultures, one on top of the other.⁴⁷ These investigations definitely proved that an earlier race inhabited these village sites than the Tequestas or other Indians discovered in South Florida by the Spanish explorers.

Between Ft. Thompson, at the head of navigation on the Caloosahatchee river, and Lake Okeechobee Ales Hrdlicka could find nothing of importance in the way of Indian remains, nor could he locate anything in the vicinity of the lake itself.⁴⁸

A report on the location of ". . . a great plan of earthworks elaborately laid out in embankments and mounds, covering an area a mile square" at the very edge of the Everglades near the shores of Lake Okeechobee and the present town of Belle Glade was made in 1931.⁴⁹ The

45. Mark Raymond Harrington, "Archaeology of the Everglades Region," *American Anthropologist*, XI (January-March, 1909), 139-142.

46. *Ibid.*, 142.

47. Florida State Archaeological Survey, *Second Biennial Report to the State Board of Conservation* (1936), Part IV, 145.

48. Hrdlicka, *Anthropology of Florida*, 52.

49. Matthew W. Stirling, "Explorer Finds First Traces of Unknown Everglades Tribe," *Science News Letter*, XIX (May 23, 1931), 325.

central figure of the earth works consisted of a flat-topped rectangle thirty feet by two hundred and fifty feet, with earthen embankments enclosing a court at the front of the figure. A semi-circular bank, partially enclosing the rectangle and embankments, extended further forward. Matthew W. Stirling, chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, found these Everglades constructions the nearest approach to the famous Fort Ancient earthworks in Ohio of any in North America. Excavations on a small scale disclosed potsherds identifying the locality with an aboriginal inhabitation long before that of the Seminoles.⁵⁰

In 1921 an idol carved to represent a human figure in a squatting position was found on the northern shore of the lake and lends additional strength to the theory that a race antedating presently known aboriginal tribes lived in the area.⁵¹ J. Walter Fewkes, then Chief of the Bureau of American Ethnology, pointed out that this object possessed a remarkable similarity to a wooden idol found some years previously in Cuba ; both were approximately the same size, both had been cut from *lignum vitae*, and both had weathered to an identical color. Fewkes, comparing this artifact with others found on Key Marco and near Ft. Myers, regarded it as typical of a culture unrecorded in the past but opening a new phase of archaeological research in Florida.⁵²

Early Explorers

The first white men to reach Florida discovered an area peopled by sedentary Indians. There exists no authentic evidence as to the origin, arrival, or blood relation of these aborigines, though they were found to have had some contact with other continental tribes and with Cuba.⁵³ Daniel B. Brinton, one of the earliest anthro-

50. *Ibid.*

51. Jesse Walter Fewkes, "Aboriginal Wooden Objects from Southern Florida," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, LXXX (March, 1928), Number 9, 1-2.

52. *Ibid.*

53. James Mooney, "Calusa," *Handbook of American Indians*, Part I, *Bulletin* 30, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1912, 195-196.

pologists to give serious study to Florida, divided Florida, as occupied by the Indians in the sixteenth century, into several districts. Two of these covered most of the Everglades: from Cape Canaveral to the tip of the peninsula on the east coast lay Tequesta; and the west coast area, at least as far as Tampa bay and into the interior around Lake Okeechobee, was inhabited by the Caloosa or Carlos.⁵⁴ The name Caloosa, defying interpretation, appears in the early French and Spanish records as Calos, Carlos, and Caluca; in the English records as Caloosa, Carloosa, and Charlotte. The name survives today in Caloosa village, Caloosahatchee river and Charlotte Harbor.⁵⁵

Scattered reports give a picture of the Calos as a savage and wily band of Indians and

. . . they were noted among the tribes for their golden wealth which they had accumulated from numerous wrecks cast away upon the keys in passage from the south and . . . they were regarded as veritable pirates, plundering and killing without mercy the crews of all vessels, excepting the Spanish, so unfortunate as to be stranded in their neighborhood.⁵⁶

In the period from 1521 to 1565, Spanish attempts at colonization in Florida ended in dismal failure. France, sunk in a slough of "decadence and civil war, from which Huguenot leader Coligny dreamed of rescuing her "by snatching treasure and colonies" from Spain, sent out several expeditions in the 1560's.⁵⁷ The French Protestants turned to the Florida coast when Jean Ribaut attempted to plant, a colony on the St. Johns river in 1564. This colony was short lived, being destroyed by the Spaniard Pedro Menendez de Aviles in 1565. This is

54. Daniel Garrison Brinton, *Notes on the Floridian Peninsula, Its Literary History, Indian Tribes and Antiquities* (Philadelphia: Josephin Sabin, 1859), 112.

55. John R. Swanton, *Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors*, *Bulletin* 73, Bureau of American Ethnology, 1922, 29-30.

56. Mooney, "Calusa," *loc. cit.*, 195.

57. Kathryn T. Abbey, *Florida, Land of Change* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1941), 26-27.

important to us because the settlement was twice visited by Rene de Laudonniere, who was accompanied by the artist, Jacques Le Moyne.⁵⁸ From the artist's narrative, published with his drawings, it is possible to glean something of Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades in the sixteenth century.

During the time of Laudonniere's second visit to the Florida colony stories were heard of white men living with some of the Indian tribes. The French offered rewards to the Indians who would bring such persons to them, and as a result two Spaniards were brought into the French village. When questioned as to how they arrived in Florida, they related that they had been wrecked on the Florida reefs and had fallen into the hands of the Calos.⁵⁹

According to these men, the village of the chief of the Calos lay on a river beyond the Cape of Florida. One of them told how he had acted as a courier to the chief and had been sent several times on a five day journey from Calos to a chief named Oathkaqua on the east coast.

Midway on this journey there is, in a great fresh-water lake called Sarrope, an island about five miles across, abounding in many kinds of fruit, and especially in dates growing on palm trees, in which there is a great trade. There is a still greater one in a certain root of which flour is made, of so good a quality that the most excellent bread is made of it, and furnished to all the country for miles round.⁶⁰

On his crude map of Florida Le Moyne placed the territory of Calos at the southern end of the peninsula, a little to the west of the southernmost cape, the country of Oathkaqua at Cape Canaveral, and Sarrope lake nearer the Atlantic than the Gulf. Buckingham Smith

58. Jacques Le Moyne, *Narrative of Le Moyne, An Artist Who Accompanied Laudonniere* (Boston: J. R. Osgood and Company, 1875), 1-11.

59. *Ibid.*, 10-11.

60. *Ibid.*, 11.

held that the lake was Okeechobee and the island was situated in it.⁶¹

A series of canoe routes . . . began in the Ten Thousand Islands and extended northward through the Big Cypress probably along the Fakahatchee Swamp route. One branch route led from this swamp to Lake Trafford. . . . Another branch route went up the Okaloacoochee Slough to the Caloosahatchee River, then into Lake Okeechobee, and from it up to the Kissimmee River, or by the Allapattah marsh and other low areas north of it into the St. Johns River.⁶²

In 1566, the Spanish adelantado Menendez directed Francisco de Reynoso to erect a fort for the protection of Spanish interests in the country of the Calos, and to discover a waterway to "Lake Miami" through which communication by water might be established from the Atlantic to the Gulf by way of the St. Johns river.⁶³ The Calos were ". . . masters of a large district of country, as far as a town they call Guacata, on the Lake of Mayaimi, which is called Mayaimi because it is very large."⁶⁴

Escalante Fontaneda, born of Spanish parents in the service of the King of Spain in Peru, was on his way to the fatherland when the ship on which he was taking

61. David O. True (ed.), *Memoir of Do. d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida Written in Spain, about the year 1575, Translated from the Spanish with Notes by Buckingham Smith, Washington, 1854* (Coral Gables: Glades House, 1945), Notes 15S, 15Sw, 42-43. See also Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1911), 63.

62. Davis, *Natural Features of Southern Florida*, 21. See also Jeannette Thurber Connor, *Pedro Menendez de Aviles* (De Land: Florida State Historical Society, 1923), 205-206, 219, for an account of the route south from the St. Johns river.

63. Lowery, *Spanish Settlements*, 263, 276.

64. True, *Fontaneda*, 13. "This name, of which Miami is a variant, may be a compound of Choctaw *Maiha*, 'wide' and *Mih*, 'it is so.' By *Laguna de Mayaimi* Fontaneda meant what is now called *Lake Okeechobee*. Aviles on his expedition up the St. Johns River in 1566, called this lake *Maymí*." William A. Read, *Florida Place Names of Indian Origin and Seminole Personal Names. Louisiana State University Studies*, Number 11 (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1934), 17-18.

passage went afoul on the Florida reefs.⁶⁵ His *Memoir*, written about 1575, is one of the few records concerning the Everglades prior to 1700.

Fontaneda described the locale of the present day Miami and nearby south Florida as

. . . a place of the Indians called Tequesta, situate on the bank of a river which extends into the country the distance of fifteen leagues, and issues from another lake of fresh water, which is said . . . to be an arm of the Lake of Mayaimi. On this lake, which lies in the midst of the country, are many towns, of thirty or forty inhabitants each. . . . They have bread of roots, which is their common food the greater part of the year; and because of the lake, which rises in some seasons so high that the roots cannot be reached in consequence of the water, they are for sometime without eating this bread. Fish is plenty and very good. . . . but when there is hunting, either deer or birds, they prefer to eat meat or fowl. I will also mention that in the rivers of fresh water are infinite quantities of eels, very savory, and enormous trout. . . . The Indians also eat lagartos (alligators), and snakes, and animals like rats, which live in the lake, freshwater tortoises, and many more disgusting reptiles.⁶⁶

Fontaneda commented that these Indians occupied a very rocky and a very marshy country; the latter cannot be mistaken for other than the glades. The lands of Florida, Fontaneda wrote, were abundant in pasturage and he recommended the Spanish government make stock-farms for the breeding of cattle, but he was not certain they were fit for settlement or the planting of sugar cane, although he had seen stalks of cane which had been set out and had begun to grow.⁶⁷

References to the Everglades during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries are vague. The Spaniards estab-

65. True, *Fontaneda*, 19.

66. *Ibid.*, 13.

67. *Ibid.*, 21.

lished missions at Tequesta on the Miami river and on the Caloosahatchee river on the west coast, but these did not prosper. Buckingham Smith refers to the traffic of the Indians of southern Florida at the turn of the seventeenth century, and quotes Barcia as saying that "the traffic with Cuba in the month of March 1698 was worth \$17,000,"⁶⁸ which would indicate a considerable population and a thriving trade.

The pressure on the Caloosas from other tribes coming down from the north grew severe during the eighteenth century and after a protracted struggle for their homes, they were driven onto the keys and finally to Cuba.⁶⁹

Under the provisions of the Treaty of Paris of 1763 Florida became a British colony and with this change of sovereignty several descriptive volumes came off the London press relating to this newest acquisition. In William Roberts' *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida*, published in 1763, reference is made to the "*Laguna del Espiritu Santo* . . . situated between the islands, extending from north to south about 27 leagues . . . near eight leagues wide."⁷⁰ In Thomas Jeffreys' map accompanying this work this lake is represented as having communications with the bays on the south and west, and Roberts adds, "at the end of it [the peninsula] . . . are two shoals and six islands, called *Cayos del Espiritu Santo*: this large lake is as yet but little known."⁷¹

In his *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, Bernard Romans, a Dutch surveyor employed by the British colonial government, mentions the Okeechobee-Everglades area, but was not sure that the big lake existed. He related a conversation held with a Spanish pilot who had been a captive of the Florida savages.⁷² The Spaniard spoke of a lake, wrote Romans,

68. "Smith Report," 20.

69. *Ibid.*, 19-20; James Mooney, "Calusa," *loc. cit.*, 196.

70. William Roberts, *An Account of the First Discovery and Natural History of Florida With a Particular Detail of the Several Expeditions and Descents Made On that Coast* (London: T. Jeffreys, 1763), 18.

71. *Ibid.*

72. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York: R. Aitken, 1776), 285.

"Mayacco, seventy-five miles in circumference by his account. . . . The man told me that he had formerly been taken by savages, and by them carried a prisoner in a canoe. . . to their settlements on the banks of the lake." ⁷³

About the same time William Stork, describing the Shark river section behind the Cape of Florida and the sea coast eastward wrote that it consisted

. . . of swamps and highlands, the latter not exceeding 28,000 acres, in coarse reddish land, containing much moisture, whose luxurious plants are the pomegranate, the arboreous grape vine, the Chicasau plumb, the opunita spice trees, and a variety of unknown shrubs ; the soil is as rich as dung, producing mangrove 50 and 60 feet high. . . . ⁷⁴

A POSSESSION OF THE UNITED STATES

The best accounts of the Everglades prior to the Seminole wars are found in Charles Vignoles' *Observations Upon the Floridas* in 1823, and John D. Williams' *Territory of Florida* some years later. Vignoles made a lengthy trip around the peninsula and into the interior of the state. He wrote:

The Glade, or as it is emphatically termed, the *Never Glade*, ⁷⁵ appears to occupy almost the whole interior from about the parallel of Jupiter inlet to Cape Florida, thence round to Cape Sable to which point it approaches very near, and northwardly as far as the Delaware river discharging into Chatham bay: its general appearance is a flat sandy surface mixed in with large stones and rocks, with from six inches to two feet of water lying upon it in which is a growth of saw and other grasses, so thick as to

73. *Ibid.*

74. William Stork, *A Description of East Florida with a Journal Kept by John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty, for the Floridas, Upon a Journey from St. Augustine up the River St. Johns as far as the Lakes* (London: W. Nicoll, 1769), 12

75. Undoubtedly a typographical error as on pp. 52-53 the term Ever Glade is used, as are Great Glade and Eternal Glade on pp. 49 and 53.

impede the passage of boats where there is no current.⁷⁶

Vignoles saw a number of islands and promontories in the glades, many of which were covered with hammock growth mixed with some pine and cabbage palm. These he believed capable of cultivation but they were located in such inaccessible positions as to repel most efforts at penetration. Vignoles felt that the Everglade morass had been exaggerated by the Indians, Negroes, and refugee whites and that a sectional survey would have shown rich pieces of land in detached spots.⁷⁷

Williams visited the lower east coast in 1828 and observing the Miami river, wrote: "The Miame River is a small stream that issues out of the glades and enters Sandwich Gulf behind Cape Florida. . . . The height of the glades above the tide has not been ascertained."⁷⁸ Local inhabitants told Williams that they reckoned the altitude to be all of forty feet, but Williams thought twenty feet was more nearly correct.

The fall of the Rattones, New, Hillsboro, St. Lucie, Miami, Shark, Delaware, Caloosahatchee, and other rivers emptying out of the glades led Williams to speculate on the possibilities and results of deepening the channels of the rivers which drained the central area between the Atlantic Ocean and the Gulf of Mexico. He describes the area as follows:

On reaching the level of the glades, a vast grass meadow is expanded, apparently as boundless as the ocean ; you then pass on the winding lagoons from six to twelve miles westwardly and the grass, by degrees disappears and you are left in an unexplored grassy lake to which you can discover no bounds. . . . The grassy border of this lake is usually covered with water during the winter season, not

76. Charles Vignoles, *Observations Upon the Floridas* (New York: Bliss and White; 1823), 50.

77. *Ibid.*, 53, 83.

78. John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida or Sketches of the Civil and Natural History of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes from the First Discovery to the Present Time* (New York: A. T. Goodrich, 1837), 50.

so deep, however, as to hide the grass which is very thick and tall. During the summer, the ground is often dry and hard for ten miles beyond the timbered land. This tract is at all times stocked with wild game, and would afford a superior range for cattle.⁷⁹

Reflecting, in the 1830's, upon the future development of the Everglades, he anticipated much of what has actually taken place. He said:

Could it be drained by deepening the natural outlets? Would it not open to cultivation immense tracts of rich vegetable soil? Could the waterpower, obtained by draining, be improved to any useful purpose? Would such draining render the country unhealthy? . . . Many queries like these passed through our minds. They can only be solved by a thorough examination of the whole country. Could the waters be lowered ten feet, it would probably drain six hundred thousand acres ; should this prove to be a rich soil, as would seem probable, what a field it would open for tropical productions! What facilities for commerce!⁸⁰

After studying old maps of the interior of the peninsula which depicted the principal rivers connecting the coasts on both sides and talking with native Indians working in the Spanish fisheries on Charlotte Harbor, Williams came to the conclusion that the area had never been explored. "Not one of the writers who have described this country, since the change of flags, has been able to obtain any certain intelligence relating to this part of the peninsula."⁸¹

What was general knowledge about the Everglades in 1840, together with the opinion of Colonel William Wyatt, prominent Floridian, is contained in an extended letter from him on the subject, published first in the *National Intelligencer* and reprinted in *The News*, of St.

79. *Ibid.*, 151.

80. *Ibid.*

81. *Ibid.*, 61.

Augustine, April 16, 1841. He had seen a part of the region and ascended two of the outlets of the "lakes near the center of the Everglades which connect with one another," and described the rich soil and the native productions : the cotton plant, hemp, vanilla, coontie, and the prickly pear. Like everyone, he was all for drainage, which could be very easily carried out he was certain by deepening the outlets and confining the lakes to their beds.

THE SEMINOLE WAR

The Seminole Indian War in Florida was but a part of the general movement in the United States in the nineteenth century to push the Indian farther west, though here it was southward. Here, as in some other sections, it was the most difficult problem of the era, for the Indians were determined to remain on their lands.

Much of the good land of the state was occupied by the red men, so when settlement began it was inevitable that attempts would be made to remove the natives, a practice which had prevailed elsewhere since earliest colonial days. Various treaties were wrung from the Indians by more or less devious and dubious means, first to push them southwards, then to the West.⁸² Grant Foreman, an authority on the Indians, wrote: "In the dishonorable record of our dealings with the Indians there is perhaps no blacker chapter than that relating to the Seminole people."⁸³

Many of the Indians refused to migrate and retreated to the fastnesses of the Everglades, where at length they had to be followed by the armed forces of the United States.⁸⁴ The resulting war was a series of raids, ambushes, guerilla warfare, and few pitched battles; but

82. John Titcomb Sprague, *The Origin, Progress, and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York : D. Appleton Company, 1848), 24-28.

83. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal: The Emigration of the Five Civilized Tribes of Indians* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1932), 321.

84. William A. Croffut, *Fifty Years in Camp and Field: Diary of Major General Ethan Allen Hitchcock, U. S. A.* (New York: G. P. Putnam's Sons, 1909), 320.

one of the most important of these was fought on the northern shore of Lake Okeechobee on Christmas Day 1837.

Colonel Zachary Taylor had moved out from Ft. Brooke on Tampa bay the previous week with eight hundred regular troops, one hundred eighty Missouri volunteers, and seventy Delaware Indians. The Seminoles were well concealed in a dense hammock surrounded by a swamp which separated them

. . . from the enemy, three quarters of a mile in breadth [*sic*], being totally impassible for horse, and nearly so for foot, covered with, a thick growth of saw-grass five feet high, and knee deep in mud and water, which extended to the left as far as the eye could reach, and to the right to a part of the swamp and hammock we had just crossed, through which ran a deep creek.

The soldiers were obliged to proceed on foot through this swamp to a disastrous engagement with the Indians who had skillfully planned the setting for it. The loss of the attacking force was twenty-six killed and 112 wounded, a large portion of whom were officers. The bodies of ten Indians were found and it was learned that four others had been killed.⁸⁵

Taylor and his men succeeded in routing the Seminoles, who fled to the deeper recesses and more isolated spots of south Florida.

In the years from Dade's massacre in December 1835, to the cessation of hostilities in August 1842, the Indians were gradually hunted down; the majority of them were sent to the western lands; the remainder escaped into the area south of Okeechobee and the Caloosahatchee. General Thomas S. Jesup wrote the Secretary of War in February 1838 of the foolishness of seeking to transfer Indians from one wilderness to another, from lands not required for agricultural purposes, "when they were

85. *New York Observer*, January 20, 1838, quoted in Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 356-357.

not in the way of the white inhabitants, and when the greater portion of this country was an unexplored wilderness, of the interior of which we are as ignorant as of the interior of China." ⁸⁶

Criticism of the army's conduct of the long drawnout Florida war spread from the local to the national arena. To 1838 it was estimated that the loss of men was as high as three thousand, and the cost as high as \$30,000,000, all to subdue two thousand Indians who had held out against an army four or five times their number. ⁸⁷ But those who criticised were not aware of the circumstances, as General Jesup pointed out:

I, and my predecessors in command, ⁸⁸ were not only required to fight, beat and drive the enemy before us, but to go into an unexplored wilderness and catch them. Neither Wayne, Harrison, nor Jackson, was required to do this; and unless the objects to be accomplished be the same, there can be no just comparison as to the results. ⁸⁹

The general knew whereof he wrote, for in early 1838 he led an expedition from the head of navigation on the St. Johns river to Jupiter Inlet, engaging the Indians in the Loxahatchee swamp at the eastern edge of the Everglades. One of his servicemen wrote:

All I can say is that it is a most hideous region, in which nothing but serpents and frogs exist. The Indians themselves say that they cannot live here after March. While you are freezing we are melting with the heat, which equals that of July in New York. ⁹⁰

86. Sprague, *Florida War*, 201; see also Joshua Giddings, *The Exiles of Florida* (Columbus : Foster and Company, 1858), 182-183.

87. Frederick Marryat, *A Diary in America, With Remarks on its Institutions* (Philadelphia : T. K. and P. G. Collins, 1840), 289-290.

88. The list of army commanders is long and imposing. It is as follows: Edmond P. Gaines, Duncan Clinch, Winfield Scott, Richard Keith Call, Thomas S. Jesup, Zachary Taylor, Alexander Macomb, Walker Armistead, and William J. Worth.

89. Sprague, *Florida War*, 196.

90. Theodore F. Rodenbough, *From Everglade to Canon with the Second Dragoons, an Authentic Account of Service in Florida, Mexico, Virginia, and the Indian Country, including the Personal Recollections of Prominent Officers* (New York: D. Van Nostrand, 1875), 30.

Jesup reported he had taken 1,955 Indians, while 33 escaped and 35 were killed between September 1837 and May 1838.⁹¹ By that time the Seminoles had been driven to the glades and swamps of southern Florida, and the remaining four years of the war were fought largely in this remote region.⁹²

In 1839 it was hoped and announced that the war was virtually over, but when on July 23 Colonel Harney with a detail of thirty-two was attacked at Charlotte Harbor on the Caloosahatchee river and eighteen men were killed and six captured, the war was renewed with vigor.⁹³ By April 1840 the army had five thousand officers and men at the various forts in south Florida of whom almost six hundred were on the sick list.⁹⁴

It was determined to follow the Indian to his fastnesses, and this policy, though it took several years, was the most successful one. The most noteworthy of the expeditions into the Everglades was that of Colonel Harney in December 1840, when he made a crossing through the lower glades to Shark river on the Gulf. There is a day-by-day detailed account of the expedition, evidently written on the spot, in the *St. Augustine News* of January 8, 1841; of which the editor says :

A passage across the Peninsula! . . . the *grass-water* connecting with the Gulf and the Atlantic. The numerous islands which dot the *grass-water* hitherto affording a secure retreat to the murderous savages are now positively known, as they have been long conjectured, susceptible of examination. . . . These abodes are no longer inaccessible to the white man.

And the diarist records:

15th Dec. We reached the head of the river which

91. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 363.

92. Charles H. Coe, *Red Patriots: The Story of the Seminoles* (Cincinnati: Editor Publishing Company, 1898), 35-40. See also Sprague, *Florida War*, 99-100; Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 373; Rodenbough, *Everglade to Canon*, 36.

93. Sprague, *Florida War*, 243, 277.

94. *Ibid.*, 261.

the Indians call Poncha [Shark] and hailed it with three cheers. . . . We have now accomplished what has never been done by white man.

Leaving Ft. Dallas at the mouth of the Miami river on December 4, 1840, Colonel Harney with ninety men had entered the Everglades at the headwaters of that river and followed a southwest course. They travelled in canoes, making every effort at silence, pitching camp every night on the nearby islands, and looking all the while for recent Indian signs. On the fourth day out they reached Cochickeehadjo's island in the southwestern glades, where they captured eight Indians, two of whom were warriors. These latter Harney summarily disposed of by hanging—he was not to be denied revenge for the Caloosahatchee massacre of his command the previous year. Then he surprised a small group of Indians on Chikikai's island, shot one warrior and captured two others and a number of squaws and children.⁹⁵ Later he hanged nine warriors, and killed an equal number in the skirmishes. Reaching Shark river the party went down to the Gulf and from thence to Indian Key, Ft. Dallas, and Ft. Pierce.

A second trip made by Harney and a detachment in January 1841 was important because of its further disclosures of the nature of the Seminoles and their habitat. Leaving Ft. Dallas on New Year's Day with four large canoes and fifty men, the party went up little Miami river to the edge of the glades. "We then moved forward swiftly and noiselessly, at one time following the course of serpentine channels opening out occasionally into beautiful lagoons, at another forcing our way through barriers of saw-grass."⁹⁶

After paddling several hours the party moved up on Chitto-Tustenuggee island, some twenty acres in extent with soil two feet deep and very rich. The center of the island was cleared, with the circumference protected by a wide fringe of live oak, wild fig, and mangrove trees. The Indians had located two towns, two dancing grounds,

95. Rodenbough, *Everglade to Canon*, 507.

96. *The News*, St. Augustine, Fla., April 2, 1841.

and a council lodge there in former times. All were now overrun with pumpkin, squash, and melon vines, occasional lima beans, and Cuban tobacco. Signs showed that the natives had been gone at least two weeks.⁹⁷ On a nearby island the soldiers found patches of green corn and sugar cane in addition to the usual vegetable vines.

After spending several days in scouring the islands along the eastern edge of the glades north from the Miami headwaters, the party reached a small island on which they flushed a group of four warriors, five squaws and two children. Three of the warriors were shot on the spot, and three squaws and a child taken, "the other [child was] drowned by its mother to prevent its cries leading to her detection."⁹⁸ Harney and his command reached the headwaters of New river at sunset on January 10 and were at Ft. Lauderdale by midnight.

By 1841 the Seminole War was being actively fought on Lake Okeechobee and in the Everglades. In a report to the Secretary of the Navy Lieutenant John T. McLaughlin, commanding the Florida Naval expedition, recited the part played by his command of ninety seamen from the barges *Ostego* and *Wave* and the schooner *Flirt*. The naval unit had cooperated with Colonel Harney in the latter's January trip.⁹⁹ Leaving Harney near the headwaters of New river, the McLaughlin command skirted the eastern edge of the Everglades on a southwest course, searching all the islands for Indians and arriving at the Gulf of Mexico through Harney river on January 19.

A joint expedition of the army, navy, and marines moved in October 1841 from Ft. Dallas, crossed the lower glades to the pine woods near the west coast, and thence to Punta Rassa. Leaving Ft. Myers on November 2, the expedition moved up the Caloosahatchee and into Lake Okeechobee and from there to the Loxahatchee and the east coast. The armed force saw a half

97. *Ibid.*

98. *Ibid.*

99. *Senate Documents*, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 106-108.

dozen Indians on the whole trip but was not able to effect a single capture.¹⁰⁰

As illustrative of the peculiarity of the service to which these various corp were subjected, there was, at one time to be seen, in the Everglades the dragoon in water from three to four feet deep, the sailor and marine wading in the mud in the midst of the cypress, and the soldiers, infantry and artillery on the land, in the water, and in boats. . . . Here was no distinction of corps, no jealousies, but a laudable rivalry in concerting means to punish a foe who had so effectively eluded all efforts. Comforts and conveniences were totally disregarded, even subsistence was reduced to the lowest extremity. Night after night, officers and men were compelled to sleep in their canoes, others in damp bogs, and in the morning cook their breakfast over a fire built on a pile of sand in the prow of a boat, or kindled around a cypress stump.¹⁰¹

Lieutenant McLaughlin was able to report in April 1842 that "every portion of the Ever Glades and water courses of the interior, from Lake Tohopekaliga south, have been visited . . . and examined and large fields and settlements broken up and destroyed."¹⁰² One of the detachments had, with the exception of twenty days, been employed without intermission in their canoes since the previous October. The ships *Flirt* and *Wave* put in the Hillsboro river in May 1842 and gave chase to two Indians to the head of Snake creek, where Indian fields of sugar cane, corn, and bananas were in cultivation. The command was divided into two scouting parties: one entered the country between the Miami and the New

100. Sprague, *Florida War*, 333-335; *Senate Documents*, Number 242, 109-112.

101. Sprague, *Florida War*, 354.

102. *Senate Documents*, Number 242, 116. A day by day account of a sixty day expedition into the Everglades, Lake Okeechobee, the Kissimmee River, and Lake Tohopekaliga is found in George Henry Preble, "A Canoe Expedition into the Everglades in 1842." *Tequesta: The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*, V (1946), 30-51, reprinted from *United Service, A Quarterly Review of Military and Naval Affairs* (April, 1883), 358-376.

rivers, and the other went into the glades. The second scout, composed of marines, was compelled to return to the post, before completing their mission, for want of water.

The fatigue and privation undergone by this detachment was so great that private Kingsbury fell in his trail and died from sheer exhaustion.

The waters of the Everglades had fallen so low that it was necessary to track the boats at all times; and at some to make ways of the boats' seats for miles and miles to slide them over.¹⁰³

President Tyler in a message to Congress on May 10, 1842 announced that he had authorized the commanding general in Florida to declare the hostilities at an end when it was deemed expedient. Tyler estimated there were two hundred forty Indians left in Florida, of whom only eighty were capable of bearing arms.¹⁰⁴ In order to relieve the federal government of further expense for protection, the president suggested certain inducements to settlers in the form of land, arms, and subsistence to families settling the Florida frontiers.

Among the significant results of the Seminole War were the removal of the majority of the Indians to the western lands and the consequent opening of the peninsula of Florida to white settlement. The reports brought back by the men in the armed services regarding the hitherto unknown lands and waters of south Florida served, in some measure, to acquaint the public at large with the territory. Army troops had garrisoned forts over the peninsula and military roads had been blazed throughout the territory. Naval and marine units had cruised the inshore waters and carried out expeditions.

103. Sprague, *Florida War*, 389. Preble wrote that after a sixty day canoe trip he was "on the sick-list, foot badly inflamed and legs ulcerated; poisoned by the saw-grass of the Everglades and exposure to the mud, through which we dragged our canoes, and the effects of the sun." "A Canoe Expedition into the Everglades in 1842," *loc. cit.*, 49.

104. James D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, 10 vols., and Sup. (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1897) IV, 155.

through the inland waterways.¹⁰⁵ Engineers had mapped and charted the area and all of the "exploring" soldiers and sailors had observed the fertile islands of the Everglades. They found many of the islands were covered with a very rich soil and had been intensively cultivated by the Indians, producing crops of corn, beans, sugar cane, pumpkins, squash, melons, bananas, and tobacco.¹⁰⁶ Many of the men who fought in the Everglades remained in the state and undoubtedly remembered the primitive homes and gardens on the little islands.

EARLY FEDERAL AND STATE EFFORTS TOWARD RECLAMATION

Action to Secure Title to the Everglades

The people of the territory of Florida recognized the need for government financed internal improvements some years before attaining statehood. In the St. Joseph constitution adopted by the convention which assembled in 1838, Article XI, Section 2, it was stated that a liberal system of internal improvements was essential to the development of the resources of Florida and should be encouraged by the government of the state.

The attention of the citizens of Florida was directed toward the Everglades, even before the territory became a state. On December 30, 1842, Florida's territorial delegate to Congress, David Levy, offered the following resolution and it was adopted:

Resolved, that the Secretary of War be directed to place before this House such information as can be obtained in relation to the practicability and probable expense of draining the everglades of Florida.¹⁰⁷

On January 7, 1843, the Secretary's reply to the resolution was referred to the Committee on Territories. The reply contained a report by the colonel of the corps of

105. Joseph C. Ives, *Memoir to Accompany a Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay* (New York: M. B. Wynkoop, 1856), 1-42.

106. Rodenbough, *Everglade to Canon*, 507-508; Sprague, *Florida War*, 389.

107. *Congressional Globe*, 27 Congress, 3 Session, XII, 102.

topographical engineers that there was no information in the department on the matter of Everglades drainage, ". . . and all that has come to my knowledge is speculation, supposition, reasoning from supposed facts, verbally communicated by officers and others who have been in that region of country."¹⁰⁸

The state was only ten months old when the legislature passed a resolution concerning certain land which had hitherto been considered valueless in consequence of its being covered by water at stated periods of the year, adding that it was

. . . reported by respectable sources that the Everglades . . . at a comparatively small expense, can be entirely reclaimed, thus opening to the habitation of man an immense and hitherto unexplored domain perhaps not surpassed in fertility and every natural advantage by any other on the globe.¹⁰⁹

This resolution of 1845 was pushed into the Congressional arena by Florida's senator James D. Westcott, Jr., in 1847, when he wrote a letter to the Secretary of the Treasury noting the repeated demands made to the state legislature and its resolutions on the matter, and asking that an agent be sent to make a reconnaissance and to submit reports as to the practicability of draining the Everglades, such reports to be laid before Congress at the next session.¹¹⁰ He asserted that it would not be a chimerical idea to anticipate a channel from the Gulf of Mexico through the Everglades to the Atlantic Ocean for the use of small coasting vessels in the navigable waters of that part of the peninsula.

The Buckingham Smith Report

Secretary Walker did not delay in taking action on Westcott's request to secure information on the Everglades. On June 18, 1847, Walker sent a letter of instruc-

108. *Home Documents*, Number 43, 27 Congress, 3 Session, 2-3.

109. *Senate Documents*, Number 35, 29 Congress, 1 Session, 1-2; *Acts and Resolutions of the First General Assembly of the State of Florida, Adjourned Session, 1845*, 151.

110. *Senate Documents*, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 66-69.

tion, detailing certain services to be performed, to Buckingham Smith of St. Augustine.¹¹¹ The letter directed Smith to examine the land offices at Tallahassee, Newnansville, and St. Augustine, in the capacity of auditor, and serve as an agent in ". . . the procurement of authentic information in relation to what are generally called the 'Ever Glades' on the peninsula of Florida."¹¹² In the letter to Smith, Walker cited the representations which had been made to the treasury department that there were several million acres of public lands that could be reclaimed at a comparatively small expense and that great advantages would result from such a measure. "It is represented that these lands can be drained by two or three small canals from the lake into the rivers opposite to it, emptying into the Gulf of Mexico and into the straits of Florida."¹¹³ Walker further urged Smith to obtain information in writing from citizens acquainted with the subject.

Among bills submitted to the first session of the thirtieth Congress in 1848 was one introduced by Senator Westcott which would have given Florida all wet lands, lakes, and watercourses south of Township 36 South.¹¹⁴ The Westcott bill was, in part, the result of an 1848 resolution which had been passed in the Florida legislature asking the federal government to cede large tracts of public lands south of Lake Okeechobee to the state so that they might be drained and made valuable for the cultiva-

111. Thomas Buckingham Smith (1810-1871), lawyer, politician and antiquarian, was born on Cumberland Island, Georgia. He moved with his family to St. Augustine, Florida, during the second period of Spanish rule. He graduated from Harvard law school in 1836. In 1839 he was secretary to Robert R. Reid, governor of Florida, and in 1841-43, a member of the territorial legislative council. He later entered the diplomatic service of the United States and was stationed at different times in Spain and Mexico. While in Spain he did much research in the national archives, from the results of which he published narratives of various documents concerning the history of Florida. James Alexander Robertson, "Thomas Buckingham Smith," *Dictionary of American Biography*, Dumas Malone (ed.), 20 vols., Index and Supplement (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937-194-), 402-403.

112. "Smith Report," 71.

113. *Ibid.*

114. *Ibid.*, 7-8.

tion of tropical produce.¹¹⁵ The grant was asked for on the condition that the state drain the lands and apply the proceeds, after defraying the expense of draining, to the purposes of public education.

By resolution of August 9, 1848, the United States Senate, then considering the Westcott bill, requested the Secretary of the Treasury to communicate to that body any information in his department relative to reclaiming the Everglades or of the expediency of ceding them to Florida for that purpose.¹¹⁶ Walker responded with the report made by Buckingham Smith and accompanying documents. He also called attention to Smith's estimate that \$500,000 would be necessary for the drainage and to the divided opinions on the probable worth of these lands after their reclamation; he concluded that "The test of experience can alone solve the doubt."¹¹⁷

The report on the Everglades by Buckingham Smith as submitted to the Senate in 1848 represents the first authentic publication on the area and remains today a monument to the resourcefulness and ability of the man who gathered the material. The fact that the Everglades received their surplus waters from the overflow of Lake Okeechobee, which in turn received most of its water from the Kissimmee river, was probably known, but Smith was the first to publicize it. He estimated the average elevation of the glades to be twelve feet above sea level, and that they were covered with water in the fall of the year to a depth of six feet.¹¹⁸

Smith advanced the idea that by cutting the rim of the Everglades on the east and west coasts at the heads of the various streams that received their initial waters at low places in the rim some four or five feet of water might be drained off the area. It was his belief that the land so reclaimed would be made profitable for the cultivation of coffee, sugar, rice, corn, cotton, and tobacco. The soil deposit under the water he found to be exceed-

115. *Laws of the State of Florida, Passed at the Third Session of the General Assembly of the State, 1847, 80-91.*

116. *Senate Journal, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 551.*

117. *Senate Documents, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 3-4.*

118. "Smith Report," 16-17.

ingly light when dry, and an impalpable powder when broken.

The Ever Glades are entirely below the region of frost, and the meteorological and barometrical statistics . . . prove that the climate is as favorable to the cultivation of tropical fruits as that of any country between the twenty-eighth and twenty-fourth parallels.¹¹⁹

Smith concluded his report with the following statement:

The Ever Glades are now suitable only for the haunt of noxious vermin or the resort of pestilent reptiles. The statesman whose exertions shall cause the millions of acres they contain, now worse than worthless, to teem with the products of agricultural industry; that man who thus adds to the resources of his country . . . will merit a high place in public favor, not only with his own generation, but with posterity. He will have created a State!¹²⁰

With his report Smith submitted a number of letters, some of which may be noted. From Colonel R. Butler, surveyor general of Florida, came the dictum that the Everglades could not be surveyed until drained. He advised the granting of the area to the state of Florida, since the Everglades were in the interior of the state and were without navigable rivers, and their reclamation by the federal government would conflict with the sovereignty of the state. He advocated the grant to the state of one moiety, conditioned that the state cause the glades to be drained within a given period; thus the United States would realize for survey and sale the other moiety and there would be opened "a large fertile surface for the habitation of man, cultivating sugar and tropical fruits extensively thereon."¹²¹

General Thomas S. Jesup wrote Westcott,

119. *Ibid.*, 31.

120. *Ibid.*, 34.

121. *Executive Documents*, Number 2, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 155.

The swamps are generally peat swamps, which if drained, would soon be converted into olive, lime and orange plantations and would be cultivated by a numerous white population, which would be interposed between the sugar plantations, cultivated by slaves and free blacks of the West Indies. This in a military point of view would be highly important, and add greatly to the strength of the south.¹²²

General W. S. Harney, who doubtless had seen as much or more of Everglades than any one else, wrote Buckingham Smith that canals from Lake Okeechobee to both the Caloosahatchee and the Loxahatchee should be dug, as well as canals into the Ratonnes, Little, Arch Creek, Miami, and Shark rivers. He further advocated that the two chief canals should be ten to fifteen miles long, thirty feet wide and five to fifteen feet deep. "No person can say with positive certainty what the soil of the Everglades when drained would or would not produce; but it is my opinion it would be the best sugar land in the south and also excellent for rice and corn."¹²³

One of the correspondents from whom Smith sought information regarding the Everglades was Stephen Russell Mallory, Collector of Customs at Key West. Mallory had lived in Key West since his childhood and had fought in the Seminole War.¹²⁴ Mallory, later to become a United States Senator and Confederate Secretary of the Navy, had closely observed that particular part of the state in question. He wrote:

My own impression is that large tracts of the Glades are fully as low as the adjoining sea, and can never be drained; that some lands around the margins may be reclaimed by drainage or dyking, but that it will be found wholly out of the question to drain all the Ever Glades. As the country now is, healthy and mild, with its good lands in small parcels, with water at hand anywhere for irrigation,

122. "Smith Report," 43.

123. *Ibid.*, 44-45.

124. Kathleen Bruce, "Stephen Russell Mallory," *Dictionary of American Biography*, XII, 224-226.

I think it offers inducements to small capitalists, men with from one to ten hands, to go there and raise fruits. Fruit will grow well there.¹²⁵

Captain John T. Sprague, whose volume on the Seminole War appeared in 1848 and remains today a definitive study, was astounded at any proposal to drain the Everglades. He informed Smith that he had

. . . never supposed the country would excite an inquiry, other than as a hiding place for Indians, and had it occurred to me that so great an undertaking, one so utterly impracticable, as draining the Ever Glades was to be discussed, I should not have destroyed the scratch of a pen [notes used in composing his book] upon a subject so fruitful, and which cannot be understood but by those who have waded the water belly deep and examined carefully the western coast by land and by water.¹²⁶

THE SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LAND GRANT ACT

Senator Westcott introduced his bill seeking the cession to Florida of all lands, lakes, and watercourses south of Okeechobee on August 1, 1848. The bill was read twice and referred to the Committee on Public Lands.¹²⁷ This Committee made a report on the Everglades bill on August 12 in which it was agreed that if the proposed improvements were carried out, the United States would benefit, at no expenditure, in the bottom lands of the Kissimmee river and its tributaries which were then valueless by reason of their annual overflowed condition. The bill was reported without amendment and its passage was recommended.¹²⁸ The Smith report and accompanying documents were submitted at the same time. On a motion by Senator Westcott, the Senate ordered five thousand copies of the report and documents printed

125. "Smith Report," 55.

126. *Ibid.*, 58-59.

127. *Congressional Globe*, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 723, 1025.

128. *Senate Documents*, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 2.

for the use of the Senate.¹²⁹ Westcott had the large number of copies printed, it was reported, "for distribution . . . where it may be of service."¹³⁰

Westcott procured "extra copies" of this *Senate Document, The Report of the Committees*, Number 242, 30 Congress, 1 Session, which was a report of the Committee on Public Lands and has been referred to above.¹³¹ He added some letters and several tables relating to the Florida mails. His object, he wrote, was to obtain a "favorable opinion as to . . . the grant of the Ever Glades to Florida, to have them drained, and the encouragement of the cultivation of exotics" upon the reclaimed lands as well as to "attract attention to other suggestions contained in these papers."¹³²

With respect to the draining of the Ever Glades, he deems it due to others to say that the project is not an original "hobby" of his. If any credit is due for the earliest suggestions of its practicability and expediency, Gen. Gadsden, of S. C., Col. J. P. Baldwin, of South Florida, Col. J. G. Gamble, of Tallahassee, Gen. Mercer, of Va., and Col. W. Wyatt, of Manatee, are the best entitled to it. They were its advocates when he was skeptical. Convinced by full investigation they were right and that he was wrong, he has yielded his judgment to theirs.¹³³

On December 20, 1848, Senator Westcott moved that the Senate proceed to consider his bill, and stated that in the Commissioner of Lands' report, the area was classed as follows:¹³⁴

Swamps 4,300,000 acres ; overflow 1,000,000 acres,
pine barren 1,000,000 acres; sand barren 1,500,000
acres ; total 7,800,000 acres.

Senator David L. Yulee declared that he had not been

129. *Senate Journal*, 30 Congress, 1 Session, 580-581.

130. *Senate Documents*, Number 89, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 5.

131. James D. Westcott, Jr., *Ever Glades of the Peninsula of Florida* (Tallahassee : n. p., 1848), cover.

132. *Ibid.*

133. *Ibid.*

134. *Congressional Globe*, 30 Congress, 2 Session, 69-70.

consulted in relation to the bill and found it so objectionable that he doubted that he would give it his vote. A similar measure was proposed, Yulee continued, in relation to the wet lands of the state of Arkansas, and it was his opinion that the latter measure would grant all of the swamp and overflowed lands to the states within the limits of which they happened to be located.¹³⁵ It was reported that Yulee "excited general astonishment" in opposing the Westcott bill and that the differences of opinion of the Florida senators were enough to prevent its passage.¹³⁶

On January 9, 1849, the Senate Committee of the Florida legislature on Internal Improvements, to whom had been referred so much of a message of the governor as related to drainage, made a report. The committee expressed belief that from all opinion available, there appeared to be little doubt that the Everglades could be drained. This drainage would render the region valuable, but the committee favored the introduction of private enterprise, and could not consent to involve the state in the expense, especially when there was some uncertainty of the success of the undertaking.¹³⁷

The act which gave the Everglades area to the state of Florida, ". . . to enable the State of Arkansas and other States to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands within their limits," was signed by President Fillmore on September 28, 1850.¹³⁸ Its only provision was that the proceeds of the sale of any of the lands so granted should be applied exclusively to the purposes of reclaiming the swamp and overflowed lands.

CREATION OF THE INTERNAL IMPROVEMENT FUND

The Florida legislature, in session in January 1851 accepted the grant from the nation. The legislature

135. *Ibid.*, 69, 87, 120.

136. *Florida Sentinel* (Tallahassee), January 9, 1849.

137. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of Florida*, 4 Session, 1848, 11.

138. 9 *United States Statutes at Large*, 519-520. The grant was received with some misgivings at Tallahassee as the editor of the *Florida Sentinel* questioned the value of the Everglades, even if capable of being drained. *Florida Sentinel*, September 17, 1850.

created and constituted a Board of Internal Improvement for the state, the ex-officio members of which included the governor, attorney-general, treasurer, comptroller, and the register of public lands. The elective members included one member from each of the judicial districts of the state, to be elected by the General Assembly for two-year terms.¹³⁹ At the 1855 session of the legislature an act was passed by the legislature creating a new Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of Florida.

The new act consolidated the land grants made to Florida in 1845 with those secured under the swamp and overflowed lands act of 1850, together with all proceeds that had accrued from their sale, in a separate classification from other state lands.¹⁴⁰ All lands, and funds arising from the sale of such lands which were a part of this fund, were irrevocably vested in the same five state officers as had served on the 1851 board. In addition to making stipulations in regard to sale, transfer, or investment of proceeds from lands sold out of this fund, the act provided for aid to railroads, canals, or other works of an internal improvement nature. The trustees were given power to fix prices of these lands and to make such arrangements for the drainage of the swamp and overflowed lands as in their judgment appeared most advantageous to the Internal Improvement Fund.

In the decade before the Civil War the main concern for internal improvements in Florida was the development of overland transportation, with waterways and harbors assuming a secondary position, and land reclamation purely incidental. The reason for this is found in the fact that the settlement of the state had extended only to a little below Ocala, whereas the largest part of the swamp lands were south of that point.

After the Seminole War, Indian troubles, while existent, were negligible, and the small remnant of red men remaining in Florida took to swamp and glade for habita-

139. *Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, Passed at its Fifth Session, 1851*, 93.

140. *Laws of Florida*, Chapter 610, 1855.

tion. But in 1851 Governor Thomas Brown requested the Secretary of War to remove the Indians from the Everglades, for

. . . the most interesting and valuable part of our state . . . is cut off from any benefit to the citizens and sealed to the knowledge of the world, to be used as a hunting ground for a few roving savages.¹⁴¹

Despite the threat of occasional Indian forays, gradual settlement took place along the coasts and in the interior of Florida, and was accompanied by military operations of surveying and exploring the southern part of the state. Military posts at Ft. Brooke on Tampa bay, at Ft. Myers on the Caloosahatchee, at Ft. Lauderdale on the New, and at Ft. Dallas on the Miami river gave protection to the pioneers on this southernmost frontier. The War Department maintained garrison forces at these posts, and at the same time employed the soldiers in surveying operations.

THE LAST SEMINOLE WAR

In 1854, a detachment of eleven men under Lt. George L. Hartsuff was ordered to survey a part of the swamp region southeast of Ft. Myers and to make topographical reports.¹⁴² The Hartsuff command was ambushed and four of its number were killed. This incident renewed actual warfare with the Seminoles. Most of the action was of a desultory nature, resulting in the capture and shipment of a majority of the remaining Seminoles to join their brethren west of the Mississippi river. Opinions differed as to the federal government's policy of attempting to rid South Florida of the red men by offering rewards for the capture of the elusive Seminoles. Prices on cap-

141. *Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of Florida, 1851, 27.*

142. Francis C. M. Bogges, *A Veteran of Four Wars* (Arcadia: The Champion Press, 1900), 43; Andrew P. Canova, *Life and Adventure In South Florida*, (Tampa : Tribune Printing Company, 1885), 5; Thomas A. Gonzales (ed.), *The Caloosahatchee: Miscellaneous Writings Concerning the History of the Caloosahatchee River and the City of Fort Myers, Florida* (Estero: Koreshan Unity Press, 1932), 32.

tured Indians ran from \$500 for warriors, \$250 for squaws to \$100 for children. One of the soldiers who took part in the campaign felt that there was ". . . something remarkable about moving the Seminole Indians from the Everglades, as they are not suitable for the white man. The Indians want them and should be allowed to remain."¹⁴³

Economic activity in southern Florida before the Civil War was limited in the main to the cattle industry. During the ante-bellum period many families settled in the Manatee-Caloosahatchee river valleys, and devoted their efforts to cattle grazing. "Until the rebellion of the slave States, south Florida supplied the Havana market with beef at the rate of one thousand head per month; besides considerable quantities were shipped to the Bahamas, Key West and Tortugas."¹⁴⁴ In the drier months of the year the cattle could be kept on the flats bordering the Everglades, where the lush grass added pounds to the beeves that were shipped to the Cuban markets from the docks along these two rivers.¹⁴⁵

The conflict between the states from 1861 to 1865 put a temporary end to all plans for internal improvements in the southern end of the state. But with the end of the war, the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund received many proposals to ditch and drain land in or near the Everglades. On April 6, 1866, William H. Gleason addressed the Board in regard to draining certain portions of the Florida wet lands. The Board approved Gleason's proposition and offered to sell him tracts of 640 acres at \$40 each for every 50,000 cubic feet of ditch or drain excavated.¹⁴⁶

In the same year the Trustees contracted with Silas L.

143. Bogges, *A Veteran of Four Wars*, 63. Rerick, *op. cit.*, I, 228.

144. L. D. Stickney, "Tropical Florida," *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1861 on Agriculture, Senate Documents, Executive Documents*, Number 39, 37 Congress, 2 Session, 404.

145. Lillie B. McDuffee, *The Lures of Manatee* (Nashville: Marshall Bruce and Company, 1933), 197-200; Gonzales, *The Caloosahatchee*, 28-30; James A. Henshall, *Camping and Cruising in Florida* (Cincinnati: Robert Clark and Company, 1884), 198-199.

146. *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of Florida*, I, 276-277.

Niblack and others to drain and reclaim lands adjacent to the Caloosahatchee and Kissimmee rivers as well as Lake Okeechobee and any or all tributary areas. The contractors were to receive one-half of all such lands reclaimed if the work were begun within one year and completed in seven years.¹⁴⁷

These various proposals relating to the drainage and reclamation of the state's swamp and overflowed lands came to naught. The Trustees of the Improvement Fund employed agents to promote their land sales, who in the years from 1872 to 1880 traveled over the United States and Europe in search of buyers with little success.¹⁴⁸

From 1875 to 1880, the Trustees received several offers to purchase large tracts of the wet lands at prices as high as twenty-eight cents an acre on a part cash, part credit basis; but they were forced to reply that they could sell land for cash only as it was impossible to secure the consent of their creditors (who had placed the Fund in receivership in 1870) to make contract sales.¹⁴⁹ In 1881, Hamilton Disston, of Philadelphia, and his associates drew up articles of agreement with Governor William D. Bloxham and his board which provided for the drainage and reclamation of all swamp and overflowed lands south of Township 23 East and east of Peace creek.¹⁵⁰ But it was discovered that under the court decree which had put the Fund into receivership no binding agreement of this nature could be signed by the Trustees. Then Bloxham induced Disston to purchase outright 4,000,000 acres for \$1,000,000, a deal which enabled the state officials to pay off their debts and to assume an independent position

147. *Ibid.*, 361-364.

148. *Report of the Joint Commission Created by the Legislature of 1907*, (Chapter, 5632, Session Laws of 1906) *to Investigate the Acts and Doings of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund*, 37.

149. *Minutes of the Internal Improvement Fund*, II, 67-68. In 1875 the Trustees fixed the prices of wet lands at twenty-eight cents an acre in blocks of 100,000 acres, and twenty-five cents an acre for blocks of 2,000,000 to 5,000,000 acres. *Ibid.*, 91.

150. Rufus E. Rose, *The Swamp and Overflowed Lands of Florida: The Disston Contract and Sale*. (Tallahassee: T. J. Appleyard, 1916), 90-94. *Minutes of the Internal Improvement Fund*, II, 433, 473, 480, 503.

with regard to further land disposition, and to proceed with the Disston drainage contract.¹⁵¹

Thus, in a small way, drainage and reclamation began, the long story of which is told elsewhere.¹⁵²

LATER EXPLORATIONS

Several books were published in Florida in the following years after some of the more remote portions of the state were partially explored. In 1878, Maurice Thompson published a manual of archery in which he included several chapters of adventures in Florida. In the winter of 1868, Thompson and four companions spent five weeks on a trip across country from the St. Johns to the Kissimmee and into Lake Okeechobee, ". . . formerly called Mayaco, or Macaco," which "has slept in a sort of poetical fog of mystery."¹⁵³ Thompson noted that "during the stay of the United States troops in the Seminole country" the region had been crossed and recrossed by the soldiers ". . . but it so happened that no one connected with the army cared to publish any very satisfactory account. . . ." ¹⁵⁴

The explorers cruised along the southern shore, near the "grass marshes of the southern end of the lake, beyond which the everglades stretch away to the chain of little lakes whence a number of streams creep down to the coast."¹⁵⁵

F. A. Ober, in his description of Lake Okeechobee and the Everglades, noted that the region was as little known as it had been a hundred years previously. Ober pointed out that

151. Rose, *Swamp and Overflowed Lands*, 3-4.

152. Vide, J. E. Dovell, "A Brief History of the Florida Everglades," in *Proceedings, The Soil Science Society of Florida*, IV-A, 1942, 132-161; also "The Everglades-Florida's Frontier," Bureau of Economic and Business Research, College of Business Administration, University of Florida, *Economic Leaflets*, vol. VII, nos. 5 & 6, 1947.

153. Maurice Thompson, *The Witchery of Archery: A Complete Manual of Archery*. (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1878), 100.

154. *Ibid.*, 104.

155. *Ibid.*, 118.

Fabulous stories of beautiful islands, picturesque ruins, and pirate haunted glens, have been much in vogue with writers upon Lake Okeechobee, and to lift the veil that has so long hung over it, and narrate the plain facts, is to deprive them of a seemingly inexhaustible fund of romance. I must confess that it pains me to do so, but fidelity to truth compels me to write of the lake as it is, not as it should be. The beautiful groves of tropical fruits, the monkeys, spiders of gigantic size and ancient ruins are among the things that are NOT.¹⁵⁶

The south shore of the big lake he found was an unbroken marsh, deeply indented with sloughs or blind creeks. Ober decided that the surplus water drained from the south end, but he could find no discernible streams.

Another traveler entered the Everglades in the late 1870's from the Miami river. James A. Henshall, dispelling what he called the popular supposition about the Everglades, wrote that

. . . the Everglades is not an impenetrable swamp, exhaling an atmosphere of poisonous gases and deadly miasma, but a charming, shallow lake of great extent, with pure and limpid waters from a few inches to several-feet in depth, which grow curious water grasses and beautiful aquatic plants; while thousands of small islands, from a few rods to a hundred acres in extent, rise from the clear waters, clothed with never-ending verdure and flowers; while cypress and crab-wood, sweet-bay and palmetto, cocoa-plum, water and live oaks, grow in tropical profusion, and rear aloft their emerald banners, from which depend garlands and festoons of innumerable vines and air plants, gorgeous with blooms of every hue, and exhaling the sweetest of fragrance.¹⁵⁷

156. Fred Beverly [F. A. Ober] *Camp Life in Florida: A Handbook for Sportsmen and Settlers*, Charles Hallock (compiler) (New York: Field and Stream Publishing Company, 1876), 246-247. For a description of the Caloosahatchee valley and the marshes above Ft. Thompson, see Chares J. Kenworthy, *ibid.*, 298-299.

157. James A. Henshall, *Camping and Cruising in Florida*, 106.

LOCATING THE COUNTY SEAT OF JACKSON COUNTY

THE DIFFICULTIES OF PIONEER GOVERNMENT:
CHIPOLA vs WEBBVILLE vs MARIANNA
by DOROTHY DODD

Jackson county, when established by the act of August 12, 1822, extended from the Choctawhatchee river to the Suwannee. Terms of court were directed to be held at "the Big Spring, on the Chipola,"¹ the present Blue Spring.² When Gadsden county was created in 1823 from that portion of Jackson county lying east of the Apalachicola, the Legislative Council directed that courts for Jackson county be held "at the Big Spring on the Choctawhatchee" until a county seat should be permanently established.³ The council further provided for the appointment, by the County Court, of three commissioners to select a permanent seat of justice for the county,⁴ a provision that apparently was ignored.

In his "Sketches of West Florida, No. IV," published in the *Pensacola Gazette* of October 30, 1824, John Lee Williams described the centers of settlement in Jackson county at that time. On the Chattahoochee river, he wrote, "there is much good land and a considerable population." West of this settlement, "lands on the upper waters of the Chipola to some distance below the natural bridge are generally of the first quality of red clay lands, covered with a dark brown loam . . . [and] are fast settling." On St. Andrews bay, "there is a small settlement commencing, which may at some future day become a town of some consequence," while in Holmes Valley, "a low tract of bottom land, which commences near Holmes' creek, about six miles from the Choctawhatchie river, and

1. Florida (Ter.), *Acts*, 1822, p. 5.

2. "Five miles below the natural bridge, the Big spring Of Chipola rises, three miles east of the river; this spring is . . . navigable to its source" (John Lee Williams, *A View of West Florida*, 1827, p. 22).

3. Florida (Ter.), *Acts*, 1823, pp. 10, 18.

4. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

extends an eastern course ten or twelve miles [is] considerably cultivated."

"The outlet of the Big-spring of Choctawhatchie," Williams continued, "enters Holmes' creek about one and a half miles from its junction with that river. This spring has heretofore been the focus of business for Jackson county; a store at this place has supplied the inhabitants with goods and groceries, and the courts have held their sessions here. Exertions have been made to draw the trade and seat of justice to St. Andrews Bay, but it is thought by some that the natural or most convenient situation for both, would be at the head of navigation of Holmes' creek, near the heart of the settled part of the country."

In December, 1824, the Holmes Creek settlement was temporarily removed from Jackson county by the creation of Walton county from the eastern part of Escambia and the western part of Jackson. Choctawhatchee Big Spring was made the temporary seat of the new county. The courts for Jackson county were directed to be held "at the house of the Widow Hull on the road from Hudson's ferry to Hickory Hill" until a permanent site should be selected by three commissioners to be appointed by the County Court.⁵ If the Widow Hull was, as seems likely, the Sarah Hull who purchased a quarter section of land on January 1, 1827, the new temporary county seat was in the NW 1/4 of section 2, T 5 N, R 11 W,⁶ in the heart of the Chipola settlement, about three miles northeast of and future town of Webbville.

The County Court, consisting of Jacob Robinson, presiding justice, William S. Pope, and Joseph Russ, duly met at the house of Mrs. Hull on April 18, 1825, and appointed Dr. William P. Hort, James Patterson, and Owen Williams as commissioners to select the county site. Meeting again at Mrs. Hull's on June 13, the court received the report of the commissioners, who were "unanimously of the opinion that the west half of the south west quarter

5. *Ibid.*, 1824-5, p. 253.

6. See Tallahassee Land Office Tract Book 8, pt. 2 (new No. 32), folio 51, in Commissioner of Agriculture's office, Tallahassee.

Section of section no. 3 and the East half of the South East quarter Section of section no. 4 in the 4th Township and 10th Range (as marked by the Commissioners) present the most Eligible site for the public buildings of said County being the most central point in relation to population, Contiguous to the navigable waters of Chipola, with a bountiful supply of excellent water, & affording every prospect of health and Comfort." ⁷ The east half of this tract was later to be the site of the town of Marianna.

Meeting on July 11, "as commissioners at the County Site," the court ordered John B. Jackson, county surveyor, "to lay out the Town of CHIPOLA according to the Plan Laid down by Col. H. D. Stone," and to make his return to the court by the first Monday in August. It further ordered the clerk to advertise a part of the lots for sale on the first Wednesday after the first Monday in October, *i. e.*, October 19. The advertisement duly appeared in the *Pensacola Gazette*, ⁸ and the court, meeting "at the Court House," *i. e.*, at Chipola, on August 1, received the return of the county surveyor.

Two days before the date appointed for the sale, the court met at Mrs. Hull's, all three members being present. What transpired at that session does not appear. At an adjourned session the next day, October 18, only Judges Robinson and Russ were present. Declaring that the previous reports of the commissioners "has since been found to be illegal and [one] upon which the court could not legally act," the two judges rescinded the action of the court in receiving it and ordered the commissioners to make a new report "to this term of court."

If the report was "illegal," its illegality probably consisted in the selection of adjoining halves of contiguous quarter sections instead of a single quarter section. The court undoubtedly expected to exercise its right under the act of Congress of May 26, 1824, ⁹ which granted to

7. Copy of County Court Minutes, April 18 - October 18, 1825, certified by J. B. Jackson, deputy clerk, November 12, 1825, enclosed in Wm. S. Pope to John M. Pope, November 27, 1825, MS. in Secretary of State's office, Tallahassee. All statements concerning the actions of the County Court in 1825 are from this MS.

8. See issue of July 30, 1825.

9. 4 *U. S. Statutes*, 50.

each county and parish in the United States the right of preemption to one quarter section for the establishment of a seat of justice. The commissioners' selection certainly was not in accordance with a strict interpretation of this act. That this was not the real reason for the court's action is shown by its acceptance of an entirely new site for the county seat; the terms of the preemption act could easily have been met by shifting the first site one-half mile to the east or west. "The obligations of duty," L. M. Stone later asserted, "had yielded to the influence of party spirit."¹⁰

The second report of the commissioners, presented the day the order for a new report was entered but dated the preceding day, stated that they had selected "the southwest quarter of section number twenty-two in Township five North & Range Eleven West as the most convenient & Eligible situation for the Court House and other public buildings of said County." This quarter section is just southeast of the sixteenth section on which Webbville was afterward located. The court received the report and "ordered that the Town of Chipola be surveyed and the Lots advertised for sale on the second monday in January next and Exposed for sale on that day."

A session of the Legislative Council intervened between this action and the proposed sale of lots, in the second site. Through his brother, John M. Pope, who was a member of the council, William S. Pope transmitted to the council a petition from the people of the Chipola Big Spring and Chattahoochee settlements protesting against the second site, and a "remonstrance" of his own. In the latter document, Pope charged that the action of Robinson and Russ was illegal, since the law providing for the appointment of commissioners had stated that their decision should be final. He recommended that the council "establish a permanent seat at some point as the division in the court will prevent them from effecting anything on that subject." His own preference, he concluded, was a site in

10. *Pensacola Gazette*, November 25, 1828.

section 3, T 4 N, R 10 W, *i. e.*, substantially the same as the first location of the commissioners.¹¹

Advocates of the commissioners' first selection were not the only dissatisfied residents of Jackson county. Although settlers in the northeastern part of the county could not agree on the exact location of the county seat, it was evident that the final selection would be in that area. The inhabitants at St. Andrews bay, seeing no hope of securing the county seat for themselves, petitioned for a new county to be created from the southwestern part of Jackson. The Legislative Council obliged them by establishing Washington county, whose courts were to be held at the home of William M. Loftin, at St. Andrews bay, until a permanent county seat should be selected.¹²

The council apparently hesitated to go so far as to fix the Jackson county seat itself. Instead, it annulled all previous actions of the County Court and commissioners on the subject, and provided for the court to call an election for the selection of three commissioners to choose a site.¹³ Until a permanent county seat was established, terms of the Superior Court were to be held at the house of Mrs. Hull.¹⁴

The election was duly held. William McNeiley, John Hopson, and a third commissioner whose name is not recorded, selected a spot near the Marianna site, but the County Court took no action.¹⁵ The next Legislative Council again intervened. By an act of January 20, 1827, William Patterson, C. L. Nichols, George Jackson, James Webb, and Arthur Foster, any three of whom were empowered to act, were named commissioners to select the county seat, lay off a town, and sell the lots, without reference to the County Court. If the commissioners should select a quarter section which, in their opinion, was not suited for a county seat, they were authorized to

11. Wm. S. Pope to John M. Pope, November 27, 1825, and enclosure dated November 23, 1825, MSS. in Secretary of State's office, Tallahassee. The petition has not been found.

12. Florida (Ter.), *Acts*, 1825, p. 83. John Lee Williams, in his *A View of West Florida*, p. 86, said that Washington county "owes its origin to political quackery alone."

13. Florida (Ter.), *Acts*, 1825, p. 67.

14. *Ibid.*, p. 64.

15. L. M. Stone in *Pensacola Gazette*, November 28, 1828.

sell it or swap it for another site. Until the permanent seat should be located, courts were to be held on section 16, T 5 N, R 11 W.¹⁶ This commission either failed, or refused, to act.¹⁷

The designation of the sixteen section in T 5 N, R 11 W, as the temporary place of holding courts was probably meant as a neutral gesture, since it was school land reserve. There was already a settlement on the section, however. As early as June 15, 1826, L. M. Stone advertised as postmaster at Chipola that mail for the Chipola settlement should be addressed to "Stone's Store, Chipola, F."¹⁸ Under date of February 2, 1827, Stone advertised that the name of the post office had been changed to Webbville.¹⁹ The little town grew apace. Stone opened an inn, lawyers and doctors hung out their shingles, and an academy was established. But all were squatters.

Some time in 1827, 139 residents of the Webbville area petitioned Congress to authorize the location of the county seat upon this sixteenth section. Such action, they said, would "meet with the approbation of a large majority of the citizens . . . of Jackson county, and . . . effectually reconcile their jarring opinions and conflicting interests." It was the only place, recited the petition, suitable for the location "on account of water, prospects of health, and general convenience. . . in any way central to the population;" there was already a village there, "consisting of four stores, the offices of legal and medical men, clerks, sheriff and marshal, and several private dwelling houses;" and its selection would greatly enhance the value of the school lands. The Senate Committee on Public Lands, on January 11, 1828, recommended that the petition be granted.²⁰

At its meeting in January, 1828, the Legislative Council again attempted to settle the matter by submitting it to popular vote. The commissioners named in 1827 were

16. Florida (Ter.) , *Acts*, 1826-7, pp. 116-119.

17. L. M. Stone in *Pensacola Gazette*, November 28, 1828.

18. *Ibid.*, July 15, 1826.

19. *Ibid.*, February 2, 1827.

20. *Ibid.*, February 29, 1828.

directed to lay out a town on the site thus selected.²¹ This method of selection, said L. M. Stone later in extenuation of his own actions, "was a perfectly novel course—one perhaps before unknown in America."²² The chief contenders for the location were Webbville and Marianna.

The latter town was the property of Robert Beveridge and associates.²³ While the county was squabbling over the quarter section to which it should exercise its right of preemption, the Chipola lands had been offered at public sale in the spring of 1827.²⁴ Beveridge stepped in and bought, in his own name and that of his wife, Anna Maria Beveridge, the two half quarter sections first selected by the 1825 commissioners.²⁵ There can be little doubt that he made the purchase with the county seat in mind. By March, 1828, there was enough of a settlement on the site for a post office to be established at Marianna.²⁶

The election under the act of January 19, 1828, resulted in a small plurality for Webbville.²⁷ But this did not resolve the contest in favor of Webbville, for Congress had not acted on the petition to authorize a town on the school land reserve. Its settlers were still squatters who must await the decision of a far-distant Congress—a Congress, moreover, that was in recess from May 27 to November 30, 1828.

The proponents of Marianna, on the other hand, boldly laid their plans to secure the decision through the Legislative Council. "Robert Beveridge & Co." offered to deed to the county the public square and two lots in Marianna should the town be made the county seat. Citizens of Marianna subscribed \$1,500 to be used in erecting county buildings, and Beveridge promised \$500 to pur-

21. Act of January 19, 1828, in *ibid.*, April 18, 1828.

22. *Ibid.*, November 25, 1828.

23. "Spectator," in *ibid.*, December 2, 1828, mentions John P. Lockhart, Jeremiah Loftin, and Miles Sims as being especially interested, with Beveridge, in the town.

24. *Ibid.*, June 22, 1827, quoting *Florida Advocate*, May 26, 1827.

25. Tallahassee Land Office Trace Book 8, pt. 2 (new No. 32), folio 1.

26. *Pensacola Gazette*, May 2, 1828.

27. L. M. Stone in *ibid.*, November 25, 1828.

chase a quarter section which should be sold to secure funds for the same purpose.²⁸

When the Legislative Council met in October, 1828, Representative L. M. Stone, one of Webbville's most prominent citizens, procured passage of a bill establishing the county seat at Marianna. This act, passed October 20, 1828, made location of the county seat at Marianna contingent upon the conveyance to the county of the public square and lots 91 and 92 in the town, and specified that the courthouse should be built on the public square thus deeded. John G. Smith, George Portress, John P. Lockhart, and Joseph Russ were named commissioners to contract, on the first Monday in January, 1829, for a courthouse and jail.²⁹

Passage of the act aroused a storm of protest. A petition to the Legislative Council, signed by 318 citizens of Jackson county, denounced it as unjust legislative interference in a purely local matter, in defiance of the will of a majority of the citizens of the county. "The wishes and interests of the county," said the petition, "have been misrepresented by our Representative, *who repeatedly pledged himself not to interfere in this controversy between the people of Jackson County and Robert Beveridge & Co.*"³⁰

The petition was published as a handbill, and Stone replied in like form. He had been motivated, he said, solely by consideration of the best interests of his constituents. The controversy over location of the county seat had been carried on for years "with all the warmth generally attendant upon local politics" and had "engendered all the bitterness of feeling which can emanate from the conflict of private interest and party zeal." Surely, he contended, no better selection could be made "than that of eleven intelligent and disinterested gentlemen, assembled together to Legislate for the general good of the Territory." Had he consulted his private interest, no one would have been louder than he in supporting Webbville, but he had

28. L. M. Stone in *ibid.*, November 28, 1828.

29. *Ibid.*, December 9, 1828.

30. *Ibid.*, November 25, 1828.

"resolved to act with an eye single to the public good alone."³¹

Intimations that Stone had consulted his private interest were speedily forthcoming. A published letter to him from "One of Your Constituents" attacked him for locating the county site on private land when there was plenty of good public land available, even near Marianna. "Are you not interested," queried the writer, "in a quarter section of pine land immediately adjoining Marianna, which was entered by your co-partner Major Mandell *after you arrived in Tallahassee?*"³² It is strange that the idea of securing this piece of land, for the county town, did not occur to you, as you had just formed the resolution of acting *with an eye single to the public good*, and for the first time seen the propriety of locating the county seat on Chipola [river]."³³

And "Spectator" quoted a signed statement by William Laprade, as follows: "I certify that during the time L. M. Stone was a candidate for the Council, I purchased from him his improvements in Webbville; that I stated to him, before making the purchase, that, as he would probably be elected, I wanted to know whether he would interfere in the removal of the county site; he replied, Col. Laprade, *I give you my honor, I will not interfere with it.*"³⁴

Affronted by the charge of unjust use of its power, the Legislative Council stubbornly refused to reconsider its action.³⁵ It further advanced the cause of Marianna by incorporating the Town of Marianna,³⁶ and by declaring the Chipola river to be a navigable stream as far as the

31. *Ibid.*

32. Addison Mandell bought the E 1/2 of the NE 1/4 of section 4, T 4 N, R 10 W, on October 9, 1828 (Tallahassee Land Office Tract Book 8, pt. 2 (new No. 32), folio 1).

33. *Pensacola Gazette*, November 28, 1828.

34. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1828.

35. See *Ibid.*, December 30, 1828.

36. The corporation consisted of all free white males over 21 years of age residing within the SW 1/4 of section 3, T 4 N, R 10 W. Miles Simms, Allen Gattis, and Benjamin Holden were named inspectors to supervise the first election for intendant (mayor) on the first Monday in January, 1829. (*Ibid.*, December 16, 1828.)

natural bridge and providing for opening and clearing the river.³⁷ The latter action was an effort to make good one of the chief arguments in favor of Marianna, namely, that it was at the head of navigation of the river-but a river, so far, choked with logs and snags.

The first Monday in January 1829 (January 5) was a triumphant day for Marianna. Lots in the town were sold at public auction,³⁸ the first election was held for corporation officers, and bids were received for construction of a courthouse and jail. But the inhabitants of Webbville had not abandoned hope of winning the contest. What the Legislative Council could do, Congress could undo.

A request for permission to lay out a town on the sixteenth section was again presented to the Congress that convened in December, 1828. The plea was based primarily on the need for adequate financial support for Webbville Academy, for whose benefit the town lots would be sold: "The present circumstances of the school and vilage," said the petition, "are extremely gloomy the former being altogether without funds for its support and the latter being on publick land which prevents the inhabitants making any improvements of consequence . . ." The need for relief was urgent, as "the interests of the people must suffer by towns springing up elsewhere and the probability that the present inhabitants will move away unless they receive some encouragement as important to the academy as to themselves."³⁹ And Joseph M. White, territorial delegate, although professing to be neutral in the county seat fight, sought annulment of the act selecting Marianna, "as being an improper interference by the Council, with an affair which properly per-

37. Henry L. Revier, Robert Beveridge, James S. Murphy, Thomas Russ, Jacob Robinson, Isaac Hort, and James Hopson, named commissioners to supervise the opening of the river, were authorized to raise \$5,000 by lottery for improving its navigation. Every person living within five miles of the river below the natural bridge and subject by law to road duty was required to work six days each year in clearing out the river. (*Ibid.*, December 5, 1828.)

38. *Floridian*, November 18, 1828.

39. MS. petition in U. S. Senate Files, 20th Cong., 2d sess., in the National Archives.

tained to the people of each county to settle for themselves." ⁴⁰

By an act of January 21, 1829, Congress annulled the act of the council fixing the county seat at Marianna and directed that the people of the county be given the privilege of selecting their county site as other Florida counties had done. ⁴¹ An act of March 2 authorized the qualified voters in T 5 N, R 11 W (the Webbville township), to elect three commissioners who should lay off a town on one quarter, or two adjoining eighths, of the sixteenth section. One-half of the lots were to be sold at public auction. The proceeds were to be paid into the territorial treasury for the use of the common schools in the township. ⁴²

The inhabitants of Webbville lost no time in taking advantage of the second act. By April 26 they had elected George Jackson, Sears Bryan, and E. J. Bowers as commissioners. ⁴³ The sale of lots was held on June 29 and brought between six and seven thousand dollars, on one and two years' credit. ⁴⁴ The *Pensacola Gazette*, and doubtless the Webbvillians also, regarded the legal establishment of the town as a harbinger of victory in the county seat fight. "If this village," said the *Gazette*, "becomes the Seat of Justice for the county, of which there remains no doubt, and also the scite of a permanent and useful Academy with ample funds, it will be a desirable residence and become a beautiful town." ⁴⁵ But events proved the *Gazette* to be a poor prophet.

The commissioners named in the annulled act selecting Marianna had acted expeditiously in erecting a courthouse and jail. Influenced, perhaps, by the considerable investment involved, the Legislative Council of 1829, while not daring in so many words again to designate Marianna as the county seat, deliberately flouted the will

40. *Register of Debates in Congress*, V, 191. See also *Florida Advocate*, February 21, 1829.

41. 4 *U. S. Statutes*, 333.

42. 4 *U. S. Statutes*, 357.

43. *Florida Advocate*, June 18, 1829.

44. *Ibid.*, July 11, 1829.

45. Issue of May 12, 1829.

of Congress. By an act of November 20, 1829, it validated all of the acts of the commissioners. It directed, moreover, that the Superior and County Courts be held in the courthouse they had built, that all county business be transacted there, and that if the clerk of either court refused to keep his office in Marianna he should be subject to a fine of twenty dollars a week for each week he failed to do so.⁴⁶ This act effectually settled the location of the county seat, although the matter was agitated until 1832.

The Legislative Council did not meet in 1830. The 1831 council, at the instance of Peter W. Gautier, Jr., of Webbville, authorized the election of commissioners who should report to the next council on the expediency of removing the county seat.⁴⁷ There is no record in the 1832 Journal of such a report being made. The creation of the short-lived county of Fayette from Jackson county in 1832, however, brought up the question of changing the county seat. Acting-Governor James D. Wescott, Jr., vetoed a bill providing for a county seat election because he was "averse to disturbing the quiet of the county by raising the question again if it can be avoided."⁴⁸ But upon being assured by the Jackson county representatives that the people of the county really desired the act, he reluctantly withdrew his objections. The election was to be held on the second Monday in July, 1832.⁴⁹ No report of the result has been found, but Marianna has been the county seat from that day to this. Its rival, Webbville, has long since vanished from the map.

46. Florida (Ter.), *Acts*, 1829, pp. 57, 58. The council also repealed the 1828 provision for persons subject to road duty to work on the Chipola River (*ibid.*, p. 5).

47. *Ibid.*, 1831, p. 71; Florida Legislative Council, *Journal*, 1831, unpaginated MS. in Florida State Library.

48. Florida Legislative Council, *Journal*, 1832, p. 115.

49. Florida (Ter.), *Acts*, 1832, p. 140.

STEPHEN RUSSELL MALLORY

by OCCIE CLUBBS

PART III

AS UNITED STATES SENATOR

While few of Stephen Mallory's recorded speeches in the United States Senate are great oratorical efforts, most of them are replete with logic and some are eloquent. The reader today is especially impressed with his breadth of information and with the pertinancy of his arguments to the subject as well as often to the interests of his constituents. The *savoir faire* for which he was famous and of which Pensacolians, contemporaries of his, still speak, was never found wanting, even when debate became acrimonious or when an issue was decided contrary to his wishes. It must be recalled that he served in the decade when the slavery question "found its highest activity and decisive culmination,"¹ following the Compromise of 1850, the Kansas-Nebraska Act, the Dred Scott Decision, and John Brown's activities. Senator Mallory remained level-headed and rational through all.²

Though as a member and later chairman, of the Committee on Naval Affairs, he had a particular interest in maritime matters, his tastes and knowledge were so varied and he was so truly a cosmopolite, that he contributed frequently and positively to debates regardless of the subject. Thus Senator Clayton having asked why Spain was interested in Africanizing Cuba, Mallory had the facts waiting in the storehouse of his mind:

"Certainly such a course would be suicidal; and it is apparent to all that so long as she can maintain her possession of the island, her clear and unquestionable interest precludes the consideration of such a course. . . . Cuba,

1. Nicolay, J. G., and Hay, John, "Abraham Lincoln: A History," *The Century Magazine*, March 1887, p. 685.

2. "Hon. D. L. Yulee and Dr. S. E. Spencer are Delegates for the State at large to the Baltimore Convention. Senator Mallory would have been selected had it not been stated in the Convention that Mr. Mallory did not desire the appointment, believing that members of Congress ought not to be sent to Conventions charged with the business of choosing candidates for President and Vice President," *The Floridian & Journal*, April 24, 1852.

the 'ever faithful Cuba' is her principal colony, for the Philippines and Porto Rico add but little to the revenue to the Crown. Cuba takes Spain's surplus flour, her oils, wines, and cotton fabrics, and many other articles of her produce and manufacture, and receives in return Cuba's sugar, tobacco, coffee, cigars, etc., giving to Spain profitable employment for outward and homeward voyages of her shipping, building up the merchant marine, and fostering a valuable school for seamen. This most valuable trade we have, by our unwise attempts at retaliation, aided to build up."³

His wife's family and his environment at Key West and later at Pensacola gave significance to what he added:

"The individual Spaniard of today has all the honor, pride, and character of his glorious ancestors, when Spanish captains and discoverers gave a new continent to Christendom, when her fleets covered the ocean, and when Castilian honor was a conspicuous, a brilliant example. In spite of the examples and the degradations of a court, the most corrupt in Europe-in spite of ages of misgovernment, the Spaniard retains his heroism and his virtue. Such a people will not sacrifice their pride for money."⁴

Retaliatory tariffs restricted trade even at that period, Mallory relating that:

"Spain without seamen or shipping, saw the necessity of discriminating in favor of her own tonnage against that of all other nations, and did so by the imposition of heavier duties upon foreign vessels and their cargoes than upon her own. We, to coerce her into the abandonment of this policy, retaliated by corresponding enactment; enactments which have sent Spanish purchasers to the markets of England, France, and Russia, where no such restrictions upon her tonnage exists; . . . the Spanish flag is scarcely ever seen in our ports."⁵

Thoroughly Southern were Mallory's sentiments regarding Africanization of the slave trade:

3. *Congressional Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, p. 1259.

4. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1254, 1257, 1259-1261.

5. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1259.

"Unless we can find in her policy, as manifested by her acts and declarations, strong presumptions of a design to Africanize it, it would be as illogical as it would be unjust to her, to entertain the supposition; . . . To Africanize, sir, is to sum up, in a word, those horrors of which the civilized world was ignorant until St. Domingo's fiends, in liberty's name, devised them.

"Sir, I concur in much that the honorable Senator has said with reference to American vessels in the slave trade. I deplore it, sir, as much as he does, and would at almost any cost, desire to see it annihilated."

History was invoked to show how maladroit had been Spain's management of Cuba and how untrustworthy her promises:

"We well know that Spain, in 1817, solemnly engaged to abolish and prohibit the slave trade, and received from Great Britain as an inducement to do so, and as an equivalent for losses to be incurred by its suppression, four hundred thousand pounds.

"This, sir, was thirty-seven years ago ; and as, according to the most reliable Cuban statistics, five per cent of her slaves died annually, notwithstanding all increase by births, it follows that slavery would have been extinct in Cuba seventeen years ago, had Spain redeemed her plighted faith. . . .

"The number now on the island is nearly five hundred thousand."⁶

Reminiscent of the last decade of the century were the Senator's next declarations:

"Now, sir, let us not lose sight of the fact that the Creoles of Cuba have no part, no station, no voice, or responsibility in its government; that its laws, their exponents, and their executive officers, come from Spain; and that these authorities are responsible alone for the slave trade. The Creoles have, by every means, every remonstrance and argument in their power, pointed out its evils; and they have contemplated with horror its

6. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

blighting effects upon themselves, and their country, and their posterity." ⁷

Living but ninety miles away, Mallory had developed a profound philosophy of Spanish-Cuban affairs :

"Thus, sir, has Spain encouraged, nursed, and protected the African slave trade, not with the view of Africanizing, but as a means of controlling the island, well knowing that this deadly, blighting policy tends, beyond any other means in her power, to crush her dawning hopes of freedom, and the Cubans, isolated, alone, and unaided, their words, acts, lives and liberties constrained, fearfully contemplate and ponder upon a struggle whose termination may be the knell of the white race in their lovely land."

"Let us discard, for the present at least, the idea of purchasing Cuba. Depend upon it, sir, it is not for sale, nor will it be as long as the Cortes or the people of Catalonia exist. . . ." ⁸

Further on, Mallory declared:

"The prediction of Mr. Adams must come true. In 1823 he said that just as certainly as an apple parted from the parent limb gravitated to the earth, just so certainly would Cuba come to the United States if separated from the mother country." ⁹

The resolution for which Mr. Mallory spoke to "prevent the abuse of the American flag in protecting persons engaged in the African slave trade" passed and later history proved the truth of his prediction of American domination in Cuba. ¹⁰

Again, speaking of the increased prestige of the American navy, he declared:

"Let me remind you, sir, that the gallant spirits who composed our Navy at the beginning of the present century, curbed the barbarous princes of Northern Africa . . . and drew from the then existing Pope the declaration that infant America had done more for Christianity in

7. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

8. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

9. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., p. 1260.

10. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 1254, 1257, 1259-1261.

one year than Europe had done in a century. And let me remind you, too, sir, that our Navy, feeble in ships, arms, and men; feeble as it was in everything but character, courage, discipline, and devotion, was the first that ever dispelled the charm of British invincibility upon the sea. . . .¹¹

"Even, Great Britain," he continued, "no longer spoke through her public prints of our *'boards nailed together for ships, under a bit of striped bunting;'* but with that noble instinct which ever impels the Briton's heart to do justice to the *courage* and conduct of a gallant foe, who stands squarely up to the fight, *she too* confessed and admired the true character of our Navy, finding some balm for her wounded pride in the declaration that if she had sustained defeat, it took her own children to accomplish it."¹²

Continuing in this same address:

"From the War of 1812 to the present moment, there is no sea on the globe visited by our commerce, that has not witnessed the services of our naval officers in the protection of the life and property of our people. . . . and, sir, at this moment, intelligence is reaching us that another energetic officer, in the execution of a most important and peaceful mission, has impressed our national character upon the rulers of Japan, and opened to American enterprise a trade for which the Old World has vainly struggled for two centuries."¹³

Senator Mallory considered that moral standing constituted a great point in efficiency and declared that its possession should be a requisite to hold a commission in the navy. Senator Crittenden took issue with this and said "His capacity is one thing, and his morals another." He instanced the cases, in generalizing on the military officers, of Marlborough and Lord Nelson. Mallory rejoined that though he personally regarded the hero of Blenheim as "one of the best soldiers in the world" his

11. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1552-1554.

12. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, p. 1457.

13. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1457, 1458.

record had never been "submitted to a board of examiners." ¹⁴

Again and again, evidence of his own words on the floor refute the pro-Union charge later brought against Senator Mallory. On December 7, 1859, in discussing the Harper's Ferry invasion resolution, he said:

"In this case the cause of Virginia is the cause of the South. Our fortunes are united in hers. We feel proud of her attitude, proud of her high tone, proud of the legal and constitutional manner in which her executive and people have met this outbreak; and we expect to stand by her in any issue that she may make. Now, sir, are not the Southern people justified in looking to the North to quiet public opinion? Are they not justified in the excitement which is felt there, though it is not manifested in words or acts—deeply as it underlies the current of society? I might appeal to northern gentlemen for the justification. I might tell them, sir, that the popular pulpit throughout the North, that the light literature of the North, that the separation of the churches between the North and the South, that the laws upon her statute books, the speeches in her Legislatures, the messages of her Governors, all have tended to produce the fruits which now stare us in the face. Gentlemen get up here frankly and disavow, in terms more or less explicit, all knowledge or concurrence with, or approval of, the acts of this simple murderer, midnight assassin, and traitor. They could do no less. . . ." ¹⁵

The speaker went on to call attention to the threat of the Republican party to the institution of slavery, to the "meetings of sympathy, condolence, and compassion . . . for a man who deserves the severest condemnation throughout the whole world. Bells are tolled; in Albany one hundred guns are fired. . . ." ¹⁶

At a period when the political uprisings in Kansas, rivalled the dust storms of a, more recent day, when all had been staked on a venture and failure had to be fol-

14. *Ibid.*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, p. 28.

15. *Ibid.*, 36th Cong., 1st Sess., 1860, p. 28.

16. *Ibid.*, 35th Cong., 1st Sess., Appendix 2, 1858, pp. 214-218.

lowed by another trial, Mallory revealed a special gnosis of the subject:

"The 23rd day of January, 1854, inaugurated a period of political excitement throughout a large portion of our Confederacy, which, still progressing, undetermined, has thus far been characterized by such bitterness, such a spirit of rancor towards the southern States of the Confederacy, as, in the judgment of judicious men everywhere, is not only destroying the bonds of our social, but is having an immediate tendency to destroy the bonds of our political Union. . . . the obliteration of the Missouri Compromise line, so-called, was a feature of the Kansas-Nebraska bill." He declared that the Missouri Compromise had done a "great national wrong to the southern portion of this Confederacy" when it excluded slavery.

The historical aftermath is thus described:

"This was followed by such a political storm throughout the non-slaveholding States, as none but a Government, resting upon the enlightened judgment of a free people, can ever withstand.

"Under the guidance of leaders, in many instances as reckless and ambitious as they were able, every element of political discord and sectional strife was involved and brought into prurient activity: and while the bench, the bar, the hustings, and the press, entered upon one wide crusade against the people of the southern States, the pulpit, no less impious than the rest, invoked upon them the curses and denunciations of Heaven itself."

Senator Seward interrupted to declare that he was listening with "great pleasure" but that Senator Mallory was speaking so low "he is not doing justice to himself." Mallory continued:

"Mr. President, in connection with the subject of slavery, we are told by the Senator from New York, (Mr. Seward) that the South has governed the Confederacy, but that the reins of power are falling from her grasp, and that to other hands are our destinies to be committed. Sir, I concede it. The genius, the knowledge of government, the constitutional and conservative spirit of Southern men, have as unequivocally stamped the policy of this

Government, in the Cabinet and in the Senate, as their valor has led her banners in the field. Seven of your Presidents have themselves been slaveholders; and whenever the country has demanded the intellect, the genius, or the courage of her sons, they have found no more brilliant illustrations than among slaveholders."

Declaring that in the years in which the South was in control, the government had worsted foreign and domestic foes and the treachery of "pretending friends" with "the Constitution her only chart" and now "her name unstained with placid seas beneath, and smiling heavens above her, freighted with the hearts, and hopes, the liberties of mankind, we will resign her as the greatest, the noblest trust that ever came from the hands of man. In the language of my friend from South Carolina (Governor Hammond) 'great will be our honor and your responsibility'; and be sure that you let the world behold, when we demand her back, as demand we may, that you restore the emblem of her glory, with no stripe erased, every star undimmed."

His own is at one with the effulgent spirit of the South:

"It is not for me to indicate the path she may, in her wisdom, pursue ; but, sir, wherever it may lead, be it gloomy or bright, my whole heart is with her; and she will find me treading it with undivided affections." ¹⁷

But little of Mallory's religious views is evident in his public career, but at one time he introduced the subject of a religious report that, "a Catholic paper in St. Louis-the 'Shepherd of the Valley' - had declared that as soon as the Catholics should obtain the supremacy in this country, there would be an end of toleration here." Mallory declared that instead of the 'Shepherd of the Valley' being a mouthpiece of the Catholic Church, it had been denounced by the Bishop of St. Louis:

"It is the first time, Mr. President, in this body, that I have ever heard directly or indirectly the creed of any portion of our citizens presented as a matter of discussion. It is the first time that I have ever known any member

17. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1194-1195.

of the body feel it necessary to rise and say a word upon the subject." ¹⁸

Mallory cited religious toleration in colonial Maryland, the part Catholics played in the navy, army and civil life -and yet at the time there were no Catholic chaplains in the service.

Salmon P. Chase gave evidence of the regard entertained by his colleagues for Senator Mallory while this question was under discussion when he stated:

"There is no Senator upon this floor to whose action I should be more unwilling to take any exception than to that honorable Senator." ¹⁹

BUCHANAN ELECTED AND MALLORY REELECTED

As a senator, Mallory for some time maintained his Washington residence at the National Hotel. ²⁰ Forty years later, Stephen R. Mallory, Jr., then also a senator from Florida, occupied the identical room which four decades before had been his father's. ²¹ The building on Pennsylvania avenue at Sixth street, was built in 1827,

18. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854, pp. 1194-1195.

19. *Ibid.*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., 1854.

20. T. C. DeLeon, in *Belles, Beaux and Brains of the 60's*, pp. 85-86, speaks of Mallory's delight in good food and refers to a short lyric which appears on a loose leaf of his Diary:

"From the young Wife's forth-coming
Domestic cookery.

Written especially for Mrs.

(No copyright secured)

Gumbo File (Jeannette & Jeanot)

"If you want to make a gumbo just to please the taste and eye,
You must put of lard a spoonful in your pot and let it fry;
Then another add of flour and together let them be.
And next put in your chicken cut as if to fricas[s]ee.
Then with onions and black pepper and of salt a single dash.
You may season to your liking - as you do in making hash - .
Then of the oyster-water for your soup just add enough,
But not a drop beyond what's beyond your dinner quantum stuff,
Let it boil ten minutes gently, then before your chicken's done,
You may put in fifty oysters, -looking well at every one-
They'll take three minutes, just, to cook, then stir your file in,
And your Gumbo's done, and such a dish is dinner for a King.
Oh, if I were Queen of France, or, still better, pope of Rome,
I'd have an oyster Gumbo every day I dined at home:
All the world should dine in peace, and if pork and beans we meet,
I'd make them who cooked the nasty things the only ones to eat."

21. Cubberly, the late Judge Fred, Gainesville, - Florida, *Statement*, July 25, 1932

and in 1933 was used by the District of Columbia for an armory. There formerly was a tower on the building with a large bell, and it is said that when this bell was rung for dinner Congress would adjourn.²²

At one period, the Mallory family obviously lived in the suburbs as during the discussion on a resolution to change the hour for the daily meeting of the Senate, Mallory declared: "If we meet at ten o'clock we cannot get there sooner than we do now, residing as we do, at a great distance from the Capitol."²³

The struggle between the slavery and anti-slavery forces reached a trial of strength in 1856. Against the Democratic nominee, Buchanan, the American party pitted Millard Fillmore. As usual the national struggle was reflected in the political units of the country. The first term of Mallory in the United States Senate was nearing its close and in Florida the race for the office for the next term was characterized by much scurrility and collusion. The main charges brought against Mallory were his neglect of the interests of the state outside of Key West and favoritism to Democrats in patronage. As the *Pensacola Gazette* was bitterly hostile to Mallory, the opposition campaign may be fruitfully followed therein.

The *Gazette* fired the first gun in its issue of February 24, 1855, in stating that the construction of seven new sloops for the Navy was under consideration, and asked, "are those vessels all to be built at the northern Navy Yards?"²⁴

Hunks of political pork from the barrel at Washington weighed largely then as now and the *Gazette*, perhaps naturally, seems to have been more interested in what Mallory could do for Pensacola than for Florida or the nation.

22. Calvert, Geo. H., Jr., Attorney and Counsellor at Law, 452 D Street, Northwest, Washington, D. C., *Letter*, Oct. 3, 1933.

23. *Cong. Globe*, 33rd Cong., 1st Sess., July 5, 1854, pp. 1605-1606.

At this Session, Mallory also lived at the National, at Gadsby's and nine other points, Hellman, Florence S., Act'g Chief Bibliop, Library of Congress, *Memorandum* to Hon. Millard Caldwell, H. of Rep., enclosure, *Letter*, June 24, 1936.

24. Rerick, *op. cit.*, Vol. I, pp. 231-232.

In 1854 the legislature of Alabama proposed that all of Florida west of the Apalachicola river be ceded to that State, and by January 1859 so much favorable sentiment had come from West Florida that the General Assembly of Florida provided for a popular vote upon the subject.²⁵ This would have left to bear the name Florida, only the East Florida of Spanish days. The previous plan submitted by the Legislative Council in a memorial to Congress in 1844 took the Suwanee river as the dividing line and looked to the creating of two states.²⁶

"Our party friends wish to annex this city and county to Alabama and why? For no other reason in the world but that we have no representative either in the House or the Senate of the United States. What are Mallory and Maxwell for us as long as their constituents in the East uphold them, whether we like their acts or not? They occasionally come over to us here and after making (of course by invitation) a number of soft cajoling speeches, in which are embraced a thousand unfulfilled promises, they leave us supposing them to be the very best men for our interests, when they, having the control, slight us in every instance. It is too bad. Mr. Mallory's term expires this session and the question of annexation comes with the next election. Let us get where we can have some voice in the councils of our land and a member who will express our sentiments. Ho! for Kansas."²⁷

The campaign got warmer with the weather for in July one reads:

"It is a singular fact that of all the vessels in the Gulf but few show themselves here, and this the only place where is stored the provisions for the Squadron!-Why is this so? . . . The vessels are now in rendezvous at Key West ? - (Of course none of the Florida delegation in Congress have anything to do with its being so) - "

The reader is reminded of more recent campaigns in the state:

"We see that an effort is being made in certain quar-

25. *Ibid.*, Vol. I, p. 210.

26. *Pensacola Gazette*, April 12, 1856.

27. *Ibid.*

ters to [illegible] Key West (at our expense) as the point for a Naval Station in the Gulf. Now, while we would not attempt to disparage that harbor, believing as we do that it is a good one, we would ask of what use would it be in time of war with any nation whose Navy outnumbered our own? Twenty thousand men could not defend it. We once thought and so we presume did most of our readers, that our State had been extremely fortunate in having one of her Senators placed at the head of the Naval Committee; but alas, man is born to disappointment-no man could have done us more injustice - *he forgets his State* and acts only for a section.²⁸

The campaign became more abusive as election day approached. In the early fall a communication to the editor ran as follows: "Will you please inform the Laboring Class, especially honest Americans, who are expecting to obtain employment at the so-called 'Navy Yard', that it will be useless for them to make application unless previously obligating themselves to support the Democratic nominations at the coming Elections. Should any applicant belonging to the American party expect employment he must be prepared to appear and receive absolution."²⁹

Under the caption 'Catching at Straws', the *Gazette* ridiculed the encomiums which its rival the Democrat had bestowed on Mallory and discounted its claims of Mallory's services to the Navy Yard. "When Mr. Mallory was here about a year ago, in a speech delivered in the City Hall, he told us he was coming to reside in Pensacola, that he already considered his interests identified with the interests of this place, that it would be his pleasure to do all in his power to foster and improve our Navy Yard, etc., and what has been the fruit of all this fine talk? The Public Works in our yard are suspended, compelling our mechanics to leave their homes and in many instances their families, to seek employment in Mobile and New Orleans; our Bay has not been enlivened by the presence of the Home Squadron, which has hitherto spent the greater part of the summer in our harbor; and

28. *Ibid.*, "Our Navy Yard, etc.", July 19, 1856.

29. *Ibid.*, "NOTICE", Sept. 2, 1856.

consequently, our Merchants, our Butchers, our Gardeners, our Fishermen, our Bakers, and our Farmers-all, have been deprived of what, to them, is no inconsiderable source of income. The 'American' paper wants more expedition than that afforded by a resolution which may result in something for our children's children." ³⁰

Captioned "Camp Meeting", the *Pensacola Gazette* in its issue of September 23, 1856 had the following :

"Our city for the last week has been the scene of a protracted meeting of the Squatter Sovereigns, ministers in attendance, Messrs. Mallory, Hawkins, and Maxwell, and it is to be hoped that much good will be the result of their Apostolic labors. If there is any Pensacola sinner so hardened as not to be moved by the touching appeals of these distinguished Divines, we fear he is a hopeless case, and it will be said of him as of Ephraim of old, 'he is joined to his idols let him alone.'" ³¹

The olive branch tone of later autopsies is missing after the election:

"We have never witnessed an election so disgraceful to our city as this. Money, clothing, whiskey, tobacco and provisions were freely exchanged for votes in the most open and unblushing manner. But we could have elected our ticket in spite of all this had not the Commodore of the Navy Yard, with his staff, taken the field against us. We have on several former occasions defeated the Democrat and foreigners, and *can do if any day in, a fair contest*; but backed as they have been this time by the U. S. Navy, and Marine Corps, in addition to the \$25,000 appropriation, we have been defeated by a small majority." ³²

To one acquainted with the laissez-faire policy in matters political of the Pensacola Naval Air Station of the present day, another paragraph strikes with amazement:

30. *Ibid.*, "Catching at Straws", Sept. 16, 1856.

31. *Ibid.*, "CAMP MEETING", Sept. 23, 1856.

32. *Ibid.*, "Escambia Elections", Oct. 11, 1856. The space given to this election in only one section of the State is out of proportion; but its interest, and the belief that it is typical of elections in Florida during this period, warrants the extended treatment.

"We cannot refrain from an expression of our regret and astonishment at the course which Commodore Rousseau has seen fit to adopt in the election through which we have just passed."

Innuendo became more pronounced :

"It has been charged, and we think very fully proved, that Americans are proscribed at the Yard. . . . the persons to whom the employment of hands is entrusted are perfectly familiar with the opinions of every applicant ; or if not, *have only to refer to the rolls of the 'Keystone' Club if his name is not there, his services are not needed.* Since the resumption of work in the Yard 40 or 50 Americans have been constantly applying for work, and are told 'we are not employing hands just now, but you will be remembered if more hands should be needed.' But mark this fact-the other day, *since* these Americans have applied, five Irishmen landed at the Yard, and in less than 24 hours they were at work in the Yard."

Partaking of bravado, buncombe and Billingsgate, was the conclusion :

"We ask no sympathy, we need none; and in any event would feel contaminated by receiving it from so polluted a source." ³³

Two weeks later, the *Gazette* under glaring headlines, proclaimed :

"Men who have labored in the Yard faithfully and acceptably ever since its foundation, are now told 'the public interest does not require your services.' - Yet a Democrat, though he be a *convicted thief*, can get employment.

"And the party perpetrating these outrages on the sons of the soil, has the unblushing impudence to style itself the DEMOCRATIC PARTY! . . . What would Thomas Jefferson think of a party stooping to such a depth of contemptible baseness, and yet calling itself Democratic?

"The curse of a grossly wronged, and justly indignant

33. *Ibid.*, editorial without caption, Oct. 11, 1856.

people will rest on the head of every one concerned in this infamous transaction."³⁴

In the same issue one reads the following affidavit:

"State of Florida

Escambia Cy.

"Before the subscriber, a Justice of the Peace in and for the said County, personally came, Washington D. Austin, Clinton Trull, Saml. Hodges & Lewis Favorite, who being duly sworn say that they called on Mr. Heron, Civil Engineer of the Navy Yard, Warrington, for the purpose of obtaining employment. Mr. Herron replied that he had more men than he wanted. We then asked him if it was our politics that debarred us from employment. He replied that he had a conversation with Senator Mallory and Judge Hawkins in regard to employing men of the American party, their reply was that none should be employed who were opposed to the present administration. Furthermore, that Master Workmen, dare not employ men who differ from them in politics. But he intimated that if we joined the Keystone Club, or brought a recommendation from it, we might be employed, and Senator Mallory had told R. W. Watts, a Master Workman, that he was discharged for employing men of the American party.

(Signed)

WASHINGTON AUSTIN (Seal)

CLINTON TRULL (Seal)

SAMUEL HODGES (Seal)

LEWIS FAVORITE (Seal)

34. *Ibid.*, "A Clincher !

THE PLOT UNMASKED !
PROSCRIPTION by AUTHORITY

THE RESPONSIBILITY FIXED ! ! ", Oct. 25, 1856.

The Keystone Club was first organized in Boston, "to aid, by all honorable means, the election of James Buchanan . . . to the Presidency, and John C. Breckinridge . . . to the vice presidency of the United States and . . . to promote the extension of true Democratic principles", *Memorandum* from the Division of Bibliography, Library of Congress, Oct., 24, 1933.

"Sworn and subscribed before me, this 24th day of October, A. D. 1856.

(Signed)

GEORGE H. O'NEAL, (Seal)

Justice of the Peace, Escambia County." ³⁵

The success of the Democratic presidential ticket in 1856 was followed by that of Mallory in the senatorial race in the Florida legislature, he having been elected for a second term on Christmas eve, 1856.

"On the 24th inst., the two Houses of the General Assembly met in joint convention, and on the first ballot, re-elected the Hon. S. R. Mallory to the U. S. Senate for six years, from the 4th of March next.

"The members were nearly equally divided between the present incumbent and Hon. M. A. Long, of Tallahassee, and for weeks the caucus brought forth nothing."

"With this election, the Americans had nothing to do, and we are glad of it. There were indeed but ten of them present, and they voted blank. We regret that they did not vote for some one and we knew of no gentleman who co-operated with the American party, that so richly deserved the compliment as our young townsman Wilk Call, Esq. . . . Mr. Mallory received thirty-eight democratic votes-four more than was necessary to a choice, the votes of Americans would therefore, have been but an empty compliment well bestowed upon Mr. Call for his invaluable services during the canvass." ³⁶

Partiality of appropriations and benefits have always been charges lodged against a party in power. Previous complaint that only ineffectual efforts had been made to have war sloops constructed at Pensacola were quieted by the building of the *Pensacola* and the *Seminole* at the Pensacola Navy Yard. The former is of especial interest because "Her sponsor was Miss Margaret Moreno Mallory [Mrs. Henry Bishop], daughter of the Hon. Stephen R. Mallory, writes Captain D. W. Knox, and adds:

35. Watts was a pilot and Austin a peace officer, Mrs. Clara Caro, *Pensacola, statement*, June 13, 1936.

36. *Pensacola Gazette*, "Election of a U. S. Senator", Jan. 10, 1857.

"Whatever may have been the political reasons for building this ship in Pensacola Navy Yard are not in the province of this office to determine. It has always been the policy of the U. S. Navy to distribute the building of her ships throughout the various Navy Yards, as impartially as practicable."³⁷

From press reports, there is no doubt that the Pensacola station has experienced the ebb and flow of activity as the political wheel of fortune has made its cycle. Woe to the Congressional delegates at the helm when the slump was on. In the middle of the century, Senator Mallory was the victim.

The Pensacola Navy Yard was in its first glory in the thirties, both as a port of supplies and as a source of revenue for the merchants of Pensacola. Many of the vessels bound for the theater of action in the Mexican War called by Pensacola. The city from the time of the establishment of the station has realized that:

"The truth is the history of the Pensacola Navy Yard is one of finesse, it is a sort of trap set by the Navy Commissioners to catch southern and western votes in favor of the great Naval Establishments on the north Atlantic. They bait *their* trap with bits of very small appropriations."³⁸

Pensacola has a peculiar interest for this sketch as it was there, as stated before, that Stephen Mallory married in 1838, and it was there that he established a home in 1858 and which was, barring the call of duty elsewhere, his domicile until his death in 1873.

That his activities in the United States Senate were far from being sectional only, but were comprehensive of the interests of the entire commonwealth is shown by even a hasty notice of the measures which he sponsored.³⁹

There is no reason to believe that the sentiments expressed in the St. Augustine *Examiner* in 1860, were not shared elsewhere in the state:

37. Knox, Captain D. W., USN (Ret.), Office of Naval Records and Library, Navy Department, Washington, D. C., *Letter*, Oct. 4, 1933.

38. A dock, the largest structure except "Noah's Ark," ever launched, slid into Pensacola Bay, March 19, 1851, *Pensacola Gazette*, March 19, 1851.

39. St. Augustine *Examiner*, March 31, 1860.

"Hon. S. R. Mallory is not unmindful of his constituents in matters that have a bearing upon local interests and convenience, any more than he is in our greatest public interests."⁴⁰

And so Stephen Russell Mallory, born at an outpost of the British Empire, reared in a detached part of Florida, his young manhood spent among the gentle Moravians and contacts with untutored Indians and simple Conchs, and transplanted from a frontier outpost to the very center of the political stage in Washington at length reached the fateful date, January 20, 1861 when with his colleague David Yulee, he said farewell to his friends in the Senate of the United States:

"Whatever may be the immediate results, therefore, of the momentous crisis now upon us, I have no fears for the freedom of my countrymen. Nor do I admit for a moment that the great American experiment of government has proved or can prove a failure ; but I maintain, on the contrary, that passing events should inspire in the hearts of the patriot and statesman, not only hope, but confidence."⁴¹

Although the most abiding claim to fame of the subject of this study rests upon his services as Secretary of the Navy of the Confederate States, the writer leaves this exceedingly important and significant part of Stephen Mallory's life to further study, or to others with a wider knowledge of naval matters. Not to ignore the general acclaim of his genius, an excerpt from a clipping in a scrapbook kept by Benito Julian Moreno, a brother-in-law of Mallory, is given the reader:

"When the contest began, the enemy had a great navy ; a regular army ; an organized government ; well filled armories ; and magazines; a redundant population-adventurers gathered from every clime; immense manufactories ; exhaustless resources ; a

40. *Ibid.*

41. *Cong. Globe*, 36th Cong., 2nd Sess., Jan. 21, 1861, pp. 485-486.

status as a nation, and unrestrained access to all the world. We had no organized government; no army, not a soldier; a small white population, largely unused to exposure and labor; no navy-not a war ship, inferior arms, and but few of them; very limited munitions of war ; very few manufactories ; and very little raw material out of the bowels of the earth; and no name, standing or credit among, and no access to, the nations of the earth."

Besides this tribute from Benjamin H. Hill, ⁴² it is well to place the appraisal of a present day historian, Rembert W. Patrick in his *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*:

"The President had selected Mallory on the basis of his worth and ability. His conviction that he had picked the best man in the Confederacy to head the Navy Department grew as his association with Mallory progressed. . . . Truly Mallory had made an extraordinarily able Secretary of the Navy. His temperament enabled him to work in harmony with the President, and generally with, his fellow Cabinet members and with naval commanders. He had imagination and the initiative to strike out on new paths. He was industrious and kept the business of his department well in hand. . . . For four years fraught with almost insuperable difficulties he directed the Navy Department of the Confederacy brilliantly." ⁴³

And from President Davis's reply to Mallory's letter of resignation at Abbeville, South Carolina, on their flight from Richmond :

"For the zeal, ability and integrity with which you have so long and so constantly labored," the President wrote, "permit him who had the best opportunity to judge to offer testimonial and in the

42. Hill, B. H., "Letter to Messrs. Editors, LaGrange, Ga., June 27, 1862", clipping, Moreno, Benito Julian, *scrapbook*, p. 43.

43. Patrick, R. W. *Jefferson Davis and His Cabinet*, Louisiana State University Press, Baton Rouge, 1944, pp. 263, 270-271. Rowland, Dunbar (ed.) *Jefferson Davis, Constitutionalist. His Letters, Papers and Speeches*, Jackson, 1923, vi, 586. Davis to Mallory, May 4, 1865.

name of our country and its sacred cause to return thanks.”

To briefly round out the other phases of activity and experiences of Mallory, one finds that in 1858, he refused the post of minister to Spain when tendered him by President Buchanan. A second tender met with the same result.⁴⁴ After the secession of his state, Mallory was offered the position of Chief Justice of the Admiralty Court of Florida. This too was declined.⁴⁵

It was at the palatial ante-bellum home of Benjamin H. Hill that Mallory was taken a prisoner of war.⁴⁶ From LaGrange, Georgia, he was transferred to Fort Lafayette in New York harbor,⁴⁷ and in March 1866 he was paroled after ten months' confinement. Following a trip to Bridgeport, Connecticut, the home of his elder daughter,⁴⁸ Mallory returned to Pensacola and plunged into the task of rebuilding his home⁴⁹ and helping to reestablish orderly living among whites and blacks⁵⁰ in his city and state.⁵¹

Stephen Russell Mallory died on November 9, 1873,⁵² and was buried in St. Michael's Cemetery in Pensacola. His wife died on March 26, 1901,⁵³ she having survived

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44. Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, p. 102; *Letter* from Bridgeport Conn., July 13, 1858, to James Buchanan, President of the United States, "Autograph Collection, Historical Society of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia, Penna., Simon Gratz Collection".
45. Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 29; *St. Augustine Examiner*, "Hon. S. R. Mallory", February 2, 1861.
46. Mrs. Stephen R. Mallory, *Letter*, quoted by Scharf, *op. cit.*, p. 29.
47. Mallory was locked in a cell with Hill at 1 P.M., June 4, 1865, Mallory, *Diary* No. 2, p. 3.
48. Mallory, *Diary* No. 1, p. 35.
49. Colonel Billy Wilson and his New York Zouaves had occupied the Secretary's home upon their arrival in Pensacola, Davis, William Watson, *op. cit.*, (quoted from *N. Y. Times*, May 2, 1862), p. 168.
50. Mallory was one of those who addressed a mass meeting of whites and blacks and urged the blacks not to break with the whites: Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 448, 449, 456.
51. Mallory "... delivered a lecture at Key West on the 12th inst. Subject-Woman and her rights," *St. Augustine Examiner*, March 27, 1869.
52. *Mobile Register*, Nov. 12, 1873.
53. *The Pensacola Journal*, "The Death of Mrs. A. S. Mallory. The Venerable Mother of Senator Mallory at Rest", March 27, 1901.

to see her son, Stephen R. Mallory Jr., a U. S. Senator from Florida.⁵⁴

Many honors and memorials attest the love awakened by Stephen Mallory's kindness for all and bear tribute to his success in the tremendous struggle he had to wage in life's battles.

54. *Ibid.*, "Stephen Russell Mallory; Death ends notable life", Dec. 24, 1907.

FLORIDA IN NORTH CAROLINA SPANISH RECORDS

by ALBERT C. MANUCY

PART II

ADMINISTRATION, COMMERCE AND FINANCE

The North Carolina papers show intimately the operation of Spanish colonial government. Even more intimately, perhaps, they reveal its shortcomings through the media of complaints from one side or the other, *residencias* of the various regimes, and innumerable *autos*, *memorials* and *testimonios*. Complaints were to be expected, since politics and personalities were involved. Occasionally, however, there were *bona fide* instances of maladministration or criminal carelessness, such as the well-known cases of Rebolledo in 1657 and Sanchez in 1736.

Rebolledo was charged with profiteering, maltreatment of his subjects, destruction of armament, and failure to maintain garrison discipline. Since there are always two sides to any question, the defendants' replies to such charges are often as revealing as the documentation of the charges themselves.

There is such a mass of material on Sanchez that a book might well be written about this one unfortunate gentleman and his tribulations during the epoch of Jenkins's Ear. Francisco del Moral Sanchez, a veteran of 30 years' military service, took over the reins of Florida government in 1734. Like most governors during this dreary period, he was appalled, but not discouraged, at the Florida situation. "I will defend Florida to the last drop of my blood," he said bravely.¹

Little more than a year later royal officials and even the soldiers were writing indictments of Moral Sanchez. (Intimations of his intrigues with the enemy chanced to come at the very time Spain was involved with the notorious John Savy, concerning whom there are also a few papers in the collection.) When the crown at last

1. Sanchez to Patino, Sept. 8, 1735.

gave credence to the charges against Sanchez, it was seemingly the result of complaints made by the good, straight-backed Bishop of Tricale himself, who had purged the community of its heretics and suppressed the indecent games and dancing. But by then, Sanchez was too deeply involved, imprisoning his officers on charges of treason and perjury. English ships were frequently visiting St. Augustine, apparently with the governor's sanction.

Action came suddenly and dramatically. On March 11, 1737, the sergeant major of Havana's El Morro landed on the shore of St. Augustine bay and marched directly to the Castillo, where he presented his papers and took over the garrison. Sanchez sought sanctuary in the convent, but the padres there were no friends of his.

For almost three years, Sanchez languished, worried and sick, in the prison at Cadiz. His doctors finally won him temporary freedom under the bond of his friend, Francisco de Vargas. The case dragged along interminably; Sanchez' goods, including a fine white horse, were sold in Havana. It is said that Sanchez was hung, but the North Carolina papers do not seem to contain this finale to the biography.

Some of the most revealing documents are those written by incoming governors. New men noticed the condition of the province in detail, and of course the narratives of their wanderings through the Florida wilderness, familiarizing themselves with their domain, give the modern student periodic descriptions of colonial Florida. Such reports are those of Cabrera in 1682, or the summary of Benavides' regime, written in 1723. Salazar wrote a detailed and personal discussion of the evils of the *situado* (subsidy) system and the cumbersome mechanism for getting supplies to Florida. Juan de Ayala sometimes voyaged all the way to Spain to bring back supplies and munitions for the unfortunate at St. Augustine. Ayala's knack for getting back to Florida in the nick of time earned him the title of *padre de la patria* almost 30 years before George Washington was born. For in 1705 Fray Simon de Salas wrote that "when the people saw

the said Sergeant Major [Ayala], with one voice they said, he is the father of his country, because he has always helped them in their greatest need." ²

Instances of trade with foreigners are not rare. Though in general such trade was prohibited, there were times (as in 1683) when it was either buy foreign food or starve. But attempts to improve the supply situation gradually bore fruit. In 1716 the crown suggested to Mexico the practicability of Havana's supplying Florida. Of course, the *situado* still had to originate in the Mexican capital, but there was no ironclad argument for bringing food all the way from Mexico, too. The papers record the loss of more than one of the supply vessels enroute from Vera Cruz, as well as *testimonios* of special aid sent Florida during times of stress (*i. e.*, after 1668 and 1702), and the more routine statements on the usually backward status of the *situado*, the number of guns, munitions, religious and other articles ; and continual reminders from Madrid to Mexico that Florida, an important part of the empire, should be supplied promptly and well. In his turn, the *virrey* seldom lost opportunity to explain that his resources were limited, especially so far as Florida was concerned.

Finally the Floridians learned that Havana merchants had applied to furnish them with supplies. That was in 1719. And by 1721 the crown was instructing the governor on the fine points of collecting duties from the merchants. From 1732 to 1758 there are sundry documents relating to contracts for the supply of St. Augustine and Apalache - documents in such detail that the student can even learn contemporary prices. Much material relates to the Royal Company of Havana, which handled most of the legitimate Florida trade. It is no surprise to find that some of the masters sailing under the company flag were Englishmen. And Jesse Fish, representative of a New York firm, had come to St. Augustine even before the War of Jenkins' Ear. In 1738 the Bishop of Tricale remarked that all Englishmen had been expelled, except for Fish, whose presence was deemed necessary for the pro-

2. Salas to the crown, June 14, 1705.

curement of flour and meat from New York. In 1751, one Caleb Davis rendered a bill against the governor for supplies, provisions and other articles purchased by the Spaniards over the 1733-1751 period. The account totaled 140,000 pesos, and many well-known *Floridanos* were customers of "Senor Devis."

During those turbulent years of commercial struggle between Spain and England, Davis was not the only unlucky merchant. One Frenchman named Amblard shipped to St. Augustine on an English vessel. His papers were not in order, so his goods were confiscated and he was banished. Money from the sale of his goods went for repair of the king's works. A similar case occurred in 1759, when the merchandise of three Englishmen allegedly engaged in illicit commerce was confiscated.

Financial complaints were sometimes minor, but nonetheless illuminating. Quiroga in 1688 plaintively claimed he had journeyed to Florida at his own expense. The royal officials owed him six months' salary and refused to pay. Montiano once accused the royal officials of spending foolishly 12,000 pesos earmarked for "conservation of Florida." Madrid told him to procure a chest with three locks-and jangle one of the keys in his own pocket!

INDIAN AFFAIRS

It is an exceptional paper which fails to mention those "wards" of the crown - the Indians. In 1648 the governor and his officials were enjoined to observe carefully the royal dictates relating to occupation of Indian lands, and in general to hold the spiritual and temporal welfare of the red man close to heart. The necessity for periodic reminders is shown in other texts, notably the *testimonios* of 1654, wherein Jose de Prado and others pointed out the need for mules. Not having mules, the governor had employed Indians instead, a circumstance which pleased neither the Indians nor the more conscientious of their Spanish friends. Frontier exigencies may have allowed some justification for the less humane practices, but the crown was adamant with insistence on careful treatment of the natives. Such policy did not mean, however, that

the Indian was not to be employed on work that directly benefited him. When the Tolomato village of the *Mico Santiago* was moved near to St. Augustine at the outset of the 1660's, the crown directed that Indian labor might be used in construction of a road to connect the new town with others, though at the same time it was made very clear that aboriginal labor was not to be used on *other* work without pay.

Nor was the Indian protected from white man alone. The Spanish also felt responsible for such incidents as the invasion of Guale by "cannibal" Indians from the north - a 1662 forerunner of what was to occur more or less regularly in later years.

Colonial administrators usually took their responsibilities seriously, and more than once suggested improvements in caretaking methods. Such an instance was the idea of Juan Menendez Marques in 1667, who, citing the governor's impositions upon a certain *casique*, recommended that a "defender" of the Indians be appointed. Some years later an Indian protector was actually appointed. By then, however, the situation had greatly changed. When Marques made the original suggestion, the religious were accusing the governor of mistreating the Indians; but when the latter appointment came, it was with the allegation that the *religious* were causing the abuses. The crown handily settled the dispute by abolishing the office of protector and instructing the officials to handle such matters through regular channels.

Reports on abuses generally found their way to Madrid in minute detail. In fact, if comprehensive reports failed to arrive, Madrid asked for them. The collection contains numerous letters demanding explanation of "vexations" committed against the Indians. And Spanish officialdom, together with the *casiques* themselves, were not loath to send prolix reports.

Not all complaints were about physical mistreatment of the natives. Fray Juan Moreno bewailed the fact that the religious staff was too small to give the Indians at work on the Castillo proper spiritual care. The governor disagreed, but the Council of the Indies inclined to favor

the padre. The fact remained that a recommendation from the Council did not mean that the friars would be on their way to Florida the next day. Reality no doubt sustained the governor's opinion.

The papers are full of Indian matters which seldom reach the history books, such as the Choctaw uprising of 1675, the 1677 battle between the *Apalachinos* and the Chisca (Yuchi) Indians, trouble with the Apalachicolas in 1682, 1695 and 1703, the Guale hostilities of the 1680's, the 1697 insurrection at Mayaca, and sidelights on the Yamasee revolt of 1715, not to mention the numerous lesser attacks on Spanish or Spanish Indian outposts. Florida governors, instructed to "achieve the end [peace] without violence,"³ were invariably teetering upon the horns of a dilemma.

As the archivist knows, many important details relating to a specific event may not appear on paper until years after the actual occurrence. The fight between the *Apalachinos* and the Chisca is one of the best examples. It occurred in 1677. In 1680 Cabrera complained that the government was giving too few presents to the Indians. The trouble, Cabrera indicated, was in Mexico. The *virrey*, perhaps ignorant of the differences between Mexican and Florida Indians, simply refused to pay for presents. But, said Cabrera, if we stop this business of giving presents, we shall have trouble.

The crown agreed and sent a thousand yards of printed cloth in lively colors for the Apalache *casiques*, reward for their valor in the battle long past. Certain of the Timucua *casiques* also received special gifts during Cabrera's regime. He gave them swords in appreciation of their resistance against English-influenced warriors from the north.

But weapons were not a usual Spanish gift to red allies, as Cabrera was duly reminded in 1687 by royal instructions to recover the weapons of all deceased soldiers and see that the Indians received no additional arms. And many years passed before the Spanish reversed this policy

3. Crown to Cabrera, Nov. 10, 1682.

of keeping firearms away from their Indians. The British, on the other hand, seemed to have either more faith or less scruples. Montiano in 1743 said the English were continually winning away Indians with presents of guns, food, and such like. He took the practical view, and suggested that Spain attempt to match British generosity by establishment of an Apalache store to supply the Indians with firearms-and even *firewater* if they wanted it!

In the last quarter of the 17th century most complaints on behalf of the Indians deal with 1) the matter of drafting Indian labor for fortification work, or 2) the inroads of the heathen Indians from English country. Many letters refer to Spanish efforts to obtain freedom for unfortunates who were captured and sold into slavery at Charleston, and as late as 1693 the *Junta* at Madrid stated that Florida Christian Indians were being sold by the English in the Windward Isles, and suggested that representations be made to London.

True, all Indian news was not bad news. Several villages with former English connections returned to Spanish allegiance before 1700, as a sort of prelude to later and similar events. The North Carolina papers contain a royal order to the governor, pointing out the rather obvious fact that the best means of resisting the English was to secure the friendship of the Indian. Part of the program involved teaching Spanish to the red men.

Often, however, Spanish policy rubbed Indian fur the wrong way, so to speak. In 1680 Florida officials reported that certain *casiques* had granted land and levied tribute upon their subjects with the governor's tolerance. Naturally Madrid decreed against such practice, since grants and taxes were strictly royal prerogatives.

During the late 17th century (according to the records), Spanish arms chastised the red man on remarkably few occasions. One such was in 1695. Torres reported Choctaw hostilities to the Charleston governor: English redskins had robbed San Carlos mission and taken away 42 mission Indians. Following the complaint with action, Torres sent out a force that burned villages and captured some of the miscreants. Charleston was much aggrieved,

calling attention to the fact that the Spanish invasion was contrary to the article of peace.

The next year, Torres was confronted with a similar situation. Enemy Indians killed some of the religious in the Jororo conversion, and fled. The Jororo, no less disturbed than the Spanish, came to Torres, who gave them lands and settled them in villages closer to Spanish guns.

Even before Moore's raids in the Apalache country, the *Apalachinos* had felt the heavy hand of British-sponsored enmity. In 1702 the Spanish ambassador at Rome acquainted the Pope with the martyrdom suffered by certain Christian Indians, who lost their lives due to the "rigor" of the English.

After 1700, the records show more and more Indians coming under Spanish protection, such as it was. Indians at the mouth of the St. Johns and the Yvitachuco Indians moved closer to St. Augustine, and of course some 161 pueblos of the Yamasee in 1715 rendered obedience to Spain. The governor reported with elation that the preliminary envoys of the Yamasee spoke for all of the heathen and Christian Indians in the province of Carolina. Then came the Great Casique of Caveta, with more than 50 vassals, to make friends. Such progress looked good on paper, but was in fact a mixed blessing. Poverty-stricken St. Augustine was hard put to find money and food to take care of aboriginal friends. As early as 1708, the governor suggested that some Indian families might better be sent to Havana.

These events naturally produced a sizeable mass of documents, such as letters, reports, lists, *autos*, *testimonios* and so on, which variously locate villages, explain tense situations, describe ceremonies, gifts, and occasionally list the names of individual Indians. Evident throughout is the continuous attrition that destroyed the red man. The 1719 raid on Ayachin, a short league north of St. Augustine, where a small force of Indian raiders killed Spanish subjects and burned the village, was an almost routine instance. Incidentally, Captain Ygnacio Rodrigues Roza was courtmartialled for that one. He had failed to give his soldiers the proper orders. Due to that

fact and other personal matters of even more incriminating nature, he eventually landed in the prison at Cadiz.

During the decade of the 1740's, the Yuchis were wooed consistently by both Spanish and English, and Montiano was jubilant in 1748 when he reported that the Yuchis had declared themselves Spanish vassals. He proposed to settle them with their Yamasee cohabitants near Apalache. At the talks held in St. Augustine, some of the Yuchis offered to act as emissaries to other nations for the purpose of extending Spanish allegiance even farther afield. Montiano's lengthy, detailed reports are a mine of information, including as they do thumbnail sketches of Indian psychology, politics and economics.

Spanish successes were countered by later English moves. The Apalache commandant found the English again active among the Yuchis at Caveta, whereupon the governor deduced that the English planned to place an Indian king of their own choosing at the head of the nation. Late in 1754 Spanish apprehensions were allayed somewhat by reassurances from the "emperor" himself, but the last documents of the decade mention punitive action against Yuchis who had attacked Spanish Indians. Captain Jose de Leon, who led the expedition, meticulously listed the effects taken from the Yuchis in the affair.

THE RELIGIOUS

A 1656 document may be the first in the North Carolina papers to specify the urgent need for more padres in the colony. But this theme was a major one, composed much earlier and sounded with monotonous regularity throughout the long Spanish regime.

Of course the documents show the growth of the mission system into the "golden age" of the 17th century. They also show, with hard clarity, the difficulties of bringing Christianity to the aborigines. A most revealing letter happens to be that of the Bishop of Cuba to the crown: clergymen "decline" to volunteer for the hazardous Florida field. The Bishop's persuasive pastoral letter, calling for volunteers, is also in the collection.

Continuing effort on the part of the crown and the re-

ligious executives did bring recruits to Florida from time to time-plus the money to keep them going. In 1693, for example, the crown seemed especially concerned about the new conversions at Carlos and Ays, and additional Franciscans reached Florida a few years later.

Used as they were to danger, sometimes the Florida padres found themselves in untenable positions. An appeal from the Franciscans at San Luis in 1704, asking either aid or removal from what they termed (in fine understatement) a "dangerous" area, is one of the few papers to show that the padres ever thought of going any way but forward. Even then, three years later the records state that the friars were continuing their work in the western area in spite of the enemy. Such tenacity in the face of the fearful devastation visited upon the Apalache country by the wild Irishman Moore shows very clearly the deep devotion the padre had for his work.

The zeal of one man in particular earned prominent mention in the documents. Antonio de Florencia, said the governor in 1710, had procured peace and union amongst the natives. In addition, Fray Antonio had developed a plan for removal of the English threat. Florida officials liked the plan so well that they authorized him to go to Spain to sell the plan to Madrid.

Bishop Calderon's account of his 1674-1675 visitation to Florida has been published. Hardly less informative for religious matters are other papers of later date, though the convenience of finding them in a single report is usually lacking. The Bishop of Tricale, who began residence in Florida in 1736 and experienced the siege of St. Augustine, recorded certain ecclesiastical and other statistics (example: Florida had 1509 inhabitants in 1736). Tricale's letters cover a multitude of subjects, not the least of which was the work of the religious among the slave refugees from the English colonies.

Fray Blas Pulido certified a list of the number of Indians converted to Catholicism in 1723; a certificate in 1670 listed the religious ornaments carried off by the pirates during the sack of St. Augustine in 1668. Information on early education is available in a 1693 letter ap-

proving the plan that Franciscans teach *la gramatica* in the convent. The plan had originated with the people of St. Augustine, who were too poor to send their children to Havana for education. The friars, of course, were the only available teachers.

Not all reports on the Franciscans are complimentary. Perfect harmony between the administrative heads of Florida and the religious was rare for any extended time. Cabrera, the target of more than one attack by the padres, retaliated in 1686. Some of the trouble had started in 1683, when pirates were marching up Anastasia Island. Doing his best to put the Castillo in shape for the expected assault, Cabrera "attended to work . . . with innumerable curses and horrible oaths, which with great scurrility and evil example, with numberless infamous outrages, frightened every person without exception . . ." ⁴ The words were "so perfidious, scandalous and vile" that the anonymous reporter of the incident said he lacked the courage to set them down on paper, whereby we have evidently lost some choice Spanish phraseology. In spite of Cabrera's impiety, the pirates were stopped and the crown decorated him.

Whether Cabrera's report that the Franciscans had beaten an *Apalachino* to death was actually retaliation or not, his letter is rather typical of complaints registered against the padres from time to time. Often there was more to the story than ill treatment of the natives. In 1692 Quiroga accused the Franciscans of profiting from the agricultural work of the Indians, but his complaint was rooted in the fact that the friars refused to sell him food for the soldiers. The crown, said Quiroga, gives the friars all they need, yet they plant crops for themselves and the Church in order to buy church ornaments! Quiroga wanted the crown to make them furnish food for his garrison.

4. Recon de lo zucedido May 20, 1863. Extracts from this document are translated in National Park Service Source Book No. 3, *The History of Castillo de San Marcos and Fort Matanzas from Contemporary Narratives and Letters* (Washington, 1943).

AGRICULTURE

Farming and its allied practices were a concern of practically every man in Florida. One of the first documents in the collection relating to the subject is the 1650 report of Nicolas Ponce de Leon and Salvador de Zigarroa, summarizing the efforts of Benito Ruiz to promote agriculture and stockraising. Such reports usually rhapsodize over the verdant pastures next door; that is, they stress the infertility of the St. Augustine area on one hand, and point out the fertile westward lands on the other. Nor do they fail to mention such catastrophes as the great storms of 1674 and 1707, when St. Augustine was flooded and even the wells polluted.

Many farming experiments were carried on through the years, but as is pitifully obvious from the papers, most experiments never reached full flower. Cabrera grew wheat around the Castillo. At his house, he experimented successfully with tanning leather, a possible indication that 17th century executives were quite used to earthy odors around the house.

At least one experiment backfired, however. In 1693 the governor enthusiastically reported that maize was successfully planted up to the very bastions of the Castillo. In no uncertain terms Madrid reminded him that cornfields were excellent cover for the enemy; henceforth no maize was to be planted within a musket shot of the fort.

Stockraising did become a sizeable industry. Salazar and others reported considerable development by 1689, with the garrison a ready market. Though there is little mention of stockraising in the records after this period, the cattle ranges north of St. Augustine lasted until the incursions of the English almost half a century later.

Verbally the crown encouraged these projects; in practice he was apt to stifle them. As early as 1677 Salazar said he needed 100 foot soldiers to replace native recruits, who had fields and cattle to attend to. He had (he noted incidentally) been granting lands. During the 1680's additional grants were made. Correspondence on such mat-

ters is voluminous, and finally in 1685 Florida petitioned the crown to pity the poor soldiers and assign them lands, for without land, they could not exist. Three years later the crown cited the regulations for conserving arable and pasture lands-and the petitions for grants were denied.

MISCELLANY

The collection contains several maps, including two 17th century plans of Castillo de San Marcos, three plans of the Apalache forts (1680,1682,1718), a plan of the *casa fuerte* at Apalachicola, and a map of the east coast from the St. Johns to the St. Marys river. To my knowledge, none of the maps is duplicated elsewhere in the U. S., except in the Stetson papers.

A very large percentage of the documents naturally deal with fortification, especially construction of the great Castillo at St. Augustine, smaller forts at Apalache and elsewhere. Several papers mention work on the town walls of the presidio. Fortification data in the North Carolina papers begin about 1655, when Rebolledo bleakly pointed out the condition of the wooden fort, lack of labor for repairs, and then suggested a project for building a stone fort. Other letters detail the condition of the garrison and its materiel, in addition to providing information on labor and constructional progress. A graphic notation came from one royal official in 1673: the garrison of the unfinished Castillo was only 15 men. As late as 1702 there were only 130 effectives in the entire *presidio* - hardly enough to mount guard.

Florida was occasionally visited by an engineer from Havana to aid in building the forts. Ignacio Daza was imported from that city to begin work on the Castillo: other specialists such as Juan de Siscales, Bruno Caballero (at Apalache), and the well-known Arredondo, came to inspect or advise from time to time. In later years, there was a resident engineer.

A comprehensive letter on fortification is Montiano's in 1743, complaining of the lack of Mexican cooperation, though in spite of the financial difficulties Montiano said that 200 convicts and a few slaves were working con-

sistently to improve the defenses, particularly on the earthworks around St. Augustine, and at Matanzas tower. Beyond doubt, however, one of the most valuable letters was written by the commandant of Apalache, Juan Isidoro de Leon, in 1745. Leon's lengthy epistle minutely described the the Apalache fort and for good measure included a discussion of Indian affairs written with extreme readability, not to say verve.

The biographer will find a wealth of unexploited material in these papers. There are many memorials on behalf of the "little" people-fellows like Pedro de Florencia, with 22 years' military service, or Francisco de Canezares, wounded during the 1668 pirate attack on the presidio. Juan Fernandez de Florencia was cited for service against the Chactaws at San Nicolas and San Carlos; Juan Bautista Terrazas submitted a record of 58 years service; Jose Bergambre served bravely against the pirates at Matanzas. Salvador de Zigarroa is a biography with unusual possibilities, for some of his family were casualties in the 1668 attack, and Zigarroa himself was instrumental in obtaining Mexican relief for St. Augustine at the time.

Widows figure largely in the petitions: In 1702 the *Junta* at Madrid favorably considered the case of Catarina de Pedrosa, widow of a soldier killed by the Indians; and in 1744 Montiano forwarded the memorial of Francisca and Manuela Rexidor, orphans "of their mother," petitioning permission to go to Havana because all in St. Augustine were so poor that the family could not make a living. Juan Cordero Mazias requested a transfer to Havana because Florida would not support his family. Mazias reminded the crown that his dependents included the widow of Francisco de Aguilar, killed after 49 years in the king's service. Mazias himself had been 21 years an artilleryman.

As for personal data on the governors-though the drama of a Pedro Menendez is lacking, governors were very human, to say the least, and the evidence of the fact is variously commendatory, condemnatory, and amusing. Even Montiano, the lion of the 1740 siege, found himself censured in cramped, anonymous handwriting for 1) faulty construction of the Castillo parapets, 2) loss of the

ship *San Gaetano* (wrecked in a storm off the coast), and 3) tardy payment of dragoon salaries. Madrid tossed the indictments aside as obviously the work of malcontents.

There are strange stories about foreigners in Florida. Joseph Bailey's account of his capture by the Spanish when he was bound for Charleston in 1670, and his subsequent forced travels to other Spanish cities, the records of the British fugitives from Charleston in 1674 (Diego Flamenco, Tomas Vide, Jugo Jordon, Carlos Miter, to give their Hispanized names), and other men who became Spanish prisoners during those days, eventually to become respected residents-these records show that Spanish San Agustin held definite attraction for some. Juan Collins, one of the prisoners, is worth special mention, for he gained royal recognition of his long and faithful service.

There was Carlos Robson, who held the office of surgeon to the presidio, though Cabrera said he was no surgeon. And there was Ransom, condemned to die, but gaining sanctuary after a miracle and earning a responsible job in the Castillo armory. Jesse Fish, English merchant of the middle 1700's, was an important St. Augustine figure, and the records contain data useful for study of his unique career. John McCoy, who died shortly after his advent in 1754, brought three Germans with him, along with his wife and nine slaves-all ostensibly to practice the Catholic religion in Florida.

The sum of the papers is this - a rather well-balanced picture of Florida's difficult colonial days. Life in our so-called "atomic age" may see uncertain. If so, the story of Florida's dark days should be not only consoling to us today, but downright encouraging. Bloodthirsty savages, scheming English devils (to take the purely Spanish viewpoint), ruthless pirates, poverty, nakedness and hunger, disease and death were at the shoulder of every *Floridano*. There were labor problems. Politics reared its ugly head. Friction among administrators, the padres, and the creole cliques was continual. No wonder Corcoles wrote feelingly in 1707, "It has broken my heart to see our people suffer such afflictions."

THE EPISODE OF OSCEOLA'S WIFE
FACT OR FICTION?

by KENNETH W. PORTER

One of the best-known stories connected with the Seminole War is that the intense hostility of Osceola, the young Indian leader whose name is known in this relationship almost to the exclusion of all others, was in large measure due to the seizure and carrying away into bondage of his young wife, whose mother was a runaway slave. This story is commonly found not only in Florida guide-books and popular accounts of the Seminole Indians,¹ but also in standard histories. It has come to be accepted as a fact requiring no special reference.²

What is the authority, if any, for this popular tale? The publications above-mentioned give none, and most of the more extended and substantial accounts are equally deficient in this respect. The standard work on the removal to the Indian Territory of the Five Civilized Tribes, including the Seminole, says:³ "Osceola blamed Thompson [the Seminole agent] for the seizure of his young wife who was carried off into slavery." A footnote reference to the paragraph containing this statement, however, deals only with the murder of Thompson by Osceola in revenge for the latter's having been imprisoned at the former's orders, and does not refer to the episode which, in the usual accounts, is described as calling forth the burst of rage which resulted in Osceola's arrest.

Negro historians, naturally, take great interest in this episode. The most detailed history of the Negro in the

1. Johnson, Clifton, *Highways and byways of Florida*, N. Y., 1908, p. 152. American guide series. *Florida, a guide to the southernmost state*, N. Y., 1939, pp. 42-43. Works progress administration, *The Seminole Indians in Florida*, Tallahassee, 1940, p. 4. These are selected at random, as being ready to hand.
2. The present author has himself thus referred to it, without feeling the necessity of giving any authority. Porter, Kenneth Wiggins, "Florida slaves and free Negroes in the Seminole War, 1835-1842," *The Journal of Negro history*, xxviii (Oct., 1943), 407.
3. Foreman, Grant, *Indian removal*, Norman, Okla., 1932, p. 326.

United States⁴ presents the usual story, but without giving any authority. An earlier history of the American Negro, by a member of that race, does, however, give not one but even two authorities for the usual story,⁵ namely, McMaster and "M. M. Cohen as quoted in *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, July, 1837." McMaster, however, as I had already ascertained before consulting Brawley, while he gives the usual story, presents no authority⁶ - indeed he gives no authority whatsoever for the entire chapter dealing with the Seminole War - so one must resort to the other authority. Brawley probably derived this reference from Joshua R. Giddings' *The exiles of Florida*, published in 1858 as a propaganda work to arouse anti-slavery sentiment through reference to the events of the Seminole War, which was, indeed, to a considerable extent inspired by a desire to seize the Negroes who had taken refuge among the Florida Indians. Giddings, after presenting in rather flowery language the usual narrative,⁷ adds in a foot-note: "Vide account of this transaction by M. M. Cohen, given in the *Quarterly Anti-Slavery Magazine*, vol. II, page 419." Brawley, it is interesting to note, was not content to rest on Giddings' authority-if we are correct in our assumption that it was from this well-known work that he derived the reference - but went directly to the periodical referred to, since he gives the *date*, while Giddings gave only the *volume*. The periodical account, somewhat abbreviated, is as follows: "Oceola . . . had a wife . . . whose mother was a mulatto slave, who ran away, was adopted by the Indians, and married one of their chiefs . . . Oceola's wife was seized as a slave" and her husband was ironed for trying to defend her. Brawley did not, however, check the reference further by seeking out the

4. Woodson, Carter G., *The Negro in our history*, Washington, 1927, p. 196. It is interesting to observe that this author not only states that Osceola's wife was half-Indian and half-Negro but also makes (p. 194) Osceola himself of the same racial mixture, as does another version of the story, that it was Osceola's mother who was seized and carried into Georgia as the daughter of a fugitive negress. vide, Jay, Wm. *A view of the action of the Federal government in behalf of slavery*. N. Y. 1839, p. 156.

5. Brawley, Benjamin, *A social history of the American Negro*, New York, 1921, p. 111.

6. McMaster, John B., *History of the people of the U. S.*, vi, 332.

7. pp. 98-99.

original account to which the periodical purportedly referred.

No one even slightly acquainted with the literature of the Seminole War can fail to recognize the name of M. M. Cohen, author of *Notices of Florida*,⁸ a rather precious and plagiaristic book based partly on his brief experiences as an officer of South Carolina militia in the left wing of Gen. Scott's unsuccessful "Summer Campaign" and partly on both acknowledged and unacknowledged ransackings of publications on Florida by others, which was one of the first of a number of books purporting to present personal observations of the war. The difficulty -which in this writer's case amounts to impossibility- is in finding, even by the most diligent and frequent turnings of Lieut. Cohen's age-browned and age-brittled pages, any episode even remotely resembling that which the anti-slavery quarterly published on his alleged authority. Lieut. Cohen, as might have been expected from a Charlestonian, an officer in the South Carolina militia, was, indeed, a devout admirer of the Institution⁹ under whose laws Osceola's wife was, allegedly, seized and returned to the slavery from which her mother had escaped, and it was this inconsistency between his known sentiments and his appearance as in some way a contributor to an anti-slavery periodical which eventually caused me to investigate somewhat further the authenticity of this anecdote.

Another possibility, however, presented itself. A personal narrative entitled *Sketch of the campaign*, also published in Charleston in 1836 under the anonymous authorship of "A lieutenant of the left wing," is sometimes ascribed, on the basis of similarities in episodes and style, to Lieut. Cohen, though apparently incorrectly. Could the editor of the anti-slavery quarterly have drawn the anecdote from this account? But a careful perusal, while it revealed much about Osceola, turned up nothing about his unfortunate wife.

The next alternative, and probably the correct one

8. Charleston, 1836.

9. See p. 81.

though this is at present not susceptible of proof, is that the anti-slavery editor read or head the story *somewhere*, and confused its source, whatever it was, with the better known work of M. M. Cohen ; I can personally testify to the difficulty of keeping separate in one's memory the various narratives of the first year in the Seminole War. I consequently examined the principal of these, published prior to the date of the anti-slavery periodical, but to no avail. *The war in Florida* published anonymously in Baltimore, in 1836, by Woodburne Potter, does mention Osceola's imprisonment-for which, indeed, there is abundant evidence-but ascribes it to the Seminole's conduct in violently objecting to the agent's confiscation of a quantity of liquor! ¹⁰ John Lee Williams, an old resident of Florida, in a book published the same year as the note in the anti-slavery periodical, merely says that Osceola was arrested for flourishing a knife at a conference and ordering the whites out of Florida. ¹¹

The episode of the seizure of Osceola's wife thus rests, so far as I have been able to ascertain, upon no surer foundation than an anti-slavery periodical which gives as its authority a pro-slavery writer in whose only known published work it cannot be found! Is it, then, a deliberate fabrication? Probably not. If so, the editor would have ascribed it to "truthworthy information" or "A gentleman recently arrived from the Territory of Florida and well acquainted with the circumstances"-not to a well-known writer who would have been capable of denying the anecdote's ascription to him.

The *argumentem ad silentium*, though never entirely safe, is nevertheless of some importance. The ardently anti-slavery Giddings seems to have been a little perplexed by the failure of any other authority to mention a reason for Osceola's arrest other than his unspecifically motivated employment of outrageous language toward the agent. "Mr. Thompson, the agent," Giddings writes, "in his letter to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, . . . says: Powell [Osceola] used such language,

10. p. 76.

11. *The territory of Florida*, N. Y., 1837, p. 216.

that I was constrained to order him into irons.' Mr. Sprague, in his history of the Florida War, reiterates the statement of Mr. Thompson. But neither Sprague, nor Thompson, nor any other person who was present, it is believed, has ever *denied* [italics mine] the relation which Mr. Cohen has given." How Thompson-pierced by 15 bullets from the rifles of Osceola's band and his dead brains beaten out, in December, 1835-could have *denied* a "relation" which Cohen did not make until months later - or how Sprague, who, as an army officer, was probably not a constant reader of the anti-slavery press, could have been expected to encounter the "Cohen relation," Giddings does not explain. Capt. Sprague, a Northerner, wrote rather objectively, with full awareness of the wrongs of the Indians and of the conspicuous role of their Negroes in the conflict; if he had known of such an episode as Giddings mentions, he would probably have included it in his monumental history. A rather long article about Osceola, published only a little over two years after the end of the war, and written in a most sympathetic spirit, does not mention his wife.¹²

Osceola probably required no seizure of a part-Negro wife to inspire his hatred of the whites and his determination to fight them to the last on the soil of Florida. He was a Creek refugee from Georgia, and from boyhood had good reasons for hostility to the Americans, which probably was no greater, however, than that of Coacoochee, Sam Jones, Billy Bowlegs, and many other leaders, none of whom, so far as is known, had the reason for enmity ascribed to Osceola.

It should be kept in mind, however, that, whether or not Osceola had a part-Negro wife who was seized and returned to slavery, such an episode was easily within the bounds of possibility. Seminole Indians did have wives of Negro blood¹³ and such wives, if descendants of slave-women, were legally slaves, regardless of how

12. Storrow, Thomas W., "Osceola, the Seminole war-chief," *Knickerbocker*, xxiv (Nov., 1844), 427-448.

13. One of head-chief Mikonopi's two wives was half-Negro (Cohen, 238). See also: 25th Cong., 3d sess., H. of R., War Dept, doc. 225, pp. 96, 123.

long they had lived in freedom among the Indians or how many children they had borne to Indian husbands— which children themselves, indeed, were also legally slaves. Numerous enquiries were addressed to the officers engaged in conducting the Seminole War, urging the locating and returning to slavery of Negro men and women believed to be living among the Indians, *with their increase*.¹⁴ Whites even with no shadow of legal right to Negroes living among the Indians nevertheless frequently claimed and seized them. A case in point is that of the friendly chief Econchattemicco. A band of whites, taking advantage of the disturbed state of Florida on the eve and at the beginning of the Seminole War, descended on his settlement, seized the Negroes there, and carried them off to slavery in Georgia. Among those thus enslaved was the old chief's "Granddaughter (half Negro) stolen and carried away."¹⁵

It is thus certain that even a very prominent chief did have a granddaughter, if not a daughter, who was part-Negro, and that this granddaughter was not immune from seizure and sale as a slave. It is even of some interest, though perhaps of little actual significance, in this connection, that Osceola is said to have been related to Econchattemicco, one of whose wives was allegedly a sister of Osceola.¹⁶

Probably some such episode as the kidnaping of Econchattemicco's granddaughter came to the attention of the anti-slavery editor, perhaps already in association with the fascinating name and personality of Osceola, and was editorially confused with the best-known narrative, to date, of the Seminole War, that of Cohen. Unless an authoritative contemporary source is discovered, we shall have to admit that the episode of Osceola's wife rests on an unsupported assertion from a questionable source and probably did not actually occur in the form

14. *Ibid.*, pp. 17-18, 57-58.

15. Brevard, Caroline, *History of Florida*, 2 vols., Deland, 1924, i, app. viii, 278-279, R. H. Stewart, Chattahoochee, May 25, 1836, to Gen. Call.

16. [Welch, Andrew], *A narrative of the early days and remembrances of Osceola Nikkanoochee*, London, 1841, pp. 21, 65. My opinion of the authenticity of this work is not high.

stated. But we must also admit that the widespread acceptance of the story-which is unlikely to be affected by this article-is to a considerable extent justified by the general situation and circumstances of the Seminole Indians and Negroes at that time, which immediately lent to the anecdote a high degree of possibility and credibility and caused it for more than a century, so far as I can ascertain, generally to go unquestioned.

JOSEPH BYRNE LOCKEY

Very few natives of Florida have written of her history. This will not be true always, though fate has at times intervened—as in the case of Joseph B. Lockey who died on September 24 last, he having recently moved to Florida to write of his native state.

Dr. Lockey was born in Jackson county on February 2, 1877, where his ancestors had settled during the territorial period. He was educated at the University of Nashville and at Columbia University where he received his doctor's degree. He was principal of the DeLand high school 1902-04, and the Pensacola high school 1904-1908. After he left Pensacola one of the largest public schools was named for him.

To carry some of the principles and practices of our public schools to Latin-America, and to further, in a way, what was later called the good neighbor policy, he served as departmental inspector of public instruction in Peru, 1909-1914. Following this he was professor of international relations, George Peabody College for Teachers, and in 1922 went to the University of California, Los Angeles, where he taught Latin-American history until his retirement last year as professor emeritus of history. In 1929 he was Albert Shaw lecturer on diplomatic history at Johns Hopkins University. He served as president of the Pacific Coast Branch of American Historical Association and other historical organizations.

Dr. Lockey wrote several volumes for the use of the schools of Peru. His noteworthy volume *Pan-Americanism, Its Beginnings*, was published in 1920, and his *Essays in Pan-Americanism* in 1939. For the series "American Secretaries of State and Their Diplomacy" he wrote *James G. Blaine*. He published numerous articles in historical periodicals including *American Historical Review*, and has contributed a number of articles to this **QUARTERLY**, including "The Florida Intrigues of Jose Alvarez de Toledo," "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," and "The Florida Banditti 1783."

The greater part of his research on Florida's history has been on the second Spanish period on which he had

planned a series "Selected Documents for the History of Florida," the first volume of which, relating to East Florida, is now being published by the University of California Press.

Upon his retirement last year, Dr. Lockey came back to his native Florida to make his home, and planned to devote his time to writing a part of our history.

The last issues of *American Historical Review* and the *Journal of Southern History* contain the announcement of his passing and notes of his life and publications.

NEW BOOKS

The British Development of West Florida, 1763-1769, by Clinton N. Howard. University of California Publications in History, vol. 34. University of California Press, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947. (166 p. 3 maps. \$3.)

It has often been emphasized in this **QUARTERLY** that the British colony of West Florida had little relation to present-day Florida except for the town of Pensacola. Perhaps had that regime lasted many years longer, the capital might well have been on the Mississippi river. So, as would be expected, the present volume relates to Pensacola and the country westward. A line from the author's preface indirectly implies this: "West Florida was the only British colony west of the Appalachian Mountains." However, it was subsequent to the period covered by this work, 1763-1769, that settlement of the Mississippi river region almost entirely superceded that of the eastern part of the province.

The volume consists of a narrative of forty-seven pages and an appendix. The former contains: The Establishment of West Florida, The Interval of Military Government, The Quarrels of the First Governor with the Military Officers, The Administrative Work of the Governor and Council, and The Work of the First Assembly. Much of this was contributed to this **QUARTERLY** and our readers found it of great interest (*vide*, xii, 181, 281; xix, 109, 246, 368; xxii, 74).

The remainder of the volume is an appendix, containing analyses of land grants, 56 pages; and miscellaneous documents relating to administration, conditions and incidents. There are three maps: Mobile Bay and River, with land grants indicated; West Florida Land Grants, with the location of numerous land grants about Mobile bay and nearly one hundred around Pensacola bay, In the main these were paper grants. Few, at least around Pensacola, were ever occupied and probably none permanently settled. A plan of Pensacola locates grants of town lots, about two hundred.

The work is largely based on the records of the colony

preserved in the Public Record Office in London, of which there are transcripts and some originals in the Library of Congress and elsewhere. Other manuscript and printed sources are listed in a comprehensive bibliography.

APALACHEE 1946

The Tallahassee Historical Society's *Apalachee 1946* has appeared since the last issue of this QUARTERLY. Their first historical volume was issued in 1934, and this one is the sixth, and the second under the name *Apalachee*. All have been made up of papers read at their program meetings, several such meetings being held each winter season. Most of these papers, year in and year out, are the result of much research, and as such are definite and important contributions to local history, and many have had a state-wide interest and value.

The Publication Committee of this volume was Hon. G. P. McCord, Dr. R. S. Cotterill, and Dr. Dorothy Dodd. Nine papers are included with a total of seventy-seven pages. Copies are two dollars.

There is a tribute to and reminiscences of Governor Broward, by Judge Rivers H. Buford; a full account of the establishment and growth of the David S. Walker Library by Mildred White McCullough ; a narrative of the Negro Proctor family of Tallahassee which is unusual and interesting local history. A story of "McDougall's Pasture" by Carrie E. Elliot recounts the many uses of and activities carried on in that plot of ground for many decades past.

The number one fete of Tallahassee for more than a century had been the annual May Party. Contemporaneous descriptions of several of these from the scrapbook of Evelyn Whitfield Henry, the first in 1844, make up an article, with a list of sixty-four of these May Queens.

The "History of Trinity Methodist Church" is given in much detail by Librarian Cash of the Florida State Library from its beginning in 1825, and what is known of its early history gathered from many sources makes interesting reading elsewhere as well as in Tallahassee.

Miss Daisy Parker describes the inauguration of the first governor of the State from contemporaneous sources, so this article also is of statewide interest.

The origin of place-names is an important part of history, and those of the region between the Suwannee and

the Apalachicola rivers have long been studied by J. Clarence Simpson of Tallahassee. In "Middle Florida Place Names" he suggests the origin of a score or two of these from numerous available sources. A few names are interpreted on early maps, or the maps give clues or variants through which meanings may be determined. Early writers are freely used, as well as Dr. Swanton's works and especially Professor Read's "Florida Place Names of Indian Origin and Seminole Personal Names." Most names, especially Indian names, are descriptive of the locality, and Mr. Simpson's knowledge of the region is an advantage with his conjectures.

Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Florida State Archivist, in "Bishop' Pearce and the Reconstruction of Leon County" extends her broad knowledge of Florida's territorial period into reconstruction, and here makes a definite contribution to the history of that era in the State by showing that political control of the freedman was in good part gained through his church. Though documentation was impracticable, evidence is readily available and complete for this multitude of important facts relating to reconstruction in Florida, some of which are brought out for the first time.

All who are interested in Florida's history will hope that *Apalachee* will be published regularly.

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Quarterly Meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society, held on May 14, was featured by two research papers: John C. Blocker, County Attorney of Pinellas county, read a paper on "Henry B. Plant and the Plant System;" and Sam Proctor, Assistant Professor of History, University of Florida, gave a paper on "Napoleon B. Broward in Florida History."

TEQUESTA, 1946

Tequesta, The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1946 appeared while our last issue was in press. This is published annually by that Association and the University of Miami, as a bulletin of the University. The editor is Professor Charlton W. Tebeau, who is now the head of the history department of the University.

This issue contains five articles and a "Historical Bibliography of South Florida" compiled by the Publication Committee, in which titles of more than sixty selected works are listed. These are mainly history and description, and for many titles there is a line or two in explanation of their contents.

In the leading article Mr. David O. True tells some of the choicest of the many yarns of buried treasure along the coast which he has been collecting for years—the yarns, not the pieces-of-eight. But don't ask for proof that any of the treasure has ever been found, or even that there was ever any at the foot of one of these rainbows! Scrutiny might spoil the charm of the narrative—just let the collecting and the digging go on.

A subject of never failing interest in Florida's history is the business of wrecking on the Florida Keys. Dr. Albert W. Diddle treats of this in "Adjudication of Shipwrecking Claims at Key West in 1831." This contains specific facts, with details of certain cases, reports of shipping at Key West 1826-1830, and some wrecking statistics to 1860.

Another article by the same author is reprinted from *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, "Medical Events in the History of Key West." As a member of the medical staff of the Marine Corps during the late war, Dr. Diddle was stationed at Key West, and this article is one result of his research there.

The most popular and undoubtedly the most interesting history is that told by the pioneers, and some of our own generation are pioneers of southern Florida. One of these is Dr. John C. Gifford, the pioneer forester of that region. His "Some Reflections on the South Flor-

ida of Long Ago" tells much that we are keen to know—especially how nature and her products were adopted and adapted by the pioneers, and there is much of such interest in his article. He begins with the Indians who "chewed gum, ate corn on the cob, and [smoked] tobacco. . . . I can often locate" he says "an old Indian camp-site by the wild cotton plants and cacti growing around it. . . . Our tropical Indian played with rubber balls, and the word 'caoutchouc' is probably in imitation of the sneeze produced by the smoke in coagulating the gum of the tree. . . . Intermittent fevers were common throughout the South, and the Florida-quinine, or Georgia-fever-bark, was a common household remedy."

Dr. Gifford continues, "When I first settled in South Florida the country was still wild. It was covered with a thick growth of Caribbean-Pine on the rocky highland. There were many blazes on the pine trees. I soon learned that these blazes marked the tasks for the comptie gatherers. There were homesteaders here and there, and their only cash crop was comptie starch. Barrels of snow white starch were shipped by sail boat to Key West and then elsewhere by steamer. Here and there were little comptie mills. Many of the settlers depended on this comptie starch while waiting for their groves to grow. It was essential to the life of the backwoods settler. . . . This industry died a natural death with the exhaustion of the comptie, and was followed by the sawmill which left very little in the way of natural resources. . . . The pineapple industry was once the largest in the world on the East Coast of Florida and the Keys. It is now almost a thing of the past, and has gone to Cuba, Hawaii, and the East Indies. In the early days cassava, or yucca, or tapioca was a common Florida plant.

"To me the past relationship of plant, place and people is real history." [As it should be to all historians].

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE ANNUAL MEETING

At the invitation of President Ellwood C. Nance, the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held at the University of Tampa on April 2 and 3. A number of members attended from a distance, even from Miami and Pensacola.

Nearly a score of research papers had been prepared and were read at four program sessions. These were:

"Inauguration of Governors of Florida." Written by Judge James B. Whitfield and read by T. T. Wentworth.

"The Yellow Pine: Its Saga." Luther King.

"Archaeology in the Florida Park Service." John W. Griffin.

"Governor William D. Bloxham's Closing Years." Ruby Leach Carson.

"John Mercer Brooke, Native Tampan." Harry P. Baya.

"Territorial Court of Leon County, 1825-1833." Daisy Parker.

"Great Enterprise and Little Moment at Pensacola, 1764-1767." Florence Glass Palmer.

"Historical Research in the Everglades Area." Marjory Stoneman Douglas.

"The Tampa Bay Hotel." C. Herbert Laub.

"Henry B. Plant and the Plant System." John C. Blocker.

"Tampa and her Eventful Years, 1824-1947." Mrs. Mitchell F. McKay.

"The First Phase of the East Florida Revolution, 1812-1813." Rembert W. Patrick.

"DeSoto Did Not Land at Shaw's Point." Walter Fuller.

"Early Arts and Crafts in Florida." Julia May Sampley.

"Napoleon B. Broward in Florida History." Sam Proctor.

"Wrecks of Spanish Plate Ships on Florida Shores." David O. True.

"An Author Reviews His Book, Sarasota Story."
Karl Grismer.

"Property Distribution in Florida Just Prior to the
Civil War." W. T. Cash.

The annual dinner was held at the Hillsboro hotel on the evening of April 2 with President Nance as toastmaster. There was an excellent exhibit of Floridiana at the University during the two days of the meeting. A meeting of the directors of the Society was held on the evening of April 1.

The annual business meeting of the Society, with the election of officers, followed the dinner. The Minutes and the report of the treasurer for the past year follow:

MINUTES - APRIL 2, 1947

After the annual dinner and before the business meeting, President Mark F. Boyd, as his presidential address, presented the report of the planning committee appointed in 1945.

On calling the meeting to order the roll call was dispensed with, in view of the registration of members present at the sessions, and a quorum being present, the meeting proceeded with Mrs. Alberta Johnson as secretary *pro tem*.

There being no corrections offered, the minutes of the last annual meeting of the Society were approved as published in the July 1946 **QUARTERLY**.

The report of the secretary-librarian was presented by Mrs. Johnson, and by motion, accepted. She also made a brief report on library activities, which included a paragraph from a letter received from the Oklahoma Historical Society's secretary: "In calling attention to a particular article, Mr. Evans writes: 'You will observe that I took close care to express the high value this institution places on such periodicals as come to us from other states' Historical Societies, or any institution of like kind. We rate your journal as of highest worth to us, because it brings a wealth of history into our possession. And at the same time, it affords us a measuring stick whereby we can raise the standard of our Oklahoma Chronicles.'"

Mrs. Johnson also presented the report of the treasurer, Mr. Manucy, and the report of the firm of commercial auditors was circulated. A motion was adopted accepting the report. The unsatisfactory trend in the Society's finances, which has been accentuated during the past year, caused extensive discussion, and the sentiment was quite general that an increase in the annual dues was imperative. Whereupon Mrs. Douglas presented the following amendments to articles I and II of the by-laws, which she had been instructed by the Board of Directors to prepare, as a resolution:

Whereas, the Board of Directors has recommended that the By-laws of the Florida Historical Society be amended, therefore be it resolved: That Article 1 of the By-laws be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows :

ARTICLE I.

1. There shall be two classes of membership, regular and special.
2. Regular membership shall be of the following-categories : Associate, Members, and Fellows. Members of affiliated local societies shall be designated as Associates, without any obligation to pay dues. Other classes of regular membership shall be on an annual basis, contingent on the payment of dues prescribed for the class. All applications for membership of members and fellows shall be endorsed by at least one member of the Society and shall be accompanied by the current year's dues.
3. Special members shall be of the following categories: Life, Honorary, Subscribing and Institutional.

Be it further resolved that Article II of the By-laws be, and the same is hereby, amended to read as follows :

ARTICLE II.

1. The dues of Members shall be \$4.00 a year, payable in advance.
2. The dues of Fellows shall be \$10.00 a year, payable in advance.
5. The *Quarterly* shall not be distributed to any member who is currently in arrears, or to any Associate or Honorary member who does not hold membership of another category. Any regular member who is one year in arrears in dues, after thirty days notice thereof, may be dropped from the roll of membership by the Board of Directors.
6. The above schedule of dues is effective at the beginning of the fiscal year March 1, 1947.
7. Institutional membership will be \$25.00, with the privilege of a regular member.

All paragraphs of Articles I and II of the By-laws in conflict, with this resolution are hereby repealed.

The motion was seconded and adopted.

A letter from Mr. Julien C. Yonge was read requesting the adoption of the following resolution:

"The Florida Historical Society in annual meeting expresses to Captain John W. Greenslade, Jr., U.S.N., our appreciation of, and our thanks for, the papers of the Panton, Leslie Company which were preserved by his mother, Marie Taylor Greenslade, a descendant of John Innerarity, the last surviving member of that firm. These will be a reminder of her deep interest in our State's history and of her long membership in the Society."

Mr. Yonge's resolution was unanimously adopted.

Next presented was the report of Mr. Lewis G. Scoggin, Director of the State Park Service, and chairman of the Society's archaeological committee, who explained the archaeological studies being prosecuted by Mr. Griffin for the Park Service, which was by motion accepted. On being queried as to how the Society could support the archaeology program, Mr. Scoggin suggested that the Florida Historical Society go on record as endorsing the proposed budget for the State Park Service for the next biennium. Whereupon the following motion was presented and adopted:

Whereas the purpose of the Florida Board of Forestry and Parks is to protect and conserve our state's natural forest resources and provide an adequate state park system for the benefit and enjoyment of the citizens of the state and its guests ; and

Whereas the state park system is financed wholly by state appropriations and park receipts,

Therefore be it resolved that :

The Florida Historical Society in regular convention assembled endorse the program proposed by the Florida Board of Forestry and Parks for the completion of capital improvements in and for proper operation of the existing state parks including the archaeology project, during the next biennium, and hereby urges the Legislature to appropriate the necessary funds to finance this program.

A further motion by Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., seconded by Mr. Henry E. Grimes, directed that copies of this resolution be transmitted to the Governor's office as well as to the State Legislature.

On motion of Dr. C. W. Tebeau, seconded by Mrs. Douglas, the incoming president was authorized to designate a member of the Society to serve on the advisory board of the Florida Board of Forestry and Parks for one year.

The president then introduced the report of the planning committee which he had previously read, and opened discussion of the report by sections, presenting the recommendation of the directors. As a result of this consideration the following motions were adopted:

A motion by Dr. C. W. Tebeau, and seconded by Mr. Wentworth, was adopted, expressing the opinion that the Society should not contemplate any immediate change in location.

A motion was adopted directing that the Society become a member of the Florida Library Association, and that the secretary be authorized to attend the meetings of the F.L.A. at the Society's expense.

A motion was adopted authorizing that any material in the Society's library which is not classified as unique and irreplaceable, be made available to historical students residing within the state, through inter-library loans, under rules to be approved by the directors on recommendation of the library committee, providing the borrowing library pays transportation charges both ways.

On motion of Dr. C. W. Tebeau, seconded by Mr. W. J. Winter, the incoming president was authorized to invite the local historical societies of the state to appoint a delegate to attend an early conference to devise a plan for federation of local societies with the Florida Historical Society, to organize others and to reactivate those now dormant.

A motion by Mrs. Douglas, seconded by Mr. T. L. Lesley, proposed that the Society initiate an intensive membership campaign, and to achieve this, that the counties be apportioned to the directors and that each director shall organize a county membership committee in each county assigned him, and that the secretary compile and furnish each director a list of the present membership by counties. The county committees will be expected to solicit new members in their respective counties. The motion was adopted.

A motion was adopted directing the secretary, in consultation with the treasurer, to prepare and submit for the consideration of the directors before the beginning of the following fiscal year, and annually thereafter, a budget outlining the conservatively estimated regular and special revenues of the society, and the anticipated regular and special expenditures, which shall not exceed

the estimated revenues for the same period, except that the directors may at their discretion increase any item by drawing on available reserve funds. After approval, by the directors, the officers of the society shall not incur expenses chargeable to any budget item in excess of the amount allocated, except with the approval of the directors, through authorized transfer of unexpended balances in other budget items.

A motion of Dr. C. W. Tebeau, seconded by Mrs. Douglas, was adopted accepting the report of the planning committee, and directing that portions not implemented at this meeting shall be filed for future consideration.

A motion was adopted directing the secretary to express the Society's thanks to Mr. Theodore Lesley and his program committee for the excellent program prepared, and to Dr. E. C. Nance for the hospitality of the University of Tampa.

In the absence of Mr. Richard P. Daniel, chairman of the nominating committee, Miss Dena Snodgrass presented the report of that committee as follows:

Officers:

president, Dr. Mark F. Boyd
 first vice-president, Colonel John B. Stetson, Jr.
 second vice-president, Dr. J. Webster Merritt
 secretary and treasurer, Mr. Albert C. Manucy
 corresponding secretary and librarian, Mrs. Alberta Johnson

Directors:

1st district, Dr. Ellwood C. Nance
 2nd district, Miss Dena Snodgrass
 3rd district, Mr. T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
 4th district, Mrs. Marjorie Stoneman Douglas
 5th district, Mr. W. J. Winter
 6th district, Mr. Marshall B. Wood
 at-large: Dr. Rembert W. Patrick
 Mr. Frank H. Elmore, Jr.
 Mr. W. T. Cash

Nominating chairman for 1948 election, Judge Bayard B. Shields

The president called for nominations from the floor, but none being tendered, a motion was adopted directing the secretary to cast the unanimous ballot of the Society for the above nominees.

There being no further business the meeting adjourned.

MINUTES OF A SPECIAL BUSINESS MEETING
APRIL 3, 1947

At the close of the afternoon program President Boyd called a special business session.

Mrs. Johnson presented the resignation of Mrs. Douglas from the Board of Directors, which was reluctantly accepted on motion. By motion duly seconded, Mrs. Ruby Leach Carson was nominated and elected to fill the unexpired term of Mrs. Douglas.

A resolution was adopted requesting the Society's legislative committee to prepare, introduce, and support in the coming session of the State Legislature, a bill that would authorize and direct the Commissioners of State Institutions to furnish to the Society, rent free in perpetuity, adequate floor space in a state owned building for the housing of its library and collections, and for an administrative office and reading room.

There being no further business the Society adjourned.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
March 1, 1947

GENERAL FUND :			
Balance, March 1, 1946		739.01	
<i>Receipts:</i>			
Dues from members	1,486.44		
Quarterlies sold	63.95		
Accommodations	107.40	1657.79	\$2,396.80
<i>Expenditures:</i>			
Salary	1,500.00		
Books	20.00		
Insurance	96.00		
Metal filing case	64.64		
Accommodations	143.00		
Expenses	270.06		
	2,093.70		
Balance, March 1, 1947	303.10		\$2,396.80
STATE OF FLORIDA FUND :			
Balance, March 1, 1946	1,885.55		
Receipts	1,800.00		\$3,685.55
<i>Expenditures:</i>			
Florida Historical Quarterlies	1,793.27		
Rent	300.00		
	<u>2,093.27</u>		
Balance, March 1, 1947	1,592.28		\$3,685.55

OTHER FUNDS :

Robertson Memorial Fund (no changes)		4.00
Life membership		400.00
Archaeology fund-		
Balance March 1, 1946	49.78	
Receipts	8.66	
Balance March 1, 1947		57.78
Building fund-		
Balance March 1, 1946		25.00

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT

Balance, March 1, 1946	3,103.34	
Total receipts	3,465.79	
	6,569.13	
Total expenditures, March 1, 1947	4,186.97	
Balance, March 1, 1947		\$2,382.16

DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

- Papers*, Publication of the Jacksonville Historical Society. Gift of Richard P. Daniel
- Ocala Cavalcade*, Eloise Knight Jones. Gift of the publisher, Stephen McCready.
- Incidents by the Way*. Reminiscences of William R. Kenan, Jr. Gift of the author.
- Preliminary Archaeological Explorations at Weeden Island, Florida*. J. Walker Fewkes. Gift of Mrs. Mary E. Apple.
- U. S. Naval Hospital, Pensacola*. Gift of T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
- Lithographed portraits of the Presidents. Gift of Union Pacific Railroad.
- John Gomez (Panther Key John) photograph. Gift of Karl A. Bickel.
- Apalachee, 1846*. Publication of Tallahassee Historical Society.
- Map, Bernard Romans (photostat) East and West Florida 1776. San Jacinto (Texas) Museum of History. (descriptive).
- Diary of William G. Davies (typed copy, 141 pages) A Florida sojourn of 1882: Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, Enterprise, Palatka, and Green Cove Springs. Gift of Mr. Davies's daughter, Mrs. Louis Mansfield Ogden, Sarasota and New York.

NEW MEMBERS

- John C. Power, Milray, Indiana
 Virgie Lewis, Pensacola
 Mrs. Margaret Key, Apalachicola
 Mrs. John Branch, Tampa
 T. G. Sanchez, Winter Haven
- DECEASED
- Dr. E. M. L'Engle, Jacksonville
 Mr. M. H. Haughton, Jacksonville
 Col. J. Campbell Gilmore, Fort Myers

11
 1947

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

J. E. Dovell is an Assistant Professor of Social Sciences, University of Florida. He has a Ph.D. degree in history from the University of North Carolina.

Occie Clubbs is a public school principal of Pensacola who has an M.A. degree in history from the University of Florida.

Dorothy Dodd, Florida State Archivist, has a Ph.D. degree from the University of Chicago. She has contributed a number of articles to this QUARTERLY.

Albert C. Manucy is Secretary and Treasurer of The Florida Historical Society, and Historical Technician, Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine.

Kenneth W. Porter is an Assistant Professor of History, Vassar College. He has contributed several articles to this QUARTERLY.

