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CONTENTS

- The Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud:
Railroad Financing in Florida (1868-1871)
Paul E. Fenlon
- The Occupation of Jacksonville, 1864
And the Battle of Olustee
Letters of *Lt. C. M. Duren*
- A Religious Revival in Tallahassee in 1843
The Reverend *Nathan Hoyt*
(ed. by) *George C. Osborn*
- Tequesta XIII
- Book reviews:
Patrick, "Florida Fiasco"
Kathryn Abbey Hanna
- Motte, "Journey into Wilderness, 1836-1838"
(ed. by) *James F. Sunderman*
William C. Sturtevant
- Penicaut, "Fleur de Lys and Calumet"
(ed. by) *R. C. Williams*
Charles S. Davis
- "Hundredth Birthday, Duval County Medical Society"
Webster Merritt et. al. (editors)
- County Historical Commissions
- Local and Regional Historical Societies:
Jacksonville Historical Society
Historical Association of Southern Florida
Pensacola Historical Society
- The Florida Historical Society:
The Annual Meeting
New members
Accessions to the library

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THE NOTORIOUS SWEPSON-LITTLEFIELD FRAUD
RAILROAD FINANCING IN FLORIDA, 1868-1871

by PAUL E. FENLON

A full account of the financial manipulations of George W. Swepson and Milton S. Littlefield in Florida during the hectic post-Civil War period would entail consideration of scores of events with which a great number of persons were concerned. It is possible, however, to indicate the essential elements involved in their activities through the examination of six major developments that occurred between 1868 and 1871.

The first was the forced sale, on March 4, 1868, of a sixty mile long railroad, the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central, connecting Jacksonville with Lake City, then only a small town in the interior of Florida.

Next came the forced sales of the Pensacola and Georgia Rail Road and the Tallahassee Rail Road on March 20, 1869. These two railroads, combined with the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central, formed a line of road that extended from Jacksonville to Tallahassee and southward to St. Marks, on the Gulf coast of Florida.

Passage of legislation vital to the implementation of the Swepson-Littlefield financial maneuvers took place at the June 1869 special session of the Florida legislature. Activities at this special session constitute another essential link in their operations.

The public and private reactions to the railroad sales and the legislative proceedings of the special session exerted significant influences on the actions of the two principals in carrying out their swindle during the remainder of 1869.

A climactic point in the entire scheme was reached in 1870, with the exchange of four million dollars of railroad bonds for an equal amount of State bonds. This action was designed to give the Swepson-Littlefield combination authority to sell

State certificates of indebtedness to anyone who wished to invest in the railroads which it controlled. Lastly, the successful disposal of the State securities to a Dutch syndicate of investors and speculators during the latter part of 1870 and in 1871 completed the implementation of the fiasco.

Though the six major steps in the scheme took place within a period of four years, 1868 to 1871, brief examination of the background of the railroads with which Swepson and Littlefield were concerned, as well as an awareness of the destruction, disappointment, and economic chaos that attended the South's defeat in the Civil War are necessary for an understanding of them.

With respect to the railroads, an account of the finances of the Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central serves as an example of the procedures followed by the other two railroads. A recent issue of this *Quarterly* contains such an account.¹ In brief, the more pertinent points of the story of the establishment of the F. A. & G. C. are the following: A successful plea for financial support was directed to the citizens of Columbia county, Florida, in 1855. They approved, in a special election, the issuance of one hundred thousand dollars of bonds, the proceeds to be invested in the capital stock of the F. A. & G. C. Jacksonville furnished similar additional financial aid through the issuance of fifty thousand dollars of bonds. And the State of Florida, through the Board of Trustees of its Internal Improvement Fund, granted the company approximately two hundred thousand acres of land and guaranteed the interest payments on its bonds.

During the five years spent in constructing and equipping the railroad (1855-1860) the company had many occasions to lean heavily upon these subsidies and aids.²

1. Fenlon, Paul E. "The Florida Atlantic and Gulf Central Railroad," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. October, 1953, pp. 71-80.

2. *Ibid.* p. 79.

When it became apparent that the various railroad builders in the State had a decided tendency to make exceedingly liberal use of State financial support, Governor M. S. Perry, in June 1859, cautioned them with a warning that was to be ignored completely:

Railroads are useful, but State credit is a pearl above all price. It is easily tarnished, and to be kept without blemish should be carefully guarded.³

As a general comment on the post-war economic chaos, it is perhaps sufficient to note that Florida, impoverished by the Civil War and faced with the innumerable problems associated with the loss of slave labor, readily agreed that the "condition of the South has scarcely a parallel in modern times."⁴

More specifically, Florida's greatest economic needs were capital and industrious immigrants to aid in the development of her resources. It had no need for the invasion of impecunious, fortune-seeking, self-styled "capitalists" who came in the immediate aftermath of the war. But throughout the latter part of 1865 the influx of Northerners, with their empty carpet bags, greatly exceeded the longed for immigration of monied men. An opportunity to combine political power and economic gain enticed hundreds of get-rich-quick devotees to Florida's war shattered economy.

This trend of immigration continued, and the need for capital remained a pressing one. The Jacksonville *Florida Times* of July 19, 1866 stated the problem succinctly.

Let us have the capital, and by whom or however employed, it should be welcome, as without it, our prosperity as a people will be seriously damaged.

Despite promises that "land can be purchased in any quan-

3. *Minutes of the Board of Trustees, Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida*. Tallahassee. vol. 1, p. 135.

4. Jacksonville, *Florida Union* November 4, 1865.

tity and at almost any price," and assurance that "a large first class hotel at any prominent place would pay a hundred per cent profit," substantial Northern businessmen displayed reluctance to make long-term commitments in only partially "reconstructed" Florida.⁵

Railroad officials, too, were well aware of this lack of capital, as they strove to meet operating expenses and the costs of long-term debts. They found themselves

... without any funds that were available, the rolling stock in bad condition, the motive power out of repair, the machine shops without the material to make the necessary repairs; in short, with nothing to commence business on.⁶

*The Sale of the Florida Atlantic and Gulf
Central Rail Road*

The Trustees of the State's Internal Improvement Fund felt it necessary, on July 30, 1867, to order the sale of the F. A. & G. C. R. R. They said that their action was taken because the officers of the railroad had failed to make the required annual payments into a sinking fund that had been set up for the retirement of the company's bonded indebtedness.⁷ The railroad's request for a postponement of the sale until September 18, 1867 was granted by the Trustees, but the required sum of \$20,000 seemed a very large one to raise.⁸

Franklin Dibble, president of the company and close associate of the post war "conquerors" of the State, joined with Colonel J. P. Sanderson, a director of the concern, staunch supporter of the defunct Confederacy, and member of the company's first board of directors, in an effort to work out a solution of the railroad's financial problem. Two possibilities occurred to them: (1) to issue new bonds, and (2) to secure a consoli-

5. *Id.* June 29, 1867.

6. *Id.* October 19, 1865.

7. *Minutes. . . Trustees.* vol. 1, p. 305.

8. *Florida Union* August 3, 1867.

dation of the F. A. & G. C. with the Pensacola and Georgia railroad. The second possibility seemed more feasible than the first. Since the P. & G. met the F. A. & G. C. at Lake City and ran from that point westward across the State, it was hoped that consolidation would bring about decreased operating costs and increased efficiency for both railroads.⁹

By early September, Colonel Edward Houstoun, president of the P. & G. R. R., had agreed to cooperate with Dibble and Sanderson in a practical, if not a formal, consolidation of the two railroad companies; and it was assumed that the two companies would soon start to operate as one.¹⁰ Rumors of a long-term lease of the F. A. & G. C. by the P. & G. were widely circulated in Jacksonville, and the Jacksonville Board of Trade even went so far as to petition the directors of the F. A. & G. C. to place no obstacle in the way of a sale of the road to the P. & G., for the Board of Trade was convinced that effective consolidation could best be achieved through a friendly sale.¹¹ Dibble, on the other hand, was emphatic in his denunciation of the proposed sale and called a mass meeting of the citizens of Jacksonville at the City Hall in order to protest against it "at this time of general depression in business circles."¹²

By September 18 the strength of the opposition to the sale was more clearly demonstrated, when Captain Edward M. L'Engle submitted a bill on behalf of George W. Swepson to enjoin the sale of the F. A. & G. C. before the salesman of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund could hold the sale. The request for an injunction quite clearly indicated that there was much more behind objection to disposal of the railroad's property than had been shown by Dibble's opposition. L'Engle was a young lawyer of high repute in the community, a member of one of Florida's earliest and best known families,

9. *Ibid.*

10. *Id.* September 14, 1867.

11. *Ibid.*

12. *Id.* September 21, 1867.

and a veteran of the Confederate army. Swepson was thought to be a wealthy capitalist, and it was known that he possessed important political connections in North Carolina. Judge Philip Fraser of the U. S. District Court for the Northern District of Florida, to whom Swepson's bill was submitted, immediately ordered a hearing to be held in Jacksonville. Captain L'Engle argued for the injunction against M. D. Papy, the attorney for the Trustees, and was successful in securing it "until the further order of the court."¹³

The twice postponed sale of the F. A. & G. C. was held on March 4, 1868 and a ninety-nine year lease of its facilities by Colonel Houstoun's Pensacola and Georgia R. R. was agreed upon.¹⁴ William E. Jackson and Associates became the new owners of the railroad, but their claims to ownership were far from being clear. Swepson started legal proceedings, claiming that the company was bankrupt and that the March 4th sale was therefore illegal. The president of another Florida railroad, former U. S. Senator David L. Yulee, filed a notice that there was "nearly one mile of iron rails" that belonged to his company on the property of the F. A. & G. C. The Deputy Collector of Internal Revenue announced that he had levied taxes of "about seven thousand dollars and that there were also other taxes assessed against the company amounting to several thousand dollars more."¹⁵

As the editor of the Jacksonville *Florida Union* remarked on March 14, "the complications environing this company are difficult to be understood and have become exceedingly interesting."

A company with assets of approximately one million two hundred and seven thousand dollars, and liabilities of about one million and twenty thousand dollars had been sold to the

13. *Id.* September 28, 1867.

14. Tallahassee, *Sentinel* July 17, 1869.

15. *Minutes. . . Trustees.* vol. 1, pp. 320-324.

highest bidder.¹⁶ The purchase price was one hundred and eleven thousand dollars.¹⁷

Judge Fraser ruled, on April 24, 1868, that the railroad had not been bankrupt at the time of its sale on March 4th.¹⁸ Thus, Swepson's attempt to secure control of the road was stopped temporarily by the defeat of his move to have it declared in a state of bankruptcy.

Colonel Houstoun emerged from the affair as the agent of the new purchaser of the road, William E. Jackson, and he became the agent of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund in the handling of the purchase price to be paid by Jackson and his associates.¹⁹ Furthermore, Houstoun became Swepson's agent in the purchase of a controlling interest in the company, which was incorporated as the Florida Central Railroad Company on July 29, 1868. It is also of interest to note that the lease which Houstoun's Pensacola and Georgia Railroad secured on the property of the Florida Central Railroad contained the provision that no rent was to be paid for the first twelve months.²⁰

The Sales of the P. & G. and the Tallahassee Railroads

Within a year after the sale of the F. A. & G. C., the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund announced that the officers of the other two railroad companies in the east-west transportation system had failed to provide for the retirement of their companies' bonded indebtedness. The sales of the Pensacola and Georgia and Tallahassee R.R.'s were scheduled for March 20, 1869.²¹

Colonel Houstoun, who served as president of both these railroads, was given advance notice some time before the

16. *Florida Union* May 2, 1868.

17. *Minutes. . . Trustees.* vol. 1, p. 324.

18. *Florida Union* May 2, 1868.

19. *Id.* October 14, 1869.

20. *Sentinel* July 17, 1869.

21. *Minutes. . . Trustees.* vol. 1, pp. 360-361.

Trustees' public announcement of the sale. He wrote to Colonel Sanderson from New York on February 3, 1869,

I have for you a retainer of \$100 from Mr. G. W. Swepson and Associates to represent them in the matter of the purchase of the P. & G. R.R. . . . the Trustees . . . agreed to wait until I could see if a combination advantageous to our State interest could not be made to buy the Road I am happy to inform you that such an arrangement is about to be perfected. . . . you are to have such additional compensation as the services you may be called upon to render will warrant.²²

Houstoun had already acted as Swepson's agent in buying up approximately one million dollars of first mortgage bonds of the P. & G. and the Tallahassee roads.²³ These purchases involved a cash outlay of thirty to thirty-five percent of the face value of the bonds.²⁴ Houstoun, furthermore, had already started to follow Swepson's orders to buy a controlling interest in the successor to the F. A. & G. C., the Florida Central Railroad Company.²⁵

The public reaction which accompanied the search for and purchase of over two-thirds of the first mortgage bonds of the P. & G. and the Tallahassee roads led to a special meeting of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund on March 20, 1869. They issued a statement in which it was denied that they had entered into an agreement

. . . to take of . . . Houstoun and others in case they are purchasers of the Pensacola and Georgia and Tallahassee

22. *E. M. L'Engle Papers*. Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

23. *Deposition of G. W. Swepson*, United States Supreme Court Records, U. S. 100, p. 641.

24. *Deposition of M. S. Littlefield*, U. S. 100, p. 737.

25. *Minutes. . . Trustees*. vol. 1, p 371.

Railroads . . . bonds of said Roads as cash otherwise than at their market values,

and they admitted that "such agreement, if entered into, would place the bidders at said sales on an unequal footing."²¹

The terms of the sale were to be "cash," but a deposit of only fifty thousand dollars "or a satisfactory equivalent therefor" was to be required at the time of the sale of the P. & G. R. R. In the case of the Tallahassee railroad "only ten thousand dollars or a satisfactory equivalent" was to be required.

Franklin Dibble and Associates were the purchasers of the roads on March 20, 1869. The P. & G. sold for \$1,220,000, and the purchase price of the Tallahassee road was \$195,000.²⁷ They had bought the one hundred and twenty-eight mile P. & G. R. R., from Lake City to Quincy, Florida, by way of Tallahassee, and the twenty-one mile Tallahassee R.R., from Tallahassee to the port of St. Marks, Florida.

Within two hours after the sales, Swepson contacted Dibble with an offer to let him use the large amount of bonds Swepson had in his possession, and an agreement between Swepson and Dibble was reached on March 26th.²⁸ In return for \$960,300 of Pensacola and Georgia and Tallahassee R.R. bonds Dibble agreed to give Swepson \$150,000, which was to be realized from a proposed sale of new bonds. Swepson was also to receive one-third of the capital stock of a new railroad company that was to be formed through the combination of the two railroads that had been sold on the twentieth of the month. Another part of the agreement conferred on Swepson the privilege of exercising more control over the new company than the ownership of one-third of the stock would have given him.²⁹

The Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund announced,

26. *Ibid.* pp. 371-372.

27. *Ibid.* pp. 382-383.

28. *Florida Union* September 23, 1869.

29. *Trust Agreement Between Dibble and Swepson*, U. S. 100, p. 62.

on March 29 that they would accept the bonds which Swepson had agreed to transfer to Dibble towards the purchase of the Pensacola and Georgia and the Tallahassee railroads.³⁰

This announcement brought forth a caustic comment from the Tallahassee *Floridian*:

There is no controversy that the Trustees, in changing the terms of the sale. . . , perpetrated a wrong against the Stockholders and general creditors. No one has yet ventured to deny this. . . . they violated law, derided faith and outraged justice.³¹

Houstoun's reaction to the March 26 agreement may be inferred from a portion of a letter that he wrote to Colonel Sanderson on March 30, "I desire to separate entirely from Rail Road matters, so that my peace and quiet may not be disturbed."³² He asked Sanderson to see if Dibble would like to buy his holdings of Florida Central R. R. stock, as he felt it was "important to those who are to control the P. & G. R. R. to control the Florida Central."

About two weeks later, however, on April 15, Houstoun wrote to Sanderson, "I have concluded not to sell my stock."³³ Events that occurred midway in the two weeks period between March 30 and April 15 caused Houstoun's changed attitude toward his further interest in the affairs of Florida railroads.

On April 8 Swepson was appointed a "confidential agent" of the Trustees

. . . with authority. . . to take up the outstanding first mortgage bonds of the Pensacola and Georgia and the Tallahassee Railroad Companies, and the Attorney-General and Comptroller are . . . directed to turn over to . . . Swepson

30. *Minutes . . . Trustees*. vol. 1, pp. 375-376.

31. Tallahassee, *Floridian* April 6, 1869.

32. *E. M. L'Engle Papers*.

33. *Ibid.*

. . . all money that may be received . . . in behalf of the Trustees for said Roads, for the purpose set forth above.³⁴

On the same date the Trustees deeded the two railroads to Dibble. A special committee of the Trustees, Colonel R. H. Gamble, Comptroller, and A. R. Meek, Attorney-General, acted for the Board of Trustees in this matter. They reported,

. . . we received eight hundred and six thousand six hundred dollars of first Mortgage Bonds of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad Co., at par, and one hundred and fifty three thousand and seven hundred dollars of first Mortgage Bonds of the Tallahassee Railroad Co. at between ninety-four and ninety-five cents on the dollar, and that the difference represented by these bonds and the sum bid for said Roads were turned over by us . . . to George W. Swepson . . . to take up the outstanding bonds of said companies. The receipt of Mr. Swepson for four hundred and seventy-two thousand and sixty-five dollars we have passed over to the Treasurer of this Board.³⁵

When Gamble and Meek met with Swepson and Dibble, Dibble proffered a check for the above mentioned sum of money, but both Dibble and Swepson knew that the check was worthless. Swepson accepted it, however, and "for the time being" treated it as money. It was understood by them that the money to be paid the Trustees was to be raised through a subsequent sale of bonds on the part of the new company that was to come into existence by the merger of the P. & G. and Tallahassee roads.³⁶

34. *Minutes . . . Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 378.

35. *Ibid.* p. 381. It is probable that the Attorney-General and the Comptroller should have reported that the Tallahassee Railroad bonds were received at between eighty-nine and ninety cents on the dollar, rather than at between ninety-four and ninety five cents on the dollar. The former range would have justified the computation of \$472,065. as the balance due on the purchase price of the two railroads.

36. *Deposition of G. W. Swepson*, U. S. 100, p. 633.

The net result of the Swepson-Dibble-Trustees transactions, as of April 8, 1869, was that two railroads which had been sold for \$1,415,000, presumably in "cash," were deeded to Dibble for the transfer of less than one-half million dollars worth of bonds and a worthless check. The State of Florida had been defrauded of over three-quarters of a million dollars.

Two weeks after Dibble assumed ownership of the railroads he transferred them to Swepson. It was agreed, however, that when Swepson had been paid the \$150,000 that had been promised him in the March 26 agreement and the \$472,000 that had been "paid" as part of the purchase price of the roads, control of them was to pass from his hands.³⁷

The entire line from Jacksonville to Quincy, with the branch line from Tallahassee to St. Marks, had been purchased for an estimated six hundred and fifty thousand dollars.³⁸ This transportation system had been constructed and equipped at a cost of over four million dollars.³⁹

In addition to the over two hundred miles of railroad, with its rolling stock, depots, warehouses, and equipment, there were over one million acres of land included in the assets of the three companies.⁴⁰ All this had been bought for a little more than three thousand dollars per mile.

The reputedly wealthy North Carolinian who controlled these vast holdings, George W. Swepson, had achieved his control of them without the expenditure of a dollar of his own funds. The entire amount that had been invested in the Florida Central, Pensacola and Georgia, and Tallahassee railroads had come from the treasury of the Western Division of the Western North Carolina Railroad Company, of which Swepson was president. The money had been invested without the approval

37. *Id.* p. 634.

38. *Deposition of M. S. Littlefield*, U. S. 100, p. 726

39. *Florida Union* September 23, 1869.

40. *Id.* June 17, 1869.

of the directors of that company and without the consent of the State of North Carolina, which had issued over six million dollars of bonds to aid in the construction and operation of the Western Division railroad.⁴¹

Swepson had cooperated with General Milton S. Littlefield, a former commander of negro troops during the Civil War, and other opportunists to mulct the State of North Carolina of several million dollars.⁴² Littlefield was mentioned as "a man of peculiar accomplishments," and it was said of him that,

. . . not only is he a pleasant enough person to look at, but he has the art of making himself agreeable to everybody, and is never so fascinating as when he is after something. Then his powers of pleasing are remarkable.⁴³

The Special Session of June 1869

It was indeed fitting that Swepson should dispatch Littlefield to Florida to implement the next step in the scheme to further defraud the State. Littlefield's experiences in North Carolina and his pleasing personality well qualified him to exert maximum influence during the special session of the legislature that Governor Harrison Reed called for June 8, 1869.⁴⁴

When the Florida legislators convened for this session, Governor Reed greeted them with a message that contained the following statements.

41. *Letter of Robert R. Swepson to Matt W. Ransom. M. W. Ransom Papers.* Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

42. In a letter written at the request of the Governor of North Carolina, on June 3, 1879, the attorneys for the State of North Carolina made the following comments. "Littlefield. . . in the capacity of King of the Lobby took charge of the destinies of NC. . . . When the Legislature met . . . , Littlefield, Swepson, and others, as lobby members, controlled the entire Legislature of that body. . . this ring procured the issue of \$26,000,000 in bonds to the various public works in the State. They paid the Radical Legislature about \$240,000 in corruption and bribery to accomplish this end. Of this \$26,000,000, \$6,000,000 were for the completion of the Western N. C. R. R. . . . of the entire fund the Railroad realized less than \$250,000." *George W. Swepson Papers.* Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

43. *Floridian* August 30, 1870.

44. *Id.* June 17, 1869.

The railroad system of the State should be prosecuted to completion as early as possible in order that the State may secure her full share of the immigration and capital now flowing southward. . . .

In all measures the public interests should be first secured, and then the widest inducements, within that limit, offered for the profitable investment of capital. In these matters I doubt not but you will act in accordance with the spirit of the age,⁴⁵ and the progress of modern civilization.⁴⁶

Littlefield labored arduously to secure the passage of legislation that would accord fully with his concept of the "spirit of the age and the progress of modern civilization."

Gen. Littlefield prepared and had introduced in the Senate on the 10th of June a bill giving State aid to a road from Quincy in the direction of Mobile, Alabama, to the extent of \$20,000 per mile. . . . Littlefield soon became satisfied that. . . the bill could not pass, whereupon he went to patching and modifying it.⁴⁷

During many hours spent with the legislators, Littlefield won support for a modified version of his original bill. He employed exceedingly persuasive arguments in his conferences with members of the legislature; free food, whiskey, entertainment and promises of future monetary rewards were sufficient

45. The "spirit of the age" has been described in the following terms. "The decade following the Civil War, because of its extraordinary happenings in speculative finance and in legislative and judicial corruption has been called the fantastic era. It was a time of organized lawlessness under the forms of law. . . . A mania for railroad building in a time of unstable currency, when the concept of public service was not yet developed, an unjustified reliance on competition as a means of regulation, and an easy public complacency in the presence of sharp practices, set the stage for the entrance of a group of powerful, unscrupulous men as chief actors." Kicks, Frederick C. *High Finance in the Sixties*. New Haven. 1929. p. 1.

46. *Florida Union* June 17, 1869.

47. *Floridian* July 13, 1869.

inducements for many of the representatives of the people. But he reserved another argument for the more important, shrewd and hesitant of those with whom he met. To them he gave his personal drafts, some of which were good but more were worthless, as substitutes for the less tangible promises of money offered to the more naive.⁴⁸

The outcome of Littlefield's labors was a railroad act which contained the following important provisions.

- 1) A new company, the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile Railroad Company, was granted authority to extend the existing line of road from Quincy, Florida to the Alabama-Florida border.
- 2) The company was also authorized to issue \$14,000 of bonds for each mile of railroad built west of Quincy.
- 3) The State was to exchange State bonds for company bonds, and the company was to be allowed to sell the State bonds in the open market.
- 4) As security for the issuance of State bonds, the State was to have a first lien on the already completed road from Jacksonville to Quincy.
- 5) Before the State bonds were issued the Governor, Comptroller, and Treasurer of the State were to agree that the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile R. R. Co. had evidence of clear title to the property pledged as security for the State bonds.⁴⁹

Littlefield gave his approval to the first three of these provisions, but he objected to part of the fourth and all of the fifth. Therefore, after the passage of the bill, he bribed State employees to omit both the requirement that the State be given a first lien on the railroad property and the requirement that

48. Wallace, John. *Carpet-Bag Rule in Florida*. Jacksonville, 1888. p. 102.
Wallace was a Negro member of the legislature in 1869.

49. *Floridian* July 13, 1869.

the company show evidence of ownership of that property prior to the issuance of State bonds.

Following the accomplishment of these deletions and a few relatively minor changes, the legislation was enrolled as a law of the State. Littlefield's interference in the matter was soon branded as a "cunning fraud, boldly and adroitly perpetrated,"⁵⁰ though the exact manner in which he accomplished his purposes has never been established.

While Littlefield carried on his activities in Tallahassee, Swepson remained in North Carolina. He made no personal effort to secure the legislation upon which the greatest railroad fraud in the history of Florida was to be based. Even in a letter written to a close friend and legal adviser, U. S. Senator Matt W. Ransom of North Carolina, Swepson proclaimed his innocence of complicity in the affair.

So far as this Florida matter is concerned, I know nothing of the fraud if one was committed. The Gov. seems to think none was committed. It all grows out of fights in Florida and it is attempted to damage me to prevent my getting hold of the Rail Roads of the State, in this they will fail . . . I shall make a good thing, I have every confidence to believe.⁵¹

Reactions to the Swepson-Littlefield Maneuvers

The Florida matter to which Swepson referred was the development of strong opposition to the results of Littlefield's activities during the June special session of the legislature and the sales on March 20 of the Pensacola and Georgia and Tallahassee railroads.

The first of three important developments that made Swepson's position in the "Florida matter" less attractive than it was immediately after the June special session, was Colonel Robert

50. *Ibid.*

51. The main purpose of Swepson's letter was to thank Ransom for naming a recently born son after him. *M. W. Ransom Papers*.

H. Gamble's demand that Swepson settle with the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund. Comptroller Gamble's effort to secure the support of his fellow trustees for a resolution that called upon Swepson for "a final settlement of all accounts between himself and the Board by the first. . .of September" served as a warning to Swepson that Gamble intended to find out what had happened to the \$472,000 Swepson was supposed to have received from Dibble.⁵²

Colonel Houston also decided that it was time to arrange a settlement of financial accounts with Swepson. Early in August he sold Swepson and Littlefield one hundred and ten first mortgage bonds of the P. & G. and Tallahassee roads and about thirteen hundred shares of Florida Central R.R. Co. stock. In return, he was allowed to keep \$22,000 of the money that Swepson had given him to carry on his activities as Swepson's agent in Florida, and Houston got personal drafts amounting to about \$145,000 from Swepson and Littlefield.

The third development was a result of legal proceedings in Florida. A charge that Swepson and his associates had engaged in "the most skillful and deeply planned collusion" to defraud the State so impressed a judge of one of the circuit courts in Florida that he appointed a Receiver for the whole railroad line from Jacksonville to Quincy. The judge's action, which was taken during the last week of September, 1869, was set aside by a Florida Supreme Court judge two weeks later.⁵⁴

It was clear, however, that Swepson and Littlefield were faced with attacks from several directions, and they felt it was necessary to overcome at least some of the bases for opposition to them.

Colonel Houston obliged them by the issuance of a lengthy statement concerned with his stewardship of the P. & G. and

52. *Minutes. . . Trustees.* vol. 1, p. 388.

53. *Deposition of M. S. Littlefield*, U. S. 100, p 732.

54. *Florida Union* October 14, 1869.

Tallahassee railroads and his part in the preparations for the sales on March 20. Houston found occasion to say of Swepson that he was a "gentleman of large means" who promised "to extend the road to . . . Pensacola; and. . . contribute fifty thousand dollars" for the construction of a "first class hotel" in Tallahassee.⁵⁵

Swepson ordered work to begin on the extension of the road toward Pensacola, as Houston had said he would. This progressive step toward the completion of the Jacksonville to Pensacola line evoked a favorable comment in the usually extremely critical Tallahassee *Floridian*.

Go on Mr. Swepson, in your noble enterprise;. . .
let us have the happy assurance that the iron horse
will carry us all the way to Pensacola.⁵⁶

The favorable reaction of the *Floridian* was indicative of a feeling shared by many citizens of the State who wished to see a long awaited transportation system across the northern part of the State put into operation. In order to exploit this desire, Swepson arranged to have a few of Florida's leading citizens, including Colonel J. P. Sanderson and his law partner, Captain E. M. L'Engle, confer with him in New York. At the New York meeting he suggested that a meeting of Jacksonville businessmen and civic leaders be called to hear an explanation of his plans for the State. Furthermore, Swepson used his influence to have Colonel Sanderson made the vice-president of the Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile R.R., when the company was organized in New York, on July 24. While Captain L'Engle and Colonel Sanderson were in New York, Swepson invited them to ask any questions they wished, and he supplied them with seemingly frank answers.

55. *Sentinel* July 17, 1869.

56. *Floridian* September 28, 1869.

Jacksonville, Pensacola & Mobile RAIL ROAD.



On and after Sunday, July 2, 1871,

PASSENGER TRAINS ON THESE ROADS
will run as follows, every day, except Sundays:

Trains Going East :

Leave Quincy.....	8.40 A. M.
Arrive at Tallahassee.....	10.20 "
Leave Tallahassee.....	10.50 "
Leave Monticello.....	12.18 P. M.
Leave Madison.....	3.20 "
Leave Live Oak... ..	5.35 "
Arrive at Savannah.....	6.25 A. M.
Leave Lake City.....	7.14 P. M.
Leave Baldwin.....	10.11 "
Arrive at Jacksonville.....	11.27 "

Trains Going West :

Leave Jacksonville.....	6.30 A. M.
Leave Baldwin.....	8.10 "
Leave Lake City.....	11.18 "
Leave Live Oak.....	1.16 P. M.
Leave Madison.....	3.30 "
Leave Monticello.....	5.02 "
Arrive at Tallahassee.....	7.50 "
Leave Tallahassee.....	8.20 "
Arrive at Quincy.....	10.00 "

Passenger Train Going East :

Leave Savannah.....	10.15 P. M.
Leave Live Oak.....	10.00 A. M.
Leave Lake City.....	11.18 "
Leave Baldwin.....	1.35 P. M.
Arrive at Jacksonville.....	2.35 "

Passenger Train Going West :

Leave Jacksonville.....	4.00 P. M.
Leave Baldwin.....	5.10 "

As a result, Colonel Sanderson and Captain L'Engle agreed to participate in an open discussion of his plans and activities in Jacksonville on October 7, 1869. The only existent report of this meeting, at which Colonel Sanderson was the principal speaker, is in the Jacksonville *Union*, a Radical newspaper. The *Union's* editor was a prominent member of the Republican party, a close associate of the Radical State officials of the period, and a staunch supporter of George W. Swepson's plans. The account of the meeting which was printed in the newspaper, therefore, cannot be relied upon as being objective. It is possible, furthermore, that some of the statements attributed by the editorial pen to various participants in the meeting might not have been recognized by the persons who made the statements.

Colonel Sanderson, according to the *Union*, denied that Swepson was implicated in the fraud that was alleged to have taken place at the March 20 sales, and he questioned the motives of those who were responsible for trying to upset Swepson's plans to control and develop a statewide railroad system. He quoted Swepson as saying:

What have I done? Why are the people of Florida unwilling that I should bring my money into the State and aid them in developing their own resources?

Sanderson reported that Swepson had already made plans for the establishment of a national bank in Jacksonville and a line of steamships to ply between New York and Jacksonville, along with the commencement of the extension of the railroad to the west "at his own expense."

Captain L'Engle corroborated his partner's remarks. Then he said that when he went to New York to confer with Swepson he had "entertained a strong prejudice against Mr. Swepson," and that he told Swepson,

I would have to be satisfied both as to his solvency and as to his integrity before I could be associated with him professionally or in any other way. He took my remarks kindly and gave me the assurance which I required. . . . I found that his fortune was counted not by thousands or tens of thousands, but by millions. All my prejudices were removed.

Some of the people at the meeting made remarks that were critical of Swepson. In particular, the matter of his association with Littlefield was mentioned many times. But Sanderson assured the audience that Swepson told him he had "repudiated" Littlefield, because Littlefield had "exceeded his authority."

L. I. Fleming, a prominent lawyer in Jacksonville and a member of a family which had already supplied Florida with some of its earliest and most constructive leadership, summed up what seemed to be the general reaction of the majority present at the meeting. He said, "We have no money and must depend on foreign capital to assist us. . . let us. . . unite together and join with the person who will spend the money and do the work."⁵⁷

In the same issue of the newspaper that carried an account of the above meeting there was an editorial condemnation of the "vexatious and groundless suits" that sought to wrest control of the railroads from Swepson. It was stated that they "will find no popular sympathy or encouragement" in Jacksonville. The editor concluded, with respect to the contention that the March 20th sales were fraudulent,

Abstract justice is a very good thing in itself, but it is hardly worth pursuing when the benefits to be derived from its possession can be represented by a

57. *Florida Union* October 14, 1869.

cipher, while the pursuit will cost us the sacrifice of our most important material interests.

. . . .Let us have peace, and railroads, and steamships, and let such a costly article as abstract justice take care of itself.

Though the *Florida Union* found little in the Sanderson-L'Engle defense of Swepson that merited criticism, the Tallahassee *Floridian* pointed out that Sanderson and Swepson, as members of the board of directors of the J., P. & M. R. R., had voted for Littlefield as president of that company. It was emphasized that the selection of Littlefield for that position occurred as recently as July 24, 1869. The editor of the *Floridian* asked, "Call you that 'repudiating,' Messrs. Sanderson and L'Engle?"⁵⁸

The furore and legal proceedings which followed Littlefield's activities during the June special session and the allegedly fraudulent sales of March 20th prevented Swepson and Littlefield from implementing their plans to issue company bonds to be exchanged for State bonds. But when the Florida legislature met in January of 1870, a new railroad bill was submitted and passed, in order that the bond issuances could occur. The 1870 act provided that \$16,000 of bonds could be issued for each mile of road built west of Quincy; this was an increase of two thousand dollars per mile over the provisions of the 1869 act. Furthermore, the 1870 act had the added provision that \$16,000 of bonds could be issued for each mile of a one hundred mile stretch of road already in existence to the east of Quincy.⁵⁹

It seemed that Littlefield, as president of the J., P. & M. R. R. now had full legal authority to issue company bonds that could be exchanged for State bonds. But Swepson's failure to straighten

58. *Floridian* October 26, 1869.

59. *Id.* February 15, 1870.

out his accounts with the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund presented a serious obstacle to the proposed bond issuance. Governor Reed decided that he would not permit State bonds to be issued "to Messrs. Littlefield and Swepson" until Swepson cleared up what had happened to \$472,000 that he was supposed to have received in his capacity as confidential agent of the Trustees. The Trustees gave their enthusiastic approval to this decision.⁶⁰

The Exchange of State Bonds for Railroad Bonds

Toward the end of May 1870 Governor Reed stated that it was his understanding that the State had "in no case" promised financial aid before the completion of work on the sections of railroad for which State bonds were to be issued. And he said that,

. . . the falsehoods which have been so widely circulated of loose legislation and lavish issue of bonds have no further basis than the malice and vindictive hatred of disappointed corruptionists, who have in vain sought to fasten themselves upon the . . . railroad systems of Florida for purposes of personal aggrandizement at the expense of the State.⁶¹

Within ten days after Reed made the above statement he issued \$4,000,000 of State bonds to agents of General Littlefield.⁶² But he did so only after he received the written opinion of Colonel Sanderson and M. D. Papy, an attorney employed by Colonel Houstoun and General Littlefield, that the act of 1870 provided that the State could accept bonds of the entire line of road from Jacksonville to Quincy rather than merely on one hundred miles of this stretch of road.⁶³ Since there

60. *Minutes . . . Trustees*, vol. 1, p. 418.

61. *Floridian* May 31, 1870.

62. *Testimony of Harrison Reed*, U. S. 100, p. 585.

63. *Id.* p. 586.

were approximately two hundred miles of rails in the Jacksonville-Quincy line, the Sanderson-Papy opinion made the issuance of \$4,000,000 of State bonds somewhat more logical than it would otherwise have been.

Of the four million dollars of State bonds, three-fourths were to be exchanged for an equal amount of Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile R.R. bonds and one-fourth for those of the Florida Central R. R. The following facts are particularly noteworthy with respect to the Florida Central-State bond deal:

1) There was no mention of the Florida Central company in the railroad act of 1870. Therefore, there was no real basis for the acceptance of that company's securities in exchange for those of the State.⁶⁴

2) Governor Reed transferred the million dollars of State bonds to Littlefield's agent, Colonel Houston, presumably, in exchange for Florida Central bonds on June 1, 1870.⁶⁵ But the Florida Central's certificates of indebtedness were not issued until the following day, and they were signed by a man who was not treasurer of the company. Littlefield and Swepson feared that the treasurer of the concern would refuse to sign the bonds so they had persuaded an acquaintance of theirs that he had been made treasurer, and he signed the bonds.⁶⁶

3) Colonel Houston accepted and retained the State bonds as collateral, along with over four thousand of the fifty-five hundred outstanding shares of common stock of the Florida Central for a debt of about \$160,000 which Littlefield owed him.⁶⁷

4) Within a week after the exchange took place, Littlefield signed an agreement that authorized Houston to return the

64. *Floridian* February 15, 1870.

65. *Testimony of Harrison Reed*, U. S. 100, p. 586.

66. *Deposition of H. H. Thompson*, U. S. 100, p. 740. Thompson was the man Littlefield and Swepson persuaded to sign the Florida Central bonds in June of 1870.

67. *Agreement Between Houston and Littlefield*, U. S. 100, p. 23.

State bonds and get those of the company if he desired to do so.⁶⁸

5) The events and agreements with which the Florida Central securities were concerned had not been approved at either a board of directors' or stockholders' meeting of the corporation.⁶⁹

Another complication in this involved deal was that there had been an agreement signed by Littlefield and Swepson on April 16, 1870 to equally divide "dollar for dollar" the proceeds of the sale of the four million dollars of State bonds with the State of North Carolina until approximately one million dollars of the money which Swepson was accused of stealing from that State was repaid.⁷⁰

The Sale of the State Bonds

Though it was impossible for funds to be realized from the one million dollars of bonds which Houstoun held pending the payment of Littlefield's debt to him, the remaining three millions of State bonds were placed in the hands of S. W. Hopkins and Company of New York, a firm that specialized in the importation of iron for railroads and had some dealings in securities.⁷¹ The Hopkins company intended to sell the bonds in New York, but these plans suffered a serious setback when the *New York World* on June 15, 1870 announced,

We have received a telegram dated Tallahassee, June 13, and signed by five respectable names, warning capitalists against purchasing the Florida State bonds which have just been issued for railroad purposes.

Hopkins wrote to Littlefield, on June 16th, "on the arrival here tomorrow of Colonel Houstoun, we propose having him call at the *World* office and see what can be accomplished in

68. *Ibid.*

69. *Deposition of M. S. Littlefield*, U. S. 100, p. 731.

70. *Id.*, p. 732.

71. *Floridian* October 24, 1871.

the way of fixing that paper.“⁷² The effort to “fix” the newspaper was not successful, and the market for the Florida State bonds in the United States was destroyed.

The next move to dispose of the \$3,000,000 in bonds was to set up operations in Europe. Hopkins and Company’s agents in London were called upon to sell them to one or more London banking houses, but they were hampered in their efforts by the very vocal opposition of N. W. Woodfin, a representative of the State of North Carolina. Woodfin proclaimed that he was going to attach the bonds in the name of the State of North Carolina. This announcement disrupted negotiations in London.⁷³

Littlefield set out on a tour of the continent, trying to sell the bonds in St. Petersburg, Berlin, Paris, and the Riviera, while Hopkins and Company’s agents assured Woodfin that his State’s only chance of realizing anything was through the successful sale of the securities. Woodfin agreed to cooperate with them, but insisted that Littlefield make definite commitments that he could report to North Carolina State officials.⁷⁴

Negotiations for the sale of the bonds, amidst the hectic conditions of the Franco-Prussian war, continued to be made with various European banking concerns, but without success until after Littlefield partially fulfilled North Carolina’s demand. He gave his personal draft for about \$10,000, promised to buy and ship to North Carolina enough iron for sixty-five miles of track, and transferred eight hundred thousand dollars of Florida bonds to the State of North Carolina, “to be left with S. W. Hopkins and Company for sale.”⁷⁵

In mid-November of 1870 S. W. Hopkins and Company notified Littlefield that a substantial part of the bonds could be sold for two-thirds of their face value. Littlefield then agreed

72. *U. S. 100*, p. 685.

73. *E. M. L'Engle Papers*.

74. *Ibid.*

75. *U. S. 100*, pp. 616-619.

to accept from Hopkins and Company forty-eight per cent of their face value, with the difference to go to the brokerage company for its expenses. Under these terms, \$2,800,000 of the three millions were sold to a Dutch syndicate, headed by the brother-in-law of one of Hopkins and Company's chief agents.

From the forty-eight per cent of face value that was to be paid Littlefield (\$1,358,000), Hopkins and Company subtracted \$340,000 to pay the first three installments of interest on the bonds and to pay themselves a commission of a little over forty dollars per bond.

Less than one-third of the one million dollars that remained after the \$340,000 was deducted went to Florida for the construction and operation of Jacksonville, Pensacola and Mobile railroad facilities. The other two-thirds was spent for various purposes, including payment of portions of the debts of Swepson and Littlefield, payment of legal expenses, advances designed to placate some individuals and reward others for their cooperation, and to defray the costs of General Littlefield's tour of Europe.⁷⁶

The misappropriation of most of the money received for the State bonds had been foreseen by Captain L'Engle before the Dutch syndicate purchased them. He had cooperated with other persons to persuade a majority of the Board of Directors of the Florida Central to repudiate the June 2, 1870 issue of its bonds.⁷⁷ And he had worked successfully to get the J. P. & M. R. R. company's board of directors to resolve that Littlefield did not have the authority to "dispose of or negotiate" the bonds of that company.⁷⁸

Captain L'Engle also wrote a lengthy letter to the leaders of the Dutch syndicate, in which he asked them to "lay before

76. *Floridian* October 24, 1871.

77. *U. S. 100*, p. 38.

78. *Id.* p. 73.

others who may be interested with you in the negotiations” for purchase of the bonds a factual account of the forthcoming fraudulent allocation of the money to be paid by them to Hopkins and Company.⁷⁹

Captain L’Engle’s interest in the effort to salvage additional financial aid for the Florida railroad system continued throughout the 1870’s and into the early 1880’s. He, along with representatives of the State of North Carolina, part owners and creditors of the railroads, creditors of Swepson and Littlefield, and agents of the Dutch bondholders, instituted legal proceedings designed to wrest control of the roads from Littlefield and to secure portions of the almost three million dollars involved in the bond sale. The cases were argued before courts in New York, Florida, North Carolina, Georgia, and New Jersey, as well as before the United States Supreme Court during the ten years following the sale of the bonds. The hundreds of pages of court records, however, failed to result in the establishment of any increase in the financial strength of the railroad system.⁸⁰

Swepson and Littlefield Go Free

Attempts to prosecute Swepson and Littlefield for their parts in the fraudulent deals met with about the same degree of success as did the above mentioned civil actions. Littlefield was once indicted for the bribery of members of the Florida legislature, but the case was dismissed, because of a lack of witnesses.⁸¹ Efforts of the Governor of North Carolina to have him brought to trial in that State were thwarted by Florida’s Radical carpetbag chief executives. The North Carolinian appealed several times to the State of Florida for permission to extradite Littlefield, and, when his requests were refused, offered a five thousand dollar reward to anyone who would deliver

79. *Id.* pp. 135-138.

80. *Floridian* July 12, 1881.

81. *E. M. L’Engle Papers.*

Littlefield to him.⁸² This offer was countered by Governor Harrison Reed's offer of a reward of an equal sum for anyone who could catch persons who sought to earn the North Carolina reward. Reed, furthermore, bolstered the force of his offer by threatening that severe punitive measures would be taken against anyone who molested his friend Littlefield.

Portions of a lengthy correspondence that was carried on between Governor Tod R. Caldwell of North Carolina and Governor O. B. Hart of Florida in the Spring of 1873 indicate that Littlefield's presence in Florida was also desired by Governor Hart. Caldwell opened the correspondence by writing, "I feel sure that your Excellency has no desire to protect and shield a huge swindler and conspirator against the laws of a sister state." Hart replied,

A conspiracy by him and Swepson to cheat persons out of bonds and money. . .and a conspiracy by them to elect him President of a certain railroad. . .are all that he stands charged with, and after much careful thought I cannot bring my mind to the conclusion that. . .on such charges alone a citizen should be arrested, imprisoned and delivered up.

Caldwell then wrote, in a letter which ended the correspondence, "I can assure your Excellency that if Mr. Littlefield could set up. . .no stronger defense for himself than you have done for him, his guilt would be a foregone conclusion."⁸⁴

A Florida newspaper's comment on this correspondence included the following remarks.

There is no disguising the fact that the Governor's reasons for his refusal are totally indefensible. . . .

No one denies that Littlefield's presence here has been

82. *Floridian* February 7, 1871.

83. *Ibid.*

84. Raleigh, N. C., *Daily News* April 19, 29, 1873.

an unmitigated curse to the State and its interests . . . Nobody expected anything better from Reed, who was regarded as Littlefield's tool; but from Reed's successor a different course of action was anticipated.⁸⁵

As for Swepson, the closest he ever came to being punished for his North Carolina and Florida financial manipulations was when he was forced to post a two hundred thousand dollar bail in connection with a North Carolina case which was never heard.⁸⁶

Both Littlefield and Swepson maintained that jealous Floridians had caused their difficulties through vicious and unwarranted attacks upon them, and Swepson held that even though Littlefield had mislead him somewhat, the Florida investments were basically sound, but rather irregular.⁸⁷

Mrs. George W. Swepson remained convinced that her husband's motives had been misunderstood, and that he had been unlucky rather than dishonest. She wrote to Matt W. Ransom, her husband's close friend, that if Swepson's business plans had succeeded,

... as he reasonably hoped when they were projected, ... he would have been flattered and called the greatest financier in the State, even though all he has done should have been known just as it was. I trust the time may soon come when no one can say you are dishonest by being the warm friend of G. W. Swepson.⁸⁸

On the other hand, Robert R. Swepson, George W. Swepson's brother, characterized Swepson as a "selfwilled, money worshipping man" who "must tell all and put himself right in the eyes of all honest and just men."⁸⁹

85. *Floridian* May 13, 1873.

86. Raleigh, N. C., *Sentinel* January 6, 1871.

87. *George W. Swepson Papers*.

88. *M. W. Ransom Papers*.

89. *Ibid.*

U. S. Supreme Court

A majority of the Justices of the United States Supreme Court concluded that both Swepson and Littlefield had “shown themselves capable of the most shameless frauds, and we cannot but look with suspicion upon everything they do or say.”⁹⁰

90. *U. S. 103*, p. 144.

THE OCCUPATION OF JACKSONVILLE, FEBRUARY
1864 AND THE BATTLE OF OLUSTEE

LETTERS OF LT. C. M. DUREN, 54TH MASSACHUSETTS
REGIMENT, U.S.A.

Charles M. Duren of Bangor, Maine, enlisted in 1861 in the 24th Massachusetts Regiment and saw much service, including the battles of New Bern, the noteworthy attack on Fort Wagner, and others in that area. He was promoted to 2nd. Lieutenant (1863) in the 54th Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry (a Negro regiment with white officers) and commanded Company D of that regiment in the battle of Olustee, the only major engagement of the War in Florida. This brought a promotion to 1st. Lieutenant. Some time later he was shot in the knee and thrown from his horse, breaking his leg. He was honorably discharged for disabilities in 1865. He never fully recovered and died in 1869 at the age of twenty-seven.

The following letters were written to his father and mother during the Florida campaign of 1864, largely from the field. The originals are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

The illustrations following of the Federal force at Sanderson and the skirmish at Barber's the day before the battle are from sketches made by an artist of Harper's Weekly who accompanied the Union Army, and were published therein several weeks later. If he drew similar ones of the defeat at Olustee and the retreat to Jacksonville, Harper's forbore to publish them.

[In another hand:]

No. 219. Mailed at Port Royal, S. C.
Feb. 15. Recd. Feb. 20.

Jacksonville. Florida
Feb'y 9. 1864

Dear Father -

I will try and write a line to you from this new position. We arrived at this place day before yesterday morning, 7th inst Three companies of our Regt. (Cos A. B. & D.) were on board Stm'r [steamer] "Maple Leaf" with Gen'l Seymore" [Seymour] commdr of Expedition-as advance-we approached the city-following close to the gun boat-As soon as the stm'r could get up to the wharf Co "D" was the first to land. Your son was in command. (Capt. Jones was sick) With my Co. (Maj. Appleton landed with Co.) advanced and scoured the city-as we were landing. The enemy were drawn up (about 50 cavalry) fired a volly into us and at stm'r wounding one man. They then "skedaddle" - we followed them up as fast as possible-firing into

them. They being on horse-back got away, but succeeded in cutting off two of them. I deployed Co. as skirmishers, and advanced cautiously. captured two men and one Horse. After Cavalry landed-of course they went on ahead I followed on as support-with my "Co." Our cavalry captured 10 of the enemy's cavalry. We returned to city about dark. Reported to Genl. with prisoners He said I must take charge of them during night-that I was responsible for them. Then my Co. must do Provost duty and guard at Hd Qurs [Head Quarters] I did not sleep at all. He kind of scared me. Joined Regt. yesterday morning doing Picket duty and here I am-now all safe and sound feeling well-but not much to eat.

Cap't Webster has gone with his Regt. I saw him as he passed us Genl Seymore-with his Army has gone on with intention of attacking enemy He had *good success* as far as we learn-captured quantities of guns-etc "Finnegan" [Finegan] with his reb's SKEDADDLED

Col Hallowell is left in Command of Post.

Hope to hear from you soon-write often as you can.

We are roughing it - I can tell you, have not anything with us - living under Gods own sky - sleeping on the ground with big fire at our feet - but when we are on duty at picket line can not have the last named comfort.

Jacksonville is, or was, a very pretty place - but War has *ravished* it. It is made desolate and lonely.

Must close

Your affc Son

C. M. Duren

Lieut Commdg Co. D

54th M. Vols.

[In another hand:]

No. 220. Mailed at Port Royal Feb. 24

Recd. Feb. 29

Baldwin Florida

February [1] 15. 1864.

Dear Mother

Five companies of our regiment arrived at this place day before yesterday the 13th Well tired out. This station is the junction of four railroads - and is quite an important place to hold. The main body of our Army have advanced some 60 or 80 miles in the interior of the State. We are 30 miles Have captured large quantities of stores, and immense quantities [!] of cotton-one full battery rifled guns-and one or two stray guns.

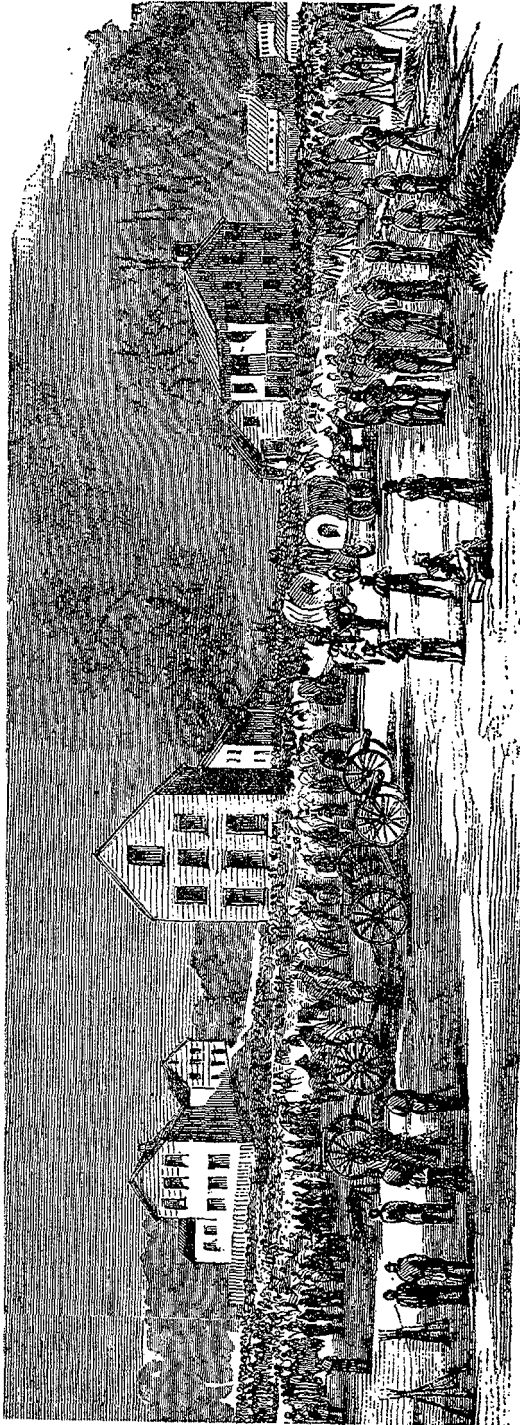
There are three or four officers in my "shanty" talking and fooling so that it is rather hard to write. Tis hard enough any way-You would laugh I think if you could see me just now. The "shanty" spoken of consists of four timbers about 5 feet high with rails across the top shelter tents hanging at each side and ends-and rubber blankets-for a floor are boards-torne from fence-have to build floor from ground two feet to keep out of the wet. The men have merely their shelters.

This is a misserable country all swamp

We are entrenching ourselves-so as to hold this junction.

There are bands of the enemy all over the State who will attack us-if there is the least idea of success. Our telegraph wire was cut by some of these rascals night before last between this post and Jacksonville-

You will recollect I told you in letter written after we landed -about my company and what we did-well the horse I captured Genl Seymore sent for the next morning-and of course I had to give him up. It was a very good horse-belonged to Rebel Cavalry - altho the man who rode him was not armed at the time. Was sorry for I wished to present the horse to Col Hallowell.



Sanderson, Florida, occupied by our advance before the Battle of Olustee.

Men captured are a greater part of them Florida men belong in state they are glad to take the oath-and go to their homes, but I would not *trust* them as good Union Men out of my sight, thats as much confidence as I have in them-

Our Army have had several skirmishes, but no fight as yet. Genl S. himself with staff returned last night. Said they had to stop on account of short supply of provisions. The country is poor. we are dependant upon our own Commissary for food

The Whites who are living here still are *wretchedly poor*. they are women and children-hardly enough clothing to cover their backs-and food I can not tell you what they live on.

It is a pitiful sight. I assure you.

No mail yet has come to us. I console myself in this way when we do get a mail it will be a rich one

Pleas give love to all. I hope soon to hear from you Shall write as often as possible-

Affc son

“Baby Lieut” *Charlie* -

[*In another hand:*]

A Rebel sheet paper
& envelope
Envelope endorsed

No. 221. Mailed at Port Royal Feb. 25
Recd. Mch. 2/64

Jacksonville, Fla. Feb. 23
after Battle 20th of Olustee
“All right.”

[*All of Lt. Duren's letters are endorsed in the same hand at the top evidently by his father. The above endorsement indicates that Lt. Duren, who was in the thick of the fighting at Olustee, added "All right" to the envelope before mailing.*]

Baldwin Station

Florida - Feb'y - 18. 1864

Dear Father

I think I wrote one letter just after arriving at this place. Well we are still here and no one hurt yet-Have had several alarms but they proved to be false-more *scared* than *hurt*- We are enjoying the full benefit of a *true* soldiers life-not a *fire* is allowed after *sunset* - and all loud talking stopped - orders

are very strict-Men sleep with clothes all on Equipment on- and gun by their side-Officers sleep with pants on-sword and belt by their side-last night I did break over I run the risk and took my coat off and boots-giving my boy (Henry) instructions to hand me my coat and boots the moment he woke in case of an alarm.

Last night is the first time I have had a whole nights sleep undisturbed-and under cover since leaving our Camp at Hilton Head S.C. with the exception of one night at Camp Finnegan, a *rebel* camp-on our way here from Jacksonville

Now my quarters are in a house-or what they call one. My company has little shanties which they have built-from the *fences etc* - they are quartered in the *front yard* - House is a miserable one but answers for a shelter from rain and cold. What should you think Father, if a large Army were to come along through Bangor-and our Company of noisy soldiers-or a Regt-should take up Quarters in your *Yard* - and the officers should take up quarters in your house It is awfull-War is-

The man who lived here we have sent inside our lines to Jacksonville-Family-furniture and all. He is a Rebel and is not safe out here so near our advance position

I must tell you before I go on-how happy I was in receiving a letter from home-It was night before last - I was officer of advance picket-The Field Officer of the day came around to visit my posts about 12-at night-and he brought them to me. Just think here I had those letters one from you one from *Fred Smith* (for a wonder) and one from *Lucy Emerson* - and could not have a light to read them - I told the Col. that he placed before me a great temptation to disobey orders-but as you would say-it was a *self denial* which I should exercise- waited patiently until morning & just as the day was breaking-while you at home were sweetly slumbering in your good comfortable beds-I stood at my post-and opened and read the letters-The number of your letter was 235 - date Jan'y 31-I received by

same mail a good lot of papers-a file of Boston Journals from Jan 31 to Feby 6-This is just what I want-I thank you for ordering it for me-Rec'd also Harpers for Feb'y-two pictorials-

I rather think Freeman is wise not to accept Commission in Wilds Brigade-and just as likely as not under Fletcher don't urge it.

Would Freem accept it I fear he would regret it-Just before I heard of F's refusal I was going to propose his name to Col. Hollowells for a position in this Regiment-We are short of officers, and a full regiment. Ask Freem if he would accept a position in the 54th Mass. Of course I can not say that he would get it *surely* - because I have said nothing about it-

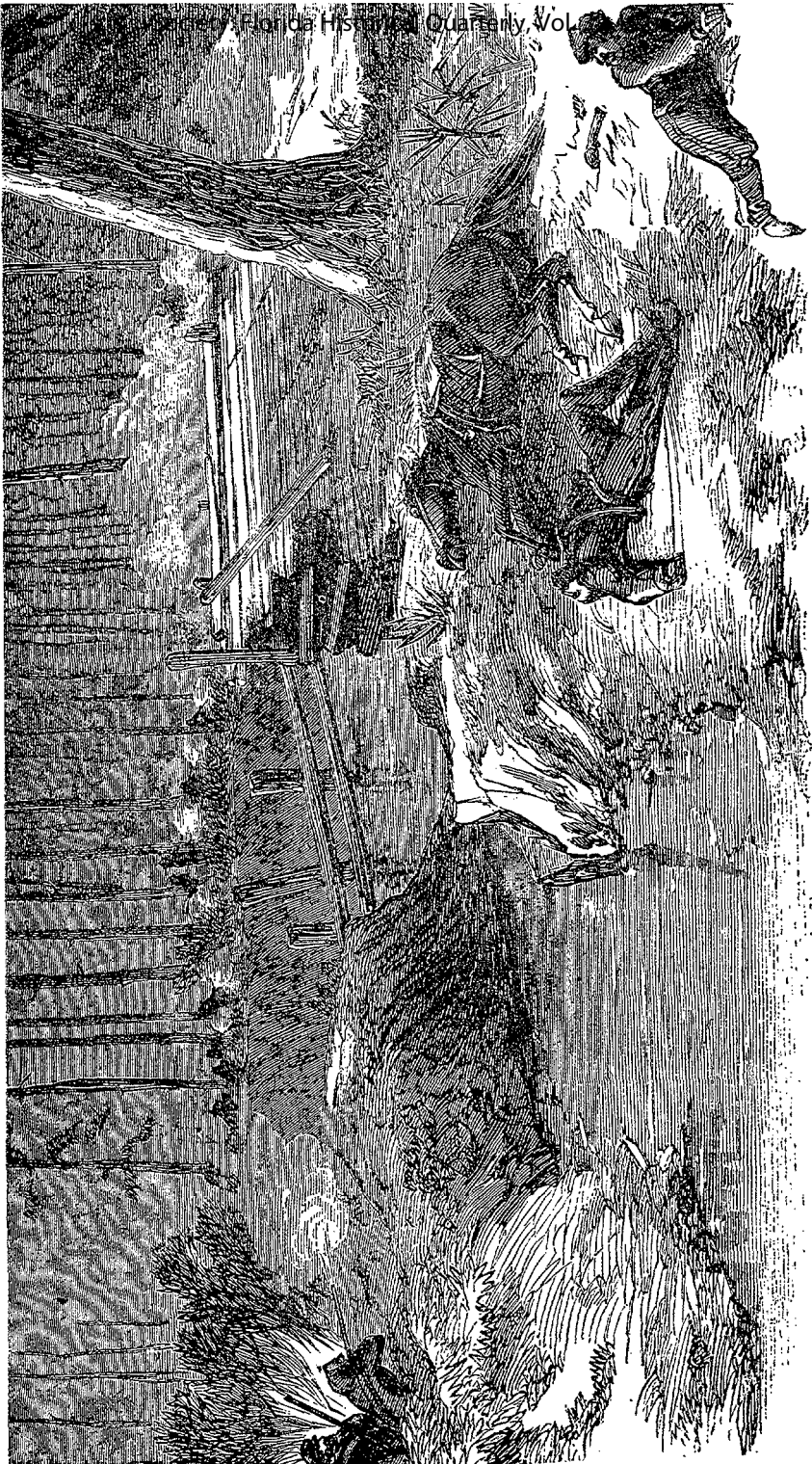
The officers will not consent to have any one in the regiment accept they have seen some service, that is if they can help it-And we can help it only in this way-protesting against it and if they choose to fill up the regiment with officers from Civil life-shall offer our *resignation*-

All but one officer now in the Regt has seen at least 9 months service-It is the best colored regiment in service-and were they paid as *U.S. soldiers* the full pay-of a *soldier* - Which I trust before many months they will-There could not be a better body of men in our Army-I will not except any *Volunteer Regiment* - You can tell Freeman this and see what he says-dont influence him either way yet-Ask him if he can't find time to write to me-

His time is out very soon-and I have no doubt he will find a good business some where-If his heart is set upon going home don't urge him to accept a Cols position for you my [may] have occasion to regret it-He has passed through many dangers -God has been pleased to spare him-it is for some good-

God grant that next July you may have him with you safe and as sound as when he left-

This your baby *Lieut* - who write to you now his life is his countries-he is not so good a boy as the other-I know he is



Scene of the fight at the Plank Bridge over Big Creek, at Barber's, February 19, 1864.

wicked-he *smokes* -and drinks a little *whisky once in a while* when wet and cold sleeping out in the wet and swamp grounds of Florida - I know he is a bad boy-

But there still lies a heart a Duren yet and he shall never disgrace the name if he does-never own him-he ought to die-but until he does suffer these slight offences Tis not because he is ashamed-Tis not because he can not break it off. He can but does not wish to

Goodnight Love to all-

Affcly Your loving Son

C.M. Duren

Will you send to me by mail 1/2 dozen Envelopes-I left all mine in my *trunk*- This is captured paper rebel So is the envelope -C-

[*Battle of Olustee**]

No. 222

Mailed Port Royal S.C.

Recd. Mch 9

In the Trenches Again

Jacksonville Florida Feby. 27, 1864

Dear Father

We are back again to this place from whence we started two or three weeks ago. have had a hard campaign. pushed 30 or 40 miles into the interior had several skirmishes. one

*The above letter is written with a pencil on a ragged scrap of paper torn from an account book. There is a fuller account of the battle in Lieut. Duren's letter of March 7 which follows. Olustee (or Ocean Pond, as it was called by the Confederates) was the only major battle of the War in Florida.

For a full narrative of the battle from the military standpoint, with map, see: George F. Baltzell, Col. U.S.A., "The Battle of Olustee," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, vol. ix, no. 4 (April 1931) pp. 199-223.

This regiment was not on the field during the first part of the engagement and its losses were comparatively small, its casualties being but 83 of a total loss for the entire Federal forces of 1806. Col. Baltzell writes of "the gradual withdrawal of the 54th Mass. regiment" in contrast to the severe losses and precipitate flight of some of the other Federal regiments.

For an account of the battle by an officer of this regiment (54th Mass.) see: Louis F. Emilio, *History of the Fifty-fourth Regiment of Massachusetts Volunteer Infantry, 1863-1865*. Boston, 1891. 410 pp. This contains a portrait of Lt. Duren.

fight here the enemy made a strong stand in force, too large for us to contend with-We fought them two hours when we retired in good order. Ammunition getting scarce as well as provisions.

I have had an opportunity to try my success in command of a company of men in action-got along very well-considering that there was but one officer, when there should be three. When we came out of the fight had felt so much care and responsibility that when the order came to fall back-I was perfectly exhausted, faint, and entirely worn out. here is an instance where a drop of whisky from the flask of the Surgeon builds one up. I think I should have given out if it had not been for this.

I can not say how long we shall remain here-but we are here now-living on the ground no shelter and not much to eat-but we are tough-can stand it

(Love to all)

Your Affc Son

C.M. Duren Lieut-54th M. Vol.

Friday P.M.

Have just been made very happy by reception of letters from you. No 236 Feby 2-237 Feby 5-238 10inst. & Feby 11. No 237 Feby 5 came in package by Capt. Hutchins. This package was very acceptable, for I needed towels much. Glad to get slippers too for my feet are pretty sore.

No. 223
mail'd Port Royal Mch 6
rec'd Mch 15

Jacksonville Florida
Feb'y 29. 1864

Dear Mother

Don't be frightened Mother, but this is the only sheet of paper I have or can get-and this was given to me for the purpose of making some kind of a *report* on to send in to Head Quarters Its so long since I have written a letter on a decent

sheet of paper that I could not resist the temptation. I guess can beg another sheet from the Adjutant in some way. For a wonder we have been in camp *two days* without a move. When we came in from the front we were quartered in the city-next day were ordered outside about 1/2 mile, at a beautiful *grove* just at night and as we had got fixed somewhat comfortable-firing was heard at Picket-line report came that enemy was 4 miles out in force and would attack us in the morning Well we had to give up this spot remove nearer town-were drawn up in line of battle-commenced throwing up works-and in less than two hours we had a complete line of earth works-about the quickest piece of work I ever saw done-Each officer in command had to exercise what Engineering Capacity he could scrape up and it was not bad-if I do say it, for when the engineer corps arrived they had very few suggestions to make Don't need to show men who have been in front of Wagner much about earth works. Well we remained in trenches two nights when we came to the conclusion that we were *sold*, rebel videttes around disturbing our line, next day came out side took up our camping ground. Yesterday as soon as we got a little fixed-had to go to work making out Muster Rolls-and monthly reports, etc. to day we had muster and inspection.

But I think you would a good deal rather have me tell you about how I manage to live without tents, without our trunks and all the luxuries of camp life without money too I'll try and tell you something about it. My shelter consists of a small board hut just large enough to crawl into-something like this [drawing of a tent-shaped hut] in front of this is a square place built out just high enough to stand up in open at top. This is made of green *bushes* makes it very pleasant indeed here is where I am writing now tis eve candle burns very quietly-large fire is burning just in front. here is where I *eat*

(Army rations) & I wish that bbl. would come which Gilman has sent then I would live

9 PM. Have just had Roll Call gave men a few instructions about keeping equipments on gun close by their side. Call my non-commissioned officers to my quarters gave them a lecture-now I'm seated again to finish this letter.

Mother I want some more of my *Photographs* you may think I'm going *strong* - but I get others in return-all the officers of Reg't I want to get. My book which you gave me is full and more than full. I want a dozen more.

The duty of taking names of those in Rg't who have not been *vaxenated* has been assigned to me. Tomorrow morning I go with them to the Surgeon in town and see that it is done. There are a few cases of "Small Pox" in Hospital (not ours) but one established about mile away from any one, in the woods, great care is used. Have I had it. no fear of it but should like to know.

I rec'd letter from *Capt Hutchings* to day sent his Photograph-tis good-he has not forgotten me.

I must close letter and get into my "Kennel" and rest. I have a great deal of care just now. Men all lost knapsacks and clothing in the fight, and we have to draw new for them. This is hard work-Government will probably give them a new *outfit* -so that I shall not be accountable for much

Aft.

Charles

Give very much love to all at home-I long to hear once more from you

Me your affc Son Charles

*No. 224 Mail'd P. Royal Mch 7
Re'd Mch 15*

Jacksonville Florida
March 3. 1864

Dear Mother

I have just rec'd another of your *sweet letters* how much

it does cheer my heart-to read your letters I can not tell you how much I enjoy them. Only my dear Mother I do not love to have you *greive* so much about my *sabbaths*. This is a subject which I have often had it in my mind to speak about-even as often as you have.

I know it is to be regretted some what that we have *no sabbaths* or what can be called sabbaths-in the Army *Chaplains* I think very little off-never seen but one since I have been in the Army who was worth his salt-he was *Chaplain James* of 25th Mass. he was one who knew his duty and did it well. A Chaplain is a good deal like a *Sutler* never see him about except when in permanent camp good comfortable quarters-and about *Pay day*. You may think me severe-but I dont believe I'm any too much so. Now on such a campaign as this, when we have it *rough* live in the open air-no shelter no clothes except what you can carry on your back-live on government food-"Hard Tack" and "Salt junk" etc. you dont often see a Chaplain near by. Our Chaplain is a colored man-have forgotten his name now-is a very good kind man-Looks out for our *mail* very well and has once or twice held services in camp, I believe but I saw nothing of him after leaving Hilton Head S.C.

Now I have expressed to you what I would not to every one for even if my opinion in relation to Chaplains is not in their favor I would not for this world say a word ever to discourage their duties- (or efforts in their line of duty)

We are inside the trenches once more, had a little *picket* firing day before yesterday-and orders came to move inside the trenches. So here we are up every morning at 5-and stand under arms until day-light.

Have had very severe cold the past 4 or 5 days-cold in head -and very *hoarse* hardly speak loud-but as long as my legs will support my body I'm at my post-don't fear of my making myself sick working too hard Dont think I shall-

Excuse me if I forget to answer fully your letters-for I'm on

duty now and have not your letters with me shall write again
in a day or two. . .

I must close for it is commencing to rain

Good night

dear Mother

Affcly Your Son

C.M. Duren

Lt.-54th M.V.

P.S. Bbbl. not rec'd yet but its all safe Capt. H. will see that it
is forwarded to me if there is good chance

Charlie

[OLUSTEE]

No. 225

Mailed P. Royal Mch. 12

Rec. Mch. 17

Our Post Picket
Near Jacksonville
Florida March 7. 64

Dear Father

Yesterday noon was a *gala* time on the picket line The barrel
arrived and I had four of my men bring it out to me there
were four of us officers at this Post we all gathered around &
it was opened. Made a hasty examination of the contents-
took out a few things which I wanted here-put the head in
again-and sent it to our Camp. I thought it hardly safe to
keep it here for if Mr. Reb were to come down and we have
to fall back which of course we would do-the barrel and all
would be like to fall into enemy hands

You would be pleased to look upon such a scene as the
opening of such an express from home-All join in the pleasure
all as interested as the *owner*. It was splendid all came in first
rate order. The *Sausage* meat tasted a little bad-can was not
air tight-but would not be noticed-at least by such hungry
ones as we are-not hungry for food exactly but for something

besides *Army rations* the *knives* and *forks* are beautiful-table cloth also is *fine* just what I wanted-dont think its too large. The books are very acceptable-reading is called for on every side-not just now tho for we are all very busy all are on duty. The *Doughnuts* were good-did taste splendid please ask Mother to thank Mrs. Godfrey very much-for me. The linen and cotton are very handy to keep. Am very glad of a Diary have lost all reckoning without one.

For all this Dear Father I am indebted to you-of course I intend to transmit to you the amount you expend for me, but still I have much to thank you for-

The slippers are a little small-but can wear them with thin socks very well-if I was to have another pair should wish them a little larger-

I have received no pay since Oct 31. there has been some delay-rascally delay about my discharge and final statements -which enable me to receive final payments as enlisted man-and *bounty*

Capt Bell of Co. C. 24th M.V. delayed answering several letters written to him asking him to send papers-etc-now he has gone home on leave of absence-Capt. B. has acted very *mean* - he has taken this mean, low way of revenge, or spite-he has tried *hard* three different time to get me *back* to the *company* but has been defeated each time-and it occasioned him some *chagrin* - When I see him I shall just tell him what I think of him

The Boston Journal comes regularly-and affords me a great deal of interest-coming from the office direct I get news a good deal later date than any one-was much interested in the account of the reception 24th Mass. Expedition to Florida etc. I can not tell you half, should like to about the flurry [Olustee] down here-if I could sit down with you for a little time-could & would tell you a good deal but can't put it on paper-The press are pretty severe on Gillmore as well as "Seymore"

-they have the latter under arrest-tis not so-he is on duty here and has not been placed under arrest at all he is in comm'd of a Division-The truth of the whole affair is that Gillmore sent orders to Seymore - *not* to bring on an engagement, but wait for an attack from enemy-Seymore did not receive the order untill nearly his whole force was engaged after receiving these orders he got his troops out as well as he could.

The most disgraceful of all was those two *regular batteries* going in-and losing their guns as they did. Why some of our Volunteers would have looked upon the affair with wonder-and disgust. They gave it-as one reason that their horses were all shot-men all shot away from the guns-another that they were not *supported* - that the reg't in support broke and run-

Can not say as to the latter I did hear that one white reg't broke and run-but I saw the Limbers and Cassions-fully horsed and men enough to drive them leaving the field without their *guns* Shameful-

Must bid you adieu

Much love to all

Affc'ly Your son

C.M. Duren

P.S. About the box sent in Dec-No one I know feels the loss half as much as *myself* - The *dressng case* something which I wanted very much a sponge etc-then made by my *Mothers* hands - the little mememtoe from Carrie [?] I would rather given a great deal than to have these lost-the hat-coat-etc-need much - but then what can I do-but to be reconciled-I have made close inquiries written to Express Co-several times -and have been compelled to come to conclusion that the whole thing was lost on board the illfated steamer-Edwin Lewis-C.M.D.

278

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

226

Camp Near Jacksonville Fla

March 12- 1864

Dear Father

I have just time to write a word - *only*

Am full of business-Pay Rolls-etc to make out-this writing with other duties *Picket* -etc-leaves but very little time for rest-but *I'm tough-*

If you can get a "New Bedford Mercury" Feby 26-you will find an article in relation to this expedition to Florida speaks of Lieut *Durand* with his Co. landing first etc-One of the Officers saw the paper-I knew nothing of it-

Have your letter and Mothers before me was just happy as am always in reading your letters dates of Feb'y 28. (244)

Yes-I have a good deal of *care* for one so young-Guess I *can stand it* if nothing breaks

Am very well-Love to all at home

Aff'ly your son

C. M. Duren

Lieut Co "D"

No. 227 Rec'd Mch 31

Out Post Pickett

N Post Jacksonville Fla.

March 15, 1864

Dear Father

Again I am on picket-this is the 3rd day and it has been a pretty tedious tour of duty Hope to be relieved this evening-

These boys are so fond of firing at *shadows* etc-that it keeps the officer of picket pretty nearly all the time running-this is there only fault-if it can be called a fault. No man-nothing moving can pass-their line-it is a "Halt" (sharp and loud) if not obeyed "*click, click*" "*bang*" -Why in going around at night to visit the line-I have to be very careful-keep my ears wide open-and when ordered to "Halt" I have to *halt* at once. tis dangerous-even to take one *step* after ordered to "Halt"

During the three days out here I have occupied my leisure time in reading "Cudjo Cave" the book which you sent-I was very much interested indeed in the story.

I have been luxuriating in many good things since the barrel came. It came along in just the right time. Have not yet risked my self inside of white sheets. We are too near the enemy-but they are carefully laid away in my trunk and as soon as we get settled in some permanent camp then I shall use them-our men sleep with equipment all on & guns by the side.

I have not slept one night with clothes off since we left Hilton Head Feby 6

I wrote a hasty line to you just before leaving our camp for picket duty-I think I spoke of an article published in the New Bedford Mercury-Feby 26 about the first landing of the expedition in Jacksonville-I thought you might possibly get a copy-by sending for it-to cut article out for your scrap book-

I forgot to mention how glad was I for the blank books they will come handy-I assure you-

Have just happened to think of mothers request- must look about here and see if I can find any flowers or *leaves* to send. Will go now before I seal this letter-

Am very well-Cold is very much better

Love to all at home

Your Affc Son

C.M. Duren

Lieut 54th M.V.

No. 228
Rec'd Apl 1

Jacksonville Fla.

March 23- 1864

Dear Father-

The many kind letters from yourself & dear Mother which have arrived recently were read with more pleasure than you

can imagine- The answers to those letters have not I know been so full or so frequent as I would have wished but you know well that I have had a great deal to do much care and responsibility for a long time now. Capt Jones I am happy to say is with me once more and I am in a great measure relieved from a portion. Capt. J. returned two days since-is quite well with the exception of his shoulder which will probably trouble him always. It may be very nice to go home even on account of a wound, but if I have got to have a wound before I get home-I hope it will be a long time. I may envy the going home part-but I do not envy the *wound* There is nothing very new to relate excepting that we have our camp all laid out just got our tents up, the men *Shelter's* and it begins to look quite nicely all about, got trees of various kinds laid out around our tents etc. will cut a leaf from one of the trees and send

Yesterday I was Officer of the Guard and had the first fight with unruly men, it was a fight of short duration tho'-one of the men in one of the Co-struck his Orderly S'g't-I heard of the fight and of course it was my duty as officer of the guard to interfere and arrest the offenders-I took a Corp'l and file of men and went over-stepped up and parted the men or attempted it-they were two strong men-my guard got them apart. the man was wild with rage-made a jump for the man again I stepped in to prevent it-liked to have gone on to the ground myself-I ordered the guard to take the man to the guard house-he got away. I took hold of him-told him to go quietly with guard-he attempted to strike me but I jumped back, drew my revolver & knocked him down with the *butt end*, stunned him so that we could drag him to the guard house. If that had not been effectual I should have shot the man on the spot-for I always said if a man ever offered to strike me in this Reg't-I should shoot him.

Im very glad that I did not-this man for when he revived

and thought a moment he seemed very sorry for what had passed-

Drums are beating retreat & I must attend "Roll Call" of Co.
then I will finish-Good night

Affc Son

C.M. Duren

No. 229

Jacksonville Fla

March 26 - 64

Dear Father. . . .

Major Appleton has just this moment left our tent-he came, what do you think for-brought to me and placed into my hand my Commission as 1st Lieut - 54th M.V. at same time taking my hand with a word of congratulation upon my promotion-etc-Well-so it is-I've nothing to say Tell William Hyde that his straps need a *bar* sooner than he or I expected . . .

I must bid you good night for it is *late*-

Love to all

Your Affc Son

C.M. Duren

1st Lieut 54th M.V.

No. 230

Jacksonville Fla.

March 29- 1864

1 A.M.

Dear Father

I am Officer of the guard-and of course am expected to keep awake all the time-rains hard my tent is a poor one-(the guard tent) and leaks badly. Still Im going to try notwithstanding these disadvantages to write to you.

The last dates from you were happily received yesterday (Sunday) what could be more pleasant on that *day* -than those blessed messengers from home. . . .

. . . In your letter you speak of the Anniversary of battle of

Newbern- did not once think of it actually-true we shall never forget the 14th of March 1862-two years ago-a private in the ranks-stood up with my comrades in the fight-fired volley after volley-that was the first and last fight where I went in with a gun-to day a 1st Lieut. well *Promotions in the American Army are rapid* -I dont know what I have done to deserve the position-but-that is something for others to decide- I have tried to do my duty-if I have succeeded I am glad-for it is not only an honor to my self but to *you* my parents-

Ah! *I* know you would have given me a dinner & a good many other things had I been near by-

About Sergeant Swailes there is some doubt about his being a black man. I know he is not black, but I mean a negro-he is very nearly as white as I. He was the Serg't Major of the Reg't behaved well in the fight-got a wound in the head so Col H- proposed his name after a consultation with us for a commission-and Gov. A. gave it. White or black he is brave-and deserved some notice-he is well qualified for the position of an officer-and altho' I'm not in favor of mixing colored officers with white-if it is proposed to commission them-

When this is proposed I hope to see this whole Reg't officered with them-then I am ready to step out. . . .

I should enjoy a visit from you very much I wish you and Mother could come here-but I hardly know how or what reason you could give for coming were you to make a request.

I do not think there would be much trouble in getting a boarding place in the city for a short time.

I must close it is raining right through the tent upon my papers and blotting it. Excuse it.

Love to all at home will finish answering yours and Mothers letters some other time

Your affc son
C.M. Duren

No. 231
Mail'd P. Royal Apr. 5
Rec'd Apr. 14

Jacksonville Fla
April 2nd 1864

Dear Mother

I have just returned from picket duty-been out four days pretty tired but write a line or two merely to let you know that I am well. . . .

I know that I have received good lots of precious letters from your hand and I know too that my answers to them recently have been poor, hurriedly-and infrequent-but I think were you to know all the reasons you would not blame me.

Since leaving Hilton Head-truly I have not written to any-one-excepting to you & father. once to Emma-I have not even written to Carrie Cushman-one of my best friends-the best friend outside of my home-the only one who loves me-or cares for my sustaining the good principals-and lessons, you my dear Mother taught-to me

After finishing this I shall write to Carrie-

We have occasion to rejoice in the action of Congress in relation to the pay of our men-

The Bill has I believe actually passed-it should be the occasion of rejoicing over all our country-for we shall have better men-a better Army

A change already is manifest in the camp-to this Reg't above the others great credit is due-Not a man has received one cent - twice during the past year they have been offered the 7.00 but they have been united-have been firm-they said they would serve the country 3 yrs for nothing-rather than take one cent less than 13.00 from the U.S. Gov't-They have now I trust gained their reward for if there is one Regiment in service who have *earned* their pay-it is the 54th Mass - -

Well Mother-your "baby Lieut" has a bar to his straps-It was quite an unexpected step to me - I presume my success

in the last campaign-success in command of a company alone
It was hard work but I got through well-and we are rewarded-

Dear Mother I must close now-with love to *all* at home.
I will try to do better in my letter writing hereafter

Good night

Affc'ly Your Son

C.M. Duren

1st Lieut 54th M.V.

Mother-I send a rose-got it from the woods near my *picket line* today C.M.D.

No. 233

Jacksonville Fla

April 9 - 1864

Dear Mother

The Co.'s of the regiment are falling in for picket duty-
I am not on this time on account of being appointed on a
board of survey - as I'm junior officer of the Board of course
as is the custom have all the *writing to do*. I'm going to take
my time about it tho'-so will commence with a letter to you.

The picket have gone and the camp is very quiet. How much
you would enjoy it, Mother, if you could walk into our en-
campment-and into my tent-and sit down for a short time
this afternoon-I wish you might-Why won't you some after-
noon-come [from Maine!] early and bring your knitting-If
you don't like to come alone-Why ask Grandma Hyde, Emma
& Mary to come too-should be delighted to see them all. Shan't
ask the gentlemen for we have enough without them, unless
one wishes to enlist then come with all my heart. You may
think I could not find room for you all, but don't allow this to
trouble you the least-providing you will all leave your hoop
skirts at home there'll not be any trouble.

At 4.30-I should have to go out with my Co. on Dress
Parade but you would all be interested in this, for its a very

fine parade of good clothes and white gloves-and blacked boots and shining brasses. So I would direct you where to stand to witness all-after this is over-you may laugh-but I should insist upon you all taking tea with Capt Jones and myself-the table should be spread upon the large table covered by the new table cloth.

Well I can't say what we should have for supper a cup of tea I know John would have, and that would suit Grandma and you-some nice bread and butter warm biscuits-and tarts the which John makes very nice-upon this occasion-I should send for some peaches for desert at any rate we would have a good supper for you for we boast of as good a Cook as there is in the regiment-as to cleanliness I don't think you would have occasion to find fault, for I am very particular you know about this-every morning just before 9 - P.M. I go to every tent in the company and see that every man has swept out, folded his coat and blanket (if not out airing) see that his clothes are neatly packed in knapsack, equipment hung up etc. at this time I inspect both the Co. cook house and our own-and if I find a dirty dish-or any thing out of order they *catch it* - the men tho' are generally quite neat and try to keep clean always-

You asked me I think in your last-about the intelligence etc. of our men-about the reading and writing-there are but very few perhaps 6 men in the Co. who can not read or write. You are right they are by far a more intelligent class-better educated-a great deal than southern negroes.

You ask how our wounded men are etc. they are all getting along well-are at Beaufort S. C. in Hospital-the two men who were reported as missing have turned up-they came in two days after the fight-the reports in relation to the treatment of colored soldiers taken prisoners are often exaggerated more or less-there are some cases of cruel treatment but not always -by Flag of Truce we learned that our men-Northern men

were treated as prisoners, but southern negroes from Regts raised south-they are returned to slavery to masters-on plantations when not wanted for serving on earth works etc. One of our men a Serg't-on the retreat-was helping along a wounded man-when he was overtaken by reb cavalry-and ordered to surrender, he dropped his comrade brought his gun to his shoulder-but the officer in charge of reb cavalry aimed his revolver at his heart-both fired at once-the Sgt. shot dead-the officer wounded. A case of firmness and bravery-don't you think so-We are looking with impatience for another mail-next Sunday will bring one I think.

Love to all
Your Affc. Son
C.M. Duren

No. 235

Jacksonville, Florida
April 13 1864

Dear Father

. . . The mail boat arrived yesterday afternoon-I was off on duty at the time with fatigue [duty]-and had a hard time-some of the men did not behave well, during the day and at night I came to camp feeling *cross*, very *cross* - but when I entered my tent and found these letters with one from *Gilman* a quantity of newspaper all lying on the table awaiting my arrival-I jumped for them, seated myself in a chair and never stirred until they were all read (the letters) did not take sword belt or cap off-

While I am seated here I can hear singing along the line-tis good-some of the officers have some of the men in their tent with *violins* & *banjo* - they make good music and may [!] good singers-

. . . On the 30th of last March I was mustered into the service of U.S. as 1st Lieut to serve 3 years (unless sooner discharged)

from this date. We are all busy this morning getting ready for a *review*. Gen. Hatch, our new commander reviews us. the drum beats now and I must close.

Capt Jones is sick again and the command of Co. falls upon me

Love to all

Your Affc. Son

C.M. Duren

Lieut 54th M.V.

A RELIGIOUS REVIVAL IN TALLAHASSEE IN 1843

by THE REVEREND DR. NATHAN HOYT

(edited by GEORGE C. OSBORN)

In the Woodrow Wilson Papers in the Library of Congress there is a manuscript narrative (here reproduced) of a religious revival held in Tallahassee in 1843 by the Rev. Nathan Hoyt, grandfather of Ellen Axson, wife of President Wilson. He was then pastor of the First Presbyterian Church of Athens, Georgia. Evidently, Georgians of that period considered Florida as a field for missionary work.

The *Tallahassee Sentinel* (March 10, 1843) has the following:

A deep religious feeling now pervades this community. The Rev. Dr. Hoyt of Athens, Georgia has for the last five or six weeks favored us with his ministerial labors, which have been eminently successful, under God, in awakening a general interest upon the momentous subject of religion. A protracted meeting is now in progress in which all denominations of Christians participate, which we doubt not will result in great good. The altar is crowded by the old and middle-aged, and young, whilst a deep solemnity is depicted upon the countenances of the crowded auditory that day and night visit the sanctuary. We earnestly hope that this work may extend until our whole populace, regenerated, shall be embraced in the arms of Divine Compassion.

The *Sentinel* (March 17, 1843):

The religious excitement mentioned in our last still continues with unabated strength. It seems to be universal.

The Rev. Dr. Hoyt writes:

To the pious or benevolent mind, it is truly appalling to contemplate the moral condition of certain portions of Georgia, of Alabama, of Mississippi, of Florida, to say nothing about the immeasurable regions which he farther West and South.

As I have just returned from a long & most interesting visit

to Florida, I can speak from actual survey. And I solemnly declare that, to my mind, few subjects are more replete with intense interest than that of our Southern wide-extended moral waste.

At the earnest and repeated solicitation of my old friend, Dr. William W. Waddel of Tallahassee, I left home with the cordial consent of my people about the 20th of January last, and past rapidly into Florida.

From some cause, I felt a strong & irrepressible desire to make this tour & to preach the gospel "in regions beyond" where I had hitherto travelled. I believe the fervent prayers of many of my church ascended to Heaven for a blessing upon the labours of their absent pastor. I concentrated most of my labours upon Tallahassee. There I spent all my Sabbaths while in the Territory, with the exception of the last, (which was spent in Quincy.) there I met the most cordial reception from the polite, hospitable inhabitants, whose attentions to strangers cannot be excelled; and there it was my happy lot ultimately, to witness & to enjoy the marked, the powerful expressions of the Holy Spirit.

Tallahassee is situated in nearly the center of Leon County & contains perhaps two thousand inhabitants collected from almost all parts of the United States, & from various countries in Europe. Among the inhabitants of the place & its vicinity, there are talent & intelligence & considerable wealth.

Until within the last two or three years, Tallahassee was noted for its wickedness, Such as its nocturnal riots, its assassinations & murders, besides other *affairs*, considered more *honorable*, but not less morally wrong in their character in the Light of God, nor less deadly in their results as to the welfare & peace of Society. But how changed is this city. Now the moral past of the community exert a paramount & a most Salutory influence. They have a vigorous, energetick Police with the Hon. Francis Epp[e]s (nephew or grandson of Mr.

[Thomas] Jefferson) at their head & altogether, the place is one of much good order & regularity.

Some months before my arrival in the place, the Temperance cause had arrested the attention of the people, & its progress has been onward & its results glorious. Some of the most full, pleasant and profitable Temperance meetings I have ever attended in my life, were held in Tallahassee. To their credit be it spoken, the first ladies in Society there gave their countenance to this good cause.

After preaching to overwhelming & attentive congregations, twice on Sabbath & occasionally thro the week, for about five weeks in succession, the Revnd. J. Phelps (who has charge of the Presbyterian Church) & myself commenced a protracted meeting on the 1st day of March, intending to continue the exercises four or five days.

Soon after the meetings began it was manifest that the Holy Spirit was moving upon the minds of some of the people. One lady, after pungent convictions, was brought happily to rejoice in hope. She and three other ladies, who had previously been led to the Saviour by more gradual influences, united with the church on the Sabbath, & for the first time sat down at the Communion table, to commemorate the love, suffering & death of their Redeeming Lord. That Sabbath (5th of March) was a memorable day. Backsliders were reclaimed, God's people quickened & animated, hard hearts softened, and stupid sinners awakened. An awful solemnity seemed to rest upon the large assembly; & yet the deep emotions which struggled within were not so prominently developed as to enable us unhesitatingly to decide whether it were proper to continue the meeting. Under these circumstances, Mr. Phelps, at the suggestion of the Elders, without consulting me, just before it was time to close on Sunday night, arose & stated to the people that we were somewhat in doubt as to the propriety of continuing the meeting; & suggested to the congregation that if they wished

us to protract the exercises, it might be well to manifest their desire by rising. In an instant, that vast congregation were standing. The question was settled. In the voice of the people, we recognized the voice of God—we determined to proceed.

From that night, the good work assumed a decided & marked character. Thro all that week we held two prayer meetings in the church in the day & had preaching every night. The house, especially at night, was crowded to overflowing; & yet all was still & silent as the house of death. The people, with the utmost eagerness would hang upon the words of the preacher, while in different parts of the assembly, were seen many weeping penitents, whose hearts were melting beneath the power of Divine truth as applied by the Spirit of God.

Cases of deep and pungent conviction, mostly among the first classes in Society, multiplied rapidly. The work was powerful & marked in its character. The distress of the anxious was very great; but usually it did not last long. When divine light was poured upon the darkened mind, the change was striking & in some cases, the Joys of the new-born Soul were truly inexpressible, old things past away; & all things became new.

Some of the converts spoke of themselves as having been asleep all their lives—as having never viewed any thing pertaining to this world, or that to come, in a proper light. Man's totally depraved & lost condition and absolute necessity of regeneration. . . were kept prominently before the minds of the people in our exhortations & sermons.

. . . The Episcopalians, the Methodist & the Baptists (there are very few of the latter in the place) generally & cordially united with us in our delightful solemn meetings. And many of them shared richly in the divine blessing—their own Souls were abundantly refreshed while some of their relations & friends were brought to rejoice in hope. I know not that I ever witnessed in any revival of religion more delightful har-

mony, more sweet cordiality among different denominations of Christians.

They did appear for the time, as if they believed that they were all one in Christ and that they were all going to one blessed holy heaven. This unity appeared to be the means of carrying conviction to the minds of the unconverted. The prudence, cordiality and aid of Rev Mr. [W. M.] Choice, pastor of the Methodist Church, of Rev Mr. Dunwoody, a local Methodist preacher, of Rev Dr. Nash a protestant Methodist preacher, & of Rev Mr. Fitzgerald, a young Presbyterian preacher from Virginia, will not soon be forgotten by the Writer nor by the Pastor & Elders of the Presbyterian Church in Tallahassee. Besides this, we were favored with occasional pleasant visits from several other clergymen, particularly from the Rev Mr. [Thomas C.] Benning, presiding Elder of the Methodist Church in that District.

On the 1st day of March we began & on the 19th (Sabbath) we closed our protracted meeting. On that day 18 of the converts (13 males & 5 females) made a public profession of their faith in Christ by connecting themselves with the Presbyterian Church; four united with the Methodist Church; Eleven others handed in their names under a pledge to join the Episcopal Church as soon as an opportunity should offer of being then regularly recd. Several of these have been previously confirmed in the Episcopal Church. While nearly twenty of the hopeful subjects of the Words (some of them then just beginning to hope) preferred taking more time for reflection & self-examination before making a public profession of their faith.

The communion lesson of that day was one of unusually solemn & intense interest. There were at that table, Methodist, Presbyterians, Baptists (one at least) & Episcopalians. The number of communicants was great, though not precisely known, and to above thirty of them. The scene was entirely novel, as they had never before commemorated the suffering of their

Lord. Such was the melting tenderness which pervaded the vast congregation that the place was truly a *Bochim*. * Few who were present on that occasion can easily forget the deep solemnity of that interesting, most memorable scene.

A large proportion of the Subjects of this revival are among the first & most influential classes in society. Several of them are male heads of interesting families; & it was delightful to see about seven family altars erected in Tallahassee & vicinity within a few days. Humble supplications & grateful songs of praise, as the fruits of recently renewed & joyful hearts were offered up in the domestic circle by voices & tongues, which, to say the least, were a few weeks before, very differently employed.

When in the sanctuary, we saw at the altar, either weeping or rejoicing, husbands and wives, parents and children, brothers and sisters! There we Saw Physicians, Lawyers, Merchants, Planters & Legislators. And there too, we Saw those who had not spoken to some of their neighbors for months or years, rising from their knees & approaching those against whom they had been prejudiced, cordially offering the friendly hand. Enemies became warm friends.

As for open opposition to the revival, except for a very few cases, it appeared not to be known in the place. The people generally manifested great respect for the subject of religion & were anxious to attend the meetings.

It is a remarkable fact that in this revival, more males than females were hopefully converted. When we closed our meeting, there were no indications that the feeling was subsiding or that the good work was done. But while the spirit was willing, the flesh was weak. Both ministers & people were greatly exhausted. And we seemed to hear a voice saying to us, "Come ye yourselves apart to rest a while." We closed while the banner of the Almighty over us appeared to be love.

* *Bochim*, the weeping place of the Israelites.

Happier days & nights than some of those recently spent in Tallahassee or brighter manifestations of the love of God to his soul, the writer never anticipates this side of holy heaven.

NATHAN HOYT

Athens, April 11, 1853.

Query: By the blessings of God, has not great good resulted from the sacrifice made by the Athens Church, in giving up their Pastor for a few months to labour among the destitute? If so, will not other churches go & do likewise?

NATHAN HOYT

From the *Star of Florida* (March 9, 1843):

The Rev. Dr. Hoyt of Athens Ga. an eminent clergyman of the Presbyterian order, has been laboring in this community for several weeks past, with great and visible effect. A protracted meeting convened in the Presbyterian Church in this city on Thursday last; and the press of anxious listeners has been greater than ever before witnessed here. The depths of the human heart have been laid open by the powerful voice and moving eloquence of the pastor, and feeling and emotion, long pent up, have welled forth again, it may be hoped, to soften and fructify a soil long scathed and scorched by the blasts of human passion and of vice. The blessings of many in this community will follow his footsteps, wherever the hand of Providence may hereafter lead him.

TEQUESTA Vol. XIII

THE JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF
SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The 1953 issue of *Tequesta* appeared after the last number of this *Quarterly* went to press and contains three articles of unusual historical interest. Together they make this the most valuable issue of the thirteen which have been published-in fact, perhaps no other one issue of any Florida historical periodical has included three articles of equal importance. These are:

F.E.C. R'Y. EXTENSION TO KEY WEST

The Building of the Overseas Railway to Key West is by Carlton J. Corliss who, as Chief Clerk of the headquarters office of construction, served under the Chief Engineers J. C. Meredith and W. J. Krome; so he writes from a personal knowledge of what went on, and his twenty-page article with its map is authoritative and informative.

SOUTH FLORIDA'S FIRST BOTANIST

John L. Blodgett was the first botanist to make an extensive exploration and plant collection in South Florida. He settled at Key West in 1838 as a physician and druggist, and until 1853 explored the Florida keys at intervals and sent the unusual plants he collected to John Torrey (the leading botanist of his day in the United States) at Columbia University. Torrey later came to Florida and wrote of our vegetation himself. This *Tequesta* article is by Dr. R. Bruce Ledin who taught botany at the University of Miami for several years and is now horticulturist on the staff of the Sub-Tropical Experiment Station at Homestead. He is author of "Compositae of South Florida" and co-author of "400 Plants of South Florida."

What is known of Blodgett and his work is recounted here by Dr. Ledin, with reference to the rarer plants which he collected and which are still preserved in certain herbariums in the North. Reproduced is a long and interesting letter from

Blodgett to Torrey. There are extensive foot-notes which form a bibliography.

THE "SPANISH INDIANS"

The most extensive article (40 pages) is on the so-called "Spanish Indians" of South Florida and their noteworthy chief *Ckakaika*. William C. Sturtevant, as a graduate student of Yale University, has spent several summers and most of the past year in visiting the camps of the present-day Seminoles and gathering information on them for his doctoral dissertation. He had become interested in what is recorded on the so-called Spanish Indians, now extinct as a tribe, who were quite separated and more or less distinct from the Seminoles of South Florida. So one of his projects has been to compare those records with Seminole tradition relating to the tribe. He says "The oral traditions of the local Indians are a neglected major source of data on the history of Florida. This paper provides an example of one of the types of historical information which are recoverable from the present day Florida Seminole."

After recounting what can be found in documentary evidence and what he learned from Seminole tradition the author writes: "There were certainly 'Seminole' bands, and individuals with mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. There was probably a small group of 'Choctaws'. . . . There was probably a Calusa settlement. . . . There was certainly also a band of 'Spanish Indians'. These. . . were perhaps Choctaw, perhaps Calusa remnants, or perhaps a more independent Seminole band." Included also is "Note on Orthography and Personal Names" (5 pages), a map of the area, and a comprehensive bibliography.

BOOK REVIEWS

Florida Fiasco: by Rembert W. Patrick. University of Georgia Press, Athens, 1954: (pp. x, 359, notes, bibliography, index, no maps or illustrations, \$5.)

Although the Fiasco took place in Florida, specifically East Florida, and along the Georgia-Florida boundary, its overtones possessed a wider radius. They were heard throughout the south and west of the United States, in Washington, new capitol of a new republic, and in London and Madrid. The reason for this lay in the fact that the Florida Fiasco attempted to use European turbulence and Spanish weakness, occasioned by the Napoleonic wars, to detach Florida from Spain and tuck it neatly into the American Union. The intrigue enjoyed singular freedom from ethics, as the author relentlessly points out, but only a few voices of protest arose, voices which might have stilled before brighter prospects of success.

That Florida would inevitably pass under the flag of the United States was a general conviction of Americans after their independence from Great Britain. The how and when of such an occurrence was less clearly foreseen, but the Louisiana Purchase in 1803 opened the path. Efforts to include Florida in the Purchase, to buy it outright, to acquire West Florida by insurrection and to cajole Governor Folch to cede his province have already been told but the author reviews them, pointing out their bearing on the East Florida situation.

The Fiasco in East Florida stemmed from January 1811 when General George Mathews and John McKee were sent to the border to fish in troubled waters and catch both the Florida provinces if possible. Governor Folch at Pensacola resisted the pressure and their mission in this direction terminated. Before the demise Mathews moved to the more fertile area along the St. Marys where, acting on instructions both written and oral from President Madison, he sounded out

settlers on Georgia and Florida soil concerning the feasibility of insurrection.

During the summer of 1811, General Mathews and his fellow conspirators spelled out the plan to revolutionize the region and create a local authority "willing to cede the province to the United States. . . . they never contemplated an independent republic or state of East Florida. From the inception of their plans the revolutionary government of Florida was to be a creature of the moment. Its only purpose was to transfer title from Spain to the United States." (p. 57) Leader of this scheme was John Houstoun McIntosh, owner of Refuge Plantation in Georgia and the Florida lands of John McQueen. Although he "resided mostly in Georgia" he had sworn allegiance to Spain and was considered a colonial subject. McIntosh became "Commissioner" of the Patriot revolt and later "Director" of the "Territory of East Florida".

Mathews reported regularly to James Monroe, Secretary of State, and also informed Senator William H. Crawford of Georgia concerning the details of his plot. Replies from the Madison Administration were noticeably scarce but the confidence of the General remained unshaken. He continued to accept volunteers and to solicit aid from the State of Georgia and United States forces in the vicinity. Despite the refusal of Major John Laval, commanding at Point Petre, to lend a portion of his troops, the Patriots declared their independence on March 13, 1812.

To attempt a review of the failures of the following three years would dim the curiosity of the reader in this book. Suffice it to state that the East Florida intrigue was caught up in the larger issue of war with Great Britain (1812-14) which Madison, pushed by the "War Hawks", as the aggressive party was called, promoted to further land expansion to the north and south of the United States. General Mathews's activities were repudiated as part of these manipulations and he died

brokenhearted and outraged. His successors were kept in Florida in the hope that something would turn up to overcome two rebuffs by the United States Senate, and enable the conquest to get started with official approval. Instructions to those in command were vague and devious. When the going became especially rough, the Madison Administration retreated into silence, which if it was not golden was certainly handy. At length, April 19, 1814, the revolution was turned down. This discussion of political machination is one of the most interesting and valuable portions of the book. The story is sordid but the evidence irrefutable. By their own words the authors of the turmoil condemn themselves.

Out of this intrigue emerged the gradual desolation of northern Florida. Property was ruined, lives lost, Indians incited to the warpath. Law was reduced to a shadow and violence rode the wind. The state of Georgia seriously considered making war on Spain by herself if the United States failed to take a hand. When Napoleon was defeated in Europe, Great Britain sent agents to tamper with the Seminole Indians, procedures from which the Spanish held aloof, although the anxiety thus caused the Georgians could not have been unwelcome. Shortly after the sorry episode drew to a close, Florida became part of the United States "from a negotiated treaty and not from trickery and force".

The author has done a thorough, careful piece of research. His writing is well documented and his bibliography ought to satisfy the most exacting. It will be hard to find more to say about the Fiasco in Florida. A regrettable fact is the absence of maps. These are not necessary for the political discussions but while raiding Indian villages and plunging along swampy trails, a good map would be helpful.

KATHRYN ABBEY HANNA

Journey into Wilderness; An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838; by Jacob Rhett Motte, edited by James F. Sunderman. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953. Pp. xxxv, 326. Introduction, four pencil sketches, nine maps, notes, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

It has been fifty or more years since the last publication of a book of Seminole War experiences written by a participant. This is the first full-length such description to be carefully edited and annotated by a competent historian (although several well-edited shorter journals and parts of journals by eye-witnesses of the Wars have been printed in this *Quarterly* and in *Tequesta*). Many readers of this review will doubtless already be familiar with Motte's journal, for Sunderman published an extract of almost three chapters in *Tequesta* (No. 10, pp. 25-33, 1950).

Motte kept a volume of field notes, now lost, from which he composed a manuscript account of his experiences for his family and friends. In 1845, he revised this somewhat with the intention of publishing it, and obtained five pencil sketches from J. R. Vinton to be used as illustrations. Basing his work on the original manuscript owned by the Florida Historical Society (a part of Dr. James A. Robertson's collection) and on the revised manuscript now owned by the St. Augustine Historical Society, Sunderman first edited the account as his M.A. thesis at the University of Florida. The final published version also contains reproductions of four of the five Vinton sketches, the originals of which are now in the collection of Dr. Mark F. Boyd.

The author, a Harvard-educated Charleston aristocrat, begins his story with his departure from Charleston in June, 1836, to report for duty as a surgeon with the troops fighting the Second Creek War in Georgia and Alabama. For the next six months we follow him in eastern Alabama and southwestern Georgia.

The Creek troubles were almost over at this time, and Motte participated in no engagements with these Indians. The major part of the book describes his experiences in Florida from January 1837, until May 1838, during the Second Seminole War. His army service took him over much of the northern part of the peninsula (the Alachua region, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and the St. Johns), and then down the east coast via Indian River to Ft. Pierce (in the establishment of which he participated), inland to Lake Okeechobee, and then to Jupiter Inlet and down along the coast to Biscayne Bay. Here he accompanied Gen. Harney's force a short distance into the southern Everglades, and then went by boat to Fort Lauderdale, where he embarked for St. Augustine and Charleston. He ends his account with his arrival in Charleston. During almost a year and a half of campaigning in Florida, Motte participated in four engagements with the Seminole: the September 1837 capture of King Philip and others north of the present Daytona Beach, the capture of Uchee Billy and his band nearby a day or two later, a battle at Jupiter Inlet in January 1838, and a fight with Sam Jones's band near Biscayne Bay the following April. He also was present at the September 1837 surrender of Coacoochee and Blue Snake, and the famous capture of Osceola and others under a flag of truce the following month. These events do not however loom large in Motte's account; apparently more memorable to him were the difficulties and unpleasantness of day to day army service in Florida. He also seems to have found the frontiersmen of Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, and the exotic people of St. Augustine, more intriguing than the hostile or friendly Indians with whom he came in contact. Nevertheless, we get a few interesting glimpses of Indian customs and appearance, as well as very lively sketches of the manners and social affairs of the southern frontiersmen and the St. Augustine inhabitants. The disruption caused in the little settlements by the Indian wars is vividly

described, and the reader gets a good feeling of what campaigning in Florida meant to one used to the comforts of Charleston and Cambridge. Motte was interested in his natural surroundings and often paused to describe them. He found the Georgia pine woods very empty and depressing, and was not impressed with most of what he saw of Florida scenery and climate-although he recognizes that other factors were involved: "It is not astonishing that those persons who had once campaigned in Florida. . . should have shrunk from revisiting a country where they must have suffered such hardships" (p. 20). Among the spots whose natural beauties he did enjoy were Ichetucknee Springs and Key Biscayne.

This book will not be as important a source for military history as it will for social history. Most of the author's comments on the Indians do not add anything new to anthropological knowledge, although they agree with what we already know of the Creek and Seminole. Three exceptions may be mentioned: Motte's brief description of a Seminole Catfish Dance (p. 217) is, as Sunderman pointed out, the first from the Southeast. However the details he gives disagree with the modern Seminole Catfish Dance (which I have witnessed three times at Cow Creek Green Corn Dances), especially in that, according to Motte, only women sang and danced in this, dancing in place, whereas today it is performed by men and women going through rather complex figures as couples, and in this and all other modern Seminole dances only the men sing. Another interesting but all-too-brief description (p. 209) seems to refer to a calumet ceremony-if so, it is the only such record for the Seminole. Another interesting and unique comment is that the Seminole in south Florida used alligator skin moccasins to protect their feet against the sharp rocks (pp. 232, 234).

The pencil sketches accompanying the work are well done and interesting. Three are landscapes (near Fort Mellon, near

Fort Taylor, and the Cape Florida light.) The fourth (facing p. 138) is a full length portrait of Osceola, drawn in 1845 from a sketch made in 1837. According to Motte, this is "the most correct likeness ever taken of him. The face is a remarkably striking likeness, as he appeared previous to his capture" (p. 141). This may seem a bit extravagant, but of all known portraits of Osceola, the costume in this one is the least romanticized and comes closest to what one would expect from later Seminole dress, so it is reasonable to suppose that the features are also well depicted. *

The maps, which show Motte's routes and the locations he mentions, are unusually clear and attractive.

The editor's notes to the journal are very full and in general well done. Using principally primary sources, he gives useful and accurate outlines of the significance and background of the events described by Motte, and summarizes the causes and history of the Creek and Seminole Wars. Most of the places Motte visited are carefully located in terms of modern geography. As do most historians editing accounts such as this, Sunderman interrupts the narrative flow whenever the author gives the name of an officer, in order to give the reader what seems at least to this reviewer usually superfluous information on his previous and subsequent military career. Motte sprinkles his narrative with ordinary French words and phrases, all of which the editor feels obliged to translate in his notes (even "outré," "on the qui vive," "salle a manger," and "coup-d'oeil"). The explanatory comments drawn from the anthropological literature are accurate and to the point, with one rather minor exception. The editor has not unnaturally confused "Muskogee," which is another name for the language often called "Creek," and "Muskhogeian," the name of the linguistic family to which

* The same drawing is the frontispiece of Mark F. Boyd's "Florida Aflame; The Background and Onset of the Seminole War, 1835" (distributed by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials), the rest of which is reprinted from his article in this *Quarterly* (vol. 30, no. 1, 1951).

it belongs (p. 257). Most towns of the Creek Confederacy, and most of the Seminole in the 1830's, spoke Muskogee; some Creek towns, the early Seminole nucleus, and most modern Seminole speak Hitchiti (or Mikasuki, a dialect of the same language). Muskogee and Hitchiti, although not mutually intelligible, do not "bear no resemblance" (p. 257) to each other—they are closely related members of the Muskogean (Muskogean) family.

Although the literary embellishments of Motte's account will occasionally strike the modern reader as a bit overdone, his writing is lively, humorous, and very easy to read. In style the book is far above most descriptions of the Seminole Wars written by participants. The detailed annotations by Sunderman, and the maps, bibliography, and index, not only increase the value of the work as a source for historical research, but should enhance its interest for the general reader.

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

Yale University

Fleur de Lys and Calumet: Being the Penicaut Narrative of French Adventure in Louisiana. Translated and edited by Richebourg Gaillard McWilliams. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1953. Pp. xxxiii, 282. Maps, illustrations, bibliography, appendixes, index. \$4.00.)

The history of the Gulf region during the first quarter of the eighteenth century is closely connected with the efforts of France to colonize Canada. Despite the overwhelming misfortunes of La Salle, he alone had been the single most important figure in transplanting French civilization to the American wilderness. By 1699 the French were turning their efforts toward the Gulf coast and Iberville had been designated by the Minister of Marine and Colonies to continue the work begun by La Salle.

Among the crew on Iberville's first expedition was a young

ship's carpenter, turned chronicler, named Andre Penicaut. His narrative embraces the years 1698 to 1721, which saw the founding of Biloxi, Mobile, Natchez, New Orleans, and other early outposts in Louisiana. Penicaut took part in many exploring expeditions - as far north as the upper reaches of the Mississippi and as far south as the Rio Grande. He came to know first-hand the various Indian tribal customs, and he was a keen observer of many details of French colonial life.

Although the Penicaut manuscript has been used by scholars for more than two hundred years, Professor McWilliams has given us the first complete English translation of this rather remarkable chronicle. Perhaps it is true that Penicaut relied rather heavily on his memory and that his reporting at times is none too accurate, such as the date of building Fort Passacola (Pensacola) and his extravagant claims of great distances accomplished on foot in a comparatively short space of time. Nevertheless, Professor McWilliams has been able to point out many of these inaccuracies through painstaking documentation. Particularly noteworthy are the identifications of place names and personalities, which are a great aid to the reader in understanding the narrative.

From the point of view of the historian in search of source materials the translation is somewhat disappointing, for errors of fact have frequently gone unchallenged. However, as a chronicle of impressions rather than facts, it is rewarding. This is particularly true in interpreting many aspects of daily life in French colonial America, which may help broaden our understanding of France's influence in shaping American civilization. *Fleur de Lys and Calumet* is scholarly, done in a simple and direct style, and should be of much interest to Floridians.

CHARLES S. DAVIS

Florida State University

HUNDREDTH BIRTHDAY, DUVAL COUNTY MEDICAL SOCIETY
1853-1953

The Duval County Medical Society has published a quarto volume of 127 pages with the above title to commemorate its century of activity. The organization, on May 25, 1853, antedated by nearly a quarter of a century the establishment of the Florida Medical Association, for which the Duval County Society was largely responsible.

Dr. A. S. Baldwin, who had a large part in so many Jacksonville "firsts," including its first railroad, seems to have been the leader in the founding. Another cornerstone of the body was Dr. R. P. Daniel, twice president, and especially remembered for his work in the dread epidemic of yellow fever in 1888.

A wide variety of illustrations form the greater part of the volume, of which there are more than two hundred. These include individual portraits of sixty-four annual presidents of the Society. Other cuts are plans of Jacksonville in 1847 and another at the time of the organization of the Society, Civil War scenes in Jacksonville and vicinity, a page from the account book of Dr. John S. Murdock, first president of the Society, several during the yellow fever epidemic, numerous Jacksonville buildings as they were before the great fire of 1901, and recently erected ones.

The editor of the volume, Dr. Webster Merritt, is one of Florida's outstanding historians and collectors of Floridiana. As the volume was published by a committee of seventeen, together with the officers of the Society, a great variety of illustrations are included, a large number of which have no relation to the Society, nor to Jacksonville, nor to Florida.

The attractive end-papers are reproductions in color of one of the earliest of Florida maps, that of Jeronimo de Chaves of 1582.

COUNTY HISTORICAL COMMISSIONS

Florida is behind many states in the preservation of local history. Our Florida Historical Society is accomplishing much for the State's history, but we can do little beyond encouragement at the county, town, and community levels; and in the aggregate those histories are of greater importance than that which relates to Florida as a whole.

At the last session of the Legislature Senator Branch and Representatives Moody, Johnson, Gleaton, Darby, Pittman, Elliott, Mashburn and Getzen introduced companion bills which became a law authorizing the County Commissioners of any county to create a County Historical Commission; and several Florida counties now have such commissions. The organization and operation of the Hillsborough County Historical Commission is described in this *Quarterly*, the issue of October, 1952.

The Florida Historical Society earnestly urges its members throughout the State to consider the advisability of establishing such a commission in their counties. Doubtless there are a number of counties in which one would be successful. Will you not read the law and discuss such a project with others who might be interested.

 BE IT ENACTED BY THE LEGISLATURE OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA:

Section 1. The County Commissioners of any county within the State of Florida are hereby authorized to create a Historical Commission for their particular county. Such Commission shall be known as the County Historical Commission. It shall consist of not more than ten members, or fewer than five members, all of whom except one shall be selected by the County Commissioners. The Clerk of the Circuit Court of such county shall be a member of the Historical Commission and shall be its Secretary. One or more members of the Board of County Commissioners may also be selected to serve on the Historical Commission.

In selecting citizens to serve on the Historical Commission the Board of County Commissioners shall consider the interest of such citizens in the history and cultural lore and development of the county.

Section 2. The Chairman of the County Historical Commission shall be named by the County Commissioners. The members of the Historical Commission shall receive no compensation.

Section 3. As soon as practicable after said Commission has been created by appropriate action of the Board of County Commissioners the said Commission shall meet at an appropriate place and shall arrange a time for holding regular meetings of the Commission, and for such other

meetings as shall be necessary and it may adopt such rules of organization and procedure as it may deem necessary and determine the duties of its members and employees. The Commission may, when necessary, appoint a Clerk to be known as "County Historian".

Section 4. It shall be the duty of such commission to collect, arrange, record and preserve historical material and data, including books, pamphlets, maps, charts, manuscripts, family histories, U. S. census records, papers and other objects and material illustrative of and relating to the history of such county and of Florida; to procure and preserve narratives of the early pioneers, their exploits, perils, privations and achievements; to collect material of every description relative to the history of its Indian tribes and wars, and relative to its soldiers, its schools and its churches.

Section 5. Such Commission may upon its own initiative or upon petition of municipalities or historical societies, mark by proper monuments, tablets or markers, the location of forts, Indian mounds or other places in such county where historical events have occurred.

Section 6. The Clerk of the Circuit Court of such County, shall file and record, without charge, in a book or books which shall be furnished such Clerk by the said Board of County Commissioners all such historical material and data that said Commission may direct to be filed and recorded.

Section 7. The Board of County Commissioners of such County is hereby authorized to pay the expenses of such Commission out of the General Fund of the County, but such expenses shall not at any time exceed three thousand dollars per annum for counties with 200,000 population, or more, and \$1500.00 for counties with less population.

Section 8. The Board of County Commissioners of such county are hereby authorized to provide suitable and adequate space as a repository for the findings, collections and other material of the said Historical Commission.

Section 9. All laws and parts of laws in conflict herewith are hereby repealed.

A revised and enlarged *List of National Archive Microfilm Publications* (98 pages, listing reproductions of more than three million pages of records) is now available. These contain documentation on many subjects of United States history; also economics, public administration, political science, law, and ethnology, with explanatory notes. Copies can be obtained at small cost from The National Archives, Washington.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Number Seven of the *News Letter* series of The Jacksonville Historical Society which tells of their recent activities, contains a note of especial interest: that the third issue of their publication, *Papers*, is in the making and will appear later this year. The last issue (Vol. II) will long be remembered for its several portraits of Osceola in color and others in black and white, as well as for other articles on the area's history.

At a recent Program Meeting Dr. Charles T. Thrift Jr., vice president of the Florida Historical Society, was guest speaker, his subject being "Religion in the Development of Florida Culture, 1845-1860."

The Society is gathering a Reminiscence File, and several papers of historical interest have recently been added.

The *News Letter*, issued by a Committee with Miss Dena Snodgrass as Chairman, also includes notes of historical interest outside of Jacksonville.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

This Association has been active, as usual.

At the January Program Meeting President John C. Blocker of The Florida Historical Society read a paper on *Piracy in Southern Waters*, an especially interesting subject about which little is generally known, and one upon which Mr. Blocker has made much research.

Continuing its program of marking historic sites in the area, a marker has been placed and dedicated at Miami International Airport commemorating fifty years of powered flight, as well as the first regularly scheduled air mail flight between North and South America which began from that airport.

Another marker was dedicated with an extensive program on March 7 on the site of the *Biscayne House of Refuge* in Miami Beach. There were five of these rescue stations estab-

lished along the East Coast in the last century by the United States Government for shipwrecked mariners.

The Association was co-host with the University of Miami, Dr. Charlton Tebeau, Chairman, to The Florida Anthropological Society at their Annual Meeting on February 20.

PENSACOLA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Pensacola Historical Society has been active during the winter. At a recent program meeting Judge Ernest E. Mason spoke on "Interpretation of Pensacola's Charter," his address being based on the first charter adopted under the administration of General Andrew Jackson, Provisional Governor, and the numerous changes made in the charter since that time.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
THE ANNUAL MEETING

As announced in the last issue of the *Quarterly*, the Annual Meeting of our Society is being held in Tallahassee on March 26, 27, as this issue is in the press. A full account will be included in our next number with the Minutes and reports.

Our first Annual Meeting after the revival of the Society and the resuming of publication of the *Quarterly* was also held there in 1924 and was a noteworthy gathering. Since then the Society has been continuously active and the *Quarterly* has not missed an issue, though we have had our ups and down. Today we have a larger membership than ever before, and due to our increased income and the support of the University of Florida, we are expanding in several ways. We have begun to issue a *News-Letter* regularly, and now that we can afford it, we plan to increase the size of the *Quarterly* somewhat and include illustrations more often.

The Society's *News-Letter*, a project planned and carried out by our Executive Secretary and Librarian, Edward C. Williamson, was mailed to each member early in March. He would be glad to learn how it was received by the individual members, and asks for any suggestions regarding it, as well as for items from time to time to be included in future issues.

New Members

In the list of new members below it will be noted that a number of our members throughout the State have been at work and the result has been gratifying. We have learned that the only way to build our membership is in a *person to person contact*. Copies of the *Quarterly* will be sent on request to any member who wishes to interest his friends or acquaintances in joining with us. Only thus can we build the Society and hope for a home of our own some day.

Essay Contest

The first Florida Historical Society Essay Contest for high school students has been completed. The prizes were awarded at the Annual Meeting of the Society in Tallahassee, and the winners will be announced in the next issue of the *Quarterly*. It is planned to make this an annual contest. Subjects may be chosen by the contestants, but will relate to our State's history.

NEW MEMBERS

(Dec. - Mar.)

	Nominated by:
Elise Laffite, Quincy (fellow)	C. H. Curry
Mrs. A. L. Wilson, Quincy	C. H. Curry
William N. Davis, Mt. Pleasant	C. H. Curry
Melvin L. Webster, Gainesville (student)	Edward C. Williamson
Mrs. H. C. Eppert, Jacksonville	Dena Snodgrass
Thomas Warren Wentworth, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Aubrey Dean Wentworth, Tallahassee	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
S. Boló Dean, New Haven, Connecticut (student)	Mrs. Albert G. Wing
Mrs. Maude Hollowell, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Mrs. A. G. King, Chicago (fellow)	Mrs. Herbert Lamson
G. W. Lewallen, St. Petersburg	Walter Fuller
Allan C. Jackson, Tallahassee	C. L. Sowell
Thomas Owen Brown, Frostproof	Edward T. Keenan
Francis Millican, Sarasota	Winder H. Surrency
Marguerite E. Lumpkin, Lakeland	Charles T. Thrift
Carol Hancock, Okeechobee	Mrs. J. T. Hancock
Mrs. J. H. McCranie, Okeechobee	Mrs. J. T. Hancock
John Mettauer Griffin, Quincy	C. H. Curry
George Frederick Bauer, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
R. D. Comstock, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Herbert P. Caro, Pensacola, Florida	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Paul E. Fenlon, Gainesville (student)	Edward C. Williamson
Marion T. Gaines, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
The Rev. LeRoy Lawson, DeLand	Dr. and Mrs. Theo. Hahn, Jr.
Guy M. McClain, Mayo (fellow)	Samuel Proctor
Elmer Wright Silas, Cocoa	Edward C. Williamson
Everett Mizell, Fernandina Beach	Linwood Jeffreys
J. C. McKay, Tampa	D. B. McKay
Mrs. L. L. Burnet, Jacksonville	George R. Coslow
Robert K. Curtiss, Miami	C. W. Tebeau
Mrs. Margaret Wilder, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Carl Jackson, Winter Haven	John C. Blocker
Hilda Perez Lamar, Cardenas, Cuba	Dr. Efraim F. Liebrez
Venice Area Chamber of Commerce	Edward C. Williamson
C. W. Ruckel, Jr., Valparaiso	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Eugene L. Matthews, Starke	Edward C. Williamson
Col. Samuel J. Adams, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Joseph V. Riera, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
The Rev. Eugene Lewis Nixon, Jacksonville	Gertrude L'Engle

NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO THE QUARTERLY

(Dec.-Mar.)

Fort Meade High School, Fort Meade
 Archbishop Curley High School, Miami
 DeLand Senior High School Library, DeLand
 New York Public Library

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Map of Pensacola, 1885	Gift of J. H. Sherrill
May Vinzant Perkins, <i>Aunt Aggie's Bone Yard</i>	the author
Mark F. Boyd, <i>Documents: Further Considerations of the Apalachee Missions</i>	the author
<i>Blue Book of Southern Progress</i>	Linwood Jeffreys
<i>Florida, an Advancing State 1907-27</i>	Linwood Jeffreys
<i>Manufacturers Record 1924, Part II</i>	Linwood Jeffreys
Portrait of Mrs. Harrison Reed	Harrison Reed, Jr.
<i>Florida Library Directory and Statistics 1951-52</i>	Florida State Library
Article on Florida in <i>Das Evangelische Magazin</i>	Robert C. Stafford
Portrait of Osceola	J. E. Wall
Old Tampa and Hillsborough County records	J. E. Wall
Gordon R. Willey, <i>Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast</i>	Smithsonian Institution
T. T. Wentworth, Jr., <i>History of St. Michael's</i>	the author
<i>Places of Historic Interest</i>	the author
<i>Pensacola Light House</i>	the author
<i>Escambia County</i>	the author
<i>Fort San Carlos</i>	the author
<i>Outstanding Dates in Pensacola</i>	the author
<i>The Pensacola Naval Air Station</i>	the author
Map of Florida in 1835	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
<i>Salt Water Intrusion in Florida</i>	State Board of Conservation
<i>Journal of the Florida Annual Conference of the Methodist Church</i>	The Rev. Don A. Cooke
J. Randall Stanley, <i>History of Gadsden County</i>	<i>Gadsden County Times</i>
<i>The Story of a Pioneer</i>	Florida East Coast Ry.
Carlton J. Corliss, "Building the Overseas Railway to Key West"	Florida East Coast Ry.
Copy of letter, Mrs. Julia Tuttle to Henry M. Flagler	Florida East Coast Ry.
<i>Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution 1952</i>	The publisher
Photographs of the Military Road, Ft. Tarver to Black Creek	Arthur N. Winsor
Haskel and Smith, <i>Statistical Gazetteer of the United States</i>	Mrs. R. M. Davidson
Wylie Kilpatrick, <i>Revenue and Debt of Florida Municipalities</i>	Univ. of Fla.
A Stuart Campbell, <i>The Cigar Industry of Tampa</i>	Univ. of Fla.
Erdman West and Lillian E. Arnold, <i>The Native Trees of Florida</i>	Univ. of Fla.
<i>Studies in Public Administration, Nos. 1-10</i>	Univ. of Fla.
John A. Bethell, <i>History of Pinellas Peninsula</i>	R. John Dew
<i>Guide to the Manuscript Collections In the William L. Clement Library</i>	Clements library
Ripley P. Bullen, <i>Eleven Archaeological Sites in Hillsborough County Florida</i>	Florida Geological Survey
<i>Territorial Papers of the United States, XVIII, XIX</i>	Gen. Services Adm.

Diary of Deborah Cornly, 1873	Mrs. Francis D. Brinton
Robert Murphy Williams, <i>Williams and Murphy Records and Related Families</i>	Charles J. Williams
<i>Genealogical Records</i> , IV, Mary Little Deere Chapter, DAR	The chapter
E. Wallace McMullen, "The Origin of the Term Everglades"	The author
<i>-English Topographical Terms in Florida 1763-1874</i>	University of Florida
<i>Journal into Wilderness, Journal of J. R. Motte</i> James F. Sunderman, editor	University of Florida
George A. Foster, <i>The Methodist Church in Ocala</i>	Arthur Leavengood
Ernest Earnest, <i>John and William Bartram</i> Harry Simonhoff, <i>Under Strange Skies</i>	The author
E. C. May, <i>Gaters, Skeeters and Malary</i> Rembert W. Patrick, <i>Florida Fiasco</i>	The author
James A. Robertson (trans. & ed.), <i>True Relation of the Fidalgo of Elvas 1557</i> 2 vols. F. Trench Townshend, <i>Wild Life in Florida</i> Edward Kimber, <i>A Relation or Journal of a Late Expedition to the Gates of St Augustine</i> Helen Louise Shaw, <i>British Administration of the Southern Indians</i> William C. Lazarus, <i>Wings in the Sun</i> Karl H. Grismer, <i>The Story of St. Petersburg</i> Clifford M. Lewis and Albert J. Loomie, <i>The Spanish Jesuit Mission in Virginia 1570-1572</i>	

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY

Paul E. Fenlon is Instructor of Economics, College of Business Administration, University of Florida. He has contributed previously to this *Quarterly*.

George C. Osborn, Ph. D., is Associate Professor of Social Sciences, University of Florida. He has contributed several articles to this *Quarterly*.

Kathryn Abbey Hanna, Ph. D., one of Florida's foremost historians, was formerly Head of the Department of History, Florida State University. She has contributed several article to this *Quarterly*.

Charles S. Davis, Ph. D., is Dean, College of Arts and Sciences, Florida State University.

William C. Sturtevant, a graduate student in Anthropology at Yale University is writing a dissertation on Seminole ethnology based on field work among the Seminole for more than a year.

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