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**THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY  
Gainesville, Florida**



**ANDREW JACKSON'S CRONIES  
IN FLORIDA TERRITORIAL POLITICS**

*With Three Unpublished Letters to His Cronies*

by HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

In Pensacola, an ancient Spanish village but then the boom-town capital of West Florida, the fifth day of October, 1821, was greeted with an unusual air of excitement. Along Palafox and Zaragoza streets, named long since for the Spanish hero General Palafox because of his heroic defense of Zaragoza, curious townfolk gathered in gossiping knots around the Government House and public market, both fronting on Plaza Ferdinand VII. In Austin's Tavern, the servants clearing away the remains of the great farewell party of the previous night, must have furtively gathered around the windows and peered expectantly into the street. Each horse and wagon momentarily distracted every man from his work or his conversation. At length the curiosity of everyone was rewarded by the appearance of a handsome horse-drawn carriage which pulled away from the Governor's residence, crossed the Plaza and headed north through sandy Palafox street. Inside the carriage could be glimpsed the stern gray visage of Governor Andrew Jackson and the plump plain face of his wife Rachel.

Only eighty days earlier the "Old Hero" had entered the town and received the territory from Spain in the name of the United States. In many respects the departure was quite unlike his arrival. No longer was Jackson on active duty at the head of an army, nor was he followed and courted by scores of old comrades, office seekers, and young aides. Now his retinue was composed only of his wife, a handful of servants, and a few intimate friends. Among these was his personal physician, the former Army surgeon Dr. James C. Bronaugh, who was to go on to Washington to carry to the hands of President James Monroe the Governor's resignation. In the Pensacola which the little party was leaving remained many who had come to seek their

personal fortunes. Some of those who had been Jackson's intimates held or were soon to receive governmental posts, others remained to speculate in lands, to provide services as merchants or shippers, or to practice law with an eye to the many subjects of litigation arising from the change of flags. An interim government was left in the hands of the two territorial secretaries, George Walton in West Florida, and W. G. D. Worthington in East Florida.

Before leaving, the retiring governor had communicated his ideas about the territorial government and its officers to President Monroe and Secretary of State John Quincy Adams. To Adams, he wrote that the government should be "simple and energetic," and that East and West Florida should be merged into one territory. To Monroe, he sent a strong representation for the appointment of Colonel William King to the governorship and a recommendation that George Walton be continued as secretary of the entire territory. King had been appointed provisional governor of Florida by Jackson after the invasion of 1818 and was a friend of long standing. Jackson favored him so strongly because of his respect for and trust in him as an officer and because he believed him to be "a much injured man" who had been unjustly condemned, for King had been suspended as the result of a court martial for speculation and for having some deserters shot. Jackson believed him innocent "of any military offence" and thought that his appointment as governor would be an excellent way for "the Government to restore him to that confidence and standing in society which he is entitled to."<sup>1</sup> The old general's cronies in Pensacola took up the cry and circulated a petition on King's behalf, but to no avail.

Under Walton in the west and Worthington in the east, the interim government encountered no serious difficulties. This

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1. Andrew Jackson to James Monroe, October 5, 1821, Jackson Papers, Library of Congress. See also John Spencer Bassett (ed.), *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson* (Washington, 1938), III, 123n.

brief provisional regime was terminated, however, by an act of Congress on March 30, 1822. Under this act there was to be one governor and one secretary and the Spanish division of the territory into two provinces was ended. The legislative power was vested in a Legislative Council of thirteen "fit and discreet persons" resident in Florida. Judicial power was vested in two Superior Courts and in such inferior courts as the Council might create. The confusion of legislative, judicial, and executive powers which had characterized the provisional regime of Jackson was cleared up. All of these offices were to be filled by appointment of the President of the United States. The only office created which was not appointive was the post of Delegate to Congress, which was to be filled in such manner as the Legislative Council might direct.<sup>2</sup> It was generally assumed that the Delegate would be chosen by popular election,

In filling the governorship, Monroe passed over Jackson's recommendation and appointed a fellow Virginian, William P. DuVal, the United States Judge for East Florida whom Jackson viewed as a lawyer "of very moderate capacity."<sup>3</sup> In other appointments, however, the Jacksonian influence was seen. Of the thirteen appointees to the Legislative Council, five may be termed cronies of Jackson: James Bronaugh, H. M. Brackenridge, R. K. Call, Edgar Macon, and former Colonel John Miller. In addition, Walton was named Secretary of Florida as Jackson had wished.<sup>4</sup>

The administration encountered some difficulty in filling the judgeship of the Superior Court of West Florida. John Branch of North Carolina was first appointed, but did not take office. Ultimately, in July of 1822, the appointment was settled upon a member of the Legislative Council, Jackson's friend Henry M. Brackenridge.<sup>5</sup> Under the act of March 30 each of the Su-

2. *3 United States Statutes at Large*, 654-659.

3. Andrew Jackson to James Monroe, August 4, 1821, Jackson Papers.

4. *Pensacola Floridian*, June 8, 1822.

5. *Ibid.*, May, 25, 1822, July 20, 1822.

perior Court judges was empowered to appoint a clerk for his court. Brackenridge named John Miller to the post, to the apparent chagrin of Brackenridge's recent law partner R. K. Call (see *Appendix I*). Miller had formerly been clerk of the Escambia county court established by Jackson and was also a member of the Legislative Council, in which he continued to serve. Brackenridge, however, resigned his seat in the Council.

By act of May 8, 1822, the Congress created a three man Board of Commissioners on Land Claims for Florida which was empowered to confirm and validate all well defined Spanish grants of less than 1,000 acres. One of the original three appointees was Jackson's Tennessee crony Samuel R. Overton. Land was the basic source of wealth in Florida and a remarkable combination of former Jacksonian associates eventually became identified with the administration of the public land system in the territory. Contemptuous critics often referred to them as "the land office faction," or the "Tennessee speculators," or more often as "the Nucleus."

#### *A Rift in the Crony Clique*

Evidences of dissension within the ranks of the Jackson followers began to crop up soon after Jackson's departure. The split seems roughly to have hinged upon the rival ambitions of Call on the one band and of Bronaugh on the other. Call was backed by former Captain Richard J. Easter who had become his law partner after Brackenridge's elevation to the bench. Bronaugh had the sympathy of Secretary Walton and Judge Brackenridge. The little evidence available also seems to indicate that Call and his friends sought support among the old inhabitants of the city, while his opponents relied on the more recently arrived American elements.

Events in 1822 emphasize the rift. The discontent engendered

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6. *Ibid.*, June 8, 1822; 3 *United States Statutes at Large*, 718.

by the appointment of Miller as clerk of the court was heightened when the Legislative Council met in July. Though the Council was required by law to meet on June 10, there was no quorum present until July 22. On the second day of the session Bronaugh was unanimously elected presiding officer and had been, meanwhile, prominently mentioned in connection with the Congressional post. Call also had designs on the post of Delegate to Congress and in later years his opponents claimed that he had tried to block Bronaugh's selection as President of the Council. As published in the Pensacola *Floridian*, however, the Council proceedings show only that in the first day of the session the election of officers was deferred one day on motion of Call.<sup>7</sup> Nonetheless, the rivalry between the contending factions in the Council is made clear by the debates and maneuvers on the question of establishing suffrage qualifications for the election of a Delegate.

#### *Who Should Vote?*

A bare quorum of nine of the thirteen members of the Council was on hand when the session finally got underway. They divided evenly in support of the opposing sides, with Bronaugh holding the decisive vote as presiding officer. In the struggle over the suffrage qualifications, Bronaugh and his followers favored a broad manhood suffrage which would even have included members of military units stationed in Florida. Call and his followers generally favored restricting the vote, except where the old inhabitants were concerned. Call's group offered an amendment specifically granting those inhabitants the suffrage and Bronaugh's faction opposed it. In addition to Call, Edmund Law, George Murray, William Reynolds, and Joseph M. White supported this measure. It was White's vote which carried the proposal, but on all other suffrage issues White voted on the

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7. Pensacola *Floridian*, June 15, July 27, 1822; Tallahassee *Floridian*, March 23, 1833.

other side with Greenbury Gaither, James R. Hanham, and John Miller. Hanham and Miller were both former army officers.

After having won the franchise for the old inhabitants, Call introduced a measure which would have denied the ballot to soldiers, sailors, and marines stationed in Florida. A tie vote ensued which Bronaugh broke with his vote against the bill. Reynolds later proposed a measure to exclude from the suffrage all non-taxpayers and Call attempted a proposal to exclude as well those who were not eligible for jury duty and militia service. Both were defeated by the deciding vote of the presiding officer.<sup>8</sup> The explanation for this division on the suffrage issue may be found in the fact that Call was in the good graces of the old residents while Bronaugh was highly popular among the troops, and both were looking ahead to the Congressional elections.

In the forthcoming race, Bronaugh apparently would have had the advantage over Call. He was President of the Council, was being widely promoted for Congress, and had the sympathy of Andrew Jackson— who had advised Call in the spring to steer clear of politics. The old general had admonished his former aide to secure his fortune and practice before entering public service.<sup>9</sup> Later he expressed surprise that Call and Easter were not united behind Bronaugh, asserting that “every man who really wishes for the prosperity of Florida” should support him. Some of Jackson’s concern stemmed from his hatred of Colonel William Barnett who had been mentioned as a possible candidate of considerable strength. Jackson feared that division among his Florida cronies might lead to the election of Barnett or an East Florida candidate (see *Appendix I*).

#### *Flight from Yellow Fever*

Abruptly during the week of August 10-17 this political controversy was terminated by the appearance of an epidemic of the dread yellow fever. To escape the disease the Council moved

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8. Pensacola *Floridian*, August 10, 1822.

9. Andrew Jackson to R. K. Call, May 20, 1822, Jackson Papers.

to a ranch fifteen miles from Pensacola where its meetings were held until the adjournment on September 18. The move, however, was unsuccessful in protecting the members from the fever and on September 2 James Bronaugh fell victim to it. Shortly afterwards Joseph Coppinger Connor, the clerk of the Council, also died. Edmund Law was chosen president and plans for popular election of the first Delegate were dropped. Instead, Joseph M. Hernandez of St. Augustine was chosen by the Council to represent Florida in the closing session of the Seventeenth Congress and provisions were made for popular election of a Delegate to the Eighteenth Congress in 1823. By act of Congress in 1823, the suffrage in Florida was specifically denied to members of the United States armed services.<sup>10</sup>

#### *Andrew Jackson's Democracy*

During his governorship (and he was technically governor in the interim period), Jackson made statements and committed acts which shed some light on his pre-presidential outlook toward democratic government. In recent years some historians have characterized Jackson's association with the ideals of political democracy as little more than political opportunism. They emphasize his lack of concern for doctrinaire democracy before he became president and assert that there is no evidence that he cared for majority rule or individual rights.<sup>11</sup> However, his

10. Pensacola *Floridian*, August 17, 1822; Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence*, III, 170n; Caroline Mays Brevard, *A History of Florida* (DeLand, 1925), I, 76.

11. Harold C. Syrett and Thomas P. Abernethy are two of the more recent promoters of this viewpoint. Abernethy in his book *From Frontier to Plantation in Tennessee* (Chapel Hill, 1932), 249, asserts, "Democracy was good talk with which to win the favor of the people and thereby accomplish ulterior objectives. Jackson never really championed the cause of the people." Professor Syrett in his book *Andrew Jackson, his Contribution to the American Tradition* (New York, 1953), 22, says that "Jackson never showed any marked concern for the rights of the individual or the views of the majority." He also observes, "While serving as a delegate to Tennessee's constitutional convention, a Representative in Congress, a Senator, a member of his state's highest court, and the first American governor of the Florida territory, Jackson did not once espouse a policy that was designed to aid the majority or to weaken the control of the minority over the government."

actions while governor provide some evidence for qualifying the assertions of these scholars. For instance, in the much-witricized Vidal affair<sup>12</sup> Jackson was motivated by concern for an humble mulatto woman denied her rights by an apparently corrupt Spanish bureaucracy. His subsequent rough treatment of Spanish officialdom stemmed not from cynical indifference to individual rights, but from his desire to secure long overdue justice to an individual citizen and from his belief that "the great can protect themselves, but the poor and humble require the arm and shield of the law."<sup>13</sup> That Jackson possessed authoritarian powers in Florida was not his doing, but that of the Congress. He publicly recognized the dangerous precedents of his ill-defined but extensive powers when, in handing down his decision in the Vidal case, he had asserted, "I am clothed with powers that no one under a republic ought to possess, and which I trust will never again be given to any man."<sup>14</sup>

After the new territorial government was launched, the controversy over who should be qualified to vote for the Delegate to Congress gave him the opportunity to express rather liberal views on the suffrage. He believed that as long as Florida remained a territory, and until her lands should be put up for public sale, "all freemen of six months residence should be entitled to a vote" (see *Appendix I*). His prefatory qualifications of this endorsement of universal manhood suffrage do not significantly weaken the importance of the main assertion. Rather, they reflect (1) his recognition of the constitutional right of a state to impose whatever suffrage qualifications it might desire, and (2) the assumption of the westerner that any man might readily acquire property. Indeed, in large measure the belief in universal suffrage without property qualifications was an

12. For the background of the Vidal case see *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (July, 1954), 15-19.

13. Andrew Jackson to John Quincy Adams, August 26, 1821, *State Papers*, 17 Congress, 1 Session, No. 42.

14. Pensacola *Floridian*, September 22, 1821.

idea which only gradually derived from frontier conditions under which property qualifications became meaningless because property was so easily acquired. Political democracy in the United States has been of gradual growth, often having no prior theoretical justification.

It might be argued that Jackson's views on the suffrage question stemmed from his feeling that a broad suffrage would be better insurance for Bronaugh's election. Bronaugh's partisans in Florida did believe that this would be the case if the suffrage were broad enough to include the troops stationed there. Jackson himself acknowledged that there could be no question of Bronaugh's election if the soldiers should vote, but he did not recommend that they be given the vote. His letter in Appendix I points up as well his clear-cut opposition to a property qualification by the territorial government. There is also missing any mention of barring the Spanish inhabitants from the ballot-an idea to which the Bronaugh faction was favorably inclined. The positive emphasis of this letter is upon residence alone as the qualification for voting: "All freemen residents will be bound by your laws, & subject to punishment under them - and of right, ought to be entitled to a voice in making them." These expressions would do credit to most nineteenth century advocates of political democracy.

In this Florida controversy, Jackson had given his support to Bronaugh because of the respect and confidence derived from his long and intimate friendship with him. The two men had seen much military service together in the Southern District which Jackson had risen to command, and in which Bronaugh had climbed to the post of Surgeon General. His death was sorely felt by Jackson who eulogized him as "noble and brave." (see *Appendix II*). Bronaugh's death, however, served to heal for a time the growing breach among the Jacksonian following in Florida. After his death no one in West Florida immediately

challenged Richard Call's claim to the Congressional seat and in June of 1823 he was elected to it by virtue of a three way division among his opponents in East Florida.<sup>15</sup>

*Joseph M. White*

The opposition to Call subsided but did not die out. During his two year Congressional term that opposition crystallized around the person of Joseph M. White. White had come to Florida in 1822 after appointment by Monroe to the Legislative Council and in 1823 he had been stepped up to membership on the Board of Land Commissioners. Though he had no prior Jacksonian associations he had fallen in with the Bronaugh faction and from the beginning had been in opposition to Call.

Call's Congressional term coincided with Jackson's tenure in the Senate as the junior senator from Tennessee (see *Appendix III*). In this period several of the Jacksonian land were rewarded in Florida, due to the combined efforts of Jackson and Call. One of the first was Call's new young law partner Benjamin D. Wright, recently arrived in Florida from Pennsylvania. Wright was named United States District Attorney at Pensacola in 1824 and in the same year was also appointed to the Legislative Council.<sup>16</sup> Call and Wright maintained close relations with the Pensacola city officials for almost a decade and Wright was generally thought to be the spokesman of those officers.<sup>17</sup>

*James Gadsden and Robert Butler*

While Call and Jackson were in Congress, Florida provided a haven for two other rather prominent cronies. Colonel James Gadsden of South Carolina had left the army in 1822 after the Senate had refused to approve Monroe's appointment of him

15. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, September 27, 1823.

16. Commission of Benjamin D. Wright, Misc. Perm. Commissions E, State Department, National Archives; James O. Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (DeLand, 1926), 63-64; Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), I, 157.

17. Tallahassee *Florida Advocate*, February 14, 1829.

as Adjutant General of the army. He had come to Florida where in 1823 Monroe had entrusted to him the task of removing the Indians from the inhabited parts of North Florida to a point in the interior of the peninsula to the south. In this capacity he negotiated the treaty of Moultrie Creek which moved the Indians to an inland southern location. For sixteen years Gadsden remained in Florida and was several times the Congressional candidate backed by the Call faction. In 1832 he again was named to treat with the Indians and negotiated the treaty of Payne's Landing which provided for removal of the Indians to the West. In the Indian War that followed he served variously as chief of staff to General Winfield Scott and as quartermaster general of the militia.<sup>18</sup> Gadsden is remembered in United States history primarily for his services rendered while minister to Mexico under President Franklin Pierce. In that capacity he obtained a large tract of land for the United States which is still referred to as the "Gadsden Purchase."

Colonel Robert Butler, like Gadsden, was an unemployed army officer who was placed in a Florida office through Jackson's influence. Butler had long served with Jackson and had been in charge of receiving East Florida from Spain at St. Augustine in 1821. Under the act for the reduction of the Army in that year, he was ordered transferred from the Fourth Infantry as a colonel to the First Infantry as a lieutenant colonel.<sup>19</sup> Rather than accept the reduction he resigned from the service and Jackson secured from Monroe "the President's positive promise that something shall be done for him."<sup>20</sup> Shortly after arriving in Washington as a senator, Jackson pressed upon Monroe the claims of Butler to the post of Surveyor General of

18. Francis B. Heitman, *Historical Register and Dictionary of the United States Army* (Washington, 1903), I, 441; Rerick, *Memoirs*, I, 154, 175, 188; "James Gadsden," *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York, 1934), VII, 83-84.

19. Heitman, *Army Register*, I, 276.

20. Andrew Jackson to Rachel Jackson, January 15, 1824, in Bassett, *Jackson Correspondence*, III, 223.

Florida, which post Monroe had intended for James P. Preston, a former governor of Virginia. In February, 1824, Jackson was able to report that he had obtained Monroe's promise that Butler should be appointed to the Florida office.<sup>21</sup> The new appointee arrived in Florida in November of the same year and brought with him from Tennessee Robert W. Williams and Isham G. Searcy as his clerks. With their arrival, both Gadsden and Butler and his clerks associated themselves with Call and his political friends.<sup>22</sup>

By 1824, the people associating politically with Call, Gadsden, and Butler were coming to be regarded as the only Jacksonian group and the White faction was coming to be composed of people hostile or indifferent to Jackson. By this time, too, Call was becoming identified in the popular mind with the big landed interests; while White, who had gained favorable notice for uncovering land frauds in Pensacola, was becoming a symbol of the opposition to the land speculator. Beginning late in 1824 the Call faction was spoken for in the new capital city of Tallahassee by the *Florida Intelligencer*, edited by Ambrose Crane. Early in 1825, Crane was appointed first postmaster of Tallahassee and had already been named by Governor DuVal as one of three commissioners to conduct public sales of lots in the capital and to receive bids for the construction of public buildings. Butler was also one of the three commissioners.<sup>23</sup>

In 1825 Call declined to run for reelection to Congress and secured for himself the appointment to the newly created post of Receiver of Public Monies at the federal land office in Tallahassee.<sup>24</sup> At the same time Samuel R. Overton, Jackson's Tennessee friend was named Register of the land office. Overton

21. Andrew Jackson to John Coffee, February 22, 1824, *ibid.*, III, 229.

22. Robert Butler to George Graham, November 15, 1824. Letters recd. Surveyor General of Florida, General Land Office, National Archives.

23. St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, February 1, 1825; *Pensacola Gazette*, April 9, 1825.

24. George Graham to R. K. Call, February 23, 1825, Misc. letters sent, General Land Office, National Archives.

had occupied this post but three months when he was replaced by George Ward, who was a staunch adherent of the Call faction. Whether or not Overton's replacement was due to differences with Call is not clear; however, about this time Call informed Jackson that he suspected Overton of being his enemy. Jackson, after Overton's exit from the land office, replied with the hope that Call might be wrong, but he asserted "should this be established against him I will abandon him."<sup>25</sup>

Though Call did not run again in 1825, James Gadsden made the race with Call's support. Gadsden, in fact, became the perennial candidate of the faction, running unsuccessfully for Congress again in 1827, in 1829, and in 1831. Joseph M. White, who had the sympathy of and limited support from the Adams administration, was victorious each time.

### *The Nucleus*

By the time Jackson assumed the presidency in 1829, the faction led by his former cronies in Florida had fairly well solidified and was being variously referred to as the Call party, the land office faction, or "the Nucleus." It had also added to its ranks influential men who cannot be properly termed personal cronies of the old general. In Tallahassee, Call himself was probably the most important member but the faction also included among its leaders there Romeo Lewis, sheriff of Leon county; Richard C. Allen, a land speculator; William B. Nuttall, a planter; and George K. Walker, Call's cousin and partner. George Ward, Robert Butler, Isham G. Searcy, and Robert W.

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25. Andrew Jackson to R. K. Call, July 24, 1825, Call Papers, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina. Undoubtedly the fact that George Graham, the head of the General Land Office was friendly toward Jackson and Call expedited the securing of land office posts for Jackson's cronies. Graham also cooperated on at least one occasion by going so far as to forward to Call a letter received in Washington criticizing the administration of the land office in Tallahassee. He did it to "guard you against the machinations of your enemies." (Graham to Call, February 25, 1827, Misc. letters sent, General Land Office, National Archives.)

Williams of the land office; and Ambrose Crane, A. S. Thruston, Edgar Macon, Leslie A. Thompson, Edward R. Gibson, successive editors of the group's newspaper voice were prominent. In Pensacola, the main burden of the faction was borne by Benjamin Wright who in 1834 came into control of the influential *Pensacola Gazette*. In 1830, Walker was sent to Pensacola as United States District Attorney and strengthened the influence of the faction there. In East Florida, Joseph Sanchez, an old inhabitant; Charles Downing, a lawyer; and Samuel Bellamy, a lawyer-planter, were most closely associated with the group. In addition to these men, by 1829 Governor DuVal was also identified with the Call party, which was now referred to popularly as the Nucleus.

The most important office in Florida which was not in the hands of the Nucleus was the Congressional post which White held from 1826 to 1838. His popular strength was based upon his support of preëmption laws and his reputation as an opponent of the land speculators. After the accession of Jackson to the presidency, White ceased to wield much influence at the White House, which increasingly turned to other sources for advice on Florida policies. The Nucleus redoubled its efforts to unseat White in 1831, but he was returned. DuVal, who actively opposed White, had moved to kill his influence over the patronage by sending Jackson a list of removals which should be made in Florida to effect "the salutary reforms which you have commenced." He reminded de president that many of his friends had been denied office when the latter had been governor and asked, "I beg of you to remember them now. . . ." <sup>26</sup>

White retaliated by attempting to discredit DuVal and prevent his reappointment. The Delegate charged that DuVal had been taken into "the harvest of the speculators" whom he had

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26. William P. DuVal to Andrew Jackson, April 21, 1829, copy in MS. "Florida Territorial Papers," Territorial Records Office, National Archives; Tallahassee *Floridian and Advocate*, May 19, June 2, 1831.

once characterized as worse than thieves, and he sent documents to Jackson purporting to show that the governor was guilty of fraud, misappropriation of funds, carelessness, negligence, and general maladministration.<sup>27</sup> DuVal, however, was staunchly defended by the Nucleus and was reappointed. A counter-attack by DuVal was launched when he voided the 1831 election on the grounds of fraud, declared White's seat empty, and held a new election. White was again elected, but the House of Representatives refused to recognize the second election and seated him on the basis of the first.<sup>28</sup>

By 1833, White's perennial opponent, Gadsden, was losing favor in the eyes of the Jacksonians. The development of the nullification controversy in South Carolina in 1832-1833 was a decisive factor. Gadsden firmly believed that nullification was the just remedy of an oppressed minority and, although he did not make his views public immediately, he ultimately went with Calhoun and deserted Jackson on this issue. Aside from this, many of the Nucleus felt that it would be unwise to again entrust their electoral fortunes to Gadsden. There was some lack of concert in reaching agreement upon a replacement candidate but, due to the efforts of Benjamin Wright, rival ambitions among the members of the faction were at length subordinated in support of a somewhat reluctant Call for the 1833 Congressional race.<sup>29</sup> Despite his prestige and connections, Call proved no stronger than Gadsden had been and White again won out. Call, however, placed much of the blame for his defeat upon Gadsden whom he suspected of having covertly opposed his election. Gadsden denied that he was opposed to Call's election or that he had any control over the votes of his friends whose opposition might have spelled Call's defeat.<sup>30</sup> Jackson expressed

27. *Ibid.*, February 24, April 14, 1831.

28. *Ibid.*, July 7, August 10, 1831.

29. Benjamin D. Wright to R. K. Call, May 27, 1832, Call Papers, Florida Historical Society Library.

30. James Gadsden to R. K. Call, August 25, October 11, 1833; R. K. Call to James Gadsden, August 28, 1833, Call Papers, Florida Historical Society Library.

great surprise at the defeat and asked if Gadsden's opposition to Call might have stemmed from Gadsden's being a "nullifier." He asked "to be correctly informed" so that he might "never invest one with office under the General Government . . . who would nullify its laws and oppose their execution."<sup>31</sup>

Following the Gadsden-Call split in 1833, the closely knit propertied group that was the Nucleus began to weaken and lose its influence. In part this reflected the split in the national administration between the forces of Calhoun and the Jackson-Van Buren group. Gadsden was the Calhoun sympathizer, and Call, though he had no liking for Van Buren, adhered to the Jackson partisans. In part, this also reflected the growing diversification of interests among proper tied men in Florida. By the 1830's, the land office was ceasing to be the center of attraction for ambitious men. Banking and railway corporations were rising in importance and were claiming their attention and resources. Pensacola, Tallahassee, and St Augustine each had rather important banks, and railroad schemes were projected in virtually every populated place in the territory. Competition for the favors of the territorial government divided propertied groups among themselves and promoted sectionalism. Late in the territorial period the statehood movement also accentuated the sectional divisions. The people of East Florida, desiring continued material benefits from the federal government, opposed statehood and felt that the territory could not yet financially sustain a state government. Much the same attitude was prevalent in West Florida. Yet in prosperous Middle Florida – the territory's "black belt" district – statehood sentiment was strong, for the politically articulate group were anxious to be free of federal control.<sup>32</sup>

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31. Andrew Jackson to R. K. Call, July 14, 1833, copy in MS. "Journal of Governor R. K. Call," 197-198, Florida Historical Society Library.

32. In this era "Middle Florida" was the region between the Suwannee and Apalachicola Rivers.

*The Democratic Party and the Banks*

The waning importance of the Nucleus was accompanied by evidences of new influence being exerted over the appointment of officers to Florida posts. At the close of DuVal's fourth term in 1834, John H. Eaton was named governor and thereafter men sympathetic to Van Buren and hostile to the local banking corporations began to fill the federal posts. After the financial panic of 1837 and its subsequent depression, these men found a dynamic, vital issue on which to organize politically: opposition to banks, monopoly, and privilege of every stripe. This group, rather than the old Jacksonian cronies, formed the core of Florida's Democratic party.

The Florida banking corporations, which received most of the blame for the depression, had been so intimately tied to the old Jacksonian group in Florida that they almost automatically became ranged in opposition to the new antibank Democrats. Under DuVal's administration, most of the banks had been chartered and backed by territorial bonds. Under Call, who was named governor in 1836, new issues of securities guaranteed by the territorial government had been sold by the banks. On top of this, the boards of directors and stockholders (particularly of the Union Bank of Tallahassee) were comprised in great measure of members of or sympathizers with the old Nucleus. In the face of the depression and the political storm against them these conservatives became confused and divided, some acquiescing in the demands for the abolition of the banks, some stubbornly standing for the banks and the payment of their obligations whatever the cost, and some advocating preservation of the banks but repudiation or evasion of the government-endorsed bank securities.

*A Constitution for the Expectant State*

In the midst of the financial crisis came the Constitutional Convention of 1838-1839 to draw up a government for a future

State of Florida. This convention became the battleground of the bank and anti-bank forces and the controlling strength of the anti-bank element was made clear by its defeat of DuVal for the convention presidency. Robert Raymond Reid of St. Augustine was named presiding officer. Reid, with James D. Westcott, Jr., and David L. Yulee, was one of the “big three” of the early Florida Democracy. At the close of the convention, the anti-bank group formally organized as Florida’s Democratic party. In the same year President Van Buren removed Call from the governorship, climaxing a series of disagreements between the territorial and federal administrations and named Reid to the post. In 1839, too, the anti-bank constitution was ratified, and in 1841 Yulee went to Congress, ending Charles Downing’s brief four year tenure there. The year 1841 also saw the Democrats sweep the Legislative Council.

The contending political forces on the national scene had fairly well crystallized by 1840 as the Whig and Democratic parties, and in Florida whether they liked it or not the Democrats’ opponents found themselves being dubbed Whigs – a name they gradually accepted. Richard Call, after his break with Van Buren, became one of the bittered critics of the Democrats and actively campaigned for William H. Harrison, the Whig presidential nominee in 1840. Call, George Ward, George K. Walker, Benjamin D. Wright, and Charles Downing were among the outstanding Whig leaders in Florida after 1840. Of the original Jackson cronies of 1821, Bronaugh was dead, and Brackenridge, Easter, Butler, Gadsden, Miller, and Walton all had left Florida or had retired from political life. Only Call remained active, and throughout the early statehood period, as he had in the territorial days, this last of the cronies stood as a symbol of frontier conservatism. Through the years he stood as a vital link, tying together all the succeeding conservative political groups – from the Nucleus to the Whig party, then

the Native American party, and finally the Constitutional Union party of 1860.

## LETTERS OF ANDREW JACKSON TO HIS CRONIES.

## APPENDIX I\*

\* The originals of this and the letters which follow are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida as are those published in this *Quarterly*, xxxi, no. 1. All have been unknown until now, not having been included in Bassett: *Correspondence of Andrew Jackson*, 6 vols. (The Carnegie Institution of Washington, 1926-1935.) All but the last letter are in Jackson's hand, and that one was signed by him.

In the above mentioned publication, Bassett includes a letter from Jackson to Bronaugh dated July 18, 1822, which he states "was perhaps Jackson's last letter to Bronaugh." The letter here published is obviously a later one and there seems to be no reason not to believe that it is actually the last one. Bronaugh died on September 2 and undoubtedly this letter arrived after his death.

(*Andrew Jackson to James C. Bronaugh*)

Hermitage August 27th 1822

Dr. Bronaugh

I had the pleasure on last evening to receive your letter of the 22nd ult.

It affords me great pleasure to be informed of your flattering prospects of success on your election,<sup>1</sup> I need not say what I am sure you believe, the great anxiety I have that you should succeed. My mortification is great to hear that my friends (and what I allways supposed yours) Capts Call and Ea[s]ter<sup>2</sup> should be luke warm on this subject. The letters I have recd. from Capt Easter, induced me to believe he was your active friend, and in all Capt Calls, he mentions you with friendship, from which I did suppose that amongst all our friends they would be union & active union, on this subject.

I have recd Judge Brakenridges<sup>3</sup> [sic] letter, & sincerely

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1. Bronaugh was considered the leading contender for election as Florida's first Delegate to Congress.
  2. Richard Keith Call and Richard J. Easter, former army officers and aides to Jackson, were law partners in Pensacola and came into opposition to Bronaugh probably because of Call's own ambition to go to Congress.
  3. Henry M. Brackenridge, United States Judge for West Florida, who had assisted Jackson in the organization of the provisional government and in the preceding transfer negotiations.

regret that there should exist any heart burnings, between him, Call & Easter. You know my good opinion of, and friendship for them all, I have no doubt from the Judges explanation, but the whole has originated from a mistake, on the part of Capt Call & Easter and that when cool reflection assumes its empire they both will be satisfied with the Judges giving the Clerkship to Colo. Miller<sup>4</sup>. I am much pleased that Colo. Walton<sup>5</sup> & Shannon,<sup>6</sup> are your active friends, I knew Colo. Miller too well ever to doubt him, he, you will find, is a man of sterling worth – and under all circumstances to be relied on. I was aware as I formerly named to you of the duplicity of Colo Barnett.<sup>7</sup> Call and Capt Easter both know my opinion of him, and every person who really wishes for the prosperity of Florida, & that Pensacola should be hastened ought to unite in your support as they must be convinced if they do not. Barnett cannot, & I hope will not be elected. It will be a candidate from the east, unless there is perfect union in the west in your support. If the soldiary should be admitted to vote you are safe, the army will stick by you. They certainly will not prove traitors to their own selves – and altho Col. Brooke<sup>8</sup> may have some hostility toward you, he will be silent, and go with the army. Under existing circumstances, it would be impolitic & unjust to make a property qualification. Residence alone, in justice to all, should be required. This is the only republican rule that can be estab-

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4. John Miller, a former lieutenant-colonel in the army, was mayor of Pensacola and a member of the first territorial Legislative Council. He had been clerk of the county court of Escambia, and Brackenridge named him clerk of the United States Court of West Florida.
  5. George Walton of Georgia, Secretary of the Territory of Florida.
  6. David Shannon, first president of the Escambia county court created by Jackson, practiced law in Pensacola.
  7. William Barnett, a Revolutionary War veteran and former Congressman from Georgia (1812-1815), was one of the first aldermen of Pensacola by Jackson's appointment. His friendships with the old inhabitants hostile to Jackson won him Jackson's contempt.
  8. George M. Brooke, a lieutenant-colonel in the Army who commanded the Army detachment in Pensacola during and just after Jackson's governorship. Brooke and Jackson were not on good terms owing to Brooke's friendship with the former Spanish governor, José Callava.

lished, untill your land titles are adjudicated, and your vacant and unappropriated land brought into market— and you come into the union as a state. Then in your constitution you can adopt such qualifications as you may think proper for the happiness, security, & prosperity of the state. Untill then all freemen of six months residence should be entitled to a vote. All freemen residents will be bound by your laws, & subject to punishment under them – and of right, ought to be entitled to a voice in making them.

I was much gratified in seeing you unanimously chosen president of the council.<sup>9</sup> So soon as your government is organized, and your laws authorising the election of a delegate are passed I will be happy to see the law, and to know the qualifications necessary to entitle an individual to vote, so soon as I see this I can form a correct idea of your probable success.

Doctor McCall is not off from Nashville yet. He will set out in a day or two.

You will see from the Nashville papers the current news of our country.

Mrs. J. joins me in good wishes for your health & happiness, and believe me sincerely your friend

ANDREW JACKSON

P.S. Present me to Mr. Overton,<sup>10</sup> Colo. Miller, Walton & Shannon, & say to Mr. Conner,<sup>11</sup> I feel happy to see him noticed by the council. I think him a excellent young man.

P.S. Since closing my letter I have recd one from Lt Donelson<sup>12</sup>

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9. Bronaugh was unanimously chosen president of the first Legislative Council of Florida in 1822.
  10. Samuel R. Overton of Tennessee was one of the first United States Commissioners on Land Claims in Florida. He later became the first Register of the Tallahassee land office.
  11. José Coppinger Connor, apparently one of the native inhabitants of Pensacola, was appointed clerk of the first Legislative Council. He died in the yellow fever epidemic of the summer of 1822.
  12. Andrew Jackson Donelson, a lieutenant in the Army and nephew of Jackson.

in which he remarks that Mr. Rutledge<sup>13</sup> in a postscript of a letter by him just recd. mentions, that you had advised Mr. Rutledge that the sum of \$240 had been allowed him, and if he had not drawn that sum, that it must be in his Lt Donelsons hands, & writes me for a copy of the account as rendered by me to the Sec. of State. I have sent it to him. I have always been under the impression, that this sum was paid Mr. Rutledge at Pensacola and his duplicate receipts taken. If this is not the case I will regret it very much – for on the 24th of August 1821 I find his recpt and Judge Brakenridges on file for their services as interpreters and translators – and as soon as Lt Donelson arived from orleans, with the funds, I requested you to pay these two gentlemen and Capt Call, which you did as I believe. I will recollect of your naming to me that it was with great difficulty you could prevail upon Mr. Rutledge to receive it – and finding his receipt on file with Judge Brakenridge & Capt Calls and all others I had no idea but that it was paid to him as well as to the others when his recpt was taken. If not I will like to be advised how it has happened, that it was not paid to him when his recpt was given that I may have the amount paid to him. Have the goodness to write to me on the recpt of this letter. Yours A J.

*(Andrew Jackson to George Walton)*

Hermitage near Nashville

Novbr. 26th 1822

My Dear Colo.

On my return from Alabama, where I had been for the last month I had the pleasure to receive your letter of the 10th ult. It affords me great pleasure to learn that you and your

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13. Edward Rutledge served as translator for Jackson in the transfer negotiations.

family have escaped from the ravages of that dreadful fever that has vissitted your city, and has swept from existance, so many valuable citizens. I rejoice that you and your family are restored to health, & I pray god that you may long enjoy that blessing. I sincerely thank you for the circumstantial account you have given me of the death & sufferings of my ever to be lamented friend, Doctor Bronaugh. How I wished to have been with him in his sufferings, to have endeavoured to sooth & comfort him; and to have endeavoured to have saved him; as Doctor Brosenham [ sic ]<sup>14</sup> has well expressed, "Men of his noble spirit ought not to die;" few men knew the worth of Doctor Bronaugh. I well knew it, and knew how to appreciate it. He was my bosom friend, he was every way worthy of that confidence I reposed in him. He was incapable of violating confidence, or departing from the true principles of friendship. He was noble & brave, and his exit from life, notises[?] what I allways expected, and what I thought of him. But he has gone the way of all the earth, he has done his duty, here below, and I have a fond hope that he is changed to a better, & hapier clime where his spirit is blessed & is at rest— and by that Sacred Book that ought to be our guide, we are commanded not to mourn for the dead, but for the living. Peace to his name.

Mr. Rutledge delivered the negroes safely to me,<sup>15</sup> I intend sending them on immediately but find that Dick has become so much edicted to drink that I could not trust him. I have detained them here untill I hear from Madam Bronaugh to whom I had written some time ago— and again on yesterday. On the subject of his wardrobe I have only to remark; that I would advise you to pack them up in a trunk, & send them to his mother. It would be hard so to divide them as to please.

14. John Brosnaham, a physician in Pensacola, was one of Jackson's appointees to Pensacola's first Board of Aldermen.

15. The Negro slaves belonging to Dr. Bronaugh were sent on to his mother after his death which was on September 2, 1822. "Dick" was Bronaugh's personal servant.

It would be difficult to Judge who was his friends – and to prevent any feeling on the subject, I would advise sending his ward robe to his mother. There are here some debts due him for money loaned, which I will endeavour to collect & remit to his mother, one debt will be lost, the Debtor being insolvent – but I hope to be able to collect the Ballance which will close all his business here, & take the negroes to Loudon [sic] County Virginia.

How I sincerely regret the loss of many of my friends there, and particularly my friend Major Dinken[sic].<sup>16</sup> He was the life & soul of his Regt. and in him the army has lost one of its most worthy members. I hope our friend Cary Nicholas is still safe.<sup>17</sup> May he survive the dreadful calamity.

I am fearful your police was lax, & not sufficiently attended to, or the rotten fish could not have been introduced; to which is ascribed, the introduction of that fatal fever – and I fear many fell victims to its ravages after introduced, for the want of proper arrangements, for their comfort & accommodation. It appears no arrangements were adopted to prevent it spreading, nor no hospital prepared for the reception of the sick. I hope before this reaches you, the city will be restored to perfect health, and that you will profit from experience, & have a more vigilant police another season. Pensacola is a healthy place with a proper police, and the present catastrophe is no evidence to my mind of the contrary. I have the prosperity of the Floridas much at heart, and its late dreadful visitation has filled my heart with woe.

Should Mr. Davidson who attended my deceased friend Doctor Bronaugh in his last moments & followed him alone to his

16. James E. Dinkins, a native of South Carolina, was a major with the Army detachment stationed in Pensacola.

17. Cary Nicholas, a former major in the Army and native of Virginia, resigned from the Army in 1821 and settled in Pensacola. He practiced law and was the city's first United States postmaster. He was one of the first publishers of the Pensacola *Floridian*, and died in 1829 after having served for a number of years as Clerk of the Superior Court of Middle Florida.

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late death of my dear friend  
Should Mr. Dawson who attended my dear  
friend Doctor Brown's in his last moments  
& followed him down to his grave, be with you  
present to hear Mrs. J. & my profound respects -  
This act to my dying friend, has endeared him  
to me and has left on my mind, lasting im-  
pressions of gratitude, never to be forgotten  
present me although unacquainted, respec-  
tfully to your Lady & mother, and accept for  
yourselves Mrs. J. and my kindest salutations -  
present me to Mr. Soul Overton, Col. &  
Easter & to all friends, and believe me to be  
very respectfully your friend.

Andrew Jackson

Col. George Walton

Andrew Jackson to George Walton, Nov. 26, 1822.

grave, be with you, present to him Mrs. J. & my profound respects. This act to my dying friend, has endeared him to me, and has left on my mind, lasting impressions of gratitude, never to be forgotten.

Present me although unacquainted, respectfully to your Lady & mother, and accept for yourself Mrs. J. and my kindest salutations.

Present me to Mr Saml Overton, Call & Easter & to all my friends, and believe me to be very respectfully your friend.

ANDREW JACKSON

Colo. George Walton

APPENDIX III

(Andrew Jackson to George Walton)

Hermitage October 28th 1823

My Dear Col.

Your letter of 24th ult. is befoe me, and I take great pleasure in acknowledging its receipt. Your remarks respecting the succession to Mr. Duval<sup>18</sup> had been anticipated and were sometime since substantially presented to Mr. Monroe, with such considerations as were in my power in favor of your claims. No doubt much *sinister manoeuvre* has been used; but opposed to the evidences of integrity & talent furnished by your past services, I trust that the President will not give the victory to inferior pretensions.

The favorable location of the Indians was necessary to the establishment of Harmony between the two sections of your Territory. If this be secured, the channels to improved government, agriculture & commerce are unobstructed, and Florida flourishing and powerful, will yet prove how necessary she

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18. William P. DuVal, the first civil governor of Florida, served from 1822 to 1834. Before his appointment he was United States Judge for East Florida.

was to the best interests of the Union, – especially to its military protection.

You are aware of my appointment to the Senate of the US by the legislature of this state<sup>19</sup> – a measure adopted without my approbation. I accepted the appointment, because of the general obligation which binds every citizen to the service of his country. For certainly, he who enjoys the blessings of our free and happy institutions should not shrink from the responsibilities of such service; when the citizens of other forms, aristocratic & even despotic, recognize the principle– accounting it the sacred tie between the government & the governed. The only question with me, after my name had been put in nomination, was, whether from my age & the impaired state of my health, there were not others better qualified for the station. These considerations however, not prevailing with the Legislature, I am elected, and I commit myself to the same Providence that has directed my past destinies.

I should write you more in detail, but that I am much hastened with business, intending to leave this for Washington on the 10th proximo. Mrs. Jackson unites with me in best wishes to your aged mother & to Mrs. Walton. We also beg to be presented to Mr. Overton.

yr. sincere friend

ANDREW JACKSON

Col George Walton

[The body of this third letter is not in Jackson's hand, although the signature is his.]

19. Tennessee.

## “SOUTHERN RIGHTS” AND YANKEE HUMOR

*A Confederate-Federal Jacksonville Newspaper*

During the War for Southern Independence, Jacksonville was occupied by Federal forces several times for varying periods. On October 5, 1862, the town was seized for the second time, having just been abandoned hurriedly by most of the inhabitants who had not already left their homes earlier in the war.

Captain Valentine B. Chamberlain was in command of a company of the 7th Connecticut Volunteers which was among the first to land. Later he wrote home a full account of the expedition, with details of the desolation he found in Jacksonville. The letter is of so much historical interest to us in Florida that it was printed entire in this *Quarterly* (xv. pp. 85-94, Oct. 1936)\*

In one of the deserted buildings, Capt. Chamberlain came upon a printery which proved to be the office of a small Jacksonville newspaper *Southern Rights*, a single sheet of only one printed page. The next issue, vol. I, no. 11, Oct. 4, 1862, (the day before the arrival of the Federals) was set-up ready for printing. Capt. Chamberlain writes:

“He [Gen. Brannan, in command] gave me instructions to fire the office of the Secesh paper and gut it— I did both and more too. I found some of the type up and so I added some to the matter, having printers in my company, and printed a few copies. It proved quite a sell. The General thought it was the last paper printed by the retreating editor. After we got home [Hilton Head, S.C.] the printers of *The New South* got hold of a copy and they supposed it was real Sesech, so they went to work and set it up anew and are making, I suppose, quite a speck as they sell the paper for five cents. After printing, as I

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\* The letter was reserved in the family of Capt. Chamberlain, and because it is of so much interest to us in Florida, has been given to the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, by his son, Mr. Rodman W. Chamberlain, of New Britain, Connecticut.



have said, I had my company take down the press and carry it to the boat. . . .”

It is quite evident, from their content, that he added four paragraphs, all in the first column. These he marked with a pen, as shown on the enlargement of that column herewith. Evidently a local election was in the offing.

Both the original, as Capt. Chamberlain printed it, and the reprint as set-up again at the headquarters of the district in Hilton Head, South Carolina, are reproduced in facsimile here. An “Explanation” was added to the reprint, as shown.

Because of their especial interest, other portions of Capt. Chamberlain’s letter are reprinted here from the *Quarterly* of more than twenty years ago:

“If you could see Jacksonville you could thoroughly realize what secession has done for the south. Desolation and distress are before you. Before reaching the city you see the ruins of a large number of steam saw mills, they were burned before our people reached there last season. The work was done by the rebels to keep them from our possession. I believe they are owned mostly by northern capital. Grass and weeds grow rank in the principal streets. Houses with blinds closed attest the absence of inmates. Stores with shelves but no goods. Churches deserted and gloomy. Depot, but no cars. Such is the general look of the city. There are a few places where the people stay, through secesh and union rule. Some of them look very well. About the streets you see darkies, a few women, a very few men. The men, you are told, are away up the country, but you know they are in the rebel army. Provisions are very scarce and consequently dear. The prices range about those at Savannah. Corn and sweet potatoes are the chief dependence. One Dutchman that we brought away says that ‘he eats no more hominy for ten years.’

“In this place I saw for the first time a woman chewing snuff or ‘dipping.’ It was on picket close by where we fired upon the

Duval County, at the election in October next.

☞ We are authorized to announce W. A. McLEAN, Esq., as a Candidate for Representative, from Duval County, at the election in October next.

☞ We are authorized to announce HUGH. A. CORLEY, as a Candidate for the office of Register of Public Lands of the State of Florida at the election in October next.

☞ On account of the presence of distinguished visitors the election is indefinitely postponed. ☹

**Notice.**

The Editor of this paper is absent from town for a few days on urgent business in the interior. It is therefore announced that the publication of this Paper will hereafter be weekly suspended as it has been heretofore, weakly continued.

The taking of our battery after a loss of courage, but no blood, and the presence of the Yankee Fleet, and the fearful proximity of Gen. Brannan and his forces, render the *Southern Rights* precarious.

To fill up, we make some selections from our last issue.

Our stock of paper being small, because of the extensive use of that article in making Confederate Notes, we are unable to meet the large demand for this week's issue.

**Exempts from Conscription.**

The Confederate Congress has passed an Act, by which certain persons are exempt from milita-

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EXPLANATION—When the U. S. Forces under Brigadier General J. M. Brannan visited Jacksonville, Fla., the form of the "Southern Rights" was found standing in the Office just as it was left by the *Stealing Heels*. The office was immediately "cleaned out," and—there being more "Devils" than printers present—the form was thrown into "Pi" in less time than it takes to write it. A proof sheet coming into our possession, we re-print the sheet as near like the original as possible, for the purpose of showing to our friends at the North, the "Talent, Vigor, Heroism and Military arder" that is ~~not~~ displayed in this Trophy of Jacksonville. [Printers.]

*This Explanation was added to the reprint as reset at Hilton Head.*

*From the reprint.*

Camp 7<sup>th</sup> Ry Cav Wks

Wilmington NC Oct 10-1162

My dear friends:

If you are of the mind you  
may take a rumble with me in fact  
go on an "Expectation". It is several days since

So the mind has  
been. It matters little after all when the body fails.  
Wednesday he has coming home. He is I call Port Royal home.  
I have not forgotten another & clearer one. It was rather rough  
& rainy. a bad time for the earth on the hill. Thursday morn-  
ing came by to the death. And here down in Camp. And  
thus it happened in the "Flinders War"

As ever  
Wilmington.

men that in tonight any way  
men promising for ten years. In this place I den for  
the first time a woman chewing snuff or "dipping". It was  
which is wicked. Clean by when he found upon the Casahy.

cavalry. (By the way, the women in that region were frightened some. We fired directly toward the town right in among the houses. We were forced to it by the presence of the enemy in that locality. The women folk complained bitterly of the rebel soldiers for leaving the Bluff and coming into the town to fight.) But I was speaking of the 'dipping.' After the skirmish with the enemy was fairly over, I stepped onto the piazza of one of the houses close by, to talk to the ladies. There they were, one quite decent looking young woman, married, husband gone, she said he was not in the rebel army. She sat in a rocking chair, with a tin box looking like one of my old worm boxes in one hand, and a stick in the other. The stick she plunged into the box, in which was the snuff, then into her mouth. After a little, she would spit from her mouth the collected saliva black with tobacco. How do you like the picture of the Jacksonville ladies? . . .

"We lost one man in this place. . . . And thus it happened in the 'Florida' war.

As Ever,  
VALENTINE"

**FLORIDA HISTORY IN SPANISH ARCHIVES.  
REPRODUCTIONS AT THE UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA\***

by CHARLES W. ARNADE

Spanish records distinguish themselves for their great length; the flow of words seems endless, the innumerable details not always to the point. They lack any businesslike method. Although every imaginable problem is discussed, if one reads the Spanish archives of Florida he is amazed to find that, for instance, little or nothing is said about the attractiveness of the country. Rarely one tells about her beautiful beaches, her waving palms, her unexcelled climate and the fertility of her soil. The Spanish records of Florida are not recommended for use by present-day chambers of commerce except to give a historical flavor to their promotion campaigns. It remained for a far distant Peruvian Indian, a superb writer and chronicler, Garcilaso de la Vega, to tell in print that Florida was largely neither sterile nor swampy, but was a fertile land possessing all things that human life needed.<sup>1</sup> The Inca, Garcilaso, had forgotten that the Spanish conquerors wished more than the rudiments for human existence. They wanted to be rewarded by precious metals for their dangerous adventures into the midst of the wilds of the unknown Americas. Once Florida was proven to be a futile land in the search for gold and other easy riches, it became nothing more than a protective frontier to guard the other Spanish lands abounding in mineral wealth. First in the search for gold, and then as a garrison land, the history of Spanish Florida lasted from 1513 to 1821, with only a twenty-year interlude. Thus for three hundred years Florida belonged to Spain, and has the longest recorded history of any of our United States, challenged only by New Mexico. As James Alex-

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\* This paper was written for and read at the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society at Daytona Beach, April 15, 1955.

1. *The Florida of the Inca*, translated and edited by John Grier and Jeanette Johnson Varner (Austin, 1951), xxxviii.

ander Robertson has put it, "Not one state equals it in length of days of concrete history."<sup>2</sup>

With regard to historical research these three centuries have received little attention, while the 130 years of our national government in Florida have been described in great detail. It is not far wrong to say that for every fifty articles, monographs, books, theses or term papers written on the other eras in Florida, there are only two or three about the Spanish period.<sup>3</sup> The reasons are obvious: national sentiments, difficulty of language, complicated script, and lack of access to Spanish source material. A few excellent works on Spanish Florida have been written and published. The volumes of Woodbury Lowery are classics.<sup>4</sup> The eminent Herbert E. Bolton, in his many studies of the borderlands, has included Florida very well.<sup>5</sup> Isaac J. Cox has dealt with Florida in a scholarly way.<sup>6</sup> Two present-day outstanding authorities on Latin-American history, Arthur P. Whitaker and Irving A. Leonard, in the early years of their careers were interested in and wrote on Florida.<sup>7</sup> But most of these books were not written with especial interest for Florida, as it constituted only a directly affected land within a larger subject. Hence books dealing exclusively with Spanish Florida are only too few. Other studies such as Chatelain's *The Defense of Spanish Florida*<sup>8</sup> are imperative needs. The various volumes published through the interest of John Batterson Stetson, Jr. and James Alexander Robertson by the Florida State Historical

2. "The Significance of Florida's History," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (1927), 25.
3. Cf. *Fla. Hist. Qy.*, passim. I-XXXIII (1908- ).
4. *The Spanish Settlements . . . in the United States* (New York and London, 1901, 1905), 2 vols.
5. See especially *The Spanish Borderlands; a Chronicle of Old Florida and the Southwest* (New Haven, 1921), and *infra*, n. 38.
6. *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813; a Study in American Diplomacy* (Baltimore 1918 ), and *infra*, n. 10, pp. 150-166.
7. A. P. Whitaker, *The Spanish-American Frontier, 1783-1785* (New York, 1927), and his *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas* (DeLand, Fla., 1931); I. A. Leonard, *Spanish Approach to Pensacola* (Albuquerque, 1939).
8. (Washington, D. C., 1941), 192 pp. and 22 maps.

Society were a noteworthy step in making available for research Spanish records to those not well acquainted with Spanish or old script. The unfinished task of Joseph B. Lockety on the late Spanish period represents one needed contribution.

*Spanish Archival Records*

In order to write about Spanish Florida the primary material must be available. Where is this basic raw material?

In colonial Spanish administration Florida occupied a peculiar and somewhat vague and confused status. It was part of the huge *Viceroyalty of New Spain*, whose viceroy resided in Mexico City. But its relation to Mexico was mostly nominal. Spain's high regard for judicial theory and practice had resulted in the fusion of executive, administrative and judicial powers, a fusion not easily understood by the American-trained mind. This blending finds its most notable expression in the colonial administrative body called the *Audiencia*, a semi-judicial and semi-political body, which many times wielded as much power as the viceroy, or more. Florida was responsible to the *Audiencia of Santo Domingo*. Yet the province was primarily a military outpost and military matters were of great importance; therefore, in questions of defense and related problems the governor of Habana, who was mostly concerned with defense, had a great deal to say. All this represents a clear picture in theory, but in practice the governor of Florida many times took matters up directly with the colonial agencies in Spain, by-passing complicated channels.<sup>9</sup> In summary, Florida was the victim of an involved bureaucracy and had three superiors: Mexico City, Santa Domingo and Habana. Sometimes she ignored them and dealt with the royal offices in the motherland.

All this is important in archival studies: communications went to and from Mexico City, to and from Santa Domingo, to

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9. Cf. Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida* (Washington, 1937), 6 and notes 15-17.

and from Habana, and directly to and from Spain. Copies and land records were deposited in the administrative offices in Florida; first in Saint Augustine, and later in Pensacola also. Therefore there were Florida records in Mexico City, Santo Domingo, Habana, Saint Augustine and Pensacola. Due to the great care of the Crown to conserve records, using many duplicates, the records of the Viceroyalty, Audiencia, and military governor were nearly all deposited in Spain in one single archive in Seville. That is where the Mexico City, Santa Domingo and Habana correspondence came to rest, with some minor exceptions and losses.

#### *Archivo General de Indias*

This great reservoir and center of Spanish Florida manuscripts in Seville is the single most important source for the history of Spanish Florida.

Those documents that remained at the home base in the province of Florida were located, at the time of the transfer to the United States, in Saint Augustine and Pensacola. The odysseys of these two archives have been comprehensively and clearly described in a study by that untiring scholar and expert in Spanish manuscripts, Irene A. Wright.<sup>10</sup> These manuscripts, known as the West and East Florida Papers respectively, had a long road of "vicissitudes",<sup>11</sup> except for many of the property records. The West Florida Papers, through neglect, stupidity, and frequent transfer disintegrated into a trifle, and apparently the small remainder is now in the National Archives in Washington.<sup>12</sup> Their companions at Saint Augustine were more fortunate and reached the sanctity of the Library of Congress less decimated, although with heavy casualties. This is the collection known today as the East Florida Papers, of approximately

10. "The Odyssey of the Spanish Archives of Florida," in Curtis Wilgus, ed., *Hispanic American Essays* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1942), 171-201. Cf. *Who's Who in America, 1926* for Miss Wright.

11. *Ibid.*, 201-207.

12. *Ibid.*, 201-207.

65,000 documents. They all are of the period from the re-occupation of Florida by Spain in 1784 to the transfer of the province to the United States in 1821.<sup>13</sup> Ignoring stipulations between Spain and the United States, the local Spanish authorities shipped to Habana many records before their evacuation of the province; but most of these were shady land records, which might not stand up in an American court. The fruitless efforts to rescue these manuscripts from the Spanish authorities in Habana have been well described by Alfred J. Hanna.<sup>14</sup>

In summary, for a study of Spanish Florida in its totality, the single most important archive is in Seville. This majestic reservoir is unsurpassed by all others combined; though for the second Spanish period Washington becomes as important as Seville. But it should always be remembered that these are not the only places where records of Spanish Florida are available. There are many other places, although of minor importance, where Florida material is located, and the eminent scholar, James A. Robertson, has enumerated them well in one of his articles in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.<sup>15</sup> But, as Dr. Robertson says, "The student of Spanish Florida . . . [must] first direct his steps, as a matter of course, to the Archivo General de Indias, at Seville. There, whether or not he has been prepared for what he must do, he will inevitably be astounded at the enormous amount of the resources thrown open to him."<sup>16</sup> It must be said that the researcher for Spanish Florida might ignore many of the other depositaries where Spanish Florida manuscripts are located, but he can never forget the Archives in Seville. If he does, his final product will very probably be of an unacceptable or mediocre nature, which might not stand the test of scholarship.

13. Mabel M. Manning, "The East Florida Papers in the Library of Congress," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, X (1930), 392-397.

14. "Diplomatic Missions of the United States to Secure the Spanish Archives of Florida" in Wilgus, ed., *op. cit.*, 208-233.

15. "The Archival Distribution of the Florida Manuscripts," *Fla. Hist. Qy.*, X (1931-1932), 35-50.

16. *Ibid.*, 36.

But a journey to Spain, although it is indeed pleasant, is hardly something a scholar can often afford. The Florida State Historical Society, which Mr. Stetson founded in 1921, began as one of its first measures to remedy this. Previously, Jeanette Thurber Connor had become interested in Florida history of the Spanish period. More or less during the same years, Irene A. Wright had made her residence in the town of Seville in Spain, becoming an expert on this Spanish archive. Miss Wright helped those who wished advice and aid about the Archive of the Indies where she was working, and was helpful to Mrs. Connor.

When John B. Stetson, Jr. of Philadelphia became interested in and then enthusiastic about Florida's history, he and Mrs. Connor joined their interests and, as Dr. Robertson says, "This quite naturally [led to] the formation of the Florida State Historical Society in 1921."<sup>17</sup> Mr. Stetson and Dr. Robertson carried on the Society until 1933 when the last of its publications appeared, and it ceased to exist.

Since the main purpose of the new society was to gather primary research material,<sup>18</sup> it was imperative to secure copies of the immense bulk of Florida manuscripts in Seville. This great task, difficult as it was, was simplified by the happy coincidence that Miss Wright was still a free-lance researcher in the Archive of Seville. As Mrs. Connor had used Miss Wright's invaluable services before, it followed that the new progressive society, rich in both enthusiasm and dollars, turned to her as "the medium of investigation"<sup>19</sup> and procurer of the reproductions needed.

An executive secretary for the Society and editor for its forthcoming publications must possess a thorough knowledge

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17. "The Spanish Manuscripts of the Florida State Historical Society," *American Antiquarian Society, n. s.*, XXXIX (1929), 17.

18. Florida State Historical Society, *Charter and By-Laws* (DeLand, Fla., 1922), 9-10.

19. Robertson, A.A. S., *op. cit.*, 16.

of the early Spanish language and be familiar with the history of the region. Mr. Stetson was more than fortunate when he brought into the organization an outstanding scholar and dedicated worker, James Alexander Robertson. Dr. Robertson was given the title of Research Professor at Stetson University, although his work lay in Washington where he lived. Here was an eminent scholar with a world-wide background and with an untiring zest for work that was astounding to those who knew him. He was full of enthusiasm and behind him lay a career of great experience and much publication and editing.<sup>20</sup> The Society could have found no one better. With Miss Wright in Seville and Dr. Robertson in the United States, the stage was set for the great undertaking of acquiring as much as possible of the riches of Seville.

Miss Wright had decided to install a photostat machine in the Archive there which would facilitate the task and speed up the work, but at length it hurt the national pride of Spain as the documents passed from the dusty shelves to the machine and, from there, the reproductions to the United States. Not until 1927 did government opposition to the machine become effective. By the time the law was passed restricting reproductions on a large scale, most of the important material up to 1763 had been photostated. Subsequently an appropriate solution was found with the help of Dr. Roscoe R. Hill, who had gone to Seville for the Carnegie Institution of Washington to compile his noteworthy guide to the Cuban Papers.<sup>21</sup> As a considerable amount of material dating after 1763 has come from the Archive, it must be assumed that the solution, circumventing the restrictive law of 1928, was successful.

The depression of 1929 was severely felt by Mr. Stetson and

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20. Curtis Wilgus, "The Life of James Alexander Robertson," in Wilgus, ed., *op. cit.*, 3-14.

21. See Robertson, A.A.S., *op. cit.*, 17-19; Roscoe R. Hill, *Descriptive Catalogue of the Documents Relating to the History of the United States in the Papeles Procedentes de Cuba* (Washington, D. C., 1916).

the Florida State Historical Society and the photostating and publication enterprises of the Society had to be terminated; and Dr. Robertson, being forced to give up this work, became the Archivist of the State of Maryland.<sup>22</sup> Fortunately when the financial crash came, the work in Seville was coming to its conclusion, and the collection in Washington had become a satisfactory substitute reservoir for those who could not afford to go to Seville. It possessed, if not all, most of the important documents that Dr. Robertson and Miss Wright considered vital in a study of Spanish Florida. Unquestionably, as available in the possession of Mr. Stetson and Dr. Robertson, that was now the outstanding source in the United States for the study of Spanish Florida from its beginning until the American period.

*To the University of Florida*

The collection was moved from Dr. Robertson's residence to Mr. Stetson's residence, and later, on sealed loan, to the Library of Congress where these copies of many thousands of documents were unavailable to scholars until 1954, when the University of Florida, after several years of planning and negotiation by Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, secured the collection by gift of Mr. Stetson and by purchase, and placed it in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History in the University Library. The task of assembling, classifying, fastening together and shelving has been virtually completed; and the collection is now open to students and scholars, with a cordial welcome awaiting them.

The photostats had been used when in the possession of Dr. Robertson by a few students, and three candidates at Catholic University in Washington used it for their dissertations which have been published and constitute models of thorough scholarship and research. Of these the work by Dr. Maynard Geiger on the Franciscan Conquest of Florida prob-

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<sup>22</sup>. Wilgus, *op. cit.*, 11.

ably represents the best single specialized volume on Spanish Florida.<sup>23</sup> This excellent book indicates that an almost unlimited amount of scholarly research awaits those who use these Spanish records of Florida.

#### *Description of the Collection*

In the collection are reproduced more than seven thousand documents, of about 130,000 sheets.<sup>24</sup> The first facsimile is dated November 7, 1518, and is a royal decree concerning La Florida.<sup>25</sup> The last manuscript is dated 301 years, three months and ten days later, on February 17, 1821, and is only an application for the position of royal treasurer of Pensacola.<sup>26</sup> Covering this long period of more than three centuries, here is the greater part of the history of Spanish Florida. As Dr. Robertson, who might be called the father of the collection, says, it tells of "the various Spanish explorations . . . attempts to found permanent settlements . . . [appearance] of the French Huguenots . . . colonization by Pedro Menéndez de Avilés . . . revenge by Gourgues . . . the beginnings of government and administration; missionary enterprise; Indian revolts . . . pirate raids,"<sup>27</sup> and all the other great events that are written in the annals of Florida's history under the Spanish banner. But these gray sheets will tell us much more, events not recorded in printed history, many of minor importance, some of major significance. Here is provided an abundance of source material for specialized monographs. It is not too much to say that these thousands of documents can and will give flesh and blood to round out the bare skeleton that we know today as the history of Spanish Florida.

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23. The others are: Lawrence Carroll Ford, *The Triangular Struggle for Spanish Pensacola, 1689-1739* (Washington, 1939); Michael J. Curley, *Church and State in the Spanish Floridas (1783-1822)*, (Washington, 1940).

24. This count is based on an insurance evaluation.

25. Photostat collection from AGI (Seville), 139-5-5. Hereafter cited as PC-AGI.

26. Pensacola, February, 1820, PC-AGI, 87-2-26, St. D. 2645, 3 folios.

27. A.A.S., *op. cit.*, 8.

*Chronology*

The number of documents is proportional to chronology: whereas there are some very interesting ones on the sixteenth century, the amount of material of the following century is much more abundant, and the number of manuscripts for the seven-hundred years is astounding. The names of the famous *conquistadores* run throughout the collection and there is much important, curious, and new information on them. It might be disappointing to learn that little Ponce de León material is available, with the exception of a few isolated documents that carry his original signature. If little is known about him, his descendants seemingly plague the history of the Spanish colony. For example, in the 1640's, Nicolas Ponce de León even occupied the provisional governorship of the province<sup>28</sup> and was always addressing letters to the king, wishing better terms for himself and then for Florida.<sup>29</sup> Before stating his worries about the province, he always asked for an increase of salary.

One of the most amazing documents is a more than four-hundred page record of a lawsuit between the lovely widow of Hernando de Soto,<sup>30</sup> Ysabel de Bobadilla and a Hernán Ponce de León, probably a close relative or even brother of Juan. Hernando and Hernán had been intimate friends and had signed a contract in Peru stipulating that whatever belonged to one should belong to the other. De Soto never broke the promise and in his will he gave half of his belongings to Hernán Ponce de León, who thereby acquired half of Florida at the *Adelantado's* death! Ysabel, De Soto's widow and daughter of the rough conqueror of Nicaragua, Pedrarias, indeed a charming and cunning lady, challenged the right of her husband to give away

28. See Kathryn Abbey Hanna, *Florida Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, N. C., 1941), 375.

29. Saint Augustine, August 5, 1674, *PC-AGI*, 54-5-11, 3 folios.

30. "Proceso de doña Isabel de Bobadilla, mujer que fue del Adelantado Soto con Hernán Ponce de León sobre la herencia de la compañía que dis [*sic*] que hubo entre los dichos Hernán Ponce y Hernando de Soto, 1546, *PC-AGI*, 50-2-55/10, justicia 75 (two *Legajos*), 350,134 folios.

half of his estate to even his closest friend. It was a long and drawn-out suit, full of color, viciousness and lies, disputing the riches of North America. As happened so often in old Spanish judicial proceedings, the suit outlived its participants. Hernán Ponce de León had died, as had Ysabel, and she was childless. So what was the use of the 400 folios, except to give us intimate glimpses of life in those distant times.

### *Capitulaciones and Adelantados*

Unquestionably the most interesting and valuable documents are three heavy bundles, totaling over one thousand pages, in which royal decrees are assembled.<sup>31</sup> The first two bundles are what is called *capitulaciones*, which means a sort of contract or list of instructions that the Crown gives to whomever it entrusts the discovery and settlement of new lands. These adventurers are known as the *Adelantados*. Ponce de León, Vazquez de Ayllón, Pánfilo de Narvaez, Hernando de Soto and Pedro Menéndez de Avilés were all *Adelantados* of Florida. Each one was bound by a *capitulacion* which "determined the obligations of the individual and of the crown and the privileges accorded to the former."<sup>32</sup> Usually a *capitulacion* is a long and explicit document and gives many details of mutual obligations. For example, paragraph four of the *capitulacion* of Pánfilo de Narvaez says that he can during his whole life bring into Florida, free from taxes, any kind of merchandise and horses necessary for the settlement of that land as long as he does not do business with this merchandise.<sup>33</sup> These two bundles contain part or all of the contracts of Narvaez, Menéndez, Ayllón and De Soto.

31. *Infra*, notes 34, 33 (331 folios); "Libro de la Florida de capitulaciones . . . 1517 [*sic*, 1527] — 1578, *PC-AGI*, 32-4-29/35, 334 folios (This *legajo* and *infra*, n. 33 are two bundles with **identical** titles).

32. Roscoe R. Hill, "The Office of Adelantado," *Political Sciences Quarterly*, XXIX (1913), 657.

33. "Libro de la Florida de capitulaciones y asientos de gobernadores y generales y adelantamiento . . ." *PC-AGI*, 32-4-29/35, f. 15.

*Cedularios*

The third bundle of documents has over five hundred pages and is called *Cedulario de la Florida* or a collection of all royal cédulas from 1570 to 1604 having to do with the province.<sup>34</sup> These royal decrees deal with a great variety of matters including the whole administration. While many are important and interesting, others are of negligible value. Such is a royal cédula with the customary signature, "El Rey," The King, requesting the governor of Florida to transfer back to Spain Private Anton Muñoz, who for some unexplainable reason has been held in the province of Florida for ten years without being permitted to bring over his wife and children.<sup>35</sup> Naturally a study of royal cédulas can always be looked upon with a suspicious eye. These were laws promulgated by the Crown with good and honest intentions, but nobody obeyed them in the colonies. They were destined to go on the statute book, and that is that and no more. Yet from a study of a *cedulario* one can deduce the policy and attitude of the Crown toward Florida. Where else than in a *cedulario* can one get a birds-eye view of the fiscal administration of the province in the absence of other more detailed records?

Resides the *cedularios*, or bundles of collected cédulas for given periods, the collection is full of isolated royal cédulas on all imaginable topics, but mostly orders to grant pensions. Indeed pension requests plague the collection and evidently there was no defined policy in regard to them. If one wished and thought he deserved a pension he applied to the Crown, which after much red tape and a great amount of writing and investigating usually came forward with a royal cédula granting the pension. It often happened that the lucky grantee had in the meanwhile died. In all, royal cédulas constitute a great bulk of the manuscripts and are of certain merit, but at the

34. *PC-AGI*, 86-5-19, St. D. 2528, 593 folios.

35. San Lorenzo, May 20, 1592 in *supra*, n. 34 f. 357.

same time take up much space with useless and ridiculous matters. Much more interesting and important are the many letters and reports of the governors to higher authorities, which portray with gross realism the actual problems and shortcomings of the province. If the royal cedula embodies an idealism out of touch with actuality, the governors' writings sketch reality and therefore are important to the historian. For example, an ever present problem was the question of who would act as governor in case of death and until the Crown could appoint a new man. Until the death notice reached Spain and the appointment was approved and sent back, more than a year or even two would elapse, and in the meanwhile confusion and inaction prevailed in the colony. With this in mind, Governor Juan Marquez Cabrera wrote a strong memorandum to the Crown demanding a solution to this problem, and advising that each governor appoint a provisional governor who would succeed him in case of his death.<sup>36</sup> It is hardly possible to believe that the Crown accepted this idea. Unquestionably the governors' writings give as good a picture as one can get of the basic problems of the colony and the eternal inaction of the Crown.

#### *International Rivalries*

The centuries following the conquest and consolidation are intimately tied up with the great international rivalries that developed on the North American continent, when haughty Spain was challenged by ambitious newcomers. The Spanish side of the story is well documented in the collection with innumerable manuscripts of importance and interest. There is an interesting bundle of 461 folios called "Testimony of Rights" dated in 1739, just before the War of Jenkins's Ear, between Spanish Florida and English Georgia.<sup>37</sup> Serious negotiations

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36. Saint Augustine, June 28, 1683, *PC-AGI*, 54-4-11, 7 folios.

37. *PC-AGI*, 86-7-21; see E. M. Coulter, *Georgia, a Short History* (Chapel Hill, 1947), 43.

were going on between Spain and England to determine their borders. Spain was frantically wanting to restrict the English expansionist mood. The governor of Habana requested the governor of Florida, Manuel de Montiano, to go in search of documents in the provincial archives to prove Spain's just claim to Georgia. Montiano diligently dug up and transcribed, mostly from the archives of out-of-the-way monasteries, sixteen interesting documents which he thought were basic for any legal demand of Spain for lands occupied by England. This testimony deserves translation and publication, for it complements Antonio de Arredondo's historical proof of Spain's title to Georgia, edited and published by Professor Bolton.<sup>38</sup>

Enthusiastic and diligent research in the collection can provide new and interesting aspects of the greater part of the history of Spanish Florida. Let me cite only one that has come to my attention and deals with the Florida Keys. According to the interesting book by Judge Jefferson B. Browne on the history of Key West, little was or is known about the Keys before 1800,<sup>39</sup> yet a document in Seville dated in 1764 reveals much about these islands then. This was soon after the English had acquired Florida and the provisional governor of East Florida was Major Francis Ogilvie. In May, 1764, eight months after the delivery of Saint Augustine to the English, a Spanish commissioner, Juan Josef Elixio de la Puente, came to Saint Augustine in order to "dispose of the remaining [Spanish] property."<sup>40</sup> But instead, Ogilvie and de la Puente soon engaged in a violent discussion about the Keys. Ogilvie raised the question and said that he was occupying the islands because they belonged to Florida. De la Puente, taken by surprised, first professed ignor-

38. Herbert E. Bolton, ed., *Arredondo's Historical Proof of Spain's Title to Georgia* (Berkeley, 1925) 382 pp.

39. Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, The Old and the New* (Saint Augustine, 1912), 226 pp.; cf. Rembert W. Patrick, ed., "William Adee Whitehead's Description of Key West," *Tequesta* (Miami), no. 12 (1952), 62-63.

40. Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province* (Berkeley, 1943), 8.

ance of the Keys but then insisted that they belonged to Cuba and were not included in the peace treaty and England had no right to occupy and demand these islands. However, de la Puente felt that he was not authorized to engage further in this delicate discussion and upon his return submitted to the Crown a memorandum with a detailed description of these Keys, advising the king to do his utmost to recover the islands because they were vital to the defense of Cuba and were not a part of the province of Florida. Seemingly the report by de la Puente has been unknown and unpublished, and provides a basic document in the history of our Florida Keys.<sup>41</sup>

These are examples taken at random, without any particular topic in mind, just as picking any flower that strikes one's eye in a huge garden.

The photostat collection is a basic addition to Florida history and is now open to the student and scholar. The University of Florida, in acquiring the documents and organizing them for use, has been confident that they will not rest in oblivion in their steel cases in our Library of Florida History, but that soon these facsimile records will become an important part of research in the past of our State. And since treasure hunting is very much in vogue these days it might be of interest to say that, according to a document in the collection, sixteen Frenchmen, before their death at the hands of Menéndez de Avilés, buried 35,000 pieces of gold. The big question is where they buried it, and that is left to the hunter. The document tells little.<sup>42</sup>

The history of Spanish Florida deserves more attention, and thanks to Mr. Stetson, Dr. Robertson, Miss Wright, and the University of Florida, here is a stepping stone – even a flight of steps – to that goal.

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41. *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, 24 folios.

42. "Capitulo de carta que dice que Juau Fernandez de Cea, vecino de la Isla Tercera ha comunicado que in Guillermo Frances le descubrió que al tiempo que Pedro Menendez fue a a Florida, el dicho Guillermo con 16 compañeros franceses enterraron 30 a 35.000 ducados en dinero y la artilleria de las naves que se perdieron; que fueron presos por Pedro Menendez poco despues y les cortó la cabeza a todos logrando escapar dicho Guillermo Madrid, Octubre 22, 1567," *PC-AGI*, 41-6-4/39, 2 folios.

## ARCHEOLOGY OF THE TAMPA BAY AREA

by RIPLEY P. BULLEN

The Tampa Bay region includes the west coast of Florida from Tarpon Springs to Sarasota, or the three counties of Pinellas, Hillsborough, and Manatee; and its archeology is better known than that of any comparable region of the State. Nevertheless, in spite of the large amount of work which has been done on this area, there are many *lacunae* in our data. We are just beginning to glimpse the dynamics involved, and much work is required before we will have an adequate understanding of the prehistory of this area.

The first comprehensive information on the Tampa Bay region is that published by S. T. Walker in 1880. He surveyed the area, described and located sites, and differentiated between burial mounds, domiciliary mounds, and shell middens.<sup>1</sup> In 1881 he examined a twelve-foot section at Cedar Keys and presented his ideas regarding chronology and a pottery sequence.<sup>2</sup> His estimate of a thousand years as the age of the oldest pottery producing shell heaps is not greatly different from that accepted by modern archeologists a few years ago.<sup>3</sup> His conclusions that "The key to the whole matter is a critical study of ancient pottery," was both sound and modern.

Around the turn of the century, Clarence B. Moore toured Florida in a steamboat and dug in a great many burial mounds. His publications, profusely illustrated, form a valuable catalogue

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This article is a revised version of a paper presented before the Annual Meeting of The Florida Historical Society in St. Petersburg, March 30, 1951.

1. S. T. Walker, "Preliminary Explorations among the Indian Mounds in Southern Florida," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1879* pp. 392-413. Washington.
2. S. T. Walker, "The Aborigines of Florida," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for the year 1881*, pp. 677-680. Washington.
3. John M. Goggin, "A Revised Temporal Chart of Florida Archeology," *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. I, Nos. 3/4, pp. 57-60. Gainesville.

of the specimens he uncovered.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, Moore did not have Walker's studious approach to and appreciation of problems, so that much data, which we greatly need, was not recorded.

F. H. Cushing, in 1897 while waiting to go to Key Marco, reexamined the Safford mound at Tarpon Springs and uncovered 600 skeletons.<sup>5</sup> Little more occurred after that until 1924 when J. W. Fewkes excavated at the famous Weeden Island site in St. Petersburg.<sup>6</sup> In 1929 and 1930 M. W. Stirling worked at the Safety Harbor site.<sup>7</sup> During 1933-4 archeological work was done in Hillsborough County by the Federal Emergency Relief Administration under the direction of the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>8</sup> After the Federal government withdrew supervision, this project was continued with the late J. Clarence Simpson, then with the Florida Geological Survey, as field director. While Simpson published a preliminary report,<sup>9</sup> it was not until 1952 that this work was adequately made available to students.<sup>10</sup>

In 1940 Gordon R. Willey and Richard B. Woodbury tested six sites in northwest Florida and established a chronology based on changes in pottery typology in the manner suggested by

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4. Clarence B. Moore, "Certain Antiquities of the Florida West-Coast," *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, Second Series, Vol. 11, Pt. 3, pp. 350-394; "Certain Aboriginal Mounds of the Florida Central West-Coast," *Journal of the Academy of Natural Sciences of Philadelphia*, Second Series, Vol. 12, Pt. 3, pp. 361-438.
  5. Frank H. Cushing, "Exploration of Ancient Key Dwellers Remains on the Gulf Coast of Florida," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*, Vol. 35, pp. 329-432.
  6. J. Walter Fewkes, "Preliminary Archeological Explorations at Weeden Island, Florida," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 76, No. 13, pp. 1-26. Washington.
  7. M. W. Stirling, "Prehistoric Mounds in the Vicinity of Tampa Bay, Florida," *Explorations and Field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1929*, pp. 183-6; "Mounds of the Vanished Calusa Indians of Florida," *Explorations and Field-work of the Smithsonian Institution in 1930*, pp. 167-172. Washington.
  8. M. W. Stirling, "Smithsonian Archeological Projects conducted under the Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 1933-34," *Annual Report of the Smithsonian Institution for 1931*, pp. 371-400. Washington.
  9. J. Clarence Simpson, "Report on Activities in Hillsborough County," *Florida State Board of Conservation, Second Biennial Report*, pp. 109-116. Tallahassee.
  10. Ripley P. Bullen, "Eleven Archaeological Sites in Hillsborough County, Florida," *Report of Investigations No. 8, Florida Geological Survey*. Tallahassee.

Walker sixty years before.<sup>11</sup> Subsequently, Willey studied Moore's collections and the results of the work done during the 1930's and extended his chronological scheme to central Gulf and Manatee areas.<sup>12</sup> The final presentation, made in 1949, covered all of Florida northwest of Charlotte Harbor and required a 600 page opus.<sup>13</sup>

During 1948-1951 the Archaeological Survey of the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials conducted excavations at Safety Harbor<sup>14</sup> and at Terra Ceia,<sup>15</sup> made tests at Perico Island<sup>16</sup> and at Sarasota,<sup>17</sup> and excavated at Johns Island in the mouth of the Chassahowitzka River a short distance to the north of the Tampa Bay area.<sup>18</sup> Data from this work, which used modern stratigraphic techniques not in general use during the 1930s, give a little different view of the situation than was previously held. Willey's general outline has proved to be correct but, as presented here for the Tampa Bay region, has been modified to take account of the new information.

### *Prehistory Life*

The prehistory of the Tampa Bay area is the story of an indigenous population whose industrial products and ways of life were gradually modified by cultural influences from the north. From the earliest times until their abandonment of the

11. Gordon R. Willey and R. B. Woodbury, "A. Chronological Outline for the Northwest Florida Coast," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 7, No. 3, pp. 232-254.
12. Gordon R. Willey, "Culture Sequence for the Manatee Region of West Florida," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 13, No. 4, pp. 209-218.
13. Gordon R. Willey, "Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast," *Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections*, Vol. 113, Washington.
14. John W. Griffin and Ripley P. Bullen, "The Safety Harbor Site, Pinellas County, Florida," *Florida Anthropological Society Publications*, No. 2, Gainesville.
15. Ripley P. Bullen, "The Terra Ceia Site, Manatee County, Florida," *Florida Anthropological Society Publications*, No. 3, Gainesville.
16. Ripley P. Bullen, "Perico Island: 1950." *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. III, Nos. 3/4, pp. 40-44.
17. Ripley P. Bullen, "Tests at the Whittaker Site, Sarasota, Florida," *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. III, Nos. 1/2 pp. 21-30.
18. Adelaide K. and Ripley P. Bullen, "The Johns Island Site, Hernando County, Florida," *American Antiquity*, Vol. 16, No. 1, pp. 23-45.

region around 1700, life of the inhabitants of the area was closely tied to Tampa Bay and its nearby waters. From these waters came most of their sustenance as evidenced by tremendous shell middens, more recently turned into roads. Even during relatively late times, when agriculture was extensively practised, a considerable portion of their diet was seafood.

### *Chronology*

While one Folsom-like projectile point, found northeast of Tampa,<sup>19</sup> suggests the presence of man at a very early date, no other demonstrably preceramic (pre-2000 B.C.) remains have been found in the Tampa Bay area. Preceramic middens are, however, known for east Florida and it may be assumed man was also present on the Gulf coast at the same time. The western shoreline of Florida, particularly to the north of Tarpon Springs, appears drowned and the Gulf is encroaching upon it at a present rate of about a foot in one hundred years.<sup>20</sup> It is possible such remains, if originally close to an old shore line, may have been covered by the advancing sea years ago. As yet but little work has been done along river valleys where early midden deposits might be expected.

The earliest pottery made in Florida was tempered with vegetable fibers, possibly shredded palmetto fibers. Sites of this period, with middens many feet deep, are known for east Florida but have not been found on the Gulf coast. The reason, as in the case of preceramic sites, may be due to the advance of the sea. However, a few fiber-tempered sherds have been found at Perico Island<sup>21</sup> so we may be sure man was present this early in the Tampa Bay region (*circa* 2000 to 400 B.C.).

At the end of fiber-tempered pottery times (about 400 B.C.), several centers of pottery manufacture developed. On the east

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19. J. Clarence Simpson, "Folsom-like Points from Florida," *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. I, Nos. 1/2, pp. 11-15.

20. Bullen and Bullen, "Johns Island," p. 42.

21. Willey, "Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast," p. 179.

coast what we refer to as chalky ware was made without benefit of temper. On the northwest coast and around Tampa Bay and to the south, pottery was tempered with sand. Between these last two areas, around Cedar Keys and Crystal River, crushed limestone was popular as tempering material. Another center, probably of a slightly later date, developed around Lake Okechobee with a peculiar semi-chalky, semi-gritty pottery. Just how and why these centers developed we do not know, but the differences in tempering materials permit us to trace inter-regional influences.

Immediately after fiber-tempered times on the east coast, the earliest chalky pottery is decorated with incised straight lines to form patterns identical with some found on preceding fiber-tempered vessels. Chalky pottery with fiber-tempered types of incised designs is known for Perico Island<sup>22</sup> in the Tampa Bay area and has been found in fair amounts at Bayport<sup>23</sup> and at Johns Island<sup>24</sup>, thirty and forty miles respectively to the north of Tarpon Springs. At the later site limestone-tempered pottery with this decoration was also found in the lowest zones.<sup>25</sup> Undoubtedly, deposits of this period will be found in the Tampa Bay region,

After or during this transitional period, the manufacture of undecorated gritty pottery became well established in the Tampa Bay area and for hundreds of years was the only kind of pottery made. Pre-mound levels at the Weeden Island site<sup>26</sup> in St. Petersburg and the lowest levels of large shell middens such as those at Maximo Point, Cockroach Key, Shaws Point, Perico Island,

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22. *Ibid.*

23. Adelaide K. and Ripley P. Bullen, "The Battery Point Site, Bayport, Hernando County, Florida," *The Florida Anthropologist*, Vol. VI, No. 3, pp. 85-92.

24. Bullen and Bullen, "Johns Island," p. 33.

25. *Ibid.*

26. Fewkes, *op. cit.*; Willey, "Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast," pp. 108-9.

and the lowest four feet of the fifteen foot Terra Ceia midden<sup>27</sup> belong to this time period (circa 400 B.C. to 500 A.D.).

During this period pottery decorated in a manner which we call Deptford and which apparently originated in Georgia was being made in northwest Florida, Influences carrying this type of pottery tended to move southward. While more prominent slightly to the north in the Crystal River region, attenuated Deptford influences penetrated the Tampa Bay area as evidenced by a few fragments found at Maximo Point,<sup>28</sup> Perico Island,<sup>29</sup> and Shaws Point.<sup>30</sup>

Still later influences from Georgia helped formed the Santa Rosa-Swift Creek period of northwest Florida. History repeated itself and attenuated influences reached the Tampa Bay region, as typical sherds of this period have been found at Shaws Point.<sup>31</sup>

#### *Life in the Area*

We know relatively little about life in the Tampa Bay area during these early times. Some things are, however, evident. The economy was one of food collecting as opposed to food producing. Extensive middens indicate that shellfish was the chief staple, abundantly supplemented with meat from turtles, fishes, deer, birds, and alligators. Other game was no doubt taken, and nuts and roots eaten.

We have little knowledge of the means used to procure these foods. Projectile points were stemmed, fairly large, and, presumably, propelled by means of spear throwers. Stone knives were in common use. Hafted *Strombus* shell hammers and chisels or gouges made from columellae of conches were prominent tools. Fragments of bone pins are also found. Whether they were hair ornaments or awls for more utilitarian uses is not known. Per-

27. Bullen, "The Terra Ceia Site,"

28. John M. Goggin, University of Florida, personal communication.

29. Willey, "Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast," p. 177.

30. *Ibid.*, p. 341.

31. *Ibid.*

forated *Pecten* shells may have been ornaments for personal adornment. They imply the presence of cordage and hence the probability of nets and snares.

Other tools, which were probably first used in the Tampa Bay area during this period, include shell celts, shell pendants or plummet-shaped objects, shell anvils, perforated *Venus* shells as weights for fishing, *Olivella* shell beads, and hammers and dippers of *Busycon* shells.

We can envision people living on their shell middens, probably with some form of shelter, busily engaged in their everyday occupations most of which, in one form or another, had to do with food. Frequent trips of greater or lesser distances were necessary to procure food and firewood. It is very doubtful if any agriculture was practised this early.

Some of the dead were buried at or in the edge of the expanding shell middens. The use of especially constructed burial mounds for interments probably started during the later part of this period, introduced by the Deptford and Swift Creek influences from the north. Also late in this period or early in the succeeding Weeden Island period, limestone-tempered pottery began to appear to the south of Tampa Bay.<sup>32</sup>

Ceramic development of the west coast of Florida reached its height during what we call the Weeden Island period (*circa* 600 to 1400 A.D.). Pottery with graceful, curvilinear decoration made by punctations and incised lines, which is commonly exhibited in local museums, belongs to this period. Zoned areas in red are also typical, albeit somewhat rare. Less spectacularly, pottery was also decorated with imprints of paddles carved with checkerboard or curvilinear designs. In spite of this great exuberance in decoration, much of which seems to have been especially made for funeral use, most pottery of the period was plain.

Weeden Island pottery types are found over an area extend-

32. Bullen, "The Terra Ceia Site," p. 30.

ing from Charlotte Harbor northward well up the Chattahoochee River and westward along the Gulf across Alabama. There was extensive regional intercommunication. Locally this is evidenced by many vessels made of chalky paste, typical of east Florida. Some pottery is tempered with crushed limestone indicating influences from the Crystal River area. Certain plain vessels characteristic of the Lake Okeechobee region are also present.<sup>33</sup> Exquisite carved and ground plummet-like pendants in the form of bird and deer heads were found in the Jones and Thomas burial mounds.<sup>34</sup> They were made of a fine grained volcanic rock and must represent trade goods or materials from the north. Another important trait is the importation of greenstone celts either as finished products or as raw material. Projectile points are smaller, suggesting the bow and arrow had been introduced by this time.

Burial mounds were common features of the landscape during Weeden Island times. Many were built with a subsurface base containing charcoal which suggests purification or sanctification. Pottery vessels, either whole or fragmentary, were deposited with or for the dead. Many pottery fragments were included in the mound fill during construction but special pottery offerings were also made. In places where the land was wet, causeways were built to connect these mounds with shell midden village areas, as at Terra Ceia and Shaws Point.

Most of these changes seem to be merely additions to the existing culture of the inhabitants of the Tampa Bay area. There is no break in occupation at large sites at the beginning of Weeden Island times. While agriculture was probably practised, the economic base was still the collecting of food from water, air, and land. Many Indians lived pretty much as their ancestors had on the same expanding shell middens, used to a large extent the same tools, and were buried in the same mounds.

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33. *Ibid.*

34. Bullen, "Eleven Archaeological Sites," Figs. 15-16, pp. 48, 50.

Sites were more numerous than in the preceding period and people were more actively participating in a wider geographical horizon, whether or not they realized it. As a result of some agriculture, life was a little easier and more time available for care of the dead. Certainly, an increase in ceremonial life is suggested by the data.

All these things testify to an energetic, increasing population. New features in the culture and its artistic peak suggest cultural cross-fertilization. Very likely these changes were in part brought about by people, relatively few in number, who migrated into the Tampa Bay area.

The cultural climax of the region, in terms of large sites and density of population, occurred during the following Safety Harbor period (*circa* 1400 to 1700 A.D.). This was the period of the Timucuan farmers encountered by the early Spaniards.

The most important feature of the Safety Harbor period in the Tampa Bay area was the successful practise of agriculture, supplemented by animal and sea food, which gave the Indians a stable economy with an excess of storable food and, consequently, more spare time and energy.

Grindstones become common artifacts. Houses with wattle and daub walls were built.<sup>35</sup> Pottery, from our viewpoint, declined artistically and was relegated to a strictly utilitarian role. Poorly executed incised designs show connections with the previous Weeden Island period but limestone as tempering material was no longer used. Vessels were technically poorer in construction but the addition of handles made them more easy to use.

A change also occurred in burial forms. Bundle burials are found in Safety Harbor burial mounds and the upper level of otherwise Weeden Island tumuli.<sup>36</sup> The dead were exposed to the elements until most ligaments had disappeared, after which the bones were collected and interred, possibly at stated intervals.

35. Griffin and Bullen, *op. cit.*, p. 30.

36. Bullen, "Eleven Archaeological Sites," pp. 11, 47; "The Terra Ceia site," p. 34.

Such was the practice during photo-historic times, and the Spaniard, Ortiz, who was rescued by De Soto, for a while guarded a charnal house at night to keep away wild animals. Archeological proof of this practice was found at Parrish Mound II near the Little Manatee River.<sup>37</sup>

### *Mounds*

The most spectacular development of the Safety Harbor period in the Tampa Bay area was the building of large pyramidal mounds. These flat-topped, rectangular mounds are usually about twenty feet high and a hundred and fifty feet across at their base. Frequently, the flat top or platform measures about twenty by forty feet. Built in several stages these mounds served as foundations for buildings which, according to early Spanish accounts, were decorated with wooden carvings. We call these structures "temple mounds" on tile assumption these buildings functioned as temples, although they may have been priests' or chiefs' houses.

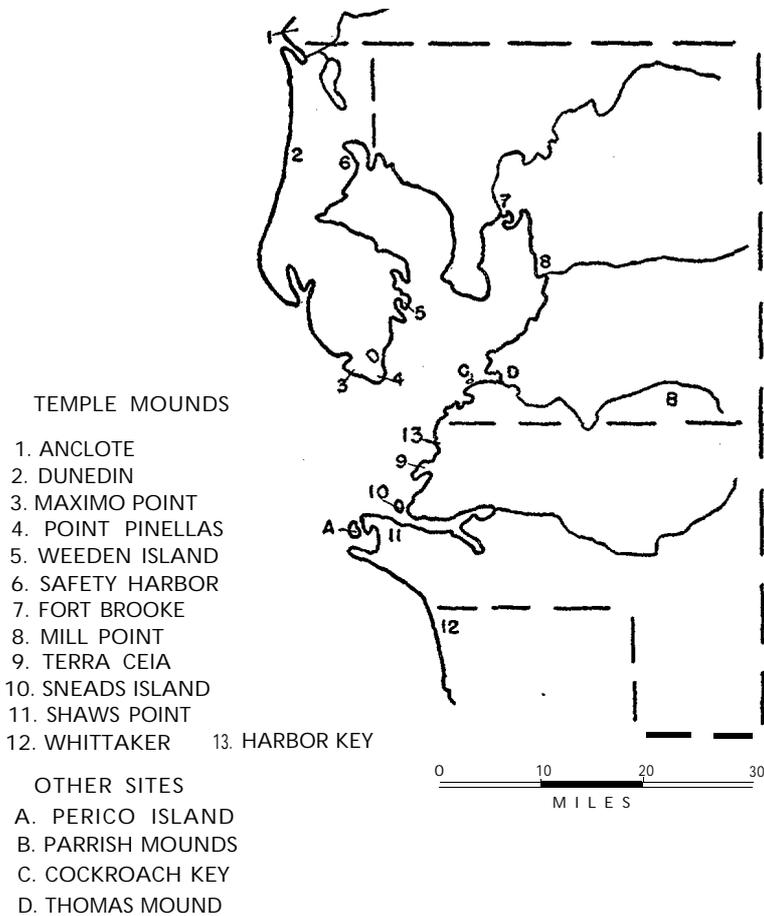
Temple mounds have ramps along one side which lead towards the village area, but there is a considerable space between them and the village proper which does not produce pottery or other occupational debris. This arrangement is very suggestive of civic planning. No doubt the "town square" was used for games and religious ceremonies.

These mounds represent a vast amount of human effort. The map herewith shows the location of thirteen such edifices from Anclote to Sarasota. This rather large number for such a relatively small area testifies to their importance in the lives of the inhabitants. It is hard to believe such community enterprises would have been completed without a very compelling motive.

With agricultural development there probably arose a pow-

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37. Willey, "Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast," pp. 147-9.



erful class of priests who conducted religious ceremonies which were tied in with the agricultural calendar. Undoubtedly, such ceremonies were held on these temple mounds while the populace viewed them from the "town square." Religion, integrated with food production, would explain the large amount of work which went into the construction of these temple mounds. The whole arrangement, including the construction of temple mounds in stages, is very reminiscent of similar structures in Mexico. Prob-

ably, ideas which originated there eventually resulted in temple mounds in the Tampa Bay area.

At the Safety Harbor site many bone pins were found, some of which were socketed.<sup>38</sup> These were parts of hair ornaments. There is reason to believe wooden masks were also made. Festive garb at community fetes may have utilized the artistic urge which in the preceding period found expression in pottery decoration.

Late in the Safety Harbor Period small, narrow, triangular arrow points became the prevailing style.<sup>39</sup> These points, temple mounds, and many of the features of Safety Harbor ceramics are common factors of what archaeologists refer to as Mississippian cultures, found more or less throughout the southeast and well up the Mississippi River valley. It was influences from that area which gradually modified the culture of earlier Indians and produced that found by the first whites.

While the Tampa Bay region may have received a few immigrants from the north at the times of these changes, there are too many ties with the previous period to suggest any mass movement of people. Profoundly affected by these changes and culturally oriented towards the north, Indians of the Tampa Bay area did not sever their contacts with the south and east, as chalky pottery and that from the Okeechobee region were found at the Safety Harbor site.<sup>40</sup>

Spanish pottery and pottery made by Indians at Spanish missions in north Florida was found at relatively shallow depths in excavations at the Safety Harbor site.<sup>41</sup> Glass beads, looking glass, and an occasional iron axe or small silver ornament are sometimes found in burial mounds of the Safety Harbor Period.<sup>42</sup> Some of these show the culture to have lasted into the latter part of the 17th century. There is some indication that crema-

38. Griffin and Bullen, *op. cit.*, Pl. IV, a-b.

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 19, 23, 25.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

41. *Ibid.*, 2, 24.

42. Willey, "Archeology of the Florida Gulf Coast," pp. 123-4, 139, 151, 334.

tion of the dead began to be adopted during the historic part of the Safety Harbor period.<sup>43</sup>

Shortly after 1700, Creek Indians from the north began making raids into north Florida. The most important of these, lead by Governor Moore of Carolina in 1704, broke up the chain of Spanish missions near what is now Tallahassee. Just how, if at all, Indians in the Tampa Bay area were affected by these raids we do not know. They undoubtedly suffered from the four epidemics which visited the Indians of Florida between 1613 and 1726.<sup>44</sup> Those left likely moved southward. By 1750 Indians from the north, later to be known as Seminoles, occupied much of north Florida and were near if not in the Tampa Bay area.

Throughout all known periods, the Tampa Bay area has been subjected to repeated and increasingly more powerful influences from the north. Even to-day, history repeats itself.

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43. *Ibid.*, pp. 147-150.

44. John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137. Washington.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*Stephen R. Mallory: Confederate Navy Chief.* By Joseph T. Durkin, S. J. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1954. pp. xi, 446. \$6.00)

The role of sea power in the Confederacy is one of the neglected phases of Civil War history. Though writers of reputation have endeavored to explain why the South failed to achieve victory on land, naval history has received less attention. A complete understanding of the internal administration of the Navy Department, the reason for an uncoordinated plan of strategy, difficulties of transportation and supply, and political interference in the affairs of the Department could not be reached until a full-length biography of Mallory was written.

Stephen R. Mallory was a logical choice to head the Confederate Navy Department. Although the South had no well developed seafaring tradition, Mallory had spent much of his life in Key West and Pensacola, where as a customs collector and maritime lawyer he had learned a great deal about the sea. Later, as a senator in Washington, he became intimately acquainted with naval officers, ships, and shore installations, first as a member and later as Chairman of the Senate Committee on Naval Affairs. This combined experience was to stand him in good stead in organizing and directing Confederate Naval operations.

Almost from the beginning of his term of office, Mallory incurred the criticism of a hostile press, and was repeatedly attacked by a disgruntled group in the Confederate Congress. "I am as sick as I am disgusted," he recorded in his diary on June 24, 1862, "with the carpings and complaints of ignorance and presumption, that I have not built a navy! I feel confident of having done my whole duty, of having done all any man could have done with the means at hand. . . ." (p. 224).

Except for John Reagan, the Postmaster General, Mallory was the only other cabinet member who occupied the same

post for the entire duration of the war. Cabinet shifts occurred frequently, but Jefferson Davis continued to rely on Mallory for advice even in matters outside the realm of naval affairs. Their relationship was one of mutual respect, which at times approached admiration. "Your minute knowledge of naval affairs and your counsel upon all important measures have been to the administration a most valuable support. For the zeal, ability and integrity with which you have so long and so constantly labored, permit one who had the best opportunity to judge, to offer testimonial and in the name of our country and its sacred cause to return thanks . . ." (p. 343). This was a tribute of the Confederate President when Mallory resigned from the Cabinet on May 2, 1865.

Father Durkin builds a strong case for Mallory, buttressed by sound documentation and skillful detail. However, the lack of existing source materials forced the author, from time to time, to abandon his main theme and bridge the gap by a reference to the times, thus causing a break in the narrative.

Mallory is portrayed as a loyal husband and devoted father. His correspondence with his wife often revealed his innermost thoughts regarding matters of state and their mutual friends. She appears to have had an almost unbelievable influence on his state of mind and general well-being. Lack of news from Angela often depressed him, whereas a letter from her sent his spirits soaring for several days. At times she was somewhat critical of decisions which he had a part in making, and at such times his diary shows that wounded feelings were added to his already heavy burdens.

Of particular interest to Floridians is Mallory's description of Pensacola in 1866, immediately after his return from imprisonment at Fort Lafayette, the beginnings of Reconstruction, and his life with Angela's family while he began the renovation of his own home in preparation for her return. His counsel and advice on political questions was frequently sought, and his con-

stant resolve was that though the war was lost everything possible must be done to eliminate bitterness between the sections.

In general, the book is well done, with only minor errors which are remarkably few. The critical bibliography of some seventeen pages is a definite aid for the future student, and the index seems adequate. This work has long been needed, for Mallory was one of the figures of the Civil War era and will long be remembered as an outstanding citizen of Florida.

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*The Southern Indians: The Story of the Civilized Tribes Before Removal.* By R. S. Cotterill. The Civilization of the American Indian Series. (University of Oklahoma Press: Norman. 1954, vol. xiii, 255 pp. 8 plates, 5 maps. \$4.00)

*The Southern Indians* is a continuation of the interest by the editors of the University of Oklahoma Press in the story of the Five Civilized Tribes who have played such an important part in the more recent history of Oklahoma. The subtitle is, however, perhaps confusing, as the book discusses only a small part of the story of the Civilized Tribes before removal; that part of their history which took place before the American Revolution is not included. The events in their history from 1775 until the removal in the 1830's are adequately documented. Much of the story is that of the Indians' trials and tribulations at the hands of the growing American Republic. *The Southern Indians* is the first systematic collection of the whole range of this material, and it is this service of collecting scattered documentary information that is largely served by the present volume.

The book opens with a "background" chapter on the Southern Indians as a whole. This is not the best chapter in the book, as it seems to be largely derived from older sources and to take

very little account of recent archaeological investigations in the South. Statements, such as the one that southern Indian agriculture yielded very little surplus, hardly accords with the facts. The accounts of the De Soto expedition, which subsisted very largely on supplies looted from Indian towns, suggest a definite surplus. The extensive earthworks in the southeast could have only been a produce of a culture with a successful agriculture and a large surplus. The statement, that southern Indians achieved a reconciliation of economic communism and individual liberty "by reducing their government so nearly to anarchy that it operated only by practically unanimous consent", has meaning, of course, only in a tight framework of traditional political theory. It seems to bear little relation to the known development of Creek political control. Other similar instances indicate a dependence on late sources without regard to the cultures of the southern Indians as they existed before white destruction of their traditional ways of life. The public religious practices, indicated by the large temple mounds and by the ceremonies of the Natchez, do not suggest "what religion he had was private, unorganized for public expression." The author seems to see the Indians only through eyes of the missionary, soldier, or trader. Those men, of course, had neither the understanding or desire to free themselves from ethnocentric preconceptions.

In Chapter II, *The Colonial Background*, we see a somewhat fragmentary picture of the conflicting aims and policies of the three colonial powers, Spain, England, and France. The story is told largely in a chronological manner that duly mentions all the wars, treaties, and many of the individuals involved. It rarely, however, comes to grips with the basic changes that were taking place in the cultures of the southern Indians; and the effects of the deerskin trade and subsequent settlement patterns is not told as a connected chronicle. The southern Indians played a significant role in the struggle between the three great powers for the control of the southeast, but we read

here little of this vital part. The Yammassee War and Emperor Brim receive scant attention, despite the fact that this man and event seem to have begun the policy of Creek diplomacy that was to endure until after the American Revolution. Even McGillivray tried to practice this over-all plan in the post-Revolutionary period. The colonial period, then, is described in episodic style that undoubtedly covers the events, but doesn't weave them into a consistent story.

The next ten chapters discuss the events in each period in a detailed and complete fashion. This is evidently the period in which the author is most interested and in which he contributes most. Each chapter deals with a definite period: the Revolutionary period, McGillivray's period from 1783-1793, and so on. There are separate chapters on McGillivray, Bowles, Tecumseh, and the Creek War. In each chapter the treatment is, in general, chronological with the scene shifting from Creek, to Cherokee, to Chickasaw, or to Choctaw in rapid succession. This gives a better sense of the movement of events in the whole period, but makes it rather difficult to follow the fortunes of any one group. The amount of land ceded in the various treaties is often not clearly stated. As the treaties are admirably presented in Royce "Indian Land Sessions in the United States" this is probably not too serious an omission. What Dr. Cotterill evidently attempted was to give a connected, narrative, description of the events which preceded these treaties and to a large extent, brought them about. This he does admirably. For the reader who seeks to place a particular event in its proper chronological position these chapters will prove invaluable.

This section, of ten chapters, is as said above, the most important part of the book and collects a great deal of widely scattered and relatively inaccessible material. Dr. Cotterill has performed a real service in making, this available to those of us who cannot travel widely to the proper archives. Used in conjunction with the treaties published by Royce, it gives us a

framework of southern Indian history in which we can understand the forces, Indian and white, at work in this section. The material seems to be very accurate and no noticeable errors were found. The principal criticism must rest on the lack of a coherent theme, The Indians and whites move through the play impelled by largely personal motives that seem to be partly capricious, partly the result of self-interest. There is no sense of the historical and cultural forces that made the tribes differ from one another in their reaction to American penetration of their territory. History is described as a series of discrete events, rarely connected. When there is a connection, it is chiefly through the fact that the same peoples and the same lands are involved. The why and the development of progressive and conservative wings in each of the tribes is hardly mentioned. Bowles was certainly one of the most colorful brigands ever to attempt a political coup in his area. Here, however, he appears as a fleeting shadow, without substance or meaning to make him live again. Perhaps that is the job of a historical novelist. To give Bowles's acts meaning, is surely a historical objective. This criticism is directed less at what Dr. Cotterill does than at what he fails to do. Many historians, it is true, see the function of history as the assembling and recording of the unique events of a given period. This seems to be a failure to realize the contribution history can make to knowledge. It is true that materialism, in its search for causes, has often perverted history to a particular social theory. Nevertheless, it seems that the important, and often intrinsically interesting, events on the southern frontiers do have causes. History, political science, and anthropology have been able to develop theories as to the causal relations of historical events. These throw light on the past and help to explain the present. It seems to this reviewer that more could have been made of this fragment of man's history than a mere chronical of events.

The book closes with an epilogue, *The Last Stand*, which

summarizes the last efforts of the southern Indians to live at peace with the new American nation. Finally there is a very adequate bibliography and highly convenient index. In short "The Southern Indians" is a workmanlike job of assembling the unique people from the American Revolution until their removal to Oklahoma. I suspect that we will consult it often to verify these facts. In a larger field, however, we need a broader attack. We need to know what are the effective and the final causes of these events which we call history. Only then, it seems to me, are we to justify our professional existence.

CHARLES H. FAIRBANKS

*Florida State University*

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*Franco-Spanish Rivalry in North America, 1524-1763.* By Henry Folmer. (Spain in the West, VII. The Arthur H. Clark Co., Glendale, California, 1953. 352 pp. \$10.00).

We have here the seventh volume in the series entitled *Spain in the West*. It was just forty years ago, in 1914, that the first volume of this series, edited by Herbert E. Bolton, came off the presses of the Arthur H. Clark Company. This present volume exemplifies the same unhurried care and scholarship characteristic of the series. Even the printing on rich paper in the magnificently legible and dignified 18th century Caslon type adds notably to the total feeling of quality surrounding the book.

Dr. Folmer, attempting a much broader theme than any of the previous authors in this series, has written of Franco-Spanish rivalry confined in area to continental North America, in nature to the diplomatic aspects, and in time to the period 1524-1783. The boundaries of this subject limit the narration, therefore, to the contest between the two powers for the conquest of the North American coastline from Canada to Mexico. The central areas of interest, after the abandonment by Spain

of any serious ambitions in the North Atlantic, are Florida's seaboard, the Gulf of Mexico, and the Missouri Valley area lying between New Mexico and the Illinois country.

There are, to me, a number of impressive qualities about this book. First is the prodigious amount of research in manuscript materials both in Europe and the United States. The narrative relies for its documentation mainly on primary sources. The second quality of this volume is the simplicity in its organization and execution. The author has related the important episodes with scholarly authority, yet in an interesting way and with an economy of detail. Each of the brief chapters concludes with a summary paragraph of a few sentences, bringing along the story in a connected and intelligible way; while the preface compresses the conclusions of the entire book into a bare page and a half. The style of writing is in a straightforward active voice, non-florid and exact. There is no straining for interpretation. The story is all on the table, lucid, and with conclusions corresponding to the facts.

The author finds that both France and Spain, having set their basic policies in the 16th century, maintained them with consistency until the Treaty of Paris of 1763 when France was expelled from North America. Spain claimed all the land west of the Line of Demarcation whether occupied or not and forbade other nations to intrude for any purpose whatsoever. France claimed the right to explore, conquer and colonize new lands not already occupied by the Spanish and to sail the high seas without intervention. This conflict in stated policy survived from the time of the bitter dynastic wars of Charles V and Francis I down into the 18th century even after the two thrones were linked under the Bourbons in the Family Compact.

The limitations of the book are precisely those which the boundaries of its subject matter impose. To treat Franco-Spanish rivalry only in the context of North America means that the author must skip an entire century (from the late 16th to the

late 17th) when the conflict was going on in the West Indies and South America but not in North America. This century of conflict is summarized, it is true; but to be obliged to treat it summarily simply because the geographical areas involved were not part of (though adjacent to) North America seems to me to weaken somewhat the total perspective and to subtract from the *raison d'être* of the book. The 17th century was important, because it was during that time that France whipped Spain, leaving it a beaten and second rate power by 1659. The author's summary fails even to mention some of the important American colonial episodes in the conflict that were transpiring in northern Brazil from 1590 to 1615 when Portugal was part of Spain.

Another limitation is that this history is not fully "political" as the author avers, but essentially diplomatic. The book is not and does not pretend to be an inquiry into the complete dynamics of French and Spanish national policy. For example, on the pages of this book, ambassadors, ministers of state, and the leaders of expeditions utter their plans and divulge their motives in their own words; but what were the forces of history that conditioned their utterances? To this question, the author attempts no comprehensive answers.

A basic question, handled by Dr. Folmer, is the question of the degree to which the rivalry was merely an extension of rivalry in Europe and the degree to which it grew out of and was determined by conditions in North America. The answer is twofold: On the one hand, the clash of interests and of arms in North America was not taken by either power as adequate reason for going to war in Europe. The agreement on "No peace beyond the line" (referring to the Line of Demarcation and the Tropic of Cancer) made it possible for a conflict as bitter as that on the Atlantic coast of Florida in the 1560's to take place and yet not to push the two powers into war in Europe. The author makes clear that the strain on relations was great and

that he found no evidence for the traditional view that the French crown, Catherine de Medici in particular, secretly approved the murder of the French Protestants.

On the other hand "The old policy of peace at home but war in America could not be reversed." That is, when France and Spain went to war in Europe, as they did in 1713, the colonists went to war too.

In addition to its other qualities, this book has much narrative interest. Nothing in this long colonial rivalry can surpass the 16th century for pure dramatic appeal, it seems to me, with the Ribaut-Laudonniere-Coligny struggle against Menéndez and the avenging expedition of Dominique de Gourgues; but Dr. Folmer has succeeded in creating an intriguing account of La Salle's troubles with Peñalosa, of French ambitions against the Mexican silver mines, of Pensacola's episodic history, and of the discovery of the Santa Fe trail. The reader would, incidentally, be able to follow the narrative with more ease and understanding if a special reference map had been provided.

ROBERT CARLYLE BEYER

*The University of Miami*

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*General Edmund Kirby Smith, C.S.A.* by Joseph Howard Parks, Southern Biography Series (Baton Rouge, Louisiana State University Press, 1954). pp. 537, \$6.00.

With complete access to the Kirby Smith Papers in the Southern Collection at the University of North Carolina, careful use of other primary source material, and with the skilled touch of the professional historian, Dr. Parks has produced a definitive biography of Florida's beloved Civil War general.

Kirby Smith's roots in Florida were surface ones of the first generation. His father, a retired army colonel and a native of Connecticut, came to the former Spanish territory to preside over a frontier Federal court. Born in St. Augustine, May 16,

1824, young Edmund felt the excitement engendered by the Seminole War as he played beneath the shadow of venerable Fort Marion. The decision to make him a soldier cut short his life in Florida when at age twelve he was sent to a military preparatory school at Alexandria, Virginia. His father's political influence obtained the expected appointment to United States Military Academy, and Edmund graduated a mediocre twenty-fifth in his class.

Commissioned a second lieutenant in the infantry on the eve of the Mexican War, he served with distinguished bravery in the armies of Generals Zachary Taylor and Winfield Scott. The post-war era found him leading the routine life of a soldier, though considerably ahead of his classmates in the matter of promotions. A Southerner at heart, but not an advocate of the institution of slavery, Major E. Kirby Smith on the outbreak of the Civil War offered his sword to Florida. Although Dr. Parks calls the chapter dealing with the decision of Smith to resign from his beloved Army, "With the Land of My Birth," a more accurate title would be "With My Family," because it is obvious that the close Smith family ties swung the decision to wear the grey uniform. The Northern family had become rabid Southerners.

As in the Mexican War, Kirby Smith distinguished himself early in combat. His arrival with three regiments on the field at first Bull Run at the opportune time played a critical role in the Confederate victory. For the remainder of the war, General Kirby Smith held two of the most heartbreaking commands in the Confederate Army. The first, in the Department of East Tennessee, involved what was almost enemy territory. But even so, he managed to join General Braxton Bragg in an invasion of Kentucky. The second, as commander of the Trans-Mississippi Department, meant combining a military with a civil administration. And the task of husbanding the small forces in the area was not made easier by a bitter feud with General

Dick Taylor, a temperamental advocate of a vigorous offensive. Dr. Parks's objective treatment of the Smith-Taylor controversy is a high point in the volume.

At the close of the war, fearing Northern persecution, Smith crossed into Mexico. He returned a few months later via Cuba and, following several unsuccessful business efforts, became professor of mathematics at the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee. He died there, the last of the full Confederate generals, on March 28, 1893.

While most readers will be primarily interested in the military aspects of Kirby Smith's career, Dr. Parks's well balanced biography does not neglect his genealogical background, courtship and family life. Several reprints of old maps showing Smith's campaigns are of considerable assistance to the reader. Minor criticism might be made concerning the author's factual style. The reader would appreciate more evaluation by the author. And in his successful effort to be objective, Dr. Parks has been overcautious. Overall, however, the biography is a worthy study of an outstanding native of Florida.

EDWARD C. WILLAMSON

*U. S. Army Air University  
Montgomery, Alabama*

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*Early Florida Through Spanish Eyes*, by W. R. Jackson, Jr.  
University of Miami Hispanic-American Studies, No. XII,  
edited by R. S. Boggs. (Coral Gables: University of Miami  
Press, 1954. Pp. vi, 179. \$3.50. Bibliography and glossary  
of geographical names.)

This book is composed chiefly of translated selections from the sixteenth century writings of Spaniards who were in the expeditions to Florida, or who received their "information" from first-hand reports. Each writer is introduced, and sufficient

historical background is given to enable the reader to gain a balanced view.

The writings discuss the Fountain of Youth and other legends from the Indians, and concerning the Indians; the naming of Florida; the searches for gold, silver, and pearls; Indian life; and the bountiful manner in which nature provided for the wants of man in Florida four hundred years ago.

The author-compiler has no particular argument to present. His arrangement of the selections, and his own explanatory paragraphs provide a fair degree of coherence. It is gratifying to observe that footnotes which the average historian might wish to read are placed at the foot of each page. Those of interest only to the expert in this field are tucked away at the back of the book, and are numbered consecutively without regard for chapters. This simplifies the task of locating a footnote. The work is well edited.

Perhaps Florida was no more the land of fantasy than other newly discovered countries have usually been; but the Fountain of Youth was but one among many of the remarkable "phenomena" they wrote about. There were also the unicorns (p. i), the deer that were herded in fields like cattle and milked like goats (p. 112), and Indians thirteen and one-half feet tall (p. 41). Nor can we tell where to draw the line between fact and exaggeration. No doubt Florida was a "fertile paradise" and a "delightful meadow" with "birds of a thousand kinds" (p. 31). There was many a turtle here "as large as a shield," but we wonder if one ever had "as much meat as a cow" (p. 111).

The most interesting part of the book is the Spainards' appraisal of the Indians. They accused them of being "treacherous, thievish, and envious" (p. 137). The Indians told "very great lies" (p. 124). (It is not difficult to imagine what the Indians thought of Spanish character.) Yet the visitors from Europe had profound respect for the physical strength and prowess of the Indian – who could shoot an arrow through four thicknesses of

mail (p. 47), and could capture a whale by driving a stake into its air vent (p. 66). And there is a distinct undertone of admiration for the Indian way of life— dancing and feasting day and night when prickly pears were in season (p. 103); catching unlimited quantities of fish by the use of a simple weir (p. 110); and living without the necessity of irksome toil (p. 113).

Both the Bibliography and Glossary of Geographical Names will be of value to other writers as well as the reader.

I think we can undersand, now, why several “sly fellows” deserted De Soto and joined up with the Indians (p. 141).

GILBERT L. LYCAN

*Stetson University*

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#### CENTENNIAL HISTORY OF VOLUSIA COUNTY

In the aggregate, the sum of the local histories of any region is of more importance than the history of the area as a whole. It is more interesting to know how the people lived and what they did, than to recount what the few leaders chose to do.

Most of Florida's local histories are by counties. One of the best of these has recently appeared *Centennial History of Volusia County Florida, 1854-1954*. This is published by The Volusia County Historical Commission, and edited by, and much of it written by, Ianthe Bond Hebel. There are more than twenty contributors of brief articles on a wide variety of historical subjects; but Mrs. Hebel, who should be called Volusia County's historian, we suspect not only planned and carried out the project of the county history, but she wrote a score of the articles herself.

There are fifteen sections — general subjects, with usually several articles in a section, each article by someone with especial knowledge of what he writes. For example— *Education*: the Public Schools, the Vocational School, Stetson University, Bethune-Cookman College; *the Churches*, each denomination by

a different writer; *the Newspapers*; the several cities separately; *Banking, Racing, Cultural development* (art, music, drama, forums); etc. etc.

Other Florida counties which have no written history could follow the same plan successfully by dividing the project among many, and thereby increasing interest in it greatly.

This is a volume of more than two hundred pages, well printed and bound. Copies may be had from College Publishing Company, Daytona Beach; in cloth \$2.50, paper \$1.25.

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## REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

### HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

As always, the Historical Association of Southern Florida has been active during the past two quarters, but because of the Osceola Number of this *Quarterly*, we have made no mention of their activities during this period.

Three regular Program Meetings have been held. Their 51st., on January 17, was featured by an address "The Prisoner of Shark Island," by the one man most qualified to speak on that subject. Dr. Richard D. Mudd came from Michigan to tell of that prisoner, his grandfather, Dr. Samuel A. Mudd, who was imprisoned in Fort Jefferson on Dry Tortugas for setting the broken leg of John Wilkes Booth in his flight from Washington after shooting President Lincoln.

At the April Meeting a full-blood Seminole, Mike Osceola (a surname which has been often adopted in the tribe) described "Seminole Ceremonies and Dances" with the dancers in native dress.

The 53rd. Program Meeting was held in May with the Annual Meeting of the Association. The feature was an address "Adventure on the High Seas; Filibustering Against Spain" by Professor Samuel Proctor, of the University of Florida, who has made a study of and published a biography of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward. The address was especially on his filibustering steamers *Three Friends* and *Dauntless*.

Also at this meeting Mr. Ernest G. Gearhart Jr., vice president of the Association, gave the Association's own slide illustrated talk "The History of South Florida in Pictures."

The program of placing markers in the region continues. The last one honoring James Deering as the builder of Vizcaya.

The *President's Newsletter* was issued regularly with notes of historical interest.

TEQUESTA

THE JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF  
SOUTHERN FLORIDA 1954. NUMBER XIV

In the fourteen numbers of *TEQUESTA*, published annually since 1941 by *The Historical Association of Southern Florida*, a great part of the history of that region is told – and told well. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau has edited ten of the fourteen. He gave us the third issue, that of 1943, and has produced all since 1946 including the last one, that of 1954. Nowhere else, of course, is there so extensive a history of Southern Florida, and due to the editors' care and skill these volumes are outstanding and are a noteworthy accomplishment. For history, no strict geographical lines can be drawn, so the recording of the history of all of Florida is the gainer through the work of Dr. Tebeau and his contributors.

*Fort Zachary Taylor at Key West*

The massive walls of Fort Taylor are now seen by a growing herd of tourists, and so the leading article in this issue of *Tequesta*, an account of the fort and its construction by Ames W. Williams, has a wide appeal. It is authoritative, having been written largely from the records in the War Department. Three full-page half-tones add to the interest. Also interesting is the statement that much of the common labor in its construction was done by slaves, hired from their masters, who of course received their pay.

Fort Taylor and Key West, with Fort Jefferson on Tortugas, and Fort Pickens opposite Pensacola, were the only areas in the Confederacy remaining throughout the War for Southern Independence in the possession of the United States.

*Miami*

F. Page Wilson writes of "Miami: From Frontier to Metropolis: An Appraisal," which is a full-length article narrating

numerous incidents as well as little known facts on the history of Miami from Mrs. Tuttle, through Flagler and Merrick, to today.

### *The Baptists*

The churches came with the first groups of settlers and grew up with the country. The founding and growth of one denomination in this region is recorded largely from original sources and hence with accuracy in *The South Florida Baptist Association* by George C. Osborn and Jack P. Dalton based mainly on the Reverend Dr. Dalton's doctoral dissertation "A History of Florida Baptists."

### *Spanish Indians*

The term Spanish Indians has long puzzled those interested in the early history of South Florida, especially the southwest coast, for it is often found in the early narratives and records of the region. In a late issue of *Tequesta* (XIII, 1953) William C. Sturtevant, after an extended search through all known sources, brought together both what can be found in written history, and what he learned from investigation of surviving Seminole tradition. (see *Fla. Hist. Qy.* XXXII, 296). Another piece of documentary evidence, edited by James W. Covington of the University of Tampa, is included in this issue of *Tequesta*. This is a petition signed by certain descendants of that portion of the Spanish Indians who were of mixed Indian and Spanish blood.

### *Destruction of Florida Lighthouses in 1861*

Dr. Dorothy Dodd has edited for this number a document from the archives in Tallahassee which is a report to Governor Madison S. Perry from "Volunteers . . . [who] believing it a solmen [*sic*] duty of every citizen to try and serve his State and Country in whatever capacity he may be most able, would in accordance with such feelings, report to your Excellency, that we have taken the responsibility of putting out the Lights at both Jupiter Inlet and Cape Florida, believing them to be

of no use to our Government, but to de contrary, of great importance to our enemies. . . .”

*The Historical Association of Southern Florida*

A roster of the many hundreds of members of the Association is included, which is proof of the growth of the body and the wide interest which has been engendered in the history of the region among the newcomers as well as the natives and older residents.

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JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

*Papers*

The Jacksonville Historical Society has issued Volume III of their *Papers*. As this is a book of 188 pages of carefully written articles, it takes a place as one of the important histories of the Jacksonville region. The author, James C. Craig, has been a staff writer on the Jacksonville *Times-Union* since 1929, and has published therein numerous historical articles. It was recognized by the Society that many of these are of unusual historical value and should be preserved in a more permanent form than a newspaper file. The Editorial Board of the Society selected thirty-one of these, choosing mainly these which “fill the gaps in readily available books on this area’s history.” The Board members are: H. H. Buckman III, *Chairman*; Audrey Broward, Mrs. Karl Bardin, Herbert Lamson, and Dena Snodgrass.

Five hundred numbered copies were printed, and it may be obtained from the Society, P.O. Box 4343, Jacksonville. By becoming a member of the Society, at two dollars annual dues, you will receive a copy. They are sold at two dollars to non-members.

A late issue of the Society’s *Newsletter*, Number 9, told of the Quarterly Program Meeting on March 10. The feature was an exhibit of “Stampless Covers from Florida’s Territorial Days,” with descriptions of these and other early stamps used in Flor-

ida, all from the collection of Mrs. Harold Major Pickett of Jacksonville, who told of them.

The new volume of *Papers* was distributed at this Meeting.

The latest issue of *Newsletter*, Number 10, related to the Annual Meeting of the Society on May 11. The feature was "Tales of the Ten Thousand Islands." Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami, who has long been interested in and has done much research on that unusual section of our State, was the speaker. He is now editing for publication by the University of Miami Press the most important of the *Collier Papers*, covering all of the southwestern section of Florida as well as Collier County. The area and its history is little known outside the region, but we shall know the best of it ere long.

Election of officers took place at this meeting, and brought Miss Dena Snodgrass to the presidency. She has held other offices in the Society and has, through unremitting work for its aims, become a mainspring of the organization. Dr. Carita Doggett Corse is the only other woman to have held that office in the many years the body has been active. Miss Snodgrass has for some years been an officer of The Florida Historical Society, and is now recording secretary and a director of that body. Other officers elected were: Dr. Raymond H. King, first vice-president; Karl Bardin, second vice-president; Martha Lee Sequi, recording secretary; Mrs. W. E. Mott, corresponding secretary, Florence Morrish, treasurer; Audrey Broward, archivist; Herbert Lamson, historian.

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#### ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

"Escribano" No. 1, Jan., 1955

(*The Scribe*)

"In Spanish St. Augustine the *Escribano*, which freely translated means scribe or notary, was an important figure. One of the few in the frontier community who could write, he recorded

events and testimony, and vouched for its accuracy. To him we owe much of what we know of early St. Augustine, and it seems fitting, therefore, to name the newsletter of the St. Augustine Historical Society in his honor."

So *Escribano* joins the newsletters of the Florida Historical Society and those of several of the local associations, and will bring us, as well as the members of the body, regular news of what they are doing and plans of their projects, of which they have several under way.

This issue tells of "a new museum on the history of St. Augustine on which we have been working for more than a year." Also, because of the new routing of U. S. Highway No. 1, which will by-pass city traffic, a reproduction of Cubo Redoubt, a fortification whose site was west of the Castillo, will be built on the new highway.

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#### HALIFAX HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The Halifax Historical Society, with headquarters at Daytona Beach, has been active as usual, and markers are being placed, in cooperation with the Volusia County Historical Commission, on historical sites of the region. W. L. Coursen is president, and Mrs. Ianthe Bond Hebel, secretary.

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

### THE OSCEOLA NUMBER

To the numerous members who have commended our Osceola issue of the QUARTERLY, this is an expression of appreciation and of thanks from the contributors of the several articles to whom the success of the number is due.

With the approval of President Thrift, an additional printing of the issue has been made and these copies will be sold for the benefit of the QUARTERLY. It is hoped that several future issues might be expanded through this means without requiring a double number. Copies may be ordered from our Secretary at two dollars each, which is the regular price of a double number. Perhaps our members in the various cities could arrange that these be placed on sale at the local bookstore, with the dealer to receive the regular trade discount which is usually one-third of the sale price.

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### THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society was held in Daytona Beach at the Princess Issena Hotel, on the invitation of the Halifax Historical Society, on April 15th & 16th; with the Annual Meeting of the Directors, and visits to historic sites on the 14th.

The program:

Friday, April 15

*Presiding*, President Charles T. Thrift, Jr.

*Invocation* by The Reverend Dr. D. H. Rutter

*Welcome* by William L. Coursen,

President, Halifax Historical Society

*Response* by President Charles T. Thrift, Jr.

“The Effect of the Ormond Residence of John D. Rockefeller, Sr., on the Growth of Florida,” by August Burgard, Director, Fla. Hist. Soc., Ft. Lauderdale.

"Railroad Development in Ante-bellum Florida," by Edwin L. Williams, Jr., *Air University, Montgomery*.

"Florida Seen Through the Eyes of Nineteenth Century Travellers," by Benjamin F. Rogers, Jr., *Florida State University*.

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Luncheon, Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, *presiding*.

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Afternoon session, John E. Johns, *presiding*.

"The Seminole War in Coastal Volusia County," by John W. Griffin, *St. Augustine Historical Society*.

"The Florida Constitutional Convention of 1885," by Edward C. Williamson, *Air University, Montgomery*.

"Florida History in Spanish Archives. Reproductions at the University of Florida," by Charles W. Arnade, *University of Florida*.

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Afternoon tea, *sponsored by* Halifax Historical Society.

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Banquet:

*Toastmaster*, Past President John C. Blocker  
*Presidential Address*, "Dramatizing Florida History."

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April 16

*Presiding*, William L. Coursen, President, Halifax Historical Society, our hosts

"G. G. McKinney, Sage of Chokoloskee,"

by Charlton W. Tebeau, *University of Miami*.

"Volusia County,"

by Ianthe B. Hebel, *Halifax Historical Society*.

"Volusia County,"

by Mrs. C. E. Strickland, *Halifax Historical Society*.

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Annual Business Meeting.  
Adjournment.

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THE ANNUAL MEETING

*Minutes*

The annual members' business meeting was called to order by President Charles T. Thrift, Jr. Greetings were received from the following officers who were unable to be present: Julien C. Yonge, Rembert W. Patrick, Mark F. Boyd, Mrs. J. T. Hancock, Linwood Jeffreys, Velma Keen, Richard P. Daniel and Virgil Newton.

(After adjournment the president received a telegram from Governor LeRoy Collins expressing his regret for his inability to attend the meeting.)

A quorum was declared present.

The Minutes of the last meeting were approved as published in the July, 1954, issue of the QUARTERLY.

The president introduced Merlin G. Cox, acting secretary-treasurer, who read the treasurer's report, membership report, and the budget for 1955-56; each of which was adopted as read. Favorable comments were made on the improved financial condition of the Society.

In view of the fact that the budgeted receipts are conservative estimates, the following motion was made by Charlton W. Tebeau, seconded by John C. Blocker, and passed:

That if, in the opinion of the president, the secretary-treasurer, and the editor, the income of the Society warrants a larger expenditure for any issue of the FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY, such expenditure may be made sufficient to increase such issue or issues not more than fifty per cent.

It was brought out that this provision would obviate the necessity of double issues (*i. e.* January-April, 1955) by making single issues larger.

As a matter of information, President Thrift stated that the directors had had under study for some time a plan to introduce legislation for the creation of a historical commission. John C. Blocker, chairman of the legislative committee, was thanked for his diligent pursuit of the matter and was asked to continue the work of the committee as its chairman. It was emphasized that no action involving the Society would be taken without presentation to the full membership of the Society for approval.

Charlton W. Tebeau, chairman of the nominations committee, was asked to take the chair and present the report of that committee, which follows:

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NOMINATIONS FOR 1955-1956

*by* Charlton W. Tebeau, *Committee Chairman:*  
*President:* Charles T. Thrift Jr., Lakeland  
*First vice-president:* J. Velma Keen, Tallahassee  
*Second vice-president:* David R. Dunham, St. Augustine  
*Executive secretary-treasurer:* Merlin G. Cox, Gainesville  
*Recording secretary:* Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville

DIRECTORS

*District 2:* Richard P. Daniel, Jacksonville  
*District 4:* Frank B. Sessa, Miami  
*District 6:* Wiley R. Reynolds, Palm Beach  
*District 8:* Albert C. Manucy, St. Augustine

DIRECTORS AT LARGE:

Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee  
 J. Ryan Beiser, Tampa

NOMINATIONS COMMITTEE 1956-1957:

John C. Blocker, St. Petersburg, *Chairman*  
 Rembert W. Patrick, Gainesville  
 Ruby Leach Carson, Miami Springs  
 T. T. Wentworth Jr., Pensacola  
 Charles S. Davis, Tallahassee

There were no nominations from the floor. Mr. Blocker moved, seconded by Justin Havee and passed, that the secretary be instructed to cast a unanimous ballot for the slate as presented.

Mr. Cox reported that the indexing of the FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY is progressing and it is hoped will be completed within the next few months. An informal discussion followed as to the financing of the project. It was felt that no action was

indicated at this time but all members were asked to keep the need for a sponsor for publishing the index in mind. Need for reissuing scarce issues of the QUARTERLY was also brought out.

Announcement of the winners of the Society's Essay Contest for High School students is planned for an early date at the Society's library in Gainesville when the winners can be present and adequate publicity provided. Mr. Blocker is the donor of the first prize, \$50 bond, for this year. Mrs. J. T. Hancock has asked for the privilege of donating the bond next year.

The president expressed the appreciation of the Society to Merlin Cox for the efficient execution of his office particularly in view of his previous unfamiliarity with the affairs of the Society. The membership heartily concurred and expressed its thanks by resolution.

A resolution of thanks to Harley Freeman, Mrs. John Hebel and her local committee, and to the hotel was recorded.

The president stated that he would not make a formal report at this time since the executive-secretary's report summarized the year's work.

The St. Augustine Historical Society will be host to this Society in 1956, our centennial year, and in the city of its birth. John W. Griffin, Albert C. Manucy and Rembert W. Patrick were appointed as the program committee for 1956 by the president.

As there was no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

DENA SNODGRASS, *Recording Secretary*.

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MEMBERSHIP IN THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

1954:	833 members and library subscriptions to <i>Quarterly</i> . March 27, 1954
<i>Losses</i>	March 27, 1954-April 1, 1955
	24 resignations (19 members, 5 libraries)
	14 deaths
	20 dropped for non-payment of dues
	58 total
<i>Gains</i>	March 27, 1954-April 1, 1955
	10 libraries
	2 fellow members

	2	life members
	2	student members
	144	annual members
	160	total – members and subscribers
1955:	935	members and library subscriptions, April 1, 1955
	10	life members
	4	institutional members
	41	fellow members
	747	annual members
	7	student members
	126	library subscriptions to <i>Quarterly</i>

NEW MEMBERS  
(Sept.-June)

*Nominated by:*

James C. Robinson, Orlando .....	R. V. Rickcord
Miss Lillian Carpenter, Bartow .....	M. G. Cox
Albert H. Woodruff, Charlottesville, Va. ....	R. W. Patrick
Mrs. Bettie S. Warn, Indiantown .....	M. G. Cox
Mrs. F. S. Mellen, Pensacola .....	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
L. H. Gipson, Bethlehem, Pa. ....	M. G. Cox
Virgil R. Hall, Daytona Beach .....	Harley L. Freeman
John Maxcy, Frostproof .....	Edward T. Keenan
A. V. Moninger, Fort Lauderdale .....	August Burghard
Mrs. Margaret Davis Cate, Sea Island, Ga. ....	M. G. Fox
Leo L. Foster, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Mr. and Mrs. Russell McCaughan, Fort Lauderdale .....	August Burghard
Louis Hill, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Mr. and Mrs. Louis H. Brown, Fort Lauderdale .....	August Burghard
J. Christie Hall, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Paul Rardin, Canal Point .....	Mrs. James T. Hancock
Wiley Reynolds, Palm Beach .....	Mrs. James T. Hancock
Roy W. McKenzie, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
John C. Lincoln, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Charles A. Rovetta, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Ben C. Willis, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
David P. Yon, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
A. Frank O'Kelley, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Mr. and Mrs. M. A. Hott, Fort Lauderdale .....	August Burghard
John Tapers, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
H. C. Roland, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
L. A. Wesson, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
H. Lawrence Smith, Tallahassee. ....	J. Velma Keen
Mr. and Mrs. George W. Pugh, Jr., Pompano Beach .....	August Burghard
B. K. Roberts, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
S. E. Teague, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Bernard Shiell, Jr., Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Charles Spitz, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
A. B. Martin, Tallahassee .....	J. Velma Keen
Henry R. Tribble, Toole, Utah .....	James V. Doyle, Jr.
Mr. and Mrs. Shepard Broad, Miami Beach .....	J. Velma Keen
Walter L. Harris, Coral Gables .....	John W. Holland
E. J. Bacon, Sarasota .....	J. C. McKay
Harry T. Dale, St. Petersburg.....	Ernest Metcalf
Mrs. Winchester Bennett, New Haven, Conn.....	Edwin Pugsley
Miss Emily G. Lively, Tallahassee.....	L. A. Wesson

## NEW MEMBERS (continued)

	<i>Nominated by:</i>
Mrs. Mary F. Scofield, Inverness .....	O. Frank Scofield
Mr. and Mrs. Chester Lay, Dallas, Tex .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Rafael M. Rodriguez, Chapultepec, Mexico .....	John C. Blocker
James E. Mooney, Bethesda, Md .....	John C. Blocker
J. E. Kuhn, Boyd .....	W. C. Gregory
Carl T. Johnson, Pensacola .....	John W. Cole
Mrs. John P. Wallace, St. Petersburg .....	Merle E. Rudy
Malachi Haughton, III, Jacksonville .....	Malachi Haughton, Jr.
Mrs. L. L. Burnet, Jacksonville .....	George R. Coslow
Mrs. Helen J. Dravo, St. Petersburg .....	Allan C. Jackson
Thomas J. Conway, Tallahassee .....	Allan C. Jackson
C. T. Young, Plant City .....	Wayne Thomas
Fred L. Seger, St. Petersburg .....	R. D. Cummins
Teresa M. Hughlett, Chicago, Ill .....	Duncan L. Clinch
Alan B. Williams, Ridgewood, N. J. ....	M. G. Cox
W. B. Wright, Pensacola .....	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Mrs. Helen Cubberly Ellerbe, Gainesville .....	Julien C. Yonge
Ruth Stair Lutz, Daytona Beach .....	Harley L. Freeman
E. R. Mills, Jr., Gainesville .....	Sam Proctor
O. P. Herndon, Sanford .....	M. G. Cox
Sister M. Benignus, Jacksonville .....	M. G. Cox
William Merlin Bliss, Jacksonville .....	Mrs. William S. Manning
Larry Duren Lossing, Orlando .....	John Griffin
Valdane Stephens, Tullahoma, Tenn. ....	R. V. Rickcord
Miss Marie K. Holecek, St. Petersburg .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Robert S. Birch, St. Petersburg .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Miss Mary Audrey Whitehurst, Brooksville .....	M. G. Cox
Lucius S. Ruder, Clearwater (Life member) .....	John C. Blocker
Mrs. O. J. Knox, Kissimmee .....	Dena Snodgrass
Mr. and Mrs. N. Ray Carroll, Kissimmee .....	Dena Snodgrass
Sylvia B. Paulson, Kissimmee .....	Dena Snodgrass
Mrs. Louis Chadwick, Fernandina Beach .....	Linwood Jeffreys
Asa Coleman, Jr., MacClenny .....	Linwood Jeffreys
Mrs. Ruth Waldron Hill, St. Louis, Mo .....	Dena Snodgrass
Frank H. Marks, Fort Lauderdale .....	August Burghard
Miss Maud Van Woy, Ormond Beach .....	Ianthe Bond Hebel
Mrs. Margaret Shaw, Jacksonville .....	Ianthe Bond Hebel
Mrs. M. A. Bowlin, Jacksonville .....	Miss Fannie Webb Holt
Franklin E. Fitzpatrick, Brooklyn, N. Y. ....	John F. McKeown
Miss Jean W. Smyth, Louisville, Miss .....	M. G. Cox
Mrs. Slater Cox, Eustis .....	G. G. Ware
H. C. Brown, Clermont .....	G. G. Ware
R. E. Phinney, Fernandina Beach .....	Linwood Jeffreys
Nelle C. Skeen, Leesburg .....	G. G. Ware
Robert Wingfield, DeLand .....	Mrs. Theodore F. Hahn, Jr.
Frank E. Owens, Eustis .....	G. G. Ware
John Lee Hamrick, Eustis .....	G. G. Ware
Luther W. Holloway, Jr., Jacksonville .....	Miss Fannie Webb Holt
Mrs. Kent Pendleton, Eustis .....	G. G. Ware
Glyndon H. Waas, Jr., Fernandina Beach .....	Linwood Jeffreys
A. C. Thompson, Jr., Fernandina Beach .....	Linwood Jeffreys
John Ullman, Jr., Fort Lauderdale .....	August Burghard
J. B. Hopkins, Pensacola .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
L. D. Edge, Groveland .....	G. G. Ware
Frederick W. Sleight, Orlando .....	M. G. Cox
Miss Jessie M. Brown, Bradenton (fellow) .....	Mrs. Allen S. Davison

NEW MEMBERS (continued)

	<i>Nominated by:</i>
W. Turner Wallis, West Palm Beach.....	Julien C. Yonge
Colin C. Wells, Clearwater.....	D. B. McKay
Duncan L. Gray, Tallahassee .....	D. B. McKay
Mrs. Charles E. Shaw, Eustis .....	G. G. Ware
Harry B. Whidden, Boca Grande .....	D. B. McKay
Mrs. Henry H. Henderson, Ocala .....	D. B. McKay
Mrs. Burns Z. Powell, Bartow .....	D. B. McKay
Hack L. Ingle, Sebring .....	Edward T. Keenan
J. M. Miller, Orange Lake .....	D. B. McKay
Henry Seymour Marks, Miami .....	C. W. Tebeau
Miss Elizabeth A. Warnock, Inverness .....	Julien C. Yonge
Eugene L. Taylor, Fort Walton .....	D. B. McKay
George J. Dykes, Tavares .....	G. G. Ware
Mrs. Frances H. Kinzie, Lake Wales .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Mrs. Mary True Crosswhite, Mount Dora .....	Ilanthe Bond Hebel
E. P. Padgett, Jacksonville .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Mrs. James E. Clark, Indianapolis, Ind.....	M. G. Cox
Raymond Camp, Sr., White Springs .....	Millard B. Archibald
Mrs. Richard Glendinning, Sarasota .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Howard E. Kurfiss, Groveland .....	G. G. Ware
John H. Wardlaw, Frostproof .....	Edward T. Keenan
C. A. Vaughn, Sr., Umatilla .....	G. G. Ware
Mr. and Mrs. F. E. Starnes, Fort Myers .....	M. G. Cox
Thomas S. Jecuso, Tampa .....	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Ira A. Hutchison, Panama City .....	Benjamin F. Rogers, Jr.
Mrs. L. E. Gruig, Lakeland .....	D. B. McKay
F. J. Mancinik, DeLand .....	Mrs. Theodore F. Hahn, Jr.
W. V. Knott, Tallahassee .....	G. G. Ware

JUNIOR HISTORIAN ESSAY CONTEST

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY offers three prizes each year to students of Florida high schools for original compositions on any subject of their choice relating to our State's or their local history.

Seventy contestants from forty schools wrote essays this year. Gay Phillips of Wildwood High School was awarded a U. S. Defense Bond as first prize, and came to the Society's Library for the presentation. Second prize of \$10 went to Susan Goddard, Ortona School, Daytona Beach; and \$5 to Sharon Boen, also of Wildwood High School. Miss Phillips's essay is published here. Miss Goddard wrote on "A Biography of Edgar N. Waldron," and Miss Boen's was "Progress in My Community."

Past President John C. Blocker contributed the prizes this year.

## THE HISTORY OF WILDWOOD

by GAY PHILLIPS

Wildwood is a small town in central Florida, located at the crossing of United States Highway 301 and State Road 44.

In the olden days, as well as now, Wildwood was not very active in the business realm, but was and still is a big transportation and railroad center.

Around 1882 the first train came to town and Wildwood began its successful railroad career. That day in 1882, the people were really excited, in fact a little too excited; for when Mr. Siffer drove the old wood burner engine called "The Cabbage Head" into town, he unfortunately killed a man.

This sort of frightened the people, and they were a little belligerent toward the railroad, but they gradually grew out of it and began to trust trains enough to ride on them.

During this time, Wildwood was the end of the tracks. The old wood burner trains were refueled at the wood racks and then headed back the other way on a turn table which was operated by hand.

By the time the train got from the refueling station, or wood rack, back to the depot, Mr. Carter was there to see that all the passengers and baggage got safely aboard. Then the train would rumble off for another trip, and Mr. Carter was at his leisure for the rest of the day.

Generally the first place he would go was to I. E. Barwick's store, which was the only one in town, to tell the manager who was taking train trips that day.

In I. E. Barwick's store you could buy most anything you wanted or just go there for a 'gab' session, if you had time. The children liked to go there often for candy, that is if they were not learning the three R's in the one room wooden school house.

Wildwood was beginning to grow. More business stores, a bank, a city hall and other buildings were constructed. The school house was also enlarged. Yes, Wildwood was getting to be a nice sized town, but the sanitary conditions certainly had not improved. The people let their cattle and pigs roam the roads of the city.

Another disadvantage was when people wanted to go places they always had to leave early, for they had to ride horses and have time to tie them at the hitching post in front of the store, depot or wherever they were going.

If people wanted any recreation, they usually went to the "Wigwam," a building which was used as a city hall as well as many other things. Some nights the band would play in the Band Stand in one corner of the "Wigwam." Other nights they would have roller skating at the rink.

On Sundays, of course, all the stores were closed; for right down the street was the First Baptist Church. Most all of the people worshipped there on Sundays.

The people awoke one morning to discover a great tragedy. The Baptist Church had burned during the night.

It was not long until the school burned and the present Baptist Church and the present Junior High School building were built.

About this time the main street was paved, and with the pavement of Main street another great event happened in Wildwood. The first car came to town driven by Mr. Nichols. This was such an extraordinary thing that the students were even dismissed from classes to see it.

By this time the railroad had been extended further into South Florida, and Wildwood was becoming more and more important. The depot agents had more baggage and express to handle. More people came to Wildwood to stay over night.

There was an urgent need for a hotel. So the Hotel Majestic was built. This attracted the attention of many more people Those traveling in cars as well as by train.

To the lady visitors of Wildwood and the Hotel Majestic, the most attractive spot in town was the hat shop which was right across the street. Most of the trade at the hat shop was done by travelers or visitors.

Between the years 1906 and 1910, a crate mill was built on the west side of the tracks at the north end of Wildwood. This mill was owned by McRaney and Bridges. The building of the crate mill brought more people from different parts of the country to work and make their home here. This crate mill furnished ice for the city of Wildwood, and also furnished quarters for its white and colored employees.

When the building was torn down part of the lumber was used to build the house on Grandfather Word's plantation. This house is still standing today.

After the closing of the crate mill, Mr. Bridges ran a dry goods store in the Hotel Majestic. He employed as his bookkeeper, as he had previously done in the crate mill, Mr. Randell Phillips. Randell Phillips later built a gas station which is now run by his son.

Wildwood's only ice plant was constructed in 1923 with Daddy Mac as building foreman. The ice plant was owned by I. W. Ross, engineered by Grant, and had Robert Kelley as its first manager.

When the plant first started, it was operated by steam, but in 1924 it was converted to diesel operation. At this time it was a one hundred ton plant.

This plant was built to use in the icing of freight cars used by the Fruit Growers Express Company and for local trade. It operated in that form until the year 1947, when it was enlarged to a 350 ton capacity every twenty-four hours.

During the year 1947, Mr. Ross sold the ice plant to the Southeastern Public Service Company.

In 1950, electric ice machines were added to the equipment in the plant. After these machines were added, up to 450 tons of ice could be pulled in a single day.

During the busiest season of the year, this ice plant employs about fifty workers. The ice plant now goes under the name of The Royal Palm Ice Company, which is owned by the Southeastern Public Service Company.

Under the Bond Issue of 1926-27, all streets were paved and a water system installed. During this period the present bank, post office, and a city hall to replace the "Wigwam" was also built.

In 1926 another hotel was built in Wildwood. The hotel was named the Hotel Floridian. The Hotel Floridian was owned and run by Jack Monohan, a past state representative.

The Hotel Floridian was much bigger and more modern than the Hotel Majestic, therefore it attracted more people's attention and had more business.

This building was used for a hotel until about 1943 when it was converted into a hospital. This was the first regular hospital that had ever been in the city of Wildwood. Most all of the credit of this hospital went to Dr. Young who was owner of the building and physician.

This hospital has been occupied by quite a few other doctors. One of the latter only stayed a few months in Wildwood as he and his wife were dope addicts.

In the last fifteen or twenty years as many Negro people have moved to Wildwood as there are white people. There have been many race riots during these years. One Negro man was killed, tied to a car and dragged through the city streets because he had killed a policeman. During these race riots the Ku Klux Klan was very active. Several crosses were burned

in front of people's houses and in the park. They would parade through the city streets dressed in hoods with the tags on their cars covered.

Just before the war began, the construction of an overpass began in the north end of the city. When the Second World War began the construction had to stop because it took a lot of steel which was very scarce. At the end of the World War, the building of the overpass was resumed. During the building of it a man fell from the top and was killed. The overpass was completed about the year 1945.

The people of Wildwood have not allowed any manufacturer or other large business to build within the city. For example, the people would not allow a packing plant to be built in the city.

In the year 1925 a city newspaper was established. The newspaper was called The Wildwood Echo. Although the paper is not very large, it has all the news of Wildwood and news from other small towns in Sumter County in it.

The people of Wildwood do unto others as they would have them do unto them. If one of their fellow workers is unable to work, they will always be taken care of.

Wildwood has continued to grow until today it is a town with adequate water and sanitary systems, a successful Seaboard Center, and about thirty business stores.

Some of the buildings which have been recently built are Supertest Service Station, Fitzgerald and Company, the Theatre, Thomas' Service Station, Parker's Amoco Service Station, Duel's Feed and Seed Store, Brown and Son's Groceries, and the A. and P.

Several new subdivisions have been added to make Wildwood a prettier city in which to live.

Wildwood has churches of every denomination. These churches are Baptist, Methodist, Presbyterian, Church of Christ, Church of God, and Assembly of God.

Wildwood has grown to a city with a population of about three thousand people. It is conveniently provided with everything except a recreation center for the young people and that is being worked on at the present date.

#### CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY

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