

# STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 39  
Issue 4 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 39,*  
*Issue 4*

Article 1

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1960

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 39, Issue 4

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### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1960) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 39, Issue 4," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 39 : Iss. 4 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol39/iss4/1>

## THE ADVENT OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR IN FLORIDA, 1898

by WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS

ON FEBRUARY 1, 1898, the Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen* angrily denounced General Nelson Miles for what it termed an attempt to waste the taxpayers' money. Miles had appeared before a Congressional committee with a plea for funds with which to build fortifications around Washington. The Jacksonville editor declared that there was "no war in sight," and that the money might better be spent on the construction of an intra-coastal waterway, a project already looming large in the minds of many Floridians. His denial of any need for defenses was merely another manner of expressing his stubborn opposition to anything that might encourage people to think that war with Spain might result from the Cuban crisis. His attitude on this matter was the same as that of other Florida editors, all of whom believed that war would be harmful to Florida's future.<sup>1</sup>

In the short period of one month it was evident that his attitude had changed. On March 2 the same paper published another editorial on the same subject, the need for coastal fortifications. This time the editor pointed out that all of Florida's cities were completely defenseless, and that all of them depended to a large degree on their trade with other ports for their livelihood. He also pointed out that in the event of war with Spain, these same cities would be more exposed to attack than any others, simply because of the fact that they were so close to Cuba. He then demanded that the Army take steps immediately to provide a defense for the cities in question. In this fashion, without for a moment abandoning his sturdy opposition to war, the editor tacitly admitted that such a war was probably inevitable.

Other journals in the state were following the same line of thought. On March 9 the *Tampa Tribune* openly admitted that war with Spain was by then unavoidable, and also demanded that the War Department begin to construct batteries to protect the

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1. Material for this article has been taken from William J. Schellings, "The Role of Florida in the Spanish American War, 1898." Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1958.

city. The only two cities in the state that were not overly disturbed by the prospect of war were Pensacola and Key West. The existence of Fort Pickens and Fort Barrancas was enough to give Pensacola a feeling of security, and Key West was already witnessing the start of work on the strengthening of her defenses. Both cities were the sites of naval yards, and Key West was even then enjoying a boom in business due to the presence of a number of naval vessels and Army Engineers working on the forts.

All other towns, however, were very conscious of the fact that they were close to the scene of possible naval action in any war over Cuba, and were fully aware that they lacked any means of defense against possible bombardment by the Spanish. Since it was believed that the war would be almost entirely a naval affair, this danger of bombardment assumed an exaggerated importance in the minds of many. They saw Spanish ships shelling the cities at will, and even entertained fears of Spanish landing parties. One such vision in Jacksonville brought a rather sardonic rejoinder from Miami. An item in the Miami *Metropolis* scoffed at Jacksonville's fears, saying that the only defense required by that city was present in the shape of the water hyacinths already clogging the rivers. The writer laughingly declared that no ship could possibly sail up the St. Johns River in the face of a barrage of hyacinths.

Despite this and other similar remarks, the majority of people in the cities concerned took matters very seriously. They, in common with the residents of cities up and down the eastern seaboard, were convinced that the danger was really great, and that fortifications were not only necessary but that the Army had the magical power of producing them at will. As it was, even if the Army had had the men to man such guns, it did not have the guns, the money with which to purchase them, nor the time in which to build the desired works. Ignoring this, cities such as Jacksonville and Tampa pressed their demands for protection without letup, and seemed to believe that any delay was deliberate on the part of the Army.

Tampa, with what was probably the most intensive campaign for guns, began its attempt to secure them on March 11. Mayor M. E. Gillette wrote to Representative Stephen Sparkman, asking the Congressman to use his influence to aid the city. He outlined the defenseless condition of Tampa, stressed the commercial im-

portance of the harbor to the trade of southern Florida, and urged that immediate action be taken. Sparkman did write to Secretary of War Russell Alger to inquire whether or not the Army had any plans to defend Tampa, passing on to the Secretary the information given by Gillette, and requested an immediate reply.<sup>2</sup>

Alger in turn passed the letter on to General John M. Wilson, Chief of Army Engineers, for a reply. Wilson, whose office was then receiving many such letters, wrote to Sparkman, politely explaining that the Army did not have any plans for Tampa, and that under the circumstances he felt that none could be prepared. He cited the delays that would be encountered in securing land, drawing up plans, building the works, and then placing the guns. As a final answer, he added that in any event the Army did not have funds for any such project. Sparkman duly forwarded the reply to Major Gillette.

The rejection of its plea did not discourage Tampa. It merely doubled and redoubled its efforts, enlisting the aid of the Board of Trade, numerous private citizens, and the city council, as well as the Mayor. All wrote letters or sent telegrams to Secretary Alger, to General Wilson, and to Representative Sparkman. All argued the commercial importance of the city, pointing out that customs receipts at Tampa exceeded those at any other southern city. All, however, received variations of the reply Wilson had sent to Sparkman.

The War Department refused to alter its stand, insisting that the difficulties involved were too great and the time was too short. Not until the end of March did a change of attitude appear, and then only after new and stronger influence had been brought to bear. Tampa was the terminal of the Plant System, a railroad with connections to Washington and New York. It was also the terminal of the Plant Steamship Line, with wharves and storage facilities at Port Tampa, in addition to the extensive freight yards and warehouses of the railroad. Also, the Plant System owned a string of hotels in Florida, with the huge, garish Tampa Bay Hotel the largest of the lot. All were vulnerable to attack from

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2. National Archives, *Selected Records Relating to Tampa, Florida, 1896-1898* (Washington: 1934), item lff. The entire story of the attempt to secure defenses is on this strip of microfilmed letters. See items 1 through 22.

the sea, possibly even more so than Tampa itself. Henry Plant, president of both companies, wrote to Secretary Alger on March 22.

In his letter Plant repeated the same arguments that had been presented so many times by others, but he also added a reminder that the government already owned land on two small islands at the entrance of the bay. Egmont and Mullet Keys were so situated that a battery erected on each could command the entrance to the harbor. In addition to this bit of information that may have had considerable weight, Plant wrote in a fashion that indicated a fairly close friendship with the Alger family. He closed his letter with a hope that he and his wife would soon be able to see Mr. and Mrs. Alger in Washington.<sup>3</sup>

Whether it was the information about Egmont and Mullet Keys or the personal relationship between Alger and Plant that changed the mind of the War Department, it did change. Three days after the letter had been written, Alger sent new orders to General Wilson. The Engineers were told to prepare plans for Tampa's defense, and were specifically told to utilize Egmont and Mullet Keys. Tampa was notified of the change in plans at once, and an almost audible sigh of relief went through the city. Oddly enough no one took the trouble to notify Representative Sparkman, who continued to write letters to Alger asking for action in behalf of Tampa. Finally, on April 4, the Congressman discovered the change in plans, and immediately wired Mayor Gillette to the effect that the city's defense was now assured.

The decision to erect batteries was one thing, but getting the work underway was another. Lieutenant Colonel W. H. Benyaurd, Engineer in charge of the Florida District office, was placed in charge of the work. Under the plans drawn up in Washington, batteries of small caliber guns were planned, at a cost of some \$25,000. Benyaurd protested, saying that the work as planned would do no more than offer "moral encouragement" to the city, and that an effective defense was impossible unless batteries of much larger guns were built. His protest was overruled, however, and the work was begun, though not rapidly enough to satisfy Tampa.

Other Florida cities were having somewhat similar experi-

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3. *Ibid.*, item 8.

ences, though not all ended even that well. In Jacksonville the *Times Union and Citizen* had continued its demands for protection ever since its first editorial on March 2. The editor spurred the city to demand that the Florida congressional delegation insist that the Army do something, and reiterated his belief that Florida deserved priority because of its proximity to Cuba. On March 21 the editor noted with some glee that J. E. Ingraham of the Florida East Coast Railroad had gone to Washington to add his influence to that of the Congressmen; the newspaper appeared to have more confidence in the ability of the railroad-man to secure action than in that of the Congressmen. But despite this and other efforts made by city officials, the Board of Trade, and the businessmen of the city, no action was taken by the Army until April 4. On that day a plan was announced to provide batteries for all the major coastal towns in the state. Apparently Mr. Ingraham's influence was less than that of Mr. Plant.

Plans for defense were well and good, but by April war was more than a possibility. It was on April 11 that President McKinley sent his message to Congress asking for authority to use armed forces in Cuba, and by then the cities on the coast were becoming more than alarmed as they waited in vain for work to begin on the fortifications. A large number of towns took independent steps to assure their safety, such as initiating movements to secure rifles from the State Adjutant General for the use of groups of men organized into units of Home Guards. Such local volunteers began drilling and taking target practice in Pensacola, Miami, Palatka, Lake Worth, West Palm Beach, Coconut Grove, and several other towns. St. Augustine pleaded for a garrison to be placed at St. Francis Barracks, and demands for the rehabilitation of old Fort Clinch were heard. Several citizens, Mr. W. W. Dewhurst for one, offered tracts of land ranging from two to two hundred acres for the use of soldiers sent to protect St. Augustine and St. Petersburg.<sup>4</sup>

While the agitation for protection was still going on, new developments had occurred that tended to take the attention of editors and officials away from the matter of defense. On March 13 the War Department had begun to make vague plans for

4. National Archives, War Records Division, *Record Group 98*, File No. 1606. Miami *Metropolis*, April 22, 1898. *Times Union and Citizen* (Jacksonville), April 20, 23, 1898.

the approaching war. It announced the creation of a new Department of the Gulf, including the states of Florida and Georgia. Next it announced plans to concentrate the troops of the regular army in several camps in the southeastern section of the country. Headquarters of the Gulf Department were instructed to report on possible camp sites, and in general it was evident that the Army foresaw the possibility of a need for an army of invasion for Cuba. Speculation was rife on the site of the camps, but even more interesting was the matter of which city would be selected as a base of supplies for any such army.

The Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen* had brought the matter up as early as March 1, when it sharply challenged the right of Atlanta to regard itself as the obvious choice for a base. But the statement was an isolated item, and no further consideration of the matter appeared in the paper for some time. Even after the announcement of the Army's plans for concentrating troops had been made, the *Times Union and Citizen* ignored or overlooked the possibility that one or more camps might be established within the state. It even failed to renew its claim to a base of supplies for Florida, an omission particularly odd in view of the paper's previous record of searching out every means of bettering the economic position of the state.

All was changed, however, when the *New York Times* printed a story about a conference held at the War Department. The meeting had been held on March 29, and the story, appearing the next day, told of an attempt to decide exactly where the Army would concentrate its troops. Apparently no final decision was reached, as two officers, one from the Army and one from the Navy, were appointed to consider the relative merits of four cities, and to decide on one of them. The four were New Orleans, Mobile, Tampa, and Savannah, and the decision was to be based on the availability of rail and shipping facilities. It was obvious that the *New York Times* erred on one point, for what was to be decided upon was not a camp but a port of embarkation and base of supplies for any future Cuban expedition. All cities mentioned were ports, and the need for shipping facilities indicated an emphasis on ocean transport. At any rate that was the interpretation given the announcement in Florida, and it was on that basis that Tampa now sought to influence the decision in its favor.

The city and its officials were literally galvanized into action. Mayor, Council, Board of Trade, businessmen, all went to work writing letters and sending off telegrams to Secretary of War Alger, to congressmen, and even to President McKinley. The two Tampa papers, the *Times* and the *Tribune*, joined in an effort to publicize Tampa's advantages over the other cities under consideration. Articles praised the rail terminal, the warehouse space available, and the shipping facilities at Port Tampa. The harbor was described in some detail, and the fact that Tampa was the nearest to Cuba of all four cities was played up as a great advantage.<sup>5</sup>

The *Tampa Times* published an article, the first of a series, on March 31. It attempted to itemize all of Tampa's good points. The railroad facilities were described as the "largest and best-equipped in the South." The "unequaled" yards of the Plant System were supplemented by the "modern" terminal and warehouses of the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad. The wharves at Port Tampa, said to be six thousand feet long, were declared capable of handling sixteen ships at a time. The *Times* asserted that the Plant System was ready to double-track the nine miles of single track road from Tampa to Port Tampa "at a minute's notice."

Other stories followed in both papers. Correspondents for out of state papers filed similar articles, and some did appear in print. The *Chicago Tribune* published what was almost a word for word copy of the *Tampa Times* article. It even added information to the effect that a ship sailing from Tampa to Cuba would be in protected waters for nearly the entire distance, an item that thereafter was emphasized in Tampa.

Telegrams sent to the War Department and to Congressman Sparkman endlessly repeated these and other facts. Figures taken from the United States Coast and Geodetic Survey Reports were cited to prove that Tampa's harbor and channel were larger and deeper than those of the other cities. In all of this it was odd that not one word appeared about the practicality of establishing a camp in Tampa or elsewhere in the state. It was clear that all

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5. The story of the campaign for nomination as the base is best followed in the daily issues of the Tampa and Jacksonville newspapers, March 31 to April 16, 1898. A more complete description is given in Schellings, *op. cit.*, Chap. III.

concerned were thinking in terms of a base of supplies, visioning large quantities of freight and little else. No mention was made of the availability of land and water supplies for troops.

Even the Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen*, always on the lookout for Florida's economic benefit, failed to note that aspect. It gave its support to Tampa as the site of the supply depot, declaring on April 1 that the Gulf coast city enjoyed a clear superiority in position, harbor, and freight facilities. It did alter its stand somewhat on April 5, but merely added a recommendation that a base be established at Miami as well as the one at Tampa. The idea was that a Cuban expedition would be supplied from Tampa, while a Puerto Rican invasion could be based on Miami. This, by the way, was a claim of ability that even Miami itself did not make. That city had expressed regret that the war had not been delayed for a year to two until its harbor was in shape to handle large ships. Jacksonville, however, was satisfied to advocate the choice of both Tampa and Miami on the ground that freight destined for either city would have to pass through Jacksonville first.

During the two weeks which passed before any decision was made it was clear that the War Department itself was quite puzzled as to just where it could mobilize the fifteen thousand regular army troops. Adjutant General H. C. Corbin busied himself telegraphing around to discover a possible camp site. He wired to Key West, and was only discouraged by the repeated statement that water supplies there were in short supply. Eventually Chickamauga National Park was settled on for one camp, but the question of a base remained unsettled until April 15.

On April 13 the *Tampa Times* announced that Mr. Frank Q. Brown had departed for Washington to use his influence. Brown was vice-president of the Plant System, and it was apparent that the newspaper thought quite highly of his ability. Their faith in him was apparently justified. Three days later, the *Times* came out with a 6 A.M. extra edition, announcing that Brown was "the best emissary Tampa ever sent anywhere." The story could have been followed daily in the *New York Times*. That paper, on April 14, reported Brown's arrival in Washington, saying that he had come to attend a conference at the White House, a meeting at which Secretary Alger was also present. The meeting was held on April 15, and on the next day, the *Times*

reported that a decision on the base had been made. Troops were to be sent to New Orleans, Mobile, and Tampa, and the base itself was to be at Tampa.

It was true. On April 15, Adjutant General Corbin sent out orders directing seven regiments of infantry to proceed to Tampa, and also dispatched Major J. W. Pope to that city to select the exact campground. In Tampa, Mr. Brown was given full credit for the decision. The 6 A.M. edition gave the details of the story, and also carried the news that several merchants in Tampa had already sent wires to Representative Sparkman pleading that he use his influence to have the troops camped near the center of town, in order that the merchants might be able to serve the soldiers properly.

Major Pope arrived in Tampa on April 18, two days before the first troop train reached the city. With limited time at his disposal, he was glad to be able to make use of the services of City Engineer Neff, who aided him in selecting grounds for the camp. The area chosen was known as Tampa Heights for its elevation of a few feet above the level of the rest of the city. It was generally north of the town, lying between Nebraska and First Avenues. Plentifully shaded and high enough to provide good drainage, it was to be the best of the many camp sites that were to be established in Tampa.<sup>6</sup>

After securing the ground, Pope made arrangements for a supply of drinking water. The city water works agreed to run pipes to the area, and to install meters. A nominal amount was charged for the water supply. Later charges that water was sold to the Army in Tampa a two cents per gallon were based on an incident occurring afterwards in Port Tampa, in an arrangement between the Army and the Plant System.

Other problems were solved with comparative ease. Tampa was eager to please the Army, and full cooperation was offered whenever possible. The electric company agreed to string wires out to the camp, and the street car company began to lay track out to Tampa Heights. The city started to put down a wooden sidewalk, and to pave Florida Avenue out to the area. In addition, Pope was able to secure adequate supplies of forage for the animals that would accompany the troops, and ground for several

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6. Schellings, *op. cit.*, Chap. IV., and Appendix I for maps of the camps.

large corrals was secured. Ten thousand dollars, the first of hundreds of thousands, were deposited to Pope's account in a Tampa bank to enable him to make spot purchases for cash.<sup>7</sup>

While Pope represented the Quartermaster Corps, and was responsible for many of the services and supplies required by the Army, he was not the only man in Tampa busy preparing for the coming of the troops. Officers from the Ordnance, Commissary, and Engineer Departments were also in town. They competed with Pope for the most desirable warehouses, for the best labor, and for the wagon transport available for hire in the city. This competition helped greatly to keep every one in Tampa busy and happy. Within a few days every man who desired to work had a job; every building that could be rented was under lease, and teamsters came to Tampa from other towns with their wagons and animals. Long before the city held its full quota of soldiers it resembled a boom town at its busiest.

The first arrangements were scarcely completed when the first troop train arrived. On April 20, between nine and ten A.M., a Plant System train in two sections pulled into the station. It carried five companies of the Fifth United States Infantry with their baggage, wagon transport, animals, and supplies. The men remained aboard the cars until noon, meanwhile becoming the center of attention for a growing crowd. Cold drinks and sandwiches were supplied by the citizens, and a lot of good natured banter passed between the soldiers and the civilians.

The Fifth was quickly followed into town by other units. The arrival of the First United States Infantry was typical. A full regiment, it arrived on fifty cars, sufficient to carry the twenty-three officers, 482 men, and the animals, transport, and baggage. By the time it reached Tampa on April 29, it was clear that whatever original plans had existed had been scrapped. The city, and Major Pope, too, had expected seven regiments, or a total of approximately three thousand men. By April 22, more than that number had reached the city. On that day twenty-seven troop trains had arrived, and these had brought word that many more were on the way. The camp at Tampa Heights was soon overflowing, and Major Pope was compelled to rush around selecting additional tracts of land for new camp sites. These were

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7. National Archives, *Record Group 92*, File No. 108663.

located at DeSoto Park, Palmetto Beach, Fort Brooke, Port Tampa, Ybor City, and one was even placed directly behind the Tampa Bay Hotel. Several of the sites chosen left a great deal to be desired, though all seemed to be acceptable at the time. Difficulties that appeared later included such things as the fact that some grounds were subject to flooding, and that a large corral containing over a thousand horses and mules was directly behind one camp.<sup>8</sup>

General James Wade arrived in town on April 21 with orders to take command of the camp. Casting about for a building suitable for headquarters, he found the Tampa Bay Hotel ideal. The Plant System had closed the hotel for the season on April 9, but decided to reopen it to accommodate the officers, newspaper correspondents, and visitors. Needless to say it was quickly filled, and did not lack for guests until the major portion of the Army had departed. Some of the visitors were foreign military attaches, whose glittering uniforms added a touch of color to the scene. The hotel became so much of a military scene that one correspondent declared that "even the ladies were up in arms." The correspondents, in Tampa in expectation that the army would sail very shortly, quickly became bored with the inaction, the heat, and the dust. As a result, whenever they tired of writing about the troops they turned to describing the city. While some were favorably inclined toward the bustling little town, many took a distinctly scornful attitude, and as a result several became the particular targets of comment in the Tampa newspapers. Richard Harding Davis and Poultney Bigelow were the favorite targets of the *Tampa Times* because of the articles they wrote. In any event the publicity that the city received brought its name before the eyes of the entire country, and Tampa benefited thereby.

The arrival of the thousands of soldiers and the resultant boom in business attracted attention all through Florida. Farmers were advised to remember the new market when they went to Tampa to sell their produce. The farmers of the area around Tampa had a banner season despite the fact that dry weather ruined

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8. See Schellings, *op. cit.* For the story of difficulties at this and other camps, see Chaps. V to X.

many crops that year.<sup>9</sup> But most of the attention was evidenced in the actions taken by other towns in attempting to secure camps in their localities, even if it meant taking them away from Tampa.

The first reaction came simultaneously with the news that troops were going to the west coast city. Mr. J. E. Parrott, vice-president of the Florida East Coast Railroad, sent a protest to Brigadier General Graham in Atlanta. He declared that troops stationed at Jacksonville, St. Augustine, or Miami would enjoy facilities superior to those offered in Tampa. He particularly urged that the Army utilize Miami, praising the grounds and water there as being unsurpassable. Receiving no reply to his first wire of April 16, he repeated it on April 26, again stressing Miami as a potential camp. He must have misunderstood the mission of the Army, for his wires indicated that he still thought that the troops were in Florida to protect the state, and that if they were to go to Cuba, that they would sail from Key West.<sup>10</sup> Parrott might have added that he wanted a share of the freight and passenger traffic for his railroad, which was the only one serving Miami. He was unsuccessful in his attempt to secure a camp, but later on in the summer Henry Flagler did succeed, and ultimately Miami received its camp.

The next sign of activity in the quest for camps came from Jacksonville. At first the *Times Union and Citizen*, under the impression that Tampa would be merely the base of supplies, had backed that city's efforts to secure that nomination. Then, when it became evident that a sizable camp was also involved, the newspaper began to advance claims on behalf of Jacksonville. It suggested, as early as April 22, that the west coast city was becoming crowded, and that some of the troops enroute to Tampa might very well be halted and camped at Jacksonville. It pointed out that in such a case the soldiers could be moved swiftly to Tampa when it came time for them to embark, or could be sent quickly to Miami if that city were to be used as a base for a Puerto Rican expedition. Despite the editorial and an article written by a Captain C. E. Garner, no action was taken by the city itself until April 29. Apparently that much time was required

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9. Typical items in the Florida papers on this were similar to the item reprinted in the *Tampa Tribune*, May 1, 1898, taken from the *Ocala Banner*: "10,000 troops at Tampa ought to boost the price of farm products a notch or two. . . ."

10. National Archives, *Record Group 98*, Files Nos. 1420, 1833.

to permit the stories of Tampa's new-found prosperity have the right effect on Jacksonville's city officials and businessmen. On April 29, however, a mass meeting was held, and, after a discussion of the matter, Mayor R. D. Knight was able to secure pledges from several landowners that sufficient ground would be available to the Army free of charge. The mayor also instructed city officials to look into the practicality of having the city offer free water, electricity, and sewerage service as an inducement.

When it was decided that the above services could be offered without charge, a committee was appointed to visit General Shafter in Tampa and present the proposal to him. They did so, and arranged to have a group of army officers visit Jacksonville and inspect the proposed campsites. The report of the officers was highly favorable, and on May 21, General Shafter wired Secretary Alger that, due to crowded conditions in Tampa, he was halting some troops at Jacksonville, and establishing a camp there.

General Fitzhugh Lee, erstwhile consul-general at Havana, was appointed to command the new camp, and upon arriving in the city promptly named the camp "Cuba Libre", much to the delight of the Cubans in the state. The troops assigned to Jacksonville were organized into the Seventh Army Corps, and eventually numbered over thirty thousand.<sup>11</sup>

Tampa had required relief from the sheer weight of numbers even before May 21, and Shafter had already set up one additional camp at the little town of Lakeland. Located thirty miles east of Tampa, and on a direct railroad line, the new camp housed some four thousand men at a time. They or their replacements remained there for several months, with great benefit to the surrounding area. All the men stationed at Lakeland apparently enjoyed their stay, the most serious complaint being that the farmers apparently sold all of their older horses at high prices to the officers of several volunteer regiments.<sup>12</sup>

Many other towns attempted to secure camps, but only two were successful, Miami and Fernandina, each of whose efforts were backed by a railroad desirous of sharing in the traffic created by a camp. The Florida East Coast Railroad was successful when Henry Flagler, its president, went to work on the problem,

11. See Schellings, *op cit.*, Chap. VII.

12. *Ibid.*

and Miami secured its camp in June. It held seven thousand soldiers, but only for a period of six weeks. At the end of that time the troops were removed and sent to join the Seventh Corps at Jacksonville.<sup>13</sup> Fernandina received troops in July, after the Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad campaigned vigorously for it. Its troops came from Tampa, as that camp began to lose its importance, but as in the case of Miami, the Fernandina camp lasted for only six weeks, hardly long enough to repay the railroad for its trouble.<sup>14</sup>

Many other towns tried unsuccessfully to have the Army encamp troops in their vicinity. The War Department and various congressmen were deluged with letters pressing for consideration. General Shafter and his successors at Tampa were visited by numerous delegations and committees appointed by towns and cities for the purpose of offering what were thought to be irresistible inducements. Several towns continued their campaigns well into the winter, believing that a winter camp would be needed for those soldiers still being kept in the service. In addition to the more or less official groups that sought to influence the selection of camp sites, several individuals offered tracts of land ranging from two acres to two hundred if the Army would send troops. All were refused unless the land offered was located within an area already in use as a camp.<sup>15</sup>

Among the other towns in the state that engaged in the scramble for a camp were St. Augustine, Orlando, Fort Ogden, and Punta Gorda, all of whom applied via letter, newspaper, and committees beginning on May 18. They were joined by Ocala and Lake City on May 20, by Tallahassee on May 24, and by Gainesville on May 25. Pensacola made its bid beginning on May 25, after an earlier hope of being named as the base instead of Tampa. It did succeed in having the garrison at Fort Barrancas increased by the assignment of the Third Texas Volunteer Infantry there. Pensacola came to regret the presence of the Texans, who were a undisciplined group greatly disappointed by their inability to join either the Cuban or the Puerto Rican invasions. The city was compensated somewhat by the tremendous activity incurred

13. See *ibid.*, Chap. VIII, and W. J. Schellings, "Soldiers in Miami, 1898," *Tequesta* (1957), 69-76.

14. Schellings, *op cit.*, Chap. VIII.

15. Each town's attempt was recorded in the newspapers, especially the *Times Union and Citizen*.

in the modernization of both the fortifications and the naval base. It probably benefited more in the long run through the permanent improvements to its base facilities and its harbor and channel than it would have by the presence of troops for a short period.<sup>16</sup>

All of the principal coastal towns did receive some spur to their economies through the work done on the building of either temporary or of permanent defenses. While Tampa and Key West were the scenes of the greatest activity in this line, Miami, Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Pensacola saw considerable work done. Even places such as old Ft. Clinch were rehabilitated to a degree, for its guns of Civil War vintage were cleaned up, and a small garrison installed there. St. Francis Barracks, which had been abandoned just prior to the war, was regarrisoned, and detachments of troops or, in some cases, Naval Reserve contingents, were sent to a number of places on the coasts.

Tampa, however, with the possible exception of Key West, saw the greatest amount of work. As soon as it had been announced that a camp of some importance was to be set up at Tampa, the Army Engineers had been compelled to revise plans. The first plans had envisaged small batteries that could have offered more in the way of token protection than a real defense. On April 19 Lieutenant Colonel Benyaud was directed to drop all other matters and to take personal charge of the work at Tampa. The old plans were scrapped, and Benyaud proceeded to draw up new ones. Ample funds were deposited to accounts in his name in the Tampa banks, and orders were issued to strip large caliber Hotchkiss guns from the existing works at Ft. Barrancas and Ft. Morgan. These were rushed to Tampa, for, as General Wilson wired Benyaud, Tampa was going to be a "very important place."<sup>17</sup>

Benyaud's greatest difficulty was encountered in trying to secure a large enough force of laborers. Because of the competition for the supply of local labor being offered by the other departments of the Army in Tampa, Benyaud found it necessary to recruit labor in Jacksonville, Mobile, and even New Orleans. No expense was spared, and since nearly all the material needed for the actual construction work was purchased locally, the im-

16. Schellings, *op cit.*, Chap. IX.

17. National Archives, *Selected Records . . .*, *passim*.

pact on the city was felt in many areas and for quite a time after the war. The plans in Tampa ultimately provided for permanent works to be constructed at an estimated cost of \$950,000. Nearly one third of that sum was actually spent in the fiscal year from July 1, 1898 to June 30, 1899. That money was spent under Benyaud's direction in Tampa, and did not include the sums spent elsewhere for guns and other materials.<sup>18</sup>

The work on the fortifications was merely one of the many changes taking place in Tampa. It might be said that the city witnessed so many changes in a few months that it would have been difficult to recognize the town afterward. The number of troops arriving in the city had increased each day, and every arrival had meant an enlarged campsite, or an entirely new one. It had meant a new surge of activity in the business of the merchants and contractors of the city. It meant, too, the construction of many new buildings as additional warehouse space was required. It meant the arrival of many hundreds of people, from mere visitors in town to look at the camp, to hucksters and persons of a less desirable sort. All of them, however, added to the sense of excitement that had permeated Tampa since April 16, when it had received word that troops were coming.

After that date, the people of Tampa had begun to share fully in the national fever for war, and after April 20, when the war resolution passed Congress and was signed by the President, the city was wholly converted to the cause. During the hectic days just prior to war, the town had witnessed several scenes that combined portents of the future with near tragedy. For example, when Fitzhugh Lee passed through town enroute to Washington from Havana, he had made what the *Tampa Times* termed a very "belligerent" speech, and had been applauded wildly by a crowd. That same day, and for some time afterward, a number of Spanish families in Tampa expressed concern for their safety, fearing the excesses of the Cuban portion of the population. Despite the assurances of Mayor Gillette that he would see to their protection, a number of these families departed for New York. A few days later another group of Spaniards accepted the offer of the Spanish Government to pay for their passage to Havana. A total of 157 made the trip on the Plant Line steamer "Olivette."

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18. Schellings, *op cit.*, Appendix III, Tables I-V.

## ADVENT OF THE SPANISH-AMERICAN WAR 3 2 7

Those last few days before actual hostilities saw an odd mixture of popular enthusiasm for war on the part of the people and of stubborn, unrelenting opposition to war on the part of the press. As late as April 8, the Jacksonville *Times Union and Citizen* reviewed the situation at length. The paper saw a picture darkened by the editor's pessimism. He predicted that in ten years time Florida would be merely a "way station on the road to Cuba." Other editors were equally gloomy, though perhaps not quite so willing to predict the future. The Miami *Metropolis* kept up its opposition to the end, denouncing the "loud-talking jingoists" who would keep quiet when offered the opportunity to volunteer. The Ocala *Banner* found much to say in favor of the Spanish administration in Cuba when it reviewed matters on April 15. It indirectly placed a good part of the blame for the war on the shoulders of Consul-General Fitzhugh Lee.

When the war resolution passed Congress with the Teller Amendment attached the situation changed. The editors were quick to abandon their opposition, and to join wholeheartedly in an effort to stir up even more enthusiasm for the war. Relieved by the pledge to the effect that the United States would not annex Cuba given in the Amendment, the Florida press began urging people to volunteer for service.

The opportunity to volunteer was not long in coming. Individuals advertised for men to join private regiments to be formed after the fashion of Teddy Roosevelt's Rough Riders. T. D. Lancaster announced in Ocala that he was taking applications for membership in a brigade of Georgia and Florida "cowboys" which he wanted to raise for service in Cuba. J. H. Norton, described by the *Times Union and Citizen* as an "incapacitated insurance man," sent out a call for 1,000 men to serve in a regiment which he would lead. Other efforts were made to raise regiments of Cubans, and hundreds did come to Florida to join such a regiment formed at Tampa. But perhaps the best offer of service came from one man in Tampa. D. Migueli, of West Tampa, wrote to "Mr. Merritt, Major General," saying that he desired to enlist and serve under that officer. He explained that he was an American citizen and so thought it proper that he serve under the American flag rather than the Cuban.<sup>19</sup>

19. National Archives, *Record Group* 98, File No. 1451.

Most attention was given to the men of Florida's National Guard Regiment. Organized in twenty companies, each located in a particular town or county, these units had been attempting to recruit to full strength ever since the sinking of the battleship "Maine." When war began, and the President called for volunteers, Florida was assigned a quota of one regiment of Infantry. Under the provisions of the call, however, the National Guard Regiments could not enter service as such, but had to volunteer either as individuals or as units in a special regiment raised and officered by the state. The principal difficulty that appeared was simply that all twenty companies wanted to volunteer, and only twelve were required for the regiment.

Governor Bloxham, given the task of deciding which units would enter service and which would not, was in a difficult position. He solved it temporarily by ordering all twenty companies to proceed to a state camp at Tampa. There the men were inspected by the State Inspector General, J. B. Anderson, and State Adjutant General Patrick Houstoun. Efforts were made to persuade the men to consolidate the twenty companies into twelve, but no unit wanted to lose its individual identity, and all thought that they deserved to be selected.<sup>20</sup>

Physical examinations weeded out some of the men. The remainder elected their company officers and non-coms, and the Governor appointed William F. Williams as colonel. On May 29 the Governor, unable to delay any longer, named the units that would enter federal service as the First Florida Voluntary Infantry. The men of the remaining eight outfits were given the alternative of joining one of these selected for service, or returning home. A few did join other companies but the majority decided to wait, hoping that there would be another call for volunteers later on. A few units, such as the Tampa Rifles, were so angry that they decided to disband entirely.

The companies chosen for service were: The Ocala Rifles, the Leesburg Rifles, Orlando's Shine Guards, Palatka's Gem City Guards, the Jacksonville Light Infantry and the Jacksonville Rifles, the St. Augustine Rifles, Pensacola's Escambia Rifles, the Chipley Light Infantry, the Gadsden Guards, the Bradford County Guards, and the Suwannee Rifles. Sworn into federal service,

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20. Schellings, *op. cit.*, *passim.*, and especially Appendix IV.

the new regiment was moved into a new camp at Palmetto Beach, and began to drill as a unit for the first time.

The regiment attracted quite a bit of attention. Each company had within its ranks at least one man acting as correspondent for the home town newspaper, and those journals regularly devoted a column of front page space to news from the boys in camp. It might be noted that the boys from Florida were not at all hesitant in criticizing conditions both in Tampa and in the army, particularly after they realized that they were not going to be sent to Cuba.

All in all, the months of April and May were exciting and almost but not quite warlike in the city of Tampa. As more and more soldiers arrived, and none left, the city bulged at the seams. Between the troops, the visitors coming in daily on the regularly run excursion trains, and the at times too numerous correspondents, a scene of utter confusion emerged. The stores were sold out of merchandise every payday, and the Army was creating more business than the town could handle. The merchants and contractors were happy, and the city itself was in constant turmoil. Tampa fought off all attempts to take the camp away, and boasted of its ability to care for twice the number of troops. As the *Tampa Tribune* declared, "Don't rush the troops off. Tampa likes them." That described the feelings of the entire city, at least through the early months of the existence of the camp, and the state as a whole joined in. At that time, before any of the later difficulties began, Florida would gladly have subscribed to the description of the Spanish American War as a "Splendid Little War."

## CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA PART III \*

by EDWIN C. BEARSS

### *Pensacola Is Lost*

FIVE DAYS SUBSEQUENT to the great artillery duel of November 22-23 Bragg endeavored to transmit mail to the Confederate prisoners held by the Yankees. Brown refused to receive the letters and even disdained to state his reasons for so doing. He was by no means as courteous and amiable as he had been after the attack on his outside confrere, Colonel Wilson. Later in the day a small yawl attempted to enter the bay from the fleet, a privilege heretofore accorded to the Federals, as until November 22 the Rebels' vessels had been allowed to tie up at the navy yard without interference. Fire was opened, and the crew hurriedly abandoned the vessel and swam for shore.<sup>1</sup>

On December 3 Federal troops, under Brigadier General John W. Phelps,<sup>2</sup> occupied Ship Island, Mississippi. This island, lying twelve miles off the Mississippi coast, would provide an ideal base for units of the Federal fleet charged with the mission of blockading the mouths of the Mississippi River. In addition, a serious threat to Mobile was implied with the Northerners in possession of the islands flanking the Mississippi Sound. Secretary of War Benjamin inquired of Bragg "whether General Withers had taken any measures to defend Mobile against a *coup de main* via Pascagoula?"<sup>3</sup> Bragg replied to this inquiry on December 11:

The danger to Mobile which you suggest is provided for. Mounted men are stationed at the points where the en-

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\* Part I of this study appeared in the October, 1957, number of the *Quarterly* and Part II in the January, 1961, number.

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington: 1880-1901), Ser. I, Vol. VI, 771-72 (cited hereafter as *Official Records*).
2. John W. Phelps was born in Vermont and graduated from the Military Academy in the class of 1836. Upon graduation he was commissioned a brevet 2d lieutenant in the artillery. Phelps rose gradually in rank and on May 17, 1861, was commissioned brigadier general of volunteers.
3. *Ibid.*, 774.

CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA 331

emy might land, with instructions to report any hostile demonstration, and all our infantry out of the forts and light artillery are in readiness for concentration on any point, and the telegraph could secure re-enforcements from here [Pensacola] in ten hours.<sup>4</sup>

In spite of the threat constituted by the Yankee occupation of Ship Island, the Confederate garrison at Pensacola was weakened during the initial week of December by the dispatch of the 7th Alabama, commanded by Colonel Wood, to East Tennessee.<sup>5</sup> All the while, Bragg continued to be plagued by his old bugaboo - shortage of arms. At this time nearly 3,000 men in the Department of Alabama and West Florida were sans weapons.<sup>6</sup>

Besides the chronic arms shortage another problem now arose to confront the Confederates. The term of enlistment for many of the twelve months' men had nearly expired. Just as marked progress was being made in the re-enlistment of these men, the Confederate Congress, on December 11, passed the "Bounty and Furlough Law." This Act provided a bounty of fifty dollars and a furlough of sixty days with transportation to and from his home to any soldier who would enlist for two or three years or for the duration of the war. By way of further inducement it also promised that all troops re-enlisting should, when their original terms of enlistment expired, have the right to reorganize themselves into companies, battalions, and regiments and elect their officers. The latter feature Major General Emory Upton characterized as, "An act to disorganize and dissolve the Provisional Army." The bounty inducement was made to include all State troops that might enlist for more than two years in the Confederate service and to all volunteers recruited for three years or the duration of the war.<sup>7</sup>

Bragg found that men who had been satisfied with their competent field officers were "now tom and tossed about by the intrigues of designing men, seeking their own advancement or revenge upon others who have made them do their duty."<sup>8</sup> Discord now reigned where harmony had prevailed, and many of

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4. *Ibid.*, 779.

5. *Ibid.*, 777.

6. *Ibid.*

7. Albert B. Moore, *Conscription and Conflict in the Confederacy* (New York: 1924), 6-7.

8. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 784.

the most capable officers Bragg felt sure would "be sacrificed to this fell spirit."<sup>9</sup> The commander of the Department of Alabama and West Florida believed that if the "Bounty and Furlough Law" had not been passed he would have been able to secure the re-enlistment of 5,000 of the 6,000 twelve month's men stationed in and around Pensacola. Confronted with the confusion engendered by the law he felt that if 2,000 renewed their services it would be remarkable.<sup>10</sup>

The Confederate Government's satisfaction with Bragg's conduct of affairs in the West Florida-Alabama region was expressed in a letter from Secretary of War Benjamin on December 27. In this epistle the North Carolinian was offered the command of the Trans-Mississippi Department. Benjamin's letter stated further:

You have so thoroughly and satisfactorily prepared the defenses at the latter point [Pensacola] that we scarcely believe another attempt will be made on your defenses, and hope that by sending Kirby Smith to take your place, if you should leave, that important point will be successfully defended.<sup>11</sup>

The news of a federal raid upon Biloxi, Mississippi, on the last day of the year caused Benjamin to rescind this offer to Bragg.<sup>12</sup>

After the Federal bombardment of November 22-23, Bragg

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9. *Ibid.*

10. *Ibid.*

11. *Ibid.*, 788-89. Edmund Kirby Smith was born at St. Augustine, Florida, on May 16, 1824. He was appointed to West Point and graduated in 1845, standing 25th in his class. During the Mexican War he received two brevets for gallantry and meritorious conduct. On March 3, 1861, he resigned from the United States Army, and was commissioned a colonel of cavalry in the Confederate States Army. In June he was promoted to brigadier general and was severely wounded during the Battle of First Manassas on July 21, 1861.

12. *Ibid.*, 794. Flag Officer McKean had been informed that a Rebel steamer was at anchor near Biloxi on December 31. In consequence of this intelligence he dispatched Commander Melancton Smith, with the steamers *Water Witch*, *New London*, and *Henry Lewis*, to endeavor to capture her, but upon reaching Biloxi Smith discovered that the steamer had been removed. The commander demanded the surrender of the town, the command was complied with, and a detachment of seamen and marines was landed, a small sand battery destroyed, and two guns, a 9-pounder and an 6-pounder, brought off.

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ordered the construction of new batteries on Oak Island, Deer Point, and at the mouth of the Big Lagoon. By the end of the year these emplacements had been completed and armed with 10-inch columbards. These additional fortifications greatly strengthened the Confederates' position in the Pensacola Bay Area.<sup>13</sup>

During this period the bluecoats on Santa Rosa Island were reinforced by the 75th New York Volunteers, Colonel John A. Dodge commanding.<sup>14</sup> Colonel Brown called Adjutant General Lorenzo Thomas' attention to the fact that:

The Sixth [New York] Regiment, I am sorry to say, so far as the officers are concerned, is in a state of disorganization; criminations, recriminations, charges, and countercharges, between the officers, and especially between the colonel and two or three espousing his side and the other officers of the regiment, became of such daily occurrence, that I had peremptorily to stop it, and to notify all concerned that I would entertain no more complaints. . . .<sup>15</sup>

In closing his letter to the War Department, Brown requested to be relieved from his post citing "that I cannot endure another summer in this enervating climate, and that my health and probably my life will be sacrificed by it. I have now spent upwards of fifteen years in Florida, and I require the bracing influences of a Northern climate."<sup>16</sup>

The next clash in Pensacola Bay was precipitated by the Confederates. On January 1, about 3 A.M., a small private steamer was imprudently run into the wharf at the navy yard within range of the Federal guns. This was the first instance of a boat of any kind putting in at the navy yard since the bombardment of November 22-23. Hence Brown viewed it as sheer bravado or an

13. *Ibid.*, 674.

14. *Ibid.*, 673, 782. Brown's return for his command for the month of December was as follows:

<i>Stations</i>	<i>Troops</i>	<i>Present for Duty Aggregate</i>		
		<i>Officers</i>	<i>Men</i>	<i>Present</i>
Santa Rosa Island:				
Fort Pickens	Detachments 1st and 2d			
Camp Lincoln	Artillery and 3d Infantry	19	568	704
	6th New York Infantry	13	228	474
Camp Seward	75th New York Infantry	32	711	829
		<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>	<u>        </u>
	Total	64	1,497	2,007

15. *Ibid.*, 673-74.

16. *Ibid.*, 674.

attempt by the Rebels to draw his fire. The Federal commander ordered his heavy guns to open fire upon the steamer. After three shots had landed nearby, the vessel pulled hurriedly away from the dock. One of the Southern siege guns briefly returned the Yankees' fire - then all was quiet.<sup>17</sup>

On the mainland General Anderson was in command of the Confederate forces in the absence of General Bragg, who was inspecting the defenses of Mobile Bay.<sup>18</sup> Anderson, while under the influence of intoxicating beverages, forgot about the demonstrated superiority of the Federal heavy ordnance, and directed the Rebel batteries to be prepared to open fire.<sup>19</sup> Three-quarters of an hour after the initial firing had ceased, the Confederate heavy ordnance roared into action.

The Yankees vigorously returned this fire, using only their heaviest guns. Their rate of fire was much slower than in the previous month's bombardment, but more accurate. Convinced by their former experience of the difficulty of destroying or burning the forts or the buildings in the navy yard, at the extreme range, with explosive projectiles, the Federals this time used rock-fire and carcasses. By 9 P.M. a large fire was kindled in the navy yard. Within an hour the whole firmanent was illuminated as a large and valuable warehouse, with considerable public property, was consumed in the conflagration. From this hour on, except for a harrassing fire maintained by the Union mortars, the big guns stood mute. By 2. A.M. the Federal mortars, too, ceased firing and at 4 A.M., with the return of an irate General Bragg, the Confederate cannoneers in turn ceased their labors.<sup>20</sup>

In assaying the results of the second bombardment one is convinced that in this exchange, like that of November 22-23, the Confederates came off decidedly second best. Undoubtedly the chief factor contributing to this continued inferiority was the fact that the majority of the Federal artillerists were regulars who had served a long apprenticeship. A secondary reason was the continued shortage of powder and shot that served to embarrass the Confederates and greatly limit the amount of target practice their gunners could have. Colonel Brown noted that the

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17. *Ibid.*, 495-96.

18. *Ibid.*, 497.

19. *Ibid.*, 498.

20. *Ibid.*, 495-98.

## CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA 335

Rebels' fire on January 1 was not as accurate as in the exchange of the previous month and that very few shot or shell struck the walls or entered Fort Pickens.<sup>21</sup> The Federals reported their losses as two men slightly injured.<sup>22</sup> While the Confederates did not suffer any men killed or wounded, considerable material damage was caused by the fire in the navy yard.<sup>23</sup> Probably of greater importance, the Confederates had expended a large supply of ammunition that was almost impossible to replace. A final upshot of the affair was General Dick Anderson's relief from duty. Bragg informed Adjutant General Cooper: "I . . . urge on the Department my request for a second in command here who could be intrusted with this army in my necessary absence."<sup>24</sup>

In the course of his tour of inspection of the defenses of Mobile Bragg noted that the infantry brigade, commanded by the former Confederate Secretary of War, Brigadier General L. P. Walker, was in deplorable condition. The commander had established his headquarters in Mobile with a large and useless staff maintained at a great expense, while his troops suffered in crowded tents and huts. Walker had even neglected to provide any hospital facilities for those of his command struck down by illness. Bragg found no evidence of organization or training schedule. A state of anarchy seemed to prevail with each regimental commander exercising authority independent of the others.

The necessary consequences of such a state of affairs were disease, demoralization, and a high mortality rate. Each day approximately one-third of Walker's command reported for sick call.<sup>25</sup>

Walker was ordered to report to his command but, protesting sundry pretexts, he was still absent from his brigade on January 1. Bragg, expressing the disdain of the West Pointer for the political general, informed the Secretary of War: "Except as a matter of principle, I attach no importance to the absence of the general [Walker], as his want of knowledge and experience, and it appears to me an inaptitude for military command, render it

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21. *Ibid.*, 496.

22. *Ibid.*

23. *Ibid.*, 497-98.

24. *Ibid.*, 498.

25. *Ibid.*, 793. Walker had resigned as Secretary of War on September 16, 1861, and accepted a commission as brigadier general.

impossible for him to supply the wants in that brigade. I consequently look for little improvement without a change.”<sup>26</sup>

Despite Bragg's foreboding the results of the “Bounty and Furlough Law” were not as dire as he had predicted. Its evil consequences had been mediated by the cooperation of J. Gil Shorter, the recently elected governor of Alabama, and the people on the home front who, as a general rule, had prompted their relatives and neighbors to remain in the armed services. Many of the troops who had gone on leave were back with their units before the expiration of their furloughs. Bragg, to encourage the re-enlistment of the twelve months' men, visited the cantonments of the sundry units in his department and personally exhorted them.<sup>27</sup> In spite of the apparent success of the re-enlistment campaign Bragg, who continued to fret, and with good cause, over what effect the re-organization would have on the units and whether or not the men would choose competent field officers, admonished Benjamin: “The great question now is to keep up their organization [the units], for one of our well organized and instructed regiments, under good officers, is worth any two which could be made up of a heterogenous mass fresh from the country, and they require but half the number of arms.”<sup>28</sup>

With the arrival of an artillerist in the person of General Samuel Jones, Dick Anderson's replacement from Virginia, Bragg re-organized his Department. He divided the 16,068 troops under his command into two armies: The Army of Mobile and the Army of Pensacola. General Withers retained command of the former forces and General Jones assumed charge of the latter. General Walker, an encumbrance of whose conduct Bragg had repeatedly complained, was transferred to Montgomery to command the Camp of Instruction. Bragg noted, “I have no idea he will be of any service; but he can do less harm there.” Gladden was ordered to Mobile to take over Walker's dispirited brigade, and Brigadier General J. K. Jackson replaced Gladden at Pensacola.<sup>29</sup> It was with regret that Bragg relinquished the immediate command of the Army of Pensacola; however, he would now be

26. *Ibid.*

27. *Ibid.*, 806.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*, 815, 816, 820. Samuel Jones was born in Virginia in 1820 and graduated from West Point in 1841. He served on the Maine frontier during the boundary dispute prior to the Webster-Ashbur-

CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA 337

able to devote more time to preparing the units of his command for combat.

News of the Confederate disasters at Mill Springs, Kentucky,

ton Treaty; in Florida, 1845-46; and from 1846 to 1851 was on duty at the Military Academy as assistant professor of mathematics and instructor of infantry and of artillery. Jones resigned from the U. S. Army on April 28, 1861, and was commissioned major in the Confederate artillery. At the 1st Battle of Manassas Jones served as Beauregard's chief of artillery and ordnance. He was advanced to colonel for this service and he was promoted brigadier general to date from July 21, the day of victory. Abstract from field returns of the Department of Alabama and West Florida, February 1, 1862:

<i>Troops</i>	<i>Present For Duty Officers</i>	<i>Duty Men</i>	<i>Aggregate Present</i>	<i>Aggregate Present and Absent</i>
Army of Pensacola, Brig. Gen. Sam Jones, Commanding	377	5,254	6,790	8,150
Army of Mobile, Brig. Gen. J. M. Withers, Commanding	<u>440</u>	<u>6,777</u>	<u>9,278</u>	<u>10,056</u>
Grand total	817	12,031	16,068	18,206

The organization of the troops in Bragg's department was as follows:

*Army of Pensacola:*

- 1st Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 17th Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 1st Florida Infantry Regiment
- 5th Georgia Infantry Regiment
- 36th Georgia Infantry Regiment
- 1st Louisiana Infantry Regiment
- 5th Mississippi Infantry Regiment
- 8th Mississippi Infantry Regiment
- 9th Mississippi Infantry Regiment
- 10th Mississippi Infantry Regiment
- 27th Mississippi Infantry Regiment
- 2 companies Independent Alabama Mounted
- Independent Florida Mounted Company
- Company Alabama State Artillery
- Robertson's Alabama Light Artillery Company
- Detachment C. S. Marines

*Army of Mobile:*

- 2d Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 18th Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 19th Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 20th Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 21st Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 22d Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 23d Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 24th Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 25th Alabama Infantry Regiment
- 2d Alabama Infantry Battalion
- Alabama Infantry Company
- 1st Mississippi Infantry Battalion
- 6 companies Alabama Mounted Volunteers
- 1st Battalion Alabama Artillery
- 2d Battalion Alabama Light Artillery

on January 19 and Fort Henry, Tennessee, on February 6 had serious repercussions in all parts of the Confederacy. On February 8 Bragg received a letter from Benjamin which read in part:

The President desires that you will as soon as possible send to Knoxville all the troops you can spare from your command without immediate danger, and he hopes that the number will be at least four regiments. The condition of affairs in Kentucky and Tennessee demands from us the most vigorous effort for defense, and General A. S. Johnston is so heavily outnumbered, that it is scarcely possible for him to maintain his whole line without large additional re-enforcements.<sup>30</sup>

Bragg divined Flag-officer Foote's intent to push his gunboats up the Tennessee River and sever the railroad line linking Memphis and Chattanooga, and rushed a regiment northward to Decatur, Alabama, to guard the vital Memphis and Charleston Railroad bridge across the Tennessee River. In accordance with the President's instructions the 5th Georgia, 9th Mississippi, 20th and 23rd Alabama Regiments entrained for Knoxville.<sup>31</sup> Bragg correctly foresaw that the dispersed condition of the Confederate defenses was an invitation to disaster. Orders were immediately drafted charging General Jones with the task of withdrawing his forces, save for an outpost, from Deer Point. The gunboat Bradford was ordered to stand by that position every evening to bring off the picket in case of attack.<sup>32</sup>

Confederates' hopes in Bragg's department were chilled further on February 16 when rumors of the fall of Fort Donelson were received. The fall of the bastion guarding the Cumberland River was confirmed in a telegram from Benjamin to Bragg two days later. Bragg was informed, "the President desires that you proceed as promptly as possible to withdraw your forces from Pensacola and Mobile and hasten to the defense of the Tennessee line. In doing this, of course the first care will be to save, as far as possible, all our artillery and munitions of war."<sup>33</sup>

It was proposed by the Confederate War Department to withdraw all Southern forces from Pensacola - as a weak gari-

30. *Ibid.*, 823.

31. *Ibid.*, 894.

32. *Ibid.*, 824-25.

33. *Ibid.*, 828.

## CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA 339

son would inevitably invite capture - but it was deemed advisable to leave an effective garrison in the forts guarding the entrance to Mobile Bay. The continued occupation of the forts guarding the entrance to Mobile Bay, it was believed, would defer for an extended period a movement against Mobile.<sup>34</sup>

Bragg was ordered to entrain all the Confederate forces in Mobile as well as those in Pensacola and dispatch them northward on the Mobile and Ohio Railroad to the Tennessee border. At Corinth, where the Mobile and Ohio Railroad intersected the Memphis and Charleston Railway, the Rebels were to detrain and await further orders. Heavy rains had washed out a number of bridges on the Mobile and Ohio, and troop movements were temporarily forestalled; however, by February 27 repairs had been effected and the transfer of the 1st Louisiana, and 18th and 22d Alabama Regiments to the endangered area commenced.<sup>35</sup>

General Jones, at Pensacola, received the following directive from Bragg:

*You will make all dispositions at the earliest moment, working day and night, to abandon Pensacola. Send to this place [Mobile] all the heavy shell guns, rifle guns, and carriages, etc., complete, with the ammunition for them; all other supplies to Montgomery. . . .*

This movement should be made with all the secrecy possible; removing your guns at night, and masking the positions, taking the most advanced first. Keep sufficient troops in position to deceive the enemy until all is ready.

I desire you particularly to leave nothing the enemy can use; burn all from Fort McRee to the junction with the Mobile road. Save the guns, and if necessary destroy your gunboats and all other boats. They might be used against us. Destroy all machinery, etc., public and private, which could be useful to the enemy; especially disable the sawmills in and around the bay and burn the lumber. Break up the railroad from Pensacola to the Junction, carrying the iron up to a safe point.<sup>36</sup>

On February 28 General Bragg, at the urgent request of General P. G. T. Beauregard, decided to proceed immediately to Corinth.<sup>37</sup> As General Withers had previously been relieved of

34. *Ibid.*

35. *Ibid.*, 834-35.

36. *Ibid.*, 835.

37. *Ibid.*, 834. In February 1862 Beauregard had been ordered to the Mississippi Valley as second in command to Albert S. Johnston.

command at Mobile, on February 4, and sent to Fort Pillow, Tennessee, Bragg decided that the senior officer in the department, General Jones, should assume command in his stead.<sup>38</sup>

In the year that Bragg had commanded the Confederate troops in and around Pensacola he had performed a creditable job. He had shown himself to be an excellent organizer and disciplinarian. On assuming command he had brought order out of chaos. Undoubtedly his men were the best drilled of any Confederate force in the spring of 1862. The historian in weighing the course of future events wonders what the results would have been if Bragg's talents had been applied to the training and organization of the Confederate armies instead of his being assigned to a field command. One of Bragg's characteristics that was to bode ill for the future had already asserted itself. This was the North Carolinian's inability to get along with his subordinates. While Walker was undoubtedly incompetent, Dick Anderson, when handled correctly, was to prove himself to be one of Robert E. Lee's more valuable aides.

Six days prior to the assumption of departmental command by General Jones, Colonel Brown in accord with his previous request was relieved of command of the Department of Florida by Brigadier General Lewis G. Arnold.<sup>39</sup> Intelligence of the consternation among the Rebels on the mainland was related to the new Federal commander by two whites and two Negroes who crossed over to Santa Rosa Island from Milton by way of East Bay. However, the removal of troops and heavy ordnance from the Southern strongholds was ably camouflaged by General Jones so that the Federals discounted these individuals' story of a Confederate evacuation of the Pensacola area. Arnold complained to the War Department:

As my position is a defensive one, on an island, I am perfectly helpless for any offensive movement requiring water transportation for 50 men without naval cooperation. I have not under my command a dispatch steamer or sail vessel, and have scarcely enough surf-boats to land stores for the command.<sup>40</sup>

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38. *Ibid.*, 836.

39. *Ibid.*, 436. Lewis G. Arnold had been promoted to brigadier general of volunteers on January 24, 1862.

40. *Ibid.*, 705.

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The sailing sloop-of-war *Vincennes*, of the Head of Passes debacle, was the only ship-of-war lying off Santa Rosa Island, but was worse than useless for operations within the bay.

In the second week of January, Secretary Welles had made a change in naval organization when he divided the Gulf Blockading Squadrons into two commands, the Eastern and Western Gulf Blockading Squadrons. The important Western Gulf Blockading squadron, with its task of opening the Mississippi from its mouth, was entrusted to Captain David G. Farragut, a native of East Tennessee, while McKean would assume responsibility for the Eastern Gulf Blockading Squadron. February 2 found the new commander aboard his flag-ship *Hartford* voyaging forth from Hampton Roads, Virginia. After eighteen days at sea the *Hartford* arrived off Ship Island. Here Farragut met Flag-Officer McKean, the necessary transfers were made, and the next day the Tennessean formally assumed command of his new station.<sup>41</sup>

Arnold, desiring to take advantage of the discomfiture of the Confederates, took up his pen and composed a letter to the new Federal naval commander on March 15. In his epistle he called attention to his inability to conduct offensive operations without naval cooperation. Arnold proposed that with the aid of several gunboats a landing could be effected at Town Point. Arnold correctly viewed Town Point as the key to Pensacola Bay. Elaborating this point he wrote:

The rebels have, and will have, entire control of the bay and inner harbor as long as they hold this point [Town Point] and their line of forts and batteries; but if we can take this point, your gunboats can pass out of range of their heaviest guns - from Four Mile Point, on Santa Rosa Island, to Milton, on the main-land, which would enable you to capture or destroy all the rebel steamers and sail vessels in those waters, and more perfectly blockade the harbor of Pensacola.<sup>42</sup>

Farragut, due to his preoccupation with the pending assault on Forts Jackson and St. Philip, answered in the negative Arnold's request for the aid of several gunboats.<sup>43</sup>

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41. Alfred T. Mahan, *The Gulf and Inland Waters* (New York: 1883), 52.

42. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 711.

43. *Ibid.*, 712.

The evacuation of Pensacola continued to be hampered by the damage caused to the railroads by the recent floods. It was March 4 before the first train passed over the Mobile and Pensacola Railroad, and the tracks of the Alabama and Florida Railroad were in such bad shape that trains were not permitted to run after dark. The president and superintendent of the Alabama and Florida came to Pensacola for a conference with General Jones in an attempt to resolve the problem. To expedite matters it was determined to post the superintendent at Pollard, Alabama, to supervise the movements on all roads meeting at that strategic junction. It was provided that two special trains would proceed daily from Pensacola to Pollard and there such supplies as could not be removed to Mobile or Montgomery would be stored.<sup>44</sup>

With the transportation problem somewhat mitigated the 1st Alabama entrained on the night of March 5 for Memphis. At this time General Jones requested and received permission to retrain the 27th Mississippi Regiment at Pensacola a few days beyond the time fixed by Bragg for the evacuation of the port. The reasons cited by Jones for this request were:

I am convinced that the enemy on Santa Rosa Island is not prepared to attack this place at present. I have never believed the force as large as reported. . . .

I believe if we keep up even the appearance of being prepared to defend the place the enemy will not attack it. The governor of Alabama informs me that by the end of this week he can send me 1,000 men engaged to serve for thirty days, and by the middle of next week more. . . . Under these circumstances I believe that Colonel Jones [the commander of the 27th Mississippi], with his regiment and the men who can be collected here before I can possibly send off all the troops you have called for, can keep up such an appearance of preparation to defend the place as to deter the enemy from attacking.<sup>45</sup>

To help relieve the strain upon the overworked railroads General Jones ordered that the steamer *Time* should be loaded with naval stores. In this way when it should become necessary to evacuate Pensacola, *Time's* captain could take his vessel up the

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44. *Ibid.*, 838.

45. *Ibid.*, 840.

## CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA 343

Escambia River as far as possible. From there the naval stores could be moved to the nearby Alabama and Florida Railroad for transportation elsewhere. In addition the navy had under construction two gunboats near Milton, which were nearly ready for service. If they could not be taken up the Escambia, measures would have to be taken to provide for their destruction.<sup>46</sup>

As a partial implementation of Bragg's scorched earth policy Lieutenant-Colonel W. K. Beard with two companies of the 1st Florida Regiment embarked on the steamer *Tom Murray* at Deer Point at 8 P.M. on the evening of March 10, arriving at Miller's Mills, in East Bay, at 11 P.M. Not wishing to injure persons unaware of the object of the mission the firing of the sawmills and other property was deferred until morning.

Completing their demolitions at Miller's Mills the Confederates again boarded the *Tom Murray* and proceeded up the Blackwater River. Occasionally the troops landed to set fire to the sawmills and stacks of lumber piled near the river's course. The mission of destruction was continued until the head of navigation was reached at the plantation owned by Jackson Morton. From there the task force returned to Milton and burned the two gunboats, as it was found to be impracticable to tow them up the Escambia River, the boats being unable to cross the bar at its mouth. From Milton the expedition proceeded up the Escambia, burning the public property encountered enroute.<sup>47</sup> A large quantity of ship timber which could not be burned was cut adrift. By 10 A.M. on March 15, the men of the 1st Florida had reached Bluff Springs, near the Alabama line, and Colonel Beard was able to report-mission accomplished.<sup>48</sup>

Two days prior to the arrival of Colonel Beard's men at Bluff Springs, General Jones had transferred his headquarters to Mobile. Colonel Thomas H. Jones, of the 27th Mississippi, assumed charge of the Confederate forces involved in carrying out the evacuation of Pensacola.<sup>49</sup> The passive attitude displayed by the Federal troops stationed on Santa Rosa Island caused the Con-

46. *Ibid.*, 848.

47. *Ibid.*, 893. Of the two gunboats destroyed the one being built by F. G. Howard was yet on its stocks, and the one being built by Ollinger and Bruce had been in the water about ten days.

48. *Ibid.*, 859-60.

49. *Ibid.*, 856.

federates' hopes of eventually retaining possession of Pensacola to soar. General Jones informed Bragg:

Colonel Jones wrote me on the 16th instant that all was going on well; that the new troops, though unarmed, were full of energy and zeal, and he adds, "With the army I now have, had I arms, I could defy the attempt of the enemy to dislodge me." . . . Since he wrote, the governor of Alabama has sent him 300 arms, and I have strong hope of being able to send him a sufficient number to arm nearly all the new troops. I am more and more convinced that the enemy's force in the Gulf, and especially on Santa Rosa, has been greatly overestimated. When I left Pensacola only 96 tents could be seen on the island. The season for operations on a large scale on the Gulf is fast passing away, and if we can hold our ground a month or two longer all may yet be well on the Gulf Coast.<sup>50</sup>

Jones' initiative in endeavoring to hold Pensacola earned for him Bragg's approbation. In a letter dated March 28 Bragg in succinct terms divined the course of events in the Mississippi Valley:

Our defenses on the Mississippi are very imperfect, and require all the guns we can command. Will you please hurry forward those behind. There were in all at least twenty heavy shell guns, besides 8-inch howitzers and rifle guns. Half were ordered via Memphis and the other half to New Orleans. But seven have yet reached Memphis. Please urge them forward. . . .

. . . you will change the destination of those to New Orleans, . . . and send them to Jackson, Miss., to be used on the river near Vicksburg.

It is perfectly useless to send guns to New Orleans. If we lose the river, New Orleans must fall; . . . no defense can save it; . . . the railroads would be cut immediately, and starvation would do its work.<sup>51</sup>

In response to Bragg's admonitions Colonel T. M. Jones immediately forwarded ten 10-inch and seven 8-inch columbiads, nine sea-coast howitzers, four rifled guns, and two 8-inch siege howitzers to Jackson, Mississippi.<sup>52</sup>

50. *Ibid.*, 862.

51. *Ibid.*, 867.

52. *Ibid.*, 869.

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In the final week of March, General Arnold decided to send Captain Henry W. Closson, 1st U. S. Artillery, with two companies of troops and a 10-pounder Parrott rifle, to make a reconnaissance in force eastward along Santa Rosa Island toward East Pass. The Federal commander had learned that two hundred armed Rebels, under Captain McPherson, were encamped on the mainland opposite Santa Rosa Island some forty miles east of Fort Pickens.<sup>53</sup> From their cantonment situated on the narrowest point on Santa Rosa Sound the Confederates were harrasing the blockading schooners.

Closson's combat patrol left Fort Pickens on March 27 and after a difficult march of twelve miles bivouacked for the night.<sup>54</sup> Due to the difficult nature of the terrain it took two and one half days to cover the additional twenty-four miles. At noon on March 31 Closson's command bivouacked four miles from the Rebel encampment. Upon setting up camp the Federal captain opened communications with the blockading schooner *Maria A. Wood*. Closson requested that three surfboats be made available for a night attack upon the Southerners.<sup>55</sup>

At dusk, leaving animals, disabled men, and surplus gear at the camp, Closson moved forward, accompanied by a force of one hundred and seventy men. After moving forward about two miles a signal fire was kindled, and at 1 P.M. two of the surfboats approached the beach fronting on the Gulf and landed. It was almost 1 A.M. before the third boat arrived. By this time all chances of surprising the Rebel cantonment were precluded for the Federals' approach had been discovered by two Confederate pickets posted on the island. Closson ordered the surfboats to return to the *Maria A. Wood*, and the men of Company K, 6th New York, to return to the Federal cantonment. The intrepid Federal commander then pressed forward with the remainder of his task force, and crossed the island. On the north beach, opposite the Rebel camp, and about 250 yards from it, the 10-pounder Parrott rifle was emplaced. Quiet was then observed until the huts in the Rebel encampment were revealed to the anxious Federal gunners by the first streaks of dawn. Closson

53. *Ibid.*, 500.

54. Closson's patrol consisted of men from Company I, 1st Artillery, and Companies K and D, 6th New York Volunteers.

55. The *Maria A. Wood* was a sailing schooner of 344 tons and its armament consisted of two 32-pounders.

gave the word to open fire, and several well directed shells burst in the midst of the camp. Loud yells and violent curses were clearly audible, and soon numerous Rebels could be discerned fleeing through the underbrush in sundry states of undress.<sup>56</sup>

After shelling the area thoroughly the Yankees returned to their bivouac. With their supplies of rations and forage nearly exhausted and the mules broken down by the strain of pulling wagons through forty miles of heavy sand, it was readily apparent to Closson that an early return to Fort Pickens was advisable. To ease the return journey Closson transferred six sick men and all the spare gear to the *Maria A. Wood* for transport to Fort Pickens. The balance of the command then resumed the return march to their base at Fort Pickens. Late in the afternoon while trudging along the beach a scout reported a Confederate schooner making its way up the sound. The rifled gun was unlimbered and opened fire. Despite the extreme range several hits were scored on the Rebel schooner but with undetermined results.<sup>57</sup>

Twenty-four hours later the Federal combat patrol returned to Fort Pickens. Closson's reconnaissance in force, besides breaking up Captain McPherson's cantonment, disclosed that the terrain of Santa Rosa Island was such as to preclude the large scale movement of troops. Among the Confederates the sortie stimulated fears that the Yankees were contemplating some sort of mischief.

In consequence four days later Governor Shorter of Alabama took up his pen and composed an epistle to George W. Randolph, who on March 24 has succeeded Benjamin as Davis' Secretary of War. In this letter Shorter argued:

Pensacola is, next to Norfolk, the most important point on our entire seaboard to hold at this time . . . to the Yankee Government its importance, in view of their manifest designs, is incalculable. They want a spacious and safe harbor far South for their vast naval armament. Here they have it. It is the only one in the Gulf to which their large ships can find access. When they get it, there is the spacious bay to ride in, the navy-yard to repair at, the fine hospital, and other appointments, which cost the Old Government millions of dollars. . . .

This great and important point can be securely held with

56. *Ibid.*, 500-01.

57. *Ibid.*, 501.

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5,000 men, properly armed and trained, against any force the Yankee Government can detach for its capture. . . .

But we are now ill provided, and if provisions be not made, and that soon, our comparatively naked condition will be known to the invaders, and they will make a stroke at us and take us I fear, almost without show of resistance.

Let me state to you plainly what is needed to put the place in condition of defense:

1st. We want a good brigadier-general - some man who will inspire confidence and effect speedy organization. The gallant and worthy colonel [T. M. Jones] who now commands the post himself feels this want.

2nd. We want small-arms for nearly half the troops; now have about 3,200, and we need permanently at the post 5,000 small arms.

3rd. We want now one or two artillery companies and several companies of calvary. . . .

P.S. - If the Secretary will furnish arms, I will furnish 5,000 more troops for the post without delay, with the troops already there included.<sup>58</sup>

Seven days later Randolph replied to Shorter's communication, assuring the Alabama chief executive that the Confederate government: "fully appreciates the importance of Pensacola, and has been making every possible effort to arm troops for its defense."<sup>59</sup> However, due to the acute shortages of war material then existing in the South the Confederate government was unable to furnish the arms and accoutrements requested by Shorter.

While telegraph wires hummed with messages regarding the impending evacuation of Pensacola, grim news was received from West Tennessee. At Shiloh on April 7 the Confederate legions had been repulsed in what up to then was the bloodiest battle in which American arms had participated. In this two-day holocaust many of the units until recently stationed in the Department of Alabama and West Florida played a valiant role. The long months of rigorous training under General Bragg enabled his corps to acquit itself honorably.

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58. *Ibid.*, 870-71. George W. Randolph was Thomas Jefferson's grandson. At the time of the John Brown raid he organized a company of artillery, which was subsequently maintained and operated against the Federals at Big Bethel. Randolph was commissioned brigadier general and given a command, which he held until appointed secretary of war on March 24, 1862.

59. *Ibid.*, 873.

Four days after the battle of Shiloh, General Sam Jones received a telegram from General Robert E. Lee ordering him to turn over the command of the Department of Alabama and West Florida to Brigadier General John Forney and report to General Beauregard at Corinth. Forney arrived but, suffering from the effects of the gunshot wound received at Dranesville, Virginia, in the autumn of 1861, could not immediately take charge. Jones informed General Lee of Forney's condition, and was told he could not leave Mobile until Forney was fit for active duty.<sup>60</sup>

Meanwhile a Federal fleet under the command of Farragut had entered the Mississippi and was attacking the twin Confederate bastions, Forts St. Philip and Jackson, some seventy miles below the Crescent City. In consequence of this action Major General Mansfield Lovell, the Confederate commander at New Orleans, requested that additional pieces of heavy ordnance be forwarded from Jones' department for the defense of New Orleans.<sup>61</sup> In accord with Lovell's request and to deceive the Yankees, the large columbiads were removed from their positions in the dead of the night and fierce looking Quaker guns mounted in their stead.<sup>62</sup> Two days later, on April 24, Lovell informed Jones by telegraph: "The enemy has passed our forts. It is too late to send any guns here; they had better go to Vicksburg."<sup>63</sup>

Colonel T. M. Jones, on receiving intelligence that Farragut's fleet had succeeded in passing the forts below New Orleans, came to the conclusion that with his limited means of defense reduced as it was by the withdrawal of nearly all his heavy guns and ammunition, he could not hold the Federals at bay any longer. He determined on his own initiative to begin the evacuation of the balance of the heavy guns and war materiel.<sup>64</sup> Three days later Colonel Jones received written instructions from General Lee: "I would state that it is deemed expedient to remove at once all Government property, including guns, munitions of war, etc., not necessary for present service. . . ."<sup>65</sup> On receipt of Lee's instructions on the subject, round the clock fatigue details

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60. *Ibid.*, 881.

61. *Ibid.*, 882.

62. *Ibid.*, 661.

63. *Ibid.*, 883.

64. *Ibid.*, 660.

65. *Ibid.*, 884.

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were instituted to insure the removal of the heavy guns and public property. All the powder and most of the large shot and shell were removed; the small sized shot were buried. Most of the valuable machinery, besides large quantities of copper, lead, brass, and iron, even the gutters, lightning rods, window weights, bells, pipes, and everything made of those valuable metals were removed.<sup>66</sup>

On the afternoon of May 7 the Confederates at Pensacola were informed that Commander D. D. Porter, with a number of mortar schooners and gunboats, was off Fort Morgan.<sup>67</sup> Some of Porter's junior officers suspected that the Confederates were evacuating their stronghold guarding the eastern approach to Mobile Bay. To test this thesis the steamer *Clifton* ran in under the guns of Fort Morgan. Ten shots were fired at the impudent Federal vessel before Lieutenant-Commander Charles H. Baldwin could extricate his ship from its embarrassing situation. Porter, convinced that the Rebels were not evacuating the forts, and deciding that the sea was becoming quite rough, ordered all his vessels save the flagship *Harriet Lane* to return to Ship Island.<sup>68</sup>

News of Porter's activities at Fort Morgan served as a stimulus to the hard working Southerners at Pensacola. The next day the 8th Mississippi Regiment, Lieutenant-Colonel James T. Gates commanding, was rushed to Mobile. Colonel Jones now issued eleventh hour instructions concerning the impending evacuation to his subordinates. During the night all the sick and the personal baggage were removed. To deceive the Yankees, sentries were posted as usual on the beach. Under cover of darkness the Confederates marched out of their cantonments, taking the road to Oakfield. One hour after the departure of the main column the sentinels were withdrawn and followed in its wake.<sup>69</sup>

Previously Colonel Jones had assigned five companies of cavalymen to carry out a scorched earth policy. The grim troopers now moved to their assigned stations. At 11:30 P.M. upon a pre-arranged signal two blue lights were displayed by

66. *Ibid.*, 661.

67. *Ibid.*, 660.

68. Richard S. West, *The Second Admiral* (New York: 1937), 147; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1927), Ser. I, Vol. XVIII, 478-79 (cited hereafter as *Official Records - Navies*).

69. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 660.

Colonel John R. F. Tatnall and Colonel Jones from the cupola of the Marine Hospital and promptly answered by similar signals from the navy yard and Forts Barrancas and McRee. The troopers then commenced their work of destruction.<sup>70</sup> Scarcely had the signals been extinguished ere the public buildings, tents, and everything of combustible material from the navy yard to Fort McRee were enveloped in sheets of flames. Residents of Pensacola, seven miles away, aided by the light from the conflagration could easily read a newspaper. Jones' orders were to destroy everything that could be of use to the foe - explosive shells, wood, and other combustibles were mixed into the large stacks of coal stored in the navy yard before they were fired. This was to discourage any attempts to extinguish the blaze on the part of the Yankees.<sup>71</sup>

Having received orders not to destroy any private property the Confederates' scorched earth policy in reference to Pensacola was quite limited. Only a large turpentine factory containing a large quantity of resin, the quartermaster's storehouse, some small boats, and three small steamers used as picket boats were fired. In addition the torch was applied to two privately owned steamers, the *Mary* and the *Helen*. The steamboat *Turel*, of light draught, was loaded with valuable stores and machinery and proceeded up the Escambia River to a point beyond the Federals' reach. The casemates and galleries of Fort McRee and the store rooms of Fort Barrancas which had been previously filled with old lumber and shell were ignited.<sup>72</sup>

Having completed their work of destruction, the Confederates in the early morning hours of May 10 withdrew from the area. The demolition teams rejoined their comrades at Oakfield, six miles north of Pensacola. Five companies of cavalry, under the command of Captain F. J. Myers, covered the Confederate retreat up the Alabama and Florida Railroad toward Pollard, Alabama.<sup>73</sup>

Across the bay a few minutes before midnight General Arnold was aroused by the officer of the day who informed him "that Fort McRee, the navy-yard, Marine Hospital and Barracks,

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70. *Ibid.*, 660-61.

71. *Ibid.*, 661.

72. *Ibid.*, 662.

73. *Ibid.*

## CIVIL WAR OPERATIONS IN AND AROUND PENSACOLA 351

and several other buildings, and two Rebel steamboats were on fire.”<sup>74</sup> Since the fires had all broken out simultaneously Arnold correctly assumed that the origin was arson. In the vain hope of curbing the incendiarism ashore and putting the Rebels to flight, the Federal gunners opened fire. Arnold summoned his aide-de-camp, Lieutenant Richard H. Jackson, who upon reporting was directed to board the schooner *Maria A. Wood* and proceed to Pensacola to demand the formal surrender of the city of its civil authorities. By 5:30 A.M. the *Maria A. Wood* had arrived off the city and a boat bearing Lieutenant Jackson was sent ashore under a flag of truce. Acting Mayor John Brosenham delivered the city into Federal hands, and the *Maria A. Wood* stood back to Fort Pickens.<sup>75</sup>

Meanwhile fifty miles to the west at 2 A.M. on May 10 the *Harriet Lane's* lookout reported a brilliant light illuminating the sky in the direction of Pensacola. Porter ordered the *Harriet Lane* eastward at forced draught. The *Harriet Lane* steamed into Pensacola Bay on the course Porter had plotted the previous year for the *Powhatan*. Without communicating with the fort, Porter proceeded up the bay to Pensacola. Enroute up the bay the *Harriet Lane* encountered the *Maria A. Wood* returning to Santa Rosa Island. A shot was fired across the *Maria A. Wood's* stern. Porter was informed by Acting Master Chase, of the schooner, that Lieutenant Jackson had stolen the commander's thunder and had already received the city's capitulation. Nevertheless the bombastic naval officer, completely ignoring the fact that Arnold did not have any ships to transport men to the mainland, continued up the bay to Pensacola. It was mid-afternoon before Porter returned to Fort Pickens and the aid of his comrades in arms.<sup>76</sup>

The *Harriet Lane* was immediately turned into a ferry and by 3 P.M. had landed 400 men, two pieces of artillery, horses, and some baggage carts in the neighborhood of the navy yard. Once upon the mainland Arnold's troops wasted little time in hoisting "Old Glory" over the navy yard, Forts Barrancas and McRee, and Barrancas Barracks.<sup>77</sup>

74. *Ibid.*, 658.

75. *Ibid.*, 658-59; *Official Records-Navy*, Ser. I, Vol. XVIII, 481.

76. West, *Second Admiral*, 147; *Official Records-Navy*, Ser. I, Vol. XVIII, 479. The *Harriet Lane* was a side-wheel steamer of 600 tons, and was armed with three IX-inch Dahlgrens, one 30-pounder Parrott Rifle, and one 12-pounder James Rifle.

77. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol VI, 658; West, *Second Admiral*, 147.

Two days later a portion of Arnold's command (1,000 strong) took formal possession of Pensacola. The only opposition encountered by the Federals during their march from Fort Barrancas occurred when some Rebel vedettes fired on the advanced guard. Upon entering the city Arnold formed his troops in a square around the flagstaff in the plaza and raised the national ensign. As the colors shot to the top of the staff the only loyalists to make a public demonstration were Negroes. If there were any pro-Northern whites in the town they suppressed their emotions. One could never tell when the Federal troops might be withdrawn and Secessionists knew how to be most unpleasant toward acknowledged Unionists in their midst.<sup>78</sup>

Survey parties from the Federal Army and Navy rapidly totalled up the extent of the damages caused by the Confederates' scorched earth policy in the area. Colonel Jones' demolition teams had done an excellent job on the navy yard. Commander Porter stated: "The yard is a ruin." Despite these evil tidings Porter was able to report a number of facilities that could possibly be salvaged.<sup>79</sup> General Arnold informed the Secretary of War: "Fort Barrancas is very little injured by the fire and Barrancas Barracks not at all. Fort McRee is seriously damaged, Marine Hospital destroyed, and several store-houses in the navy-yard . . . burned."<sup>80</sup>

After sixteen months the Federal government had repossessed the public property in the Pensacola Bay area that had been seized by the state of Florida on January 12, 1861. Initially Fort Pickens was as isolated and susceptible to attack as Fort Sumter, but in Florida affairs were handled more judiciously by both parties. Outside of a few musket shots exchanged in the second week of January a tense period of watchful waiting prevailed for nine months.

On September 14, five months after the surrender of Fort Sumter, occurred the first clash of arms in the Pensacola area in

78. West, *Second Admiral*, 147-48.

79. *Official Records-Navy*, Ser. I, Vol. XVIII, 482. The stone wharves could still be used, and would hold a large amount of coal. The armory still stood as did the chimney to the smithery, the new casting shop, and new storehouse; the shears were injured near the top, but capable of being repaired as were several pile drivers. There were some chains still left in the yard, eight bouys for the channel, five or six anchors, a quantity of ready made iron work, and a number of piles of 32-pound shot. The diving bells were still in good order.

80. *Official Records*, Ser. I, Vol. VI, 658-59.

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which blood was shed. It was on that date that the Federals, in a commando type raid, landed under the cover of darkness and burned the Confederate schooner *Judah*. One month later the battle of Santa Rosa Island was fought. In this engagement many of the vices and virtues of the recently formed volunteer armies were revealed.

The artillery duels had served only to demonstrate the marked superiority of the Federal artillery over the Confederate, a factor that was to be true throughout the conflict. In the Pensacola area the Federal superiority in heavy ordnance could be attributed to several factors - trained and seasoned cannoneers, better siege guns, and a prolific supply of powder and shells.

With its defeat at Forts Henry and Donelson the Confederate high command was forced to re-evaluate its defense commitments in the sundry departments President Davis had established. To bolster its sagging defenses in the Tennessee River Valley strategic outposts had to be given up - Pensacola was ordered evacuated.

Governor Shorter, of Alabama, along with the Confederate commanders on the spot, correctly realized that Pensacola Bay was the best anchorage on the Gulf and urged the Confederate War Department to hold the area. However, a bankrupt and agrarian people lacking many of the tools of war were unable to hold their exposed bases in the face of superior Northern sea power. Ten days after the occupation of New Orleans by General Butler's troops Pensacola was yielded by the Confederates.

## MAPPING OLD ST. JOSEPH, ITS RAILROADS, AND ENVIRONS

by ROBERT R. HURST, JR.

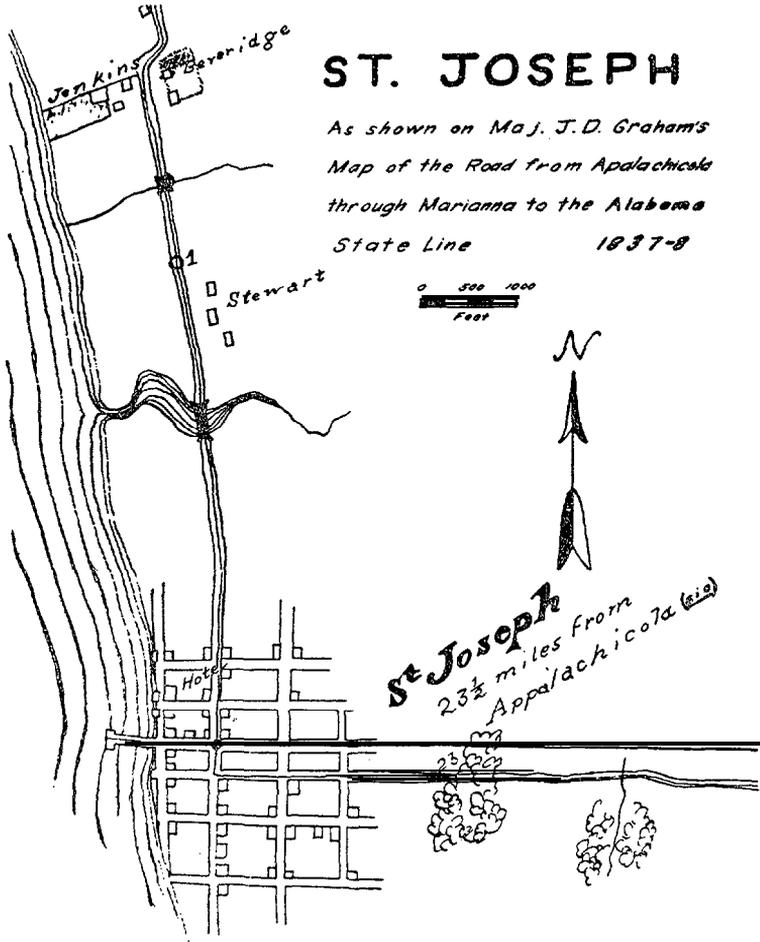
MANY PEOPLE have heard the story of the old city of St. Joseph, which existed between 1836 and 1844 in the area of the present city of Port St. Joe, on the Gulf of Mexico, a score of miles from the mouth of the Apalachicola River. The story of St. Joseph has been told in many places and in conflicting forms. Novels and scholarly articles have been written about the city and the story of the destruction by fever and flood of "the wickedest city in the South" has been told in many sermons. Much of this legend is false, belonging to folklore rather than history.

This paper and the maps drawn by its author are the result of a high school project in American history. The original aim was to draw a map of the old city and its two railroads, the first and third to operate in Florida, and among the earliest in the nation. The project has been expanded to include other parts of St. Joseph's environment, but the basic aim has remained unchanged.

A number of difficulties have been encountered in the preparation of this paper, but most have been overcome. The writer has had to evolve his own method of writing the text to accompany the maps, because the use of footnotes becomes cumbersome in explaining how the railroad bed was located, measured, and mapped. Two basic maps of the city have been found, but they do not agree at all when reduced to the same scale. It has been the objective of the writer to map the railroads and other features so clearly that future students could locate them easily, and to state the evidence that supports his maps so clearly and completely that a historian could judge the accuracy of the maps without further research.

The history of St. Joseph begins with John Forbes and Company, a land and trading company which had claimed land in the area, about 1,250,000 acres known as the Forbes Purchase, since the second Spanish Occupation. During Spanish occupation the Forbes Company (at that time called Pantan, Leslie and Company) had title to the land. When Florida was taken by the

United States, settlers on the Forbes Purchase sued to nullify its claim so that they could purchase the land from the government at the rate of \$1.25 an acre. The American settlers had disregarded the Forbes Company's claims, moved into the area, and founded Apalachicola. It was at the mouth of the Apalachicola River and offered the most logical outlet for shipping cotton



from extensive areas in western Georgia and eastern Alabama. On March 17, 1835, the Supreme Court of the United States decided that the Forbes Company had legal title to the land.

The settlers of Apalachicola were not happy with this decision or with the prices asked by Forbes' Apalachicola Land Company. They began looking for another location to settle. They picked a place on St. Joseph Bay, which was to be the site of the town of St. Joseph.

The major problem of the settlers was the transportation of cotton. They planned to divert the trade of Apalachicola to their new town. At first they planned to build a canal from Lake Wimico, a bayou connected with the Apalachicola River, to their town. Their plans changed; they would build a railroad instead. The company was called "The Lake Wimico and St. Joseph Canal and Rail Road Company." Steamers could come from the Apalachicola River up the Jackson River <sup>1</sup> then through the Jackson River to Lake Wimico and up Bayou Columbus <sup>2</sup> to a point about eight miles by land from the new town. There the cotton could be unloaded from the river steamers, transported by the railroad to St. Joseph, and there reloaded on ocean schooners.

Contemporary newspapers suggest that the railroad was completed by March, 1836, and was formally opened with two locomotives in September, 1836. The railroad gauge was five feet. <sup>3</sup> The cotton trade was not as tremendous as the settlers had anticipated. Apparently most of the cotton continued to be shipped through Apalachicola. Steamers frequently ran aground in Lake Wimico, no matter how often it was dredged. By the end of September, 1836, the company was planning another route from St. Joseph to Tennessee Bluff on the Apalachicola River, <sup>4</sup> several miles northeast of the present city of Wewahitchka. This would place St. Joseph fifty miles nearer Columbus, Georgia (the cotton center of the area).

Preparations were made for the railroad to Tennessee Bluff, where the town of Iola arose as a terminal for the railroad. <sup>5</sup> The railroad was "The St. Joseph and Iola Rail Road." It was com-

1. Apparently it was not called the Jackson River at that time.
2. The author will attempt to show that what was then called Bayou Columbus is at present called Depot Creek.
3. The author, with five other high school students, raised a pair of railroad wheels on an axle from St. Joseph Bay in April, 1960, near the end of the old St. Joseph wharf. These establish the gauge, between flanges, as five feet.
4. Dorothy Dodd, "Railroad Projects in Territorial Florida," unpublished M.A. thesis, Florida State College for Women, May, 1929.
5. There is no evidence extant indicating that Iola existed as a community prior to the building of the railroad.

pleted in 1839.<sup>6</sup> It appears that the Iola line did not get as much of the river trade as was hoped. Apalachicola received a greater amount of the trade.<sup>7</sup>

In 1841 the South was swept with an epidemic of yellow fever. The town of St. Joseph was seriously hit. As if that were not enough, the town was struck by at least one hurricane and possibly a bad fire,<sup>8</sup> and with them went the railroads. The rails were later sold to the Monroe Rail Road in Georgia.<sup>9</sup> Although it is clear from contemporary sources that the Iola line went into operation in 1839, its financial resources had been unequal to the task, and it was completed at the expense of the contractor, Benjamin Chaires of Tallahassee, who had received a mortgage on the line in return.<sup>10</sup>

St. Joseph actually ceased to exist because there was no strong reason for its existence. It was not "destroyed" except in legends that arose later. Today, all that remains as proof of the existence of the old railroad are a few banknotes and newspapers, a tattered autobiography in Georgia, a few stringers and crossties, some bits of old railroad bed, a pair of old locomotive wheels, and legends. A fire burned the Calhoun County courthouse at Abe Springs, apparently destroying the old deed records.<sup>11</sup>

After obtaining an approximate idea of where the railroads ran by looking at contemporary maps, the writer was able to investigate the general area of the railroads and to use aerial photographs of the area. The following pages describe the old railroad routes as seen in modern times.

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6. Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 23.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

8. A placard in the museum in the state park at Port St. Joe states this. The writer has been unable to verify this information. Conflicting dates given for the hurricane suggest that more than one hurricane struck the old city. This agrees with contemporary meteorological thought (1960) that hurricanes tend to occur in series along the same paths.

9. R. J. Moses, "Autobiography," ca. 1890, unpublished manuscript in private possession.

10. *Ibid.* But see Dodd, *op. cit.*, 22-23.

11. See Dr. Dodd's thesis and G. M. West, "Old St. Joe" (Panama City: 1922) for good early accounts of the history of St. Joseph. The most comprehensive history yet published is "St. Joseph, An Episode of the Economic and Political History of Florida," by J. O. Knauss in the *Constitutional Convention Number of the Florida Historical Quarterly*, October, 1938.

*The Lake Wimico and St. Joseph Rail Road.*

As we know, both St. Joseph railroads terminated at the wharf in St. Joseph. Today a community called Oak Grove stands where St. Joseph stood. It is about one mile south of Port St. Joe. The railroad, according to O. H. Throop's map,<sup>12</sup> ran out on a gigantic wharf, eighteen hundred feet in length and sixty feet in width. The railroad bed is not presently visible all the way to the shore. Probably the best explanation for this is that with the wash of the tides, the development of modern highways, and the building of homes in the area, the bed has gradually faded away. It is clear that the railroad came to the bay in this area, however. It is shown on Throop's map as running onto the wharf in the northern part of section 13, range 11 West, township 8 South.<sup>13</sup> Recent aerial photographs of Oak Grove, which show the railroad bed as a dark line, and an exploration of the ground confirm this location.

There has been some speculation that the two blocks of St. Joseph which were nearest the bay are now underwater. Evidence to support this is that bricks, pottery, china, glass bottles, and other remains have been found under the water. However, this writer does not believe the shoreline of today and that of the time of St. Joseph differs that much. By comparing the original U. S. Land Survey Map, 1833, by Benjamin and F. B. Clements, with modern geological survey maps, the author has reached the conclusion that the shore has not moved to any degree. It could have moved as much as sixty feet, but no more than that.

Nine hundred and sixty-nine feet back from shore, the railroad bed becomes visible. It ran due east, down a present alley between Highway 384 and Iola Street. As late as 1959 it could be seen on the east end of Iola Street, just to the north, where it ran across a patch of low swampy ground. At that point the roadbed was 20 feet wide and 1 $\frac{1}{2}$  feet high.

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12. This map, in tatters, was located about 1956 by Dr. Dodd of the Florida State Library. It was admirably reconstructed by Mr. A. G. Wright of the Florida State Museum. It seems to have been intended for real estate promotion, and was not an accurate map of the city as constructed. Its representation of the Lake Wimico railroad seems to be very accurate.

13. The reconstruction of the map in the museum at Constitution Park, Port St. Joe, shows it to be in section 12. But the more exact reconstruction at the Florida State Museum and the original at the Florida State Library both show it to be in section 13.

The roadbed ran from the bay in an approximate due east direction. Parts of the bed still exist and its outline may be seen on aerial photographs. At about 4,450 feet east of the shore, the bed curved slightly into an  $86^{\circ}$  direction. At about 5,950 feet east of the shore, the bed is obscured, for the Old Niles Tramroad was built atop it from this point to White City on Searcy Creek. At present, Highway 384 runs over the Old Niles Tramroad from its westerly beginning at Highway 98 to its intersection with the Apalachicola Northern Railroad.<sup>14</sup> About 770 feet before reaching the Apalachicola Northern Railroad, the Lake Wimico and St. Joseph railroad left the highway to curve in a  $145.5^{\circ}$  direction. The St. Joseph and Iola railroad continued along the Old Niles Tramroad which curved in a direction of  $26^{\circ}$ .<sup>15</sup>

Thus, at approximately  $1\frac{3}{8}$  miles east of the coast of St. Joseph Bay the bed forked, with one branch going toward Depot Creek and the other going to Iola on the Apalachicola River. The curve that the Lake Wimico route took is visible on aerial photographs, connecting Highway 384 with the Apalachicola Northern roadbed by a geometric curve. It may also be distinguished upon visiting the area. Other evidence is shown on the maps of Graham and Throop and on a map, author unknown, entitled "Apalachicola and Its Environs," located in the Florida State Library at Tallahassee.

At the end of this curve, the Lake Wimico roadbed straightened out to run at an angle of  $145^{\circ}$  for about  $1\frac{3}{8}$  miles. The Apalachicola Northern Railroad was built atop the Lake Wimico bed from the curve for several miles. It continued on the old roadbed around its next curve and for  $\frac{3}{4}$  mile farther at an angle of  $105^{\circ}$ . At this point the Apalachicola Northern left the Lake Wimico roadbed to run south of Depot Creek.<sup>16</sup> The

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14. This information was provided by Mr. Fred Maddox. Mr. Maddox was born about 1890 at Gautier Hammock and grew up in the old St. Joseph area before it became repopulated. The writer has had a great deal of contact with Mr. Maddox. Mr. Maddox distinguishes carefully between what he knows, what he guesses, and what he has heard. The writer has relied heavily on Mr. Maddox, and found his information to be accurate always.
15. Information provided by Fred Maddox and by Mr. Joe Hunter, We-wahitchka, Florida.
16. Maddox, *op. cit.*, Dodd, *op. cit.*, p. 19, says only that the Apalachicola Northern Railroad Company built part of their railroad atop the old Lake Wimico roadbed.

old railroad bed may be seen from the spot where the Apalachicola Northern leaves it for 745 feet further, still at an angle of  $105^{\circ}$ . Then a modern firelane obscures it. The firelane seems to have been built atop the railroad bed and runs at  $105^{\circ}$  for  $2\frac{7}{9}$  miles, and then leaves the railroad bed. At the point of departure of the firelane from the old roadbed, the roadbed reappeared but soon forked into two parallel branches. The northern branch ran for 404 feet before tapering out, and the southern branch for 217 feet. This brought the railroad to the edge of Depot Creek. The total length of the Lake Wimico and St. Joseph Railroad was 7.75 miles from shore to shore.

### *The Depot*

The Depot was the apparent name of the railroad terminal on Depot Creek. A contemporary newspaper gave it that name, as does the map, "Apalachicola and Its Environs." However, O. H. Throop showed quite a large town called Greenville at the Depot on Depot Creek. He showed streets running in north-south and east-west directions. These streets probably never existed in fact, for the site is relatively undisturbed and there is no physical evidence there of streets. Where Throop's streets are shown there is only low, swampy land. There is no physical evidence of the existence of even a depot building. About 80 feet from the shore of the creek there is a brick structure, about six by four feet and less than one foot high, which Mr Maddox believes to be the remains of a relatively recent distillery for illegal whisky.

The creek itself, at the depot, averages seven feet in depth. River steamers probably did not have trouble with navigation once they were in the creek. On early maps Depot Creek is called Bayou Columbus. It seems the name was changed to Depot Creek because of the depot located on it, but the name Bayou Columbus was not lost. A small creek east of Depot Creek is now called Columbus Bayou.

The pilings of the wharves that were used in loading and unloading freight still remain. There appear to have been two wharves, both parallel to the shore. The west wharf pilings measured 217 feet in length, and the east wharf pilings measured 177 feet in length. Contemporary newspapers stated that storehouses were completed at the depot. No physical evidence remains. The

railroad appears to have been forked for the purpose of connecting it with each of the wharves. A curve in the northern fork paralleled the eastern wharf, and was only 86 feet from it.

An elevated "walkway," about four feet wide and 18 inches high, paralleled the eastern wharf between the wharf and the roadbed. It appears to have had some sort of wooden foundation covered with tar. Due to lack of time, equipment, and labor, the writer did not attempt to excavate this "walkway." Using the few physical remains and Throop's map, the writer has mapped the Greenville Depot as its contemporaries probably intended it to be in the near future.

#### *The St. Joseph and Iola Rail Road.*

In building the Iola railroad, the original railroad was used as far as the curve east of St. Joseph. At this point a new curve turned the new road to run at 26°. The Old Niles Tramroad was built upon the new roadbed at least as far as White City on Searcy Creek. At White City Highway 71 curves onto the St. Joseph and Iola roadbed and was built on it as far as Honeyville, at the city limits of Wewahitchka.<sup>17</sup> At 7.4 miles from White City, the roadbed curved to run at 345°. <sup>18</sup> It continued in this direction for 6.6 miles and then curved again to run at 5.5°. About <sup>1</sup>/<sub>2</sub> mile further, Highway 71 curves off the Iola Railroad bed, which continued in a 5.5° direction past Lake Coma and across Taylor Branch. <sup>19</sup>

In the Taylor Branch swamp, the writer found what may have been several of the original railroad stringers. Just north of the branch, the railroad bed was elevated by a fill six feet high. A little farther northward, the land is higher and the bed was cut into the ground. The bed is visible in all of the Taylor Branch area and it may also be seen on aerial photographs and an 1852 survey map.

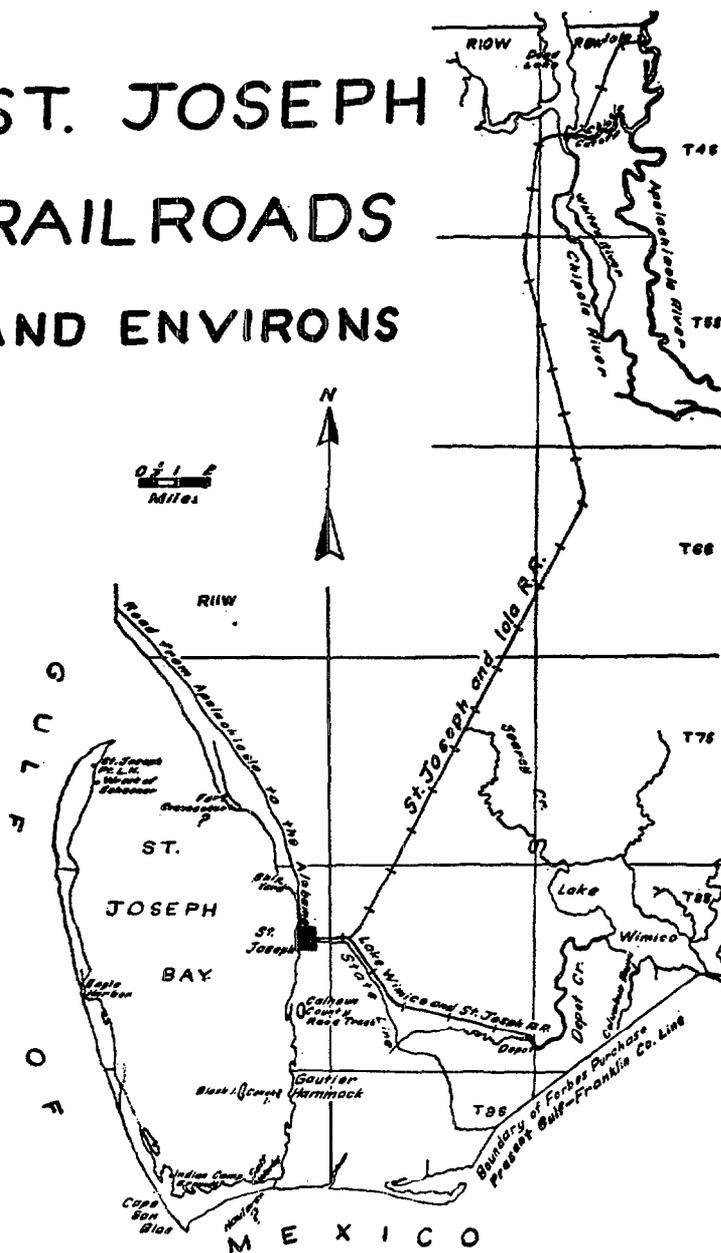
At 1.8 miles along the bed from Highway 71's departure from it, Highway 22 runs onto the bed. The highway follows the bed around its curve to the Dead Lake. The old railroad

17. Statements by Mrs. Maddox and Mr. Hunter.

18. This curve, in T. 6S., R. 9W., is clearly shown on the original U. S. Land Survey, made in 1852 by Wells.

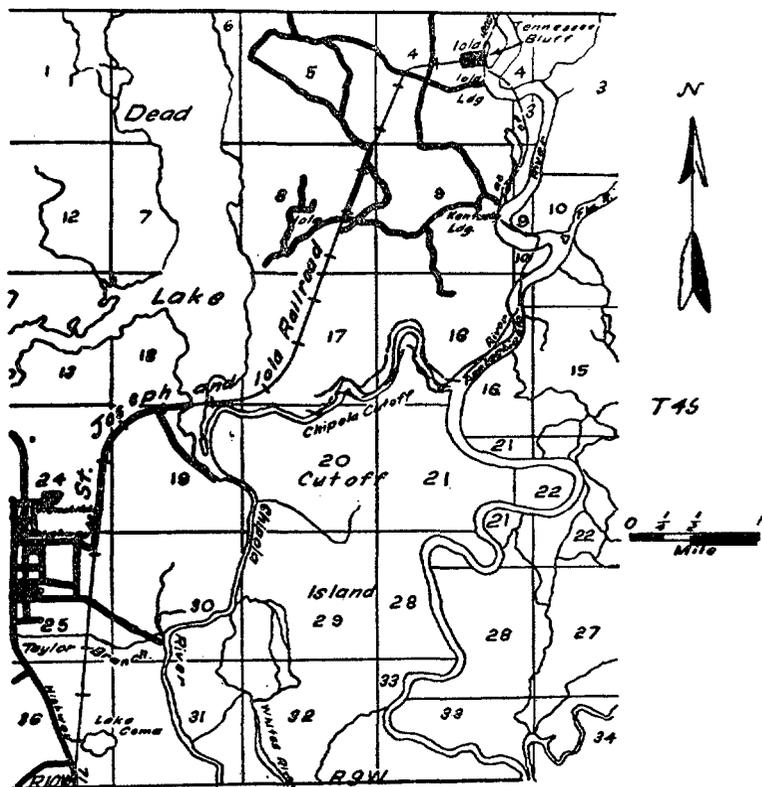
19. After Highway 71 leaves the roadbed, the roadbed becomes clearly visible both on the ground and in aerial photographs most of the way through Wewahitchka.

# ST. JOSEPH RAILROADS AND ENVIRONS



bridge across Dead Lake has long since fallen down, but pilings were visible until the recent building of a road and dam across the lake. After crossing Dead Lake the railroad made a wide curve,

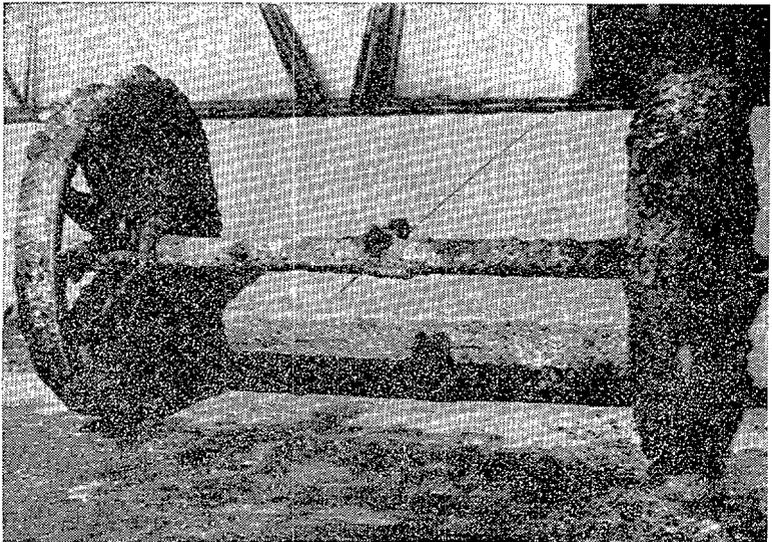
## NORTHERN TERMINUS OF THE ST. JOSEPH AND IOLA RAILROAD



visible on aerial photographs, and straightened into a 20° direction. The roadbed gradually fades on aerial photographs, as it goes northward and the writer had to go into the area and locate the roadbed on the ground. This was the most difficult task in

the entire project.<sup>20</sup> The original U. S. land survey of T. 4 S., R. 9 W., shows curves in sections 17 and 4 which seem illogical. The curve shown in section 17 was not found to exist on the ground. The curve shown in section 4 did exist, but was not as large a curve as the old survey showed.

The most surprising discovery was the location of the old railroad terminal at Iola, for the terminal was not on a Tennessee Bluff overlooking the Apalachicola River, but was on a Tennessee Bluff overlooking a pond! Since it is stated in many places that at the time the railroad was in operation Iola was on the river, the river must have changed, leaving the Iola site decaying in the swamps. The area is thickly littered with brick and the railroad bed may be seen quite well. At 440 feet west of Tennessee Bluff, the bed branched into three beds, each going to the river bank. To one side of the place where the roadbed branched is a deep hole which is said to have housed a machine used to operate a railroad turntable.



20. Four trips were made by the writer into the muddy and mosquito-ridden Iola peninsula, and he and his friends were dogged by misfortune. On the first trip, a car slid off a muddy road and an eight mile walk to the nearest house followed. On later trips jeeps were taken, but they also got stuck - fortunately, not all at the same time, so that there was always one to pull the other out.

Recently the writer and some friends succeeded in digging a pair of railroad wheels from the sands under St. Joseph Bay in the approximate area of the end of the old wharf. The wheels were still on their axle. They were taken to shops of the Apalachicola Northern Railroad to be cleaned and prepared for the museum at Constitution Park. Railroad men in Port St. Joe are convinced that the wheels are from the forward truck of one of the old railroads locomotives. The wheels are 36 inches in diameter; their gauge between flanges is five feet.

At the time the wheels were found, it was discovered that numerous bricks and huge, square pilings from the old wharf still remain, hidden by the sands. At present it can be said that the wharf was almost certainly as long as Throop shows it and that it was very wide, but there is some evidence that it did not run at the angle shown by either Throop or Graham. Further excavations will be needed to prove this. There seems no reason why the pilings cannot be mapped and the wharf defined, but it will require a great deal of work.

## A REPORT ON THE SITE OF CAMP FINEGAN

by WILLIAM M. JONES

### PREFACE

AT THE TIME OF THIS WRITING, nearly a century has passed since the end of the "War of the Rebellion." Many of the earthworks, and other types of defenses, constructed by the "Boys in Blue and in Gray," have fallen victim to the ravages of time; still others are being leveled to make way for progress.

In time most of these sites will be forgotten, except for vague documentary references which rarely give accurate descriptions as to the actual locations of these places. It certainly behooves those of our generation who are interested to locate and record these earthworks where possible.

Camp Finegan, of which we write, was one of the defenses constructed by the Confederates for the purpose of protecting one of the only two roads leading from Jacksonville to West Florida at that time.

In this paper, we will attempt to describe how, by chance, we discovered this site and how we later identified it as Camp Finegan.

Having been a resident of the western section of Duval County since the year 1934, we have for many years been aware of the presence of a series of trenches located on Lenox Avenue at a point one-half mile west of Normandy Boulevard, where Lenox crosses a small creek. Originally these trenches, which today are visible only in places, extended from the northeast to the southwest for an undetermined distance, crossing the road at the creek.<sup>1</sup>

Our attention was first called to these trenches by local residents who often referred to them as "ditches" with some rancor, because they had to be filled in before their homes could be built. At that time, we were not aware of the nature or significance of these ditches, and consequently for many years ignored them, in spite of the fact we had heard of several weapons that had been found by those plowing the fields near this site.

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1. See map, page 369.

## MATERIAL EVIDENCE

It was not until 1952 that our interest in this place was aroused. In that year we were approached by Mr. R. V. Pringle, who was living on the site at that time, who reported finding a number of "bullets" in his yard, usually after heavy rains.

On examination, these "bullets" proved to be a type of shot known as the "Minie Ball," which was named after the French Army officer who designed it.<sup>2</sup> This shot was a fifty-caliber, conical-shaped projectile used in muzzle loading rifles during the War Between the States, and, as a rule, by both Union and Confederate troops.

The presence of this type shot, together with the tales of "weapons" being found in this area, seemed to indicate that this place with the ditches was the possible site of some fortification related to the Civil War. We immediately began to look on these trenches with additional respect, and decided to determine, if possible, the name and origin of these works.

In the meantime, more material evidence in the form of a large brass "button" was recovered by Mr. Pringle. This button, measuring 2.5 inches in diameter, and showing the American Eagle in relief on one side, was identified by Historian Charles Peterson of the U. S. National Park Service. Mr. Peterson had this to say: "The large flat brass 'button' with an eagle design is in reality a buckle. This type of buckle was worn on the Union cartridge box belt and on the sword belt of sergeants. Judging from what remains of the attachments on the back, this was a sergeant's sword belt buckle. It dates from the middle nineteenth century."

While the artifacts that we have described may seem insignificant in the amount recovered, it must be remembered that this material was found by chance rather than by design. In any case it was our opinion that the buckle and shot found near these trenches pointed to this area as being a site related to a military operation of the War Between the States.

Arriving at the conclusion that the remains of the trenches located on Lenox Avenue were part of the defenses of a Civil War fort, our next step was to identify this site, if possible.

As a rule, one can depend to a certain degree on local legend

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2. Hank Wieand Bowman, *Antique Guns* (New York: 1953).

when attempting to identify a place such as this. However, to our great disappointment, after talking to a number of local residents we were unable to find any "old-timers" who could give us even a hint as to the name or origin of these works.

#### DOCUMENTARY EVIDENCE

Failing to obtain any information from the local people, we resorted to documentary research, confining our efforts mostly to Gold's *History of Duval County and East Florida* and other local publications. We encountered such names as "Camp Milton," "Yellow Bluff Fort," "Fort Steele," "Camp Finegan," and others too far removed from this site to be considered.

Camp Milton, which has definitely been located on the "Old Plank Road" at McGirts Creek, is still partially visible. Yellow Bluff Fort, a well-known Confederate fortification, can be seen at Dames Point on the St. Johns River. Fort Steele is thought to have been located near the present town of Mayport, while Gold, in his *History of Duval County*, locates Camp Finegan "on Cedar Creek near McGirts Creek."<sup>3</sup>

Now, from a geographical standpoint, only two of these places could be considered, Camp Milton and Camp Finegan, both located west of Jacksonville. Camp Milton, the remains of which can still be seen on the "Old Plank Road" at McGirts Creek, can be eliminated, and at the time, we did not question Gold's location of Camp Finegan.

Unable to find a name that seemed to apply to our site on Lenox Avenue, we were convinced the place had not been important enough to have been graced with a name, and in 1955 decided to give up this project for the time.

During the month of June, 1959, while browsing through a copy of the *Military and Naval History of the Rebellion*, by W. J. Tinney, we naturally turned to the chapter pertaining to the Florida campaign, wherein we discovered a statement that, in our opinion, was an important clue to the identity of the trenches on Lenox Avenue. We quote: "General Seymour, now occupied Jacksonville with his forces, and the enemy [Confederates] took a position at *Camp Finegan*, eight miles distant towards Bald-

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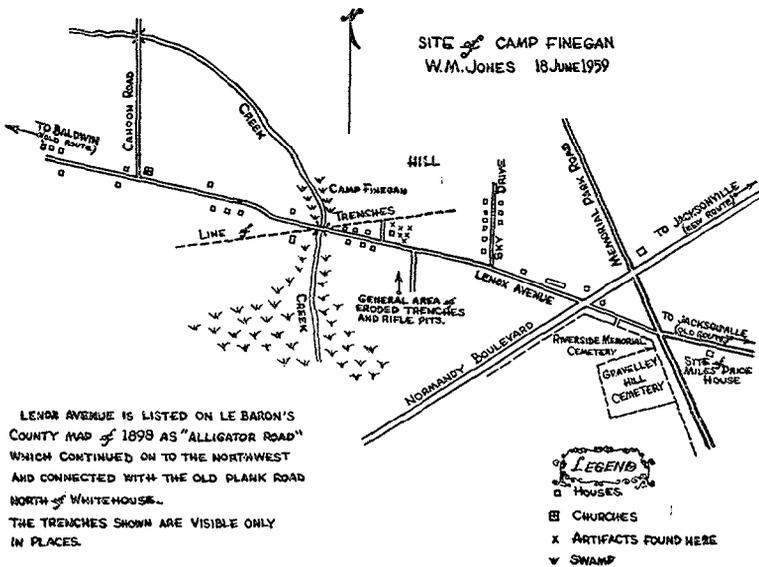
3. Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Including Early History of East Florida* (St. Augustine: 1929), 139.

win.”<sup>4</sup> (This was after the Battle of Olustee, at which place Seymour was defeated by the Confederates.)

At this point in our narrative, we have two conflicting statements on the location of Camp Finegan; Gold’s location on Cedar Creek near McGirts Creek, and Tinney’s claim that Camp Finegan was “Eight miles distant towards Baldwin.”

The description, “eight miles distant towards Baldwin,” certainly does not coincide with the location given by Gold; however, it could apply to our Lenox Avenue site, which happens to be just eight miles from downtown Jacksonville, and which is situated on one of the two original roads leading to Baldwin, as we shall explain below.

From the beginning of our documentary research, we had thought about the possibility of our site being Camp Finegan, but dismissed this as unlikely in view of Gold’s description of its location. However, we were not as yet willing to accept Tinney’s



description as conclusive, and decided to search through the *Records of the War of the Rebellion* for additional evidence before reaching a decision.

4. P. 505.

After many trips to the Jacksonville Public Library, where we spent many hours searching through these records, we found evidence that in our opinion proves without a doubt that our site on Lenox Avenue was in fact the "Camp Finegan" mentioned many times in publications relating to the campaign in East Florida.

We discovered a report written by Confederate Army Captain Joseph L. Dunham regarding the loss of some pieces of ordnance to the Union Forces at Twelve Mile Station (Whitehouse). We present in part Dunham's report: "Colonel: In accordance with your orders under date of the 14th February, 1864 instant, I have the honor to report the following facts in connection with the loss of five pieces of artillery. . . . About twilight on the evening of the 8th of February, though not on duty, in consequence of serious indisposition of a months duration, I received a verbal order from Lieutenant-Colonel McCormack, commanding the forces at *Camp Finegan*, to move my section of artillery immediately to the rear; that the *enemy was approaching and near Miles Price's house, some one-half mile distant . . .*"<sup>5</sup>

While we would like to include Dunham's interesting report in its entirety, we are only concerned in this paper with the part that refers to Miles Price's house being one-half mile distant. Miles Price, an early settler in this section of Duval County and owner of the Gravelley Hill Plantation since 1858<sup>6</sup>, had his residence on what is now Lenox Avenue, and at a point just east of Memorial Park Road; this location is one-half mile east of the site of our trenches.

Therefore, if the enemy (in this case a Union Force under Colonel Guy V. Henry), were approaching Camp Finegan and were reported at Miles Price's house one-half mile away, this would prove that the site with the trenches on Lenox Avenue had to be Camp Finegan, because Colonel Henry and his men were advancing on this position.

There are many other references to Camp Finegan in these records, such as: "Camp Finegan, in the direction of Baldwin;" "Crossed Cedar Creek and reached the vicinity of Camp Finegan;"

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5. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. XXXV, Pt. 1, p. 347. Author's italics.

6. Legal Papers; Involving transfer of Gravelley Hill tract from Joseph I. Eubanks to Miles Price 1858. Duval County, Florida.

“came in sight of Camp Finegan on the right;” and others that imply that Camp Fingan was located on the road to Baldwin and west of Cedar Creek, all of which tends to point to our site on Lenox Avenue. Dunham speaks in his report of “Twelve Mile Station,” which is known today as “Whitehouse,” and in accordance with the distance given in the records, was three miles west of the trench site. In view of the above evidence, in our opinion, the trench site located on Lenox Avenue, one-half mile west of Normandy Boulevard, represents what remains of Camp Finegan today.

In the mid twentieth century, one might well question the reason for a military installation protecting what appears to be an obscure county road. In the early days, however, this route was far more important. This road, which is shown on LeBaron’s County map of 1898 as the “Alligator Road,” was one of the only two routes leading to West Florida, the other being the “Old Plank Road,” so named because it was once paved with planks.

Originally, the Alligator Road extended to the west from Jacksonville to a point two miles beyond the Riverside Memorial Cemetery, where it divided into two separate roads, one bearing to the northwest and the other to the southwest. The northwest fork continued on as the Alligator Road and connected with the Old Plank Road north of Whitehouse. The southwest fork, shown on LeBaron’s map as the “New River Road,” continued in that direction for an undetermined distance, being known in later years as the “Old Gainesville Road.” While the northwest fork of this road does not exist today, the southwest is still maintained as a “dirt road” until it connects with Normandy Boulevard near McGirts Creek.

Other documentary evidence <sup>7</sup>that can be brought to bear indicates the possible existence of this road as early as 1825. All in all, as obscure as Lenox Avenue seems to be today, it obviously was an important link with west Florida in the nineteenth century.

#### SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

While we originally had no intention of presenting evidence other than that pertinent to the origin and identity of Camp

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7. *Ibid.*

Finegan, we feel that we would have failed in our duty if we neglected to include at least several of the highlights of the occupation of this place during the War Between the States.

Among the many officers stationed at Camp Finegan from time to time was Confederate Captain J. J. Dickison, who became legend through his audacious attacks on the Union forces in the Jacksonville, Palatka, and Gainesville areas.<sup>8</sup> Dickison, who was to Florida what John S. Mosby was to Virginia, certainly deserves to be known as the "Gray Ghost" of Florida.

Another officer, Lieutenant-Colonel Charles F. Hopkins, had good reason to remember his stay at Camp Finegan, for it was at this place that Hopkins himself asked for a "court of inquiry" to be called in order to clarify his reasons for evacuating St. Johns Bluff in the face of an enemy attack; "General [Finegan]: . . . I respectfully demand that a court of inquiry be called at the earliest day practicable to examine into the facts of the case and the policy of the course pursued by myself upon that occasion."<sup>9</sup>

As a result of this inquiry, Hopkins was exonerated at Camp Finegan on October 11, 1862; "We therefore consider Lieutenant-colonel Hopkins wholly justifiable in the course he pursued in abandoning the batteries on the Saint Johns."<sup>10</sup>

General Joseph Finegan used this camp as his headquarters on several occasions, which can be attested to by the many letters that originated at this place bearing his signature. We feel, therefore, that this camp received its name in honor of this General, although we were unable to find any reference to the subject.

During the month of February, 1864, and prior to the Battle of Olustee, this place was occupied by the "Second South Carolina and Third U. S. Colored Troops,"<sup>11</sup> during which time it was known as "Camp Shaw." This probably explains the presence here of the Union Sergeant's buckle which we mentioned earlier in this paper.

On May 25, 1864, according to a report by Brigadier General George H. Gordon, U. S. Army,<sup>12</sup> a Union force under the

8. Mary Elizabeth Dickison, *Dickison and His Men* (Louisville: 1890).

9. Charles Hopkins to Joseph Finegan, October 8, 1862, in *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*, Vol. XIV, Ser. I, p. 142.

10. Statement of William D. Mitchell in *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*; Vol. XIV, Ser. I, p. 143.

11. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*; Vol. XXXV, Part I, p. 285.

12. *Official Records of the War of the Rebellion*; Vol. XXXV, Part I, p. 399.

command of Colonel Shaw left Jacksonville moving in the direction of Baldwin. We quote, in part, General Gordon's report: "The detachment met but few of the enemy until they crossed Cedar Creek and reached the vicinity of Camp Finegan. Here they were opposed by infantry and a few cavalry. Colonel Shaw thinks there might have been 400 or 500 in front of him. Our advance was within less than half a mile of Camp Finegan . . . . A brief fire of infantry and artillery was maintained for a brief period. The rebels were advancing, but the fire checked them . . . ." According to the above description, this "skirmish" took place on the present Lenox Avenue, between Cedar Creek and Memorial Park Road. In recent years, the route of this road has been changed between these two points, the change being so slight that it is hardly worth mentioning.

In conclusion, we were unable to find any definite information concerning the establishment or abandonment of Camp Finegan. The camp probably existed for about three years, or from the early part of 1862 to the end of 1864, and, as we have already surmised, was probably named after General Joseph Finegan.

A person standing on this site today and viewing the present placid scene would doubtless have some difficulty in visualizing this area as having once been the site of a military installation. However, Camp Finegan obviously was an important fortified bivouac area to the Confederates, and certainly deserves to be recorded in the annals of Duval County.

## GERMAN ESPIONAGE IN FLORIDA DURING WORLD WAR II

by LEON O. PRIOR

ONLY ONE FLORIDA RESIDENT was arrested and convicted by the United States government for performing German inspired espionage in Florida during World War II. This one misguided individual was forty-nine year old Carl Herman Schroetter, with aliases John Charles Post and Captain Jack Post. He was arrested at his residence, 220 Northwest 33rd. Avenue, Miami, Florida, on September 2, 1941, by special agents of the Federal Bureau of Investigation. Upon arraignment before the United States Commissioner at Miami, Schroetter was charged with gathering and mailing information concerning the national defense to another German agent, Kurt Frederick Ludwig, in New York City. Ludwig then transmitted the information by secret ink and code communication to German agents in Spain and Portugal, and from there it was relayed to Germany.<sup>1</sup>

Subsequent to his arrest and on September 26, 1941, Schroetter and others operating under Ludwig's direction were indicted by a federal grand jury in New York City, and charged with violation of the federal espionage statutes, and not merely with using the mails to transmit improperly obtained material.<sup>2</sup>

Schroetter was described by the Federal Bureau of Investigation as a "stationary agent"; one who established himself in a defense area to gather all available information for transmittal to his foreign principals. A "stationary agent" must have a cover identity and Schroetter was well covered in Miami. He was born in Switzerland, educated in Germany, and first entered the United States about 1913. He became a naturalized citizen under the name of Schroetter in 1930, and never legally changed his name to Post. In the early 1930's he established himself in Miami, where for several years he operated a charter boat known as the "Echo of the Past."<sup>3</sup>

He registered to vote in Dade County, Florida, on March 20,

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1. *Miami Herald*, September 3, 1941, page 1.
  2. *New York Times*, September 27, 1941, page 19.
  3. *Miami Herald*, September 3, 1941, page 1.

1933, using the name John Charles Post, and giving a false birthplace of Marshall, Texas. In the 1940 elections he served as a register clerk in voting precinct number 34, for Dade County.<sup>4</sup> Just prior to his arrest, he had been employed as the night cook at the Greyhound Club, 9501 Northwest Seventh Avenue, Miami, Florida, a place frequented by the personnel of the Miami Naval Air Station, not far away.<sup>5</sup>

During the period 1920 to 1939, Schroetter made five trips back to Germany. His last trip was in 1939. He returned to the United States after the outbreak of hostilities between Germany and Poland. It was during the 1939 trip that Schroetter was apparently contacted by a representative of the German government whom he referred to as a mutual friend in Germany, known to him and Ludwig. The mutual friend had given Schroetter's address to Ludwig and told Ludwig that Schroetter had a boat.<sup>6</sup> Schroetter later admitted he had agreed to work with this mutual German friend, but implied that he had done so to safeguard the lives of his two sisters in Germany.<sup>7</sup>

During 1940 and 1941, Schroetter and Ludwig were in frequent contact by mail. Schroetter was one of several "stationary agents" under Ludwig's direction in various parts of the United States.<sup>8</sup> He and the others enabled Ludwig to transmit to Germany amazingly accurate information about movements and cargoes of ships carrying war supplies to Great Britain. They also supplied information about airplane deliveries, production, harbors, military training, and sketches of strategic areas.<sup>9</sup>

Schroetter's principal, Kurt Frederick Ludwig, was a United States citizen, born in Ohio of German parents and taken to Germany by his parents at the age of two. Subsequently he visited the United States several times, and in March, 1940, he was sent to the United States by the German government for the specific purpose of securing and transmitting to Germany detailed information on the size, equipment, location, training, and morale of United States military units. Ludwig established residence in the German community in Queens, New York City,

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4. *Miami Herald*, September 6, 1941, page 1.

5. *Miami News*, June 21, 1942, Section C.

6. *Miami Herald*, September 3, 1941, page 1.

7. *New York Times*, March 21, 1942, page 19.

8. *Miami Herald*, September 3, 1941, page 1.

9. *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1941, page 1.

and recruited three of his assistants from this area. One of his chief assistants was an attractive eighteen year old girl of German extraction named Lucy Boehmler.<sup>10</sup> She traveled by automobile around the United States with Ludwig and on occasion was used as a lure to have servicemen disclose specific information that Ludwig desired.<sup>11</sup>

A trip made by Ludwig and Lucy Boehmler in May, 1941, was not only to gather information along the eastern seaboard, but also for the purpose of a personal meeting with Schroetter in Florida. Lucy Boehmler testified at Ludwig's trial in February, 1942, that she accompanied Ludwig on the 1941 trip to Florida. During the trip Ludwig made numerous photos of military installations, observed the numbers of men in training, and noted the equipment and location of various military divisions.<sup>12</sup> Miss Boehmler recalled that after Ludwig and Schroetter conferred in Miami, she and Ludwig drove to Key West.<sup>13</sup> They returned from Key West the evening of May 7, 1941, and stopped for the night at the Don Carlos Apartment Hotel in Coral Gables, Florida, located in the woods several hundred yards off the main highway, U. S. #1. Ludwig rented two rooms and gave the impression that Miss Boehmler was his sister. He signed the register as Fred Ludwig, Ridgewood, Queens, New York City. This hotel was just a short distance in front of the boom days skeleton structure of the present University of Miami Merrick Building. Recently the Don Carlos Apartment building was purchased by the University of Miami and converted into the University Infirmary. The building now stands in the center of the present University of Miami campus.

After his apprehension in Miami, Schroetter admitted that Ludwig had contacted him in Miami a short time prior to his arrest. Schroetter said that Ludwig asked him for aid in obtaining a small boat that would enable Ludwig to escape secretly to Cuba, without securing the necessary travel papers. Schroetter

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10. *New York Times*, September 3, 1941page 12.

11. *Miami Herald*, September 4, 1941, page 1.

12. *Miami Herald*, February 5, 1942, page 1.

13. United States Department of Justice, *The Story of the Federal Bureau of Investigation*, undated, page 9. Published by the Federal Bureau of Investigation, Washington, D. C. for the Youth of America.

claimed he had never known or met Ludwig prior to this meeting.<sup>14</sup>

Schroetter pleaded guilty to the espionage charges for which he was indicted in New York City,<sup>15</sup> and on March 20, 1942, was sentenced to serve ten years, in the federal prison.<sup>16</sup>

On March 29, 1942, after his removal to the United States penitentiary at Atlanta, Georgia, he committed suicide by slashing his wrist with the diaphragm of a radio head set and hanging himself with a bed sheet attached to a water pipe.<sup>17</sup>

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14. *Miami Herald*, September 3, 1941, page 1.

15. *New York Times*, October 21, 1941, page 13.

16. *New York Times*, March 21, 1942, page 19.

17. *New York Times*, March 31, 1942, page 11.

## PHILEMON THOMAS AND THE WEST FLORIDA REVOLUTION

by HENRY EUGENE STERKX AND BROOKS THOMPSON

**D**URING THE FIRST DECADE of the nineteenth century many Americans moved into the Spanish province of West Florida. Some came to establish new homes or to engage in conspiracies against the weak Spanish government. Others came to escape justice or seek asylum from slavery. The province had a strange population made up of Englishmen, Frenchmen, Americans, traders, land speculators, army deserters, fleeing debtors, fugitives from justice, filibusterers, and others of infamous background. Moving into this milieu in 1805 was Philemon Thomas. This native of Virginia and ex-Kentuckian had led an interesting and exciting life. He was born in Orange County, Virginia, February 9, 1763,<sup>1</sup> his family having come over from England shortly before his birth. He died in Baton Rouge, Louisiana, November 17, 1847.<sup>2</sup> Between these dates he was to make notable contributions to the history of three states. Generally neglected today as an historical figure, Thomas deserves a re-hearing if for no other reason than his participation in the West Florida Revolution.

Philemon Thomas was not a literary man, having secured no more than a common school education.<sup>3</sup> Before he had attained manhood he joined the Revolutionary army from which he was discharged an officer. While serving in the army he learned to like military life and was to use this vocation whenever the occasion demanded it.<sup>4</sup>

After the war he went west in search of land and in 1783 settled in the Kentucky territory. Shortly after he was established

1. *The Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington: 1928), 1609; Millidge L. Bonham, "A Conversation with the Granddaughter of General Thomas," in *Proceedings of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge* (Baton Rouge: 1916-1918), December 14, 1916, 48-49; tombstone located at the National Cemetery in Baton Rouge.
2. *Baton Rouge Gazette*, November 18, 1847.
3. Francis Robertson, "The Will of General Philemon Thomas," *Proceedings of the Historical Society of East and West Baton Rouge* (Baton Rouge: 1916-1918), June 26, 1917, 26-29.
4. *Ibid. Report from the Secretary of War* (June 30, 1834- March 3, 1835), Pensions 3, Louisiana (Washington: 1836), 6.

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in his new home, Thomas volunteered his services in the Indian uprising of 1791. He served with distinction in General St. Clair's campaign against the Indians at the Battle of Wabash River. Thomas, and others, suggested opening a passage through the Indian line. It was this strategy that saved part of the St. Clair expedition. Thomas later served in the Kentucky state legislature - in the House from 1796 to 1799 and in the Senate from 1800 to 1803. He also served as delegate to the Kentucky Constitutional Convention of 1799<sup>5</sup>.

In 1805 Philemon Thomas moved to West Florida where he engaged in land speculation and established a grocery business in the town of Baton Rouge.<sup>6</sup> The land was rent with discord. For a number of years discontent with Spanish rule had been manifested in the region.<sup>7</sup> However, beginning in 1808 with the accession of Joseph Bonaparte to the throne of Spain, fear of French intervention compelled the Feliciana and Baton Rouge planters to action. They concluded that the time had come to exchange the peaceful somnolence of Spanish rule for democracy.<sup>8</sup> The patriots concluded that what they needed was a better-organized local government but realized that their efforts to obtain one would have to be carried out in such a way that there would be no suspicion of treason. During the months of

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5. Mann Butler, *A History of the Commonwealth of Kentucky* (Cincinnati: 1836), 200-203; Lewis Collins, *History of Kentucky*, (2 vols. (Covington, Kentucky: 1882), I, 356; II, 547.

6. W.P.A. Survey of Federal Archives in Louisiana, *Archives of the Spanish Government of West Florida*, typescript copy in the Louisiana State University Archives, XVII, 245, for confirmation of sale by Pierre Favrot, dated June 2, 1810. Sold 1000 arpents of land to P. Thomas located near Devil's Swamp for the consideration of 2000 Mexican dollars on June 6, 1805. Secretary Robertson to the Secretary of State, New Orleans, April 8, 1810, in Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States, the Territory of New Orleans: 1803-1812*, IX, 880; *American State Papers: Public Land* (Washington: 1834), III, 70. Thomas in 1808 registered for ten claims in the Baton Rouge district.

7. Governor Claiborne to the Secretary of State, New Orleans, March 26, 1805, 425; February 9, 1806, 604; Secretary Robertson to the Secretary of State, New Orleans, July 6, 1810, 888; *passim*, in Carter, *op. cit.* See also Henry L. Favrot, "Some of the Causes and Conditions that Brought About the West Florida Revolution in 1810," in *Publications of the Louisiana Historical Society* (New Orleans: 1895), Vol. I, pt. 2, pp. 36-37.

8. For fear of the French, see Proceedings of the First Convention of West Florida, July 27, 1810, in Carter, *op. cit.*, 893-895. For an account of the intrigues see Isaac Joslin Cox, *The West Florida Controversy, 1798-1813* (Baltimore: 1918).

June to September, 1810, a great deal of clandestine activity among the planters took place.<sup>9</sup> A number of secret meetings were held. Then, on Saturday, June 23, 1810, more than five hundred Spanish subjects of Feliciana met at the "Egypt" plantation of Lewis Stirling "to secure themselves against foreign invasion and domestic disturbance."<sup>10</sup> This innocuous resolution marked the beginning of the systematic stripping of all authority from Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus, the Spanish governor. Although Philemon Thomas did not actively participate in the activities of the "Egypt" assembly he did sign a petition drawn up on that occasion asking for permission to call a similar convention in the Baton Rouge district to elect delegates to a great convention to be held.<sup>11</sup>

On August 22 the elected delegates met and with only one dissenting vote passed the ordinances and resolutions which they had been engaged in framing for the last several weeks. The appointment by the convention of a colonel commandant who should command, when formed, the militia from the four districts was provided for and was, ultimately, to involve fully Philemon Thomas.<sup>12</sup>

Governor de Lassus, playing for time, signed the ordinances. On August 29, 1810, the delegates turned their attention to the problem of selecting the officers who should govern the region. The Governor had already informed the assemblymen of his refusal to give Philemon Thomas the title of brigadier general on the grounds that, "as there does not exist, and I myself do not recognize in our militia ordinances, the post of brigadier general, it seems to me that Mr. Philemon Thomas can take the same post with the title of colonel commanding the whole militia of this jurisdiction with the approbation of his Excellency the Captain

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9. The Governor of the Mississippi Territory to the Secretary of State, Town of Washington, 31st July, 1810, 889-891; *passim*, in Carter, *op. cit.*

10. Stanley Ollisby Arthur, *The Story of the West Florida Rebellion* (St. Francisville, La.: 1935), 37.

11. July 6, 1810. Fomteen leading citizens signed the petition. *Ibid.*, 38-39.

12. For membership of the West Florida Convention see dispatch dated July 26, 1810, 889; Governor of the Mississippi Territory to the Secretary of State, Town of Washington, July 31, 1810, 889-891; August 8, 1810, 891-892; in Carter, *op. cit.*; Arthur, *op. cit.*, 69-87.

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General" of Cuba.<sup>13</sup> Thus it was that Thomas settled for the less grandiose title of militia commander, and he now entered the West Florida scene and began to play an important role in the course of events.<sup>14</sup>

About the middle of September Captain Louis Piernas, a Spanish army officer, arrived in Baton Rouge from Pensacola to bring money to pay the garrison troops and to observe and report on conditions in the Baton Rouge area. When Piernas left Baton Rouge he carried a letter written by William Cooper, a delegate to the convention from the Chifoncte region. In that letter Cooper indicated that he felt it his duty to report the dangerous situation at Baton Rouge and enjoined the Spanish executive, Governor Folch, to hurry with a considerable force to the troublesome spot, before the November meeting of the convention should rob the Spanish of the last vestiges of authority.<sup>15</sup>

At this juncture Colonel Philemon Thomas, John Ballinger, and a few more resolute spirits decided to act before Folch could arrive with the troops. They raised volunteers for the capture of the fort at Baton Rouge, and insisted upon immediate occupancy of the fort even if it had to be without official sanction from the convention.<sup>16</sup>

Then on the night of September 21, a meeting of six members of the convention occurred at which it was decided that the farce of their pretended allegiance to Spain must immediately come to an end. Messengers were sent to Philemon Thomas with orders to arm all available men and to storm the fort at Baton Rouge as soon as sufficient forces were assembled. Colonel Thomas was assured that he could expect armed assistance from Feliciana. War had come.

The fort at Baton Rouge was shaped like a star. It had a ditch with a covered way, but had been neglected to such an extent that the covered way had disappeared altogether.<sup>17</sup>

13. Letter of de Lassu to Convention, August 25, 1810, in the Felix H. Kuntz Collection, West Florida Papers, in the Department of Archives, Louisiana State University, henceforth cited as Kuntz Collection.

14. Claiborne to Secretary of State Robert Smith, Dunbar Rowland (ed.), *Official Letter Books of C. C. Claiborne, 1801-1816* (Jackson, Miss.: 1917), V, 56-58.

15. Cox, *op. cit.*, 387.

16. *Ibid.*, 388.

17. Victor Collot, *A Journey to North America*, 2 vols. (Paris: 1826), I, 77.

The weak point was to the left, or south, of the fort. Large gaps permeated the stockade while arsenals and storehouses were inadequately supplied. The officers of the fort resided outside of it as did the militia, coming to the fort only when detailed for guard duty. Lieutenants Luis de Grand Pre and J. B. Metzinger were the only commissioned officers within the enclosure.<sup>18</sup> On the night of the twenty-second of September the fort apparently contained only twenty-eight men including the two officers, Lieutenants Grand Pre and Metzinger. There were ten militiamen stationed at the guardhouse and only three sentinels were on duty. Artillerymen, who were essential for the defense of the fort, numbered only two. Also present were fourteen noncommissioned officers of the Louisiana Regiment, and two of Estevan's squad were stationed in the citadel. The magazines were locked and the offices in charge of them sleeping in town.<sup>19</sup>

At midnight, when the attack had not been made, the Spaniards felt secure; seemingly, they did not believe that the patriots would attack on Sunday. Nevertheless, the insurgents were preparing for action.

Upon receipt of the order of the Convention, Thomas had directed Major Johnson to assemble all available cavalry and march to the fort at Baton Rouge. Thomas himself left for Springfield where he found Colonel Ballinger with forty-four men ready for action. During the march to Baton Rouge, a number of patriots joined them.<sup>20</sup>

At one o'clock Sunday morning, September 23, Thomas and his group merged forces with Major Johnson and Captain Griffith, who had twenty-one cavalymen from Bayou Sarah, and prepared to strike down Spanish sovereignty in West Florida.<sup>21</sup>

By four o'clock the insurgents were ready for the attack. Thomas gave orders that his men were not to fire until fired upon, but rather were to call out in both French and English, "ground your arms and you shall not be hurt."<sup>22</sup>

Fire from the guardhouse of the fort, where the governor

18. Cox, *op. cit.*, 389-392.

19. *Ibid.*, 396. Arthur takes an opposite view in regard to the condition of the fort. He states that the Spanish officers in the fort made the place ready for any possible trouble.

20. Thomas to Convention President, John Rhea, September 28, 1810, Kuntz Collection.

21. *Ibid.*

22. *Ibid.*

## THOMAS AND THE WEST FLORIDA REVOLUTION 383

was staying, ended the peaceful attempt at a solution. The volunteers returned fire and battle ensued in which Lieutenants Grand Pre and Metzinger were wounded. The engagement ended with the insurgents taking twenty-one prisoners, among them being Don Carlos de Hault de Lassus. The rest of the garrison escaped by flight. Thomas was proud of his raw volunteer forces, reporting that their "firmness and moderation . . . was fully equal to the best" disciplined troops.<sup>23</sup>

The supplies and stores in the fort naturally fell to the rebels, but of far greater importance was the prestige triumph had given to the insurrectionary movement. "Whole companys [*sic.*] are flocking to our standard daily," Thomas reported, "and the Harmony and Patriotism that prevails in the Garrison must be highly gratifying to every friend of his country."<sup>24</sup>

The members of the convention made plans to issue a declaration of independence following the report by Thomas of the capture of the fort at Baton Rouge. The loyalty of the officers in the fort had been tendered the members of the convention in writing. On September 26, 1810, soon after the pledge of loyalty was received, the convention signed the declaration of independence.<sup>25</sup>

Rumors were rampant as the members of the convention busied themselves with the task of arranging for the defense of the territory just won by violent means. Reports came that opposition was gathering in Ste. Helena under the leadership of Shepherd Brown.<sup>26</sup> The officers of the fort "appointed Genl. P. Thomas to wait on your honors for restoring tranquility in Ste. Helena."<sup>27</sup> This suggestion was quickly honored by the convention and on October 1, 1810, a punitive expedition set forth for the district of Ste. Helena. On October 3 Thomas, in command of around four hundred men, crossed the Amite River. As was customary with him, he made an effort to settle the difficulties without battle. He requested a meeting with Michael Jones, a leader in the area. Jones' conduct and proposals were unaccept-

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*

25. Letter addressed to Convention, September 25, 1810, and signed by Philemon Thomas and other officers under his command, Kuntz Collection.

26. Cox, *op. cit.*, 411.

27. Arthur, *op. cit.*, 119.

able to Thomas, who ended the negotiations. However, the former seems to have judged his situation untenable and by evening surrendered his forces and signed the declaration of independence.<sup>28</sup>

In the meantime Thomas dispatched an advance guard of cavalry, under Major Johnson, and infantry, under Major McCastland, on a forced march in an attempt to surprise Shepherd Brown and William Cooper at their fort at Springfield. Upon the arrival of the advance guard at Springfield it was found that the fort had been evacuated ten hours earlier.<sup>29</sup>

Thomas moved on to Springfield after having sent a considerable force under Colonel Kimball to the Tangipahoa and Chifoncte regions. Brown had boasted that he could raise five hundred men but he succeeded in raising but eighty malcontents. Realizing that such a small number was no match for the Convention forces, he advised the disbanding of his troops. Thomas, meanwhile, was instructing the people of the principles and aims of the Convention. Sentiment everywhere seemed to favor the Convention forces, which led Thomas to report that "Everything appears Tranquil and the great Body of the People really disposed to defend our Course . . . ." <sup>30</sup>

A company of volunteers was formed at Springfield with Samuel Baldwin elected Captain. Thomas placed his trust in this force and requested that the Convention confirm as Lieutenants whoever was elected.<sup>31</sup> He then joined forces with Colonel Kimball before the stockade at Natalbany. The nondescript Natalbany garrison fled in wild disorder without the least show of resistance, while its leader, William Cooper, was killed in an attempt to escape. With these successes in the Ste. Helena district all opposition ceased, although about the middle of October there was an ineffectual attempt to stir up a mutiny at Baton Rouge and release de Lassus.<sup>32</sup>

After the successful termination of hostilities in the Ste. Helena district the convention got down to the business of creating a new nation. John Rhea, the president of the Convention,

28. General Thomas' report to Convention, October 9, 1810, Kuntz Collection.

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*

31. *Ibid.*

32. Cox, *op. cit.*, 412.

wrote a letter to President Madison in which he set forth the views of the convention on annexation by asking for "immediate protection to which we consider ourselves entitled."<sup>33</sup> While awaiting a reply from President Madison, who had long been interested in annexation,<sup>34</sup> the delegates appointed a committee of "Publick Safety" with powers to draft a constitution while the rest of the members were in recess.<sup>35</sup> Then on October 24, 1810, the convention reassembled and adopted a constitution, modeled on that of the United States, which provided for a committee of five to conduct the affairs of government.<sup>36</sup>

On November 10, 1810, Philemon Thomas was elected a member of the newly constituted senate.<sup>37</sup> While he was a member of the senate, he was authorized by the executive committee to assemble a force of 618 militia for instant service in any part of the territory.<sup>38</sup> This was in accordance with the plans to reduce Mobile and ultimately Pensacola and to incorporate them in the West Florida Republic. Reuben Kemper was placed in charge of the expeditionary forces to besiege Mobile while Philemon Thomas was placed in command of the army.

In the meantime President Madison directed William C. C. Claiborne, governor of the Territory of Orleans, to take possession of the West Florida district as a part of the Louisiana Purchase.<sup>39</sup> Fulwar Skipwith, president of the "Tom Thumb Republic," objected to this on the grounds that he had not yet been properly informed in regard to the wishes of the people in West Florida.<sup>40</sup>

33. Carter, *op. cit.*, 892; see also communication of The Governor of Mississippi Territory to the Secretary of State, Town of Washington, August 8, 1810, 891-892, in *ibid.*; Arthur, *op. cit.*, 122.

34. For the interest of the U. S. President and other governmental officials see Carter, *op. cit.*, 30-31, 56, 85-86, 151, 193-194, 216-217, 266-267, 883-884, 885, 898, *passim*; Rowland, *op. cit.*, V, *passim*; Arthur, *op. cit.*, 35-36.

35. The members of the Committee were John H. Johnson, Edmund Harris, and John Leonard. Arthur, *op. cit.*, 123-124.

36. *Ibid.*, 128

37. Cox, *op. cit.*, 432.

38. Orders to Thomas, November 12, 1810, in James A. Padgett, "The West Florida Revolution of 1810, as Told in the Letters of John Rhea, Fulwar Skipworth, Reuben Kemper, and Others," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly*, XXI (1938), 34-35.

39. The Secretary of State to the Governor of Mississippi Territory, October 30, 1810, in Carter, *op. cit.*, 901-902.

40. Skipwith to Madison, in Padgett, "The West Florida Revolution of 1810," *loc. cit.*, 74-75. The Governor of the Mississippi Territory, David Holmes, implies the same in his report to the Secretary of State. See Carter, *op. cit.*, 909-914.

Audley L. Osborne, in charge of some of the forces, maintained that opposition to occupation by United States forces was mainly the work of Skipwith and Philemon Thomas.<sup>41</sup> However, after little trouble Governor Holmes of the Mississippi Territory and Claiborne took possession of Baton Rouge and, in keeping with Madison's instructions, provided immediately for local government and organized the militia.<sup>42</sup>

Soon after the Americans had obtained Baton Rouge, Governor Claiborne conversed with Philemon Thomas, whom he dubbed "the ajax of the late revolution, who [has] always been esteemed an honest man." Thomas declared that the great object he had in view was now accomplished, and that he approved of the taking of the country by the United States.<sup>43</sup> West Florida had become a part of the United States at last and the stout little republic of West Florida, after a brief existence of seventy-four days, came to an end.

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41. Osborne expected trouble in Baton Rouge, as the people wanted to be treated as independent. Rowland, *op. cit.*, V, 51-53. Governor Holmes verifies this. See Carter, *op. cit.*, 901-902.
  42. The Governor of Mississippi Territory to the Secretary of State, Town of Washington, January 1, 1811, in Carter, *op. cit.*, 909-914; Ordinance of Governor Claiborne, January 4, 1811, in *ibid.*, 914-915.
  43. Claiborne to Secretary of State Robert Smith, December 17, 1810, Rowland, *op. cit.*, V, 56-58.

BOOK REVIEWS

*THE AUGUSTA CHRONICLE: Indomitable Voice of Dixie 1785-1960.* By Earl L. Bell and Kenneth C. Crabbe. (Athens, University of Georgia Press, 1960. xii, 273 pp. Illustrations, appendices, bibliography, and index. \$5.00.)

In 1856, during a lecture tour of the South, Thackeray wrote to a friend: "When I finished at Charlestown I went off to a queer little city called Augusta - a great broad street 2 miles long - old quaint looking shops . . . -- cows and negroes strolling about the sidewalks - plank roads - a happy dirty tranquility generally prevalent . . . I brought away a snug little purse from snug little Augusta. . . ."

At that time the "queer little city" had a long and honorable history, a population of about ten thousand, and a daily newspaper that traced its ancestry to a weekly founded in 1785. The *Augusta Chronicle*, now entering its 176th year of continuous publication, is the oldest newspaper in the South. Its evolution from an impoverished weekly with liberal tendencies to its present wealth, conservatism, and power is, with few exceptions, typical of the history of metropolitan journalism in the state and the region.

Thus this first book-length study of the *Chronicle* deserves attention. A definitive history of the paper, however, must await a writer who is skilled in the methods of historical research and sufficiently disinterested to take an objective view of his subject.

The authors of the present study, Earl Bell and Kenneth Crabbe, worked under one major handicap - their loyalty to Augusta's sister newspapers, the *Chronicle* and the *Herald*. Mr. Bell is a columnist and editorial writer for both; Mr. Crabbe is now associate editor of the *Herald*. It is easy to understand why their book occasionally smacks of promotion and publicity.

The authors are at their best in showing how the *Chronicle* has taken its stamp from its editors. In 1804 Editor Dermis Driscoll was calling a rival a "piney-woods pedagogue . . . who, from the poverty of his own talents, could not earn his salt for his mush." There were too few like Driscoll; and when in 1919 Tom Loyless left the paper, personal journalism was done. The *Chronicle* became more polite and less interesting.

The authors present a good case for the *Chronicle's* contributions to Augusta. Except for Editor Hamilton's "dream of river-control and development," Augusta would be a poorer city, periodically threatened by the flood waters of the Savannah. The *Chronicle* also has a distinguished record of service in such disasters as earthquake, fire, and flood. After the fire of 1892 a bone-tired editor wrote: "The *Chronicle* is in ashes; but here is the *Chronicle*."

There is little evidence, however, that the paper has given its city the courageous and enlightened leadership that Mark Etheridge and the *Telegraph* gave Macon or that Ralph McGill and the *Constitution* are giving Atlanta. The best example of a courageous editorial campaign in the *Chronicle* is Editor Loyless's attack on the bigotry that led to the lynching of Leo Frank. The authors seem equally proud of their paper's firm stand against integration. What they fail to see is that the *Chronicle's* attacks on the Supreme Court may be just as dangerous as the bigotry that Tom Loyless fought in 1915.

Readers are expected to take too much on faith. The authors call Pat Walsh a "great editor" and then neglect to document his greatness. They talk of the paper's "spark and dash" but give no examples to support their generalization. Even the case against the "thoroughly despicable" Civil War editor would be thrown out of court for lack of evidence.

For the most part the writing is competent, but here and there stylistic slips are showing. A man's body is a "frame;" a boy is a "youth of sixteen" or an "ambitious lad." An editor hurling himself into a battle for the right "thus forthrightly flew." "Near decade's end" and "newswise" stem from *Time* and Madison Avenue. But where did the authors conjure up this anticlimatic description of an excited city: "The town was all agog."

The writing reaches its nadir in the chapters on the present management of the *Chronicle*, vacillating uneasily between promotion copy and rural correspondence. Comforted to learn that a junior executive was "a participant in intramural swimming" in college, we are prepared for this optimistic prediction: "His associates foresee for him much success as he marches onward in his chosen field."

FRED SHAW

*University of Miami*

*Cora Crane: A Biography of Mrs. Stephen Crane.* By Lillian Gilkes. (Bloomington, Indiana University Press, 1960. 416 pp. Illustrations, appendices, notes on sources, index. \$6.75.)

In *Cora Crane* Lillian Gilkes has done a laborious job of working up the materials in Columbia University's Crane Collection and other sources to form a ponderous account of the career of Cora Howorth, or "Taylor" as she called herself, from the time when, at the age of thirty-one, she first met Stephen Crane, until her death in 1910. Of Cora's youth the biographer has been able to discover little except that she was born in Boston, lived with an aunt in New York, married and divorced a dry goods exporter named Murphy, and married and left a British officer named Stewart, who refused to give her a divorce.

Neither these facts nor her biographer explain how Cora came to Jacksonville, Florida, and attained the elevated social status of mistress at the plush Hotel de Dream (the author explains that she ". . . technically at any rate, was not a madam.") But the author of the *Red Badge of Courage* came to the famous sporting house and fell in love with her, and there is a detailed account of the three years she spent with him as "Mrs. Stephen Crane." She followed him to Greece and shared the dangers and hardships involved in reporting the Greco-Turkish War. After the war was over, they went to England and set up an establishment at Ravenscroft Villa in Oxted, Surrey. There Cora managed to keep Crane happy as she helped him with his manuscripts, fought off his creditors, and entertained friends, of whom the Cranes soon acquired a great many, for they entertained lavishly, far beyond their means in fact.

The pleasant, if somewhat hectic, stream of events at Ravenscroft was broken, however, when Stephen pulled out to go to Cuba and report the Spanish-American War there. Cora, left without adequate means of support, had a frantic time of it when her man managed to lose himself in Havana; it began to look as if he were not going to come back, but return he did and spent the rest of his brief life with Cora at Brede Place, a medieval country house in Sussex, far enough from London to give Stephen some relief from the hosts of free loading visitors who had cluttered up their life at Ravenscroft, but a pleasant place to entertain such literary friends as Henry James and H. C. Wells.

Here they gave a notable Christmas party, the highlight of which was a play written by Stephen, with the collaboration of each guest; Henry James, George Gissing, Joseph Conrad, and H. G. Wells were among the collaborators in the *Ghost*.

Such extravagant entertainment would have put an end to their life at Brede Place eventually, but the tuberculosis and other ailments ravaging Crane's slight body beat penury to it. As a last resort Cora took him off to Germany to the Black Forest, where he expired almost upon arrival. Cora made desperate efforts to live on in London as a respectable widow, but, failing to salvage enough from Stephen's literary remains, she returned to America, to Kentucky, where there is another hiatus in the record before she reappeared in Jacksonville, this time a full-fledged madam running two houses, the Court on Ward Street and Palmetto Lodge at the beach. It is a sordid tale of passion for men young enough to be her sons, and runs the whole gamut from farce to tragic melodrama. There is comedy in the little gifts her "girls" give her, her entertainment of the Tampa Shriners, the visit of Carry Nation, and the part her girls played in political campaigns; but there is nothing amusing about her marriage to the young alcoholic, Hammond McNeil, and the murder of Harry Parker.

Unfortunately the story is so poorly told that, despite the intrinsic interest of the materials, the book is hard reading; it is, however, valuable for the insight it gives into the gayer side of life in Jacksonville at the turn of the century, for the sidelights about British writers who befriended the Cranes, and for the help it will afford future biographers of Stephen Crane.

ROBERT S. WARD

*University of Miami*

*Opening the Case Against the U. S. De Soto Commission's Report, and other DeSoto Papers. Being a "Thoroughgoing Examination" of the Part in re Present Florida of the FINAL REPORT OF THE U. S. DESOTO EXPEDITION COMMISSION Vicariously Sponsored by the 75th Congress, 1st Session.* By Warren Hager Wilkinson. (Jacksonville Beach, Florida, Alliance for the Preservation of Florida Antiquities, 1960. 93 pp. Maps. \$3.00.)

This is a very controversial study. It is something that a reviewer does not like to touch. But I am completely removed from the controversy and have no feeling for the whole matter. I consider myself a bonafide historian of Spanish Florida, and therefore I have no qualms in reviewing this booklet. And in order to avoid meaningless cliches or cover-up phrases I am going to be brutally frank. Anyhow, whatever I say will make some interested parties take issue.

Unfortunately, early Florida history has been used by regional and divers commercial interests for their own benefit. This has given origin to wild claims and ridiculous rivalries. These special interests, often unacquainted with correct historical procedures, try to resurrect from the past the impossible. Any trained historian knows that you can never totally reconstruct any past event. You can hope for the best but never for everything. Consequently the interests often resort to outright historical fraud. And unfortunately more than one trained scholar has succumbed to their bribes.

Mr. Wilkinson, the author of the booklet, strongly implies that the well-known Dr. John R. Swanton was corrupted when he inspired, or wrote, the famous *Final Report of the United States De Soto Expedition Commission* in 1939. This report made De Soto land in the Tampa Bay area. Mr. Wilkinson, apparently dedicated to Fort Myers (see pp. 37 and 75), strongly-if not violently-believes that De Soto and his men went ashore in the vicinity of Fort Myers.

A careful reading - which indeed requires effort and will power - of the Wilkinson study creates in me a rather detached feeling. Author Wilkinson unquestionably has some sharp points in his favor. This is because Swanton had been rather hasty and dogmatic in his findings, which is certainly a most unwelcome combination for a scholar. But by Mr. Wilkinson's violence toward Mr. Swanton and everyone who has disagreed with him, Wilkinson, certainly weakens those constructive points he has to make. The author emerges as an author radically devoted to the Fort Myers theory. He throws undirected punches at everyone who takes an issue with him or fails to rally to his view. It is quite possible that a good lawyer could find in this publication grounds for libel proceedings. But Swanton is dead today.

The constructive points of the Wilkinson study, such as better

navigational deduction, improved translations of crucial words, and the like, are lost to the reader because of erratic organization. To this must be added interposition of trivial matters, and a style that lacks fundamental elements of clarity. The Wilkinson study is not only a difficult challenge to the reader, but what a challenge to an experienced editor! In sum, the merits of this study, and it has merits, are buried. I would recommend that anyone interested in this subject read this book.

Neither authors Wilkinson nor Swanton have convinced me that De Soto and his expedition landed near Tampa or Fort Myers. But then I am a historian interested in the whole sweep rather than in local historical minutiae. I fail to find it important whether De Soto landed around the Tampa-Bradenton area or about ninety miles farther south at the mouth of the Caloosahatchee. It certainly will not discredit Tampa, St. Petersburg, Palmetto, Bradenton, Sarasota, Punta Gorda, and Fort Myers if Sr. De Soto did not land in one or another of their respective neighborhoods in 1539. It suffices to say that De Soto - as a leader of an important expedition which is a glorious chapter in American history - landed in today's Florida on its populous West Coast, somewhere between Estero Bay and the old Tampa Bay. Naturally this does not preclude that eventually we might be able to narrow down the area of landing. Professors John Goggin and Ripley Bullen, well qualified archaeologists of the University of Florida, and Mr. David True of Miami have all studied this problem in a far more tolerant atmosphere, possessing no commercial or geographical interest or bias. I believe I am justified in saying that all three are aware of weaknesses in the Swanton thesis. Academic corrections take time and require a studious attitude, plus moderation. In the meanwhile Florida history will not be at all disreputed if we cannot pinpoint exactly the 1539 landing spot of Hernando de Soto.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

*State University of Iowa*

*Herbs, Hoecakes and Husbandry! The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South.* Edited by Weymouth T. Jordan. *Florida State Universities Studies* No. 34, (Tallahassee, The Florida State University, 1960, 137 pp. Index. \$3.00.)

This interesting document of the old South has contents as miscellaneous as its title. An introductory chapter gives something of the life of Martin Marshall, the author of the daybook which makes up the main part of the volume. This chapter notes Marshall's birth in South Carolina and his move to Fort Claiborne, Alabama, in 1815. Marshall was a mechanic, a blacksmith, a weaver, and a small planter—hardly “aristocracy” in any sense of the word. He was a poor business man who hoped to do better in a new area, Alabama, where he became a planter of the “middling” sort. The biographical information is rather skimpy, but a few editorial comments on Southern society will be helpful to the general reader.

This reviewer agrees with the editor that the book is “significant because of the informative, interesting, and thought-provoking light that it throws on the every-day practicabilities of human existence.” Editing is minimal, though usually adequate. A usable index adds to the book's value. The order of the entries in the original daybook has been rearranged generally by subjects.

There is a chapter on helpful household hints such as how to make artificial mahogany, an ant trap, to clean cloth and paper, to mend broken china, and methods “for Preventing the Flea Infesting Persons” and “To Prevent Bed Bugs” that were very practical in Marshall's society. The concern with making, cleaning, and dyeing cloth doubtless reflects Marshall's background as a weaver.

In the receipts for food and drink are several that could still be used today. Certainly “Cheap and Agreeable Beer” made of fifteen gallons of water, one gallon of molasses, and “a little Yeast” (p. 51) is cheaper than most commercial brew today. A “Diet Drink or Beer” made of “Pine tops of the Short Straw, China brier root, Red root, Sassafras root, Holly root or leaves, Molasses or Sugar, Yeast of Corn Meal” (p. 51) should be interesting when “fermented sufficiently.” But the brandy recipe which begins “To a barrel containing 30 gallons of Whiskey. . . .” (p. 46) is hardly practical today.

After the food and drink comes, as so often it does in real life, home remedies and “medical cures.” One wonders if Marshall suffered from rheumatism, as he includes sixteen cures for that disease which still baffles modern science. Such a beginning as “Be assured it is Cancer, or try some other measure” with no in-

structions as to how one could "be assured" indicates the trouble of the diagnostician then as now. Or to "Cure a Sore Leg," with no indication as to the type of soreness, one is advised to use a jelly made of "Cows urine" and "If the bone is affected, cut it off, if necessary." Simple and direct, but not very reassuring! Modern science has destroyed our faith in such items as "To Cure Baldness, Rub the part morning and evening with onions until it is red, and rub it afterwards with honey." Sometimes Marshall indicates lack of complete faith in the efficiency of the cures he records. Many similar cures are still used today with as much faith as in ante-bellum Alabama.

The chief value of this volume lies in its preserving and documenting customs and practices known in a general way to the historian. It will make interesting reading to the professional and lay historian alike.

KENNETH COLEMAN

*University of Georgia*

*Searching for Your Ancestors; The How and Why of Genealogy.*

By Gilbert H. Doane. Third edition. (Minneapolis, University of Minnesota Press, 1960. Appendices, index. 198 pp. \$3.95.)

Gilbert H. Doane has enlarged upon his former works designed to assist others in searching for their ancestors. The matter is most easily read and contains much of gentle humor.

The quotation from Pierre Erendell on his title page deserves particular attention. "Think not that the nobilitie of your Ancesters doth free you to doe all that you list, contrarywise, it bindeth you more to follow vertue." And, one is reminded throughout in semiseriousness of what Anthony Trollope says about Miss Thorne. "Genealogy was her favorite insanity."

Difficulty in maintaining a continuity of a name is aptly related. In the Piedmont region of the Carolinas and Georgia one finds the French name Bouchet spelled Busha. The people bearing the name gave up the struggle with their English neighbors to have their name correctly pronounced. And, then in that same area, one always finds Jonah pronounced Joney and similarly, Agatha, Gaithey.

Another of his thirteen chapters, entitled "How to Search among the Relatives," describes the futility many have experienced in this effort. Recently the writer obtained a printed genealogy of one of his ascendant lines and found in the book a letter written to Tennessee from California, pleading with a Tennessee cousin to have the graveyard at Shelbyville inspected for tombstone inscriptions. He had discovered a discrepancy in the printed genealogy. The letter is dated April 3, 1927, and I have grave doubts if the distant cousin in California ever received a reply.

Mr. Doane reminds his reader again and again to rely only on the written record. My great grandfather told his son, a meticulous investigator, that he had been graduated from a certain school in Virginia. Upon investigation, it was found that he had attended that school only a few months. The old man, who was a Baptist preacher, was just elaborating a little on his youthful experiences of forty or fifty years before.

No one but a person who has spent time and has experienced the handling of old records could give such a graphic description of what is involved in "blowing the dust off the town records."

Genealogists and historical organizations should find some practical and effectual means of reviving inscriptions on cemetery markers. We recently visited the pre-revolutionary cemetery at Midway, Georgia, and it was distressing to see how the lettering has been worn away by the centuries. One is constantly hoping that the young people attending churches near old graveyards will notice an old gravestone toppled over and take enough interest to spend an hour in properly replacing it.

The author's repetition of the old adage "Where there is a Will, there's a Way," is well used but he has also indicated that a person must be "thoroughly inoculated with the genealogical virus," or his efforts will flag. If, however, a person is "tetched with the virus he's a goner."

What may be found in the church records, and the opportunities for help from the United States Government, particularly the census, from the several state and county governments, is well presented.

It will be surprising to many that 200,000 lineages have been filed and preserved in the D.A.R. archives in Memorial Continental Hall in Washington. Mr. Doane says that "Since 1890 when the Daughters of the American Revolution was organized

more digging for ancestors has probably resulted from the desire to belong to this organization than has come about through any other impetus.”

The arranging of a genealogy is of prime importance. The several methods of arrangement are ably presented. To begin with a living individual and spread upwards and backwards for ancestors seems the best plan, since few individuals are so connected that they are pre-eminently interested in only one ancestor many generations removed.

Mr. Doane also includes a discussion of the change in the calendar to the Gregorian, and the very difficult question of what terms of relationship have meant at various times and at different places. For instance, “ ‘Brother’ is a trick term. Sometimes it meant blood brother, sometimes stepbrother, sometimes brother-in-law, and frequently ‘brother in the church’, as it is still used in some evangelical sects.” The discussion of coat of arms, bound boys, and orphans is most informative.

A short discussion of crossing the Atlantic to find ancestors is the last chapter.

Altogether, this book is one which those interested in their ancestors would do well to study.

ADAM G. ADAMS

*Coral Gables*

## NEWS AND NOTES

### *County Centennials*

The celebration of Polk County's centennial this year has come about through several year's work on the part of the County Centennial Committee and local cooperating agencies. Another issue of this *Quarterly* will carry a full report of the events.

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On February 8, 1861, Baker County was created by an act of the legislature and named in honor of Circuit Judge James Baker. The county was formed from a portion of New River County and the name of the remaining part of New River was changed to Bradford. Thus New River, created in 1858, disappeared as a separate country in 1861. Plans have been made for celebrating the Baker County centennial during this year.

One other county's anniversary, though not a centennial, falls in 1961. This year marks Pinellas' 50th anniversary.

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### *The Southern Historical Association*

Dr. Rembert W. Patrick was elected vice president of the Association last year and will succeed to the presidency in 1962 when the group holds its annual meeting at the Fountainebleau Hotel in Miami Beach.

Other Floridians who have served as president of this group are Dr. Robert S. Cotterill (1948) and Dr. Kathryn A. Hanna (1953).

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### *The National Park Service*

A small library of books pertaining to the period of French colonization in America is being established at Fort Caroline National Memorial, near Jacksonville, by museum officials and Congressman Charles E. Bennett. Among the books already secured are *History of Huguenot Emigration*, by Charles E. Baird; *Les Refugies Huguenots en Amerique*, by Gilbert Chinard; and *The Florida of the Inca*, by Garcilaso de la Vega.

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The last issue of this *Quarterly* carried an article on the

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National Historic Sites Registry. In December, announcement was made of 70 additional sites which have been declared eligible for listing in the Registry, but none of these are in Florida. The sites are selected on the basis of exceptional historic and archeological value, and point up special "theme studies" in the Park Service series which covers all the major periods of human history in America. The studies which have been selected follow.

- I. Prehistoric Hunters and Gatherers
- II. Early Indian Farmers
- III. Indian Villages and Communities
- IV. Spanish Exploration and Settlement
  - Spanish Colonial Sites in the Panama Canal Zone
- V. French Exploration and Settlement
- VI. English Exploration and Settlement to 1700
- VII. Dutch and Swedish Exploration and Settlement
- VIII. Contact with the Indians
- IX. Development of the English Colonies, 1700-1775
- X. The War for Independence
- XI. The Advance of the Frontier, 1763-1830
  - Subtheme: The Lewis and Clark Expedition
  - Special Study: Lincoln State Park and Nancy Hanks Lincoln State Memorial
- XII. Political and Military Affairs, 1783-1830
- XIII. Political and Military Affairs, 1830-1860
- XIV. The Civil War, 1861-1865
- XV. Westward Expansion and Extension of the National Boundaries to the Pacific, 1830-1898 with a number of special themes and studies
- XVI. Indigenous Peoples and Cultures
- XVII. Commerce, Industry and Agriculture
- XVIII. Travel and Communication
- XIX. Development and Conservation of Natural Resources
- XX. The Arts and Sciences (with several subthemes)
- XXI. Political and Military Affairs after 1865
  - Special studies: Fort DeSoto; Hawaii; Alaska
- XXII. Social and Humanitarian Movements.

For additional information, write Fred Sarles, Historian, National Park Service, St. Augustine.

*National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections-  
Library of Congress*

The dream of scholars, librarians, archivists, and curators of manuscripts for more than half a century is being realized. The Council on Library Resources, Inc. in November 1958 made a grant of \$200,000 to the Library of Congress for the purpose of creating a National Union Catalog of Manuscript Collections. The money was made available for (1) gathering the essential data from the many diverse types of repositories in the nation; (2) editing these data; (3) preparing catalog entries according to the standard catalog rules; (4) printing cards for the entries and furnishing each participating institution with the printed cards for its reported collections; and (5) establishing in the Library of Congress a national union catalog in dictionary form of all such collections.

The project became fully operational in April, 1959. To date approximately 500 libraries have offered their cooperation in supplying data on their collections. Material already has been received from slightly more than 200 repositories. Some 2,000 reports are on hand awaiting cataloging.

Further information on the project will be gladly supplied by Dr. Lester K. Born, Head, Manuscripts Section, Descriptive Cataloging Division, Library of Congress, Washington 25, D. C.

*The American Association for State and Local History*

Clement M. Silvestro, director of the American Association for State and Local History, Madison, Wisconsin, has announced that the Association will award \$1,000 each year to the author of the unpublished manuscript in local history that makes the most distinguished contribution to United States or Canadian historiography. The first award will be made in 1961.

In addition to the \$1,000 prize, the Association has established a grant-in-aid program for significant *research* projects in local history. Both programs will be administered by the new Research and Publication Committee of the Association.

Clifford L. Lord, professor of history and Dean of the School of General Studies at Columbia University, is chairman of the Research and Publications Committee. Lord was director of the State Historical Society of Wisconsin from 1946 until 1958.

Among the members of the committee are Professors George Anderson, University of Kansas; Robert Athearn, University of Colorado; William C. Binkley, Tulane University; Gilbert Fite, University of Oklahoma; Joseph Frantz, University of Texas; Paul W. Gates, Cornell University; Oscar Handlin, Harvard University; William B. Hesseltine, University of Wisconsin; John Hicks, University of California; E. C. Kirkland, Thetford Linguistic Center; James Olsen, University of Nebraska; Rembert W. Patrick, University of Florida; Richard H. Shryock, American Philosophical Society; J. Duane Squires, Colby Junior College; and Wendell Stephenson, University of Oregon.

Also serving on the committee are Dean Roy F. Nichols, University of Pennsylvania; Frederick L. Rath, New York State Association; James H. Rodabaugh, Ohio Historical Society; and Clement M. Silvestro.

The committee will determine which of the manuscripts submitted in the competition shall receive the \$1,000 award. The award will convey to the Association the presumption of first publication rights to the manuscript.

The association may accept for publication other meritorious manuscripts submitted in the competition, but only one award of \$1,000 will be made each year. If the committee deems no manuscript worthy of the award in any year, no prize will be granted. Manuscripts must be scholarly in character and literary merit will be an important consideration.

This award has been established in the belief that local history can make a major contribution to American and Canadian historiography as a vital supplement to the broader interpretation of national or international history. Significant regional and community studies - the scholarly investigation of what happened, why it happened, who made it happen, and its relationship to trends and events elsewhere - can add greatly to an understanding of the nature and operation of the American experiment.

Research grants made under the new grant-in-aid program will be limited to necessary travel expenses, photocopy and clerical assistance, and similar items, specifically excluding compensation in lieu of salary. The president of the Association will make these grants on recommendation of the Research and Publication Committee. Condition of such grants shall be first publication rights.

Further information regarding either program may be obtained from Clement M. Silvestro, Director, American Association for State and Local History, 816 State Street, Madison 6, Wisconsin.

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*News of Historical Societies*

Congratulations to the Palm Beach Historical Society on the initiation of a membership news letter. The first issue, December 1, 1960, tells of the installation of the group's collection at the Henry Morrison Flagler Museum in Palm Beach and the cataloging of a growing library of Floridiana by member Ben S. Roberts. Recently a full set of the Florida Historical Quarterly was given to the society.

Mrs. William C. Williams spoke at the December meeting on pioneer life in the area and especially in Delray Beach, when it was a small settlement known as "Linton."

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Daniel B. Beard, Chief, Division of Interpretation, National Park Service, spoke on "History, Parks and The American People" at the January meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida.

The association participated in the dedication of a marker, placed by the National Park Service, honoring Dr. Samuel A. Mudd at Key West in March.

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The General Duncan L. Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island has secured copies of *The Fernandina Guide* published by the WPA. Copies of this delightful little book are available for \$1.25 from President William L. Webb, Fernandina Beach.

T. T. Wentworth, Jr., Pensacola, a member of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, spoke before the Amelia Island Society on the history of the Fernandina area at a recent meeting.

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At the annual business meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society in January, J. T. Van Campen was re-elected to the presidency. Serving with him will be Albert C. Manucy, vice president and chairman of the board; Mrs. Max Kettner, secretary; Otis E. Barnes, treasurer; Luis R. Arana, librarian; and the

following directors: Frank D. Upchurch, W. W. Wilson, Mrs. Ralph W. Cooper, and W. I. Drysdale. Other members of the board of directors are: Milton E. Bacon, Norton Baskin, R. A. Speissegger, X. L. Pellicer, W. J. Winter, and David R. Dunham.

The society recently marked with a bronze plaque the Old Curiosity Shop on St. George Street. Other plaques and markers on order or planned will mark the Oldest House, the Triay House, the Tovar House, and the Fornells House (the Gun Shop).

FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

CONTRIBUTORS

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HENRY EUGENE STERKX and BROOKS THOMPSON are Associate Professors of History at Troy State College.

