

# STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 42  
Number 2 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 42,*  
*Number 2*

Article 1

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1963

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 42, Issue 2

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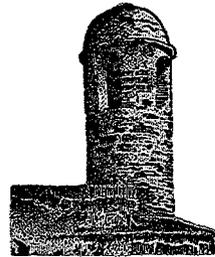
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### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1963) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 42, Issue 2," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 42 : No. 2 , Article 1.

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*The*  
*Florida*  
*Historical*  
*Quarterly*

OCTOBER  
1963

*Published by*  
THE FLORIDA  
HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

THE HISTORICAL SOCIETY OF FLORIDA, 1856  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, successor, 1902  
THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, incorporated, 1905  
by GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS, FRANCIS P. FLEMING, GEORGE  
W. WILSON, CHARLES M. COOPER, JAMES P. TALIAFERRO,  
V. W. SHIELDS, WILLIAM A. BLOUNT, GEORGE P. RANEY.

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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS

*Saint Augustine, April, 1857.*

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# THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

VOLUME XLII

OCTOBER, 1963

NUMBER 2

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OFFICE OF PUBLICATION, CONVENTION PRESS, JACKSONVILLE, FLORIDA

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FLORIDA'S FIRST RAILROAD COMMISSION,  
1887-1891

(Part I)

*by* DURWARD LONG

**T**HE PURCHASE OF FOUR MILLION ACRES of land from the State of Florida by Hamilton Disston at the rate of \$.25 an acre brought with it several important developments. Funds received by the state from this purchase enabled the trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to free state land from litigation which had prevented the sale of land under their control. After the sale, the trustees were free once more to extend land grants to railroad companies. The practical effect was a great increase in railroad construction in the years following. Between 1880 and 1888 the mileage of track increased more than four times over, from 519 to 2,326 miles. Many railroad companies, small and weak initially, overextended themselves and were forced into bankruptcy or consolidation. Struggling to prevent financial ruin, the railroads charged high rates on seasonal products in areas where there was no competition and low rates in towns where other carriers fought for a share of the trade. Certain larger shippers were given rebates or lower rates than the small customer. Intrastate rates were raised to a nearly prohibitive level in order to balance the low interstate charges where competition was sharpest. In addition to grievances over these practices, farmers and businessmen alike complained that the services of the carriers were irregular and poor. Other states had responded to similar problems in the post Civil War era by creating a regulatory body called in most states a railroad commission. By 1886 at least twenty-five states had such an agency; five others regulated by legislation. The federal government followed suit in 1887 by establishing the Interstate Commerce Commission, authorized to regulate railroad traffic and practices.

Florida made several weak attempts to regulate railroads

before turning to the commission plan.<sup>1</sup> The 1866 Legislature enacted a measure prohibiting railroad discrimination against other rail companies or against people of any one locality in favor of another community. In 1879 any passenger rate above \$.03 a mile was declared illegal by the legislature. The maximum charge for passengers was raised to \$.05 in 1881 by the legislature in order to help railroads prevent bankruptcy. Problems of over-expansion, weak capitalization, and long and short haul rate discrepancies plagued the railroads and persuaded many Floridians in the 1880's that more effective means of regulation had to be devised.

The friends of the railroads were successful in delaying regulation in the early 1880's. They successfully pushed eighteen railroad measures through the 1883 legislature. In the same year, the pro-railroad group killed a bill considered by the senate committee on railroads and telegraphs which would have created a regulatory commission. The committee majority reported that railroad commissions were to correct two evils, unjust and unreasonable rates and unjust discrimination against persons or localities. They reasoned, therefore, that since these evils did not exist in Florida, there was no need for a commission. Nevertheless, Senator John H. McKinne of the third district, in West Florida, drafted a minority report claiming that complaints against the evils of unjust rates and discrimination were common. McKinne criticized the favored position of railroads in Florida's land policy and their special privilege in the state in general. The West Florida senator was unable to win any support for his position. When the final vote came, only four other Democrats and one Republican supported him and his report.<sup>2</sup>

The commission issue was projected into the governor's race the following year. The Republican candidate, Jonathan G. Greely, a railroad president and state senator from Jacksonville, endorsed the idea of a railroad commission. Frank Pope, the Independent Democrats' candidate, also sponsored railroad regulation, asserting during the campaign that railroads should be the servants of the people. The regular Democratic candidate, Edward

1. See Mildred White McCullough, "Legislative Regulation of Florida Railroads, 1845-1897" (unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State College for Women [Florida State University], 1940).

2. Edward C. Williamson, "The Era of the Democratic County Leader in Florida Politics, 1877-1893" (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Pennsylvania, 1954), 175. Hereinafter cited as "Florida Politics".

A. Perry, did not strongly commit himself either way. Perhaps the fact that he was supported by William D. Chipley, the most influential railroad man in Florida politics in 1884, was influential in Perry's noncommittal stand.<sup>3</sup>

Though Perry was elected governor, the issue of a railroad commission was by no means settled. When the Constitutional Convention met in 1885, Joseph M. Tolbert of Columbia County offered a measure creating a railroad commission. Tolbert's supporters were unable to muster sufficient strength to secure its adoption. They were successful, however, in passing a provision which became Section 30 of Article 16 of the new Constitution, a section which empowered the legislature to pass laws "to prevent abuses, discriminations, and excessive charges by common carriers." The language of the Constitution on that point was permissive but a following section was mandatory in that it required legislation to prohibit by suitable penalties the granting or receiving of free passes by persons and railroad companies to any member of the state government.

The first legislature meeting under the new Constitution of 1885 assembled in April, 1887. Prior to that time, several newspapers in the state had called the public's attention to subjects which required legislative action under the new document, one being railroad regulation. A Jacksonville paper related that the legislature was invested with full power to pass laws to correct abuses of which the railroads were guilty and, without doubt, this investment included authority to establish a railroad commission.<sup>4</sup> Governor Edward A. Perry, in addressing the law-making body at the beginning of its session, recommended effective regulation of the railroads as one of its tasks. Perry's speech both praised the railroads as the "greatest factor in Florida's progress," and invoked the State's duty to protect the people and to insure their expectation of reasonable rates. While asserting that the interests of the railroads and the people were "to a greater extent than is generally imagined identical," the Governor proposed that both interests would be served by proper regulation "before antagonism becomes so bitter that vituperation and abuse supplant arguments and deliberation and passion and prejudice warp

3. Edward C. Williamson, "William D. Chipley, West Florida's Mr. Railroad," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXV (April, 1947), 338; also, Williamson, "Florida Politics," 183 ff.

4. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 1, 1887.

judgment, blunt reason and dethrone justice." Nevertheless, Governor Perry said, "any effort to destroy, cripple, or oppress these great interests would be a token willingness to turn back the wheels of progress, to sacrifice the best interests of the State and people, to trample upon every principle of right and ignore every dictate of justice."<sup>5</sup> The state's executive went on to request that calm and deliberate counsel be exercised to defend every right, whether of the people, the corporations, or the interests of the state. Both the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* and the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, so infrequently in agreement, endorsed that part of the Governor's address.<sup>6</sup>

One example of the prejudice and passion feared by Governor Perry and the railroads was seen in the *Fort Myers Press*. The editor, referring to the railroad companies' practice of exacting subsidies and grants from cities and towns in return for building railroads through them, charged the railroads with attempting to get pay in advance. They did so, said the editor, "in the fashion of the old robber barons exacting ransom from beleaguered cities." Accusing the carriers of having morality no higher than that of a brigand, the writer warned, "someday the people may be able to throttle them [the railroads] sufficiently so as to improve their moral status to some small extent."<sup>7</sup>

Acting on the Governor's recommendation and without any obvious obstruction by the railroad interests, the legislature of 1887 proceeded to consider regulatory measures. A variety of railroad commission bills was introduced in both houses. A joint committee was selected to work out a measure satisfactory to both chambers. It is a mystery why the railroads failed to put up a significant open fight to prevent regulatory action by the legislature. One historian, Edward G. Williamson, suggests that it was because of the absence of the leadership of William A. Hocker, a strong pro-railroad legislator who had previously led the fight for the companies but who was no longer in the legislature.<sup>8</sup> Was it also because the railroads and their supporters realized that regulation would come soon in Florida as it had in many other states and that they wished to "guide" such legislation when it came? It seems that this may be one interpretation of the Gov-

5. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 7, 1887.

6. *Ibid.*; Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, April 7, 1887.

7. *Fort Myers Press*, July 11, 1885.

8. Williamson, "Florida Politics," 256.

ernor's message to the legislature. It could also be that several of the small railroads actually desired regulation if it would prohibit some of the ruthless competitive practices of the larger, more powerful companies which were forcing the smaller rails into bankruptcy or consolidation. Probably some felt that mild regulation would fail to harm their companies significantly and would serve to prevent harsher restriction in the future. Perhaps the reason for little, if any, violent opposition was simpler: the commission idea had overwhelming popular support.

Whatever the reason for little noticeable resistance, there were those who viewed the lack of it as suspicious. The *Ocala Star Banner* pointed out on April 8, 1887, that Major Conant, president of the Florida Southern Railroad, was in favor of a railroad commission. Conant's endorsement of the creation of an agency which would act as an arbitration board from which appeals would be possible was discussed by the *Palatka Daily News* as an ominous portent. The editor wrote: "It looks suspicious to find all the roads endorsing what professes to be a movement against them in the interests of the people." He warned his readers that the attempt to fight corporations must end first or last in the defeat of those who try new weapons (such as a commission). The journalist concluded that it was not singular that "all our railroad magnates should endorse the State commission advocated by the *Times-Union*." <sup>9</sup>

One citizen, F. M. McMeekin of McMeekin, in Putnam County, expressed his views on a railroad commission by writing to a state senator other than the one representing his district. McMeekin's opinion was that the legislature should not create a commission, for one was unnecessary. He suggested that the legislature set the maximum rates by statute. McMeekin's main grievance against a commission was the cost of "\$10,000 annually in salaries." The legislature should regulate by a general law and leave it to the courts to enforce it. A commission would probably discourage investment in railroads and, therefore, delay railroad expansion. <sup>10</sup> One editor, contemporary of McMeekin, warned that "a railroad commission is like a wife. It may be the greatest blessing or the direst curse." He admonished the ambitious legisla-

9. *Ocala Star Banner*, April 8, 1887.

10. McMeekin's letter was published in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, April 21, 1887.

ture to do some good thinking on the matter lest they be penalized by the people.<sup>11</sup>

The legislature was convinced, nonetheless, that the creation of a railroad commission was a generally popular measure and was needed. When the product of the joint committee's labors was introduced in the two houses in its essential form there was little opposition. Minor skirmishing took place in the senate over amendments. One measure proposed to make the commission elective rather than appointive, but was defeated. Another amendment which was approved, provided for a board of revisers to which appeals from the commission's decisions could be taken. The senate then approved the railroad commission bill as amended by a vote of nineteen yeas and only three nays (Kelley, Neal, and Orman).<sup>12</sup> In the house, Representative Johns of Bradford County attempted but lost an amendment providing that the power of the commission's decisions would not be construed to prevent either party in a suit from appealing the decision of the reviewing board to the Florida Supreme Court. The senate's version of the commission law was passed without an opposition vote in the house.<sup>13</sup>

The measure approved by the legislature was patterned after the Georgia commission law. It provided for a commission of three members appointed by the governor. The initial appointments were for staggered terms, one for two years, one for three years, and one for four years. After the first appointments, all terms would be for four years. The appointees had to be approved by the Florida senate and were entitled to a compensation of \$2,500 annually plus rail fare. Commissioners could not hold in any manner any railroad stock or bonds, be an agent or employee of any rail company, nor have any interest in anyway in any railroad during the term of office. The body was empowered to establish passenger and freight rates for each railway doing business in the state. The law required the commission to set regulations for companies and to investigate the records of railroad companies to ascertain whether official rates, schedules, and regulations were

11. *Palatka Daily News*, April 9, 1887.

12. *Florida Senate Journal* (1887), 859; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, May 19, 1887.

13. *Florida House Journal* (1887), 841, 857-58. The *Florida Times-Union*, during the month of April, 1887, carried at least eight lengthy columns describing commissions in other states and making suggestions for Florida.

being observed. The corporations were also required to submit all agreements and contracts between themselves as well as all arrangements relating to division of earnings of any kind by competing carriers. Those dissatisfied with the rates set by the commission were to make protest to that body after which a hearing would be scheduled within twenty days. Should no relief come from such a hearing, appeal could be made to the board of revisers, consisting of the comptroller, secretary of state, commissioner of agriculture, attorney-general, and the treasurer.<sup>14</sup> The commission was given power to initiate suits through the office of the state attorney or the attorney general against any companies guilty of violation and who refused to recompense for such violation within thirty days of the commission's notice to that company. The law provided a penalty, to be set by the presiding judge, of not less than \$100 nor more than \$4,000 for each offense. Fines were to be paid to the county treasurer of the county in which the violation occurred and in which the State had initiated the suit. These funds would then be used for county schools, according to the terms of the statute. The commission was also empowered to subpoena witnesses who could be fined not less than \$100 and not more than \$5,000 if they refused to appear. Furthermore, railroads were required to adopt uniform classifications, and to issue duplicate receipts to shippers clearly stating the class or classes of freight and the charges made.<sup>15</sup>

The act creating a regulatory agency was just one of several laws attempting to curb railroads passed by the legislature in 1887. A law was approved which prohibited railroads giving transportation at less than the regular price to any delegate to or member of any political convention in the state. Still another enactment required railroads to fence their tracks or pay damage for stock killed on them. One statute prohibited the consolidation of parallel or competing railroad companies and another made all money and property of railroad companies in the hands of

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14. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, June 9, 1887, expressed the opinion that the appellate provision was a considerable improvement on other states' commissions, particularly the Georgia body. The Jacksonville paper had reservations, however, in that the board of revisers was composed entirely of elective officials, which was bound to involve politics.

15. The entire law is included in each annual report of the commission. The main source for the above information was *Second Annual Report of the Florida Railroad Commission* (Tallahassee, 1889), 186-194.

their officers liable to garnishment for judgments. These measures seemed not to have discouraged railroads, however, for the same legislature which enacted the restrictive measures also approved several charters to incorporate additional railroad companies and to permit expansion of others.<sup>16</sup> After praising the commission law and stating it was by far the most important one of the legislative session, one editor prophesied that its effectiveness depended far less on provisions of the statute than the men who would be appointed to carry them out.<sup>17</sup> Though Governor Perry approved the commission bill on June 7, 1887, it was not until August that he announced his appointments.

The appointees were George G. McWhorter of Milton, former Chief Justice of the Florida Supreme Court who had resigned that office on June 30, 1887;<sup>18</sup> Enoch J. Vann of Madison, an ex-circuit judge; and William Himes of Webster, Sumter County, a farmer and former member of the legislature. The *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian* responded to the appointments with praise for the wisdom of the Governor. The editor was confident that "the vast and important interests committed to their care will be carefully guarded and judiciously administered."<sup>19</sup> The *Gainesville Daily Advocate* agreed that Berry had displayed sound judgment in his selections. The *Daily Advocate*, like the *Weekly Floridian*, felt sure that the men appointed would discharge their duties fearlessly and that the interests of the people were in safe hands.<sup>20</sup> The *Palatka Daily News* said: "With two lawyers of the best repute and a farmer and businessman of acknowledged shrewdness and ability upon it, the Board should be able to reach sound conclusions and satisfactory results."<sup>21</sup> The *Times-Union* was also pleased with the appointments, particularly since the editor could refer to a previous issue in which McWhorter had been suggested as a likely chairman for the commission.<sup>22</sup>

The *Ocala Star Banner* was not so charitable in its appraisal of the appointments to the railroad commission. The editor, im-

16. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, June 16, July 21, 1887.

17. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 1, 4, 1887.

18. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, upon McWhorter's resignation, had recommended his appointment to head the new regulatory agency. See August 4, 1887, issue.

19. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, August 4, 1887.

20. Quoted in *ibid.*, August 11, 1887.

21. *Palatka Daily News*, August 4, 1887.

22. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, August 4, 1887.

plying that McWhorter was unwilling to apply himself diligently, prophesied that if the position required him to write out opinions and be kept as busy as a school-master solving difficult problems he would soon resign. Turning next to Vann, the editor mused that the Governor could not have had much of an opinion of his ability since he had so recently replaced him on the bench with John F. White of Live Oak. The Ocala journalist guessed that Vann's appointment was designed to quiet the cries of his many friends who had strenuously objected to the Governor's removal of Vann from the bench. As for Himes, despite the fact that the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*<sup>23</sup> called him the most important member of the Florida legislature of 1885, the Ocala editor caustically asserted that he was of such little importance that his county failed to return him to the legislature and that when his appointment was made few newspapers even remembered ever hearing of him. The *Star Banner's* editorial claimed that a place on the commission should have gone to John H. McKinne if West Florida were entitled to a member. After all, wrote the editor, McKinne was the "father of the bill who stood almost alone in its advocacy for years and who, no doubt, gave the subject years of careful and diligent study. . . ." <sup>24</sup> The *Times-Union* of Jacksonville replied to that suggestion by reminding the Ocala paper of Section 5 of Article III of the Florida Constitution which prohibited the appointment of a legislator to an office created during his term of service. <sup>25</sup> The Ocala editor opined that certainly Jacksonville, as the metropolis and a main channel of trade, merited a member on the commission and perhaps the railroads, too, should have had a member appointed from their ranks. Doubting that any member appointed by the Governor had any practical knowledge of the business upon which he would act, the editor failed to see where the Governor, as other newspapers put it, had "covered himself with a crown of glory." <sup>26</sup>

The *Palatka Daily News* was still unconvinced that the commission was a good thing, despite its many supporters. The editor charged that the cry of demagogues had combined with honest ignorance to produce the law. Furthermore, the only defense its supporters had was a plea to "look to Georgia." The editorial

23. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 11, 1887.

24. *Ocala Star Banner*, August 12, 1887.

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, August 15, 1887.

26. *Ocala Star Banner*, August 12, 1887.

stated that the only reason for creating the commission was to follow Georgia's example, that no proof of railroad extortion or evidence of fraud had been given as a basis for the law. Not only did the editor doubt the wisdom of the statute itself, he also questioned the Governor's appointments to the agency. He asked, "What would you think of a lawyer who, without previous experience, began to practice medicine? What do you think of two lawyers and a farmer, good men all, who suddenly set themselves to run railroads?"<sup>27</sup>

In spite of the doubts as to the ability and integrity of the commission, its members immediately set to work. It was formally organized in Tallahassee on August 9. George C. McWhorter was chosen as the presiding officer. The commission employed John G. Ward as secretary. The following day the agency had a notice printed "to all corporations, companies, or individuals now owners or operators of any railroad in whole or in part" in Florida and to the general public. The announcement stated that the commission would begin hearings on September 6 in Tallahassee for the purpose of fixing reasonable and just rates for the transportation of freight and passengers. Nine railroads were represented on the opening day of the hearings. Spokesmen appeared from the Florida Southern; the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West; the Savannah, Florida and Western; the South Florida; the Orange Belt; the Silver Springs, Ocala and Gulf; the Florida Railway and Navigation Company; and the Louisville and Nashville. Together the companies represented at the hearing constituted a little more than 1,800 miles of railroads in the state. The nine smaller companies, representing approximately 300 miles, were not present.<sup>28</sup>

During the hearings the Commission was told with emphasis that only those who had the benefit of long experience in railroad service were qualified to perform such duties as they had entered upon. They were also told what the railroads expected. Major Conant, president of the Florida Southern, who had endorsed the railroad commission idea earlier, appeared in the hearings and proposed that the commission simply approve the existing

27. *Palatka Daily News*, November 15, 1887.

28. These were the Blue Springs, Orange City, and Atlantic; the Florida Midland; the Jacksonville and Atlantic; the Palatka and St. Augustine; the St. John's Railway; the Pensacola and Perdido; the St. John's and Halifax; the Tavares, Apopka, and Gulf; the Tavares, Orlando, and Atlantic; and the Western Railway of Florida.

rates. Conant warned that railroads would be severely damaged by a rate reduction. Even at the rates then in existence, the railway president maintained that the earnings of his company were insufficient to pay even one-half of the interest on Florida Southern bonds. Superintendent Moran of the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West, demonstrated to the commission that the rates of his company were already lower than those of other roads due to competition of water transportation.<sup>29</sup> The commission, in reply, suggested that the classification schedule used by the Southern Railway and Steamship Association be adopted with minor changes. The subsidiary of the Louisville and Nashville, the Pensacola and Atlantic, vigorously rejected the proposal.<sup>30</sup>

In its first annual report the commission enumerated many of its difficulties, some of which began in the initial hearings. The report pointed out that the railroad managers, unaccustomed to restrictions, "charged tolls at will, high or low, making rates at discretion whether uniform and fair to all alike, or advancing the interests of individuals and towns on one hand and laying burdens upon whomsoever they saw fit on the other, granting free passes in large numbers." The commissioners reported that the unchecked freedom of the carriers influenced the managers to protest that "any control by law, especially if looking to fixing rates, was an innovation," to insist stoutly that "it was the manifest duty of the Commission to legalize the existing tariffs and adopt the schedules then in effect." The railway spokesman maintained furthermore, that their business was the result of investment of private capital and that "if men saw fit to embark upon a railroad enterprise then there was no just reason why restrictions should be placed upon them." Though these and other similar protests before the commission were vigorous they were reported as courteous.<sup>31</sup> After hearing the arguments and suggestions and announcing that its decisions would be published shortly, the commission brought the hearings to an end.

At the close of the hearings a Tallahassee paper commented on the silence of the general public and intimated that few others than railroads were represented at the commission's hearing. The *Palatka Daily News* responded with a suggestion that the com-

29. *First Annual Report of the Florida Railroad Commission* (Tallahassee, 1888), 14-15.

30. *Ibid.*, 4-5.

31. *Ibid.*, 15.

mission consider holding sessions at various points around the state. The paper defended the lack of popular participation in the hearings on the grounds that the notice had not been seen by more than one in five thousand citizens. Furthermore, said the Palatka editor, if the commission's view of its duties extended no further than had been illustrated by the hearings there was little purpose in its creation. According to the editorial, the law was intended to provide an economical mode of redress but if each person had to go to Tallahassee to make his case, the courts were more convenient and accessible. The citizen had an additional count against him if he had to face the "giant corporation's army of counsel." This editorial and several subsequent ones illustrated the *Daily News'* lack of confidence in the commission device and the impatience with it when it did not perform miracles overnight. The editor accused the supporters of the commission with promising something different than it came to be. The critic said the purpose of the commission was "to bring the roads to terms—to investigate the management and earnings of the roads and to keep those bloated corporations from growing dangerously fat on the blood of a suffering people."<sup>32</sup> A misunderstanding of the function of the regulatory agency made a rational appraisal extremely unlikely.

In spite of the many critics, the commission acted promptly. It did significant research prior to announcing rates and schedules. Since the statute which created the commission was a near replica of the Georgia law in prescribing powers and duties, one of the commissioners went to Atlanta to confer with the members of the Georgia body. Communication was established with similar agencies in twenty-six other states. Complete reports were received from many of them. The decisions, rates, schedules, and other pertinent reports from the Interstate Commerce Commission were also consulted. From the information received, the Florida commission recognized a great variety of powers and duties assigned to its counterparts in other states. They found that few states gave the commission power to make rates, citing only Illinois, Mississippi, California, and Georgia in that category. Realizing that the problems of different roads under different circumstances might require different rates, the commissioners nevertheless concluded, as had other states, that a standard tariff

32. *Palatka Daily News*, September 25, 1887.

was practicable. Most of the reports from other commissions showed that they were in general agreement that the freight rate was ordinarily less in proportion for a long haul than for a short haul. In studying rates of the Florida carriers, the commission found them to be highly irregular and grossly different between roads. They also discovered that one-third of the railroad mileage in the state was in the hands of receivers.<sup>33</sup> The commissioners also uncovered rate discriminations, rebates, free passes, and exorbitant rates on vegetables and oranges.

Understanding their assignment as a duty to protect the interests of all, including the investors in railroads, the commissioners undertook to work out just and reasonable rates. The crucial question facing them in their work was, "What are the considerations that enter into the determination of just and reasonable rates?" Should it be the rule advanced by the railroad officials, "that rate which would yield a revenue equal to de cost of service and reasonable interest on the investment?" The body was reluctant to believe that the legislature had assigned to it the task of assuring "reasonable profit" for the railroads. Therefore, the commissioners decided that costs of operation should not be the sole determinant in establishing rates. On the other hand, the commission knew that it could not afford to lower rates so as to prevent operation of the roads, or to prevent safe passenger transportation, or to frustrate honest efforts to develop the interests of the state.<sup>34</sup>

Turning to the reports of other states in search of guidelines for rates, the commission was impressed by a New York document. The testimony of a commissioner from that state maintained that the basis for just and reasonable rates should be the value of services received. Communications from Georgia and Iowa revealed that in those states, as in New York, the value of services was the main criterion in determining rates. The Kansas report, however, indicated that the character and volume of business as well as the companies' expenses and earnings were considered. After considering these and other points of view of the commissions of other states, the Florida agency proceeded to draw up its own formula. Rates would be determined in Florida by con-

33. This was great in terms of miles but not in terms of companies since one company in receivership, the Florida Railway and Navigation Company, controlled 574 miles.

34. *First Annual Report*, 21, 15, 16.

sidering: (1) the cost of service; (2) volume and class of tonnage; (3) relative value of the freight transported; (4) difficulties of travel on different roads; (5) previous Florida rates relative to business done; (6) whether the freight ends or begins or passes through a locality; (7) the relation of roads to each other and to waterways; (8) the effect of the new I.C.C. rates on Florida roads; (9) the rights and interests of owners of railroad property; and (10) the relation of railroads to the general needs of the people and the State, which had awarded the roads with large land grants and the right of eminent domain.<sup>35</sup>

On the basis of the above considerations the commissioners drew up a table of rates. They declared that passenger rates were far too high and that a reduction would not only be fair but would also increase the volume of passenger transportation and, consequently, the railroads' profit. The base rate was established at a maximum of \$.03 per mile for adults and half that rate for children. The commissioners adopted, with minor changes for certain companies, the tariff schedule of the Southern Railway Association for use by the Florida roads. These rates were announced in Circular No. 2, published on October 1, to become effective on the first day of November. The companies were invited to meet with the commission on October 24 to supply information on certain freight classes which were not covered by Circular 2. The rails were also asked to give cause as to why the Southern Railway Association's freight tariff should not be put into effect. Testimony given in the October 1 meeting was sufficient to influence the commission to postpone, on October 28, the effective date for the announced rates until December 1 with further hearings scheduled for the week of November 8-12.<sup>36</sup>

The announcement of the new rates followed so soon by a postponement was interpreted by some Floridians as cautious and wise. The local paper in Fernandina presented the opinion that the body was acting with commendable prudence and attempting to thoroughly understand the railroad situation by giving the companies a patient hearing. It was pointed out by the paper that the decisions of the commission affected 2,000 miles of railroads which represented large amounts of capital. Such invest-

35. *Ibid.*, 17-19; For a summary evaluation of the first few months of the operation of the commission see Maxwell Ferguson, *State Regulation of Railroads in the South* (New York, 1916).

36. *First Annual Report*, 10-14.

ment merited deliberate consideration, wrote the editor.<sup>37</sup> The *Weekly Floridian* of Tallahassee, sympathetic with the commission's task, remarked that the regulatory agency labored under the disadvantage of the prevailing opinion that its sole function was to reduce rates. The paper's editor held that "the commissioners do well to take time and thoroughly inform themselves in order to do justice to the people and to the railroads."<sup>38</sup>

Critics of the commission, however, did not view the postponement as prudent. Rather they thought it an obvious indication of the weakness of that body's capability, and at the same time as a reflection of the strength of the railroad corporations. William Hickson, of Lochbie, wrote a letter to the editor of his local paper, the *Ocala Star Banner*, expressing that sentiment. Hickson stated that he had received several conflicting reports as to the cause of the delay. Every report, however, gave the railroads as the cause. The only difference in the reports, according to Hickson, was in the particular railroad responsible. The farmer said that it seemed to him that the commission was "weak, or something worse," if they listened to the railroads' plea that lower rates would ruin them. Hickson charged that the railroads were using bribery to carry their arguments and declared that the rates should have been imposed on November 1 as originally scheduled. "But, no," said the irate farmer, "the people must always be the inconvenienced, they must always wait, they must suffer, while greedy cormants [sic] must be fed to bursting." After many general accusations, specific grievances were given in the letter. Hickson maintained that by December 1 over half of the orange crop would have been already shipped at the roads' exorbitant prices. He illustrated such rates by pointing out that growers paid \$.25 a box from Lochbie to Gainesville, then only \$.30 from Gainesville to New York. It seemed to Hickson that "the bare statement was enough to prove the injustice of the charge." His complaint ended by hoping that the commission would find out how the growers in his area felt and suggested that the editor call an "indignation meeting in the paper."<sup>39</sup>

The *Palatka Daily News*, skeptical of the commission from the beginning, began its attack on that body as soon as it went

37. Carried in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 10, 1887.

38. *Ibid.*

39. *Ocala Star Banner*, November 18, 1887.

to work. Particularly was the paper dissatisfied with the new rates announced on October 1. The editor skillfully showed, among other disadvantages, the unfavorable position of the Palatka merchants as compared with the Jacksonville businessmen.<sup>40</sup> Charging that the commission "has only made bad matters worse," the journalist pointed out what he called serious irregularities in long and short haul rates. The newspaper exhorted its readers to protest to the commission before the deadline because there was little doubt "that the railroad companies will be vigilant in presenting their views."<sup>41</sup> Later that month the Palatka paper showed its impatience that the commission had done nothing "except to hear the railroad attorneys and draw salaries," and that if the people could be satisfied with that kind of action certainly the railroads must have no reason to complain."<sup>42</sup> Upon learning that the effective date for the announced rates had been postponed and additional hearings scheduled for the railroads, the editor chided, "no day has been set for the hearing of arguments against the proposed tariff on behalf of the people. . . ."<sup>43</sup>

On October 29, the day after the commission had postponed the time when the new rates would go into effect, the agency published Circular 5 completing the freight schedules. The circular also explained that the standard might be adjusted upon appeal to the commission. In a later report, the commissioners stated that they never intended the standard rates to be used by all railroads, but expected each dissatisfied company to ask for modifications suited to its particular condition and situation.<sup>44</sup>

On the basis of the November 7-12 hearings, the commission published the resulting decisions in Circular 6. The passenger rates were revised. The commission was persuaded to permit selected branches and "sections" of certain railroad companies to increase passenger rates above the three cents rate originally established by the commission. Of the total 2,120 miles of rails, raises in rates were authorized for 900 miles. The companies which provided transportation and other services in areas where population and traffic were slight, and therefore where cost of operation was higher, were permitted increases in rates. The in-

40. *Palatka Daily News*, October 9, 1887.

41. *Ibid.*, October 13, 1887.

42. *Ibid.*, October 28, 1887.

43. *Ibid.*, October 30, 1887.

44. *First Annual Report*, 11.

creases were applicable, however, only on those sections or miles where the above was true. This often meant different rates for different sections of the same company as well as different rates between certain companies, between those serving an isolated and sparsely populated area and those operating in more densely settled communities. By this method, the final passenger rates set by the commission showed that of the 2,120 miles of railroads, the original \$.03 rate was applicable to 1,220 miles, \$.03  $\frac{1}{2}$  was effective on 37 miles, \$.04 on a total of 247 miles, and a \$.05 charge permissible over 593 miles.<sup>45</sup> On November 19 the commission released its first complete freight schedule. The only material changes from the two partial schedules published the month before were reductions in rates on oranges and vegetables.<sup>46</sup> The schedule, Circular 7, also provided that a company was free to exercise discretion as to how much of the full ten mile charges it exacted for mileage which fell between the ten mile units. For example, for transporting freight forty-five miles, a railroad could charge the full fifty mile rate, the forty mile fee, or the forty mile charge plus the appropriate fraction of the next ten mile unit. Rules of protest were laid down in Circular 8 on November 22. The following day Circular 9 announced that roads were permitted to "transport freight free of charge or at a reduced rate for any benevolent or any religious purpose, or to any individual or to any industrial exhibition, fair or association and the household goods of immigrants." Exceptions to the full rate could also be made for clergymen, excursions, immigrants, and persons travelling to or from any agricultural, mechanical, industrial, or fruit and vegetable growers association meeting in the state.<sup>47</sup>

This work of the commissioners was not viewed by all as satisfactory. The passenger rate of \$.03 a mile was not revised for any length of the Louisville and Nashville subsidiary, the Pensacola and Atlantic. Dissatisfied, several officials protested to the commission on November 29. No relief was given. The company next presented its case to the board of revisers. William D. Chipley, vice-president of the Pensacola and Atlantic, and C. P. Atman, general passenger agent, F. W. Sheppard, division passenger and freight agent, and Thomas Welch, general freight agent,

45. *Ibid.*, 12, 21.

46. *Ibid.*

47. *Ibid.*, 69-70.

of the Louisville and Nashville, made the first appeal to the board of revisers. They requested the suspension of the commission's order concerning passenger rates. The appellate board refused to interfere and ordered that the commission's rate become effective December 1, as scheduled. The Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railroad also protested the passenger rates and was successful in persuading the board to raise them from \$.04 to \$.05 on the Indian River division.<sup>48</sup>

The commission was careful to report that when the schedule for each railroad had been completed, "many of the railroads asked for very few changes from the rates prescribed." This report was made, said the commission, because of the criticism "of certain persons connected with railroads, who through the public press, persevere upon the fact that the public have not studied the intricate and complex question of transportation in the State and country, in order to prejudice them [the public] against the law, known as the Railroad Commission Law."<sup>49</sup>

Many skeptics still doubted that the best interests of the state would be served by the commission. There were those who prophesied that enforceable rates would immediately cut off capital investment in railroads and prevent the building of additional tracks to serve the parts of the state then without rails. In an editorial entitled, "The Florida Railroad Commission and How It's Likely to Affect South Florida," the *Fort Myers Press* repeated predictions being made by "those intimately acquainted with capitalists disposed to invest money for railroad enterprise." The editor wrote that these spokesmen for capitalists charged that enforceable rates by a commission were "effectively blocking our section of the country by making it impracticable for any corporation to extend its lines into our territory, and that . . . the Florida State Railroad Commission is injuring the prospects of South Florida." In response to this evaluation, the *Fort Myers* editor, though deploring the critic's lack of foresight, concluded that capitalists are free agents who are masters of the position as far as South Florida is concerned and that "while cheap transportation would certainly be more desirable than dear transportation, the latter is far better than none at all." In South Florida

48. *First Annual Report*, 12; Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, Dec. 1, 1887.

49. *First Annual Report*, 11.

where few railroads existed, said the journalist, "We must be glad to welcome the extension southward of railroads even if we have to leave them entirely unfettered in their charges for a reasonable term of years." He felt that the rates of such unsubsidized extensions south should be left to the discretion of the railroads themselves, and urged "the Railroad Commission to pause before they inflict a grievous injury to South Florida by including such unsubsidized lines or extensions of lines in any general measure of restricted rates."<sup>50</sup>

The *Palatka Daily News* was also despondent. Acknowledging that railroads practiced discrimination against persons and places, the editor asked, "have we yet felt relief? Will any relief against alleged wrongs come in time to help the fruit grower of this year or even the gardener?" Calling the commission a "Brooding Buddah," the editor was confident he knew the answers to the question. He asserted that the new lower passenger rates would force the fruit growers and farmers to pay higher freight charges to make up the deficit. As if the criticisms of weakness, slowness, and ineffectiveness were not enough the editor went on to ask, "When we have cut off the profits of capital by our exemption law and regulatory traffic, who shall bring it back and how shall we get along without it?" So a rather strange mixture of criticism was leveled at the commission by an editor who called for strong regulations for relief of the farmers in one paragraph and in a following paragraph mockingly taunted that such regulation would destroy the incentive for investment in and expansion of the railroads.<sup>51</sup> The editor seemed determined that no good could possibly come from the railroad commission or its work. A few days after the commission's rates became effective the paper recorded its pleasure that the board of revisers had not interfered and that the rates were satisfactory to the roads though, to the paper, a reduction on export tariffs would have been preferable to lower passenger fees.<sup>52</sup>

The commission was permitted little relief from its exacting duties once they were begun. Throughout December the agency held hearings for the companies which protested the rates set for them. Slight modifications in rates were made whenever the

50. *Fort Myers Press*, November 17, 1887.

51. *Palatka Daily News*, November 15, 1887.

52. *Ibid.*, December 2, 1887.

body felt they were merited. Despite the efforts to be patient and fair, the commission came under the criticism of the railroads and public alike as the first year wore on. On December 5 the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway made an all-out attack on the commission. Listing specific grievances over rates, classifications of freight, and regulations, the company launched into a long detailed complaint. It accused the agency of making rules that were unjust and unreasonable as well as establishing rates which made no distinction between long and short hauls. Furthermore, charged the company, rates were made without regard to the interest, rentals, and taxes a company had to pay. The company also asserted in its bill of complaint that there was no public demand for a commission and that the effect of this regulation, without concern for a fair return upon property, would surely check the development of Florida. The commission heard the complaint patiently, took it under consideration, and on January 24, 1888, made several changes beneficial to the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway. The company, however, was not satisfied and appealed to the board of revisers.<sup>53</sup> That body, as in most cases, declined to reverse the commission rulings and the rates stood.

In addition to hearing protests from the corporations, the commission heard grievances from a number of shippers, and towns and cities, who felt wronged by the commission's rates or by the companies' violation of them. The number of these complaints, however, was small. They usually concerned relatively minor violations of rules or rates. The few protests from the general public during the first few months is probably due to the newness of the agency and the public uncertainty as to how and where complaints were to be made. Even after two years of the commission's work one citizen, offended by a company's freight charges on a carload of corn, took his complaint to the Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*. The paper was asked to bring the infraction to the attention of the commission. It did so only to be chided by the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian* which informed the Jacksonville paper of the proper way to make charges. The *Weekly Floridian* declared that the commission did not seek out the names of the plaintiffs in newspapers and that "the gentlemen composing that Commission are always ready to

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53. *First Annual Report*, 107-109.

hear from every complaint that is made and willing to make every correction in its power." The complaints, however, would have to be made in writing, in duplicate, to the commission in Tallahassee, which seemed to be an inexpensive and relatively trouble-free method.

The *Times-Union* was dissatisfied with the manner in which complaints had to be registered. It asserted, "If the Railroad Commission has the authority and the power to regulate it will do so. If they have not, the question occurs as to whether a useless tribunal ought to be abolished." Some thought this a curious statement particularly coming from a paper professing to be "so well informed on State affairs." It does seem peculiar when one remembers the hearty support of the *Times-Union* for the creation of a commission. The Tallahassee paper defended the regulatory agency at length and advised the *Times-Union* to refer correspondents to a proper source of information if it did not have it.<sup>54</sup>

An angry Fort Meade resident freely gave his opinion of the railroads' reaction to the commission's reduction of rates. George W. Hendry complained to his local paper that the railroads had the residents of South Florida choked off. The letter implied that the carriers had deliberately stopped plans to build roads into south Polk County and onward toward Punta Gorda as a retaliatory act against regulation. Hendry wondered whether the railroad commission knew how far south Polk was and the "prohibitive rate the companies charged." The railroads seemed to think a lower rate would ruin them, but Hendry countered, "they are ruined if the rates are not lowered." He threatened that the farmers in his area would simply stop farming rather than fatten the railroads. According to Hendry, it was much better for a "rich railroad monopoly to work awhile for nothing than the poor tillers of the soil to work a whole lifetime to make them rich and get nothing [themselves] in the end." The farmer warned that the commission would have to meet this issue and adjust it. As for the reduction in passenger rates, Hendry and his fellow farmers cared much less about that than a reduction of freight rates. He argued that the persons who rode most were able to pay but the freight rates hit the "tillers of the soil." Demanding that the

54. This little editorial war was featured in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, March 5, 1890.

freight rates be reduced, the frustrated citizen concluded that the railroads, though acting as if in the "throes of death and trying to turn their souls into dollars and cents," had just as well give in or become the subject of ridicule and criticism.<sup>55</sup>

In March of 1888 the commission submitted its first report to the governor. It covered its seven months work. The body was able to report that the schedules of freight and passenger rates had been worked out for each railway; that rules, regulations, and forms for reports and complaints had been established; that the manner of conducting business and record keeping had been published; and that in general they had received courteous cooperation from the representatives of the railroads. They also reported the difficulties they had encountered in determining policy and rates in the atmosphere of doubt and criticism from many groups and interests. The report was optimistic in its tone and suggested that the following year would be a better year by which to measure the effectiveness of the commission.

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55. *Fort Myers Press*, March 22, 1888.

## FEDERAL RELATIONS WITH THE APALACHICOLA INDIANS: 1823-1838

by JAMES W. COVINGTON

N GRANT FOREMAN'S outstanding book *Indian Removal*, the classic account of the Five Civilized Tribes' movement from the southeastern United States into Indian Territory, the author introduces the Seminole section with the following words: "In the dishonorable record of our dealings with the Indians there is perhaps no blacker chapter than that relating to the Seminole people."<sup>1</sup> Certainly when we think of the Seminoles we recall broken treaties, dogs tracking Indians through the swamps and the capture of Osceola while protected by a flag of truce. One rather shady phase of the Seminole removal which has been somewhat neglected by the historians is the story of the Seminole group in northwestern Florida which was known as the Apalachicola band.

It is difficult to ascertain exactly when the Apalachicolas entered Florida or when they ceased being Creeks and joined the unofficial ranks of the Seminole tribe. If one checks the designation Apalachicola in John R. Swanton's *Indian Tribes of North America* he will find that bands in Georgia and Alabama are mentioned in some detail but little attention is paid to those Apalachicolas residing in Florida.<sup>2</sup> Consequently, it is hazardous to label those Indians living along the Apalachicola River prior to 1823 as being Creeks, Seminoles, or even Apalachicolas.

The Apalachicola band in Florida was formally created as a political unit by the Treaty of Camp Moultrie which was signed in September, 1823, between various Seminole leaders and federal representatives. The original draft of the treaty stated that the Seminoles should move into a 4,032,920 acre reservation situated in the general area between the Peace and Withlacoochee rivers.<sup>3</sup> An amendment to the original draft, however, allowed

1. Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1953), 315.

2. John R. Swanton, *The Indian Tribes of North America*. Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 145 (Washington, 1952), *passim*.

3. For an account of the treaty deliberation see John K. Mahon, "The Treaty of Moultrie Creek, 1823," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (April, 1962), 350-372.

Neamathla (the recently elected principal negotiator) and five other important leaders and their followers to remain in North Florida and, according to the federal negotiators, had this amendment not been included, the treaty would not have been accepted by the tribe.<sup>4</sup> Neamathla, Yellow Hair, the Mulatto King, and John Blount had conferred with Governor Andrew Jackson as early as September, 1821, and convinced him that the Apalachicola River valley was an excellent site for a Seminole reservation.<sup>5</sup> John Blount and Yellow Hair had been given favored treatment because they had been friendly with the Americans for many years, rendering most valuable services during the War of 1812 and the First Seminole War. As stipulated in the treaty the six reserves included the following areas:

For the use of Neamathla [*sic*] and his connexions, two miles square, embracing the Tuphulga village, on the waters of Rocky Comfort creek. For Blount and Tuski Hajo, a reservation, commencing on the Apalachicola, one mile below Tuski-Hajo's improvements, running up said river four miles; thence west, two miles; thence southerly, to a point two miles due west of the beginning; thence east, to the beginning point. For Mulatto King and Emathlochee, a reservation, commencing on the Apalachicola, at a point to include Yellow Hair's improvements; thence up said river, for four miles; thence west, one mile; thence southerly, to a point one mile west of the beginning; and thence east, to the beginning point. For Econchattimico, a reservation, commencing on the Chattahoochee, one mile below Econchattimico's house; thence up said river, for four miles; thence one mile west; thence southerly, to a point one mile west of the beginning; thence east to the beginning point.<sup>6</sup>

Persons belonging to the bands of John Blount and Yellow Hair were already living on the land set aside for them, but Neamathla, Emathlochee, and their bands were required to travel some distance from their former homes to the reserves. Since the migrating Indians had no chance to plant or harvest crops, they were supplied with rations by Governor William P. DuVal at St. Marks.

4. Indian Commissioners to Secretary of War, September 26, 1823, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Territory of Florida*, XXII, 747-751. Hereafter cited as T.P. Andrew Jackson to John C. Calhoun, July 14, 1823, and Jackson to John Q. Adams, October 6, 1821, *ibid.*, 720, 232.

5. Jackson to Calhoun, September 20, 1821, *ibid.*, 211.

6. *American State Papers: Indian Affairs*, II, 430.

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Although Indian and white man had signed a treaty of peace and friendship which was designed to last at least a few years, some serious trouble arose within several months. Friction had developed between Neamathla and the territorial governor as early as January, 1824, but the white man recognized the fine qualities of the Indian leader and was reluctant to force the issue. As soon as the garrison was removed from St. Marks, the Seminoles began to raid the herds of cattle grazing in the neighborhood and the settlers began to complain about such activities. It was apparent to Indian Agent Gad Humphreys that a mistake had been made in placing Neamathla, the acknowledged leader of the tribe, on a reserve situated some distance from the main reservation.<sup>7</sup>

By July, 1824, DuVal's patience with Neamathla had worn thin and he was forced to visit the Indian leader and personally discharge him from his position as principal Seminole chief. Another tense situation arose when the Indians, in a bold attempt to force white withdrawal from the area, killed some cattle and hogs belonging to settlers and threatened the pioneers. DuVal, moving quickly during this crisis, invited the Apalachicolas, Tallahassees, and Mikasukis to a well attended and peaceful meeting at Judge Robinson's home - a site situated some thirty miles from the Apalachicola towns. On the next day he visited Neamathla's town and told the armed warriors about a council scheduled for July 26 at St. Marks. DuVal made certain that the meeting would be well attended - he informed the Seminoles a military force would occupy their villages if his invitation were not accepted. Six hundred Indians showed their understanding of the situation by visiting St. Marks at the appointed time and learning that Neamathla had been relieved as head chief and that John Hicks was selected in his place.<sup>8</sup> None of the Seminoles seemingly objected to this change in office holders.

Within a short period of time, Neamathla and his band rejoined the Creek Nation in Alabama. Some persons in Florida doubted that he had ever occupied the land at Rocky Comfort which had been reserved for him. Finally, in 1827, the land was surveyed and offered for sale to the white settlers. In spite of the

7. Humphreys to DuVal, April 7, 1824, DuVal to Calhoun July 12, 1824, *ibid.*, 617, 619.

8. DuVal to Calhoun, July 29, 1824, *ibid.*, 621.

seemingly harsh treatment Neamathla had received, he did not express any feelings of ill-will towards the whites and in 1826 aided the white authorities by sending warriors to assist in the capture of some murderers.

During November, 1824, DuVal visited the Apalachicola reserves and found the Indians living there to be well adjusted to reservation life. Since they possessed a sufficient supply of hogs they were given sheep instead of hogs as stipulated in the treaty. In a burst of enthusiasm the governor exclaimed, "The houses and fields of these people are equal to the best of the improvements among the white people in this section of Florida."<sup>9</sup> The good work done by these Indians was all in vain for late summer rains caused the river to overflow three times and ruin their corn fields. Consequently, they were forced to appeal for emergency aid in order to keep from starving.

During the summer of 1826 DuVal took action against some unruly neighbors of the Apalachicolas. A small band of lawless white men began stealing horses, cattle, and hogs belonging to the Indians and, in order to safeguard the livestock, DuVal appointed John Phagan as resident sub-agent for the Apalachicolas. He established operations in a combination office and storehouse erected on the banks of the Apalachicola and the presence of this official brought an end to the raids.

It was during 1826 that the Apalachicolas rendered some valuable assistance to the federal authorities. Some tenseness developed along the northern boundary of the central Florida reservation and, in a show of force, Major Francis Dade, accompanied by some soldiers and a party of Apalachicolas, moved to the Suwannee River.<sup>10</sup> A small band of Indians which had been involved in several murders in Georgia and Florida was located in a well-concealed coastal island hideout. Discovery of the retreat was made possible by the hard work of Neamathla's scouts and some Apalachicola warriors who had searched for the lair for three months. The alleged murderers were so dumbfounded at having been discovered that they surrendered without firing a shot. As a reward for their services, the Apalachicola men were given additional rations and several of their leaders were presented with

9. DuVal to Calhoun, October 26, 1824, *ibid.*, 626.

10. DuVal to McKenney, November 9, 1826, *T.P.*, XXIII, 661-662.

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medals. In 1827, Sub-agent Phagan led an Indian patrol into the area between the Apalachicola and Suwannee rivers, arresting some Indians who had strayed northward from the principal reservation.<sup>11</sup> As compensation for the thirty days' service, DuVal presented the Indians with presents worth \$250.

Despite the apparent good feeling existing between Phagan and his charges, there was at least one sign of disharmony. In the fall of 1827, in a letter dispatched to Washington, composed but not written by John Blount and another leader, Phagan was accused of five violations of good faith.<sup>12</sup> Charges raised against the sub-agent included these following points: (1) he had not paid the Indians the amount allowed by treaty and act of Congress; (2) the Indians were given goods which were useless to them: a violation of the treaty; (3) the sub-agent gave a slave to a white man but said slave was property of an Indian girl; (4) the sub-agent threatened to break the authority of the chiefs and refused to allow Indians to sell pelts and corn beyond the limits of the reserve; and (5) when whites stole property of Indians, the sub-agent took no action. In rebuttal, DuVal accused the interpreter Stephen Richards of "stirring up trouble," but evidence of Phagan's misdeeds were later discovered in 1832 when he was removed from his post on charges that he had stolen funds from the Indians. Unfortunately for the Apalachicolas, no corrective action had been taken in 1827.

When Andrew Jackson was elected President of the United States in 1828, the Indians living in the eastern half of the country lost all chance of remaining in their original homes. The man from Tennessee was most determined in his efforts to move all Indian tribes west of the Mississippi River and he succeeded so well that those few Indians able to escape were either members of tribes which were so weak they could be ignored, or those able to hide in the mountains of North Carolina or swamplands of Florida. As early as July 17, 1828, Governor DuVal claimed that the Apalachicola leaders were willing to visit Indian Territory and, if they found the area acceptable, the band would probably move. It seemed to DuVal that the Indians were in a deplorable

11. McKenney to DuVal, December 7, 1826, January 29, 1827, *ibid.*, 682-684, 744.

12. Chiefs to Secretary of War, October 26, 1827, Apalachicola Reserve and Emigration, 1826-1834, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; hereafter cited as A. R. and E.

state - they were trading with river boatmen and at least fifty were ill from a venereal disease: "Humanity demands removal of these unfortunate people as early as possible."<sup>13</sup> As suggested by DuVal a plan for Seminole removal included the selection of one Indian from each town in Florida to form a party which would "visit the country designed for them."<sup>14</sup> One important factor to be kept in mind was that the Indian lands situated along the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee rivers had become too valuable to be retained by the Indians and some way had to be found to remove the red people. Perhaps even more important was the feeling along the frontier that the presence of any Indians posed a threat to the security of the pioneer families. In March, 1830, John Phagan was promoted from the Apalachicola sub-agency to the position of agent for all of the Indians in Florida, with headquarters in Central Florida. As a result the Apalachicola position was left vacant for several years.<sup>15</sup>

Although the Treaty of Moultrie Creek had stipulated that a reservation school be established for Seminole children, the Indians had not desired such an institution. There was, however, a limited amount of educational opportunity available outside Florida. President Jackson had endorsed a move to have Indian children educated at the Choctaw Academy in Blue Springs, Kentucky. It was suggested that eight Seminole boys between the ages of ten and fourteen be sent there and, by December, 1830, eight Apalachicola youngsters, including a son of John Blount, had enrolled in the school.<sup>16</sup>

According to most observers, the Apalachicola Indians were not doing too badly by 1832. As stipulated by the 1823 treaty these Indians were paid an annuity of \$1,000 and they had achieved a relative degree of prosperity possessing a considerable number of horses, cows, hogs, and even some slaves. "In the distribution of the annuity, some ten or fifteen of the head men of both divisions (Apalachicola and central Florida reservation) received from twenty dollars to seventy dollars each, the lesser

13. DuVal to McKenney, October 12, 1828, A. R. and E.

14. DuVal to McKenney, July 17, 1828, *T.P.*, XXIV, 42-43.

15. On May 30, 1829, the President of the United States set aside part of section nos. 14-15, township 3, range 7N and W which was to be reserved for an agency adjoining the Apalachicola reserves. *Ibid.*, 222.

16. McKenney to DuVal, April 13, 1830, *ibid.*, 392-93.

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chiefs from five to twenty dollars and the common Indian generally between two and four dollars.”<sup>17</sup> Since the Indians did not possess bank accounts or a heritage of “saving for a rainy day,” they usually spent their money within several days upon hard liquor and goods purchased from nearby traders. The storehouse filled with corn from the fall harvest usually supplied the Indians until February or March when most of them were forced to support themselves by hunting or working for the white settlers. Some of the Apalachicola leaders had rented farm land to the whites and other Indians were able to earn some money by selling hides at nearby settlements.

In May, 1832, a treaty was negotiated with the Seminoles at Payne’s Landing which stipulated that the Indians would move to the West whenever a delegation visited the Indian Territory and gave its approval. Such a delegation, including Coi-hadjo, Yahadjo, Charley Emathla, John Hicks, Holahte Emathla, Nehathoclo, and Jumper, visited Oklahoma and signed an agreement at Fort Gibson on March 28, 1833, stating that they were satisfied with the part of the Creek area allotted to them.<sup>18</sup>

Although representatives of the federal government were required to devote a tremendous amount of time and energy to the awesome task of transferring some four thousand Seminoles from the central Florida reservation to Indian Territory, the several hundred Apalachicola reserve Indians were not overlooked. As early as July, 1832, President Jackson directed James Gadsden to negotiate with these Indians concerning removal and authorized him to pay as much as \$30,000 for the land and complete removal expenses. Obeying the presidential directive, James Gadsden attempted to talk with Blount in August, 1832, but heavy rain prevented him from meeting the Seminole. He sensed some problems at this time: “I fear, however, from information received that some attempts have been made by those who hope to participate in the plunder to induce Blount to be very extravagant in his demands.”<sup>19</sup>

Finally Gadsden’s efforts were successful and on October 11,

17. Westcott to Abraham Bellamy, February 2, 1832, *ibid.*, 668-670.

18. For a full account of this treaty and the unique background see John K. Mahon, “Two Seminole Treaties: Payne’s Landing, 1832, Ft. Gibson, 1833,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLI (July, 1962), 1-21.

19. Gadsden to Secretary of War, August 30, 1832, *T.P.*, XXIV, 727.

1832, in a conference held at DuVal's house in Tallahassee, Blount and Davy ceded to the United States government their lands, were promised \$13,000, and they in turn agreed to move west.<sup>20</sup> Econchatimicco and Mulatto King did not appear and consequently were not represented at the negotiations. Gadsden toyed with the idea of appointing younger and more complaisant men in their posts. An exploring party, whose purpose it was to choose a site where Blount's and Davy's bands could settle, was sent west and included within the group were two or three young leaders from Mulatto King's and Econchatimicco's towns.<sup>21</sup> The Florida Seminole delegation visited Red Moccasin, an uncle of Blount who had migrated to Texas many years ago, and obtained his permission for them to settle along the Trinity River. After signing the October, 1832, agreement, John Blount attempted to secure an advance of \$400 from the amount due him, but the federal representatives refused to give him any money until he was ready to leave Florida.<sup>22</sup>

Now that he had signed the agreement to leave Florida, Blount appeared to have regretted his decision. At first it seemed that all the Indians living on the Apalachicola reserve would move but evidence to the contrary was soon seen. Both Mulatto King and Econchatimicco would not readily agree to removal and Blount found that some of his men preferred to remain in Florida with the others. There were more troubles for the Indian leader - the Indians and the whites invited Blount's slaves to desert and remain with them. Blount had an excellent record as friend of the white man and Andrew Jackson, and he hoped that the President would give him and his people a yawl as a going-away present to carry them to Texas, but such hopes appeared to be in vain. In desperation Blount ordered his people to build fifty canoes to carry them West. Finally in October, 1833, Gadsden was notified to purchase a boat for Blount and to present it to him as a present from the United States government.

During the first half of 1833, the federal authorities made ready their plans for the Apalachicola bands. John Blount and his people were scheduled to leave by November 1 and acting-

20. DuVal to Acting Secretary of War John Robb, October 11, 1832, *ibid.*, 740.

21. Wiley Thompson to Elbert Herring, August 6, 1834, A. R. and E.

22. Gadsden to Lewis Cass, November 30, 1832, *T.P.*, XXIV, 752-754. Herring to Gadsden, April 16, 1833, *ibid.*, 833.

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Governor Westcott seemed certain that the others would either leave with Blount or soon follow: "The agreement of the Seminoles to remove will, I have no doubt, operate strongly against Mulatto King (Vacapechassa) and Econchati-Micco the two principal Apalachicola chiefs who did not agree last fall and who are said to be obstinate."<sup>23</sup>

James Gadsden who had been serving for the past few months as negotiator with the Apalachicolas was able to meet with the several reluctant leaders, determine their views, and work out a treaty involving a real estate transaction and other matters of consequence. In signing the agreements on June 18, 1833, leaders and representatives from the two reserves situated on the Apalachicola and Chattahoochee rivers had placed themselves in a weaker negotiating position to defend their rights to remain in Florida. Gadsden discovered that both Econchatimicco and Mulatto King "either did not rightly comprehend the communication that had been made with the sanction of their signatures; or were unwilling to yield to the obligation I considered that document had imposed on them."<sup>24</sup> Since the Apalachicola reserves had been allotted in an unsurveyed state and were subject to overflow by the river during flood stages, agreements were made with these Indians to surrender their lands and accept surveyed areas in the neighborhood and some cash. Gadsden felt at this time that the Indians would soon want to move west with the main body of the Seminoles.

In the year following the signing of the 1832 pact a great change had taken place within Blount's band. Forty-seven persons had died of cholera, fifty had joined the Creeks in Alabama, and thirteen had moved within the main Seminole reservation—thus leaving a total of one hundred and sixty-three persons. Yellow Hair and his people wanted to join Blount's party in their westward jaunt and, due to the losses suffered by Blount's band, this group was allowed to join them.

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23. Westcott to Cass, April 27, 1833, *ibid.*, 834-35.

24. Gadsden to Secretary of War, July 6, 1833, *ibid.*, 858-59. For the entire treaty see Charles J. Kappler, ed., *Indian Affairs, Laws and Treaties*, 5 vols. (Washington, 1903-41), II, 398-400. An excellent map showing full details of the land transactions may be found in Charles C. Royce "Indian Land Concessions," *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Bureau of American Ethnology*, Part Two (Washington, 1899), Plate 14, designation 185.

By October, 1833, John Blount had a change of heart and attempted to remain in Florida but it was too late. Blount stated his dissatisfaction to Agent Thompson and Governor Westcott: "He had been deceived, trifled with and imposed upon but was willing to go if the white men did not want him in Florida."<sup>25</sup> Westcott took a firm stand and told Blount that he must leave during this winter: "The President of the United States had the power to drive him off and would do it if he violated the treaty."<sup>26</sup> The other Apalachicola bands were warned not to harbor any person from Blount's band that might try to escape the migration. The federal officials assured Blount he would receive his money in Texas and Blount designated a fort near the Saline River which he might visit to obtain the funds promised him. The old chief had no choice but to leave Florida.

At first it had seemed that the fall of 1833 would be a good time for the removal, but such a date proved to be premature. The fall season had been selected because during this period cholera disappeared and the hurricane season had come to an end. After most preparations had been completed for the removal, someone recalled that eight boys including Blount's son were studying at the Choctaw Academy in Great Crossing, Kentucky, and Blount and his people refused to move a step until the youngsters rejoined the band. Acting-Governor Westcott had knowledge of this potential problem as early as May, 1833, but communications with the Kentucky institution were not good. During November, DuVal dispatched a letter to Richard M. Johnson, head of the school, complaining that no news had been received concerning the boys and some persons feared that they had died of cholera. He requested that the boys be immediately sent home by steamboat via Nashville, Huntsville, Columbus, and Mount Vernon, Florida, a route that would carry them within five miles of their homes but it was not until late in December that the boys, escorted by Assistant Principal James Henderson, had returned to Florida. In order to ease the Indians through their period of waiting, the sum of \$1500 was paid to Blount and Davy Elliott (Osiah Hadjo).<sup>27</sup>

25. Memorandum of Convention between Blount, Davy, and Westcott, October 28, 1833, A. R. and E.

26. *Ibid.*

27. Johnson took John Vacca the son of Mulatto King to Washington and

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It was during 1833 and 1834 that Blount's band was forced to endure a most difficult phase of their time of trouble in Florida. Three white men and a party of Indians from Alabama seized a widow of a chief, three children, cattle and hogs, severely beat Blount, and returned to Alabama with their spoils.<sup>28</sup> Warrants were issued for the arrest of the culprits and a \$100 reward posted but no one was ever convicted of the crimes committed. Pioneers, in anticipation of pre-emption, began to settle on the Indian land and disputes concerning the slaves owned by the Apalachicolas arose as another source of unrest. White persons claimed certain slaves living among the Apalachicolas and, during the period that the claims were being considered in court, the whites attempted to seize the Negroes.<sup>29</sup> Econchatimicco and his men made ready for a possible clash but the danger was averted.

The source of much of this mischief was the fact that the sub-agent had previously lived on the reserve and had been able to protect the Indians but when Phagan had been elevated to the post of agent, no sub-agent was appointed to replace him. In order to discourage other such disturbances William Pope was given a temporary appointment as sub-agent but he was unable to prevent the next robbery. In May, 1833, when Blount was absent from home hunting for some lost cattle, three white men knocked down the door of his house with heavy logs, threatened his wife, and departed carrying away with them \$700 in cash.

Some of the problems at this time were seen in the letter written by one Apalachicola leader to Agent Wiley Thompson:

I am induced to write you in consequence of the depredations making and attempted to be made on my farm by a company of men, negro stealers, some of whom are from Columbus, and have connected themselves with "Brown and Douglas." It is reported and believed by all the white people around here that a large number of them will very shortly come down here and attempt to take off Billy, Jim, Rose and her family, and

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he returned to Florida by stagecoach. John's brother and another boy died of cholera in Kentucky but the others including Billy, son of Blount, survived. After the five returned to Florida, another educational group including three from the original band was organized and returned to the Kentucky school in January, 1834.

28. D. M. Sheffield to DuVal, February 23, 1833, *A.S.P.: Indian Affairs*, II, 456.

29. John Walker to Thompson, July 28, 1835, *ibid.*, 463. When the case was taken to court Judge Cameron declared that the slaves belonged to Econchatimicco.

others. These same men have been engaged in the same business up in the "Creek nation." I should like to have your advice how I should act. I dislike to make any trouble, or to have any difficulty with any of the white people; but if they will trespass on my premises and on my rights, I must defend myself in the best way I can. If they do make this attempt, and there is no doubt but they will, they must bear the consequences. But is there no civil law that will protect me? Are the free negroes and the negroes belonging in this town to be stolen away publicly-in the face of all law and justice carried off and sold to fill the pockets of these worse than "land pirates?" Certainly not. I know you will not suffer it. Please direct me how to act in this matter. Douglas and this company hired a man, who has two large trained dogs for the purpose, to come down and take Billy. The man came, but seeing he could do nothing alone, has gone off somewhere, probably to recruit. He is from Mobile, and follows for a livelihood catching runaway negroes with these large dogs.<sup>30</sup>

It was due to the hard work of Agent Wiley Thompson that the bands of Blount, Davy, and Yellow Hair finally left Florida bound for New Orleans. The Indians had paddled their canoes down the Apalachicola River to the bay where they camped at a place on the northwestern side known as Oat Point and awaited passage to New Orleans. At this time a white person from Alabama presented a claim for a debt allegedly owed by Blount. Agent Thompson decided that the claim was invalid but told the Alabamian to contact the War Department. Sensing that other dubious debts might be claimed at this time, Thompson accompanied the Seminoles to Louisiana and attempted to by-pass New Orleans. However, the master of the craft landed the Seminoles near the city and, after they were paid by Thompson, William Beattie filed suit for \$6,500. In order to avoid waiting until the November session of court, the Seminoles paid \$2,000 and assigned to Beattie two slaves worth \$1,000. This satisfied the claim and the Indians went one hundred miles up the Mississippi, thence across the lakes on a trip which would take them to the Trinity River in Texas. Blount died soon after his arrival in the new location. In a few well-chosen words Agent Wiley Thompson summarized what Beattie had been allowed to do to the harried Indians:

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30. John Walker to Wiley Thompson, July 28, 1835, *A.S.P.: Military Affairs*, II, 463.

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This man Beattie, to effect his object, did, I have very little doubt, commit forgery and perjury. He presented a petition in the name of Cochrane, and supported it by his affidavit as Cochrane's agent. Cochrane died shortly after he signed the treaty under which Blunt and Davey emigrated. Beattie could not therefore be Cochrane's agent, nor could the petition which he swore to have been signed by Cochrane. If I am correct in this view of the subject, Beattie may be convicted, first for swindling; second for forgery; and third for perjury; which at the same time an action at law for the recovery of the money and Negroes of which he swindled those chiefs may be sustained.<sup>31</sup>

In October, 1834, a conference was held at Fort King to settle some details of the previously agreed-upon Seminole removal from Florida. At this meeting several leaders, including Osceola, Jumper, and Billy Bowlegs, stated their determined opposition to movement to the West at this time. Holate and Fucktaluste Hajo took Agent Wiley Thompson aside and told him that they were willing to comply with the agreement, but they were in grave danger from the die-hard majority faction of the tribe. They suggested that they be permitted to live among the Apalachicolas until the actual removal began. Thompson replied that such a procedure would be impossible but the government would protect the two leaders and their followers and, if any danger arose, they could retire to Blount's former reserve.<sup>32</sup>

In December, 1834, Agent Thompson received a letter from Superintendent of Indian Affairs Elbert Herring in which the terms of the June 18, 1833, treaty were most carefully spelled out:

I transmit a copy of the Treaties with the Apalachicolas, and ask your attention to their provisions. You will perceive that these treaties present three alternatives to the Indians.

1. If under the 2nd article they retain their reservations, the United States will withdraw their protection, as soon as the Seminoles and Blount's band have emigrated. During this period, the United States will pay to them their proportion of the annuity of \$5000, secured by the treaty of Camp Moultrie, and the balance of this annuity for its unexpired term, when this period is closed.

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31. Wiley Thompson to Secretary of War Lewis Cass, December 12, 1834, *ibid.*, 521.

32. Thompson to Elbert Herring, October 28, 1834, *T.P.*, XXV, 58-63.

2. If they sell their lands under the 2nd Article and remove to Arkansas, at any time prior to the completion of the removal of the Seminoles, then they must pay, from their private resources, all the expenses of their migration and subsistence.

3. If under the 2nd Article they surrender within the same period their reservations to the United States and join the Creeks and Seminoles, in Arkansas and give up the treaty made with themselves, the United States will pay them three thousand dollars for the reservation granted by the 2nd Article, and extend to them all the beneficial provisions of the treaty of Payne's Landing, a copy of which is enclosed.

These three propositions of the treaties are distinct and intelligible, and the Department cannot vary them.

If they follow Blount to Texas, then the United States will be bound by the first proposition, to pay the annuity as there stated, and nothing more.

No provision is made by the treaty, for a surrender to the United States and a union with Blount in Texas. If they surrender to the United States, and join the Seminoles in Arkansas and relinquish the treaty made with themselves, then the 3rd proposition as above stated, will be binding upon the United States and upon them.

You are requested to explain these treaties to the Indians, that they may understand all that it is in the power of the Government to do for them.<sup>33</sup>

As stipulated above, the terms of the treaty were carefully explained to the Indians but one unexpected problem arose. Yellow Hair, who had migrated with Blount and Davy to Texas, appealed for federal funds through the intercession of an interpreter, Stephen Richards. It was pointed out to Yellow Hair that the only money due him was the share of the annuity.<sup>34</sup> If his land had been surrendered to the government and he had moved to the Indian Territory he would have received a larger amount of money. Yellow Hair and his band, however, received \$3,250 in June, 1835, when they sold some 960 acres to Jesse Coe and David Raney.

When the bloody Second Seminole War blazed forth in De-

33. Herring to Thompson, December 23, 1834, *ibid.*, 83. In November, 1834, it appeared that Econchatimicco and Mulatto King might go to Texas. Blount's wife was a daughter of Mulatto King and Econchatimicco would go wherever Mulatto King desired. The death of Blount, however, ended any chance of removal to Texas. See Herring to Thompson, December 2, 1834, *ibid.*, 71.

34. Lewis Cass to Thompson, April 29, 1835, *ibid.*, 134-185.

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ember, 1835, the Apalachicola bands gave full aid and comfort to the whites but their efforts were not appreciated. As early as January, 1836, Governor John Eaton requested David M. Sheffield to proceed to the Apalachicola River and persuade some Apalachicolas to join the militia companies being organized to wage a campaign against the hostiles. Eleven or more Indians volunteered their services and were soon at the center of operations in Tampa. In an additional move to demonstrate their feelings of friendliness, most of the warriors surrendered their firearms. This gesture was of no avail for some rascals from Georgia invaded the Apalachicola reserves in March, 1836, and stole twenty slaves from defenseless Econchatimicco.<sup>36</sup> In a meeting held at Quincy on May 14, 1836, the citizens of Gadsden County resolved among various other matters: "Whereas there are some indications of a hostile nature among the Indians on the Apalachicola River, it be respectfully recommended to the Governor of the Territory to disarm those Indians and take such other steps as he may deem necessary to preserve their neutrality."<sup>37</sup> In June, 1836, Archibald Smith, Jr., was appointed agent in charge of the Apalachicola Indians at a rate of \$500 per year. In the letter of appointment he was "requested to use your best endeavors to keep these Indians friendly and to protect them from injury by white persons."<sup>38</sup> It was suggested in the same letter that he press for their speedy removal for "circumstances will not suffer them to remain in Florida."

By August, 1836, the reserve Indians were in a desperate situation. Although they had assisted the military in operations against the hostiles, the whites had driven them from their homes and had stolen slaves and property. Consequently, they had been unable to plant their usual crops and sought rations of corn and beef from the government. It was most discouraging to be attacked by both forces in the war; some of Osceola's raiders were able to elude the troops and inflict damage on the Apalachicolas.

Exactly one year after their agent sought help, United States

35. David M. Sheffield to Cass, February 9, 1836, *ibid.*, 567-568.

36. Econchatimicco to Congress of the United States, April 2, 1836, *ibid.*, 462.

37. Resolution by Citizens of Gadsden County, May 14, 1836, *ibid.*, 284-285.

38. George Gibson to Archibald Smith, Jr., June 14, 1836, *ibid.*, 312.

district attorney, George Walker, was directed to investigate these outrages and "make inquiries as to whether it is probable these Indians would be willing now to dispose of their reservations and join their kindred west of the Mississippi."<sup>39</sup> Walker visited the several Indian reserves and found some things that were most disconcerting. Probably the most serious situation of all was evidence that Agent Archibald Smith had established a liquor shop and was selling hard liquor and ammunition to the Indians. It was said that the grog establishment proprietor was doing his best to discourage removal to the West. When thirty or forty well armed Creek Indians fled from Alabama into the area and were received as friends by the Seminoles the ingredients of an Indian war were readily available at the reserves.<sup>40</sup> Fortunately for all concerned, the Creek warriors were taken away and the Apalachicolas remained at peace.

By 1838 the federal authorities began their final drive to remove the Apalachicolas from Florida. It was pointed out to them that by remaining in Florida they would be subject to the laws of Florida "without annuity, without claim on the care and protection of the general government, with no means of support but the proceeds of the balance of their reserves and the residue of the annuity then to be advanced to them."<sup>41</sup> As a result of the above effort, Econchatimicco, Mulatto King, and other leaders signed on June 20, 1838, deeds which surrendered title to the reserves. They agreed to move west by October. When Governor Call needed men to drive the removal-fleeing Alabama Creeks from the swamps near Pensacola, the Apalachicolas volunteered their services. They spent several months tracking down the fugitives but never received any money or reward for their efforts.

In order to place the final touches upon the removal, Daniel Boyd visited Mulatto King's and Econchatimicco's towns so that he could make a suitable census and appraisal of personal property and real estate, but experienced some difficulties. Although given two weeks notice, few people made themselves available for questioning - but most of the men could be found at nearby saloons. None of the land had been surveyed and it was difficult to locate boundaries, but two whites claimed by pre-emption half a section

39. Carey A. Harris to George Walker, August 2, 1837, *ibid.*, 409.

40. Walker to Harris, January 25, 1838, *ibid.*, 458-59.

41. Walker to Harris, May 21, 1838, *ibid.*, 506-507.

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on the reserve.<sup>42</sup> Finally on October 28, 1838, the entire group of Apalachicola Seminoles and a small number of Creeks departed from Florida for the West aboard one steamer and two schooners. The land they had left was surveyed and ready for sale by August, 1839.<sup>43</sup>

After 1838 there were no longer any Apalachicola Seminoles living in the Apalachicola valley. The Indians had done their best to remain on friendly terms with the whites but it was an impossible task, for the frontier folks wanted no Indians living in their neighborhood. Daniel Boyd compiled a list of the Apalachicola claims and the money each Indian received in compensation from the Government. Samples taken at random from the list<sup>44</sup> indicate that most of the holdings were small but a few were indeed impressive.

NAMES OF CLAIMANTS	FOR WHAT	AMOUNT
Capt. Billy	1 cabin, 1 crib, 1 shed, 2 acres improved land, fences	\$ 37.00
John Walker	8 acres improved land	40.00
Econ Chatta Micco	1 cabin, 1 stone house, 1 crib, 1 summer house, 3 log cabins, 1 shed, 1 fence and pen with 3 acres improved land.	144.00
Econ Chatta Micco	Seventy acres improved land, 2 mills, 14230 rails	492.80
Billy Simipky	2 cabins, 1 crib, 3 acres improved land	46.00
Miller	1 cabin	8.00
Miletochur	1 cabin 1 1/2 acres improved land	12.00
Ora Nathla	1 cabin 1 1/2 acres improved land	18.00
Talassee	1 cabin	8.00
Tom Green	2 cabins, 2 acres improved land	23.00
Tice	1 1/2 acres improved land	8.00

This concluded a chapter in Florida history which could not be deemed glorious in any sense of the word.

42. Boyd to Harris, September 3, 1839, *ibid.*, 535-536.

43. The survey report is found in *ibid.*, 619-620. A good summary of the Apalachicolas' final days in Florida is found in Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957), 214-215.

44. A list of claims of Apalachicola Indians who have emigrated West of the Mississippi River, Florida Superintendency, Emigration 1839-1853, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives. According to Boyd who accompanied the Indians westward, one-half of Mulatto Ring's band was composed of fugitives from other tribes. It was due to pressure exerted by General Zachary Taylor's troops that the Apalachicolas and assorted fugitives consented to removal, but when the troops were withdrawn prior to embarkation, Boyd had a most difficult time. Boyd to Commissioner Crawford, January 26, 1839, Office of Indian Affairs.

## FLORIDA'S 1926 SENATORIAL PRIMARY

by WAYNE FLYNT

IF HISTORICAL SPECULATION were profitable, few Florida elections would offer more possibilities than the Democratic Senatorial primary of 1926. An election which ended as a routine skirmish between an entrenched incumbent, Duncan U. Fletcher, and a relatively obscure politico, Jerry W. Carter, could have been a struggle for political survival. To fully comprehend the possibilities of 1926, it is necessary to review some historical antecedents.

William Jennings Bryan had forsaken the Great Plains and moved to Miami in 1916. The "Silver Tongued Orator" was interested in reviving his political career. Already a three-time loser in presidential competition, Bryan envisioned a restoration of his national reputation by winning a place in the United States Senate. In 1922 a persistent rumor hinted that Bryan would seek the Senate seat held by Park Trammell. The *Tampa Times* and other state papers coveted the value of a senator with such national prestige. On February 15, 1922, Bryan announced his willingness to be drafted as a candidate, but he had "no thought of entering into a contest for the office."<sup>1</sup>

Many papers fancied the idea of Bryan representing Florida and predicted an easy victory. On the other hand, Park Trammell would not surrender without resistance. Even papers supporting Bryan's candidacy acknowledged that the only way he could gain the nomination was to enter the primary and defeat Trammell. Although the "Great Commoner" made a tour of the state, speaking at towns such as Tampa, Miami, Clearwater, and Haines City, he was not willing to risk humiliation at the hands of Florida voters, and the entire issue was dropped.

The years between 1922 and 1925 brought change to Florida. Amid rampant land speculation, the total population rose to 1,263,549. The urban population increased 295,078, or 30.4 percent, between 1920 and 1925. Dade County experienced a phenomenal 160.6 percent increase, from 42,753 to 111,532, in

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1. See *The Commoner*, February, 1922; also the *Miami Daily Metropolis*, February 15, 1922.

a half decade. Only Hillsborough County, which increased 51 percent to 133,384, and Duval County led Dade in population. The peninsula state had 9,200 miles of highway by 1925, and 5,500 miles of railroad tracks.<sup>2</sup>

One permanent factor in changing Florida was the desire of William Jennings Bryan to occupy a Senate chair. In 1925 he longingly evaluated his chances of unseating veteran incumbent Duncan Fletcher. Early in the year Bryan sent the editor of the *Sanford Herald* his reasons for desiring the senatorship. "If this matter strikes you favorably," he wrote, "and you have an editorial along these lines, I wish you would send me a number of copies . . . so I can send them to other papers that are friendly."<sup>3</sup> The *Tampa Observer* published an editorial strongly endorsing Bryan, and the *Clay County Times* editor joined what he hoped would become a band wagon.

Across the state in Jacksonville, twenty-one railroad brotherhoods held a joint meeting to determine their preference in the coming election. They requested Jerry Carter, state hotel commissioner and a pro-union progressive, to find an opponent capable of defeating Fletcher, a man they associated with railroad and corporate interests.<sup>4</sup> Carter first tried to persuade a state senator from Nassau County to run. Next, he approached former Governor Cary Augustus Hardee who had just left office. Hardee also declined to oppose Fletcher, offering his indebtedness to the incumbent Senator as the reason." Following this rebuff, Carter changed strategy. He went to Tampa and talked to some close friends of Doyle E. Carlton, a highly respected young politician and orator. Carter argued that Fletcher was at a low ebb in his career and Carlton could beat him. Carlton's associates viewed the plan favorably, but Fletcher's Tampa supporters, advised of these political machinations, sponsored a mass meeting. At this rally Carlton was mentioned as the 1928 gubernatorial candidate in order to remove him from the senatorial picture.<sup>6</sup>

Having failed again, Carter decided to approach William Jennings Bryan with the proposition. As previously noted, Bryan had

2. *The Fifth Census of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1925), 9-21.

3. Quoted in Morris R. Werner, *Bryan* (New York, 1929), 310.

4. Interview with Jerry W. Carter, Railroad and Public Utilities Commissioner, March 1, 1962.

5. *Ibid.*

6. *Ibid.*, November 21, 1962.

already expressed some inclination to run. Though noncommittal in his reply, Bryan strongly hinted he would run if victory were assured. He commissioned Carter to tour the state sampling opinion and provided the necessary expense money.<sup>7</sup> While Carter was thus engaged, Bryan became involved in the evolution controversy, and despite Carter's optimistic report, the "Commoner" declined to run. Bryan's old reluctance to stake his national prestige on a state race certainly influenced his decision. So the politician turned devout headed for his last forensic battle at Dayton, Tennessee, and Carter returned to Jacksonville with a sad report for the railroad brotherhoods.

The railroad workers, still determined that someone should oppose Fletcher, turned to their unsuccessful envoy. Carter, never one to pass up a political hassle, accepted. Since Carter had little money, the railroad brotherhoods raised \$2,600 for his campaign.<sup>8</sup> By January, 1926, rumors spread across the state that Carter would oppose Fletcher for the senatorship.

Jerry Carter was a democrat, a "cracker" in the tradition of Napoleon B. Broward. He was born in Barbour County, Alabama, on August 11, 1887. Although he attended school a short time at Del Rio, Tennessee, he was largely self-educated. It is impossible to determine when he began participating in politics. For Carter, interest in things political was apparently more of a genetic heritage than an acquired interest. After an electioneering dispute in Tennessee, he moved to Florida. Within a few years he was back at his first love, working for Sidney J. Catts in the 1916 gubernatorial campaign. The grateful governor appointed Carter hotel commissioner, a job he maintained under Governors Hardee and John W. Martin. In 1924 Florida's "Mr. Democrat" was elected delegate to the National Democratic Convention, running second only to William Jennings Bryan.<sup>9</sup> Carter and Fletcher were distant friends until the senatorial election of 1920. In that year Carter managed Catts' unsuccessful race against Fletcher. The hotel commissioner, an able pamphleteer, drew some satirical cartoons featuring Fletcher, and the friendship cooled.

7. *Ibid.*

8. This amounted to approximately half of Carter's total expenditure during the campaign. *Ibid.*, March 1, 1962.

9. William T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Live Oak, 1936), 190-191.

Shortly before Carter announced his candidacy, Dr. John A. Van Valzah entered the race. Van Valzah, a resident of fast-growing West Palm Beach, had served in the state legislature, but was politically inactive at the time of his announcement. His candidacy, announced on March 20, drew little interest. Rumors of Carter's candidacy multiplied after an interview published in the *Tampa Morning Telegraph*. According to Carter, the state needed a younger man in the Senate, one "capable of organizing the political forces there." Florida had "not been represented by a vigorous man of progressive ideas."<sup>10</sup> On April 7, 1926, Carter confirmed the rumors in a letter to the papers announcing his candidacy, and then set up his headquarters in the Cherokee Hotel at Tallahassee.

The favorite in the campaign was the incumbent, Duncan Fletcher. First elected senator in 1908, he was reelected in 1914 and 1920. In these elections, he constructed a powerful coalition of conservative-business and farm voters.<sup>11</sup> In 1926 Fletcher looked notably older than in his other races. His face was wrinkled, his mustache and hair white with age. In general appearance he was somber, almost stoic. Never a spectacular senator, he worked diligently for Florida. In 1913 as chairman of the Rural Credits Commission, he framed a bill establishing a system of privately controlled banks, operating under federal charter, to aid farmers in attaining credit. A man who knew the value of the "pork barrel," he also did much in his first eighteen years to improve Florida's port and waterway systems. With this record, Fletcher began the campaign confidently.

During the early days of the race, Carter was handicapped by his reputation as a wit. He founded the "Royal Order of Ancient and Hopping Fleas," an organization which included national political figures such as Tom Watson and numerous Florida politicians. One of his most famous capers was the attempt to nominate his wife as Vice-president of the United States at the 1924 Democratic National Convention. Although personally well liked and generally respected, Carter's campaign initially was dismissed as a

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10. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, Carter papers, scrapbooks, and clippings; in possession of Jerry W. Carter, Tallahassee, Florida. Hereafter cited as Carter Collection.

11. See James Wayne Flynt, "The 1908 Senatorial Primary in Florida" (Unpublished Master's thesis, Florida State University, 1962).

joke. The Republican editor of the *Tampa Telegraph* wrote of Carter, "He's a good, genial fellow, a dyed in the wool cracker boy who deserves great credit, but in the United States Senate he would 'rattle like a bean in a bladder. . . .'"<sup>12</sup> The *Dunnellon Truth* praised Carter's record but added that he stood as much chance of beating Fletcher as "would a dog with wax legs of catching an asbestos cat in Sheol."<sup>13</sup> In a final insult the *Tallahassee State* noted, "If Jerry can get all the Fleas [to vote for him], Dunk had better watch out."<sup>14</sup> During the campaign only fourteen papers gave Carter "equal treatment."<sup>15</sup> The Bradenton *Tri-City Daily News*, the *South Florida Developer* of Stuart, and the *Lake Wales Highlander* supported him. The largest paper in St. Petersburg, the *Daily News*, endorsed him and published one entire issue supporting his candidacy. The *Jacksonville Journal* favored Carter in March, but withdrew its support in favor of Fletcher on May 12. Carter noted the newspaper opposition and wrote in one of his campaign documents, "Fighting to oust the money powers that control the editorial expression of newspapers is the fight of the people and Jerry W. Carter is the natural champion from within their midst."<sup>16</sup>

Carter drew his most vocal support from organized labor. A. D. Wright, state representative and labor spokesman, wrote that Fletcher voted against all legislation urged by his group, and he praised Carter. The hotel commissioner also had strong labor backing in Miami and Jacksonville. Charles M. Wood, president of the Florida Typographical Conference and organizer for the American Federation of Labor in the Tallahassee area, distributed a letter endorsing Carter.<sup>17</sup> The official publication of the Florida Association of Architects favored Carter in its April publication, and the Tallahassee Typographical Union adopted a resolution on May 7 supporting him.<sup>18</sup>

While the unions praised Carter, Fletcher drew laudatory response from across the nation. In Washington the members of

12. *Tampa Telegraph*, January 7, 1926, copy in Carter Collection.

13. *Dunnellon Truth*, quoted in *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, March 3, 1926.

14. *Tallahassee State*, quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 25, 1926.

15. Interview with Jerry Carter, March 1, 1962.

16. *Daily Punch*, May 22, 1926, Carter Collection.

17. Letter from Charles M. Wood, Carter Collection.

18. *St. Petersburg Daily News*, May 15, 1926, Carter Collection.

the Democratic Senatorial Campaign Committee made no secret of their desire to have Fletcher reelected. In Georgia the *Bainbridge Post-Searchlight* called him "the ablest man that the state of Florida has had in public life in the last half century."<sup>19</sup> The *Atlanta Constitution* also intervened in Florida politics to praise him. In Florida the senator's candidacy brought an avalanche of press support which included the *Sarasota Times*, *Panama City Beacon-Tribune*, *Sanford Herald*, *Palmetto Midnight Sun*, *Tarpon Springs Leader*, *Fort Myers Tropical News*, *Palm Beach Independent*, *Brooksville Herald*, *Eustis Lake Region*, *Pensacola Journal*, *Clearwater Herald*, *Tampa Morning Telegraph*, *Dade City Banner*, *Miami News*, *Tallahassee Smith's Weekly*, *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, *Lake City Reporter*, *St. Petersburg Independent*, *Gainesville Sun*, *Leesburg Commercial*, *North Miami Courier*, *Melbourne Journal*, and *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*. Seldom in Florida's political history has a primary candidate drawn such overwhelming press endorsement. In a remarkable development George W. Bean, national Republican committeeman from Florida, recommended Fletcher's reelection: ". . . the Democratic party has not a harder working or more influential senator, and if he lived north of the Ohio River he would be Democratic presidential timber."<sup>20</sup>

With such acclaim Fletcher's confidence appeared justified. He predicted an overwhelming victory with a minimum 50,000 vote margin over Carter. Until May, Fletcher remained in Washington, leaving the state entirely to his two opponents. In his announcement as a candidate, Fletcher enumerated his issues and his friends and the newspapers carried the initial burden of the campaign. He based his bid for reelection on two arguments. First, he had a long record of service for the state. Through his efforts, rivers and harbors were improved and better transportation provided; he was responsible for public buildings, adequate postal service, and more veteran's benefits. He helped solve the immigration problem and saved the farmers millions of dollars by his bank system.

The second major issue was his seniority. Fletcher was the ranking Democrat on three major committees and was familiar

19. *Bainbridge Post-Searchlight*, quoted in *Tampa Morning Tribune*, May 10, 1926.

20. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, June 5, 1926.

with senate rules, procedure, and practice - all acquired only through years of experience. Voters read these arguments in virtually every newspaper and heard them from Fletcher spokesmen at every rally.

Jerry Carter belittled Fletcher's record, charging him with responsibility for increased interstate transportation rates. As a progressive isolationist in the Robert La Follette tradition, Carter attacked Fletcher's vote favoring American membership in the World Court and the incumbent's opposition to woman suffrage. Though progressive when advocating federal provision for the development of American aviation or better care for disabled veterans, Carter also appealed to the southern states rights tradition. He pledged to amend the transportation act to prevent the Interstate Commerce Commission from overriding decisions of state railroad boards. "In our democracy," he said, "the State is the unit of government, the federal government possessing only such powers as are conferred upon it by the states."<sup>21</sup>

The hopeful hotel commissioner began his campaign at Alderman's Ford in Hillsborough County. Adhering to the philosophy of "just saying what I think and what I believe,"<sup>22</sup> Carter generally spoke impromptu. His speeches sparkled with wit and humorous anecdotes. In his first speech he denounced Fletcher for voting against woman suffrage and called for improved farm roads and transportation in the backcountry. Carter enumerated other arguments in later speeches. Sensing a potent issue in the question of World Court membership, he rushed to the offensive. Participation in the World Court, he said, would place America at the mercy of alien nations; cost the country \$50,000 a year; result in war if the United States refused to submit a problem to arbitration; mean trial by foreign judges of complaints against America; and bind America to enforce decisions involving other nations.<sup>23</sup> This entire issue was hotly debated across the nation. Speaking in Chicago on February 21, Senator James A. Reed of Missouri announced a campaign to defeat all senators running for reelection who supported World Court membership. Reed, who knew Carter personally, made a series of speeches in Florida attacking Fletcher. Tom Watson, Reed, and Robert La Follette

21. *Smith's Weekly*, April 9, 1926.

22. Interview with Jerry Carter, November 21, 1962.

23. *Daily Punch*, June 3, 1926, Carter Collection.

made speeches in Congress against the Court and sent copies in unaddressed envelopes to Carter. Then he simply addressed the envelopes and sent them over the state.<sup>24</sup> Many of Carter's arguments opposing the Court were originally formulated by Reed, La Follette, or some other congressional isolationist.

Fletcher defended his action by showing that the purpose of the World Court was to "settle international differences by rules of justice and reason and not by force. . . ." <sup>25</sup> The *Florida Times-Union* wrote supporting the senator, "Sincere friends of peace by judicial procedure, rather than by war, hope that the action . . . will prove . . . practical." <sup>26</sup> As the battle over Court membership intensified, Josephus Daniels, Secretary of the Navy under Woodrow Wilson, spoke in Jacksonville. He praised American membership in the Court, saying it marked the end of extreme American isolation. <sup>27</sup>

Dr. John Van Valzah, bypassed by his two opponents, tried to interject life into his campaign by utilizing an old trick of the political underdog: using a popular opponent to provide an audience. He challenged Fletcher to a joint debate at every county seat in the state. The politically sagacious Fletcher would have none of this and replied tartly, "If you are finding it impossible to interest the people in your candidacy it is not my purpose to accept your self defense challenge and neglect official duties by going over the state to promote your campaign." <sup>28</sup>

Carter could not be disposed of so easily. The *St. Petersburg Daily News* cranked up a perennial argument against Fletcher. In a full page editorial the News called the senator the "pet baby of the railroads."<sup>29</sup> Fletcher's opponents never tired of reminding him that he had been legal consultant for a large Florida railroad. Carter exploited this image by complaining that during the time Fletcher served in the Senate, intra-state freight rates in Florida increased fifty-five per cent. This increase hurt farmers but helped railroads. The *Tallahassee Daily Democrat* came to Fletcher's defense. The editor noted that during this same time span the

24. Interview with Jerry Carter, November 21, 1962.

25. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, January 29, 1926.

26. *Ibid.*, January 30, 1926.

27. *Ibid.*, February 1, 1926.

28. See telegram reprinted in Tallahassee *Smith's Weekly*, April 16, 1926.

29. *St. Petersburg Daily News*, Carter Collection.

price of steel rails increased, as did the average yearly wage. Compared with these compensating increases, the freight rates lost significance.<sup>30</sup> *Smith's Weekly* argued that if Fletcher was to blame for the sixty-five percent increase in freight rates, then Carter should assume responsibility for the five to six hundred percent increase in some Florida hotel rates.<sup>31</sup>

More outside help for Fletcher came from Claude Bennett, founder of the Congressional Information Bureau. Speaking in Tampa on March 16, he called Fletcher "the ablest and most useful representative Florida has ever had."<sup>32</sup> Despite the assistance of Bennett, Daniels, and the Florida press, Fletcher's campaign lagged. Carter offered a much more strenuous challenge than expected. The *Miami Herald*, which supported the incumbent senator, noted that Carter "is known everywhere and is very generally liked." The paper warned that it "would be suicidal on the part of Senator Fletcher's friends to ignore the candidacy of this gentleman."<sup>33</sup>

Evidently agreeing with the *Herald's* analysis, Fletcher returned from Washington in late April. He spoke at Pomona on May 1 to the quarterly meeting of the National Board of Directors of the Farmer's Union. Eager to solidify his farm constituency, he endorsed a system of agricultural production control and cooperative marketing. He also reminded the farm leaders that his farm bank system saved farmers from five to six hundred million dollars a year in interest alone.<sup>34</sup> In early May, Fletcher returned to Washington to participate in debate on farm relief bills pending before Congress.

Apparently the reports which reached Fletcher during his brief tour of the state shook his complacency. In the next three weeks, he rammed through legislation designed to help Florida and Fletcher. On May 13, the McLeod-Fletcher Bill passed. This legislation transferred certain Key West property from the Post Office Department to the Department of Commerce. A light house depot would be constructed on the land with a \$200,000 expenditure.<sup>35</sup> Next, the senator proposed an amendment to

30. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, April 12, 1926.

31. *Tallahassee Smith's Weekly*, May 28, 1926.

32. *Tampa Morning Tribune*, March 17, 1926.

33. *Miami Herald*, Carter Collection.

34. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, May 2, 1926.

35. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1926.

the rivers and harbors bill authorizing a preliminary survey for a channel to connect the upper St. Johns River near Sanford with the Indian River near Titusville. The project would make available two inland water routes from Jacksonville down the east coast to Titusville. The political significance of this legislation was highlighted by a report adopted on May 23 by the presidents and secretaries of thirty-one east coast chambers of commerce. They enlisted in a determined effort to develop an inland waterway from Jacksonville to Miami. To implement this resolution they initiated a campaign in each county to acquaint citizens with the need for such a waterway and the necessity for electing candidates who supported the plan.<sup>36</sup> Duncan Fletcher still possessed the magic ability to determine the desires of his constituents.

Despite this legislative fence-mending, Fletcher was concerned. When he returned to Washington in May he planned to remain until the session ended, but reports from Florida evidently worried him. In a press conference on May 14, Fletcher voiced little of his February and March confidence. Several of his friends, "by way of guarding against overconfidence and taking no chances," thought it best for him to come back to Florida. He maintained no doubts about the outcome - "provided all facts and circumstances are properly made known instead of whispered, unfounded rumors and derogatory charges or insinuations that might tend to poison the minds of those not acquainted with the honest and diligent efforts I have made. . . ." <sup>37</sup>

Fletcher returned to Jacksonville on May 25, determined to finish off Florida's ambitious hotel commissioner. He spent all day in conferences, notably arranging details for a speaking tour with his campaign manager, Arthur T. Williams. After visiting some prominent local friends, he secluded himself in his room at the Seminole Club to rest for the trial ahead. In the next ten days he campaigned like the Fletcher of 1908. On May 27, he spoke to the annual convention of the Florida Association of Postmasters at Green Cove Springs. In his address, he predicted that Florida would receive a large part of the \$100,000,000 appropriated for public buildings, and he proposed a pay increase for fourth-class postmasters.<sup>38</sup>

36. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, May 24, 1926.

37. *Ibid.*, May 14, 1926.

38. *Ibid.*, May 28, 1926.

After placating the postmasters, the Senator went to St. Petersburg for a speech on Friday night, May 28. There Fletcher predicted federal aid for improvements at the local port and reminded the voters of his proficiency at manipulating the "pork barrel." From May 28 to May 31, he remained in the St. Petersburg area to speak and politic. On Tuesday, June 1, he made a major address to a number of Tampa civic clubs defending himself against Carter's incessant attacks. He voted against woman suffrage not to deprive women of the vote, but because the bill was an unconstitutional intrusion on the rights of the states to set voting requirements. He was pro-American Legion as his voting record demonstrated. On labor matters he opposed only four of the thirty measures favored during his career by the American Federation of Labor. Regarding freight rates, he could no more control them than he could control the cost of living or wages. Furthermore, he believed American entry into the World Court would not limit the nation's rights. Fletcher closed the speech with a resume of his contribution to de Florida economy and the advantages of his seniority.<sup>39</sup>

On Wednesday he spoke to other Tampa civic clubs and then ended his visit to the city with a rally that night. The next day he spoke at Bradenton, then at Sarasota on Thursday, and in Miami on Friday. From Miami he traveled back around the coast, speaking as he went. On June 7, election eve, he addressed a rally in Jacksonville. Again he reviewed his record, including his advocacy of veteran benefits and his pro-labor voting record. The rest of the speech was largely a repetition of the earlier Tampa address. A significant feature of Fletcher's ten-day swing through Florida was that all of his major speeches were delivered on or near the coast from Tampa east to Jacksonville. He virtually ignored north Florida except for the Jacksonville area. This contest and future campaigns would be won or lost in powerful Hillsborough, fast growing Dade, and along the coast. Fletcher realized this and geared much of his time and legislation to winning the urban vote. He sacrificed the farm counties in the north for the more populous south Florida areas. Carter was slow to learn this lesson and seemed to gear his strategy to a rural psychology.

39. See *Tampa Morning Tribune*, June 2, 1926.

Shortly before the election, Fletcher's campaign was boosted by Mrs. Violet B. King, chairman of the legislative committee of the national auxiliary of United Spanish-American War Veterans. In a letter to the papers, she praised the Senator's support of pension bills, one of which Fletcher had conveniently introduced in February, 1926. Mrs. King's letter was followed ten days later by another tribute praising Fletcher's tireless efforts in behalf of veterans. This second endorsement was written by Col. John Thomas Taylor of the national legislative committee of the American Legion. With these last minute efforts, Fletcher retired to await primary results.

When all returns were counted, Fletcher won by a vote of 63,760 to 39,143 for Carter, and 4,226 for Van Valzah. Carter ran well in the old farmer-progressive areas. We carried Okaloosa, Holmes, and Calhoun counties in the panhandle, and narrowly lost Escambia and Santa Rosa. In north central and north eastern Florida, Carter carried Suwannee, Nassau, Clay, Bradford, Gilchrist, and Flagler counties. But south of Gilchrist and Flagler, he won in only two counties, Brevard and Martin. Fletcher split the north Florida farm vote, lost the labor vote, but carried the cities and booming south Florida.

Had Fletcher not returned to the state for ten last days of intensive effort, Carter's vote would have been considerably larger. Probably Fletcher would have won, but Carter campaigned tirelessly and his arguments might have won by default. In view of the political power of a three term incumbent, Carter ran a remarkable race. Thirty-six years later, Carter remains convinced that a better orator, more prominently known, could have defeated Fletcher in 1926.<sup>40</sup>

For one determined to consider historical "ifs," the 1926 Democratic primary is a bonanza. Had Bryan lived and entered the race against Fletcher, had Carter convinced Doyle Carlton to oppose the incumbent, had the senator decided not to actively campaign, the results might have been different. The 1926 primary was just a bit more than another simple victory in the illustrious career of Duncan Fletcher.

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40. It is still Carter's opinion that Doyle Carlton could have beaten Fletcher. Interview with Jerry Carter, November 21, 1962.

## NEWSPAPER MOTTOES IN ANTE-BELLUM FLORIDA

by WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

SOUTHERN NEWSPAPERS before the Civil War were individualistic, caustic, and for the most part politically partisan. The typical newspaper devoted a page to foreign news, contained a section devoted to literary items, and had an outspoken editorial page. Editors borrowed liberally from each other, usually but not always citing the sources of their borrowings. The last page was filled with advertisements but they were also scattered throughout the paper, frequently appearing on page one.

Florida fitted into the Southern pattern and in 1840 had ten newspapers. An authority on territorial journalism has estimated that these papers had a combined circulation in 1845, the year statehood was achieved, of 3,500 to 4,000 copies.<sup>1</sup> By 1850 there were still ten papers, one tri-weekly and nine weeklies, but their circulation had increased to 5,750. During the next decade the number of papers and readers increased significantly. In 1860 two tri-weeklies, one semi-weekly, and nineteen weeklies were being published in Florida. These twenty-two journals had 15,500 subscribers.<sup>2</sup> As a result of being passed from hand to hand, the papers reached a more numerous audience than that indicated by the subscription lists.

Florida newspapers were characterized by both frontier crudeness and upper South sophistication. Editors, obviously educated in the classics, filled their columns with metaphors, sprinkled their prose with Latin phrases, and made analogies between contemporary politicians and Greek heroes. Their knowledge of the Bible was exhaustive. Yet these same men denounced their enemies with vitriolic attacks and venomous slanders.

As the only medium of mass communications, the newspaper

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1. James Owen Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (DeLand, 1926), 42.

2. *Compendium of the Ninth Census, 1870* (Washington 1872) 510-511. In 1870 Florida had twenty-three newspapers but their circulation had slipped to 10,545.

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was an outlet for the opinions of persons not actively connected with its publication. The result was that a sizeable portion of every issue was concerned with letters to the editor. Florida correspondents often cloaked themselves in such noms-de-plume as "Justice," "A Loafer," "Crito," "Sand Hill," and "Medicus." Arguments between two parties might go on for weeks with contributions from still other disputants expanding the points at issue. The fields of discussion were unlimited and ranged across politics, theology, economics, and education.

Some Florida editors adopted mottoes that were intended to set the tone and express the basic policies of their papers. They placed them on page one directly beneath the paper's name. The mottoes were patriotic, economic, religious, political, or geographic. Several Florida papers graced their front pages with Latin phrases. Floridians did not share the prejudice of an Alabama editor against foreign languages. The Alabamian wrote that a journal would do better to have no legend at all if "the English language is too poor to furnish a suitable sentiment for a paper printed in that language and read entirely by English speaking subscribers. . . ." <sup>3</sup>

Among several Tallahassee journals employing Latin mottoes was the *Florida Courier*, which in 1831 advocated "*Nullius Ad-dictus Jurare In Verba Majistri.*" The *St. Augustine East-Florida Gazette* used this same shibboleth in 1781 when Florida was under British rule. It meant "No more said than to affirm words of truth." The territorial capital's *Star of Florida* had the extended "*Veritas, a quocunq; dicitur, a Deo est. Ex principiis nascitur probabilitas; ex factis vero veritas* (Truth by whomsoever said is from God. From the beginning is born probability; from facts come truth). The Gallic "*Laissez nous faire*" (Leave us alone), was prominently displayed by the Tallahassee *Floridian & Advocate* in 1830 and doubtless had both economic and political implications.

In 1859 the *East Floridian* at Fernandina proclaimed "*Sum Homo Et Puto Nihil Humanum Aliencum A Me*" (I am a man and I think nothing human alien to me). The Cedar Keys *Tele-*

3. William Warren Rogers, "Alabama Newspaper Mottoes from 1865 to 1900," *Alabama Historical Quarterly*, XX (Fall, 1958), 565. The author is indebted to Miss Barbara Lou Rich, a student at Florida State University, for aid in compiling Florida newspaper mottoes.

graph believed "*Magna est Veritas et Prevalebit*" (Truth is great and shall prevail). The Apalachicola *Commercial Advertiser* in 1846 had "*Libertas, Constitutio, Et Nostra Patria*" (Liberty, constitution, and our native country). "*Tempora mutantur, et nos mutamur in illis*" (The times change and we change with them), adorned the masthead of the *St. Joseph Times* in 1839.

Other newspapers expressed their sentiments in the more pedestrian English language but they were no less patriotic or extravagant in their pleas for the triumph of eternal verities. In 1846 the Tampa *Florida Peninsular* believed "Virtue, Economy, and Intelligence, are the true elements of National Greatness." Two papers in the 1840's that adopted similar slogans were the St. Augustine *Florida Herald & Southern Democrat's* "Principles and the People," and the Apalachicola *Star of the West's* "Principles, not men." In the 1850's the *Jacksonville Standard* also used "Principles, Not Men."

In the decade before the Civil War subscribers to the Madison *Southern Messenger* were advised to "Be Just, And Fear Not." In the same period the *Key of the Gulf*, published at Key West, resolved to "Ask Nothing but what is Right-Submit to Nothing that is Wrong." The Ocala *Conservator* adopted "Liberty, Union, and Equality" as its credo. Two newspapers of the 1840's with identical slogans were the *Ocala Argus* and the Palatka *Whig Banner*. They declared themselves "Devoted to Justice - Judge from Our Acts."

Theological admonitions were a popular form of motto. In 1858 the Jacksonville *Weekly Republican* mixed religion with patriotism by pledging "Resistance To Tyrants-Obedience To God." The Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel* announced "In God Is Our Trust." In 1838 readers of the St. Augustine *Florida Herald* were told, "Let all the ends thou aim'st at, Be thy country's, thy God's, and Truth's."

Several newspapers displayed an economic orientation. The *Apalachicola Courier's* 1839 maxim was "The origin of Commerce is coeval with the first dawn of Civilization." In 1846 the *Southern Journal*, published at Tallahassee, endorsed "Free Trade, Low Duties, Separation from Banks: Retrenchment, Economy; and a strict Construction of the Constitution." "Devoted to Agriculture, Horticulture, Domestic and Rural Economy," the *Ocala Tropical*

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*Farmer* was an indefatigable promoter of Marion County.

In supporting the general welfare, Florida newspapers varied from the universal good will of the *Jacksonville News*' "Our Country," to the chauvinism of the *Columbia Democrat*'s "The South In The Union-Out Of The Union The South."<sup>4</sup> It was not rare for a paper like the *Apalachicola* to support "Not the glory of Caesar, but the welfare of Rome," although the increase in sectional strife between the North and South was reflected in newspaper mottoes. In the 1840's the *Pensacola Live Oak* stood for "States Rights and Southern Interests-Measures Before Men." This sentiment was echoed in the 1850's by the *Ocala Marion Star* which declared "In the Sovereignty of the States Lies the Safety of the South."

Some papers deliberately avoided controversy. Two of these were published at Ocala: the *Florida Mirror* was "A Family Paper; Devoted To News, Literature, Science, and The Industrial Arts," while the *Florida Home Companion* was "An Independent Family Newspaper." In 1852 the *Florida News* at Jacksonville quietly stated that it was "A Family And Political Paper." Few papers in the United States could match the peacefulness of the *Pensacola Neutral*. Its editor adopted the motto, "Neutral in Politics, Respectful in religions, vigilant in business, I am with all, and for all."

Another type of motto was the quotation from a famous person or document. In 1839 the *Tallahassee Star* used Washington's statement "In proportion as the structure of a government gives force to public opinion, it should be enlightened." The remark, "The Fabric Of American Empire Ought To Rest On The Solid Base Of The Consent Of The People," by Alexander Hamilton adorned the *Jacksonville Florida Republican* in 1848. The *East Florida Herald*, in St. Augustine, borrowed from the Declaration of Independence and asserted, "All men are created equal-they are endowed with certain unalienable rights-among these are life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness."

Mottoes that defy precise classification were also used. One adopted by newspapers throughout the country was employed by the *Marianna Florida Whig*. The slogan was "Education and a

4. The *Columbia Democrat* was published at Alligator (Lake City) and ran a secondary and less militant slogan, "Politics, Commerce, and Literature."

free press, the fulcrum and lever which move the world." In 1840 the Jacksonville *East Florida Advocate* used what was described as an "Old Proverb," in setting forth a truism glorifying unstinting effort. The newspaper declared, "I can't never accomplished anything - but I'll try has achieved wonders."

Newspapers that did not adopt slogans were as capably edited as those that did, yet the practice was widespread. The various mottoes, from ringing proclamations of sectional defiance to platitudes of doubtful substance, were a colorful part of Florida's ante-bellum newspaper history.

THE ANNUAL MEETING, SARASOTA  
MAY 2-4, 1963

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS MEETING

THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS of the Florida Historical Society met at the Azure Tides Hotel, Lido Beach, Sarasota, on the evening of May 2 with Dr. Frank B. Sessa presiding. The others present for this meeting were Charles Arnade, Rembert W. Patrick, James R. Knott, James H. Lipscomb, III, Gilbert L. Lycan, Paul L. Maddock, Mary McRae, Duncan L. Clinch, Walter R. Hellier, Thomas O. Brown, Adam G. Adams, Thelma Peters, William M. Goza, and Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.

The minutes of the annual Directors' Meeting in November, 1962, were not read since they had previously been duplicated and circularized among the Directors. However, a minor correction was made changing Florida Library Association to Florida State Library; otherwise the minutes were approved. In the absence of the executive secretary-treasurer, Miss Margaret Chapman, the treasurer's report was distributed in printed form. Judge Knott moved the acceptance of the treasurer's report, Mr. Maddock seconded the motion, and the report was accepted.

Dr. Patrick called attention to the excellent response to the Julien C. Yonge Fund which has recently received \$1,000 from an anonymous donor, \$500 from the University of Florida, and sixteen shares of United Gas Company stock, currently valued at \$610, from Mr. Paul L. Maddock. The fund now has in it about \$3,900.

There was a general discussion of how the Society's funds should be invested. Mr. Brown moved that a finance committee of three members be created to study ways to invest these funds. Judge Knott seconded the motion. The motion was carried.

Mr. Goza, membership chairman, distributed a list of nine members who have died during the past year. During this year, thirty-eight names were stricken from the membership list due to non-payment of dues. Mr. Goza also distributed a list of the

124 new members added during the year. Dr. Patrick commended Mr. Goza for his success in adding new members.

Dr. Sessa spoke of the need to weed out the Society's book collection now housed at the University of South Florida and suggested that Miss Chapman be given a relatively free hand in this process. Mr. Adams moved and Judge Knott seconded a motion to give Miss Chapman the specific authority to weed the collection. The motion was carried. Judge Knott moved that magazines of the Society received through exchange, and not applying to Florida, some of these dating back to the 1930's, should be given to the University of South Florida provided the University will bind them and provided also that the University purchase several subscriptions to the *Quarterly* to use in continuing the exchange program. Mr. Adams seconded the motion and it passed.

Judge Knott moved that the executive secretary be allowed \$500 a year with which to purchase additions to the Society's collection, this sum to be increased to \$750 a year upon approval of the president. The motion was seconded and carried.

Dr. Doherty, *Quarterly* editor, reported on that magazine for the year. He recommended that we continue with the same printer. He called attention to the increased number of book reviews and said this gained us national recognition. He also mentioned the good reception accorded a new feature, the Editor's Corner, and said there had been an increased use of photographs. Dr. Doherty suggested that reprints should be given to the authors of leading articles, not sold to them as at present.

Judge Knott moved and Dr. Patrick seconded a motion to supply twenty-five reprints free to each author of a leading article. The motion was carried.

Since Dr. Doherty will not receive a salary from the University of Florida during the summer and since he will have the responsibility of editing the October number of the *Quarterly* during the summer, Mr. Adams moved that the Society pay Dr. Doherty a salary for his summer work on the magazine. Dr. Patrick seconded the motion. The motion was passed.

Mr. Adams spoke of a proposed memorial to honor those Floridians who lost their lives at Gettysburg. Since the plans for this memorial are still vague, it was decided to take no action on the matter at this time.

President Sessa read the report prepared by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau who served as chairman of the annual essay contest for high school students of the state. This year there were only seventeen papers submitted and some of these made inadequate use of sources and were too general in nature. The essay committee has recommended that the Society stress originality of topic and treatment in sending out contest rules in the future.

Judge Knott mentioned the May Estate of Palm Beach which may become a gift to the State. The president asked Mr. Maddock to keep abreast of plans for the estate and to see what role if any the Society could play in its future if it becomes a museum or library.

Dr. Sessa announced that Miss Chapman had received a letter from Mr. Randall Chase of Sanford asking that the Society endorse a movement to name a new public building in Tallahassee in honor of Governor William D. Bloxham. Mrs. McRae moved that the Board make such an endorsement. The motion was seconded by Judge Knott and passed.

Dr. Sessa announced that the Life Membership for State Librarian and long-time Society member, Dr. Dorothy Dodd (funds for which were subscribed by individual members of the Board of Directors), had been presented to Dr. Dodd and the presentation had been televised during the National Library Week in April, 1963.

Mr. Adams, who has been serving on the State Civil War Centennial Commission, reported that he had represented our Society at a meeting in Tallahassee to discuss improvement of a state library and a better preservation of state archives. A bill pending before the state legislature will not only create a new commission to direct the Civil War Centennial, but this commission will be empowered to work on a state library and to preserve state archives. Dr. Lycan expressed the feelings of the board members when he commended Mr. Adams for his efforts in behalf of the creation of a new commission.

Dr. Sessa thanked Dr. Arnade for his recent letter addressed to board members and recommending eleven ways of strengthening the Society. He then appointed a committee of five to study the suggestions and make recommendations for future action. Those appointed to the committee were: Mr. Adams (Chairman),

Judge Knott, Mr. Goza, Dr. Patrick, and Dr. Arnade.

Mr. Brown suggested that the board members be given an agenda of the meeting in advance of the meeting.

Mr. Goza announced that the Historical Commission of Pinellas County wished to invite the Society to Clearwater for the 1966 meeting. The president reminded the board that the Society will meet in Miami in 1964 and in St. Augustine in 1965.

Dr. Patrick announced that the University of Florida Press had published four books in its facsimile and reprint series and expected to do others. He asked that members make suggestions as to which books relating to Florida history or biography merit reprinting. They must be books in short supply.

Dr. Patrick also announced that the biography of General Duncan L. Clinch which he has written will be out soon and that seventy-five percent of the profits from the sale of this book will go to the Society and twenty-five percent to the University of Florida Press.

Dr. Sessa said that he had recently inspected the Society's collection at the University of South Florida and found it in good condition and well-housed. He said the files of non-book materials had been called a "goldmine" by researchers who were using them the day he visited the USF Library.

The artifacts owned by the Society are still in storage at the University of Florida and the president suggested that they remain there for another year or until a practical plan for their disposal is forthcoming.

The meeting adjourned at 10:35 P.M.

Respectfully submitted,  
Thelma Peters  
Recording Secretary

#### ANNUAL BUSINESS MEETING

The annual business meeting followed a luncheon in the Azure Tides Hotel dining room at noon, May 3, 1963, with President Frank B. Sessa presiding.

Reports were given from the following local historical societies and commissions:

Jacksonville Historical Society, Mr. James H. Lipscomb, III;

St. Petersburg Historical Society, Mr. Walter Fuller; Polk County Historical Commission, Mr. Thomas O. Brown; Pinellas County Historical Commission, Mr. Ralph Reed; Clearwater Historical Commission, Mrs. R. R. Meador; St. Lucie County Historical Society, Mr. Walter R. Hellier; Historical Association of Southern Florida, Mr. Justin Havee; Martin County Historical Society, Mr. Stephen Schmidt; Hillsborough County Historical Commission, Mr. James Covington; Tallahassee Historical Society, Mr. R. L. Goulding; Palm Beach County Historical Society, Mr. Paul L. Maddock; Halifax Historical Society, Mr. Elam V. Martin; Duncan Lamont Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island, Dr. Charles Arnade; Volusia County Historical Commission, Miss Natalie Lamb; Lake County Historical Society and the Sarasota Historical Society, Mrs. Ralph F. Davis. The activities reported from various parts of the state showed much interest in Florida history and dedicated work in its behalf.

Dr. Sessa announced the winners of the annual essay contest sponsored by the Society for high school students of the state. The winners are:

*First Place:* Miss Marguerita Float: "The History of Melrose"

Box 428, RFD 1,  
Melrose, Florida

*Second Place:* Miss Kathleen Hardee: "The Buccaneer Republic"

21 N. 15th Street,  
Fernandina Beach, Florida

*Third Place:* Miss Paula Vecchione: "The Keyhole of the Keys"

St. Thomas Aquinas High School,  
Fort Lauderdale, Florida

*Honorable Mention:*

Miss Penee Hansen: "Tampa's Cigar Industry Through the Ages"

1823 Hanna Street,  
Tampa, Florida

Judge James R. Knott who served as chairman of the Resolutions Committee presented the following resolutions:

I. BE IT RESOLVED that the Florida Historical Society express its heartfelt sorrow and grievous loss at the deaths of the following members during the year:

Mrs. Alberta Johnson, St. Augustine

Mr. Frederick A. Swain, Sarasota

Miss Esther Bates, Daytona Beach

Miss Louise Richardson, Tallahassee

Mr. J. Velma Keen, Tallahassee

Mrs. M. H. Haughton, Jacksonville

Mr. Fred R. Wilson, Sanford

Mrs. E. C. Kate Wells, Arcadia

Mrs. C. L. Chambers, Sarasota

Mr. Josiah Leonard Sharit, Port St. Joe

II. BE IT RESOLVED that the Society express its gratitude to the Sarasota Historical Society, to the Sarasota Historical Commission, to the members of Mrs. Ralph F. Davis's Local Arrangements Committee, and to the Azure Tides and Three Crown Hotels for making our convention at Lido Beach such a memorable occasion.

Dr. Gilbert L. Lycan gave the report of the nominating committee as follows: President, Frank B. Sessa; Vice president, James R. Knott; Vice president, Lucius B. Ruder; Recording Secretary, Thelma Peters; Executive Secretary and Treasurer, Margaret Chapman. New members of the Board of Directors: Mrs. John T. Bills, Miami; E. M. Covington, Dade City; Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Sarasota; Ben C. Willis, Tallahassee; Mrs. James Hollingsworth, Palm Beach. [Editor's Note: Upon the declination of Mrs. James Hollingsworth the Board of Directors approved the appointment until the next Annual Meeting of Mrs. John R. DuBois of Jupiter.]

Finance committee: Paul L. Maddock, Rembert W. Patrick, and Thomas O. Brown

Nominating committee: Lucius B. Ruder, Mary McRae, Jesse L. Keene, Dena Snodgrass, and Duncan L. Clinch, chairman.

Dr. John E. Johns moved that the nominations cease and the slate be adopted as read by Dr. Lycan. The motion was seconded and carried.

The meeting was adjourned.

Respectfully submitted,  
Thelma Peters  
Recording Secretary

THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 2-4, 1963

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## FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

## Treasurer's Report

April 1, 1962-March 31, 1963

Balance, March 31, 1962 .....	\$10,570.35
Location of balance:	
Fla. Nat'l Bank at Gainesville	\$1,580.32
First Fed. Savs. & Loan .....	6,990.03
Columbia Gas Bonds .....	2,000.00
Receipts:	
Memberships	
Annual .....	\$3,030.00
Fellow .....	555.00
Libraries .....	850.00
Institutional-Contributing .....	225.00
Life .....	225.00
Sponsor .....	50.00
Student .....	12.00
Quarterlies .....	449.80
Royalties .....	26.25
Reprints .....	90.09
Annual Meeting, Jacksonville .....	59.00
Cash gifts .....	42.00
Gift of 3 shares United Gas Corporation (Par value \$10.00 each) .....	30.00
Julien C. Yonge Fund .....	2,832.00
Duncan L. Clinch Research Fund .....	1,500.00
Interests	
Guaranty Fed. Savs. (J.C. Yonge Fund) .....	72.74
First Fed. Savs. & Loan .....	345.03
Columbia Gas Bonds .....	55.00
United Gas Corporation .....	2.40
Profit, Sale of Columbia Gas Bonds .....	139.25
	<hr/>
Total receipts .....	\$10,590.56
	<hr/>
Total rec. & balance .....	\$21,160.91

## Disbursements:

Quarterly	
Printing of Quarterlies (4 issues) .....	\$4,127.49
Editing .....	300.00
Copyright .....	16.00
Envelopes, Convention Press .....	107.47
Office Supplies (telephone, postage) .....	57.08
Envelopes & Mailing, Jax Letter & Prtg. ....	105.56
Binding of Quarterlies (11 volumes) .....	31.50
Annual Meeting, Programs & badges .....	66.68
Annual Essay Contest .....	52.50
American Ass'n for State & Local History .....	12.50
D. L. Clinch biography research .....	171.00
Printing, Pepper Press .....	47.45
Typewriter repairs .....	16.75
Refund, Franklin Square Subs. Agency .....	4.50
Tax, Property .....	3.79

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Cash (stamps, supplies) .....	230.35	
Miscellaneous .....	31.86	
University of South Florida Acct 9028 (inc telephone calls, stationery, supplies) .....	229.33	
Total disbursements .....		\$ 5,621.81
		<u>\$15,539.10</u>

Balance, March 31, 1963

Location of balance:	
Fla. Nat'1 Bank at Gainesville	\$1,442.13
First Fed. Savs. & Loan .....	9,541.56
Guaranty Fed. Savs. & Loan ....	2,904.74
First Nat'1 Bank of Tampa .....	1,500.00
USF Account 9028 .....	120.67
United Gas Corporation (Par value) .....	30.00
	<u>\$15,539.10</u>

## FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY NEW MEMBERS

April 1962 - March 1963

E. Ashby Hammond	Gainesville
Mrs. Katherine B. Adams	Gainesville
Sarasota County Historical Society	Sarasota
Mrs. Ralph F. Davis	Sarasota
John F. Miller	Grosse Pointe, Michigan
Howard Chamberlen	Gainesville
Mr. & Mrs. H. J. Doherty	Jacksonville
Mrs. L. W. Probasco	Bloomington, Illinois
Mrs. Homer Hebb	Sarasota
Mrs. Ann Fletcher	Gainesville
Miss Natalie Lamb	Daytona Beach
Wesley Stout	Fort Lauderdale
Mrs. Fay C. Potter	Tampa
University of Denver	Denver, Colorado
Miss Elizabeth A. Reed	Delray Beach
Dewey A. Dye	Bradenton
Mrs. R. F. Spottswood	Key West
Warren Trotman	Zephyrhills
John T. Robertson	Okahumpka
James H. Gardner	Lakeland
Eugene C. Gaudette	Orlando
Charlton Keen	Marianna
C. Raymond Lee	Clearwater
W. I. Drysdale	St. Augustine
Donald A. Futrell	Port Charlotte
Mrs. Mae Ashton Wilbanks	Sarasota
William J. Schellings	Norfolk, Virginia
Edison Junior College	Fort Myers
Lehigh University	Bethlehem, Pennsylvania
Mrs. Clarence H. Estey	Tangerine
Rita C. Harnett	Tampa
Mildred S. White	Jacksonville
Charles W. Dean	N. Fort Myers
Nahum R. Pillsbury	Palmetto
Mrs. Mallory Roberts	Jacksonville
Gerard B. McCabe	Tampa
Roy L. Hickox	Port Charlotte
Mrs. W. Drennan	Lakeland
Gordon P. Weidman	Winter Haven
Mrs. Frederick W. Connolly	Washington, D. C.
Mrs. Robert M. Davidson	Miami Beach
E. Story Hallock	Vero Beach
John F. Demarest	Macon, Georgia
City Island Library	Daytona Beach
Fred D. Learey	Tampa
Jere Dodd, Jr.	Atlanta, Georgia
Miss Irene Blount	Fort Lauderdale
Walter B. Gant	Auburndale
James H. Dickinson, Jr.	Frostproof
Peter D. Gold	Luke A.F.B., Arizona

Thomas H. Barkdull, Jr.	Miami
E. Reinhold Rogers, Jr.	Dunedin
Ralph D. Reed	Clearwater
Clemson Agricultural College	Clemson, South Carolina
Miss Marie Morgan	Winter Haven
Charles A. L. DeForest	Tallahassee
Dennis E. Robison	St. Petersburg
Dudley S. Johnson	Tallahassee
James L. Carlile	Titusville
Seminole High School Library	Largo
St. Mary's University Library	San Antonio, Texas
Donald C. Hodgkins	Daytona Beach
Pensacola Catholic High School	Pensacola
Lake Sumter Jr. College Library	Leesburg
Arnold Ettinger	N. Miami Beach
Justin R. Weddell	Pensacola
Jefferson Davis Junior High Library	Jacksonville
Lake Shore Junior High Library	Jacksonville
Port Charlotte Public Library	Port Charlotte
O. Z. Tyler, Jr.	Jacksonville
R. H. Wood	Arcadia
Durward Long	Lakeland
Suwannee River Junior College	Madison
Auburn University Library	Auburn, Alabama
George B. Church, Jr.	Tampa
Memphis State University Library	Memphis, Tennessee
University of Utah Library	Salt Lake City, Utah
T. David Anderson	St. Petersburg
Furman H. Hebb	New York, New York
Mrs. Nancy M. Meador	Clearwater
Leon Whitehurst, Jr.	Clearwater
Ft. Lauderdale Historical Society, Inc.	Fort Lauderdale
Rufus C. Wysong	Panasoffkee
Carlton E. Lilly	Lutz
Carlton H. Lipscomb, III	Atlantic Beach
Clarke Olney	Athens, Georgia
William W. Orr	Tampa
John K. Martin	Tampa
Mrs. Jeanne H. Bella	Sarasota
Palmer Bevis	Sarasota
James E. Paulk	Sarasota
Robert L. Scott	Bradenton
Wayne Flynt	Tallahassee
C. C. Baldwin	Ormond Beach
Lamar Pearson	Tuscaloosa, Alabama
Raul Vega, Jr.	Tampa
Mrs. Helen C. Collier	Bradenton
Nathan W. White	Fort Lauderdale
Mrs. A. N. Wood	Venice
Bertram H. Groene	Tallahassee
Mrs. Leora M. Sutton	Pensacola
Mrs. Blanche S. McKnight	Deland
Dade County Junior College	Miami
Central State College	Edmond, Oklahoma
Western Illinois University	Macomb, Illinois
Ohio State University Libraries	Columbus, Ohio
Herbert M. Blanton, Jr.	Clearwater
Southwest Miami High School	Miami
Mrs. Betty Bush	Jupiter

THE ANNUAL MEETING, MAY 2-4, 1963

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Mrs. Fleure R. Christiansen  
Miss Elizabeth Russell  
Clark Brown, Jr.  
Mr. and Mrs. A. G. Fouts  
George L. Milligan  
Edgar F. Shilts  
Paul Sisler Hayes  
John R. Cone, III  
William F. McDaniel  
Edward P. Lyons, Jr.  
F. Kiernan Schoonmaker  
Richard Gubner  
G. L. Patterson  
G. Andrew Speer  
Florida Methodist Historical Society

Miami  
Fort Ogden  
Arcadia  
Lakeland  
Jacksonville  
Clearwater  
Palm Beach  
Largo  
St. Petersburg  
Clearwater  
Clearwater  
Safety Harbor  
Tallahassee  
Sanford  
Miami

## FLORIDA BOOKS FROM UNIVERSITY PRESSES

by HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

THREE UNIVERSITIES in the state of Florida now support presses devoted to the publication of scholarly and worthwhile books. The publication of volumes dealing with the history of Florida has been one of their important functions. The oldest of the presses is that founded in 1945 at the University of Florida. Its first publication was a brief history of the state, Rembert W. Patrick's *Florida Under Five Flags*. Since its first appearance it has gone through three editions and has been a perennial best-seller. Since 1945, under the direction of Lewis F. Haines, the University of Florida Press has turned out twenty-one titles dealing with Florida history, and maintains a long catalog of books in a variety of other fields. Included in its works on Florida history are five biographies of significant state figures ranging all the way from Menendez to Hamilton Holt. In 1959 the Press started a series of social science monographs, publishing four every year. Three of these titles are in the area of Florida history. In 1962 a significant reprint series of rare old works was begun as the "Floridian Series of Facsimile and Reprint Editions." The books in this series are actually photographic reproductions of old classics, attractively bound in simulated leather covers with handsome gold stamping.

The University of Miami Press was founded in 1947 and has operated on a somewhat smaller scale. It has published about fifty volumes to date and maintains several important specialized series, only one of which, "The Counties of Florida," treats of Florida history. Seven volumes in the general publications of the University of Miami Press deal with state history, but of interest to the devotees of Florida history would also be the series on the "Everglades," and the "Hispanic American Series." The Press is under the directorship of J. Gaffin.

Stetson University in 1962 established a Press but it has not yet published any books in the field of history. The Stetson University Press is under the direction of Richard E. Langford.

FLORIDA BOOKS FROM UNIVERSITY PRESSES 171

Though Florida State University has no press, as such, it does have a Division of Publications which has turned out several volumes and which is responsible for the issuing of the "Florida State University Studies." Under the direction of Robert T. Leigh, the Florida State Division of Publications now has in print five works in Florida history.

Readers who are interested in the complete publication lists of these state university presses may address requests for catalogs to the appropriate presses at their respective universities. The University of Florida Press should be addressed at 15 N. W. 15th Street, Gainesville, Florida. A listing of current books on Florida history which are presently available follows.

*Books from the Division of Publications  
of Florida State University*

Victor S. Mamatey, ed., *Anthropology*. Florida State University Studies, Number 16 (1954). \$1.00. [The two articles of interest in this volume are: John W. Griffin and Hale G. Smith, "The Cotton Site: An Archaeological Site of Early Ceramic Times in Volusia County, Florida," and Glenn J. Allen, "Archaeological Excavations in the Central Northwest Gulf Coast Area."]

Nita Katharine Pyburn, *The History of the Development of a Single System of Education in Florida, 1822-1903* (1954). \$1.00

James Preu, ed., *Florida Educators*. Florida State University Studies, Number 30 (1959). \$3.00

Victor S. Mamatey, ed., *Education in Florida, Past and Present*. Florida State University Studies, Number 15 (1954). \$1.00

Weymouth T. Jordan, ed., *Herbs, Hoecakes, and Husbandry: The Daybook of a Planter of the Old South*. Florida State University Studies, Number 34 (1960). \$3.00

*University of Florida Press Publications*<sup>1</sup>

Andres Gonzalez de Barcia, *Chronological History of the Continent of Florida*. Translated by Anthony Kerrigan. \$10.00 (To be published Winter, 1963-64.)

1. The University of Florida Press will extend the usual professional discount to all members of the Florida Historical Society who identify themselves as such and request the discount.

- Bartolome Barrientos, *Pedro Menendez: Captain General of the West* (1963). Translated by Anthony Kerrigan. \$6.00 (To be published Winter, 1963-64.)
- Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (1951). \$3.75
- Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., *Richard Keith Call: Southern Unionist* (1961). \$5.50
- Mary B. Graff, *Mandarin on the St. Johns* (19663). \$4.50
- James T. Hopkins, *Fifty Years of Citrus: The Florida Citrus Exchange, 1909-1959* (1960). \$5.00
- John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (1963). \$6.00
- Warren F. Kuehl, *Hamilton Holt: Journalist-Internationalist-Educator* (1960). \$7.50
- Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*. Edited by James F. Sunderman (1953). \$7.50
- Leedell W. Neyland and John W. Riley, *The History of Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University* (1963). \$6.50
- Rembert W. Patrick, *Aristocrat in Uniform: General Duncan L. Clinch* (1963). \$5.50
- Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Under Five Flags* (3rd ed. 1960; first pub. 1945; rev. ed. 1955). \$5.00
- Theodore Pratt, *Seminole: A Drama of the Florida Indian* (1953). \$2.00
- Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (1950). \$5.00

*The Floridiana Series of Facsimile and Reprint Editions:*

- Dickison and His Men, Reminiscences of the War in Florida*, by Mary Elizabeth Dickison, 1890. Facsimile edition, 1962, edited by Samuel Proctor. \$6.00
- Florida Breezes, or Florida, New and Old*, by Ellen Call Long, 1883. Facsimile edition, 1962, edited by Margaret Louise Chapman. \$8.50
- A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, by Bernard Romans, 1775. Facsimile edition, 1962, edited by Rembert W. Patrick. \$8.50

FLORIDA BOOKS FROM UNIVERSITY PRESSES 173

*The Territory of Florida*, by John Lee Williams, 1837. Facsimile edition, 1962, edited by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. \$7.50

*Social Sciences Monographs:*

*The Whigs of Florida, 1845-1854*, by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. \$2.00

*The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702*, by Charles W. Arnade. \$2.00

*Jacksonian Democracy on the Florida Frontier*, by Arthur W. Thompson. \$2.00

*Books from the University of Miami Press*

Charles W. Arnade, *Florida on Trial* (1962). \$1.00

W. R. Jackson, Jr., *Early Florida Through Spanish Eyes* (1954). \$2.50

William B. R. Robertson, Jr., *Everglades, The Park Story* (1958). \$1.00

Alice Strickland, *The Valiant Pioneers: A History of Ormond Beach, Volusia County, Florida* (1963). \$2.95

Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zespedes in St. Augustine, 1784-1790* (1962). \$3.95

Charlton W. Tebeau, *Chokoloskee Bay County with Reminiscences of C. S. (Ted) Smallwood* (1961). \$1.00

Charlton W. Tebeau, *Florida's Last Frontier: The History of Collier County* (1955). \$3.50

Of special interest to members of the Florida Historical Society is the announcement of the University of Miami Press that it has introduced a series of short, detailed histories of various Florida counties. These books are being done in cooperation with county commissioners, local historical organizations, and private citizens. A volume on "The Counties of the Caloosahatchee: Lee, Hendry, and Glades," is now under preparation by Florence Fritz.

## BOOK REVIEWS

*A History of Cuba and Its Relations with the United States*, Vol. I. By Philip S. Foner. (New York: International Publishers, 1962. 255 pp. \$3.75.)

To satisfy the growing demand for additional information stimulated by current events in Cuba during the last few years, many writers, some professional historians, and other journalists and travelers, have produced a number of books purporting to explain the "current problems" of that Caribbean island. In dealing with contemporary events many of these writers have glossed over the past and in so doing have displayed a woeful lack of understanding of the influences of 450 years of Cuban history. No definitive work in English based on scholarly research has been produced since Professors Irene A. Wright and Willis F. Johnson published their books in 1916 and 1920 respectively. Much detailed research has been carried on in numerous archival collections since then and several significant monographs have appeared in both the United States and Cuba.

Therefore it was with much anticipation that Latin Americanists received the news that Philip S. Foner, editor of the Citadel Press and long-time student of American social and economic problems, was undertaking a multi-volume study of Cuba. This first volume covers the period from 1492 to 1845, the date of La Escalera, devoting only about one-fifth of the pages to the period prior to 1790. Obviously such brief coverage of 300 years cannot be called definitive.

Foner is not one to equivocate and he attributes much of Cuba's recent political, economic, and social troubles jointly to a senseless perpetuation of the institution of slavery until 1888 and to the Machiavellian self-interest of American presidents, secretaries of state, and diplomatic agents. He vigorously supports his rather unorthodox views (they are orthodox in Castro's Cuba) with numerous references to a wide variety of monographic material, much of it produced in Cuba in the last twenty years. Some scholars may disagree with Foner's constant harping on the slav-

ery issue as one of the major factors contributing to Cuba's social and economic problems of the last century and a half.

Possibly Foner's major contribution is the wealth of secondary material employed in writing this book although some of the lengthy literary quotations could well have been curtailed. It is presumed that the final volume of the series will contain a bibliography. It is unfortunate that a number of errors in dating and inconsistencies in the use of proper names occur, and that there are numerous errors in pagination in the footnote references. For example, the Spanish Armada was defeated in 1588 and not 1587 (p. 37); Clarence Harvey should be Clarence H. Haring (p. 42 and 230); Charles II had been dead for forty-eight years in 1748 (p. 42); Charles III died in 1788 and could not issue a decree in the next year (p. 43); the Holy Alliance was formed in September, 1815, and not in 1822 (p. 103); F. Wurdiman is presumably J. G. F. Wurdemann (p. 186), etc. In spite of these errors that may have resulted from hasty footnoting and writing, this volume makes an interesting and timely contribution to the "Cuban controversy" and it will be of some importance to see what Dr. Foner has to say of the more recent period.

RICHARD K. MURDOCH

*University of Georgia*

*The Cuban Invasion: The Chronicle of a Disaster.* By Karl E. Meyer and Tad Szulc. (New York: Frederick A. Praeger, 1962. 160 pp. Index. \$3.95.)

The calamitous invasion of Cuba, April 17, 1961, is the subject of this penetrating and thorough study by two journalists on the staff of the *Washington Post* and of the *New York Times* respectively. Each has behind him a half-dozen years of reporting on Latin America, and each has written a previous book dealing with basic problems of the contemporary Americas. Together they have come near to exhausting the primary sources for a definitive history of the fiasco of the Bay of Pigs.

Miami, the Ellis Island of the South, has often been described as a gateway to Latin America, and the melodrama provided by the U.S. Central Intelligence Agency, shaping foreign policy exempt from any meaningful outside checks, took place in large

part in Florida although with little direct participation by Floridians. The CIA planned much of the invasion in Miami hotel lobbies and must accept a major share of blame for what ensued. Yet "the tragedy sprang from a conspiracy of circumstance." The Kennedy administration and the Cuban underground and counter-revolutionary leaders themselves were in a position to curb the CIA had they only listened to obvious common sense. Farther back, of course, the Eisenhower Administration had originally conceived the idea of a Cuban invasion.

Yet the purpose of the authors is not to provide a villain or villains on whom to pin responsibility for the unprecedented military disaster, but rather to chronicle the steps which led to the inevitable *fracaso*. This they have done well, and although their book is not documented, they have obviously talked to the most knowledgeable people, read the most pertinent firsthand reports, and visited the most relevant sites.

Meyer and Szulc feel the invasion was a failure of mechanics, of imagination, and of morality, yet the final note of this fascinating book is both sound and in the long run hopeful: "There was a reluctance to face the fact that Cuba was in rebellion against the past—a past in which American interests were deeply implicated. What happened in Cuba, in its initial phases, was a declaration of independence; if subsequently Castro perverted the revolution, he has not stifled the demand for independence. Indeed, the same impulse that he once encouraged may yet turn against him and bring about his downfall. The Cuban drama has not yet ended, and the island's genuine partisans of freedom will surely still have the last word."

FREDERICK E. KIDDER

*University of Puerto Rico, Mayaguez*

*Magellan's Voyage Around the World: Three Contemporary Accounts.* By Charles E. Nowell. (Evanston: Northwestern University Press, 1962. 351 pp. Maps and notes. \$7.50.)

The incomparable voyages of Christopher Columbus, Vasco de Gama, and Ferdinand Magellan are frequently considered to be the most important events of Europe's Age of Exploration. From these three unprecedented journeys sixteenth-century Eu-

rope acquired a new colonial world, an ocean route to the real Indies, and an eventual geographic understanding of the enormous extra-European sea and land universe that existed beyond the "old" continent's Atlantic shores. Dr. Nowell's modern analysis of the three year saga of Magellan's fleet thus contributes significantly to the historiography of the great Age of Exploration.

Even a cursory study of Charles Nowell's scholarly editing and critical examination of the numerous Magellan sources indicates that the author has provided a clear and instructive image of the man, his era, and his sailing achievement. While vividly discussing the ubiquitous power struggles of Spain and Portugal which were so evident in the international background of the sea adventure, the historian also relates the actual goals and plans that motivated Magellan to sail under the Spanish banner. Circumnavigation of the earth was not the Portuguese captain's objective. Magellan apparently sought to locate a western water passage to the Moluccas, and Tarshish and Ophir, the legendary lands known to the biblical King Solomon and Hiram of Tyre. Such a search became somewhat popular after Vasco de Gama's 1498 exploit revealed that India was not as opulent in spices as had been previously supposed. Anticipating that the Moluccas and surrounding areas would bear a treasure in precious metals, drugs, and spices, the famous seaman hoped to claim all his discoveries in the name of Charles V, King of Spain and Emperor of the Holy Roman Empire. As an *adelantado* of that monarch, Magellan was promised one-twentieth of his cargo upon returning to Spain as well as titles of power and position in the newly conquered territories.

Employing the descriptions and details of three sixteenth-century accounts, Charles Nowell has produced a colorful portrait of Magellan's sea story. Although the version of Antonio Pigafetta, who was among the eighteen surviving Europeans, is the most informative record of the long journey, the reports of Maximilian of Transylvania and the Portuguese historian, Gaspar Correa, add two other narrative dimensions to the Italian sailor's illuminating, but prejudicial presentation. Certainly, the latter two accounts supply modern readers with more knowledge of the destiny of the "Victoria" under the command of Sebastian del Cano after Magellan was killed in the Philippines. All three narratives,

skillfully edited and introduced by Dr. Nowell, therefore provide a definitive history of Ferdinand Magellan and his memorable expedition.

ROBERT L. GOLD

*University of South Florida*

*Cabot to Cartier.* By Bernard G. Hoffman. (Toronto: University of Toronto Press, 1961. xii, 287 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, bibliography, index.)

This is a difficult book to read, understand, and review. It is written by a very specialized expert on a very specialized subject for specialized experts in the same field (of which there are so very few). It is loaded with data, illustrations, and hypotheses. Its basic claim, as expressed in its subtitle, is to study "Sources for a Historical Ethnography of Northeastern North America, 1497-1550." This is done but it is lost in too many details and in other considerations, such as lengthy cartographic discussions and comparisons. The next to the last chapter is entitled "Ethnographic Problems" and is interesting and useful. The final conclusions, such as, "Unfortunately, much of the earliest information is not localized and consequently it is not possible to identify the people and tribes to which it refers although in some cases we can make informed guesses," is disappointing in view of the amazing amount of work that this book reflects. But in all fairness to the author there are important conclusions (not important to Florida history) of a very restricted nature in terms of time, space, and events. The book reflects painstaking scholarship but dull style and presentation.

For Florida history Hoffman's work is of marginal value, more in terms of cartography than anything else. There is a good discussion of Barcia's work (pp. 180-186), and many of the maps and early voyages analyzed deal with the whole North American Atlantic coast and therefore Florida occupies a crucial spot. We must consider this book a new item for early Florida history, but it must be correlated with the works of David True, who still remains our best expert on this matter.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

*University of South Florida*

*Evolution of a Federalist, William Loughton Smith of Charleston (1758-1812)*. By George C. Rogers, Jr. (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1962. xiv, 439 pp. Preface, charts, bibliography, index. \$8.00.)

William Loughton Smith, 1758-1812, a Charlestonian of prominence in the early years of the Republic, is practically unknown to South Carolinians of later days. In spite of his five times election to Congress from his native state, he holds an uneasy position in its history. Dr. Rogers has penetrated and exposed the cause of his near but always elusive success as a great national figure.

The early events of William Smith's life are well-ordered and follow the pattern of the society he frequented. Born in Charleston of a merchant-banker family of good ancestry, he was connected later by marriage with other prominent families of the city: Izard, Manigault, Ladson, Wragg. His education followed a Carolina rule; he was sent to England at age eleven, studied in London, Middle Temple, and in Geneva. Dallying abroad during the Revolution, he returned to Charleston only in 1783. He was elected to the House of Representatives and appeared in the First Congress from South Carolina. He immediately took a prominent part in the Federalist arguments for strong central government. He was on easy terms with Washington, Hamilton, and Madison but always in opposition to Jefferson. Finally in 1796, he was appointed minister to Lisbon, where he relished the splendors of the society but despised the post. After leaving his legation he loitered on in Europe, traveling at leisure, until 1803. He stood for Congress in three successive terms and was defeated three times, but was elected to the legislature of his state.

Yet, despite his education, money, relatives, and honors, Smith must have been a poor man. It is incomprehensible that he did not regret missing the American Revolution, but how would he have fitted in with Moultrie, Pickens, Sumter, Marion, and Greene? It is surprising that he survived this handicap and was able to engage in a political career. Hamilton thought him second rate; his constituents burned him in effigy in Charleston in 1794, along with Benedict Arnold and the devil. He was accused of illegal and unethical speculation on the funding of the state debts. He was further distinguished as being the first U. S.

Congressman to have his seat challenged in the House.

If the success of the writer is measured by the degree to which he inspires further reading, Dr. Rogers has been extraordinarily successful. The *Annals of Congress* have lost their dust and their dryness has disappeared under the interest stimulated by this readable book on an important person in our history. Yet *Evolution of a Federalist* is complete; it tells the whole story. It tidies up all the details with ample notes, tables, and foot-notes to keep the reader informed as to the genealogical connections, the relatives, the descendants even down to the present. Imagine finding a friend in the footnote! It is a pleasure to read history when written with such style and enthusiasm.

VIVIAN PRINCE

*University of Southern California*

*Jefferson and the Ordeal of Liberty.* By Dumas Malone. (Boston: Little, Brown and Co., 1962. xxx, 545 pp. \$7.50.)

In a work of such grand design as Malone's multi-volume study of Jefferson, facts become secondary and the heart of the matter is to be found in interpretations and insights which can not be expected to occur to the casual researcher, no matter how well disciplined or sincerely motivated. The facts are largely in, although Professor Malone is "ahead" of the definitive edition of the Jefferson papers, and relies heavily on the Ford edition as well as on his own wide familiarity with the manuscripts.

This volume, the third in the series, opens with Jefferson's reluctant agreement to stay on as Secretary of State through most of 1793 and with his relationship to the Giles resolutions on Hamilton's conduct of the treasury. Dr. Malone is satisfied that Jefferson was not a prime mover in this event, but that he was doubtless privy to it, and with disarming frankness he admits he is resorting to "sheer speculation" to support this view.

He then turns to the great issues of the year—the onrushing events of the French Revolution and their implications for the United States. Professor Malone goes out of his way to forgive Jefferson's exaggerated expressions on the justification of blood for freedom's sake, but does a better job, I think, of portraying the delicate balance in Jefferson's thoughts on the execution of

Louis XVI. Moreover, he gracefully acknowledges that more men than Jefferson saw the necessity of non-involvement and makes no attempt to ascribe the authorship of the neutrality policy exclusively to Jefferson. One of the finest moments in the book occurs when Malone describes so penetratingly the distress in Jefferson's mind when, while honestly endorsing the Neutrality Proclamation, he personally yearned to participate in the triumph of France as the symbol of liberty struggling against tyranny.

The perplexing and embarrassing issue of Genet is masterfully described, from Jefferson's early enthusiasm to the difficult moment in August, 1793, when he was prepared to abandon Genet entirely. Professor Malone wonders how Jefferson "managed to overlook the Reign of Terror" and seems to conclude that Jefferson saw only what he wanted to see in the French Revolution—a heroic crusade for human liberty.

Dr. Malone rightly considers Jefferson's opinion in favor of maintaining the French treaty of alliance as one of his ablest papers as well as "the most devastating opinion that Jefferson ever directed against the arguments of his colleague" (p. 78). This reference to Hamilton raises the question which one expects to be asked about any study of Jefferson: How does Hamilton fare? We read within the first eighty pages of the "eager hands" of "this natural *prima donna*" and of the "pugnacious nature" of "this imperious man." He is described as "unquestionably high-handed" in his financial activities and as "the officious Secretary of the Treasury" with an "imperious temper." Enough.

After the break with Hamilton, Jefferson's drift toward his role as the nucleus of political opposition occurred in almost imperceptible stages. With reference to Washington, Malone writes: "If one need pick the precise point at which he began to question the wisdom of Washington, whose judgment he so generally respected, this [Washington's castigation of the 'self-created societies' at the time of the Whiskey Rebellion] seems to be it" (pp. 190-191). Jefferson remained aloof from the debate over the implementation of the Jay Treaty, but "these events perceptibly quickened the course of this gentleman of Virginia in the democratic direction" (p. 257). Of the election to the vice-presidency, Malone concludes: ". . . the simple truth is that he had nothing to do with it. The evidence leaves no room for doubt that this

supposed principal in a national contest was actually a non-participant; and his personal indifference at this time appears to have been genuine" (p. 273).

One can feel almost personally what Jefferson felt when the XYZ papers were made public - his grave disappointment at the tone and actions of the French officials, his alarm at the rising pitch of belligerency in America, particularly among the high Federalists, and his greater fear that many Republicans would desert the fold in order to throw off any taint of being pro-French and perhaps cause the party to founder at the moment when Jefferson believed a strong opposition party to be of paramount importance. This importance was heightened, he felt, by the passage of the Sedition Act, although his biographer puts as gentle an interpretation on this act as the present reviewer has ever seen. To Jefferson, however, the heart of the issue transcended politics to the realm of liberty, to whose preservation and enlargement he had dedicated his life. To redress the balance for liberty Jefferson took the strongest stand on states rights as a check against federal encroachment that he would ever take. But his zealous statements in the Kentucky Resolutions-contrasting with the more modest tone of Madison in the Virginia Resolutions-lead Malone to write: ". . . it now seems a pity that Madison did not draft both papers" (p. 408). A reviewer is quite disarmed by Professor Malone's remark in the introduction that this episode "was perhaps the most difficult of any that I have attempted to describe in this volume, and I sincerely trust that I got the nuances right" (p. xix).

The impression is clearly left that the Presidency was imposed on Jefferson by default of any other available or reasonably promising leader of the opposition. His self-imposed curtailment of letter writing during the "reign of witches" is well known, and he seems a picture of anything except an active candidate for office. This did not save him from becoming the object of personal attacks which "were the most vicious in any presidential campaign on record" (p. 479).

The volume ends with a tightly written account of the suspenseful resolution of the Presidential election in the House of Representatives. The final paragraph of summation is a gem.

American historiography is again impressively indebted to Dumas Malone.

FRANKLIN A. DOTY

*University of Florida*

*Ante-Bellum Southern Literary Critics.* By Edd Winfield Parks.  
(Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. 259 pp.  
\$7.50.)

Edd Winfield Parks study of literary criticism in the South before the Civil War side-steps the figure of Edgar Allan Poe, and is thus a *Hamlet* without Hamlet. This notable omission, however, is by no means the sum of Professor Parks' failures. His book does not discuss any of the writers of the Colonial period, despite the fact that almost all the themes which were to become important in the era of Simms and Grayson can be seen emerging in the work of William Byrd, Robert Beverly, George Alsop, and Ebenezer Cook. How can we understand the tradition of Southern criticism without an awareness of how and why the tradition began?

This question does not bother the author of *Ante-Bellum Southern Literary Critics* in the slightest, for the simple reason that he is not really interested in the Southern tradition in American literature. His book contains no discussion, either by way of introduction or summation, of what was "Southern" or of what was "Ante-Bellum" about the literary attitudes of the writers he considers. We are presented, rather, with a series of disconnected essays arranged more or less chronologically by author. No reason is advanced for the choice of authors, and none-except the mere fact of their fame-can be discerned. No effort is made to place them within a developing context of critical concerns. Few if any comparisons with Northern criticism are ventured. Social and political factors, which played such an important role in the literature of the South in the ante-bellum period, are ignored.

The essays contain a certain amount of information, most of it familiar to anyone who has read the monumental work of Jay B. Hubbell, but they never quicken into life. More than anything else, the essays read like reading notes which have been worked up, with a painful and terrific effort, into complete sen-

tences. Professor Parks' wooden style even manages to make Jefferson dull. Indeed, the only vibrant question which this worthless book raises is, why was it published?

KENNETH S. LYNN

*Harvard University*

*The African Colonization Movement, 1816-1865.* By P. J. Staudenraus. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1961. ix, 323 pp. Appendix, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

In 1919 Early Lee Fox published *The American Colonization Society* which covered only the early years of the organization. Professor Staudenraus has made an exhaustive study of the much broader colonization movement. His book explains the origins of colonization, traces the activities of the Society down to the abolition of American Negro slavery at the close of the Civil War in 1865, and gives a brief summary of the Society to 1909 when it still had five members. Of greater importance Staudenraus evaluates and interprets the overall significance of the colonization movement.

Staudenraus shows that the idea of colonization of free Negroes had its origin during the Revolutionary era, and found its earliest and strongest support in Virginia among such notables as Thomas Jefferson, Ferdinando Fairfax, and St. George Tucker. The leadership which was to bring fruition to the movement for a colonization society, however, was religious and humanitarian rather than political, and it came largely from the northeastern states. The Reverend Robert Finley of New Jersey saw the possibility of a benevolent society as an agency through which Americans could pay a part of their moral debt for enslaving African Negroes. He enlisted likeminded men, notably Elias Boudinot Caldwell, his brother-in-law, and Francis Scott Key of Maryland, both of whom supported Finley's plan in the *National Intelligencer*. They won the support of Episcopal and Presbyterian clergy as well as national political leaders. At a meeting in Washington on December 28, 1816, "The American Society for Colonizing Free People of Color in the United States" was organized. Bushrod Washington was elected president. Among the vice presidents were Henry Clay, William H. Crawford, John Taylor of

Caroline, Richard Rush, and Andrew Jackson. The political leaders were predominantly Southerners but the responsibility for the work fell to clergymen and humanitarians who were largely Northerners. Outstanding leaders were Finley, Jehudi Ashman, and Ralph R. Gurley. The press gave the Society favorable publicity and it won widespread popular support, including an endorsement by the Virginia legislature. The Society sent agents, chiefly northern ministers, throughout the country to solicit funds.

The Society sought support from the United States government in securing a colony in Africa. Ultimately, under the provisions of the Slave Trade Act, President James Monroe appointed agents to work with the Society. Largely through the support of Lt. Robert F. Stockton, U. S. N., the agents of the Society purchased land for its colony in December, 1821. The colony was named Liberia, its capital Monrovia. The settlement suffered many hardships and grew slowly. Because of differences of views on the management of the colony both Maryland and Mississippi established separate state colonies; colonization was not a successful enterprise for only 10,676 free Negroes were sent to Liberia between 1821 and 1865.

The Society suffered many vicissitudes in the United States. Many free Negroes opposed colonization because they feared it would raise the price of slaves and retard manumission. Northern whites saw in colonization a scheme of Southerners to get rid of unwanted free Negroes and slaves, while Southerners saw in it a plot of northern abolitionists to abolish the institution of slavery. Whites in midwestern states supported colonization hoping thereby to prevent the migration of free Negroes to that region. The proposal to use the proceeds of the sale of public lands for emancipation and colonization brought sectional division. Northerners supported it; Southerners characterized it as an "officious and impertinent intermeddling with our domestic concerns."

William Lloyd Garrison bitterly attacked the Colonization Society for fear it would retard the abolition movement. He characterized colonization as "odious, contemptible, antirepublican, and anti-Christian." Society members replied in equally vituperative language.

This is an excellent study. There is no doubt in this reviewer's mind that Staudenraus' book will replace Fox's as the standard

work on this subject. The reviewer, however, would have welcomed a fuller treatment of the African Colonization Movement in the post-Civil War years.

FLETCHER M. GREEN

*University of North Carolina*

*McClellan, Sherman and Grant.* By T. Harry Williams. (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1962. 113 pp. \$3.50.)

These essays, comprising the 1962 Brown and Haley Lectures, were presented by T. Harry Williams at the University of Puget Sound, Tacoma, Washington. Unfortunately, they are not this respected Civil War historian's most notable work.

In the first essay, the author asserts that McClellan "loved his men so much he could not bear to sacrifice them in battle." This persistent stereotype ignores such battles as the Seven Days, South Mountain, and Antietam, where McClellan seized the initiative and attacked Lee. Williams contends that McClellan did not understand that there were political considerations in the war. But the General said—among other similar statements— "I regard the civil or political questions as inseparable from the military in this contest." The author also errs in saying that McClellan reneged on his promise to leave Washington secure when he embarked for the Peninsula. Williams speaks of McClellan's "conviction that he had made no errors." But the General himself admitted, "That I must have made many mistakes I cannot deny. I do not see any great blunders." Grant once said of McClellan, "All my impressions are in his favor." And Lee, when asked who was the ablest opponent he had faced during the war, responded at once, "McClellan by all odds!"

The essay on Sherman is better, although the author should have mentioned that it was Grant who gave Sherman his orders to conduct the kind of campaign he did against the Confederates. But Williams is on firm ground when he notes Sherman's nervousness "and almost manic elation"; his relentless ambition; his self-doubts; his mental and emotional collapse in Kentucky; his "fevered and distraught imagination"; his ability as an engineer and logistician; his talent to lead great marches, if not to fight

great battles; and his skill in waging economic warfare "for a psychological end, war against the popular will of the enemy."

The essay on Grant is an unconvincing apology for that general. Williams distorts the number and quality of Confederate troops as compared with Grant's in the Vicksburg campaign. The author minimizes or tries to explain away Grant's failures at Belmont and in the earlier part of the operations against Vicksburg, as well as his defeats at the hands of Lee in Virginia. Williams is correct in crediting Grant with being a consummate General-in-Chief, but he fails to substantiate that Grant was Lee's superior as a strategist, while acknowledging that Lee was superior as a tactician. Actually, of course, Grant's attrition-type campaign against Lee was the direct negation of generalship.

In short, Williams' arguments and characterizations are too black and white; there are too many sweeping statements, extreme opinions, and lyrically phrased judgments for which the reader has not been prepared. Finally, the author has provided no index and no maps, while his bibliography is woefully inadequate.

WARREN W. HASSLER, JR.

*Pennsylvania State University*

*A Borderland Confederate.* By William L. Wilson. Edited by Festus P. Summers. (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1962. 106 pp. Notes, epilogue, appendices, index. \$3.50.)

*Yankee in Gray.* By Henry E. Handerson. Prologue by Clyde Lottridge Cummer. (Cleveland: Press of Western Reserve University, 1962. 117 pp. Notes. \$6.50.)

These two small books have much in common. Both Wilson and Handerson were active participants in the Civil War and both were Confederates by choice. Both young men clearly regarded the war as one of the most significant periods of their lives. Both served honorably in battle. Both had the experience of being captured by the enemy, and both survived to pursue long and distinguished peacetime careers. Moreover, both wrote about

their war experiences and both had admirers who prepared the documents for publication with loving care. Here the similarity ends.

The two editors have prepared their volumes quite differently. Festus P. Summers, who edited *A Borderland Confederate*, deserves congratulations for weaving his biographical comments, Wilson's diary, and his letters home into a single cohesive story unencumbered by excessive annotation. *Yankee in Gray*, on the other hand, starts with a rather touching and sentimental biographical sketch of Handerson. This is followed by Handerson's memoirs, his letters, and then notes on each of the three. If the notes could have been judiciously pruned and included at the bottom of the page in the text, the volume would have been somewhat less disjointed.

As far as the documents themselves are concerned, there is again a great discrepancy. Wilson's diary and his letters to his mother are for the most part prosaic, with great attention to insignificant details and very little to the stirring events in which he was a participant. When he does show feeling, as in the case of Gen. Turner Ashby's death or during the concluding months of the war, he becomes so emotionally involved and writes in such flowery language that any reader would question seriously his objectivity. This volume, as a result, makes no real contribution to the literature and very little to the history of the Civil War.

Handerson's memoirs, on the other hand, are outstanding. His insight into the personalities of Confederate leaders is keen and perceptive. His descriptions of events are realistic and clear even when the events themselves are hopelessly confusing. He writes with a lively sense of humor and the reader cannot help comparing the memoirs with Stephen Crane's *Red Badge of Courage*. *Yankee in Gray* includes one of the truly great documents of the Civil War. Historians and general readers alike are indebted to Dr. Cummer for preserving and editing it, and to Western Reserve Press for making it available in such an attractive book.

BENJAMIN F. ROGERS

*Jacksonville University*

*General Leonidas Polk, C. S. A., The Fighting Bishop.* By Joseph H. Parks. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1962. x, 408 pp. Illustrations, maps, notes, critical essay on authorities, index. \$7.50.)

This volume is both the story of a man's life and an interpretation of Union and Confederate military operations on the western front.

Leonidas Polk was a native of North Carolina and a cousin of James K. Polk. Soon after his graduation from West Point, where he was "the first cadet ever to kneel during services in the Academy chapel," Polk resigned his commission and entered the Episcopal ministry. Successively, he was a planter in Tennessee, the Episcopal missionary bishop in the Southwest, first Episcopal bishop of Louisiana, and the principal initiator in founding the University of the South at Sewanee, Tennessee.

Although Polk was devoid of active military experience, he conscientiously accepted an appointment by Jefferson Davis in June, 1861, as a major general in the Confederate army. His first significant military act was the unauthorized seizure of Columbus, Kentucky, subsequently sanctioned by President Davis. After commanding troops at Shiloh and in the Kentucky campaign, Polk was promoted to lieutenant general and was engaged in the battles of Stone's River and Chickamauga. Because of heedless exposure to enemy fire, he was killed at Pine Mountain, Georgia, in June, 1864.

By devoting approximately the first half of the biography to Polk's early life and ecclesiastical career, Professor Parks affords the reader an understanding of the bishop-general's heredity, characteristics, family relations, and motivations. In appraising Polk's military achievements, the author concludes that "Polk was a competent corps commander"; but the account of the fighting bishop's three years as an army officer is so interwoven with the general narrative that it is difficult to determine the degree of Polk's competence.

The author is best in his vivid description of the military movements. Reflecting intensive research, the book contains excellent maps and illustrations.

T. CONN BRYAN

*North Georgia College*

*Josephus Daniels Says: An Editor's Political Odyssey From Bryan to Wilson to FDR, 1894-1913.* By Joseph L. Morrison. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1962. x, 281 pp. Notes, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

While the colorful Marse Henry Watterson, editor of the *Louisville Courier-Journal*, and Henry W. Grady, the enterprising editor of the *Atlanta Constitution*, have been considered journalistic spokesmen for the South in the post-Civil War period, Josephus Daniels comes into his rightful place with this detailed biography of the publisher-editor of the *Raleigh News and Observer*. Professor Morrison, of the School of Journalism of the University of North Carolina, has shown what an influential powerhouse Daniels became in his state. A vigorous crusader against the trusts and the railroads, an exponent of tax-supported universities, Daniels was also a key figure in the Democratic party. He led it away from "bourbon" conservatism down the path of liberalism, meeting the challenge of the new economic era at the turn of the century.

It may be that the Negro issue and Daniels' leadership in the white supremacy campaign kept him from being identified nationally as the South's outstanding liberal, but he supported William Jennings Bryan in every campaign and then became a leading advocate of Woodrow Wilson for president. Daniels became nationally recognized as Secretary of the Navy during Wilson's term and later he served as ambassador to Mexico under Franklin D. Roosevelt.

The Morrison biography traces Daniels' life from the time he lived in Wilson, N. C., where his mother was postmistress. Her early influence on his religious and moral thinking and her stimulation of his literary interest are described. Josephus decided early to become a newsman, becoming publisher with his brother of the weekly *Wilson Advance*. Although he attended the University of North Carolina Law School, journalism beckoned, and he began publishing in 1885 the weekly *State Chronicle* in Raleigh. In spite of Daniels' exceptional business ability, he could not make the *Chronicle* succeed as a daily. In fact, he took a government job in Washington to help keep the weekly on its journalistic feet. By 1894 he had the opportunity to purchase, with

a wealthy partner, the *Raleigh News and Observer*, on which he had his eye for some time. Enterprising, hardworking, Daniels drove up circulation until the daily became the largest-circulation paper in the state.

While Dr. Morrison mentions the fact that Daniels liked the William Randolph Hearst paper, the *New York Journal*, a study will show that Daniels was, indeed, the North Carolina version of the crusading yellow journalists of the period—Hearst and Joseph Pulitzer, publisher-editor of the *New York World*. For, while Hearst was battling the railroads in California and New York and Pulitzer was attacking the trusts in St. Louis and New York, Daniels conducted similar campaigns in the South. Morrison might have linked up Daniels with these national figures to show that his journalism was part of a nationwide trend and pattern. These editors of dailies were responding to similar economic and political conditions, laying the foundations for the magazine muckrakers, such as Ida Tarbell.

Morrison, however, has given us a scholarly picture of the main political developments in North Carolina at the end of the nineteenth century and the beginning of this one, showing the important role Daniels played in these battles and changes. We hope he continues his research to bring the history of the *Raleigh News and Observer* beyond the Wilsonian period, where he now stops.

SIDNEY KOBRE

*Florida State University*

*Boss Cermak of Chicago: A Study of Political Leadership.* By Alex Gottfried. (Seattle: University of Washington Press, 1962. xiii, 459 pp. Index. \$6.50.)

Professor Alex Gottfried, a political scientist at the University of Washington, has done a painstaking analysis of Mayor Anton J. Cermak whose body took a bullet intended for President-elect Franklin D. Roosevelt on the night of February 15, 1933, at Miami. The fact that the Ford Foundation, the Walgreen Foundation, the University of Washington, and Avery Leiserson invested time or treasure in this excellent biography of the immi-

grant boy from Czechoslovakia who rose to the position of Mayor of Chicago is both a tribute to the politician and the scholar.

Cermak was the master political craftsman who industriously built a machine that still operates successfully in Chicago. On the national scene, he effectively waged war against Prohibition with its attendant evils and perhaps did as much as anyone to bring about its repeal. Of particular interest to Floridians is chapter XIV on "Martyr Mayor." In twenty pages Professor Gottfried dispels in a conclusive manner the surmise that Al Capone was responsible for Cermak's death. Quite possibly Capone disliked the staunch opponent of Prohibition, but the analysis of the testimony of Guiseppe Zangara, the trigger man, plus his character appraisal, points to the Italian immigrant's being a paranoiac who hated those in power.

It is ironic that Zangara who felt cheated by his lack of opportunity for an education finally succeeded in killing a powerful official-one who on his death bed muttered to FDR and others that he hoped whoever succeeded him would make his first duty the payment of money owed the Chicago teachers.

The book should be a welcome addition to the reading lists of those who teach Florida and United States history, state and local government, or sociology.

ERNEST H. JERNIGAN

*Central Florida Junior College*

*The South and the Southerner.* By Ralph McGill. (Boston: Atlantic-Little, Brown & Co., 1963. 307 pp. \$5.00.)

If Ralph McGill does not add substantially to the store of Southern historic facts, at least he puts in sharper focus those we already have. His perspective can be most helpful to those who want or need to understand a region that is trying to cure itself of social schizophrenia. The author is well qualified to tell such a story, and he tells it in the warmest of human terms. As editor and columnist of the *Atlanta Constitution*, Mr. McGill has been in the front ranks of those who insist that forced segregation and "second class citizenship" for the Negro have no place in any enlightened society. He is paying the price of such lead-

ership; racists damn him as a communist, fellow traveler, and a traitor to the South.

The critics miss the point, of course; Mr. McGill does not disparage "the Southern way of life"; he believes simply that there is room among the magnolias for humanism. He yearns for a nobler South that respects the dignity and rights of each individual as a matter of course. It is a characteristic that Mr. McGill does not seek, in this blending of personal memoir and history, to counter-attack those who hold contrary views. On the contrary, he seeks to understand and communicate the complex emotions that are being brought into play. Toward that end, a splendid contribution is the chapter called "The Conscience of the South." Here Mr. McGill recognizes the contributions of Southern writers toward an honest self-appraisal. He quotes a fellow Georgian, novelist Carson McCullers, as telling him: "All of us seek a time and a way to communicate something of the sense of loneliness and solitude that is in us - the human heart is a lonely hunter - but the search of us Southerners is more anguished. There is a special guilt in us, a seeking for something had - and lost. It is a consciousness of guilt not fully knowable, or communicable. Southerners are the more lonely and spiritually estranged, I think, because we have lived so long in an artificial social system that we insisted was natural and right and just, and all along we knew it wasn't. The fact we bolstered it with laws and developed a secular liturgy and sacraments for it is evidence of how little we believed our own deceptions."

In his writings - newspaper, magazine, and book - Mr. McGill is more than a ray of intellectual light; he is a beacon which doesn't always pierce the fog, but never ceases the effort. Last year this reviewer stopped overnight at the Atlanta-Biltmore Hotel, where several Negro delegates to a professional convention were registered as guests along with their white colleagues. From my room I could see the spires of Georgia Tech, which a short time before had enrolled, without violence, its first Negro student. Looking out the window, I remember thinking, "If it hadn't been for Ralph, these things would be longer and harder coming."

In one sense, Mr. McGill *is* the South's conscience; he believes the Southerner is pathetically self-divided: "The more sensitive Southerner often is self-embarrassed by a realization that

he has accepted unquestioningly some aspect of his community life which he rejects." Insight of that sort gives one the feeling that the McGill commentary is not exclusively Southern, but applies to the human heart anywhere. His book is more than regional in scope; it is a timely and important American book. It qualifies also as a humanist document that knows no geography.

EMMETT PETER, JR.

*Leesburg, Florida*

*Folklore Keeps the Past Alive.* By Arthur Palmer Hudson. (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1962. viii, 63 pp. \$2.50.)

This beautifully printed and interestingly written book is comprised of lectures delivered by Dr. Hudson at Mercer University in the Eugenia Dorothy Blount Lamar Memorial series. Keeping faithful to the purpose of the endower, "to provide lectures of the very highest type of scholarship which will aid in the permanent preservation of the values of Southern culture, history and literature," Dr. Hudson focuses each of his lectures respectively on these three aims.

In the first lecture, built around a theme taken from Keats' well-known line "The Poetry of earth is never dead," Dr. Hudson presents two folksongs - "The Holly Bluff" and "Perry Merry Dictum Domini." In discussing the cultural milieu that nourishes these songs, Dr. Hudson expresses a zest for the poetry of earth, a nostalgia for seedtime and harvest time on the Mississippi farm of his boyhood. He yearns for the simple things of life: flutes made from bamboo canes, handmade drums of opossum pelt, cornstalk fiddles and rosin bows, and songs like "The Holly Bluff" sung by his Negro friends. "Perry Merry Dictum Domini" - related to the well-known riddling ballads from the Francis James Child collection of traditional English ballads - is the finest American recovery of what remains of these Old World pieces. His presentation and discussion of this variant, together with those of others found in America, is a welcome addition to ballad scholarship.

The second lecture presents American history as it is re-created in folksong. Here we find folksongs footnoting certain

events, movements, and social history. The Battle of Quebec, the Boston Tea Party, the sea battle between the *Bonhomme Richard* and the *Serapis*, the Battle of Lake Erie, Jackson's victory at New Orleans, the Battle of Fredericksburg, the rebel spirit of the Civil War era—all find their way into folksong collections of the South.

Dr. Hudson's gift as a research scholar manifests itself in his third lecture - "Folksongs in American Poetry and Fiction." Lucidly and convincingly the reader is led to an awareness that American literature is infinitely richer because of the ballad and folksong tradition from which it has drawn substance. Marshall-ing a striking amount of evidence, he shows that folksongs have appealed to and influenced American poets as separated in time and place as Royal Tyler and Robert Penn Warren. Similarly, this author convincingly points out that fiction writers of the South have drawn heavily upon folksongs to add color and picturesqueness to their writing, to describe characters and give local color, and to enhance theme, structure, and atmosphere in their fiction.

In fine, this excellent series of lectures demonstrates not only that "the poetry of earth is never dead" but that folklore keeps a warm humanism of the past alive and vital.

ALTON C. MORRIS

*University of Florida*

*Race and Reason; A Yankee View.* By Carleton Putnam. (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1961. viii, 125 pp. Index. \$3.25).

Some time ago, Alabama allocated several thousand dollars for the purpose of researching the alleged intrinsic inferiority of the Negro as compared to the white man. Against a backdrop of scholarly trappings, an obliging professor piled conjecture upon irrelevancy and irrelevancy upon half-truth and wrought a paper "scientifically" supportive of the instinctive wisdom on matters anthropological of the Alabama legislature. I suppose that massive resistance, the die-hard segregationists' first line of defense against the U.S. Supreme Court, having gone the way of the Maginot Line, and violence as a combative tactic having been rejected by the overwhelming number of Southerners, the development of a

new missile against the Supreme Court was inevitable. The missile is Science. Not, of course, the science of "foreign" scientists (Mr. Putnam is suspicious of foreign born scientists), or of scientists who belong to a "racial minority group," but the science of ideologists whose craftsmanship is custom tailored to their social views (Mr. Putnam qualifies).

Carleton Putnam, self proclaimed "Northerner," and a college graduate (the assurance is welcome), has been acclaimed resonantly in some southern political forums. He has been amiably ignored in southern academic forums. Still, whether for the amusement of scholars or for an insight into Mr. Putnam's brand of science, a look-see at this book is harmless, although admittedly one's time might elsewhere be spent in the more serious reading of comic books.

Scientist Putnam is convinced that Negroes and whites are not equal, indeed there is "no such thing as equality even between two leaves on the same bush." Further, he opines, the race issue is not a matter of "*difference*, but of inferiority and superiority" (shouted italics are Putnam's). Mebbe, mebbe not, but the race issue is not and has not been predicated on the question of whether or not Negroes and whites are carbon copies of each other, but rather on whether, under our Constitution, let alone under the Judeo-Christian ethic, Negroes ought have equal opportunities.

The author attempts to explain how "integration, is playing into Communist hands." That Communist propaganda has actually exploited the United States' segregation, not its integration, is either unknown to our author or simply uncomprehended, his college degree notwithstanding.

Putnam is no innovator. The abandonment of angry racism in favor of "scientific" racism is not without precedent. When southern and eastern Europeans immigrated to the United States in the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries, there were custom-tailor scientists in the academic bleachers tsk-tsking the immigrants "inferior stock." And, to be sure, the American Indian might well have been dismayed by the physically inferior spectacle of the pallid settler from western Europe. Happily, however, the immigrants of all our American centuries have acclimated to and helped forge America, the tsk-tskers notwithstanding. And I sus-

pect that the Negro will continue to develop his constitutional rights notwithstanding the Putnams, who, unwittingly to be sure, *are* amusing if nothing else.

NATHAN PERLMUTTER

*Miami, Florida*

*Guide to Federal Archives Relating to the Civil War.* By Kenneth W. Munden and Henry Putney Beers. (Washington: The National Archives, 1962. x, 721 pp. Appendix, Index. \$3.00.)

The publication of this *Guide* is another contribution to a widespread effort to make generally available most of the significant documents of American history. No archival material is printed in this volume, but the authors have been most successful in producing a descriptive guide that will aid scholars with their research in the official records of the United States Government relating to the Civil War. The *Guide* is not limited to the 1861-1865 records, but describes the extant archives of all those Federal agencies which continued to produce documentary information of the war period and its aftermath even into the present century.

The *Guide* is well organized. The records are listed and described in sections corresponding to the Federal agency that created them. Congressional records are given under the Senate and House committees and the various joint committees of Congress. The records of the Department of the Treasury are presented under the many different offices of the department. The troublesome records of the "Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen and Abandoned Lands" of the War Department are made quite approachable with the aid of the *Guide*. Each section gives a brief historical account of the agency concerned, its duties, and its place in the U. S. Government's organization. Bibliographical aids and documentary publications which may serve as additional reference aids are also listed. Another particularly useful feature about the book is an appendix which lists in numerical order the record groups that contain records described in the *Guide*. The excellent index fills 106 double-column pages.

This *Guide* is complete and definitive. All students of American history should become familiar with it and the companion *Guide to the Archives of the Government of the Confederate States of America*, now being compiled, before beginning any work with official records of the Civil War.

MILTON H. CROUCH

*Pennsylvania State University*

## NEWS AND NOTES

### *Mission of Nombre de Dios*

Preparations are well under way at the Mission of Nombre de Dios for observance of the Mission's fourth centenary in 1965. America's oldest mission, Nombre de Dios was founded as a missionary site on September 8, 1565, when Father Francisco Lopez de Mendoza Grajales offered there the first Mass in the first permanent European settlement within the present continental limits of the United States. This Mass was the first community act of Christian religion in the United States.

At Nombre de Dios Spanish priests founded America's first mission to the Indians, antedating the better known missions of California by some 200 years. From that pioneer mission hundreds of priests and laymen advanced into an unknown continent and built a chain of missions that carried western civilization into the Carolinas and west as far as Texas.

In 1965 the Mission will be privileged to observe the 400th anniversary of those historic events. Plans for a celebration to commemorate the specifically religious side of St. Augustine's Quadricentennial were laid approximately one year ago and are now in a state of gratifying progress. Among these plans the following may be of particular interest to the readers of the *Quarterly*:

1. A towering illuminated Cross, approximately 100 feet in height, will be built on the Mission grounds to observe the first act of Menendez on stepping ashore at that site—that of kissing the Cross.
2. A library-archives-exhibition hall complex will be built on the Mission grounds in which to store and to exhibit the Mission's deposit of documents and books, including the old Parish Registers that date from 1594 and are the oldest written records of any kind in the United States.
3. The grounds of the Mission will be beautified and landscaped under the direction of Eugene F. Kennedy, F. A. I. A., of the Boston firm of Maginnis, Walsh and Kennedy. Mr. Ken-

nedý has been engaged as architect for all of the new construction at the Mission.

4. The Diocese of St. Augustine, through the offices of the Mission, has granted two research assistantships to the department of history of the University of Florida. The recipients of these grants are Luis R. Arana, of the National Park Service in St. Augustine, and Charles F. Fleener, Ph.D. candidate from Washington, D. C. Messers. Arana and Fleener will assist a team of priest-historians in researching early Florida documents.

5. A team of five priest-historians is currently at work preparing monographs on the history of the Catholic Church in Florida from 1565 to the present. The five priests are Fathers Michael V. Gannon, Charles Spellman, Matthew Connolly, Thomas Burns, and David Page. All hold graduate degrees in history. The areas to be covered in the monographs are: exploration of Florida and founding of St. Augustine, 1513-1567; the missionary period, 1567-1763; English occupation and the second Spanish Period, 1763-1821; territorial and early state periods, 1821-1876; and the modern period: a retrospect, 1876-1965.

The completed series of monographs will be published in a special St. Augustine Quadricentennial issue of the *Catholic Historical Review*. The *Review* is edited and published at the Catholic University of America, Washington, D. C., and reaches a national scholarly audience.

Other plans for the Quadricentennial celebrations will be another Mission in 1965 certain noteworthy ecclesiastical and civic documents from archives in Spain. The present Adelantado of Florida, El Conde de Revillagigedo, has offered to place on exhibit at the Mission the original *Memorial* of Dr. Gonzalo Solís de Meras, brother-in-law of Menéndez, who accompanied the latter on his voyage to Florida in 1565.

Other plans for the Quadricentennial celebrations will be announced at a later time.

[The *Quarterly* is grateful to Father Michael V. Gannon of the Mission of Nombre de Dios for providing the foregoing sketch of plans for the Quadricentennial observances.]

#### *Local and Area Societies and Commissions*

*Historical Association of Southern Florida:* At the April meeting

of the Association, Dr. John E. Johns, business manager and acting chairman of the department of history of Stetson University, gave an illustrated lecture titled, "By What Right is this Blood Shed?" This was a dramatic account of the Civil War in Florida, based upon Dr. Johns' newly published book *Florida During the Civil War*.

*Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale:* Two hundred fifty persons attended the first Annual Dinner held on May 6. Principal speaker and guest of honor was Senator Spessard L. Holland. Senator Holland reminisced about Florida history and his connection with it and spoke of the 1965 Quadricentennial activities in St. Augustine. Business of the evening included adoption of the bylaws of the Society and the election of members of the Board of Trustees. New board members are Russell Menese Gardner, Mrs. William G. Hardy, and James S. Hunt, Sr.

At a meeting of the Board of Trustees, on May 17, the following officers were elected to serve one-year terms: president, August Burghard; first vice-president, C. Philip Weidling; second vice-president, Mrs. Frank Stranahan; secretary, Mrs. Alfred J. Beck; and treasurer, Mrs. William G. Hardy.

C. Philip Weidling was appointed chairman of the membership committee.

*Gulf County Historical Commission:* Created in November, 1962, the most notable accomplishment of this Commission to date has been the placing of a commemorative marker at the site of one of the cemeteries of the old city of St. Joseph. This was achieved in cooperation with the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. The ceremonial dedication took place on April 4, 1963, on the highway adjoining the old cemetery site. Jesse V. Stone served as master of ceremonies and the marker was unveiled by Mayor Frank Hannon of Port St. Joe. Presentation of the acceptance was by George Y. Core, secretary of the Commission. A large number of political, religious, and historical leaders were present.

Mrs. Hubert Brinson of the St. Joseph Historical Society was the earliest and chief booster of the placement of this marker.

*Jacksonville Historical Society:* At the May meeting Mr. Kenneth H. Beeson spoke on "Glimpses of New Smyrna in the Eight-

eenth Century.” Mr. Beeson is a native of St. Augustine and a candidate for the Ph.D. degree in history at the University of Florida. Mr. Beeson made his talk in honor of Dr. Carita Doggett Corse, a descendant of Dr. Andrew Turnbull, founder of the New Smyrna colony.

In June the Society dedicated the Cow Ford Marker in cooperation with the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. The marker was placed on the grounds of the Duval County Court House, near the foot of Liberty Street. Mr. Robert L. Gold of Gainesville, a student of the British period, was the dedicatory speaker. The legend on the marker reads: “Site of Cow Ford: This narrow part of the St. Johns River near a clear freshwater spring, was a crossing point for Indians and early travellers. The Indian name Wacca Pilatka, meaning ‘Cow’s Crossing,’ was shortened by the English to Cow Ford and Jacksonville was known by this name for many years. This crossing was used by the English when they made an old Timucuan Indian trail into King’s Road.”

*Lake County Historical Society:* Mrs. Millard V. Coggshall was elected president of the Society at its annual picnic and meeting last April at Alexander Springs. Also elected were Paul Van Valkenburg, vice-president; Frank E. Owens, secretary-treasurer; and Mrs. Lydia Scott, librarian. The following directors were also named: Clark Kauffman, G. G. Ware, L. Day Edge, J. C. Cowart, Oakley Seaver, C. B. Treadway, O. M. Simpson, T. Stin Haselton, Emmet Hill, H. A. Babb, Mrs. C. E. Shaw, Charles Osborne, Frank E. Bridgman, F. D. Yancey, Emmett Peter, B. M. Kinser, Mrs. Norma Hendricks, and Mrs. Lucie K. Miller.

*Martin County Historical Society:* During May members of the Society had the opportunity to meet Theodore Pratt, author of *Seminole*, and Jim Hutchinson, notable local artist of the Seminole Indians. A social hour was held and members discussed with their guests some of their experiences in writing and painting. The Society recently purchased a Hutchinson portrait of Lucy Tiger, “matriarch of the Muskogee tribe of Seminole Indians,” and it now hangs in a place of honor at the Elliott Museum. An “Art Fund” has recently been established to purchase outstanding works of art for display in the Museum.

Museum Director Stephen Schmidt recently was appointed

chairman of the history division of the Southeastern Museums Conference to be held in Miami during October.

*Orange County Historical Commission:* The formal reopening of the County Historical Museum was held in June. The Museum had its origin in the Central Florida Centennial Celebration in April, 1942, when the Antiquarian Society, the Collectors' Assembly, and the Questor's Club were permitted to set up a pioneer kitchen in the old brick 1892 Courthouse. When additional rooms became available, antiques, relics, and historical memorabilia were donated by numbers of families and a museum was established. When the Courthouse was razed in 1957, the museum was closed and its contents stored until new quarters recently became available. The Orange County Historical Commission, which now has charge of the Museum, was created by the County Commission on June 10, 1957. Chairman is Donald Cheney; vice-chairman, James N. Burden; treasurer, Arthur W. Newell; and editor, Rolland Dean. Members of the Commission are Jenkins Dolive, Mrs. Juanita Tucker, Mrs. Donald S. Evans, Henry A. Porter, Mrs. E. L. Mathews, and Harry P. Witherington.

*Polk County Historical Commission:* Dedication ceremonies were held in April at Bartow marking the site of Fort Fraser, an Indian War post built in 1837 under command of General Zachary Taylor. The fort was named in honor of Captain Upton S. Fraser who was killed at Dade's Massacre on December 28, 1835. In charge of the dedicatory ceremonies was Tom O. Brown, chairman of the marker committee.

Officers of the Commission are Floyd Woods, chairman; Charles T. Thrift, Jr., vice-chairman; D. H. Sloan, Jr., secretary; and members Richard A. Bronson, Tom O. Brown, Paul F. Daniel, C. C. Street, and Mrs. Gordon Waring.

*Palm Beach County Historical Society:* Mr. David M. Fee, an effective speaker on the history of the Indian River country, spoke on the topic "Sagas of the Indian River" at the April meeting. A social hour and business meeting followed the program which was the last of the season.

*St. Augustine Historical Society:* At the regular quarterly business meeting in April, Mr. Robert L. Gold discussed some of the

problems involved in the transfer of Florida from Spanish to British rule in 1763-64. The regular July business meeting heard Mr. Harold W. Colee of the Florida State Chamber of Commerce.

*St. Joseph Historical Society:* The Society is proud to report substantial accomplishment in the area of five major projects during the past year. The 1963 Florida legislature appropriated funds for the acquisition of a historical-recreational park on St. Joseph peninsula, and for its development. The idea originated with the Society in 1958 and was energetically pushed by Mrs. Ned Porter. Requests for expansion of the Constitution Convention Memorial Museum, for six years on the Society's agenda, have also finally achieved fruition in the inclusion of funds for the project in the budget of the Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. The existing Centennial Building at Port St. Joe was renovated by the city in June at the instigation of the Society.

The story of the discovery of original wheels from the St. Joseph railway was carried in the *Quarterly* [XXXIX (April, 1961), 354-365]. At the request of the Society, the St. Joe Paper Company subjected the long-submerged railroad wheels to a three-year preservation process. They are now on display at the Constitution Park Museum.

In November of 1962, the Gulf County Commissioners created the Gulf County Historical Commission, long the dream of the Society. The following members were named to the Commission: Mrs. Ned S. Porter, chairman; Mrs. R. H. Brinson, archivist; Dave Gaskin, archivist; William J. Rish, legal advisor; George Y. Core, secretary; Jesse V. Stone, assistant secretary; Charles B. Smith, historian; and William H. Howell, Jr., photographer.

In January, 1963, Mr. Jesse V. Stone was chosen president of the St. Joseph Historical Society.

*Southwest Florida Historical Society:* Recently organized in Fort Myers under the temporary chairmanship of P. A. Geraci, this Society has named Robert Halgrim, manager of the Edison Estate, as its president.

*Volusia County Historical Commission:* An observance of the part played by New Smyrna in the Civil War was held in that

city on July 26, 1963. The program was presented in Old Fort Park on Riverside Drive. A marker was unveiled commemorating the centennial of an attack on New Smyrna by Union gunboats. Judge Robert H. Wingfield of DeLand was the principal speaker. Refreshments were served by the Jane Sheldon Chapter, DAR. The Florida Historical Society was represented by James H. Lipscomb, III, a member of the Board of Directors.

#### *State Library and Historical Commission*

The State Library law was revised by the 1963 legislature to create a Florida Library and Historical Commission. The new agency will be effective October 1 and will be administered by a board of seven members appointed by the Governor for four year terms. The present library board is composed of three members.

The new law transfers the powers and duties of the Florida Civil War Centennial Commission to the State Library and Historical Commission. In addition to its present library functions, the purpose of the commission is to give "leadership to the collection, recording, and dissemination of information about Florida history. The Commission shall give parity to the historical and library functions in its own endeavors, and shall cooperate with other agencies, groups, and individuals in bringing events in Florida history to the attention of the public."

#### *Progress of Florida Libraries*

Action of the 1963 legislature, according to the official publication of the State Library Board, represents a real set-back to the public library program in Florida. In 1962, twenty-four counties were assisted in establishing libraries at a cost of \$284,544. For the 1963-65 biennium, a request was made for \$1,317,705 to aid thirty-two counties during 1963-64 and forty-five counties during 1964-65. The legislative appropriation was \$200,000.

*Library Trends*, a national publication, reported in April of 1963 that Florida's local libraries ranked 26th among the states in 1961. In per capita State expenditures for public libraries, Florida ranked 43rd in 1956, and 50th in 1961. Comparative rankings for 1963 are not yet available.

*The Hakluyt Society*

The Hakluyt Society, doubtless familiar to many members of our Society, is a venerable English organization which publishes historical works concerning all parts of the world. Its annual dues are now \$6.00 and for this each member receives two historical volumes, approximately, each year. One of our esteemed members, Mr. David O. True, is a member of the organization and kindly offers to recommend for membership any members of the Florida Historical Society who desire to join. Mr. True writes, "I can assure our members that these volumes, covering knowledge of early world history to the present, are very well worth the cost." Interested members may address Mr. True at 1690 S. W. 27th Avenue, Miami, 45, Florida, for application blanks and information.

*Harry S. Truman Library*

The Truman Library continues to add to its acquisitions of manuscripts, newspapers, books, and oral history dealing with recent times. Applications may still be made to the Library Institute for grants-in-aid, providing up to \$1,000 each for travel and living expenses while at the Library. The Institute favors grants to promising students and young scholars working on projects involving the Truman administration and the history and nature of the Presidency. Application forms may be had from Philip C. Brooks, Director of the Library, Independence, Missouri.

CONTRIBUTORS

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CONTRIBUTORS

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## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

*Published in July, October, January,  
and April by the Florida Historical Society*

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Publication of this *Quarterly* was begun in April, 1908, but after six numbers it was suspended in July, 1909. In July, 1924, publication was resumed and has been continuous since that date.

The Florida Historical Society supplies the *Quarterly* to its members. The annual membership fee is five dollars, but special memberships of ten, twenty-five, fifty, and one hundred dollars are available. Correspondence relating to membership and subscriptions should be addressed to Margaret Chapman, Executive Secretary, University of South Florida Library, Tampa, Florida.

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