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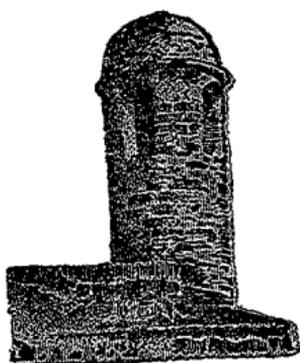
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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what 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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JOURNEY TO THE WILDERNESS: TWO TRAVELERS IN FLORIDA, 1696-1774

by MARY S. MATTFIELD

THE EASTERN COAST of the State of Florida is today heavily populated. From Jupiter Inlet north to the Georgia state line, vacation resorts and permanent communities front the Atlantic all the way. It is not easy to visualize this shore as wilderness through which a traveler could make his way only with the greatest difficulty, a cruel wilderness of burning desert and freezing exposure, of lacerating thorns and shells, and of near starvation. It is still harder to imagine the traveler on this coast beset, not only by natural perils, but also by the menace of hostile, even cannibalistic Indian tribes. Yet that is the situation in which Jonathan Dickinson, author of one of the earliest of Florida travel narratives, found himself in 1696.

Dickinson was a member of a group of travelers shipwrecked near Jupiter Island while on a journey from Port Royal, Jamaica, to Philadelphia aboard the barkentine *Reformation*. A prosperous young Quaker merchant, Dickinson was traveling with his wife and six month-old son; a relative, Benjamin Allen; and the dedicated Quaker evangelist, Robert Barrow, who was returning from a missionary journey to Jamaica. With Dickinson also were eleven of his Negro slaves-four men, six women, and a child-so that with the ship's company of nine the group numbered twenty-five. A severe storm separated the *Reformation* from the vessels with which she was traveling in convoy for fear of French ships, and on September 23 she ran aground. The party had already been stricken by calamities: one of Dickinson's female slaves had died on board, both Benjamin Allen and Robert Barrow were seriously ill, the Dickinson baby had been sickly since birth, and the master of the ship, capable and courageous Captain Joseph Kirtle, had recently broken his leg in an accident on board. The problem of getting safely to the mainland and of finding shelter fell to Jonathan Dickinson, who showed himself an energetic leader. Hardly were all the castaways ashore, however, when they were captured by a hostile band of Indians of the Jobeses tribe,

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who bitterly disliked Englishmen, but were subservient to the Spanish governors of Florida. The Indians stripped Dickinson's party of all their possessions and held them prisoner for weeks. During their captivity, they lived in constant fear for their lives, and when finally set free they began the terrible ordeal of journeying, by small boat and on foot, more than 200 miles up the deserted wilderness of the Florida coast to the Spanish settlement at St. Augustine. Five members of the party died on the way. From St. Augustine, the Spanish governor sent them by small boat to Charleston, where they sailed for Philadelphia, reaching their destination at last on the first of April 1697.

Dickinson described his experience in his *Journal, or God's Protecting Providence*. . . . The account was first published in Philadelphia in 1699 and subsequently went through several editions there and in London. The book enjoyed a very considerable popularity and has been reprinted many times. It has been of value on a number of counts over the years. To the Yearly Meeting of the Society of Friends which first authorized its publication, it was an important Quaker document, a testimony to the Quaker faith and to the protection of God. To the history of printing in America, it has been of significance because of its early issue and the frequency with which it has been reproduced. It furnishes useful and detailed ethnological information about seventeenth-century Indians in Florida, but most important to the modern reader is its interest as a dramatic narrative of travel.¹

Nearly a century after the first publication of Jonathan Dickinson's *Journal*, a very different travel narrative appeared. This was William Bartram's *Travels Through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida*, which was published in Philadelphia in 1791. Bartram was a naturalist, the son of the great John Bartram whom Linnaeus called the greatest botanist in the New World. As a young man of twenty, William had accompanied his father on a journey which formed the basis for the elder Bartram's *Description of East Florida*, published in 1769. In 1774, about fifteen years after their first trip, William

1. A full treatment of the bibliographical history of the work is to be found in Charles M. Andrews "God's Protecting Providence: A Journal of Jonathan Dickinson," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXI (October 1942), 107-26.

Bartram made an extensive exploration of southern plant and wild life, and he recorded his travels and his impressions.

Those travels took him from Philadelphia to Charleston, to Savannah and into the Georgia wilderness, and then to East Florida close to the scenes of Jonathan Dickinson's ordeal. From East Florida, Bartram explored the Cherokee territories in West Florida, the land of the Choctaws and the Creeks, Mobile, Pensacola, and Alabama, returning through Augusta, Savannah, and Charleston to Virginia, and at last home to Philadelphia. In the course of his travels, Bartram made detailed observations not only on the plant and animal life of the regions, but also on the social and economic life of the plantations and settlements he visited, and especially on the culture of the Indian tribes. He traveled under the roughest of conditions, usually alone, though occasionally with a single companion or a party of surveyors or traders. He went by small boat, an horseback, and on foot, and he frequently encountered danger from wild animals, fever, storms, and unfriendly Indians. Bartram's book is far from being only a naturalist's record. For all of its detailed factual description and classification of fauna and flora, its interest to the ordinary reader lies in the lyric enthusiasm of its style and in the dramatic quality of the narrative.

To discuss in a single article the narratives of two such widely differing men as have been brought together in the present instance might seem merely an arbitrary or a whimsical editorial proceeding. Surely except for the accidents of geography, of approximate age (Bartram was about thirty-five, Dickinson thirty-three), and of Quaker inheritance, the two would appear to have had almost nothing in common. Dickinson was a merchant who was to go on to a prosperous and highly urban career of business and public service in Philadelphia; Bartram was scientist, philosopher, and lover of nature. The former found himself in the wilderness entirely against his will, responsible for the lives and safety of others, and in terror of the savages. The latter, on the contrary, was a trained and expert woodsman pursuing his researches with the keenest interest and delighted with the opportunity to study the aborigines as well. In brief, Jonathan Dickinson was representative of the attitudes of the seventeenth century and William Bartram of those of the eighteenth. Neither would

have recognized the picture drawn by the other, though Dickinson's "raging seas" and "dismal" land form the same Florida coast of which Bartram exclaimed "how awfully great and sublime is the majestic scene eastward!"² Yet these two men, separated as widely as they are by every apparent trait of character and circumstance, of time and temperament, are in reality identical in one deeply significant way. Not the substance of their narratives, but the spirit in which they were undertaken links them and creates of each account a genuinely significant work. The appeal of travel narratives is an almost universal one, and the two examples presented here make a most powerful appeal indeed. Each is typical of this richly varied genre in every fundamental aspect; each moreover, transcends the limits of the genre to become literature as well as document. And in the process each presents to the reader a unified concept of individual man and his circumstances which affords insights into a developing American consciousness.

Throughout history, the traveler's tale has always exercised a particular fascination over the mind of his hearer. The journeys of a Xenophon or a Marco Polo were assured of an audience very nearly as enthralled as those for which the great epics had been told, and for much the same reason. The journey-plot of legend—the wanderings of a hero among the perils of remote and unknown lands, among strange men and stranger monsters, and his eventual return to the upper world of the familiar—has its roots deep in our being. And the traveler in the latitudes of actuality, who may document his wanderings and classify his monsters, makes a powerful dual appeal to our daylight taste for fact and to our unconscious need for myth.

The New World provided an especially fruitful subject for narratives of travel. The spirit of exploration was fired by the possibilities of an unknown land, where savages and unfamiliar wild beasts roamed the forests. Travel narratives date from the earliest days of the colonies, forming an invaluable source of information about the spirit as well as the lives of the people who settled and developed the continent. Thus, representative types of American travel narration are many and varied, and the role

2. E. W. and C. M. Andrews (eds.), *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal* (New Haven, 1961), 5, 6; Mark Van Doren (ed.), *William Bartram, Travels* (New York, 1928), 73.

of the narrator himself is varied also. Whatever the purpose and special interest of the writer, however, the best examples of this mode all reflect certain dominant traits. Courage and endurance, boundless curiosity, and alertness of observation are common characteristics. Still another is the tendency to self-revelation which the nature of the genre encourages.

This self-revelation would appear to be a natural result of the use of the first person in narration. Works such as these achieve a fairly simple and obvious unity from the conventions of the form. The traveler, whether his narrative is presented as a sustained account, as a series of letters, or more typically as a diary, traditionally sets forth on a journey, encounters adventure, records his impressions of persons, places, manners, and events, and eventually arrives at his destination or comes full circle to return home. His record is typically in the first person; either he is telling his own story, as is true of William Bartram, or he is the spokesman for his group, as is the case for Jonathan Dickinson. In either situation, we gain the advantages inherent in the first person: immediacy, quick sympathy, the sense of authenticity. Above all, we have a single point of view at work on the material. Whatever the function of the individual work, therefore, the most characteristic demonstrate a lively narrative technique, at the very least a use of anecdote, at best a sustained sense of development which is closely akin to fiction.

Indeed, the travel narrative would appear to be a literary form in which the possibility of fiction is inherent. To the extent that the point of view dramatizes itself through self-revelation and through the conscious structuring of material, the work becomes a dramatic entity. Those narratives which have the greatest interest as literature are those in which a sense of metaphor can be felt. The traveler who sees his journey in symbolic terms creates a piece of genuine literature, however crude or slight, because he consciously or unconsciously selects and arranges the same mass of detail to be found in any travel narrative in an order which approaches art - the art of fiction. This dominant characteristic linking the travel narrative to fiction is not a late or an essentially evolutionary development. Instead, it is often found in works of the seventeenth century as well as in those by later pre-Romantic writers. The tendency of the devout Puritan

or Quaker was to see his earthly experience in spiritual terms. The godly conceived of the established social order on the American frontier as a bulwark against the godlessness of the Indians and of primitive nature, and against their de-civilizing influences. His struggle in the wilderness, a release from bondage or a goal attained, thus became for the devout seventeenth century traveler such as Dickinson a significant demonstration of the workings of Divine Providence.

The usual traveler of the Revolutionary period, on the other hand, took a more secular view of civilization and was typically concerned with the physical facts of his journey for their own sake. In his growing interest in man as a social being, he collected with complete catholicity data which he might, in Thomas Jefferson's phrase, "apply usefully for . . . [his] country." For a traveler like Congressman William Loughton Smith of South Carolina, recording the bustle of a new republic at work settling its practical affairs, civilization connoted tangible values. Material prosperity as reflected in fine new buildings and thriving communities interested him greatly, and he stood in a sense in an equilibrium between an old and a new order, between a view of society as a defensive stockade and a view of social institutions as tending to be both corrupt and corrupting. Especially revealing is Smith's enthusiastic use of the term *romantic*. While he was sufficiently the fashionable man of his age conventionally to admire picturesque natural beauty, he dwelt with greatest satisfaction on the prosperous, the arable, the cultivated scene. The area about Middletown, Connecticut, he found "a most romantic country, thickly settled, highly cultivated, and adorned both by nature and art. . . ." ³ For most men of Smith's interests, the wilderness seems to have had few cosmic implications, either dark or golden; thus few travelers of the period saw their journeys in other than literal terms. The modern reader is more aware of the real conflict underlying the surface conflicts of their narratives, but their own lack of such awareness leaves the works without thematic organization to give purpose to the dramatic organization. For

3. Albert Mathews (ed.), *The Journal of William Loughton Smith, 1790-1791* (Cambridge, Massachusetts, 1917), 43. Smith was a South Carolina congressman and later a diplomat. His journal includes a record of the congressman's tour with President Washington's party through the New England States.

this reason, few eighteenth century travel narratives, however lively or historically significant, ever quite evince the elusive fusion we term literature.

In the later eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, however, the principles of the Enlightenment, of Deism, of the philosophies of Locke and Rousseau, had helped to make possible a new attitude toward the American wilderness and toward the Indian. In a romanticist's quest for the truth behind the fact, some men saw their travels as a spiritual pilgrimage in which nature played the unifying role that Divine Providence had played for the Puritan. It is this spiritual concept which links the Quaker Jonathan Dickinson to the naturalist William Bartram a century later. It is this concept of the wilderness journey as metaphor which lies at the heart of some of the chief American novels of the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, and which directly anticipated the narratives of the greatest of American travelers, Francis Parkman and Henry David Thoreau.

To the reader of the twentieth century, with his advantage of perspective, the search for the meaning of the wilderness never ceased to be a continuing factor in the development of American thought. The dilemma of an advanced culture confronting an undeveloped society which marks a crisis of contemporary world civilization lends added relevance to the struggles of the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries in America. The extent to which an individual writer consciously or unconsciously reflects a unified view of this basic conflict helps to determine the literary potential of his work. The individual who faces a world totally alien to his experience of civilization tests not only his physical but his moral resources. When his deepest inner conviction persuades him that without the checks of civilization and orthodox religion evil must prevail, the wilderness holds genuine terrors. When, on the contrary, civilized society is prejudged as corrupting to "natural" virtue, a journey to the wilderness becomes a spiritual quest, a self-conscious return to the source. In either case, the real world of concrete factual experience is inevitably a projection of the writer's view. Both Jonathan Dickinson and William Bartram illustrate this quality in their writing.

In each case, the metaphor is conveyed through a thoroughly representative specimen of the American narrative of travel. Like

William Wood and John Josselyn in the Colonial period, Bartram represents the traveler-naturalist. Jonathan Dickinson exemplifies two types, for his account of seventeenth-century Florida is at once a captivity narrative like that of Mrs. Mary Rowlandson and a remarkable providence like those collected by Increase Mather. The role played by each of our travelers reflects one or more typical adaptations. Each is far more than a mere recorder. Dickinson interpreted the survival of his party through months of hardship in the wilds of Florida's east coast as proof of the protecting providence of God. Many times, he wrote, they expected death, "but on a sudden it pleased the Lord to work wonderfully for our preservation, and instantly all these savage men were struck dumb."⁴ So his journal was read by his fellow Quakers as a tract.

William Bartram played a dual role, that of naturalist and that of apologist. Bartram gave a detailed and precise technical account of the physical character of the regions through which he traveled, their vegetation and wild life, and their beauty. One of the avowed purposes of his book was to demonstrate that "nature is the work of God omnipotent," through showing the presence of reason and harmony in the animal and vegetable worlds. His was a romantic's view of nature, and through it he orders his observations. Bartram's secondary purpose, like the colonial Daniel Gookin's, was the vindication of the Indians, of whom he believed that "as moral men they certainly stand in no need of European civilization," and for whose wise treatment he made very enlightened and intelligent recommendations.⁵

Both of these men display in their narratives the chief personal characteristics which distinguish so many other writers of travel. Both were men of energy and courage; Bartram faced calmly such hazards as Florida alligators and Florida hurricanes, and Dickinson's bravery in confronting both the "cannibals" of the Florida

4. Andrews, *Dickinson's Journal*, 8. Wood wrote *New England's Prospect. A True, Lively, and Experimental Description of that Part of America, Commonly Called New England . . .* (London, 1639), and Josselyn published *An Account of Two Voyages to New England* (London, 1674). Mrs. Rowlandson's account of her captivity by Indians is included in Charles H. Lincoln (ed.), *Narratives of the Indian Wars, 1679-1699* (New York, 1913).
5. Van Doyen, *William Bartram*, 21, 26-27, 385. Daniel Gookin, a colonial Massachusetts Indian official, wrote *Historical Collections of the Indians of Massachusetts* (Boston, 1792), in 1674.

coast and his almost intolerable physical sufferings makes a profoundly moving book. Both shared the keen observation and insatiable curiosity which mark the best of such accounts, and vividly employ concrete details which are the result of such observation. In the midst of his distress, Dickinson noted that the bag in which berries were given to his starving party was woven of grass, and he curiously watched the Indians' method of spear-fishing.

Dickinson described at length the way in which his captors brewed a native drink, "of the leaves of a shrub (which we understood afterwards . . . is called *Casseena*), boiling the said leaves, after they had parched them in a pot; then with a gourd having a long neck and at the top of it a small hole which the top of one's finger could cover, and at the side of it a round hole of two inches diameter, they take the liquor out of the pot and put it into a deep round bowl, which being almost filled containeth nigh three gallons. With this gourd they brew the liquor and make it froth very much. It looketh of a deep brown color. In the brewing of this liquor was this noise made which we thought strange; for the pressing of this gourd gently down into the liquor, and the air which it contained being forced out of the little hole at top occasioned a sound; and according to the time and motion given would be various."⁶ This was the same "black drink" or infusion of Cassine later observed by Bartram in ceremonies among the Indians.

Dickinson notes the precise dimensions of some of the Indian dwellings, so that while expecting death at any instant he was collecting useful Florida anthropological data. Bartram, too, recorded a multitude of homely details which warm the formality of his more elevated rhetoric. He described his troubles with "mosquitoes," detailed his supper menus, and warned his readers of the diuretic properties of certain wild fruits. Bream was his "favourite fish," he confided, and he furnished directions for preparing "Indian jelly" from smilax root, not omitting, of course, the botanical classification of the plant. Bartram's preoccupation with detail is a scientific one, and he devoted the last of the four parts of his book to an ambitious compilation of Indian data, catalogues of tribes and dialects, descriptions of Indian appearance,

6. Andrews, *Dickinson's Travels*, 24-25.

dress, laws, rituals, and folkways in general. He discriminated scrupulously in his attempt to characterize the essential differences among tribes, and was obviously carrying out his own recommendation for "atonement for our negligence in the care of the present and future well being of our Indian brethren." In his descriptions of white plantations and settlements, Bartram is equally concerned with vivid detail, and thus presents a panorama of life in the remoter southern territories in the 1770s.⁷

In all of these ways, both travel narratives considered here are typical of their genre, but both go beyond these limits to demonstrate the essential properties of fiction. In each, the extent of self-revelation, of dramatization of a point of view, of the use of narrative to convey a theme, and of the metaphoric quality of the journey itself, all work together to create a literature of the wilderness.

Jonathan Dickinson's confrontation of the wilderness posed not only the obvious physical perils, but also the problem of moral survival in a world without meaning. Florida was a land in which the known values ceased to operate. The Indians were pagans; the Spanish at St. Augustine were Papists, so the shipwrecked travelers were truly cast upon their own moral resources. In this predicament, the threat of cannibalism—real or fancied—serves as a recurrent image for all the forces of primitive savagery. The Indians are called "a barbarous People such as were generally accounted man-eaters," and part of the group were quartered in an Indian town where Dickinson reported, it was only "about a twelvemonth since a parcel of Dutchmen were killed who, having been cast away . . . were here devoured by these cannibals, as we understood by the Spaniards." The very ambiguity makes the threat the more unsettling in this nightmare experience in which appearance often fails to be equated with actuality.⁸

Beyond the fear that they were to be "shot, burnt, and eaten," Dickinson's major apprehension was the fate of his infant son if the parents were to die. "One thing did seem more grievous to me and my wife than any other thing," he wrote, ". . . that our child would be kept alive, and bred up as one of these people; when this thought did arise it wounded us deep." This horror

7. Van Doren, *William Bartram*, 357; Andrews, *Dickinson's Travels*, 27, 67, 144, 148, 194.

8. Andrews, *Dickinson's Travels*, 7, 49.

that a Christian might revert to a life of savagery was one of the overriding anxieties of the devout in the seventeenth century, for there were a sufficient number of instances to justify the fear. There is an unconscious irony in the fact that the baby, "at death's door from the time of its birth," should thrive when casually and indiscriminately nursed by the Indian women, so that he "began now to be cheerful, and have an appetite to food." Instead, it was Dickinson himself who at least partly succumbed to the evil which he encountered outside his known world, and who deteriorated morally even though he survived.⁹

In telling his story, Dickinson emerges very clearly as a man. From the events and the tone of the narrative alone, the reader can know him as a forceful, vigorous leader, an acute observer, an affectionate husband and father. Courageous as he was—and his *Journal* is an almost unbearable record of the courage with which he and his party faced their trials—Dickinson was neither epic hero nor saint. His very human weaknesses are defined in the narrative by the presence of the truly saintly Robert Barrow, the aged Quaker missionary who was to die as a result of his sufferings only a few days after reaching his destination. Barrow's words and actions as reported by Dickinson, and his final letter to his wife which is appended to the *Journal* demonstrate an innocence, a martyr's simplicity of spirit, unlike that of the younger man. The picture of Barrow on the First Day following the capture is in character: ". . . Being most of us sat together, Robert Barrow desired our people to wait upon the Lord: in which time Robert had a word in season unto us, and afterwards went to prayer, all the Indians coming about us, and some younger sort would be mocking; but not to our disturbance."¹⁰

Barrow was a hairshirt as much as he was an example to his companions in adversity. The patience with which he endured encouraged them; the sweet stubbornness with which he refused to tell a lie when the English-hating Indians asked his nationality put all their lives in jeopardy. It was clearly Barrow in whom the Society of Friends took greatest pride when it commissioned the publication of this book. The gentle Robert Barrow preserved his Quaker faith intact: he would not lie even to a heathen In-

9. *Ibid.*, 10, 26, 37.

10. *Ibid.*, 15.

dian; he bore all in silence and patience; he was responsive to the kindness of the Spanish priest even with his "shaven Pate"; his very death was edifying and exemplary.¹¹

Jonathan Dickinson was another sort of Quaker. Saints are few in any generation; representative men provide a more useful index to the temper of their age, and in his weaknesses as well as his strengths Dickinson was a fair representative. This is the pious Quaker who, like his Puritan counterpart in New England, found a worldly concern with material prosperity perfectly compatible with his spiritual values, even perhaps in some sense a tangible measure of or reward for such values. The Spanish governor, Laureano de Torres y Ayala, gave Dickinson and the master of the ship credit in order to purchase supplies for the trip from St. Augustine to Charleston, although they were strangers. Dickinson twice mentions that he and Captain Kirle made certain that the rest of the party "signed their obligation . . . to pay their proportion of what was provided . . .," and one recognizes the sound business practices of the successful merchant.¹² This is also the sincere seventeenth-century Christian who could exhibit a callousness toward his slaves that chills even the least sentimental reader and who saw in the Florida Indians only the sub-human agents of infernal powers. He was, in short, a decent civilized man precipitated into a wilderness hell for which accepted civilized values had little relevance. His narrative becomes a strongly integrated story because the actual world of the wilderness is so keenly felt and vividly presented, and because the concrete descriptive details move from mere imagery toward symbol as they are shaped by Dickinson's point of view.

Dickinson's ordeal involves a gradual alteration of his role as the drama progresses. Aboard the *Reformation* before the disaster, Dickinson was the fully responsible man, a leader by right of his social position, capability, and youthful energy. When the ship's captain broke his leg, it was Dickinson who set it successfully. In the world of the familiar his paternal responsibility extended to his Negroes, and he referred to his dying Indian slave Venus as one "of my family." He shouldered the responsibility for landing all the party safely on the Florida coast after the wreck, and it is

11. *Ibid.*, 91.

12. *Ibid.*, 64-65; Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Under Five Flags* (Gainesville, 1960), 135.

evident that the rest turned to him as a natural leader. Even the Indians recognized that he was in some sense in charge of the group. That he commanded respect we learn from several revealing episodes. When it became possible for only one man to go to St. Augustine for help, the "generality" were anxious that it should be Dickinson himself, and "some of them grew choleric" at the rather more logical choice of the one man who spoke Spanish. Again, when the small ship's boat containing several of the group was in danger from heavy seas (at the same stretch of Florida coast which was to be the setting of Stephen Crane's closely parallel adventure in "The Open Boat") the master and his experienced seamen insisted that it was impossible to reach shore through the breakers. Yet Dickinson the landsman was able to persuade them to make a further attempt: "And it pleased God to order it so that we went on shore, as though there had been a lane made through the breakers." It is clear that the man had considerable force of character, yet stripped as naked as the rest of the survivors, he was stripped of civilization as well.¹³

The respectable castaways were acutely distressed by the theft of all their clothing, though the Indians eventually gave them woven grass loin cloths and a few skins such as they themselves wore. Modesty ceased to be essential, though protection from insects and the weather became a serious problem. There is a peculiar - though unconscious - appropriateness in the scene of the Indians tormenting their victims: "We brought a great Bible and a large book of Robert Barclay's to this place. And being stripped all as naked as we were born, and endeavoring to hide our nakedness; these cannibals took the books, and tearing out the leaves would give each of us a leaf to cover us; which we took from them: at which time they would deride and smite us; and instantly another of them would snatch away what the other gave us, smiting and deriding us withal."¹⁴

The episode suggests a grotesque parody of the Fall in the context of this monstrous anti-Eden, where the Bible does not function and where Dickinson is naked and almost defenseless on the spiritual as well as the physical plane. Throughout the narrative, the problem of clothing is constantly present and serves as an emblem of civilization itself. The Spanish sentinels at the

13. Andrews, *Dickinson's Travels*, 4, 6, 8, 19-20, 35.

14. *Ibid.*, 22.

coastal lookout-station grudgingly lent Mary Dickinson a "blanket to be left at the next sentinel's house," for they had almost no supplies of their own. The governor at St. Augustine was able to provide some thin linen garments for the half-frozen refugees, but no wool, and to obtain clothing and food for the trip to civilized Charleston, Dickinson contemplated the inhumane step of selling his remaining Negroes in this alien and barren land.¹⁵

His attitude toward food necessarily paralleled his degree of involvement with the wilderness. At first, when the castaways were offered fish by the Indians, their "exercise was too great . . . to have any inclination to receive food." "The sense of our conditions stayed our hungry stomachs," Dickinson wrote, "for some amongst us thought they would feed us to feed themselves." The wild palmetto berries which formed a staple of Indian diet were at first loathesome to the captives: "Not one amongst us could suffer them to stay in our mouths; for we could compare the taste of them to nothing else, but rotten cheese steeped in tobacco." In a few days, however, they were reduced even to this, for necessity triumphed over civilized tastes, and Dickinson explained that "enjoying health and strength, and hunger growing violent, we would be tasting the berries, though we would reap no satisfaction." Before long, they were to be glad to steal these berries from the Indians, and at St. Augustine, Dickinson noted, "we found our palates so changed by eating of berries that we could not relish the taste of salt any more than if it had no saltiness in it." So the influence of the wilderness lingered. At the height of their tribulations, "the gills and guts of fish, picked off a dung-hill, was acceptable," and the constant suspicion that their savage hosts might be cannibals gained added poignancy in the presence of such hunger as this. Even the comparatively civilized Spanish guides later proved little less savage, for they were very reluctant to share any of their rations. Indeed, at one point, Dickinson recalled, "we got to an Indian plantation (this was the first place we saw anything planted) being full of pumpkin vines and some small pumpions on them but the Spaniards were too quick for us and got all before us. . . ." ¹⁶

With physical survival such a primitive struggle, it is no surprise that conventional civilized ties and responsibilities dropped

15. *Ibid.*, 56, 58, 63.

16. *Ibid.*, 12, 13, 26-27, 33, 37, 44, 47, 61.

away one by one, that in the wilderness even Dickinson becomes progressively more callous toward others as conditions become more desperate. During the hideous northwest gale and freezing cold of November 13, 1696, as they were making their way many miles northward to the first Spanish sentinel's house, self-preservation alone actuated nearly all the group. They "made all speed, one not staying for another that could not travel so fast"; and finally, though he tried hard to keep them together, Dickinson was forced to abandon both his "kinsman Benjamin Allen" and Robert Barrow in order to save his wife and child.¹⁷ This was difficult enough: "I used my endeavor to comfort and cheer my wife, entreating her, not to let grief overcome her; . . . I had an Indian mat with a split in it, through which I put my head, hanging over my breast unto my waist: under this I carried my child, which helped to break the wind off it; but the poor babe was black with cold from head to foot, and its flesh as cold as a stone; yet it was not froward. . . . About two o'clock in the afternoon we came up with our Negro woman Hagar with her child at her back almost dead. . . . We had lost sight of Robert Barrow by this time. . . ."¹⁸

At last they did reach the shelter of the sentinel's house, where there was a fire, a little food, and "plenty of hot caseena drink." At this point in his narrative, Dickinson candidly reveals himself as somewhat less than heroic and justifies himself. He was exhausted and numb with cold, and he did not respond as the self-assured and responsible young merchant aboard the Reformation would surely have done. For all his usual forcefulness, he could not persuade the sentinels to go back for those left behind, and all except Robert Barrow, who eventually reached safety through his own efforts, were to perish of exposure. The slaves Jack, Caesar, and Quenza died on that shore, and Hagar is dismissed in a few words: "I understood that our Negro woman Hagar got hither late last night having her child dead at her back, which the Spaniards buried." Dickinson acknowledged that he was "under a great concern for our kinsman [Benjamin Allen]; the Spaniards we could not prevail upon to go and fetch him, or to carry wherewith to make a fire: which had they done and found them living, it might have preserved them. But we hoped Negro Ben would bring our kinsman." Dickinson had learned when

17. *Ibid.*, 51-52.

18. *Ibid.*, 52-53.

Robert Barrow came to the shelter, an "hour or two" after Dickinson himself arrived, that Negro Ben had alone turned back to try to rescue Allen. In fact, the part played by Negro Ben throughout is a fascinating minor role to which Dickinson neglected to do justice. From a scant dozen scattered and off-hand allusions it becomes evident that Ben, Captain Kirle's personal Negro, was a rather remarkable man. He showed devotion and initiative, tended his injured master carefully, helped launch and navigate the boat, and he managed somehow to go back for the boat when the Indians had forced their captives to leave it some thirty miles behind. He made an heroic effort to find Benjamin Allen in the dark, and he nearly lost his own life. Dickinson is not to be blamed for not recognizing the implications of Negro Ben, both for the survival of his own party and for the larger development of American literature. The latter remained for Cooper, for Melville, for Twain, and for Faulkner to explore. In Dickinson's view, Ben was simply useful property, and as such his master was "inclined to sell" him at St. Augustine for necessary clothing and provisions.¹⁹

Nor is Dickinson to be blamed for not trying to help Negro Hagar and her child, or even for not going back for Benjamin Allen. He has compromised with the wilderness for survival and has won, but on wilderness terms. He has saved his own life and the lives of his wife and his son by jettisoning all the impedimenta of civilization and of religion except for a fundamental spark of hope in God.

As Dickinson has learned to know the wilderness, there has been a subtle but inexorable change in himself, unconsciously demonstrating a basic truth. The enemy is not the Indian, but nature itself. At first the Indian conforms to Dickinson's predetermined judgment; he is a godless savage whose religious ceremonial is subhuman, involving "fearful noise some like the barking of a dog, wolf, and other strange sounds . . . and "a hideous howling, very irksome to us. . . ." Again, at the ceremonial dance of the red-and black-painted chiefs, the Indians look "like Furies," and the descriptive imagery is all drawn from the animal rather than from the human world. Yet the Indian is clearly an ambiguous quantity. The castaways are undeniably mistreated, stripped,

19. *Ibid.* 11, 43, 54-56, 62-63.

struck, derided, threatened. Even among the Indians themselves, however, there is sympathy for the Dickinson party, and many intercede for the victims. "When some of them would go to shoot, others of them would catch hold of their bows or arm." The chiefs and their wives in particular are kind to their captives, and one old chief even washes the feet of Robert Barrow and Mary Dickinson. Although they were kept short of food, the diet of the Indians themselves was little better, for these were extremely primitive Florida tribes living on fish and berries. As they went nearly naked themselves, they had no real understanding of the civilized travelers' need for clothing. The cause of much of their hostility was political; a survival of the years of antagonism between England and Spain which affected the Indians still, even though Spain had recently signed a treaty with the English. In actuality, the civilized Spanish were nearly as cruel as the Indians, forcing Dickinson's band to travel when they were unfit and giving them very little food or clothing. The causes of this inhumanity were the conditions of the wilderness itself. The governor of St. Augustine described the poverty of the country to Dickinson after his rescue, and explained the inability to give him what the Spanish themselves did not have. The immediate conflict, then, is not with the Indians or the Spanish, but with barren Florida and the bitter weather which took lives even the savages had spared. The underlying conflict exposes the inner wilderness, the natural motives which operate when the boundaries of the known world are passed.²⁰

Jonathan Dickinson attempted to structure his experience in terms of his conscious conviction. His salvation must, therefore, have been the work of Providence. As his ordeal begins, he was "in a good frame of spirit, being freely given up to the will of God." But there is a decline, significant even in a narrative written in retrospect, in the number of allusions to God's intervention as the conflict progresses. The greater the degree of necessary adaptation to barbarity, the more remote the familiar value system becomes. At first while the Indian alone is the personification of the enemy, acknowledgments of God's direct preservation stud the pages of the *Journal*. Fewer than half the number appear in the crucial latter portion in which unconsciously the writer reflects

20. *Ibid.*, 13, 23, 25, 29, 38, 51, 54-56, 61.

their apparent irrelevance to his condition. Evil has become more diffused, goodness more remote. Dramatically, in recounting the climactic agon of November 13, Dickinson belatedly re-imposes the familiar logic on the darkness. When he reached the outer limits of human endurance, "a secret hope would arise (though involved with human doubts and fear) that the Lord would yet preserve us." Thus, Dickinson's experience becomes a highly-qualified victory for his world view, but a victory nevertheless. A modern reader might question both Dickinson's concept of causality and the viability of his value system. For him, however, his belief made it possible to see his journey in unified metaphoric terms; thus his book achieves unity as a work of literature.²¹

William Bartram's *Travels* exhibits a similar unity. Bartram was, of course, a very different sort of writer from Jonathan Dickinson, but his book is equally the product of the world view which shaped it. The greater degree of sophistication and self-awareness which marks the later work has enabled its author to embody his view in a consciously dramatic narrative with all the essential properties of fiction. Bartram has assembled his facts about a central purpose; his use of imagery is functional; and his sustained metaphor for the wilderness has major implications for American literature.

Bartram himself emerges as representative of the best in late eighteenth-century American thought and as a man of great personal charm. The romantic sensibility of Bartram the poet, which so strongly influenced the work of both Wordsworth and Coleridge, is balanced by a tough-minded practicality; the nobility of his idealism was far from naive. In many ways he resembled Jefferson in his scientific interests, his social philosophies, and his energetic temperament. It is so easy to see William Bartram as a romantic primitivist that it is possible to overlook the rational and pragmatic side of his nature. It is essential to an understanding of his strategy in the *Travels*, however, to recognize this complementary aspect of his point of view, and to remember also that he writes of the wilderness as a man who has been there.

Bartram was no languid sentimentalist, botanizing at his leisure in a settled countryside, but a genuine explorer who had spent years of hardship beyond the frontier of the civilized world.

21. *Ibid.*, 8, 53.

The reasons he assigned for his travels are revealing: "Continually impelled by a restless spirit of curiosity, in pursuit of new productions of nature, my chief happiness consisted in tracing and admiring the infinite power, majesty, and perfection of the great Almighty Creator, and in the contemplation, that through divine aid and permission, I might be instrumental in discovering, and introducing into my native country, some original productions of nature, which might become useful to society."²² This harmony of utility and idealism is entirely in character, as is the touch of human vanity in the contrast, modestly implied in the same passage, between his motives and those of "a young mechanic on his adventures" who traveled briefly with Bartram but who declined to make the dangerous trip to the Indian trading post. The mechanic was looking for a comfortable position in a prosperous community, and Bartram observed that "each of our pursuits was perhaps equally laudable."²³ His recurrent mixture of high-mindedness and harmless vanity helps to make Bartram an endearingly human figure. And the practicality recalls Jefferson's view that the purpose of travel was to gather data which one might "apply usefully" for America.

The practicality which qualifies Bartram's romantic perspective extends to such fundamental subjects as nature and the Indian. No enemy of "progress" of the true sort, he frequently admired thriving settlements, and he noted that a beautiful savannah in West Florida "would, if peopled and cultivated after the manner of the civilized countries of Europe, without crowding or incommoding families, at a moderate estimation, accommodate in the happiest manner above one hundred thousand human inhabitants, besides millions of domestic animals; and I make no doubt this place will at some future day be one of the most populous and delightful seats on earth."²⁴ Wild nature alone, then, is not Bartram's sole interest, and in the same way he qualified his picture of the Indians by attempting "to exhibit their vices, immoralities, and imperfections." There is no conflict in this mixed view, since it reinforces his total concept of the American wilderness.²⁵

22. Van Doren, *William Bartram*, 82.

23. *Ibid.*

24. *Ibid.*, 211, 377.

25. *Ibid.*, 183.

Fundamentally, of course, it is entirely accurate to term William Bartram a romantic. He is deeply concerned with the life of inner experience and of the imagination. Although he still used the terminology of a somewhat static theory of the universe—*mechanism, watch, inimitable machines*—the individual is of primary importance. “In the wilderness of Florida,” he finds himself “alone indeed, but under the care of the Almighty . . .,” but in view of the fact that everything else in that wilderness is under the care of the same “sovereign Creator,” Bartram’s God is far from being the personal deity of a Jonathan Dickinson. Nature itself is a spiritual force: when Bartram was despondent, he observed that “many objects [of the natural world] met together. . . , and conspired to conciliate and . . . compose my mind, heretofore somewhat dejected and unharmonized: all alone in a wild Indian country, a thousand miles from my native land, and a vast distance from any settlements of white people.”²⁶ His romantic conception of nature caused him to personify and humanize natural objects. When a huge rattlesnake failed to strike him, he was determined “to protect the life of the generous serpent,” and he found “manifest examples of premeditation, perseverance, resolution, and consummate artifice” even among much lower species. Given his conviction of harmony and order in wild nature, the romantic idea that outside civilization man is likewise free to attain an inherent harmony follows logically.²⁷

Bartram’s cohering view of nature includes the Indians. He had ample opportunity to observe them closely as he moved through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, and to hear them spoken of by traders and settlers with whom he traveled or visited. He visited several different tribes, and he lived in Indian villages where he had many friends and was widely known by an Indian name signifying “The Flower Hunter.” From certain tribes there was occasionally real danger to the white man, and Bartram took reasonable and sensible precautions on his solitary travels. But fear failed to color his impressions, and it is interesting to compare his factual observations with those of Jonathan Dickinson. The languages of the Indians, Bartram observed, were often “musical,” and he discerned a “softness and melancholy air” in their songs

26. *Ibid.*, 15, 21, 144, 270.

27. *Ibid.*, 22, 223.

which contrasts sharply with the "hideous" howling of Dickinson's Florida captors. In costume and dance there is an equivalent difference in Bartram as compared with the outlandishness emphasized by a Dickinson or a Rowlandson.²⁸ Bartram's Indians have religions of their own and some even acknowledged the sacredness of the white man's Sabbath. He knew that he might be accused by his readers of "partiality or prejudice" in favor of the Indians, but in reality his account provides plenty of examples of Indian misconduct, including one epic ten-day drinking bout utilizing, of course, white man's liquor. Bartram's conclusion is a characteristic tempering of romanticism with his own good sense. The first Indian encountered in the *Travels* might have stepped straight from the pages of *Oroonoko* or *The Last of the Mohicans*: he is a fierce Seminole outlaw who spares Bartram's life through "natural or innate" "moral principle." Yet Bartram does not advocate a return to a primitive state of nature: Indian society has its own social laws and organizations, and its vices exist "in no greater excess than [among] other nations of men." Bartram recognizes that many of the problems of the Indians could be attributed to the fact that "the white people have dazzled their senses with foreign superfluities" and that wise and humane methods should be adopted to "plan for their civilization and union with us." For union there must be, despite the "natural" goodness of the Indian.²⁹

It has been remarked here that Bartram was no enemy to "progress" of the true sort. This distinction needs clarification in the light of his underlying theme. On the one hand, Bartram was a sociable young man who could complain when he remembered the delights of Charleston hospitality that he felt like Nebuchadnezzar, "constrained to roam in the mountains and wilderness, there to herd and feed with the wild beasts of the forests." He was equally a dedicated lover of nature who could rejoice to find himself amid the solitude of a remote Florida swamp. The same complexity existed in his view of the expansion of civilization. When based on virtue, liberality, hard work, and an unsentimental democracy, material prosperity and progress appeared altogether admirable, and unlike his nineteenth-century counter-

28. *Ibid.*, 201, 207, 218, 298-300, 351, 354, 406. For reference to Rowlandson, see footnote 5.

29. *Ibid.*, 26, 44-46, 183-84, 362.

part, Thoreau, he could regard social institutions with optimism. Yet he could nevertheless regret the passing of the buffalo, and he could recall with nostalgia that the Indian ruins near Lake George on the St. Johns River, now surrounded by cultivated land, had fifteen years earlier "possessed an almost inexpressible air of grandeur, which was now entirely changed." Thus Bartram reflects an ambiguity toward the past not uncommon in American thought. The Indian ruins themselves provide a convenient image for this shifting attitude. At one time they are "very magnificent monuments of the power and industry of the ancient inhabitants of these lands"; at another, the piles of human bones "exhibit scenes of uncultivated nature. . . , rather disagreeable to a mind of . . . sensibility, since some of these objects recognize past transactions and events, perhaps not altogether reconcilable [*sic*] to justice and humanity." At still another site, the "monuments of the ancients," a burying-ground of the Yemassee, provide merely "a night of peaceful repose" for the solitary traveler.³⁰

Ambivalent as William Bartram appears to have felt toward the past, there is little doubt that it was into that past he traveled when he journeyed to the southern wilderness. What the wilderness meant to him he dramatized clearly by his conscious use of one sustained metaphor; that metaphor he conveyed through his rhetoric.

When Bartram undertook his solitary quest, he deliberately retraced the route followed earlier by his father, John Bartram, of whom he was justifiably proud. Thus in a personal sense, it was his own past he sought. To a limited extent, it was also America's past, since he interested himself in events of history and in the remains of ancient Spanish and Indian settlements. Ultimately, however, it was a more remote past still, as his dominant image system makes plain. As he approached the Carolina coast by sea, on the very first stage of his journey, the magnificence of the scene presents "an idea of the first appearance of the earth to man at the creation," and throughout the book the wilderness is seen as Eden, A plantation is charming in its "primitive simplicity," an uninhabited island is a "blissful garden" and a "blessed unviolated spot of earth." This is by no means a Biblical Eden only, for Bartram recounts a Creek Indian legend of a terrestrial paradise

30. *Ibid.*, 56, 62, 74, 84-85, 101, 130, 255-57, 263-64, 286, 292.

Bartram called the St. Johns River, "St. Juan."

inhabited by "daughters of the sun," and he graphically depicts the Seminole warriors as wandering in an "elysium" where his rest is guarded by "the Deity; Liberty, and the Muses, inspiring him." The classic Elysian fields recur often, and a handsome stock-farmer and his bride are hailed as Venus and Adonis. Ovid would have based a metamorphosis on the exotic snake bird of Florida, the reader is assured. This is a very generalized *Urwelt*, borrowing from many mythologies, and emphasizing merely the "sublime enchanting scenes of primitive nature." Living among the Indians, Bartram found his situation "like that of the primitive state of man," and there is a "divine simplicity and truth" in Indian hospitality. Bartram the hero-voyager has an archetypal comrade in his friend the young Seminole prince, and "the most perfect human figure" he had ever seen was another Seminole. He idealizes the Seminole girls, and the "sylvan scene of primitive innocence" represented by the Cherokee maidens gathering strawberries is straight from the Golden Age. Bartram goes deeper into the past still in his fascination with the awesomeness of the swamps and of the primordial serpent. His descriptions of rattlesnakes, alligators, and giant tortoises, of semi-tropical vegetation, of steaming mists and subterranean streams, of wild birds in "an inexpressible uproar," sound more prehistoric than primitive. It is almost a temptation, given Bartram's classical as well as his botanical interests, to imagine the *Ramus Aureus* among the other "original productions of nature" in his collection.³¹

Bartram's ordering of material to convey his underlying theme is a consciously artistic one. The casual reader risks misconstruing the level of his diction as Twain did Cooper's, unless its purpose is recognized. At times, it is true, Bartram's exalted tone and idiom reach the heights of unconscious parody and add immeasurably to the delight of the modern reader. "Behold how gracious and beneficent shines the roseate morn!" cries Bartram, and in the context the line works with complete success. At times, however, his touch falters just at the end of a passage and all is lost; admiring the farm of a liberal and humane slave-holder, he observes: "The slaves comparatively of a gigantic stature, . . . were mounted on the massive timber logs; the regular heavy

31. *Ibid.*, 30, 38, 47, 69, 107, 110, 126, 143, 170, 198, 206, 210, 219, 257, 284, 288-90, 374.

strokes of their gleaming axes re-echoed in the deep forests; at the same time, contented and joyful, the sooty sons of Africa forgetting their bondage, in chorus sung the virtues and beneficence of their master in songs of their own composition." Bartram's heightened eloquence is appropriate to his point of view, however, as it is to Cooper's romantic intention, and we do not look for a realistic rendering of dialect speech. When Bartram's rustic host, "reclining on a bear-skin, spread under the shade of a Live Oak, smoking his pipe" rose to greet him, we are not surprised when he says, "Welcome, stranger; I am indulging the rational dictates of nature . . .," since we know that this is really Eden and not prosaic East Florida.³²

In his technique of organization, Bartram has achieved a greater artistic success. His methods closely resemble the novelistic, and add much to the interest of the book. The structure of the *Travels* anticipates Thoreau's more elaborate technique. Except for the final section (in reality a supplement or appendix constituting a treatise on Indian culture) the book forms an organic whole. Though it comprises a number of separate trips covering several years' time, it has been unified to present the effect of a single journey. The novelistic treatment begins with the heading of Chapter I - "The Author Sets Sail From Philadelphia, And Arrives At Charleston, From Whence He Begins His Travels" - and the story is instantly enlivened by a storm at sea. Dramatic scenes follow one another in quick succession: the confrontation of the Indian outlaw, an encounter with a trading schooner bearing news of an Indian raid, epic battles with alligators, the "extraordinary deliverance" from the wolf. Bartram's special interest in natural history is turned to stylistic purposes, as he artfully uses the set pieces of description or the scientist's notes to impede or accelerate the rhythms of his narrative. A further, though perhaps less conscious, device for producing excitement is Bartram's tendency to shift into the present tense as he reports especially beautiful or keenly-felt experiences. The final scene of the narrative sustains the dramatic and the metaphoric interest to the end. Traveling north from Alexandria, Virginia, Bartram encountered intense cold, and by the time he crossed into Maryland, snow was deep and

32. *Ibid.*, 72, 207, 257.

traveling difficult. After almost insuperable difficulties, he finally managed to cross the half-frozen Susquehanna, and he set out for his destination, returning to Philadelphia and his father's house in the cold and snow, a not inappropriate end for a journey to a vanishing Eden.³³

For both Jonathan Dickinson and William Bartram, the thriving urban bustle of Philadelphia marked the conclusion of a deeply significant adventure. To the former, the city was the land of promise after his captivity and the Florida desert; to the latter it was the world after the Fall when the gates of the Garden were closed. The vivid literal details of each experience, therefore, were invested by its narrator with implications far beyond the literal. Thus, although both Dickinson's *Journal* and Bartram's *Travels* effectively serve the function of document, both contribute as well to our understanding of the growth of an American literature.

33. *Ibid.*: 115-19, 127-28, 135, 144-45, 275, 282. Chapter IV of Part III illustrates the alternation of narration and description very well.

ELECTION OF 1870 AND THE END OF RECONSTRUCTION IN FLORIDA

by RALPH L. PEEK

WILLIAM DUNNINGTON BLOXHAM was the first Democrat to win a high elective office in Florida following Congressional Reconstruction. Just twenty-eight months after the end of military rule in the state this native Florida conservative was elected lieutenant governor. However, he was denied the fruits of victory for more than eighteen months. After tedious litigation he was finally awarded the office by the Florida Supreme Court and was inaugurated June 3, 1872.

It is remarkable that some of the most prominent historians of Reconstruction in Florida, including William Watson Davis and John Wallace, fail to mention Bloxham's victory. An even more remarkable omission is the fact that the case is not even mentioned in the reports of cases before the supreme court.

What did Bloxham's victory mean? It is necessary to view the context of the supreme court's decision and the subsequent events in any attempt to assess its true significance to Florida history. By the time that military reconstruction ended in Florida in July 1868, the Republican Party had enlisted almost all the newly enfranchised freedmen into its ranks and had engrossed most state and local offices. But there was deep division in the party. Radicals accused moderate Republicans of fomenting a split in the constitutional convention of 1868 aimed at eliminating radical control so that a constitution could be written that was favorable to the former rebels and harmful to Negroes and radicals.¹ It does seem that there was something of a tacit alliance between moderate Republicans and Conservatives, or Democrats,

1. Daniel Richards to Thaddeus Stevens, May 25, 1868, Thaddeus Stevens Papers, XII (1868-1869), 54862, Library of Congress, Washington; C. L. Robinson to Thaddeus Stevens, May 29, 1868, *ibid.*, 54872; Liberty Billings to Elihu Washburne, June 7, 1868, Elihu Washburne Papers, LX (1868), 12156, Library of Congress; *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 109, Serial No. 1350 (Washington, 1868), 1.

during the convention.² Leading radicals claimed that the moderate Republicans, led by Harrison Reed, a federal postal agent and a strong supporter of President Andrew Johnson, had promised the Democrats a share of the patronage in exchange for their political support. It seems that the moderate minority wing was able to prevail because it had both the support of Democrats and the military commanders in the state and in the Third Military District. Apparently, promises were made by the Reed faction to the Democrats concerning jobs. These promises were not kept, however, at least not to the satisfaction of the Democrats,³ and in the end they opposed both Reed and the constitution.³

Republican power in Florida in 1868 was tenuous, resting almost entirely upon Negro ballots. From the Republican standpoint an ominous factor was the realization that the conservative vote had every prospect of increasing. A special census in 1867 and the regular census of 1870 revealed that white conservatives outnumbered both white and Negro Republicans.⁴ With the Republican structure resting almost entirely upon the Negro vote, it was both shaky and vulnerable.

Against this background came the election of 1870, the turning point of the post-Civil War history of Florida. The Democrats were determined to win the offices at stake - the lieutenant governorship, all legislative seats, and one congressional seat. Republican tenure depended upon Negro votes in about twelve North Florida counties which had overwhelming

2. William Gleason to G. W. Holmes, October 30, 1890, William Gleason Papers, Box 15, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida. The moderate Republicans who effected the split in the convention were the so-called "Johnson men," or federal appointees, who were for the most part members of the conservative Union Republican Club of Jacksonville. The goals of this club did not include white disfranchisement. Those active against the radicals in the convention included Harrison Reed, Ossian B. Hart, Thomas W. Osborn, Sherman Conant, Lemuel Wilson, A. A. Knight, Marcellus L. Stearns, William Purman, Charles M. Hamilton, and Democrats David S. Walker and Charles E. Dyke, editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian*. (*House Miscellaneous Documents*, 40th Cong., 2nd Sess.. No. 109, Serial No. 1350, p. 1). The military commander favored the conservative Republicans.
3. Daniel Richards to Elihu Washburne, May 6, 1868, LIX, Washburne Papers.
4. Tallahassee *Semi-Weekly Floridian*, October 8 1867 estimated a majority of white males amounting to 8,642. A special census in 1867 (published in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 30, 1868) showed a potential majority of white voters.

Negro majorities. Democrats evidently concluded that their only real hope lay in decimating the Republican vote by intimidating enough Negroes to affect the decision at the polls.

Florida had been the scene of turbulence and violence ever since the constitutional convention of 1868. The strife intensified after military rule was superseded by civil government on July 4, 1868. A variety of organizations had been formed by white conservatives to resist Republican government and to intimidate Negro voters.⁵ The federal military commander in Florida reported many incidents of violence, indicating the disturbed state of society during the late summer and fall of 1868. There were some fifteen murders in the state from July to mid-November 1868.⁶ During the early part of 1869 there were at least ten murders in Jackson, Hamilton, Duval, Hernando, Alachua, Columbia, and Madison counties. An outbreak of violence in Jackson County in the fall of 1869 left seven people dead and five wounded before United States troops moved in to restore order.

By the summer of 1870 it was very evident that violence had been adopted by conservatives in their bid for political power, and during the summer and fall several incidents occurred. In Jackson County, Republican Congressman Charles Hamilton and William Purman, a leading Republican, were in Marianna for a Republican rally, and were besieged in the home of the sheriff for almost a week by armed men bent on eliminating them.⁷ Governor Harrison Reed was informed that vigilantes in Hamilton, Suwannee, and Columbia counties were defying the laws, that organizations were being formed to prevent Negroes voting in the coming election, that both Negro and white Republicans were being intimidated, and that many Negroes had been murdered or attacked.⁸ The governor was urged to request federal authorities to dispatch troops to occupy these three counties during the election of November 1870.⁹

5. Ralph L. Peek, "Aftermath of Military Reconstruction, 1868-1869," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLIII (October 1964), 123-41.

6. *Ibid.*

7. United States Congress Joint Select Committee on the Condition of Affairs in the Late Insurrectionary States, 42nd Cong., 2nd Sess., *House Report 22*, Serial No. 1541, 13 Vols. (Washington, 1872), XIII, 145-46, 152. Hereinafter cited as *House Report 22*.

8. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, August 20, 1870.

9. *Ibid.*, August 6, 1870.

Reed issued a proclamation on August 12, 1870, asserting that, "The seditious teachings of an unprincipled press and the treasonable appeals of prominent opponents of the State government are being responded to in several of the counties by the re-organization of bands of outlaws known as Ku Klux." The governor called upon all good citizens to unite in a determined effort to suppress the outrages which had caused many people to demand that the governor call out the state militia.¹⁰ The governor warned Conservatives that sterner measures would be taken if Republicans continued to be intimidated and prevented from voting in the November election. The warning was given effect by the publicized fact that more than sixty companies of the state militia, many of which were entirely Negro, had been organized by this time.¹¹ The Tallahassee *Floridian*, the most influential Conservative newspaper in Florida, charged that Governor Reed intended to carry the election by force of arms.¹²

As the time for election drew nearer the number of violent incidents increased.¹³ Early in September Robert Jones, Negro delegate to the Columbia County Republican Convention, was shot and killed just as he arrived home after attending the convention. Jones, regarded by Democrats and Republicans alike as one of the best citizens in the county, had been warned by a white Democrat shortly before the attack that unless he quit the Republican Party his life was in danger. On the same evening, another Negro delegate to the convention was fired upon in his home but was not hurt.¹⁴

Evidently, Columbia County was controlled by men determined to regulate political and social affairs according to their own desires. During the summer and fall of 1870 parties of armed men, often thirty or forty in number, came regularly into Lake City, disregarding municipal and state laws with impunity.

10. *Ibid.*, August 13, 1870. See the issue of August 20, 1870 for a copy of the proclamation.
11. *Ibid.*, July 23, 1870.
12. *Ibid.*, August 20, 1870, quoting Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 16, 1870.
13. *Ibid.*, November 12, 1870, stated that efforts at intimidation before the election were especially notable in Jackson, Gadsden, Jefferson, Madison, and Columbia counties. Subsequent evidence also reveals that in most of these counties there was much intimidation on the day of the election (*House Report 22, passim*).
14. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1870; *House Report 22, XIII*, 263.

Sheriff Robert Martin was seized by vigilantes in October when he left Lake City and went out into a rural area of the county to make an arrest. The men took Martin into the woods and forced him to promise that he would resign immediately and never mention that they had threatened him. He returned to Lake City and, on October 27, 1870, wrote a letter of resignation to the governor, stating that he found it impossible to perform his duties as sheriff because the people of the county were determined not to submit to or assist in the execution of the laws.

United States Marshal George Wentworth informed the United States Attorney General on October 7, 1870, that he had been warned that an organized effort would be made on election day in Columbia and Jackson counties to intimidate many legally qualified voters. Wentworth secured deputy marshals in other counties but found it impossible to secure qualified men in these two counties.¹⁵ He sent a deputy marshal to Marianna to prevent expected infractions of the law.¹⁶ As election day approached, there were many warnings and rumors of trouble, even bloodshed, at the polls.¹⁷ United States commissioners and deputy marshals were supposed to be on duty in every county, and Washington authorities told the Republican State Executive Committee that troops would be sent to Columbia, Jackson, Hamilton, and two or three other counties to insure a peaceful election on November 8, 1870.¹⁸

At a Republican rally in Gainesville on October 27, 1870, several speakers lauded Republican rule and attacked their Democratic opponents. After the meeting adjourned, a group of Negroes near the courthouse was attacked. This altercation was quelled by the sheriff, but then when a Negro began distributing political tracts, he was knifed by a white man. This set off a riot, and several white Conservatives barricaded themselves in a store building on the courthouse square, firing through the windows at the Negroes outside. Two Negroes were shot before the crowd

15. George Wentworth to Attorney General Amos Akerman, October 7, 1870, Attorney General's Papers, Letters Received, Florida, Northern District, United States Marshals, May 12, 1864-December 15, 1870, National Archives, Record Group 60, Department of Justice.

16. Wentworth to Akerman, December 15, 1870, *ibid.*

17. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, November 5, 1870.

18. *Ibid.*, October 29, 1870, quoting Jacksonville *Florida Union*.

rushed the building and seized the men. Only the intervention of the sheriff prevented a lynching.¹⁹

Leonard Dennis, Republican boss and candidate for state senator from Alachua County, was accused by Democrats of advising Negroes to arm themselves before coming to the polls on November 8. They threatened him with death if any such Negroes showed up. Men threw rocks at his house the night before the election, yelling that they had come to kill him. Dennis hid and the men left. He received two letters that week signed by the "Ku Klux," one of them stating, "Our motto is death to Radicals -Beware!" Dennis, however, was elected to the Florida Senate. He left Gainesville on a visit to the North a week later. At Jasper, in Hamilton County, a group of armed men boarded the train and tried unsuccessfully to kidnap him. In Gainesville, it was reported that he had been taken off the train and hanged.²⁰

On Wednesday evening, November 2, 1870, David Montgomery, Madison County sheriff, was attacked near the town of Madison by ten or twelve men. A volley from ambush wounded his horse, and his buggy overturned. Montgomery, who escaped injury, hid in the woods the rest of the night. The next day a white man named Bryant had an altercation with a Negro in Madison. Bryant claimed that the attack on Montgomery was made for political effect to help the Republicans in the election. The Negro disputed this charge and killed Bryant.²¹

Election day, November 8, 1870, saw a climactic effort to intimidate Negro voters so as to decimate the Republican vote. Troops had not been sent in as expected. In Columbia County on election eve a group of mounted, armed men rode into Lake City yelling and cursing radicals and firing into the air. At the time a parade of Negroes was moving from a political meeting at a church to the town square. The riders dispersed the group, wounding several Negroes. Fearing additional violence, many Negroes left town, refusing to stay and vote the next day, and the Democrats won by a majority of over 200 votes.²² In Quincy, county seat of

19. *Ibid.*, November 5, 1870.

20. *House Report 22*, XIII, 269.

21. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, November 8, 1870, quoting *Tallahassee Sentinel* and *Jacksonville Florida Union*; *House Report 22*, XIII, 128, 135.

22. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, November 12, 1870; *House Report 22*, XIII, 225.

Gadsden County, white Conservatives, including former Acting Governor Abraham K. Allison, barred many Negro voters from the polls. The Republican majority, which was 400 in 1868, was reduced to sixteen.²³

Negroes attempting to vote in Jackson County were subjected to violence and threats. Several were stabbed, others were fired upon, and some were clubbed while attempting to get up to the ballot box.²⁴ White Conservatives joined in blocking the polls to prevent Negroes voting.²⁵ The Republican majority in the county in 1868 was 828; in 1870, two Republican legislators were elected with a majority of four, and one Democrat was elected with a majority of one.²⁶ In Madison County there were rumors of an impending collision between whites and Negroes. Dennis Eagan, Radical leader in the county, was told by the ex-Confederate hero John J. Dickison that armed Negroes would be barred from the polls. On the night before the election a body of terrorists rode into Madison and paraded around the courthouse square several times. The election the next day was the quietest on record according to the *Madison Messenger*; there were neither incidents of violence nor even angry words. The Conservatives attributed this to the fact that the cavalry demonstration had showed the radicals that they were ready to fight.²⁷ The *Tallahassee Sentinel*, spokesman for Florida Republicans, cited the demonstration as a typical example of Conservative methods of intimidation.²⁸ But despite this, the Republican majority in Madison County in 1870 was 614, only 188 less than 1868.²⁹

During the campaign in Jefferson County there were threats that election day would be bloody. Everything was quiet, how-

23. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, November 12, 1870; *House Report 22*, XIII, 76.

24. *House Report 22*, XIII, 309.

25. *United States v. James Coker*, December 11, 1871, Box 082429, Old Criminal Cases, 1867-1871, United States District Court, National Archives, Federal Records Center, East Point, Georgia.

26. *House Report 22*, XIII, 174; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, May 11, 1869 gives the official returns for the 1868 election; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, November 12, 1870, gives the state returns for the 1870 election.

27. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, November 22, 1870, quoting *Madison Messenger*, November 16, 1870; *House Report 22*, XIII, 127.

28. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 3, 1870.

29. *Ibid.*, December 31, 1870; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, May 11, 1869.

ever, until about three in the afternoon when the poll at the Monticello courthouse was blocked by four white Conservatives led by William Bird, a member of the 1865 constitutional convention. Bird, armed with a pistol, informed Robert Meacham, Negro Republican leader, that "no damned nigger shall vote here," then calling him a "damned son-of-a-bitch," he drew his pistol. Immediately, armed whites and Negroes converged on the scene. No one was hit, but it was estimated that about a thousand shots were fired into the air. Afterwards, a number of armed white men, who had come in from Georgia, mounted their horses and hastily rode away. There were more than 1,000 armed Negroes, and the whites were greatly outnumbered, but after a tense hour and a half the situation quieted somewhat.³⁰ During the time the polls were closed, more than 500 Negro Republicans were unable to vote. Despite this, the Republicans carried the election by a majority of 823 votes, a loss of only seventy-one votes from the 1868 majority.³¹ This was evidence that intimidation could be resisted.

According to early election returns reported in the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, the Conservatives had won a majority of 402 in the lieutenant governor's race and a majority of 371 in the race for Charles Hamilton's congressional seat. Moreover, the paper reported a Conservative majority was elected in both houses of the state legislature.³² Ambrose Hart, a former Union soldier now living in Clay County, wrote his mother in Poughkeepsie, New York, that for two weeks the state had been "turned upside down with politics and election." He also announced that Clay County had elected three Conservatives to the legislature instead of the one Democrat and two Republicans now serving.³³

The Republicans condemned the Democrats for using violence and intimidation as political tactics. The *Sentinel* claimed that numerous armed "desperadoes" had poured into Florida from surrounding states for the purpose of intimidating Negro voters. The paper cited the statement of a "prominent Democratic planter"

30. *House Report* 22, XIII, 103.

31. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 31, 1870; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, May 11, 1869.

32. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, November 22, 1870.

33. Ambrose Hart to mother, November 11, 1870, Ambrose Hart Letters, 1866-1872 (transcript from the original), Miscellaneous Collections, Box 5, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

to show the Conservative spirit. He was quoted as telling a Negro Republican leader in Tallahassee that the Democrats now had the Negroes where they wanted them, and that the carpetbaggers either would be driven out of Florida or killed. Republicans charged that the Conservatives threatened to "put their candidate at the helm of the State [and] ten thousand armed men stood ready to do it."³⁴ They also claimed that the "Ku Klux" would try to force the State Board of Canvassers to declare the election of Democratic candidates, and failing that, the governor and lieutenant governor would be assassinated.

President Grant had ordered troops to Tallahassee even before the official results of the election were announced.³⁵ Four companies of United States infantry, reportedly armed with the latest Springfield rifles capable of firing twenty-five shots per minute, arrived in Tallahassee.³⁶ A detachment, which had been issued thirty days' rations and sixty rounds of ammunition for each man, was ordered from Tallahassee to Lake City, home of both the Republican candidate for lieutenant governor and the Democratic congressional candidate. The *Sentinel* claimed these troops would prevent Conservative seizure of Florida's government.³⁷

On November 30, 1870, William Bloxham, Democratic candidate for lieutenant governor, obtained an injunction from Judge Pleasants Woodson White, Second Judicial Circuit, restraining the Board of Canvassers from concluding their vote canvass and announcing results.³⁸ Then, on December 5, 1870, Judge White gave a special charge to the grand jury, stating that Governor Reed feared for his personal safety. Although White asserted that he did not believe the governor's statement, he thought that the jury should investigate the report.³⁹ The jury foreman, Joseph John Williams, who had been speaker of the Assembly in 1866, reported that the jury found no evidence to

34. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 3, 1870.

35. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, December 6, 1870, quoting *New York Tribune*, November 23, 1870.

36. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 3, 1870 notes the arrival of two infantry companies; *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, December 27, 1870, reports the arrival of two more companies.

37. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, December 10, 1870.

38. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, December 6, 1870.

39. *Ibid.*

support reports of impending violence against the governor and other state officials.⁴⁰ A few days later, Judge White was indicted in the United States District Court at Jacksonville, charged with violating the Enforcement Act of 1870 by granting an injunction to Bloxham, thus interfering with officers of an election. White was arrested and taken to Jacksonville where the indictment was quashed because of errors; later, it was abandoned.⁴¹

While Judge White was being detained in Jacksonville, the Board of Canvassers ignored his injunction and announced the official results of the election in the *Sentinel* on December 31, 1870. Returns from nine counties and three Duval County precincts were rejected by the board on grounds of irregularities. Josiah Walls, Republican congressional candidate, and Samuel Day, Republican candidate for lieutenant governor, received majorities of 629 and 614 respectively. The *Floridian* also published the election returns, but included those of the nine rejected counties. Seven of these gave Conservative majorities totalling 833 for Silas Niblack, Democratic candidate for Hamilton's congressional seat, and 661 for Bloxham in the lieutenant governor's race. If these returns had been counted, the Conservatives would have won by a majority of 209 in the congressional race and forty-seven in the lieutenant governor's contest. The legislature would consist of twenty-seven Conservatives and twenty-five Republicans.⁴² Without the rejected ballots, the tally showed twenty-three Republicans and twenty Conservatives elected. In the Senate, according to this count, the Republicans had a majority of one; if rejected returns had been counted, the Conservatives would have had a majority of one.⁴³

The Democrats had demonstrated that the Negro vote could be reduced by intimidation, and that Republican power could be seriously curtailed, if not nearly destroyed. Conservatives, who had utilized Negro intimidation without hesitation, now unblushingly accused the Republicans of fraud in invalidating the returns. The *Floridian* published affidavits from various election and postal officials which traced Sumter County's returns which had

40. *Ibid.*, December 13, 1870.

41. *Ibid.*, December 27, 1870; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, February 4, 1871.

42. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 6, 1870.

43. In the fifth and twenty-third districts (Calhoun-Franklin and Sumter-Polk) the Democratic vote was evidently large enough in the county not rejected to elect a Democratic senator.

been "lost," showing that they had been received in Tallahassee by Secretary of State Jonathan Gibbs. Affidavits from election officials and United States deputy marshals in Columbia County denied that violence and intimidation had occurred there.⁴⁴ But despite Conservative protests and allegations of fraud, the official results stood as declared by the Board of Canvassers. The presence of four companies of United States infantry in and around Tallahassee probably prevented any violent demonstrations.

When the legislature met on January 3, 1871, the Republican majority in both houses was so slim that total unity was necessary to organize the legislature. There was a short, sharp conflict, but the Republicans were able to hold onto their victory.⁴⁵ Dr. Elisha Johnson, Lake City physician and Columbia County Republican leader, was declared senator over Charles Ross who had been elected by an overwhelming majority on November 8, 1870.⁴⁶ Ross's election was invalidated not only because of election irregularities at the city hall precinct in Lake City, where Ross won 331 to thirteen, but also because of the election eve demonstration which allegedly intimidated many Negroes and kept more than 200 of them from voting. In supporting the move to invalidate Ross's election, Senator William Purman claimed that Columbia County had suffered a veritable reign of terror for weeks preceding the election, that the sheriff had been forced to resign in fear of his life, and that Negro voters had been intimidated. With the returns from the city hall precinct invalidated, Dr. Johnson won by a vote of 478 to 355. The election of two other Columbia County Democrats was voided for the same reasons, and Republicans John Mahoney and John Armstrong replaced Democrats Duke and Flowers as representatives.⁴⁷ In addition, Republican leaders utilized the federal Enforcement Act of 1870 to arrest Democratic State Senators Alexander McCaskill, William Kendrick, and John Crawford.⁴⁸ Evidently this was done to reduce further the chance that Democrats might interfere with the Republicans consolidating their hold on the government. In

44. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 6, 1870.

45. *Tallahassee Sentinel*, January 7, 1871.

46. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1871.

47. *Ibid.*, January 28, 1871; *Florida Assembly Journal (1871)*, 128-30.

48. United States District Court, Old Criminal Cases, 1867-1871, Box 082429, Book 26, Minute Book 1, p. 81. See also *Tallahassee Sentinel*, January 7, 1871.

the end the Republicans had a working majority of five in the Assembly and two in the Senate.

Bloxham applied to the state supreme court on December 28, 1870, for dissolution of the injunction granted by Judge White the preceding month.⁴⁹ Immediately thereafter, he notified the Board of Canvassers that their legal duty was to canvass the votes received in December. Bloxham then asked the court for a writ of mandamus requiring the board to meet and count all returns which, he claimed, would give him a majority of sixty-four votes.⁵⁰

On January 23, 1871, while the supreme court was considering Bloxham's petition, the legislature passed an act depriving the Board of Canvassers of its functions, which in effect abolished it.⁵¹ As a consequence, the court dismissed Bloxham's case, holding that the board was now powerless to proceed.⁵² Thus, the board's tally stood, and Republican possession of Florida's government was reaffirmed.

Again, as in the election of 1868, the Conservative hope of regaining political control had been frustrated, although the effort had almost succeeded. In Jackson County, where James Coker, leader of the open opposition to the Republicans, had vowed in 1869 that the Democrats would carry the next election or "kill the last damned Republican in the place," the Conservatives elected one assemblyman and came within five votes of electing two other members of the legislature. Columbia County Conservatives did succeed, and elected two assemblymen and a senator. Republican supremacy in the legislature vitiated this triumph, however, and all three were ousted. Republican control of the electoral process, the legislature, and the courts allowed the invalidation of enough votes to insure a small Republican majority in the legislature and a Republican as lieutenant governor. Moreover, the national Republican administration revealed its support of Republican control in Florida by dispatching a

49. James Drew, *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjudged in the Supreme Court of Florida, During the Years 1869-1870-1871*, XIII (Tallahassee, 1871), 61. Hereinafter cited as *Florida Reports*.

50. *Ibid.*, 57.

51. Allen Bush, *A Digest of the Statute Law of Florida of a General and Public Character in Force up to the First Day of January, 1872* (Tallahassee, 1872), 305.

52. *Florida Reports*, 76.

sizable military force at a crucial moment, which helped the Republicans consolidate their victory,

But Bloxham, though temporarily thwarted, was indefatigable in his efforts to claim the office that he argued was legally his. He filed suit against Samuel T. Day in the Florida Supreme Court on February 20, 1871.⁵³ Delays ensued in the case, and it was not until November 15, 1871, that the court ordered the taking of testimony outside of court and fixed a method of doing so.⁵⁴ Depositions were taken at disputed precincts in Duval and Escambia counties and in Alachua County. The court also received certified returns from the nine counties whose returns had been rejected by the canvassing board.

When notice was given May 16, 1872, that the case was scheduled for trial twelve days later, Governor Reed had just successfully thwarted the fourth attempt to impeach him.⁵⁵ The Osborn faction of the Republican Party had tried to eliminate Reed so that Lieutenant Governor Samuel Day could wield executive power. The purpose was to elect Marcellus Stearns, the Osborn candidate, as governor in 1872. As it turned out, if Reed had been ousted on May 4, Florida would have had a Democratic governor on June 1, 1872, for the supreme court ruled on that day that Bloxham had won the office of lieutenant governor on November 8, 1870.⁵⁶ Day had resigned on May 27 before the case went to trial,⁵⁷ and Bloxham was inaugurated June 3, 1872.⁵⁸

Thus, the Democrats had come very near attaining power in 1872, after being thwarted by Republican control of elections, the courts, and the legislature. Silas Niblack, Democratic congressional candidate in 1870, was adjudged winner over Josiah

53. *William D. Bloxham v. Samuel T. Day*, February 20, 1871, Supreme Court Archives, Tallahassee, Florida. This case is not mentioned in *Florida Reports*.

54. *Ibid.*

55. John Wallace, *Carpetbag Rub in Florida* (Jacksonville, 1888), 142-210. See also the facsimile reproduction with introduction by Allan Nevins (Gainesville, 1964).

56. *Bloxham v. Day*. "Finding of Facts" and "Judgment" filed June 1, 1872.

57. Day's attorney, George P. Rainey, informed the court of this action on May 29, 1872. A copy of Day's resignation was attached as Exhibit "A."

58. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, June 4, 1872; *Tallahassee Sentinel*, June 8, 1872.

Walls by a congressional investigating committee and was awarded the seat on January 29, 1873, about six weeks before the term expired.⁵⁹ Walls was re-elected in November 1872, and again in 1874, but the results of the latter election were invalidated, and on April 19, 1876, J. J. Finley, a leading Florida Democrat and Confederate hero, was awarded Walls' seat.⁶⁰

The legislature did not meet again before Bloxham's term expired January 3, 1873, and he never presided over the senate. Governor Reed endured to the end and left office the same day as Bloxham. The Democrats failed to wield any official power as a result of Bloxham's tardy victory. It is necessary to view events of subsequent years to understand the real significance of the event.

Bloxham was the Democratic candidate for governor in 1872, but he was defeated by Ossian B. Hart. A primary reason for his failure appears to have been the activities of certain "unreconstructed" Democrats who dominated the campaign and whose tactics repelled the Negro vote.⁶¹ Bloxham might have won many Negro votes if his tactics had prevailed he wanted Negro alternate delegates sent to the state Democratic convention at Jacksonville in 1872 in an effort to woo the Negro vote.⁶² But other prominent Democrats felt differently. Joseph John Williams, a leader in framing the Black Codes of 1866 and organizer of Young Men's Democratic Clubs in 1868 to resist Republican Negro political influence in Florida, was elected president of the convention in 1872 and also permanent presiding officer.⁶³ The election of Williams probably reflected majority sentiment and partially explains the type of campaign that was waged. John Wallace, Negro historian of reconstruction in Florida, claimed that some Democrats covered the state denouncing "niggers" while they sought to undermine Bloxham's leadership.⁶⁴ The cohesion that Bloxham might have brought to the party was thus doomed, and the Democrats were forced to wait until 1876 before they elected a governor.

59. *House Miscellaneous Documents*, 45th Cong., 2nd Sess., No. 52, Serial No. 1819 (Washington, 1878), 101.

60. *Ibid.*, 367 ff.

61. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rule in Florida*, 216.

62. William D. Bloxham to R. H. M. Davidson, July 30, 1872, Mss. Collections, Box 15, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

63. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 20, 1872.

64. Wallace, *Carpetbag Rub in Florida*, 216.

Although the Democrats lost in 1872, there was less strife and more cooperation between Florida Democrats and Republicans during the period 1873-1876 than previously. Governor Hart died in March 1874, and was succeeded by Marcellus Stearns, a Maine carpetbagger who had come to Florida as a Freedmen's Bureau agent. Stearns had been a Gadsden County candidate for delegate to the constitutional convention in 1868, running as a moderate against radical Republican leader Daniel Richards, He lost by an overwhelming vote, but there was no further impediment to the accumulation of his political power.⁶⁵ Stearns' first message to the legislature as governor in January 1875, was distinctly conservative in tone. He said the Negroes in Florida and the South needed no federal legislation to protect their civil rights, a statement which must be assessed in light of the fact that Republicans had introduced legislation in the United States Congress which was to become the Civil Rights Act of 1875.⁶⁶ Stearns, as the Assembly speaker from 1871 to 1873, had not worked for the passage of such legislation in Florida, although he had a Republican majority. He lauded the rise of Conservative sentiment in the country, using Democratic victories in 1872 to help substantiate this view. It is not surprising that Stearns was accused of being a Conservative by some leading Republicans.⁶⁷

During the last years of Reconstruction in Florida, Republican and Democratic strength was closely balanced in the legislature. In 1873 there were eleven Democratic and thirteen Republican senators, and in the Assembly there were twenty-four Democrats and twenty-eight Republicans. In 1873 Simon B. Conover, a Republican, was elected to the United States Senate with Democratic support.⁶⁸ His election was lauded by Charles E. Dyke,

65. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, November 19, 1867. Stearns ran on the moderate ticket with J. E. A. Davidson, a scalawag; the ticket also included one Negro. See also William Purman, "The Watchman's Letter," No. 2, May 20, 1876, Mss. Collections, Box 1, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

66. *Florida Senate Journal (1875)*, 25; Purman, "The Watchman's Letter," No. 2, May 20, 1876.

67. *Florida Senate Journal (1875)*, 26; Purman, "The Watchman's Letter," No. 2, May 20, 1876.

68. *Florida Senate Journal (1873)*, 97. See Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, December 17, 1872, for makeup of the legislature. If Brevard's returns had arrived in time to be counted, the Senate would have been divided twelve to twelve and the Assembly twenty-seven to twenty-five.

Democratic editor of the Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*.⁶⁹ In 1875 there were twelve Republicans and twelve Democrats in the Senate, and in the Assembly the Democrats outnumbered the Republicans, twenty-eight to twenty-five. After a prolonged struggle, the Democrats elected the president of the Senate. Since Stearns had succeeded Hart, Florida had no lieutenant governor. The legislature also elected a Democrat, Charles W. Jones, to the United States Senate by a vote of forty-one to twenty-nine.⁷⁰

Governor Stearns attended the Democratic celebration of victory at Gallie's Hall in Tallahassee along with other political notables including former Governor David S. Walker.⁷¹ William Purman, who was also present, later said that Stearns was escorted by a Democratic committee and made a speech "re-joicing over the election" of Jones to the Senate. Stearns appointed Democrats to six judgeships and state attorneys posts; in his home county of Gadsden he appointed Democrats as sheriff, tax collector, and five as justices of the peace.⁷² Of nearly 800 office-holders in Florida during this period, about 600 were said to be Democrats.⁷³

It thus appears that Republican and Democratic strength was becoming balanced by 1870, and the Republican grasp on governmental power was precarious indeed following the election that year. The Negro vote, the basis of Republican power, had been decimated by brutal intimidation and threats. Bloxham's victory, even though delayed, seemed to affirm beyond any doubt the fact of Democratic resurgence and portended victory in the election of 1872. But the anti-Negro majority in the Democratic Party repelled the Negro vote so assiduously sought by Bloxham and insured a Republican victory—a victory further guaranteed by Republican recourse to federal election safeguards, including United States troops. The Negro in Florida failed to breach the caste barriers created by slavery and was deserted by most Republican leaders after 1872. Republicans then turned to a tacit alliance with Democrats, beginning with Stearns' accession to the governor's chair.

69. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 4, 1873.

70. *Florida Senate Journal (1875)*, 3-18, 236.

71. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, February 16, 1875.

72. Purman, "The Watchman's Letter," No. 2, May 20, 1876.

73. *Ibid.*

The beginning of the end of Reconstruction in Florida was marked by the election of 1870. Although the Republicans won the election of 1872, it was then apparent that the Democrats must be consulted in all important matters. After the accession of Marcellus Stearns to the governorship, Democrats shared equally in governing Florida. Thus, if Reconstruction was characterized by misrule, the Democrats must share the blame.

FEDERAL EXPEDITION AGAINST SAINT MARKS ENDS AT NATURAL BRIDGE

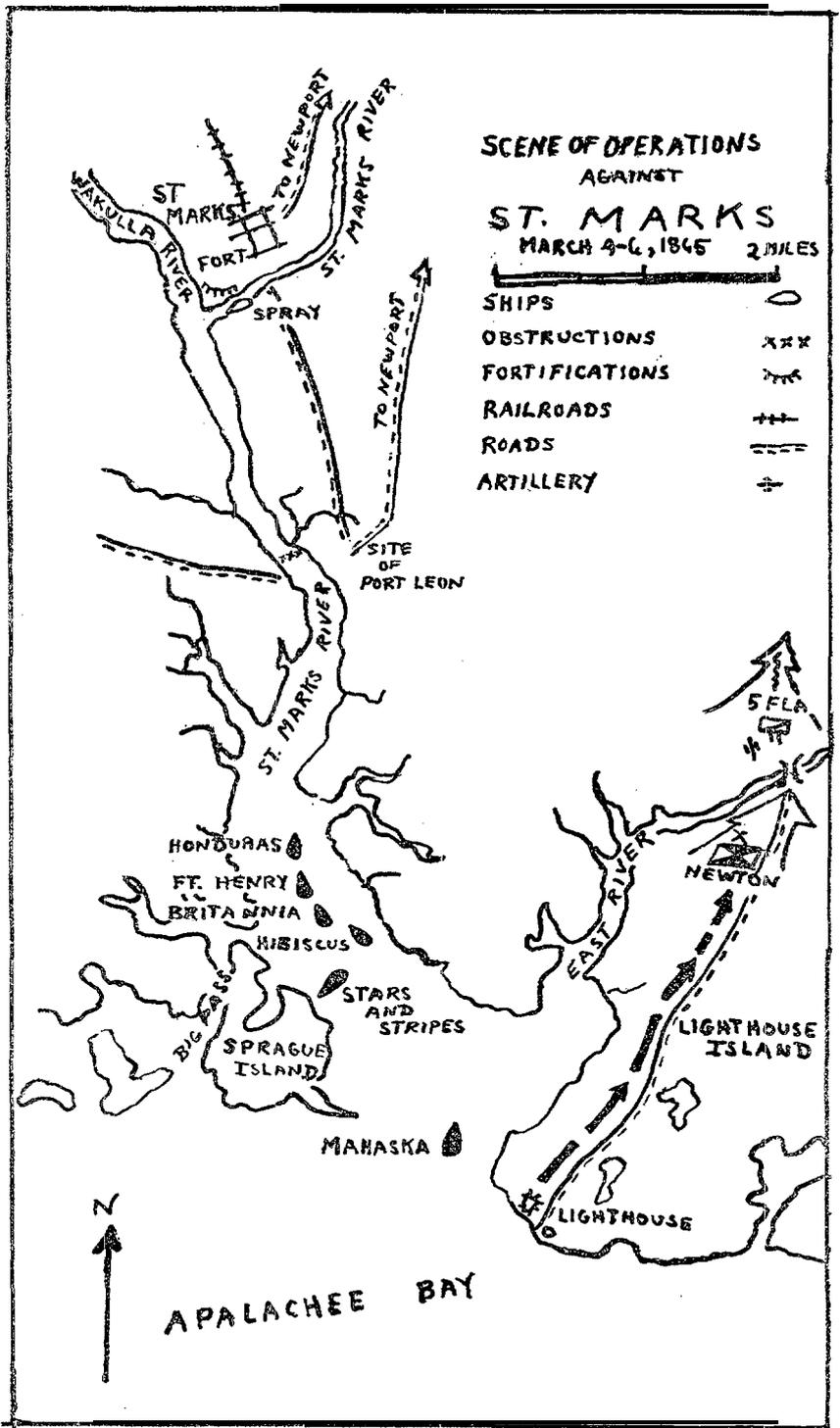
by EDWIN C. BEARSS

IN THE LAST YEAR of the Civil War, the Union forces took advantage of their seapower to carry the conflict to sections of Florida that had heretofore escaped the ravages of war. Operating from bases which they had seized along the Gulf and Atlantic coasts of the state, Union columns would strike deep into the interior and fall back before the Confederates could rally a force strong enough to intervene. Raiding parties were likewise put ashore from transports. If they ran into serious opposition, the raiders would fall back to the beach, where they would be covered by the great guns mounted on the supporting warships.

The most important of these raids was the one undertaken by the Federals in early March 1865, with the twofold objective of capturing Saint Marks and closing the Saint Marks River to blockade runners. Undoubtedly, in back of the Union leaders' minds was the notion that if their troops moved with alacrity, they might also capture Tallahassee.

The attack on Saint Marks was triggered by two events—one of which occurred in North Carolina and the other in Florida. On January 15, 1865, Fort Fisher, North Carolina, had fallen, eliminating Wilmington as a major port of call for blockade runners. It was feared by Union leaders that with all major ports of the Confederacy now closely blockaded or captured that some of the blockade runners formerly frequenting the Cape Fear River would shift their port of call to Saint Marks. Closer at home, a Federal officer, Major Edmund C. Weeks of the Second Florida Cavalry stationed at Cedar Key, wrote Brigadier General John Newton announcing that he planned to leave immediately on a raid that would carry him "through Levy County to Levyville and Clay Landing." His column would number about 400—strong, one-half drawn from the Second Florida Cavalry, while the remainder would be footsoldiers of the Second U. S. Colored Infantry. If General Newton had disapproved of Weeks' raid, it would have been impossible for him to have stopped it, because

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he was at Key West, headquarters for the District of Key West and Tortugas.¹

Weeks and his raiders left their Cedar Key base early on February 8, and advanced rapidly inland, moving up the Florida Railroad. Six miles from Station Four, Weeks' horsemen surprised and captured three Confederates who had been detailed by their battalion commander as cattle guards. The bewildered Southerners told the Federals that four of their comrades were at Yearty's. Alerted to the approach of a Union patrol, these men fled into the bush.

The Union column divided on leaving Station Four. Major Weeks and his horsemen headed for Levyville, while Major Benjamin C. Lincoln, accompanied by his Negro infantry, advanced on Clay Landing. Weeks' column thundered into Levyville on Friday morning, February 10, capturing "10 horses, some 50 contrabands, and a wagon." The Confederates at Clay Landing, whom Lincoln's troops had hoped to surround, were alerted at the last minute, and they escaped across the Suwannee River in small boats. Searching the area, Lincoln's men found and "destroyed a good amount of commissary stores and other Government supplies."²

Informed by his scouts that the road to Bronson led through a swamp, Major Weeks decided to return to Station Four. Before ordering his troopers to remount, the major detailed most of the men in one of his companies to guard the prisoners and the

1. *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1880-1901), Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 40. Cited hereafter as *Official Records*. John Newton, a native of Virginia, graduated from the U. S. Military Academy in 1842. Number two in his class, Newton was assigned to the Corps of Engineers. In the years from his graduation till the outbreak of the Civil War, Newton was engaged in the construction of fortifications, lighthouses, and on river and harbor projects, besides serving as Colonel Albert Sidney Johnston's chief engineer on the Utah Expedition. Casting his lot with the Union, Newton served with distinction in the Army of the Potomac and in Major General William T. Sherman's "Army Group" during the campaign from Rocky Face through the fall of Atlanta. On October 15, 1864, Newton was named commander of the District of Key West and Tortugas. Mark M. Boatner, *The Civil War Dictionary* (New York, 1959), 593; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Blue: Lives of the Union Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1964), 344-45.
2. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 40-42. Weeks' command consisted of 186 men of the Second Florida Cavalry (Union) and 200 soldiers of the Second U. S. Colored Infantry.

Negroes they had liberated. As Weeks' rear guard was evacuating Levyville, it was fired on by a squad of Rebel horsemen. Two Federals were wounded, one severely.³ The attackers belonged to Captain John J. Dickison's "hell-for-leather" command. Dickison and his guerilla force under orders of Major General Samuel Jones, commander of the District of Florida, had ridden across the peninsula to fight the Federals.⁴

News that a raiding column from Cedar Key had assailed his outpost at Yearth's reached General Jones in Tallahassee on the night of February 9. The only force available to engage the Federals was Captain Dickison's which had just returned to its base at Camp Baker outside Waldo from an expedition east of the St. Johns.⁵ Jones accordingly relayed the information regarding the Weeks' landing to Dickison, and ordered him to move forward with all his available force. He was to harass the foe until Brigadier General William Miller could reach the scene with his brigade, which was scheduled to leave Tallahassee by train for Lake City. From Lake City, Miller's column was to march for Newnansville.⁶ Dickison at the same time had received a report

3. *Ibid.*, 40.

4. Samuel Jones of Virginia was a 1841 graduate of the U. S. Military Academy. Prior to the Civil War, Jones, as an officer in the artillery, had served on the frontier, in garrison, and at West Point as mathematics instructor for two tours and tactical and artillery instructor for one tour. At First Manassas, Jones was colonel and chief of artillery and ordnance. Jones was appointed brigadier general to rank from July 21, 1861. Leading a brigade, he served in western Virginia till January 1862, when he was ordered to Pensacola. After the Confederates evacuated Pensacola, Jones served in various commands, having been promoted major general to rank from March 10, 1862. Jones had been named on January 11, 1865, to command the District of Florida. Boatner, *Civil War Dictionary*, 443; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 165-66.

5. Captain Dickison had marched from his camp at Waldo on February 1 at the head of his battalion. The next day the raiders crossed the St. Johns at Palatka. Dickison's command spent the next five days harassing the Federals. In an engagement at Braddock's farm on the fifth, Dickison and his partisans captured 51 Federals. The Confederates recrossed the St. Johns on the sixth and returned to their base at Waldo. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. I, 1135.

6. William Miller, a native of New York, had fought in the Mexican War. Shortly thereafter, he had settled near Pensacola. At the beginning of the Civil War, Miller operated a sawmill in Santa Rosa County. He first commanded a battalion with the rank of major. His six companies were consolidated into the First Florida Infantry following the Battle of Shiloh, and he led this regiment during General Braxton Bragg's 1862 invasion of Kentucky. Seriously wounded

from one of his spies that the Federals were "making demonstrations in the direction of the St. Johns." This report, which caused Dickison to delay his march to Levyville until the following morning, February 10, proved to be in error.⁷ Dickison was accompanied by ninety officers and men, and one twelve-pounder howitzer. His command was not in the best of condition; his horses were jaded, and officers and men had not recovered from the hard ten days and nights spent in the saddle on their recent expedition.⁸ According to reports reaching Dickison from General Jones, the Federals were in force at Levyville and were pushing on toward Newnansville. While enroute, however, a scout informed Dickison that the enemy had evacuated Levyville, and it was now apparent that it would be impossible to interpose the Confederate column between the Federals and their base. On February 12, the Confederate horsemen reached a point within four miles of Station Four where the Federals were encamped. With darkness at hand, Dickison called a halt; pickets were advanced, and the men spent a cold night huddled together without camp fires. At daylight the Confederates were reinforced by Captain E. J. Sutterloh and eighteen troopers of the Special Battalion who had been on outpost and thirty-seven militiamen. Dickison now had a striking force of 160 officers and men. Just as the Confederates were breaking camp, a courier galloped up on a sweat-lathered horse with a dispatch that General Miller was fifty miles away on the road leading from Lake City to Newnansville. Feeling that the Federals, if let alone, would move back to the coast and the protection afforded by the guns of their ships, Dickison determined to hit them at once.⁹

On the march from Levyville to Station Four, the Federals were not molested, though Dickison's scouts were never far behind. Weeks' column had reached Station Four at three o'clock

at Stones River, Miller while recuperating served as commandant of conscripts for the state of Florida. Miller was commissioned a brigadier general on August 2, 1864, and placed in command of his state's reserve forces. Warner, *Generals in Gray*, 217-18.

7. *Official Records*, Series, I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 41-42.

8. *Ibid.*, 42; J. J. Dickison, *Military History of Florida* (Atlanta, 1899), 129-30. The men who accompanied Dickison consisted of 70 men from the Second Florida Cavalry, 52 troopers of Company H, and 18 from Company B; Company H, Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion contributed 20 men.

9. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 130.

on the afternoon of the twelfth with 100 head of cattle, several wagons, fifty contrabands, thirteen horses, and five prisoners. After a line of outposts had been established, Major Weeks sent the prisoners to Depot Key. The major, leaving Captain Edward Pease of the Second U. S. Colored Infantry in charge at Station Four, headed for Cedar Key to make arrangements for "hurrying up transportation for the wounded soldiers, contrabands, and the beef." Weeks spent the night at Cedar Key.¹⁰

At 7 a.m. on the thirteenth one of Pease's pickets on the Florida Railroad fired on the Confederate vanguard. Captain Dickison quickly dismounted his men, and as soon as horse-holders had been detailed, they deployed on the double. The Federals, alerted by the shooting, turned out immediately, and within a few minutes the fighting had spread.¹¹

The rattle of small-arms fire was audible at Cedar Key. Major Weeks, accompanied by his escort, started up the railroad. As he neared Station Four, he found his men "flying in all directions." An officer was ordered to rally the soldiers, while the major galloped on ahead to the southwest trestle. It was held by sixty troopers of the Second U. S. Florida; the Confederates held the opposite end. So far Dickison's force, although out-numbered two to one, had been able to hold the initiative. Lieutenant T. J. Bruton and his cannoneers were using their twelve-pounder howitzer to force the Federals back. Suddenly Major Weeks ordered the Federals to counterattack across the trestle.¹² The Confederate left and center were holding their own, and Dickison ordered Bruton to use his howitzer to check the Union threat on the right. The gun was immediately shotted and sighted, and Bruton pulled the lanyard sending a projectile screaming toward the Federals. Weeks' men pulled back off the trestle, taking cover in the underbrush, and the cannoneers now turned their piece on pockets of Union resistance. Within a short time, one of the artillerists notified Bruton that there were only four shells left in the limber. Dickison then ordered Bruton and his gun to the center, and Lieutenant W. J. McEaddy and ten troopers were left to guard the trestle. When Bruton fired his last round, Dickison ordered him to remove the gun.

10. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 40-41.

11. *Ibid.*, 43.

12. *Ibid.*, 41.

Several company commanders now sent word that their men were depleting all the ammunition in their cartridge-boxes. Dickison had 200 rounds on his person, which he passed out, but these were also quickly expended, and the word to withdraw was passed. The Confederates retired about 600 yards and waited for the Federals to make the next move.¹³ As the Southerners drew back, Weeks' men advanced across the trestle. Captain Pease and about forty of his men also sallied forth. After capturing the trestle and linking up with Pease's footsoldiers, Weeks redeployed his troopers of the Second Florida Cavalry as skirmishers to the left and right of the railroad and pressed forward.

The Federals followed Dickison's column about two miles, before Weeks passed the order to halt. A half dozen scouts were detailed to shadow the retreating Confederates, while Weeks collected and reformed those members of his command who had scattered in the bush. When Weeks checked his rolls, he found that 251 men had reported in. Meanwhile, the scouts had trailed the Confederates six miles to Yearty's where they found their ordnance wagons. Mistakenly concluding that Confederate reinforcements were at hand, the scouts returned with this information to Station Four. Major Weeks was dismayed by this news. Afraid that his small force might be stampeded by a night attack, he ordered the evacuation of Station Four. Twenty minutes after the Federals had crossed the trestle, Dickison's vanguard moved into Station Four and occupied the abandoned encampment.¹⁴

Satisfied that there was nothing more his column could accomplish now that the Federals had returned to Cedar Key, Captain Dickison headed back for his base at Waldo. General Miller's brigade was encountered at Gainesville, and the ladies of that community gave Dickison and his veterans a "kindly welcome, with a sumptuous dinner. . . ." ¹⁵

13. *Ibid.*, 43; Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 130-32.

14. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 41, 43. Major Weeks reported that the Confederate reinforcements consisted of 500 infantry and four pieces of artillery.

15. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*: 132-33. Miller's brigade included: Second Florida Cavalry Regiment (nine companies); Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion (eight companies); Twenty-ninth Georgia Battalion; two battalions of Georgia Reserves; Chisolm's Florida Cavalry Company; Company A, Milton Light Artillery; Kilcrease Light Artillery. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLVII, pt. II, 1073.

Major Weeks listed as casualties at Station Four as five killed, eighteen wounded, and three captured; Dickison reported six severely wounded, but claimed that his cavalymen had inflicted seventy casualties on the enemy. At the same time, he wrote, his men had recaptured "all the cattle, horses, wagons, &c.," which the Federals had "stolen in their thieving expedition" from citizens along their line of march. Dickison saw that this property was returned to its owners.¹⁶

* * * *

Seven days later, on February 20, 400 Confederate horsemen, carrying a twelve-pounder, moved toward Union-held Fort Myers. An outpost manned by a corporal and three men on the Fort Thompson road was surprised, and the soldiers disarmed. Three-quarters of a mile from the fort, the Southerners approached a fresh water pond where men of the garrison and refugees were in the habit of washing clothes. Six soldiers were at the pond. When called on by the Confederates to surrender one of the men snatched up his rifle-musket and was shot down; the others meekly surrendered. Six Federals detailed to watch the cattle herd were more fortunate. Two were captured, but their comrades, abandoning their horses in the swamp, escaped to Punta Rassa.

At twelve noon, men holding another picket post spotted the Confederates and raised the alarm. Soldiers of the 110th New York, the Second U.S. Colored, and the Second Florida Cavalry that garrisoned Fort Myers turned out on the double under arms. As the men filed into their assigned stations, a flag-of-truce party was sighted some 500 yards from the fort.¹⁷

Captain John F. Bartholf of the Second U.S. Colored met with the Southerners and received from them a written note demanding surrender of the post within twenty minutes. Federal Captain James Doyle rejected the ultimatum. Bartholf carried the refusal back to the Confederates, and in doing so, he carefully observed their strength and dispositions.

At 1:10 p.m. the Southerners opened fire on the fort with their twelve-pounder, at a distance of 1,400 yards. The Union

16. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 41, 43.

17. Fort Myers was garrisoned by detachments from the Second Florida Cavalry (Union), the 110th New York, and the Second U. S. Colored Infantry. Frederick H. Dyer, *A Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 3 Volumes (New York, 1959), II, 695.

field pieces replied, compelling the Confederates to shift their battery three times. While the artillery duel was in progress, Captain Doyle dismounted and deployed the troopers of the Second Florida Cavalry, having them take cover in the brush and trees between the fort and the attackers. From this position, his cavalymen blazed away with their carbines. The Confederates had divided their force, about half had dismounted and taken position in support of the twelve-pounder, while the remainder were deployed on the flanks, the line extending to the Caloosahatchee River. During the afternoon, the Confederates fired about twenty shells into the fort without doing any damage. At dark, fearing a night attack, Captain Doyle reinforced his skirmish line outside the fort, while the men inside the stronghold remained under arms.

At daylight Captain Doyle visited the picket line and learned that the Confederates had withdrawn under cover of darkness. Where their battery had been emplaced, Doyle saw "bandages, splints, lint and hastily constructed litters," along with several abandoned blood-soaked pieces of clothing, which indicated that the Union artillery had scored damaging hits. The captain ordered all his men with mounts after the Confederates. The horsemen followed the trail through the woods for six miles to a point where it struck the Fort Thompson road, and there abandoned the chase and returned to Fort Myers.¹⁸

On the night of February 21, the steamer *Alliance* reached Key West, and the captain informed General Newton of the Station Four clash and the attack on Fort Myers. In view of this stepped-up Confederate activity, Newton decided to take counter-measures. The following day he met with Rear Admiral C. K. Stribling, commanding the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. The transport *Magnolia* was placed at the army's disposal.

Not knowing the results of the fighting at Fort Myers, General Newton ordered the Ninety-ninth U. S. Colored Infantry aboard the *Magnolia*, but before it could embark, the *Honduras* arrived from Punta Rassa. This steamer had been detailed to Punta Rassa to protect the Union depot there from possible attack, but by the time it arrived, the Confederates had withdrawn into the interior. General Newton nevertheless decided to go through with

18. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 53-54.

his plan to dispatch reinforcements to Punta Rassa, and Admiral Stribling ordered the *Honduras* to standby to transport additional troops, if the general made the request. Between them, Stribling and Newton matured a plan for joint-action by the army and navy. A landing force might be put ashore at Tampa or Cedar Key to cut off the Confederate column General Sam Jones had dispatched into South Florida, or it might be convoyed to the area around Saint Marks for a possible dash toward Tallahassee. Information as to the Confederates' whereabouts would determine the Federals' actions.

On February 23 General Newton embarked his headquarters and Companies A, B, and K, Second U.S. Colored, on the *Honduras*. At Punta Rassa the next day, Newton, after conferring with Captain Doyle, decided that he had no chance of overtaking the Confederates who had attacked Fort Myers, and he ordered the transports to proceed up the coast to Cedar Key.

The steamers anchored off Cedar Key at 6 p.m., February 25. Going ashore, the general learned that Major Weeks with most of his troopers of the U.S. Second Florida Cavalry were absent on a raid. Several couriers were instructed to find Weeks and have him return to the base. While waiting, General Newton questioned a number of people who had been on the mainland. All that he heard satisfied him that if he sent a column up the Florida Railroad, it would be too late "to cut off or to intercept" the Confederate column that had attacked Fort Myers.¹⁹

Major Weeks and his men arrived back at Cedar Key early on the twenty-seventh. Little time was now lost. By noon Companies C, D, and E, Second Florida Cavalry, and Companies E, G, and H, Second U. S. Colored Infantry, had embarked on the *Magnolia*. Meanwhile General Newton transferred his headquarters personnel to the steamer Alliance which had arrived from

19. *Ibid.*, 58-59. The *Magnolia*, a side-wheel steamer of 843 tons, was armed with one 20-pounder Parrott and four 24-pounder smoothbores. She had been captured on February 19, 1862, off Pass a L'Outre by the Sloop-of-War *Brooklyn* and sent to Key West, where she was condemned by a prize court and purchased by the U. S. Navy Department. A side-wheel steamer of 380 tons, the *Honduras* had been purchased by the government on July 31, 1863, from Simeon Ackerman of New York. The *Honduras* was armed with two 20-pounder Parrotts and two 24-pounder howitzers. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, 1894-1927), Series II, Vol. I, 103, 131. Cited hereafter as *Official Naval Records*.

Key West. Leaving sufficient men behind to protect Cedar Key, the fleet sailed at noon for Saint Marks.²⁰

They dropped anchor in Apalachee Bay near Saint Marks Bar at daybreak the next morning. A heavy fog enveloped the area, visibility was zero, and to make matters worse, the fog did not lift as the day warmed. This could complicate matters for the Federals, because according to plan warships of the East Gulf Blockading Squadron were to rendezvous with the invasion transports off Ocklockonee buoy.²¹ Admiral Stribling had directed Lieutenant Commander William Gibson, the senior officer in charge of enforcing the blockade of St. George's Sound, "to unite with General Newton with all the vessels on the blockade and cruising from St. George's Sound to Tampa, leaving a sufficient force to keep up the blockade at the different ports."²²

Because of the fog, seventy-two hours passed before all the invasion ships were able to assemble. By nightfall on March 2, 1865, a formidable naval force consisting of the steam gunboats *Mahaska*, *Fort Henry*, *Spirea*, *Stars and Stripes*, *Hibiscus*, and *Britannia*, and the schooners *O. H. Lee*, *Two Sisters*, and *Matthew Vassar* had rendezvoused with the armed transports.²³

20. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 59, 70.

21. *Ibid.*, 59.

22. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 812.

23. *Ibid.* A double-ender gunboat of 832 tons, the *Mahaska* had been built at the Portsmouth (N.H.) Navy Yard. The *Mahaska*, which was commissioned on May 5, 1862, was armed at this stage of the conflict with one 100-pounder Parrott and five IX-inch shellguns. A side-wheel ferryboat, the *Fort Henry*, had been purchased by the government on March 25, 1862. Converted into a 519 ton gunboat, the *Fort Henry* was armed with four 32-pounder smoothbores. The *Spirea* of 409 tons had been purchased by the U. S. Navy at New York on December 30, 1864. Assigned to the East Gulf Blockading Squadron, the *Spirea* was armed with four 24-pounder howitzers and two 30-pounder Parrotts. A screw steamer of 407 tons, the *Stars and Stripes* had been secured by the government in July 1861. She was armed at the time of the attack on Saint Marks with four VIII-inch shellguns and one 20-pounder Parrott. The *Hibiscus*, a wooden screw steamer of 409 tons, had been purchased at New York by the U. S. Navy on November 16, 1864, and was armed with two 30-pounder Parrotts and four 24-pounder howitzers. The *Britannia*, an English steamer with an iron hull engaged as a blockade runner, had been captured by a Union warship on June 25, 1863. Condemned by a prize court, she had been purchased by the U. S. Navy and assigned to the East Gulf Blockading Squadron. At this stage of the war, she was armed with one 30-pounder Parrott and five 24-pounder smoothbores. The *O. H. Lee*, a two-masted vessel of 199 tons, had been commissioned by the navy on February 4, 1862, as a mortar schooner. No longer used as a mortar schooner, the *O. H. Lee* was

While awaiting a break in the weather, General Newton and Commander Gibson conferred repeatedly on plans for the attack. A party of heavily armed raiders would be put ashore on Light House Island on the night of March 3 to seize the bridge spanning East River. As soon as the bridge was captured, the transports would begin landing troops prepared to take up the march at day-break on March 4. Pushing rapidly forward, the army was to capture Newport, destroy the public property there, and cross the Saint Marks River. Once across, the soldiers either could take Saint Marks from the rear or strike at the railroad linking Saint Marks with Tallahassee. The Federals were ordered to attack "isolated bodies of the enemy to prevent a concentration" and to destroy and capture all property that might be of use to the Confederates.

To assist the main column, the gunboats were to ascend Saint Marks River and put ashore picked men whose mission would be the destruction of railroad and other bridges over the Ocklockonee River, the trestle spanning Aucilla River, and the railroad. Finally, the warships were to capture the batteries at Saint Marks and land a force of 500 to 600 sailors at Port Leon who would cover the army's advance and prevent the Confederates from threatening the rear of the infantry column as it drove inland from Saint Marks to Newport.²⁴

On the night of March 2, six men from the Second Florida Cavalry were transported in one of the *Magnolia's* small boats to the mouth of the Aucilla River. They had orders to work their way inland and burn the trestle carrying the Pensacola & Georgia Railroad across that stream. A second detachment, supposed to go ashore at Little Aucilla for the purpose of cutting the railroad near Saint Marks, was challenged by Confederate pickets and it turned back. A third detachment landed at Shell Point with

now armed with a 32-pounder smoothbore and two 12-pounder rifles. Like the *O. H. Lee*, the *Matthew Vassar* had been commissioned as a mortar schooner. She had served in the mortar flotilla till the end of November 1864, when she was converted into a gunboat armed with one 30-pounder Parrott and two 32-pounder smoothbores. The *Two Sisters*, a schooner of 54 tons, had been purchased by the U. S. Navy from the Key West prize court for \$1,200. She was armed with one gun, a 12-pounder rifle. *Official Naval Records*, Series II, Vol. I, 47-48, 86, 102, 132, 139, 164, 212, 214, 227.

24. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 59, 70.

orders to destroy the railroad bridge spanning the Ocklockonee River.²⁵

Spirits soared aboard the ships on the morning of the third as the fog lifted. Reasoning that the constant blasts on the fog-horns must have alerted the Confederates to the presence of an invasion force, the fleet put to sea. By sailing away from the coast, the Federals hoped to deceive the Southerners as to their intentions.²⁶ As soon as it was dark, the armada changed its course and headed back toward the coast at forced draft. The wind, as the vessels approached the coast, picked up, and by the time the fleet returned to Saint Marks Bar, a gale was blowing. Efforts by the pilots in the darkness to find the passage across the bar were unsuccessful. All the while the wind continued to howl and the breakers roared. Weather conditions became so bad that Commander Gibson ordered the vessels to drop anchor.

Meanwhile, Major Weeks with sixty men of his Second Florida Cavalry and thirty seamen under Acting Ensign John F. Whitman had begun moving ashore. Because of the gale, it was midnight before all of Weeks' men had landed. Whitman and his force pulled up East River under orders to proceed to the bridge, but they were unable to capture the pickets, who fled, leaving behind their arms and one horse. It was 4 a.m. when Weeks' column joined Whitman.

At sunrise on March 4, about sixty mounted Confederates of the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion led by Lieutenant Colonel George W. Scott assailed Weeks' command. Being behind cover, the Federals easily beat off this attack, killing several of the enemy. When General Newton failed to show up with the rest of the little army, Weeks became apprehensive, and he sent an aide back to the lighthouse "to see whether the troops had landed." If they had, Weeks proposed to hold the bridge. When the officer returned and reported that the fleet was anchored off the bar and no troops had come ashore, Weeks decided to abandon his position and retire to the lighthouse. He felt he could not hold his ground unless reinforced. As the Federals moved back, the Confederates followed, skirmishing with the Union rear guard.²⁷

25. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 812.

26. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 59.

27. *Ibid.*, 70.

The fleet had weighed anchor at daybreak, the *Spirea* leading. Before she had gone very far, the pilot ran the *Spirea* hard and fast aground on Saint Marks Bar. Moments later, the transport *Honduras* also grounded. An air of urgency was added when those aboard the ships saw Weeks' troops retiring toward the lighthouse.

Although it was a long, hard pull to the beach, General Newton ordered the small boats lowered and away, and the soldiers made the difficult transfer to the landing craft. The breakers drenched the men and their equipment as they scrambled out, of the boats and formed near the lighthouse. Much time was lost and it was 4 p.m. before the last soldiers disembarked. While the landing was taking place, the naval force was augmented by the arrival of the armed steamers *Proteus*, *Iuka*, *Isonomia*, and *Hendrick Hudson*, commanded by Robert W. Shufeldt, who as senior officer afloat assumed charge from Commander Gibson.²⁸

After the officers had formed and mustered their units, the Union column advanced about two and one-half miles to the first "elevated ground" and halted. Here the troops would camp and wait for the sea to calm sufficiently to permit the landing of artillery, ambulances, and ordnance wagons. The wind died during the night, and by 8 a.m., March 5, the last of the heavy equipment and wagons had been put ashore.

Breaking camp, the Union column took the road leading to the East River bridge. Companies G and H, Second U. S. Colored Infantry, deployed as skirmishers and fanned out through the palmetto ahead of the force. When the Federals reached the

28. *Ibid.*, 59-60. A big, screw steamer of 1,244 tons, the *Proteus* had been purchased by the government on October 5, 1863, for \$160,000. The *Proteus* drew 13' 9" of water, and at this stage of the conflict her battery consisted of one 60-pounder Parrott, two 30-pounder Parrotts, six 32-pounder smoothbores, and two 12-pounder rifles. The *Iuka* was a big, side-wheel steamer of 944-tons. She was armed with two 30-pounder Parrotts, one 100-pounder Parrott, two VIII-inch shellguns, and two 24-pounders. A smaller side-wheeler of 593-tons, the *Isonomia* had been purchased by the Navy Department for \$152,000. Her battery consisted of one 30-pounder Parrott and two 24-pounder howitzers. The *Hendrick Hudson*, then known as the *Florida*, had been captured by the U. S. S. *Pursuit* on April 6, 1862. Condemned by the Philadelphia prize court, the vessel had been purchased by the U. S. Navy for \$40,000 and rechristened. A screw steamer of 460-tons, the *Hendrick Hudson* had a battery of four VIII-inch shellguns and two 20-pounder Parrotts. *Official Naval Records*, Series II, Vol. 1, 100-01, 111, 185.

bridge, they found that the Southerners had pulled up the planking, and they saw on the far side of the span Confederate cavalry, supported by one piece of artillery. Major Lincoln of the Second U.S. Colored Infantry ordered his force forward immediately. Crossing a belt of open ground, the Federals reached the bridge and blazed away at the Confederates, who, after several volleys, fled. Lincoln sprang onto one of the stringers, and followed by his skirmishers, reached the north bank of the river. The Confederates had abandoned their cannon without spiking it, and it was promptly manned by the Federals who turned it upon the retreating enemy.²⁹

While his soldiers were seizing the bridgehead, General Newton marched up with the main column. Sizing up the situation, Newton directed Lieutenant Colonel Uri B. Pearsall of the Ninety-ninth U. S. Colored Infantry to repair the bridge, which was soon ready for service, and Newton pushed on. Screened by Major Lincoln's Second U. S. Colored, the Federals headed up the road to Newport. The only Confederates seen were a few horsemen of the Fifth Florida Battalion who were careful to keep their distance.

Approaching Newport, General Newton sighted a heavy column of black smoke, and he reasoned that the Confederates, to delay his advance, had probably set fire to the bridge across St. Marks River. In hopes of saving the strategic bridge, the general called for Major Weeks to move up with the Second Florida, drive the Confederates back, and extinguish the fire. As the Federals approached the bridge, which was burning fiercely, they came under a heavy fire from the Southerners posted in rifle-pits on the opposite side of St. Marks River. Weeks made a hurried reconnaissance and found that one span of the bridge had already burned through, while the planks had been removed from the stringers on the far end. To try to neutralize the Southerners' fire which was sweeping the approaches to the bridge, Weeks sent for artillery. Two twelve-pounder boat howitzers manned by volunteers from the Second U. S. Colored Infantry were wheeled into position. One of the guns was "posted to play directly across the bridge, and the other one on the right to enfilade" the rifle-

29. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 59-60. The Confederates succeeded in carrying off the gun's limber and caisson.

pits. Although the Federals hammered the Confederates with shot and shell, they were unable to dislodge them.³⁰

Word that the Federals had landed near Saint Marks caused consternation in Tallahassee. One observer noted: "Such excitement I never saw; Captain Brokaw called in the Home Guards and they came, from the farm, the stores, from all places, where old men were employed, they came hurrying in. Soldiers at home on furlough (there are very few of these) came forward to take their places in the ranks of Tallahassee's defenders. The cadets from the seminary, west of the Suwannee, offered their services and there was even some talk of a company of women, to organize to help hold the enemy at bay. It is four o'clock now and these hastily marshalled troops are gone."³¹

General William Miller had reached Newport from Tallahassee with a company of older men and young cadets shortly ahead of the Federals. After being briefed by Colonel Scott, Miller ordered his force into the rifle-pits to reinforce the militia and troopers of the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion. It was Miller who had ordered the bridge fired to gain the time necessary for troops and militia to rally to the defense of Tallahassee.³²

A high wind carried sparks from the bridge to nearby buildings, and among the structures gutted were Dan Ladd's grist mill, a foundry, and a sawmill. The latter would be a "great loss" to the Confederate government, as they had held important defense contracts; "a large quantity of valuable patterns" were also destroyed. Ladd's mill had done "the grinding of a large portion of the county, besides furnishing meal to many families who had no corn to grind."³³

General Newton realized that it would be impossible to force a crossing of the river at Newport, and, after talking with several men of the Second Florida who had lived in Wakulla County, decided to force a crossing of the river at Natural Bridge. His guides assured the general that the Bridge was only four or five miles above Newport.

30. *Ibid.*, 59-60, 70; Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 137; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 9, 1865.

31. Susan B. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (Macon, 1926), 260.

32. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 137.

33. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. 1, 63; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 9, 1865.

Weeks remained at Newport bridge to guard against a crossing by the Confederates and to prevent them from cutting the Federals' line of retreat. Weeks posted sharpshooters in the underbrush along the bank, and they banged away throughout the afternoon and night at Confederates holed-up in Newport.³⁴

The road which Newton's column followed was "old and unfrequented," and the general hoped that the Southerners would not be looking for him at Natural Bridge. The road was three miles longer than anticipated, and when the Union vanguard sighted Natural Bridge, they found, much to their dismay, that Confederates of the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion were deployed in the area. It was almost dark when General Newton ordered his men to halt and establish outposts; the Federals were within sight of the Southerners' camp fires.³⁵

Confederate General Jones had reached Newport from his Tallahassee headquarters earlier that same evening. There, he learned that General Miller, anticipating the Federals, had rushed Colonel Scott with his troopers to hold Natural Bridge. Satisfied that his subordinate had correctly fathomed Union plans, Jones directed Miller to proceed to the Bridge with most of the reserves, the militia, and the two sections of artillery that had reached Newport. A small detachment would be left to engage Weeks' troopers. Miller's column moved out immediately and reached Natural Bridge at 4 a.m., March 6.³⁶

At daybreak, Major Lincoln with Companies B and G, Second U.S. Colored, launched an attack which drove the Confederate outposts across Natural Bridge. Lincoln sought to follow the Confederates but his advance was checked by a strong force of Southerners posted in rifle-pits. While Lincoln's men took cover, his scouts moved out on the double to see if the enemy's position could be turned, but they found that the approaches to the flanks of the Confederate earthworks were covered by "sloughs, ponds, marshes, and thickets."

34. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 60, 70.

35. *Ibid.*, 60.

36. Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 137. Among the units which accompanied General Miller to Natural Bridge were: First Florida Militia; Companies A, B, C, E, F, and I, First Florida Reserves; a section each from Abell's and Dunham's Batteries, and the Kilcrease Artillery. *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Live Oak, 1903), 298-312.

General Newton received this report and also the information volunteered by a guide that there was a crossing of St. Marks River about a mile below Natural Bridge. Accompanied by a small escort, the general examined this route but declared it "impracticable." Moreover, the Southerners, anticipating the Federals' plans, were already filing into position on the opposite side of the river.

Unable to find an unguarded crossing of St. Marks River, Newton decided to probe the Confederate rifle-pits at Natural Bridge. One of the officers believed they could be flanked to the right, and Newton made his plans accordingly. Colonel Benjamin R. Townsend with Companies A, B, and H, Second U. S. Colored, would constitute the flanking column, while Major Lincoln with Companies E, G, and K would make a frontal attack. The Ninety-ninth Colored was ready to exploit any gains scored. At first, Colonel Townsend's advance forced the Confederates to abandon the earthworks which they held. Their advance was halted abruptly, however, when the Federals suddenly encountered "a wide and deep slough impassable to troops." As Townsend withdrew his force, the Confederates were smashing Lincoln's frontal attack. The major was mortally wounded in this encounter.

Newton realized that the Confederate rifle-pits were too formidable to be carried. And if this were not serious enough, the ground held by the Federals was in a marsh and exposed to a deadly crossfire from the Southerners posted on the high ground on the opposite side of the river. The Union force was able to withdraw to the pine barrens 300 yards to the rear.

Satisfied that he had halted the Union advance, General Miller prepared a counterstroke. Leaving the protection afforded by their earthworks, the Confederates crossed Natural Bridge and advanced in column of assault. The Union soldiers, however, held their ground, and the Southerners, much to their surprise, were received by "a perfect line of infantry supported by artillery." Two desperate charges were made and repulsed with ease. The Confederates then retired into their earthworks to await the Federals' next move.³⁷

General Newton now received bad news from Commander

37. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 60-61.

Shufeldt. To prepare for the Union attack, the Confederates had removed all the guns from the gunboat *Spray* and had mounted them in the earthen fort overlooking the Saint Marks waterfront. Two smoothbore thirty-two pounders had been left on the lighter alongside the *Spray*. The armament of the fort thus increased was two rifled thirty-two pounders, two smoothbore thirty-two pounders, one thirty-pounder Parrott, and one twelve-pounder rifle, but unknown to the Federals, the Confederates had no trained heavy artillerists.³⁸

Arrangements had been made for the Federal steamers drawing the least water to enter Saint Marks River. Even so, the navy quickly ran into difficulty. Three ships, *Mahaska*, *Spirea*, and *Stars and Stripes*, soon grounded—the *Mahaska* a short distance northwest of the lighthouse, the *Stars and Stripes* off Devil's Elbow, and the *Spirea* near the bar. Four other vessels, *Honduras*, *Fort Henry*, *Hibiscus*, and *Britannia*, slowly worked their way upriver. Sailors in small boats were kept busy with lead lines making soundings to pinpoint the tortuous channel. By the morning of March 6, when word arrived that the Union force had been repulsed at Natural Bridge, these ships had succeeded in ascending the river to within a mile and a half of Port Leon. Shufeldt decided that now it would be useless to go any farther, and orders were given for Ensign Whitman to take a landing party ashore and march inland to a position covering the bridge across East River.³⁹

Intelligence regarding the navy's failure to put ashore a force at Port Leon caused General Newton to re-evaluate the situation. With ammunition running short and with the Confederates likely to establish roadblocks on his communication line, the general resolved to retire. At a word from Newton, the unit commanders recalled their men. All the wounded, except eight whose injuries the surgeons pronounced fatal, were loaded into ambulances, and the column, covered by a strong rear guard, retraced its steps.⁴⁰

38. *Ibid.*, 65-66.

39. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 814. The *Spray*, a small, high-pressure steamer, commanded by Lieutenants C. W. Hays and H. L. Lewis, operated in the vicinity of Saint Marks. She was surrendered in May 1865. *Dictionary of American Naval Fighting Ships*, II (Washington, 1963), 567.

40. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 61. The eight critically wounded were left at a farm house two miles from the scene of the engagement.

About the time that the main Federal column began its retreat, the Confederates reopened fire with one gun and small-arms on Weeks' pickets. If the Southerners could force their way across Newport bridge, they would be able to cut the Union line of retreat and possibly destroy Newton's command. For the next four hours the Confederates "kept up a sharp and well-directed fire." Several times their men dashed from cover intent on repairing the bridge, but Weeks' sharpshooters sent them scurrying back.⁴¹ Early in the afternoon the Confederates holding Natural Bridge were reinforced by a detachment from the Second Florida Cavalry led by Colonel Carraway Smith. Covered by a barrage from their four field pieces, the Southerners continued to harass the Union rearguard as far as the bridge across East River. Just as the last of the Union column moved across the bridge, the Federals put it to the torch and returned to their ships.⁴²

The booming of the cannons at Natural Bridge could be heard in Tallahassee some eighteen miles away. A lady wrote, "This is our first experience in warfare at first hand and I do not feel quite as bad as I expected. Now, while I am scribbling this, we are waiting at the depot, for there are no telegraph lines, no way to hear from the battle except by courier or by train." Darkness had closed in before the people of Tallahassee learned that the Federals had been repulsed. "God has been good to us and the enemy completely routed, though we were outnumbered four to one," the young lady noted in her diary. "We lost two men, Captain [Henry K.] Simmons and a private whose name I have not yet ascertained. Poor Mrs. Simmons, she has a little two weeks' old baby and has been very ill. After the terrible excitement of the last forty-eight hours Tallahassee should sleep well tonight."⁴³

On the morning of March 7, General Newton informed Shufeldt that his column, about 1,000 strong, had encountered some 1,500 to 2,000 Confederates who were liberally supplied with artillery and who were constantly being reinforced. The navy, he felt, would not be able to ascend the river as far as anticipated, and that all that could be accomplished had been done. So

41. *Ibid.*, 70.

42. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 814; Dickison, *Military History of Florida*, 138.

43. Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 260-61.

far, the expedition had cost the army 148 casualties—twenty-one killed, eighty-nine wounded, and thirty-eight missing. Returning to his flagship, *Proteus*, Shufeldt had his squadron drop down river and anchor off the lighthouse.⁴⁴

Before re-embarking his troops, Newton wished to await the return of the volunteers sent to burn the railroad bridges and trestles. During the day the party detailed to destroy the Ocklockonee bridge showed up at the beachhead and reported that it had failed to reach its objective. This annoyed the general since the “men sent were picked, and had a good knowledge of the country,” and should have accomplished their mission. The men sent to burn the Aucilla trestle ran afoul of Confederates. Moments after they had set fire to the trestle and cut the telegraph wire, a Confederate patrol galloped up and sent the Federals scampering into the bush and put out the fire. Two men, Captain William Strickland and a private, were captured, tried, and executed as arsonists.⁴⁵

When the group sent to fire the Aucilla trestle failed to return after a reasonable time, Newton ordered his soldiers back aboard the transports, and the troops returned to their posts at Cedar Key, Punta Rassa, and Key West. Reporting on the expedition to his superior, Major General Edward R. S. Canby, Newton observed, “The expedition, though it did not effect all that was anticipated, was far from being unfruitful in its results.” As accomplishments, Newton claimed the destruction of two important bridges, one foundry, two large mills, and extensive saltworks. The greatest success was positioning blockade vessels off the lighthouse instead of outside the bar as heretofore.⁴⁶ Commander Shufeldt considered the latter “the only point which is of any naval importance whatever.” Most Federals believed that the staking out of the channel, the removal of obstructions, and the garrisoning of the fort by the Confederates seemed to indicate that they planned to use Saint Marks as a center for blockade runners

44. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 814; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 61.

45. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 818; *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 61; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, March 16, 1865.

46. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 61. General Canby commanded the Military Division of West Mississippi from his headquarters in New Orleans.

to compensate for the loss of Wilmington.⁴⁷ The blockade vessels would lessen this danger.

General Newton became critical of the navy's contribution to the Saint Marks' expedition. Writing General Canby on April 6, he complained: "It is evident that had the land force been seconded at all by the naval part of the expedition we should have succeeded to the utmost extent of our expectations. The fort at Saint Mark's was prepared to be blown into the air, and parties were engaged to destroy a large lot of cotton at Saint Mark's, amounting to about 600 bales. The land troops could have crossed between Newport and Saint Mark's (being relieved of the presence of the gunboat *Spray*), and with the assistance of 500 men from the navy would have entirely defeated the enemy if he had made a stand."⁴⁸

General Jones listed Confederate casualties in the Battle of Natural Bridge as three killed and twenty-two wounded. Jones knew that the Union evacuation could be attributed in part to unfavorable weather, although several prisoners reported that their units had been badly cut up and demoralized by the stout resistance encountered. Although this thrust had been turned back, General Jones feared the Federals would be back with a stronger force to renew their efforts to capture Saint Marks and Tallahassee.

The war, however, ended only a month later and Saint Marks and Tallahassee were spared another Union visit. Tallahassee thus gamed the distinction of being the only Confederate capital east of the Mississippi River that was not captured.

47. *Official Naval Records*, Series I, Vol. XVII, 814.

48. *Official Records*, Series I, Vol. XLIX, pt. I, 64.

49. *Ibid.*, 1043.

BILLY BOWLEGS (HOLATA MICCO)
IN THE CIVIL WAR

(Part II)

by KENNETH W. PORTER

ELIAS RECTOR, as an ardent partisan of the Confederacy, must have particularly wished in subsequent years that his report of Billy Bowleg's death had been more than just a rumor, for Bowlegs was one of the principal chiefs of the Five Civilized Tribes who supported the Union in the Civil War. Although a number of Seminole chiefs, along with representatives of all the other Civilized Tribes, were bullied or cajoled into signing a treaty with the Confederacy, before the war was over it was estimated that two-thirds of the Seminole Indians and practically all their Negroes were within the Union lines. Reasons for the alignment of the Civilized Tribes in the Civil War are complicated. The Choctaw and Chickasaw, located farthest to the south and east and always *more* inclined than other *southern* tribes to be conciliatory toward their white neighbors, were nearly all thorough-going Confederates, but the Creeks, Seminoles, and Cherokees were badly split. In general, the half-breed element also tended, along with such full-bloods as they could influence, to support the Confederacy. The majority of conservative full-bloods, with no interest in being "accepted" by the dominant element in the South, at first sought neutrality in the conflict, and then, when it became an impossibility, supported the Union cause. The Indian Negroes, who occupied a position of considerable influence among the Seminoles, and even among the Creeks and Cherokees were far more independent than white-owned slaves, knew immediately where their interests lay. Moreover, as badly as the Cherokees, Creeks, and Seminoles had been treated by the United States government and its armed forces, their treatment by southern territorial and state governments and volunteers had been far worse; such little protection and fair treatment as they had received had come from Washington and from regular army officers.

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The factors which influenced a large element in the Creek and Cherokee tribes to shun alliance with the Confederacy operated even more powerfully on the Seminoles. The half-breed element among the Seminoles was insignificant. The Confederacy had to depend on such "good" Christianized full-bloods as John Jumper-and even he was reportedly most reluctant at first to throw off his allegiance to the Union. Negro influence among the Seminoles, on the other hand, was particularly strong-although there is no precise information as to the influence exerted upon Billy Bowlegs and other chiefs by their black advisors such as is abundantly available in regard to the First and Second Seminole Wars. Cynics might suggest, also, that the Seminoles, having recently fought two wars against the United States, were not anxious again to test their strength against its power. Whatever the reasons, the two leading Unionists among the Seminole were Billy Bowlegs and Halleck Tustenuggee, one of the last chiefs to surrender in the Second Seminole War. It is not surprising, in view of these circumstances, plus Bowlegs' personal popularity and hereditary position, that probably a larger proportion of the Seminoles were Unionists than even among the Creeks and Cherokees.

Although Chief John Jumper and other Seminole chiefs were persuaded-some say bribed-to sign the Seminole treaty of August 1, 1861, with the Confederacy, Billy Bowlegs, his brother-in-law Long John or John Chupco-who may also have been his son-in-law and was to be his successor as headchief-and the Mikasuki chief Halleck Tustenuggee, all refused to sign and eventually withdrew to Kansas and joined up with the Union forces.¹

The Seminole, the smallest of the Five Civilized Tribes, could not be expected to take the lead in organizing the neutralist and eventually the Unionist force. This leadership was assumed by

1. *War of the Rebellion: Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Ser. IV, Vol. 22, 513-27; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1865*, 332-33; Annie Heloise Abel, *The Slaveholding Indians*, 3 Volumes (Cleveland, 1919-1925), I, 198-99. The Treaty of August 1, 1861, mentioned "Eliza Chopco, daughter of Billy Bowlegs." Billy Bowlegs in 1858 had an 18-year-old daughter named Elizabeth, by his first wife, and it is possible that she subsequently married Long Jack, brother of his "young wife," thus acquiring in the white man's opinion, the surname of "Chopco" or "chup-co." *Harper's Weekly*, II (June 12, 1858), 376-78.

Opothla Yahola, a wealthy and respected Creek full-blood who established headquarters near the mouth of Deep Fork and called upon Creeks, Seminoles, and other Indians for support.

About two and a half years later, in a letter from Neosho Falls, Kansas, to President Lincoln on March 10, 1864, Paskofa, then second chief of the Seminoles, described in a long and very informative letter the sequence of events which terminated in the division of the Seminoles between the Confederacy and the Union. Paskofa wrote: "When Pike had got all the principal men among the Cherokees and the Creeks, he came to the Seminoles and held a council. . . . When he arrived we were all astonished to know what he was after. . . . Pike and Chiefs of other tribes told us that we must fight for our Country. If we did not fight that the cold people [the Northerners] would come and take our Country from us. When Pike told our Chief [John Jumper] this, he Said he did not know what to do-then he turned to his lawyers [advisors]. . . . They said they had the word from the President, it was written in a book, and . . . they must obey the law. Pike told us that the Cherokees, Chocktaws, Chickasaw, and Creeks had agreed to fight for their Country, and . . . that they were a-going to make a very strong law, and any one who was able to fight and would not, Should be punished by law - Opo-the-o-ho-la heard of Pike's Speech and Said that he would have nothing to do with the South, and moved a short distance away and Camped out-after he had moved out, John Jumper Signed an agreement with Pike to help him. When he had made this agreement he turned to me and said. Pas-ko-fa, you are one of the Captains, you must raise all the men you can . . . to fight for our Country-I told Jumper that we had made an agreement with the President, and . . . I would not break the law-When I told Jumper those things, we had Sharp words for about four weeks. . . . I then turned to So. nuk. mik. kos-and asked him what we Should do. he told me that he was going to follow Old Gouge [Opothla Yahola's nickname]. . . . We then gathered our people together, and went to Gouge's Camp"²

2. Paskofa to the President of the United States, March 10, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives, Washington, D. C. (photostat copy in the possession of the author). "Old Man Gouge . . . was a big man among the Upper Creeks. His Indian name was Opoeth-le-ya-hola, and he got away into Kansas with a big bunch of Creeks

In the meantime, representatives of anti-Confederate factions in several tribes sought assistance in Kansas, St. Louis, and Washington. A delegation of four Creeks, two Chickasaws, and two Seminoles called on Major George A. Cutler, Creek agent, at Leroy, Coffey County, Kansas, on November 4, 1861. The Seminole spokesman, "Choo-Loo-Foe-Lop-hah-Choe," called for assistance in the way of arms, clothing, and other things for the "Loyal Seminoles." He declared: "All people who come with Billy Bowlegs are Union- Chief in place of Billy Bowlegs Shoe-Nock-Me-Koe this is his name."³

While these Indians were meeting in Kansas, in the Territory, Colonel Douglas H. Cooper, Choctaw agent and Confederate sympathizer, was determined to break up this "neutralist" movement before it became too dangerous. He moved on Opothla Yahola's camp with 1,400 Confederate Indians and Texas cavalrymen, but discovered, on November 15, 1861, that the chief and his allies had quietly departed for Kansas. The Confederates started a pursuit which Pascofa describes: "When we had all got together we learned that the Rebels were about to have a fight with the Union people. Then Billy Bowlegs Spoke to all of his people, and Said. we will go North to the President we will Suffer whatever he Suffers, all who want to Join Pike can do so, but . . . he would go on the Side of the President . . . and all who wanted to go north would move out, . . . and meet the Union Soldiers. When we Started, they [the Confederates] made up a great many Soldiers and overtook us-where we had camped about thirty miles away-Billy Bowlegs and Opotheahola the two principal [*sic*] Chiefs did not raise their hands against them, they tried to get out of their way, but they overtook us and Said that we were running away. And that they would make us feel their law- Billy and Gouge ordered us to fight them."⁴

and Seminoles during the war." Quoted by B. A. Botkin, *Lay My Burden Down: A Folk History of Slavery* (Chicago, 1945), 132.

3. Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, II 62-69, fn. 141. It is primarily on this statement that those who accept the Rector-Murrow report of Billy Bowlegs' death in 1859, but are aware of a Billy Bowlegs who was a leader among the Loyal Seminoles, base the theory that there was "another Billy Bowlegs (So-nuk-mek-ko)" who headed "the Seminoles who favored the Federal government." Carolyn T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXIII (Winter 1955-1956), 530-31.
4. Paskofa to the President, March 10, 1864, National Archives.

The running fight which followed was an epic of courage and endurance. It lasted six weeks or more, through the bitter cold of the Oklahoma hills and plains, and did not end until within ten miles of the Kansas boundary. To begin with Opothla Yahola's forces consisted of 800 to 1,200 warriors, mostly Creek and Seminole, but also Cherokee, Chickasaw, Delawares, and a "mixed multitude" of semi-civilized Quapaw, Keechis, and others from the Southern Plains. There were also two or three hundred Negroes, in addition to some full-blood deserters from the Confederate ranks. The principal commanders were the Creek Opothla Yahola and Micco Hatki (White King), and the Seminole Billy Bowlegs, John Chupco, and Halleck Tustenugee. The latter seems to have been the principal field-commander of the Seminole contingent. There was perhaps also a mysterious warrior named "Little Captain," who is said to have commanded "in all the Late battles."

The first battle of the Civil War in the Indian Territory was fought at "Round Mountain"-perhaps "Twin Mounds west of Yale"-on November 19, 1861.⁵ The Confederate Indians and Texans suffered heavy losses and withdrew, still fighting, first across the Red Fork of the Cimarron and then, under cover of darkness, across the Arkansas. They took up a strong position at the horseshoe bend of Bird Creek, known as Chusto Talasah (Little High Shoals), northeast of Tulsey Town. The Seminoles reopened the action on the morning of December 9, and after four hours of hard fighting, Colonel Cooper and his Confederate force fell back, first to Fort Gibson and then into Kansas where they took up a position on Shoal Creek (Chustenahla), a tributary of the Verdigris.

A third engagement began on December 26, when a strong force of well-disciplined Confederates under Colonel James Mc-Intosh attacked the Union Indians who by this time were low on both food and ammunition. The latter were posted near the summit of a wooded hill behind trees and rocks, with the Semi-

5. Angie Debo suggests this in "The Site of the Battle of Round Mountain," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXVIII (Summer 1949), 187-206. Actually, the site of the battle is uncertain. Edwin C. McReynolds in his *Oklahoma: A History of the Sooner State* (Norman, 1954), 205-08, located it "North of the Cimarron River"; later, he decided that the probabilities are in favor of its being *south* of that river. See McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957), 297.

noles, "under the celebrated chief Halek Tustenuggee . . . in front on foot." The Confederates moved steadily up the hill, and the Indians could not beat them off. By four o'clock, with their ammunition nearly exhausted and their lines broken in many places, the Indians began to retreat and scatter and soon were in full flight. Snow-covered ground and a cold sleety northwest wind added to the misery of the fugitives. Frozen bodies marked their flight and, of those who reached Kansas, many had frozen hands or feet necessitating amputation.⁶ Stragglers kept arriving in the refugee camps for months after the battle. On January 28, 1862, Opothla Yahola and Halleck Tustenuggee wrote to President Lincoln from Fort Leavenworth, begging assistance for their people. The Mikasuki signed the letter "A-Luk-Tus-Te-Nu-Ke, his X mark, Head Chief of the Seminole Nation."⁷

About a month later Billy Bowlegs arrived. In a letter dated February 28, 1862, William G. Coffin of the southern superintendency noted, "there are two amongst them [the refugees] at least . . . that I think would make good Commanders Billy Bowlegs & Little Captain the latter a Creek that commands in all the Late Battles and they supposed that he was killed but he got in a few days since Billy has also recently arivd."⁸ On April 15, 1862, a dozen loyal Seminole "Chiefs & Headmen" wrote W. P. Dole, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, asking to be "recognized as the Seminole Nation" and to have their "dues and annuities . . . paid . . . regularly as heretofore." Among those

6. Opothla Yahola's running fight is described in McReynolds, *Oklahoma*, 205-08, and in *The Seminoles*, 292-302, and also in Jay Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border, 1854-1865* (Boston, 1955), 220, 226-27. Monaghan refers to a Seminole faction "led by Billy Bowlegs and Alligator," who "flocked to Ephotoyoholo's standard," and is also the authority for the death at Chustenahla of a Seminole named Alligator who "died rather than surrender." One wonders, of course, if the Alligator who died at Shoal Creek could have been the war-chief Alligator from the Second Seminole War. But I have been unable to find any other reference to an Alligator among the Union Seminoles, although "Hal-pa-ta," a town chief, was one of the Seminole signers-or alleged signers-of the treaty with the Confederacy; *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, Vol. VIII, 6, 23; Edward E. Dale and Gaston Litton, *Cherokee Cavaliers* (Norman, 1939), 111-13; Wiley Britton, *The Civil War on the Border, 1861-1862* (New York, 1891), 165, 174. Paskofa's account, oddly, mentions only two battles.

7. *War of the Rebellion*, ser. I, vol. VIII, 534.

8. Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, I, 277, fn. 370.

signing were "Billy Bolegs, head Chief," "Pas-Ka-fa," and "A-ha-luk-tus-ta-nuck-ke."⁹

Bowlegs soon had the opportunity to demonstrate the same qualities of a "good Commander" which he had displayed in earlier years in Florida. During the spring of 1862, the Federal authorities decided on an attempt to re-take the Indian Territory and organized two cavalry regiments, three infantry regiments, two batteries of artillery, and also two regiments of mounted rifles recruited from among the refugee Indians. The First, the Indian Home Guard, consisted of eight companies of Creeks and two of Seminoles; the Second was mostly Cherokee. The Union was much less generous in granting commissions to loyal Indians than the Confederacy, which commissioned the Cherokee Stand Watie first colonel and then brigadier-general, and the Seminole John Jumper a major and later "an honorary lieutenant colonel." The records do not show that the United States ever commissioned an Indian at a rank higher than captain. In May 1862, Billy Bowlegs was made captain of Company A, First Indian Regiment, and "A-ha-luk-tus-ta-na-kee" was named captain of Company B.¹⁰

From July 3, 1862, until late March 1865, the First Indian Regiment, usually in association with two other Indian regiments and with fighting units from Kansas, Missouri, Wisconsin, Illinois, Indiana, Ohio, Arkansas, and Colorado, participated in over thirty actions. Most of these were in the Indian Territory near Fort Gibson, which the Union permanently occupied early in 1863, and in northwestern Arkansas. After a skirmish at Illinois Creek, Arkansas, on December 7, 1862, Colonel Stephen H. Wattles of the First Indians noted that for their conduct in this battle "Capt Billy Bowlegs, of the Seminoles," as well as "Captain Jon-neh, of the Uches, and . . . Captain Tus-te-nuk-chup-ko" (Long Warrior), of the Creeks, were "deserving of the highest praise."¹¹

At the end of November 1862, Colonel William A. Phillips, commander of the Third Indian Regiment, was ordered to utilize all the Indian regiments and to re-occupy the Indian Territory.

9. Billy Bowlegs *et al.* to W. P. Dole, April 15, 1862, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

10. Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, II, 108, fn. 256.

11. Frederick H. Dyer, (ed.), *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, 3 Volumes (Des Moines, 1908), II, 676-77, 986; *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, Pt. I, 93-94; Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border*, 252-273; McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, 305-306.

The Seminole refugees at Neosho Falls, Kansas, "put up a pitiful plea" for permission to return home, and "Their old chief, Billy Bowlegs, well-known . . . because of his exploits in Florida," added his voice in a letter of March 2, 1863: "The South counseled us to go with them but we adhered to the old Government. We do so still. The love of the Country caused me to enlist in the U. S. Service, where I still remain. I have not set foot in my Country since but hope to do so & see some of the property I left there. My people still rejoice in that hope." The letter was signed "So nuk mek ko his X mark (Billy Bowlegs) Head Chief Seminole Nation," which is the principal evidence to support the theory that Billy Bowlegs' "real name" was "So nuk mek ko" or some form thereof. Billy Bowlegs wrote again on May 13 from Fort Gibson to Commissioner of Indian Affairs Dole, expressing the hope that the United States would soon clear the Indian country of "the secesh" so that the loyal Indians could take their children home. This time he signed himself "Billy Bowlegs King of the Seminoles & Capt. Co. F. 1st Indn. H. G." ¹²

While the Seminoles were in Arkansas, Billy Bowlegs had an experience which he described in detail in a communication to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs. On the way from Camp Bentonville to Rhea's Mill, he came upon a "secesh" on horseback whom he believed to be a "bushwhacker." Bowlegs was determined to take the man prisoner and rode up pistol in hand. The bushwhacker, however, grappled Billy, who found that since they were both on horses, he "could not tussel as well as if on the ground and so we both fell from our horses and in the fall my pistol fell from my hand." The bushwhacker quickly broke away, seized the fallen pistol, jumped on Billy's nearby horse, and fled. As Billy later commented, "of course, he could of killed me but he Just run away with my horse . . . 2 Revolvers and saddle-[and] Bridle. . . ." Bowlegs in his letter expressed the hope and belief that since he had lost his gun doing his duty, "our Father will give me another gun. . . ." ¹³

12. Billy Bowlegs to Dole, May 2, 13, 1863, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, II, 44-45, fns. 75-77, I, 198-99, fn. 376.
13. Billy Bowlegs to Dole, May 13, 1863, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

By the spring of 1863, Bowlegs and the Seminoles were actively engaged in "making way for liberty" in the Indian Territory. The Indian regiments had occupied Fort Gibson and for several months were engaged in beating off raids by Stand Watie's half-blood Cherokee horsemen, aimed at making the fort untenable by cutting off its supplies. Late in May, Stand Watie intensified his efforts, and for two months the Indian regiments had their hands full. During a skirmish of June 17 on Greenleaf Prairie when Colonel Wattles of the First Indians found the enemy in line of battle, he "immediately dispatched Captain Bowlegs with 75 men to flank them on the left, and ordered the forces to advance." At first, the Seminoles were able to drive the enemy, but, being nearly out of ammunition and fearing to be cut off, they were then ordered to return to the fort.¹⁴ The Indian and Negro regiments were commended "for steadiness under fire and in many instances for reckless courage" after the engagements at Cabin Creek on July 1, and Elk Creek or Honey Springs on July 17. Among the officers praised were the Seminole captains "No-ko-so-lo-chee and So-nuk-mik-ko."¹⁵ The First Indian Regiment continued to be involved in occasional skirmishes until the end of the war.¹⁶

Billy Bowlegs longed to return to Seminole country. On September 4, 1863, he and Seminole Chiefs "Fos-huchee-hajo, No-ko-sa-lo-chee, Koch-e-me-ko" - wrote to two other Seminole chiefs, "Oak-to-ha" and "Pas-co-va," on the subject of returning to their homes.¹⁷ But there was to be no homecoming for Billy Bowlegs. Ever since March 1863, smallpox had been afflicting the troops and the "refugee Indians" at Fort Gibson, although by late August it was reported that both the cholera and the smallpox

14. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, II, 678, 986; Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, II, 272; McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, 306-07; *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, XXII, pt. 1, 348-52.
15. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, II, 986; Monaghan, *Civil War on the Western Border*, 278-79; McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, 310-11; *War of the Rebellion*, Ser. I, Vol. XXII, pt. 1, 455-456.
16. Dyer, *Compendium of the War of the Rebellion*, II, 986-87, lists seven skirmishes and expeditions between July 20, 1863, and March 30, 1865.
17. Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, III, 44-45, fns. 76-77; "Pas-ko-fo" *et al.* to Dole, September 14, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives; Billy Bowlegs *et al.* to "Oak-to-ha" and "Pas-co-va," September 4, 1863, Office of Indian Affairs, National Archives.

had "almost disappeared."¹⁸ However, sometime between the date of his letter of September 4, 1863, and March 10, 1864, Chief Bowlegs succumbed to the disease.¹⁹ Indian Agent G. C. Snow at Neosho Falls belatedly reported on September 15, 1864, the death of "Billy Bowlegs, principal chief, whose loss is very much regretted, as he was an influential man amongst them and I believe generally beloved by all loyal Seminoles."²⁰ Actually, Bowlegs had died at least as early as March 1864, since Pascofa, on March 10, wrote to President Lincoln: "Billy Bowlegs went into the Army to help his white Brothers and the government. he died in the Service of his country-he left me here with our Agent to take care of the women and Children." Long John or John Chupco, Billy's brother-in-law, and perhaps son-in-law, and his successor as principal chief, also wrote the President: "Billy Bowlegs was principal Chief of the Seminole nation, he went into the army to help his Union Brothers, I went with him-I remained with him untill he died . . . I have taken Billy's place."²¹

Billy Bowlegs was buried in the southwest part of the National Cemetery two miles east of Fort Gibson.²² For unexplained reasons his body has been moved to a new location at least once, and perhaps twice. Since 1947 it has been resting in Grave No. 2109.²³

18. Wiley Britton, *Memoirs of the Rebellion on the Border, 1863* (Chicago, 1882), 367-68, 393.
19. Bowlegs' kinsman Wild Cat had died seven years earlier of smallpox while serving in the Mexican army, and eighty of Bowlegs' people in the Indian Territory and Kansas succumbed to the disease in the 1860s.
20. *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1864*, 317; House Executive Document No. 1, 38th Cong., 2d Sess., 461.
21. Pas-ko-fa, Second Chief of the Seminole Nation, to the President, March 10, 1864, and Speech of Long John, Head Chief of the Seminole Nation, to the President, March 10, 1864, Office of Indian Affairs National Archives; Abel, *Slaveholding Indians*, III, 57 fn. 113, I, 198 fn. 372.
22. Grant Foreman, *Down the Texas Road* (Norman, 1936), 31.
23. Carolyn Thomas Foreman, wife of Grant Foreman, the principal historian of the Five Civilized Tribes, wrote me on June 3, 1947, from their home in Muskogee, Oklahoma, not far from Fort Gibson: "I have lived here since 1898 and have seen many times a grave in the National Cemetery at Fort Gibson with a stone bearing the name Billy Bowlegs. In recent years someone connected with the cemetery moved the marker from the east side of the cemetery to the officers circle." E. S. Mullen, Memorial Division, War Department, Office of the Quartermaster General, on July 7, 1947, stated that "Captain

History has not treated Billy Bowlegs generously. He has been confused often with other Seminoles, particularly with his uncle King Bowlegs, Holata Micco of the Pease Creek Tallahassees, and "Bowlegs Capikchachuly." The first thirty years of his life are obscured, and there is even some question of his true identity the last four or five years of his life. Some authorities insist that he died early in 1859, and that the Billy Bowlegs of the Civil War years was "So-nuk-mek-ko," an entirely different person. Even his name, Billy Bowlegs, had humorous implications which tended to impair his dignity. His personality, moreover, apparently lacked the vividness of Osceola's and Wild Cat's. He was determined and stubborn rather than daring and aggressive, his mentality was clear and sound rather than brilliant and imaginative, and—except in the case of the Caloosahatchee massacre of 1839—he was distinguished for moderation and humanity rather than for savagery and bloodthirstiness. Although he was a courageous and skillful warrior, Bowlegs was perhaps even more distinguished as a wily diplomat, and like Osceola and Wild Cat, he was apparently a convincing negotiator. His capacity is best indicated by his achievements. In the very year in which Wild Cat's long struggle was ended by deportation from Florida, Billy Bowlegs achieved a treaty which permitted him and his people to remain there, at least temporarily. Also, he succeeded, through cooperation with the whites, skillful negotiations, masterful delay, and finally guerrilla warfare extending over two years, in delaying his people's departure from Florida for over fifteen years. Finally, when the official head-chief of the Seminoles, John Jumper, was persuaded into an alliance with the Confederacy, Billy Bowlegs succeeded in winning over a considerable majority of his people to the support of the "old treaty," and for two years fought actively and bravely as a captain in the Union army. Billy Bowlegs was a worthy successor to Old Cowkeeper, King Payne, and King Bowlegs, and a worthy kinsman to Wild Cat. He well deserves his Florida war-title of Holata Micco-Chief Governor.

Billy Bowlegs, 2nd Infantry, was originally buried in the Southwest part of Fort Gibson National Cemetery . . . but was disinterred many years ago and removed to Grave No. 2109, where the remains now rest."

BLACK BELT POLITICAL CRISIS: THE SAVAGE-JAMES LYNCHING, 1882

by EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

IN 1868 AND AGAIN in 1872, Florida's Republican Party triumphed over a predominantly ex-Confederate Democratic opposition. The Republican majorities were greatly enhanced by the political organization of the Black Belt. Chief among the political organizers was carpetbagger Dennis Eagan, a native of Ireland, whose particular bailiwick was Madison County and whose political organization survived the debacle of 1876 and the demise of Reconstruction. As late as 1880, Eagan was still delivering sizeable majorities to Republican candidates when in most of the rest of Florida the party was becoming dormant. That majority, for the most part Negroes, was in effect keeping carpetbagger Horatio Bisbee, Jr., of Jacksonville, sole remaining Florida Republican to hold a major elective office, in Congress.

Although the majority of Madison County voters supported Eagan, the county government was dominated by the Democrats. Under the Radical Constitution of 1868, the governor appointed key county officials.¹ Thus after 1876, with a Democratic governor back in office, Democrats controlled the election machinery in Madison County. However, Democratic partisans seem not to have been content with mere legal control; disregard for Negro voting rights mixed with raw tempers produced several serious incidents in the 1880 election. Disputed returns caused a Congressional investigation regarding irregularities in the race of Horatio Bisbee and former Confederate General J. J. Finley. The investigation had been preceded by a grand jury hearing in Jacksonville in the winter of 1880-1881, during which several Negro followers of Eagan accused William T. Forrester, a white Democrat, of stuffing the Madison County ballot box. Forrester blamed Augustus Crosby, a Negro election official, for this accusation, and on February 3, 1881, when he accosted Crosby, a bloody

1. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Constitutional Convention of the State of Florida, Begun and Held at the Capitol, at Tallahassee on Monday, January 20th, 1868* (Tallahassee, 1868).

fight resulted. Both men were arrested. At the trial, presided over by County Judge Robert Witherspoon, Forrester was fined three dollars, while Crosby was placed under a \$300 peace bond and fined seventeen dollars. Realizing the seriousness of the situation and fearing further violence, four of Eagan's Negro lieutenants - Crosby, Charles Savage, John G. Gambia, and Howard James-decided to leave town at once. Immediately after the trial, they took the evening east-bound train to Jacksonville. ²

As it turned out, this relatively minor disturbance had major political implications in so far as Madison County politics were concerned. It was apparent that intimidation and coercion, the two weapons used so effectively in Jackson County, the west end of the Black Belt, in the 1870s, were now present in Madison. But even without Negro subordinates, Eagan was not easily frightened. Holder of one of the state's juiciest federal patronage plums-that of collector of internal revenue-he was not ready to concede defeat. His prestige as a statewide Republican leader was also at stake. To bolster his crumbling machine and to keep Madison County Republican, Eagan continued with arrangements for the Congressional investigation of voting irregularities in the 1880 election. Hearings were scheduled for his plantation two miles outside the town of Madison. However, when S. Y. Finley, representing his father, protested, the hearings were moved to the courthouse at Madison. ³

With his key followers in voluntary exile in Jacksonville, Eagan found himself bereft of witnesses. To alleviate this, he persuaded Savage and James to return to testify. Savage arrived armed and in a reckless mood. He confided to friends that he expected to be " 'Ku Kluxed' or killed." ⁴

On the first day of the hearing, February 7, the fireworks began. Savage, who incidentally was a defeated candidate for the state assembly, accused two prominent local Democrats, Colonel Carraway Smith, Confederate hero at Olustee, and Frank Patter-

2. U. S. Congress, *Bisbee v. Finley*, House Miscellaneous Document 11, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 886-87, 895, 905, 908-09; M. Martin to W. E. Chandler, February 14, 1881, Chandler Papers, Library of Congress.

3. *Bisbee v. Finley*, 854, 1195-96

4. *Savage and James v. the State*; 18 *Florida Reports* 909; *Ex-parte Eagan*, 18 *Florida Reports* 194.

son, the young law partner of Madison Mayor Frank W. Pope, of election frauds. According to Savage, Smith had stuffed a ballot box while Patterson had challenged Republican voters on unlawful grounds and had handed out Democratic ballots with duplicates secretly folded inside them. After Savage testified, Eagan, acting as a federal commissioner, rashly appointed him bailiff.⁵

Angered by Savage's accusation, Patterson, the following day, accosted him at the hearing. In the altercation which followed, Savage shot Patterson and killed him. An eyewitness to the incident, A. R. Spradley, later testified that he thought that Eagan called "shoot him again."⁶ Attracted by the excitement inside the courthouse, a crowd of Negroes quickly gathered outside, and an impromptu woman speaker, Vine Stephens, implored the group to be men and not cowards. Meanwhile Sheriff Theodore Willard quickly gathered a posse, entered the courtroom, and arrested both Savage and James. Angry members of the posse threatened Eagan's life, but they were restrained by the sheriff.

Eagan adjourned the hearing to his plantation, and when he left, the crowd of Negroes outside quickly dispersed, a few accompanying him. In Madison angry white citizens began to arm.⁷ The Negro populace, fearing mob action, was terrified. However, white resentment over Patterson's murder was directed more at Eagan than at the Negro community. He was charged with complicity in the killing, and a warrant was issued for his arrest. Forewarned that Sheriff Willard was riding out to his plantation with the warrant, Eagan fled on foot for the Georgia boundary twelve miles north through the woods. Later, he was apprehended at Albany and was returned to Florida. A writ of habeas corpus issued by the state supreme court freed him, however; apparently there was not evidence to implicate him. However, it was now unsafe for Eagan to continue his Madison County residence,⁸ and he moved to Jacksonville where he continued his

5. *Bisbee v. Finley*, 862-64, 868.

6. *Ex-parte Eagan*, 18 *Florida Reports* 194; *Bisbee v. Finley*, 868, 1195-96, Martin to Chandler, February 14, 1881, Chandler Papers; *Savage and James v. the State*.

7. *Ex-parte Eagan*; *Bisbee v. Finley*, 1195-96.

8. *Bisbee v. Finley*, 1032-33, 1196-97; *Ex-parte Eagan*; Martin to Chandler, February 14, 1881, Chandler Papers.

political career as a patronage Republican.⁹ Madison County's large Republican majority was without a leader.

A fair trial for Savage and James was obviously impossible in the heated atmosphere of Madison. The defense was granted a change of venue, and the trial was transferred to Hamilton, a predominantly piney-woods white county on the northeastern boundary of the Black Belt. Circuit Judge Enoch J. Vann, a highly respected jurist, presided over the trial at Jasper, county seat of Hamilton. Judge Vann would have presided even if the trial had been held in Madison since both counties were in his circuit.

To assist State Attorney B. B. Blackwell with the prosecution, the services of Mayor Frank Pope of Madison were procured. The political aspect of the murder trial was emphasized when the defense hired two prominent white Republicans, former Judge A. A. Knight of Jacksonville and Joseph N. Stripling of Madison.¹⁰ Presumably, Eagan arranged for financing defense costs from his own pocket and by soliciting contributions.¹¹

Prominent Democratic Florida politicians also saw political implications in the murder trial. United States Senator Wilkinson Call, in a letter to Secretary of the Navy William E. Chandler, viewed it as evidence of the malign influence of Congressman Bisbee.¹² The latter blamed rioting Democrats for the murder. The House of Representatives by a partisan vote had in the meantime agreed to seat Bisbee.¹³

Savage and James' attorneys put up a spirited defense, but despite this, the all-white jury returned a verdict of guilty, and the court imposed the death sentence.¹⁴ In their appeal to the state supreme court, the defense attorneys claimed that they had

9. *Florida Industrial Record*, September 1901, 5-6.

10. *Motion Docket*, 1873-1905, Circuit Court of Hamilton County, 60-65; transcript, *Savage and James, Plaintiffs in Error, v. the State of Florida, Defendant in Error*, Florida Supreme Court Library, Tallahassee, Florida.

11. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, July 26, 1881.

12. Wilkinson Call to Chandler, February 10, 1881, Chandler Papers.

13. See Chester H. Rowell, *A Historical and Legal Digest of All the Contested Election Cases in the House of Representatives of the United States from the First to the Fifty-Sixth Congress, 1789-1901*. House Document 510, 56th Cong., 2nd Sess.; *Congressional Record*, 47th Cong., 1st Sess., pp. 4444-45. The Democrats did not vote in an effort to prevent a quorum from being present.

14. *Savage and James v. the State*.

not been allowed to cross-examine a key witness. Acting on this plea, Judge B. B. Van Vaukenbaugh, a Republican holdover, granted a writ of error and a retrial was ordered.¹⁵

Eagan, having been successful earlier in interesting fellow Republicans in the cause, formed a committee in Jacksonville to solicit additional contributions for the retrial.¹⁶ Not all of Florida's Republicans were in sympathy with either the defendants or Eagan. General Henry S. Sanford, influential groveman and land developer of Sanford, Florida, in a letter to President Chester A. Arthur in November 1881, described Eagan as a "reckless and unprincipled demagogue" who encouraged Negroes to resort to violence. Sanford, like many other Florida Republicans, envisioned for the state a predominantly white Republican party with a dormant Negro wing. Sanford felt that the actions of Eagan and other Black Belt carpetbaggers only arrayed the two races against each other and encouraged the Democrats to strengthen their party through a compact union of southern whites. If further racial outbreaks could be avoided, the general predicted that a wave of prosperity would sweep Florida; independent tickets would appear in every county; and the Democratic party would begin to disintegrate.¹⁷

Sanford's hope for an easing of racial tensions as a result of the Madison County disturbances failed to materialize. Savage and James had been removed first to Tallahassee to await the outcome of their appeal. Then in late August 1882, Hamilton County Sheriff Sampson Altman and a guard of four men riding a freight train, started for Jasper with Savage and James. Earlier, Altman, fearing an attack on his prisoners when the train went through Madison, had contacted Sheriff S. M. Hankins, who gave assurances that there was no possibility of violence.

Although efforts had been made to keep information of the move secret, news leaked out in Madison that Savage and James were being transferred from Tallahassee. A mob, its members

15. B. B. Van Vaukenbaugh to A. A. Knight, August 20, 1881, Florida Supreme Court Library, Savage and James transcript.

16. Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, April 28, 1882.

17. Henry S. Sanford to President Chester A. Arthur, November 19, 1881, original copy in Florida Historical Society Library, Tampa. This letter has been edited by the author and was published in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXI (April 1953), 279-81. Jacksonville *Florida Sun*, January 16, 1877.

unmasked, quickly gathered at the railroad station to await the arrival of the train carrying the prisoners and their small guard. To prevent Altman from being forewarned, the telegraph wires to Greenville, the station just west of Madison, were cut. Sheriff Hankins made neither an effort to disperse the Madison mob, many of whom were now armed, nor an attempt to notify Altman of what was happening. When the freight carrying the prisoners came to a stop at Madison, some of the mob uncoupled the two passenger coaches, while others forced their way into the car containing the prisoners. Neither Hankins nor any other Madison law enforcement officials were in evidence as Sheriff Altman and his deputies tried to protect the prisoners. The guards were quickly overwhelmed; one was wounded slightly. Both prisoners were then riddled with bullets.¹⁸

News of the lynching spread rapidly and shocked the state. Governor William D. Bloxham was outraged. Elected in 1880, he was a well-meaning, kindly ex-planter who belonged to the old patriarchal school of *noblesse oblige*. After the Civil War he had even operated a school for his former slaves. Many Negroes endorsed him politically, and he had supported the concept of Negro rights. Now he was faced with a real dilemma.¹⁹ Bloxham telegraphed Hankins and ordered immediate arrests.²⁰ Later, he offered a reward of \$5,000 for the apprehension of the mobsters.²¹ His close political ally, Charles Dyke, editor of the *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, also demanded the arrest and punishment of the lynchers, and called attention to the harm that had come both to the state and the county as a result of this brutal act.²²

Other state newspapers echoed the sentiments of the Tallahassee journal. The Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, denounced the lynchings as cold-blooded premeditated murders that deserved the reprobation of law-abiding citizens.²³ George R. Fairbanks,

18. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, August 29, 1882; *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, August 26, 1882.

19. Ruby Leach Carson, "William Dunnington Bloxham, Florida's Two-Term Governor" (unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1945), *passim*.

20. Bloxham to Sheriff Hankins, August 2 [?], 1882, Bloxham Letter Book, Florida State Library, Tallahassee.

21. *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, August 27, 1882.

22. *Tallahassee Weekly Floridian*, August 29, 1882.

23. *Jacksonville Daily Florida Union*, August 26, 1882.

in his Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, claimed that “the majesty of the law had been defied and trampled.” Nor did the action by the Madison mob escape notice by the northern press. The *New York Times* described the lynching as “a piece of daring brutality” by ruffians.²⁴ It seemed that instead of being punished as criminals for their misdeed, Savage and James were now becoming martyrs to their political principles. It was said they were shot because they were colored and Republicans.²⁵ In Madison County opinion was sharply divided. In the town of Madison, Mayor Pope, taking a moderate course, called a mass meeting of whites and Negroes to be held at the courthouse. Judge Vann, who presided, asked the world not to judge us by the crimes of a few desperadoes.” Several of the town’s ministers publicly denounced the crime as a gross and bloodthirsty act by irresponsible persons.²⁶

Whether the lynchings would be punished depended on the findings of the coroner’s jury. Savage’s widow and another Negro claimed to be eye witnesses to the murders and named Hugh Patterson, brother of Frank Patterson, and four others as members of the mob that did the shooting. Nonetheless, the jury brought in the verdict that Savage and James came to their deaths at the hands of unknown parties.²⁷

To Malachi Martin, carpetbag leader of the Republicans in the Black Belt, the failure to bring in an indictment was “a case in point.” Writing to D. B. Henderson, secretary of the Republican Congressional Committee, Martin complained that often after fraud and ballot box stuffing investigations, Negroes who had given evidence were later ruthlessly murdered. No jury, however, would even be impaneled to punish the assassins. The continuance of such a state of affairs, Martin felt, meant the end of the Black Belt Republican Party. “Unless we can get some of the southern white men with us,” he bluntly stated, “elections in the South are worse than a farce.”²⁸

Governor Bloxham made another effort to bring the mob members to trial. Promising State Attorney Blackwell “hearty

24. Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, September 9, 1882, quoting the *New York Times*.

25. Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, September 9, 1882.

26. Tallahassee *Weekly Floridian*, August 29, 1882.

27. Fernandina *Florida Mirror*, September 2, 1882; Jacksonville *Daily Florida Union*, September 7, 1882.

28. Martin to D. B. Henderson, September 23, 1882, Chandler Papers.

and vigorous" cooperation, he promised Circuit Judge Vann a military guard for his court if one was needed. It would not do, the governor asserted, for it to be stated that Florida could not protect witnesses.²⁹ From Bloxham's statement and the failure of the jury to indict, it is obvious that the mob members were in a strong position in the county. It is also apparent from the evidence that Sheriff Hankins was guilty of dereliction of duty, and perhaps of complicity in the lynching. That the governor did not remove him suggests that Bloxham, despite his outrage, was unwilling to interfere with local police powers, at least in this instance.

Scholarly George Fairbanks editorialized in his *Fernandina Florida Mirror* that the Madison lynching was of far greater importance than just the race issue; it was a question of which would prevail: "law or anarchy."³⁰ With Bloxham's refusal to take any further action, the initiative rested with Madison police officials. It was their decision to let the matter rest and not to press for a trial. Their rejection of Bloxham's demand for law and order, together with his refusal to appoint new county officials or a special prosecutor, left the lynching of the two Negro Republicans an unpunished crime. The state's Democratic press failed to censure Madison officials for their blatant dereliction of duty. Truly a Negro could say of Madison, "there is no part of justice in the court there for colored people."³¹ On the other hand, when State Senator John B. Dell of Alachua County requested the removal of Sheriff J. W. Turner, Bloxham promptly complied.³² His policy regarding law enforcement strongly indicated that he had given *carte blanche* to the Democratic county leaders. He had made his decision as to which road to take at the fork.

29. Bloxham to B. B. Blackwell, September 16, 1882, George P. Raney to Blackwell, October 12, 1882, Bloxham Letter Book.

30. *Fernandina Florida Mirror*, September 23, 1882.

31. *Bisbee v. Finley*, 896.

32. Bloxham to J. W. Turner, January 8, 1883; Bloxham to L. W. Bethel, January 25, February 1, 1883, Bloxham Letter Book.

BOOK REVIEWS

Frontier Eden.: The Literary Career of Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings.
By Gordon E. Bigelow. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1966. vii, 162 pp. Preface, illustrations, select bibliography, index. \$6.50.)

The life of a literary artist can never be separated from his work; true creative flow stems from the deepest levels of the unconscious where experiences and impressions are stored almost from the moment of conception. A really sensitive literary biography is therefore a rarity and it is more than fitting that one of the most perceptive works of this kind to appear in recent years should deal with Florida's own Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. In *Frontier Eden*, Professor Gordon E. Bigelow of the University of Florida has managed to so integrate the life of a literary artist with the ebb and flow of her creative talent that the result becomes engrossing both as a portrayal of the creative mind at work and the sources from which spring the creative flow.

1928 was hardly an optimum time to move to Florida; in fact, the migration pattern in the immediate post-boom days was more likely to be northward than southward. In March of that year a thirty-two year old newspaperwoman and her husband, also a writer, first saw Florida from a Clyde Line steamer entering the mouth of the St. Johns River near Jacksonville. "Let's sell everything and move South. How we could write!" cried Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings. And move they did, in November, to a citrus grove at Cross Creek, on the northern edge of the vast natural jungle, the Ocala Scrub. Her reaction at the first sight of the grove and the old farmhouse that went with it, Marjorie later described as being "such as one feels in the first recognition of human love, for the joining of person to place, as of person to person, is a commitment to shared sorrow, even as to shared joy."

For two city-bred writers, sorrows vastly outnumbered tangible joys during those first years at Cross Creek. But though her marriage ended in divorce five years later, Florida sand was already firmly ground into Marjorie's shoes. Far more important, her eagerly receptive unconscious mind had been storing away

millions of impressions, pleasures and pains, charging with power the wellspring from which surges the creative flow, as impossible to stem, once it begins, as it sometimes is to free.

No little of her literary difficulties during those early years came from the fact that, as a newspaperwoman, she had been trained to produce words with a purpose—in this case money badly needed to finance the operation of the grove. Like many another writer, she soon discovered that urgency of need can in itself hamper creative effort. But flow it did, nevertheless, first with a short story called “Cracker Chidlings” and later the delightful *Jacob's Ladder*, bringing her to the attention of Maxwell Perkins, chief editor at Scribner's and mentor of Thomas Wolfe and F. Scott Fitzgerald, among others.

Rarely has the intensely personal relationship between writer and a great editor been portrayed as understandingly as in *Frontier Eden*. In Max Perkins Marjorie Kinnan Rawlings found the courage she needed to free her literary soul from the needs of the physical body — as much as any writer is ever able to do. Much of this book, and its finest part, tells how this was done, and the agony of seeking for the right characters, the right theme—the right background was ever on her doorstep in the Ocala Scrub. Nowhere, either, is the evolution of a major literary work recounted more clearly than in the story of *The Yearling*.

First suggested by Maxwell Perkins in 1933, while Marjorie was in travail with perhaps her poorest book, *Golden Apples*, what later became *The Yearling* was initially planned as a childrens' story. While evolving into its finished form as a gem of literary art over the next five years, it was cut, shaped, and polished again and again in the writing with the invaluable help of probably the greatest editor America has ever produced, Maxwell Perkins.

Although she was already an established literary figure, *The Yearling* zoomed its author into the rarefied atmosphere of financial best-sellerdom, a land where few real literary artists ever set foot. As so often happens, however, success brought little real happiness, beyond the satisfaction of having created a near-masterpiece. It is in the portrayal of these latter years that Professor Bigelow exhibits to the highest degree his rare talent as a literary biographer. Artist and person were by then inextricably interwoven, and he wisely makes no attempt to separate them.

Rather he shows them as facets of the same individual, an exceedingly difficult accomplishment, as anyone who has written biography can attest.

Frontier Eden is indeed a fine book, a perceptive and understanding book about an exceedingly complex individual. Painted with two brushes, one for the artist and one for the art, it nevertheless creates a portrait of the subject in which the reader can see both clearly without being able to tell exactly where one begins and the other leaves off—perhaps the ultimate test of a fine biography.

FRANK G. SLAUGHTER

Jacksonville, Florida

The Battle of Pensacola, March 9 to May 8, 1781; Spain's Final Triumph Over Great Britain in the Gulf of Mexico. By N. Orwin Rush. (Tallahassee: Florida State University, 1966. xii, 158 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.00.)

N. Orwin Rush has produced a book which will delight those readers who are interested in the history of the American Revolution. He has portrayed the opposing generals, Bernardo de Galvez and John Campbell, and he has included and edited not only Galvez's diary of the battle but also three reports Campbell made of the battle for Sir Henry Clinton.

The last chapter is a valuable section of the book. It contains twenty-six reproductions of maps, plans, and drawings which tell the story of the siege and fall of Pensacola. The first seven portray the action which took place during the sixty-one-day siege. They were drawn by Alego Berlinguero de la Marca (1753-1810), a teacher of mathematics and drawing and a first-class pilot. He was with Galvez both at Mobile and Pensacola. The originals of the de la Marca drawings are in the Museo Naval in Madrid. The next five sketches are from the British Headquarters Papers (Clinton Papers) in the University of Michigan Library; they were drawn by Henry Heldring, a German who was Campbell's engineer. Following these are two more maps from the Michigan Library (Crown Collection), four from Biblioteca Central Militar

in Madrid, and eight additional Spanish and English maps (three are in the Archivo General de Indias; three in the Biblioteca Nacional, Madrid; one is in the William Clements Library, University of Michigan; and one is in the British Museum).

The author says in his preface: "This volume is being published as a chapter in the heretofore untold story of a very important battle of the American Revolution; a battle which may have been the turning point in the war. . . ." He concludes the statement with a clause which disturbs the reviewer. It cannot be overlooked because it is emphasized on the cover and is repeated in a slightly different form on page sixteen. It states: . . . a battle which was fought entirely by soldiers and sailors none of whom wore an American uniform."

What does the statement mean? Does it imply that everyone who had a part in the battle wore a uniform and that no Americans were involved? The Indian allies of both sides, Louisianians who came with Galvez, the 2,200 recruits from New Orleans and Mobile who arrived on March 22 and 23, and residents of Pensacola who helped man the defenses probably did not wear uniforms. All these were Americans, as were the Venezuelan Francisco de Miranda and others like him who came from south of the Tropic of Cancer. What uniforms would represent these Americans in 1781?

The author lets his provincialism show in another statement repeated on the cover and found on page two: "After 1763 there were only two great empires in the New World—the British and the Spanish." The Portuguese had a considerable empire in Brazil.

JANE DE GRUMMOND

Louisiana State University

Eternal Spring: Man's 10,000 Years of History at Florida's Silver Springs. By Richard A. Martin. (St. Petersburg, Florida: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, 1966. 264 pp. Foreword, introduction, illustrations, appendix, bibliography. \$4.95, paperback \$1.95.)

As its title would suggest, this volume tells the story of one of Florida's great tourist attractions. For convenience it may be

divided into three sections. First, the author places the Springs in their geological and historical settings; second, the story of the Springs as a tourist mecca is told; and finally, a guide for visiting the Springs and their related attractions is given along with chapters on the land and aquatic plants and the more than thirty species of fish to be found there. Originally entitled *A Teacher's Guide to Silver Springs*, this book was part of an educational kit distributed to classroom teachers. The author has revised the guide to appeal to a more general audience, though the original footnotes and work sections are retained in an appendix.

The geological information and the Indian history can be found in many works and, unfortunately, many of the events which the author mentions in the early history of the state have only a tenuous and sketchy relationship to the Springs, but the section of the book which deals with tourism is most valuable and interesting for the historian.

Perhaps Silver Springs' first visitor of note was Lady Amelia Murray, a lady-in-waiting to Queen Victoria, who arrived in 1855. Lady Amelia found ¹ the Springs beautiful, but she left "in a huff . . . shocked at the primitive accommodations." In fact, the seventy mile overland carriage ride from Palatka made all the early visitors determined tourists. It was not until after the Civil War that Hubbard L. Hart's steamboat line down the Ocklawaha and Silver rivers opened the Springs to great numbers of visitors. Harriet Beecher Stowe, William Cullen Bryant, Sidney Lanier, President Grant, and other poets, authors, and world-travelers found their way to the Springs, but with the passing of the steamboat era, the fame of the Springs dwindled. The disastrous freeze of the winter of 1894-95 wrecked havoc with Florida's citrus crops and also her reputation as "Summerland in Wintertime." To add to the problem, the hotel which had been constructed at the Springs burned shortly after the freeze. As a major tourist attraction Silver Springs seemed doomed.

In 1909 C. (Ed) Carmichael purchased eighty acres around the Springs and made improvements, but for some reason the tourists did not respond. In 1924 W. M. Davidson and W. C. Ray, Sr. leased the Springs and began the large scale promotion that was to make them world renowned. When they acquired the property 11,000 visitors were arriving each year; in 1950 the

number had climbed to 800,000. During their years of management new facilities were constructed; new attractions, such as Ross Allen's Reptile Institute, were added; and increased fame was gained as a result of the many motion pictures made there. In 1962 the American Broadcasting Company acquired the management of the Springs. This company took the lead in promoting Florida tourism and established a new educational division which set as its goal acquainting "Florida children with their natural and historical heritage."

As would be expected, the author's presentation of Silver Springs' development as a tourist attraction is not the detached and critical treatment an historian would like, but considering the purpose of the volume as promotional literature and as a guidebook, it must be said that he has done an excellent job. It is unfortunate that the section on tourism is so brief. Certainly this book points up the need for a serious history of Florida's leading industry.

DONALD W. CURL

Florida Atlantic University

The Wonderful Life of Angelo Massari: An Autobiography.
Translated by Arthur D. Massolo. (New York: Exposition Press, 1965. 317 pp. Introduction, illustrations, epilogue. \$5.00.)

Lurking in the back of everyone's mind is the thought that some day he shall write an autobiography. Angelo Massari, unschooled Sicilian immigrant youth, cigar maker, importer, and finally banker is by his own description a positivist. Putting this thought into action upon his retirement, he explains that it was: in order to keep my mind busy and to kill the time." What emerges is an enlightening and unusual saga. It begins in 1902 with a peasant lad in Italy and shows by vignettes his progress to prominence and wealth in Tampa, Florida. An individualist and a "loner," Massari made a success as a cigar maker within the first year after his arrival in Ybor City. This was no mean feat. Moreover, he took advantage of his associations with the factory workers to learn Spanish, and he improved his education

by listening to the readers provided to entertain the cigar makers while they rolled cigars.

Although making good money in the factory, Massari was not satisfied. He tried his hand at building small houses and then as a retail merchant, but it was when he entered the wholesale grocery field that his business talents came to the fore. He conceived the profitable idea of importing directly from Italy the spaghetti and tomato sauce so popular among his compatriots. This led him into other ventures, such as shipping.

In 1911 Massari bought his first automobile at a time when there were "no more than a dozen automobiles in Tampa." His purchase was typical of his life. While the car was practical in his business, it also set him apart from his friends and competitors. This ability to stay apart, to be his own man, seemed to be characteristic and stood him in good stead throughout his life.

As a banker Massari deserves respect. He formed his International Bank of Tampa with little or no assistance, if not the actual antipathy of the other bankers. His bank withstood financial panic, the Wall Street crash, and the Roosevelt bank moratorium when others went under. In addition, Massari was smart enough to avoid the entanglements of the Florida real estate boom.

Massari's comments throughout the book constitute a treasure house of homely philosophy. This product of successful living and wide reading is worth heeding by one and all. Truly the life of Angelo Massari was a wonderful one.

O. Z. TYLER

Jacksonville, Florida

Spain in America. By Charles Gibson. (New York: Harper and Row, 1966. xiv, 239 pp. Introduction, preface, epilogue, bibliography, index, maps, illustrations. \$6.95, paperback \$1.95.)

When E. G. Bourne's *Spain in America* was published in 1904 in the first American Nation Series, the study of Latin American history in this country was in its infancy. Much progress has been made in the past half-century, as Charles Gibson's present work makes evident.

The approach is topical, beginning with a discussion of the Columbus voyages, the Vespucci enigma, the division of the unknown world into Spanish and Portuguese spheres, and the gradual development of geographical knowledge of the New World over the next three centuries. Other chapters are on the Conquest, the Encomienda, the Church, the State, the Established Colony, Spaniards and Indians, Imperial Readjustments, and the Borderlands. The book is a synthesis of scholarly research on these aspects of the colonial era by one of the most distinguished colonialists of this generation.

The conquest, Gibson writes, "reveals more graphically than any other activity of Spain in America those peculiar Hispanic traits that fascinate and puzzle the outside world. In conquest Spaniards demonstrated an almost superhuman determination to overcome obstacles and a supreme indifference to difficulties. Spanish fatalism, the obsession with death, and the mockery of life recur under ever-changing patterns. Combinations of lust and sentimentality, of honorable and base conduct, of altruism and selfishness occur and reoccur. The Spaniard appears as a man of epic qualities who descends to the depths of inhumanity. Valiant, cruel, indefatigable, ferocious, courageous, and villainous -Spanish character alternates among extremes and displays that 'coexistence of contrary tendencies' for which it is so celebrated."

With regard to the encomienda system, in which Indians were "commended" to the care of individual Spaniards, the laws were specific. What was lacking was a means of enforcement. Probably no other imperial power debated and agonized as much as the Spaniards over the justness of their conquest and of the treatment of the conquered. The rapid decline of native populations was puzzling and frustrating. Father Las Casas blamed it on the economienda and sought in vain to have it abolished. The continued decline in the number of Indians eventually accomplished what Las Casas failed to achieve.

The role of the church is discussed, beginning with the zealous missionary activity of the early sixteenth century and including the competition between the secular clergy and the regular orders. Its increasing wealth enabled the church to become the principal money-lender and the foremost landholding body, a situation which led to bitter criticism. "With respect to the wealth

of the church, everyone recognizes that a spiritual institution must have a practical economic base: but the extent of this base in colonial Spanish America raises questions of limit, and again the problem is one of the reasonable role of a religious institution in society."

On interpretations of Spanish-Indian relations, Gibson writes: "The Black Legend states that Spaniards slaughtered thousands of Indians and subjected the remainder to exploitive forced labor. The White Legend states that Spaniards brought Christianity to the Indians, eliminated human sacrifice and cannibalism from their society, and offered them draft animals, plows, and other material benefits. Thus both legends are accurate. But neither gives the whole truth." He points out that the most durable method for inducing the Indians to work was debt peonage, which became important in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries as haciendas replaced *ecomiendas* as the symbol of wealth, and as the number of available Indians declined.

The final chapter is on the borderlands, the area of cultural interaction as well as international rivalry. It was also where missionary activity continued and where the presidio or frontier garrison was a prominent feature. Together the mission and the presidio defended the far-flung frontiers at little expense to Spain. The men who held on to these isolated, comfortless outposts were largely responsible for the fact that in three centuries Spain lost little territory to her European rivals.

DONALD E. WORCESTER

Texas Christian University

The French in the Mississippi Valley. Edited by John Francis McDermott. (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1965. xii, 247 pp. Foreword, maps, illustrations, index. \$6.75.)

Since discovery and colonization, the Mississippi River Valley has become a lucrative commercial area. In the colonial period it ultimately provided a focal point for the tri-state struggle of England, France, and Spain. Spanish *conquistadores* appeared in America and the Mississippi Valley a century before the other European nations competed for colonies in the New World.

Spain, however, could not hope to control all of the unconquered Americas. Inevitably, France and Great Britain invaded the vast northern lands which lay on the periphery of Meso-America away from the magnificent Aztec civilization and the mines of silver. Thereafter, the Spanish empire in the Indies solidified and centralized colonial power below the borders of the Gulf of Mexico.

The Spanish position on the Gulf Coast and in the Mississippi Valley was only protected by military outposts and mission-village settlements. French colonists therefore moved into these regions without significant opposition. The French colonization of Louisiana and the Mississippi Valley commenced in the late seventeenth century and continued in the eighteenth century until the Seven Years War. After the Treaty of 1763, France reluctantly surrendered Illinois and Louisiana by international cession and sale. One hundred years of French influence, however, profoundly affected the Mississippi Valley and such colonial settlements as Mobile and New Orleans. Although a number of antiquated and current histories have eulogized the French contribution to American colonization, this new anthology certainly offers adequate testimony to support Francophile chauvinism.

The French in the Mississippi Valley is an interdisciplinary study of potpourri dimensions. But its ingredients seem to be scholarly and substantial as well as delectable. A total of fourteen articles and papers by many well-known scholars in Mississippi Valley studies is included in this interesting collection. Typically, these articles present truly perceptive and provocative analyses of the French milieu along the Mississippi. Several of the papers are of special interest. John Francis McDermott's study of the founding of St. Louis and Jack D. L. Holmes' biographic account of French engineers in Spanish Louisiana are especially worthy of mention as colonial works. Similarly, Pierre H. Boulle has written a soundly researched study of French reactions to the Louisiana Revolution of 1768. "The Houses of French St. Louis" by Charles E. Peterson also appears as an assessment of the architectural characteristics of the old river-city. Mr. Peterson's paper is replete with superb pictures and diagrams. Finally, Joseph Ewan's "French Naturalists in the Mississippi Valley" offers a memorable frontier portrait of the natural scientists in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Only two articles seem to be inappropriate selections in *The French in the Missis-*

sippi Valley. One is a useless story of early St. Louis families from the French West Indies prepared in the typical pseudo-historical mode of the fashionable genealogist. The other article of dubious value presents a pedestrian biographical history of an eighteenth-century priest, Pierre Gibault, in the Illinois Country. McDermott's Mississippi Valley anthology therefore suggests the advantages and obvious virtues of interdisciplinary research and writing.

ROBERT L. GOLD

Southern Illinois University

The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775. By Louis De Vorsey, Jr. (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1966. xii, 267 pp. Introduction, maps, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This is a study in historical geography done originally at the University of London. It is certainly the most complete study on its topic which has been done to date, more geographically oriented than historically.

The book opens with a brief survey of southern Indian economy and concepts of land ownership and use. The origin of the idea of an Indian boundary line is more fully treated, and it is shown that the Board of Trade had suggested a boundary before Pontiac's Rebellion made its expediency obvious. It is emphasized that the Proclamation Line was never set nor static. It did not go to the headwaters of streams falling into the Atlantic if the land had not been ceded by Indians this far west. It was constantly being altered through negotiations and survey.

Unfortunately for the historian, in this reviewer's viewpoint, the boundary discussion begins with the Virginia boundary and progresses south to the West Florida boundary. Often the boundary being discussed may depend upon a portion which is geographically to the south and which has not yet been discussed. This makes for confusion. For all sections of the boundary line, pre-1763 background is given. From Virginia to Georgia, the farther south the treatment comes, the farther back chronologically the background goes. For the Floridas, however, little Spanish background is given.

While the meat of the book is the tracing in considerable detail all the negotiations about the boundary line from 1763

through 1775, to do this in a review would be tedious and too lengthy. This is not to imply that a very thorough job has not been done by the author, but to say that the material does not lend itself to easy summarization.

Perhaps the most obvious point about these negotiations and surveys is that the colonials were continually trying to push the Indian boundary line as far west as possible. Colonials always tried to secure all lands upon which whites were settled, whether the settlements were legal or not. A point of surprise to this reviewer was the apparent ease with which the governors and superintendent were able to convince the Indians that the boundary line should be pushed further west. In every colony except the Floridas, the whites came nearer to getting what they wanted than the Indians or the officials at Whitehall. A point worthy of note is the time lag which elapsed between the issuance of the Proclamation of 1763 and the actual negotiation and survey of the boundary line. Five years lapse was common before a survey was completed.

Throughout the study, the inadequacy of previously published accounts and maps is pointed out. At the same time a goodly number of maps are included, eighteenth century and modern, to delineate the boundary line. It seems unfortunate that in his concern for geographical accuracy, the author has not constructed maps easier to understand. This refers especially to the strip maps which show the actual boundary line. The two final maps showing the entire Southern Indian Department and the Indian boundary do admirably what some of the more detailed earlier maps do not.

Finally a word about sources. This study was done in London and depends almost entirely upon the Public Record Office and the British Museum for manuscripts and manuscript maps. Historically, it would have been improved by researches in American archives of the southern states and such collections as the Draper Manuscripts at the Wisconsin Historical Society. Besides being the most complete study of the Indian boundary line and its movements, the book is an excellent bibliographic survey of maps in British Archives for the late colonial South. It should prove useful to historians interested in the area and period.

KENNETH COLEMAN

University of Georgia

Gayoso: The Life of a Spanish Governor in the Mississippi Valley, 1789-1799. By Jack D. L. Holmes. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. x, 305 pp. Illustration, preface, appendix, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

This bibliographical study of Manuel Gayoso de Lemos, governor of the Natchez District from 1789 to 1797, fills a chink in the frontier history of the Old Southwest. Gayoso was one of the talented late eighteenth-century administrators whose devoted service makes this era notable in Spain's colonial history. Following his eight years' term developing the Natchez District, he served in New Orleans as governor-general of Louisiana and West Florida until his death in 1799. For some years, scholars have marked Gayoso as an outstanding figure, but the details of his regime and his personal history have not previously been the subject of special research.

The term "Natchez District" refers to an area in the province of West Florida south of the Yazoo River, extending east of the Mississippi River to vague boundary in Indian territory. Although originally French, the area was under British rule between the two Treaties of Paris in 1763 and 1783, and in 1797 it became part of the expanding American nation by terms of the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795. Gayoso's fluency in French and English, his cosmopolitan outlook, and his genial nature made him admirably suited to a command on the Mississippi River frontier. His training included education in England; in Natchez he married into the locally prominent Watts family. The staff at his Spanish outpost included an elderly jailor inherited from the French regime and an American aide, Stephen Minor, who had fought with Bernardo de Galvez' victorious Spanish army in British West Florida between 1779 and 1781.

The constructive program launched by Gayoso touched all aspects of life in the area. He laid out the town of Natchez, which by 1791 was a community of thirty houses. American immigration into the district brought rapid population growth. The population, estimated at 1,619 in 1784, had increased to 5,318 white and colored inhabitants by 1796. When Gayoso arrived in Natchez, tobacco was the most important cash crop, but the problems of marketing in accordance with the famous

Spanish trade restrictions brought persistent memorials from the planters to the Crown. Gayoso encouraged diversification of agriculture and cattle raising. Cattle brands were registered, and the quality of stock improved with the introduction of new strains from Texas. Cotton production, which was small in 1792, assumed a major role in the economy by 1795. Gayoso also promoted horseraising, and inaugurated a race track. His skill in the important matter of Indian diplomacy is attested by two treaties with the neighboring Chickasaw and Choctaw tribes who ceded land to the Spaniards for military posts.

In the exhaustive research for this volume, the author has consulted archives, libraries, and family records in the United States, Spain, Portugal, Cuba, and Mexico. A useful bibliography of manuscripts is included, but a general bibliography of numerous sources cited in footnotes is regrettably missing. The general reader will appreciate the vivid literary style, but may be puzzled occasionally by obscure allusions to other major historic events which are not adequately identified. If the peripheral territory remains obscure, it is probably because the spotlight focuses intentionally on Gayoso and his immediate surroundings. On the whole, Holmes' study is a welcome addition to the literature of the Spanish-American frontier. The field is almost ready for a new synthesis incorporating material written since Arthur P. Whitaker's definitive work published in 1927.

HELEN HORNBECK TANNER

The University of Michigan

Religious Strife on the Southern Frontier. By Walter Brownlow Posey. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. x, 12 pp. Introduction. \$4.00.)

In these interestingly written lectures, Professor Posey discusses in three chapters the "strife" of "Protestants Against Protestants," "Protestants Against a New Sect" (the Disciples of Christ), and "Protestants Against Catholics." Because of the preponderance of religious studies on the North for this period between the Revolution and the Civil War, the author's focus here and in previous studies by him on the "Southern Frontier" is particularly welcome.

Though the author approaches the subject indirectly—through its results in strife—the book must be evaluated as a study of one of the most important characteristics of that time, the rise of American denominationalism. This was a part of the great cultural question of the day—what is the ideal of the human community, whether in state, business, or church? The author seems to approach the problem from an exclusively twentieth-century viewpoint, rather than judging the church by the limited contractual views of society which then prevailed. We read in the Introduction that “interdenominational relations . . . often displayed an unchristian sentiment.” Thus the case is prejudged by twentieth-century norms, rather than being investigated to discover what religious people of that era thought were the Christian norms for structuring and conducting the church. We read also that denominational “distinctive features, obviously insignificant as they might be with respect to eternal truths, were stressed as means of saving grace.” This is “obvious” enough to us, but it is exactly what was not obvious to men of that era. A much larger weight of differentiating confessional heritage was still vital to them, even though revivalism and rationalism were in process of leveling it down. The author states that James Madison “firmly believed that a multiplicity of sects would be the best means of securing and preserving religious liberties for Americans.” Here we have an authentic voice of the period, and its norm is division and multiplicity, affording the maximum of checks and balances.

Where the book avoids imposing twentieth-century norms uncritically on nineteenth-century material, it offers helpful suggestions for an inductive study of the nature of the church implied by the events and discussions in that era. The author reminds us that this was a time of new structuring, for the colonial churches had been “ineffectively organized.” Geographical and cultural differences encouraged denominational diversifications. There were pressures in some areas for lay leadership and theological simplification. The need for occupying new territories created strong pragmatic tendencies.

Along with the powerful forces of the time making for differentiation and strife among the churches, the author notes forces making for cooperation and greater unity. He finds these centripetal tendencies largely restricted to times of crisis—wars, re-

vivals, and plagues. Interestingly, he sees the increased sectionalism of the 1840s and 1850s contributing to greater Christian unity. The frontier, revivalism, and the voluntary societies all receive treatment. The last chapter on "Protestants Against Catholics" admirably brings out both sides of the case in a way that has too seldom been done. The book is an interesting and suggestive study.

LEFFERTS A. LOETSCHER

Princeton Theological Seminary

Disinherited: The Lost Birthright of the American Indian. By Dale Van Every. (New York: William Morrow and Company, 1966. 279 pp. Maps, bibliography, index. \$6.00.)

The study of breathtaking deceit and slow execution practiced upon one race by another makes sober reading, particularly when one is reading not of Nazi Germany but a volume dealing with American history. Though it goes much against good American grain, one comes to the conclusion not only that "it can happen here," but that it *has* happened here. Mr. Van Every has detailed chapter and verse of the destruction of all but a remnant of the eastern American Indian, and he has played a clinical historical light on the deeds of both Andrew Jackson, who, in another time and place, seemingly could have ordered the troops to herd Jews aboard a train bound for Belsen, and the frontiersman who could set a torch to an Indian village with all the elan of a storm-trooper.

Mr. Van Every has given us the background of both sides in the terrible but unequal struggle that led to the Removal Act of 1830 and detailed the ever weakening resistance of those red men who finally followed the Trail of Tears to the western plains. And it comes as a shock to discover that we are not reading here of the usually small numbers involved in most historical events of the nineteenth century and before. Herded along the road from the eastern seaboard to the plains came some 30,000 men, women, and children, harried and preyed upon by the great majority of the white people who lined the gauntlet, and the graves of at least 5,000 were lost in the footsteps of those who followed.

With equal honesty the author has documented the good guys and the bad; those men, red and white, high and low, who perpetrated unconscionable deeds as well as those who, though defeated, had been true and loyal.

Technically, one meets perhaps a dozen sentences in *Disinherited* where improved syntax would have added clarity, but these are trip-wires rather than stumbling blocks in a work that will remain important on "The Lost Birthright of the American Indian." Certainly the conflict of races dealt with here is an especially worthwhile current study for the thoughtful reader who will see amazing parallels with the extremists, the bigots, and the quiet workers for reason of both races who occupy the lands of the American Indian today, which is to say de whole of these United States. And the lessons of these struggles of the past to which we yet have found no final answers may be put again to our united races within the life span of men now living when we make contact with a race beyond the stars.

FRANK LAUMER

Dade City, Florida

Ironmaker to the Confederacy: Joseph R. Anderson and the Tredegar Iron Works. By Charles B. Dew. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1966. xiv, 345 pp. Preface, illustrations, tables, figures, appendix, bibliographical essay, index. \$10.00.)

Mr. Dew has made a valuable contribution, not only to our knowledge of the Confederacy, but also to a better understanding of the problems of using slave labor in industry. In a scholarly fashion he has explored a rich mine of source material and has gone considerably ahead of the good study of Kathleen Bruce, *Virginia Iron Manufacture in the Slave Era*. He has discovered the interesting fact that after the proprietor, Joseph Reid Anderson, suppressed the famous strike of the white mechanics in 1847 and had trained and successfully used Negro labor in the skilled processes of the iron industry, there occurred a marked decline by the end of the 1850s in the proportion of slaves employed within the total labor force. Such a decline does not seem to have been

primarily due to the inefficiency of Negro workers but rather to the sharp increase in the hiring prices of slaves. Dew's study throws much light on the growing practice in the Old South of hiring slaves. He shows that the incentive system to encourage the efficiency and production of the hired slaves worked very well in the Tredegar Iron Works, as it did on many of the plantations of the pre-war South. One of the most significant conclusions of the author is, that although the use of slaves in the Tredegar Works after they were trained, cut production costs by twelve per cent, nevertheless, Tredegar's cost of labor in producing manufactured iron was far more expensive than the cost of free labor in northern rolling mills and was three times more expensive than such labor in the European iron industry. This situation occurred despite the fact that Joseph Reid Anderson was a manager of great ability. The Negro slaves that were employed in the Virginia iron industry were able to develop the skill, were willing, even eager, to learn, and had the capacity to become successful workers in southern industry. The apparent failure in the Tredegar experiment in peace time conditions seems to have been owing to the psychological effects of slavery both on the Negroes and on the southern whites.

Under the stress of war and the consequent great shortage of labor, the Tredegar Works employed increasing numbers of hired slaves, and Mr. Dew has shown how important the slaves were to the Confederate war efforts. After the war, under the free labor system, Tredegar continued to employ a large number of Negro hands, consisting of nearly one-half of the labor force. During the war the company tended to placate their Negro workers by a more relaxed discipline and greater rewards (and this liberality seems to have been practiced on the plantations also). This study of the operations of the greatest iron company in the Confederacy extends far beyond the confines of a particular private enterprise and illuminates many aspects of life in the Confederacy, especially the operation of conscription, labor details, the blockade, ordnance, government aid to private industry, inflation, and the morale of the southern people.

CLEMENT EATON

University of Kentucky

The Southern States Since the War: 1870-71. By Robert Somers. Introduction and index by Malcolm C. McMillan. (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1965. xxi, 293 pp. Introduction, preface, map, index. \$5.95.)

Robert Somers, well-known British journalist, came to this country in 1870 to study firsthand the social, economic, and political effects of the Civil War on the South. *The Southern States Since the War, 1870-71* is a journal of Somers's travels through these devastated states.

The author began his journey in Washington after a pilgrimage to Mount Vernon in late October 1870. In the course of five months he visited Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, Tennessee, Mississippi, Alabama, and Louisiana, and collected much vital information through the use of personal interviews, census returns, political documents, and reliable articles and reports on economic and agricultural developments. It is unfortunate that this shrewd and observant Scot did not visit Florida also, for he might have thrown a dispassionate light on the chaotic affairs of the state during the controversial administration of its first Republican governor, Harrison Reed.

Although the book contains some minor errors, these are mistakes that might easily be made by a foreigner taking his maiden trip to the South. The book is a primary source of substantially accurate information and as such is of great value to historians of the Reconstruction Era. The "revisionists" will be especially interested in Somers's material on railroad travel, industrial and agricultural development, and the state of the newly-freed Negroes. The author's jottings are pertinent and fair and should be of interest to the general reader as well as the historian.

We are indebted to Professor Malcolm McMillan, Research Professor of History at Auburn University, for this reissue of Somers's travels. His scholarly introduction, and detailed index add to the value of the original work which has been out of print for many years. The McMillan edition is a happy contribution to the literature of Southern Reconstruction history.

JOSEPH D. CUSHMAN, JR.

Florida State University

Southerner. By Charles Longstreet Weltner. (Philadelphia: J. B. Lippincott Company, 1966. 188 pp. \$3.95.)

Charles Longstreet Weltner has divided this small but provocative volume into three parts. In the first he sketches his Georgia boyhood, student days at Oglethorpe and Columbia University Law School (from which he graduated at twenty-two), and his first years as an attorney in Atlanta. Included also is the account of his increasing interest in politics, his election and reelection to Congress, and his inner struggles as he tried to harmonize southern tradition which he respected, with "change, swift and certain" which he realized must come. This is not an egotistical, self-righteous defense, nor is it political propaganda. It is too forthright, soul-searching, and uninhibited to conceal political motives. Rather it is as sincere and outspoken as the author has always been, the man who dared to break with Georgia political tradition.

The second part of *Southerner* traces the Negro as an issue in United States history since 1619 when the first Negroes were brought to Jamestown, until the passage of the Voting Rights Act of 1965. The historian may question some of the author's statements and interpretations, including his mention of the first Negroes being slaves. Recent research has indicated that they probably were indentured servants, yet slavery did develop in Virginia by the mid-seventeenth century. The revisionists will not agree with all he says about the failures of reconstruction, but he is correct in stating that the race problem was not solved in this period and was repeatedly postponed by later generations. Weltner's analysis and explanation of Southerners' reactions should meet with no opposition from the historian.

In the last section of the book Weltner makes a common-sense appeal for the South to view its problems logically and realistically. Recognizing that the area has always resented outside criticism, the author reminds Southerners that this can be expected unless they move ahead voluntarily. Being a good Southerner and a Democrat, he supports the inevitability of change by quoting Thomas Jefferson: "Nothing is unchangeable but the inherent and unalienable rights of man." He traces the innumerable lost causes for which the South has fought and states that the time

has come for the region to win its battles, but to win it must fight for positive, not negative objectives—the elimination of “all disparities in education, income, public services, health standards, and economic opportunities.” Because poverty is the major impediment to progress and “the South is poor because the Negro is poor,” something must be done for this group which composes one-fifth of the population. But revised thinking on other economic matters is also essential. He suggests the road to be taken if a three party system is to be avoided, for he predicts that since Southern Democrats will not be at home in the national party, there will emerge Democrats, Republicans, and Southern Republicans. This will only injure the South’s standing in the nation. Weltner reminds the reader that “southern moderates are not necessarily advocates of civil rights legislation, or sweeping changes in social patterns. They are simply Southerners who do not make race-baiting a way of life.”

Congressman Weltner wrote this book “to demonstrate practical opportunity” for the South. Its province, he says, is politics, history, and economics, not ethics, ideals, and morals. He is, however, a practical person who has ideals, a sense of ethics, and high moral standards. A sensitive and sensible pragmatist who loves the South and its people, he recognizes all too well the problems and agony in the situation. While this is a serious treatise, Weltner’s sense of humor shines through and nowhere better than when laughing at himself.

MARY ELIZABETH MASSEY

Winthrop College

Diamond Anniversary Faculty Essays. Edited by Charles V. Smith, James Hudson, and Charles J. Stanley, Jr. (Tallahassee: Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, 1962. 117 pp. Foreword.)

An important aspect of the celebration of the Diamond Anniversary of the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University was a symposium that was provided by fourteen members of the faculty. The general theme of the celebration which continued throughout the year, 1962, was: “FAMU: Illustrious Past-Challenging Future.”

Each participating faculty member contributed an essay on a subject of his own choosing in accordance with interests in his field of scholarship. The essays published in 1966, represent considerable variety as to subject matter, style, and scope of treatment. Taken as a whole, they provide the reader with some indication as to the personalities who comprise the faculty at the University.

The symposium consists of thirteen essays following an introduction by way of overview by Professor Charles J. Stanley, Jr. The essays seem to fall roughly into four groups. Three essays provide brief historical treatment and interpretation of some distinguishing aspects of the early land-grant college as represented in the departments of agriculture, home economics, and vocational-technical education. A second group of essays deal with aspects of the improvement of teaching. One of these essays provides special emphasis on the improvement of teaching at the college level. It cites evidences of need for such improvement and draws freely from educational literature for specific suggestions.

The remaining essays deal with various aspects of social change and their implications for the future development of the university. One gives consideration to current trends in social change, including population projections and the imbalances that appear in various areas of our society. Another deals with the subject of human values in relation to our teaching of the humanities in college. The final essay of this group presents a critical discussion of the systems of justification that relate to "natural rights, organicism, and utilitarianism."

The nature of treatment in the essays varies as much as does the subject matter that is presented. Throughout the series, however, there runs a common thread that reflects the interest of the Florida A and M faculty whose members are willing and able to appreciate the developments of the past seventy-five years in the University, and to project their concepts of possible developments in the years that lie ahead.

DOAK S. CAMPBELL

Florida State University

On Teaching History in Colleges and Universities. By Earl R. Beck. (Tallahassee: Florida State University Studies, 1966. xiii, 157 pp. Preface, appendix, index. \$5.50.)

From the richness of his own experience and observation Dr. Beck of Florida State University gives us, briefly, his definition of history, the usefulness of a study of history, advice to the college youth who is planning to do graduate work in the field, and the most satisfactory methods of doing research and teaching history. Beck does not reach out for philosophical or psychological subtleties. He works along practical lines, and the most of his "suggested readings," given at the end of nearly every chapter, are more practical than theoretical.

The lecture method of teaching can be useful and interesting to students and teachers, according to Professor Beck; but a proper class discussion "presents a better teaching vehicle." The lecture serves best to introduce an area of study, to bring out "analysis," "interpretation," "causes," "consequences," and "the significance of historical developments." The lecture must be designed to meet the needs of the particular students who will hear it; and the lecturer should make a serious effort to discover these needs. This is so important, the author holds, that the professor should obtain biographical data and photographs from every student.

Beck suggests methods of getting the most benefit from class discussions in history. Preparation must be made, but only the broad lines of discussion should be worked out in advance. It is "positively harmful" to make out carefully detailed "lesson plans." Students must be allowed to express themselves freely, not just to ask and answer questions. Means must be found to prevent the discussion from being dominated by a few "aggressive personalities." The instructor must try to "separate fact from fiction" as it comes from the students, and he must try to "expose fuzzy thinking." Yet care must be exercised to avoid "wounding sensitive personalities and killing initiative."

Most history teachers of whatever level, will find that much of the material of this book is familiar. There are few teachers, however, who will not profit from reading it, for it is a sound summary and a happy reminder. Other subjects handled with wit and prudence are teaching the survey course, conducting a gradu-

ate seminar, directing students who are doing research, choosing topics for research, and how to behave toward teachers of other disciplines. Beck deplores the persistent tendency of American historians to specialize, and of professors to urge their students into narrow fields of research, leaving too little room for broad understanding.

GILBERT L. LYCAN

Stetson University

HISTORICAL NEWS

The Annual Meeting

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in Key West, May 5-6, 1967. The site committee has selected the Downtown Motor Inn (La Concha Hotel) for the convention. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami, is program chairman, and announces that Professor Blair Reeves of the University of Florida's Department of Architecture and Fine Arts will be the Saturday luncheon speaker. He will describe the historical architecture of Key West. Former Governor LeRoy Collins is the banquet speaker Saturday evening. This year's winner of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History will be announced at the banquet. The following will read papers at the meeting: Charles W. Arnade, University of South Florida; Donald O. Curl, Florida Atlantic University; Junius E. Dovell, University of Florida; Watt P. Marchman, Rutherford B. Hayes Library, Freemont, Ohio; E. Ashby Hammond, University of Florida; Durward Long, University of Georgia; James W. Covington, University of Tampa; and Martin LaGodna, University of Florida. The board of directors will hold its meeting on Friday evening. Saturday afternoon will be devoted to sightseeing.

Speakers Bureau

At the December 1966 meeting of the Florida Historical Society's board of directors, President William Goza appointed a committee to organize a speakers bureau. Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., was named chairman, and Judge Ben C. Willis and Frank Laumer were appointed to the committee. It is the intention of the committee to compile a list of persons who are qualified to speak on various subjects relating to Florida history and to the Florida Historical Society. These names will be made available to clubs and organizations. Members of the Society who are interested in carrying the message of Florida history are invited to submit their names, the topics upon which they are prepared to speak, the region in which they will speak, and de terms and

conditions (mileage, fees, etc.) upon which invitations to speak will be accepted. This information should be mailed to Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., 352 Little Hall, University of Florida, Gainesville. Organizations which desire speakers may also direct their requests to Dr. Doherty.

Florida Conference of College Teachers of History

The fifth annual meeting of the Florida Conference of College Teachers of History was held at Florida Atlantic University, March 3-4, 1967. At the Friday evening session, Professor Earle Beck of Florida State University discussed "Some Thoughts on the Teaching of History." The Saturday morning session dealt with the teaching of Far Eastern history and Russian history, and Professors Tennyson P. Chang (Florida Presbyterian College), Bawas Singh (Florida State University), Gerald Govorchin (University of Miami) and Chester Handleman (Junior College of Broward County) read papers. The Negro in American history was the theme of the afternoon meeting. Professor Russell D. Stilwell (North Florida Junior College) discussed the Negro from the colonial period to 1865; Professor Milton P. Rooks (St. Petersburg Junior College) was responsible for the period from 1866 to 1908; and Professor Leedell W. Neyland (Florida A. and M. University) spoke on the period 1909 to 1954. Professor August Meier of Roosevelt University, Chicago, delivered the final paper of the afternoon entitled "From Plantation to Ghetto." Professor Meier was also the guest speaker at the noon luncheon and spoke on "Origins of the Civil Rights Revolution." Professor Merlin Cox of the University of Florida presided as president at all the conference sessions.

Professor Samuel A. Portnoy, Florida Atlantic University, was elected president; Duane Koenig, University of Miami, is vice-president; and Russell D. Stilwell, North Florida Junior College, is secretary-treasurer. The 1968 session will meet at the University of Miami.

South Atlantic Historical Societies' Conference

The St. Augustine Historical Restoration and Preservation Commission and the American Association for State and Local

History held its Second Annual Conference of South Atlantic Historical Societies on March 31 and April 1, 1967 in St. Augustine. The session included tours of the Castillo de San Marcos, the restoration area, and the International Center on St. George Street. The conference discussed the following topics: "Interpreting the Urban Historic Site and Problems of Security in the Site Museum," "Effective and Inexpensive Museum Exhibits," "Organizing a Junior Historian Program," "Teaching History Through Film Strips," "Getting Publicity for Your Historical Society," and "Conducting Historical Tours for Your Society." At the Saturday morning session, representatives of the five South Atlantic states involved reported on current programs and activities in their individual states. William M. Goza, president of the Florida Historical Society, reported for Florida. Father Michael V. Gannon, director of St. Augustine's Mission of Nombre de Dios, was also a participant at the conference.

National Library Week

William MacInnes of the Tampa Electric Company was Florida-chairman of National Library Week which was celebrated April 16-22. The executive director was Mrs. Lora C. Hunter, Audio-Visual Librarian at the Clearwater Campus Library of St. Petersburg Junior College. Thirty-one other outstanding leaders in business, industry, education, communication, government, civic, social, and religious organizations took part in the statewide planning efforts. Purposes of the observance were to stimulate interest in reading and the use of libraries and to focus attention on the status and needs of Florida's public and school libraries.

Florida State Library statistics show that one out of every four Floridians have no free public library service. Of the 132 separate library units, only 118 are tax-supported and free to all residents. It was also shown that many Florida school libraries do not meet the minimum state requirements of five books per child; most Florida school libraries do not meet the standard of ten books for each child enrolled in the school.

Activities and Events

The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida has received an additional 379 boxes of the public and

personal papers of United States Senator Spessard L. Holland, including his correspondence, speeches, and drafts of bills that he has introduced into Congress. These will be added to the 229 boxes of papers that the Library had received earlier. The official papers of Congressman Charles Bennett, consisting of fifty-five cartons, and sixty cartons of the letters and papers of Congressman D. R. Billy Matthews have also been given to the P. K. Yonge Library. No restrictions have been placed on these papers by their donors, and, when catalogued, they will be available for historical research.

The Friends of Florida State University Library, Strozier Library, have published a facsimile reprint of Bernardo de Galvez's *Diario de las Operaciones de la Expedicion contra la Plaza de Panzacola Concluida por las Armas de S. M. Catolica, baxo las Ordenes del Mariscal de Campo D. Bernardo de Galvez*. N. Orwin Rush, Director of the Strozier Library, is editor of the reprint which sells for \$8.00.

The *Southern Humanities Review*, sponsored by the Southern Humanities Conference, begins publication in April 1967 at Auburn University. Norman A. Brittin and Eugene Current-Garcia of Auburn are editors of the new journal, which will present "topics of vital concern in all humanistic disciplines." It will welcome to its pages articles and essays, book reviews and creative writing "of high quality within the broad area of art and letters." Ten southern universities are represented in the membership of its editorial board, including professors Weymouth T. Jordan of Florida State University and John E. Tilford, Jr., of Jacksonville University. Single copies will sell for \$1.25; annual subscriptions are \$4.00. Address all communications to the Review, 210 Samford Hall, Auburn University, Auburn, Alabama 36830.

The Civil War Centennial Commission announces the forthcoming publication of *Military Operations of the Civil War: A Guide-Index to the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, 1861-1865*. The five-volume work will be compiled by Dallas Irvine of the National Archives. The first volume will contain a synopsis of the contents of the 127 volumes of documents, a tabulated breakdown of the material by theaters of operations, and a table of contents for each of the chapters in the

various volumes. There will be a complete listing of maps in the *Atlas* accompanying the *Official Records* and of other graphic materials. Principal military operations will be listed by state and date. Volume II will be devoted to Virginia and the Main Eastern Theater; Volume III, the Lower Seaboard Theater and Gulf Approach; Volume IV, the Main Western Theater; and Volume V, the Trans-Mississippi and Pacific Theaters.

The United States Department of State has recently completed microfilming three sets of records which will be of interest to Florida and southern historians: "Letters Received by the Confederate Secretary of the Treasury, 1861-1865" (57 rolls), "Historical Information Relating to Military Posts and Other Installations, ca. 1700-1900" (8 rolls), and "Records of the Southern Superintendency of Indian Affairs, 1832-1870" (22 rolls).

The National Historical Publications Commission recently voted to recommend a grant-in-aid to support the publication of the papers of John C. Fremont sponsored by the University of Illinois Press. The Commission is also supporting publication of James K. Polk's correspondence by Vanderbilt University, Henry Clay's papers by the University of Kentucky, President Ulysses S. Grant's papers by Southern Illinois University, and the correspondence and papers of Jefferson Davis by Rice University. Acting under grants from the Commission, Dartmouth College has established a project to locate and publish the correspondence and writings of Daniel Webster, and the College of William and Mary and the Institute for Early American History and Culture will do the same for John Marshall's papers. Persons with letters or papers relating to any of these projects are asked to contact the departments of history at the various universities which are sponsoring publication.

OBITUARY

David O. True, nationally known authority on the discovery and exploration of North America, died in his Miami home in February 1967. Mr. True, long a member of the Florida Historical Society, moved to South Florida in 1929 and devoted much of his time thereafter to historical research and study. According to his report in the international cartography journal, *Imago Mundi*, John Cabot landed at Cape Florida on his 1497-98 voyage, and named the southern tip of Key Biscayne "Cape of the End of April" and the Miami river "Rio Diego." Through Mr. True's efforts, photocopies of rare early maps were secured for the Library of Congress, the University of Miami Library, and the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. He served on the editorial advisory board of *Tequesta*, the journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida. His edited work, *Memoir of Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda*, was published in 1945.

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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, 33620.

Manuscripts, news, and books for review should be directed to the *Quarterly*, P. O. Box 14045, Gainesville, Florida, 32601. Manuscripts should be accompanied by a stamped self-addressed return envelope. The *Quarterly* takes all reasonable precautions for their safety but cannot guarantee their return if not accompanied by stamped return envelopes. Manuscripts must be type-written, double-spaced, on standard sized white paper, with footnotes numbered consecutively in the text and assembled at the end. Particular attention should be given to following the footnote style of this *Quarterly*; bibliographies will not be published. The Florida Historical Society and editor of this *Quarterly* accept no responsibility for statements made by contributors.



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