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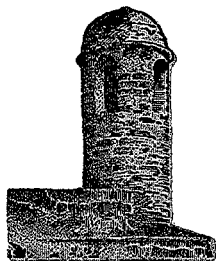
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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what 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.

THE FLORIDA
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BILLY BOWLEGS (HOLATA MICCO) IN THE SEMINOLE WARS

(Part I)

by KENNETH W. PORTER

A STUDY IN RELATIONSHIPS AND IDENTITIES

IF A GROUP OF informed Americans were asked to name a Seminole chief, it is likely that most of them would reply "Osceola." If asked to recall a second Florida Indian, at least a majority of those responding would name "Billy Bowlegs." The second choice would be more accurate, for Osceola was a Seminole only by adoption - being by birth a Red Stick Creek from Georgia or Alabama who came to Florida at about the age of ten. He was not a chief by hereditary right,¹ whereas Billy Bowlegs, to use his common white-man's nickname, was what an army surgeon described as "a *bona fide* Seminole, of old King Payne's tribe."² He even belonged to the Seminole "royal family," and was a member of the so-called "Cowkeeper Dynasty," after the Oconee chief who is known as "Founder of the Seminole Nation."³ Osceola, active and aggressive in the events leading up to the Second Seminole War, was captured in 1837, while the war was still in its second year, and died a prisoner a few months later. Billy Bowlegs, on the other hand, was still triumphantly at large when the war ended in 1842, and he was the recognized chief of those Seminoles still living in Florida. He was also the leader in the Third-and last-Seminole War of 1855-1858, and after his final transfer to the Indian Territory, he fought in the Civil War, this time, however, on the winning side. Two recent historians are accurate,

1. Mark F. Boyd, "Asi-Yoholo or Osceola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (January-April 1955), 252, 255-56.
2. "Letters of Samuel Forry, Surgeon, U. S. Army, 1837-1838," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (January 1928), 137.
3. Kenneth W. Porter, "The Cowkeeper Dynasty of the Seminole Nation," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXX (April 1952), 348-49, and Kenneth W. Porter, "The Founder of the Seminole Nation," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (April 1949), 364-65, 381-84.

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although exceptional in their statement, when they note that Billy Bowlegs was "as able and no less shrewd" than Osceola.⁴

While Billy Bowlegs' name is familiar, nothing definite is known about him prior to 1839. He was then either in his late twenties or early thirties. He has been widely confused with three other prominent Seminoles of this general period, and even the date of his death is controversial. Some authorities assert that the Billy Bowlegs of the Civil War period was not the same as the chief who was a leader in the Florida wars. That Billy Bowlegs, it is claimed, died in 1859. To disentangle these identities is a principal objective of this article.⁵

Billy Bowlegs was born some time between 1808 and 1812. An army officer described him as being thirty-three in 1845; a New Orleans newspaper gave his age as "about forty" in 1849; and a magazine article in 1858 claimed that he was "about fifty."⁶ He belonged to the same generation of young warriors as

4. Porter, "Cowkeeper Dynasty," 348; Alfred J. and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades* (Indianapolis, 1948), 53.
5. A common confusion of Bowlegs' identity, and the one most easily cleared up, is with his kinsman—perhaps uncle—King Bowlegs, Seminole headchief (1813-1818), and from whom Billy probably derived his white-man's name. Main source of this is Thomas L. McKenney and James Hall, *The Indian Tribes of North America*, 3 vols. (Edinburgh, 1933-1934), which, in the writer's opinion, has been more responsible than other works for originating and disseminating historical and biographical errors in regard to American Indians. In Volume II, 8-16, "Halpatter Micco, or Billy Bowlegs," is described as the son of "Secoffer," who is often mistakenly identified with the Cowkeeper (see Porter, "Founder of the Seminole Nation," 364-65, 381-84). This is really a description of King Bowlegs, usually referred to as Cowkeeper's son, although the Seminole matrilineal system makes it more probable that he was Cowkeeper's nephew. The sketch of Billy Bowlegs and the accompanying portrait are apparently modeled after the article, "Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans" in *Harper's Weekly*, II (June 12, 1858), 376-78. For examples of similar confusion, see Samuel Eliot Morison and Henry Steele Commager, *The Growth of the American Republic*, 2 vols. (New York, 1950), I, 449-50, and Carolyn Thomas Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXIII (Winter 1955-1956), 512-15.
6. John T. Sprague, *The Origin, Progress and Conclusion of the Florida War* (New York, 1848), 512. See also facsimile reproduction with an introduction by John K. Mahon (Gainesville, 1964); "Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans," 376-78; *New York Journal of Commerce*, October 8, 1849, quoting *New Orleans Delta*, dated Fort Brooke (Tampa Bay), Florida, September 21, 1849, and cited in C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 520-21. The article by Carolyn Foreman consists of a number of paragraphs on various Indians and Negroes named Bowlegs, without organization or evaluation. Its principal value is quotes from various manuscripts, copies of manuscripts, and

Osceola (b. 1804-1808) and Coacoochee or Wild Cat (b. ca. 1810).

Billy Bowlegs' parentage is even more uncertain than his approximate age. Seminole society was then matrilineal, and inheritance was normally by the son of a maternal sister, or a brother by the same mother, rather than by a son. Some white observers, however, influenced by European patrilineal tradition, frequently assumed that a recognized heir must, *ipso facto*, be the son of the man from whom chieftaincy or property was inherited. Nonetheless, Brigadier General W. J. Worth was probably writing out of a knowledge of the Seminole system when, in 1843, he stated that Billy Bowlegs was the "nephew of Micanopy" - Seminole head-chief, 1818-1849. Also, two years later, Captain John T. Sprague called him "the nephew of Micanopy, Old Bowlegs, and King Payne."⁷ Since Micanopy was generally acknowledged as the nephew of King Payne (*regnat* 1785-1813) and Payne's brother and successor, King Bowlegs (*regnat* 1813-1818), Billy Bowlegs obviously could not have been the nephew *both* of Micanopy and of the latter's uncles, although he could have been Micanopy's nephew and a grand-nephew of Payne and Bowlegs. One Indian scholar claimed to have documentary evidence that Billy Bowlegs' mother was the Buckra Woman, sister of King Payne,⁸ whose town in 1821 was "near Long Swamp, east of Big Hammock."⁹ If so, then Billy Bowlegs, as son of the Buckra Woman, was a nephew of both King Payne and King Bowlegs and a cousin of Micanopy.

Billy Bowlegs' white-man's nickname suggests-since it is

obscure or hard-to-come-by publications in the Grant Foreman Collection, Oklahoma Historical Society, Norman, Oklahoma.

7. Sprague, *Florida War*, 507, 512.
8. Howard Sharp to Kenneth W. Porter, July 8, 1944, in possession of the author; "Billy Bowlegs . . . complained to Agent [John C.] Casey that although his mother got a judgment in the St. Johns County Court for some cattle sold and execution was issued, the execution writ was ineffective." *Buckra Woman v. Philip R. Yonge*, 1827, Inventory of Miscellaneous File of Court Papers, St. Johns County, Florida, 2 vols., Florida Historical Records Survey, Jacksonville, Florida, 1940, No. 199.
9. John R. Swanton, *The Early History of the Creek Indians and Their Neighbors* (Washington, 1922), 407. "Buckra" - sometimes corrupted to "Bucker" - is a West African word meaning "superior." "Buckra Woman" was probably a title conferred on King Payne's sister by her Negro dependents or "slaves." Swanton suggested that "Bucker Woman's Town" was occupied by her Negroes.

known that it had nothing to do with a malformation of his lower limbs—that he had a close connection with King Bowlegs.¹⁰ His sister *may* have been Harriet Bowlegs, whose name is frequently mentioned along with Billy's in connection with claims to Negroes.¹¹ According to John C. Casey, acting Seminole Agent in 1838, Harriet was the "daughter of old King Bowlegs, and grand-daughter of old Cowkeeper." Sprague, who knew Billy Bowlegs well, referred in 1854 to the "many Indian Negroes once owned by himself *and his father*. . . ." ¹² If Billy Bowlegs was King Bowlegs' son he would have been King Payne's nephew, as well as Micanopy's cousin. That Harriet Bowlegs was Billy's sister is only a possibility; she may have been any other close female relative—mother, aunt, or cousin. Harriet Bowlegs had at least one sister, "Sanathaih-Kee," who died in 1837. There is also the possibility that King Bowlegs was Harriet's uncle, rather than her father.

Another set of relationships also attaches Billy Bowlegs to members of the Seminole "royal family." In 1850, "Eliza or Kith-lai-tsee," who laid claim to property belonging both to Holatoochee, who has been variously described as Micanopy's nephew and as his brother,¹³ and o "William Bowlegs," described herself as the former's niece and the latter's cousin.¹⁴ If Eliza was Holatoochee's niece and Billy Bowlegs' cousin, this would seem to make Billy also in some fashion Holatoochee's nephew. If Holatoochee was Micanopy's brother, Billy Bowlegs would be the latter's nephew and a grand-nephew of King Payne and King Bowlegs. If Holatoochee was Micanopy's nephew, Billy would be the latter's grand-nephew and more remotely the nephew of Payne and Bowlegs. In

10. "Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans," 376-78; Oliver O. Howard, *Famous Indian Chiefs I Have Known* (New York, 1908), 19, 24-25. Howard says that Billy Bowlegs was nicknamed "Piernas Corvas, meaning bow legs," because he rode big horses at such an early age as to make his legs crooked. Despite the volume's title, Howard apparently never met Billy Bowlegs; his account seems to be based more on imagination than information. See also *Autobiography of Oliver Otis Howard*, 2 vols. (New York, 1907), I, 73-79, and Howard's *My Life and Experiences Among Hostile Indians* (Hartford, 1907), 73-95.
11. Grant Foreman, *The Five Civilized Tribes* (Norman, 1934), 254, 258; C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 520.
12. J. C. Casey, Acting Seminole Agent, to Major Isaac Clark, July 11, 1838, *House Documents* 25th Cong., 3rd Sess., War Dept., No. 225, pp. 119-21; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 254.
13. Porter, "Cowkeeper Dynasty," 346 fn. 21.
14. Letters Received, War Dept., August 15, 1850 (A135), National Archives, Washington, D.C.

any case, this would support the idea that he was in some manner closely related to Payne, Bowlegs, Micanopy, Holatoochee, and Old Cowkeeper, and thus a member of the "royal family."¹⁵ His nickname supports the view that he bore some relationship to King Bowlegs, perhaps as an heir - son, grandson, nephew, or grand-nephew.

Whatever Billy Bowlegs' exact parentage, it is generally conceded that he was born on the Alachua savannah, where the towns of King Payne and King Bowlegs were located until their destruction in 1813 by United States troops and Tennessee and Georgia militia. Probably he moved with his parents and most of the rest of the tribe west to the Suwannee River, where King Bowlegs established a chain of villages which became the Seminole "capital" until they were destroyed in 1818 by American militiamen and Creeks. There is also a possibility that he was part of Chief Payne's family who, after the destruction of the Alachua towns, retired to the vicinity of Cape Florida, where, in 1823, there was a small village consisting of twenty Indians and three Negroes.¹⁶ After 1818 most of the Alachua Indians supposedly settled about 120 miles south of their former location. Their principal town was Okinamki, just west of Lake Harris. But it is also claimed that "the Negroes of Sahwanne fled with the Indians of Bowleg's town toward Chuckachatte." This was an Indian town north of Tampa Bay and some sixty or seventy miles southeast of the Suwannee towns. And it must be remembered that the town of the Buckra Woman, who, according to one account, was Billy Bow-

15. Even the most uninformed accounts of Billy Bowlegs usually agree on his membership in the Seminole "royal family." Howard, in *Indian Chiefs I Have Known*, 24-25, 30, gives his birth-year as 1823 in one place and 1800 in another, but calls him Micanopy's grandson and, again, his nephew, which at least puts him in the proper family group. Since the father is less important than the mother in Seminole tradition, there is little to note from the account in Xavier Eyma, *La Vie dans le Nouveau Monde* (Paris, 1862), 212-15, 245-46, as quoted by C. T. Foreman in her article, "Billy Bowlegs," which says that his father was a fugitive slave who took refuge among the Indians and married there. Probably this tale is an echo of the story that the more famous Osceola had a wife who was the daughter of a runaway slave woman and an Indian chief. In fact, Osceola himself is sometimes said to have been the offspring of such a marriage. See Kenneth W. Porter "The Episode of Osceola's Wife: Fact or Fiction?" *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVI (July 1947), 93, fn. 5.
16. Mark F. Boyd (ed.), "Horatio S. Dexter and Events leading to the Treaty of Moultrie Creek with the Seminole Indians," *Florida Anthropologist*, XII (September 1958), 65-95.

legs' mother, was described in 1821 as "near Long Swamp, east of Big Hammock."¹⁷ As a boy, Billy Bowlegs may have lived in any of these towns.

Attempts to locate Billy Bowlegs geographically at this time are rather futile. We do not have any record of his existence, at least under the nickname or name by which he is best known, until the Seminole War was well along, and we have no definite knowledge of the name which he bore as a young warrior. During and after 1839 he is often referred to as Holata Micco (chief governor), a title probably conferred on him when he attained chieftaincy. The only hint as to a possible early Indian name is in a publication which appeared when he was about fifty years old: "Billy Bowlegs - his Indian name is *Halpatter Micco*" - Alligator King, or Governor.¹⁸ If this statement is to be taken seriously, Billy Bowlegs was a member of the Alligator clan, or sib, and his name as a warrior would probably have been Halpata (alligator) plus some indication of his rank - *hajo* (mad, or recklessly brave), *fixico* (heartless), and so on, up to Tustenuggee (warrior of the first class), and, when he attained the rank of chief, *emathla* (leader), and perhaps eventually, *micco* (king or governor). But it is very likely that someone with at least a slight knowledge of one of the Seminole languages confused the title *holata* (chief) with the sib-name *halpata* (alligator), although the authenticity of the name Halpata Micco is given at least some slight support by the fact that, according to William C. Sturtevant, "all Seminole know that traditionally chiefs were chosen from the Snake sib," which "among the Florida Seminole was linked" to the Alligator sib.¹⁹ Even if there was positive evidence that his clan or sib

17. Kenneth W. Porter, "Negroes and the Seminole War, 1817-1818," *Journal of Negro History*, XXXVI (July 1951), 277-78; Swanton, *Creek Indians*, 407.

18. In August 1842, we have a reference to "Holoeta Emathlachee [Bowlegs] . . . representing the Southern Indians" in Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States, The Territory of Florida, 1839-1845*, (Washington, 1959-1962), XXVI, 524. "Emathlachee" means "little leader," a title inferior to the supreme one of micco. Possibly this was a title which Bowlegs bore prior to his attainment in 1842 of his rank of head chief of the Florida Seminoles. Whites frequently referred to Seminoles by earlier titles, and yet in writing historically referred to them by later titles. See also, "Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans," 376-78.

19. William C. Sturtevant "Notes on Modern Seminole Traditions of Osceola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (January-April 1955), 206-16.

name was *halpata*, it would not help much in identifying him as a young warrior because of the frequent usage of this name. At the time of the Second Seminole War there were at least two chiefs named *halpata* - Micanopy's war-chief and a Creek or possibly Mikasuki operating in Middle Florida²⁰ - neither of whom can possibly be identified with Billy Bowlegs. No *halpata* in the accounts of the Seminole War prior to 1839 who can even be considered as possibly identical with Billy Bowlegs has been found.²¹

Although Billy Bowlegs, perhaps under some other name, probably participated as a young warrior in the early operations of the Seminole War, he does not emerge as an individual before the summer of 1839, when he burst violently into Seminole history-born, it might almost seem, out of the blood and fire of the Caloosahatchee massacre. He was referred to at this time and usually thereafter as "Holatter-Micco or Billy Bowlegs."²² Likely he assumed, or had conferred on him, the title of Holata Micco (chief governor) sometime after his uncle, or other close kinsman, Micanopy, surrendered in 1837. Early the following year, when Micanopy left for the Indian Territory, he in effect abdicated his chieftaincy in Florida. This is when Billy Bowlegs or Holata Micco, under these or any other names, began to attain importance.

The background of the event which projected Billy Bowlegs into history is as follows: a series of captures, "talks," treaties-sometimes followed and assisted by large-scale seizures-surrenders, and captures again had, by the spring of 1838, removed from the field the principal chiefs of the nation, including head-chief Micanopy, his "heir apparent" Holatoochee, his war-chief Alligator, his principal counselor and brother-in-law Jumper, the Negro Abraham, his brother-in-law King Philip (Emathla), who was second chief in the nation, and the latter's second-in-command, Coi Hajo.

There were several chiefs, however, particularly of the recal-

20. Sprague, *Florida War*, 172, 178, *et passim*, and 396, 444, 470.

21. One of "Philip's People" who escaped from Fort Marion in November 1837, was "Halpatah Hajo." Kenneth W. Porter, "Seminole Flight from Fort Marion," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXII (January 1944), 132.

22. Sprague, *Florida War*, 233, 316-17, 319. See also Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, XXVI, 524.

citrant Mikasuki and the refugee Creeks from Georgia, and including some of the younger chiefs of other groups, who had refused to surrender. They followed two general programs. Some, such as the young Mikasuki chief Halleck Tustenuggee and the young St. Johns River chief Coacoochee (Wild Cat), King Philip's favorite son, stayed close to the settlements and carried on aggressive guerrilla warfare. Others withdrew to the South, as far from white settlements as possible, into such fastnesses as the Big Cypress Swamp, which lay between the Everglades and the Gulf and about thirty miles south of the Caloosahatchee. There they stubbornly endeavored to carry on their old life of hunting, fishing, coonti collecting, and agriculture as best they could.

Among the chiefs who retreated into this region were the aged Mikasuki chief Sam Jones (Apiaca); his close associate Otulke Thlocko (the Big Wind), or the Prophet, who was a refugee Creek; another elderly Mikasuki named Assinawa; and the young Seminole chief Billy Bowlegs, who had refused to join his kinsmen Micanopy and Holatoochee in surrender. But in moving into the area of the Caloosahatchee River and Big Cypress Swamp, these refugees penetrated the territory of the "Spanish Indians"-Seminole who had been influenced by Spanish fishermen operating out of Charlotte Harbor - under Cheika, and of the aged chief Hospitaka, who was married to a "Spanish" (Spanish Indian?) woman. Also, by drawing after them the pursuing troops, they brought these Indian bands for the first time into the war.

The first and most serious clash was the result of a well-meaning attempt by Major General Alexander Macomb, then commanding in Florida, to end the war by an arrangement with the Indians, which would have assigned "them a portion of land, *temporarily*, far south," below Pease Creek. On May 18, 1839, he announced that he had negotiated such an agreement with Chitto Tustenuggee (Snake Warrior), one of Sam Jones's sub-chiefs, who, for the purposes of the treaty, was styled "principal chief of the Seminoles, and successor to Arpeika, commonly called Sam Jones." No one acquainted with the Florida Indians, however, should have supposed that a peace negotiated by a subchief of one band would necessarily be recognized, either by his own band or by those of other chiefs. On the morning of July 22, a party under Lieutenant Colonel W. S. Harney, while enroute to Charlotte Harbor to establish one of the trading posts provided for in

the agreement, was encamped on the bank of the Caloosahatchee when it was attacked by a large band, principally of "Spanish Indians," under Chekika, Hospitaka, and Billy Bowlegs (Holata Micco), and a dozen or so men were killed.²³

Then, after erupting into history as one of the leaders of the Caloosahatchee massacre, Billy Bowlegs proceeded, although without complete success, to manifest himself as a force for humanity and moderation. Sampson, a Negro interpreter who was taken prisoner, testified that Billy Bowlegs saved him from death by torture inflicted on two other captives, and he was also able to protect a captive sergeant for some three months. The council of the Big Cypress Indians, which was dominated by the fierce old Mikasuki chief Sam Jones (Apiaca) and his savage associate Otulke Thlocko, the Phophet, decreed, however, that the sergeant should be put to death. Billy Bowlegs, deriving his influence mainly from his hereditary position and with followers who were few in comparison with the Mikasuki, Creeks, and the "Spanish Indians," did not dare or care to resist this order.

For over a year, the Big Cypress Indians enjoyed immunity from retaliation. Then, in December 1840, Lieutenant Colonel Harney, who had himself narrowly escaped death on the Caloosahatchee, located and attacked Chekika's settlement. The chief was killed and six of his followers were hanged. This misfortune apparently produced such discouragement in the Big Cypress that in April 1841, a council of chiefs, "consisting of Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), Arpeika (or Sam Jones), Otulke-Thlocko (the Prophet), Hospetarke, Fuse Hadjo, Parsacke, and many other less important personages, . . . agreed that the bearer of any message from the whites should be put to death." Nevertheless, messengers did penetrate the Big Cypress settlements and were able to get away, carrying with them discontented fugitives. These included a younger brother of Wild Cat. The latter had recently been seized, and had dispatched his younger brother to communicate with Otulke, still another brother who was believed to be in the Big Cypress. Wild Cat's brothers enticed the old chief Hospitaka to come in for a conference in August 1841, when he and his followers were seized. This further weakened the Big Cypress group.

23. Sprague, *Florida War*, 228-38, 315-19; William C. Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the 'Spanish Indians,'" *Tequesta*, XIII (1953), 35-74; Grant Foreman, *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932), 370-73.

The next step in the campaign against the Big Cypress was an expedition to the Caloosahatchee and the Swamp commanded by Brevet Major W. L. Belknap. It got under way in November 1841. A captured Indian reported that while the Spanish Indians, Sam Jones and Billy Bowlegs' bands, and Hospitaka's remnants were well-supplied with rice, pumpkins, and corn, some wanted to surrender. "The opinion of Sam Jones and the Prophet, for war, prevailed," however. Holatoochee and Alligator had been brought from the West in a further effort to win over the hostiles, and Holatoochee accompanied the Belknap expedition. He carried a "talk" from Alligator and other chiefs to "Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs) and the sub-chief Waxey-Hadjo." Since Billy Bowlegs was certainly related to Holatoochee, and perhaps to Alligator as well, such a "talk" should have been influential. It was not delivered, however, for the expedition saw no Indians, even though it lost two men shot from ambush. The expedition did flush the Indians from their Big Cypress fastness and force them to take refuge in the Everglades, Halpatiokee or Alligator Swamp, west of Lake Okeechobee, and other less attractive locations. Two captured sub-chiefs claimed that the Prophet and Bowlegs were "secreted in the Everglades." According to another captive Indian, they, with a following of thirty-seven-including thirteen warriors - "All Creeks but two," were "supposed to be in the direction of the Mangrove Lake, south near Key Biscayne." If the latter report was correct, the heir of Cowkeeper, King Payne, and King Bowlegs was now almost entirely without a personal following.

Billy Bowlegs' personal fortunes-along with those of the South Florida Indians-were about to improve however. Hitherto, "Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), . . . Parsacke, Assinawar, Fuse Hadjo, all brave and intelligent chiefs," had followed the Prophet "with fear and apprehension, admitting him at the same time to be a coward." Then early in 1842, disillusioned by his failure to prevent the break-up of their Big Cypress villages, the hostiles "had broken the spell of the Prophet . . . , and had renounced the influence and authority of Arpeika (Sam Jones)." Then, "Billy Bowlegs, had been proclaimed chief and Fuse-Hadjo elected his sense-bearer or lawyer." Perhaps it was at this time, rather than earlier, that Billy Bowlegs officially assumed his title of Holata Micco.

Colonel W. J. Worth, commanding in Florida, found that the southern Indians were widely scattered about in small parties and were "perfectly quiet." On February 14, 1842, he announced a plan for the termination of the war, which was based on the frank recognition by the army that it would be impossible to round up the few remaining Indians. Nearly half of the 301 Florida Indians still at large belonged to the bands of Sam Jones, the Prophet, Billy Bowlegs, Assinawar, and Chitto Tustenuggee. They were living far to the south, remote from settlement, and were causing no trouble. There were others, however, who were operating in the more settled areas, still killing, plundering, and burning. General Worth proposed that attention be concentrated on protecting the settlements, that Indians who remained quiet should not be disturbed, and that all Indians unwilling to emigrate should be offered the alternative of being "*temporarily* assigned . . . planting and hunting grounds" below Pease Creek. Essentially this was the same offer which the Caloosahatchee massacre had halted earlier. With the Prophet's loss of influence, with Arpeika's becoming childish, and with Billy Bowlegs having been appointed chief, the forces of moderation were in control. Bowlegs was employed by the Southern Florida Indians to act for them, and accompanied by Fuse Hadjo (Crazy Bird) and Nokosi Emathla (Bear Leader), he arrived at Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, on August 5, 1842. The end of hostilities with the Florida Indians was proclaimed August 14. Three days later, it was reported that, "The few Seminoles and Mickasukies, under Holatter-Micco or Bowlegs were already within their limits, dispatching messages to others without the line to hasten their movements. . . ." The Second Seminole War was over. In part, this was because of Billy Bowlegs' "hereditary rights as a chief, and his known intelligence" which he exercised in the interest of moderation and peace, after he had achieved his objective to remain in Florida.

A year after the end of hostilities, General Worth reported that ninety-five warriors were still in 'Florida, including forty-two Seminoles, thirty-three Mikasukis, ten Creeks, and ten Tallahasseees. When women and children were added, the total was 300. The general further noted, "Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs), nephew of Micanopy, is the acknowledged chief; Assinwar, Otulke-Thlocko (the Prophet), sub-chiefs."

Three years later Captain J. T. Sprague, in charge of Florida Indian Affairs, glowingly reported the results of the peace policy and extolled Billy Bowlegs' leadership. According to his estimates there were 360 Indians in Florida, including 120 warriors. Sprague lists four Uchees and four Choctaws which were not on Worth's tally. The Prophet had died in the meantime, and Arpeika (Sam Jones) had become so feeble and childish that he had lost his influence, even though he was still recognized as honorary subchief. Sprague further noted, "Holatter Micco, or Billy Bowlegs, is thirty-three years of age. He speaks English fluently, and exercises supreme control. He being the nephew of Micanopy, Old Bowlegs, and King Paine, his royal blood is regarded, thus enabling him to exert his authority . . . to govern the reckless and wayward spirits around him. By judicious laws and periodical councils he has instituted a system of government salutary and efficient . . . Assinwar, another sub-chief, is a smart active man. He gives cordial support to the chief in his exertion to introduce wholesome laws, and to continue upon amicable terms with the inhabitants. . . . The Indian villages are located upon the Caloosahatchee [*sic*] river, extending from Charlotte's Harbor to Lake Oke-chobee Game of all kinds abound. . . . Oysters and fish are to be obtained in any quantities, at all seasons. They have horses, cattle, hogs, and some poultry. By planting a small lot of ground, they are enabled to raise corn and vegetables sufficient for consumption. . . . If unmolested, they will be harmless. . . . Any steps to the contrary will again make it [Florida] the battle-ground for the lion and the wolf."²⁴ This idyllic situation was to endure for several years.

"Happy is the nation which has no history." According to this principle the first seven years after the Second Seminole War must have been a halcyon period for Billy Bowlegs' "Kingdom." But by 1849 white settlement had moved so far south that, despite Billy Bowlegs' best efforts, clashes began between settlers and reckless young Indians. In July 1849, a man was reported murdered on Indian River and two others on Pease Creek. Major General David E. Twiggs, commanding the Western District, was ordered to establish Fort Myers as a post on the lower Caloosahat-

24. Sprague, *Florida War*, 254, 270-71, 295, 299-303, 348-50, 352-53, 435, 444, 450-51, 482, 485-86, 494, 507, 512-13. See also Carter, *Territorial Papers of the United States*, XXVI, 517-20, 524.

chee, and the effort to move the Indians out of Florida began again. The experienced Captain John C. Casey-with considerable difficulty since the available interpreters and guides were unable or unwilling to enter the Indian country-succeeded in locating Billy Bowlegs and summoning him to a conference at Charlotte Harbor, and a delegation was organized in the Indian Territory to urge the advantages of removal. General Twiggs went to Charlotte Harbor on the steamer *Colonel Clay*, and on September 17, while still aboard the steamer, he held a "talk" with "head chief Billy Bowlegs" and "the acting chief of the Micasookies." Billy Bowlegs declared that the Indians were totally opposed to war and that the depredations had been committed by five young men, whose leader had been outlawed and condemned to suicide. As soon as he had learned of their activities, he ordered their arrest, but they had already been captured by Chitto Hajo (Crazy Snake) and were in his custody on the Kissimmee. They would be given up, Billy Bowlegs promised, as soon as they could be brought in, which, since "the whole country was covered with water, . . . could not be done sooner than thirty days. . . ."

In the first detailed description of the chief on record, he is described as "a fine looking warrior, about forty years old, with an open, intelligent . . . countenance . . . above the ordinary height, and well proportioned, and evidencing much self possession." He was dressed in the full ceremonial finery of a Seminole chief which included a decorated hunting shirt with a "broad, showy bead belt passing over his breast," and suspended under his left arm, "a beautifully beaded rifle pouch." He wore "red leggins, with brass buttons," which, "where they covered the upper part of the moccasins," were "thickly embroidered with beads." Finally, there was a turban wound from a red shawl "surmounted with white feathers, encircled with a silver band." Suspended from his neck were silver crescents, "to which was appended a large silver medal, with . . . a likeness of President Van Buren . . . ; his throat was thickly covered with strands of large blue beads, and he also wore bracelets of silver over the sleeves of his decorated hunting shirt."

The delegation from the Indian Territory to Florida experienced considerable difficulty in organization. Wild Cat and Gopher John (John Cavallo), who were wanted to head the delegation

and serve as chief interpreters, had secret plans of their own for a *hejira* of disgruntled Seminole Indians and Negroes to Mexico. The delegation was organized finally with the young Mikasuki chief Halleck Tustenuggee - one of the last to surrender - as head. Other members included Holatoochee, Billy Bowlegs' kinsman, Nokosi Yahola, and Pasoca Yahola. Jim Bowlegs, an intelligent Negro who was one of the chief's "slaves," was appointed chief interpreter, and he was sent ahead of the main body. Wild Cat suggested to Marcellus DuVal, the Seminole sub-agent, that he seek permission from the President for the Seminoles to go to Mexico; Billy Bowlegs would never, he asserted, come to the Territory to be settled among the Creeks. Secretly, Wild Cat urged certain of his allies on the delegation to advise Billy to hold out until he could get permission to take his people to Mexico, Wild Cat did not want to lose the opportunity of recruiting such a valuable ally for his projected Seminole colony in Mexico. The main delegation left North Fork Town on October 16, 1849.

A second conference between General Twiggs and Billy Bowlegs was held at Tampa Bay on November 17, 1849. At that time three of the guilty young men and the severed hand of a fourth was turned over to the white man's justice; the fifth was still being sought. Billy Bowlegs delivered a dignified but impassioned plea for permission to remain in his native country. "I have brought here many young men and boys," he declared, indicating the fifty or sixty tribesmen who accompanied him, "to see the terrible consequences of breaking our peace laws. I brought them here that they might see their comrades delivered up to be killed. . . . I now pledge you my word that, if you will cease this talk of leaving the country, no other outrage shall ever be committed by my people; or, if ever hereafter the worst among my people shall cross the boundary and do any mischief to your people, you need not look for runners or appoint councils to talk. I will make up my pack and shoulder it, and my people will do the same. We will all walk down to the seashore, and we will ask but one question: Where is the boat to carry us to Arkansas?"

General Twiggs, however, was under orders to persuade the chief to emigrate, and was authorized to offer compensation totalling \$215,000 if the Indians would move West. The general was at first unwilling to make the offer, since he feared it would

exasperate the Indians into war, but, under the direct command of Secretary of War George W. Crawford, he brought up the subject, and by January 22, 1850, was able to report that Bowlegs was willing personally to emigrate. He also promised to meet Captain Casey within seventeen to twenty days to report on his success in persuading his people to emigrate also. Chief Bowlegs disappeared into the Indian country and nothing was heard from him for months, although by February 28, 1850, eighty-five Indians under Capitchuche and Cacha Fixico had come in and had boarded the schooner *Fashion* for New Orleans. On March 11, 1850, Seminole Sub-Agent DuVal wrote to the Commissioner of Indian Affairs that he had been with Halleck Tustenuggee and Jim Factor as far inland as Fort Clinch and had met Captain Britten of the Seventh Infantry "who had been a considerable distance beyond seeing or hearing anything of the Indians," although he had seen places which had been deserted only a short time. He suggested that perhaps the Indians had gone south to be nearer Billy Bowlegs and come in with him. But when the steamer *Colonel Clay* returned from the Caloosahatchee without any information concerning the illusive chief, DuVal and the Arkansas delegation boarded the *Fashion* and left for New Orleans. They arrived there on March 13. On April 15, 1850, after negotiations lasting over half a year, Bowlegs and his followers definitely refused to leave Florida.²⁵

Pressure for removal continued, however. In August 1850, a white boy was murdered, supposedly by Indians, near Fort Brooke. At first Chief Bowlegs denied the guilt, but later he sent in three Indians who had confessed the crime to Captain Casey. Shortly afterwards they hanged themselves in jail. "No outrages have been committed," Captain Casey reported later, "nor are any likely to be so long as we leave them alone." But when were whites ever able to "leave Indians alone," particularly those who occupied land which either were, or in the remote future might conceivably be, of interest to white exploiters?

The Swamp Lands Act of 1850, which turned over swamp

25. *Senate Documents*, 31st Cong., 1st Sess., Executive Document No. 49; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 248-52, 261; C. T. Foreman "Billy Bowlegs," 520-22; Marjorie S. Douglas, *The Everglades: River of Grass* (New York, 1947), 246-58; 255-58; Edwin C. McReynolds, *The Seminoles* (Norman, 1957), 264-67.

lands to the states for purposes of reclamation, increased the pressure on the Florida Indians. The old question of runaway slaves taking refuge with the Indians cropped up again, and, as in earlier years, the Indians were uncooperative about returning them.²⁶

The next and most ambitious attempt at removal took place in 1852. The previous year, on April 15, 1851, the "Seminole question" was transferred from the War Department to the Interior Department in the hope that a change of management would bring better results, and Luther Blake, described as a "removal specialist" because of his success with the Cherokee, replaced Captain John C. Casey as Seminole agent. He was to be allowed five dollars per day, plus \$800 for each warrior and \$450 for each woman or child whom he succeeded in moving West. He also received a \$10,000 expense account, Blake proceeded first to the Indian Territory to organize another Florida "emigration delegation," which included head-chief John Jumper and the old Negro interpreter Abraham. Then he went to Florida, where by June 15, 1852, he had succeeded in bringing in only fifteen Indians. Finally, however, he persuaded the chief to go on an "all expenses paid" tour to Washington and New York, in the hope that conferences with government officials and a view of the numbers and power of the whites would have a positive effect. This delegation left Fort Myers August 31, 1851, and utilizing a variety of conveyances - horses, hacks, stagecoaches, steamboats, and trains - traveled by way of Tampa, Palatka, Orange City, and Savannah to Washington and New York. The chief was always registered as "Mr. William B. Legs" when they stopped in hotels en route. In Washington the Indians met with President Fillmore and then proceeded to New York where they arrived on September 11. They stopped at the American Hotel. The several group photographs that were taken reveal that the delegation included, in addition to Billy Bowlegs, John Jumper, and Abraham, "Sarp-parke Yohola," "Fasatche Emathla," "Chocote Tustenuggee," "Nocose Emanthla," and "Pasackecathla." Billy Bowlegs also visited Major J. T. Sprague, then stationed at Governors Island, New York. Sprague later reported that the chief "assured me in the

26. Douglas, *The Everglades*, 246-49, 258-59; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 253.

most positive and angry manner of his determination not to leave Florida. . . ." ²⁷

En route South, the party again stopped in Washington where, on September 20, the Indians met again with Fillmore. General Luther Blake, the Florida agent, Secretary of War Charles M. Conrad, Secretary of Navy William A. Graham, and the Commissioner of Indian Affairs were also present at this meeting. Billy Bowlegs renewed his plea to remain in Florida, and pointed out that "he loved his home very much; yes, if it were only a little place with a pine stump upon it, he would wish to stay there. He would do anything at all so as to stay." The officials remained adamant, however, and finally he and his associates signed the agreement to remove.

The following appeared in the Jacksonville *News* on October 2, 1852: "King Billy and cabinet . . . are gone home to the court of the Everglades. They passed up on the Matamoros . . . Billy held his levee in the cabin of the steamboat and received his visitors with royal dignity. We learn from General Blake that Billy has entered into a solemn agreement to emigrate next March with all the Indians he can induce to go, which he thinks will be all in the country. We feel disposed to believe that at last we may succeed in getting rid of our unwelcome neighbors, but shall not feel *certain* till *they are gone*." In 1852 the Commissioner of Indian Affairs reported sanguinely that "a general emigration may reasonably be expected at an early date." But the Florida newspaper was writing out of a better knowledge of the situation. Again, Chief Bowlegs was "unable" to persuade his people to remove. ²⁸

27. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 254. Major Sprague, several years later, referred to this interview as having taken place in 1854, but this was probably a slip of memory.
28. *House Documents*, 32nd Cong., 2nd Sess., Executive Document No. 19; T. S. Jesup to Luke Lea, Commissioner of Indian Affairs, October 5, 1852, Seminole File 1852-J121, Indian Office, Department of the Interior, National Archives; Elizabeth V. Long (comp.), "Florida Indians, 1836-1865: Collection of Clippings from Contemporary Newspapers," clipping, 1852, from unidentified newspaper, and clipping, September 12, 1852, from unidentified New York City newspaper, Jacksonville Public Library; *New York Daily Tribune*, September 17, 1852, quoting from *Savannah Georgian*, September 25, 1852; "Billy Bowlegs and Suite," *Illustrated London News*, May 21, 1853, 395-96 [illustration reproduced in Kenneth W. Porter, "The Negro Abraham," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXV (July 1946)]; "Billy Bowlegs and His Retinue," in Nathan S. Jarvis, "An

By February 1854, after three years' exertion, General Blake had managed to send West only thirty-six Indians, including twelve warriors, at a cost of \$48,025, plus \$5,000 transportation charges. Blake was dismissed and the able and conscientious Captain Casey re-instated. Another delegation from the Indian Territory arrived at Tampa Bay January 5, 1854, but it also accomplished nothing and departed again on April 10.²⁹

But the sands were running out for Chief Bowlegs and his people. The State of Florida was pushing its surveys closer and closer to the Indian country in what seemed a deliberately provocative fashion. The war department, in order to prevent trouble, took over the business of surveying and mapping the Everglades. It is rather ironical that members of the topographical engineers, entrusted with the survey to avoid provocation, should have been responsible for the act - trivial in itself - which sparked the Third Seminole War - the last Indian war east of the Mississippi.

In December 1855, a squad of eleven men under Lieutenant George L. Hartsuff, U. S. Engineers, had pushed a survey into the Big Cypress to within two miles of Billy Bowlegs' principal garden, which boasted in season not only corn, beans, and pumpkins, but also an unusually fine grove of banana trees. The soldiers, according to a member of the party, deliberately destroyed his prized banana grove before their departure, for no other reason than to see "how Old Billy would cut up." Then, when the enraged chief called at the camp and demanded satisfaction, he got neither compensation, explanation, nor apologies.

For over thirteen years Billy Bowlegs had striven for peace, since he knew that only through peaceful means could he and his people hope to retain their homes in Florida. He had employed oratory, pathos, delay, dissimulation, and cooperation with the whites even to turning over his own tribesmen - perhaps even innocent people - for punishment. Now he realized that peaceful

Army Surgeon's Notes on Frontier Service, 1833-1848," *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, XXXIX (July-August 1906), 272; W. C. Sturtevant, "Billy Bowlegs, Not Marcy's Scout Bushman," *Chronicles of Oklahoma*, XXXIII (Winter 1955-1956), 547-48, gives references to other portraits of Billy Bowlegs; C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 517; Wilfred T. Neill, *Florida's Seminole Indians* (Silver Springs, 1952), 12-13; A. J. and K. A. Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee*; 59-60.

29. Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 253-54.

means could only postpone the inevitable and was determined to die fighting, or at any rate not to leave his home without a last fight. Whatever his reasons, he gathered his warriors and on the morning of December 20, 1855, opened fire on the offending camp. The lieutenant in charge was seriously wounded, and several of his men were killed or wounded. The Third Seminole War had begun.

The Third Seminole War was almost entirely lacking in the drama of the Second or even the First. No episodes comparable to the so-called Dade Massacre, the battles of the Withlacoochee and Wahoo Swamp, the Battle of Okeechobee, or even the Caloosahatchee massacre, distinguished it. Chief Bowlegs' warriors ten years earlier had been estimated at only 120, and enough had emigrated during the decade to reduce their number to less than a hundred. The only type of warfare which could be at all effective was that which the Seminole, including Billy Bowlegs himself, had employed during the last four years of the Second Seminole War - hit-and-run tactics by small groups of Indians firing from ambush and fading away into the underbrush, never permitting themselves to be trapped into making a stand. "The Indians," it is said, "struck like a snake and retreated to the swamps before they could be engaged. They were here, there, everywhere, lurking in the dark, skulking through the brush, ready with gun, knife, or iron-tipped arrow. They cut down stragglers, hunters, soldiers, trappers; burned farmhouses, destroyed bridges, stores, crops." Militia and regulars marched about, with Indians firing on them from ambush, killing three, four, or five. The whites found and destroyed Indian villages with their fields of pumpkins, beans, and corn, and were fired on again as they withdrew from their work of destruction. The soldiers and militia, in turn, occasionally killed warriors or captured women and children, although, despite Secretary of War Jefferson Davis' offer of \$180 for each Seminole captured alive, the Florida frontiersmen allegedly shot down Indians without regard to age or sex, and took few prisoners.

Billy Bowlegs' old enemy, W. S. Harney, now a general, was in charge of operations at first. Then, Colonel Gustavus Loomis, a humanitarian-minded officer, who bent his energies toward capturing Seminoles or inducing them to surrender, rather than killing them, was put in charge. But Colonel Loomis, with the best

will in the world, found it almost impossible even to communicate with Bowlegs. He sent O. O. Howard, later known as "the Christian General," into the Indian country with two companies of soldiers, an Indian woman named Minnie, and a Negro-Indian named Natto Joe who served as interpreter, but Howard never succeeded in locating the elusive chief.

"In the summer of 1857 . . .," wrote the First Artillery Regiment historian, "the Seminole War . . . was still staggering along to its conclusion. . . . Occasionally, . . . three or five companies of troops would go lumbering through the pine woods, or painfully wade the saw-grass swamps, stirring up the alligators, and notifying Billy Bowlegs and Gopher John [*sic*] that the pale-face was still hanging revengefully upon his track."³⁰ In January 1858, however, Secretary of War Jefferson Davis admitted that the Seminole "had baffled the energetic efforts of our army to effect their subjugation and removal."³¹

30. Douglas, *The Everglades*, 264-66; Neill, *Florida's Seminole Indians*, 14; A. J. and K. A. Hanna, *Lake Okeechobee*, 62-65, 67-70; C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 524-26; Howard, *Autobiography*, I, 73-89; Howard, *My Life and Experiences Among Hostile Indians*, 73-95; William L. Haskin, *The History of the First Regiment of Artillery* (Portland, Maine, 1879), 351. Haskin's reference to "Gopher John" arouses speculation. The historical "Gopher John" - the Seminole Negro, also known as John Cowaya, or Cavallo - was, of course, not in Florida but at Wild Cat's Indian-Negro colony of Nacimiento, Coahuila, Mexico. The name is evidently used here to signify Seminole Negroes in general. Brevet Major General Alexander S. Webb. "Campaigning in Florida in 1855," *Journal of the Military Service Institution*, XLV (November-December 1909), 401, described Bowlegs' band as "a treacherous, troublesome set of Seminoles and escaped negro slaves." According to General Rufus Saxton, later a commander of Negro troops in the Civil War, "in the [Third Seminole] war between the United States troops and the Florida Seminoles . . . the negroes would often stand fire when the Indians would run away." See Thomas W. Higginson, *Cheerful Yesterdays* (Boston, 1900), 25. Also Howard Sharp reported: "Negroes were accepted into the [Billy Bowlegs] tribe. One of Billy Bowlegs' wives was a Negress. . . . Most of his followers were of negro blood." (Sharp to Porter, July 8, November 6, 1944, in the possession of the author). Bowlegs' band included at least one Negro - "Ben Bruno, the interpreter, adviser, confidant, and special favorite of King Billy, . . . a fine, intelligent-looking negro. . . , and exercises almost unbounded influence over his master." Quoted in "Billy Bowlegs in New Orleans," 376-78. Billy Bowlegs had evidently preserved the old Seminole institution of the "chief Negro." Ben Bruno - and the surname in the form of Bruner was common among the Seminole Negroes of the Indian Territory and the Texas-Mexican border - thus was in the line of King Bowlegs' Nero, Micanopy's Abraham, and King Philip's John Caesar.
31. Douglas, *The Everglades*, 266; Neill, *Florida's Seminole Indians*, 14.

Once more the system of bringing a Seminole delegation to Florida was employed, and this time it was effective. Elias Rector, superintendent of Indian affairs for the southern superintendency, and Samuel Rutherford, agent for the western Seminole, organized a delegation of forty Seminoles and six Creeks, headed by Chief John Jumper, which went to Florida. There "Polly," a niece of Billy Bowlegs, was added to the group. Contact was made with Bowlegs, and he agreed to a meeting at a point some thirty-five miles from Fort Myers. At the meeting held on March 15, 1858, the superintendent offered attractive terms - a *douceur* of \$6,500 to the chief himself, \$1,000 to each of four sub-chiefs, \$500 apiece to the warriors, and \$100 for each woman and child. Billy Bowlegs for the first time seemed amenable to persuasion. He had been fighting for over two years, and in 1856 the Seminoles had been granted their independence from the Creeks. Although Wild Cat (Coacoochee) had warned in 1849 that Billy Bowlegs would never consent to come West to be settled among the people from whom his great predecessor the Cowkeeper had separated a century before. He now agreed to surrender and also agreed to use his influence with other chiefs. On May 4, Billy Bowlegs and a party of 125, including sub-chiefs "Assunwha, Nocose Emathla, Foos Hadjo, Nocus Hadjo, and Fuchutechee Emathla," left Fort Myers on the steamer *Grey Cloud* and at Fort Dade, on Egmont Key at the entrance of Tampa Bay, picked up forty Indians who had been captured by the Florida Volunteers. The entire party consisted of thirty-nine warriors and 126 women and children.³²

Billy Bowlegs and his entourage spent a week in New Orleans, en route to the Territory, which gave a representative of *Harper's Weekly* the opportunity to observe him and to make photographic portraits of himself, his "young wife," his two brothers-in-law-"No-kush-adjo, his Inspector General," and "Long Jack," his "Lieutenant"-as well as his "chief Negro," Ben Bruno, his "interpreter, adviser, confidant, and special favorite." The article described Billy Bowlegs as "a rather good-looking Indian of about fifty years. He has a fine forehead, a keen black eye, is somewhat above the

32. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 384-85; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 271-74; McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, 286-87; Douglas, *The Everglades*, 266; Neill, *Florida's Seminole Indians*, 14-15; C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 526-27.

medium height, and weighs about 160 pounds. . . . He has two wives, one son, five daughters, fifty slaves, and a hundred thousand dollars in hard cash." His costume in the New Orleans portrait is essentially the same as that which he was described as wearing at Tampa Bay in 1849 and in which he was photographed in 1852 in New York. In the newest portrait he was wearing a medal representing President Fillmore which he doubtless received in 1852.³³

A sensational account of "life in the New World" by a French writer described Billy Bowlegs as spending his time in New Orleans in one prolonged drunken orgie. This author also claimed that the chief's father was a runaway slave and that he was colossal in height and of Herculean strength.³⁴ Bowlegs was doubtless not averse to liquor and on occasion and given the opportunity-probably over-indulged, but the side remark in the *Harper's* article - "When he is sober, which, I am sorry to say, is by no means his normal state, his legs are as straight as yours or mine" - sounds as if it were as much inspired by the desire to utter a witticism as based upon careful observation. There is no evidence of Billy Bowlegs' intemperance such as exists in such unhappy profusion for his kinsman Wild Cat.

From New Orleans the Bowlegs' party proceeded on the steamer *Quapaw* up the Mississippi and the Arkansas rivers, arriving at Fort Smith on May 28, 1858. The rest of the journey to Little River in the Seminole Nation was overland by wagon and through continual rain. Before the Indians reached the agency on June 16, four members of their party had died. Others sickened and died not long after, probably from typhoid fever.³⁵

The governments of the United States and Florida, however, would not be content while any Indians remained in Florida, and Billy Bowlegs had hardly arrived in the Indian Territory before Superintendent Rector was after him to head another emigration delegation to Florida. Bowlegs refused this task, however, until

33. Billy Bowlegs' full-length photograph is reproduced in C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 517, and in John C. Gifford, *Billy Bowlegs* (Coconut Grove, 1925), who also reproduces the entire set along with the Bowlegs article from *Harper's Weekly*, June 12, 1858.

34. C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 527-28.

35. Foreman, *Indian Removal*, 385; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 274-75; C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 528; McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, 287.

he was offered a *douceur* of \$200. In December 1858, Colonel Rector and his party of eight Seminoles, headed by Chief Bowlegs, were back in Florida, where with Bowlegs' assistance the party was able to persuade seventy-five more Seminoles to leave for the West. They took passage for New Orleans on February 15, 1859, and were back in the Indian Territory early in March.³⁶

Billy Bowlegs' presence in the Indian Territory was joyfully welcomed by many of the Seminoles, who looked on him as the legitimate heir of Cowkeeper, Payne, Bowlegs, and Micanopy, and admired him for his long resistance to removal; it was hardly a matter of unmixed satisfaction even to some of those who had striven most assiduously to bring him to the West, notably Chief John Jumper and Superintendent Rector. Although circumstances had forced him to cooperate with the whites, Billy Bowlegs was no "friend of the white man," such as was John Jumper, nor did he have the slightest intention of following the example of Jumper in accepting the white-man's religion. This attitude did nothing to endear him to such a Baptist missionary as the Reverend J. S. Murrow, who wrote: "Billy Bowlegs and his party are still in the Creek country and he acts and speaks very independently. He has written . . . to the Creek chief that he is not ready to move and does not intend to move until he does get ready. Billy is very popular among his own people, who speak very strongly of turning their present chief, John Jumper, out of office and making Billy chief. . . ."

This attitude could not be expected to meet with the approval of either a zealous Christian missionary, an Indian superintendent who had found the present Seminole chief always cooperative, or the chief himself. It was, therefore, politely but without any expression of regret that on April 2, 1859, the Reverend Mr. Murrow wrote: "Billy Bowlegs, well known Seminole warrior of Florida notoriety, is dead. He died a few days since while on a visit to the 'New Country' for the purpose of selecting a place to settle. A few of his followers were with him and buried him in the true old Seminole style; viz. with everything he had with him." And Superintendent Rector, who probably got his information from the same source, was obviously relieved when on September

36. McReynolds, *The Seminoles*, 287; C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 529; Foreman, *Five Civilized Tribes*, 275.

20, 1859, he wrote from Fort Smith: "Bowlegs, fortunately for his people, is dead; but others survive who are inclined to create difficulties, and may need a salutary lesson."³⁷

As it turned out, the minister and the superintendent, despite the circumstantiality of the former's account, probably were writing out of wish-fulfillment rather than on the basis of sound information, for these obituaries are contradicted by numerous other pieces of evidence against which the second-hand testimony of Murrow and Rector can hardly stand up. Billy's death, it should be noted, supposedly occurred in the Seminole country, while the minister at the time was in the Creek Nation and the superintendent was at Fort Smith, Arkansas.³⁸

37. C. T. Foreman, "Billy Bowlegs," 529-30; *Annual Report of the Commissioner of Indian Affairs, 1859* (Washington, 1859), 161.

38. Billy Bowlegs was not the only Seminole chief whose death was prematurely reported. Wild Cat was reported as killed by the Comanche in 1850, although he later turned up safe in Mexico. Wild Cat's aide - the Seminole Negro chief John Horse or Gopher John - was similarly reported in 1854 as murdered by his own men, but he survived until 1882. See *Fort Smith Herald*, March 21, 1851; *House Documents*, 33rd Cong., 2nd Sess., Executive Document No. 15, pp. 6-7.

CLAUDE L'ENGLE, FLORIDA MUCKRAKER

by JOEL WEBB EASTMAN

THE FIRST DECADE of the twentieth century has been dubbed the "Era of the Muckrakers."¹ These were the years when the great muckraking journalists - Ida Tarbell, Ray Stannard Baker, and Lincoln Steffens - were writing their famous exposures of trusts, railroads, and government corruption in the celebrated national muckraking magazines - *McClure's*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *American*. Historical studies delving into this phenomenal concentration of reform writers have covered quite adequately its various aspects and impacts on the national level, but they fail to suggest that there might have been journalists and journals on the state and local level who could also be included in the muckraking movement.²

While it is obvious that in terms of importance and impact national muckraking is most significant, it would also seem apparent that there were muckraking organs operating with some effect on the state and local level. The problem of trusts, railroads, and politics was not merely a national concern, but reached from Standard Oil, the Chicago stockyards, and the United States Senate to the kerosene combines, butchers' bunds, and town council corruption in crossroad communities all across the country. Local muckrakers were necessary, not only to educate the people who did not subscribe to the national magazines, but also to translate these reports into meaningful terms by also exposing graft, corruption, and abuse on the local scene.

In September 1905, over two years after muckraking had first been "discovered" by S. S. McClure, an editorial entitled "The Hunt for Craft," appeared in the Florida weekly, the *Palatka News and Advertiser*. Commenting on the nation-wide spirit of reform and the public's interest in it, the editor concluded: "The hunt for graft is on, indeed, and there is hope that the infection

1. C. C. Regier, *The Era of the Muckrakers* (Chapel Hill, 1932).
2. Louis Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism* (New York, 1939); Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*; and David M. Chalmers, *The Social and Political Ideas of the Muckrakers* (New York, 1964), are all concerned solely with national magazines and writers. American history text books take similar approaches.

may reach our own Florida. Even here the time is ripe for great reform in the affairs of state, and the air is humid with the spirit of protest against political and financial corruption. What is needed is a leader.”³

Shortly afterwards the *Sun*, which quickly became the leading muckraking organ in Florida, began to be published in Jacksonville. Claude L’Engle and the *Sun* were practically synonymous at the time, for he was its founder, publisher, editor, editorial writer, and sometime feature writer. Born and educated in Jacksonville, L’Engle first worked in a mercantile business. Later, he went North and while there he transferred his interest to journalism. When he returned to Jacksonville in 1902, he founded a weekly newspaper, the *Florida Sun*, which began publication in January 1903. This paper, according to L’Engle, was to be “conducted on lines of fearless independence, coupled with bold advocacy of the rights of the people.” In November he ambitiously changed the *Florida Sun* into a daily paper, but it was begun on somewhat of a financial shoestring, and before the paper could be put on a sound fiscal basis, L’Engle ran into difficulties. These troubles were compounded with the alleged blackmail of the *Florida Sun’s* major stockholder by the editor of the rival afternoon daily, the *Metropolis*, which finally forced the newspaper into bankruptcy.⁴

He was determined to try again, however. Without capital, he was not in a position to start another daily paper. The failure of his first venture discouraged investors, and although he denied it publicly, L’Engle must have believed that there was no need for a third daily newspaper in Jacksonville. L’Engle had the resources to establish a weekly newspaper, but he knew that it would be extremely difficult for such a publication to be competitive, especially in news coverage, in an area already served by two dailies

3. *Palatka News and Advertiser*, September 15, 1905.

4. The draft of the biographical sketch for the *Biographical Directory of the American Congress, 1774-1927* (Washington, 1928) is in the Claude L’Engle Papers, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville. See also Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, 1905; Tallahassee *Sun*, March 30, November 23, 1907; J. Pendleton Gaines, Jr., “A Century of Florida Journalism” (unpublished Master’s thesis, University of Florida, 1949), 101; and William T. Cash, *The History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1936), 99, 120. Gaines lists L’Engle’s first newspaper as the *Florida Sun*, Cash calls it the *Florida Sun and Labor Journal*, while L’Engle referred to it afterward as merely *The Sun*.

like the *Florida Times Union* and the *Metropolis*. Perhaps through a process of elimination, L'Engle decided to launch a statewide journal with less news and with more articles, features, and stories of broad appeal.⁵

He was able to contract with sixty newspapers in the state to sell combination subscriptions, and when the *Sun* first appeared on November 18, 1905, it claimed the largest circulation in Florida, fifty per cent more than any other publication. With each successive issue, the *Sun* became less a newspaper and more a magazine, although L'Engle continued to call it a newspaper. But news was a minor part of the *Sun's* contents, and it was generally limited to hardly more than a summary of the weeks events. The bulk of the sixteen-page paper was devoted to articles, editorials, cartoons, serials, stories, and poems. There were also columns devoted to agriculture, women's interests, and editorial opinion from other Florida papers.⁶

Some two months after the first issue, L'Engle wrote: "As far as our limited talent and restricted means allow, we are carrying out the Hearst and Munsey idea." Rather than spending money on advertising, he was investing it in the best writers available. He employed an excellent editorial cartoonist, A. K. Taylor, and purchased serialized editions of Booth Tarkington's *Monsieur Beaucaire* and Upton Sinclair's *The Jungle*. In the spring of 1906, L'Engle announced the upcoming publication of ten humorous stories by the popular British writer, W. W. Jacobs, and boasted of his paper that, "Not *Harper's*, nor *Collier's*, nor *McClure's*, nor *Everybody's*, nor anybody's magazine or periodical . . . could surpass it." The publication lacked such luxuries as expensive glossy paper, color illustrations, and fine photographs, but it compared well in content with the better known national magazines.⁷

L'Engle's imitation, however, did not stop with stories and serials, but included also the policy of exposure which set the muckrakers apart from the ordinary magazines. His first editorial, entitled "Tending Garden," was accompanied by a cartoon of a tomato plant being attacked by worms. L'Engle divided all crea-

5. Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, 1905; Cash, *Florida Democratic Party*, 120.

6. Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, 25, December 2, 30, 1905, May 5, June 2, 1906; Cash, *Florida Democratic Party*, 120.

7. Jacksonville *Sun*, January 27, November 18, 25, December 9, 1905, May 26, July 7, 106; Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism*, 80.

tion into good and evil and stated: "In the garden of human endeavor our aim will be to preserve the tomato plants by picking off the worms, without stopping to consider that the bugs might not like it, that they might get hurt, and that our hands might be soiled." L'Engle planned to use "publicity" - the major weapon of the muckrakers-as the tweezers to pluck off the "despoilers." In subsequent issues, L'Engle announced that the *Sun's* exposures would be aired for the good of the state and its citizens, and that the paper would not be subservient to any interest except the obligation of the press to the public.⁸

The *Sun's* first major exposure came in December 1905. Naval stores producers in the Jacksonville area had organized an export company in an attempt to break the control of a naval stores trust operating out of Savannah, Georgia. At first the company operated successfully, but then, when it began to run out of capital, company officers negotiated a secret agreement with the trust giving it control of Jacksonville production and exports for five years. Although the corporation officers attempted to suppress the significance of what had occurred, L'Engle was able to uncover the details which he published immediately in the *Sun*.⁹

The officers of the naval stores company, whom L'Engle labeled the "Gum Bunch," first attempted to prevent publication of the article, and when that failed, they retaliated by pressuring local businessmen into withdrawing advertising from the *Sun*, an experience shared by most of the national muckraking magazines.¹⁰ Sixteen advertisements were withdrawn from the next edition, but in each blank space L'Engle printed an epitaph:

IN MEMORIAM

This little headstone is erected to the tender memory of an ad. printed in this space last week. Its duty was to nourish this journal which gives the people a voice. Right well was the little ad. doing its duty. It died of an overdose of "Gum." For further particulars of this sad demise see editorial pages of this issue. R.I.P.¹¹

8. Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, December 9, 1905, April 14, 1906.

9. *Ibid.*, December 9, 16, 1905, February 10, 1906.

10. Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 137, 177; Arthur and Lila Weinberg, *The Muckrakers* (New York, 1961), xxi; Jacksonville *Sun*, December 16, 1905.

11. Jacksonville *Sun*, December 16, 1905.

L'Engle lashed out against "Gumocracy," comparing those involved to J. P. Morgan who had grown rich, he claimed, "manipulating the product of other men's toil." He asked for the public's help in keeping the "Gum Bunch" from destroying his publication and entered a civil suit charging illegal oppression of his journal. A month later, L'Engle announced that the boycott had failed and that his paper's advertisers were returning. In February 1906, the *Sun* published the names of two operators who had weakened the contract by refusing to abide by its terms, and finally in April, L'Engle announced that the stockholders had repudiated the agreement.¹²

"Legalized land grabbing" was another of the *Sun's* exposures. L'Engle described how a few individuals, whom he threatened to name, had secured control of vast acreage by buying up tax titles. Because of this, L'Engle claimed, the land was passing into the hands of a few men who would reap the benefits of increasing land values as the naval stores industry expanded its operations. The *Sun's* other exposures followed a similar muckraking theme. L'Engle labled a state land company "a trust" and accused it of attempting to keep land prices artificially high. He printed the names of companies involved in a Florida beef trust, a grocery trust, and an electric trust, and he urged the Duval County solicitor, who was then prosecuting an ice trust, to press indictments against these businesses.¹³

Another consistent topic of attack was newspaper standards, a familiar subject of the national muckrakers. L'Engle denounced Florida newspapers as hypocrites because they allegedly sold news and editorial space by the column inch, and he constantly stressed the *Sun's* own high standards. There were other familiar muckraking topics in the *Sun's* agenda. L'Engle analyzed the uneven distribution of wealth in the nation and urged the adoption of a progressive income and inheritance tax. Child labor, patent medicine abuses, and excessive campaign contributions came under his bitter attack. On the other hand, the new state parole

12. *Ibid.*, December 16, 23, 1905, January 13, February 10, April 14, 1906.

13. *Ibid.*, May 5, 19, June 9 July 7, 14, 1906; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity, 1513-1924* (St. Augustine, 1925), 233. See also facsimile edition with introduction by Richard A. Martin (Gainesville, 1964).

system, the direct primary, municipal ownership of public utilities, and conservation were all warmly defended by the *Sun*.¹⁴

Politics and government were major and consistent areas of interest for Claude L'Engle. He advocated electing only "good men" to office so as to assure the successful operation of representative government: "If all the good people would vote. If they would vote only for good people - Graft in public office would cease, political corruption would disappear, and the power of money would not be a factor in governmental affairs." The *Sun* printed the names of the men whom L'Engle felt were not suited for public office and those who he felt had allied themselves too closely with corporate wealth. He attacked the city attorney of Jacksonville for securing waterfront rights for himself and the railroads, and he claimed that the city council had accepted a non-competitive bid from an unqualified contractor only because the latter was a friend and supporter of one of the council members. L'Engle called the Democratic candidate for the legislature from Manatee County a "crook," and he endorsed the Socialist candidate who was elected. Some politicians felt the sting of the *Sun's* criticism at election time, and others enjoyed its support.¹⁵

In the national magazines usually no more than one-fifth of the paper's contents was devoted to muckraking articles.¹⁶ The *Sun* devoted a considerably larger portion of its space to exposures of trusts, corruption, and other state and local abuses. Moreover, L'Engle's philosophy, as expressed in his editorials, was consistent with the muckraking branch of the national progressive movement, and the advertising boycott against the *Sun* was strikingly similar to the experiences of national journals. All things considered, L'Engle's publication is properly labelled a "muckraking journal."

L'Engle had his own particular likes and antipathies which he publicized in the *Sun*. He supported organized labor and was favorable toward immigration; he opposed Negroes and President Theodore Roosevelt. Muckrakers were not totally sympathetic to-

14. Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 171, 173-75; Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, 25, 1905, February 3, 12, 24, March 24, April 21, May 12, 17, June 9, 1906.
15. Jacksonville *Sun*, January 13, February 10, 17, March 3, 24, 21, April 21, May 12, 1906; Cash, *Florida Democratic Party*, 121.
16. Harold U. Faulkner, *The Decline of Laissez Faire, 1897-1917*, VII, *The Economic History of the United States* (New York, 1951), 372.

ward labor, and many pointed out that unions were subject to the same corruption and abuse as the large corporations. Most Progressives feared unions more than they did the monopolies.¹⁷ The *Sun*, however, was very pro-union. L'Engle published favorable accounts of local union activities and articles by union leaders, he leaned toward the union side in a printers' strike against one of the local newspapers, and he continually praised the American Federation of Labor and its president, Samuel Gompers, for the great work they had done "for the working men in the country." L'Engle supported Gompers's decision to have labor enter politics, and stated that if all the people who believed in the principles of organized labor would vote accordingly, "the common people would again rule this country and we would hear no more of trusts and the corruption of Government by the use of money." On another occasion L'Engle wrote "It is a noteworthy fact that a majority of the great movements that have resulted in the advancement of human progress have originated in the labor organizations." There is no readily apparent explanation for L'Engle's labor attitude. Jacksonville does not appear to have provided an atmosphere any more conducive to organized labor than any other city.¹⁸

Immigration was not a major muckraking issue, but it is commonly accepted that the Progressive movement generally opposed immigration since it served as a supply of inexpensive docile labor to be exploited by the huge industrial corporations. Yet, the *Sun* repeatedly urged an increase in immigration. Florida was still a frontier area and needed to increase its population as rapidly as possible. While L'Engle wanted people to move to Florida, he revealed his southern and progressive, if not muckraker, racial bias when he called for "*the right kind of people to settle in the state.*" German, French, or Dutch farmers would be acceptable, he felt. Another *Sun* writer stated that, "We should . . . solicit foreign immigration and in such a manner that we may be able to discriminate as to the class invited."¹⁹

The national muckrakers did not share in the general racism

17. George E. Mowry, *The Era of Theodore Roosevelt and the Birth of Modern America* (New York, 1962), 100-03.

18. Jacksonville *Sun*, December 30, 1905, January 6, February 3, 10, 24, March 24, April 7, 1906; Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida and Vicinity*, 229; Cash, *Florida Democratic Party*, 99.

19. Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, 25, December 2, 1905.

and Anglo-Saxon bias of the progressive movement, and several exposures of mistreatment of Negroes were published. But, unlike the reaction to other exposures, the public, especially in the South, failed to become excited about the Negro's plight. The *Sun's* attitude towards the Negro was the typical contemporary southern view. L'Engle thought that Negro education was not only a waste of tax money, but also dangerous. Negroes, he claimed, "who can read and write *are more criminal than the illiterate negroes.*" The Negro schools at Tuskegee and Talladega, Alabama, he charged, had been "established by money-burdened New Englanders of misdirected philanthropical energy." L'Engle once suggested, not too seriously perhaps, that lynching was the "humane way" to deal with the Negro problem. Later, in a more moderate mood, he further explained his position: "We have no fear that we will be accused of 'negrophilology' . . . pushing the negro forward to a place where he does not belong. We have always expressed our sympathy with the negroes as a race and have done whatever we could, whenever we could, to better their condition. We are perfectly willing and even anxious to see him rise, [but] draw the line at his rising into social equality with the whites, which we do not think will be good for either race." If this statement truly represents L'Engle's sentiments, it can be considered a relatively liberal stand under the existing national and regional conditions.²⁰

Many muckrakers were ardent supporters of Theodore Roosevelt, and most Progressives were willing to back him when he advocated liberal legislation. But the *Sun* violently opposed the president and missed no opportunity to criticize him. L'Engle joined in the general southern criticism when Roosevelt invited Booker T. Washington to the White House, and he opposed the administration's foreign policy program. L'Engle's analysis of Roosevelt's political maneuverings were astute, and he accurately

20. Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 152; Filler, *Crusaders for American Liberalism*, 280-82, 276-7; Weinberg, *Muckrakers*, 216, 233; Chalmers, *Ideas of the Muckrakers*, 114; *Jacksonville Sun*, January 6, February 10, March 3, 24, 1906. In March 1907, after L'Engle had moved the *Sun* to Tallahassee, *Cosmopolitan* published an expose of the convict lease system in Florida used by Standard Oil, Henry M. Flagler's Florida East Coast Railway, and the lumber and turpentine trusts, which the magazine called a system of "Chattel slavery" of both whites and Negroes. L'Engle branded the charges "wild exaggerations" and accused the newspapers and magazines printing them of poor journalism. See *Tallahassee Sun*, November 17, 1906, March 30, 1907.

pointed out Roosevelt's opportunism, his effective use of publicity, and his meager legislative accomplishments. L'Engle's opposition to Roosevelt can probably be explained by his Democratic partisanship, his southern heritage, and what he believed was his ability to accurately assess the President's leadership.²¹

Since the *Sun* was obviously a muckraking magazine, and since the journal and L'Engle were synonymous, it follows that L'Engle was a muckraker. Unlike the national writers, he performed a variety of functions. His exposures appeared at times as articles, but more often as editorials, although always under his by-line. The *Sun's* muckraking articles, most of which were written by L'Engle, sometimes slipped into what might be called "expose" or yellow journalism, but this occurred also on the national level. L'Engle was deeply involved in Florida politics, and this was also not unusual for other muckrakers. L'Engle endorsed much of the Progressive movement's philosophy, but he was basically a reform journalist engaged in educating the public to the evils in society.²²

On June 23, 1906, L'Engle moved the *Sun* from Jacksonville to Tallahassee, where, he said, he could better serve the interests of the state. While located in the capitol, he published a daily newspaper, the *Morning Sun*, during the legislative sessions of 1907 and 1909. The weekly *Sun* continued in its familiar muckraking role until September 1908 when financial difficulties again forced L'Engle out of the newspaper business. But again, he was able to gain new support, and in December 1910, L'Engle began a new weekly, the *Dixie*, in Jacksonville. In 1912 he was elected to Congress and did not serve as editor after 1913, but the *Dixie* continued to be published until 1917. L'Engle died two years later, on November 6, 1919.²³

21. Regier, *Era of the Muckrakers*, 114-15, 198; Jacksonville *Sun*, December 12, 1905, January 20, February 3, March 24, 31, April 14, 28, May 19, 1906; Arthur S. Link, *Woodrow Wilson and the Progressive Era, 1910-1917* (New York, 1963), 2.
22. Weinberg, *Muckrakers*, xix-xx; Wesley M. Stout, "The Beachcomber," unidentified newspaper's political column, L'Engle Papers; draft of the Congressional biographical sketch, L'Engle Papers; *St. Augustine Evening Record*, November 13, 1919; Quincy *Gadsden County Times*, November 13, 1919; *Tallahassee Historical Society Annual*, IV (139), 76; Chalmers, *Ideas of the Muckrakers*, 104-05, 110.
23. Jacksonville *Sun*, June 2, 23, July 14, 21, November 10, October 6, 20, 1906; advertising brochure for the Jacksonville *Dixie*, May 22, 1911, L'Engle Papers; *St. Augustine Evening Record*, November 13, 1919.

L'Engle had boasted early in 1906: 'We have made *The Sun the State* paper. It is *more* widely read, more carefully read, oftener quoted, and wields more influence than any other publication whatsoever, that is circulated among Floridians.' The *Sun* did lead in the state in paid subscribers and newsstand sales. This fact, considered along with the success of the "Gum Bunch" exposure, the paper's apparent impact on Florida politics, and L'Engle's later election to Congress shows that the *Sun* did wield influence.²⁴ More important, the *Sun* shows that muckraking journals did operate on the state and local level. Its variations from the majority of the national magazines illustrates the local and regional diversity of the literature of exposure and of the progressive movement in general. The apparent impact of the *Sun* shows that local muckraking, like the national, did have a significant effect.

24. Jacksonville *Sun*, November 18, December 23, 1905, January 27, June 2, 1906; Cash, *Florida Democratic Party*, 122.

FLORIDA'S GOLDEN AGE OF RACING

by ALICE STRICKLAND

THE HONOR of being “the first man to sit behind the controls of a self-propelled road vehicle,” goes to a French army engineer, Nicolas Joseph Cugnot, who in the 1760s designed a monstrous steam carriage to transport artillery. Cugnot’s vehicle was so massive and unwieldy that it knocked over the wall of a courtyard while being tested, and on another occasion turned over on the streets of Paris. Its top speed was from two to six miles per hour.¹

From the steam-misted and gasoline-fumed past of the horseless carriage it is impossible to find out when the first automobile enthusiast challenged another to an exciting race. However, on July 22, 1894 - more than a hundred years after Cugnot’s monster frightened the wits out of Parisians - the “first group of racing automobiles ever to leave a starting line, departed the Porte Maillot in Paris for Rouen.” There were nineteen cars in that historic race that covered almost seventy-nine miles. The highest speed made by these primitive motorcars was a little over eleven miles per hour. The first prize winners had driven vehicles powered by “the petrol motor invented by Herr Daimler of Wurtemberg,” and second prize went to the drivers of an “interesting steam tractor which draws a carriage like a horse.”²

The following year, on June 11, 1895, twenty-two cars roared, hissed, rattled, and steamed at the starting line for a gruelling 732 mile race from Paris to Bordeaux and back. The fastest time was made by Emile Levassor on a two-seater Panhard with a two cylinder, four horsepower Phenix engine. As the race was for four-seaters only, Levassor knew his two-seater would be disqualified, but for two days and forty-eight minutes he gallantly drove the Panhard at an average of 14.91 miles per hour. A four-seater Peugeot was declared the winner, but it came in six hours behind the Panhard. Levassor consoled himself with a gala breakfast of bouillon, poached eggs, and champagne.³

1. Ralph Stein, *The Treasury of the Automobile* (New York, 1961), 16.

2. *Ibid.*, 79-82.

3. *Ibid.*, 84.

Not to be outdone by the French, sporting Americans turned out on Thanksgiving Day, 1895, for the much publicized automobile race sponsored by H. H. Kohlsatt, publisher of the *Chicago Times-Herald*. Winner of this race over Chicago's snow and slush covered roads was Frank Duryea, driving a Duryea. His brother Charles followed him in a sleigh in order to give him a helping hand. In spite of almost insurmountable odds, the valiant Frank finished the fifty-four mile course in eight hours and twenty-three minutes.⁴

Incredible races in Europe, from country to country, in which the heavy-motored, wooden chassis cars panted up narrow tracks over the Alps and skidded over plank-covered mountain rapids, followed for several years. The slaughter became so great - both to drivers and spectators - that the Paris to Madrid race in 1903 - called "The Race to Death" - was stopped by French officials when the racers reached Bordeaux.⁵

Thousands of miles from the gay capital of France with its superb roads and wealthy automobile enthusiasts, a lonely stretch of unique sand on Florida's northeast coast was to become one of the most famous automobile race tracks in the world. This beach ran parallel to two small settlements, Ormond and Daytona, that had been hewn out of heavy woods along the Halifax River, and were almost unknown to the outside world. In 1886 a crude railroad track, the St. Johns and Halifax Railroad, thrust its way through desolate swamps and woodlands from Rolleston to the two settlements. With the arrival of the railroad a young pioneer, John Anderson, and his partner, Joseph D. Price, with the help of New York financier Stephen V. White, built the Ormond Hotel in 1888 on bear-infested land along the east side of the Halifax River. Much to the surprise of skeptics, the frame-built hotel became popular with northern capitalists and socialites.⁶

One of the wealthy guests who came to the Ormond Hotel was a Mr. James Hathaway of Somerville, Massachusetts, who was interested in the new-fangled automobiles and in racing. One day as he attended a bicycle race on the splendid, concrete-like surface of the beach at Ormond, he noticed that bicycle tires left

4. *Ibid.*, 85.

5. *Ibid.*, 89.

6. Alice Strickland, *The Valiant Pioneers; A History of Ormond Beach, Volusia County, Florida* (Miami, 1963), 62, 65.

little or no impression on the hard-packed sand. It was then that Hathaway had his brilliant idea. Why not race automobiles on this fabulous track provided by nature? There was no danger of dust, that blinding terror of early road races in America, and this wide beach extended for about twenty-five miles southward, past Daytona and towards Mosquito Inlet (Ponce de Leon Inlet). Hathaway consulted with an enthusiastic Anderson and Price, and as a result the first two cars rolled out on the beach in mid-April 1902 for a test of speed.⁷

These first racing cars on the silvery strand at Ormond were crude, cumbersome freaks, compared to the sleek, streamlined racers of today. The first car to be timed over the flying mile was Ransom E. Olds "Pirate," described as a "spidery, cantilevered contraption, with a horizontal, watercooled, single cylinder engine; no bodywork; and a sulky-type seat equipped with stirrups." Olds, manufacturer of the first mass-produced automobile, the curved dash Oldsmobile, had sold 2,100 of his popular cars that year at a price of a little over \$600 each. In 1903 he sold 3,750 Oldsmobiles, and in later years made enough money so that he could afford a winter home in Daytona.⁸

The other entrant in the 1902 race was Alexander Winton's Bullet No. 1. Winton, once a bicycle repairman, is credited with making his first gasoline motor car in 1896, and in 1898 receiving \$1,000 for the first automobile sold in America. The Bullet No. 1 had big wooden wheels, the motor was covered with a hood that resembled a large, inverted roasting pan, and the radiator jutted out in front like a metal cage. These rudimentary models of motordom were both timed over the flying mile at the then-gratifying speed of fifty-seven miles per hour. The world's automobile speed record at that time was held by the Frenchman, Augieres, who had driven a Mors at 77.13 miles per hour. The accepted yardstick of speed, then, as later, was the flying mile in America, and the kilometer in Europe.⁹

In that first test of speed, which was to give Ormond the

7. *Ibid.*, 95.

8. John Bentley, *Great American Automobiles* (Englewood Cliffs, 1957), 310.

9. Program, "Sixtieth, Anniversary Birthplace of Speed, Fifth Annual Meet, November, 23-25, 1962, Birthplace of Speed Association, Ormond Beach, Florida," in the possession of the author; *Automobile Quarterly*, I (Summer 1962), 129.

title "Birthplace of Speed in Florida," a motorcyclist, Oscar Hedstrom, also attempted to make a world's speed record. Hedstrom drove an Indian motorcycle but failed to make any outstanding speed. Although no world's speed record was broken, the races at Ormond in 1902 brought the beach to the attention of American and European race drivers as a natural speedway.

The following March, race drivers, newspaper reporters, and guests crowded the elegant Ormond Hotel for the first official races sponsored by the American Automobile Association. Due to the scarcity of roads in Florida, the racing cars were shipped down from the North by rail freight. One year, Olds sent his racer by freight to Jacksonville, then by boat to Palatka, and from Palatka it was driven over rough sand trails to Ormond.

The 1903 races lasted for three days, March 26-28, and the course ran from Ormond south to Daytona. Ransom Olds furnished numbered posts to mark each mile, telegraph wires were strung, and the Mors timing apparatus was used to determine the speed of the cars. One magazine writer complained that the "course was selected more for the convenience of the spectators than the choice of the fastest stretch," and that there was no chance for the drivers to practice before the race started. Hundreds of spectators arrived in horse and mule-drawn wagons, on bicycles, and there were even a few automobiles. Most of the crowd gathered around the starting line, a few preferred the dunes, and about 100 people waited at the finishing line. An article in *Motor Age* commented: "It was a worthy audience for a distant and sparsely peopled land."¹⁰

A new Winton racer, the Bullet No. 2, had clutch trouble, and the mechanics worked feverishly and ingeniously to repair the breakdown. They "dismantled a barrel and did the job with one of its iron hoops"; on another occasion they made a friction spring for the Bullet with a piece of iron from the local blacksmith's shop.¹¹ As they sped across the sand the drivers found that their cars lacked sufficient traction. At first they thought it was due to the clutches, but later, when they compared notes, they realized that the solid racer tires failed to get enough traction

10. *Motor Age*, III (April 1903), 2, 3, photostat copy in the possession of C. C. Baldwin, chairman, Birthplace of Speed Association, Ormond Beach, Florida.

11. *Ibid.*, 5.

from the smooth beach sand. Alexander Winton's solution to this problem was to cut notches in his tires. Later it was suggested that leather cleats be attached to the tires to afford traction. Oscar Hedstrom was back again hoping to achieve a speed record for motorcycles. An affidavit was sworn to on March 28, 1903, at Ormond, by Captain Henry G. Opdyke of New York, engineer of the American Automobile Association and its official timer; Frank X. Mudd, of Chicago, treasurer of the Chicago Automobile Club, assistant timer; Leonard D. Fisk, president of the Hartford, Connecticut Automobile Club, assistant timer; and John C. Pittepher, a Daytona electrician who was also an assistant timer. This document established the following records as authenticated by a Mors electrical timing apparatus, in the automobile speed records of the world:

One mile, flying start, made by Alexander Winton, driving the Winton Bullet, in fifty-two and one fifth seconds; one mile flying start, made by H. T. Thomas, driving Oldsmobile racer, "Pirate," in one minute, six and three-fourths seconds; one mile, flying start, made by Oscar Hedstrom, driving an Indian motorcycle, in one minute, three and one fifth seconds; one kilometer, flying start, made by Alexander Winton, driving a Winton Bullet: time 0.32 $\frac{4}{5}$; one kilometer, flying start, made by H. T. Thomas, driving Oldsmobile racer, "Pirate": time 0.41 $\frac{4}{5}$; one kilometer, flying start, made by Oscar Hedstrom, driving an Indian motorcycle: time 0.39.¹² J. F. Hathaway, whose brilliant idea had sparked these Ormond-Daytona beach races, was there with his Stanley Steamer. He had two time trials, and the best time he made was 1:28 $\frac{2}{5}$.

Automobile racing created both interest and excitement in the Ormond-Daytona area, and the Florida East Coast Automobile Association was organized. Headquarters were in Daytona and plans were made for annual winter race meets. Officers were Dr. H. H. Seelye, president; W. H. Peters, first vice-president; John Parkinson, secretary; and S. H. Gove, treasurer. The executive committee included J. A. Hendricks as chairman, and C. R. Oliver, E. G. Harris, J. F. Hathaway, W. J. Morgan, R. E. Olds, Captain C. A. Young, Louis Adler, J. D. Price, Frank X. Mudd, Alexander Winton, J. P. Beckwith, and C. B. Ryan. John Jacob

12. Daytona Beach *Observer*, March 5, 1938, quoting the Daytona *Gazette News*, April 4, 1903.

Astor, a later victim of the *Titanic* disaster, and Alfred Gwynne Vanderbilt, became members of the Association. Astor sent his check for payment of the yearly dues of \$10.00 shortly before he left on his fatal voyage. Warren G. Harding, before he became President, was a speaker at one of the association banquets. A large clubhouse was built on the sandunes at Daytona, and a grandstand on the beach, covered with bunting and flags, held officials and important personages during the races.¹³

“Senator” W. J. Morgan, a former newspaper reporter and publicity expert, was made official representative of the Florida East Coast Automobile Association in America and Europe. In 1886 he had taken the first American bicycle team to Berlin, and became a promoter also of motorcycle and automobile racing. He was described as “America’s leading advocate of good roads” and for a long time was known as “Good Roads Morgan.” He had received the sobriquet of “Senator” at a bicycle race when the state senator, who was to be speaker, failed to show up. Morgan was asked to fill in for the senator and did so well with his speech that he was known from then on as “Senator” Morgan.¹⁴

The “Senator” and his cohorts were so successful with the promotion of the Ormond-Daytona races that special trains were required to transport the crowds of racing enthusiasts who filled the local hotels and boarding houses during the races. In January 1904, the popular Ormond Hotel was overflowing with celebrities, and Managers Anderson and Price were well rewarded for their early promotion of the races. William K. Vanderbilt, the renowned architect Stanford White, Irene Bentley, a famous actress of the times, and Count D’Armande were among the spectators at the 1904 race. One of the disappointed race drivers was a young man named Henry Ford, who had borrowed money to transport his handbuilt racer, the “999,” down to Florida, only to have an axle break in transit. Ford lacked the funds to have the axle repaired, and because of straightened circumstances he was sleeping in a tent and eating cheese and crackers.¹⁵

Even before the official races started in 1904, Otto Nestman,

13. *Ibid.*; Strickland, *Valiant Pioneers*, 98.

14. *Daytona Beach Smday News-Journal*, March 10, 1929.

15. Bentley, *American Automobiles*, 316; Ianthe B. Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County, Florida, 1854-1954* (Daytona Beach, 1955), 161. Some writers say that Ford’s axle was bent, and others say that it was broken.

driving a Stevens-Duryea, and Charles Schmidt behind the wheel of a Packard Gray Wolf, held a private race in which Nestman made 62.9 miles per hour. Barney Oldfield, the famous, cigar-chewing regular of the race tracks, was on hand to drive Alexander Winton's Bullet No. 2 against S. B. Stevens' Mercedes, F. A. LaRoche's Darracq, and W. W. Brokaw's Renault. Time was lost in lining up the cars for the start, and LaRoche's Darracq caught fire and was eliminated. Barney Oldfield won this race driving at a speed of 83.72 miles per hour.¹⁶

The most exciting event of the 1904 races was when William K. Vanderbilt, nattily attired and sporting a luxurious mustache, drove his sleek, 90 horsepower Mercedes to achieve a world speed record of 92.30 miles an hour. A large wooden "39" was erected across the front of the Florida East Coast Automobile Association's clubhouse in commemoration of the thirty-nine seconds the Mercedes had covered the racing mile.¹⁷

A lavish ball for the benefit of the National Good Roads Association was held in the casino of the Ormond Hotel the evening of William Vanderbilt's triumph. The next night the association held a convention at the Daytona Opera House which was attended by Florida Governor William S. Jennings, Florida State Senator W. S. Mann, and other notables. Plans for a garage to accommodate a hundred cars were made, and eventually the Ormond Garage, a long, peaked-roofed building, was erected on East Granada Avenue, east of the Ormond Hotel. Famous racing cars were assembled and serviced in its spacious interior and some of the well-known race drivers often slept in the garage in order to keep a protective eye on their machines. This historic building is still in use.¹⁸

M. W. Ehlich, driving a Panhard in the twenty mile handicap, was injured when one of his racer's rear wheels buckled as he was making the turn at the Daytona end of the beach. Ehlich suffered cuts from his broken goggles and an injured shoulder when the Panhard turned over. The ever-optimistic Oscar Hedstrom, riding a five horsepower Indian motorcycle in the one mile

16. *The Automobile*, New York, February 6, 1904. 162. Photostat copy in the possession of C. C. Baldwin, chairman, Birthplace of Speed Association, Ormond Beach.

17. *Ibid.*

18. *Ibid.*

race, was beaten by Glenn H. Curtiss with a five horsepowerd Curtiss in 0:59 1/5. ¹⁹

An amusing sidelight of the race took place when A. R. Pardington, chairman of the American Automobile Association racing board, and Alfred Reeves were driving a Peerless on the beach at night. A high wind extinguished the automobile lamps and the car was steered into the ocean. After an hour's struggle to pull the Peerless out of the waves, the effort was abandoned and the men walked back to Ormond. The car, much the worse for salt water and sand, was recovered a few days later. ²⁰

The foreign invasion began on the beach at Ormond-Daytona in 1905 and signified the international interest in the Florida races. The 1905 races were announced as open events, instead of the earlier invitational races which "Senator" Morgan had insisted upon in order to keep out undesirable drivers and freak machines. On January 25, 1905, an enthusiastic crowd of 4,000 watched a young Scotsman, Arthur McDonald, drive a 90 horsepowerd Napier down the beach to set the world speed record of 104.6 miles per hour. McDonald received the beautiful sterling silver Miller trophy, and ever since a replica of this trophy is given for the best restored racing-type car at the Antique Car Meet held annually in Ormond Beach. ²¹ McDonald hardly had time to receive the acclaim of the spectators when H. L. Bowden, driving a green eight-cylinder Mercedes, called the "Flying Dutchman," over the sands, set a new world record of 109.756 miles an hour. However, Bowden's record was disqualified because of the excessive weight of his double-engined, 120-horsepowered car, and McDonald's record remained. ²²

The first fatal accident of the Daytona races occurred in 1905 when Frank Croker, son of Richard Croker, the alleged "boss" of Tammany Hall, was killed on the beach. Croker was finishing a test run in a seventy-five horsepowerd Simplex when he swerved to avoid hitting Newton F. Stanley, nephew of steam car builder, F. E. Stanley, who was riding a motorcycle. Croker's car turned over into the ocean, and the waves buckled the hood,

19. *Ibid.*, 165-66.

20. *Ibid.*, 167.

21. Program, November 26, 1961, Birthplace of Speed Association, Ormond Beach.

22. *Automobile Quarterly* (Summer 1962), 131.

crushing his chest. Stanley suffered a compound fracture of the leg.²³

The year 1906 was a great triumph for American automobile racing. On January 26, Fred Marriott became the first American driving an American-built car, to set a world's speed record-127.6 miles per hour - on famous Ormond-Daytona beach. Marriott was also the first man to drive two miles a minute, and became known thereafter as the "Fastest Man on Earth." His winning machine, that freak of automobiles, was a Stanley Steamer.²⁴

The brilliant, bearded, farm-bred twins, F. E. and F. O. Stanley, saw their first automobile at a fair in 1896 and decided they could build a better one, which they proceeded to do. It took them only a year to accomplish this incredible feat, and by 1899 they were making 200 cars a year. The red racer they built especially for Marriott had a body that looked like an inverted canoe, was steered by a tiller, weighed 1,600 pounds, and was called the Stanley "Rocket." On one of the practice runs before the race, the light front end of the "Rocket" became airborne for more than sixty feet, and Marriott had the terrifying experience of driving the racer on the rear wheels only. This problem was taken care of, however, when more weight was added to the front of the machine.²⁵

Three days after winning the title of "Fastest Man on Earth," Marriott raced the "Rocket" against a huge, 200 horsepower Darracq, driven by the Frenchman, Victor Demogeot. This time the steamer lost to the gasoline-propelled machine with a record of 58.4/5 seconds for the two miles, and in a colorful ceremony Demogeot was crowned "Automobile Speed King of the World." The *Florida Times-Union* had offered a special \$1,000 trophy made of gold, silver, and enamel to the winner of this event, and had sponsored a contest for the most beautiful and popular girl in Florida who would be given the honor of crowning the "Speed King." Pretty Mary Simrall, of Ormond, won the contest and with a flowery speech presented the trophy to the tall young Frenchman.²⁶

23. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, March 10, 1929.

24. Bentley, *Great American Automobiles*, 332.

25. Stein, *Treasury of the Automobile*, 108.

26. *Jacksonville Florida Times-Union*, March 22, 1953.

Other famous race drivers at the 1906 meet were Chevrolet, Clifford-Earp, Vaughn, Cedrino, and the dashing Vincenzo Lancia. The latter had been known to race while swigging champagne and bellowing snatches of grand opera. Lancia drove a Fiat for fifteen miles at ninety-miles an hour at the 1906 races, and Clifford-Earp drove a Napier 100 miles at 79.253 miles per hour.²⁷

In 1907 Fred Marriott was back with the "Rocket" for another attempt to make a world's record. During the practice runs he discovered that the beach was not in good condition and that the ebbing tide had left depressions in the sand six or seven feet wide and an inch deep. However, he was determined to make the attempt, and, at high speed, he ran through the first depression without trouble, but when he came to the second one, "the car went up like a kite," and Marriott sailed through the air for 100 feet. The "Rocket" broke in half, and was strewn over the beach and in the ocean. Marriott received a hole in his jaw, several broken ribs, a gash in his scalp, and his right eye was forced out of its socket. In spite of these injuries, Marriott recovered within a month and was able to officiate at another race. J. C. Robinson, a pioneer settler of Seville, Volusia County, recalls seeing the race and Marriott's accident. After the accident he and a young friend bought up some plumber's pipe, cut it into small pieces, and sold it to the credulous as souvenirs of the wrecked Stanley "Rocket."²⁸

It was in March 1910, that the colorful Barney Oldfield, chewing as usual on the cold stub of a cigar which acted as a shock absorber for his teeth, set a world record on the Ormond-Daytona beach race course. This time Oldfield was driving a white and gold German racer, the Blitzen "Lightning" Benz. The Benz chassis had been drilled "like a Swiss cheese in an effort to reduce weight, and was described as a "howling, flame-belching monster guaranteed to awe spectators." The powerful machine with its famous driver at the wheel dashed over the course to make a speed record of 131,724 miles per hour.²⁹

A year later, "Wild Bob" Burman, driving the Benz which he

27. Bentley, *Great American Automobiles*, 331.

28. *Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal*, January 22, 1956; interview with J. C. Robinson, early settler of Seville, Florida.

29. Bentley, *Great American Automobiles*, 337.

had bought from Oldfield, established a new world's speed record of 141 miles per hour. The beach was not in good condition when Burman drove to triumph, and years later he told a friend, "One mountainous hump which I negotiated threw me clear out of the seat, and my foot slipped off the throttle instantly, but I was back again quicker than I could realize what I had done. My death grip on that steering wheel was the only thing that kept me from flying out of my seat."³⁰

For eight years after Burman made his record, Florida automobile racing suffered a lull. It was not until 1919 that Ralph DePalma brought a twin-six Packard to the beach to make a new world record of 149.875 miles per hour. This was the first time since Marriott's triumph in 1906 that an American racing an American car had set a world record. In 1920, Tommy Milton drove an American Duesenberg Special over the mile at 156.046 and set another record. In the midst of the race, when the Duesenberg's mighty engine was open full throttle, a careless spectator backed his Model T Ford across the beach in front of the speeding racer. Only by a miracle did the intrepid Milton brush past the "Tin Lizzie" and live to make his record.³¹

From 1920 until 1927 there were no outstanding races on the beach. Drivers were making records on the huge track at Indianapolis and many thought that big-time racing on the beach had ended. During this period, stock cars such as the Fronty, Chevrolet, Chrysler, and Hall-Scott raced for small prizes of \$25.00 to 125.00 each. Automobile racing on the once-famous beach race course, seemed destined for an inglorious end. Then, in January 1927, it received a spectacular revival when a Daytona Beach paper announced: "Major H. O. D. Segrave, famous English automobile racer, will visit this city early in February in an attempt to send his newest creation, a 1,000 horsepower Sunbeam, faster than any car has ever travelled."³²

The arrival of the tall, slender, red-haired Englishman and his flame-red streamlined "Mystery S" racing car inaugurated a new Golden Age of racing to the beach. To accommodate the powerful racer's expected speed of 200 miles an hour, the race

30. Fred J. Wagner, *The Saga of the Roaring Road* (Los Angeles, 1949), 88.

31. *Automobile Quarterly* (Summer 1962), 132.

32. *Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal*, January 2, 1927.

course was marked out for thirteen miles and extended from the Ocean Pier at Daytona, southward towards Ponce de Leon Inlet. On March 27, 1927, an estimated crowd of 15,000 watched excitedly as the white-helmeted Segrave drove his Sunbeam racer to set a new world record of 203.792 miles an hour. The world's record until that time had been held by a fellow Briton, Captain Malcolm Campbell, who earlier that year had driven his racer over the Pendine Sands in Wales at 174.95 miles per hour.³³

The gauntlet of speed was again thrown down, and three challengers accepted it the following year. Captain Malcolm Campbell arrived with his racer, the "Bluebird," and was followed by two Americans, Frank Lockhart with a sixteen-cylinder Stutz Blackhawk, and J. M. White with a monstrous racer called the "Triplex" that contained three 500 horse power Liberty motors. The beach, Campbell found, was not in good condition, but he insisted on making the run, and, as a result, almost wrecked his racer when he struck a bumpy stretch of the beach which nearly threw him out of his seat, knocked his goggles askew, and almost made him lose control of the car. His wife, seated in the grandstand, hid her face until friends assured her that her husband was safe. In spite of his almost disastrous experience, Campbell set a new world's record of 206.95 miles per hour.³⁴

The daredevil young driver, Frank Lockhart, was towed out to the beach in his small, beautiful white racer, on February 22, 1928, for an attempt to return the speed record to America. It was not a good day for racing with rain and mist falling like a drab curtain over the beach. A few of the disappointed spectators went home, but Lockhart waited impatiently for the weather to change. When the rain stopped for a few moments, Lockhart decided to race. Experienced drivers and the remaining spectators were apprehensive as they watched for the Stutz Blackhawk to come through the mist. Suddenly the ghostly white racer came hurtling down the beach on its northward run. Higher and higher on the beach the little racer roared until it spun into soft sand, and skidding, bouncing, and somersaulting, it finally came to a crashing, upright halt in the ocean. Thousands of people rushed from the dunes and converged on the wrecked car. Miraculously

33. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, February 13, 1928; Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 168.

34. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, February 20, 1928.

the gallant Lockhart was still alive, but painfully trapped in the crushed body of the racer. Waves were pouring over the smashed hood and into Lockhart's nose and mouth. A quick-thinking young track driver climbed back of Lockhart and covered his mouth and nose with his hands as the water broke over him. When the waves receded he would remove his hands and shout to Lockhart, "Now breathe!" In this manner Lockhart was saved from drowning.³⁵ Trucks arrived with cables which quickly pulled the crumpled racer to the beach and Lockhart was released from the wreckage. It was estimated that the speed of the Stutz Blackhawk was over 200 miles an hour when it ran into difficulties. The plucky Lockhart soon recovered from the accident and announced that he would rebuild the Blackhawk and return to race again.³⁶

J. M. White, a Philadelphia sportsman and wire manufacturer, could not find a driver for his huge Triplex which was rumored to have some of its parts held together with baling wire. White did not think streamlining was necessary in a racer, and the Triplex's body lacked the wind-resistant, scientific lines of the British cars. However, late in the spring of 1928, White found a little known professional dirt track racer, twenty-seven year old Ray Keech, to drive the Triplex.³⁷

The crowds gathered again along the white sandunes on April 22, to watch another exciting speed meet. They soon learned that Keech was a tough and stubborn driver. Once he was scalded on the leg by steam from a broken hose, but he was determined to break the record, and after many trial runs he drove the Triplex to make a new world's record of 207.55 miles an hour.³⁸

Three days later, April 25, Frank Lockhart's rebuilt Stutz Blackhawk was again towed onto the beach to challenge the Triplex's record. As Lockhart was making his fourth run on the beach, about 500 yards from the grandstand, the right rear tire of his Blackhawk blew out. Horrified spectators watched as the car swerved, then as it hurtled through the air like a toy racer thrown by an angry child. Lockhart was killed in the mangling

35. *Ibid.*, February, 23, 1929; Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 174-75.

36. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, February 23, 1928.

37. *Ibid.*, April 23, 1928.

38. *Ibid.*

crash; he had given his life for the speed he loved. Ironically, the Blackhawk had set a record for Class D cars - 198.29 miles per hour.³⁹ A tribute to the brave young driver was given in a racing program the following year: "Frank Lockhart died as he would have wished to die - 'in the game' - in another brave attempt to prove a man-made machine greater than the forces of nature that contend against it. His spirit will be a welcome one among the great army of men who have worked, lived and died for the cause of progress."⁴⁰

With the rapid breaking of world speed records posing a yearly challenge, Henry Segrave again crossed the ocean in 1929 with his racing car, the Golden Arrow. The 800 horsepower Napier-engined racer was probably the most beautiful racing car ever to flash over the inflexible grey sands of Daytona. It was low slung, with a rudder-like fin in the rear, and its gold paint glistened in the sunlight. Segrave had also brought along his wife, and his speedboat, which was christened Miss England at the seawall bordering the Halifax River at Daytona.⁴¹

The board of judges at the speed trials included Captain Eddie Rickenbacker and Gar Wood, the speedboat racer. Chief timer was Odis Porter, who had invented an electrical timing device that was used for many races on the beach. "Senator" Morgan, now an old man, was on hand to reminisce about the early races he had promoted and to watch these modern speed demons try for new world records.⁴²

There was a long stretch of solid packed sand south of Daytona on which the Golden Arrow would try to break the world's speed record set by Ray Keech the year before in the Triplex. Three shrill blasts of the siren on top of the fire station at Daytona Beach on the morning of March 11 summoned a huge crowd of people to witness the Golden Arrow make a new speed record of 231.36 miles an hour. Now it was up to White's Triplex to break the record again.⁴³

The name of the driver of the Triplex was kept secret by White until just a few hours before the race. White had chosen

39. Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 178.

40. Official Program, "World's Record Speed Trials, 26th Anniversary of Racing, Daytona Beach, Florida, March 1 to 15, 1929, Birthplace of Speed Association, Ormond Beach."

41. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, March 10, 1929.

42. *Ibid.*, April 25, 1928.

43. Bentley, *American Automobiles*, 358.

Lee Bible, a well-liked mechanic and racer who was operating a garage and repair shop in Daytona. There seemed to be a premonition of disaster among the tense spectators as they watched the massive, cumbersome Triplex flash down the beach with a grim-looking Lee Bible at the wheel. Near the north end of the measured mile, Charles Traub, Pathe News photographer, set up his camera on a tripod in the sand. Through the camera lens he could see the Triplex zoom out of the distance and rocket closer. Suddenly black smoke shot out of its exhaust, and Traub realized something was wrong. As the racer roared out of control, closer and closer, Traub ran for the dunes, but he was too late, and the smoking monster struck him with such force that his body was strewn in pieces over the beach and sandunes. Ironically, his camera stood upright and unscathed where he had left it.⁴⁴

Rolling and bouncing in murderous loops, the Triplex mangled its driver and finally came to a screeching halt on the beach. All along the sandunes the crowds stood silent with shock for a second, and then low moans and cries arose from the spectators as they saw the tangled wreckage and the mutilated bodies of Traub and Lee Bible. Some of these same spectators saw the last reel of film from Traub's undamaged camera on the screen of a local theatre a short time later. More than one person in the audience cringed in his seat as he saw the last terrifying scene of the Triplex hurtling down the beach towards the camera.⁴⁵

The American Automobile Association ended the speed trials after the accident, and Segrave and his racer returned to England. The next year, 1930, however, another Englishman decided to try for a new record. His name was Kaye Don, winner of track and road races in England and on the Continent. He brought with him the Sunbeam Motor Company's newest racer, the Silver Bullet. This contender for the world's speed record had two twelve-cylinder engines mounted tandem. It was described as being "31 feet long - the longest record challenger ever seen on the beach." With all its careful designing and great power, the Silver Bullet did not break the world's record. Engine trouble and faulty shock absorbers cut down the Bullet's speed, and its best record was about 190 miles per hour.⁴⁶

44. Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 180.

45. *Daytona Beach News-Journal*, March 13, 1929. The author saw this accident as a teen-aged spectator, and later saw the reel of film from Traub's camera at the Vivian Theatre, Daytona Beach.

Segrave and Campbell were knighted for their feats in capturing world speed records at Daytona Beach. Segrave never returned to Florida; his luck ran out when he was driving the speedboat, *Miss England II*. The boat turned over at high speed on a lake in England and Segrave was killed. Sir Malcolm Campbell returned to the beach race course in 1931, and for several years he tried to achieve a speed goal of 300 miles an hour. In 1932, he set a new record of 253.96 miles per hour with the Bluebird, but this was still far short of the speed he hoped to make. In 1933, he drove the Bluebird, with a 2,500 horsepower Rolls Royce, supercharged aviation engine, down the long grey stretch. This time he made 272.108 miles per hour - a little closer to his goal. The following year, he remained in England working on a car that he hoped would be more powerful than the others. There were no challengers that year. In 1935, Campbell returned with a Bluebird that had cost a small fortune to develop. It was thirty feet long, weighed five tons, and was powered with a special 2,500 horsepower Rolls Royce V-12, supercharged engine. The specially-built tires cost \$1,800 each, and when it made its spectacular run on the beach the Bluebird burned up three gallons of gasoline a minute. On March 7, 1935, Campbell made a new world's record of 276.816 miles per hour. The Bluebird's mighty engine had been expected to make greater speed, but the body of the racing car was poorly balanced and "rocked back and forth at high speed." The tires also gave trouble and were badly frayed at the end of the record run.⁴⁷

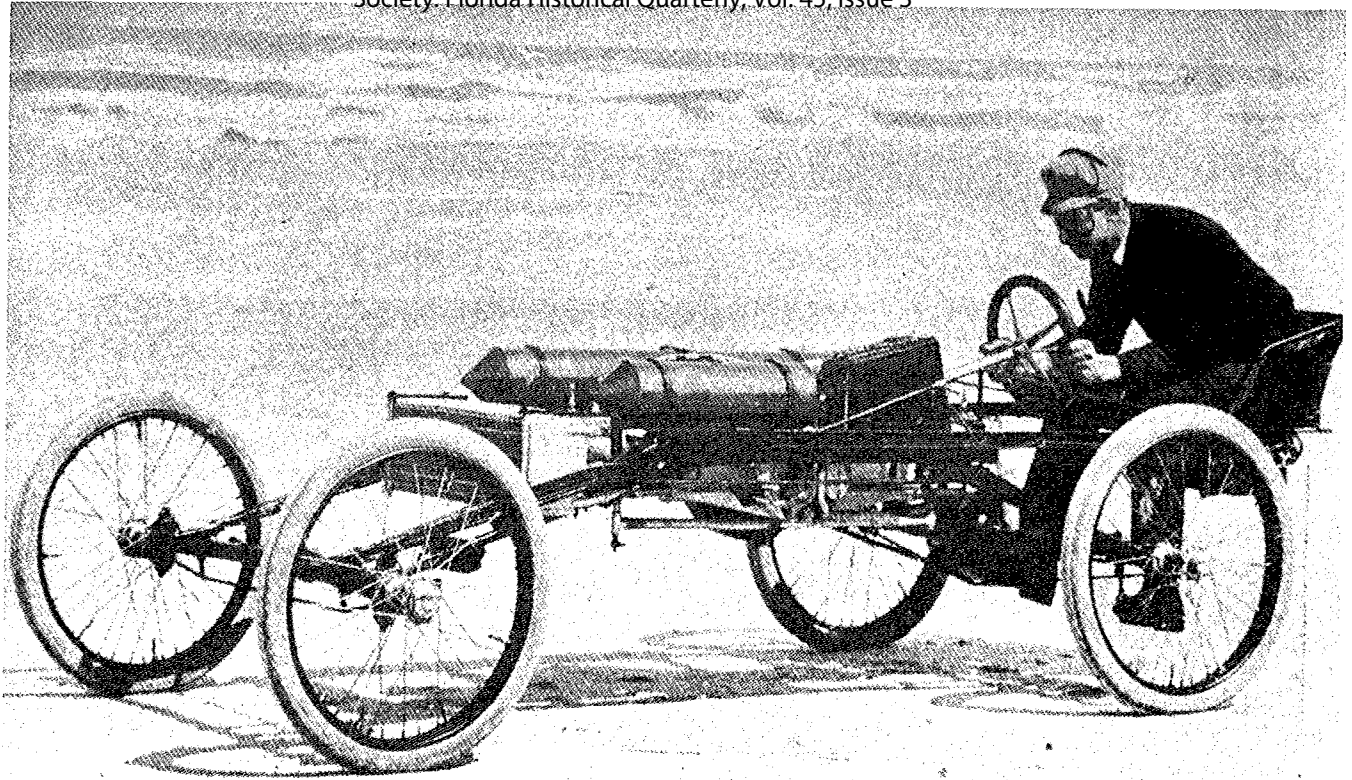
Campbell's 1935 attempt was his last on the beach speedway. His interest turned to the Bonneville Salt Flats where there were no problems of tides or treacherous sand gullies. It was there he finally made his record of 300 miles an hour. The 1935 Bluebird, the last of the great racing cars to speed down the beach, is now on exhibit at the Museum of Speed, South Daytona.⁴⁸

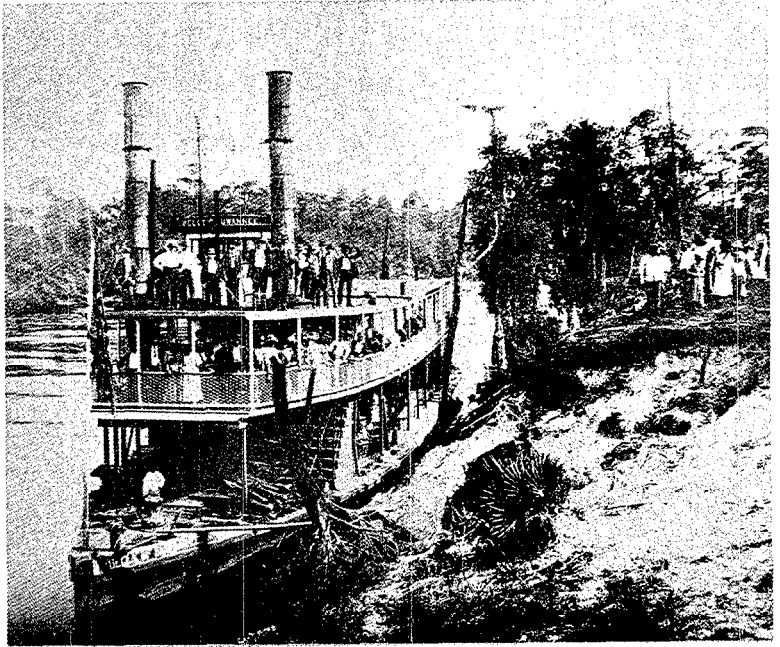
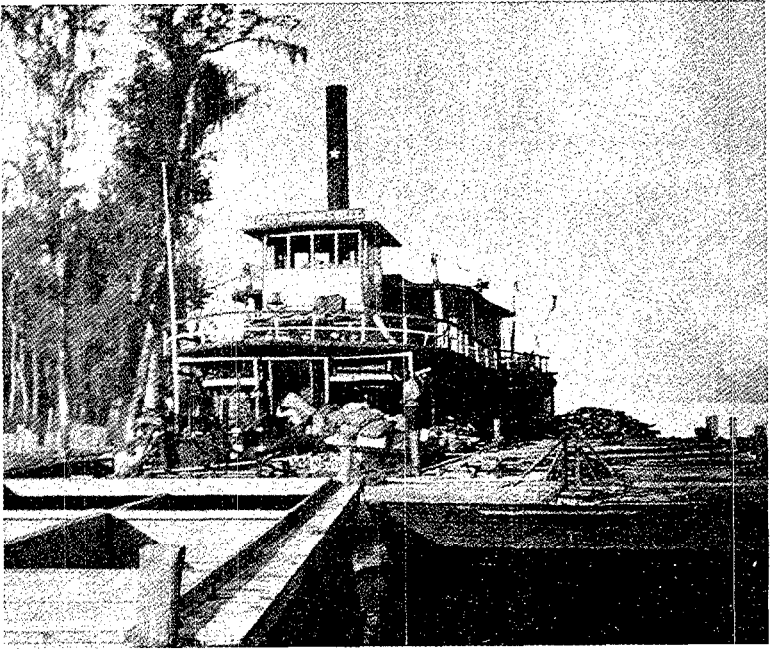
The Golden Age of racing that had started over thirty years before with the Pirate and Bullet No. 1, ended with the Bluebird. Stock cars raced on the beach for years afterwards, but the giants of the racing cars had had their day - their tremendous speed required a longer and more predictable speedway.

46. Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 182-83.

47. "Museum of Speed (brochure), winter issue, 1958-59, Daytona Beach, Florida; Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 185.

48. Hebel, *Centennial History of Volusia County*, 185.





SUWANNEE RIVER STEAMBOATING *

by E. A. MUELLER

STEPHEN COLLINS FOSTER'S famous song, "Way Down Upon the Suwannee River," has probably done more than anything else to elevate this relatively minor Florida river to a position of fame that it otherwise would not have achieved. Now the official state song of Florida, it was written in 1851 while Foster was in Pittsburgh, Pennsylvania. He had originally decided to title it, "Way Down Upon The Pee Dee River," but fortunately he changed his mind, and, as the story goes, examined a map and discovered the name of the little-known Florida river. Foster had certainly not seen the Suwannee when he wrote the song, and it is not known whether he ever viewed the river that he made famous. It is possible that he came to Florida from Charleston in 1852, or perhaps later when he was visiting in New Orleans. Positive proof appears to be lacking, however, although speculation goes on.¹

The Suwannee rises in the swampy by-waters of the Okefenokee Swamp, some 217 miles away from its eventual union with the Gulf of Mexico. Almost always a lazy river, it twists a winding course most of the way to the Gulf. However, with the start of the spring rains, the peaceful character of the Suwannee changes. At its source, it is 120 feet above sea level and drains some 5,346 miles of southern Georgia and just over 5,000 square miles in Florida. Prolonged rains charge and raise the water level of these swamp lands, and the river changes from its customary slowness to a turbulent boiling mass. At no place on the first 150 miles is the river very broad, and the mass of water often overflows the banks of the lower river.

When the spring rains end, the river slowly recedes and becomes a mixture of brown swamp and crystal spring water. The brown comes from the tannic acid content fostered by the contact in the swamp with cypress, palmetto, and pine. Starting near

* Around the time of the Civil War, Suwannee was spelled with only one "n." However, in this article we have used the modern form throughout for consistency except in quotations and titles.

1. Live Oak *Suwannee Democrat*, May 26, 1939. Also newspaper clippings of articles by W. T. Cash, late state librarian, in the possession of the author.

White Sulphur Springs (now White Springs, Florida), the amber water is diluted with the water of many hundreds of springs for the remainder of its journey to the Gulf. The three main springs, White Springs, Suwannee, and Fanning, have a flow of several thousand gallons per minute, but most are small and unnoticed. Around the turn of the century, White Sulphur Springs was a popular bathing resort and the springs were noted for their curative powers. However, modern medicine and changing social habits have done away with most of this, and the springs boil merrily away, unaware of their diminished commercial possibilities.

Steamboating on Florida waters apparently began in the 1830s.² From the little information that is available, it would appear that steamboats did not penetrate any significant distance up the Suwannee before 1835. During the Second Seminole War, several forts and camps were built on or near the Suwannee, and if maritime operations in other Florida waters are any example, supplies and reinforcements would have been transported to these outposts on chartered or government-owned steamboats. Certainly, steamboats were operating on the lower reaches of the Suwannee in 1836. Government dispatches mention the *Minerva* in service along with other steamboats at the Suwannee's mouth, and the *Izard*, a government craft, was lost at the mouth of the Withlacoochee River after leaving the Suwannee.³

Early travelers bewail the fact that despite the Suwannee's traversing many miles into Florida's interior, accessibility to the north central area could only be achieved via the St. Johns River and Black Creek, a tributary of the St. Johns, on Florida's east coast. In 1839 a proposal was made to clear away the oyster bars at the Suwannee's mouth and to eliminate obstructions in the lower river. A nine-foot channel was recommended, the proposal implying that a six-foot depth was all that then prevailed.⁴

Evidently, navigation improvements were made sometime during this period since by 1845 at least one steamboat was using the river on a regular basis. According to an item appearing in the

2. Edward A. Mueller, "East Coast Florida Steamboating, 1831-1861," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXX (January 1962), 242.

3. Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida: 1828-1834*, 26 vols. (Washington, 1959), XXV, 347-48, 350.

4. *Ibid.*, 605-06.

St. Augustine News in 1845, the first commercial steamer was the *Orpheus*: "Our readers may remember that it has been in contemplation for some time past to establish a mail route, by steamers, upon the Suwannee from Cedar Keys to Fort White, to be connected thence with the St. Johns by stage. . . . The steamboat, 'Orpheus' built in New Orleans, expressly for the purpose, has arrived and taken her station on the route. We learn that she is a most beautiful vessel, 136 feet in length, and is fitted up in fine style with 18 staterooms. She will carry the U. S. Mail from Cedar Keys to the new town of Santa Fe on the Santa Fe River, in Columbia County, once a week and will also run up the Suwannee to the flourishing town of Columbus."⁵

While this account might be at some variance with the facts, it is known that the only *Orpheus* listed in Lytle's *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868*⁶ was built in Pittsburgh in 1841. Three years later, she was registered at St. Marks, Florida, the nearest point of entry for any Suwannee vessel at the time. The *Orpheus* remained in operation until 1847. She met her end in some manner on the Suwannee, as a newspaper of the day advertised an auction for her remains where they lay.

Pioneer North Florida in the years before the Civil War was thinly populated and the landscape was sparsely dotted with small villages and isolated farms. Cotton was a mainstay of the area, and there were a few sizeable and flourishing plantations, usually near or along the banks of navigable rivers. According to a contributor to the *St. Augustine News* in 1843 the town of Columbus in Suwannee County could keep any steamboat busy: "There are two large stores well stocked with goods and several more being built. . . . Wagons are continually coming in loaded with cotton and other productions of the soil. I was informed by a gentleman that goods to the amount of a thousand dollars per day have been disposed of here. . . . Over three thousand bales of cotton have been shipped down the river this fall from Columbus, and a great number of bales are now piled on the banks of the river. The site of Columbus is certainly most desirable. A beautiful boiling spring in its midst and surrounded by rich and

5. *St. Augustine News*, October 25, 1845.

6. Information on the *Orpheus* and the other steamboats in this article is derived from William M. Lytle, comp., *Merchant Steam Vessels of the United States, 1807-1868* (Mystic, Connecticut, 1952), and vessel information documents, National Archives, Washington, D. C.

fertile lands. It is distant from the mouth of the Suwannee 180 miles, navigable for steamboats . . . as high as the Upper Mineral Springs. I understand that two steamers have actually been that high up and found no difficulty in the depth of the water. I am surprised that some enterprising person has not, ere this, placed a boat on this river, there being enough produce sent down to keep one well employed.”⁷

After the *Orpheus*, the next recorded steamboat appears to be the *Glasgow*. She was originally from Louisville, Kentucky, and was enrolled also in St. Marks from 1849 to 1851, and possibly for an even longer time. During the latter period of her enrollment, she served on the Suwannee, but the exact time or nature of her operations is unknown. The records list shows her as being forty-nine tons registry and as having one deck and a square stern. She was 100 feet long, nineteen feet wide, and two feet nine inches deep. Her depth was admirably suited to the shallow water reaches of the river. The *Glasgow's* master and part-owner during the time that she operated in Florida was David Bell.

James Tucker, a native of Kentucky, was another Florida river man of importance at this time. Because of his father's death and his mother's remarriage, Tucker, at an early age, ran away from home and engaged in steamboating on the Mississippi and Ohio rivers. Later he settled in Florida and operated boats in the Suwannee area. Around 1854 or 1855, he evidently returned to New Albany, Indiana, and arranged for the construction of a steamboat for use on the Suwannee. She was named the *Madison* after the small Florida community in Jefferson County where Tucker lived for a period.⁸ Ninety-nine tons (120 feet long, 22 feet wide, and 4 feet deep), she had a plain head and round stern. Her first Florida owner was E. Richards of Cedar Key, and her first master was W. P. Pegman (or Pigman), who was Tucker's partner.

With his *Madison*, Captain Tucker won a mail contract to run on the Suwannee, and Columbus became the terminal for the twice-a-month service which began at the town of Bayport, Florida, on the Gulf of Mexico. According to a Fernandina newspaper

7. Charles H. Anderson, "Way Down Upon the Suwannee," *Florida Wildlife*, III (February 1950), 11, 14.

8. Information on Captain James Tucker supplied by his great-grandson, Lieutenant Colonel George McRory of Sandy Springs, Maryland, who used family records in his possession.

advertisement, "The U. S. Mail steamer, Madison, Captain James Tucker, makes a semi-monthly trip between Bayport (Hernando County) and Columbus. The steamer leaves Bayport on the 3rd and 19th and Columbus on the 12th and 26th of each month and connects at Cedar Key with New Orleans and Key West steamers." Cedar Key was an important transfer point at the time for the New Orleans-Key West trade.

In 1859 Captain Tucker brought another steamboat, the *Colonel Cottrell*, into the area. All we know is that she came via Fernandina and was well appointed.⁹ The Lytle List does not name a *Colonel Cottrell* and there is no further reference to her except that one of Captain Tucker's descendants mentions her running in the Suwannee area. A Cottrell, or Cotrell, family of some means lived at Old Town on the Suwannee in those days, and the craft may have been named for them. Tucker also was associated with another steamboat, the *Everglade*, in 1859-1860, which plied from Savannah to the St. Johns River and which had the mail contract. In the meantime, Tucker had turned operations of the *Madison* over to his cousin, C. C. Young, and he transferred his personal and business activities to the Fernandina area. For a year or so before the Civil War, Tucker enjoyed a large income, including some \$30,000 a year from his two mail contracts.

John Caldwell, a contemporary of Tucker's and later a newspaperman, left an account of the *Madison* and its activities on the Suwannee River: ". . . [no vessel] has ever excited more interest than the steamboat Madison did to us scattered Crackers, along the Suwannee River in the days before the advent of railroads, or the beginning of the Confederate war. The Madison was owned and operated by Capt. James M. Tucker and ran from Cedar Key as high up the river as the height of the water would permit. The Madison made one round trip every week from Cedar Key. She always went as high up as Grab, two miles from Troy, on what is now the Suwannee side of the river and where Nathaniel Bryan operated a store, postoffice and farm. When the water was high enough, the boat would go as far up the river as Columbus.

"On one occasion the Madison made a trip as high up as White Springs. A number of persons, Capt. Tucker among them, were anxious to have the Suwannee River declared a navigable

9. Fernandina *East Floridian*, July 21, 1859.

stream as high up as White Springs, but the necessary legislation could not be obtained, because no boat had ever navigated the river higher than Columbus. When this state of affairs was reported to Capt. Tucker he swore than he'd be damned if he didn't put the Madison in White Springs if he had to run her up there on wheels. Just here was an instance where 'fortune favored the brave,' for Tucker didn't know what the word 'fear' meant. It began to rain, the river began to rise and it kept on raining and the river kept on rising, till the Suwannee overflowed its banks and ran away out in the woods. Capt. Tucker steamed up the Madison and put out for White Springs: he got there; got back, but his smokestacks and pilot house were gone. By the time he got the Madison thoroughly repaired the Suwannee river was declared to be a navigable stream from its mouth to White Springs.

"The Madison carried a line of general merchandise which was traded to the settlers for money, venison, hams, cow hides, deer skins, tallow, beeswax, honey, chickens, eggs, hogs, and beeves. There was no warehouse on the river and the boat would tie up at a landing and stay as long as the people wanted to trade and then move on to the next landing. The Madison had a whistle that could be heard ten miles and this whistle was blown at intervals to give the people time to reach the landing with their produce. When the Confederate war began Capt. Tucker raised a company of Confederate soldiers . . . orders came for Capt. Tucker and his company to go to Virginia where the company was afterwards known as Company H, 8th Florida Infantry.¹⁰

"It was about September, 1863, if the writer remembers correctly, when the Madison was abandoned by Capt. Tucker and he was going to sink her in Old Troy Springs, intending to raise her when the war should cease. A number of citizens living near Troy wanted the boat to bring a load of corn up from Old Town and Capt. Tucker turned her over to them, told them to use her as long as they wished and then sink her for him in Old Troy Springs. The load of corn was duly brought to Troy, unloaded, and at 2 o'clock in the afternoon of a bright sunny day E. J. Davis,

10. James Tucker enlisted in a military company at Columbus, Florida, which became part of the Eighth Florida Infantry. He resigned from service because of ill health on September 3, 1862. Later, in 1863 and 1864, he was a blockade runner on the St. Marys and St. Johns rivers. See *Soldiers of Florida in the Seminole Indian-Civil and Spanish-American Wars* (Tallahassee, 1903), 201.

Jno. M. Caldwell (the author) and Joab Ward ran the Madison from Troy landing into the spring, pulled out her plugs and sat there and watched her till she rested on the bottom. During the war her boilers were removed, split lengthwise, carried to the sea coast and used in the manufacture of salt. Her smokestacks were cut up into convenient lengths and used by neighboring farmers as funnels for their sugar furnaces. The cabins were torn up and the lumber used by whomsoever wanted it, and when the war ended, all that remained of the Madison was her hull resting on the rocks under the crystal waters of Old Troy spring-and there it remains today.”¹¹

The steamboat remains that Caldwell refers to are still visible today but appear to be those of a much smaller craft. Whether there were two *Madisons*, the second being built to capitalize on the fame of the first, or whether the *Colonel Cottrell* or some other unknown vessel could be the one in question, perhaps will never be known. There is a boat at Troy Springs, however; there is no doubt of that.

For all practical purposes, the Civil War halted for a time steamboat activity on the Suwannee River. The first Federal naval raid in Florida was against Cedar Key, the Gulf coast terminus of the Florida Railroad and a center for blockade running. A landing party from the *USS Hatteras* descended on the town on January 16, 1862, and destroyed the railroad depot and wharf, seven freight cars, the telegraph office, warehouses, three sloops, four schooners, and a ferry barge. With the fall of Cedar Key and resultant control of the nearby Suwannee by Federal blockaders, steamboat operations were impossible on the river. Union craft ascended the Suwannee on several occasions, searching for salt works and Confederate blockade runners.

After the war there was some attempt to revive activity on the Suwannee, but the few people there were not too much interested in trade. Cedar Key, however, quickly recovered from the war and had achieved both prominence and prosperity by the end of the nineteenth century. Several large pencil factories (Eagle, Dixon, Eberhard-Faber) and lumber-based industries were located there, all of which demanded transportation of raw products and supplies. The aromatic red cedar that grew profusely along the

11. John M. Caldwell, "Steamboat Madison," unpublished mss., copied by Historical Records Survey, State Archives Survey, 1937.

Florida Gulf coast was used in pencils of that day and was in great demand.

The *Wawenock* was the first-known steamboat in operation on the Suwannee River after the Civil War. Built in Wicasset, Maine, in November 1863, she was used by the United States government during the war. Later, from 1865 to 1868, she operated out of Norfolk, Virginia. Originally some 103 tons (109' x 19' x 4.5') she was enlarged in 1868 to 128 tons (118' x 27' x 5'). The *Wawenock* moved south by way of Charleston, and then, according to an advertisement, she was running in the spring of 1872 from Cedar Key to New Troy on the Suwannee River. She connected on a once-a-week basis at Cedar Key with the vessels plying the Gulf between Key West and New Orleans. Captain John Gleason was master of the *Wawenock*. She sailed on the Suwannee until the late summer of 1874, and then moved first to Pensacola and six months later to New Orleans. She remained in operation until 1880 when she was dismantled and broken up.

About the time of the *Wawenock's* move to Pensacola in 1874, Captain Gleason became interested in a steamboat under construction in Cedar Key, the *David L. Yulee*. She emerged as an eighty-nine ton affair (82' x 22' x 4') with a plain head, square stern, and one deck. Presumably, Gleason only held a small investment in the *David L. Yulee* and went with the *Wawenock* when she moved on to Pensacola. The records are not concise on whether the *Yulee* operated only on the Suwannee, but certainly most of her life was spent on that river. She was mainly a freight carrier and was plainly built. In 1885, she was condemned and her owners abandoned her. One of the best-known captains of the Suwannee area, Samuel C. Reddick, was once owner of the *Yulee*, and was listed as her master of record for most of her life.

The two-decked *Erie*, built in Jacksonville in 1876, was the next craft to appear on the Suwannee. She was thirty-four tons (70' x 21' x 4.3') with a plain head and a round stern (later described as a square stern). She came to Cedar Key in the summer of 1880 and plied the Suwannee, being owned in part by merchants residing along the river. In 1883 she was sold to investors in Manatee County and was moved out of the area early the following year. The records show that in 1883 she carried

three officers and a twelve-man crew. Likely she also carried passengers on occasion, and she hauled a variety of supplies and goods.

Steamboat activities on all Florida rivers were seriously threatened during the 1880s by the increasing number of railroads that were crisscrossing the state. At first, it seemed like the railroads would complement steamer operations. Henry Bradley Plant of the Plant System played a significant role in the history of Suwannee steamboating. While his steamer operations were always subordinate to his railroad and land development schemes, he did operate boats on several rivers, mainly the St. Johns and the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River system. The Plant line boasted first class craft, most of which were refugees from other waters, principally from New England ports. Plant also used his steamers to help construct his railroads, and they hauled railroad iron, cross ties, and other freight. They also served as fill-ins for missing rail linkages, providing profitable adjuncts in the rapidly growing Plant system.

Plant began running the *Caddo Belle* on the Suwannee in July 1883, and continued this operation until the fall of 1885 when the steamer was abandoned as being unfit for service. The *Caddo Belle* was never very successful and had a rather chequered career. She was built in Portsmouth, Ohio, in 1880, and operated out of New Orleans until 1881, when she was transferred first to the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River run (Apalachicola to Columbus, Georgia), and then to the Suwannee. The *Caddo Belle* was 167 tons (125' x 25' x 3.5'). She had two decks and was listed as a stern wheeler. Like many Suwannee steamers, she carried passengers on her upper deck and freight on her lower. She was advertised in travel literature of the day as carrying passengers who could connect with the railroad at Branford, Florida.

Another area vessel that may have run on the Suwannee was the *Eva*. Samuel Reddick was her captain, and one of her owners was John Miller of Tampa who owned several vessels that ran to Tampa from Gulf coast ports like Cedar Key and St. Marks. *Eva's* dimensions seem more appropriate to a river run than to an ocean run; she was 115 tons (100' x 22' x 3.5'), had a plain head and square stern, and is listed as having some type of

enclosure on her upper deck. She was built in New Orleans in 1875, and was in service from November 1881 to April 1883, when she was wrecked and sunk.

Another Suwannee River craft that was literally a vagabond was the *Bertha Lee*, built on the Ohio River in 1879. Under command of Captain Benjamin Franklin Hall, Jr., she came down to Fort Myers in 1883. She was intended to traverse the Kissimmee River and its connecting lakes from Kissimmee to Lake Okeechobee and perhaps the Caloosahatchee River. One of the most celebrated steamboat stories extant in Florida is that concerning her struggle in getting from Fort Myers to Kissimmee after she had successfully come down the Ohio and Mississippi and had moved through the Gulf to Fort Myers. It took fifty-two days for the trip from Fort Myers to Kissimmee (ordinarily a three to five day voyage), and at times the *Bertha Lee's* crew literally had to cut their own channel, either with shovels or by washing her stern wheel.¹²

The steamer was just too large for the crooked, shallow Kissimmee, and she was used around Kissimmee City for moonlight excursions. Her owners decided to transport her to the St. Johns River, then in dire need of steamboats, and so she left Fort Myers. In the meantime, financing for the owners failed, and the *Bertha Lee* was sold to Captain Hall for her debts. He brought her to the Suwannee River in the latter part of 1885 or early 1886.

The *Bertha Lee* was a two-decked stern-wheeled vessel, 121 gross tons (130' x 21' x 3.8'). The length of time that she was in service on the Suwannee is uncertain, but it was long enough for her to become identified with the river. She left there for a more lucrative charter on the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River, running cotton from Columbus, Georgia, to the Gulf. She was wrecked by her pilot in the Moccasin Bend cutoff shortly after Captain Hall had spent \$10,000, his life savings, in repairs. After this accident, Hall worked as a night clerk in a Kissimmee hotel for a while, until he had enough of a stake to buy another steamer. He eventually ran several small steamboats from Kissimmee to Lake Okeechobee.

12. Interviews and correspondence between the author and Captain Edward H. Hall of Houston, Texas, son of Captain Benjamin F. Hall, Jr.

One of the most colorful figures to appear on the Suwannee scene was Robert Absalom Ivey. Probably no other person was so closely identified with the river. Born in 1840 in Baldwin County, Georgia, he came to Florida as a youth. At the age of sixteen, he joined the Confederate Army as a water boy, and participated in several engagements. Some time after the war, Ivey and his two brothers, Jess and F. C., moved to Branford, Florida, where they went into business and began buying up land. Ivey was a good friend of George F. Drew who lived with his family at Ellaville, across the river from Columbus. Drew, who served as governor of Florida (1877-1881), owned a saw mill at Branford and valuable naval stores operations. Ivey had similar interests, and the two men worked closely together. Ivey, or Captain Bob as he was known, was also associated with Henry B. Plant, and supposedly was responsible for having the name of the town of Rowland's Bluff changed to New Branford (New was dropped later) in honor of Plant's home town, Branford, Connecticut.¹³

Ivey's career is closely identified with Branford. Never a large community, it was once, however, the upstream capital of the Suwannee River country, and much of its growth and progress was due to Captain Bob Ivey. In 1885, Branford was a frontier community of some 350 people, with an express and telegraph office, two schools, a Methodist church, five general stores, a drug store, several grist and saw mills, and a hotel built by Ivey to accommodate his steamboat passengers. In the surrounding Suwannee countryside there were seven turpentine stills, and there were four saw mills at Luraville, Ellaville, Branford, and Wanee. Cotton was grown on the farms and plantations in the area, particularly around Luraville, and was shipped via the river to Branford for rail shipment to the North and East.

13. Information on Captain Robert Ivey, Dan McQueen, and other personalities and boats of the period derived from: Souvenir Program, Suwannee County Centennial, September 28-October 4, 1958, in possession of the author; *Live Oak Suwannee Democrat*, October 1959; *Branford Herald*, January 2, 1951; interviews with Mr. and Mrs. R. A. George, Lake City, 1962-1964; interview with E. K. Hamilton, Live Oak, an expert on Suwannee steamboating; interviews and correspondence with Cecil Rowell, Trenton, 1962-1963; interviews with and newspaper clippings in the possession of Edgar F. Ivey, St. Petersburg, a nephew of Robert Ivey; miscellaneous newspaper clippings and correspondence between Robert Ivey and T. R. Hodges, various dates in the 1940s, in the possession of Edgar F. Ivey.

Steamboats in the area were a necessity since there were few railroads or roads. Keeping sawmills and turpentine camps in operation required large quantities of goods and supplies, all of which were usually hauled up river from Cedar Key. The naval stores and timber products were then taken on board and later were shipped by rail out of Branford to Savannah and other east coast ports. Cattle feed was an important cargo item that could be hauled cheaply by boat. Each landing had its own dock or used sloping timbers placed on the steep banks. "Skidder" type machinery pulled heavy items from the boat decks to the tops of the banks. At Branford, the docks were located near the railroad depot to facilitate boat-to-rail transfers. As the steamer approached a landing, it would blow its shrill whistle, and crowds attracted by the noise would gather to watch the unloading, to receive or ship goods, to stroll on board, and to participate in the general socializing and news-gathering that went with steamboating.

Captain Ivey's first venture in the steamboat business was in the building or perhaps the rebuilding of the *Suwanee*. Spelled all her life with one "n," she was a fifty-ton vessel (70' x 16.5' x 4'). Once Thomas Alva Edison the noted inventor was a passenger aboard the *Suwanee*. It is believed that her engines came out of the *Susie B*, which was built at Middleport, Ohio, in 1880. She was originally named the *St. Jacobs Oil* by the Baltimore drug firm which owned her and which used her to transport and advertise the company's "pain killing oil." In March 1883, she was sold to the New Orleans Times Democrat Publishing Company and her name was changed to the *Susie B*. Shortly afterwards, the steamer was purchased by Captain H. M. Burnhurt who enrolled her at St. Marks. The *Susie B* probably worked in the waters around Cedar Key until 1887. Then, Captain T. A. Wallace, a former locomotive engineer from South Carolina, bought her and used her in the cedar towing business in the Gulf and on the Withlacoochee River. He used the upper deck of the steamer for living quarters for his family.¹⁴

Wallace owned the *Susie B* until December 1888, when, according to the records, she was "wrecked by owner." The following year Captain Ivey utilized the engines in the steamer *Suwanee*, which was first documented in July 1889. The matter could be

14. Captain Frederick Way, Jr., *Waterways Journal* (no date), in the possession of the author.

left to lie here except that Captain Wallace's daughter does not think that the *Susie B* was ever rebuilt or that the *Suwanee* was built at Branford; she thinks that the two boats were one and the same.¹⁵

The *Suwanee* was sold in September 1889 to E. W. Prince of Carlson, Florida, and to Curtis Crawford. Prince became sole owner in June 1890, and probably ran the vessel on the Withlacoochee River until August 1898. She then went to Punta Gorda where her new owners, Conrad and Fred Menge, used her on the Caloosahatchee River to run between Fort Myers and Lake Okeechobee. She was also used for excursions and was chartered occasionally by Edison for fishing expeditions. The *Suwanee* was snagged near Moore Haven in the 1920s and sank. She lay in the water until 1926. Henry Ford was a friend of Edison and had a winter home in Fort Myers. In 1926, while engaged in building his Greenfield Village and the Henry Ford Museum at Dearborn, Michigan, he contracted with Conrad Menge to build a steamboat for him. Menge salvaged the old engines of the *Suwanee*, those of the *Anah C*, and perhaps those of the *Thomas A. Edison*, and transported them to Michigan to be installed in the little steamer, appropriately named the *Suwanee*, that he had built for the shallow lagoon where she floats today.

Captain Ivey was involved in the construction of other craft used on the Suwannee River. In 1889 he built a dredge for the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers which was also named *Suwanee*. A stem-wheeled ninety-five tonner (100' x 24' x 5'), with a rather ungraceful scow model type hull, she was initially used on her namesake river to clear snags and to do dredging. She also worked on the Ocklawaha and other Florida and Gulf coast rivers until May 1911, when she was sold by the government to the Hillsborough Dredging Company of Tampa. Her name was changed to *Dredge Hester*, but she remained in service only until July 23, 1911, when she burned at the Narrows south of Indian Rock in Tampa Bay.

The next steamboat built by Captain Ivey at Branford was the famed *Belle of Suwanee*, the most celebrated of any of the Suwannee craft. Completed in 1889, she was a typical tow-decked stern wheeler of her day (111' x 24' x 4'), and of 180 net tons.

15. Mrs. J. S. Brush to the author, November 12, 1963.

Belle of Suwanee was named after Captain Ivey's oldest daughter, Bertha, his only child by his first wife Elizabeth. Bertha christened the *Belle* at her launching.¹⁶ *Belle of Suwanee* became a "legend in her own time" and perhaps because of this, exact information is somewhat difficult to find. One reason for her fame was the bridal chambers that Ivey installed aboard. A Suwannee River honeymoon became a Florida highlight in the gay nineties.¹⁷

Belle's captains were some of the best known of the day and included Leo L. Hodges, J. N. Crevasse, and T. A. Wallace of Cedar Key, and John W. Fitzgerald of the St. Johns and Savannah area. Her last captain was J. E. Dorsett. More widely known than even her captains was her celebrated mulatto pilot, Dan McQueen. Born a slave in July 1860 around the Old Town area, Dan, at the age of eleven, started his steamboating career when he signed on the *Wawenock* as a dishwasher. He worked on the *David Yulee* for six years learning the steamboat business under Sam Reddick and received a wage of three dollars a month. He became mate of the *Yulee* in 1879 and his wages increased to forty dollars a month. He also served aboard the *Bertha Lee* on the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers. In 1889 he was teaching at a Negro school in Old Town, and in August of that year he came to Branford to help Ivey build the *Belle*. He served as her pilot for many years. *Belle* handled the usual river cargoes but occasionally had the novel experience of freighting ice to Luraville where Dr. Perry A. McIntosh, prominent frontier physician, had an ice house. Ice packed in sawdust was brought to Cedar Key by sailing ship from New England and then transferred to river steamers like the *Belle*.

The *Belle of Suwanee's* typical crew numbered fifteen, including captain, engineer, pilot, purser, and sometimes a mate; the remainder were deck hands, roustabouts, and engine room helpers. Most of the non-officer personnel were Negroes. However, some of the best qualified pilots on the Suwannee River were Negroes, including, besides Dan McQueen, Spencer Campbell, and Clifton Lane. McQueen had a master's and pilot's license for many miles of waterways other than the Suwannee and on some documents is listed as captain of other Suwannee craft.

16. In later life, Bertha Ivey married F. H. George, prominent citizen and civic leader in Branford. He served as judge and mayor of the town.

17. Jacksonville *Florida Times-Union*, November 19, 1961.

Suwannee steamboats like the *Belle* burned pine-lighter cord wood which was usually stacked starting slightly aft of the bow and going to and around the boilers on the lower deck. Wood was purchased at landings along the river, generally for about two or three dollars a cord. The lower deck space, not taken up by wood or machinery, was used for freight. Lighting on the boats was by means of kerosene lamps and the cuisine, featuring Suwannee River catfish, was advertised as being "the best the market could afford."

The *Belle of Suwanee*, bridal chambers notwithstanding, did not have the river to herself. The *Bertha Lee* and *Suwanee* were probably not in service at the time, but about 1893, the *Sam Pyles* arrived on the scene. She had been purchased by the Plant Investment Company in December 1892, perhaps as a consort to *Belle*. The *Sam Pyles*, a Florida product also, had been built at Panasoffkee, Florida, in 1885, with two decks and a stern wheel. She was rather small (76' x 17' x 3.7') and was able to carry very few passengers, if any at all. She was named after her first owner, Samuel R. Pyles of Panasoffkee, who was her skipper until she was sold to the Plant company. Prior to coming to the Suwannee, the *Sam Pyles* ran on the Withlacoochee River and Lakes Apopka, Tsala, and Panasoffkee.

In May 1899 the South Florida and Western Railroad Company purchased the steamer and operated her for four years. She was then sold to a large naval stores concern based in Savannah. She had many well-known captains including E. T. Pooser and Robert Stapleton of Cedar Key, Dan McQueen, and Alf Davis. The *Sam Pyles* was eventually owned by the Gulf Coast Transportation Company, but record of her after 1909 is lost.

Captain E. L. Magruder brought a Georgia import, the *Louisa*, to the Suwannee River in 1894. Built at Dublin, Georgia, in 1890, the *Louisa* was 200 net tons (101' x 25' x 5'). She was transferred to the Suwannee from her run on coastal Georgia rivers. Captain E. L. Magruder owned the *Louisa*, and, in addition to his Suwannee activities, he was an owner and master on the Chattahoochee-Apalachicola River systems for many years. He lived at Apalachicola much of the time. His *Louisa* was a typical southern river steamboat of the day. Fitted up with several staterooms, she gave *Belle* worthy competition.

To meet the *Louisa's* challenge, Captain Ivey constructed his largest craft, the *C D Owens*, in 1895. A vessel of some 231 tons (135' x 33' x 4.8'), the *C D Owens* was named for an official of the Savannah, Florida and Western Railroad who was Ivey's friend. She was originally owned by the Suwannee River Steamboat Company, an Ivey venture in part.

A devastating hurricane hit Cedar Key and the lower Suwannee in the fall of 1896, and the entire economy of the area was severely affected. The *Belle of Suwanee* lost her pilot house and stacks. Dan McQueen was pilot, but he had tied her up and had left the pilot house so that he was not injured. Many lives were lost, property damage was heavy, and much timber in the area was leveled. For a day or so, it was feared that *Belle* and her passengers were lost, but she managed to limp into Cedar Key and reported that all was well. Not so with the *Sam Pyles*; she was hit hard and blown ashore in a swampy area.

The next year, still suffering from the effects of the hurricane, Ivey sold the *Belle of Suwanee* to Captain Magruder who owned her about a year before selling her to a group of Branford men. During her last years, until she sank in September 1900, the *Belle of Suwanee* was used in the towing of rafts to Cedar Key. On Friday, July 6, 1900, while about twenty-five miles north of the mouth of Suwannee near Horseshoe Bay, the *Belle's* seams opened up in a heavy sea and she sank in eight feet of water. Her captain, J. E. Dorsett, tried to save the cargo by floating it ashore in a raft. The *Louisa* also left Florida waters; Magruder sold her to interests in South Carolina. She was abandoned in the Georgetown area in 1904.

The Suwannee River Steamboat Company sold the *C D Owens* to the Independent Navigation Company, a Magruder-dominated firm that owned her until she was destroyed by fire on March 21, 1899, at Columbus, Georgia. Magruder was captain during the later years of the Owens, and he made several trips with her on the Apalachicola River.

Around 1898, Robert Ivey bought the *C U Sheppherd*, which had been constructed at Jacksonville in 1892. She had been used to haul phosphate on the Withlacoochee River. The *Sheppherd* was twelve net tons (52' x 18' x 3.3'), and was a shallow-water tug type of vessel. After Ivey, the Suwannee River Steamboat

Company owned her in 1901-1902, but by 1904 she was no longer active.

Steamboating had passed its prime on the Suwannee after 1896, but a last fling was taken by Magruder when his Independent Navigation Company brought the *Thetis* in. Arriving in the fall of 1898, she was an Apalachicola craft, some sixty-one tons (97' x 19.5' x 3.8'). She was a one-decked vessel and insofar as is known she did not carry passengers. Dan McQueen worked on her for over a year under Magruder and then for the Suwannee River Steamboat Company which bought the vessel in March 1900. Under one consortium of owners or another, *Thetis* was around until the winter of 1913 when she was dismantled. Leo Hodges, Dan McQueen, and W. C. Lane were some of her captains during this period.

A few months after the *Thetis* arrived, the Gulf Transportation Company, last owners of the *C U Sheppard*, brought in the *City of Hawkinsville*, one of the largest vessels ever to operate on the Suwannee. The *City of Hawkinsville* was built at Abbeville, Georgia, in 1896, and was 319 tons (141' x 31' x 5.7'). She first plied between Hawkinsville, Georgia, and Darien on the Altamaha River, and then in the summer of 1900, she came to Florida. The *City of Hawkinsville* was active for many years in the Gulf around Cedar Key, towing for the pencil factories. The *Hawkinsville* continued running until 1914, when stripped of her metal and machinery, she was abandoned by her last captain, M. Currie.

One of the last steamboats to arrive on the Suwannee was the *Three States*, owned by the Suwannee River Steamboat Company. She was a conventional two-decked river vessel of some 126 tons (140' x 25' x 4.2'), and had been built in 1898 at Apalachicola. She ran on the Suwannee from May to October 1901, and then on the Apalachicola-Chattahoochee River until some time after 1909, when she passed from view.

Three steamboats still lie in the Suwannee. The *City of Hawkinsville* is still where Captain Currie left her in 1914, about a half-mile upriver from the point where US 19 highway crosses at Fanning Springs. Water completely covers her moldering remains.¹⁸ The *David Yulee*, some parts of her still protruding above

18. Interview with Hampton Smith, Trenton, Florida, 1962.

the surface, lies in an offshoot near the mouth of the Suwannee. Trees now grow where once stacks poured smoke, furnaces were stoked, and Dan McQueen learned his trade. A few side boards serve to remind the occasional motorboat owner and fisherman that a steamboat once steamed down the channel. The *Madison* is still in the depths at Troy Springs. The steamers are gone, but the people, many of them descendants of nineteenth century pioneers, remain, and the lazy brown waters of the Suwannee still move slowly down from the Georgia swamps out into the Gulf of Mexico.

A FOOTNOTE ON RENE LAUDONNIERE

by CHARLES E. BENNETT

THE FORT CAROLINE NATIONAL MEMORIAL, a facility of the National park Service near Jacksonville, includes the reconstructed sixteenth century fort and an interpretive museum, the latter containing priceless American and European artifacts. Fort Caroline, established by the French in 1564 under the leadership of Rene Laudonniere, was then the only European settlement in the territory which is now the United States. It was conquered in 1565 by Spanish forces under Pedro Menendez d'Aviles, who founded Saint Augustine, the country's oldest city.¹

For the past century it has been assumed that the only existing signature of Laudonniere was a receipt signed by him in 1573, now on display at the Fort Caroline Museum. Scholars and researchers believed that a 1572 contract, under which Laudonniere agreed to undertake another American voyage, had been destroyed by fire. The Marquis de Goulaine, in the *Bulletin de La Section de Geographie, Comite des Travaux Historiques et Scientifiques*, described his search and concluded that only the 1573 signature had survived.²

Salome Mandel of Paris, writer and student of history, recently discovered the original 1572 contract in the Charente-Maritime Archives, La Rochelle, France. The Fort Caroline National Memorial Museum has received a copy of the 1572 signature, and an examination by scholars shows that the Laudonniere signature on the document is authentic.

Miss Mandel also fixed definitely the date of Laudonniere's death. Biographies of Laudonniere have either omitted any date or have suggested 1582. Miss Mandel visited the place where he was last known to reside and there in the archives of the city

1. Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline* (Gainesville, 1964).
2. Marquis de Goulaine, *Bulletin de La Section de Geographie, Comite des Historiques et Scientifiques*, LXIII (Paris, 1953), 67.

of Saint-Germain-en-Laye found the following sixteenth century death certificate:

Le 24 juillet 1574, mourut M. le Capitaine
Laudonniere et fut inhumé le lendemain.³

The Marquis de Goulaine's article discusses Laudonniere's ancestry and describes the ancient seat of the Goulaine family. The article suggests that Laudonniere may have been the son of Jean de Goulaine VI and his wife, whose name before marriage was Helene du Chaffault. If this is correct, then Jean de Goulaine VII, an ardent Protestant, was Rene Laudonniere's brother. It is not known why Laudonniere used the name of the family holdings as his last name instead of Goulaine, although this was not an unusual practice in those days.

The Goulaine family's chateau was destroyed in 1794. As Samuel de Goulaine described it in 1655, it contained the usual plantation appurtenances - pond, forests, vineyards, gardens, dove cotes, farmlands, and farm manufacturies. Gravestones from its chapel are preserved today in the archaeological museum at Nantes, France; and two ancient stone pillars still mark the spot where the chateau stood.

Actually Laudonniere's connection with the Goulaine family has not been firmly proved and rests on circumstantial evidence, even though the link is highly probable. The two signatures are simply "R Laudonniere"; although, as the Marquis de Goulaine points out, others claim to have seen supposedly-lost Laudonniere signatures with the Goulaine name included.

If there is a scarcity of detail about Laudonniere's background, there is a larger, more important puzzle as to the purpose, destination, and collapse of the planned French expedition which was to sail from La Rochelle in 1573. Conceivably, Laudonniere's contract for a commercial voyage at about the same time and from the same port was a cover for his participation in the large expeditionary force, the story of which is reported in Charles de la Ronciere, *Histoire de La Marine Francaise*.⁴

3. Death notice, No. 118s de Annee 1574, Registre des Acts de Deces, Department de Seine-et-Oise, Ville de Saint-Germain-en-Laye, official transcript in the possession of the author.

4. Charles de la Ronciere, *Histoire de La Marine Francaise*, IV (Paris, 1910), 122.

I have the honor to acknowledge the receipt of your letter of the 23rd inst. and in reply to inform you that the same has been forwarded to the proper authorities for their consideration. I am sorry that I cannot give you a more definite answer at this time, but I will endeavor to do so as soon as possible.

Very respectfully,
 [Signature]

[Date]

[Address]

[Additional notes and signatures]

BOOK REVIEWS

The First Coming to America of the Book of Common Prayer, Florida, July 1565. By William M. Robinson, Jr. (Austin: The Church Historical Society, 1965. 47 pp. Preface and dedication. \$.75.)

This fine booklet ranges over far more history than the one incident described in the title. Indeed, it might well have been entitled: "Early Explorations in Spanish Florida, The Reformation in England, Evolution of the Book of Common Prayer, Daily Religious Practices of John Hawkins and His Squadron, The Capture of Fort Caroline, and The Massacre at Matanzas, With Incidental Reference to the Presumptive Use of the *Book of Common Prayer* by Hawkins' Squadron at Fort Caroline from July 24 to 28 (Julian calendar), 1565."

The author's speculation that Commodore Hawkins and his men prayed from the *Book of Common Prayer* during Hawkins' short visit to Port Caroline occupies four pages of this study. The remaining forty-three pages are given over to background, and a rich and varied background it is, all of it well organized, amply footnoted, and described in stately prose. It is a solid scholarly job, as well as entertaining reading.

The author is preoccupied with the importance of what he calls "the earliest known use of the *Book of Common Prayer* within the continental limits of these United States." This to him is more important than any of the other historic events and deeds for which Hawkins is remembered. "The primacy of this event," he writes, "has completely escaped the secular and the naval historians, and it has quite generally gone without notice by the church historians." One wonders if the claim of "primacy" is not saying too much, however, not alone on general historiographical grounds, but for the additional reason that, as the author concedes, Hawkins' use of the Anglican Prayer Book is only presumptive and not the "earliest known use." Divine services as prescribed in the Prayer Book were held morning and evening daily on board each of Hawkins' ships while at sea, according to evidence cited by Mr. Robinson. On this basis he makes the following assump-

tion: "Though we have no record of what particular services were held either afloat or ashore during that period [at Fort Caroline], it cannot be reasonably doubted that morning and evening services were regularly held It would be difficult, virtually impossible, to imagine Hawkins, being the devout churchman and strict disciplinarian that he was, permitting a relaxation of standing orders." This is a reasonable assumption.

There are a few errors in the text. The circumstances of the naming of St. Augustine are misstated, and the proper sequence of (1) the naval engagement of Menendez and Ribault and (2) the founding of St. Augustine is reversed. Philip II did not decree in 1561 that no further attempts would be made by Spain to settle Florida. Roman Catholic Bishop Augustine Verot was not "deprived" of the See of Savannah nor was his transfer to St. Augustine in 1870 a "rebuke" but a choice entirely of his own making. These, however, are minor errors in an otherwise excellent monograph. The booklet deserves a wide reading.

FATHER MICHAEL V. GANNON

Mission of Nombre de Dios

True Tales of Old St. Augustine. By Fredrik deCoste. (St. Petersburg: Great Outdoors Publishing Company, for the St. Augustine Historical Society, 1966. 71 pp. Foreword, illustrations. \$1.00.)

These twelve stories of ancient St. Augustine compose a minor but excellent addition to the archives of our oldest city. A good deal of the material compresses fuller accounts, but there are also fresh and new tales, and Mr. deCoste tells all with commendable simple language that evokes the happenings.

The very first one, "The Other Menendez," makes the booklet worthy. Most people know only of the famous Menendez who founded St. Augustine, who overshadows his nephew, Pedro Menendez Marques. This Menendez moved into St. Augustine from Spain after his uncle and from there endeavored to re-establish another Spanish outpost at Santa Elena by cutting lumber for its buildings at St. Augustine while at the same time protecting St. Augustine itself. Drake's sacking of the city is described in the second story in capsule form, followed by the visit to the section in 1606 of the Bishop of Cuba, Juan de la Cabezas

Altamirano, and the dangerous and courageous missionary work he accomplished, arriving with his own "navy" of two ships. "Miracle of the Hangman's Rope" tells of how Andrew Ransom, an Englishman captured by the Spanish then in control of St. Augustine, was condemned to be garroted. The garroting was carried out but at the crucial moment the rope broke. Whereupon priests seized Ransom and hurriedly carried him into the sanctuary of the church and its buildings, where it was found he still lived and where he continued to live for many years. The fourth story takes up the activities of pirates in the bay, which subsequently caused Queen Regent Marianna of Spain to order that a new fort, of coquina rock, be built at St. Augustine, resulting ultimately in the famous Castillo de San Marcos.

The story of Jonathan Dickinson is recounted, and the siege of the city of 1702 is depicted with the dramatic story of how the Spanish drove a herd of thundering steers through the startled ranks of the invading Carolinians to get fresh meat to those inside the fort. We meet the mystery man of St. Augustine, Jesse Fish, and the merry governor of British Florida, James Grant. A picture of the unfortunate Minorcans is given, and the book ends with "Dominga's Secret Romance," the brash love of Second Lieutenant John O'Donovan for Dominga, daughter of proud Governor Manuel de Zespedes.

A fine pen and ink cover design by J. T. Van Campen (which looks like the original St. George Street and its present beautiful restoration), and four appropriate drawings by Cora Raiford are included, all making Mr. deCoste's *True Tales of Old St. Augustine* serve both as an addenda and an introduction to the history of St. Augustine worth anyone's dollar.

THEODORE PRATT

Florida Atlantic University

Florida's Menendez: Captain General of the Ocean Sea. By Albert Manucy. (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1965. 104 pp. Foreword, maps, illustrations, epilogue, appendix. \$3.50, paperback \$1.50.)

If the author of the epilogue were the same as the writer of the narrative, Mr. Manucy did himself a disservice by attempting

a popular biography of Menendez. The most valuable part of the book from the standpoint of style and mature approach is the epilogue, and it is deplorable that the remainder of the book has not been presented so skillfully.

Florida's Menendez by Alfred Manucy is, according to Michael V. Gannon, the long needed English biography of the "Captain General of the Ocean Sea." Mr. Manucy himself adds that there are really only four sixteenth century biographical sources from which he drew heavily, in addition to archival materials. Hence, the author concludes, with Father Gannon, that this English version is badly needed. The reviewer agrees with the conclusion, especially since earlier translators of existing Spanish biographies had to deal with the obscurities of the old Spanish and, therefore, produced works of various quality.

Father Gannon also stated in the foreword that this book hopefully presupposes a scholarly edition to follow; and with this the reviewer concurs, especially in view of the scholarly promise evident in the epilogue. Informed historians will want to know the sources underlying the complex life story of Menendez. And since both Father Gannon and Mr. Manucy give due credit to Woodbury Lowery's earlier masterful study of Florida and its beginnings, everyone might hope that a new and completely scholarly history of colonial Florida is forthcoming.

On the credit side, it can be said that the maps are extremely helpful because the names of many of the places visited by Menendez are unknown to the modern reader. From the wealth of illustrative materials available, Mr. Manucy has selected some very pertinent charts and pictures. Very significant are the drawings and explanations of the various types of ships used in the sixteenth century.

No reviewer, it is to be hoped, likes to give a hostile review, but, unfortunately, there is a debit side to the book. Because of an abundance of short, choppy sentences, the style is tiresome, and the reviewer wonders which age level of general reader is being wooed. Most of the direct quotations are stiff and do not vary with the type or rank of person being quoted. The occasional glimpses of colorful language occur only too infrequently. Many of the sequences are difficult to follow, probably because of the dearth of written source material. The inconsistent use of British spellings adds nothing to the style.

On the whole the biography is too sympathetic except in the epilogue where the author attempts to evaluate the motives of the hero. The informed historian might question rather sharply the accuracy of some of the statements about the French in Florida who appear in this account to be complete villains. Unmentioned, for example, is the belief of the French that their explorers had given them claim to *Terra Florida*. No word is said about the apparent plans of the Spanish to discontinue colonizing in Florida after several disappointing experiences prior to the advent of the French. Furthermore, after citing Lowery as the best authority on colonial Florida, the author omits entirely Lowery's rebuttal of Menendez's explanation to Philip for the massacre of the French, as well as the reason for the state of deterioration found at Fort Caroline. Menendez is pictured as being lenient to later castaways after the two major slaughters, but no mention is made of the settlers' disgust at the shedding of blood nor that the Captain General spared men who could be helpful to him as carpenters, ship builders and the like.

In several places knowledge is presupposed. Who, for example, was "Peg Leg"? Where did Menendez obtain the new *fragata* mentioned on page 83? Why call the de Gourgues expedition secret? Perhaps the general reader will not find these questions puzzling, but they challenge the historian. Since so much evidence is available, and the writer shows promise of a scholarly approach, we can hope that *Florida's Menendez* will soon appear in a less "digested" form to aid the scholar of the period.

SISTER M. ADELE FRANCIS GORMAN, O.S.F.

Our Lady of Angels College

The Overseer Plantation Management in the Old South. By William Kauffman Scarborough. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. xv, 256 pp. Illustrations, bibliography, index. \$7.50.)

The author of this study drives home a convincing (and new) thesis: the overseer of the Old South was not "an uncouth, uneducated, dissolute slave driver," who delighted in "abusing the Negroes in his charge and sabotaging the progressive goals of his

employer.” Instead, according to Professor Scarborough, this much abused and misrepresented man was “a key figure in the plantation-slavery establishment” and “an indispensable agent in the commercial agricultural system [of] . . . the Old South.”

This book provides students of the period with a needed in-depth study of the overseer. In nine solidly documented chapters the writer gives his reader a logical discussion of the overseer's role in the plantation system, his duties, and his problems. One chapter is devoted to the overseer's activities during the Civil War—predictably difficult, while another recounts the unique position of the steward. It is pointed out that the steward was the direct representative of the planter and considerably above the overseer. The quality and efficiency of the overseer depended on the staple crop he directed and his geographical locale. Overseers in the rice and sugar districts, especially the South Carolina-Georgia rice coast, were superior to those in any other staple area.

Throughout the book the author is basically sympathetic to the overseers, and although recognizing their deficiencies, he tells his story from their point of view. Professor Scarborough handles statistics well and has made good use of manuscript materials in the archives of Alabama, Louisiana, and Mississippi, and the Southern Historical Collection at Chapel Hill; and of manuscript census returns for Louisiana, South Carolina, Georgia, Mississippi, North Carolina, and Virginia. Various published accounts, both secondary and primary, are effectively utilized. He uses newspaper references infrequently, undoubtedly because they contained little information about overseers. Unfortunately, the footnotes appear at the end of the book rather than on each page; otherwise, the book is handsomely designed and printed.

The reader, after following the book's objective and pleasing style (marred at times by sentences loaded down with prepositional phrases), is persuaded that most overseers “performed their duties with commendable energy, efficiency, and competence.”

WILLIAM WARREN ROGERS

Florida State University

The Shackles of Power: Three Jeffersonian Decades. By John Dos Passos. (Garden City: Doubleday and Company, Inc., 1966. vi, 426 pp. Appendix, select bibliography, index. \$6.95.)

John Dos Passes has made another useful contribution to the Mainstream Series in the book whose title appears above. As in his earlier volume, *The Men Who Made the Nation*, he has produced an active and engaging narrative, this time focused on the three decades following the years in which the Federalists laid the foundations for the national potential. The present work attempts in part to catch the spirit of reaction from the tone of the preceding Federalist administrations and policies and to portray a more open society characteristic of the administrations of the third, fourth, and fifth presidents.

On the whole this reviewer felt that the present work is somewhat less substantial and succinct than the earlier volume. It should be allowed, however, that the scene which Dos Passos is here describing lends itself less well to succinctness, order, and direction. The present volume is somewhat episodic and therefore assumes some command of the principal threads of the time on the part of the reader. There is also a reliance on the biographical approach which will please some readers and dismay others. The book is authoritative and at the same time popular in the best sense of both words. It is the kind of book which should rejoice the heart of a history buff anywhere from ten to fifty years beyond his baccalaureate. It is the kind of lively narrative which undergraduate students should find a delightful accompaniment to the lectures and textbooks that characterize U.S. history surveys.

It may be some time before Dos Passos' preference for the dropping of hyphens is widely accepted in printed work. It is somewhat irritating to have to decipher such combinations as "fourteenyearold" and "rockribbed." It is an easy error for reviewers to complain about what a book is not, but it would seem reasonable to complain that the four pages which follow under the heading, "Reading on the Jeffersonian Era," fall so far short of being a guide to further pursuit of the period that they should either have been omitted or expanded into the kind of bibliographical aid that would serve the kind of readers into whose hands the book is most likely to fall.

FRANKLIN A. DOTY

University of Florida

The Compact History of the Indian Wars. By John Tebbel (New York: Hawthorne Books, 1966. 334 pp. Index, illustrations, bibliography. \$5.95.)

As long as there are authors willing to write books like this one and publishers willing to print them, it will be the duty of the historian - who believes that history ought to be written as nearly accurately as possible or not written at all - to criticize them sharply. Like many another book this one adds nothing to what is known. This is not a serious shortcoming in an affluent society where paper is abundant. The wrongdoing of this book is that it subtracts from the body of knowledge by garbling it. To produce this work, the author plainly read what he could find, made no effort to exhaust the literature, then started to write from limited notes and unabashedly drew from his own imagination to fill the great gaps between the notes. So harsh an assertion can best be established here by considering his treatment of those parts of the Indian story most interesting to readers of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, that is the Indian wars of the Southeast.

Three vital Indian wars in our early history are not considered at all: the Tuscarora War, the Yamassee War, and the fights between the English and the Cherokees in the 1760s. The accounts of the Creek War of 1813 and the Indian aspects of the War of 1812 are superficial to the point of distortion, and so full of errors of detail as to throw in doubt the accuracy of any part of them. General Green Clay at Fort Meigs in 1813 is identified as Henry Clay, and the odds are that the author believes this general to be the great Kentucky politician himself. The celebrated Colonel Richard Mentor Johnson, said to have killed Tecumseh at the Battle of the Thames late in 1813, and vice-president with Martin Van Buren, is here given the name Robert N. Johnson. No one who has ever read the contemporary accounts of Andrew Jackson's battle of Horseshoe Bend in March 1814 will recognize the author's account of that action. One can only conclude that he invented most of the battle which he describes.

The Second Seminole War is treated in the same unlearned fashion. The only book-length account of it by John T. Sprague is not mentioned anywhere in the bibliography. Earnest students of the history of the Southeast and of the Indian wars can but

cringe as they read that Osceola hurried from Dade's Massacre to murder General Thompson at Fort King, for it is generally known that Osceola was not present against Dade. They must wince to be told that President Jackson purposely kept Winfield Scott's army in short supply because he disliked Scott. They must suffer further to see the name of the commanding general of the United States Army from 1828 to 1841, Macomb, spelled McComb, and to be told that he personally directed the war against the Seminoles for two years, which is not even remotely correct.

Here is a series of Indian battles retold inaccurately. It is just as well that the author did not try to distil out of it any generalizations to connect the parts of the series and make them meaningful, for generalizations drawn from such inaccurate specifics would be dangerous in the extreme. He starts with the assumption that we have done the Indians grievous wrong, and few will contest it. In the Indian wars of the Southeast he has chosen to cast Andrew Jackson as villain supreme, an interpretation that is subject to question at least. He makes of the principal Indian leaders such as Pontiac, Little Turtle, and Tecumseh generals of first stature, also a questionable interpretation. This sort of cut-and-paste job cannot be called history. The tragedy is that those who know no history are apt to read it and credit what they read.

JOHN K. MAHON

University of Florida

Occupied City: New Orleans Under the Federals, 1862-1865.

By Gerald M. Capers. (Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1945. ix, 248 pp. Preface, maps, bibliography, index. \$6.75.)

Professor Capers's *Occupied City* is a concise, impartial account of the Federal capture and occupation of New Orleans. He makes no daring claim that the war was won or lost in April 1862, but places events in New Orleans in the larger context of the ultimate Union victory. Natural disasters, poor coordination of military activities, and a determined enemy force explain the Confederate loss of that important city. As a part of the Union Campaign in the West, the capture of New Orleans was a severe blow to the

Confederacy and a boost to sagging Union morale, but it was not necessarily decisive.

Without trying to defend General Benjamin Butler, Professor Capers shows clearly that much of the General's infamous reputation stems from the hatred of a conquered citizenry rather than the record. Butler probably erred from a military point of view when he decided to occupy the city rather than isolate it. Occupation troops might have been better utilized elsewhere. More important, the successful occupation of a hostile city necessitated vigorous actions such as the Woman Order and the hanging of William Mumford which angered Europeans toward the United States and provided atrocity stories for use by Confederate leaders. But once the decision to occupy was made, Butler was successful in carrying it out.

Butler was removed from command when his treatment of foreigners in the city ran counter to the conciliatory policies of the Union State Department. His replacement was the better known Nathaniel P. Banks who attempted to conciliate the Orleansians where Butler had exercised iron control. The change was taken as a sign of Federal weakness, and Banks became embroiled in endless factional bickering as he tried to implement Lincoln's plan to establish a loyal government in Louisiana.

In the latter portion of the book, the author deals in turn with Banks' efforts to establish a Unionist political organization. in Louisiana, the economic collapse and partial recovery by 1864, wartime controls over press, church, and school, the relations between civilians and soldiers in the occupied city, and the role of Negroes.

In an important epilogue, Professor Capers states that the relative decline of New Orleans as a commercial city was not due to the stresses of Reconstruction. It was already losing its proportionate place among the leaders before the war and at a rate which was roughly the same as during the Reconstruction period.

JERRELL H. SHOFNER

Texas Womens University

D-Days at Dayton: Reflections on the Scopes Trial. Edited by Jerry R. Tompkins. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1965. xii, 173 pp. Preface, illustrations, appendices. \$5.00.)

In 1915 William Jennings Bryan retired to Florida and in 1921 became a legal resident of the state. But the oft-time unsuccessful presidential candidate did not spend his declining years lounging under a palm tree on the beach. He was soon deeply involved with real estate speculation, the Ku Klux Klan, prohibition, and the battle against evolution. Bryan admitted that his power in politics had waned, but he felt that his influence in religion had increased. Since he considered Darwinism the greatest menace to Christianity, Bryan felt compelled to rise to the defense of the Good Book.

Bryan wrote, lectured, and lobbied against the teaching of evolution throughout Florida and the South, and in 1923 he was successful in getting the Florida legislature to approve an anti-evolution resolution which he had drafted himself. Interestingly enough, Bryan's resolution contained no penalties, and he advised the Tennessee legislature against including any in their 1925 bill. But even though penalties were included, the law might never have been enforced had the American Civil Liberties Union not moved to arrange a test case. Bryan quickly offered his services to the prosecution, Clarence Darrow to the defense, and the "Monkey Trial" was on.

Forty years later, editor Tompkins, an Arkansas Presbyterian minister, found John T. Scopes quietly retired in Louisiana and decided it was time for a fresh look at the controversial trial. *D-Days at Dayton* begins with a "Profile" of Scopes and his life before and after the trial. Perhaps the most valuable section of the book is John T. Scopes' fifteen pages of "Reflections" which reveal, as Tompkins points out in the preface, that he was "remarkably prepared . . . for a far greater role than he chose to play." Oddly enough, this appears to be one of the few essays of any substance by Scopes which is available in print. He offers some astute observations of Bryan and the other central figures, and of his own role in the trial.

In the second part of the book Henry L. Mencken's brilliantly satirical account of the "Monkey Trial," which he wrote for the

Baltimore *Evening Sun*, is reprinted for the first time. Tompkins also includes the Tennessee anti-evolution act, a listing of the members of the prosecution and defense, the statements of three of the scientists called as witnesses for the defense, and several excellent photographs. In part three Roger N. Baldwin, director of the A.C.L.U., 1917-1950, recalls the Union's vital role in testing the Tennessee law. Part four includes reflections by three of the defense's science service team and evaluations of their 1925 testimony in light of present knowledge. The son of one of the scientist witnesses writes on "Current Thoughts on Biological Evolution."

This last essay and the final section of the book, "The Theologians," are of less interest to the historian and general reader, and the theological essays raise a question about some of Tompkins' assumptions in editing *D-Days*. He seems to feel that the Fundamentalists were victorious at Dayton and are again threatening today "despite the approach of a new entente between science and theology." The average text in American history concludes that the Fundamentalists not only lost their argument when Bryan admitted that a day in Genesis might be eons, but also their cause when the Great Commoner was humiliated by Darrow on the witness stand. There will probably always be people who believe in a strict interpretation of the Bible, but they hardly seem to be a threat of any kind.

But whatever Reverend Tompkins' reasons for editing this book, he has provided a fine service in adding this volume to the limited literature on the Scopes trial before any more of the participants passed away.

JOEL WEBB EASTMAN

University of Florida

Keepers of the Past. Edited by Clifford L. Lord. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1965. 241 pp. \$6.00.)

The growing number of state and local history enthusiasts will welcome this compilation of seventeen biographical essays about pioneers in five basic areas: the historical society, the public archive, the historical museum, the special collection, and the historical site. Each essayist has been closely identified with his biog-

raphee either through research or personal association and almost all manage to capture a clear image of the man. Several of the essays tend toward eulogism and the inclusion or identification of even one out-and-out scoundrel would have enlivened the work.

Selections of essays for comment from a group this large is inevitably subjective, but this reviewer found "Jeremy Belknap" by Stephen T. Riley, "Lyman Copeland Draper" by Larry Gara, and "Reuben Gold Thwaites" by Clifford L. Lord particularly intriguing among the five individuals representing the historical society. "Robert Digges Wimberly Connor" by Hugh T. Lefler gives an indication of the awesome problems encountered in establishing and implementing the National Archives. Among those identified with historic sites "Adina De Zavala" by L. Robert Ables clearly and vividly presents the fiery personality and powerful force of this latter day defender of the Alamo and other sites of importance in Texas history.

The professional historian will, no doubt, already have met this group of exciting individuals. The interested layman will find the encounter stimulating and informative. As in all collections of people some of these are more interesting than others.

F. WILLIAM SUMMERS

Florida State Library

Writing Southern History: Essays in Historiography in Honor of Fletcher M. Green. Edited by Arthur S. Link and Rembert W. Patrick. (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1966. x, 502 pp. Foreword, preface, bibliography, index. \$12.00.)

In his essay in *Writing Southern History*, Hugh Rankin refers to a contention among historians whether the colonial South is legitimately a field for study apart from the other products of England's centrifugal habits in the seventeenth century. Despite the southern-centeredness of this substantial volume, Professor Green's distinguished career raises the larger question whether southern historical writing is separable from the literature that applies to other sections of what became the United States. In a real sense, the work of Professor Green and of the pride of his former students who have contributed to this *festschrift* in his

honor suggests that separation is neither desirable nor possible. Mentor and disciples alike have pursued far-ranging topics, and their insights speak to concerns transcending the merely southern. Examination of J. Isaac Copeland's bibliography of Professor Greens' writings and of the seventeen essays that form *Writing Southern History*, impresses one with the national character of the South's historiographical experience.

Of course this is not to say that there was or is no distinct South, that slavery was the same as northern race relationships, or that Reconstruction in the crumpled Confederacy was little different from post-Appomattox events in triumphant northern states. Rather I refer to the fact that the writing of southern history is in the hands of scholars who receive professional not regional training. Unless they are defective professionally, the attitudinal and conceptual approaches of historians who concentrate on the South are not notably different from their colleagues who devote their talents to studying other sections.

Therefore, in addition to providing a well-deserved tribute to Professor Green, *Writing Southern History* presents not surprises but a treasure-house of convenient guidance to a very large and significant literature. Not long ago the historiographical theme that is the core of *Writing Southern History* was one of the least-trafficked of Clio's many rooms. Then provocative estimates came into print by Carr, Higham, Pressley, and Page Smith, among others, who deal in analyses transcending the South's borders. Of recent explorations which concentrate on southern historiography, Wendel Holmes Stephenson's essays, *Southern History in the Making: Pioneer Historians of the South*, that appeared in 1964, and George Tindall's useful compendium, *The Pursuit of Southern History: The Presidential Addresses of the Southern Historical Association, 1935-1963*, published in 1964, are fitting predecessors for *Writing Southern History*, and it is a worthy companion to them.

Its worth derives from the high quality of the contributions. *Festschriften* are notoriously difficult to review. It is almost inevitable that unevenness in quality is noted of the discrete contributions that make up such volumes. This unevenness is less noticeable in the present case. The essays are smooth-flowing, complementary, and harmonious. Each is a competent interweaving of

bibliographic data and interpretation. As result, serious students of southern and of American history generally have at hand for the first time a systematic survey of the large body of writing about the South from its colonial origins almost to the present, that is readable as well. This volume will become a standard reference without which no historian can feel himself equipped, and no library can consider itself adequate.

HAROLD M. HYMAN

University of Illinois

Steam Locomotives and Boats: Southern Railway System. By Richard E. Prince. (Richard E. Prince: Green River, Wyoming, 1965. 204 pp. Preface, maps, illustrations. \$10.00.)

Here is a book to gratify the true enthusiasts of railroadiana -a picturebook of steam locomotives. With an obvious feeling of solid accomplishment, Mr. Prince fills some 150 pages with nearly 300 photographs of locomotives and trains which saw service on the lines of the Southern Railway System during the steam era. Additional pages are devoted to locomotive rosters and to Chesapeake Bay steamboats operated in conjunction with the Southern Railway.

By way of introducing the photograph collection, the author-editor-publisher gives a very brief historical sketch of the Southern Railway Company and its subsidiaries. The material is drawn primarily from published sources, especially Fairfax Harrison's, *A History of the Legal Development of the Railroad System of the Southern Railway Company*. Additional commentary precedes each of the sections in which a particular type of locomotive is depicted-from the American type 4-4-Os of the 1880s to the later Pacifics and Mikados. The reader thus gains some insight to the part played on the Southern Railway System by various designs of motive power.

Even within the very limited scope of the author's objectives, the commentary leaves much to be desired. There is no systematic presentation of the company's policies in developing and assigning new types of motive power over the decades spanned by the photographs. However, this is an impressive collection of good pictures,

and the plates are excellent. The reader who wishes to recapture the visual experience of railroading in the Southeast during the 1920s and 1930s will be delighted. Students of Florida railroad history will find a short section on the Southern Railway's entry to Florida-the Georgia, Southern & Florida Railway-accompanied by (you have guessed it) several good shots of locomotives which ran between Macon, Palatka, and Jacksonville.

GLENN J. HOFFMAN

University of Florida

HISTORICAL NEWS

THE ANNUAL MEETING

The Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society will begin at Friday noon, May 3, in Key West. Dr. Charles S. Tebeau, Chairman of the Program Committee, is instituting several changes. One of these involves the agenda of the Saturday business luncheon. Heretofore, local historical societies and county historical commissions have made reports on their activities and programs. The number of these organizations has grown so abundantly over the last few years that we will no longer be able to have all these reports given orally.

We do want to know what the local groups are doing, however; and so if reports can be submitted to Dr. William S. Rogers, Editor of the *Newsletter*, Department of History, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida, he will see that they are included in a *Newsletter* to be distributed at the annual meeting. Dr. Rogers should be in receipt of these reports no later than April 10.

Former Governor LeRoy Collins will be the speaker at the annual banquet on Saturday evening, at which time this year's recipient of the Arthur W. Thompson Memorial Prize in Florida History will be announced. Further details on the meeting will be furnished the members shortly.

FLORIDA CONFERENCE OF COLLEGE TEACHERS OF HISTORY

The Florida Conference of College Teachers of History will hold its annual meeting at Florida Atlantic University, Boca Raton, on March 3 and 4, 1967. The theme of the opening session on Friday evening, March 3, is "Teaching of History." The speaker will be Earl R. Beck, of Florida State University and author of *On Teaching History in Colleges and Universities*. Papers on the teaching of Far Eastern and Russian history will be presented Saturday morning, and the afternoon panel will be devoted to Negro history. Dr. Merlin Cox of the University of Florida is president of the Florida Conference, Dr. Samuel Portney, chairman of the Department of History at Florida Atlantic

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University, is vice-president, and John Bunch of Broward Junior College is secretary-treasurer.

ORMOND GARAGE HISTORICAL MARKER

Through the efforts of the Birthplace of Speed Association, an historical marker was dedicated at the Ormond Garage on November 25, 1966. C. C. Baldwin, chairman of the Birthplace of Speed Association, which annually sponsors an antique car meet, was chairman of the event. William M. Goza represented the Florida Historical Society. Mrs. Eileen Butts of Ormond Beach and Mrs. Alice Strickland of Astor prepared the text for the marker and were instrumental in getting the Ormond Garage designated as an historical memorial.

LOCAL AND AREA SOCIETIES AND COMMISSIONS

Appalachicola Historical Society: With the cooperation of the Franklin County Board of County Commissioners, the Appalachian Historical Society will erect an historical marker at Trinity Episcopal Church, noting the creation of the parish in 1836 and the establishment of the church building three years later.

Florida Genealogical Society: According to the recent *Florida Genealogist's Newsletter*, officers are William Earl Hall, president; Theodore Lesley, vice-president; Mrs. William E. King, recording secretary; Mrs. Elmer M. McLeod, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Don S. Evans, treasurer; and Virginia Sloane, librarian. A recent speaker was Harris H. Mullen, a director of the University of Tampa Foundation, Inc., who showed pictures of Plant Park and the University of Tampa, Dr. James W. Covington, professor of history at the University of Tampa and former director of the Florida Historical Society, spoke on early Florida Indians at another meeting.

Fort Lauderdale Historical Society: The Historical Society of Fort Lauderdale continues its active program. Over the summer many researchers and tourists visited and used the Society's library, and photographs were loaned to local newspapers to illustrate historical articles. A number of new books, photographs,

pictures, and historical artifacts were recently received by the library. The Society in cooperation with the University of Florida Press published *Checkered Sunshine: The Story of Fort Lauderdale, 1793-1955* by Philip Weidling and August Burghard. In cooperation with the University of Florida Foundation, Inc., an autograph party honoring the authors was held on Sunday afternoon, December 4, at the Garden Center in Birch State Park.

Officers of the Society are Mrs. William G. Hardy, president; George W. English, vice-president; and Mrs. Alfred J. Beck, secretary. Members of the Board of Directors are August Burghard, N. B. Cheaney, R. M. Gardner, James S. Hunt, Sr., Mrs. Frank Stranhan, and C. P. Weidling, Jr. The Society publishes the *New River News* which includes short articles and biographical sketches relating to the Fort Lauderdale area. According to its last report, the Society has a membership of approximately 375.

Jacksonville Historical Society: Dave Rawls, managing director of the Jacksonville Port Authority, was the speaker at the meeting on November 9, 1966. His topic was "Jacksonville's Port, the Foundation of the City." All of the programs to be presented this year will deal with the theme "Jacksonville, the Port City." Under the auspices of the Society, the City of Jacksonville on June 15, 1965, observed the 144th anniversary of its founding. The day was designated as Isaiah D. Hart Day, in honor of the city's founder. The Society is also spearheading a move to name one of the new St. Johns River bridges for Hart.

J. Courtenay Hunt has been commissioned to paint Andrew Jackson's portrait to be presented to the City of Jacksonville by the Society. Mrs. Inman Crutchfield, Sr. is the Society's representative to the Florida Arts Council, and she, Mrs. John P. L'Engle, Sr., and the Rev. Mr. Frank Dearing prepared a special booth at the Jacksonville Arts Festival in October. Officers of the Jacksonville Historical Society are Colonel O. Z. Tyler, president; Henry D. Rogers, first vice-president; Robert P. Smith, Sr., second vice-president; John B. Turner, Jr., treasurer; Mrs. Robert B. Eleazer, corresponding secretary; Martha Lee Segui, recording secretary; Audrey Broward, archivist; and James C. Craig, historian.

Madison County Historical Society: In October 1966, members of the Society arranged a field trip to historical landmarks in the

Madison area, including Oakland Cemetery, the graves of Judge and Mrs. John C. McGehee, the site of "Chulieta" which contains the ruins of the McGehee home, and Old San Pedro, where the first Madison County Court House stood. Efforts are being made to mark the latter site with a permanent monument. Afterwards the group was entertained at the "Anchorage," home of Society President Richard M. Scrubbs. Other officers are Mrs. Mann H. Priest, social vice-president; Edwin B. Browning, program vice-president; and Mrs. L. C. Brunern, secretary-treasurer. At the November 18 meeting, William M. Goza, president of the Florida Historical Society, was guest speaker.

Manatee County Historical Society: In cooperation with the Judah P. Benjamin Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, the Manatee Historical Society has erected two historical markers. One notes the Manatee Burying Ground, one of the oldest cemeteries on the Gulf coast of Florida; the other marks the Major Adams Cemetery, established in 1892. Two additional markers, showing the site of the first court house in Manatee County and the site of the Manatee Methodist Church, the oldest church of any denomination south of Tampa, will be placed in the near future.

Orange County Historical Commission: The *Orange County Historical News* reveals that the Commission is continuing its active program of collecting pictures, books, newspaper articles, manuscripts, and historical artifacts relating to the history of Orlando and Orange County. Commission members include Donald Cheney, chairman; Arthur W. Newell, treasurer; Rolland Dean, editor; and Jenkins Dolive, Dorothy I. Pratt, Mrs. Juanita Tucker, Mrs. Donald S. Evans, Henry A. Porter, Mrs. E. L. Mathews, and Harry P. Witherington.

Peace River Valley Historical Society: At the first fall meeting of the Society, held in Arcadia on September 27, Mr. and Mrs. James F. Hutchinson of Port Salerno, Florida, described their recent encampment at the Seminole Indian reservation and displayed several of their paintings. At the October 25 meeting in Fort Meade, the eulogy to Father Jerome delivered by Father Michael B. Gannon at the requiem mass at the Church of St. Lee Abbey at the time of Father Jerome's recent death was read. The

November meeting was held at Bowling Green, and Lawrence E. Will of Palm Beach County was guest speaker.

The Society has established a Florida History Award to recognize major contributions to the writing, preservation, and interpreting of Florida history. The first award was presented to Father Jerome on September 7, 1966, just nine days prior to his death. The special ceremony, recognizing Father Jerome's distinguished service to Florida history, was held at his bedside in St. Joseph's Hospital in Tampa. Dr. Gordon H. McSwain, president of the Society, Colonel Reed B. Harding, secretary, Miss Margaret Chapman, executive secretary of the Florida Historical Society, and William M. Goza were present at the award presentation. Father Jerome's citation described him as a "horticulturist, scholar, poet, researcher, and author," and described his outstanding achievements to Florida history through his writings, and his collections.

On September 27, the second Florida History Award was presented to Albert DeVane of Lake Placid for his many important contributions to Florida history, particularly for his valuable interpretation of the Florida Seminole Indians.

Peninsular Archaeological Society: This new archaeological society was organized in August 1966, in St. Augustine. Its purpose is to study Florida history by excavating old forts, missions, plantations, ghost towns, and Indian mounds. The Society is forming chapters in Miami, Fort Lauderdale, Bradenton, New Port Richey, and Pensacola. A St. Petersburg chapter has been organized, and at its September meeting on the campus of Florida Presbyterian College, the film, "An Archaeologist and How He Works," was shown. Officers are Gordon R. Prescott, president; David F. Robinson, vice-president; L. Frank Hudson, executive secretary; Mary Jungwirth, recording secretary; H. Warren Robinson, corresponding secretary; and Jan Olsen, equipment director. Board members are Dudley DeGroot, Richard Duncan, Ray Johnson, and Bella W. Jenks.

Pensacola Historical Society: Miss Lelia Abercrombie, long-time curator of the Pensacola Historical Museum, retired from her position on September 20, 1966. She was named honorary curator for life, and the museum library has been designated the "Lelia Abercrombie Historical Library." Officers of the Society are

T. T. Wentworth, Jr., president emeritus; Mrs. Daniel B. Smith, president; W. B. Skinner, first vice-president; Reinhardt Holm, second vice-president; A. O. Mortenson, third vice-president; Gordon N. Simons, secretary; and Mrs. Wilton B. Hayes, treasurer. The directors are A. E. Forster, Frederick Gillmore, III, Lindsay House, and Admiral William Sinton (Ret.).

Pinellas County Historical Commission: At its September 1966 meeting, the Commission adopted a resolution deploring the death of Father Jerome and noting his many contributions to the study of Florida history. Ralph Reed, executive director, reported that a number of gifts have been received by the museum, including several valuable Indian artifacts. Mr. Reed has made several talks recently on Pinellas County history. The *Tampa Tribune* and the *St. Petersburg Times* have published stories on the Pinellas County Historical Museum, and programs describing the museum and its activities have been broadcast over television channels 8 and 13.

Harvey Wells reported on his map of armed occupation settlers in Volusia County at the October meeting and presented the map to the Society. It shows the location of homesteads, Indian trails, and military roads. It will be displayed in the corridor of the County Court House.

Putnam County Historical Society: Reactivated during the spring of 1966, the Putnam County Historical Society has as its primary goal the restoration of the ante-bellum home of Judge Isaac Bronson. At the September 29 meeting, Professor Al Swanson of St. Johns River College gave a talk on Palatka history, basing it on research that he has been doing in national and Florida archives. At its October meeting, the Society heard Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., chairman of the Social Sciences Department of the University of Florida and vice-president of the Florida Historical Society, describe ante-bellum Florida politics. Officers of the Society are Arthur Nichols, president; J. H. Millican, vice-president; Herb Young, historian; Lorraine Simmons, secretary; and Harold Williams, treasurer.

Safety Harbor Area Historical Society: Together with Searchers, Inc., members of the Society have recently completed excavation and restoration of the Bay View Indian Burial Mound. It plans

to continue excavation in the Phillipi Park area, particularly at the Village Site located north and northeast of Large Mound at the southern end of the park. At the September 1966 meeting, Ralph D. Reed, of the Pinellas County Historical Commission, was guest speaker. He used a detailed map of the area to show why Safety Harbor is called the "cradle of history" for the Pinellas peninsula. A permanent marker has been placed at Safety Harbor, noting that it was the site of a Tocobage Indian village visited by Pedro Menendez d'Aviles in 1567. Archaeological observations and excavations place the Safety Harbor Period from approximately 1400 A.D. to 1700.

St. Augustine Historical Society: The Society held its regular quarterly meeting on Tuesday, October 11, 1966, at the Art Association Building. Mrs. C. E. Walker, program chairman, presented Father Michael V. Gannon, who discussed his recently published book, *The Cross in the Sand*. It was announced that workmen have replaced the balcony on the Fernandez Llambias House on St. Francis Street. Restoration of this property was completed in 1954, with funds supplied by the St. Augustine Restoration and Preservation Association and the St. Augustine Historical Society. Title to the property is held by the City of St. Augustine, but the Society is responsible for preservation, maintenance, and interpretation of the house and grounds. The annual meeting of the society was held January 10, 1967.

St. Johns County Historical Commission: The St. Johns County Historical Commission will erect two historical markers, the sites for which were donated by Rayonier, Inc. for use as public parks. One marker designates the site of Fort Peyton, established in 1837 by Major General Thomas S. Jesup, on a branch of Moultrie Creek, about seven miles southeast of St. Augustine. The other marks the encampment where Osceola was taken into custody by General Hernandez on October 21, 1837.

St. Lucie County Historical Commission: Expanding city needs have forced the local Treasure Museum, officially sponsored by the St. Lucie County Historical Commission, to move to a new location in the Arcade Building at U.S. 1 and Avenue A. The museum was established in Fort Pierce February 1965 to display historical artifacts, documents, paintings, and photographs. More

than 12,000 visitors have registered at the museum since its opening.

St. Lucie County Historical Society: The new officers of the St. Lucie County Historical Society are Charles S. Cogburn, president; John Almond, vice-president; Mrs. Addie Emerson, secretary; and Mrs. Lennie May Hoskins, treasurer. The first fall meeting was held on September 22, and Mrs. Mable Perkins gave a paper on the origin, history, and development of various churches in St. Lucie County. On October 20, Dr. Adrian M. Sample was the speaker. D. H. Saunders, a director and former president of the Society is serving as program chairman for the year. Members of the Society work as attendants at the Treasure Museum in Fort Pierce.

The Searchers, Inc.: Members of this organization recently cleared away debris that had accumulated in the Bayview Burial Mound, fenced off the area, planted seed, and permanently placed an engraved marker on the site. The organization also arranged a display of materials found in the mound for Oldsmar Days and for the Clearwater meeting of the Florida Historical Society in May 1966. At the August 1966 meeting a discussion covering the proper techniques and procedure for recording, excavating, identifying, and preservation of sites and artifacts was held.

Tarpon Springs Historical Society: Colonel H. M. Salley was named chairman of the organizational meeting of the Tarpon Springs Historical Society in October 1966. Gustave Nelson, president of the Safety Harbor Historical Society, and John White, president of Searchers, Inc. were present at this meeting and are assisting in drawing up by-laws and a charter for the group. The Society plans to tape interviews with pioneer residents in the area and to collect manuscripts, documents, and artifacts relating to the history of Tarpon Springs.

COLLEGE NEWS

Barry College: Sister Marie Carolyn, O.P., professor of history at Barry College, was one of the contributors to *Historians and History*, the *Festschrift* honoring of Dr. Charlton Tebeau of the

University of Miami. Her essay is entitled "Clio: Muse or Mynion."

Central Florida Junior College: Professor Ira Holmes, formerly associated with the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, is visiting instructor of history at Nottingham College of Education in England this year, on an exchange arrangement with Miss Stella Wild of Nottingham. John R. Todd is at the University of Florida completing his doctorate study in political science. In October 1966 Mrs. Helen King Corpeno, who replaced Mr. Todd on the staff, addressed the Latin American Colloquium at the University of Florida. Dr. Ernest H. Jernigan, chairman of the Social Sciences Department, and Professor Edward P. Simmons are working on books dealing with Florida, and Miss Elaine Steinberg is continuing her studies of Florida geography.

Professor Jernigan spoke on "The Economic History of Florida," at the first fall meeting of the Florida History Club. Alec Robertson, British Information Officer, spoke on "Britain, Florida, and International Trade," at the November meeting. Officers are Jessica Haymaker, president; Nanci Heard, first vice-president; Marsha Rou, second vice-president; William Rumbaugh, secretary; and Chic Hinton, treasurer.

Daytona Beach Junior College: Dr. Miles S. Malone taught the Problems of American History course in the NDEA Institute for Advanced Studies at Stetson University's summer session. Henry B. Watson, chairman of the Social Sciences Department at Daytona Beach Junior College, attended the Junior College Articulation Institute at the University of Florida last summer. Erma L. Rodrigues, who formerly taught at Volusia Center (Volusia County Community College), is a new addition to the Social Science faculty.

Edison Junior College: Dr. Charles C. Fishburne, Jr. recently published an article, "Why Two Houses?" in *National Civics Review*.

Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University: Professor James N. Eaton was retired from the history faculty in June 1966. For the past two years he has been studying at Duke University under a Danforth Teacher Study Grant. Professor Joseph A. Jones

served as assistant director for the 1966 summer institute in American history at Miles College, Birmingham, Alabama. Professor Albert S. Parks, associate professor of history, announced his retirement in August 1966, after thirty years on the University faculty. Dr. Leedell W. Neyland, professor of history, is continuing his research and writing of a history of the Negro in Florida since 1845, and is gathering data for a booklet entitled *Twenty Notable Negroes in Florida*.

Florida Atlantic University: Dr. Samuel A. Portnoy, chairman of the Department of History, read a paper, "The Jewish Labor Bund, 1897-1914," at the October 1966 meeting of the Southern Conference on Slavic Studies. He read another paper, "The Peace Question in German Politics, December 1916-July 1917," at the Southern Historical Association meeting in November. Professor Charles J. Kolinski delivered a paper on "Francisco Solano Lopez," at the thirteenth annual conference of the Southeastern Conference on Latin American Studies held at the University of Miami last spring.

Two articles by Dr. Donald Curl were published in the April and July numbers of the *Bulletin of the Cincinnati Historical Society*, and his article on Murat Halstead appears in *Ohio Civil War Leaders*. He is also editing the Charles Pierce manuscript on early Palm Beach, and has begun research on a history of the Palm Beaches for the Palm Beach Historical Society. Professor William Marina contributed an essay "Turner, the Safety-Valve and Social Revolution" to the Charlton Tebeau *Festschrift*. Dean Benjamin Rogers, formerly a member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, accepted a teaching position in the Department of History at Parsons College.

Florida Southern College: Professor Robert H. Akerman, chairman of the History Department and Social Sciences Division is completing his study of race relations in Florida politics during the 1950s. Miss G. S. Saraswathi was exchange professor from India at the college last year, and Abraham Erally is the exchange professor this academic year. Nelson Hoffman of the history faculty was named Dean of the College. Professors Harold E. Albert and Joseph T. Millington are new members of the history department.

Jacksonville University: New appointments to the Jacksonville University history faculty are Dr. Theodore E. Wyly and Charles Kimbrel. Dr. Lawrence E. Breeze has resigned from the University to take a position at Southeastern Missouri State College, Cape Girardeau, Missouri. Dr. Ralph Bald, chairman of the Division of the Social Sciences, attended the Southern Historical Association meeting in November.

Miami-Dade Junior College: Paul Conover, chairman of the History Department on North Campus, and Professors Leon Prior, Marie L. Richmond, and A. C. Taft, contributed material to the recently published *Florida: From Indian Trail to Space Age*. Professor Prior also gave two guest lectures during the summer of 1966 at the University of the Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, South Africa, on the history and activities of the Federal Bureau of Investigation.

Stetson University: A new addition to the history faculty at Stetson University is Professor Frank P. West. Dr. William R. Carden has been promoted to the position of Director of Special Projects. Professor Sergea Zenkovsky spent the academic year of 1965-66 on a Gugenheim Fellowship in Europe, and while abroad he was visiting professor at the University of Heidelberg.

University of Florida: John K. Mahon, member of the board of editors of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, was named chairman of the Department of History. Bemrose's *Reminiscences of the Second Seminole War*, edited by Dr. Mahon, was released by the University of Florida Press in October 1966. Dr. Mahon also served as chairman of one of the panel discussions at the Spanish Colonial History Symposium held in St. Augustine in October. Dr. Rembert W. Patrick, former editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, retired after twenty-six years of service to the University of Florida, and is a member of the graduate faculty at the University of Georgia. New additions to the history faculty include Professors Ernest George Schweiebert, Frances Childs, Paul H. Smith, Richard T. Chang, Antonio Oliverira Marques, Neill W. Macaulay, Jr., and Harry W. Paul. Dr. David M. Chalmers, author of *Hooded Americanism*, has rejoined the faculty after a year's absence on a Fulbright Professorship in Japan.

Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., chairman of the Social Sciences Department and professor of history, was guest speaker at the August meeting of the Putnam County Historical Society. He also spoke to the Palatka Rotary Club in October. Dr. George C. Osborn of the Department of Social Sciences and Dr. Irene Zimmerman of the University of Florida Library presented papers at the recent Southern Historical Association meeting. Attending the meeting were Professors Mahon, Smith, Marvin Entner, Seldon Henry, Merlin Cox, Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., E. Ashby Hammond, and Samuel Proctor. Professor Hammond was recognized by Florida Blue Key at its Homecoming Banquet in October for his outstanding work as a scholar and teacher. Dr. Merlin Cox, formerly dean of Arts and Sciences at Daytona Beach Junior College, joined the social sciences faculty of the University in September. Dr. Catesby Jones is also a new member of the faculty from the Inter-American University in Puerto Rico.

University of Tampa: Donald Lester, a graduate of George Peabody College, has been appointed instructor of history. Dr. James W. Covington, former member of the board of directors of the Florida Historical Society, spent the summer of 1966 in England doing historical research.

FLORIDA SOCIETY OF GEOGRAPHERS

The 1966 fall meeting of the Florida Society of Geographers was held October 14-15, at Wakulla Springs. A panel discussion "The goals, functions and research needs of selected state agencies in Florida," was moderated by Dr. James Anderson, chairman of the Department of Geography at the University of Florida. The panelists included representatives of the Florida Board of Conservation, the Florida Development Commission, the State Road Department, and the Outdoor Recreational Planning Committee. The Florida Society of Geographers is three years old and has more than a hundred members. Its president is Dr. James Latham.

NATHAN MAYO PORTRAIT UNVEILED

A photographic portrait of Nathan Mayo, former State Commissioner of Agriculture, was unveiled at the new Marion County

Court House in Ocala on Sunday, October 16. Commissioner Mayo served for nearly thirty-seven years until his death in 1960. During the period he maintained his residence "Mayonia" at Summerfield, Florida. Dr. Eugene Peak, Sr., longtime friend of the commissioner, told how Commissioner Mayo first entered politics. He served as a representative from Marion County and was appointed commissioner in 1923 by Governor Carey Hardee.

ULYSSES S. GRANT PAPERS

Southern Illinois University Press announces the planned publication of the Ulysses S. Grant Papers. Volume I, covering the pre-war years from 1837 to 1861, will be available on April 27, 1967, which marks the 140th anniversary of President Grant's birth. This work, expected to fill fifteen volumes, will be published over a period of ten years. The Grant Papers are being prepared by the Ulysses S. Grant Association, whose executive director and editor of the volume is John Y. Simon, associate professor of history at Southern Illinois University. The volumes will be published in a chronological series: pre-war period, Civil War, presidential, and post-presidential. Grant's personal memoirs, with the hitherto unpublished portions added, will be included in the set as an unnumbered supplement.

MINUTES OF THE DIRECTORS' MEETING UNIVERSITY OF SOUTH FLORIDA

December 3, 1966

Officers and directors of the Florida Historical Society met in the Library of the University of South Florida at 9:30 a.m., December 3, 1966, with Mr. William M. Goza presiding. Members present were: Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., James C. Craig, Mrs. Ralph F. Davis, Margaret L. Chapman, Samuel Proctor, James D. Bruton, Jr., Frank H. Ehnore, Walter S. Hardin, John E. Johns, Milton D. Jones, Frank J. Laumer, William W. Rogers, Charlton W. Tebeau, Julian I. Weinkle, and James R. Knott. Dr. John Allen, president of the University of South Florida, welcomed the board members and expressed his pleasure at having the Society headquarters on his campus. The minutes of the previous annual meeting of May 5-7, 1966, were approved as written.

Mr. Goza displayed a gift to the Society by E. M. Covington, a gavel used by the Confederate Roundtable of Dade City. The gavel is of wood from a tree which grew at "Beauvoir," the home of Jefferson Davis in Biloxi, Mississippi.

Miss Chapman announced that the Florida Historical Society membership is now 1,390, an increase of 162 new members. She showed the area occupied by the Society's Collection in the University of South Florida Library. The more valuable books and manuscripts are deposited in Miss Chapman's private office.

Miss Chapman read a letter she received requesting information on what was believed to be either a French or Dutch fort, located at Bailey's Bluff, north of Tarpon Springs on the Gulf of Mexico. She also noted material received from the American Association of State and Local History on the Preservation Act recently passed by Congress. The Governor will designate a specific agency for the purpose of directing the act.

In answer to a question by Mr. Craig, Miss Chapman explained that official papers of public figures are deposited in the basement of the Capitol in Tallahassee. Most of these are neither cataloged nor indexed and, as a result, are not readily available for research. Many private papers and manuscripts have been

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deposited in university libraries throughout the state. The LeRoy Collins papers are at the University of South Florida under seal. The Sarasota County Historical Commission has recently received as a gift several large scrapbooks on Governor Collins, and Mrs. Davis offered the books to the University of South Florida.

Mr. Goza announced that the Interim Committee on Governmental Reorganization will recommend to the legislature a program establishing a state archives and history department separate from the Florida State Library.

Dr. Proctor reported the *Florida Historical Quarterly* is being printed regularly, and he is delighted with the response to it in the form of many publishable articles that are being regularly submitted. Dr. Proctor recommended that news which deals with local commissions and societies be included in the Society's *Newsletter* rather than the *Quarterly*. Dr. Proctor also requested the board members to encourage research and writing in their particular areas of the state as the *Quarterly* would like to publish the material of non-professional historians as well as the professional historian. There are a number of past issues of the *Quarterly* available. For information and prices write Miss Chapman.

The Society, according to Mr. Goza, will continue the program initiated during Judge Knott's administration to screen all historic markers erected by the State Board of Parks and Historical Memorials. All local societies may participate in this program by sharing one-half the total cost. Markers have been approved and recently erected at Apalachicola and Ormond Beach, and one will soon be put up in Manatee County, sponsored by the Manatee Historical Society.

The Antiquities Commission, Mr. Goza announced, will probably propose additional legislation to support the salvage program as very important new finds are being made daily. Mr. Goza also noted that Judge Knott had established a distinguished precedent by returning his \$300 travel allowance to the Society. Mr. Goza plans to deposit his travel allowance to the new Father Jerome Acquisition Memorial Fund (see resolution).

The President then called for approval of directors' terms. At the request of the Nominating Committee and with the consensus of the membership at the annual meeting, the President was instructed to designate officers and their length of term in office.

Dr. Tebeau offered the motion to approve the directors' terms of office as set by the president; it was seconded by Judge Knott and passed by unanimous vote.

Dr. Rogers informed the Board that Florida State University will underwrite the publishing and mailing of the Society's *Newsletter*. Approximately two issues a year will be published. Dr. Tebeau recommended all reports of local historical societies and commissions be collected and published in an issue of the *Newsletter* for the annual meeting in May. The January issue of the *Quarterly* will notify the membership that no verbal reports of local societies and commissions will be made at the annual meeting; these reports will be printed in the *Newsletter* to be mailed to each member and distributed at the annual meeting. All reports must be received by Dr. William W. Rogers, Florida State University in Tallahassee, not later than April 1, 1967.

Mr. Craig reported a continuing program of directing news releases of *Quarterly* articles to all newspaper editors in the state. Miss Chapman noted that many papers were printing these releases as revealed by the University's clipping service and the increasing requests for the *Quarterly*.

Mr. Goza appointed the following committees:

Membership: James C. Craig, chairman. Mr. Craig will coordinate all regional vice presidents (membership chairmen in their local areas) into an active membership program.

Speakers Bureau: Dr. Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., chairman, Frank J. Laumer, and Judge Ben C. Willis.

Finance: Leonard A. Usina, chairman, Jay I. Kislak, Paul Maddock, and Walter S. Hardin.

Charter and By Laws: Milton D. Jones, chairman.

Junior Historian Essay Contest: Ernest Jernigan, of Central Florida Junior College, chairman. Mr. Jernigan will appoint his committee from members of his faculty.

Mrs. Betty Bruce of Key West was appointed local arrangements chairman for the 1967 Annual Convention.

Mr. Goza announced Dr. Tebeau will be program chairman of the annual meeting and he has already begun planning the program. Dr. Tebeau stated a change of format will be necessary since the convention is in Key West. The program will begin on Friday afternoon and the Board of Directors will meet Friday

night. A morning program Saturday, followed by a luncheon meeting with a guest speaker, will leave Saturday afternoon available for a tour of the historical sites in Key West. Mr. Goza and Dr. Tebeau were authorized to select a hotel for the meeting.

Mr. Goza reported on a meeting in October held at Dade City to discuss legislation to provide funds for re-editing and republishing *Soldiers of Florida*. Those attending that session strongly support the project. The re-edited book would contain brief histories of the various Florida military units participating in the Spanish-American, Mexican, Seminole Wars and the Civil War, and the names and service records of all Florida men who were involved in these nineteenth century conflicts. After general discussion, Dr. Tebeau moved that the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society endorse the project. His motion passed.

Mr. Goza reported on the proposed Father Jerome Acquisition Memorial Fund to be used to purchase books, documents, and manuscripts for the Florida Historical Society Library. Miss Chapman moved the Board adopt the resolution and it passed by unanimous vote. A general discussion was held on sponsoring a trip to Spain and places of historical interest in Spain connected with Florida history. Miss Chapman moved that the Board check into the possibility of having the Society sponsor such a trip and it also passed by unanimous vote. Miss Chapman announced that Miss Ann Davis, assistant executive secretary, had resigned. Mr. Goza expressed the Board's regrets and a letter of thanks will be sent to Miss Davis.

Mr. Hardin introduced A. K. Whitaker, president of the Manatee County Historical Society, and Colonel Francis C. Blankenship of Bradenton. Colonel Blankenship offered to the Society a gift of photographs, books, and other articles relating to Camp Gordon Johnson, a World War II Florida encampment. Mr. Craig moved that the Board accept with appreciation and thanks Colonel Blankenship's offer. Items that cannot be used by the Society will be passed on to the Florida State Museum and other appropriate agencies. Mr. Hardin suggested that the Society write a letter to the executors of Karl Bickel, former president of the Society, requesting all books and historical material that will not be donated to local societies, be given to the Florida Historical Society Library.

Mrs. Davis presented each board member a brochure from the Education Enrichment Center, proposed by the Board of Public Instruction in Sarasota and eight adjacent counties. This center will collect and disseminate information in all fields of science, including historical research, to all schools and civic organizations. The directors of the Education Enrichment Center invite the board members to read the brochure and express their views on the proposed project to John D. Woolever, 2418 Hatton Street, Sarasota.

Mr. Goza announced Judge Warren Jones has donated a number of copies of the *Quarterly* to the Society.

Mr. Goza thanked everyone for attending the meeting and said we will meet next in Key West in May.

The meeting was adjourned at 12:45 p.m.

Respectfully Submitted,

Mrs. Ralph F. Davis
Recording Secretary

RESOLUTION

Whereas, Father Jerome, a member of the Order of St. Benedict, was known and loved by the members of the Florida Historical Society, of which he was an honorary life member, as a poet, philosopher, author, horticulturist and Florida historian, and

Whereas, in recognition of his many contributions to the field of Florida history and to the Florida Historical Society, he had been made an Honorary Life Member of this organization, and

Whereas, the death of Father Jerome on September 15, 1966, has removed from our ranks a beloved and respected friend and scholar, and it is the desire of this Society to perpetuate his memory,

Now therefore, be it resolved as follows:

1. There is hereby established a fund to be known as "The Father Jerome Memorial Acquisitions Fund" to which contributions may be made by members of the Florida Historical Society and other friends and admirers of the late Father Jerome
2. Contributions received for this Fund shall be deposited or invested in the name of the Society in interest bearing savings accounts or in securities as approved by the Board of Directors or its Finance Committee
3. The interest or dividends only from this Fund may be periodically expended for the purchase of books, documents and manuscripts to be added to the collection of the Florida Historical Society, each such addition to be appropriately marked in memory of Father Jerome
4. A copy of this resolution shall be spread upon the minutes of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society and a copy shall be sent to The Right Reverend Marion S. Bowman, O. S. B., Abbot at Saint Leo Monastery, St. Leo, Florida, at which abbey Father Jerome was residing at the time of his death.

Passed and adopted by the Board of Directors this 3rd day of December, 1966.

CONTRIBUTORS

KENNETH W. PORTER is professor of history at the University of Oregon and is writing a biography of the Seminole chief Wild Cat (Coacoochee).

JOEL W. EASTMAN is a graduate student at the University of Florida and is associated with the editing of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

MRS. ALICE STRICKLAND, a resident of Astor, is the author of *The Valiant Pioneers: A History of Ormond Beach, Volusia County, Florida*.

EDWARD A. MUELLER, a former resident of Tallahassee, is now living in Alexandria, Virginia. Long a devotee of steamboating history, Mr. Mueller is presently writing a book on Florida steamboating.

CHARLES E. BENNETT is a Congressman from the Second Florida Congressional District and the author of *Laudonniere & Fort Caroline*.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY

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SAMUEL PROCTOR, *Editor*

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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 typewritten, 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.

