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"THE FLORIDA PLAN" AN ANTE-BELLUM EFFORT TO CONTROL COTTON SALES

by WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN

FOR A NUMBER of years historians have been familiar with the work of the so-called commercial conventions which were held in the South during the pre-Civil War period. [1] Three professional studies have been written on the subject of these conventions. [2] These conventions had their beginnings during the troubled times of the panic of 1837; the first one met in 1839; most of them convened during the 1850's. They were held in the leading cities of the Old South; they were attended by hundreds of men seeking to promote what has come to be known as "southern nationalism;" they did a great deal more than pass resolutions, go home, and prepare for the next convention. Indeed, they were among the outstanding agencies shaping southern political and economic thought of their day. The subjects that they discussed, railroads, manufacturing, direct trade with Europe, education, expansion toward Latin America, sectionalism, slavery, and so on, were definitely among the chief issues that caused the North and South to drift apart and to fight the Civil War. What the commercial conventions had to say and what influences they and their attendants had on what the South did about all these issues have never been fully treated in any historical study. All this, and more, can be said about southern planters' conventions, for they, the planters' conventions, have received scarcely any attention from historians and other writers. Until a paper on the subject was read at a meeting of the Southern Historical Association in Atlanta, Georgia, in 1950, [3] the planters' convention had largely escaped the attention of Ameri-

1. Research for this study was sponsored by a grant-in-aid from the Social Science Research Council.
2. William Watson Davis, "Ante-Bellum Southern Conventions," *Transactions of the Alabama Historical Society, V (1904)*, 153-202; John G. Van Deusen, *The Ante-Bellum Southern Commercial Conventions* (Durham, 1926); Herbert Wender, *Southern Commercial Conventions* (Baltimore, 1930).
3. Weymouth T. Jordan, "Cotton Planters' Conventions in the Old South," *Journal of Southern History*, XIX (1953), 321-345.

can historians. [4] This means that practically nothing has been written about Florida's connection with the planters' conventions.

The fact is that the southern planters' conventions are of special significance, just as are the commercial conventions, and perhaps even more so, in understanding southern opinion and contemplated southern economic actions curing the 1850's. So far it has been determined that twenty-four planters' conventions met in the Old South, the first in Macon, Georgia, in 1839, two in Alabama in 1845, the fourth one in Tallahassee in 1851, and the others scattered about the southern states. [5] Florida is very important in this whole subject because it was John G. Gamble of Tallahassee, along with James Hamilton, Jr., of South Carolina, who instigated the first convention in Macon. [6] Other Floridians, notably James E. Broome, who was then probate judge in Leon County, brought about the first of a series of at least twenty-one planters' conventions in the period of 1851 to 1861. [7] John Gamble had the distinction of being present at the 1839 and 1851 conventions and of promoting the idea behind them until his death in late 1852.

Perhaps the following quotation from an early Liverpool newspaper will point up one of the reasons some Southerners wished to do something about controlling cotton prices. The newspaper was trying to describe the feelings of men who annually sweated out the ups and downs of the cotton market. These feelings, it was said, were "Hesitation, trepidation, consternation, prostration, resuscitation, tribulation, vaccilation, desolation, desperation, ruination, damnation.'' [8] In more simple words, many Southerners believed that there ought to have been some means of increasing the profits they were receiving from their production and sale of cotton.

There was also the desire to make the South self-sufficient.

4. See, for example, Lewis C. Gray, *History of Agriculture in the Southern United States to 1860*, 2 vols. (Washington, 1933), II, 1027.
5. Jordan, "Cotton Planters' Conventions in the Old South," *loc. cit.*, 321-345.
6. *Ibid.;* Thomas P. Govan, "An Ante-Bellum Attempt to Regulate the Price and Supply of Cotton," *North Carolina Historical Review*, XVII (1940), 302-312. A brief obituary of John G. Gamble appears in the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, November 6, 1852.
7. *Ibid.*, July 12, August 2, 5. 9, September 20, 1851; *Alabama Planter*, V. (1851), 302; *Soil of the South*, I (1851). 118; *Southern Cultivator*, IX (1851) 122.
8. Montgomery *Alabama Journal*, May 12, 1826, quoting a "Liverpool newspaper."

And in this regard, a Wetumpka, Alabama, editor caustically expressed a widely accepted resentment at southern dependence up on the North. He pre-empted Henry Grady by about fifty years in the latter's frequently quoted remarks along the same line. He said:

> At present, the North fattens and grows rich upon the South. We depend upon it for our entire supplies. We purchase all our luxuries and necessaries from the North. We do not depend upon ourselves. We do not encourage enterprise, skill and industry at home; but give the preference to that of the North. With us, every branch and pursuit in life, every trade, profession and occupation is dependent upon the North. Our slaves are clothed with northern manufactured goods, have northern hats and shoes, work with northern hoes and implements, and are working for northern more than southern profits. The slaveholder dresses in northern goods, rides a northern saddle, sports his northern carriage, patronizes northern newspapers, drinks northern liquors, reads northern books, spends his money at northern watering places, crowds northern fashionable resorts, - in short, his person, his slaves, his farm, his necessaries, his luxuries - as he walks, rides, sleeps, loafs, lounges, or works, he is surrounded with articles of northern origin. . . . In northern vessels his products are carried to market - his cotton is ginned with northern gins - his sugar is crushed and preserved by northern machinery - his rivers are navigated by northern steamboats; his mails are carried in northern stages; his negroes are fed with northern bacon, beef, flour, and corn; his brandy toddy is cooled with northern ice; his land is cleared with a northern axe, and a northern clock sits upon his mantle piece; his floor is swept with a northern broom, is covered with northern carpet, and his wife dresses herself in a northern looking glass; his child cries for a northern toy, crows over a northern shoe, and is perfectly happy in having a northern knife; his son is educated at a northern college, his daughter receives the finishing polish at a northern seminary, his doctor graduates in a northern medical college; his schools are supplied with northern teachers, and he is furnished with northern inventions and notions. We too, say the South has her remedy, if her people will only set about to accomplish it. Let the people of the South with one voice declare today, that they will produce all articles of their consumption.[9]

9. Wetumpka *Daily State Guard,* April 6, 1849.

This was a typical thought of the lower South of the late antebellum period. The Columbus, Georgia, *Sentinel,* in November, 1850, also published a widely quoted diatribe: "We frankly tell you that, so far as we are concerned, we *despise the Union, and hate the North as we do hell itself.*'' [10]

In the months before Judge Broome and his Tallahassee associates announced their plan of controlling cotton prices, there was much talk in and around Tallahassee of ways by which the South might improve its economy. A local editor wrote, "Our good people love money most dearly. Cotton growing, they tell us, has of late, paid most penurously.'' [11] He and others preached the gospel of crop diversification, agricultural fairs and societies in order to promote scientific farming, geological surveys, encouragement of manufacturing, and direct trade between the South and Europe in order to eliminate northern commissions on the production, shipment and sale of southern goods. [12] A correspondent of the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal* called on planters to "'fix a minimum price, below which they will not sell even in case of an average crop; and we suggest 12 cents nett, as a price that will yield a fair but not extravagant remuneration." He added, if output decreased in a given year the planter should "insist on a corresponding increase in the price.'' [13]

Two Tallahasseans aided greatly in consumating the idea of holding a south-wide planters' convention for the purpose of establishing some control over cotton sales. They were by no means the only Southerners to promote such a gathering, but they were prominently active in bringing about the first regional convention during the 1850's. The first of these Floridians was an unknown person calling himself "Magnolia,'' probably either John Gamble or James E. Broome. His proposal of a convention attracted wide attention and action when it appeared in the Southern Cultivator of Augusta, Georgia, an agricultural journal which had the largest circulation of publications of its type in the Old South. The second Tallahassean to be noted in the movement was Judge Broome, soon to be governor of his state, and who,

10. Columbus *Sentinel,* quoted in Mobile *Daily Advertiser,* November 13, 1850.
11. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* March 31, 1849.
12. *Soil of the South,* I (1851), 98; *Southern Cultivator,* IX (1851), 101.
13. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* May 11, 1850.

coincidently, became governor very shortly after participating in the planters' convention movement. Broome also had the distinction of presenting to the public a method of controlling cotton sales that came to be known as "The Florida Plan."

"Magnolia's" letter to the *Southern Cultivator* appeared in July, 1851, and after complaining about prices received for the previous year's cotton and advancing the usual "King Cotton" theory that the white staple was "the most important and indispensible of all staple crops," he launched into his reasons for a convention:

> . . . let us assemble together and consult on the means necessary to protect the price, and prevent in the future the ruinous fluctuations with which we are so often visited. To effect anything, concert, to a certain extent, is necessary; and that a plan of concert may be devised and readily carried into execution, which will establish a minimum price of at least ten cents per pound; and this, too, without limiting the production; I have no doubt. I ask my cotton planting brethren to think of the subject of an assemblage this fall, which shall represent every county in the cotton growing States - . . . . I am gratified to see that in some quarters, the cotton growers are paying some attention to this subject - that there are many of them ready and willing to consult together. . . . I would travel five hundred miles at my own charge, to attend such a convention. Will one thousand, or ten thousand others do as much? If so fix the time and place, and we shall be paid a thousand times for our trouble and expense. . . . I have no desire to discuss any particular mode of proceeding to secure this great object, but will close by saying that a mode, simple, certain and effectual, can be adopted. [14]

As far as is known, Judge Broome first presented to a large audience his own proposal of a convention in the August, 1851, issue of the *Soil of the South,* an agricultural journal of Columbus, Georgia. But the Judge's approach differed quite noticeably from that of "Magnolia." Broome and his fellow Tallahasseans were ready for action. His statement was as follows:

> The object of this communication is to say that I have for years given more or less attention to the subject of regulating the price of our great staple. The result of my reflections is that we have the power in our own hands, may exercise it with great ease, and at a positive saving annually of very many

14. *Southern Cultivator,* IX (1851), 101.

> millions of dollars, to say nothing of enhancement and regularity of price. The details of this plan are too long to be given in a letter. I shall, however, embody the outlines in a report which I shall submit to a meeting of cotton planters in this city on the 26th instant [Tallahassee, July 26, 1851] at which time we propose to appoint delegates to a Southern cotton planters convention. We are feeling considerable interest in this question here, and may I not hope that you will call the attention of cotton planters of the subject, and urge them every where to hold meetings and send delegates? Have a meeting in your county early, and fix a place and time, not later than the first of November next. No harm can result, and great good may, in my opinion, be done.
>
> Would it not be well, if such a convention is considered desirable, to hold it during the same week with your Agricultural State Fair [in Macon, Georgia], and at the same place? [15]

Editor James M. Chambers of the *Soil of the South* not only approved of Judge Broome's suggestion, but he immediately invited planters of the South to come to Macon and agreed with Broome as to the date: ''We would suggest the Great Fair, to be held in Macon on the 29th, 30th and 31st of October next, as the proper time and place for the meeting. Come on, then, planters, one and all; . . . Let the press sound the tocsin, the planters will rally to the call," he said. [16]

Leon County planters, as Broome had stated, were indeed "feeling a considerable interest" about the cotton market in the summer of 1851. Prices in 1850-1851 had risen to about ten cents per pound, but there was a gnawing fear that they might drop to a level such as the four to five cents received in 1845. These prices of 1845 were, by the way, the lowest of the antebellum period. [17] And it was with the hope of preventing both a recurrence of such prices and fluctuations in prices that a call was sent out by Judge Broome, Richard K. Call, and thirty-one other sponsors for a meeting of Leon County planters. [18] In promoting the meeting, which was set for July 26, a local editor hoped that

15. *Soil of the South,* II (1851), 118. See also *Southern Cultivator,* IX (1851), 122.
16. *Soil of the South,* II (1851), 118.
17. *DeBow's Review,* XXII (1857), 212, XXIII (1857), 367.
18. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* July 15, 1851; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* July 12, 1851.

the planters could do something to stabilize prices, for, as he concluded,

> These fluctuations produce untold evils beyond the mere loss of money. They unsettle every thing - impart their own character to every interest - affect injuriously the habits and morals of our people - and keep us moving from the extreme rash and extravagant speculation to that of over caution, timidity and distrust. We get from fever heat to below zero, perhaps in a month, and the calculations of no one week will answer for the next. All interests partake of this gambling character, and assuredly it is good for no people to be the sport of fortune to such a degree as the cotton growing South always have been. [19]

The July 26 meeting of Leon County planters, which met at the courthouse in Tallahassee, selected Colonel Robert Butler as president, Colonel John Parkhill and Doctor G. W. Holland as vice-presidents, and B. F. Allen as secretary. A committee consisting of Edward Houstoun, T. K. Leonard, Richard Hayward, George Whitfield, and Judge Broome as chairman, was appointed by Colonel Butler "to present business to the meeting." As reported locally, ''The committee retired for a few moments," and, with Broome acting as spokesman, made its report. [20]

The committee's report was an amazing thing for its time and place; it indicated that a great amount of preparation had preceded the meeting; it contained much that was old and much that was new. Cotton planters, Judge Broome proclaimed, were subject to more difficulties and hazards than any other "interest in the world." Production was irregular, which resulted in great fluctuations in price. Since consumption of cotton through the years had kept pace with production, said Broome, "the extent of consumption up to this time, has been controlled by the extent of production, and we must," he concluded, "therefore look to other causes for the ruinous depressions in price, to which we have so often submitted." His second point concerned what he termed ''the capacity of the world for overproduction." Speaking to this point, he said, "To this your Committee concedes there cannot be a definite answer given; they [the members of the committee] incline,

19. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel,* July 15, 1851.
20. Official accounts of the proceedings of the meeting may be found in *ibid.,* August 5, 1851, and in Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* August 2, 1851.

however, strongly to the opinion that, at fair prices and with proper organization on the part of the American cotton planters, the capacity for over production does not and never can exist."

Quoting figures from *Hunt's Merchant's Magazine* of New York City, which was the leading commercial publication in the country, Broome next stated that the annual increase in American cotton production had been declining about three per cent per year. "Not so, however, with American consumption," he added, for "that had increased, in the same time, more than nine per cent per annum . . ." He was of the opinion that "The rate of production must be increased, or the consumption diminished - [and thus] the equilibrium, will be found." But, he said, he could not agree with the explanation that price fluctuations through the years had been caused by overproduction. However, he did believe that prices went up and down for two other reasons: irregular production and the selfish machinations of cotton manufacturers. Irregular production, he reiterated, could not be prevented, but it is as well as the procedure of selling cotton to factors and manufacturers could be controlled; and the planter had a way of obtaining a just price. This, he said, was the gist of the problem; and he had to answer to it. His method of attaining an "equilibrium," that is, his "Florida Plan," was, briefly, as follows:

> . . . Irregular production, it is conceded, cannot be prevented, but your committee think that organized concert of action will control its effects.
>
> If we would do any thing certainly and effectively, we must organize a Cotton Planters' Association. This should be chartered by the States of South Carolina, Georgia, Alabama, Louisiana, and Florida, with a capital of at least $20,000,000, to be increased in amount as the wants of the business might require. The Association should erect or purchase extensive warehouses in Charleston Savannah, Mobile, New Orleans, Apalachicola and St. Marks, and establish at each of these points a regular commission business, with a view to the storage and sale of the entire crop of the United States.
>
> For the purpose of securing to themselves the whole cotton commission business, they should establish a minimum price, which for the purposes of this argument, we will fix at 10 to 12 cents, according to quality and location. This should be guaranteed to all their regular customers, and to all parties holding cotton purchased of them, so long as the

said cotton remained in their warehouses. The world should have notice that, whenever the cotton offering was not wanted by others, at or above the fixed minimum price, it would never be re-sold, until taken at cost, adding storage, insurance, interest on the investment with a commission for purchasing, and another for selling.

Arguing further for his "Plan," Broome stated that the manufacturer would have to come to "our warehouses for his supplies," with the result, he maintained, that "the intermediate markets and agents" would be eliminated. Under such a system, he said, the southern planter would benefit approximately $25,000,000 on a crop of 1,250,000 bales through savings on drayage, brokerage, and commission fees.

Closing out his report, Broome offered and the meeting adopted three resolutions which it was believed would help implement his "Plan." The resolutions were:

Resolved, That the great irregularity, and continued tendency to reduction of price of our great Southern staple, are evils which require investigation, and the application of a remedy, if one can be found.

Resolved, That, in the opinion of this meeting, nothing is likely to be accomplished for the benefit of our interest, without a reasonable amount of concert of action among cotton planters.

Resolved, That, with a view to obtaining such concert of action, we respectfully call on the cotton planters of the Southern States to assemble in Convention at Macon, Georgia, on Monday 27th day of October next, or at such time and place as may be most convenient to a majority of those who may desire to be represented, and that this meeting appoint delegates to the same.

After appointing forty-four delegates to the Macon convention and making provisions for the establishment of a so-called Central Association of the Cotton Planters of Florida, the Tallahassee meeting adjourned. [21] A local editor reported, "The meeting was well attended, and very great interest was manifested in its objects." [22]

21. For other accounts of the Tallahassee meeting, see *DeBow's Review,* XI (1851), 497-504; *Soil of the South,* I (1851), 130-131; *Southern Cultivator,* IX (1851), 139-141.
22. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal,* August 2, 1851.

In the interval between the Tallahassee meeting in July and the Macon planters' convention in October, 1851, there developed a sharp debate over the "Florida Plan." However, there was a somewhat general agreement that a south-wide planters' convention would serve excellent purposes. *DeBow's Review,* in reporting on the Tallahassee meeting, stated, "We agree entirely as to the importance of a Convention of the Planters of the South, though we are not yet prepared to say how far the [Florida] plan . . . may be practicable or achieve the desired results." [23] Daniel Lee, the editor of the *Southern Cultivator,* considered the "Florida Plan" to be "impracticable" because, as he put it, "The Cotton planters are too numerous, scattered over too large a district of country, with interests and conditions (pecuniarily) too varied and diversified to afford ground for the indulgence of a reasonable hope, that any concert of action can be possibly produced," but he added, "we are by no means opposed to the organization of a Planters' Convention, for it may in other respects be productive of much good, if the energies of the body be properly directed." As to "proper direction," said Lee, the convention should encourage agricultural improvement, the increased circulation of agricultural journals, the investment of surplus capital in manufacturing, and thereby create a self-sufficient South. [24] Editor Chambers, of the *Soil of the South,* gave his mixed blessing to the "Plan" and to the convention, saying, "To our Florida friends belongs the honor of originating this project; the thought is now the property of the country." [25] He believed, however, that production and price could not be "regulated with any thing like certainty in all its details . . . . We propose no monopoly; we ask not legislative interference; we seek no tariff for protections, but [that we] consult how we shall best use the means for turning to the best account the blessings, so rich and varied, peculiar to our own soil of he South. Let the proposition then receive the consideration which its importance demands." [26]

The pros and cons of the "Plan" also were debated in many newspapers during the late summer and fall of 1851, much ink was expended on the subject, particularly in Florida, Georgia, Ala-

23. *DeBow's Review,* XI (1851), 497.
24. *Southern Cultivator,* IX (1851), 122.
25. *Soil of the South,* I (1851), 139.
26. *Ibid.*

bama, New York City, Washington, D. C., and Liverpool. [27] Most editors, including one in Tallahassee, [28] were extremely critical of the "Plan," but of all the attacks the most caustic seems to have been the following one in the New York *Times:*

> The seasons will have to be adjusted so that due proportions of wet and dry weather shall alternate at proper intervals; a treaty must be made with the army and boll worm and other entomological speculators in cotton; the fluctuations of money values will have to be set forever at rest, and a fixed rate of consumption dictated to and forced upon the world. Can the Cotton Convention manage this? Can it regulate the tide? or lay down the laws of the wind? or oblige the Gulf Stream to run the other way? Unless it can, the price of cotton is likely, we fear, to continue its old-fashioned mutability. [29]

The Macon convention of October, 1851, was attended by delegates from Georgia, Alabama, Florida, South Carolina, Tennessee, Virginia, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; and of the 261 delegates, Florida furnished 19. Florida played a leading role, however, for the president of the convention, ex-Governor William Moseley, came from that state. Also present from Florida were Judge Broome and John Gamble, and both of them were active participants in the meeting.

To say the least, the "Florida Plan" was poorly received by the majority of the delegates at the convention. Every person who spoke was quite positive that the southern planter was being mistreated in one way or another by businessmen of the world and that the South ought to protect itself somehow against these businessmen. But the delegates could not agree as to a method of protection or to the procedure they should follow. Thus the convention made few accomplishments. One reason for this was that the delegates turned their thoughts to the fetish of direct trade

27. See Jordan, "Cotton Planters' Conventions in the Old South," *loc. cit.,* 327.

28. For some exceedingly severe criticisms of the "Plan," see Tallahassee *Sentinel,* August 5, 12, 19, 26, 1851, especially those of "X. S.", a correspondent of the *Sentinel.* This writer charged that Broome's Report was most confusing and that the Judge's figures on cotton production were unreliable: "Possibly they were obtained from the Moon - being the nearest planet, and as there seems to be a good deal of moon-shine about the Report." *Ibid.,* August 5, 1851.

29. New York *Times,* quoted in *Daily Chronicle & Sentinel,* October 23, 1851, of Augusta, Georgia.

between the South and Europe. An adventurer by the name of Charles Goethe Baylor, who was the American consul at Amsterdam, turned up at the meeting, made a stirring and audacious speech on direct trade, and created so much excitement on that subject that the majority of the convention repudiated the "Florida Plan" and agreed to work for the promotion of direct trade instead of the "Plan" in an effort to advance southern interests. John Gamble, who had not participated in the Tallahassee meeting of July, 1851, also created turmoil among the advocates of the "Plan" by suggesting an alternative organization to the Cotton Planters' Association as proposed by Judge Broome. Gamble's suggestion, which was approved by the Macon convention, called for the establishment of county agricultural societies throughout the South, their chief function to be to examine crops in their counties and to submit statistics to a central executive committee. This central committee would serve as a sort of information bureau for planters of the South and furnish them with some idea of what to expect concerning the over-all cotton crop each year. However, despite the activities of Baylor and Gamble, Judge Broome still gained the satisfaction of having his "plan" officially adopted by a minority of the convention. This came about in a peculiar way. The majority of the delegates literally grew tired of listening to Broome and his supporters, all but about forty diehard supporters of Broome walked out of the convention, and the remaining group adopted the "Florida Plan." This group also claimed that it was acting for the convention, but just before it adjourned it agreed that the delegates should not consider themselves bound to adhere to the "Plan." Thus, the convention, in regard to the "Plan," was quite obviously a fiasco. The "plan" was never put into operation, of course. [30]

But this was not the end of the matter. The press was by no means through discussing the "Plan," and proceeded for several years after 1851 to ridicule, blast, malign, and shame it and its

30. *Alabama Planter*, V (1851), 388; Augusta *Daily Chronicle & Sentinel*, October 18, 29, November 1, 4, 5, 1851; *DeBow's Review*, XI (1851), 683-684, XII (1852), 121-126, 275-279; Macon *Georgia Citizen*, November 8, 1851; Macon *Georgia Journal and Messenger*, October 29, 1851; Macon *Georgia Telegraph*, November 18, 25, 1851; Mobile *Daily Advertiser*, November 7, 9, 11, 1851; Savannah *Daily Republican*, November 1, 3, 5, 1851; *Soil of the South*, I (1851), 152-155, 159, 177, 183; *Southern Cultivator*, IX (1851), 156-157, 161-164.

proponents. It was, for example, compared to the South Sea Scheme of the English, the Mississippi Scheme of the French, and described as the work of "a moon-struck man," Quixotic, a hocus-pocus, and "a very great error," among other diatribes. Eventually, however, the "Florida Plan" brought some interesting results, not all good, but at least interesting. The Macon convention of 1851, which in reality resulted from the original proposal of the men of Leon County, helped lay plans for another convention to be held in Macon in October, 1852. Again the planters could not agree, but at this meeting, which attracted delegates from eight states, provisions were made for a third convention. This latter group organized a so-called Agricultural Association of the Cotton Planting States while in session at Montgomery, Alabama; the Association sponsored a magnificent meeting in Columbia, South Carolina, in December, 1853, at which time one of the most outstanding groups of papers on scientific farming was presented in the history of the Old South; and in 1854 the Association merged its activities with those of the commercial conventions. [31]

Many of the participants in the planters' conventions took leading roles in the commercial conventions after they affiliated with the latter organization. And that the leaders of the planters' conventions had much in common with the leaders of the commercial conventions is shown by the official invitation that the planters sent out for their Macon convention of October, 1852. It will be recalled that the main purpose of this meeting was to organize an association of planters. The purpose of such an association, it was said, was to improve agriculture; to develop resources and "unite and combine the energies of the slave-holding States, . . .; to establish and fortify a public opinion within our borders, . . .;" to rear southern children at home and develop among them "industry and cultivated and refined tastes;" to pro mote mechanic arts "directly and indirectly auxiliary to agriculture;" to encourage direct trade with Europe; to develop a common school system "which will make Christians as well as scholars of our children;" and to prepare the Negro for freedom, that is, to civilize and Christianize him, but not to free him until "slavery have fulfilled its beneficient mission in these states, . . ." [32]

31. See Jordan, "Cotton Planters' Conventions in the Old South," *loc. cit.,* 331-344.
32. *Soil of the South,* II (1852), 324-325.

These objectives of the planters were the same as those which were expressed in the meetings of the commercial conventions of the 1850's. Indeed, it is quite probable that the commercial conventions borrowed many of their ideas from the planters' conventions.

It is quite obvious that the planters conventions were very significant in encouraging southern nationalism. Probably of most significance, however, was their encouragement of the establishment of agricultural societies and fairs and an agricultural press, all of which aided in the promotion of better farming practices in the Old South. It was due to their efforts, in part, that agriculture, not cotton, became "king" in the region. In Leon County, Florida, for example, planters made their plans for a state agricultural society and a state fair almost immediately after the failure of their "Florida Plan" at the 1851 planters' convention in Macon, Georgia; [33] and this was more than a coincidence. The activities of Gamble, Broome, and their colleagues in behalf of agriculture thus had some very beneficial results, and helped Florida take an active role in the agricultural revolution which was coming about in the United States in the late ante-bellum period. [34]

33. Tallahassee *Florida Sentinel*, November 18, 1851; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, November 22, December 20, 1851.
34. Louis B. Schmidt, "The Agricultural Revolution in the United States, 1860-1930," *Science*, LXII (1930), 585-594.

ALABAMA AND WEST FLORIDA ANNEXATION

by HUGH C. BAILEY

EVEN BEFORE the Alabama Territory came into being, the inhabitants of the area north of West Florida coveted the land which lies west of the Apalachicola River. As early as 1811 two hundred sixty three residents of the Mississippi Territory petitioned the Congress of the United States to add West Florida to their jurisdiction. Not only would this give the territory sufficient population for admission to statehood, they asserted, but it would promote the interests of the people of both sections. After pointing out that many of the rivers of the Mississippi country flowed through West Florida, the petitioners stated that "where Nature fixes the boundaries of a state, there ought to be its limits when they do not conflict with its real and substantial interests." They trusted that the gentlemen of the congress would see the situation in the same light. [1]

Though this petition bore no fruit, the spirit which it reflected did not wane. The Alabama Constitutional Convention meeting in the summer of 1819 petitioned the congress to add West Florida to the new state. Largely due to the votes of Southern senators this was not done, although the Alabama congressmen did not give up until the boundaries for the new territory of Florida were erected. [2]

Even within the Florida Territory there continued to be strong sentiment for division, particularly in East Florida. In 1838 a public meeting at St. Augustine adopted resolutions favoring such action. The tradition of two territories, one under St. Augustine and the other under Pensacola, was firmly planted in the minds of many people. Some went so far as to contend that the Adams-

1. "Petition to Congress by Inhabitants of the Territory," Referred December 27, 1811, in Clarence Edwin Carter (comp. and ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States* (21 vols. to date, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1934-), VI, *The Territory of Mississippi, 1809-1817*, 253-257.
2. See the author's, "Alabama's Political Leaders and the Acquisition of Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXV, (July, 1956), 26-29.

Onis treaty imposed the duty of forming two states out of the Florida cession. [3]

Yet it was not until 1854 that Alabama again assumed the initiative in her mission to gain West Florida. In that year the Alabama legislature passed a joint resolution proposing that the state of Florida cede to Alabama all of her territory lying west of the "Chattahooche *{sic}* and Apalachicola" rivers, subject, of course, to the necessary sanction of the United States Congress. [4] Evidently nothing came of this expression of desires. Four years later, however, the same resolution was again passed, but this time provision was made for the Governor of Alabama to appoint a commissioner to bring the resolution before the Florida legislature and chief executive. [5]

In compliance with this resolution, Governor A. B. Moore appointed Judge Gappa T. Yelverton, of Coffee County, as the Alabama commissioner. After conferences in Tallahassee he reported that the leaders of the Florida government had refused to assent to transfer on any terms. [6]

With the coming of the war Alabama's attention was diverted from Florida, but reconstruction revealed that the Florida dream was not a monopoly of any one segment of the population. Between 1868 and 1874 the most zealous and sustained effort was made by the radical governments to acquire West Florida for Alabama.

On December 30, 1868, the Alabama legislature passed a joint resolution introduced by J. L. Pennington, a leading Republican from Lee County, which authorized the governor to negotiate with the government of Florida to annex that portion of the

3. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida, Embracing a General History of the Province, Territory and State; and Special Chapters Devoted to Finances and Banking, the Bench and Bar, Medical Profession, Railways and Navigation and Industrial Interests* (2 vols., Atlanta, The Southern Historical Association), I. 168.
4. *Acts of the Fourth Biennial Session of the General Assembly of Alabama* . . . . (Montgomery, Brittan and Blue, 1854), 501.
5. Joint resolution, dated February 8, 1858, in *Acts of the Sixth Biennial Session of the General Assembly of Alabama.* . . . (Montgomery, N. B. Cloud, 1857), 432.
6. Francis G. Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *Proceedings of the Twenty-Fourth Meeting of the Alabama State Bar Association Held at Montgomery, Alabama, June 28 and 29, 1901* (Montgomery, Brown Printing Co., 1901). 110; Thomas McAdory Owen, *History of Alabama and Dictionary of Alabama Biography* (4 vols., Chicago, The S. J. Clarke Publishing Co., 1921). II, 1392

state lying west of the Chattahoochee. Furthermore the governor was empowered to draw upon any unappropriated funds in the treasury to defray the expenses involved in conducting the negotiations. [7]

In January, 1869, Governor William H. Smith appointed three commissioners to proceed immediately to Tallahassee. Of these two were prominent Republicans who had come to Alabama after the war. They were Pennington, the author of the resolutions and a former North Carolinian, and the incumbent Alabama secretary of state, Charles A. Miller, a native of Maine. The third member was Judge Andrew J. Walker, who had just been removed from the Alabama Supreme Court by the reconstruction government. His inclusion on the commission indicated that Governor Smith wished to wage the struggle for annexation on a bi-partisan basis. [8]

Backed by firm support at home, the commissioners arrived at Tallahassee in mid-January. A letter explaining the mission was submitted to Governor Harrison Reed who replied favorably and sent the communication to the Florida legislature. Accompanying this was a recommendation that commissioners be appointed to represent Florida in the desired negotiations. The legislature wished to know more about the proposed scheme before any action was taken and invited Pennington to address the chambers.

The theme of the chief negotiator's address was that cession of West Florida to Alabama would be mutually advantageous. He pointed out that the geometrical outlines of both states would be improved and that the homogeneity of the peoples of each would be increased. His trump card was the argument that annexation would facilitate the prosperity of West Florida. Once the cession had taken place, he envisioned the coal and iron of central Alabama finding its world outlet through the port of Pensacola which would become one of the worlds greatest cities. Seductively, he held this vision, partially to be achieved by the benefits of the generous Alabama railway endorsement law, before the legislature. "Gentlemen, give us the harbor of Pensacola," he pleaded,

7. Joint resolution, dated December 30, 1868, in *Acts of the Sessions of July, September and November, 1868, of the General Assembly of Alabama.* . . . (Montgomery, Jno. G. Stoker & Co., 1868), 599.
8. Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *loc. cit.,* 111.

"and we will connect it by rail with our capital and our new system of railways in ninety days after the transfer shall have been made; and within two years or less we will penetrate our mineral regions, open up a great internal highway from the Gulf to the Northwest, build up a great commercial city of Pensacola, which will confer alike its benefits on your State, and enrich the people we propose to take from you." [9]

On January 25 the senate adopted a resolution carrying out Governor Reed's request, and the house gave its approval the following day. Desiring "to promote the best interests of all the people of our State," the legislature authorized the governor to appoint a committee of three to confer with the Alabama commissioners. These appointees were empowered to arrange terms of transfer of West Florida and to confer with the proper Alabama authorities to attain that end. They were to report, by bill or otherwise, to the next session of the legislature.

Meanwhile, before the next meeting of the chambers, the governor was ordered to hold a special election on the question in the counties Alabama proposed to annex. In order to insure an intelligent vote, it was decreed that before the referendum was held the commissioners must come to explicit terms on the conditions of transfer and these must be enumerated in the proclamation for the special election. As if it anticipated the result, the legislature added, "the aforesaid election shall not be final or binding, until the Legislature or people of the State of Florida, and the Congress of the United States, shall consent to transfer of said territory." [10]

The Alabama commissioners were jubilant. Pennington wrote Governor Smith, "Our mission to Florida was far more successful than we anticipated." He had little doubt as to the outcome of the scheme which he felt could be consummated the following winter. This would be the highlight of the Smith administration and "a crowning glory of the Wisdom of Radical rule." [11]

Early in May, 1869, the Florida commissioners arrived in Montgomery. The head of the group was the carpetbagger, W. J.

9. Cited in *ibid.*, 112-113; Owen, *op. cit.*, 1392.
10. "Joint Resolution Relative to the Alabama Commissioners," True copy made February 8, 1869, by Secretary of State Jonathan C. Gibbs, in Governor William H. Smith Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, hereinafter cited as Smith Papers, Montgomery.
11. J. L. Pennington to Governor William H. Smith, February 10, 1869, Smith Papers, Montgomery.

Purman. A native of Pennsylvania, he was a leader of the radical forces in Florida from before the adoption of the constitution of 1868 until the return of Democratic rule. [12]

The other members of the Florida team were C. E. Dike and N. C. Morange. The Montgomery *Advertiser* hastened to point out that both of these men were Democrats. Dike, it was noted, was the editor of one of Florida's leading Democratic newspapers and Morange was "a State Senator, a gentleman of property, influence and intelligence." The *Advertiser*, one of Alabama's most militant Democratic journals, even had a kind word for Purman. "Maj. Purman represents West Florida more particularly, being a citizen of that portion of the State more immediately interested in the negotiations," it reported. "It is true, he is a new settler in Florida, but his record in the Legislature shows that, although a Republican, he has not been controlled by extreme partisan views." [13]

The meetings of the Alabama and Florida representatives were most pleasant and on May 19, 1869, a cession agreement was signed. It provided that Alabama was to receive all the country west of the Apalachicola River, including the lands belonging to the state of Florida in the area. In return, Alabama was to issue to Florida $1,000,000 in eight per cent bonds payable in thirty years. The railways radiating from Pensacola, one in the direction of Apalachicola and the other in that of Pollard, were to have charters confirmed and were to receive the benefits of the endorsement law of Alabama. For three years no other roads were to receive such benefits. Alabama was to pay Florida the solvent taxes unpaid in the area at the time cession was consummated. She was to permit the counties ceded to retain their state taxes for one year for purposes of local improvement. All West Florida local officials were to exercise their jurisdiction for their full terms, but under Alabama law. The annexed counties

12. In 1872 he was elected as a representative to the U. S. House of Representatives from the first congressional district, a position to which he was re-elected in 1874 when he was chosen as the Jackson County representative in the Florida house. "This was the only time in the history of Florida that one person has been elected to two legislative positions at the same time." William T. Cash, *The Story of Florida* (4 vols., New York, The American Historical Association, 1938), I, 491.
13. The Montgomery *Advertiser*, May 3, 1869, cited in Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *loc. cit.*, 113.

were to form one judicial circuit of Alabama and the judge of the First Florida Judicial Circuit was to preside here until his term expired. Finally, it was provided that the agreement would not go into effect until approved by the two states and assented to by the Congress of the United States. [14]

Foreseeing that objections would be raised to the payment of such a large sum for the territory and to the application of Alabama's liberal endorsement law, the Alabama commissioners hastened to vindicate their action. They pointed out that it was estimated over two million acres of state lands would be acquired in West Florida and that it was supposed that these would be of the average value of $1.25 per acre. Moreover, it was reliably estimated that in 1867 the area had a white population of 17,813 and a Negro population of 8,858 which paid $31,245.92 into the state treasury.

The commissioners concentrated their argument on the fact that the acceptance of the contract would bring Alabama the finest of water connections to promote her commerce and industry. Ten thousand square miles of land with a water frontage of 180 miles including the harbors of Pensacola, St. Joseph, St. Andrews and Apalachicola would be obtained. "The harbor of Pensacola," they asserted, "is unquestionably the best on the Gulf of Mexico, as it affords a safe anchorage and an entrance for vessels drawing 24 feet of water; and vessels may load and unload without lighterage at the wharves." Some might hold that railway endorsement was an unwarranted burden. The commissioners would reply "that if Alabama acquires the country, her true interest lies in making it as valuable as possible . . . . The contribution which the annexation of Pensacola and the intermediate country with the aid of railroads now existing and in prospect, will make to the aggrandizement of the mineral region of the state is so obvious, as to require no comment," the commissioners informed the governor.

They did concede that from an immediate pecuniary advantage Florida had obtained the best of the negotiations. "Florida was asked to cede and of course had the vantage ground in the

14. Report of the Alabama Commissioners to Governor Smith, June 3, 1869, Smith Papers, Montgomery hereinafter cited as Commissioners Report, June 3, 1869; *Journal of the Session of 1872-73 of the Senate of Alabama. . . .* (Montgomery, Arthur Bingham, 1873), 101-105, hereinafter cited as *Ala. Sen. Jr., 1872-73.*

negotiations and her able and faithful commissioners very properly availed themselves of it." Yet in the long run the Alabama negotiators felt that their state would profit most from the contract. They were pleased with their handiwork and with their relationship with the "gentlemen of intelligence and integrity" from Florida. They believed a cession agreement had been reached which Florida would accept "if she is willing under any circumstances to cede any part of her territory." Wisely they counseled that if "she should from a sentiment of state pride reject the contract the subject had better be forever dropped, for we do not conceive, that a more favorable opportunity or a fairer or more honorable contract will ever be presented." [15]

In both states the machinery was soon placed in operation to obtain approval of the agreement. On June 25th Governor Reed issued a proclamation setting forth the terms of the cession agreement and calling for a referendum in West Florida on November 2, 1869. The Alabama pro-annexationist forces moved into the area and exerted what pressure they could to insure success. J. L. Pennington directed the movement. In early June he wrote Governor Smith that Purman wished him to come to Tallahassee to "assist him to work on the members of the Legislature from West Florida and secure their co-operation. . . . {I} Shall want at least a thousand dollars for expenses and to use at Tallahassee," Pennington wrote, and he suggested that the governor have Secretary of State Miller send him funds by express. [16]

In reply Governor Smith came to Opelika, Pennington's home town, and urged him to take personal charge of the Florida election campaign. While Smith was with him, Pennington received a telegram from Purman urging him to come at once, and it was decided that he would leave within the week. Reflecting a pessimism which he had not shown before, Pennington wrote, "I have no idea this annexation can be accomplished without the expenditure of a few thousand dollars, to carry it before the people of West Florida and then in the Legislature." He threatened to abandon his efforts if the money were not granted. [17]

Pennington did receive some funds, although certainly not as much as he wished. In early August, he and Secretary Miller

15. Commissioners Report, June 3, 1869, Smith Papers, Montgomery.
16. Pennington to Smith, June 7, 1869, *ibid.*
17. Pennington to D. L. Dalton, June 12, 1869, *ibid.*

requested $4,000 in one lump sum in order to continue the campaign of persuasion. By the time the Alabama legislature turned its attention to the matter in December, the Florida annexation commission had received and expended $10,500. [18]

If the returns from the West Florida election were a criterion, the Alabama commission's money was well spent. In a total vote of 1,823, 1,162 votes were cast for annexation and 661 against it. [19]

Despite this result, Governor Reed had come to oppose the project. Addressing the legislature following the special election, he pointed out that the Florida constitution would have to be amended before any cession of territory could be made, and he indicated his disapproval of the entire program. He could not believe that many people of the state "seriously entertained the idea of ceding one-fifth of their territory and population, and the finest harbor on the gulf, for such an insignificant consideration." [20]

The debate was not one sided. Many in Alabama also opposed. The Haynsville *Examiner* daily expected "that the sandbank and gopher region west of the Apalachicola has become part and parcel of the State of Alabama by the payment of some million or so of dollars on the part of the latter." It greatly feared another immense debt would be fastened on the impoverished people of the state. To those who argued that Pensacola was worth many times that sum, it replied that Alabama could trade through that port as well under Florida control as if it were part of Alabama. The Eufaula *News* felt much was to be gained for Alabama by annexation but feared that the Florida negotiators

18. Pennington and Miller to Smith, August 5, 1869, *ibid,;* J. A. Yordy, chairman of special state senate investigating committee, to Smith, December 14, 1869, *ibid.*

19. Certified copies of the official vote canvass, dated December 1, 1869; *ibid.;* Jonathan G. Gibbs to Smith, December 4, 1869, *ibid.* The votes, by counties, were:

Escambia	436	352
Franklin	58	26
Holmes	72	41
Santa Rosa	119	155
Walton	170	65
Washington	190	20
Calhoun	117	2
(There were no returns for Jackson County)		

20. Rerick, *op. cit.,* 319.

were speculators who did not represent the people of their state. The Montgomery *Advertiser* was suspicious of the entire movement. [21]

When the Alabama legislature convened on November 15, 1869, Governor Smith transmitted the agreement of May 19th to them and gave his approval to it, although he stated that he felt "the price to be paid is more than the State, under all circumstances of the case, ought to pay." In January, 1870, joint resolutions were introduced ratifying the agreement and requesting that Alabama's representatives in the United States Congress obtain the assent of the national government. After some dissention in committee, these measures were reported to the chamber floors, but in February the measures were referred back to commitee. This was done on the grounds that, since the Florida legislature had adjourned without acting on the cession agreement, no action could be taken until its next session in January, 1871. By postponing their final action, the Alabama lawmakers proclaimed that they were giving the people of the state longer time for reflection on the subject. [22]

It is probable that favorable action would have been taken by the Alabama legislature had the question of the honesty of the Alabama annexation commission not arisen. In December, 1869, a special senate committee began to inquire as to how the sum of $10,500 had been expended in the negotiations. The committee chairman demanded that the governor furnish him an itemized statement of expenses incurred by the commissioners, "the object being to ascertain in what manner and for what purposes the large amount . . . has been expended." [23]

Pennington replied that the Florida commissioners had been entertained with the funds. This was not a satisfactory answer since two of the visitors had been in Montgomery less than two weeks and the third only a month. The only itemized statement ever presented was that of Judge Walker. This was $16 for hack bills. No mention, of course, was ever made of attempts to influence the Florida election. With this unfavorable publicity, it

21. Cited in Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *loc cit.,* 115.
22. *Ibid.,* 116-117; Owen, *op. cit.,* 1,935; message of Governor Smith, written June 4, 1869, in *Ala. Sen. Jr., 1872-73,* 105.
23. J. A. Yordy to Smith, December 14, 1869, Smith Papers, Montgomery.

was with great difficulty that the house passed an annexation resolution in the session of 1870-71, but it was defeated in the senate. [24]

Here the situation rested until 1873 when the ardent annexationist Governor David P. Lewis, Alabama's last Republican chief executive, came into power. In February he sent a special message to the legislature calling attention to the as yet unconfirmed agreement of 1869 and urging affirmative action be taken upon it. He felt that West Florida was designed "by the laws of nature" to be part of Alabama. "The necessities of commerce, the outlets to the great highways of the world's trade and travel, reciprocal wants, necessities and benefits" cried for annexation, he believed. He could see no means by which internal improvements could profitably unite East and West Florida. On the other hand, he felt the acquisition of Pensacola would be a boon to both the West Florida area and Alabama. "Lines of vessels will only come to Pensacola with tropical fruits, sugar, molasses, cigars and coffee, when such articles of commerce can find a ready transit in the interior, and when the vessels transporting them can obtain return cargoes of coal and other products, needed for Gulf traffic." The governor felt that, "This stream of commerce flowing through our community, will bear its wealth-giving deposits along the whole length of our State." [25]

In March, 1873, joint resolutions were introduced in both chambers. These closely followed the agreement of 1869. They provided that one million dollars in coupon bonds of not less than $1,000 each was to be given to Florida for West Florida and its share of the state debt. The governor was authorized to appoint three commissioners to tender the lawful Florida authorities the Alabama bonds and to do all that was necessary to consummate the cession, provided they limited themselves to offer only one million dollars as the price of cession. The commissioners were allowed up to $3,000 for their personal expenses. This measure

24. Walter L. Fleming, *Civil War and Reconstruction in Alabama* (Cleveland, The Arthur H. Clark Co., 1911), 577; Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *loc. cit.,* 117-119; Owen, *op. cit.,* 1,935.
25. *Ala. Sen. Jr., 1872-73,* 100-101.

received the approval of both houses and was signed by the governor on March 27. [26]

Immediately Governor Lewis transmitted the joint resolution to Governor Ossian B. Hart of Florida. "If it shall be your Excellency's pleasure to convene your General Assembly, in Extraordinary Session," Lewis wrote, "I will send Commissioners to your Capital to enter negotiations respecting the same." Since the question was not a new one, he hoped that "public opinion is to a good degree ripe for action." [27]

In an effort to insure success, Governor Lewis entered into correspondence with the intriguer, W. J. Purman. Late in April the Florida congressman, in a letter marked "Very Confidential," gave a political diagnosis of the reaction to the question in his state. He felt that annexation would become an issue between the two political parties and that its merits would be obscured and the wishes of the people of West Florida would not be considered. He was authorized to state that Governor Hart "will truly favor the measure in the premises by first submitting the question of annexation or anti-annexation to a vote of the *whole* people of the State. In no other manner will he be friendly to the movement."

Since the question would ultimately rest with public opinion, Purman reasoned that the annexationists must have the support of the press if they hoped to win. He reported that the *Tri-Weekly Union* of Jacksonville could be "the lever" in the movement and that due to financial embarrassments it would shortly change hands. "By a contribution to *this* paper *now* we would secure it as our chief organ *for* annexation." The Tallahassee *Sentinel* and a dozen minor papers could also be enlisted, he wrote. He demanded to know whether the friends of annexation in Alabama had any contingent fund to carry on the campaign. If they did, he advised them to make use of it at once. [28]

26. *Acts of the Session of 1872-73, of the General Assembly of Alabama. . . .* (Montgomery, Arthur Bingham, 1873), 125; Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *loc. cit.*, 119, and Owen, *op. cit.*, 1,395, do not mention the struggle of Governor Lewis for annexation, and they incorrectly hold that no action was taken by the session of 1872-73.
27. Governor David P. Lewis to Governor Ossian B. Hart, April 11, 1873, in David P. Lewis Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery.
28. Purman to Lewis, April 21, 1873, *ibid.*

Governor Lewis reacted favorably to Purman's suggestion. Not only did he appoint L. E. Parsons, J. C. Goodlow, and R. W. Cobb as official commissioners, but he used unofficial representatives armed with cash in an effort to elect annexationist lawmakers to the Florida legislature. In April Governor Lewis conferred with a delegation from Pensacola friendly to annexation. Colonel Blount of this group and some of the leading members of the Alabama general assembly met with the governor and discussed means to influence favorable Florida action. They concluded that Alabama had no authority to pledge anything above the $1,000,000 in bonds which she had offered Florida. Yet they believed that the expenditure of a small sum, which they defined as $10,000 or so, "would be no obstacle to a ratification by Alabama of an arrangement of so large a character." The governor wrote Purman, "I would not hesitate to pledge out of the Executive Contingent Fund as much as the public service would permit for the accomplishment of annexation." He would take the responsibility, he stated, of going before the assembly and defending his use of a sum of as much as $5,000. "And this is independent of what the equities of any representations to the next Session of our General Assembly, may induce that Body to do," he hastened to add. He believed that they would reimburse proper outlays of the Florida friends of annexation. Colonel Blount had mentioned that the anti-annexationists had opposed a special session on the grounds of expense. The Governor was willing to recommend that the Alabama legislature assume "such extraordinary Expense, that might become an obstacle to your success outside of the merits of the Bill itself." No such session was called, however. [29]

As it became apparent that the question would depend upon the outcome of the fall elections in Florida, annexationists in both states began to chart their course. Colonel Blount and his Pensacola delegation obtained friends for the movement in the Jacksonville area, and Purman laid plans for a "flying visit" to Montgomery to confer with Lewis and other Alabama leaders. [30] The governor asked the Alabama commissioners if they felt that it would be wise to use $1,000 from the contingent fund for publication in Florida journals. J. C. Goodlow replied, "I should

29. Lewis to Purman, April ?, 1873, *ibid.*
30. Purman to Lewis, May 12, 1873, *ibid.*

without hesitation use enough of the contingent fund to inform the people of Florida of our proposition of annexation." [31]

Colonel R. W. Ruter was dispatched to Florida to exert whatever influence he could. Later he presented the state of Alabama a bill for $1,575.10, including $1,010.00 for salary for September 23, 1873 to January 2, 1874. [32] Goodlow conferred with George W. Wentworth in Pensacola and urged him to run as an annexationist candidate for the state senate. The Alabama commissioner assured him that his expenses would be taken care of. As evidence of good faith, he gave him $600 on Friday and promised to deliver $500 the following Sunday. Goodlow then suggested that Senator Harralson be brought into the area "to enlighten the colored voters on the subject of Annexation." Harralson came but went over to the other side for what Wentworth believed to be a monetary consideration. Wentworth concluded the campaign, was defeated, and presented his claims to Alabama for $1,000. "I am now and always shall be a Republican," he wrote a friend of Governor Lewis. "I want nothing except what I have actually paid out, that I do want, and must not be blamed for trying to get it. I do not want to give this matter publicity for I know how anxious our political enemies are to get hold of such things as this, and especially in the Southern States." [33]

When the friends of annexation were defeated, even in Pensacola the Alabama annexationists abandoned their plan. Governor Lewis informed the Alabama legislature in his message of November, 1874, that since no arrangements had been com-

31. Lewis to L. E. Parsons, J. C. Goodlow, and R. W. Cobb, October 20, 1873, *ibid.;* Goodlow to Lewis, November 8, 1873 *ibid.*
32. "Account of Col. R. W. Ruter in connection with Annexation of West Fla.," *ibid.* In a letter of December 22, 1873, Ruter protested to Governor Lewis that the governor had received an evil and untrue report of his activities.

    G. Gillis wrote Ruter (October 10, 1873, Lewis Papers, Montgomery) from Jacksonville that the friends of cession should look to the east and west of Florida, not the central portion of the state, for aid. He felt that the Tallahassee newspapers would labor hard to defeat the plan and that they would be copied by many of the country journals. He suggested good articles be published in the eastern newspapers and that these emphasize that if West Florida were ceded the capital would be moved to Madison, Live Oak, Lake City, Gainesville, Ocala or some place to the south. He also felt political capital would be gained if the people were told public improvements would be speeded up in the east after annexation took place.
33. George E. Wentworth to Colonel J. B. Bingham, January 3, 1874, Lewis Papers, Montgomery. Bingham was the state printer,

pleted for the cession no bonds had been issued under the terms of the act of March, 1873. [34]

The determination of the people of Florida to save their state from dismemberment had apparently triumphed for all time. Yet a new annexationist movement sprang up in 1901. On March 4 of that year the Alabama legislature authorized Governor William D. Jelks to appoint a three-man commission to negotiate for the territory west of "the thread of the Chattahoochee and Appalachicola rivers and west of a line running due south from the thread of the mouth of the Appalachicola river, bending west so as to pass between the islands of St. George and St. Vincent." The governor appointed Samuel Blackwell, Richard C. Jones and William Martin to the posts. All evidence would indicate, however, that the group never formally organized and that it left no reports. [35]

Perhaps its members concurred with the commissioners of 1869 who, working under more advantageous conditions, had counseled that if state pride led Florida to object to annexation that the subject should be forever dropped.

34. *Journal of the Session of 1874-75 of the Senate of Alabama. . . .* (Montgomery, W. W. Screws, 1875) 58.
35. Owen, *op. cit.*, II, 1392; Caffey, "The Annexation of West Florida to Alabama," *loc. cit.*, 110.

THE 1913 CAMPAIGN FOR CHILD LABOR IN FLORIDA

by EMILY HOWARD ATKINS

So MINUTELY prepared and well conducted was the campaign for a child labor law for Florida in 1913 that the advocates were surprised when the proposed bill was challenged by a solitary newspaper, *The Florida Times Union.* According to an official of the National Child Labor Committee, this strong objection on the part of the Jacksonville, Florida newspaper would have wrecked the legislation had it not been for the astute thinking on the part of the authors of the bill when the opposition first appeared. [1]

Although some form of child labor legislation had been on the statute books of Florida since the turn of the century, the laws went unenforced. Little or no interest was shown in improving the conditions until the legislative sessions of 1905 and 1911. During this time sponsors of a minimum employment age for minors worked without success for new legislation.

In 1912, undaunted by three failures to secure a working law, the advocates organized a campaign by which they could gain public support before the 1913 legislature convened. The groundwork for their operations began in December, 1912 when the National Child Labor Committee organized a child labor committee for Florida. Next, upon invitations from the Jacksonville Board of Trade, the Florida Child Labor Committee, and the Committee of Social Workers, the National Child Labor Committee held its ninth annual meeting in Jacksonville in March, 1913.

Operating on the belief that the only way to gain support in the legislature was to make the people of Florida conscious of the need for the regulation of the working habits of minors, the leaders planned for the meetings in Jacksonville to inform the public concerning the evils of child labor and to bid for civic support for the correction of the wrongs by the next legislature.

During the five-day convention, information concerning the

1. A. J. McKelway, "The Florida Child Labor Campaign," *The Survey,* July 12, 1913, p. 497.

conditions of employed minors was channeled to both children and adults in Jacksonville. One of the chief features of the meeting was an appeal to the school children through a Saturday morning matinee at the Imperial Theater where they saw lantern slides about the lives of children who worked in glass, cotton, and coal industries. An Associated Press despatch stated:

> this is the first time the National Child Labor Committee has taken child labor and poverty as the general topic of its conferences and heretofore no attempt has been made to interest children who play in the lives of those who work

and that the Committee realized that the campaign of education must be turned in the direction of the citizens who will make the future child labor laws of the country. [2]

For the adults an exhibit showing the evils of child labor was opened to the public. Nationally known persons such as Chief of the Children's Bureau, Julia C. Lathrop; General Secretary of the National Child Labor Committee, Owen J. Lovejoy; and other National Committee members, A. J. McKelway and John Kingsbury, made addresses to Jacksonville audiences attempting to create a sentiment in favor of child labor legislation.

Parents were contacted individually through what was called by the newspapers "parlor meetings." Eleven of these neighborhood gatherings were held throughout the city and in each instance ten conference speakers gave three-minute talks followed by question and answer periods. The parlor meetings were supported by the members of the various mothers' clubs. With Miss Lathrop as honor guest, the women of Jacksonville were entertained at a luncheon at the Womans' Club.

Shortly before the conference opened, Ion Farris and St. Elmo W. Acosta, Duval County Representatives to the Florida Legislature, stated that they would support a child labor bill in the 1913 session. [3] During the conference F. M. Hudson, Senator from the 13th District of Florida, quoted his interest in getting behind child labor legislation when he presided over a mass meeting at the Board of Trade Building. [4]

The expectations of the leaders that the convention would

2. *The Florida Times Union,* Jacksonville, Florida, March 4, 1913.
3. *The Florida Times Union,* March 10, 1913.
4. *Ibid., March* 17, 1913.

create a "great sentiment" for the passage of child labor legislation were realized when a group of local citizens organized in the closing session of the convention a Florida Child Labor Committee to work for a bill regulating child labor in Florida. [5] The committee, consisting of several hundred members, [6] was headed by John W. Stagg of Orlando, chairman, and Marcus C. Fagg, secretary.

Upon the invitation of the newly organized committee for resource personnel in drafting pertinent legislation, the National Committee recommended A. J. McKelway who accepted a position of an advisor to the group. Frank A. Jennings, a Jacksonville lawyer, and McKelway were empowered to draw up the proposed legislation to be presented to the 1913 legislature.

The bill was drafted on the basis of the Uniform Child Labor Law with some modifications to suit Florida conditions and was introduced early in the session by the Speaker of the House, Ion Farris, and the President of the Senate, H. J. Drane. According to the initial comment of *The Florida Times Union,* the bill proposed the same measures as Ion Farris in the legislatures of 1907 and 1909. [7]

The original bill, presented as S160 and H296 in the respective houses, called for the regulation of the employment of minors and provided penalties for the violation of these regulations.

Minimum employment ages were set for boys in the sale or distribution of newspapers, periodicals or magazines in public places at ten years of age, in day messenger services and stores or offices at twelve years of age, in night messenger service at eighteen years of age, in mechanical trades at fourteen years, in dangerous mechanical industries at sixteen, and in places where intoxicating liquors were sold at twenty-one years of age. For girls the minimum age for the sale or distribution for newspapers, periodicals or magazines in public places was sixteen, and for work in mines, quarries, or places having moving machinery, twenty-one years. The minimum age for boys also applied to girls in other types of employment except work in "winerooms" or "breweries" where all females were excluded either as guests or servants.

5. *Ibid.,* March 18, 1913.
6. A. J. McKelway, "Child Labor and Poverty," *The Survey,* April 5, 1913, p. 62.
7. *The Florida Times Union,* April 22, 1913.

Furthermore, no child under sixteen years of age was to work in the sale or distribution of newspapers, periodicals or magazines, in the delivery services and stores or offices, or in industrial establishments unless he presented an employment certificate which had to be in duplicate in the employer's file and which had to be subject to examination by inspectors or officers charged with the enforcement of the act. Such certificates were to be issued by the local school superintendent under the control of the state superintendent.

In addition to the certificate, the employer must post in a conspicuous place a detailed schedule of the hours for each boy under the age of sixteen and each girl under the age of eighteen working in his establishment. Maximum employment hours were set by the bill as follows: not more than six days in one week, not more than fifty-four hours in one week, not more than nine hours in one day, nor before 5 a. m. or after 8 p. m., provided that one night of each week employment might be extended until 10 p. m.

Penalties for the violation of any provision of the act consisted of a maximum fine of two hundred dollars. The act was to take effect on September 1, 1913. [8]

As soon as the committee in the house reported favorably on the bill, the Saturday afternoon edition of the Jacksonville *Metropolis* stated "this bill is acknowledged to be moderate in its demands even by corporations effected by its passage," and it is backed by the women's clubs, the first group in the state to recognize the need for such legislation. [9]

On the following Monday, the *Florida Times Union* blasted the attempt to regulate child labor as "a most diabolical piece of legislation" concealed "within the sugar coated exteriors" of bills S160 and H296. The newspaper then blamed the agents of the National Child Labor Committee of Washington for "bringing to" the Florida Legislature a bill "drawn in Massachusetts by people wholly unfamiliar with conditions in the South." This legislation, the newspaper continued, is "almost wholly bad for Florida." So drastic and so unsuited to the need of this state was this type of legislation that the public was counseled to lay the "pruning knife" at its "very roots." [10]

8. *Ibid.,* April 28, 1913.
9. *Metropolis,* Jacksonville, Florida, April 26, 1913.
10. *The Florida Times Union,* April 28, 1913.

Reaction to this article was immediate. Both the Federation of Women's Clubs and the Federation of Mothers' Clubs sent telegrams on April 28 to the Legislature endorsing the bill. Other telegrams were sent by the Florida Child Labor Committee and the Fairfield Improvement Association disclaiming any relation of the Florida legislation to the Massachusetts Bill and verifying that the bill was drawn by the Florida Child Labor Committee for conditions in Florida. [11]

On the next day, both Jacksonville papers carried letters to the editors from officials of the Florida Child Labor Committee who asserted that they had drawn the legislation themselves to fit especially the conditions in Florida. The letters pointed out to the editors that as conditions in Florida did not demand such severe measures as Massachusetts and other thickly populated states, the committee had graded their bill as low as ten years of age for street trades gradually rising to the limit of eighteen years of age for only night messenger services. [12]

In the meantime, Marcus C. Fagg, secretary of the Florida Child Labor Committee and a Jacksonville man who was interested in the welfare of children, wrote a letter to the *Florida Times Union defending* the child labor bill. He called attention to the fact that a ten-year-old child who should not be permitted to work regular hours could sell papers or peanuts after school when the work was not a hardship. Children of twelve could work after school hours and during vacations in stores, offices, and messenger services. At fourteen years they could work in certain factories and at sixteen could do dangerous work. Actually the only work requiring an age above sixteen would be the night messenger service. "We believe that it will protect the children of Florida at the ages when they need protection and at the same time allow the poor widow whose children must aid in her support to do some work that will not be a physical strain or place them in moral danger." [13]

According to Fagg, the bill had the support of the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, Social Service Club of Jacksonville, labor unions, and had been carefully supervised by Senator F. M.

11. Proceedings of the Florida Legislature, 1913, *Senate Journal,* pp. 606-607.
12. *The Florida Times Union,* April 29, 1913.
13. *Ibid.,* April 30, 1913.

Hudson. So far as the connection between the National Child Labor Committee and the proposed legislation was concerned, Fagg wrote, the members of the Florida group requested the help and support of the National Committee who sent two southern men, Owen J. Lovejoy and McKelway, who served the Florida Committee without compensation. [14]

Shortly after the *Florida Times Union* called attention to the possibility that should the child labor law be passed, "the bright telegraph messenger under twelve must go, too . . . and after 7 o'clock at night no messenger under the age of 18 will be allowed on duty," [15] a group of Western Union state agents voiced their disapproval of the whole bill as it was drawn. This stand on the part of the state agents was contrary to that of the Western Union Company whose attitude was "heartily in favor of" the eighteen year age limit for night messengers, according to Belvedere Brooks, the vice-president and general manager of the Western Union Company in an interview with him in Tallahassee. [16] However, the state agents took it upon themselves to issue a pamphlet opposing the entire bill, and to have it signed by the state agent of the Postal Telegraph as well as by themselves. [17]

So vigorous was the opposition of the *Florida Times Union*, described by McKelway as a paper "unusually timid concerning anything that might affect corporation interests" and the agents of the Western Union that McKelway feared that it could not be overcome without risk to the whole bill. [18] Consequently, he suggested to the committee that they write a substitute bill.

Under the substitute bill, many of the provisions of the original bill were maintained; however, some adjustments had to be made. The age minimums of ten and sixteen years for street trades would apply only to cities with a population of 6,000 or more. Likewise, the provision setting the minimum age of twelve years for work in messenger services, and in stores or offices would apply only to cities of 6,000 or more people. Both boys and girls under sixteen years who worked in street trades, messenger services, stores, offices, or industrial establishments would have to have

14. *Ibid.*
15. *Ibid.,* April 22, 1913.
16. *Ibid.,* April 29, 1913.
17. McKelway, "The Florida Child Labor Campaign," p. 497.
18. *Ibid.*

certificates which must be issued by the school authorities and posted with a schedule of hours in the places of employment. [19]

Industrial safety and health safeguards were introduced in the new bill in the form of required mechanical safety devices, seats, suitable washrooms and water closets, dressing rooms for girls, and, in some instances, limewashed walls in all places employing children under sixteen years of age.

In addition, a labor commissioner was provided to carry out the inspection duties. The bill also allowed for the inspection of factories for violations by city, county, judicial or police officials who would report violations to the school superintendent or to the labor commissioner. Grand juries and county solicitors of criminal courts of record were given inquisitorial powers to investigate violations of this act. [20]

Senator A. S. Wells of Tallahassee introduced the substitute bill on May 23. On May 27, Senator J. P. Stokes of Pensacola brought about two amendments: first, that nothing in this act should apply to male children employed in the delivery of newspapers to regular subscribers out of school hours, and second, that the act should take effect on January 1, 1914. [21] On May 28, by motion of Senator Wells, the bill was again amended to include the creation of an office of State Labor Inspector to be filled by "any capable person," male or female, by appointment by the Governor for a term of four years, such term to begin from and after such appointment, but said inspector shall have no power or authority except as conferred by this act. [22] The substitute bill was then passed in the Senate by a vote of 27-2. The dissenting votes were cast by Senator Charles E. Davis of Madison and Senator John B. Johnson of Live Oak. [23]

In the House of Representatives, the child labor banner was carried by Representative C. H. B. Floyd of Apalachicola who placed the bill on the privileged calendar opposite his name as the one bill he was allowed to bring up in the closing days of the session and according to McKelway was largely responsible for its

19. *The Revised General Statutes of Florida,* II, Chs. 4018-4040.
20. *Senate Journal,* p. 1576.
21. *Ibid.,* p. 1780.
22. *Ibid.,* p. 1863.
23. *Ibid.*

unanimous passage in the House of Representatives without discussion. [24]

Thus, through the efforts of such leaders as Ion Farris, H. J. Drane, C. H. B. Floyd, F. M. Hudson, A. S Wells, J. P. Stokes, Marcus C. Fagg, and McKelway and organizations like the Florida Federation of Women's Clubs, Federation of Mothers' Clubs, social service clubs, labor unions, the Florida Child Labor Committee, and the National Child Labor Committee, the 1913 campaign for a child labor law for Florida was realized in the passage of the act by the Florida Legislature "to regulate the employment of minor children in the state of Florida and to provide penalties for the violation thereof; creating the office of State Labor Inspector and defining duties and compensation of such officer.'' [25]

24. McKelway, *op cit.,* p. 497.
25. *Senate Journal,* p. 1863.

DUDLEY WARREN ADAMS, PIONEER

by HARRIET M. BRYANT

IN DECEMBER, 1875, a tall, spare man in middle life arrived in a small village in interior Florida. He strolled silently about the town, asked no questions of any of the citizens, moved into the wilderness westward of the village, and walked through the deep sand around the heavy scrub of palmetto growth into the forest of tall pines. No human habitation or evidence of human activity appeared as he continued his way in the wood. On his right he caught the gleam of a small lake, He followed a narrow opening into a cypress woods, draped with fairy-like grey moss, and continued on through the sand until he arrived on a knoll. He looked about him at the lay of the land and gazed at the long, pine-studded slope toward the blue waters of another lake. With a studied, critical eye he estimated the worth of the land about him and decided this was the location that would best meet the requirements for his contemplated venture. Here he planned his homestead, and he felled the tall oaks and pines for a house of logs. A niece, who visited the place as a little girl in 1879, described the house as one built in the Florida style of that day, with long porches running the entire length on both sides, "galleries" they were called, and rooms arranged on either side of a "Blow-Way."

This venturesome gentleman was Dudley W. Adams who came from the rich corn-belt country of Allamakee County in Iowa. His home there was in Waukon near the northeastern corner of the state. Adams was a native of Massachusetts and a direct descendent of Henry Adams, the founder of the famous Adams family, but of the eighth generation. Dudley W. Adams was born in 1832 on a small, rocky farm in Winchendon, a town in the northern part of Worcester County. His father was Joseph Boynton Adams and his mother, Hannah Whitney Adams. His father died when Dudley W. Adams was four years of age, and his mother, with the energy and resourcefulness characteristic of New England women took over the family responsibilities. She gave her son excellent training at home and sent him to grammar school. By teaching school at intervals, he was able to pay for

more advanced study. In 1853 at the age of twenty-one, he went west and used his savings from teaching to buy a small farm in Waukon, Iowa.

During the next two decades he became interested in horticulture and developed an orchard of 4,000 apple trees; at the same time he established the Iron Clad Nurseries. So successful was this first venture that in 1871 he exhibited his fruit at the State Horticultural Fair and won the sweepstakes with 100 varieties of apples, by far the best and largest shown. Again in 1879 he took the sweepstakes with 172 varieties of apples.

He married a Waukon girl, Hannah Heustis, and together they made a home. In 1875, at the age of 43, he left Iowa to escape the severe northern winters, and settled in Florida. Near Mount Dora he cleared land, set out citrus trees, and soon had a 37-acre grove.

In 1888 Adams interested other citrus rowers in the advantage of mutual exchange of ideas. Twelve or more men met in Ocala and organized the Florida State Horticultural Society of which he was chosen the first president, an office which he held until his death in 1897. During the nine years of his presidency the society grew to a membership of 300, constantly increasing its influence and usefulness. It is interesting to go over the reports of the annual meetings of the society and note the wide variety of studies and experiments the members described. By trial and error they made studies of soils, fertilization, spacing and care of trees, and of marketing and transportation. Adams was the inspiring spirit and keen guide in all this early experimentation.

Dudley W. Adams died on February 13, 1897, and the opening session of the Horticultural Society in May of that year was a memorial to him. President George Tabor referred to the sudden passing of Adams by stating: "What is more fitting than when the short, sharp summons came it should find him working among the trees and flowers that he loved so well."

That Adams was much loved and highly esteemed by all who knew him is attested by the spontaneous remarks made on this occasion. Tabor, quite shaken by Adams' death, could say little more than, "My heart is too full for I loved that man. His noble life, his busy life is ended. He has crossed over the vale to the

transvaal and in the words of Macbeth, 'After life's fitful fever he sleeps well'." The rather long remarks of George H. Wright of Orlando are also revealing. He reported that he had known Adams was as devoted to the betterment of his fellow men as he was to his major business and interests in agriculture. His concern was to help his countrymen improve their ideals and ideas, their standing in the community, their character as well as the products with which they worked. Wright reported that he had been a member of the state horticultural society (in Iowa) at the time that Adams served as secretary, and also knew him as president of the Iowa Grange.

Today among the many interesting recollections of Adams are those of Miss Bertha Eddy of Mount Dora, whose mother was a sister of Mrs. Adams. Miss Eddy recalls vividly her childhood visits to the Adams' home among the groves that overlook beautiful Lake Beauclair. She remembers following her uncle Dudley about the place. He seemed fatherly although he was never a father. If his little companion seemed to be getting tired he would take her hand in his and help her over the rough places, or pick her up in his arms when the way began to seem too long for little feet. Miss Eddy recalls him as a tall, erect man with kindly blue eyes, and wearing the long beard so popular among men at that time. She remembers hearing the story from her mother that in 1893 her Uncle Dudley sent a display of twelve oranges to the World's Fair in Chicago and that he took seven prizes with it. The fair authorities made a wax replica of the entry which they later sent to Adams. This replica is in the possession of that part of the family still living on Adams' old farm near Waukon, Iowa.

The best source for a picture of Adams as a person is found in his own words, from his annual addresses as president of the Florida State Horticultural Society. In one of these he used this clever literary device:

> Some years ago a dozen or so gentlemen whose thoughts at mid-day and dreams at midnight were of Florida horticulture met in the parlors of the Ocala House. There and then the Florida Horticultural Society was ushered into being. It was a diminutive infant and its sponsors placed it in my hands to be nurtured through its first years of helplessness. I accepted the charge with many misgivings, but the infant proved to be of good stock and imbued with right principles - and

> blood will tell. I have the honor and take great pride today in exhibiting to the sponsors and the people of Ormond my charge, now just entering upon its fifth year, and I am sure you will all agree that he is a full-grown, vigorous, healthy lad for his age and promises many years of usefulness in his native state, and to be a source of just pride to the authors of his being.

After this humorous, flowery bit of oratory, President Adams stated that the work of the society was to determine: "(1) how to grow fruit, (2) how to transport fruit, (3) how to sell our fruit."

The next year at the ninth annual meeting held in Jacksonville, which as it turned out was his last meeting with the society, President Adams gave a humorous account of the beginnings of mankind.

> Ladies and gentlemen of the Florida State Horticultural Society. There is an ancient tradition which is very largely confined in that the first parents of the human race were horticulturalists. They lived in a garden. From the best information available it appears that they did not own the place, but were put there to take care of it for the maker and owner. The details of the agreement are somewhat meagre, but as near as can be ascertained at this late date they were to have their board and clothes provided they could make them out of the place, and leave the crop of fruit of one particular tree ungathered for rent. Without more definite information as to the size of the garden and quality of the fruit and the distance from a cash market, we are unable to determine whether our horticultural progenitors made a good bargain or not . . . The record does not say whether the forbidden fruit was a green persimmon or a grapefruit, but they wanted it. When the owner found his tenants, had robbed his reserved tree he cancelled the lease, turned them out of the garden and condemned them to diversified farming.

One more quotation from his speeches indicates the depths of his inner life. In his address at the fifth annual meeting of the society, he declared:

> Besides the growing and marketing of our fruits and the mere making of money, the Florida Horticultural Society hopes to have a beneficial influence. We hope to make men better morally, more intelligent mentally and more agreeable socially; for meeting together, we shall be better fitted in every way for the duties of home and citizenship. We shall get new ideas

> of how to make our homes enjoyable by adding new beauties, new comforts and new pleasures. In short, let us make these meetings so pleasant and valuable that we shall all be glad to come and our homes so lovely that we shall be glad to return to them.

Possibly in accordance with his wish, the body of Dudley Warren Adams was sent to his old home in Winchendon, Massachusetts, and buried among others of the Adams family. As President Wright of the Horticultural Society stated in May of 1897: "It is difficult to replace him, but thanks to a kind Providence that rules the destinies of men, we have men that love the memory of Dudley W. Adams and I thank God I was associated with him."

THE TRIALS OF CAPTAIN DON ISIDORO DE LEON

Translated and edited by LUCY L. WENHOLD, *with an introduction and additional notes by* ALBERT C. MANUCY

FEW HISTORIANS can tell you what Florida was like in 1745. Yet those were the days when the governor of the province spoke of "the terror men feel when they even hear the name of Florida," and swore to defend it "to the last drop of my blood."

The War of Jenkins' Ear had brought massive British attacks upon the Spanish Caribbean and northeast Florida, followed by a Spanish push north into Georgia. By 1743 this conflict had merged with the War of the Austrian Succession and France joined Spain against Great Britain. On this side of the Atlantic, the actual theater of war shifted upcountry to Cape Breton and the St. Lawrence.

Nevertheless, in the Southeast each of the three nations was striving continually for advantage. Spain's Florida was now little more than the towns of St. Augustine and Pensacola, plus a few friendly Indian villages. A British regiment was within 100 miles of the St. Johns River. In the back country, other representatives of King George - traders and frontier diplomats - were forever at work to win the Indians away from Spanish ties by means of guns, food and "other briberies." French settlement and trade, pushing eastward from the Mississippi and the Gulf, were also a threat to Spanish sovereignty, although France was for now an ally of Spain.

The Indian's allegiance could mean the difference between success and failure to colonial ambitions. Apalache, near present-day Tallahassee, was strategic Indian country. To counter the effectiveness of British and French traders, the Spanish set up a trading post at Apalache. In addition, Florida officials still nursed the dream of a farm colony there, peopled with Spanish immigrants.

But the most pressing need was to hold and expand Indian friendship as a defense against foreign encroachments. This was the task given to Captain Juan Isidoro de Leon.

He seems to have come to Florida as an officer with the infan-

try reinforcements of April, 1738. In 1745 his company of about 40 effectives was sent from St. Augustine to take its turn as a frontier garrison, and strengthen the fort of San Marcos de Apalache on the river of St. Marks.

It is rare indeed when a soldier has both a facile pen and a lively gift for observation. Don Juan Isidoro de Leon was such a rarity. That his Castilian verve is not lost in its transfer to English is due to the unusual ability of the translator. Through Dr. Lucy L. Wenhold, our Spanish captain gives a graphic picture of life on the troubled Florida frontier.

I

A letter from the Commandant of Apalache, Captain de Leon, addressed to his chief don Manuel de Montiano, Governor and Captain General of the provinces of Florida. Witnessed and corrected [Archivo de Indias 58-2-13/19.]

Apalache, May 21, 1745

My Dear Sir:

I notified you through don Juan Durana of my arrival at this fort, of the taking over of it and of the condition of everything taken over, both as regards foodstuffs and as regards munitions, furnishings, implements and artillery. Now I am further informing you concerning the state in which I found the fort and in which it now is.

With the glories of the new work those of the old were entirely forgotten.[1] I find myself at present without either new or old, the new because of a complete lack of anything with which to carry it on, and the old in the entire uselessness of its exterior defenses and its warehouses and dwellings of officers and soldiers for in the case of all these, the water has shown us the extreme need of roofing, as there is no place nor spot where it does not rain in.

With regard to the basic construction of the fort, the wood which was used for walls and basions is still serviceable, but the weight of the bastions has so warped it that it has been neces-

1 The captain has here made use of a cynical Spanish proverb: *con las glorias se acaban las memorias*, "Present successes make one forget the past." The application at this point is somewhat strained.

sary to shore up the two bastions of the sea bridge on both faces of each one as quickly as possible, and timbers are in readiness for doing the same with the others and for part of the curtains.

The most necessary of the palisades or stockades which protect the curtains from bastion to bastion have been gradually renewed both with stakes and with stringers, particularly the one which overlooks the river Tagabona. [2] This one, besides having its stakes in very bad and rotted condition, had two stakes in every six nailed and four loose, and the place is the most dangerous of the entire fort by reason of the few or no guns which defend this curtain.

Finding the stockade of the advanced moat in ruins with only a few stakes left, and the parapet in the same condition, converted into paths by which the Indians might enter to beg liquor at whatever hours of the night pleased them, and not being able to remedy this state of affairs without a tumult, and it being impossible of execution without evident risk to the fort and garrison, [3] I decided to send out and have long stakes cut. When it appeared to me that there were enough of these, I began to make a stockade on the outer moat which is the one most completely without stakes on its entire front, with only some barrels of earth at intervals. This moat has remained, in my opinion, quite good; and at the end of the stockade which looks on the River Guacara I began another, which ends at the ravelin which forms a little palisade at the land gate of the fort. I took away some stakes which projected at that place at low tide, opening the avenue entirely to the guns of the bastion of the Guacara, that entrance being closed.

Finding it very desirable for protection against being assaulted by way of the two lower cannon embrasures which are in the small bastion at the kitchen of the captain's barracks, from the point of the lower bastion to that of the upper I threw out a stockade which defends that entrance without obstructing the use of the cannon.

As regards the repairing of dwellings and the cascara warehouses, I see no way, for from May on is the time for stripping

2. Never, in any other Spanish colonial Florida record, have I seen the name Tagabona applied to the St. Marks. Yet the casual way in which it is here used leads one to conclude that its application to that river must have been current in the eighteenth century, at least for a time.
3. Exactly what the captain means to imply at this point is not altogether clear.

the bark. However, according to the information in my possession I shall not risk sending either convicts or troops to the forest. [4] The most regrettable thing is that the flour storehouse leaked so that it was turned into a pigsty. I consulted with one of the Frenchmen who are here, and as I informed you, we floored it on thick puncheons of evergreen with corresponding joists of the same, instead of flooring with round logs which could support the weight of a mountain. Thus the flour is preserved from the dampness from below, though for the present it cannot be preserved from that from above. Fortunately the powder magazine does not leak.

I have lived until now in the hope that a ship would soon come with supplies of all sorts, meanwhile entertaining the multitude of Indians who have come here, with the two barrels of liquor and one of cane syrup (which, as I informed you, I had taken from the storehouse) and have gone on entertaining them with tobacco and pipes which I took from the storehouse. But as they do not get all they wish, and as for a month past there has been nothing of any sort in the storehouse, I am harassed and do not know what to say to them without paying attention to their insolences. For when I think them most quiet they break out saying: "King of Spain no good. English good, gives much, much. Captain Tuluaque does not give what el Mica sends.'' [5]

They say no captain has come here who has not brought much, much liquor, maize and some of everything, and that I am keeping it. And as they do not know that I alone have been distinguished in scarcity and want, in a manner they speak the truth; for the abundance that Alfaro and Durana had cannot, in their estimation, be lacking in the new captain. All are of this opinion . . . and anyhow (they say), let them be given what they ask for. [6]

4. The expression which I have translated forest is *el monte* which in American Spanish refers very generally to any uncultivated area regardless of what grows on it. In the Spanish of Florida the reference is usually to forested areas.

5 A note on the margin on the ms. explains that *Mico* means Governor, *Tuluaque,* no good.

6. This entire passage, indeed, the whole document, is a vivid picture of the demoralization of the Indians by the rivalries in trade and colonial policies between English, French, and Spanish, rivalries in which the English had the advantage because of their more abundant trade goods.
{The deletion indicated here is a passage difficult to put into English. The sense seems to be: "They refuse to be disabused by the statements made to them about {lack of supplies in} the warehouses.'' - Ed.}

And as I find no reply to make to anything the flour has been supplying and still supplies the lack of maize and other things, and it has come to the point where they throw it away because it appears to them too little.

As the stay of the Indians here is considerable, so also is the consumption of flour. The cause of all the trouble is that there is nothing in the warehouse which they can buy with their furs, of which they have brought in so many that except for overstocking the store there could have been taken in during March and April more than 800 skins. The result is, that all that has been gamed in the way of good feeling has been converted into mortal hatred against the Spaniards. The Indians go back furious into the provinces and God only knows what the results will be.

In brief, when the Indians lack liquor there is lacking also friendship, union, quiet, and then opportunity to find out from them in their drunken sprees what goes on between them and the English, and of learning which are the ones who have gone out to kill and have killed and imprisoned Spaniards. It was in that way that I found out how many those were who took part in the cavalry battle, that they were 90 in number and were recruited from all the villages of the provinces. One of them was here, telling the whole story with great boldness and without any compunction, and he related that they carried away five prisoners but killed one, the trumpeter, because he was not able to walk, and according to their signs they took away prisoners the ensign and the son of Quintela.

Hither came the son of the chief Yesqueo and six others, saying they came from the hunt of San Juan, that they were passing by and only came to see the new captain. After I had entertained them with what was available, they conversed for something like four hours with twelve others who had come that day. These latter told the Savacola woman that they were taking with them two Spanish prisoners whom they had captured near St. Augustine in sight of a fortress; that though these they had captured were three in number, they had killed one on the road, a tall, heavy man, and that they left the two others tied at the Cape of Casina, Antonio Savacola and another Indian remaining there to guard them.

Six days ago the young chief of Salacarliche arrived here and I spoke to him to the effect that if he could bring in these two

prisoners I would give him for each one a barrel of flour and three bottles of liquor. He said he would consult a brother of his and another relative to see whether they could bring them, and he asked me for a paper which he might give them so that they would not be distrustful. He took it and has not returned although I have now learned that they took them {the prisoners} to San Simon with other deserters. The English wanted to take Durana's Negro but the Indians opposed it, and no one is willing to offer to bring him in though I have offered them 50 pesos. They say they are from Captain Tuluaque. [7]

I am informing you that the barrels of meat which were on the report are still intact, no meat having been distributed except in the month of January, and that was thrown away at it was useless and putrid. In this scarcity some barrels have been opened to see whether anything usable would come out of some one of them. It was not possible to endure the stench, and as the weather had turned warm and the odor was intolerable I ordered then buried before they should give us a pest. I did not allow them to be thrown into the river, in order not to infect the water and the fish. The others remain until a ship comes, so that its captain and crew may be witnesses of their disposal or else take them back to Havana.

As a result of this, it has been necessary for me to give to the soldiers and the convicts half an *arroba* of flour of the better quality since the month of February, to enable them to buy meat from the Indians, supplying in this way the lack of meat and vegetables of which there are none since the beginning of March. Consequently, with this great expenditure, of flour on the Indians and the better grade for the troops and convicts, I am forced to send the pirogue to the Keys with letters to senores of Guemes and Arostegui [8] unless a ship comes in this month of May or in June, as there are left only 24 barrels for May. Not being able to conjecture the cause of this delay in the arrival of the vessel, in a place such as this where there is no recourse except to Heaven, I lay the blame on my destiny, which would not be complete if the

7. The meaning here seems to be that the offer of 50 pesos coming from the man they call "Captain No-good" can have no expectation of fulfillment.
8. Lt. Gen. Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, governor of Havana, and Martin de Arostegui, an official of the Royal Company of Havana, suppliers for Apalache. - Ed.

scarcity had been only in the first month. [It is] a circumstance to make the most prudent act the fool.

I found here a family, mother, daughter, and son, with another Indian woman named Agustina whose husband the Indians killed. They remain here because they do not wish to leave the Spaniards. The formerly resident missionary padre left them here, and if it were not for the want of a priest they would now be Christians, for with that intention the mother sent in search of another daughter whom she had in the Indian village, but as the daughter had married, the other sister came back without her. It appeared to me to be the Royal Service to give for the four two *arrobas* of flour a month since the month of February. [9]

These Indian women are of considerable help here, for they are constantly making pots, pans, jars, and other necessary things of clay, and sieves. By this means they support themselves with the help of potatoes and oysters which they gather.

This woman called Savacola (because she was the wife of the Chief Savacola) came at the beginning of April, I should say of March, with the atiqui, [10] and through him she informed me that I should be careful because many Indians were coming, incited by the English, to burn her village and that of Salacarliche and afterward this fort; that she would know in time what they were plotting and would inform me of everything and would herself retreat to the fort.

This news has made me anxious, for when the young chief of Salacarliche went away on {my} request for the prisoners, he said to me that after the middle of April I should not send anyone to the forest; and that I should be watchful for four tribes of Indians that were coming, instigated by the English. Estiche went away with with his family to hunt, and he said the same thing to me. Afterward Yufala and his family and the boatman and his family went away to hunt and they gave me the same warning.

In consequence of all these admonitions I made haste to put up the stockdale on the River Guacara, to repair with stakes and girders the curtains of both parts, to shore up everything that

9. The *arroba* equals 25 pounds, and the two - *arroba* allowance per month gave each of the four scarcely more than a quarter of a pound of flour a day. Doubtless potatoes and oysters filled a very vital need.
10. *Atiqui*, interpreter. The word seems to have been taken into the Spanish of colonial Florida at an early date and used without translation, as a general rule.

needed it, to open embrasures at the front at the water gate, and (there being no lower guns on the bastions there), to close with liners the entire front of the water-gate, as there were apertures three or four inches wide between the timbers which serve as a wall, through which could be seen from outside all that went on inside. A pier was made with tall stakes; the gun carriages were examined, and two being useless were replaced; and all were given a coat of tar. [11]

Handspikes, gunners' ladles, rammers and new sponges were made, for everything was ruined by weather. A supply of canister shot was made from broken cauldrons, nail heads, and other old iron which serves for mitraille. I also had [112] *machetes* made for clearing the country and for whatever need might arise. I inspected the hand grenades and the carasses. There is only one box of grenades with fuses that will serve and those are the ones that came here in Durana's time. The others, of which there are plenty, have the explosives of the fuses ruined by weather. As for the bullets, you will see from the inventory the small quantity there is for this sort; and this is one of the things that have contributed most to put the Indians out of temper, they not having been given as many as they wanted, and consequently gun-flints. [12]

I furnished the soldiers with ammunition and gave arms and ammunition to some of the convicts. While I was engaged in these preparations Quilate arrived on March 28, with his sea-captain [13] and three others. I received him with the accustomed honors and showed him a friendly and pleased face. I took him to my quarters, and after he had refreshed himself and dined on bread and syrup which was then being served them, and had smoked his tobacco in new pipes, he asked me through the atiqui what news I had.

I told him what I have written you here. He answered that on that account he had come to wait for runners whom he had sent to the provinces for information as to what had resulted from

11. A lack of grammatical agreement at this point intimates that the tar was applied both to gun carriages and to pier pilings.
12. The elliptical phrase must mean either that there was a shortage of gun-flints, or that the Indians did not get as many as they wanted. Possibly it means both.
13. Chief paddler or steersman, probably. [Quilate was chief of the Apalachicola Indians. - Ed.]

the council which the English were seeking to have with the chiefs, and the facts with regard to a war drum which they had brought, along with some clothing, and had deposited in a house in Caveta to distribute among the chiefs and caciques of the villages. Today, May 3, they have not yet come.

Six days ago he sent out two of those who came with him, to investigate the delay of the runners whom he is expecting, to bring in what news they could gather, and to request the return of a convict named Simon who went away April 17 with a brother of the halfbreed. For some time he {Simon} had been bringing in meat regularly and had won confidence, and Quilate had him prepared to go on a scouting expedition with Antonio the Apalachian. I shall give you whatever information the runners bring. One of them is the young cacique of Salacarliche.

Antonio is an Indian who went on a scouting trip to Florida, and took a soldier named Flores, setting him free because the enemy would have killed him as they did the others who went on that occasion. Durana left this soldier here, and he has not been willing to go elsewhere. Whenever the troops and the convicts go to the forest he goes with them, reconnoitering the country. Since the middle of January I have been giving him for his maintenance a loaf of bread daily, besides which he dines and sups with the drummer.

The two Indians whom Quilate sent out have just arrived with the news that the chiefs were not willing to unite, and the inference is that they are not pleased with the English because of a fort which the latter intend to build in Caveta. Quilate thinks it would be practicable to make this fort the beginning of a break between the Yuchi and the English, for the former will not permit fortifications and will only allow a guardhouse for clothing and trade goods, but if the English try to put up an armed fort they will fall upon them.

The scouts also brought the information that the chiefs deliberated on taking to you the two prisoners made by the son of Yesqueo and Antonio Savacola; but the latter objected, saying it had cost them their effort and that they wanted to take them to San Simon, as in fact they did. The sergeant Raymundo is in Gualquini. [14] The Indians killed Rivas' soldier named Games be-

14. San Simon and Gualquini refer to the British settlements on St. Simons Island, Ga. - Ed.

cause he took away a musket from them and went away with it. They carried away the convict Simon to Caveta, with what intention is not known.

Quilate, seeing that the runners he was expecting did not come, and that (according to the information brought by the others) nothing unusual was happening, decided to return to his village, which he did on the seventh, taking with him Antonio the Apalachian and telling me that if there should be any new developments either he would return or else he would send a runner to inform me fully.

The old Salacarliche sent to tell me that until a ship should come he would not come down to see me, but that I should be on guard because several bands were coming to take scalps from Apalache. The two whom Quilate sent brought the same information, and said that five days before, eight had gone out from the village of Yufale; and that all the bands that were setting out for this place and for St. Augustine are from that village, which is made up of malcontents and therefore thickly populated and the refuge of every evildoer.

Quilate came March 28 and went away May 7. I expended upon him and his companions half an *arroba* of flour for porridge every 24 hours, four loaves of bread daily, a decanter of liquor (because they knew there was not much of it), a pint of cane syrup, and six bundles of tobacco during their stay and two which they took for the road. Consequently, maintaining them six days longer would have finished up everything I had been reserving to entertain those who keep on coming: for there remain only two flasks of liquor and some settlings of cane syrup for emergencies which, thanks be to God, have arisen up to now only in case of the convicts: for excepting these, few are sick.

I am of the opinion that Quilate was satisfied with the attention shown him, for besides what I have just mentioned he breakfasted and dined with the lieutenant and myself; and as he is a sensible Indian he knows the scarcity of provisions in this fort and that he was entertained with more than there was to spare, for when the soldiers brought in fish the first that was set aside was for Quilate and his family.

Recognizing the fact that the two bastions that face the sea, *las Animas* and *San Francisco*, if once the enemy gets in below,

will have no defensive apparatus except grenades and carcasses, and that they could be demolished with axes, I decided that after they were shored up on both fronts I would surround them with a stockade. That I have now done, availing myself of the help of Quilate and two Indians, brothers, who live here with their families.

They all went out with the soldiers and convicts during four days to bring in stakes and girders. The bastions are now as well reinforced and defended as they have probably ever been, to the small lower bastion where I had put up a stockade for the defense of the lower cannon embrasures. The palisade on that side being very bad, all is covered, bastions and palisade. From the last stake, which is at the lower tide level of the River Tagabona and comes out of the stockade of the land moat, I have constructed in diamond shape a section of stockade which ends on the inner moat. This is a precaution in case it should become necessary to mass troops between the two moats, that they may not be surprised by the enemy at low tide.

There remains {to be made} only the new gate on the water side; the present one is so unstable that a new and strong one is necessary. It will shortly be made by one of the two Frenchmen who is a skillful ship's carpenter and very quick. It was he who floored the warehouse.

The stakes have been set without the reinforcement of palisading to serve as curtains. {There are} new, unbroken girders, props for the bastions and more where girders are necessary; there are 2080.

There have been used for nails 12 machetes, axes, a large number of adzes, chain-links, fish gigs, other small articles intended for the Indians, seven bars of iron (not to mention the sets of nails), pikes, shovels, spades, [and things] without number, as everything has been used without reserve, even useless barrel-hoops. Consequently only five bars of iron are left, and very little steel, of which considerable has been used. I am informing you of it in order that you may take such action as seems to you to be to the King's service and for the restoration of this fort.

Today, May 20, the chief Topesico, with a son and two companions came from a scouting expedition in the provinces; he was

one of the scouts for whom Quilate was waiting. After having given him for breakfast bread and cane syrup, there being nothing else, I asked him from where he came and what news there was in the provinces.

He replied that he came from Casista where there had been held a council for the chiefs, and that he was nominated by all to come to bring the feathers of friendship and good feeling toward the Spaniards, the [feathers] which signify the peace they have made and their determination to give no aid to the English, because they are now disillusioned concerning the intentions of the latter; that if these have deceived them until now in many things, now their eyes are opened, and that if [the English] desire war with the Spaniards, let them understand that it is between white men; that I shall give this information to you and to [the French at] Mobile.

This request that I inform Mobile is, I think, the result of the chiefs having answered the summons of that governor who made them some threat if they did not cease persecuting Spaniards at the instigating of the English. He [Topesico] gave me to understand something to that effect, but as the atiqui is so dull and does not know how to explain what they say or what is said to him, it is hard to make out much by conjecture.

Answering various questions that I put to him, he said that the war drum which they [the English] had brought was to call them to the *cassina* [15], theirs being broken; that it is not true about the fort, nor about the clothing for the caciques and chief; that there is no news of any sort; that two canoes which had gone out with warriors had returned, and that now there are out the 36 men from the village of Yufala who went to the coast, and about whom I wrote you that they would reach St. Augustine.

He also said that there are seven Indians of Yufala who started out for this fort; that the majority of the Indians of the provinces are in their cultivated fields or busy taking *bacas*. [16] He

15. The black drink of the Indians, used at their gatherings and on special occasions.

16. I have no meaning to offer for the word *bacas*. If it is a mis-writing of *vacas* (b and v having the same sound in Spanish) it may possibly mean that the Indians were hunting buffalo. However I am aware that that is not a likely translation, especially as the verb used is not the one ordinarily applied to the hunting of big game.
[On February 25, 1745, Montiano wrote the Crown of the abundance of cattle and horses *(vacas y cavallos)* in the Florida woods. They were, he said, difficult to "apprehend" and herd into captivity. (AI 58-1-32). - Ed.]

ended by saying that I should advise you and Havana not to let the store fail, for then it would be necessary for the Indians to go with their furs and skins to the English; that there should be in it some of everything.

All this I am passing on to you for your information and in order that you may provide whatever means you think wisest for the preservation of this friendship which they are manifesting through this emissary, whom I shall not be able to entertain during the time he spends here with more than some flour, a daily loaf of bread, pipes from the store, and good words; for now there is nothing else in the fort and the hopes of all hang on the coming of the ship. And indeed it will be necessary that it bring much if there is to be enough to content so many creditors.

I have not found in this fort more than seven oars, among defective ones, for the pirogue. The sampan had 12 in the rough, and 18 which I had brought. Twenty-four had been made and two small canoe-paddles which serve to steer the sampan. The sampan ran aground at the time don Juan Durana's belongings were shipped, it being heavily loaded and the afternoon very windy; and it was stranded so completely that it could not be brought in until four days later.

As it is the only means we have of transportation to the forest, and there being here no calker nor carpenter, I laid hands on a soldier called Galves the Carpenter to make for it five *rumbos,* [17] five flat boats and three rowers benches, and to calk it. Another soldier who has talked it twice, Chepe de la Rosa by name. . . . [18] [I employed] to floor the warehouse, open embrasures and mend the main gate, all of this at a cost of 28 pesos and 4 reals in flour and 8 1/2 reals in tobacco and goods from the store. All [is] included in the total, for which I have given a receipt for what I

17. I cannot identify the word *rumbo* in any use such as it has here.
18. The omitted phrase is *q. con onze cavos de hachas.* It might be translated "who, with 11 sappers, [I employed] . . ." Sappers were soldiers trained to build fortifications. The Apalache axe experts *(cavos de hachas)* may not have been rated officially as sappers, but after cutting 2080 palisade posts, they could hold their own with any regular company of sappers. - Ed.

have received from the store to spend upon the Indians, as you will see from the enclosed statement. [19]

The surgeon, Pedro Careno, died on April 12, and this fort now has neither chaplain nor surgeon.

The above is all there is at present to communicate to you. I remain loyally at your command, beseeching our Lord to keep you many years.

Most sincerely your servant

don Juan Isidoro de Leon

II

Copy of a letter from don Juan Isidoro de Leon, captain of one of the eight companies of reinforcements of this Post St. Augustine, and commander of the fort of San Marcos de Apalache. [Archivo de lndias 86-7-21.]

Senor don Manuel de Montiano Apalache, June 26, 1747
Dear Sir:

Philip, the son of Salacarliche, arrived at this fort on June 21, and although he is sick he says he is going to St. Augustine in search of information concerning his brother, who had said to him that he would return in two months and who has not yet appeared. I am taking the opportunity thus offered of informing you that the young chief went out from this fort sometime in February, sent by the garrison with a petition to you, and with a letter from me in which I told you partially of the stir produced in this garrison by the news of the postponement of the exchange of troops, from which news has resulted much unpleasantness to me. This latter circumstance must be passed over in silence, being too long a story, and I go on to inform you about the Yuchi provinces and their chiefs.

On May 19 the chief Topasico arrived here sent by the chiefs. In order that he might deliver his message and carry out his com-

19. An involved sentence by which the writer doubtless means that he has included in one total everything taken from the store. [An appended, witnessed statement made by Simon Basques, government notary, states that this letter is a copy of an original shown him by the Governor, the copy made and witnessed by the Governor's verbal order in the city of St. Augustine. He calls attention to certain passages marked on the margins, which relate to the urgent and desperate needs in the Fort of San Marcos de Apalache.]

mission, the chiefs who were here were called together, namely, Quilate, Chocato, Cuchivay, and Chumayche. With the aid of Captain don Bernabe he gave this message from the chiefs: that as a result of their deliberations they were declaring themselves vassals of the King of Spain; that they were communicating the fact to me in order that I might be informed and might inform you of their decision; that at the time of the harvest dance, the chiefs would come with the band to go from here to Florida [St. Augustine] to do homage to Spain, and to discuss and settle with the Governor some points concerning the vassalage they promise to the King of Spain, and at the same time to learn from me whether they would be well received there.

I replied to the effect that the Yuchi knew very well that in the midst of their bad reciprocity toward the Spaniards and the constant harm they did, both in this fort and in St. Augustine, in Pensacola and the other territories of the King of Spain, they had been well received and entertained and feted. That without exception, all those who had gone to St. Augustine had ample proof of that fact; to which witness was born by those who were captured in Mose who, in spite of the fact that they were imprisoned because of their activities in defense of the English and against the Spaniards, had probably informed them of the good treatment and assistance they had received from the Governor of Florida. Accordingly I reassured them and offered them in your name the favorable reception and entertainment which is proper in the case of chiefs, assuring them also that they might come when they chose, and I would give them letters to you. At this Topasico turned and said that it did not require more than a three days' stay. [20]

On May 2, Pancho the Yamas arrived here with the news that the Yuchi were at War with the Chalaque and the Talapuzes; and that a mounted Indian had passed, warning the villages to go out against the Chalaque; that they had threatened the few Yamassee there are, unless they went out to join the Yuchi; that

20. Precisely what Topasico meant to imply is not clear, but as the tarryings of visiting Indians in St. Augustine were usually prolonged, the remark would seem to have had some significance. [The following spring the Indians did visit St. Augustine, and stayed considerably more than three days. Don Juan's previous comment on Mose seems to refer to the capture by the Spanish of British and Indian besiegers encamped at Fort Mosa near St. Augustine in 1740. - Ed.]

the Yamasee had their canoes ready to come with their families to this fort in case they found themselves hard pressed; and that I should write you that if this thing happened, the King would surely have to maintain them in this fort or else they would have to go with their families to St. Augustine. I am informing you so that in case of such a contingency you may command the measures that shall be taken as regards these families. Since then I have learned from other Yamasee that the greater part of the family of the father-in-law of the mestizo went away to Pensacola.

On the third, Chocato arrived here as a scout sent by the chiefs, with the information that the Chiquele had gone out with some chiefs and a band of men against the Chaluque; and that the French had sent gunpowder, bullets and muskets to the Yuchi; and that the Chatos Indians of French affiliation had gone out in force against the Chalaque and in favor of the Yuchi, also that the Chatos were going by a different route from that of the Yuchi. He said that the intention of the French was to defeat the latter nation to prevent its union with the allies of the English, and that the forts which had been built in the villages of Casista and Caveta had been an expedient of the French.

It is my opinion that the French either have orders from their sovereign for this assistance to the Yuchi or are trying to win their favor in order that they may establish trading posts among them and take away that advantage from the English. Luis, who heard the account given by Chocato, will give a more detailed explanation of this commission.

With the letter I sent you by the young chief, I included a communication from the Governor General of New Orleans, sent here by means of a runner who came from the Commandant of Pensacola. Now I am informing you of the great concourse of Indians with their families who continually have come down to this fort. In all the time of the fort's existence it has never before experienced such an influx of Indians; men, women, old persons, and hungry *pecuatas.*[21] It has caused us much amusemen to see the freedom with which the Indian women, married

21. *Pecuatas*, slaves, inferior vassals. A word surviving from the language of the ancient Florida aborigines. For this information I am indebted to Dr. John R. Swanton, formerly of the Bureau of American Ethnology of the Smithsonian Institution.

and single, *pequatas* and *pecuatitas*, came to the quarters of the soldiers and the convicts to beg food, for although they were constantly being given food from the storehouse, the children were so numerous that what was given them from the store did not satisfy them.

Later it was discovered that the concourse had resulted from the fact that they came here alarmed by the news they had concerning the Chalaque, the villages being without men because so many bands had come down to the coast. In consequence of the circumstances I have just mentioned and of the retreat of the bands that came down to the coast, all of whom came to this fort, the people who gathered here were so numerous that I was not able to count by families those who were encamped at the entrance to the forest . . . [22] for the road swarmed at all hours with people coming and going, and it was impossible to distinguish these new ones who came because of their fear, from those of the other families.

We always had 10 or 12 chiefs to dine and to breakfast. As a result the expenditure of food has been so great, particularly this year, that added to the consumption of it by the innumerable rats and the damage done the storehouses by hurricanes and rain, the half and more of the provisions have been consumed. Consequently this fort is without seed grain, with only a three months' supply of flour and that so bad and bitter that with the intolerable heat and drought I fear that the garrison and the few convicts will fall ill. God send us rain, for the lack of it is very serious.

Although in my other letters I have kept you informed of the shortages there are in this fort, I do so again in this letter with the greatest urgency concerning everything, for time consumes all and the more one tries to repair an old house, the more damage one discovers. Thus all the iron has been used for nails, wedges, and axes, and with the expending of it on the Indians (which is all too much), it has been necessary to use barrel hoops, pikes, shovels, and old spades for whatever need arose. Steel is scarce, and what there is of it is bad, which is the cause of so much breakage of axes. This scarcity, with the lack of bullets and gun flints, is serious; and as no supply of tools of any sort

22. Deleted are two words, *y Nayca*, which may be a copyist's error for a phrase signifying "and neighborhood." - Ed.

has come to this fort in a long time, what is here is simply nothing.

As regards the pirogues, the *bongo* [23] and the skiff, there have been mending and repairs and the expense of their upkeep, and there is no longer any pitch and very little tar and no oakum whatever. Because of this lack the sampan has been stranded for many months though it is of major importance for the forest and for unloading cargo. Tallow, ropes for kedge anchors and sails for the *bongo* are wanting; and as for the pirogues, there is only one that is more than half serviceable. Boards have been necessary for the repair of the pirogues, the *bongo* and the skiff. I sent out to collect some canoes which the Indians told me were stranded on Point Cassina and which, being in bad condition, became boards for repairs.

A fortification in this state of destitution is not even half good. The use of the pirogues at the forest is constant; and being old and having been often mended without a ship's carpenter or a calker, there results constant expenditure of pitch and oakum and tar; and always the work is bad, so that if there arises the need of sending to Pensacola or the Keys there is not one fit for the voyage.

I am informing you of it in order that you may take whatever action you see fit to the end that this may not be so destitute of the barest necessities, for otherwise it cannot be maintained. And since the King has in Havana an abundant supply of pirogues and launches which serve for nothing except to be an expense to those who take care of them, you can appropriately ask for the King's property for the service of the King.

I am mentioning to you again the necessity for sending rope for the pirogues and the *bongo,* for already, without there having been any storm, two anchors are in the river for lack of ropes; for as the ropes are of sisal they do not endure weather conditions as do those of hemp, and are forever having to be replaced.

If when this runner arrives a vessel should be leaving for Havana, urge don Martin de Arostegui [24] to send to this fort without loss of time a shipment of food stuffs, before we find ourselves in another stringency like the former one. And warn him

23. A bongo is a large, rough boat, or canoe.
24. An official of the Royal Company of Havana, contractors furnishing supplies and trade goods to Apalache. - Ed.

not to send beef, but plenty of pork; for up to this time we have not been so fortunate as to have any beef arrive in usable condition. That which came in the shipment of last February is still unused except for one item, [25] and that the troops could not use; and that of the later shipment is still packed, along with that which was already bad. I wrote this very thing to don Martin, that he should send only a very little beef, and he replied that he would do as I said; but in the next shipment it came, as if he had not been advised.

In order not to pile up sheets of paper I am not informing you in detail of what we have had to spend this year on the chiefs and their families, over and above what is usual, as I have already said.

One of those most constantly here has been Cuchivay with his family; and he, in addition to breakfasting and dining with the other chiefs, has received flour, maize and kidney beans for his family, sugar and syrup, kneaded bread, bottles and more bottles of brandy, and tobacco continually; and beside all this expense were the things he said and his impudence when drunk. Only my patience could have borne with such madness. Although the others were a trial it seemed that even when drunk they had some understanding; and recently when he returned here with his family in May, at a time when there was no brandy, he was very rational, remaining here 28 days.

This concourse of Indians, which has been bad for the storehouses, has been of benefit to the trading post. In little more than three months there have been consumed four casks of brandy, a barrel and one hundred decanters of rum, sugar and syrup in abundance, and in this time Solana has barreled 1600 deer skins; and now the trading store has left only a little syrup and sugar and no tobacco, which last named want is the greatest discomfort and annoyance of the soldiers.

As to the convicts, there are only 10, including the blacksmith and the carpenter; and of these, Juan Espejo (crippled, as I have already informed you), the carpenter Joaquin de Peralta, and Juan Antonio Monge (who is a marine) will be time-expired the middle of July. Manuel de Anaya and Manuel de Celis de la Puebla have 18 months more. Quilate and Cuchivay are urgent

25. A barrel, no doubt, which the captain thinks of as one item on the account.

with me to give Manuel Celis a furlough. When I told them that I had no authority to give it without an order from you, they replied that you might grant him the furlough. I promised that I would take him with me when my transfer arrived, and that you would grant him the furlough. I am mentioning it so that you may be informed of the promise, although I think that Quilate is one of those who have been appointed to go to Florida [St. Augustine] with the other chiefs.

Leaving out of question the motives you may have had for keeping this fort and garrison during three years without a priest, without relief for the troops, destitute, and for a longer time than has recently been customary, I must bring to your attention the fact that the soldiers are in ill humor, and according to some indications they will endure only until the end of November at longest. In the contrary case there will be insubordination detrimental to their persons and their service. I have some information to that effect and delay will be fatal. And though I am aware that much space lies twixt word and deed, nevertheless I am bringing the matter to your notice so that you may be pleased to take some action and relieve me of the greatest of those troubles which I have borne in this year and which have arisen from the postponement of the transfer. [26]

The lack of everything is general in this fort. There is want of medicine and of a qualified surgeon who understands its use; and for that reason I am again reminding you that the new detachment ought not to come without bringing purges, for they are most essential in this climate and there is sore lack of them.

I remain at your orders with the greatest devotion with which I pray our Lord to guard you the many happy years which I desire for you.

Your servant,
don Juan Isidoro de Leon

26. In a letter written to accompany the copy of don Juan Isidoro's letter which the governor sends to the Crown, Governor Montiano explains that the miserable circumstances at Apalache result not from neglect, but from (1) the fact that English pirates have possessed themselves of the Florida Keys and block the way to supply ships between Havana and Apalache; and (2) from the unfortunate shipwreck of the expedition convoying the relief detachment to Apalache. Don Juan Isidoro complains justly, says the governor, of the condition in which they are left. We, reading these complaints, wonder when and how the remedy came.

THE CALL TO ARMS

Secession from a Feminine Point of View
edited by SAMUEL PROCTOR

ADDRESS OF THE Ladies of Broward's Neck through Editors of the Papers, to the Politicians of Florida, as to their Present and Future Protection against Abolition Emmissaries of the North. [1]

To the Editor of the *Jacksonville Standard:* [2]

Sir: The ladies of Cedar Creek Precinct, more generally known as Broward's Neck, [3] being not unmindful that silence in the affairs of men and in particular that of politics, should be the place and province of females, but could not be expected on the present occasion, from the natural disposition and inquisitiveness of our sex, that we should be mere idle spectators of the passing scenes and excitement which prevails here and throughout the Southern country, involving in obscurity the result of everything that is sacred and dear to the South and taking the past submissive policy of Southern politicians as an index to the future, we will be left at the mercy of a large and hostile majority in Congress against us and our institutions: [4]

1. There is no evidence that this "Letter to the Editor" was ever published. Copies of the Jacksonville *Standard* for the period are not available, and no reference to the letter was found in the contemporary Florida press. The letter was copied from an original manuscript in the Napoleon B. Broward Papers at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, Florida. According to Broward family tradition, Helen Broward, the daughter of John Broward, wrote this letter in cooperation with her sisters Margaret, Maria and Florida Broward.
2. The Jacksonville *Standard* was a weekly which began publication sometime in the early fall of 1858. Its editor was Dr. Holmes Steele and its publisher was Ramon Canova. J. Pendleton Gaines, Jr., "A Century of Florida Journalism" (unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Florida, July, 1949), 33, quotes an undated news item from the St. Augustine *Examiner* to the effect that Steele and an associate later bought Canova's interests in the paper. The Jacksonville *Standard* was described by the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal* as an "able and staunch Democratic States Rights newspaper."
3. Broward's Neck was the name given to the property owned by Colonel John Broward and members of his family along Cedar Creek and the Trout River in the northern part of Duval County.
4. As a result of the elections of 1858 the Democratic Party lost control of Congress. The South faced the realization that the balance in area,

Under such circumstances we think it proper we should meet and consult together and through you and your contemporary papers ask those we have a right to look to for protection and safety what they intend to do to attain that object. Will they still remain in the Union and trust to the tender mercies of Yankees and protect us by smoky resolutions and compromise, or will they avail themselves of the means given them by God and nature and defend themselves? We are now reaping the fruits of the former policy. The doctrine of abolition laid down in the incendiary book of Helper's is before us and its emissaries are illuminating our country from Texas to Florida. [5]

We hope the fact we have referred to is sufficient apology for our meeting and consultation, and hope to be indulged in a few further remarks on this subject and its ultimate result on ourselves and posterity. And as we are plain country women which compose this meeting and have not yet learned nor wish to learn the art of "thinking one thing and another telling," but say what we think, we must speak in plain terms of the Submissionists and Unionists in our midst. And if any person is desirous to know how we came by the information to which we allude, we tell them in advance, by reading the newspapers and public journals for the ten years past and when we read we do so with inquiring minds peculiar to our sex. [6] Have you forgotten Mother Eve? If

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population, wealth and power had been tipped even more heavily in favor of the North. The election results gave a strong impetus to the Southern disunionist movement. Allan Nevins in *The Emergence of Lincoln* (New York, 1950), I, 404-409, analyzes the effects of the election on Southern attitudes.

5. Hinton Rowan Helper, a North Carolinian, in 1857, wrote *The Impending Crisis of the South: How to Meet It.* Almost overnight the book became a bestseller in the North, and rivalled Mrs. Stowe's *Uncle Tom's Cabin* in popularity. Using citations from the census of 1850, Helper made startling comparisons between the wealth of the North and South. He blamed the backwardness of the South on the impoverishment of free labor due to the competition of slave labor. Helper violently attacked the slaveholders and advocated the abolition of slavery, not so much to help the Negro but to improve the economic position of the poor white. The book became a campaign document for the newly formed Republican Party, and its merits and demerits were argued in Congress and by newspapers all over the country. In the South, Helper was denounced as a traitor, he was hung and burned in effigy, and many Southern legislatures passed laws forbidding the possession or sale of the book.

6. During the 1850's, newspapers were indeed the "public educators" for most of the people of Florida. According to the United States

so, we introduce you to her descendants, lovers of knowledge, whose hearts ever teem with gratitude to editors and all literary writers for our information. But our condition is unlike hers. She plotted her destruction; we strive for the salvation of the garden of America, by attempting to remove the mote from your eye. Yes, what we read we analyse well, hold little councils of our own, and are soon lost in thought, fancy ourselves Statesmen and think we will avenge all wrongs. But alas! the spell is broken, we cast them aside in hopeless despondency. We do not read as the gentlemen frequently do, a few lines, throw the paper down, light a cigar and walk off, without inquiring whether the printer's bill has been paid or not. Were it our place to subscribe for the paper the printer's bill would never go unpaid.

As the gentlemen are prone to find fault with the ladies on such occasions we hope they will hear us with patience whilst we remind them of their faults on a large scale, so large in its ultimate consequences no one can see the future result.

All will admit the acquisition of California was the one boon we acquired by the Mexican War and for which hundreds of Southern women were left widows and their children fatherless. When it was organized by an Act of Congress the Southerner, by reason of his slave property, was denied a residence there, and the widow of a soldier who died for its acquisition, if she possesed slave property, was also refused a residence. To this outrage the Southern Members of Congress and State Legislatures, after sputtering and muttering a while, compromised without getting anything and thereby planted the seed for future aggression.

When the Territory the Kansas applied for admission with a Constitution permitting slavery, President Buchanan, with the sagacity of a just and profound Statesman, forseeing the storm that would arise from the refusal by Congress of their just demand, sent a special message to Congress for its admission. It was

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Census of 1860 Florida had twenty newspapers - seventeen of which were weeklies, one bi-weekly, and two tri-weeklies. William W. Davis in *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 42, says that by the time the campaign of 1860 got underway there were a total of twenty-two newspapers in the state, seventeen of which were Democratic.

referred to a committee in both branches of Congress and both committees recommended its admission as a slave state. Congress refused its admission on that ground and our Southern members submitted again to a compromise and the Southern State Legislatures again submitted to the insult and injury, with all these facts looking the South in the face. A few women asked them could our condition be worsted by a change.

In our humble opinion the single issue is now presented to the Southern people, will they submit to all the degradation threatened by the North toward our slave property and be made to what England has made white people experience in the West India Islands - the negroes afforded a place on the same footing with their former owners, to be made legislators, to sit as Judges. Shall a sister behold her brother doing military duty in the same rank and file with the negroes and bear the application the English give theirs, - the spotted regiment! Think, mothers! What would you feel should you view your sons in such a condition. And yet you hear people around you advocating union! Facts are sometimes stranger than fiction. We hear men, and strange to say, Southern men, too, after all the aggression against the South, and threatening the final emancipation of our slave property, which would carry in its pathway all the evils of Haiti to the whites, and yet they are devoted to the Union and at the same time willing to dissolve the marriage union on frivolous pretenses, which they have solemnly promised before God and their countrymen to keep inviolate.

Some of the Union submissionists in our midst begin to be afraid that if the South seceded from the North they would suffer from the want of clothing. It is not our province or inclincation on this occasion to play the politician, but we will take occasion to say to all such alarmists that in our humble opinion secession from the North is the only practical way to bring about the long desired trade direct with Europe. In that event the European merchants would import to our Southern ports an abundance of as good clothing and on as good terms as could be gotten from Yankeedom, which we could easily and directly pay for with our cotton. Which trade once established no power on earth could prevent or interrupt.

To our young friends who are disposed to defend the rights of the South at all hazards, fear not on that subject for when that

day shall have come we will like our Revolutionary matrons forego our amusements, lay aside our musical instruments and apply ourselves to our cards, spinning wheels and looms, and with the abundance of cotton and wool at our command, supply you with clothing you would not be ashamed to wear. And when by your valour peace is restored to our firesides we will welcome your return by striking a new and sweeter chord to the glories of the South.

And to our agitated matrons, here and throughout the South, we would recommend to reserve their crimolines to present to our Southern Politicians who have compromised away the rights of the South.

Mr. Editor, will you and your contemporaries have the kindness to give this article early consideration in your papers and oblige.

THE LADIES OF BROWARD'S NECK

Broward's Neck, Duval County,
East Florida, Nov. 6, 1860

HORACE GREELEY, PRESIDENTIAL CANDIDATE: A FLORIDIAN'S VIEW

edited by WILLARD E. WIGHT

IN THE PRESIDENTIAL election of 1872, Horace Greeley, editor of the New York *Tribune*, was the candidate of the Liberal Republican Party and of the Democratic Party. Nominated first by the Liberal Republicans at their convention in Cincinnati, Greeley had been named by the Democrats at Baltimore in July, 1872. The Democrats not only adopted the candidate of the Liberal Republicans but also adopted their platform verbatim.

Following the action of the Baltimore Convention, the most prompt and almost unanimous endorsement of Greeley came from the South. There the abuses of the radical rule were felt most grievously and the whites of the former Confederacy had little confidence in the ability of the Democratic Party alone to deliver them from their condition.

Greeley was probably the only Republican who could have secured support in as full a measure from the southern states. His stand on secession was the most satisfactory; he had tried hard to secure an early peace; and he had done much to counteract his past course by many conciliatory and helpful words and acts during reconstruction. The fact that he was one of the signers of Jefferson Davis' bond probably in the eyes of many ex-Confederates wiped out all his previous record. Prominent Democratic leaders early declared for the coalition, and Greeley was supported by the greater number of influential Southern newspapers. [1]

In Florida where reconstruction was still pursued with full force, Greeley's candidacy with its backing by the discontented element of Grant's party as well as the entire Democratic augured well for success. Among those who looked with hope on Greeley's chances was Mariano D. Papy, a leading figure of the bar in Leon County, who had long been active in the political life of the state.

1. The attitude of the South is shown in Earle D. Ross *The Liberal Republican Movement* (New York, 1919), *passim*, and especially in his "Horace Greeley and the South, 1865-1872," *South Atlantic Quarterly*, XVI (October, 1917), 324-38.

Mariano D. Papy (1824-1875) was a native of Saint Augustine, but became a resident of Tallahassee in his boyhood. [2] He was admitted to the bar in 1844 by a special act of the Territorial Legislature before he had attained his majority. When the Supreme Court of Florida was first constituted, he was named its first clerk and served from 1845 to 1849 in this capacity. In 1852, Papy represented Leon County in the lower house of the state legislature. That same year the attorney general of the state resigned and Papy was appointed to the post. He was elected for a full four year term in 1853 and again in 1856. One of the most conspicuous services which he rendered during his tenure of this office was representing the state before the United States Supreme Court in the litigation over the Georgia-Florida boundary.

When the Florida Secession Convention reassembled on January 14, 1862, it created an Executive Council to strengthen the Executive Department of the state during the war. Papy was the second member elected by the convention to the Council and faithfully attended the five meetings which were held. On May 15, 1862, he resigned without, however, stating the grounds for his action. In December of that year he was appointed one of the two commissioners to settle the boundary line between Florida and Georgia.

Following the surrender of General Sam Jones at the end of the war, Papy was one of the five commissioners appointed by Governor A. K. Allison to interview President Johnson on the political relations of Florida to the Union. While not a member of the Constitutional Convention of 1865, Papy was a member of the commission appointed by Governor William Martin at the suggestion of that body to frame suitable laws for the government of the freedmen.

In 1866 he was a member of the delegation appointed by

2. This sketch of Papy is based on the following: Rowland W. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, Francis P. Fleming, editor, 2 vols. (Atlanta, 1902), I, 225, 325; II, 91, 94, 101; William C. Havard, "The Florida Executive Council," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXXIII (October, 1954), 77-96; *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly, of the State of Florida, at the Twelfth Session, Begun and held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 17, 1862* (Tallahassee, 1862), 155 ff; *Reports of Cases Argued and Adjuged in the Supreme Court of the State of Florida, at Terms Held in 1874, '5-'6* (Tallahassee, 1876), xi-xxvii; William W. Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913), 332, 412, 434, 459, 556.

Governor D. S. Walker to represent Florida at the national convention of the Conservatives at Philadelphia. After the beginning of the congressional plan of reconstruction, when the conservative men of Florida sought political control of the Negro, Papy was among those who addressed assemblages of the freedmen.

Perhaps his most outstanding service to his state occurred during the administration of Governor Harrison Reed. Papy was one of the group of lawyers who successfully petitioned the Supreme Court of Florida for the ouster of W. H. Gleason, then occupying the post of lieutenant-governor, on the grounds that he had not been a citizen of the state for two years as required by the state constitution.

The letter here presented is from the Charles F. Jenkins Collection in the Georgia Department of Archives and History through whose cooperation publication is made possible.

(Private)

Savannah, Georgia
July 11, 1872

Hon. John T. Hoffman [3]
Albany, N. Y.

Dear Sir:

Inspired by the action of the Baltimore Convention with the hope that the result of the coming election will relieve the Country and especially my own section from the incubus which

3. John T. Hoffman (1828-1888), a native of New York, graduated from Union College in 1846 and after the study of law was admitted to de bar in 1849. Following his removal to New York City, he joined the Tammany Society and rose rapidly in its counsels. He was elected recorder of the city in 1860 and was reelected. He was an asset to the Tweed Ring because of his reputation and platform and was twice elected mayor of New York. There seems to be no evidence that he himself profited from the Tweed Ring graft but he must have known of the gross irregularities. Some authorities believe that his political ambition blinded him to the frauds of his colleagues. His election to the governorship of the state in 1868 was accompanied by many frauds. He was, however, reelected in 1870 at the same time that Tweed was elected to the state senate. By this time public opinion began to run high against Tammany and Hoffman began to show signs of breaking with the organization. His last message to the legislature repudiated the Tweed Ring but by this time he was a politically ruined man because of his association with it. He took an active part in the Democratic Convention of 1872 and was instrumental in the endorsement of Greeley as the party's candidate. Lucius H. Holt, "John Thompson Hoffman," *Dictionary of American Biography,* Allen Johnson and Dumas Malone, editors, 21 vols. (New York, 1928-1936), IX, 113-14.

has so sorely pressed us, I but gratify the desire I have long felt to say to you how much I was impressed with the views expressed by you in the Conversation it was my pleasure to have with you last summer whilst we were sojourning at Newport.

I could certainly have wished that a different leader could have been put forward with some hope of success and especially would it have been gratifying if you had been that chosen leader.

From the time however that the Cincinnati movement found expression in the nomination of Mr. Greely, it occurred to me that the course of the Democracy was likely to be that which is now fully developed. Your own views and feelings as expressed to me last summer, not only led me to the conclusion named but also to the belief that yourself and the Democracy of New York would accept the situation as perhaps the best means of dethroning the party in power and restoring the people to their constitutional rights. And on this belief I urged as better expressed by yourself "the sacrifice of personal preferences and prejudices, on the alter *[sic]* of the Country" and I referred to the probable course of the New York Democracy as sufficient to show that *we* would only be coming up to the measure and necessity of the times. The objections urged at first gradually gave way until at last the sentiment became very general to accept the Cincinnati Candidates and at all events to abide the action of the Baltimore Convention even though Mr. Greely should be the nominee.

We hope that we will be able to carry Florida and place our State under the auspices of an honest government.

I am gratified that the convention decided to make a "nomination" instead of merely "endorsing" the Cincinnati nominees as this course preserves the party organization and keeps alive the spirit that has always animated it. It must have the further effect of silencing any suggestion of a disbandment and leaving its members free to choose between Candidates.

One objection we have had to contend with is the distrust expressed or entertained that Mr. Greely may not be relied on in regard to the principles embodied in the platform and as to his recognition of Democrats in the event of his election. [4]

4. Greeley said in his speech at Portland, Maine, the next August that in case of his election he would not confine his appointments to the Republicans. Ross, *Liberal Republican Movement,* 145.

I have no difficulty on this score myself, for I make no doubt, yourself and the others whose views and opinions went so far to control the course of the party are well assured on these points whether that assurance comes from any understanding or springs from your knowledge of the man and of those with whom he is prominently associated. It would be a great misfortune to us down here if we should be disappointed. Although I have no misgivings, nevertheless I would like to be assured in this matter by you if you will do me the kindness.

Before I left home the desire was expressed to me to have my name placed on the electoral ticket as one of the electors. I did not give a final answer, as I could not then say how or when I might be able to return to the state to take part in the Canvass. Should I consent to my name being put on the ticket I should like to be able to give every assurance if necessary of the reliability of the nominees on the points suggested. I know no one who could better inform me than yourself - indeed none from whom I could expect it.

I am well assured that this state (Georgia) will cast her vote for the "Baltimore nominees."

I expect in a few days to go to Atlanta at which place I need not add, I will be glad to hear from you. My address will be to the care of Messers M. Naught Ormond & Co., Atlanta Geo. -

Very Respy Yours &c
M. D. Papy

P.S. I will be glad to know your estimate of the chances of success of the ticket.

Higher Education and Florida's Future. 2 volumes. (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1956. Vol. I, *Recommendations and General Staff Report.* By A. J. Brumbaugh and Myron R. Blee. xxviii, 87pp. Tables and index. $1.50. Vol. II, *Florida's Economy - Past Trends and Prospects for 1970.* Prepared by the Economic Research Staff, Wylie Kilpatrick, Coordinator. xii, 180pp. Tables and index. $2.50.)

THE NEED FOR LONG-RANGE planning for higher education - heretofore shunted aside while attention was given to "more important things" - finally has been recognized. Recognition has come in a two-volume set of books entitled "Higher Education and Florida's Future," published by the University of Florida Press in Gainesville, Florida. Volume I, "Recommendations and General Staff Report," contains an up-to-date survey of facts about Florida's colleges and universities and offers a guide for expanding higher education facilities to meet increasing demands by a skyrocketing state population. It embodies the final report of the Council for the Study of Higher Education in Florida, a governor-appointed committee, and was compiled by A. J. Brumbaugh, staff director of the Council, and Myron R. Blee. assistant director. Retail price is $1.50.

Volume II presents a broader scope, explaining "Florida's Economy - Past Trends and Prospects for 1970." The author is Wylie Kilpatrick, coordinator of a special Council Economic Research Staff. It sells for $2.50. Both are well worth the money.

What provisions can and must be made to educate the bumper crop of World War II babies who rapidly are approaching "college age?" And how can we take care of the sun-seekers who cross the border by the thousands each year to make their home in Florida? What about adult education? Volume I can give most of the answers. It discusses present and emerging needs, programs and facilities, development and expansion, financing, and priorities. A detailed appendix listing acknowledgments of contributors to staff studies graphically illustrates the lengths the Council went to in an effort to obtain accurate and detailed in-

formation. It deals with questions often wondered but seldom asked, such as the role of junior colleges in the community, when and where more colleges and universities should be constructed, and the functions of the State Board of Control which formulates policies for state colleges.

Volume II makes an excellent textbook, not only for educators but for industrialists, businessmen and out-of-state "prospects" looking at Florida as a home and workground as well as a playground. Problems concerning state population and income, development of natural resources, use of human resources, growth of industries and influences on production and consumption are dealt with concisely but adequately. Both state and national experts have been recruited to contribute their findings and viewpoints. Their work makes for fairly easy reading, despite the multitude of statistics liberally sprinkled throughout each chapter. They seem to catch the pulse of excitement in exploring new "frontiers" and dare the reader not to be interested in what the future holds.

You may not skim through either book as rapidly as you might a novel, but for the most part, you will find they avoid the dry, wordy phraseology that too often is synonymous with books on education or economics. For professionals in either field, both books offer gratifying details on the Who, What, When, Where and Why. For interested novices, they serve as a professional introduction. This set on "Higher Education and Florida's Future" could well become the state's "crystal ball."

DORIS MCABEE

Education Editor, Miami Herald

The Seminole Trail. By Dee Dunsing. (New York, Longmans, Green and Company, 1956. 211 pp. Illustrated by Larry Toschik. $3.00.)

The strange tropical and sub-tropical nature of Florida and the violent drama of the Seminole Indian Wars have long been the subject of fiction. At first, they provided material for boys' books such as the avidly read Kirk Munroe books, especially *Flamingo Feather.* Charles H. Coe's classic, *Red Patriots,* was

written for adults but read by boys. Of recent years writers of adult historical fiction have re-discovered Florida history in which the violence is heightened by flaming sex and more tepid romance. In most of these, with the exception of *Red Patriots*, the Indians were either noble savages or black-hearted villains. The backgrounds of all the action by which white Americans sought to remove the Indians from Florida lands suddenly become valuable, were only sketchily indicated.

It is very refreshing, therefore, to read Dee Dunsing's story of a white boy and his Indian friend, in the time of the first two Indian wars, and find it direct, clear, not overdramatized, but above all, accurate. The author has spared no pains to get to authentic source material, such as the all-important Sprague, and personal narratives of army men taking part in the campaigns. She makes the progress of that confused and emotional time clearer than it must have been then. Her young hero, Rod Wheeler, is a very real young man serving as an army scout, a Florida boy from Tampa Bay with an Indian friend, so that his insight covers both the white and the torn and difficult Indian points of view.

But I think this book is almost the first I have seen since Giddings' greatly revealing *Exiles of Florida*, including several histories and much recent romance, which presents plainly and fairly the often wilfully neglected fact that the war was forced by slave-owners of Georgia and Alabama in an attempt to get back slaves who had escaped to freedom with the free Indians in Spanish Florida.

When Florida became an American territory settlers pushed down into cultivated Indian country and insisted the Indians be moved to Indian territory. Andrew Jackson, who had been first governor and bitter Indian hater, helped send the Army into Florida to back up the white claims to land and slaves. In spite of the shameful American record of broken treaties and flags of truce ignored by the succession of generals whose temperament controlled American policy, many more of the illusive and disillusioned Indians would have gone west; but they insisted their Negro allies must be treated as free men and prisoners of war and allowed to go west also.

The slave holders wanted the escaped slaves back. So the long, bungling, expensive, badly prepared and managed war went

on until the United States government was glad to have to send the troops to the threatened Mexican border, leaving Florida to carry on its own war with the Indians in the Everglades. The boy Rod Wheeler takes part in several well-studied engagements, from Withlacoochee to Okeechobee. He is in or near St. Augustine, that bustling metropolis, when the over-familiar incidents happen, the violated flag of truce that brought in the Indians, the escape of Coacoochee from Ft. Marion and the resumption of fighting.

Perhaps for a boy's action story there is too much exposition of history. The plot is less engrossing, but the book gains stature from the direct presentation of authentic history. It might well be used in the schools as supplementary reading, or by adults who want a simple and unvarnished introduction to Florida's drama, which does not insult the intelligence or depend on sex to make it valuable.

MARJORY STONEMAN DOUGLAS

NEWS AND NOTES

The Annual Meeting

THE HISTORICAL Association of Southern Florida and the City of Miami will be hosts to the Society at its 1957 annual meeting on March 28-30 at the McAllister Hotel in Miami. Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., president of the Association, is chairman of the committee on local arrangements and Charlton W. Tebeau is program chairman. Requests for room reservations should be sent directly to the McAllister Hotel.

* * *

Robert R. Bowen of Jacksonville has accepted the chairmanship of the Society's committee to investigate the possibility of preserving the site of Spanish Fort St. Francis de Poppa on the St. Johns River opposite Picolata.

Conference of Historic Sites Officials

X. L. Pellicer, president of the St. Augustine Historical Society, was appointed by Governor LeRoy Collins to represent Florida at the Conference of Historic Sites Officials. The first annual meeting was held in Woodstock, Vermont on September 27-28, 1956.

The National Park Service

Of interest to those concerned with methods of recounting history is the "push-button tour" now in use at Castillo de San Marcos Monument at St. Augustine. The Park Service has installed sound reproducers at certain locations in the fort. At each location the visitor may push a button to hear a brief recorded talk about nearby parts of the fort. The recordings total a 40-minute historical tour from guardroom to watchtower. The electronic innovation is experimental and supplements the guided trips conducted through the fort by park historians. Since only 30 percent of Castillo visitors can be provided with personal service, the electronic guide system makes self-guide service available to everyone.

Albert Manucy, historian for the Castillo, returned to St. Augustine in October after completing a traveling assignment of several months with the Museum Branch of the Service. The museum work is part of "MISSION 66," the program aimed toward expanded development of areas in the park system by the year 1966. Mr. Manucy was responsible for planning museum exhibits at Fort Caroline National Memorial near Jacksonville; Fort Frederica National Monument at St. Simons Island, Georgia; Chalmette National Historical Park, site of the Battle of New Orleans in 1815; and at Mount Locust, historic inn and plantation on the Natchez Trace Parkway in Mississippi. Most of these installations will be completed during 1957.

Quadricentennials in Florida

Wide interest in Florida's early history is being generated as anniversaries of a number of events which occurred in the mid-sixteenth century are approaching. Among these are the landing of the colony led by Tristan de Luna y Arellano at Pensacola in 1559; the landing of Jean Ribault at the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1562 and the subsequent founding (1564) by Rene de Laudonniere of Fort Caroline, a short distance downstream; and the founding of St. Augustine, the nation's oldest city, in 1565 by Pedro Menendez de Aviles.

These observations present an opportunity to attract national attention to the history of Florida.

The Natural Bridge Streamer

On March 6, 1956 Governor LeRoy Collins wrote the following letter to Dr. Doak S. Campbell, President of the Florida State University: "The State Board of Education, by action taken at the Cabinet meeting this morning, directed that the President of the Florida State University cause to be affixed to the staff of the flag which bears the seal of that University, a streamer which bears the words *Natural Bridge* in commemoration of the valor of those cadets who served with distinction at the Battle of Natural Bridge and as an inspiration to the present students of that institution, which streamer shall be permanently and continuously attached to the staff of this flag, now and hereafter."

This action came as a result of the interest of Mark F. Boyd, a past president of the Society, in calling the matter to the attention of Governor Collins and President Campbell.

The cadets of the West Florida Seminary over the age of twelve, as part of the militia forces of the state, were mobilized on order of Governor John Milton to assist in the repulse of federal forces attempting to capture Florida's capital city. The bravery and valor of the cadets in that action on March 6, 1861 were at the time universally recognized and acclaimed. The Florida State University, successor of the Seminary, is the institutional heir to the bravery of the cadets.

College News

Weymouth T. Jordan of the Florida State University, has been appointed as a member of the editorial board of *Agricultural History* and to the board of editors of East Tennessee Historical Society's publications. Charles Arnade and Weymouth T. Jordan read papers before the American Historical Association's meeting at St. Louis in December. Earl R. Beck presided at one of the sessions of the Southern Historical Association meeting at Durham in November

George Osborn, Lyle McAllister, Rembert Patrick, and Arthur Thompson of the University of Florida were on the program of the annual meeting of the Southern Historical Association. Frank Doty, David Dowd, and Lyle McAllister read papers at the American Historical meeting. In February, 1957, David Dowd gave the luncheon address at the annual meeting in New York City of the Society for French Historical Studies. He is a member of the executive committee of the society.

In November, 1956, Arthur Thompson was elected vice president of the Southeastern American Studies Association. The annual meeting of the association was held in Atlanta. Rembert Patrick is to give the Young Lectures in History at Memphis State College in October, 1957. These lectures on "Patterns of Southern Society" will be published by the Memphis State College Press.

Activities of Historical Societies

The St. Augustine Historical Society was represented by Hiram Faver, a director, at the October meeting of the National Trust for Historic Preservation in Washington. He also accompanied President Pellicer to the conference of Historic Sites Officials and together they participated in a short course on "Historic Housekeeping" in New York. A report on these meetings was made to Society members in December. The Society feels that close observation of the historic sites movement throughout the nation will be of special value to the preservation program in St. Augustine.

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The Historical Association of Southern Florida expressed its interest in the development of Everglades National Park, the state's only national park, at its November meeting. Park Superintendent Dan Beard, and naturalists E. P. Christiensen and D. O. Karraker, told of plans for further development and expanded use of the area, illustrating their remarks with especially prepared colored slides and film.

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Among the recent activities of the Pensacola Historical Society were excursions to nearby areas which share some historic event or personage with Pensacola. These included the site of Fort Toulouse near Wetumpka, Alabama; the home site of William Lowndes Lancey; Spring Lake, Mobile Bay, Montgomery and Biloxi.

Speakers at last year's meetings of the Society were Dixie Beggs who traced the history of Santa Rosa Island and Fort Pickens; Joe Marques who spoke on the economic value of history and Mary Louise Stewart, a descendant of Dr. John Gorrie, who told of his life and of the unveiling of his statue in Washington. Albert Jacobi spoke on the town of Molino; Mrs. Grover Pittman sketched the life of her ancestor, Judge Maximo de Riobo; Mrs. Thomas A. Johnson described shipbuilding in Bagdad in which her family played a vital part and Ann Martin gave an illustrated talk on Spain.

The Journal of the Halifax Historical Society, Volume II, Number 1, was released last fall. This volume should be of special value to anyone with an interest in the area. Origins of place names, locations of land grants and geneological data make it a useful publiction. Copies are available from Mrs. Ianthe B. Hebel, secretary, 519 Grange Avenue, Daytona Beach, The cost is $1.00.

In September the Halifax Society met at Sugar Mill Gardens, the ruins of Dunlawton plantation. Several hundred members and visitors were in attendance.

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The House of Refuge Museum was formally dedicated on Sunday, December 9 at Stuart. Paul G. Rogers, M. C., delivered the principal address. The ceremony was concluded at the Museum on Hutchinson Island with the raising of the flag over the eighty-year-old building. The Martin County Historical Society is sponsor and operator of the Museum.

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The Tallahassee Historical Society has published Volume IV of *Apalachee,* a selection of papers presented before the Society from 1950 to 1956. Copies are avaliable from D. A. Avant, treasurer, 1575 Hickory Avenue, Tallahassee, for $5.00 including tax. Previous issues may also be secured from the treasurer.

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The General Duncan L. Clinch Historical Society of Amelia Island is the new name of the organization of a similar name organized in Fernandina Beach in 1949. Plans were made at the October meeting of the group to expand activities and to publish a newsletter, relating incidents in the history of the area, several times each year.

Officers elected for the coming year were William N. Galphin, president; H. D. Lohman, first vice president; L. A. Ferreira, second vice president; Wyona Deen, corresponding secretary; Mrs. Sybil Maples, recording secretary; Ira W. Hall, treasurer and the following directors: Mrs. A. G. McArthur, J. T. Davis, J. E. Williams, J. T. Ferreira, Mayor W. H. Melton, Dena Snodgrass of Jacksonville and Howell Schaeffer of Tallahassee. Duncan L. Clinch of Chicago and J. William Decker of Fort Clinch State Park were named permanent president emeritus and archivist respectively.

A "living memorial" to the musician, Frederick Delius, has been established by the Jacksonville Historical Society at Jacksonville University. Through the generosity of Mrs. Henry L. Richmond and the work of a committee of which Mrs. Frank L. Harris was chairman, records of Delius' works are now available to students. In the designated "listening room" a portrait of the musician looks out on the St. Johns River which had a significant effect upon his life.

Ripley Bullen, curator of social sciences, Florida State Museum, was guest speaker at the November meeting of the Society. In expanding his title, "Florida's Prehistory," the speaker gave a comprehensive summary of Indian life in Florida and displayed a number of pertinent artifacts from the Museum.

The Wentworth Museum

T. T. Wentworth, Jr. has long been a strong proponent of various phases of historical endeavor in the Pensacola area and in the state. His early interest in the cause of history recently culminated in his establishment of a private museum to house his collection of materials, already large and growing as his interest continues.

In an area which is aware of its historic heritage, this collection should have added value.

The Seminoles

Louis Capron of West Palm Beach has an interesting article in the December, 1956, number of the *National Geographic Magazine.* In "Florida's 'Wild' Indians, the Seminole," he gives a brief history of the Indians and vividly describes some of their customs.

CONTRIBUTORS

WEYMOUTH T. JORDAN is Head of the Department of History at the Florida State University.

HUGH C. BAILEY is Associate Professor of History at Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama.

EMILY HOWARD ATKINS is Head of the Department of History at Andrew Jackson High School, Jacksonville, Florida.

HARRIET M. BRYANT of Mount Dora, who came to Florida eighteen years ago from Illinois, studies history as a hobby.

LUCY L. WENHOLD is Emeritus Professor and former Head of the Department of Modern Foreign Languages, Salem College, Winston-Salem, North Carolina.

ALBERT MANUCY is Supervisory Historian for the National Park Service at St. Augustine.

SAMUEL PROCTOR is Assistant Professor of Social Sciences at the University of Florida.

WILLARD E. WIGHT is a member of the Social Science Department of the Georgia Institute of Technology, Atlanta, Georgia.

NEW MEMBERS FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

John Baster, Miami ..... Elizabeth Baldwin
Gladys R. Bowen, Jacksonville (fellow) ..... Phil S. May
Calvin B. Britt, Bartow..... Edward T. Keenan
James T. Campbell, Tallahassee..... F. A. Rhodes
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Pensacola High School Library, Pensacola
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