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St. Augustine, Florida

CARPETBAG IMPERIALISM IN FLORIDA 1862-1868

by **GEORGE WINSTON SMITH**

The great Civil War battlefields were far from Florida. Compared with the Wilderness campaign, the bloody slaughter of Pittsburg Landing or other major conflicts, even Olustee was a minor battle on the margin of the war. Yet in addition to keeping Florida in the Confederacy, it and other lesser encounters revealed social forces which were destined to alter the fabric of Florida's society, and radically influence the future, of all the South. For with the occupying forces of the Union army came political and economic adventurers, the successors of a few earlier Yankee pioneers in Florida, and the predecessors of a wave of Northern enterprisers eagerly seeking their fortunes in the peninsula during the generation after the close of the war. Usually unsuccessful, and often ridiculous in their dishonesty, these carpetbaggers were encouraged to entertain visions of quick fortunes by a belief that they could arouse strong and widespread Northern interest in the economic development of the South. In that lay their significance: they were only a frothy crest, but they were none the less a part of a gradually swelling tide of Northern influence.

(I) NORTHERN ECONOMIC INTEREST IN ANTE-BELLUM

FLORIDA

The origins of Northern interest in Florida go back at least as far as the early nineteenth century, when there were scattered instances of Northern migration to the Spanish territory. Upon visiting St. Augustine in 1827, Ralph Waldo Emerson commented upon the peculiarities of certain dwellers who had come there from the North.¹ Already that city was attracting transient Northerners who were seeking to escape from harsh weather, and, in phrases which would have been most

1. Mrs. Henry L. Richmond, "Ralph Waldo Emerson in Florida," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (1939), p.84; Webster Merritt, "Physicians and Medicine in Early Jacksonville," *ibid.*, XXIV (1946), pp.266-269.

familiar to readers of travel literature in later days, the *Southern Review* promoted this attention. "Augustine," enthused one of the *Review's* writers, "attracts by its native aspect, its historical recollections, its luscious orangeries, and the hospitality and gaiety of its inhabitants. Those who visit it for health, return to visit it for pleasure."²

Although a hard freeze in 1835 killed St. Augustine's orange trees and cut off its thriving sea-borne trade in fruit, the Yankees continued to enjoy the cool ocean breeze as they strolled about its square each morning. At the Florida House, then the fashionable hotel, they lounged on the piazza, or played backgammon. More active visitors made up bathing or riding parties, and whiled away the hours at the nine-pin alley. After enjoying its recreations in the spring of 1843, William Cullen Bryant concluded that St. Augustine's facilities were improving each year; better advertising would make it still more popular. Northern investors were buying even then some property in the Florida east coast towns. On the same boat with Bryant were two or three persons who had come to make purchases; and, as Bryant further noted, emigrants from the North were living on a number of plantations along the St. Johns river. Confusion over land titles extending back to the Spanish grants, and the ill fortune of citrus growers who saw their new trees destroyed by coccus insects tended to discourage immigration; but the Indian wars were practically at an end and some newcomers expected to take advantage of a federal statute, the Armed Occupation Act, assigning 160 acres of land to settlers on the public domain in Florida.³

2. "Florida," *The Southern Review*, VI (1830), p.416.

3. William Cullen Bryant, *Letters of a Traveller* . . . (New York, 1869), pp.107-109. For settlers on the public domain, see Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View* (2 vols., New York, 1854-1856), II, pp.167-171; Sidney W. Martin, "The Public Domain in Territorial Florida," *The Journal of Southern History*, X (1944), pp.185-187.

In the early 1850's a few settlers from Northern states who were beginning to clear land for orange groves about forty miles below Cape Canaveral, provided the inspiration for a periodical notice which exhorted: "How many poor working men of the North, whose labor is the support of helpless families, and who are destined to die by inches of that dreadful disease, consumption, by remaining in their present situation, might have their lives prolonged to a green and happy old age by changing their occupation, and engaging in the rural employments of this genial region! . . . The attractions of the Indian River for those who wish to make their own labor their capital . . . are great . . . it is one of the best 'poor man's countries' that we know of. . . ." ⁴

Population, however, increased slowly in Florida. To be sure, soon after 1850, a number of new orange groves came into bearing in both the Tampa and St. Augustine areas, ⁵ but as Frederika Bremer noted while on her travels through the St. Johns valley, even then some plantations stood abandoned. ⁶ No doubt the narrow limits of Northern interest were fixed in part by the circulation of unfavorable reports on Florida by visitors who wrote descriptions of "stagnant wastes and ponds", noxious reptiles and insect pests. ⁷ In attempting to refute such disparagement *De Bow's Review*, in 1853, secured a letter from Joseph C. G. Kennedy, Superintendent of the Census, who took issue with those who "slandered [Florida] as being insalubrious," and berated "some transient visitors" [who] . . . ignorant of the ordinances of Providence for the health in tropical regions, and ignorant of the genial

4. "East Florida: Her Lands and Agricultural Productions," *The Southern Quarterly Review*, XXVI (1854), pp.304-329-332.

5. Robert Gamble Jr. to Thomas Ewbank, December 18, 1851, in *Report of the Commissioner of Patents For the Year 1851, Senate Executive Document*, No. 18, 32nd Congress, 1st Session, p.328.

6. Frederika Bremer, *The Homes of the New World* (2 vols. New York, 1853), II, p.471.

7. James M. Phillippo, *The United States and Cuba* (New York, 1857), pp.298-300; "East Florida-Alligators-The Seminoles, etc.," *The Knickerbocker*, VIII (1836), pp.150-155.

effect of the climate upon the soil . . . [denounced] the lands of Florida as "barren sands." ⁸

By the census of 1860 there were in Florida 1,807 persons of Northern nativity. Of these northern-born residents, 688 were from New York, 295 from Massachusetts, 222 from Maine, 210 from Connecticut, 201 from Pennsylvania, with lower numbers from the rest, ranging down to eight from Illinois, six from Wisconsin, three from Iowa, and none from Minnesota. These numbers, in 1860, were in a total free population of 140,424. ⁹ New Englanders who had come to Florida reported themselves in the 1850 compilation as planters, lumber merchants, brick masons, millers, cabinet makers, attorneys, physicians, ship carpenters, watchmakers, engineers, lighthouse keepers, mill-wrights, booksellers, ministers of the gospel, school teachers, machinists, laborers, soldiers, sailors, army sutlers, and in still other professions or trades. ¹⁰

Commercial Contacts

The ante-bellum commercial contacts of Florida with the North, if not particularly extensive, were at least varied. Yankees came in their craft to fish off the coast, and did a profitable business by carrying their catch to Cuba during the Lenten season. ¹¹ For many years nearly all the sponges collected on the Florida reef and dried at Key West went to a New York merchant who

8. "Florida-Its Position, Resources, and Destiny," *De Bow's Review*, XIV (1853), p.327.
9. "Nativities of the Free Population," in Joseph C. G. Kennedy, comp., *Population of the United States in 1860, Compiled From the Original Returns of the Eighth Census* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1864), p.56.
10. Frank M. Hawes, "New Englanders in the Florida Census of 1850," *The New England Historical and Geneological Register*, LXXVI (1922), pp.44-54.
11. "Florida. . .," *De Bow's Review*, XXX (1861), pp.639-648 ; For twenty years, 1840-1860, a group of New England fishermen spent each winter on the coast near Pensacola; they packed their fish in salt and traded with planters in Alabama and Georgia. See, George B. Goode, *The Fisheries and Fishery Industry of the United States* (5 vols., Washington, Government printing office, 1887), II, p.567.

exercised something of a monopoly.¹² By 1845 the scattered settlers on the lower east coast were annually manufacturing for Northern markets twenty thousand pounds of arrowroot. Northern crews came to cut lumber in Nassau and Duval counties; coasting vessels took northward much of this live oak, cedar, and pine, until 50,000,000 board feet were each year going out of the St. Johns river region. Other Florida exports useful to the North were staves, bricks, hides, horn, tallow, beeswax, peltries, sugar and fruit. New York buyers also offered the highest prices for baled indigo leaves. In the ten years which preceded the War for Southern Independence, an association of capitalists, chiefly of Boston, backed David L. Yulee in undertaking surveys for a trans-peninsular railroad; and, when the government provided a land grant, Northern investors bought some of the bonds of the Fernandina and Cedar Keys line which finally reached its western terminus on the Gulf in 1861.¹³ These were the rather tenuous links of trade and capital which already on the eve of the great civil conflict had begun to join the wealth of Florida to Northern influence in a chain of economic development destined eventually to transform the peninsula. On the other hand, as the great political crisis of 1861 gathered and broke upon a bewildered people, the monetary stake of a few business men was insufficient cause for general concern in the North as Florida followed the example of South Carolina, and became the second State to secede from the Union.

Sea-borne Commerce

Florida, however, was deeply involved in another economic issue which contributed to the determination of many a substantial Northern citizen to support the

12. "Along the Florida Reef," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XLII (1871), p.359.
13. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida in 1845," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XXIV (1945), p.15; John L. Williams, *The Territory of Florida* (New York, 1837), p.109; "Florida-Its Position, Resources, and Destiny," *De Bow's Review*, XIV (1853), p.322.

Federal government's final policy of military coercion against the South. The problem grew out of the fact that the trade of the North with Gulf ports, Central America, and the Pacific coast passed through the Straits of Florida. For 1856 alone, the value of property (*i.e.* merchandise, specie and tonnage) negotiating the narrow channel through the reefs was \$450,000,000.¹⁴ With secession came the dread fear that should the forts at Key West and Tortugas fall away from the control of Federal garrisons into the hands of State authorities or the Southern confederacy, so too would pass over control of commerce in the Gulf. Henry J. Raymond, publisher of the *New York Times*, warned the Alabama "fire-eater" William L. Yancey that if the Southern States successfully carried out their project the North would be "surrendering to a foreign and hostile power . . . the whole Gulf. . . ." ¹⁵ Key West was an essential coaling and supply station for the United States navy's Gulf squadron. Moreover, the Florida wreck and salvage cases, with the lapse of Federal control, might go under the jurisdiction of a "secession judge" antagonistic to Northern commercial interests ; deference to the "wrecker influence" would degenerate into "freebooting and piracy."¹⁶

Concern for the strategic Florida coast heightened in the North when newspapers reprinted the Charleston Mercury's taunts that Northern war vessels would be forced to operate at such distances from their bases of supply that they would be ineffective in Southern waters, with the result that Yankee commerce, especially the vessels bearing gold from California, would "fall an easy prey to our bold [Confederate] privateers."¹⁷

14. "Florida-The Key of the Gulf," *De Bow's Review*, XXI (1856), pp.283-286.

15. Henry J. Raymond, *Disunion and Slavery. A Series of Letters To Hon. W. L. Yancey of Alabama* (New York, 1861?), p.19.

16. *New York Times*, January 9, 1861.

17. Philadelphia Press, January 10, 1861; John S. C. Abbott, "Heroic Deeds of Heroic Men . . . Florida. Her Crime and Punishment," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXXIII (1866), p.705.

With this prospect came the revival of an anti-slavery bogey, namely the charge that the Southern "slave drivers" would create a great Southern slave empire around the curving shores of the Mexican gulf. From thence forward the North might expect to witness Confederate filibustering expeditions against Mexico, Central America, and Cuba.¹⁸ Writing for the columns of a conservative New York commercial paper, one frightened observer predicted that with the possible exception of "old Algiers on the Mediterranean", the projected Southern Confederacy would soon become "the greatest buccaneering community" in the world's history,¹⁹ and even should that fail to materialize, others were ready to testify that by taking advantage of American weakness arising from division, Spanish adventurers might try to regain Florida, or British seekers after political dominion might attempt to put their "future supply of cotton beyond a doubt."²⁰ James S. Pike, at the time Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* but soon to become United States minister to the Netherlands, demonstrated that both Spain and France had military bases in the West Indies, while England held Jamaica. The commerce of the free states pouring through the Gulf of Mexico, and the possession of the Florida forts necessary for its protection were, in his opinion, "in themselves of sufficient importance to create and justify a war" by the United States upon the Southern Confederacy.²¹ Horace Greeley, the *Tribune's* mercurial publisher, went even further. A month earlier he had wavered toward a policy of peaceable disunion, but as Buchanan and his hastily reorganized cabinet grappled with problems of administrative authority in January, Greeley wrathfully admonished them that if the Key West fortifications, recently completed at the cost of a million dollars and constructed for the protec-

18. New York *Times*, January 1, 1861.

19. New York *Courier and Enquirer*, December 13, 1860.

20. Philadelphia *Press*, April 14, 1861.

21. New York *Tribune*, January 11, 1861.

tion of American commerce passing through the Gulf, were to be deemed the rightful property of Florida, then there was no Federal government, nor would the North be a People—"only a mob, such as any fishhorn may collect, and any stream of water from a fire-engine disperse."²²

The Secretary of the Treasury, John A. Dix, soon let it be known that he agreed with those who saw disaster to the North in Florida's secession. To the Florida reef he sent a special agent with arms for the lighthouse keepers.²³ Before the end of January, the veteran commander-in-chief of the Federal army, Winfield Scott, strengthened the garrison at Fort Taylor (Key West), and, on April 13, Montgomery Meigs arrived there bringing commissions for new judicial officers replacing those who had followed the sentiments of most Key West inhabitants and had resigned their Federal offices. More important than that, Meigs conveyed to the commandant an authority to invoke martial law.²⁴ The Northern government intended to retain its grip upon Florida.

(II) MILITARY OCCUPATION : FIRST PHASE

At the beginning of the war, Key West, Tortugas and Fort Pickens (guarding the entrance of Pensacola bay) were the only Florida bases remaining under Federal authority, and none were on the mainland. Confederate counter-measures which dispatched stores and troops to Pensacola, Apalachicola, St. Johns Bluff (below Jacksonville near the mouth of the St. Johns river), and Fernandina, were too little if not too late, for, by the spring of 1862 Federal forces held all these.²⁵ Flag Officer Samuel F. DuPont, commanding the Federal South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, particularly

22. *Ibid.*, January 14, 1861.

23. *House Executive Document*, No. 72, 36th Congress, 2nd Session, p.13.

24. John G. Nicolay and John Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History* (10 Vols., New York, 1890), IV, p.14.

25. Kathryn Trimmer Abbey, *Florida, Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1941), pp.282-284.

wanted Fernandina, on strategic Amelia Island, as a coaling station.²⁶ More broadly, the Florida operations were a part of the Northern war strategy which required the capture of Confederate port cities, and the control of the seacoast with an effective blockade to "crush the rebellion in its very heart."²⁷ Fernandina fell after slight resistance, and at St. Augustine there was even the pretence of welcoming for Federal occupation. Yankee owners of Jacksonville real estate were waiting on the docks with tales of the destruction which the torches of retreating Confederates had wrought upon their saw mills and lumber.²⁸

The discovery of valuable timber and the promise of other secreted resources began to interject another and more tangible motive for the Northern wartime control of Florida. Sanguine observers in the North began to see a monetary advantage in developing the "loyalty" of the Florida population; with no knowledge of quantity they guessed that perhaps 150,000 bales of cotton, together with correspondingly large quantities of rice, sugar, and tobacco might come forward to market.²⁹ As Dupont's vessels began to scurry up the coastal rivers searching for stores of the country's products, Harrison O. Briggs, a Boston shipbuilder, informed his senator, Charles Sumner, he had just learned from an east Florida gentleman that there were large amounts of lumber there "in the hands of *professedly* Union men. . . ." Could but Sumner make the proper arrangements with the Secretary of the Treasury, Briggs was ready to

26. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (30 vols., Washington, Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), Series I, XII, pp.195-198 (hereafter cited as O.R.N.); *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (129 vols., Washington, Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), Series I, VI, esp. pp.237-264 (hereafter cited as O.R.)

27. John C. Ropes, *The Story of the Civil War* (3 vols., New York, 1894-1913), I, pp.175-185; Nicolay and Hay, *Abraham Lincoln, A History*, V, pp.250-251.

28. O.R.N., Series I, XII, pp.477, 571-578, 586-587, 588-592, 595-617, 622-623; *New York Times*, March 20, 21, 1862.

29. *Ibid.*, November 6, 1861, March 11, 1862.

start for Florida within a week. A "unionist" who had been a Florida business man volunteered his services directly to Salmon P. Chase, head of the Treasury Department, to hurry along shipments of cotton from the peninsula.³⁰ With great forethought, however, Chase's Treasury Department officials already had anticipated these details by accompanying the expedition. Once in Florida, William H. Reynolds, the treasury agent for abandoned property, was able to seize within a few days 26 bales of ginned upland cotton, 35 barrels of turpentine and 250 barrels of resin, all of which he arranged to send to New York.³¹

The First Retreat

Just as further prospects of lucrative adventure were beginning to arise, the DuPont-Wright forces received an order recalling them from Jacksonville, and along with them went most of the aspiration for an early exploitation of East Florida.³² Especially hard hit by the withdrawal were a small coterie of Jacksonville unionists who had already held one meeting and called a convention for April 10 to establish a government for the State. Since they feared reprisals if they remained behind after the Federal troops had gone, a number of these disappointed union sympathizers boarded the Union transports with their families and as much of their property as they could take with them. Perhaps the most important of these refugees was John S. Sammis who was later to return to Jacksonville in the unsavory role of Tax Commissioner. Even as he temporari-

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30. O.R.N., Series I, XII, pp.584-585, 638-639, 655, 768, 793 ; Briggs to Sumner, March 20, 1862, Miscellaneous Letters Received, Secretary's Files, General Records of the Treasury Department, Record Group 56, National Archives; *id.* to Salmon P. Chase, March 30, 1862, *ibid.*; Alfred W. Ladd to *id.*, March 11, 1862, Chase MSS., Vol. 57, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.
31. William H. Reynolds to *id.*, March 10, 1862, Port Royal Correspondence, General Records of the Treasury Department, Record Group 56, National Archives.
32. O.R., Series I, VI, pp.251-252, 263; *House Executive Document*, No. 106, 37th Congress, 2nd Session, 1 p.

ly left Florida, Sammis had the foresight to send fifty-eight bags of his cotton to a Northern market.³³

In their own State, the Florida unionists were neither prominent nor numerous. With few exceptions they were either poor-white farmers or Northern emigrants who had settled in the east coast towns. It was the latter type which left with the Federal troops and journeyed northward to New York and Washington. Once there, they began to exploit their peculiar status as "Southern loyalists" to garner in political influence or private gain. President Lincoln and others with patronage favors to dispense began to receive urgent petitions beseeching the Federal government to find places for the patriotic exiles on its pay rolls.

At the same time they were instigating these pressures, the Florida unionists turned their attention to winning the support of influential New York business men for a renewed military campaign to recover all of Florida. When Jacksonville was abandoned by DuPont and Wright, Federal troops had remained in St. Augustine and Fernandina, so the unionists had but to urge that a limited movement from those points to the Jacksonville area would be sufficient to arouse a strong feeling of latent unionism with consequent reorganization of the State under "loyal" auspices. By taking advantage of the fall election campaign of 1862, the "loyalists" were able to make their pleas a part of radical anti-slavery Republican campaign propaganda. Especially on October 24, 1862, at a large meeting in the Brooklyn Academy of Music, Philip Fraser of Florida (formerly of New Jersey), joined with other "voices of the South" to describe the plight of supposed millions of Southern patriots who were allegedly being ground to the earth by the "rebels'" vicious atrocities.

33. O.R.N., Series I, XII, pp.642-643, 709-710, 712, 716, 717, 728-729, 739-740; Horatio G. Wright to Hiram Barney, April 7, 1862, Port Royal Correspondence; Barney to Salmon P. Chase, April 25, 1862, *ibid.*

Lyman D. Stickney

At the Brooklyn meeting was perhaps the most opportunistic of all the Florida unionists, Lyman D. Stickney ; who declared that he attended at the request of "prominent persons," and brought with him a set of resolutions which were adopted with noisy unanimity. The first of these asserted: ". . . in the slave system of the South, and the free institutions of the North, we recognize an antagonism which is useless to disguise and impossible to repress."³⁴ Behind this apparently clear-cut statement of William H. Seward's "irrepressible conflict" doctrine was a shifty manipulator who as late as January 1861, had received a concession from the secession legislature of Florida ; because he was skillful enough similarly to win the favor of Salmon P. Chase and a number of New York business men he was to become the most unscrupulous of all the Northern wartime carpetbaggers in Florida - indeed one of the most prominent figures in the Federal military occupation of that state.

Stickney's checkered antebellum career, identified him generally with regions other than Florida. A native of Vermont, he appeared in the 1840's at Robert Owen's New Harmony community in Indiana. After that, with George D. Prentice of Louisville, he became involved in a speculative railroad promotion, and lived in Memphis, where he was also associated with a slate company venture. With a flair for turgid journalism, he served for a number of years as one of the editors of the Memphis *Enquirer*, until finally, in 1859, a quarrel with the publishers induced him to leave both the paper and Memphis. He travelled next to New Orleans, but only to turn

34. J. W. Bryant to John J. Crittenden, May 3, 1862, Crittenden MSS., Vol. 27, MS. Div., Lib. Con. ; Lyman D. Stickney to O. H. Browning, June 11, 1862, Lincoln MSS., Vol. 78, MS. Div. L. C. ; Petition, dated New York, June 16, 1862, signed by William Alsop, Benjamin F. Manierre, L. S. Lathrop, N. L. McCready, *et als.*, *ibid.*; Stickney to Salmon P. Chase, October 26, 1862, Chase MSS., Vol. 66, MS. Div. L. C. ; *New York Times*, October 25, 1862; Abbey, Florida, pp.289-290.

up some months later at Tallahassee professing to be the agent and partner of an apparently fictitious group of New Orleans capitalists who he represented as eager to develop tropical agriculture in southern Florida. It was then the secession winter; and even in that hectic session of the State legislature he succeeded in obtaining a legislative grant of two townships on the condition that he would establish a colony within two years. The large amounts of capital which he had pledged to such an enterprise were not forthcoming, but within a short time he induced about a dozen settlers with small means (gardeners, nurserymen, and laborers) to accompany him to the Fort Myers region with a promise that each immigrant would receive a forty acre homestead. The balance of the grant he planned to sell later at speculative prices. By April 1861, Stickney's colonists had left him in disgust, and finding nothing more for himself at Fort Myers, he began to operate an old sloop between Key West and the mainland, where he procured pilings for government construction by dealing with known Confederate sympathizers. But at Key West he posed as an ardent unionist, agitated political questions, and until the commanding officer forbade his activities, attempted to secure an election of delegates to the Federal Congress from that military outpost.

Not later than June of the first war year, Stickney appeared in Washington, and began to cultivate the friendship of other Florida "refugees". He was also successful in ingratiating himself with the government departments, as was evident when the 1861 report of the Commissioner of Agriculture contained his article on "Tropical Florida" in which he described plants of the Fort Myers region, and prophesied that with a little cultivation Florida's crops might be made to rival those of the "celebrated island" of Cuba. In one passage, Stickney disclosed his motive for writing the article as follows: "Such being the natural advantages which invite enterprise to this quarter, there can be no doubt

that when its agricultural resources are more generally understood, southern Florida will be covered with a dense population of thrifty farmers." Here was the real estate speculator still at work; instead of New Orleans the Northern states might now provide him with immigrants.

Direct Tax Commission of 1862

Like the other "loyalists" from the South, Stickney was eager to find a place for himself on the government pay roll, and his opportunity finally came in September 1862, when with the Jacksonville refugee, John S. Sammis, and Harrison Reed (a Wisconsin editor), he became a member of a newly created Direct Tax Commission to execute in Florida the punitive Direct Tax Law of June 7, 1862. In effect, this act confiscated the real property of Southern landholders; it provided that the commissioners appointed under it should assess Southern lands, and through advertisement notify the absentee owners of the taxes due; should such payments not be forthcoming, the Commission might sell at auction to highest bidders the plots or tracts. Since court action was not essential to condemnation, the Commissioners might follow hard upon the occupying armies, and, when the areas were pacified sufficiently for their operations, proceed under the shield of military protection with their work.³⁵

Stickney (who became chairman of the Florida Commission) saw first of all a lucrative salary, but beyond that there would be other possibilities arising from confiscation and redistribution of the land among new owners. There might be political power for himself in rapid political reconstruction of the State by a rump government of Florida unionists. Pecuniary advantages might

35. Theodore Bissell to Harrison Reed, April 2, 1864 (copy), Lincoln MSS., Vol. 150, MS. Div. L. C.; Stickney to O. H. Browning, June 11, 1862, *ibid.*, Vol. 78; H. of Rep., Ex. Doc. No. 18, 38 Cong., 2nd Sess., pp.64-65, 71-72, 84, 96, 98; "Agriculture Report," *Report of the Commissioner of Patents for the Year 1861*. Washington, Govt. Ptg. Of., 1862, pp.402-404.

result from his dealings with the armed forces in an area from which commercial representatives of civilian enterprises would be barred for at least a time. Finally, on a more fantastic scale, there was a possibility that through the medium of his tax sales Northern migration to Florida might begin to "regenerate" the State along the lines of Northern "free labor" economy. The attractions of this last vision brought Stickney into relations with one of the most influential promoters of that era, Eli Thayer.

(III) ELI THAYER'S PLAN

It is quite understandable that Stickney and the other Florida unionists should attempt to gain the cooperation of Eli Thayer ; for Thayer, with his humorless mien and black frock coat, had long been known the country over as a single-minded devotee of a concept that enjoyed considerable popularity in the North. He was infatuated with nothing less than a universal solution of sectional conflict through mass immigration of "free labor" population from the North to other areas which had not yet responded to the influence of Yankee civilization. In the pre-war struggle to win Kansas territory from slavery, Thayer had induced New England capitalists to organize the New England Emigrant Aid Company which planted a small colony of free-soilers in Kansas ; but in reality the numbers it sponsored were small, and Kansas's decision to become a free state was due to other factors. Nevertheless, Thayer claimed a victory for his system. Later he promoted another emigration scheme to "regenerate" the upper South, with the result that a small community was founded in western Virginia. A group of New York business men and politicians supported him in this enterprise, but alarmed outcrys in Virginia climaxed by the discovery that his corporate promotional group was none

too stable, combined with the panic of 1857 to deny him real success.³⁶

Thayer had the persistency of a zealot, and by the autumn of 1861 he was in Washington to urge upon President Lincoln and his cabinet new schemes of mass migration. Thayer was no pacifist, but he argued with a Yankee's pride in practicality that military campaigns were wasteful whereas peaceful emigration to change the social nature of large sections of the country might be both constructive and profitable. He promised "a hundred thousand emigrants for the border states & Texas" if the government would allow them to be "mustered [in] as volunteers & to serve for a few months & then be disbanded to settle in the South." In that manner only, Thayer urged, might the "rebellious" states "be made and kept loyal with limited expense to the government." The only alternative was to maintain a standing army in the South for years, and such an occupying force "would consist of *consumers* & be a very heavy burden upon the country," while his immigrant host in contrast would consist of "*producers* & would soon make the southern states worth much more to the nation than they ever have been."³⁷

Responding to a request from Lincoln that he put his plan into written form, Thayer submitted to the President a memorandum on a proposed "Homestead & Emigration Department" of the government. This proposed department of government, according to Thayer's plan, would take charge of "the confiscated property of

36. Samuel A. Johnson, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company," (Ph.D. dissertation, University of Wisconsin, 1935) ; Ralph V. Harlow, "The Rise and Fall of the Kansas Aid Movement," *The American Historical Review*, XLI (1935), pp.1-25; Russell K. Hickman, "Speculative Activities of the Emigrant Aid Company," *Kansas Historical Quarterly*, IV (1935), pp.235-267 ; Eli Thayer, *A History of the Kansas Crusade: Its Friends and Its Foes* (New York, Harper & Brothers, 1889), esp. 202-207, 209, 281-282; George W. Smith, "Ante-Bellum Attempts of Northern Business Interests to 'Redeem' the Upper South," *The Journal of Southern History*, XI (1945), pp.190-213.

37. Thayer to Chase, October 16, 27, 1861, Chase MSS., Vols. 51, 52, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

rebels," divide "the confiscated land into homesteads for loyal men," and place the "confiscated negroes not able to take care of themselves under the apprenticeship of loyal citizens" ; should the time ever come when it might be found "necessary or expedient to remove the negro population from the country," the department would "execute a suitable plan for the purpose."³⁸ Probably because of the large amount of public land in Florida and the prevailing notion that Florida had been largely depopulated by the withdrawal of thousands of men to fight in the Confederate army, Thayer by the end of 1861, was shifting his primary interest from Texas to Florida. He then set his goal at from twenty to fifty thousand volunteers to be raised in the North and sent to Florida where, after clearing the peninsula of any opposing forces, they would remain as permanent settlers. Under their protection and domination a legislature might then assemble to complete political reconstruction.³⁹

Thayer later reminisced that, about February 1, 1862, he interviewed Secretary of War Edwin M. Stanton and President Lincoln, and that after a two-hour conversation the President declared that it was a practicable plan which could be put into operation speedily, with Thayer commissioned a brigadier general in charge of the military-colonizing expedition. Soon after that, Thayer began to search for recruits and engaged in an extensive promotional correspondence. Significant of a kindred interest in Florida was a sermon preached by the Reverend Edward Everett Hale, himself a veteran of the Kansas struggle and a member of the New England Emigrant Aid Company, at the South Congregational Church in Boston. On April 13, 1862 he told his flock

38. *Id.* to Lincoln, November 28, 1861, Lincoln MSS., Vol. 61, Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

39. Franklin P. Rice, "The Life of Eli Thayer," (transcript copy), chapter 35, p.8, MS. Div. L. C.; Thayer to C. Edwards Lester, February (n. d.), 1863, Thayer MSS., Brown University Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

with great fervor that discharged soldiers from Northern regiments would most certainly be sent to establish forges, factories, schoolhouses and churches in Florida which then would become "our own Italy." Even though fifteen thousand Floridians until then had chosen "to hold back that paradise in the condition of the islands of the South Sea," from thence forward "if we need a summer in January, we will take it as God has been pleased to give it to us, here at home."⁴⁰

The Federal withdrawal from Jacksonville during the spring of 1862, sorely disappointed Thayer's hopes for immediate action in that quarter, but he nevertheless continued to press his case in Washington. In June, Lincoln received from thirty-two congressmen a petition recommending Thayer's appointment as Commissioner of Agriculture. One newspaper story hinted that he would become the head of a new emigration bureau, while it pointed to the twenty-million acres of land held by the United States in Florida alone.⁴¹ The figure was exaggerated, but the availability of public lands for his immigrants was an important consideration in Thayer's plan.⁴² The enactment of the Direct Tax Law of June 7, 1862 gave him another excellent opportunity to link the immigration movement to Federal military occupation of the South, for lands seized under the new law for non-payment of the direct tax would give to his soldier-immigrants their homesteads without further cost to the government. When Secretary Chase appointed

40. Edward Everett Hale, *The Future Civilization of the South: A Sermon Preached on the 13th of April, 1862 at the South Congregational Church, Boston*. (Boston, 1862), p.13.

41. Petition, in Lincoln MSS., Vol. 78, MS. Div. L. C.; *Alexandria (Virginia) Gazette*, June 13, 1862.

42. A committee reported to the Florida State Convention, April 26, 1861, that the area of public lands in the State was then 8,500,000 acres. See, W. McDowell Rogers, "The Seizure of United States' Lands by Seceding States." *The Georgia Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (1934), p.266. In 1866, the Commissioner of Public Lands stated that from the beginning to June 30, 1866 a total of 26,631,520 acres of public land had been surveyed in Florida. "Report of the Secretary of the Interior," *Ex. Doc.*, no. 1, 39th Cong., 2nd, p.413.

the Direct Tax Commissioners for Florida (these were among the earliest appointments of the kind that he made), Thayer was promising to return Florida to the Union by the next February. At least, Thayer and Stickney of the Florida Commission were soon working together in a propaganda to regenerate Florida through the immigration scheme.⁴³

Thayer believed that success was near; he redoubled his efforts with Lincoln, and a Washington correspondent of the New York *Tribune* announced that the project was meeting with presidential favor together with assent from the Secretary of War and other cabinet officers. By then (September, 1862), the specific proposals had been modified slightly to call for a new military department, the Department of Florida, with Thayer as military governor and Brigadier General James A. Garfield to command the Federal army there; between thirty and fifty thousand volunteers would be accepted for the mission with the proviso that they might resign to become permanent residents of Florida after the authority of the Federal government had been restored in the region of their operations.⁴⁴ But August and September, 1862, were for all save single-minded fanatics such as Thayer a period of Northern disaster in the war. The Second Battle of Manassas followed by Lee's invasion of Maryland denied support for anything but the emergency close to the Federal capital. No sooner, however, had the pressure relaxed (still in late September) than Stanton asked for and received from Chase a recommendation of the Secretary of the Treasury's protege, Garfield, for the command of the Florida expedition. Thayer later became convinced that Garfield secretly opposed such an appointment, and was largely responsible for defeating it. Certain it is that Garfield was thinking more favorably of service in South Carolina

43. Worcester (Mass.) *Spy* cited in (New York) *National Anti-Slavery Standard*, September 13, 1862.

44. New York *Tribune*, September 26, 1862; New York *Times*; September 28, 1862.

with an attack upon Charleston as its objective, but on September 25 he wrote that he would know within a few days whether or not he would go to Florida to "open the way" for Thayer's immigrants. Even in mid-October, Thayer with Garfield in tow visited New York "to see some of the leading men of the city" about the plan. Garfield then declared: "We have lain still so long with our great armies that we have almost lost the great opportunities which the good weather and the good roads have afforded us. On the whole, therefore, I don't know but I am better pleased to go to Florida, or some point far to the South where something can be done even in the winter season. . . . If I go to Florida I shall have command of that Department and be responsible to no other commander and make my reports and receive my instructions from the Secretary of War. . . . I shall be pleased to help in the experiment in Florida. . . ." ⁴⁵

Lincoln Opposes a Radical Rape of Florida

While Thayer was pumping enthusiasm into Garfield, and expounding Florida's prospects to New York business men, he was beginning to realize that both Lincoln and Stanton were turning against him; on several occasions he failed to secure appointments to see the President, and Stanton's attitude quickly changed from unctious cooperativeness to curt asperity. Quite to the contrary, Garfield's mentor in Washington, Salmon P. Chase, continued to assure Thayer of sympathetic helpfulness, and outside of a petty desire to cultivate those whom Lincoln estranged, Chase probably had sincere grounds for desiring to encourage Thayer. Since early in the war, the Treasury head had eagerly championed peripheral military expeditions such as the one which occupied the Sea Islands, or the one which was

45. Rice, *Life of Thayer*, Chapter 35, pp.18-19; *Diary and Correspondence of Salmon P. Chase*, American Historical Association, *Annual Report*, 1902 (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1903), II, p.92; Theodore C. Smith, *The Life and Letters of James Abram Garfield* (2 vols., New Haven, Yale University Press, 1925), I, pp.239-240, 244, 248-249.

even then maturing (the Banks expedition) against Texas. As the most prominent anti-slavery figure in the cabinet, Chase could see in these plans to occupy the South a direct attack upon the slave system, and a demonstration of the capabilities of "free-labor" civilization. Seemingly, he was honest in his belief that the negro would be aided in the transition from slavery to freedom by these practical manifestations of abolitionism. Though he had at the time but a "slight personal acquaintance" with Thayer, he had written in 1860 that he believed him to be "sincere, earnest, and able"; in his opinion Thayer had "contributed a great deal to saving Kansas from Slavery."⁴⁶

After Lincoln rebuffed him, Thayer redoubled his efforts to influence public opinion. To reporters he released portions of a work then in progress entitled: "Florida : Its Climate, Soil, Productions, Resources, and Capabilities; Also a Plan For Colonizing the State and Information to Emigrants." With lush praise, newspaper commentaries claimed that this brochure contained a "vast amount of what every person seeking that latitude for a home should know." In close paraphrase and direct quotation the journalistic notices lavishly described "the productions of the northern and southern latitudes" which grew and blossomed by the side of one another in Florida. "Oranges," one story read, "are larger, more aromatic and succulent than in Portugal. Plums naturally grow fine, and are of a superior quality to those gathered in the orchards of Spain. The fig and olive attain perfection. Indigo and cochineal have been advantageously cultivated. . . . under the control of an industrious and enterprising people, Florida's resources would make it one of the first states of the Union."⁴⁷ Quite likely the prospectus behind this verbal outpouring was either partially or entirely the work of Lyman D.

46. Chase Diary and Correspondence, pp.93, 289-290; Rice, Life of Thayer, Chapter 35, pp.23-24.

47. New York *Times*, October 3, 8, 1862; Baltimore *Clipper*, October 11, 1862.

Stickney who, after his own appointment as Direct Tax Commissioner, lingered in Washington to aid Thayer. Earlier, of course, Stickney had produced a similar article for the Commissioner of Agriculture's report, and he was also interested in turning out a popular "history" of Florida for circulation in the North. Chase, he later testified, approved of his promotional activities "which it was believed would greatly promote the success of the Florida Direct Tax Commission." Armed with a copy of Williams's *Territory of Florida*, and Blodget's *Climatology*, Stickney began work, and in a short while produced "several quires of manuscript." The book was not forthcoming, but portions of his "pot boiler" did appear in the 1862 report of the Commissioner of Agriculture.⁴⁸

Stickney was able to use the Florida unionists as a pressure group on behalf of Thayer's plan. On December 5, "citizens of Florida" headed by the three Direct Tax Commissioners (Stickney, Sammis and Reed) drafted a petition to Lincoln calling for Thayer's appointment as military governor of the State; concurrently about 125 Senators and Representatives signed a corollary document.⁴⁹ Unionist writers also began to send to the metropolitan press public letters advertising the advantages of Florida for prospective immigrants. One such communication which appeared in the *New York Times* boasted: "Florida has the best climate of any State of this Union . . . [it is] the best watered, [has] the greatest variety of fruits, game, timber, soil and the [most] extended coast of any State; and is, and has been, the most healthy State in the Union for the

48. *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 18, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, pp.99-100; Lyman D. Stickney, "Florida, Soil, Climate, and Productions," in *Report of the Commissioner of Agriculture for the Year 1862*, *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 78, 37th Cong. 3rd, pp. 59-65.

49. Both petitions are in the Lincoln MSS., Vol. 94, Man. Div. L. C. The Congressmen's petition read: ". . . fully concurring in the views of Judge Fraser and the other prominent and loyal citizens of Florida, we respectfully ask that the request (made in the first petition) be granted."

past twenty years. . . . Any man, white or black, can live [there] comfortably by farming, if he will work like a Northern farmer two days in the week." ⁵⁰ Calvin L. Robinson, an immigrant to Florida from Vermont in 1857 who was about to become an accomplice of Stickney in Florida, further recounted with what extreme delight refugees from Northern winters already had "basked in the sunshine of Florida, and with gratitude.. . [had drunk] in the healing breezes, so fragrant with the pitch pine of her forests. . . ." ⁵¹ Philip Fraser, another friend of Stickney and originally from New Jersey, upbraided one New York daily newspaper which had raised objections to the Thayer expedition; he recalled that armed occupation wasn't an untried experiment in Florida, because twenty years before then the government had "settled out the Indians" in that way. While an army of 20,000 soldier-immigrants could "Hold, pacify and protect the State," an equal number of enterprising laborers might come in to "gather from her fields and forests wealth untold." ⁵² An anonymous contributor who signed his letter to the press "A Democrat From the South" contended that: "What Mr. Thayer seeks is to bring a free labor Democratic element of the South into affiliation with assisting free labor from the North. . . ." ⁵³

Just after mid-December, a substantial delegation from both Houses of Congress headed by Vice-President Hamlin called at the White House to convince Lincoln that he should appoint Thayer to be military governor with additional authority to raise twenty thousand emigrants. The Congressmen appeared to be pleased with their reception, but they failed to get a commitment." ⁵⁴ Whatever impression he had first given to Thayer, the President had estimated the military folly of such a

50. New York *Times*, October 19, 1862.

51. New York *Evening Post*, January 30, 1863.

52. New York *Tribune*, February 19, 1863.

53. *Ibid.*, February 10, 1863.

54. New York *Times*, December 18, 1862; Charles E. Hamlin, *The Life and Times of Hannibal Hamlin* (Cambridge, Mass., 1899), p.510.

scheme. The implications contained in its provisions—confiscation, resettlement, and the permanent subjugation of the Southern white population — all these ran counter to Lincoln's stand against the anti-slavery radicals (such as Chase, Thaddeus Stevens, Benjamin F. Wade, and Zachariah Chandler) within his own party. But his interview with the delegation was just a week after the Fredericksburg disaster, and Congress, in an ugly mood from the lack of military success, was unwilling to be put off by a soft presidential answer. On the 22nd, John Bingham, the Ohio radical, introduced a joint resolution which authorized 20,000 volunteers to serve not more than nine months within the State of Florida, and to be disbanded there at the expiration of their term of service. In the House of Representatives, this resolution was read twice, and referred to the Committee on Military Affairs.⁵⁵ Less than three weeks later (January 9) James Buffinton made the majority report from that committee. It was an interesting document, and showed clearly the influence of the pro-Thayer pressure group. After announcing that much of Florida consisted of still unsold public land, and dismissing most of the remaining 17,000,000 acres as the possession of "undisguised and active rebels", Buffinton's report proposed that the "rebels' " property be put upon the market "under the requirements of the confiscation and tax laws." The spokesman for the majority then rivaled the propagandists in enumerating the natural advantages of the peninsula: "equability of climate", naval stores, sugar cane, long staple cotton, tobacco, live-oak and yellow pine of almost priceless value to our navy, and a commanding position on the Gulf. "Twenty thousand resolute loyal men with guns," he thought, would perform two valuable services. First, they would free blockading vessels for use elsewhere, and, secondly, they might protect the "desolated possessions" of the Florida

55. *House of Rep. Journal*, 37th Cong., 3rd, p.110; *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong. 3rd, Dec. 22, 1862, p.166.

unionists who were importuning Congress. The unionists, in turn, would bring Florida back to its allegiance. George H. Yeaman in the committee's minority report merely stated that when the government encouraged emigration it should do so without submitting to the political prejudices of the emigrants, and without disseminating "any given political creed."⁵⁶

With a hint at the criticism Lincoln had undergone since the Fredericksburg disaster, a correspondent of the anti-slavery Cincinnati *Gazette* praised the Bingham resolution shortly before the appearance of Buffinton's report, and added: "It is supposed that, under the variety of new lights the President has lately been getting on the conduct of the war he will not long hesitate to put the [Thayer] plan into practice."⁵⁷ But Lincoln remained quietly adamant to the pressure. The day after Christmas he again discussed the plan with his cabinet, and perhaps Chase, Montgomery Blair, and Gideon Welles had a favorable word for it; at least they had assured Thayer they would help him, and if they did so it was on the ground of practical considerations that the President met their pleas.⁵⁸ When, on January 5, a "numerous delegation" of Germans from nine States made a presidential call to commend Lincoln's attention to the five thousand German-Americans who had notified Thayer that they were ready to settle in Florida upon the terms of his plan to restore that State, all their group received was the usual informal and friendly reception together with a reply that the Thayer plan "had received the earnest and cordial attention of himself and Cabinet, and that while recent military events had forced the postponement of the enterprise for the time . . . yet he trusted that the delay was but for a few days."⁵⁹

⁵⁶. *House of Rep. Report*, No. 5, 37th Cong. 3rd, 3 pp.

⁵⁷. *Cincinnati Gazette*, January 10, 1863.

⁵⁸. *Diary of Gideon Welles* (3 vols., Boston, 1911). I, p.206 (entry of Dec. 26, 1862) ; Chase, Blair, Caleb B. Smith, and Gideon Welles on Nov. 24 addressed a letter to Lincoln recommending Thayer's plan, see, Chase *et als.* to Lincoln, Nov. 24, 1862, Thayer MSS., Brown University Library, Providence, R. I.

⁵⁹. *New York Times*, Dec. 29, 1862, Jan. 6, 1863.

In attempting to push Lincoln into acceptance of the scheme, Thayer and his group sought and won the assistance of some leading New York newspapers. William Cullen Bryant's New York *Evening Post* called such a project "splendid, yet practical," and argued there was no danger of diverting troops from other tasks because this expedition by its nature would require a "new corps of adventurers" which would be unlikely to enlist for any other military service. The New York *Times* praised Thayer, saying, "He is a man of fresh and original views, of suggestive mind, and steady resolution in pushing any project which has secured his faith."⁶⁰

A Florida Liberia

Some encouragement came from those who held to the conservative notion that Florida might become a future home for the colored masses. Occasionally Thayer himself mentioned the possibility of black migration to the state, but he always made it a secondary consideration and no alternative to his major premise that the South must be reclaimed by free white labor from the North and Europe. In one address, he went so far as to note that there were 7,000 negroes in Florida who could be used to protect his soldier-colonists from invasion, and that in other ways the colonists might hire the negroes to work for them at good wages. Cleverly appealing to those who feared negro migration to Northern States, he reasoned that negroes would not go to New York, Maine, or Missouri when "just employers" were ready to hire them in the South.⁶¹ Some opponents of proposals to colonize the blacks in Central America and other tropical regions outside the United States saw an alternative in Thayer's proposal, and placed exaggerated emphasis upon Florida as a refuge for freedmen; the peninsula would become "the land of Canaan to the race

60. *Ibid.*, Feb. 7, 1863, New York *Evening Post*, Feb. 9, 1863; Manchester, N. H., *Democrat and American*, Feb. 5, 1863.

61. New York *Times*, Feb. 8, 1863.

that is now going forth from their house of bondage." ⁶² Westerners who did not wish to see negroes living north of the Ohio river, or to be given important responsibilities in fighting the war found merit in such a use for Florida. In this spirit Major General William T. Sherman wrote to his brother, Senator John Sherman: "I don't oppose negro arming further than I have no confidence in them & don't want them mixed up with our white soldiers. I would rather see them armed & colonized in Florida & North Arkansas. . . ." A constituent further suggested to the same Ohio senator: ". . . the work of planting a colony of free laborers in Florida . . . might be kept up so as to give the slaves an opportunity to escape. . . ." Still another Ohioan was more vehement when he entreated Sherman to free the slaves, and then make certain that they were "colonized somewhere South. Some country around the Gulf must be set apart for the Black. . . . Give them Florida . . . let them have the low Cotton and Rice lands of the Carolina[s] or provide some other place South, but *let them have a home*. . . ." This was not disinterested philanthropy. ⁶³

Thayer's plan also received favorable consideration from a number of New York merchants. With George William Blunt (prominent in shipping circles and a publisher of maritime charts) presiding, and Charles Gould (a broker) acting as secretary, Thayer addressed a small meeting of "influential gentlemen" who gathered to hear him at the Fifth Avenue Hotel on the night of January 23. After some general remarks to the effect that "a complete social and political reconstruction of the Southern States . . . [was] the only means of ending the war

62. *Ibid.*, Oct. 3, 1862; New Orleans *Delta*, Oct. 22, Nov. 2, 1862; Columbus *Crisis*, Oct. 29, 1862.

63. William T. Sherman to [John Sherman], April 26, 1863, William T. Sherman MSS., Vol. 12, Man. Div., L. C.; A. H. Dunlevy to *id.*, January 13, 1863, John Sherman MSS., Vol. 54, Man. Div., L. C.; Justin Hamilton to *id.*, Dec. 26, 1861, *ibid.*, Vol. 43; See also, J. M. Palmer to Lyman Trumbull, Dec. 19, 1862, Trumbull MSS., Vol. 52, Man. Div., L. C.; New York *Evening Post*, Jan. 16, 1863; New York *Times*, Dec. 8, 1861.

on a basis of prosperity to the South or to the country", Thayer plunged into a discussion of his specific proposals. He described the Florida area intended for colonization as a space comparable to Massachusetts in size, bounded on the east by Atlantic Ocean, and on the west by the St. Johns river. To the dollar conscious commercial leaders he promised that the government would bear the costs of migration; the emigrants would be enlisted in military service for nine months. Earlier, Stickney and Thayer had been willing to use the Direct Tax Law to procure the necessary lands, but now Thayer was ready to suggest another device: the colonists might form a new State constitution, send representatives to Congress, and institute a State legislature whose first task should be the confiscation of the "rebels' " lands for apportionment among the immigrants. He hastened to add, however, his suggestions did not point to socialistic tendencies. In response to a question from a banker, Edgar Ketchum, Thayer remarked that a farming experiment with free colored labor which the Federal government had been sponsoring on the Sea Islands for a year had not been successful, nor could the government ever "carry on farming to advantage." The rebuilding of the South must be an enterprise for free labor and private initiative. At length, following a suggestion from Gould, the promoter agreed with the others to call another meeting which should be larger and open to the public ; a committee of twenty with George Opdyke, a manufacturer of shoddy and mayor of New York, as its chairman, began to make arrangements.⁶⁴

On the night of February 7, Cooper Institute was filled by those whose interest in Florida was manifestly great. J. B. Beers (merchant dealing in writing supplies) wielded the gavel, while Thayer outdid his previous efforts at oratory as he bragged that all he and his associates asked from the government was transportation, pay and rations for one year, and they would

64. *Ibid.*, Jan. 25, 1863.

agree to bring Florida back into the Union within ninety days after they arrived there. Twenty thousand additional Northerners soon would visit the new tropical paradise each winter. His colonists would produce in Florida more cotton in one year than slave labor had produced there in ten years before the war. Reflecting his criticism of Lincoln's non-cooperation, he carped that the Emancipation Proclamation was "worse than nothing" so long as the "rebels" possessed the Southern lands. The anti-slavery crusader, Cassius Clay, spoke briefly too, and reminded the crowd that the South had been tolerating the same evil the Gracchi had fought against in ancient Rome - land monopoly. William Cullen Bryant, interested in Florida for nearly thirty years, and a warm advocate of Thayer's colonization activities since the struggle for Kansas, came forward to present resolutions which underlined Thayer's criticism of Lincoln by declaring that Congress should not only authorize but request the President to enlist enough volunteer emigrants to accomplish the results which Thayer had promised them. Quickly these resolutions were put to a voice-vote, adopted, and Bryant was then appointed chairman of a Committee of Five to present them to Lincoln and Congress.⁶⁵ By the time this group reached Washington it was larger than its original number; among its members were W. H. Tyler (real estate), Cephas Brainerd (lawyer), J. C. Haselton (financier), William O. Giles (strawgoods merchant), William Seligman (merchant), Lemuel Bangs (publisher), and W. P. Strickland (editor, *Christian Advocate and Journal*).

This "Committee of Five" received, on February 17, a hearing before the House Military Committee. After reading Bryant's resolutions, members of the delegation stressed an urgent motive for favorable action: the North's supply of ship timber was "comparatively exhausted", and to prevent a critical shortage it would be essential to get larger amounts of Florida live oak and

65. *Ibid.*, Feb. 8, 1863.

pine. The House committee listened, but it would agree to nothing further than point to its favorable report on the Bingham resolution. The House of Representatives as a whole never voted on that measure. In the Senate, Preston King of New York, obliged Bryant and the rest by reading the resolves of the Cooper Institute meeting in the Senate ; but there they were tabled without further consideration.⁶⁶

Although some propaganda kept the topic alive for a time, the "Committee of Five's" failure was a final defeat for Thayer's Florida plan. By February the season was so far advanced as to make the expedition impracticable for that year. Already in December Stickney had told Thayer to impress upon Lincoln that the enterprise must "be actively set on foot before the first of February next" if any good were to result from it.⁶⁷ Still the weeks passed without decision, and the answer did not entirely remain with Lincoln. In some quarters there was a disposition to entertain Thayer's plan as an ultimate measure, while shrinking from its execution because it did violence to private property rights. In this regard the Portsmouth (New Hampshire) *Journal* commented: "The idea of 'giving every man a farm' in Florida who chooses to emigrate from the north is one of *conquest*, making the State a *province*. Let us first put down the rebellion - but if Florida or any other single State still resists unto blood (a hardly supposable case) individual as well as State rights may be justly forfeited. . . ." ⁶⁸ Reticence also was due to a distrust of Thayer himself. Perhaps there was no one in New England who was more bent upon "regenerating" the South through "free labor" than John Murray Forbes, financier of the Michigan Central and Burlington railroad lines; yet he frankly admitted his misgivings about the

66. *Ibid.*, Feb. 19, 1863; *Congressional Globe*, 37th Cong. 3rd, p.1017.

67. Stickney to Thayer, Dec. 7, 1862, Chase MSS., Vol. 68, Man. Div., L. C.

68. Portsmouth, N. H., *Journal*, Feb. 28, 1863.

irresponsibility of Thayer's leadership, and professed a hope that "some other Moses" would arise.⁶⁹

With a view to practical military consideration, Horace Greeley's *Tribune*, which at first had adjudged the plan to be not without virtue, decided upon further reflection that it would vote "no" for the reason that Thayer's proposal would, like the "Anaconda" policy, attack only the outposts of the rebellion. Instead of concentrating, it would diffuse the national forces. It was "the strategy of a nest of wasps attacking an ox." How, queried the editorialist, could Thayer be certain the Confederates would not send twenty thousand veterans aided by the State militia to repel the invading colonists, or at least force them to call for help "to hold a footing on the peninsula instead of pushing the Rebels readily out of it...."?⁷⁰ As a New England periodical later remarked, Thayer might have borrowed his idea from the military colonies of the Romans, but if he did so he overlooked one essential feature: "The Romans planted military colonies in districts already subdued, in which the colonists were in reality to form a military aristocracy, and rule the conquered district. . . ."⁷¹

In the later war years, Thayer's Florida plan was all but forgotten; neither Lincoln nor any other important official in his administration executed it. To Thayer, however, the promotion of immigration was as much a part of life as breathing, and his defeat became only an occasion for changing the direction of his efforts. After organizing a private agency, he sent representatives to Europe for the promotion of other projected colonies in the South and West. Others who had worked with him were more loathe to forget Florida. Even if the Thayer plan had failed, Federal troops were still in the State,

69. Forbes to Charles Eliot Norton, March 22, 1863, New England Loyal Publication Society MSS. (Boston Public Library).

70. New York *Tribune*, Feb. 9, 1863; For the earlier attitude, see New York *Tribune*, Feb. 7, 1863.

71. "The Freedman and Free Labor in the South," *The Christian Examiner*, LXXVI (1864), p.371.

and military occupation might be widened at any time. With the extension of Northern control would come political and economic rewards for those who identified themselves with the conquest. Among the most strategically located of these imperialists were the Florida Direct Tax Commissioners. Their operations and the questionable activities of Stickney will be discussed in the second part of this article.

(To be concluded in the next issue of the QUARTERLY)

INDEPENDENTISM
A CHALLENGE TO THE FLORIDA DEMOCRACY
OF 1884

by EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

(I) A Political Regrouping

After 1876 the Florida Republican party slowly dwindled away, for awhile holding its own in the coastal cities and a few counties of the so called "Black Belt." The Bourbon Democrats were in the saddle, pulling the wires and plucking what political plums there were. Confederate war veterans dominated the scene, causing frustration to many a younger Democratic politician. Therefore, it was not surprising that the election of 1884 saw a new party in the selection of candidates for state offices.

The population of Florida by the 1880 census was 269,493. Of these 142,605 were whites, of whom 84,678 were born in the state, 41,544 were born in the South other than Florida, and 8,680 were born in the North. There were 126,690 negroes; the total foreign born of both races was 9,909, mostly residing at Key West.¹ In the early 1880's Florida was in a period of development and population increase, by 1885 there being 338,406 people in the state.² Railroads were being built, land promotion companies were advertising in the North and in Europe, Hamilton Disston was attempting to drain the Everglades. From the grass roots in the peninsula state came a feeling of discontent and a fear of domination by outside capital.

The formation of the Independent party involved the interaction of several elements of behavior in Florida politics which would to some degree be paralleled in other southern states. However, the question of land owned by the Federal government tended to make the Florida case a unique one. Since the Spanish crown had ceded this vast area to the United States in 1821, various schemes had been proposed by an assortment of land speculators for the disposal of the Federal domain.

1. 10th Federal Census, 1880.

2. Florida State Census, 1885.

Congress had passed two internal improvement acts: the first, September 4, 1841, had granted the internal improvement lands proper, 500,000 acres, to the State; the second, September 28, 1850, had granted the whole swamp and overflowed lands within a state, made "unfit thereby for cultivation." Florida accepted the swamp and overflowed grant in 1851, and in January 1855 a law, said to be the product of the brain of David L. Yulee, was passed, providing for a liberal system of internal improvements.³

Florida Railroad Company

Senator Yulee and other prominent Floridians organized the Florida Railroad Company in 1853 with the aid of Wall street interests of that era represented by E. N. Dickerson, and a railroad was built from Fernandina to Cedar Keys just prior to the Civil War. Because of the ravages of the conflict, the sparse population on the route of the road, and the limited reserve resources of the company, it went into receivership during Reconstruction; whereupon, Francis Vose of Boston, who had supplied iron for the road and held bonds guaranteed by the Internal Improvement Fund, went into the Federal court and tied up the Fund. Although Vose originally held only \$195,000 worth of bonds with \$228,000 outstanding, interest and expenses increased the debt which had been incurred before the war until in 1880 nearly \$1,000,000 was owed. Both Governor Stearns, the last Republican executive, and Governor Drew, the

3. *United States Statutes at Large*, Vol. 5, Chap. XVI; Vol. 9, Chap. LXXXIV, sec. 4; *Laws of Florida*, Chap. 610 [No. 1]; *Senate Journal*, A Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the State of Florida, 1909, pp. 244-270; The transactions of the Internal Improvement Fund bore no relation to State debt or revenues. The Internal Improvement Fund, consisting of proceeds from the sale of lands donated by the United States, is a trust under the management of certain State officials as a separate department of administration. The fund is responsible for its own obligations, and none of its assets can be diverted to other purposes than those of the fund—internal improvements, drainage, reclamation and settlement of land. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902). I, p. 352.

first Democrat after Reconstruction, attempted in vain to sell land and relieve the debt in order that the state might induce railroad builders to come in and construct roads much needed for development. Finally, Governor Bloxham in 1881 managed to interest Hamilton Disston, a wealthy Philadelphia saw maker and Republican politician, who purchased 4,000,000 acres of Florida Internal Improvement land for \$1,000,000. Thereupon, railroad building began on a large scale in Florida, between seven hundred and eight hundred miles being constructed by 1884.⁴ Unfortunately for Bloxham, there came a cry from the grass roots in Florida that he was giving away the domain of the state to a wealthy Northerner instead of selling it piecemeal to Florida farmers. This wave of protest against the existing land system of the state and the desire for cheap lands formed the keystone of the Independent movement.

Another grievance which the farmers had against the railroads was the matter of freight and express rates. An indignation meeting of Columbia county vegetable growers held March 22, 1881 was an antecedent of the Independent movement which showed the desire of Florida market gardeners for reasonable rates:

Whereas, The Southern Express Company has upon the eve of vegetable shipments, increased the tariff on transportation of peas, beans, and all light vegetables, fully sixty per cent; therefore, be it

Resolved, 1st. That we, the vegetable growers of Columbia county, regard this action upon the part of the Express Company as a direct attempt to throttle the enterprise of raising early vegetables for market, and unanimously condemn it. . . .

Resolved, 3d. That we labor, through an active and diligent committee, to remedy the evil by negotiating with the Florida Dispatch Line, or some other company that will insure us a speedy transportation of our garden products at a less rate than the present unjust one

4. Vose v. Reed, *et al.*, trustees (Woods 647) ; Rufus. E. Rose, *The Swamp and Overflowed Lands of Florida: The Disston Contract and Sale* (Tallahassee, 1916), pp. 1-5; D. L. Yulee to John A. Henderson, April 20, 1886, in *Times-Union*. May 23, 1886: *Minutes of The Internal Improvement Fund*, II, p. 501; Ruby Leach Carson, "William Dunnington Bloxham," (unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, 1945), pp. 196-209 ; T. Frederick Davis, "The Disston Land Purchase," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (1938-39), 200-210.

suddenly forced upon us by a company that has heretofore enjoyed our undivided patronage.

Resolved, 4th. That we earnestly ask the immediate and active co-operation of all Florida market gardeners for the accomplishment of a reasonable tariff per crate to the Atlantic and Western markets.⁵

This is an example of one of the chief complaints of farmers which led to the demand for a railroad commission.

The Independent Movement

Many white voters, previously Democrats, were on the fence due to dissatisfaction with the Democratic administration because of the Disston sale and its pro-railroad policy, the bolder ones soon becoming Independents, while others held back looking askance at a coalition with Republicans. In the campaign of 1884 they would have to make up their minds; they were the balance of power and the future of the Independent movement would depend upon their decision.

The situation in Madison county, out of which Frank Pope emerged a state-wide figure, had a causal relationship to the Independent party. The bitter political conflict there, while not *sui generis*, played a decisive part in the emergence of a new faction in state politics.

Republican Ranks Divide

In East Florida the colored voters led by former Congressman Josiah T. Walls of Gainesville were not satisfied with the Republican machine, having voted faithfully for the Republican ticket without receiving any comparable benefits.⁶ The Radical machine seemed more interested in Federal patronage than in an aggressive campaign against the Democrats.⁷ The latter, while soliciting colored votes, were unwilling to divide the offices with them. On the other hand the Independent

5. *Floridian*, April 5, 1881.

6. Fernandina *Mirror*, July 12, 1884; Palatka *Daily News*, Aug. 17, 1884.

7. Emory Fiske Skinner, *Reminiscences* (Chicago, 1908), pp. 153-169; Fernandina *Mirror*, July 19, 1884.

movement offered the colored voters a share in the government of the state if victorious.

A small faction of more liberal Republicans, led by politically ambitious Henry S. Sanford and former Governor Harrison Reed, hoped to wrest control of the party from the "Bisbee, Eagan, Martin ring," the leadership of the regular G. O. P. post-Reconstruction period being largely in the hands of Congressman Horatio Bisbee from the Second Congressional District covering East Florida, Dennis Eagan, who in the opinion of editor George R. Fairbanks of the Fernandina *Mirror* was the ablest man in the state Republican ranks, holding the office of collector of internal revenue at Jacksonville, and Malachi Martin, surveyor-general of the land office at Gainesville.⁸

The Conservative Democratic state administration after 1876 had followed the Republican line of encouraging business and capital to come into the state.⁹ Although both governors, Drew and Bloxham, favored the building of railroads, neither was a member of the extreme pro-railroad faction of the Democratic party. In appealing to the rank and file the Democracy relied on being the party of the Confederacy, refreshing memories of the war at election time:

The land is full of rebels and a rebel flag they fly
 They seem to hate the patriots who drain the surplus
 dry
 That rebel yell is raised again, in freedom's sacred
 name
 To drive the thieves and rascals out, and save the
 land from shame
 And honest men who love the right, and wish for
 equal laws,
 Are praying that God may bless that righteous rebel
 cause

8. Fernandina *Mirror*, June 7, July 19, 1884.

9. Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida under Five Flags* (Gainesville, 1945). p. 97.

And when against corruption's rule its steady foes
rebel
Millions of throats will gladly join to raise the rebel
yell.¹⁰

(Anonymous)

(II) The State Conventions

Due to the antagonistic attitude taken by former Governor Frank Drew against the incumbent William D. Bloxham a delicate situation arose within the ranks of the Florida Democracy. Despite his victory over the Republican Marcellus Stearns in 1876 and the full endorsement of his administration by the Democratic convention of 1880, Drew was denied a renomination and Bloxham had been chosen as Democratic candidate for governor ;¹¹ therefore, on the eve of the 1884 convention, the wealthy lumberman of Ellaville, nursing a deep grudge, stated that he would not support Governor Bloxham should the latter be renominated. For that reason, although most counties had instructed their delegations to the Pensacola convention to vote for one of the two men, dark horses began to appear, the emphasis being on one who could harmonize both factions in this decidedly personal feud.¹²

Independents Meet at Live Oak

Favored at the outset by this lack of unity among their opponents, the Independents met on June 18 at Live Oak, the county seat of Suwannee, which by coincidence was the nearest town to ex-Governor Drew's residence at Ellaville. According to various newspaper estimates between sixty-seven and one hundred delegates from twenty to twenty-seven counties attended. Miles Mountien of Washington county was elected temporary chairman and Dr. G. Troup Maxwell, a Marion county

10. Fernandina *Mirror*, July 19, 1884.

11. Carson, "William Bloxham," pp. 132-136; *Floridian*, June 15, 29, 1880.

12. Carson, pp. 137-146; *Times-Union*, June 12, 15, 17, 18, 1884.

man, was chosen as permanent chairman. Dr. Maxwell was a former Democrat and an old hand at Florida politics as were many of the Independents. In the balloting for governor, Frank Pope of Madison defeated D. L. McKinnon of Jackson on the fourth ballot. Jonathan C. Greeley, a Republican, was nominated unanimously for lieutenant-governor after Maxwell had declined and the name of George W. Allen of Key West had been withdrawn. Maxwell, McKinnon and Pope made speeches arraigining the Bourbon Democracy, and a platform was adopted charging "radicalism with holding its corrupt tenure by the passions and prejudices born of that unhappy conflict." The principal issue was the Disston sale, the Bourbons being accused of dissipating the state's domain and of a policy unduly favoring the railroads. The platform went on to place the Independent party behind better education, a free ballot, a local option law and a railroad commission.¹³

State Senator Frank W. Pope of the Tenth District covering Madison county was, according to Charles H. Jones of the *Times-Union*, the organizer of the Independent movement.¹⁴ Senator Pope was a young Madison lawyer, under thirty, gifted with a fine speaking voice, who had prior to becoming state senator held the office of mayor of Madison.¹⁵ The *Land of Flowers*, a capital city newspaper, in calling Pope "a harum-scarum, the devil-take-the-hindmost young hotspur" presented the conservative view of the ambitious young politician.¹⁶ Pope as a youth had been absent from Madison from 1867 till the winter of 1876-77, during part of which

13. W. T. Cash, *History of the Democratic Party in Florida* (Live Oak, 1936), 77 ; *Times-Union*, June 19, 1884 ; *Floridian*, June 24, 1884 ; *Land of Flowers* (Tallahassee), June 21, 1884 ; *Fernandina Mirror*, July 5, 1884; *Palatka Daily News*, Aug. 10, 1884. Cash gives the date of the convention as May 17; the *Times-Union* gives June 18.

14. *Times-Union*, June 20, 1884.

15. Kathryn Trimmer Abbey, *Florida, Land of Change* (Chapel Hill, 1941), 331; *Misc. Doc. No. 11*, 1st session 47 Congress 1881-82, 1032-Contested election of Bisbee vs. Finley from the 2nd Congressional District of Florida.

16. *Land of Flowers*, June 21, 1884.

time he visited the Montana mining area. Upon returning to Madison he had engaged in Democratic activities before the Democratic county organization rejected his nomination to the state senate; whereupon, he turned Independent.¹⁷

J. C. Greeley was a Jacksonville banker. The *Land of Flowers* reported that he was a fair-minded, honest, upright man, and one of the most trustworthy in the Republican party. It warned the Democrats that a blunder at Pensacola might possibly result in the election of the Independent ticket, as the majority of Florida voters were neither reasoners nor thinkers and could be easily influenced by a glib tongue and fair promises.¹⁸

Pope in his letter of acceptance put forth the claim that the political parties were aligned on an artificial basis from the Civil War: the basis was Bourbonism vs. Radicalism and the issue of race supremacy. The election of 1876, the standard-bearer of the new party asserted, rebuked Radicalism; he hoped this year to tear "the mask of Democracy from the equally hideous face of its twin brother Bourbonism." Greeley in accepting announced he was in favor of free schools, local option, a free ballot, a full vote and a fair count.¹⁹

Democrats Meet at Pensacola

On June 25 the Democratic convention met at Pensacola, the temporary chairman being William D. Chipley, West Florida railroad man and a prominent Pensacola politician. The presidency of the convention went to James F. McClellan of Jackson. In the balloting J. B. Johnston of Alachua nominated General W. Miller of Washington ; Francis. P. Fleming of Duval nominated General E. A. Perry of Escambia amid deafening cheers, with R. W. Davis of Clay seconding ; Church Croom of Hernando nominated Sam Pasco of Jefferson; and Col.

17. *Misc. Doc. No. 11*, 1032; *Floridian*, July 29, 1884; *Palatka Daily News*, Aug. 22, 1884.

18. *Land of Flowers*, June 21, 1884.

19. *Times-Union*, July 19, 1884.

McCaskill of Walton ended the nominations by placing the name of Comptroller W. D. Barnes of Jackson in the ring. Miller lacked strength, but on the first two ballots Barnes stayed up with Perry and Pasco; however, on the third round his delegates left him, and he dropped out. The convention was amused at a sally between two members: Nat Walker in voting announced that "Wakulla gives Perry four votes now, and the balance in November"; to which M. J. Solomons responded, "Liberty [county] is still solid-one vote for Samuel Pasco." When on the sixth ballot Perry had 177 of 292, lacking 18 of having the necessary two-thirds, Sam Pasco, who was at the time chairman of the State Democratic Executive Committee, for the sake of harmony withdrew his name and moved that the General be nominated by a unanimous vote, which was done. Milton H. Mabry received the nomination for lieutenant governor, and Representative R. H. M. Davidson was renominated in the First Congressional District Convention, defeating Dr. R. J. Perry on the second ballot.²⁰

In accepting the nomination General Perry announced that he had made no political alliances; therefore, he was pledged to no man or set of men, and his best efforts would be for the good of the state and the success of the Democratic party.²¹

Edward Aylesworth Perry was a native of Massachusetts, who after completing his education at Yale University came South to teach and then studied law, opening an office in Pensacola about 1857. With the outbreak of hostilities in 1861 he raised an infantry company in Escambia county as an independent organization, going with it to Virginia. The Second Florida regiment arrived at Richmond soon afterwards, and Perry's company was attached to it. At the battle of Williamsburg the regiment's commanding officer, Colonel George

20. Samuel Pasco Jr., "Samuel Pasco (1834-1917)," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VII (1928-29), 137; *Fernandina Mirror*, June 28, 1884; *Floridian*, July 1, 21, 1884; *Land of Flowers*, June 28, 1884.

21. *Floridian*, July 1, 1884.

T. Ward, was killed ; thereupon, Perry was elected colonel by a large majority and led the regiment at Seven Pines, Richmond and at Fraser's Farm where he was wounded. The Fifth and Eighth Florida regiments came to Virginia in the fall and joining with the Second formed the Florida Brigade with Brigadier General Perry commanding. At Gettysburg the Florida unit suffered a greater proportion of casualties to its number than any other brigade engaged. General Perry was again wounded in the battle of the Wilderness. After the war he returned to Pensacola and resumed the practice of law.²² An anecdote told by a veteran of the Florida Brigade well explains the respect which his command had for him:

Why, do you know that when I was in Perry's brigade trudging along the road one day in Virginia, played out from sickness and fatigue, he rode up, dismounted and made me ride his horse, while he walked and carried my gun ; and I have seen him do the same to others, and sometimes he made his officers dismount and turn their horses over to disabled soldiers during a long march.²³

General Perry was the first Confederate soldier who had seen much fighting to be nominated for the gubernatorial office in Florida after Reconstruction; Milton Mabry, on the other hand, was a young man just turned twenty-three. A native of Alabama and a graduate of Cumberland University Law School, he had come to Leesburg, then Sumter county, in 1879 and was the law partner of State Attorney William A. Hocker, long a powerful figure in central Florida politics.²⁴

(III) Campaign Fireworks

The campaign, in contrast to the lukewarm contest of 1880, was carried on in a spirited manner with the

22. *Soldiers of Florida*, Fred L. Robertson, Compiler, (Live Oak, 1903), pp. 329-330; *Fernandina Mirror*, June 28, 1884 ; *Floridian*, July 1, 1884.

23. *Ibid.*, July 29, 1884.

24. *Ibid.*, July 1, 1884.

Independent newspapers hitting at the state administration and the Disston sale, the Democratic scribes just as energetically defending and counter-attacking. C. L. Fildes of the Gainesville *Bee*. (Ind.) and C. H. Jones of the *Times-Union* (Dem.) dropped their pens long enough to attempt a physical approach to their differences.²⁵ After their scuffle both returned to the editorial page to continue the feud: Fildes asserting that the nomination of Perry was dictated by Governor Bloxham and that he would get neither the Northern nor the young men's vote, Jones not concurring in this point of view. The *Bee* editor also announced that Pope would see to it that large unearned grants of land to railroads and corporations were returned and placed on the market subject to purchase by the poor man at the same price as the rich.²⁶ Jones, replying in the *Times-Union*, maintained that according to the Supreme Court only the grantor could declare lands forfeited.²⁷

George R. Fairbanks, scholarly editor of the *Fernandina Mirror*, analyzed the Independent movement from the standpoint of a strict Democratic party man. According to the port city editor, no matter what the ideal may be upon which an independent party starts out, it inevitably lands in the bosom of the opposite party. He called the Florida Independents "dissatisfied men" and saw in their platform an attempt to unite the railroad commission issue with prohibition.²⁸ Other papers followed standard lines: a typical example was the Tampa *Tribune* calling Independentism "Republicanism with a thin veil," following the Democratic line of attack;²⁹ while the Madison *New Era* hewed to the Independent line by attacking the Bloxham administration.³⁰ The Tallahassee *Economist* injected a national note into

25. *Times-Union*, July 1, 1884.

26. Gainesville *Bee* quoted in the *Times-Union*, July 2, 4, 1884.

27. *Times-Union*, July 4, 1884.

28. *Fernandina Mirror*, July 5, 1884.

29. Tampa *Tribune* quoted in the *Times-Union*, July 3, 1884.

30. Madison *New Era* quoted in the *Floridian*, July 1, 1884.

the campaign by mentioning that James G. Blaine, the Republican Presidential nominee, was Disston's choice; therefore, the Disston men and papers would be for him.³¹ This charge, although highly improbable in as far as it related to Florida, further muddied the water since the Democrats in the election were defending Disston and the Disston purchase.³²

Along with the Drew-Bloxham controversy, the Independent movement fanned other feuds long smoldering under the blanket of party solidarity into full flame. St. Clair Abrams, Democratic political leader of Orange county, through his newspaper, the *Tavares Herald*, then in Orange, announced that he was not happy over the selection of Charles Dougherty from neighboring Volusia county as the Democratic nominee for Congress in the Second Congressional District. The *Herald* in coming out for Bisbee held to the Democratic side on all other offices.³³ Abrams was secretive concerning his reason for splitting the ticket, but Dougherty claimed that the enmity originated in a poker game during the last session of the legislature.³⁴

Congressman Bisbee was not having clear sailing either. On June 28 at the Independent county convention for Alachua held in Gainesville, Josiah T. Walls, political leader of the colored voters, was in the chair. Delegates to the District and State conventions were elected on the basis of eight colored to four white; resolutions were reported favoring the nomination of Frank Pope and the ratification of the Independent party platform. Captain L. G. Dennis, a radical Republican, had difficulty in gaining the floor; furthermore, a resolution complimenting Bisbee was voted down, and Walls was endorsed for Congress.³⁵ Although later at the District Two Republican convention Bisbee was renominated by

31. Tallahassee *Economist* quoted in the *Times-Union*, July 2, 1884.

32. *Floridian*, Sept. 2, 1884.

33. *Palatka Daily News*, July 10, 1884; *Times-Union*, July 11, 1884.

34. *Land of Flowers*, Aug. 30, Nov. 8, 1884.

35. *Times-Union*, July 1, 1884.

vote of 71 to 12 over Walls,³⁶ the revolt was not so easily squelched. At an Independent convention of six counties Walls accepted the nomination for Congress,³⁷ making the race a three cornered one and dealing Bisbee's chances a solid blow, since he had always before been able to count upon a solid phalanx of colored voters.

Out in West Florida William D. Chipley, Democratic sachem, and D. L. McKinnon, Independent war chief, were carrying on their private feud via the newspapers but including only General Barnes, the Comptroller, in the controversy. McKinnon, a Marianna lawyer, claimed that the Pensacola and Atlantic Railroad Company, Chipley's child, was underassessed and accused Barnes of making a twenty percent reduction in the assessment. This the Comptroller denied, mentioning that what reductions made had been carried out by counties on the route and amounted to only \$1,610 out of \$25,811.26.³⁸ Chipley bluntly took the stand that his road was still assessed too high, commenting that when the railroad went into Marianna it took over five acres of McKinnon's land for which the Jackson man sued for \$2,000. He accused McKinnon of wanting the Comptroller to ruin the P. & A.³⁹

The Divided Republicans

The Radical Republicans with no ticket in the field forgot all about their old foes the Bourbon Democrats in order to deal properly with those who were stealing their thunder. The blast which Dennis Eagan gave Frank Pope resembled a Florida hurricane. The Collector, formerly leader of the Madison county Republicans, gave the *Times-Union* an interview in which he stated that Pope had to leave home because he had shot his school teacher; that after the election of Governor Drew, Pope returned to Madison and engaged as a Democrat in bitter

36. *Fernandina Mirror*, July 12, 1884.

37. *Ibid.*, July 19, 1884.

38. *Floridian*, Oct. 7, 1884; *Pensacola Commercial*, Oct. 22, 1884.

39. *Floridian*, Oct. 14, 1884.

and unscrupulous partisanship during which outrageous frauds were entered into and tissue ballots used by his faction in the 1878 election. In 1880, the Madison radical reminisced, Frank Pope appeared at the polls with other Democrats armed with rifles. In this election Frank Patterson, law partner of Pope, was killed and two colored men were held for trial. Pope volunteered his services to prosecute the accused and made violent speeches during the trial in order to incite the mob to violence in case the men were acquitted; furthermore, both negroes were murdered as a result. Collector Eagan's version of Pope's nomination as an Independent candidate for the State Senate was that when Theodore Willard secured the Democratic nomination, Pope went to the Republicans since his ambition had been thwarted. The Republican leader asserted that regardless of whether the Independent candidate received the nomination of the Republicans he would put his very best work into the campaign to defeat him.⁴⁰

Chairman Edward M. Cheney of the Republican state committee, United States District Attorney, also announced to the *Times-Union* his opposition to the Independent movement. Cheney stated that Pope was a Democrat who had never evinced any sympathy with Republican principles or respect for Republicans ; therefore, he did not understand why he should claim or receive Republican support in preference to any other Democrat. He held that defeat would be preferable to alignment with the Independents, since a party made up of the worst elements of the other two was no improvement. According to the District Attorney, the Republican party was constantly growing in numbers, influence and respectability ; hence he saw no reason to disband. If the party did not win in 1884, it would in 1888. Cheney named United States Marshal Durkee and one or two other Federal officeholders as favoring the Independents and added in closing the interview that the seeming una-

40. *Times-Union*, July 16, 1884; *Floridian*, July 29, 1884.

nimity among the colored voters in favor of the third party had been worked up by leading politicians such as Walls, Wallace, Steward, Menard and others; however, the feeling was not genuine and would weaken later.⁴¹

J. N. Stripling, former Madison Republican and now the chairman of the Independent Executive Committee, took issue with the statements of Eagan and Cheney, calling Eagan a personal enemy of Frank Pope. He mentioned that for several years Eagan had had his office in Jacksonville, implying that he was out of touch with Madison politics. According to Stripling Pope, during the election of 1880, was sent for in his office as mayor because of a disturbance between Democrats and Republicans; upon arriving at the scene he held his rifle above his head and demanded that the crowd disperse: which it did. Stripling asserted:

This was the alleged "fraud" for which Mr. Pope was indicted as an accomplice, and not for "using tissue ballots." It should also be remembered that Mr. Cheney, our District Attorney, *nol prosd [sic]* this case. . . . Frank W. Pope, our Independent candidate for Governor, is not the "bold, bad man" that the Bourbons and a few of his personal enemies would have us believe.⁴²

The showdown between the factions came at the Republican state convention held in Gallie's Hall at Tallahassee late in July. When L. G. Dennis of Alachua declared that he would not consent to 20,000 Republican voters surrendering to a little handful of men, there was an uproar of disapproval. John Wallace, leader of the colored of Leon county was reported as saying, "We are going to win this time." The Alachua county truck farmer, Walls, was in control, and the following strategy offered by him was adopted: the Independent candidates would be endorsed only, not nominated; since if Pope

41. *Ibid.*; *Times-Union*, July 16, 1884.

42. *Florida Journal* (Jacksonville), July 31, 1884.

and Greeley were nominated by a call of counties, they became the Republican nominees, giving the Democrats a potent weapon.⁴³

Frank Pope told the convention: "I would as soon trust this government to the ignorant people as the educated. . . . we shall rout the plundering Democrats from yonder Capital in next November!" George R. Fairbanks reported that "Simple Simon" Conover (former Republican U. S. senator) was in attendance at the convention with the idea that an Independent legislature would send him back to Washington instead of Wilk Call. E. O. Locke, a Monroe county Republican, was nominated for Congress in the First Congressional District convention defeating Malachi Martin of Gadsden and S. C. Cobb of Escambia.⁴⁴

The dilemma the Independents were in became more apparent as the campaign wore on. They needed the support of the Republicans to win, yet by accepting that support they alienated Independent Democrats still on the fence, particularly those in West Florida.⁴⁵ The financial situation added to the predicament; J. N. Strippling attempted to alleviate this by an appeal to friends of the movement throughout the State for subscriptions, saying frankly that Pope was not a wealthy man.⁴⁶ A third factor, Frank Pope's personal life, must also be taken into account, since most Democratic newspapers used it as a means of attack. The *Madison Recorder* published an account of the killing of J. T. Bristow which was given by J. B. Lipscomb Jr., who claimed to be an eyewitness. According to Lipscomb, Bristow gave Frank Pope a whipping with a chinquapin switch; whereupon, Frank returned later in the day with a gun and shot his school teacher, who died about twenty-four hours later. Lipscomb said that Judge James D. Beggs of Orlando would substantiate his story.⁴⁷

43. *Land of Flowers*, July 29, 1884; *Times-Union*, July 25, 1884.

44. *Fernandina Mirror*, July 26, 1884; *Floridian*, July 29, 1884.

45. *Times-Union*, July 19, 1884.

46. *Floridian*, Aug. 5, 1884.

47. *Madison Recorder* as quoted in the *Floridian*, July 29, 1884.

(IV) Soldier vs. Orator

Leading politicians of the two parties mobilized forces to elect their candidates; speaking both in the heat of the summer noon and the cool of the evening. Both General Perry and Senator Pope toured the state. The *Columbia Star* (Lake City) reported that "Governor" Perry met enthusiastic receptions, stating that his opponents could find nothing in his career through which to attack him.⁴⁸ At Sumterville, accompanied by Col. S. I. Wailes, land commissioner of the Florida Railroad and Navigation Company, the Democratic nominee, speaking under an August sun, favored a new constitution. He stated that Northern Republicans upon moving to Florida were becoming Conservative Democrats; and he urged the colored voter to accept the offer of the Democrats for good government. What more could they want, he queried, than good schools, good government, low taxes and ample protection for themselves and their families? Milton Mabry, candidate for Lieutenant Governor, spoke next, assailing the Republicans; John Temple Graves, Sr., spoke on national issues. At Ocala the party was joined by State Senator A. S. Mann, a power in Hernando county politics for many years.⁴⁹

Stumping the state, Pope spoke at Lake City in the midday heat. The Disston land sale and the proposed constitutional convention were his principal topics. He appealed to his audience to vote for him not as Democrats nor as Republicans but as honest men. Reading the Independent platform, the youthful politician asserted that they and not the Democratic party would give the negro his rights. Parson Thompson followed, advising the negroes to give up Cheney and Eagan in order to support Pope. The *Star* suggested that the high temperature of the hour was reflected in the speaking.⁵⁰

Local political clubs were organized and meetings held to whip up enthusiasm. The *Palatka Daily News*

48. *Floridian*, Aug. 26, 1884.

49. *Times-Union*, Aug. 26, 1884.

50. *Ibid.*, Aug. 1, 1884; *Floridian*, Aug. 12, 1884.

reported a meeting of the Cleveland and Perry club of district five at which Judge Harrison, the first speaker, gave "a plain and convincing explanation" of the Diss-ton sale, being followed by E. S. Crill who further explained that transaction.⁵¹ So it seemed that the main point of the Independent platform was taken quite seriously by the Democrats.

In Duval county the race was intense because both parties were well organized. Pope spoke at Jacksonville on July 31 at the St. James hotel in the evening; however, Perry waited until August 26 to address the voters of the east coast city. The first speaker on the Independent program was Dr. G. Troup Maxwell, who asked why the kindly feeling between the freedmen and their former masters which existed for a year or two after the war had disappeared. He endorsed Pope and Cleveland, indicating by the split ticket the quandary of the Independents on the national election. Pope, when it came his turn, assailed the *Times-Union* and reasserted his belief in democracy, declaring, "The people whether educated or ignorant could and should be trusted."⁵²

In August Pope resigned as state senator.⁵³ At about the same time the *People's Journal* (Jacksonville), edited by J. W. Thompson, a colored man, came out for Perry; because, according to him, the best Republicans could not vote for Frank Pope. Thompson significantly mentioned Dennis Eagan as one of those Republicans who were against Pope. The *People's Journal* editor called Pope a "pitiful negro-killing Democrat," and the paper gave its support to Josiah T. Walls for Congress.⁵⁴ This bit of political strategy by the old Radical wing of the Republican party showed that they intended to play an active rather than a passive part in the election, and that

51. Palatka *Daily News*, Aug. 24, 1884.

52. *Times-Union*, Aug. 1, 1884.

53. *Land of Flowers*, Aug. 23, 1884.

54. *Floridian*, Aug. 19, 1884; *People's Journal* as quoted in the *Floridian*, Sept. 2, 1884; *Fernandina Mirror*, Aug. 16, 1884.

they favored a Democratic victory in the state elections in order to regain their control of the negro vote.

August sixteenth found the Independent speakers at the deep water harbor of Fernandina. Included on the rostrum of the Lyceum Hall in the evening were Frank Pope, J. C. Greeley, D. L. McKinnon and Dr. G. Troup Maxwell.⁵⁵ From there Pope went to Palatka, claiming to his audience at the St. Johns river town that according to history no political organization could reform itself. He acknowledged that the state lands must be sold; nevertheless, he did not think that they should be sold to a rich man in a body; instead, they should have been cut up and sold to actual settlers at \$.25 or \$.50 per acre by advertisement or proclamation. The standard bearer of the Independents announced that he stood for a better constitution.⁵⁶

Toward the last of August Pope was still stumping Central Florida. His most enthusiastic supporter here was J. E. Alexander, who took over the *Enterprise Herald*.⁵⁷ In Volusia the Republicans faced a split, the old members resenting the influx of the new converts.⁵⁸ The Independent movement was having rough sledding also in Taylor county where after a political rallying was unsuccessful in forming a county organization.⁵⁹ Pope, however, continued to work hard; speaking at Leesburg then in Sumter county, he denied that he had promised any office to anyone. He did say that he would remember his friends and that he would not go into Democratic ranks to fill any offices.⁶⁰

On August twenty-six at the Park Theatre in Jacksonville Governor Bloxham did not pull any punches in defending his administration. He condemned Independentism as "the thinnest gauze thrown around the profli-

55. *Ibid.*

56. Palatka *Daily News*, Aug. 22, 1884.

57. *Ibid.*, Aug. 24, 1884; *Floridian*, Aug. 19, 1884.

58. *Ibid.*

59. *Ibid.*

60. *Ibid.*, Sept. 2, 1884.

gate carcass of Florida Radicalism." He quoted figures on the reduction of the state debt and on railroad bonds outstanding to show the economy of his administration. He denounced the Republican administration during Reconstruction, singling out for attack former Lieutenant Governor Gleason particularly. Pointing out that when he himself took office the Internal Improvement Fund was saddled with over \$1,000,000 debt at six percent interest, the Governor contended there was no feasible remedy other than a sale of a large body of land. In asserting that Disston paid cash for the 4,000,000 acres at twenty-five cents per acre, except for \$14,000 worth of coupon indebtedness which cost him ninety cents on the dollar, he disclosed that the state law offering homesteads at twenty-five cents per acre could not be in effect as long as the fund was controlled by the court. As proof of the success of the sale he mentioned the 700 to 800 miles of railroad constructed during his administration.⁶¹

In an attempt to hold dissatisfied Democrats in line, the leader of the Conservatives during Reconstruction warned:

It is an insult to our patriotism and common sense to say that another night of gloom and despair, such as we suffered from 1868 until 1877, shall again cast its dark mantle over our fair state, and we stand silent witnesses of her degradation and dishonor, amid the hellish orgies of an ignorant and ruthless fanaticism.⁶²

Moving to Fernandina, the Democratic speaker took along the Jacksonville Silver Cornet Band. Perry in the island city's Lyceum Hall spoke of the determination that the state should henceforth be controlled by the conservative intelligence of the people and not go back

61. *Ibid.*; W. D. Bloxham, *The Disston Sale and the State Finances* (a political pamphlet containing the Park Theatre address, in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History).

62. *Ibid.*

again into the hands of ignorant Radicalism. According to his mathematics, the Democrats had nine-tenths of the intelligence and virtue of the state, the Republicans one-tenth. The Republican party, he maintained, was built on the solidification of the negro vote, being led by designing men who would bring back Reconstruction. Because of the capital now coming into Florida, he estimated that the colored man could make \$1.25 to \$1.75 per day instead of \$.50 to \$.65, and he told of a poor-white whose land had increased in value from \$400 to \$8,000 due to the coming of a railroad. The Confederate war veteran attacked the presumption of young men in forming the Independent party; they were soreheads in contrast to grey-headed old men, who, devoted to the service of Florida, asked no return. Since Dougherty was sick with a fever, the general spoke for him and assured the people of Amelia Island that the Democratic congressional candidate would get them twenty-five feet of water in their channel. Addresses by Charles E. Dyke and Milton Mabry rounded out the program.⁶³

Both parties injected the racial-issue into the campaign. The Palatka *Daily News* printed a letter from T. L. McCoy, a freedman, favoring the *status quo* and mentioning that the sole dependence of the negro for their daily bread was upon the moneyed men of the South. McCoy accused the Republican leaders of being more prejudiced against the negro than was the liberal-minded Southern man.⁶⁴ R. C. Long, grandson of former territorial Governor R. K. Call, made what was interpreted as an anti-negro speech at Madison. The *Land of Flowers* carried an editorial favoring his stand and indicting the negro for having drawn the color line and voting in a solid phalanx against every interest of his white neighbor. It arraigned him for becoming a political slave and voting as a machine. The majority of whites, the *Land of Flowers* said, had nothing against

63. Fernandina *Mirror*, Sept. 6, 1884.

64. Palatka *Daily News*, Aug. 26, 1884.

a negro, but they should cease trying to make him a Democrat and vote him down at the polls, giving him a far better government than he was capable of giving himself.⁶⁵

The *Floridian*, milder than the *Land of Flowers* and probably having more influence in party circles, in an editorial on Long's speech mentioned the fair dealing of Democratic control to the colored in schools and said that no colored leader had attempted to break the line in politics.⁶⁶ Sam Pasco as chairman of the Democratic State Committee continued in the same vein as the *Floridian* and made the statement that "the Conservative Democratic party of Florida has maintained the constitutional right of the colored man and has faithfully carried out and built up the public school system since its advent to power."⁶⁷

On the other side of the fence or from across the tracks the colored editor of the *Key West News* charged the "studied and polished hypocrisy which the Bourbon leaders have displayed toward the colored people since the war has been and is remarkable only for its transparency."⁶⁸ The *Land of Flowers* retorted that it was a question of whether the white man or the negro with a handful of whites shall rule the state.⁶⁹ Interest in Key West centered, however, in the large Cuban vote. The *Tampa Tribune* reported hopefully that it didn't look much as if the Cuban vote was going solid for the Republican candidate since at two recent ratification meetings the Cubans were in full force at the Democratic gathering but absent from the Republican.⁷⁰

Winding up his South Florida campaign at Bartow, Pope said that he would vote for Cleveland and Hendricks, and also stated that he would appoint qualified

65. *Land of Flowers*, Sept. 13, 1884.

66. *Floridian*, Sept. 23, 1884.

67. *Land of Flowers*, Sept. 27, 1884.

68. *Key West News* as quoted in the *Land of Flowers*, Sept. 20, 1884.

69. *Land of Flowers*, Sept. 20, 1884.

70. *Floridian*, Aug. 26, 1884.

negroes to office.⁷¹ In analyzing the South Florida political situation the *Floridian* predicted that Northern Republicans in Volusia, Brevard, Orange, and Sumter would support Perry.⁷² The Tavares *Herald* saw the danger of Pope's election as having passed and reported that Pope admitted that he had killed his school teacher. On Independentism it said:

It is the revolt not of the good, the pure, the patriotic among Southern Democrats, but of the violent and lawless element which made Ku-Kluxism possible, and which traded in tissue ballots and negro slaying as political factors.⁷³

The Gainesville *Advocate* reported that George J. Alden of New Smyrna, Volusia county, former secretary of state under Governor Reed, was supporting Perry and was stating that many other white Republicans of Volusia would do likewise.⁷⁴ Thus it would appear that Pope's chances of carrying what was then South Florida were not good.

The Disston sale continued to be under fire. Samuel Swann of Fernandina answered charges which he claimed came from Pope that he had accepted \$20,000 in hush money from the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund arising out of claims incurred by the Disston purchase. In a letter to Comptroller W. D. Barnes Swann maintained that the money was paid him for services rendered.⁷⁵ Swann seems to have been rather prolific in letter-writing in explaining his part in the purchase, since Governor Bloxham, drawn into the controversy, answered the bribery charge in a speech at Fernandina by reading a letter from Swann. In the

71. *Ibid.*, Sept. 16, 1884.

72. *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, 1884.

73. Tavares *Herald* as quoted in the *Floridian*, Sept. 23, 1884.

74. Gainesville *Advocate* as quoted in the *Floridian*, Oct. 28, 1884.

75. *Floridian*, Sept. 23, 1884; a suit brought in 1881, Swann v. Trustees of Internal Improvement Fund, was dismissed by a compromise between Parties. *Minutes of the Internal Improvement Fund*, II, 506-507.

same speech the governor appealed to the colored vote saying, "I would scorn any man who would trample upon the rights of another on account of his color."⁷⁶

Under the State Constitution of 1868 the governor appointed all important county officials.⁷⁷ A preference vote was held in order that the voters might express a choice. In Nassau county where Fernandina is situated it was announced that only those who voted for E. A. Perry and the Democratic county ticket would be allowed to vote for the county offices; voting for the Democratic electoral ticket was not a requisite.⁷⁸ This showed conclusively that to the Nassau Democrats the important offices were the governorship and the membership in the legislature.

On the eve of the election the *Times-Union* reported a letter making the rounds signed E. A. P. (Gen. Perry's initials) supposed to be addressed to Sam Pasco, urging the Democratic state chairman to do all in his power to prevent negroes and "poor whites" from voting; the Jacksonville newspaper said that the letter was a lie.⁷⁹ Pope in turn was accused by the Democrats of theft as a youth; the Madison *New Era* refuted this by printing a denial by Charley Butts, the man from whom Pope allegedly had stolen.⁸⁰

The election came off quietly except for Madison county where ballot boxes were taken by armed men at Madison, Cherry Lake and Hamburg, each side blaming the other.⁸¹ The state-wide election resulted in a complete victory for the Democrats in the major offices: Perry won over Pope, 31,957 to 27,680, Mabry defeated Greeley, and both Congressional districts went Democratic. The Republican Independent ticket won twelve of thirty-two seats in the Senate and twenty-three of eighty-

76. Fernandina *Mirror*, Sept. 20, 1884.

77. Article 5, Section 19; Article 6, Section 19, Constitution of 1868.

78. Fernandina *Mirror*, Oct. 25, 1884.

79. *Times-Union*, Oct. 25, 1884.

80. Madison *New Era* as quoted in the *Times-Union*, Nov. 1, 1884.

81. Madison *Recorder* as quoted in the *Land of Flowers*, Nov. 15, 1884; *Times-Union*, Nov. 9, 1884; *Floridian*, Nov. 11, 1884.

eight seats in the Assembly.⁸² Frank Pope refused to concede defeat and claimed a majority of 1,732. The defeated Independent gubernatorial candidate accused the Democrats of ballot box stuffing in Jackson, Gadsden, Leon and Jefferson counties. Voicing his determination, he said:

I am determined in my fight against Bourbonism in Florida. The people have declared by their votes against it and I shall see that their rights in the premises shall be protected. Again, I repeat, the votes shall be counted as cast.⁸³

Pope lost out in his attempt to prove irregularities in the election, and Perry became the next governor. An analysis of the election shows that Pope surpassed the vote of 1880 for Simon Conover, Republican, in the Democratic counties, but fell behind Conover's vote in the Republican counties; nor did he carry the South Florida counties where the main influx of Northerners had settled.⁸⁴ Many of these new Floridians had come to Florida to settle on Disston lands, and the firm opposition to the Disston sale by the Independents obviously did not meet with their approval; thus, one outcome of the election was a claim of vindication of Governor Bloxham for having made the Disston sale. Yet while the Democrats won, the heavy Independent vote indicated that a large number of the people of Florida wanted reform in the state government. If it had not been that many Democrats had a strong aversion to lining up with Republicans and also that some of the Republicans led by Dennis Eagan preferred to vote for Perry over Pope, the election might have swung the other way. It is hard to estimate what damage Pope, the man, did to the Independent movement or what would have happened had

82. W. T. Cash, p. 79; *Pensacola Commercial*, Nov. 5, 1884; *Fernandina Mirror*, Dec. 20, 1884; *Times-Union*, Nov. 11, 1884.

83. *Times-Union*, Nov. 9, 1884; *Floridian*, Nov. 11, 1884.

84. *Fernandina Mirror*, Dec. 20, 1884.

the Independents been able to run a better known man of another type such as former Governor Frank Drew.

The election of 1884 was the end of the Independent movement as a third party in Florida. It failed to hold together because it was a coalition of heterogeneous factions which had little in common other than being out in the political cold. It lacked a cohesive force; opposition to the Disston sale did not give it that force. The Independents stood for certain progressive measures which later the Populists took over, such as a state railroad commission. In that sense the Independents were forerunners of the Populist movement, and some former Independents, such as D. L. McKinnon, became Populist; however, many others, including Frank Pope, himself, and J. E. Alexander, returned to the Democratic fold, forming an independent wing under United States Senator Wilkinson Call.⁸⁵ This political faction prevented the Farmers' Alliance from electing one of their members United States Senator in 1891, although a majority of the legislature were members of the Alliance.⁸⁶ Thus Independentism, although a defeated cause, continued to exert a strong force in Florida politics.

85. Bradford County Telegraph, July 29, 1892; Jacksonville *Daily Standard* as quoted in the *Ocala Banner*, Oct. 31, 1890; *House Journal*, "A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the State of Florida, 1897," p. 240.

86. Albert Hubbard Roberts, "Wilkinson Call, Soldier and Senator," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XII (1933-34), pp. 187-189; *Floridian*, April 9, 1891; *Telegram*, April 16, 1891; *House Journal*, 1891, pp. 816-818.

EARLY EDUCATION IN TALLAHASSEE AND THE
WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY, NOW FLORIDA
STATE UNIVERSITY

by **WILLIAM G. DODD**

Part II

In the year 1850, Tallahassee, through its city government, took the first faltering steps which led later in the decade to the organization of a stable school system. Before that year, as was told in Part I of this article, parents had depended for the education of their children on private schools and on two corporate institutions, Leon Academy and Leon Female Academy. The former, constantly in financial straits, was barely kept alive through the years from 1827 to 1840. The Female Academy, begun in 1844, continued as an independent school until 1858. Thus the story of boys' education before 1850 is that of the breakdown of a public academy followed by a succession of transitory private enterprises. In the education of girls, the events occurred in the reverse order. For the necessity of establishing the Female Academy grew out of the inadequacy and uncertainty of the private girls' schools in the town from 1829 to 1843.

Early in 1850, the efforts of the city government were directed to providing educational facilities for the boys of the town comparable in excellence with those which the girls were enjoying. The first step taken was an experiment with a free school. After three years, this was discontinued and the Council, along with interested citizens, devoted their energies to securing for Tallahassee the West Florida Seminary, which had been established, but not located, by the Legislature of 1850. An attractive and commodious school building was erected and, in 1855, a male school established which a little later came to be known as Florida Institute. The new school prospered from the first, and it would doubtless have served adequately the needs and interests of the town. But as a result, in part, of the Council's offer

to convey the school and its property to the State, the Legislature of 1856 chose Tallahassee as the site of the new Seminary. Thus Florida Institute was transformed into the West Florida Seminary, and thus Tallahassee's efforts to secure the Seminary were crowned with success.

But she did not attain her goal without encountering the determined opposition of rivals. In the Legislature of 1852, the Act which located the East Florida Seminary at Ocala passed the Senate on December 23, 1852.³⁵ When the similar Act came up in the House, N. A. Long of Jackson county proposed the addition of Section 2, providing that the Governor appoint six commissioners from Middle Florida, at least three of them from West Florida, who should select a location for the West Florida Seminary. This section was a part of the Act as approved January 6, 1853.³⁶ Whatever may have been Long's ultimate object in proposing this new section, nothing could have suited better the long-range plans of Tallahassee. For the added section delayed effectively the final location of the Seminary, and so gave the city time to erect the new school building which she intended to include in her offer to the legislature of 1854.

For his own reasons, Governor Broome showed little interest in the special commission. He waited until August 18, 1854, more than twenty months, to announce his appointments,³⁷ and it was not until November 23 that all had qualified. The commissioners themselves seem to have felt little enthusiasm for their task: which is not strange, seeing that they had on their hands an uncommonly hot potato. There is no record that they ever took any action, and when the legislature convened in the fall of 1854, the matter of locating the Seminary

35. Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1852, p. 154.

36. *Ibid.*, p. 279.

37. They were Rev. D. P. Everett, Walker Anderson, Rev. Jesse Coe, C. H. Dupont, William J. Bailey, Rev. R. J. Mays. C. H. Dupont declined the appointment and J. M. W. Davidson was named in his place. (Secretary of State's Record of Commissions).

passed by default from their hands to the delegations from Jackson and Leon counties.

Three towns, Quincy, Marianna, and Tallahassee, evinced an interest in securing the Seminary. The Quincy memorial, in the form of resolutions adopted by the citizens of the town, came before the House on January 4, 1855,³⁸ and was referred to a special committee whose bill to locate the Seminary in Quincy died on the calendar. The memorial of Marianna is not extant. But her plans to secure the school, or at least to thwart Tallahassee's plans, are plainly evident in the records of the General Assemblies of 1854 and 1856.

As exciting as they were at the time they were being waged, this account is not concerned with the details of these "battles long ago." It needs only to be said that they were fought hard and to the finish, with neither side showing any quarter. The main contests were over the memorials addressed to the legislature by the City Council of Tallahassee, through the intendants, William R. Hayward in 1854, and Francis Eppes in 1856. The first of these was presented to the Senate by Medicus A. Long of Leon county³⁹ as part of his Minority Report of the Committee on Schools and Colleges, of which J. T. Myrick of Jackson county was chairman.⁴⁰

The inducements which the City Council offered for locating the Seminary in Tallahassee were the growing population of the city and of Leon county; its healthful-

38. Florida House of Representatives, *Journal*, 1854, p. 230.

39. Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1854, pp. 199-202.

40. In the majority report Myrick proposed to the Senate a plan by which the seminary funds might be distributed to all the counties of West Florida for the purpose of establishing an Academy in each county. In his minority report, Long deftly reduced Myrick's proposal to an absurdity by stressing two points: first, the main intention of the law of January 24, 1851, was to set up two seminaries as a means of training teachers for the common schools. County academies without competent teachers would serve little, if any, purpose. Second: If the income of the Seminary fund were to be distributed to all the fourteen counties of West Florida, each county would receive the sum of about \$128.00. A county academy which could not prosper without state aid, would not be helped much by \$128.00 per year.

ness; its easy accessibility, even though Tallahassee was not at the geographical center of West Florida; its situation in a prosperous growing section, thus ensuring cheap board to students; its distinction of being the seat of the State government, thus placing the Seminary under the immediate supervision of the executive and the General Assembly.

The more telling inducements were, first, the sum of \$10,000.00, to be paid in part by the conveyance of ten acres of land with the new college building nearing completion, valued at about \$7000.00; the balance of the \$10,000.00, after a fair appraisal of the property, to be paid in cash. Second, the sum of \$1500.00 per year, so long as the institution continued to exist, the \$1500.00 to be used to pay the tuition of the children of Tallahassee in such manner as should be agreed upon between the governing board of the Seminary and the corporate authorities of Tallahassee.

With the memorial, Mr. Long submitted a bill which proposed to locate the Seminary in Tallahassee. At its second reading the next day, Mr. Myrick moved indefinite postponement. The motion was carried by a vote of 10 to 6, and the bill was indefinitely postponed. A similar bill, after a good deal of skirmishing, was passed in the House on January 5, 1855, and certified to the Senate the same day.⁴¹ Since the Senate had just defeated Long's bill, the fate of the House Bill was certain. In the final vote on January 10, only two senators voted for its passage. One of the two was M. A. Long of Leon county.

The second round of the contest took place in the House in the legislature of 1856. The leaders for Marianna were Mr. Roulhac and Mr. Pope. The interests of Tallahassee were carefully guarded by the regular Leon county delegation.

On December 4, 1856, the Speaker placed before the House the communication of Francis Eppes, intendant

41. Florida House of Representatives, *Journal*, 1854, p. 254.

of Tallahassee. The memorial was the same as the one submitted two years before, except that, in order to brighten their prospects of winning, the City Council now raised their annual payment from \$1500.00 to \$2000.00. On December 17, the Committee on Schools and Colleges recommended acceptance by the General Assembly of the "liberal offer by the City Council of Tallahassee," and introduced a bill to carry into effect their recommendation.⁴²

At the same time, Henry Pope submitted a minority report in favor of locating the school at Marianna. The peevish tone of his proposal lends it a sort of special interest. After refuting, to his own satisfaction, all the claims of Tallahassee, he declared that by the testimony of all visitors, the climate of Tallahassee was disagreeable, and the town an unhealthy place. Moreover, it had a bad name for extravagance "not only in the luxuries, but also in the realities of living."

Mr. Roulhac now came to the aid of his confrere. His motion to table the majority recommendation was lost; but at its second reading on December 17, he succeeded in having it referred to a select committee of five, three of whom were from West Florida. In their countermove, the Leon county representative in the House completely changed the complexion of the select committee by securing the addition to it of five members from Leon county and counties east of Leon.

The outcome of the contest was that the enlarged committee recommended the passage of the majority bill, and in spite of Roulhac's delaying tactics, the House did pass it on December 24, 1856. Mr. Pope and Mr. Roulhac did not vote. The bill passed in the Senate on December 27, and became a law with Governor's Broome's approval on January 1, 1857. And so Tallahassee won her signal victory.

The constitution of a governing board was the final step necessary to the legal operation of the Seminary.

42. Florida House of Representatives. *Journal*, 1856, p. 148.

By the provisions of the law of January 24, 1851, which were carried over to the Act of January 1, 1857, the Governor was required to appoint three members of the board. To serve with the three, the Register of Lands, in his capacity as State Superintendent of Schools, and the Judge of Probate of Leon county as County Superintendent, were *ex officio* members. Governor Broome's appointments were D. McNeil Turner, Francis Eppes, and Theodore W. Brevard. The *ex officio* members were David S. Walker, State Superintendent, and David W. Gwynn, County Superintendent of Leon county.

To this group, the first Board of Education of the West Florida Seminary, Francis Eppes, Intendant of Tallahassee, on April 1, 1857, conveyed lots 34, 35, 40, and 41 in the north one-half of the county quarter, and the college edifice recently erected by the City of Tallahassee. The deed of conveyance recites that the appraisers of the property "had fixed the price and valuation of said lots and college edifice at ten thousand dollars."⁴³ This convenient appraisal relieved the City Council of the obligation to pay in cash approximately \$3000.00 which their memorial to the legislature had anticipated.

While the city was consummating its plans for the education of its boys, the Female Academy was not prospering any too well. The records for the first half of the fifties show that the Academy was not paying its own way, and that the trustees were seeking outside help and even going in debt. On January 8, 1851, they borrowed \$295.00 "for the purposes of the Academy," and their note for that sum, with compound interest at 8%, was outstanding until the summer of 1858.⁴⁴ It has already been noted that in April of 1851 the Court, in response to the petition of the trustees, had ordered \$600.00 to be paid from the fire fund to the Academy.

We could wish that the phrase "for the purposes of the Academy" were a little more explicit. But in ask-

43. Leon County Deed Book L, 517.

44. Leon County Deed Book, M, 113.

ing for a grant from the fire fund, the petitioners stated specifically the uses for which it was needed. "The Academy," the petition said, "is in great need of improvements to the building itself, of the erection of a suitable fence, of the purchase of apparatus for the school, and of other objects connected with the prosperity of the institution."⁴⁵ But even if the \$600.00 was spent as indicated, it was insufficient for the purpose. For sometime in 1854, the City Council, though under no legal obligation to do so, paid \$300.00 for repairs on the Female Academy building.⁴⁶ For whatever purposes the trustees expended the money in question, the resort to petition and to borrowing can mean only that the patronage of the Academy was not sufficient for the upkeep and operation of the school.

The lack of financial return adequate to retain the services of good school men helps to explain the rapid and continued turnover in the administrative heads of the Academy. When in the fall of 1850 William Neil took charge of the free school, the trustees announced that the Academy would reopen with Mrs. Neil as principal. This, however, was probably a temporary plan, for on January 7, 1851, a new principal, W. P. Cunningham of Greenville, South Carolina, began the second session of the year. Cunningham remained with the school only until the spring of 1852, when Rev. P. Teller Babbitt, A.M. took charge and conducted it until the spring of 1853. Babbitt's successor, apparently, was Rev. A. R. Wolfe, who at the time of his leaving Tallahassee in July, 1855 was said to have been the principal of the Academy for "some years past."⁴⁷ From the summer of 1855 till April 1856 the school was without a principal, but continued its work, presumably, under the direction of one of the teachers. On April 17, 1856, the Academy

45. Leon County Chancery Case File No. 1327.

46. *Floridian and Journal*, January 6, 1855. Financial Report of the City for 1854.

47. *Ibid.*, July 21, 1855.

opened for the spring term with Rev. W. W. Childers as principal and Mrs. H. H. Brown as teacher of music.⁴⁸

In the fall of 1856, the board dropped their recent practice of appointing ministers to the headship of the Academy and returned to their former custom of seeking for principals who were experienced school men. This time their search led them to the small south Georgia town of Cuthbert. Here they secured John A. Grant for principal and professor of mathematics and natural science, and his associate, Andrew L. O'Brien, for professor of languages and moral science.⁴⁹ We are not told what salary was paid to Grant, but O'Brien was to receive \$1000.00 payable in instalments every three months.⁵⁰

When Grant and O'Brien were called to Tallahassee in the summer of 1856, they were operating a male school named Randolph College which they had built as equal partners in 1854.⁵¹ Instead of selling or leasing the school, they closed it altogether. This enabled them to transfer to the Leon Female Academy "extensive apparatus, thus furnishing the school with all the paraphernalia of a first-class college." They were also joined by a number of teachers from Andrew College in Cuthbert. Of these, Mrs. L. E. Grant was named principal of the ornamental department, Miss L. C. Grant, assistant, B. R. Lignowski, principal of the music department, and Miss Elizabeth Levinus, assistant teacher of music.⁵²

In the editor's comments on these appointments, Lignowski was given the conventional "boost" that he

48. *Ibid.*, April 5, 1856.

49. *Ibid.*, September 20, 1856.

50. A. L. O'Brien, *The Journal of Andrew Leary O'Brien* (Athens, Ga., 1946), p. 59.

51. Though both of these men were American citizens, neither was American born. Grant's gravestone in the Tallahassee city cemetery records that he was born in Bristol, England, in 1805. O'Brien was born in County Cork, Ireland, in 1815. In his youth and early manhood he was in process of being educated for the Catholic priesthood; but in 1845, eight years after his arrival in America, he became a member of the Methodist Church. (O'Brien, *op. cit.*, pp. 3, 40.)

52. *Floridian and Journal*, September 20, 1856.

had taught in many colleges in Georgia and Alabama, and was "well known as among the most accomplished. Musical Professors in the Southern Country." But O'Brien, who had known him well in Cuthbert and had stood as security on his promissory note, called him "that faithless and unprincipled Ruffian, B. R. Lignowski."⁵³ The two estimates need not be mutually exclusive. The feeling on O'Brien's part did not augur a "happy family" relationship in the Academy, but we are told of no serious results from the disharmony.⁵⁴

The smooth transition from the Florida Institute to the West Florida Seminary was largely due to President Peyton's careful organization and efficient direction of the earlier school. No change was necessary and none was made in the administration, and doubtless Dr. Junius and Mr. Clayton remained with the new institution till the close of the year.

The only school activity we know of was the presentation by the Thespian Corps, assisted by the school orchestra, of the old 18th Century drama, "The Siege of Corinth." The performance was given at the Seminary on July 30 "at early candle-light" as part of the closing exercises of the school year. The interest of the event for this article is in the fact that the play was directed by A. L. O'Brien, and the settings designed by John A. Grant, both of the Leon Female Academy.⁵⁵

In May, on account of ill-health, President Peyton submitted to the board his resignation, effective at the close of the term on July 31. This was indeed a misfortune for the school. In the annals of the West Florida Seminary, President Peyton is entitled to the distinction of being not only the first president of the Seminary,

53. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

54. Lignowski was already well known in Tallahassee. As early as 1840 he was frequently before the public as a pianist, and he advertised himself as a "scientific performer and teacher." In 1843 he set up his own short-lived Musical Seminary. (*Floridian*, May 9, 1840; *Star of Florida*, February 23, 1844.)

55. *Floridian and Journal*, August 1, 1857.

but certainly also one of the ablest of its long line of administrative heads.⁵⁶

To succeed W. Y. Peyton, the board, early in the summer of 1857, selected their own chairman, Rev. D. McNeil Turner.⁵⁷ Mr. Edward Houston was appointed to the board to fill the unexpired term of Turner, and David S. Walker was elected the new chairman.

Duncan McNeil Turner had been the minister of the Presbyterian Church in Tallahassee since 1854, and for three years had been active in every movement for improving educational conditions in the town. His more specific service to education as president of the Seminary extended over the three scholastic years from the fall of 1857 to the summer of 1860.

Early in September 1857 the board announced the opening of the Seminary on October 1, with D. McNeil Turner as President and professor of mathematics and of mental and moral science ; A. L. O'Brien, A. M. professor of Latin and Greek languages and literatures ; Rev. John C. Long, A.M. professor of English literature and natural science ; and W. W. Woodward as tutor in the preparatory department. Tuition was placed at \$6.25 per quarter in the preparatory department, and at \$10.00 in the college ; and patrons were notified that no pupil would be admitted to classes without a certificate from J. L. Demilly, treasurer of the board, showing that his tuition had been paid.⁵⁸

The announcement gives no further information about John C. Long. W. W. Woodward was a local young man⁵⁹ who later was connected with the public schools

56. After leaving Tallahassee, Peyton returned to Williamsburg, Virginia, and, it appears, became the editor of the *Virginia Gazette*. He died in Williamsburg on July 9, 1859. (*Richmond Examiner*, July 15, 1859, copied in *ibid.*, July 23, 1859.)

57. *Floridian and Journal*, June 6, 1857.

58. *Ibid.*, September 5, 1857. Advertisement of "State Seminary at Tallahassee," signed by D. W. Gwynn, secretary of the Board of Education. It will be noted that the tuition fees as announced were double what they had been previously. The reason for this will appear later.

59. *Ibid.*, December 6, 1860.

of Tallahassee for many years. He may well have been the Woodward whose name appeared on President Peyton's honor roll the previous January. The employment of A. L. O'Brien, already professor of classics at the Female Academy, indicates the friendly cooperation which existed between the two schools. It was probably also a measure of economy from which the Seminary profited; for it seems likely that the larger part of his teaching Latin and Greek would be done in the boys' school. For this additional service, O'Brien received \$300.00, making his total salary for the year \$1300.00.⁶⁰

No data on the enrollment in Turner's first year are available, but the figure for the preceding year of about 100 cannot be far wrong. Of intra-seminary news, only one item is left us: the Thespian Corps was still active, and announced a performance to be given at the Planters hotel Friday night, April 19, 1858, at which time the front seats would be reserved for the ladies.⁶¹

In the second year of President Turner's administration culminated two developments of the highest significance to the West Florida Seminary, to the Leon Female Academy, and to the City Council of Tallahassee. These were, first, the extension of the Seminary's educational privileges to girls as well as boys; second, the adoption by the City Council of the policy of contributing a definite sum yearly toward the education of every Tallahassee boy and girl within certain prescribed age limits.

These extremely important events were closely inter-related and were the outcome of conferences, many of them informal, no doubt, of the Board of Education, the Trustees of the Female Academy, and the City Council, or of representatives of these bodies. And the formal action of opening the Seminary to female students was in accordance with an agreement reached between the board and the Academy's trustees.⁶²

60. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 65.

61. *Floridian and Journal*, April 13, 1858.

62. Leon County Deed Book M, 113.

The overtures to these deliberations must certainly have been made by the city councilmen, who having inherited from the Council of 1856 the obligation to pay to the Seminary \$2000.00 a year for the education of the children of Tallahassee, could not have overlooked the fact that girls, as well as boys, were children. But the Board of Education, all of whom were citizens of Tallahassee, and also the Trustees of the Female Academy, who in their corporate capacity had borne for many years the heavy responsibility for education of the girls of the town, - all these men as citizens were entirely friendly to the overtures of the City Council. In a village or small town, actions of public import, in the present instance the adoption of an important school policy, never just happen. In their final form they are the result of much private and some public discussion and planning. And we shall misunderstand the developments here considered if we view them merely as actions of separate corporate bodies, and not as complementary results of the deliberations of citizens with common interests.⁶³

The discussions between the governing boards of the Seminary and the Female Academy dealt primarily with an equitable method of admitting girls to the facilities of the Seminary. The question was real and serious. For it was recognized immediately that the establishment by the Seminary of its own female department would certainly "conflict with the prosperity of the Academy" and very likely destroy the school altogether. The only feasible solution of the problem appeared to be for the Seminary, so to speak, to absorb the Academy, taking

63. The members of the Board of Education were David S. Walker chairman, Francis Eppes, Edward Houston, David W. Gwynn, and Theodore W. Brevard. The trustees of the Academy were M. A. Long, president, Thomas Baltzell, Charles E. Dyke, Richard A. Shine, David C. Wilson, Richard Hayward, and David P. Hogue. The city councilmen for 1858 were R. A. Shine, P. B. Brokaw, D. S. Walker, P. T. Pierce, George N. Heir, F. H. Flagg, Arvah H. Hopkins, and Selim Meyers. The double membership of David S. Walker, D. P. Hogue, and Richard A. Shine emphasizes the common interests of the groups.

over the ownership of all its real property. And this was the solution agreed upon by the two boards.⁶⁴ As this action put into effect the City Council's purpose of securing the benefits of the Seminary to the girls of the town, the city authorities readily concurred and cooperated in the solution.

Accordingly, at its meeting of June 14, 1858, the Board of Education of the Seminary "Resolved that from and after the first day of October next, females as well as males, shall receive instruction in said Seminary, and that a suitable building will be provided for the Female Department. The City Council on the very same day "Resolved that after October 1 next, the Seminary may receive as pupils all the children, male and female, above the age of seven, permanently residing in the City, and the City will pay tuition fees to the Seminary to the extent of \$6.25 per quarter for each child."⁶⁵

The clause in the board's resolution relating to a suitable building for the female department was doubtless left indefinite because the conveyance of the Academy property to the board had not yet been made. That action was provided for six weeks later "at a meeting of all the Trustees of Leon Female Academy, on July 26, 1858."⁶⁶ On motion of Thomas Baltzell, the trustees adopted a resolution to transfer to the Board of Education of the Seminary the entire management and control of the Female Academy, and to convey to the board the Academy's real property, on the conditions and ac-

64. Leon County Deed Book M, 113.

65. *Floridian and Journal*, June 26, 1858. The city thus obligated itself to contribute \$25.00 a year toward the education of each eligible child. It is likely that this figure had been set by the Council at the same time that the Board of Education, perhaps in conference with the Council, set an identical tuition for pupils in preparatory department. The fixed annual payment of \$2000.00 would cover the tuition of 80 students in that department. As the total enrolment in the Seminary was approximately 100, the Council were evidently prepared to put up a substantial sum in addition to the \$2000.00; it can hardly be supposed, however, that they anticipated the large financial obligation which their resolution entailed in the following school year of 1858-59.

66. Leon County Deed Book M, 113.

ording to the agreements already entered into between the board and the trustees.

The basic agreements by the board were, first, to constitute the Female Academy a part of the Seminary ; second, to "apply," that is, to expend on the female department, a due proportion of the funds derived from all sources, including specifically the Seminary fund and the sum of \$2000.00 paid annually to the Seminary by the city authorities, so that the teachers of both the male and female departments should be employed and paid in the same manner in all respects.

The board further agreed to pay to the trustees of the Academy the sum of \$295.00, with compound interest at 8% from January 8, 1851, which had been borrowed for the purposes of the Academy; and to pay to D. C. Wilson the sum of \$42.00, and to D. C. Wilson as agent for Rubin F. Correll the sum of \$30.00.

By the deed of July 27, 1858, Medicus A. Long, President of the Trustees of Leon Female Academy, conveyed to the Board of Education of the Seminary, lots 216 and 217 in the North Addition, Tallahassee, "said lots being the same whereon the Leon Female Academy Building stands," provided if the West Florida Seminary was ever removed from Tallahassee, the title to the said lots should revert to the trustees of the Leon Female Academy.⁶⁷

Thus came about simultaneously three events of the highest importance in the history of Tallahassee's schools: first, the final organization of the West Florida Seminary in a male and female department, each to be conducted in its own building on its own school premises; second, the culmination of the city's efforts be-

67. Medicus A. Long, whose name appears several times in this narrative, came to Florida from Tennessee in 1843. He practiced law in Tallahassee for sixteen years. In addition to the positions he filled of civic importance, he was a member of the State Senate in 1852 and 1854 ; a Buchanan elector in 1856 ; and a prominent candidate for United States Senator the same year. In order to get relief from asthma, he left Tallahassee in July, 1859 to reside permanently in Texas. (*Floridian and Journal*, July 2, 1859.)

gun with the Free School of 1850, to provide at least a common school education for all of Tallahassee's boys and girls; third, the end of the fifteen year struggle for existence of a separate or independent school for girls.

The achievements were hailed with delight by the editor of the *Floridian and Journal* who must have spoken the sentiments of many of the best citizens in his comments on the resolutions of June 14: "They open a new era in our educational system. We feel proud of old Tallahassee."⁶⁸ And later in the year, David S. Walker as State Superintendent of Schools cited as admirable the example of Tallahassee, which was raising by taxation and paying to the public schools \$25.00 for each child, rich or poor, male or female, within her borders, with the result that nearly all her children were at school.⁶⁹

Under the new organization, the Seminary opened on September 20, 1858. D. McNeil Turner was president of the male department, and we may conjecture that he kept as his assistants the teachers of the previous year, Dr. Long, Mr. O'Brien, and Mr. Woodward. On August 2, John A. Grant, head of the female department had died, and A. L. O'Brien had been appointed to his position as supervising principal. The staff of the female department as announced were A. L. O'Brien, classics and mathematics; Mrs. L. E. Grant, higher English branches; Miss C. Smith, preparatory department; Mrs. Grant, music and ornamental branches. The tuition was the same in both the male and female departments.⁷⁰

68. *Floridian and Journal*, June 26, 1858.

69. Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1858, Appendix, pp. 12-18. David S. Walker's report to Governor Perry of the Register of Lands, November 1, 1858.

70. *Floridian and Journal*, September 11, 1858. With 112 students in attendance, as will appear below, Mrs. Grant's teaching load was oppressive, if not impossible. O'Brien, at the time he was elected head of the female department, understood that "Miss Wilson" was to be one of his assistants (O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 66). She may have joined the staff after the announcement was published, but our records do not include her among the teachers before the following year, 1859-60.

The Seminary prospered from the very beginning of the reorganization. On October 2, more than 130 pupils were reported. From this figure, the enrollment rose toward the mid-year to a maximum of 200. As more than half of the students were girls, there was a rather serious overcrowding in the female department.⁷¹ The parents of Tallahassee were making good use of the school, but not everybody was pleased. There were the usual self-important critics who approved of no home products, and who moved the editor to remark that, while in schools as in everything else distance lends enchantment, he wondered if the time would ever come when "our people" would cease to ask, "can anything good come out of Nazareth?"⁷²

Public reports of the male department's activities were highly favorable. For example, on December 23, the state Senate Committee on Schools and Colleges visited the Seminary at the time of the mid-year public examinations. The chairman, who reported on the visit, was generous in his compliments, on the neat, orderly classrooms; on the perfect behavior of the pupils; and on the intelligent answers of the students, who thus gave evidence of the breadth and completeness of the instruction they were receiving. The committee pronounced the State Seminary in Tallahassee "to be equalled by few and surpassed by none of a similar class in our country." And they recommended that the legislature then in session empower the Board of Education to confer collegiate degrees on the young men who should desire to complete their education at the Seminary and thus obviate their going to other states in order to secure a degree.⁷³

71. *Floridian and Journal*, December 4, 1858.

72. *Ibid.*, October 2, 1858.

73. Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1858, p. 215. The committee's recommendation was not put into effect until December, 1859. The Act of December 22, 1859, authorized the West Florida Seminary to confer degrees after January 1, 1860. (*Florida Acts*, 1859, Ch. 1019.)

President Turner, by his careful management and his original methods of teaching, was winning golden opinions for the Seminary as well as for himself. And generally throughout the community, he was regarded as "the right man in the right place."⁷⁴

No reports are left of the female department, but subsequent announcements of the board indicate their confidence in its teachers. Early in 1859, the department lost its principal when O'Brien, on account of business troubles in Cuthbert, had to ask for his release. Although at first the board, did not receive his request with favor, after some consideration they decided to release him, and on February 1 he left the Seminary for good to return to Cuthbert.⁷⁵ Notwithstanding, his work in both the male and female departments went on without the employment of new teachers. Everything we are permitted to know about the Seminary in the school year 1858-1859 points to that year as a markedly successful one, and as giving promise of a bright future.

In spite of the flattering picture, however, some question must have arisen as to the city's ability to carry out its financial arrangement with the school. If we suppose, conservatively, that of the 200 students in attendance 80%, or 160, were from the city, at \$25.00 per pupil the Council owed the Seminary for the year 1858-1859 alone the sum of \$4000.00. Their fixed annual obligation of \$2000.00 would cover one-half of the amount; as to the payment of the other half, we know nothing. The financial statement of the city for 1858 does not mention this deficit, and we lack entirely the

74. *Floridian and Journal*, June 11 and 18, 1859.

75. O'Brien, *op. cit.*, p. 67. Tho O'Brien certainly performed his duties to the Seminary conscientiously and well, his stay of two and one-half years in Tallahassee was a chapter of personal miseries. His invalid wife died soon after he assumed his new position; his personal care of his four young children was a consuming anxiety; and he was constantly harassed by creditors in Cuthbert who held liens on his property and who threatened sheriff's sales to satisfy the liens. On February 7 he reopened Randolph College. His Journal does not reveal what finally became of him.

statement for 1859. Without more definite information, and perhaps with it, we would have to conclude that in adopting the resolution of June 14, 1858, the councilmen were taking a long leap in the dark. Ensuing events bear out this conclusion.

In engaging Turner for his third year of 1859-1860, the Board of Education adopted a new form of contract. By this agreement, Turner as president of the male department was to receive \$2000.00 in cash and the tuition fees of the department. The school year was divided into two sessions ending on January 15 and July 1. To add to the attractiveness of the contract, the tuition fees were scaled upward from \$10.00 per session for primary subjects to \$25.00 for the advanced classes. But at the same time, the City Council, in order to keep their total payment to the Seminary within their specified obligation of \$2000.00, reduced their allotment of \$25.00 per pupil to \$10.00. Additional tuition, if any, was to be paid by the students.⁷⁶ On his part, Turner agreed to pay all the incidental expenses of the male department, and to employ from his own resources as many assistant teachers, in no case less than two, as the interests of the department might demand.⁷⁷

Just how well the female department might fare under the new arrangement with Turner evidently gave some concern to the citizens. The board, however, considered the available assets sufficient to operate the department, and they assured the public, "The Board of Education will continue to exercise constant supervision over both [departments,] and do all in their power to make the Institution the pride, the ornament, and the blessing of our State."⁷⁸

In accepting the presidency of the Seminary in the first place, Turner's ambition was to develop the school into the strongest possible literary and scientific insti-

76. *Floridian and Journal*, September 3, 1859.

77. *Ibid.*, September 10, 1859.

78. *Ibid.*, September 3, 1859.

tution. At some time within his first two years, whether on his own initiative or at the suggestion of others we do not know, he began to consider the desirability of adding to the traditional curriculum a system of military training. In the summer of 1859 he apparently was still open-minded on the question. With the object of learning directly how such a system worked, and of arriving at a satisfactory conclusion in the matter, he spent the vacation months traveling widely and visiting other institutions where the system was in operation. His final decision was that military training would be a valuable addition to the educational program of the Seminary.

The decision entailed two additional steps: first, securing the money for the needed "guns and accoutrements." Turner was encouraged by Governor Broome and Colonel Houston, whom he met in Baltimore, to expect that these needs would be supplied by the State. The uniforms would, of course, be purchased by the cadets.

The second step to be taken was the employment of competent teachers to offer the military instruction and training. For the purpose, he engaged two teachers: George M. Edgar, highly recommended by the Virginia Military Institute, of which he was a graduate; and a Mr. Pierce, a graduate of Jefferson College and an instructor in the Scientific and Military Academy at Portsmouth, Virginia. Both men were said to be excellent scholars and good teachers. Mr. Edgar was induced to come to Florida, even at the sacrifice of his professional prospects elsewhere, by the promise of his having a part in building in Florida a literary, scientific, and military

79. Turner found on investigation in Baltimore that the uniforms could be bought at wholesale prices from a manufacturer in that city. The dress uniform of blue broadcloth with gold lace and metal buttons would cost \$12.00 per suit, and undress uniform of satinette, \$6.00. Caps would cost from \$1.00 to \$1.50.

school.⁸⁰ In addition to the two military instructors, Turner also engaged H. B. Craig, a graduate of Washington College, and a recent teacher in Albemarle, Virginia.

He had thus completed arrangements "for meeting all the demands of an English, classical, mathematical and scientific school of high grade and embracing 100 pupils." And he pledged himself to employ an additional instructor for every additional 25 students. Thus President Turner entered upon his third year at the Seminary with high hopes of building an institution which would "compare favorable with any in the country," and such as would convince Florida that she need not depend on other states for the instruction of her sons.⁸¹

The scholastic year of 1859-1860 began in both departments on October 3. The female department was under the direction of Miss C. Smith as principal, and her assistant, in the higher branches, was Mrs. Case, a graduate of Patapsco Institute ; in the common branches, Miss Wilson, of whom we are told nothing more. No teacher of music was employed ; but Mrs. H. H. Brown had her studio near the school, and arrangements were made for pupils who so desired to take their lessons with Mrs. Brown without interfering with their other studies. Tuition fees corresponded with, those in the male department, but each girl was first examined and the charge made in accordance with the subjects to be pursued.⁸²

Considering the lofty ambition for the Seminary

80. This apparently was the same George M. Edgar who returned to Tallahassee as principal of the Seminary in August, 1887, and remained until the summer of 1892. (See Florida Superintendent of Public Instruction, *Report*, 1887, p. 12.)

81. *Floridian and Journal*, September 20, 1859. Letter of President Turner to D. S. Walker, Chairman of the Board of Education, written from Beaver, Pennsylvania, August 25, 1859.

82. The arrangement with Mrs. Brown was probably made for reasons of economy. One result of it was the final severing of Mrs. L. E. Grant's connection with the school. Her card of September 22, 1860, indicates that she had been operating her own private school thru the previous year.

which Turner had entertained and which the Board probably shared and assuredly supported, it is disappointing that we know almost nothing of the school for the year 1859-1860. We are given but one important item of information, that "upward of 120 pupils were in attendance."⁸³ Lesser items tell us that in the May party of 1860, the children had been trained for their part in the ceremony by Miss Smith and Miss Wilson of the female department,⁸⁴ and that in the Fourth of July celebration, a detachment of cadets from the Seminary, under the command of Captain Nicholas W. Eppes, appeared in the "military display."⁸⁵

With our meager information about what promised to be Turner's most important year at the Seminary, we are wholly unprepared to understand his action at the end of that year in resigning his position as president of the institution. In reporting the May party, the editor ended his story with the remark, "And we may say in conclusion that the flourishing condition of our Seminary is a source of gratification to all true lovers of our country and our City."⁸⁶ And in commenting on Turner's resignation, he declared, "The State Seminary under his management has continued to increase in numbers and in public confidence. . . Very few institutions at the South, not endowed, enjoy such an organization for instruction as was effected by Mr. Turner for the past year. The development of his plans would have eventually secured for our community regular Collegiate as well as Academic instruction."⁸⁷ Why then did Turner make his seemingly abrupt decision?

Perhaps no complete answer to the question can be given. But, as one would expect, the matter of the city finances had something to do with Turner's resignation. By his contract, he was to receive \$2000.00 in cash and

83. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1860.

84. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1860.

85. *Ibid.*, July 7, 1860.

86. *Ibid.*, May 5, 1860.

87. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1860.

the tuition fees in the male department. Undoubtedly Turner, and possibly the board also, understood this to mean all the fees collected. But the City Council of 1860 held that their annual obligation to the Seminary did not extend beyond their guarantee that the tuition fees paid by the "City scholars" should amount to \$2000.00.⁸⁸ That is to say, the Council claimed these fees as payment on their annual obligation.

The new Council of 1860 had hardly taken office when the matter came up for consideration. In order to arrive at some understanding about the conflicting interpretations of Turner's contract, the Council, at their meeting on February 13, appointed two of their members to confer with the board about the payment of the Council's obligation. At the meeting of March 12, the committee, through the intendant, reported that nothing could be done in the matter until the expiration of Turner's contract.⁸⁹ And on June 7, they reported finally that the Board of Education agreed that the city should be required to pay "only such sums as may be necessary to make the sum of \$2000.00, if the tuition fees of the City pupils at the male and female seminaries should not equal that amount."⁹⁰

In plain words, the board could not renew Turner's contract for the following year 1860-1861. And so, early in the summer Turner left Tallahassee for good.⁹¹

Late in September, Francis Eppes, president of the Board of Education announced the faculty of the Semi-

88. Minutes of the Tallahassee City Council for 1860, p. 2.

89. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

90. *Ibid.*, pp. 7-8.

91. Mr. Turner originally came to Tallahassee from Abbeville, South Carolina, where he had been pastor of one of the Presbyterian churches in that vicinity. When he accepted the presidency of the Seminary, he relinquished his pastoral charge of the church in Tallahassee, but continued to serve the congregation at Lake Iamonia as stated supply of the church. On leaving Tallahassee, he returned to Abbeville as pastor of his former church. He spent a good portion of his later years in pastoral and educational work in Arkansas, Louisiana, and Texas. He died about 1896. (Scott, *op. cit.*, p. 726.)

nary for 1860-1861. In the male department, the president and professor of ancient and modern languages was Philip H. Montague, a graduate of the University of Virginia, and a teacher of long experience. James H. Lane was professor of mathematics and military tactics, succeeding George M. Edgar of the previous year. Remaining from that year was H. B. Craig as professor of Greek, and apparently in charge of the preparatory department.

The female department continued under the direction of Miss Smith, who had as her assistants Mrs. Case and Miss Fannie Bull. No teachers of modern languages, music, and drawing had been engaged, but the board agreed to employ teachers of these subjects in the city "according to the preferences of the pupils."⁹² On October 6, however, the board announced that they had secured the services of the "distinguished linguist," Professor Sartori, a graduate of the University of Padua, and for a number of years a teacher in the schools and colleges of Lynchburg, Virginia.⁹³

The school year had hardly started when serious trouble arose in the male department. Professors Lane and Craig suddenly resigned their positions on the faculty. We are given no intimation what their grievance was; but their action was regarded by the board as insurgent and disloyal.

The board therefore immediately accepted the resignations, even though they came in the very beginning of the academic year, at a time when it is always difficult to secure acceptable new teachers. President Montague took over Craig's students in Greek; and Professor Sartori, for an extra stipend no doubt, relieved Montague of his classes in modern language. W. W. Woodward, who two years before had taught the English branches, was recalled to the same position in the emergency. But no one was available to carry on Lane's work in mathe-

92. *Floridian and Journal*, September 22, 1860.

93. *Ibid.*, October 6, 1860.

matics, and the Board had to suspend these classes until they could find a new teacher.

At length, on December 1 they were able to inform the friends and patrons of the Seminary that they had secured for Professor of mathematics and military tactics J. Lucius Cross. The new professor, a graduate of the Virginia Military Institute, had been a teacher for several years, and brought to the board the highest testimonials of qualification and character. The board deeply regretted the interruption of the routine of the Seminary, but they felt considerable satisfaction in pointing to their prompt acceptance of the resignations of Lone and Craig as "ample proof of their inflexible determination to preserve order in the School, as well among teachers as pupils."⁹⁴

And so, the corps of teachers was once more complete, and the Seminary, under President Montague's guidance, proceeded, auspiciously it seemed, into its fourth scholastic year. In little more than a month after Mr. Eppes' announcement, Florida joined her sister state of South Carolina in seceding from the Union. In two months more, the conflict between the Northern and Southern States, long smouldering, burst into flame. The vicissitudes of the West Florida Seminary through the four years of that struggle and through the four decades following it, afford an important and attractive theme for future writers.

94. *Ibid.*, December 1, 1860.

ENUMERATION OF FLORIDA SPANISH
MISSIONS IN 1675

WITH TRANSLATIONS OF DOCUMENTS

by **MARK F. BOYD**

The instances when either the Spanish civil or ecclesiastical colonial authorities submitted enumerations of the mission establishments in Florida appear to have been infrequent and irregular. It is consequently somewhat surprising that two lists are available for the year 1675. The first of these to attract attention was the list incorporated in an undated letter written to the Queen of Spain by Bishop Gabriel Diaz Vara Calderon of Cuba, which was presented in translation by Lucy L. Wenhold (1936). The bishop paid an extensive pastoral visit to Florida in 1674-75, remaining for eight months, during which he appears to have visited Guale, Timuqua and Apalachee. His list has been the most useful of the enumerations heretofore available. The lists in the documents here presented in translation, are enclosures accompanying a letter to the Queen from Don Pedro de Hita Salazar, Governor of Florida, dated San Augustin, August 24, 1675 (AI 58-1-26:38). It is among a series of photostats of documents relating to Apalachee in the Stetson collection made available to the writer through the courtesy of the late Dr. James A. Robertson, then Secretary of the Florida State Historical Society. The Arcos and Fernandez de Florencia descriptions are somewhat more specific than is that of the bishop, inasmuch as they mention some villages of pagans, and give approximate populations. The account of Arcos relates the crossing of various bars or estuaries en route, thus permitting of the insular localization of the Guale missions. The Guale list gives the names of the resident missionaries, which are unfortunately omitted from that for Apalachee and Timuqua. Father Geiger (1940) appears to have been the only scholar to have been cognizant of these lists, as he incorporates data relating to the Guale missionaries in the sketches of his dictionary. The decadence of the Guale

and Timuquan missions at this time is striking, particularly when compared with populous Apalachee. The latter had a population in excess of eight thousand, as compared with 670 for Guale and 1330 for Timuqua.

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MISSIONS OF GUALE AND MOCAMA

Pedro de Arcos, soldier of the company of Captain Don Juan de Hita Salazar, one of those of the garrison of this Presidio, says that in compliance with the orders of the Sergeant Major Don Pablo de Hita Salazar, Governor and Captain General of this City, Presidio and Provinces of San Augustin of Florida, who commanded me to describe to him the places and people of the Provinces of Mocama and Guale and of how those of the Presidio have participated in them on this and other occasions, I give the following report:

Firstly, the village where is found the infantry of the garrison is called Santa Cathalina, with which is incorporated the village of Satuache, it may have one hundred and forty persons, between men, children and women. It is attended by a missionary for the administration of the Holy Sacraments, the Father Fray Bernave de los Angeles.

From this place [Santa Cathalina] to that of San Joseph of Sapala is two leagues, passing a bar [en route]. In round numbers it may have, between men, children and women and pagans, fifty persons. Here serves the missionary, Father Fray Juan Bautista Campana.

From this place of Sapala to that of Santo Domingo of Asao is six leagues, having to pass the bars of Aspo

and that of Asao. It is served by the missionary Father Fray Juan de Useda. It may have between men, children and women, thirty, a little more or less.

From this place of Asao to that of San Simon is two leagues. This is a village of pagans, which may have forty persons, among men, children and women.

From this place of San Simon to that of Ocotonico is one league. It may have one hundred and twenty persons between men, children and women.

From this place of Ocotonico to that of the mission of Guadalquini is one and one half leagues. It may have forty persons, with men, children and women, a few more or less. It is in charge of the missionary Father Fray Pedro de Luna.

From this place of Guadalquini to that of San Phelipe is six leagues, passing [en route] the bars of Guadalquini and that of Ballenas. [It has] thirty six persons, between men, children and women and some pagans. It has for missionary Fray Pedro de la Lastra.

From this place [San Phelipe] to the Isle of Mocama is three leagues, crossing [en route] the bar of San Pedro. The first village of Mocama is of pagan Yamases, and has sixty persons, between men, children and women.

From this place [first village] to that of the casique of Ocotoque which is on the same isle, is one league, and may have forty persons, between pagan men, children and women.

From this place [Ocotoque] to that of La Tama is two leagues. It may have fifty persons between pagan men, children and women.

From this place [La Tama] to that of Santa Maria is one half league. [It] also is of pagans, and may have forty persons, between men, children and women, a few more or less.

From this place [Santa Maria] to the mission of San Juan del Puerto is three leagues, and en route one passes the bar of Santa Maria. It may have thirty per-

sons, between men, women and children, a few more or less. It has for missionary the Father Fray Diego Bravo. To go [from here] to the Presidio, one crosses the bar of San Juan, and since this is the last place of the Province of Guale, one passes within by navigable rivers from there to the Presidio of San Augustin.

MISSIONS OF APALACHE AND TIMUQUA

The Captain Juan Fernandez de Florencia, Deputy Governor and Chief Justice, and Military Captain of the Province of Apalache, by commission from Senor Don Pablo de Hita Salazar, Governor and Captain General of the Presidio of San Augustin of Florida and of its Provinces, by His Majesty: In compliance with a written order from his lordship in which he commands me to send him a report of the villages of this Province and those of Timuqua, and of others which are reduced to our Holy Catholic Faith, and in compliance with it, I relate that in this Province of Apalache are eleven mission villages, that each of them is served by a priest of the order of San Francisco, which is his parish, although at present, three of them lack priests, although served by one from the nearest place there is to each of these villages.

In the village of San Luis, headquarters of the deputy governor (which it has always been) there is a population of one thousand four hundred persons, between men, children and women, a little more or less.

From this place [San Luis] to that of San Damian de Acpayca, is one league [there is a] mission, and as many as nine hundred persons, a little more or less.

From this place [San Damian] to that of San Antonio de Bacuqua is two leagues, mission of one hundred and twenty persons.

From this place [San Antonio] to that of San Pedro de Patale is two leagues, mission of about five hundred persons.

From this place [San Pedro] to that of San Joseph de Ocuya, is four leagues, which may have as many as nine hundred persons, a little more or less.

From this place [San Joseph] to that of San Juan de Azpalaga is a league and a half, and it may have up to eight hundred persons.

From this place [San Juan] to that of San Francisco de Oconi, is one league, and may have up to two hundred persons, a little more or less.

From this place [San Francisco] to Concepcion de Ayubale is little more than half a league, and in it are eight hundred persons.

From this place [Concepcion] to San Lorenzo de Ybitachuco is a league and a half, and may have as many as a thousand two hundred persons.

From this place of San Luis to Candelaria, a new mission established this year, there are people of La Tama and Yamases all of one nation [*todos de una nacion*], there is a little more than a half league, and there are as many as three hundred persons.

From this place [Candelaria] to San Martin de Tomole is two leagues, and there may be seven hundred persons.

From this place [San Martin] to Santa Cruz de Ytuchafun is a little more than two leagues, which has as many as sixty persons, men, women and children.

From the said place of San Luis on the road to the sea is established a mission of three small villages which together may have three hundred persons of the nation Caparaz (sic.) (Pacaraz, ?) Amacanos and Chines, called Asuncion de Nuestra Senora, a new mission established in the past year of one thousand six hundred and seventy four.

*From the village of San Luis toward a river by which one may go to the Province of ApalacheCole, two leagues. From the said place of San Cuiz [sic., Cruz (?) Luiz (?)] is established the mission La Natividad de Nuestra Gracia, a new mission established in the year thousand six hundred and seventy five, which today has very few people, which according to my information, may be as many as forty persons.

From the river to the two missions of the Province of the Chactos, which are no more [que no son mas], and which were established in the past year, the first of which is called San Nicolas de Tolentino and will have one hundred persons. It is ten leagues from the river.

From this [San Nicolas] to San Carlos is four leagues. It may have four hundred persons. In these two places are two missionaries and on the said river of Santa Cruz, another.

On departing from the Province of Apalache for San Augustin, one enters the Province of Timuqua, the first village in it being San Miguel de Asile, which is one and half leagues from Yvitachuco, and has up to forty persons, a little more or less.

Footnote: *The original Spanish of the three paragraphs following the asterisk apparently contain instances of omission and garbling attributable either to Captain Fernandez de Florencia or some bygone copyist. Two leagues, the expressed distance from San Luis to the Apalachicola river is absurd. This leads to the suspicion that the word "veinte" was omitted from before "dos". A statement of twenty-two leagues would be reasonable. The phrase *no son mas* does not make sense with its context. These paragraphs are as follows:

"Del lugar de Sn Luis a un Rio que por el se ba a la Proia de ApalacheCole, dos (Sic) leguas. del dho lugar de Sn Cuiz esta fundado Doctrina La Natividad de Nra Gracia Doctrina nueva que se fundo ano de mill y stos y setenta y cinco y tiene oy muy poca jente que segun estoy ynformado ay asta quarenta personas."

"Deste Rio a las dos Doctrinas de la Provia de los chactos que no son mas y se fundaron el ao pasado el prima de ellos se lama Sn Nicolas de Tolentino y tendra cien personas esta diez leguas del Rio."

"Desta al de San Carlos ay quatro leguas Tendra quatrocientas personas en estos dos lugares estan dos Religiosos y en dho Rio de Sta Cruz otro-".

From this place [San Miguel] to San Matheo is two and a half leagues, is a mission, and has up to three hundred persons, a little more, or less.

From this place [San Matheo] to the mission of Santa Elena de Machava is three leagues and a half, and it may have up to three hundred persons.

From this mission [Santa Elena] to San Pedro is one and a half leagues, and it will have a little more than three hundred persons.

From this village [San Pedro] to San Juan de Guacara are nine leagues. It is a mission. It is situated on the margin of a large river, which is crossed in a canoe, and has up to eighty persons.

From this village [San Juan] to Santa Cruz de Tari-gica is eight leagues, and has up to eighty persons.

From this village [Santa Cruz] to Santa Catholina is five leagues and has up to sixty persons.

From this village [Santa Catholina] to Santa Fee is nine leagues, and has up to one hundred and ten persons, a little more or less.

From this village [Santa Fee] to San Francisco is four leagues, which has up to sixty persons.

From this village [San Francisco] to the River of Salamototo are sixteen leagues deserted, and in the said deserted country are some rivers which during the greater part of the year are so dry that they only afford water to drink, and in the season of the rains are so full that many times they may only be crossed with rafts. The river of Salamototo is very large and about a league in breadth at the crossing. On the side of the Presidio there is a place which with great labor ferry and transport the people which go and come from the said provinces is [nevertheless] nearly uninhabited, and would not have more than forty persons in all. This is what I have seen and have been told many times, and although there are other provinces such as that of Apalachecole which have given submission to Your Majesty, and of

that of Toasa, of these I cannot given information because they have not given [information] that is reliable, and only could have some error in the number of inhabitants of the villages, since I have not taken a census and they die daily, for which reason I have said a little more or less. Done in San Luis de Apalache on the 15th of July of one thousand six hundred and seventy five years.

DR. HENRY PERRINE, TROPICAL PLANT
ENTHUSIAST

by NELSON KLOSE

After much research on the subject, this writer believes that no person worked with more devotion and energy for the introduction of tropical agricultural plants into the United States in the second quarter of the nineteenth century than did Dr. Henry Perrine.¹ His was the foremost pioneering in agriculture for the development of the newly-acquired Territory of Florida. Perrine's work came when a need was felt for new crops to diversify and bolster the agriculture of the South before effective assistance was given the states and before the Federal Congress had bureaucratized this work in 1839 with its first appropriation of \$1000 for agricultural purposes. Before 1839 the valuable work of finding and adapting foreign agricultural plants to the multitude of new opportunities and requirements in America depended upon the zeal of private individuals, including several of the nation's fathers, and upon horticultural societies. Perrine ranks prominently among his predecessors in this work. His contribution was to stimulate considerable interest in the possibilities of tropical agriculture in Florida and in the southern United States by his introductions of Mexican plants during his residence in Mexico as consul at Campeche. This work led to his death at the hands of the Florida Indians in

1. The author's interest in Perrine began with a study of the assistance given him by the United States Congress in 1838 in the form of a land grant on Biscayne bay. This paper is based on the treatment of Perrine's work in the author's unpublished doctoral dissertation: *Foreign Plant Introduction by the Federal Government: A Study in American Agricultural History*, (The University of Texas, 1947).

1840 after two years work with his plants on the land granted him by Congress in 1838.²

Henry Perrine was a descendant of Daniel Perrin, Huguenot refugee, who arrived in New Jersey in 1665.³ Born April 5, 1797 at Cranbury, New Jersey, young Henry became a school teacher while still in his teens. After completing his professional education, in New York it is believed, Perrine began his medical career in Indiana. Two years later he moved to Natchez, Mississippi, seeking a warmer climate. Here he learned to treat yellow fever and published several articles on the subject in the *Philadelphia Medical Journal* and in other medical journals of the day.⁴ Still seeking a warmer climate for his health, Perrine in 1826 went to Cuba, and his interest in tropical agriculture dates from this time. Here he observed agricultural practices, compiled statistics, compared agriculture in Cuba and in the United States, and drew certain favorable conclusions regarding the prospects of tropical agriculture in Florida.⁵ The lack of efficiency of labor and management on Cuban plantations in the production of sugar and other tropical crops appeared as a breach in the armor of a rival which should be turned to our advantage by the "introduction of tropical plants to the the industry of our free in-

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2. This was the third and last act of Congress to subsidize new crop industries and assist the acclimatization of foreign plants in the United States by granting to promoters favorable terms for the procurement of land. The first officially authorized assistance of the Federal Government to the work of plant introduction was a minor act in 1802 giving favorable terms to John J. Dufour and his associates for the culture of the vine. The second gesture was the Act of Congress, March 3, 1817, for the encouragement of the cultivation of the vine and the olive by the Tombigbee Association in Alabama. None of these grants succeeded in their purposes.
 3. Perrine, Howland Delano, *Daniel Perrin "The Huguenot" and His Descendents in America, of the Surnames Perrine, Perine, and Prine, 1665-1910*, p. 23.
 4. Reese, Joe Hugh, "Florida's Priority in Plant Introduction," in *Hollywood Magazine*, March, 1925, p. 30.
 5. 25th Congress, 2nd Session, *House Report 564*, p. 17.

stitutions. "The proximity of Cuba to Florida suggested ease in accomplishing this objective."⁶

Perrine's experiences in Cuba undoubtedly led to his appointment as United States consul at Campeche, Yucatan, Mexico, in 1827. On September 6 of that year the Treasury Department issued its second circular,⁷ largely the work of John Quincy Adams, calling on port collectors and officers of naval and merchant vessels to lend their assistance in the collection and transportation of valuable agricultural seeds and plants to the United States. Undoubtedly this was a welcome cue to Perrine in Yucatan. He worked and sacrificed his financial interests during nearly nine years of residence in Mexico to further the aims of the Treasury Circular of 1827.

While in Campeche Perrine worked to procure and export Mexican plants, especially the fiber-producing agaves. His medical skill he used to promote his main objective by administering to the native Mexicans of both humble and influential station. Undoubtedly he sacrificed many fees he might have collected had he not given his services hoping to procure jealously guarded seeds and plants. Other Americans in similar consular positions did make fortunes through the advantages of their office. There is ample testimony to the valuable medical services which Perrine gave Mexicans during epidemics of both yellow fever and cholera.⁸ He himself suffered from attacks of cholera and yellow fever and survived by the use of his own remedies. In spite of his great services the Mexicans time after time defeated Perrine's attempts to ship live plants or seeds out of Mexico, though they could not openly refuse him. No farmers at any time have cared to risk losing a valuable market for their crops by assisting in the development of a rival crop industry abroad. The Mexicans were no exception and gave Perrine much reason for

6. 22nd Cong., 1st. *H. Report 454*, p. 15.

7. The first was circulated in 1819 by Secretary William H. Crawford.

8. 25th Cong., 2nd. *H. Report 564*, p. 10.

discouragement by their cunning destruction of the viability of seeds and plants. Often they reported that seeds either were not ready to gather or had already been lost, or they delayed transportation of plants so that they died on the way out of Tabasco or Yucatan.⁹

Plants which he shipped out on Mexican and Spanish owned and manned ships did not fare well. When plants did reach the United States there were no facilities for their care and frequently no interested persons at the ports to nurse them. However, he did send many of his plants to friends. Charles Howe, postmaster and inspector of customs at Indian Key, Florida, received and cared for plants on that island, and John Dubose, one-time inspector and lighthouse keeper at Cape Florida, cared for other plants at Key West. Other friends did likewise while Perrine remained in Mexico.¹⁰

Perrine's first attempt to secure a grant of land from the Federal Government was in 1832. On February 9, 1832 the Lyceum of Natural History of New York adopted a resolution favoring Congressional aid to Perrine's plan for the cultivation of sisal hemp. He wrote in 1830 that he had

. . . secured the assistance of Professor Torrey, of the Medical College, Mr. Peale of [the] Museum, and the Messrs. Princes, of the garden at Flushing, Long Island, for receiving and preserving, subject to the orders of Government, everything that remains, of what he has already sent on, and all that he may hereafter transmit.¹¹

The Legislative Council of Florida cooperated in 1832 by incorporating the Tropical Plant Company of Florida and by directing the delegate in Congress to work for a land grant for the company.¹² The governor and the Legislative Council of Florida were both interested in Per-

9. 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Doc. 198*, p. 7.

10. 25th Cong., 2nd, *H. Report 564*, p. 59.

11. Perrine to the Secretary of State, January 1, 1830, in 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Doc. 198*, p. 10.

12. 25th Cong., 2nd, *H. Report 564*, pp. 11-12.

rine's work, because it might assist the development of their state. The governor recommended the granting of a charter to Perrine and to such a company as he would form for the introduction of tropical plants and hoped that the National Congress would grant aid to Perrine and the enterprise. The governor was seeking a counter-attraction to the large homestead land grants drawing settlers to Texas at this time.¹³

Perrine solicited the attention of the public by writing letters to newspapers regarding the opportunities in the cultivation of tropical plants.¹⁴ He made experimental shipments of the century plant (*Agave americana*) to Dr. Samuel L. Mitchell of New York and Domingo Fleitus of New Orleans.¹⁵ In 1834 the Secretary of the Navy, Levi Woodbury, wrote him, "I have the honor to inform you, that this Department, will be happy to give any aid in relation to the subjects named, which the existing laws may authorize."¹⁶ Professor Don Ramon de la Sagra of the Royal Botanical Gardens of Havana promised to give aid to Perrine in his work in south Florida in return for plants from Yucatan.¹⁷

The large extent of newly-acquired Florida would lie useless unless experiments were made to find profitable agricultural productions to attract a population. Perrine favored small landholders who would defend the vulnerable peninsula if need be. He wrote on this theme as follows :

If the suggestions of the memorialist, and if his experiments should be successful, the arid sands and arid rooks, and mangrove thickets of the coast, the miry marshes, pestilential swamps, and impene-

13. Perrine to the Secretary of State, January 1, 1830, in 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Doc. 198*, pp. 17-18; 29th Cong., 1st, *Sen. Report 94*, pp. 5-6.

14. 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Doc. 198*, p. 10.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 7.

16. 25th Cong., 2nd, *Sen. Doc. 300*, p. 139.

17. Woodburg to McLane, February 15, 1834, in State Department Archives, Dispatches Received, Campeche, January 25, 1820-June 21, 1834, Vol. I.

trable morasses of the interior, may all, ultimately be covered by a dense population of small cultivators and of family manufacturers ; and tropical Florida will thus form a well garisoned bulwark against invasion in every shape and shade Emigration from the south will be prevented, and even its ruined fields and barren wastes will become covered with a dense population of small cultivators. . . .¹⁸

The cultivation of tropical plants, he thought, could be extended northwards from Florida into the other southern states. When these should share the benefits of the new industries they would cease to calculate the value of the union. This hope was based on the false idea held by many at that time that tropical plants could be gradually acclimated to the colder temperatures of the North. Having in mind rice, tobacco, cotton, and sugar, he pointed to the “. . . history of all tropical plants whose cultivation has been gradually extended towards the poles.”¹⁹ Tropical plants would be suited to the exploitation of sterile, swampy, pestilential lands. What the soil of Florida lacked, the air and moisture, he explained, would supply to the plants which he sought to cultivate, Also,

The possibility of employing the voluntary labor of our white citizens in tropical agriculture becomes especially important from the consideration that the United States embrace the only portion of the world in which the best laborers and best institutions can be combined in the cultivation of tropical productions.²⁰

He stated that this combination would compete so successfully that in a few years the West Indies would be

18. *Ibid.*, p. 52 ; 25th Cong., 2nd, *Sen. Doc. 300*, pp. 2-3.

19. *Ibid.*, 3.

20. Perrine to Louis McLane, Secretary of State, February 1, 1834, State Department Archives, Dispatches Received, Campeche, January 25, 1820-June 21, 1834, Vol. I.

smuggling in the lower priced sugar from the United States(!).

The agaves especially attracted Perrine, particularly the *Agave sisalana*. They had a great many uses in the tropics, but Perrine based his hope on the manufacture of the fiber. Many species of these plants were common in Mexico and Central America. One of these, the century plant, was utilized by the Mexicans for at least a dozen purposes. In 1833 he wrote the Secretary of State asking that the Government furnish transportation for a quantity of the agave plants from Yucatan to the southern extremity of Florida. He announced in the same letter that he had “. . . invented a method of separating the fibres from the leaves of the Henequen Agave, or plant which produces the material known in commerce under the name Sisal Hemp, by means of Rotary Scrapers. . . .” This invention, which he compared to Whitney’s cotton gin,²¹ he expected to revolutionize the agriculture of the United States and of the world.²² Had the agaves been introduced earlier into cultivation in South Carolina the difficult economic conditions back of the Ordinance of Nullification would never have existed ; consequently, Perrine argued, nullification would never have been attempted(!). He asked that he and his associates be granted a township; if this could not be done, they hoped legislation would enable them to purchase thirty-six sections of land in southern Florida on similar conditions to those under which the lands were sold to Dufour and his associates for the cultivation of the vine.²³ The Senate Committee on Agriculture in 1838 concurred with Perrine’s views in hoping that the agaves might be gradually acclimated over the southern states and expressed the view that agave fibers were “superior substitutes for flax and hemp.”²⁴

21. Perrine to the Secretary of State, August 27, 1833, *ibid.*

22. Perrine to the Secretary of State, May 22, 1833, in State Department Archives, Dispatches Received, Campeche, January 25, 1820-June 21, 1834, Vol. I.

23. Perrine to the Secretary of State, August 27, 1833, *ibid.*

24. 25th Cong., 2nd, *Sen. Report 300*, p. 2.

A great many tropical plants other than the agaves attracted Perrine's attention. He first thought of the logwood trees in Yucatan²⁵ and suggested that a monopoly on logwood be established by plantings in the United States.²⁶ The demand for vegetable dyes caused him to study many other dye plants. Among these were the cochineal cactus with its insect parasite which produces a reddish dye, the "Shrub Indigo," the common indigo of Tabasco, and "a tree indigo." He sent seeds of these and of "nankeen colored cotton," the India rubber tree, the "Pasture tree," a soap tree (its saponaceous fruit was used as a substitute for soap), the "Purgative Pinon," "Spanish Cedar," a large ground gourd, tree-cotton, and others.²⁷ He planned to grow in Florida many plants which later attracted the interest of the Patent Office and of the Department of Agriculture. These included tea, olive, coffee, cocoanut, cacao, "the many-stemmed mulberry tree of Manilla and the tender silkworm of southern China," rubber producing plants, and various cacti. He planned to introduce edible fruits and plants including the pineapple tribe, cassava, bananas and plantains, pandanus palm, "the everbearing grapevine of Campeachy," the gomutus palm for fiber, sago, wine, sugar, thatch, and other products-, mangoes, the durian, the cherimoya, spondias, the mangosteen, sapotes, and the mamey apple. Spices, medicinal, and other plants to be introduced included black pepper, cinnamon, vanilla, ginger, tumeric, sarsaparilla roots, the pimienta tree, clover, nutmegs, arrowroot, medicinal aloes, jalap, ipecacuanha, cinchona, a fine flavored tobacco, and various plants for their timber, such as the "cedar of

25. Perrine to State Department, January 1, 1829, in 22nd Cong. 1st, *H. Doc. 198*, p. 10.

26. Perrine to State Department, May 8, 1832, in State Department Archives, Dispatches Received, Campeche, January 25, 1820-June 21, 1834, Vol. 1.

27. Perrine to the Secretary of State, October 24, 1831, in State Department Archives, Dispatches Received, Campeche, January 25, 1820-June 21, 1834, Vol. I.

Barbadoes," the habi of Campeachy-for shipbuilding-, and the brazilletto and logwood for hedges. ²⁸

In 1832 when Perrine first memorialized the United States Congress for a grant of land in the Territory of Florida the House passed a resolution on February 15 requesting information from the State Department regarding his activities. ²⁹ The memorial and a resolution of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida recommending the grant ". . . for the encouragement of the growth of new and important agricultural products, exotic vegetables, and tropical plants. . ." were referred to the House Committee on Agriculture. The Committee reported and gave their reasons for favoring the enterprise.

The Greeks and Romans obtained at the public expense a number of grains, vegetables, and plants, from Africa; and all the modern States of Europe have made it one of the leading considerations of national policy, to promote new acquisitions to the agriculture as well as to the commerce of the country. ³⁰

The report also asserted that Florida was incapable of producing any article then cultivated in the United States. ³¹ The Committee determined to report a bill to set apart one township of the public lands on condition that he successfully occupy and cultivate the land for the avowed purposes. ³² Congress however failed to grant the land at that time. ³³

The House and Senate each originated bills early in 1838 for a land grant to Perrine and each published a report on his activities. ³⁴ The two reports were very

28. 25th Cong., 2nd, *Sen. Doc. 300*, pp. 22-29.

29. 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Doc. 198*, p. 1.

30. 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Report 454*, p. 1.

31. *Ibid.* 2.

32. 22nd Cong., 1st, *H. Rep. 454*, p. 1.

33. 25th Cong., 2nd, *Sen. Doc. 300*, p. 4.

34. 25th Cong., 2nd, *H. Rep. 564* (February 17, 1838 ; to accompany bill H. R. No. 553) and *Sen. Doc. 300* (March 12, 1838; to accompany Senate Bill No. 241.)

similar and each consisted of letters submitted by Perrine in regard to his previous services to agriculture. Either *Report* is a compilation of letters, articles, endorsements and information on Perrine, on the soil and climate of southern Florida and on the subject of tropical plants. In detail and volume, in fact and argument, they offered support to the bills under consideration. The House *Report* shows that he had the backing of newspapers and journals, including *The Southern Agriculturist*, and of a resolution of the General Assembly and the Governor of Louisiana.³⁵ There is a detailed report with tables showing daily weather records for an entire year in southern Florida.³⁶ The Senate *Report* showed that

At the express desire of the memorialist, your committee has long delayed its action for the purpose of making a rigid investigation of his suggestions, his services, and his plans in relation to the immediate domestication of tropical plants in southern Florida, and of their gradual acclimation throughout all the southern and southwestern states; and hence your committee has arrived at the conclusion that his services have been great; that his suggestions are important, and that his plans are laudably patriotic and practicable. In obedience to the Treasury circular of the 6th of September, 1827, Dr. Henry Perrine appears to be the only American consul who has perseveringly devoted his head, heart, and hands to the subject of introducing tropical plants in the United States; and his voluminous manuscripts alone exhibit a great amount of labor and research which promise to be highly beneficial to our common country.³⁷

The grant became law July 7, 1838. The preamble gave the reasons - a digest of Perrine's arguments-

³⁵ 25th Cong., 2nd, *H. Rep.* 564, pp. 37-38.

³⁶ *Ibid.*, 63-67.

³⁷ 25th Cong., 1st, *Sen. Rep.* 300, p. 1.

for passing the law. The grant was a township-23,040 acres-to Perrine and his associates “. . . to be located in one body of six miles square, upon any portion of the public lands below twenty-six degrees north latitude.” It was to be occupied within two years, and each section had to be occupied within eight years from the date of the location of the tract by an actual settler cultivating useful tropical plants, otherwise the land would be forfeited.³⁸

Perrine received further support from the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida in 1840 as indicated by the following resolution.

Resolved, that our Delegate in Congress be requested to urge upon the Secretary of the Navy the propriety of issueing an order to the commanders of vessels of war of the United States, when ordered on foreign service, that they shall take on board all valuable tropical plants which can be domesticated in Florida, particularly the sisal Hemp, the manilla hemp, Banana and New Zealand Flax, Lilly, and on their arrival in the United States, they shall send them by safe conveyance to Dr. Henry Perrine, the superintendent of the Tropical plant company, at Indian Key, South Florida.³⁹

Perrine had apparently planned to spend the rest of his life at Indian Key with his plant work. He moved his family with him from New York to Florida in December 1838 and landed on Christmas morning at Indian Key, an island of about twelve acres. He went against the advice of the Secretary of War, Joel R. Poinsett, who warned him that the Indians were again at war. Perrine considered Indian Key secure enough and decided to stay there until the Indians were quieted on the mainland. He had previously established at Indian

38. *U. S. Statutes at Large*, 302.

39. Territory of Florida, Legislative Council, 18th Session, *Journal* (Report of the select committee to whom was referred the petition of Henry Perrine), 142-143.

Key a depot for his plants under the care of Charles Howe. Henry Perrine was shot and his home and valuable notes and papers were burned by a war party which surprised the family on the night of August 7, 1840. His family miraculously escaped to tell the story.⁴⁰

It is not likely that Perrine ever would have achieved results commensurate with his zealotry. His machine for separating the agave fibers did not come up to his expectations. Numerous later attempts by others to found fiber crop industries still await success. There were too many opportunities in other economic pursuits for high-priced American labor to compete with low-paid fiber producers in Mexico and Central America, although Perrine hoped to overcome this problem by invention. The nature of the work of plant introduction and the establishment of a new agricultural crop is such that ordinarily an individual is not able to succeed. It is a task for governments. Long experience with a new industry is necessary, much time is required for the development of a market for a new product, and too much time and expense are required for the individual to realize a quick profit on his investment. Although risks of devastating losses are taken by the individual who invests his capital in new crops in the face of unknown costs and of an unpredictable market, great long-run benefits may accrue to the public.

Summary

In summary of the final results of his efforts, it may be said that Perrine had done a great deal of work at great expense to himself; much interest was aroused in the country, and nearly two hundred varieties of tropical plants had been imported by him. He had made sisal planting on every section of the grant before he had to withdraw to Indian Key. Most of Perrine's plants were destroyed in the fire and massacre when Perrine lost

40. Hester Perrine Walker, "Massacre at Indian Key, August 7, 1840, and the Death of Dr. Henry Perrine," in *The Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, V, (July, 1926), 19.

his life. Many of his plants were carried later to other parts of Florida and to other states by Army officers who sent them to Army posts as ornamentals or to greenhouses in the North.⁴¹ The extent of Perrine's transplants is indicated by his plans to charter a ship for this purpose at one time and, in another instance, his solicitation, as previously noted, of the cooperation of the vessels of the Navy. His attitude in plant introduction as in medicine had been philanthropic.⁴² The location of his land was an excellent choice climatically; the present tropical plant introduction garden of the Department of Agriculture at Coconut Grove, Florida, is located next to the site of his grant.

41. United States Department of Agriculture, *Annual Report of the Secretary, 1891*, pp. 417-418.

42. Soon after his death short biographical sketches of Perrine were published in the *Western Journal of Medicine and Surgery* (Louisville, Kentucky), 1840, pp. 321-323, in Toner Collection, Library of Congress (clipping) and in *The Cultivator* (Albany), VII, (December, 1840), 186.

Note. In addition to the sources referred to in this article see: *Proceedings of the Florida State Horticultural Society, 1937*, "Henry Perrine, Pioneer Horticulturist of Florida," by T. Ralph Robinson; *Ibid.* (1938) "Further Notes on the Perrine Episode" by the same author; and by the same author, "Perrine and Florida Cotton Tree" in *Tequesta, The Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida*, Number seven, 1947. *Ed.*

LOCAL HISTORY

The QUARTERLY has often stressed the urgent need for the recording of local history ere it is forgotten, and has encouraged its writing by some one in each community. This is a real public service, and one that would be appreciated by those now who care for what is past, and by those in the future who will want to know about the early days of their home town or county. There is no more certain way to make sure that one's name is remembered, for if even a brief sketch is printed in your local newspaper, some copies will be preserved and handed down to other generations.

"When Kissimmee Was Young"

This is the title of the latest local Florida history, which is one of the best. The author, Elizabeth Aultman Cantrell, is largely indebted to her mother, Mary Willson Aultman, whose family was one of the region's pioneers, for much of the material upon which the book is based. Another important source was files of the *Kissimmee Gazette* covering the past half-century, with clippings from other newspapers preserved by Mrs. Aultman. Reminiscences, interviews with the old-timers, and a few quotations from historical volumes, make up the remainder of the seventy pages, which must include most of what can be learned today of Kissimmee's youth.

Here are narratives of the Indians, the old trails, drainage and the founding of the town, early shipping, Will Wallace Harney, the Kissimmee poet, an old-time Fourth-of-July, and much more of the like.

The book was published (at \$1) by the Philathea Class of the First Christian Church.

Coconut Grove in 1895

In *My Pioneer Reminiscences*, Mrs. Harlan Trapp says: "When I was a child I often dreamed that some time I would have a home in Florida. My dream came true. I have had the thrill of seeing the magic city of

Miami grow from an infant and I want to share some of my experiences with you."

This booklet of a dozen pages tells of the realization of the dream, but there was at first the hard reality of the pioneer in the, Coconut Grove of the early 1890's.

The railroad ended at Palm Beach then, from whence a small sail boat carried the dreamer to Fort Lauderdale. From there a wagon with no springs and a plank across the sides for a seat took her over the mail route, which was not a road, to Lemon City - a city of two shacks, and another small boat landed her at the future Coconut Grove with its Peacock Inn.

Pioneer hardships and pleasures are recounted, but time brought Flagler with his railroad and the Miami of today was on the way, of which something also is told; and Mrs. Trapp's last sentence is "Life as a pioneer in Dade County has been full of hardships, but I would not exchange the memories I have for those of any life of luxury I could imagine."

THE RECORDS OF THE TERRITORIES NOW IN WASHINGTON

The project of the State Department for the publication of these records was fully described in this *Quarterly* the issue of October 1941 (xx, 216). Another volume of the series has now appeared: "The Territorial Papers of the United States, compiled and edited by Clarence Edwin Carter. Volume XIII: The Territory of Louisiana-Missouri, 1803-1806." Washington, Government Printing Office, 1948. (\$3.50)

There is little or nothing in this volume relating to Florida, but several of the earlier volumes, Louisiana proper and Mississippi territories, do have a small amount of Florida references. Two volumes of Florida documents are projected, but it will be some time before they are published.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

A MEETING OF THE DIRECTORS

A called meeting of the board of directors of the Society was held in our library in St. Augustine on July 31, with eight directors in attendance: Mark F. Boyd, president, came from Tallahassee; Richard P. Daniel, vice president, Dena Snodgrass, and Frank H. Elmore Jr. came from Jacksonville; Rembert W. Patrick and Donald E. Worcester came from Gainesville; and Mrs. Alberta Johnson and Albert C. Manucy are residents of St. Augustine.

An invitation to hold our next annual meeting in Miami as guests of the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the University of Miami was accepted with enthusiasm. The date, in early Spring, will be fixed by our hosts. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, of the University of Miami, will be program chairman.

Approval was given for increase of the rent of our headquarters from \$300 to \$600 per year. The additional amount must be taken from our book fund.

One of the most valuable gifts our Library has ever received was announced, being a large part of the library of the late Dr. James Alexander Robertson. This is described in our accessions below.

The membership drive, now underway, was discussed and Vice President Richard P. Daniel was appointed statewide chairman.

A committee on publicity was appointed with Miss Snodgrass as chairman.

Other matters were considered which will be reported as results are reached.

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Our library has recently received a large and exceedingly valuable gift from Mrs. James Alexander Robertson, being the part of Dr. Robertson's library relating to Florida, including manuscripts of all kinds and maps. As most of those who are interested in Florida history and bibliography know, Dr. Robertson was one

of the foremost historians of Florida, his greatest contribution being as editor of and contributor to the unequalled series of volumes published by the Florida State Historical Society under the leadership and support of Dr. John B. Stetson Jr. He was one of the directors of our Society.

Included in the gift are several unpublished manuscripts, original documents, and a great number of photostats and transcripts, mainly from foreign archives. As these were selected by Dr. Robertson for their relation to Florida's history, their value to our library is evident.

One notable unpublished manuscript is "Life in Camp and Field," a journal of the Seminole War, by J. Rhett Motte of the Medical Corps, U. S. Army. Another is "Banking in Florida" by D. Y. Thomas.

There are a great number of photostats and typed transcripts from the Spanish archives, especially Florida documents from Archivo General de Indias, including cédulas, memorials, and various reports from the colonial government, including the expedition of 1742 against Charleston. The Public Record Office in London contributes documents relating to British Florida, and from the British Museum comes complete photostats of DeBrahm's noteworthy "Survey of the Southern District of North America." From the Clements Library are more than one hundred pages from the papers of the Earl of Shelburne.

Prints and portraits are numerous, including Laudonniere and Hawkins.

There are more than two hundred reproductions of maps of all periods.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

William G. Dodd is Dean Emeritus, College of Arts and Sciences, Florida State University.

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Nelson Klose is an Instructor in History, University of Maryland, whose present field of research is the introduction of plants into the United States.

To THE READER: This is an invitation to any one interested in Florida's history to join with us in the Florida Historical Society. The annual dues are four dollars, and this includes the **QUARTERLY** which is sent to all members as issued. Application may be made to Mrs. Alberta Johnson, Secretary, P. O. box 1149, St. Augustine.