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THE NATIONAL FARMERS' ALLIANCE
CONVENTION OF 1890 AND ITS
"OCALA DEMANDS"

by SAMUEL PROCTOR

Probably there were none as surprised or as pleased as were Florida's four delegates¹ to the National Farmers' Alliance Convention when it was decided that the 1890 meeting of the National Alliance Supreme Council would be held in Jacksonville. Politically a part of the "solid South", and with a population of only a few thousand, it seemed scarcely possible that frontier Florida would be chosen, nor could it well play host to any national organization, even one as politically adolescent as was the National Farmers' Alliance in 1889. However, Florida's invitation was accepted by the convention which met in St. Louis in December of that year.²

This decision to hold the convention in Florida may be viewed from two angles. First, it would prove an excellent opportunity to advertise the state. Secondly, it might formulate once and for all the crucial struggle which had been brewing between conservative and radical wings of the Alliance. The first of these views was particularly prominent in the minds of the Florida delegation when they extended their hospitable invitation. Such a convention, with its resultant publicity, would not only bring hundreds of delegates and visitors to Florida but it would also tend to attract settlers to the state.³ The State Alliance might even be successful in luring lukewarm South Floridians into the organization.⁴

Jacksonville, because of its size, its location and because it had adequate hotel and restaurant facilities to accommodate a large throng, was chosen as the place

1. The delegates were Robert F. Rogers, Live Oak, President of the Florida Alliance; A. S. Mann, Jacksonville; Oswald Wilson, originally from New York; and H. C. Randall, Purcell.

2. N. A. Dunning, *The Farmers' Alliance History and Agricultural Digest*. (Washington, 1891) p. 131.

3. *The Weekly Floridian*, Tallahassee, Florida, June 11, 1890.

4. James O. Knauss, "The Farmers' Alliance In Florida," *The South Atlantic Quarterly*, XXV, 300-315, (July, 1926).

for the meeting. However, Jacksonville's citizens seemed disinterested. When the time came to appropriate funds to help defray expenses which the Alliance would necessarily incur, the people were not overly-generous.⁵ The Board of Trade and the Sub-Tropical Exposition officials agreed to allow free use of the Sub-Tropical building, and to release half of the gate receipts, after expenses were deducted, to help with costs. They insisted that the building's management be kept in the Board of Director's hands. Robert F. Rogers, president of Florida's Alliance group, valued this offer at approximately \$1,500.⁶

Rogers knew that the Alliance might very well cancel its plans to meet in Florida when it received the offer from Jacksonville. He approached John F. Dunn, President of the Merchants' National Bank of Ocala, with his problem and asked him if Ocala would play host to the farm group. Dunn, realizing what this would mean to the merchants of Ocala and consequently to his bank, enthusiastically agreed. He immediately pledged \$5,000 of his own money and promised that Ocala would provide an equal amount. On the basis of this new proposal, President Rogers journeyed to Washington and recommended that the Executive Committee change the meeting place to Ocala. On June 20, 1890, Rogers's recommendation was approved by unanimous vote of the committee.

Ocala offered many inducements to secure the Alliance plum. They allowed free use of their Semi-Tropical Exposition building and grounds, with the Alliance managing the building. All gate receipts were to be given to the Alliance, members were to be entertained at half-price and the National Alliance officers were to be housed, fed and entertained free of charge. Ocala hoped that railroad rates to and from the city would be reduced. In addition, \$7,000 was appropriated to aid Florida's

5. Telegram from Rogers to John F. Dunn, Ocala, Florida, dated June 21, 1890. Reprinted in *Ocala Banner*, June 27, 1890.

6. *Ocala Banner*, July 4, 1890.

Alliance in setting up its exhibitions. Ocala's offer was worth about \$15,000. Her citizens were excited about the publicity they knew they would receive. The *Ocala Banner* joyously proclaimed: "All eyes are turned on Ocala. Ocala's supreme moment has come and we must be equal to the occasion."⁷

While plans for the "Ocala Convention" were being formulated on both national and state levels during the months of 1890, portentous events were taking place in the South and throughout the nation. 1890 was an election year and the Alliance worked earnestly along political lines. Drawing inspiration from the platform adopted by the St. Louis delegates, the Southern Alliance leaders generally agreed that every effort should be made to capture the existing state machinery of the Democratic Party.⁸ Third party action was scarcely thought of. To lead this fight, the Southern Alliance chose as president, Colonel L. I. Polk of Raleigh, North Carolina. He had been actively engaged in the work of lining up the farmer vote of his state solidly against the old Bourbon machine and in favor of Alliance principles and candidates.

The Southern Alliance was not interested in organizing a third party that would divide the white vote of the South.⁹ The *National Economist*, which reflected accurately the official position "promised positively that a third party will not be formed." South Carolina progressives, under the leadership of Ben Tillman, made steady progress in securing control of the state's Democratic Party machinery.

Colonel Polk furnished in North Carolina the leadership for the farmers' movement that Tillman provided in South Carolina. Under the influence of Alliancemen, the North Carolina State convention adopted a platform that expressed sympathy with "the efforts of the farmers to throw off the yoke of Bourbonism."¹⁰ The spirit of revolt was equally strong in Georgia. The Alliance was

7. *Idem.*

8. John D. Hicks, *The Populist Party*, (Minneapolis, 1931), 153.

9. *Ibid.*, 170.

10. *Appletons' Annual Cyclopaedia*, 1890. 625.

determined to overthrow the ruling Bourbon aristocracy and take over the party. All the gubernatorial candidates in Georgia in 1890 were Alliancemen and many of the candidates for the State legislature were named by the Alliance. One of the Georgia Alliance nominees for Congress in this election was the spectacular Tom Watson of the 10th District. Watson, a fiery country lawyer who battled the industrial capitalists in Georgia, was one of the youngest Alliance leaders.¹¹ In Tennessee, Texas, and Arkansas Alliance candidates were successful.¹²

When the Alliance met in Ocala in December the election results had been tallied and they were extremely gratifying. Alliance candidates for governor in South Carolina, Georgia, and Tennessee, and the Alliance supported candidate in Texas had all been successful. The legislatures of eight southern states—Alabama, Florida, Georgia, Missouri, Mississippi, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Tennessee—were counted as safely within the Alliance grasp. Several Alliancemen won seats in Congress. Forty-four in the House professed Alliance views and two or three in the Senate.¹³

In the states where the more notable Alliance victories were scored much was expected of the newly elected legislatures. Curiously enough, however, not a great deal was accomplished by them. The South Carolina legislature reapportioned seats in the House which was favorable to the back-country whites, but it drastically cut Tillman's state educational proposals. The railway commission bill that finally was passed was so unsatisfactory that the governor vetoed it.¹⁴

Elsewhere in the South, results were much the same. The railway bill that became law in North Carolina was not unlike the measure that Governor Tillman wrathfully

11. C. Vann Woodward, *Tom Watson, Agrarian Rebel* (New York, 1937), 160-161.

12. Hicks, *op. cit.*, 177-178.

13. *Ibid.*, 178.

14. Francis B. Simkins, *The Tillman Movement in South Carolina*, Duke Univ. Press, 1926. 147-149.

vetoed in South Carolina. In Georgia, the right of the railroad commission to fix railway rates was asserted; banking corporations were more closely circumscribed in their operations; blacklists were forbidden and a twelve-hour day for railroad employees was established. But here, as elsewhere in the South, the pressing problem of crop mortgages was left untouched and in general hard times were not alleviated.¹⁵

It was painfully apparent from these failures that the formula of working through the Democratic party had proved entirely inadequate. Signs pointed unmistakably in the direction of a national third-party organization and it was upon this new note that the Ocala Convention met. This meeting was to become the mecca of all the leading advocates of the third-party idea.

There were many other problems facing the convention when it was called to order by President Polk at noon on December 2, 1890. The sub-treasury plan was of prime importance and it was hoped that some decision could be reached on this program introduced at the St. Louis meeting the year before by Dr. C. W. Macune.¹⁶ That meeting had endorsed the plan by an overwhelming majority; only seven votes were cast against its adoption. In the months before the Ocala meeting the sub-treasury measure became a rallying cry of the order and by common consent it was accepted as one of the great Alliance principles. However, there were conservative elements within the Alliance who were not sure that the sub-treasury plan would prove the cure-all for the American farmers' troubles. So the conservatives tried to rally forces to delay and oppose action on it.¹⁷

Meanwhile, Florida Alliancemen had worked arduously since September planning and preparing for the December meeting. At a conclave in the Ocala Opera

15. Alex M. Arnett, *The Populist Movement in Georgia*. (New York, 1922), 120-122.

16. The sub-treasury report was received from the "Committee of the Monetary System." C. W. Macune, past president of the Southern Alliance and past editor of its official journal, *National Economist*, was an important member of this committee.

17. Dunning, *op. cit.*, 137.

House in September, the organizing and planning committees formulated plans for a state agricultural exhibition to be held while the convention was meeting in the city. It was decided that each county would have individual exhibits which would show the "growing of corn, cotton, oats, rye, rice, field peas, ground peas, sweet potatoes, sugar cane, sugar, syrup, hay, tobacco, citrus fruits, peas, peaches, plums, bananas and all vegetables." The women of Florida would display "wines, jellies, handiwork, needle and fine art."¹⁸ Exhibits of yellow pine, hard woods, naval stores, native and blooded horses, cattle, hogs, sheep, goats and poultry were planned.

Prizes were announced for the best products in each field. Prizes included \$3.00 for the "best and largest number of homemade vinegars;" \$3.00 for the "best and largest number of varieties of Florida pickles;" \$15.00 for the "best bull, any age;" \$20.00 for the "best stallion, any age" and \$5.00 for the "best samples of home-made smoked bacon, consisting of a ham shoulder and side."¹⁹

The agricultural exposition was to be held in the Semi-Tropical building, which was divided into several sections. The north side was reserved for South Florida, south and west wings for East and West Florida, and the east wing was reserved for the ladies department. The building was filled with display stands and tables, which were built from Florida woods. These were elegantly decorated with "corn stalks, tobacco stems, oats and other products of the farm."²⁰ A fountain and pool decorated the center of the building. Over the bandstand hung a large handpainted banner with the legend, THE NATIONAL FARMERS ALLIANCE EXPOSITION. The auditorium was decorated with red, white and blue bunting and American flags.

It was planned to house delegates in private homes and in the Ocala House, the sumptuous hotel built by

18. *Ocala Banner*, Sept. 19, 1890.

19. *Ibid.*, Oct. 24, 1890.

20. *The Florida Dispatch, Farmer and Fruit-Grower*, Nov. 25, 1890.

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Henry B. Plant. Seventy-five cottages were built for an expected overflow crowd. A race track and tournament grounds were constructed behind the Exposition building and an amusement area for children was arranged in the vicinity. In addition, a band was engaged for the whole season for the "appreciation of all those with music in their soul."²¹

Ocala looked forward to a throng of delegates and visitors and they were not disappointed. Accredited delegations were registered from all the Southern states and Colorado, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Maryland, Missouri, North and South Dakota, Pennsylvania and West Virginia. Two delegates represented the Indian Territory. In all, there were eighty-eight delegates registered, and additional delegations were expected from Oklahoma, California, Michigan and New Mexico.²² There were hundreds of visitors.

Delegates began arriving Saturday afternoon, November 29. The Florida Central and Peninsular Railroad brought in many delegates early in the day. A large crowd arrived on a special train that evening. Early guests included Governor-elect Buchanan of Tennessee, National Alliance President L. I. Polk, Congressman Ben H. Clover of Kansas, President McDowell of the Tennessee Alliance, McGrath of the Kansas State Alliance and Colonel Livingston of Georgia.

Ocala's churches were crowded on Sunday morning. Many attended services at the Baptist Church; others heard the Methodist sermon "Prohibition in Prophecy." Crowds poured in to Ocala all day Sunday. New arrivals included W. S. Morgan, the author of "History of the Alliance" and editor of the *Agricultural Wheel*; T. S. Adams, President of the Louisiana Alliance; U. S. Hall, President of the Missouri Alliance; H. C. Deming, General Manager of the Agricultural Manufacturer's Association of the United States; N. A. Dunning, editor

21. *Ibid.*

22. *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1890.

of the *National Economist*; W. C. McCune, chairman of the National Executive Committee of the Alliance; and Colonel Rice, head of Georgia's state penitentiary. Florida's Governor and Mrs. Francis P. Fleming and their party arrived Sunday. In this group was Mrs. C. E. Dyke, lady commissioner from Leon county.²³

The Ocala meeting was to prove a most important gathering. Following as it did immediately after the close of a political campaign of remarkable surprises, it was compelled to bear a burden of pressure from both the old parties—one being driven by disaster to the verge of despair, and the other elated by success to the point of dictatorial assumption. The Republican party hoped that the meeting would result in certain indiscretions which would break the power of the Alliance, and permit that party to regain its waning strength. The Democratic party was anxious to have the Alliance recede from its advanced position on economic questions, in order to make cooperation more probable. Again there was a strong element from the West, demanding independent action, and at the same time showing, as the result of such a movement, the fruits of the recent election. This faction was opposed by a conservative force which considered it unwise and untimely.

Under these disruptive conditions the delegates began their work. For weeks and months certain newspapers and individuals had criticised the Alliance and most of its leaders. Their attacks were bold and brutal, causing discomfort and embarrassment.²⁴ To the Ocala meeting came those who slandered the Alliance and those who praised it - politicians, statesmen, writers, labor representatives and sightseers. Many of the nation's newspapers were represented. W. S. McAllister reported for the Associated Press and wrote special stories for the *Times Democrat* of New Orleans and the *Age-Herald* of Birmingham. W. G. F. Price wrote for the *New York Herald*. Henry R. Chamberlain reported for Charles

23. *Ocala Banner*, Dec. 5, 1890.

24. Dunning, *op. cit.*, 178.

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Dana's paper, the *New York Sun*, and Henry George represented the *New York Standard*, the mouthpiece of the single tax doctrine.

Issues facing the delegates in Ocala were of great importance to the whole country. The delegates hoped to begin work immediately, but ceremonies and formalities were scheduled first. On assembling, R. F. Rogers, the Florida representative, proposed that the afternoon meeting be opened to the general public and that Governor Fleming be invited to speak.

The description of the gala parade in the *Ocala Banner* indicates the lively interest taken by all classes in the convention. Major C. W. Campbell was chief marshal. Leading the procession were the *Ocala Rifles*, followed by carriages with the distinguished guests. Interspersed between the carriages were the vehicles of the Ocala fire department. It was reported that the "hose carriage of Protective Hose Company No. 2, drawn by their magnificent bay charger, Hercules, attracted general attention."

The crowd filled the Exposition building. The program was opened by the song "Pull for the Farmer," the official Kansas campaign number. Governor Fleming's welcome speech was uproariously applauded. Rogers spoke and the newspapers reported that he depicted "the beauties, attractions and fascinations of the glorious State of Florida . . . the loveliness and bewitching graces of our noble women, and congratulated the delegates that they had come with their wives and sweethearts, or else the superior virtue and charms of our ladies would have so bewitched the men that they never would have got home again."²⁵

The *Ocala Banner* was more eloquent than the speakers when it wrote: "The Day was a poem of sunshine and gentle breezes, the procession imposing, and the opening services of the Exposition the most successful and finest that it has ever had in its history."²⁶

25. *Ocala Banner*, Dec. 5, 1890.

26. *Idem*.

The Convention's main work began with the annual message read by President Polk. Polk was a native of North Carolina. Entering politics in 1860, he advocated the establishment of a state department of agriculture and became its first commissioner in 1877. In 1886 he founded a weekly newspaper, the *Progressive Farmer*, in which, from its first issue, he urged a union of North Carolina farmers to support such political measures as would best serve their interests.²⁷ When the Southern Alliance entered North Carolina, he merged his organization with that of the national order without hesitation, and became secretary of the North Carolina State Alliance. His pungent editorials in the *Progressive Farmer* and his facility as an orator were well known. Apparently he was in perfect accord with Macune, but he was not the type of individual to be dominated by the ideas of another, and he was quite as ambitious as Macune himself.

At the time of the Ocala meeting Polk was described as "a man of medium height and build, good form, weighs about 160 pounds, hair, mustache and goatee once as black as the raven's wing, is now slightly frosted with the blasts of forty-five winters. An eye from which darts the spark of intelligence, knowledge of the world and of men, and withal a glint of genial good nature and hospitable intent toward all, and by his gracious manners and frank, open speech captivated all whom he met. . ." ²⁸

At the St. Louis meeting, when prospects of union between the Northern and Southern Alliance failed, each of the organizations issued a list of "Demands." These platforms enunciated in clear and convincing statements the mutual political aims of the Alliance groups. Grist for the campaign mills of 1890 was furnished by these resolutions. By 1890 the full effects of the deflation in real estate values, following the collapse of the speculation of 1887, were being felt. High taxes had become an intolerable burden to much of the popu-

27. Hicks, *op. cit.*, 116-117.

28. *Ocala Banner*, Dec. 5, 1890.

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lation, especially that large proportion, farmers and laborers, that lived constantly in the shadow of impending bankruptcy. Crop failures came with disheartening frequency. When a bumper crop appeared it gave small relief, for the price declined as the yield increased. Corn sold for fifty cents a bushel on the Chicago market, but the Kansas or Nebraska farmer was lucky to get as much as fifteen or twenty cents a bushel. The railroads and commission men pocketed the rest.²⁹ Stories of ten-cent corn and corn-to-burn were common. It is little wonder that the Alliancemen were determined to vote their adherents into office, hoping to alleviate these tragic economic circumstances.

The St. Louis Demands, announced by the Southern Alliance and Knights of Labor in December, 1889,³⁰ provided the keynote for the Ocala meeting in 1890. Polk, in his opening talk, declared: "Let us stand unitedly and unflinchingly by the great principles enunciated at our meeting at St. Louis. In the light of our recent experience, the important work of discussing and elucidating these principles must devolve upon us."³¹

An important plank in the St. Louis platform concerned financial reform. According to President Polk, it was ". . . ignored by Congress, and even the discussion of this plan was suppressed, notwithstanding the petitions of hundreds of thousands of our members for financial relief in this direction."³²

The financial reform plan, designed for the relief of agriculture, was termed the "sub-treasury plan." On the last day of the St. Louis meeting, after the regular demands of the Alliance were read and approved, a report was received from the "Committee of the Monetary System." This report urged "the free and unlimited coinage of silver or the issue of silver certificates against an unlimited deposit of bullion." The report suggested:

29. Hicks, *op. cit.*, 154.

30. *National Economist*, Dec. 21, 1889.

31. Dunning, *op. cit.*, 148.

32. *Idem*.

The system of using certain banks as United States depositories be abolished, and in place of said system, establish in every county in each of the States that offers for sale during the one year \$500,000 worth of farm products . . . a sub-treasury office, and it should be the duty of such sub-treasury department to receive such agricultural products as are offered for storage and make a careful examination of such products and class same as to quality and give a certificate of the deposit . . . and that United States legal-tender paper money equal to eighty per cent of the local current value of the products deposited has been advanced on same on interest at the rate of one per cent per annum . . . With this method in vogue the farmer, when his produce was harvested . . . would secure four-fifths of its value to supply his pressing necessity for money.³³

Warmly debated in St. Louis the plan was finally adopted. In the months that followed, Alliance newspapers and lecturers endorsed the plan in terms of glowing commendation.³⁴ Immediately after adjournment of the St. Louis convention, bills embodying the sub-treasury idea were drawn by Alliance leaders and were presented to Congress.³⁵ Petitions and memorials, literally by the hundreds, demanded that Congress enact the bill. However, the Congressional committees to which the bills were referred, refused to report out a sub-treasury measure of any kind, either favorably or unfavorably.³⁶ Obviously the severe defeat suffered by the majority party in the election of 1890 failed to arouse Congress to action.

The delegates to the Ocala meeting were determined that immediate action should be taken. On the first day of the convention, President Polk announced that "A

33. *National Economist*, Dec. 21, 1889.

34. Hicks, *op cit.*, 189-190.

35. *Congressional Record*, 51st Cong., 1st Sess.

36. *National Economist*, May 3, 24 and June 7, 1890.

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system of finance which recognizes and secures to every citizen of this country an equitable, fair, and just right to share its benefits, and which will furnish a volume of circulating medium adequate to the legitimate demands of the country, at a low rate of interest, is the greatest and most urgent need of the times.”³⁷

The Ocala Convention backed these sentiments wholeheartedly. Congressman Pickler, who had introduced the bill into the House of Representatives, spoke to the group during the afternoon session of the third day and declared that the “. . . subtreasury plan was the best for the distribution of money yet proposed.”³⁸ Again, on the sixth day, the Committee on Demands reported on Section 1:

We demand the abolition of national banks, and that the government shall establish sub-treasuries, or depositories, in the several States, which sub-treasuries shall loan money to the people on approved security at a low rate of interest, not to exceed two per cent per annum.³⁹

In the debate which followed, an attempt was made to satisfy Northern critics who agreed that the sub-treasury plan fitted the needs of the Southern cotton grower, but who argued that it hardly was satisfactory to their section of the country. To secure reluctant Northern support of the plan, the Ocala delegates suggested that the government lend money on real estate. The final measures voted upon demanded:

- A. Abolition of national banks.
- B. The government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several States, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest not to exceed two per cent per annum on non-perishable farm products, and also upon

37. Dunning, *op. cit.*, 149.

38. *Ibid.*, 155.

39. *Ibid.*, 163.

real estate, *with proper limitations upon the quantity and amount of money.*

- C. The amount of the circulating medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50.00 per capita.⁴⁰

These demands were carried by a vote of 79 to 10. Illinois voted against the measures; Pennsylvania and Colorado did not vote; and a split vote was recorded for Mississippi, Missouri, and Tennessee. Davis of Kentucky introduced a resolution asking that the Ways and Means Committee of the House report the sub-treasury bill speedily and that it “. . . be enacted into law as soon as possible, or some other measure that will carry out these principles and meet the necessities of the toiling masses.” This resolution was carried by a rising vote.⁴¹

Before it languished into death this sub-treasury plan was to create fiery dissension throughout the nation. Even the South, where it drew its main support, was to finally divide on its merits. The sub-treasury was denounced by the *New York Times* as “one of the wildest and most fantastic projects ever seriously proposed by sober man.”⁴² Its opponents easily picked flaws in the plans and many questioned its constitutionality. Formidable opposition existed in the Southern Alliance. Wade Hampton of South Carolina branded the measure as “so palpably wrong on its face as to make it absurd to all who have the prosperity and welfare of the country at heart.”⁴³ By January, 1893, the sub-treasury idea had lost its appeal, and a few months later it could be said that “The cry of the subtreasury cannot now be heard even in the silence of the night.”⁴⁴

A great and pressing problem facing the Ocala Convention was that of a Third Party. Successes scored by

40. *Ibid.*, 164.

41. *Ibid.*, 165.

42. *New York Times*, Dec. 12, 1890.

43. Hicks, *op. cit.*, 201.

44. *Ibid.*, 206.

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the farmers in the election of 1890 greatly stimulated the agitation already under way for the organization of a third party along national lines. The opportunity to air the views of those favoring a new political organization was presented at the Ocala meeting. The *New York Times* reported that the chief work of many at the convention was to press for action looking in the direction of a new party.⁴⁵

The Kansas delegates were the most active in formulating a party program. The Kansas State Alliance had joined with the Southern group the year before and now they made it their chief concern to pledge the whole Alliance organization to the support of the new party movement. However, the Southern Alliance in 1891 was not prone to accept anything that would threaten their one-party system, and were content to try and capture control of the Democratic Party.

Macune, realizing the tenor of feeling in the South, and hoping to promote harmony within the Alliance, proposed a compromise. Although the North demanded a new party, the Southerners in the Alliance would not support such a proposal and Macune suggested that action be postponed until 1892 - the time of the next national convention. He proposed that delegates representing farm-labor organizations meet and draw up a set of demands and suggest a plan of enforcing them. Then Macune declared, "If the people by delegates coming direct from them agree that a third party move is necessary, it need not be feared."⁴⁶ The Ocala convention, realizing that Macune's plan offered a way out of an embarrassing situation, adopted it. Thus, decision was postponed until February, 1892.⁴⁷

Extremists among the third-party faction were not satisfied with the action taken by the Ocala delegates. As convention debate proceeded they argued vehemently that the need for a new political party was immediate;

45. *New York Times*, Dec. 3, 1890.

46. Hicks, *op. cit.*, 207.

47. Anna Rochester, *The Populist Movement in the United States*, (New York, 1943), 61.

organization could not be indefinitely postponed. Under the leadership of the Kansas and Indiana delegations, a call was issued for an organizing convention to meet in Cincinnati the following February. Representatives were invited from the Independent Party, People's Party, Union Labor Party, Union and Confederate soldiers' organizations, the Northern and Southern Farmers' Alliance, the Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association, the Citizens' Alliance, Knights of Labor, the Colored Farmers' Alliance, and all others who agreed to the St. Louis demands of 1889.⁴⁸ A minority of Southern Alliance members present in Ocala signed the call.⁴⁹

Of the many things discussed, argued, and debated in Ocala, the sub-treasury plan and the action taken on the proposed third party were the most important and had the most far-reaching effects. However, there were other problems suggested and debated. Reports of various Alliance activities were delivered. For several years there had been sporadic efforts at cooperative buying and selling. Cooperative stores, elevators, and gins were frequently undertaken by local Alliances. The Farmers' Mutual Benefit Association in Illinois attempted to pool grain for shipment directly to the central markets. Cooperative fire, hail, and life insurance was tried out by the Dakota Alliance; and in 1890 a National Alliance Aid Association, operating on the Dakota plan, was opened in Washington, D. C.

The progress of these, and the even more important business agencies, was reported at Ocala. Under the vigorous leadership of Macune, the Southern Alliance planned to "organize the agriculturists of the cotton belt for business purposes." Macune argued that it was necessary for all cotton growers to come into a "strong, solid, secret, and binding organization," welded together for the express purpose of "breaking the power of monopoly."⁵⁰ Obviously, Southern Alliance leaders had

48. *New York Times*, Dec. 5, 1890.

49. Hicks. *op. cit.*, 209.

50. *Ibid.*, 133.

no scruples about creating a farmers' monopoly, which would force buyers to pay the farmers a fair price. Similarly, farmers, operating through an "agency," might refuse to purchase needed commodities except at what they considered a fair price.

The first of the agencies was organized in Texas and by August 1889 the *National Economist* reported that a majority of the states had business agencies.⁵¹ A State Business Agents Association was organized at the St. Louis Convention to supervise and coordinate the activities of the many agencies and exchanges. At the Ocala meeting eighteen state agencies and exchanges were represented.

The Ocala delegates directed their attention toward organizing one large national agency to head state agencies and exchanges. The secretary of the State Business Agents Association attempted to arouse enthusiasm for the idea. Addressing the Ocala meeting, he announced:

Our enemy cannot meet us successfully if we stand united, but if every agent attempts to work out his problem single handed and alone, each will fall an easy prey to the powers of monopoly. I am convinced that we have gone as far as we can as individual agents.⁵²

Macune offered encouragement for the project; other Alliance leaders definitely opposed it. They felt that there was no point in establishing a national exchange, until fuller cooperation between the various states exchanges should be attempted. The project was referred to a committee for study and wider investigation. No further steps were taken by the Southern Alliance toward establishing such a national agency.⁵³

The Alliance delegates in Ocala were not as undecided on the transportation problem as they had been

51. *National Economist*, Aug. 10, 1889.

52. *Proceedings of the Supreme Council of the National Farmers' Alliance and Industrial Union*, 1890, 34-35.

53. *Ibid.*, 49.

in St. Louis.⁵⁴ The Ocala delegates went on record demanding government control and supervision over not only transportation, but also communication facilities; and government ownership if control did not remove existing abuses.⁵⁵

There was a minimum of argument among the delegates when national banks were denounced and a demand was made for their abolition. One of the prime grievances of the American farmer stemmed from the banking law of 1864. As a result, the total bank-note circulation tended to decline. With this shrinkage came deflation, declining prices for agricultural products, piling farm mortgages, increasing property foreclosures, unemployment, insecurity, poverty. It was a matter of vital concern to the American farmer and to the representatives at the Ocala meeting. An inflexible currency boded no good for their interests and they were determined that the source of this condition should be abolished.

The famous Ocala Demands were adopted on the last day of the Florida meeting. Later, when the Populist Party evolved on America's political horizon, the platform of this people's party was based, to a large degree, on these demands:⁵⁶

OCALA DEMANDS

1. A. We demand the abolition of national banks.
- B. We demand that the government shall establish sub-treasuries or depositories in the several states, which shall loan money direct to the people at a low rate of interest, not to exceed two percent per annum, on non-perishable farm products, and also upon real estate, with proper limitations upon the quantity of land and amount of money.
- C. We demand that the amount of the circulating

54. Arnett, *op. cit.*, 99.

55. Hicks, *op. cit.*, 431. Roscoe C. Martin, *The People's Party in Texas, A Study in Third Party Politics*, (Austin, Texas, 1933), 43.

56. Hicks. *op. cit.*, 430-431.

- medium be speedily increased to not less than \$50 per capita.
2. We demand that Congress shall pass such laws as will effectually prevent the dealing in futures of all agricultural and mechanical productions; providing a stringent system of procedure in trials that will secure the prompt conviction, and imposing such penalties as shall secure the most perfect compliance with the law.
 3. We condemn the silver bill recently passed by Congress, and demand in lieu thereof the free and unlimited coinage of silver.
 4. We demand the passage of laws prohibiting alien ownership of land, and that Congress take prompt action to devise some plan to obtain all lands now owned by aliens and foreign syndicates; and that all lands now held by railroads and other corporations in excess of such as is actually used and needed by them be reclaimed by the government and held for actual settlers only.
 5. Believing in the doctrine of equal rights to all and special privileges to none, we demand:
 - A. That our national legislation shall be so framed in the future as not to build up one industry at the expense of another.
 - B. We further demand a removal of the existing heavy tariff tax from the necessities of life, that the poor of our land must have.
 - C. We further demand a just and equitable system of graduated tax on incomes.
 - D. We believe that the money of the country should be kept as much as possible in the hands of the people, and hence we demand that all national and state revenues shall be limited to the necessary expenses of the government economically and honestly administered.

6. We demand the most, rigid, honest and just state and national control and supervision of the means of public communication and transportation, and if this control and supervision does not remove the abuse now existing, we demand the government ownership of such means of communication and transportation.
7. We demand that the Congress of the United States submit an amendment to the Constitution providing for the election of United States Senators by direct vote of the people of each State.

After electing officers for the new year,⁵⁷ President Polk adjourned the Ocala meeting. Enthusiastic cheers and applause endorsed his expressions of gratitude to Ocala's city officials and citizens for their generous hospitality. One delegate announced that as far as he was concerned Ocala was the "Chicago of Florida."⁵⁸

Florida's hospitality had not been completed. Before leaving Ocala, delegates and their families were given boxes of oranges and lemons. A tour of the state began on December 6 and for two weeks the delegates sailed up the Ocklawaha river, ate barbecue at Homosassa, Bartow and St. Cloud, fished in the Gulf and were entertained with dinners and receptions in Tampa, Orlando, Titusville, St. Augustine, Tallahassee and Jacksonville.⁵⁹

Many historians point to the Ocala meeting as an integral step in the growth of the Populist Party movement. Certainly the Ocala Demands helped to form the structure of the party's political philosophy. The Ocala convention debated economic and political problems

57. Polk was reelected president; Ben H. Clover, Kansas, was elected vice-president; J. H. Turner, Georgia, secretary; J. F. Willetts, Kansas, national lecturer; J. F. Tillman, Tennessee, member of executive board; five delegates were elected to confer with labor organizations. Reported in *Ocala Banner*, Dec. 12, 1890.

58. *Weekly Floridian*, Dec. 17, 1890.

59. An itinerary of the trip was published in the *Ocala Banner*, Dec. 5, 1890.

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which were not particularly new to the country. The grievances of the farmers were many. Their complaints for years had been directed against the railroads, trusts, the middlemen, bankers and the government's muddled currency. In the Ocala meeting hall, they had raised their restless and discontented voices. The echoes would resound for many years, affecting and stimulating political, economic and social thought and activity in the United States.

NEGRO SLAVERY IN FLORIDA

by EDWIN L. WILLIAMS JR.

Part II

As the plantation regime expanded in territorial Florida and the Negro population became more numerous it became necessary that the slave system should be supported by statutory law. The purpose of the law was primarily to control the slave through a strict regulation of the system, and only incidentally to give him protection from ill usage. In 1828 the Legislative Council laid the legal basis for future legislation concerning Negro slaves by the passage of an act which stated that "slaves shall be deemed, held, and taken as personal property for every purpose whatever."¹ This act placed the Negro slave in a separate legal category from the white population, and by subsequent legislation the free Negro was also set apart legally from the white population. In the same year the Legislative Council passed "An Act Relating to Crimes, and Misdemeanors Committed by Slaves, Free Negroes and Mulattoes" which was in itself a definitive slave code.² As a result of this and subsequent legislation enacted by the Legislative Council, Florida, by the time she became a state, had a slave code and a patrol system closely resembling those of the older Southern states.³ This resemblance was a logical development, as the Florida code dealt with similar problems and had the same objectives as those of the older slave states, and it was framed by legislators the great majority of whom were natives of Georgia, South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, Virginia and other slave states.

The St. Joseph constitution under which Florida entered the Union reflected the legal position to which

1. John P. Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida Passed Prior to 1840*, Tallahassee, 1839, 204.

2. *Ibid.*, 216-217.

3. For further details, see Thelma Bates, "The Legal Status of the Negro in Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, VI (January, 1928), 161-168.

the slave and the free Negro had already been assigned by Florida law. The provisions of this constitution in regard to slavery were very stringent and aroused such opposition on the part of the anti-slavery elements in Congress as to almost prevent Florida's admission into the Union in 1845. ⁴ Article XVI not only encouraged the growth of slavery by forbidding legislative interference with the importation of slaves into Florida from the other states and territories (except slaves who had been convicted of crime), it also specifically forbade the General Assembly to pass laws providing for the emancipation of slaves and gave it the power to prevent the entrance of free Negroes into Florida. ⁵

The slave and the free Negro were not only the subject of special legislation insofar as criminal law was concerned, they were also in a special tax category. By the state revenue act of 1845 a tax of fifty cents a head was levied on each slave to be paid by his owner as on any other property, and every free man of color between the ages of 21 and 60 was to pay an annual tax of three dollars a head (as compared to a tax of fifty cents a head on each white man.) ⁶

As the controversy between the slave states and the free states grew increasingly bitter and the violence of the abolitionist attacks on slavery increased, there was a tightening up of the laws concerning slavery in all the Southern states. From the late forties until secession the slave code in Florida became stricter and more severe and the laws and regulations dealing with free Negroes became more and more stringent. ⁷ So rigorous did the regulation of free Negroes become that many a free

4. *Congressional Globe*, XIV, 28th Congress, 2nd Session, Journal of the House, 273-283.

5. *Journal of the Constitutional Convention*, St. Joseph, 1838, Appendix 18.

6. Leslie A. Thompson, *A Manual or Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida, of a General and Public Character, In Force at the End of the Second Session of the General Assembly of the State, On the Sixth Day of January, 1847*, Boston, 1847, 87.

7. Thelma Bates, *op. cit.*, 168-174. See this article for an excellent discussion of the details of Florida legislation regarding slaves and free Negroes in the ante-bellum period.

Negro must have felt that he would be better off as a slave under a kind master. The records of the Escambia County Circuit Court show two voluntary petitions of free Negroes asking to go into slavery, these Negroes having acted under the permissive act of 1858 which gave free Negroes in Florida the doubtful privilege of selecting their own masters and becoming slaves by filing a petition with the County Circuit Court for the decision of the probate judge.⁸ How many free Negroes in other counties took advantage of this act is hard to say, but it is likely that others decided that slavery with security was more desirable than freedom with harassment and an uncertain status. The *Pensacola Gazette* for April 4, 1857 records an exodus of 35 free colored persons from Pensacola for Tampico, Mexico.⁹ It is no wonder that the number of free Negroes in Florida declined from 932 in 1850 to 804 in 1855 and had only risen again to 932 in 1860. Evidently the free Negro was not wanted in Florida by the planter oligarchy which controlled the state. In Florida, as elsewhere in the South, we find borne out the truth of Francis Butler Simpkins's remark that the free Negroes were the pariahs of Southern society.¹⁰

The Florida slave code not only regulated the Negro himself but it also regulated the relationship between the Negro and the white with the purpose of keeping the Negro under control and of maintaining the superior status of the whites. Under Florida law whites were forbidden to sell liquor to Negroes, to game with them or to intermarry with them.¹¹ Any interference with slaves or slavery by persons from without the state was, of course, a matter of great concern, and Florida laws discouraged abolitionist activities by such penalties as a

8. Ruth B. Barr and Modeste Hargis, "The Voluntary Exile of Free Negroes of Pensacola," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (July, 1938), 7; *Florida Acts*, 1858-1859, 13.

9. Barr and Hargis, *op. cit.*, 3.

10. Francis Butler Simpkins, *The South, Old and New*, 1947, 61.

11. Katherine Chatham, "Plantation Slavery in Middle Florida," Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill, North Carolina, 1938, 78.

fine of up to \$1,000 for enticing a slave or aiding him to run away, confinement in the pillory, branding in the hand with the letters S.S., and imprisonment up to six months. The law also stated that a person guilty of stealing a slave was liable to the death penalty.¹²

The most famous case to be tried in Florida under this law was that of Jonathan Walker, New Englander of abolitionist sympathies, who was caught in 1844 while trying to ferry 7 runaway slaves from Pensacola to the Bahamas in an open boat. He and his runaways were apprehended off Cape Florida by a Key West wrecker. Walker was lodged in a Key West jail for three days, then moved to the military barracks because of fear of mob violence. Thence he was sent to Pensacola for trial. Walker was tried, convicted, and sentenced to stand in the pillory, to be branded on the hand with the letters S.S. (slave stealer), to pay \$300 fine and to serve a term of imprisonment for each slave he assisted to flee; also he was to pay the cost of imprisonment and to remain committed to jail until his fines were paid. Walker's abolitionist friends in the North paid his fines and got him out of jail. When he returned to the North he was lionized by the abolitionists and was the recipient of many demonstrations of approval. John Greenleaf Whittier wrote a poem in his honor, "The Branded Hand," and Owen Lovejoy, brother of the murdered abolitionist Elijah Lovejoy, attended a large reception given for Walker in Providence, Rhode Island.¹³

The St. Augustine News carried a notice about Jonathan Walker's imprisonment as a slave stealer and intimated that his activities were aided and abetted by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society in co-

12. Thompson, *A Manual of the Statute Law*, 492.

13. Wilbur H. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad From Slavery to Freedom*, New York and London, 1899, 170-171; see also Jonathan Walker, *The Branded Hand, Trial and Imprisonment of Jonathan Walker, at Pensacola, Florida, for Aiding Slaves to Escape from Bondage, with an Appendix Containing a Sketch of His Life*, Boston, 1845, 9-33. *The Branded Hand* is a lurid account written by Walker himself describing his abolitionist work, his unsuccessful attempt to smuggle slaves to the Bahamas, and his capture and experiences in jail.

operation with the Massachusetts authorities. The *News* cited as evidence a letter of sympathy from the British Society which was found on Walker's person.¹⁴ The *Pensacola Gazette* remarked bitterly that this slave stealer, a native of Massachusetts, was made a martyr and hero when he returned home and that public meetings were held in the North at which collections were taken up for Walker and his family.¹⁵ This event stirred up anti-slavery feeling in the North on one hand; on the other it aroused bitter feeling in Florida against the abolitionists and their Northern supporters.

The official attitude toward slave stealers in Florida was, as might be expected, severe and unrelenting. In answer to a request for the pardon of a certain James McNabb, Governor Moseley wrote to the sheriff of St. Johns county that it would be inconsistent with his conviction of duty to pardon McNabb, who was convicted of two offenses "of the most heinous character," "assault with intent to kill" and "aiding and assisting a runaway slave." The requested pardon was refused.¹⁶

There were other incidents of abolitionist incursions into Florida. In 1851 Solon Robinson from New York, editor of an agricultural magazine, came to visit Edward Bradford's plantation near Tallahassee. He had a letter of introduction and was extended gracious hospitality as a guest at Pine Hill. Robinson also visited other plantations in the vicinity. Then one day his hosts discovered that Robinson was holding abolitionist meetings in their slaves' quarters and inciting the Negroes to insubordination and flight. The planters promptly packed him off to St. Marks and set him aboard a ship bound for a Northern port.¹⁷ In 1854 a fugitive slave escaped from Jacksonville to Boston as a stowaway on the brig *Cameo* out of Augusta, Maine. This slave was rescued

14. *St. Augustine News*, March 8, 1845.

15. *Pensacola Gazette*, September 6, 1845.

16. *Governor's Letters Sent, 1845-1857*, (Letterbook at Florida State Library, Tallahassee, Florida), Letter from Governor William D. Moseley to Sheriff of St. Johns County, dated August 6, 1845, 5.

17. Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, Macon, 1926, 33-41.

from the danger of being sent back to Florida through the activity of Captain Ambrose Bearse, agent of the Boston Vigilance Committee.¹⁸ There were, however, relatively few successful escapes made by slaves, hardly enough to justify the alarm with which Florida newspapers of the ante-bellum period habitually regarded the activities of the abolitionists. The United States census returns show that only 18 fugitive slaves (.0457 per cent) escaped from Florida in 1850, and only 11 (.0177 per cent or one out of 5,613) in 1860. There were more Florida Negroes freed from slavery by manumission than by escape during these years, 22 being manumitted in 1850 and 17 in 1860;¹⁹ this in spite of the fact that Florida law made the manumission of slaves very difficult.

In dealing with the slave in Florida we must think of him primarily as a plantation Negro because the great majority of the Negro slaves were to be found in the plantation counties. In 1845 a concentration of 65 per cent of the state slave population was to be found in the five cotton producing plantation counties of Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, Jefferson and Madison.²⁰ By 1860 when the "black arc" or plantation area had extended into East Florida to include Alachua and Marion counties, 39,795 of the state's 61,745 slaves were living in the plantation counties, or approximately 64.4 per cent of the state's slave population,²¹ and undoubtedly a large proportion of the slaves in the counties outside the "black arc" were also employed on plantations. Most of those who were not employed on plantations were on farms. Some were employed in the various forest industries like getting out timber, saw milling and the turpentine industry. Of the 61,745 slaves in Florida in 1860 only about 6,872 lived in the towns,²² and it is likely

18. Siebert, *The Underground Railroad*, 81.

19. *U. S. Eighth Census, 1860: Mortality and Miscellaneous Statutes*, 388.

20. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida's Population in 1845," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIV, (July, 1945), 29.

21. *Eighth Census, 1860: Population*, 54.

22. *Idem*.

that a great many of these had spent a good part of their lives on the farm or plantation. The slavery system and, as we have already observed, the slave code, were framed primarily with the plantation Negro in mind.

The life of the slave on a big plantation was highly regimented. He generally worked at specific tasks from morning to night under the direction of an overseer and drivers or gang bosses. His activities were all under careful control and supervision. The master enjoyed almost absolute authority over him and had the backing of the law to exercise control. The slave could be bought and sold like any other property. But to compensate in some measure for his lack of freedom he had a security which was rarely the lot of the free white worker at that time and certainly not of the free Negro. He received the necessities of life whether times were good or bad. The intent of the laws was to protect him from cruel and unusual punishments by the master or overseer,²³ and even forbade the master to make him perform any labor but the "ordinary household business of daily necessity" on Sunday.²⁴

The treatment of slaves on the plantation varied widely from good to bad even as the characters of the masters varied. It is highly unlikely that they were ever as badly treated as the enemies of slavery in the North said they were; the concern of the owner for the preservation of valuable property would act as a check on excessive brutality or neglect. When he grew too old to work his master provided for him, and when ill the master procured medical attention for him and paid the doctor. Christian teachings and the idea of *noblesse oblige* adhered to by the best planters tended to produce a plantation regime which was on one side characterized by a kind but firm regulation of his "people" by the master and on the other by a sincere and confiding affection for the master on the part of the slaves.

23. Thompson, *A Manual of Statute Law*, 499.

24. *Florida Acts* (1848), 69-70; Duval, *Compilation of the Public Acts of the Territory of Florida*, 223.

Such a planter was Dr. Edward Bradford of Pine Hill with his plantation holdings of some ten thousand acres and his approximately 300 Negro slaves. At Pine Hill the "great house" or master's mansion was located on the crest of a hill, surrounded by spacious grounds planted with flowering shrubs, cedars of Lebanon, rose hedges, flowers, and with such native trees as oak, dogwood, hickory and pine, with a circular drive leading from the house to the public road. Through a side gate in the white fence surrounding the mansion a road led to the quarters where the house servants lived. Going past these the road led by a saw mill, a shingle mill and a grist mill, the blacksmith shop, the wheel-wright's shop, a carpenter shop, a cooper's shop, a brick yard and a kiln. Beyond these on an eminence called "Gopher Hill" were a hundred neat white-washed frame houses with brick chimneys and surrounded by shade trees and gardens. These were the houses for the plantation hands.²⁵

As Pine Hill was a large self-sufficient plantation its labor force included beside the house servants and the field or plantation hands a blacksmith, two wheelwrights, three carpenters, three coopers and other craftsmen. At the mills Dr. Bradford hired four white men; an engineer, a miller, a sawyer, and a bookkeeper. He also employed a white overseer to carry out his plans for work and sanitation on the plantation.²⁶ Among the house servants were the butler, the cook and her helpers, the house maids, the laundry maids, the keeper of the day nursery for the slave children, the housekeeper, the houseboys, the seamstresses, the gardener, etc.; in all thirty house servants. There were four slave foremen to supervise the field hands; there were also the team

25. Susan Bradford Eppes, *The Negro of the Old, South*, Chicago, 1925, 103-105. These reminiscences of Mrs. Eppes may have been somewhat colored by the passage of the years, but in the main give an accurate description of the slave regime on one of the better plantations.

26. *Ibid.*, 105-106.

drivers, the shepherd, the cattle drivers and other miscellaneous servants.²⁷

The Bradfords were genuinely concerned with both the spiritual and the physical welfare of their slaves. A minister of the Gospel was employed to preach to the Negroes every other Sunday and on alternate Sundays they had a preacher of their own race. Their physical welfare was well looked after also. They had good food in variety and abundance, their cabins were well ventilated and comfortable and were kept well whitewashed. All who wanted them had gardens and were furnished with free seed. A first class physician was employed by the year to look after their health.

There were rules and restrictions, most of them rigidly enforced. One was that each Negro must bathe and don clean clothes at least twice a week. Regular inspections were held to see that this rule was obeyed. The rules were made as few as possible, but they were supposed to be strictly enforced. Any infractions were to be laid before the master and his was the decision as to punishment. Even then a Negro on the Bradford plantation had a final court of appeal, the mistress. Justice was always tempered with mercy.²⁸

The life of the slave at Pine Hill was not all work. Saturday afternoon was a holiday for every slave mother with a family. These mothers had to do no sewing for their families, this was done by a corps of seamstresses under the supervision of the mistress of the plantation. Christmas was the great holiday when all the hands took the whole week off. On Christmas Day gifts were distributed to all by the master and mistress and for those who wanted it there was the traditional dram of whiskey, sugar and hot water. Only second to Christmas was the Fourth of July when a big barbecue was given for the Negroes. Cane grinding time, hog killings and corn shuckings were other occasions of festival for the slaves.²⁹

27. *Ibid.*, 2-82.

28. *Ibid.*, 3-90.

29. *Ibid.*, 5-6.

Not all planters were as careful in matters of clothing, cleanliness and diet as the master of Pine Hill. Not all planters were as concerned with the welfare of their Negroes as the Bradfords. Especially was this true in cases where plantations had absentee owners and the complete supervision was entrusted to hired overseers. A good example of this is to be seen in the records of El Destino and Chemonie plantations. These plantations, belonging to George Noble Jones of Savannah, lay partly in Leon county and partly in Jefferson county. El Destino covered 6,782 acres, Chemonie was smaller, having only 1,800 acres.³⁰ A tax list in 1865 shows 143 slaves on the El Destino plantation, and a list of slaves and their ages made out by Jones shows about 85 slaves on the Chemonie plantation in 1855.³¹ As Jones had a share in a large plantation in Jefferson county, Georgia (a larger establishment than either El Destino or Chemonie), and also owned valuable property in Savannah and a cottage at Newport, Rhode Island, he never lived in Florida except for periodic visits until after 1865. In 1856 he took his family to Switzerland for a sojourn.³² Consequently practically the whole management of his Florida plantations devolved on his overseers whose occupation was a varied and many-sided one. Jones's overseers had to be capable farm managers and also to perform some of the duties, of a doctor, preacher, judge, jury and executioner.

While the relations between master and slaves seem to have been excellent there were occasional disciplinary troubles. One overseer at Chemonie, George Evans, maintained a concubine among the female slaves and had four mulatto children by her. The slaves were dissatisfied with his management, one even threatening his life. Slave complaints against Evans caused Jones to censure him and he quit. Another overseer, D. N. Moxley, who came

30 Chatham, *op. cit.*, 12.

31. *Florida Plantation Records from the Papers of George Noble Jones*, edited by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips and James David Glunt, St. Louis, 1927, 511-512, 561-562.

32. *Ibid.*, 20-21.

to El Destino in 1853, was too severe in his punishment and flogging of the slaves and would have been brained with an axe by a rebellious slave if a foreman had not intervened. There was also trouble with slaves going to town at Tallahassee and getting put in jail.³³

There does not seem to have been as much attention paid to the religious welfare of the slaves on El Destino and Chemonie as at Pine Hill. The Jones slaves had only three days off on Christmas. They were occasionally given the whole or part of Saturday off and generally had their leisure on Sundays. Their medical care does not seem to have been as good as that at Pine Hill. Most of the ailments of the slaves were treated by the overseer himself with home remedies. There is no record of an annual contract with a physician to look after the slaves.³⁴ Doctors' visits were surprisingly few at Chemonie. In 1855, for instance, only 18 calls were made at a cost of \$43.³⁵ Yet on the whole, the Negroes at El Destino and Chemonie seemed to remain attached to their master despite the evils of absentee ownership and most of them seem to have stayed on the plantation after 1865 when the collapse of the Confederacy brought them freedom.³⁶

The slaves in a general farming region were less likely to suffer from the evils of absentee ownership and the whims of an overseer whose main interest was getting a big cotton crop than were the plantation slaves. They were not over-worked and were generally fed and clothed from the same storehouse as their master. In Walton county, a region of thrifty small farmers, the slaves went to church with their master, sitting in the special galleries provided for them, and had weekly prayer meetings in their quarters. There seem to have been few cases of runaway slaves. The slave on the small farm had a feeling of family solidarity with his white people which

33. *Ibid.*, 24-27.

34. *Ibid.*, 29-36.

35. *Ibid.*, 574.

36. *Ibid.*, 36-37.

made for good relations and little disciplinary trouble.³⁷ Also the slave owned by a small farmer was less likely to live the highly regimented life of the plantation hand. The former worked alongside his master or under direct supervision at a variety of tasks, the latter worked in gangs under the direction of a slave foreman or an overseer.

Prince Achille Murat, exiled nephew of the great Napoleon and Florida planter, said: "On the larger plantations, where some hundreds of Negroes are collected together, a discipline and police regulations more or less severe are necessary, without which all would soon be destroyed or stolen."³⁸ Murat owned a plantation near Tallahassee which he named "Lipona." It consisted of 1,060 acres of land and was operated with a labor force of 108 slaves.³⁹ A planter himself and the friend and neighbor of many of the great planters of Leon county, Murat had ample opportunity to study the plantation system, and one of the best contemporary descriptions of life on a Florida plantation and the day-to-day routine of the plantation slave is to be found in *America and the Americans*, his best known literary work. In this account Murat says: "A well regulated plantation is truly a most interesting spectacle; all . . . is governed in the most perfect order. Each Negro has a house, and the houses are generally built in regular lines; he has his own poultry and pigs ; cultivates his vegetables, and sells them at the market. At sun-rise the sound of the horn calls him to labor, while each has his allotted task in proportion to his physical strength. In general the task is finished between three and four o'clock in the afternoon, allowing him ample time for

37. John L. McKinnon, *History of Walton County*, Atlanta, 1911, 164-171.

38. Achille Murat, *America and the Americans*, translated from the French by Henry J. Bradfield, Buffalo, 1851, 79.

39. Alfred Jackson Hanna, *A Prince in their Midst*, Norman, Oklahoma, 1946, 216. Murat had unfortunately mortgaged this property for the payment of two notes to the Union Bank and lost it in 1839 when he could no longer meet his obligations. He and his wife moved to a smaller plantation, "Econchatti," where he was residing at the time of his death in 1847. *Ibid.*, 216, 231.

dinner about noon. The task over, no further service is required of him ; he either cultivates his garden, hires himself to his master for extra labor, or takes a stroll to visit his wife or mistress on some adjoining plantation. On Sundays he attires himself in his holiday suit and goes to receive his weekly allowances (food ration), and employs the remainder of the day as it may please him. The duty of the manager is to give each his morning task, and in the evening to see that it is properly done; while the proprietor mounts his horse, makes a tour in the plantation and gives the necessary orders. All these are performed with the regularity of regimental duty; and I myself have seen six months pass without one word of censure being called for. Sometimes, however, it happens there occur disputes and thefts requiring punishment. At Christmas the Negroes have three days to themselves. Twice a year they have the necessaries served out to them, for clothing, etc., which they make up agreeably to their own taste.”⁴⁰ From this account it is evident that the regimentation of the plantation hands’ life had its compensations and alleviations. Of the house servants Murat said: “Those residing in the *Great House* . . . are treated in the same manner as the domestic servants in Europe. Generally they are born and bred up in the family, of which they consider themselves a part and to which they become much attached, and are very faithful.”⁴¹

In addition to the field hands and house servants Murat mentioned a third class of slaves who were hired out by their masters to others or were permitted to hire themselves out on condition of paying an annual stipend to the master. Among this group were many workmen such as carpenters, blacksmiths, tailors, etc.⁴² Slaves were hired out by their masters to other planters, to people in the towns, to the railroads or to sawmills, turpentine stills and other industries needing common

40. Murat, *op cit.*, 80-81.

41. *Ibid.*, 81.

42. *Idem.*

labor. Among the records of Dr. Bradford's estate is an item of \$1,125 for the hire of ten slaves in 1858 at wages ranging from \$10 for a boy to \$190 for a man. The employers of these slaves had to take care of them as they were legally responsible to the owners for damages in case of injury or death resulted from the hirer's negligence.⁴³ The least regimented of all the slaves and those who enjoyed the most freedom of action were those fortunate Negroes whose masters permitted them to hire their own time. They could hire out to work for anyone they pleased and work when they pleased just as long as they paid the annual stipend to their masters. In fact this freedom from control of the slaves who hired their own time was so contrary to the spirit and intent of the slave code that a law was passed in 1856 forbidding that slaves should be permitted to follow this practice.⁴⁴ It is likely, though, that little attention was paid to the observation or enforcement of this law.⁴⁵

Oliver D. Kinsman, division engineer for the Florida Railroad from 1858 to 1861, stated that the Negro labor used in the construction of that railroad consisted mostly of slaves hired from Virginia and North Carolina masters. These Negroes had their rights, too, according to Kinsman. They could not be taken from their homes until January 2 or after, and must be returned on or before December 24. The railroad Negroes were permitted to work for themselves and get paid for it after they had done their regular allotment of work for the day. Kinsman said he saw some, though not much, punishment inflicted on these Negroes, generally for neglect to complete allotted work. The punishment was whipping with a long cowhide whip with the culprit's shirt on or off according to the severity desired. Sometimes a more terrible weapon was used - a big hardwood paddle

43. Chatham, *op. cit.*, 80-81.

44. *Florida Acts*, 1856, 24-25.

45. Frederic Bancroft, *Slave-Trading in the Old South*, Baltimore, 1931, 162. According to Bancroft most Southern states had laws forbidding the practice of permitting slaves to hire their own time, but he states that these laws were generally ignored and prosecutions for violation were rare.

pierced with augur holes and administered on the bare skin of the culprit as he bent over a log. A half dozen strokes of this paddle was cruel punishment. Permanent injury to these Negroes was generally prevented, however, by a clause in the hiring contract which required that a slave be returned to his master as sound as when taken away, barring the unavoidable.⁴⁶

Northerners and foreign observers seem to have had rather widely varied reactions to the institution of slavery as it functioned in ante-bellum Florida. Bishop Henry Benjamin Whipple from Minnesota, a visitor in Florida in 1843 and later, felt that the exaggerated abolitionist stories of slavery existed only in imagination and that the efforts of the abolitionists had served only to injure the slave, and to destroy good feeling between the sections. He recognized the evil of slavery but said that if it were ever abolished it must be done gradually and with the consent of the slaveholders. The good bishop found the treatment of slaves on the Florida plantations he visited to be firm and kind and in general thought the Negroes were happy in their state of servitude. At the same time he felt that the energies of the Floridians were stifled and their progress impeded by the incubus of slavery.⁴⁷ Another Northern visitor who writes of slavery in ante-bellum Florida in the forties and early fifties had a great deal to say about the happiness of the Negro slaves he encountered on his visits to the plantations on the St. Johns and about the excellence of the institution of slavery as a great missionary influence to Christianize the Negro, and as a way of life which brought him true contentment.⁴⁸ One feels that the author of this lavish eulogy of slavery must have felt doubtful of the reception his work would receive in his own section of the country as he simply signed it "By a

46. Oliver Dorrance Kinsman, *A Loyal Man in Florida, 1858-1861*. A paper read to a meeting of the Military Order of the Loyal Legion of the United States, Washington, D. C., May 4, 1910, 5-6.

47. *Bishop Whipple's Southern Diary, 1843-1844*, edited by Lester B. Shippee, Minneapolis, 1937, 30-71.

48. By a Northern Man, *The Planter: or, Thirteen Years in the South*, Philadelphia, 1853, 70-89.

Northern Man." Certainly he must have looked at the "peculiar institution" through rose-tinted spectacles.

Oliver Kinsman, the aforementioned engineer for the Florida Railroad, was a native of Maine (he served with Sherman's army), but he seems to have been a fair and unprejudiced observer of slavery as may be seen by his observations on the treatment of the slaves hired by the railroad. His comment on the general condition of the slaves in Florida was that ". . . they seemed to be contented. They were well worked, but also well cared for."⁴⁹ John Francis Tenney, a Northerner who brought his family to Florida in 1859 and went into the logging business near Picolata, said of slavery as he saw it in Florida: "As far as our observation and experience went the institution of slavery was far from being the 'horror of horrors' that the people of the free states imagined it to be."⁵⁰ He stated that he never saw nor heard of the practice of any of the great cruelties which were reported in the North and said that the very nature of the institution made unusual severity impossible as a Negro slave represented property worth anywhere from one hundred to two thousand dollars, and was treated accordingly as a valuable asset. Although corporal punishment for adults was occasionally necessary it was rare that any severe punishment was administered. According to Tenney there was a genuine affection existing between master and slave in thousands of cases.⁵¹ Tenney's main criticism of slavery was that every industry was made subservient to slavery with the result that the advance of the people (the common man) was retarded. According to him it created two distinct social classes, the wealthy and the very poor. The poor were in the majority, and being too proud to labor (as labor carried the stigma of slavery) they were unable to amass the means to educate their children or to raise their standard of living. The wealthy (the slave-owning class) on the other hand had

49. Kinsman, *op. cit.*, 5.

50. John Francis Tenney, *Slavery, Secession and Success, The Memoirs of a Florida Pioneer*, San Antonio, 1934, 6.

51. *Ibid.*, 5-8.

every luxury and comfort and led an ideal life of ease.⁵² Here Tenney fell into the error of many other observers of the Southern scene who assumed that there were just two classes of white people in the slave states, the wealthy slave-owners and the poor whites. He overlooked the existence of a large class of yeoman farmers who were hard-working, thrifty and self-respecting. Neither did all the slave-owners have every comfort and luxury; many of the slave-owners were farmers, or backwoods planters who lived in a very simple (if not crude) style and enjoyed few luxuries. While the average plantation family may have been well-to-do, the many responsibilities connected with the proper running of a plantation and the management of Negroes meant that most planters and their wives led busy lives.

James Stirling, the English traveler, who visited Florida in 1857 on his tour of the slave states, was highly critical of slavery. He condemned Florida as a hopelessly backward state whose lack of progress was due partly to its unfortunate geographical location and poor soils and partly to the institution of slavery. He, too, said that in Florida "as in all the slave states more or less" there were but two classes, the rich planters and the poor whites. Stirling was evidently a superficial observer and his opinions were based on insufficient evidence as he confined his investigation of Florida to St. Augustine and the valley of the St. Johns, not visiting the plantation counties of the interior which constituted the most wealthy and populous section of the state.⁵³ Neither did Stirling give Florida credit for the very real progress it had made in population growth and in economic development since it had become a state.

Another English traveler who visited Florida in the fifties was the Honorable Amelia M. Murray. Miss Murray visited Jacksonville, Palatka, St. Augustine, Ocala, and Silver Springs. The English lady was much

^{52.} *Ibid.*, 9.

^{53.} James Stirling, *Letters from the Slave States*, London, 1857, 213-227. Stirling even attributed the backwardness of railroad development in Florida to the use of Negro slaves in building the railroads, 225.

more charitable than her compatriot in her remarks on the institution of slavery as she observed it in Florida. She said of the attacks on slavery: "No one can live long in this country without being convinced of the want of real information and the injudicious tendency of *Uncle Tom*." Miss Murray felt that those who sincerely desired to advance the cause of the Negro should remain for some months in the South and try to get a real understanding of the slave system and how it works.⁵⁴ In fact she was of the general opinion that the institution of slavery served as a great school of Christianity and civilization for the Negro and felt that he was much better off under slavery than he was in a state of freedom.⁵⁵

Floridians of this period were ardent defenders of the institution of slavery. Ante-bellum Florida produced no advocates of emancipation like the Grimke sisters of South Carolina or James G. Birney of Kentucky. If any citizens of Northern birth disapproved of slavery they were discreet and said little about it. As we have seen, Zephaniah Kingsley was one of the first Floridians to make a literary defense of slavery. Another Floridian who early took up his pen in defense of the "peculiar institution" was Achille Murat, planter and lawyer of territorial Florida whose description of slavery on a Florida plantation has already been quoted. Murat scored the attacks of the abolitionists on slavery as gross and absurd calumnies largely inspired by Great Britain because of that country's jealousy of the United States. He denied that slavery was always an evil, saying that in certain periods of a nation's existence it was a positive good. Working from this premise Murat argued that in the South with a climate which made it fatal for unacclimated white men to labor in the open field, and with a small proportion of good soil, the use of Negro labor to open up and develop the country was an absolute

54. Honorable Amelia M. Murray, *Letters from the United States, Cuba, and Canada*, New York, 1856, 229-234.

55. *Ibid.*, *passim*.

necessity until the whites became acclimated; hence slavery was a good institution in the South. He denied the charges of cruelty in the treatment of slaves and said the slave was better dressed, better fed and had more security than the European laborer or peasant. Murat felt that slavery was better for the present and that the abolitionists only did harm by their meddling. In his view the opponents of slavery were unwisely seeking to precipitate events; that the total abolition of slavery in the United States would come about in the natural course of events when free labor became cheaper than slave labor.⁵⁶

As the abolitionist attacks on slavery became more violent and the bitterness of the feeling between the slave and free states increased the people of Florida became even more closely united in their defense of slavery. The Whig party in the state, like the national Whig party, was finally shattered by the slavery issue and the old Whig leaders vied with the Democrats in their defense of slavery, even though they continued to fight for the preservation of the Union. Richard Keith Call, former territorial governor and a veteran Whig politician, although bitterly fighting Florida's withdrawal from the Union, chose the greatest crisis of secession to pen an eloquent defense of slavery. In a letter written to John S. Littell, Germantown, Pennsylvania, February 12, 1861, Call said that the institution of slavery demanded the earnest attention and unprejudiced consideration of every American citizen; that it should be considered as an institution which could not be abolished at that time without fatal consequences to some parties holding relations to it. He contended that the labor of the Negro had been absolutely necessary to clear the forests and develop the resources of the New World and that the institution of slavery in the process

56. Murat, *op. cit.*, 68-88 While the myth of the inability of white men to perform field labor in the Southern climate has been disproved again and again, Murat was quite right in his contention that the Negro slave was much better fed, clothed and sheltered and had more security than much of the free white labor of Europe.

of furnishing this necessary labor had also proved to be a great school of civilization which had served to Christianize and civilize the savage and pagan Negroes brought from the wilds of Africa. According to Call the labor of the Negro slave turned to the production of cotton had clothed nations, had given profitable employment to capital and labor in this country and Great Britain, had created a great medium of exchange between Europe and America to the annual value of nearly \$20,000,000, and was the basis for a tremendous seaborne commerce. Call contended that the Negro seemed designed by the Creator to be a slave and that he was happiest when living and working under the direction of a kind master. To free him would not elevate his condition but would merely give him liberty to sink into sloth and indolence.⁵⁷ Call's defense of slavery was of no more avail than his opposition to secession: the fate of the institution of slavery (like the question of the right of secession) was to be decided by the sword rather than by the pen. Just a month before Call wrote his letter to Littell Florida seceded from the Union and the great conflict which was to destroy slavery commenced shortly afterwards.

The newspapers of ante-bellum Florida were ardent in their defense of slavery. One ground on which they defended slavery was the claim that it was beneficial to the Negro. The fact that the slave population had increased greatly between 1840 and 1855, while the number of free Negroes had declined, was regarded as a blessing to both Negro and white. Said one Florida newspaper: "In a free state the Negro is merely a hopeless, degraded, wretched and forbidden outcast. He is useless and causes trouble, as contrasted with his slave brother who works and raises healthy families."⁵⁸ If any faults of the system were admitted they were minimized or

57. Richard Keith Call, *Union - Slavery - Secession; Letter from Governor R. K. Call, of Florida, to John S. Littell, Philadelphia, 1861*, 6-11. Littell was the chairman of the Pennsylvania delegation to the National Union Convention at Baltimore.

58. St. Augustine, *Ancient City*, July 12, 1851.

blamed on abolitionists. Said the *Pensacola Gazette*: "That we are entirely exempt from the evils of domestic slavery is not pretended: it is not pretended that there are not some among us who exercise over their servants a rigor of authority inconsistent with the happiness of the slave and unnecessary to the true interests of the owners, but they do this, for the most part, under the pretext furnished by the abolitionists."⁵⁹

Regardless of whether or not the institution of slavery could be justified, it was, Governor Call said, "an existing reality, for good or evil" thrown upon the people of Florida (as upon the rest of the South) by inheritance from past generations.⁶⁰ It was a basic part of the social and economic pattern of ante-bellum Florida. Although the majority of Floridians were not slaveholders, nevertheless they supported slavery because they felt that it was the only means by which society could control the Negro and protect itself from the ignorance and semi-barbarism of a race only recently removed from savagery. Slave labor was also the mainstay in the production of cotton, Florida's main source of wealth, as well as being important in the production of many other commodities. The tremendous economic importance of slavery in Florida is attested by the fact that the state census of 1855 showed that the value of the slave property in the state exceeded the combined value of every other form of property listed-including land, buildings outside of towns, household furniture. The total valuation placed on all the improved and unimproved land in Florida was only \$13,910,981 as compared to a total value of \$27,250,551 assigned to the slave property in the state.⁶¹ The social and economic importance of slavery made it a paramount political issue and lined Florida up with her sister states of the South in the great sectional controversy which finally led to the War for Southern Independence.

59. *Pensacola Gazette*, September 6, 1845.

60. Call, *op. cit.*, 6.

61. *Florida Senate Journal*, 1855 (Adjourned Session), Appendix, 26.

Although the war brought about the final destruction of slavery, it also tested the social discipline of slavery and proved that it was most effective in maintaining its control over the Negro in wartime as well as in peace. There was no instance of servile rebellion in Florida during the war. When virtually all the able-bodied white men went to the front many families were left almost entirely in the care of the slaves. The slaves kept their trust and there was no Negro uprising. The Negro slaves in general remained loyal to their masters because they were well-fed, well-housed, well-treated and lastly, well-watched and controlled.⁶² Although 1,044 Florida Negroes were enrolled as soldiers in the Union Army during the war (most of these were from East Florida where Federal troops occupied several points along the coast and were able to recruit slaves seized from their masters), the great majority of the slaves remained on the plantations carrying on their regular duties, and invading Federal forces succeeded in stirring up no servile uprisings.⁶³ This was a credit to the slave system; had it been as harsh and cruel as pictured the Negroes would have risen in bloody revolt when presented with the opportunities given by the war. It was also to the credit of the Negroes that they behaved so well in this time of crisis.

In the last analysis the slave system in ante-bellum Florida was not the cruel and heartless institution pictured by the abolitionists. Cruel treatment was rare and the slaves were seldom overworked. Their physical needs were well provided for and there was generally a kindly feeling between master and slave. If the laws and rules governing slaves and free Negroes were strict and harsh, their enforcement was in most cases lax and lenient. On the other hand all masters were not the benevolent patriarchs pictured by Zephaniah Kingsley, nor did all have the same concern for the welfare of their Negroes as Edward Bradford.

62. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*, New York, 1913, 219.

63. *Ibid.*, 222-229.

If slavery had a tendency to cause some whites to look down on labor as too menial for them there were many others who did not scorn to work in the fields with their slaves. Despite the comments of observers like Whipple and Stirling slavery was not an unmitigated blight on economic progress in ante-bellum Florida. Without the labor of the Negro the clearing of the forests and the development of agriculture in Florida would have been greatly retarded. As Dr. Rembert Patrick points out, the Negroes of ante-bellum Florida, slave and free, should be given credit for the great contribution made to the state's economic progress by their productive activity in agriculture and commerce; in the lumber and naval stores industries; in the construction of railroads and highways; and in the production of manufactured goods in town and on the plantation.⁶⁴ Although the Negro was not ready in 1865 to assume all the duties and privileges of a citizen he had earned his freedom.

64. Rembert Wallace Patrick, *Florida Under Five Flags*, Gainesville, 1945, 56.

(Concluded)

FRANCIS P. FLEMING IN THE WAR FOR
SOUTHERN INDEPENDENCE

LETTERS FROM THE FRONT

edited by EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

Part III

I hate to avail myself Bivouac near Jonesboro, Ga.
of the franking Priviledge Sept. 15th, 1864 ¹
having no stamps

My dear Aunt Tilly

Your kind and welcome letter of the 26th ultim has just been received, and the personal of it gave me great pleasure. I don't know what becomes of my letters. I wrote you a day or two after writing Mother, and have written her several times since, but received one from her dated the 6th inst, in which she mentions only having received one from me since I left. But I hope they mill all turn up after a while. I just got back in time for about a weeks hard work after leaving Atlanta, such as marching day and night, throwing up breastworks, skirmishing, and one days hard fighting, but I went through it all much better than I expected. Except getting perfectly exhausted in the charge on the enemy's works on the 31st inst. In going forward the excitement kept me up beyond my strength, but in the "fall back" I gave out, and could scarcely have gotten out at all but for the assistance of a sergeant of my Company. In a letter to Mother I gave something of a detailed account of our movements since leaving Atlanta. Get her to let you see the letter. On the 1st inst Gen. Hardee's Corp was attacked by nearly the whole Yankee Army, successfully repulsing them twice. When they charged a third time in great force, *ten* lines deep and succeeded in breaking a portion of our line, thereby causing its evacu-

1. The main army under Gen. John B. Hood was at Lovejoy's Station 39 miles southwest of Atlanta. Thomas Robson Hay, *Hood's Tennessee Campaign* (New York, 1929), p. 17.

ation. But they paid dearly for their *name* of a victory, losing about six thousand men.²

We are enjoying an armistice of ten days agreed upon, to allow of the removal of citizens from Atlanta, Sherman having ordered them either North or South.

I was rather amused at your lecture about keeping in good spirits. I am not often troubled with a depression of them, but merely mentioned a feeling of homesickness that I had after leaving you all at Monticello. Mother writes that Matilda is on a visit to Tallahassee. I hope that she will enjoy it. I presume that Capt. Maxwell is at home by this time, having left the hospital several days ago.³ I have just received my shoes by Mr. Oakley, a very nice pair and good fit. Write me and tell me all about your visit to Tallahassee and all my friends etc. With much love to Aunt Rebecca and yourself.

Your affe nephew
Frank

Camp near Tuscumbia, Ala.
Nov. 6th 1864

Dear Aunt Tilly

After an absence of about four weeks at the Hospital at Macon, with ercipelas and my chronic complaint, I arrived here a few days ago and found three letters from you awaiting me, which I read with great pleasure and interest the first was dated in June and directed to Newman-the last Sept. 29th. I had a long and tedious route to get back to my command after leaving the Hospital occupying two weeks-had to march about one

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2. For Gen. Hardee's report to Jefferson Davis concerning this fight see *Official Records of the Rebellion*, Series 1, XXXVIII, part three, p. 696. It was only a minor part of the Atlanta campaign and did not affect the outcome. Gen. Hardee was very dissatisfied with General Hood's handling.
 3. Capt. David Elwell Maxwell, Co. D, 1st Florida Cavalry Dismounted, Army of Tennessee. Capt. Maxwell was seriously wounded at the battle of Atlanta, July 22, 1864 and was compelled to retire from active service, remaining on crutches long after the war. After the conflict D. E. Maxwell became a prominent Florida railroad man. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902), I, p. 622.

hundred and fifty miles after leaving the railroad before overtaking them.

I am glad to hear that you enjoyed so much your visit to Tallahassee and vacation generally - Poor Elwell! We hear that he has lost his leg. I very much fear for his life but hope that the report may prove untrue. I feel towards him as a brother, and would almost mourn his loss as such.⁴

The army is lying quietly at this point on the banks of the Tennessee, having been here several days. The first rest since leaving Jonesboro - rumor says that we cross the river and start for Tennessee tomorrow - which may, or may not be the case.⁵ We never know beforehand what our movements are. "The War Eagle of the West" alias Gen. Forrest has made another descent upon his Yankee prey capturing two gunboats and three transports on the Tennessee river, with a large amount of clothing etc. He is certainly the greatest Cavalry leader of the age.⁶

The weather is raining, cold, windy and disagreeable generally particularly as we have no shelter from it.

I rec'd a letter from Uncle George sometime ago, saying that he expected his wife out soon. He is still at Thomaston.

Write soon. Your letters are very interesting and a great pleasure to receive them. On a campaign like this it is only now and then that we have a chance to send off letters, so don't wait to hear from me-letters directed to my Regiment-Army of Tennessee will always reach the Command. Remember me any of my friends you may see.

Your affe nephew
Frank

4. *Idem.*

5. Hood had two alternatives after defeat at Atlanta: one positive-to maneuver against Sherman's line of communications and force him to follow; one negative-to await with a badly demoralized army Sherman's next move and harass him. Hood decided to choose the positive. Hay, *op. cit.*, pp. 19-20.

6. Forrest's raid into Middle Tennessee accomplished nothing of military importance, beyond creating a momentary stir of apprehension at Nashville. He did not reach his principal objective, the Nashville and Chattanooga R. R. *Ibid.*, pp. 58-59.

Nov. 12th 64

Since writing the enclosed letter I have been obliged to return to the Hospital with a severe return of my old complaint. So much for starting to my command before I recovered in opposition to the judgment of the Surgeon. I'll know better again. "Experience teaches a hard school, but fools will learn at no other". I am at an Officers Hospital at Uniontown Alabama.⁷ A good place in a rich Country. If I don't get well soon I'll make an endeavor to get a leave of absence and visit Florida. Don't say anything about it.

Write soon, directing to this place - Officer's Hospital.

Affy yours
Frank

Quincy Fla. Dec. 9th-64

Dear Aunt Tilly,

I arrived here today on my way home to Monticello with a sixty day leave in my pocket. As soon as you can make it convenient, I hope to see you in Monticello, when I will remain for some little time. Write to me at any rate. I'll drop this at Station Q. on my way down tomorrow.

Present my respects to Mr. Gadsden and Mrs. Weston, though I only know the latter through yourself.

Your affe nephew
Frank

Madison Fla. May 3-65

My dear Aunt Tilly

I have just received your kind letter and must offer you very many thanks for your further trouble you have taken in endeavoring to get me a horse as well as your kind offer. I feel very, very grateful to you, and hope that I may have some opportunity of showing it. But it is too late now. Gen. Johnston has surrendered with the last army on this side of the Mississippi, and in-

⁷ Uniontown, Ala., lies 134 mi. north of Pensacola.

FRANCIS P. FLEMING

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cluding this Department and I suppose we will all be paroled in a few days.⁸ This is an end of the matter on this side of the Mississippi. Kirby Smith may hold out there for a while, and if we get Foreign assistance our Country may be reclaimed.⁹ God in His mercy grant it - it is our last hope - what a terrible and sad result after four years of desperate fighting and suffering. Poor, dear Seton - it somewhat reconciles me to his death to think that he has not lived to see the Country that he fought so nobly to save plunged in this disgrace and humiliation. I don't think that I can live under Yankee rule. Had I only myself to care for I would not hesitate a moment but we must wait and see. Hope I'll see you soon. Excuse this hastily written scrawl but it is most time for the mail to close.

Your Affe Nephew
Frank

Madison, Fla.
May 16th 1865

My dear Aunt Tilly

Yours of the 5th inst I received only last night. I would like very much to visit you, but must postpone it for a little while. I have just made arrangements to visit Marion County, and spend some time with Col. Summer, a friend of mine, and an old member of the 2nd Fla. a rich old bachelor living a few miles south of Ocala.¹⁰ I'll probably be absent some two or three weeks and on my return will be happy to avail myself of the kind invitation of Mrs. Wethington and yourself. I'll probably go to Lake City today and remain there several days before starting for Ocala.

8. Gen. Johnston surrendered at Durham Station, N. C., April 26, 1865 to General Sherman.

9. In April 21 Gen. Kirby Smith had published an address to the soldiers of the Trans-Mississippi Department appealing to them to continue the fight; however, his soldiers were fast deserting and he gave up the struggle on June 2. Joseph B. James, "Edmund Kirby Smith" (unpublished master's thesis, University of Florida, 1935), pp. 320-323.

10. There is a W. Summers listed on the roster of Co. D. 2nd Fla. *Soldiers of Florida*, p. 93.

Quite a number of persons went down to Jacksonville some days ago to claim their property. Miss Swait and Miss S- and Mrs. Willey among the number. They have not yet returned.

It is said that the place is filled up with Yankees-it will be a worse Yankee hole than ever. I would not live there again for anything.

I have been quite well for several weeks, in fact ever since I saw you last. I must try and recruit up my health somewhat, but I believe that an entire change of climate is necessary for its complete establishment and this I trust I will have before long. Have you determined upon any Country to move to? My friends-that is principally the Daniels and Frank L'Engle as well as myself think that Brazil offers greater inducements than any other.¹¹ Let me hear from you at Lake City if you get this in time I will probably be there a week.

Your affe nephew

Frank

11. For an account of the experiences of Southerners who went to Brazil following the war see Lawrence F. Hill, "Confederate Exiles to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VII (1927), p. 192.

(Concluded)

NOW IS THE TIME

Local histories are the foundation stones of State history. Florida, which is far behind its neighbors in the knowledge of its history, is beginning to catch up. A number of local and regional associations are organized, and some are collecting and preserving the historical material of their areas. Miami, Jacksonville, Pensacola, St. Petersburg, Palm Beach, the Manatee region, and others have collections. An important recent addition is the Tampa area with its Hillsborough County Historical Commission. There is a revival of historical effort in St. Augustine, the gem of Florida's historic past, with the collection and work of the St. Augustine Historical Society, but their efforts are largely negated by the exploitation of historical fakes for personal profit on a large scale, which reflects on the historical honesty of the whole State.

There are now three county historical commissions. Polk county led the way with their successful project, Pinellas has a commission, and now Tampa and its region have founded the:

Hillsborough County Historical Commission

By a Special Act of the Florida Legislature at its last session, a "Hillsborough County Historical Commission and Museum" was created. Thus a long step was taken towards local recognition of Tampa's and the area's historical past and the collection and preservation of historical material which still remains there.

The Act provides that the ten members of the Commission be appointed by the Board of County Commissioners. These are: D. B. McKay, Horace Hackney, Mrs. Harry L. Weedon, Mrs. Roy Frierson, Mrs. J. H. Letton, Theodore Lesley, John Eskridge, G. W. Worthington, Dr. C. T. Young, with Charles H. Pent as secretary. Mrs. John Branch, who has taken a large part in its creation, is chairman.

Other provisions of the Act are: The Clerk of the County Court is, *ex-officio*, its secretary. The Commis-

sion itself may appoint a clerk for the Commission, who is to be county historian.

The expressed purposes of the Commission are to "Collect, record, and preserve historical material and data, books, pamphlets, maps, manuscripts, family histories, United States census records . . . other objects illustrative of and relating to the history of Hillsborough County and South Florida . . . narratives of early pioneers, Indian tribes and wars . . . its soldiers, schools, churches; mark locations of forts, Indian mounds or other places in Hillsborough County where historical events have occurred."

"The Clerk of the County Court shall file . . . all such historical material that the Commission may direct to be filed."

The Board of County Commissioners are authorized to pay expenses of the Commission out of the General Fund of the county not to exceed \$3,000 per annum. The Board is also authorized to furnish a repository.

The present budget of the Board does not include an appropriation for the Commission, but the collection of historical material has been undertaken under the Act, and suitable rooms will be set aside for headquarters and the preservation and display of historical material in the new county court house.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF OSCEOLA COUNTY

On October 25 the "Historical Association of Osceola County" held its organization meeting at St. Cloud. The newest of Florida's local historical organizations elected Charles E. Hartley, president; Mrs. Elizabeth Cantrell, vice-president; Mrs. Nell Bodiford, 2nd vice-president; Mrs. Clara Meacham, secretary-treasurer; Mrs. Lillian Garrison, librarian; Clifford Tyson, Sam Story, W. G. Hankins, and Mrs. Alma Hethrington, directors.

At the meeting articles of incorporation were approved. The objectives of the society are: to discuss, collect, and preserve materials of historical interest relative to Osceola county. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau,

President of the Florida Historical Society, conferred with and spoke before those planning the historical association in June. At the organization meeting Asst. Editor Williamson of the *Quarterly* presented some photostats of old Florida newspapers to Mr. Hartley for the Osceola historical library and spoke a few words of encouragement.

Hillsborough and Osceola counties are late, as is every other locality in Florida, in preserving their history; but they are to be congratulated on beginning now. They will find that much of what was once around them is gone forever and the remainder is steadily disappearing.

What other community, or town, or county, will be the next one to realize the opportunity and the need for early action? Now is the time.

FORT CLINCH MEMORIAL ASSOCIATION

On November 16 last, a celebration was held at Fort Clinch, adjoining Fernandina, to mark the centennial of the death of General Clinch, and at which the recently organized Duncan Lamont Clinch Memorial Association received its charter.

The present fort was built one hundred years ago on the north end of Amelia Island; but the site, commanding the entrance to St. Marys river and Cumberland sound was recognized as strategic in early times, and Oglethorpe occupied it in 1736. The British erected a fort there during the American Revolution, and the Island was the center of the Patriot War troubles of 1812.

Construction of the present fort was begun in 1850; but such a project was a great undertaking in those days, and it was not completed at the outbreak of the War for Southern Independence, though occupied by the Confederate army. On the approach of a greatly superior Federal invasion force it was abandoned together with the adjacent earth-works in 1862. The fort was used

during the Spanish-American War for the concentration of troops, but was entirely abandoned later.

Rehabilitated by the Civilian Conservation Corps, for the past nine years it has been a State Park with an interesting and growing historical museum, of which J. William Decker is superintendent. With the organization of the Memorial Association its future is assured.

THE HALIFAX REGION

The Ormond Village Improvement Association has published *Early Plantation of the Halifax: Concerning the Ruins*, by Edith P. Stanton. (24 p. illustrations, 1949).

Mrs. Stanton came to Ormond in 1887 and ever since has been gathering "facts and legends about the earliest days of the Halifax Country."

The region attracted a few settlers in the British period, and others during the second Spanish occupation. The soil and climate were thought to be especially adapted to the growing of sugar cane and, as would be expected, the ruins are those of sugar mills. A number of sites of the area are described both as to their settlement and what remains today: the Dun-Lawton Sugar Mill, Hernandez Point, Mount Oswald, Carrickfergus, the King's Road, Rozetta, Damietta, Bulowville, Mound Grove, San Antonio de Anacape. An account of Audubon's visit to the region in 1831 is included, and there is a summary of the now almost forgotten fighting during the Seminole War in the Halifax region. There are several full-page illustrations of the present sites.

THE TERRA CEIA INDIAN MOUND

A noteworthy Indian mound on Terra Ceia Island recently given to the State by Mr. & Mrs. Karl A. Bickel and dedicated as a "State Monument," is the first archeological site to be taken over by the Florida Park Service. This is a ceremonial mound, distinguished from a burial mound, of the period beginning about the middle

of the fifteenth century and extending into the historical era.

EDISON AND FORT MYERS

It might be suggested that the rest of his name should be included; but *George* and *Abraham* are never needed, and *Edison* anywhere means one man only. Fort Myers and Edison are so intimately connected that any mention of him in Florida means both, so even the Fort Myers might be omitted. This connection is brought out in a recent brochure *Bamboo and Sailing Ships: The Story of Thomas Alva Edison and Fort Myers, Florida* by Florence Fritz. Published by the author, Fort Myers, 1949, 52 pages, it is fully illustrated. Edison's horticultural and chemical experiments there with growing plants for their rubber content is a feature of the narrative.

A MANATEE CENTENNIAL

The centennial of the Manatee Methodist Church was celebrated in October last, and in commemoration a brief account of the century of the church was written by Miss Eva M. Gates. This has been published by the Church as *One Hundred Years of Manatee Methodism 1849-1949* (24 pages, 25 cents) with several illustrations.

ARCHEOLOGICAL SITES

A recent publication is: "Florida Anthropological Society Publications, Number One: *Two Archeological Sites in Brevard County, Florida* [by] Hale G. Smith. Published at the University of Florida, Gainesville, 1949. John W. Goggin, editor."

There are thirty-one pages of text and four full-page half-tone plates, recording the findings of Mr. Smith on his excavations at two sites on the off-shore bar between Indian River and the Ocean, near the Brevard and Indian River counties division line. One of the sites is at least partly historical, and the plates picture both Indian and European articles. The other site, just to the south, is without historical materials, and hence was abandoned before contact of the inhabitants with Europeans, probably dating from 1200 to 1650 A. D.

The first site, called "Higgs Site" by the author, is that one investigated by Charles D. Higgs, and described with his findings in this QUARTERLY XXI (July 1942) pp. 25-39. At the time of writing, Mr. Smith was assistant archeologist, Florida Park Service. He is now assistant professor of anthropology, Florida State University.

Those who are interested in the Florida Indians, either before or after contact with Europeans, are invited to become members of the Florida Anthropological Society. Dues are \$3.00 a year, with a student membership of \$1.50. All publications of the Society are sent to members without cost. Application for membership should be made to Ripley P. Bullen, Florida Park Service, Seagle Building, Gainesville.

JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The publication of *Papers, Volume II*, by the Jacksonville Historical Society is a noteworthy event in the recent writing of Florida's history, rendered more so by the inclusion of four hand-colored, and one other, engravings of Osceola; these being the important surviving likenesses of Florida's most famous Indian. The appreciation and comment of one Florida historian—"exquisite"—will be approved and seconded by many.

The publication of Florida-and especially Jacksonville - historical material was resumed by the Society two years ago when volume one of *Papers* was issued. The two volumes include papers and addresses written for and read at their program meetings by local members and other Florida historians.

The portraits of Osceola were colored by two Jacksonville artists, Mr. and Mrs. Howard J. Ahrens, and they are accompanied by descriptions of each portrait and the artists who drew the originals, all written by Joseph E. McCarthy after much research.

The Editorial Board for this issue of *Papers* was Miss Audrey Broward, chairman, Henry H. Buckman III, P. H. Gaskins, Joseph E. McCarthy, and Miss Dena Snodgrass. The volume, of ninety-six pages, is well-printed and attractive in every way. These seven articles are included:

THE OLD CITY CEMETERY

More than anything else, our old cemeteries carry us back into the past of our own home town, and they appeal to many who feel no great interest in other history. Jacksonville has one of these in which is recorded in stone much of her history of the past one hundred years.

Mr. Philip S. May, who has long taken part in the work of the Florida Historical Society as well as that of the Jacksonville Historical Society, tells us in the leading article of *Papers* what he has been able to learn of Jacksonville's "Old City Cemetery." The plot was given to the city in 1852 by Captain Charles Willey, who

first came to Jacksonville as master of a trading schooner, and some of whose letters in 1831 are included in this issue of *Papers*. But the site apparently had been used for burials earlier. Later, Captain Willey conveyed an adjoining acre to the Bishop of the Roman Catholic Diocese of Florida, the Rt. Rev. Augustine Verot.

Jacksonville at that time, 1852, was described, says the author, as . . . a small village, containing perhaps, 400 people all told; the residences, with here and there an exception, were of wood, one story, cheaply built; three or four stores on Bay Street, rough buildings and rude fittings, were all in the business line, while a slab wharf, small and rickety, answered for vessels. A small steamboat made a weekly trip to and from Savannah, and a still smaller one ran once a week to and from Enterprise. There was not a wheeled vehicle in town, except a second-hand hearse and a dray.

Mr. May concludes:

"On this little tract of land . . . are situated practically all of Jacksonville's physical links with its past."

JACKSONVILLE AND NEW YORK TRADE IN 1831

Seven letters of Charles Willey have been edited by Henry H. Buckman III. Willey was master of a schooner trading between New York and Jacksonville in 1831. He wrote three letters from Jacksonville (or St. Johns, E. F., as he dated them) and four from New York regarding his voyages and cargoes. They are of much interest and have historical value for the light they throw on this trade at that period.

His schooner arrived at Jacksonville in October 1831 after slow sailing as far as Charleston bar, but made it from there to St. Johns bar in one day. He crossed without a pilot and without "strinken." He found there a vessel loaded with 135,000 oranges for New York, but the market was up to "a Dollar pir 100," so he went up the river to the head of Black Creek looking for cargo.

He sells his own cargo of flour, mackerel, rum, gin, potatoes, onions, pork, salt, dry goods and cider, and gives the prices received for each. He takes on 165,000 oranges for which he paid \$7.50 and 5,700 "Lammons at \$3.75 per 1,000." He takes on also "4 Pasingers at \$16."

He was twelve days to New York. "I acspeted to luse all the oranges but I did not luse enny." He sold some at \$18, but averaged less than \$12.00 per 1,000.

The schooner left New York again on December 5 with cargo and six or eight passengers ". . . we had six days passege to the Bar and we laed off and on one day and Night for a Pilot but at was so rugh that the Pilts cold not git out so I ran in the wind hedded me of and I got on the south brakers and was obliged to heave over part of our deck lode . . . thair is a nother vessel on the Bar about 100 touns with sugar from Cuba . . ."

Captain Willey writes also of charters and insurance and other business relating to shipping. He evidently plans to take a cargo of pine lumber this trip, but the letters end here.

JACKSONVILLE AND THE ST. JOHNS

An address read before the Society at a late program meeting is included: "Ninety-six Years of Engineering Development on the St. Johns River," by Oscar G. Rawls, Corps of Engineers, U. S. Army.

In emphasizing the relation of Jacksonville to the River he writes: ". . . it may indeed be said that Jacksonville owes its existence, its early development, and much of its present commercial status to the river which passes through the city and provides its outlet to the Atlantic Ocean." Its location was determined by the width of the river which is narrower there than at any other point between Palatka and the mouth.

The early river traffic is described, with the types of steamers, the growth of commerce and what this consisted of, both northwards to Savannah and Charleston

and later to New York, and up the River to Palatka and in time farther south. The shallow bar at the mouth was a great impediment and even barrier for decades, and much of the paper is given to the deepening and straightening of the channel to the sea. The several projects for improvement are fully described, to the present one of a minimum depth of thirty-four feet from Jacksonville to the Atlantic.

HENRY B. PLANT

At the spring program meeting of 1947 Mr. John C. Blocker, historian and county attorney of Pinellas county, read a paper on Henry B. Plant. Second only to Flagler as a Florida developer, Plant first came to the State in 1853; and, like Flagler, was drawn by the climate and the illness of his wife. But there was no thought of development apparently until the 1880's, when he commenced his buying and building of railroads down the peninsula.

There is a brief sketch of Plant's life before he began his work in Florida, but most of the narrative is of the ". . . network of railroads extending over Florida, the southern part of Georgia, and sections of South Carolina and Alabama. There were fleet connections at Port Tampa with six sailings each week to Havana . . . Plant also operated steamship lines on the Chattahoochee and St. Johns rivers, and a line of small steamers connecting Tampa with St. Petersburg and Manatee River points . . . At his death he controlled twelve railway corporations with almost 2,000 miles of track."

Mr. Blocker continues: "The Tampa Bay Hotel was near the heart of H. B. Plant . . . It cost \$3,000,000," and one writer is quoted as considering it "one of the modern wonders of the world." Plant hotels were built also at Port Tampa, Punta Gorda, Fort Myers, and other Florida resort cities.

GOVERNOR DUVAL

Mr. William D. Barfield, president of the Jacksonville Historical Society, as a graduate student at Prince-

ton University, wrote his thesis for the Master's degree on Governor William P. DuVal of Florida, which is still the most extensive study of DuVal. His contribution to *Papers* is "The First Civil Governor and the Capital of Florida," in which he tells of DuVal's part in founding Tallahassee, and the first efforts to remove the Indians away from the encroaching settlers.

It is hoped that Mr. Barfield will tell us more of what he knows about our colorful first governor. But with this plea is the wish that he will reconsider his statement that "The population consisted, [Florida in 1821] with some exception, of West Indian traders, smugglers, privateersmen, Indians, runaway Negroes, and renegade white men from the original thirteen states and the eleven other states which had been admitted prior to that time,"- a statement which should not go unchallenged. How about it, President Barfield?

THE SOCIETY

Mr. Herbert Lamson, former president of the Florida Historical Society and of the Jacksonville Historical Society, recounts the activities of that Society during the past two years, with the titles of papers read at all program meetings. These show the widespread and continued interest in Jacksonville-and, indeed, in Florida-history which has always been evident there. Here also is a list of historical material donated during the biennium by numerous members and friends. These were added to the historical collection of the Society now at the Jacksonville Public Library.

A Membership Roster completes the volume.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The thirty-second program meeting, and the first of this season, was held by the Historical Association of Southern Florida on November 16. This was devoted to the Everglades National Park, in which all of Florida has a lively and growing interest. Dan Beard, Superintendent, described what has been accomplished as well as future plans. Willard E. Dille, Park Naturalist, told of his work there; and Joseph C. Moore, Park Biologist, chose as his subject "The Never Ending Search." A natural history collection from the Park was displayed.

Other program meetings are planned for the coming months.

TEQUESTA

The *Annual* of the Association, *Tequesta*, is being distributed as this issue of the QUARTERLY goes to the printer, and will be reviewed in our next number. This is the ninth issue (1949) and, as always, contains historical articles relating to South Florida, some of which were read at the program meetings of the Association and others written for publication in *Tequesta*. Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau of the University of Miami, and our president, is editor, as he has been for the past four issues.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Due to the recent cut in all expenditures of the State, the appropriation which the State has given the Society since 1941 through the State Library Board has been suspended temporarily, hence this issue of the QUARTERLY is smaller than usual, as was the last issue. It is expected that ere the next number goes to press we shall receive this grant again and be enabled to resume our former size.

This issue marks the twenty-fifth year of the present editorship of the QUARTERLY, as the first number was that for January 1925. It recalls to mind the continuous encouragement and support the members have given the Society and the QUARTERLY during this period, even through the years of the depression when the dues must have been a real sacrifice to many. It is pleasing to the editor to remember that the criticism which he often asked for was always given as helpful suggestions. He is grateful for that and for all.

NOTICE OF THE ANNUAL MEETING OF 1950

At the invitation of the University of Florida the Annual Meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held at the University in Gainesville on April 13, 14, and 15. The Board of Directors will meet on Thursday evening the 13th; there will be historical programs throughout Friday, with the annual dinner on Friday evening. A program meeting on Saturday will be followed by the annual business meeting and election of officers at noon. Professor Rembert W. Patrick is General Chairman, and Edward C. Williamson is Program Chairman.

The programs have largely been planned and will be interesting as well as historical. Gainesville is centrally located and can be reached from much of the State in a few hours, so a large attendance is hoped for, especially of members at the business meeting. The P. K. Yonge Library of Florida His-

tory, a division of the University Library, is an attraction to the history-minded. The growing interest in Florida history at the University makes it a stimulating place to meet, and we have not met there since 1936. Your friends will be welcome at all except the brief business meeting, during which they may visit the Florida State Museum which is the outstanding museum of the Southeast. Will you not be with us.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU, *President*

The following correspondence is included in the QUARTERLY for the information of the members of the Society and for their consideration. No other proposals have yet been received, but at least one is expected.

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

November 2, 1949

Dr. C. W. Tebeau, President
The Florida Historical Society
Box 344, Miami University Branch
Coral Gables, Florida

Dear Dr. Tebeau:

Almost a century has passed since the Florida Historical Society was established as a custodian and interpreter of the history of the State of Florida. Though the historical societies in most of the other states have had generous governmental support, the Florida Historical Society, with little state aid, has published a quarterly journal and maintained a library of *Floridiana*. This outstanding record is a tribute to the selfless interest and initiative of past and present members of the Society.

The University of Florida is cognizant of the contribution which the Society has made and realizes the financial burden involved in publishing a quarterly, housing a library, and employing a librarian. For many

years the University has desired to assist in the work of the Florida Historical Society. In fact, this wish for a part in the endeavors of the Society led to a premature offer after World War I when the facilities of the University were not adequate for proper service. Now, however, the University has adequate facilities to offer the Society, faculty members and students who have demonstrated their interest in the history of Florida, and a University Press for publication of contributions to knowledge.

On October 15, 1949, the Board of Control authorized the University of Florida to extend the Florida Historical Society an invitation and the following offer: (1) Permanent and rent-free space in the new, air-conditioned University Library building for the library and collections of the Society; (2) An annual grant of \$2000.00 for the purposes of paying one-half of the yearly printing costs of the *QUARTERLY* and for such other expenses as are necessary for the functioning of the Society; (3) The editorial services of a qualified member of the University staff for editing the *QUARTERLY*.

The University of Florida makes this offer in the belief that acceptance of it by the Florida Historical Society will be advantageous to the people of Florida. The University does not now, and will not in the future, place limitations on the freedom and activity of the Society. On the contrary the Society will have sole charge of its library and be responsible for the employment and supervisions of a librarian, while the University supplies housing for the library. The University does ask that an annual report, directed to the Committee on University Libraries of the University of Florida, be made on the expenditure of the \$2000.00 annual grant. The University will consider for possible acceptance any limitation or stipulation which the Society may wish to include in a mutual agreement.

The facilities of the Society's library would be useful to our students and faculty and would stimulate the study and writing of Florida history. The University

of Florida is working toward the establishment of a great center for the study of Florida history, and the location of the Society on the University campus would be of great aid in the realization of this project.

As President of the University of Florida, it affords me great pleasure to extend this invitation and offer to the Florida Historical Society.

Sincerely yours,
[signed] J. HILLIS MILLER,
President

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA

November 7, 1949

President J. Hillis Miller
University of Florida
Gainesville, Florida

Dear President Miller:

In behalf of the Florida Historical Society, I wish to thank you for your letter of November 2, offering aid in the solution of our financial problems. You have very correctly stated our difficulty. Our principal activities and services are the maintenance of library service and the publication of the *QUARTERLY*. Our income from memberships will finance only one of the major activities.

We shall present the University of Florida's proposal to the Board of Directors and to the membership as early as reasonably possible, probably at the next annual meeting of the Society at the University of Florida in the Spring of 1950. There will be other proposals, but it is a great comfort to know that we shall not be compelled to curtail the program of services we aspire to provide.

The terms you propose seem to me very reasonable, as well as indicating an awareness of the desirability that the Society retain a large measure of responsibility for the work of the organization. Past experience indi-

cates that where historical commissions or academic institutions assume complete responsibility the membership is likely to become less interested and less active. The terms you suggested seem to offer a happy compromise that will be mutually beneficial to the Society and the University, both of which represent the public interest in this matter.

Thank you again for this very practical proposal. Please do not be impatient if we seem slow to act in this matter. It is of critical importance to us, and we shall act only after thorough and careful consideration and the approval of the membership.

Sincerely yours,
[signed] C. W. TEBEAU, *President*
Florida Historical Society

UNIVERSITY OF FLORIDA
GAINESVILLE

November 10, 1949

My dear Dr. Tebeau:

I greatly appreciate your very prompt reply to my recent letter tendering the Florida Historical Society a home on our campus. We understand, of course, that it will be necessary for this proposal to clear through the customary channels. We shall await the action of your Board of Directors and membership with a great deal of interest.

With kind regards, I am

Very sincerely yours,
[signed] J. HILLIS MILLER
President

DR. C. W. TEBEAU, *President*
Florida Historical Society

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

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