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FILIBUSTERING WITH THE *DAUNTLESS*

by RICHARD V. RICKENBACH

Through the indefatigable efforts of Jose A. Huau and Alphonso Fritot, Jacksonville was an active center of filibustering to Cuba in the years 1895-98. Huau was important for his local influence, and his store on the corner of Bay and Main streets served as the clearing house for negotiations of the filibusterers. It seems now that it would have been all but impossible for the revolutionaries to be successful had they not had the aid of Fritot, for he was the joint agent of all the railroads running into Jacksonville.¹ He had the power of being able to secure a special train or a private railroad car almost at will - an invaluable resource.

With each succeeding expedition, the Cuban *Junta* found it increasingly difficult to arrange the next one without detection. By the time of President Cleveland's second proclamation on July 27, 1896, concerning the violation of neutrality laws by the filibusterers,² the direct pressure had become so great on the filibustering ships and their owners, the *Junta* found it expeditious to obtain the regular services of another ship.

There was in Brunswick, Georgia, a tug available for \$30,000, which had the reputation of being one of the fastest tugs in the South. The *Dauntless*, for such was the tug's name, was built in Camden, New Jersey, in 1893, had a net tonnage of seventy-six tons, and carried a crew of seven.³ It was the common belief that tugboats were best suited for filibustering as they had already proven their ability in the preceding year to dodge around and about the Florida keys and to dash over to Cuba at night, unship the cargo, and be off quickly.

Alphonso Fritot submitted to the *Junta* a proposal from Jacksonville street paving contractors Bisbee &

1. H. Smith, *A Captain Unafraid*, p. 116.

2. J. D. Richardson, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1902*, vol. IX, pp. 694-695.

3. Frank D. Bisbee, son of W. A. Bisbee, interview with writer, May 6, 1948.

Foster that the *Junta* advance a loan, the required sum of \$30,000, to purchase the tug. William A. Bisbee, the senior partner of the firm, had already shown himself a friend of the Cubans by assisting in arranging some of the previous expeditions.⁴ The loan was granted, and Horatio S. Rubens, attorney of the *Junta* in New York, was directed to go to Brunswick to make the purchase. He carried the purchase price in thirty \$1,000 bills hidden about his person.⁵ The negotiations were rapidly concluded and Rubens proceeded to Jacksonville, where he turned the ship over to Huau.⁶

At this time the notorious filibustering tug *Three Friends* was in her home port, Jacksonville, and was under constant observation, while the famous filibusterer *Commodore* was being detained in Charleston, South Carolina.

"Deception" was the key word in arranging for an expedition in order to keep its departure secret. Rubens, a master of intrigue, tells of his method of outwitting the Spanish spies and the United States officials. "Going to Jacksonville," said the Cuban, "I conferred casually with her [*Three Friends*] captain, giving the impression that *The Three Friends* was up to something new. At the proper minute, the now pleasantly suspected tug took on a considerable coal cargo. The spies swallowed the bait beautifully . . ." ⁷

General Emilio Nunez and "Dynamite" Johnny O'Brien⁸ went to Charleston knowing full well their movements were being watched and speculated upon. Their intention was to put the *Commodore* under sus-

4. Biographical sketch of W. A. Bisbee in possession of Frank D. Bisbee.

5. H. S. Rubens, *Liberty, The Story of Cuba*, (New York, 1932) p. 159.

6. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 116.

7. Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 161.

8. The famous captain received this nickname by his fearless transport of sixty tons of dynamite to Colombia, passing through a hurricane, a severe electrical disturbance, and generally rough weather, during which he had to make fast the slipping cargo. When the crew unloaded the boxes marked "dynamite" they became hysterical for they had been unaware their cargo was a dangerous explosive and subject to detonation by electricity or from being struck a blow. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 47-56.

pcion in order that the revenue cutter watching her would not leave, the officials suspecting a movement from that port.⁹ To convince and distract the faithful sleuths further, the *Commodore* got up a head of steam as if she were about to leave port. This was merely a subterfuge to delay the probable discovery of the true intentions of the Cubans, and a deception under which Nunez left for New York.

The New York *Junta* intended this to be an expedition *par excellence*. The steamer *Laurada*,¹⁰ 899 net tonnage, was owned by John D. Hart¹¹ of Philadelphia and she was chartered to take ammunition to Navassa Island, located at the southeastern end of Cuba, between Jamaica and Haiti. She left Philadelphia on July 31 for Wilmington, Delaware, and there took out papers for Port Antonio, Jamaica. Up to this time the voyage had been apparently innocent.¹²

From Wilmington the steamer went to Barnegat and was met by three tugboats from New York, the *Richard K. Fox*, the *Dolphin*, and the *Green Point*.¹³ The *Fox* had a few passengers on board, including Nunez, and the other tugs were loaded with munitions. All these were transferred to the *Laurada* and she sailed for Navassa Island on August 5.¹⁴

There seems to be some question as to the accuracy of the date set by Olivart. Hosea Horton, a yachtsman and fisherman of Atlantic City, testified before the District Court of the United States for the Eastern District of Pennsylvania, November Sessions, 1896, that at 10 o'clock on the night of August 8, 1896, he was on

9. *Ibid.*, p. 118.

10. Hart named the ship for his two daughters, Laura and Ada. Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 154.

11. The *Laurada* had been the British ship *Empress* and by an act of Congress, Jan. 18, 1895, became an American vessel, sold to John D. Hart Company.

12. E. J. Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish American War*, p. 54.

13. C. Carlisle, *Report to the Spanish Legation*, vol. II, app. III, pt. I, p. 7.

14. M. de Olivart, "Le differend entre l' Espagne et les Etats-Unis au sujet de la question cubaine," *Revue general de droit international public*, tome IV, pp. 358-364.

a wharf in Philadelphia and saw three buses arrive with about eighteen men, J. D. Hart among them, and saw them board the *Laurada* and cast off the lines.¹⁵ This shows a discrepancy of a few days.

In the meantime a party of thirty men, mostly Cubans, had been sent by the *Junta* from New York to Charleston where they stayed in a hotel with about twenty detectives who were following them.¹⁶ The Cubans, leaving the hotel in small groups hoping to escape detection, departed under the guidance of O'Brien on the day following their arrival and boarded a south-bound train on the Plant Line (later the Atlantic Coast Line). Fritot had arranged a private car for the men and the ever present detectives were forced to make themselves comfortable in another car.¹⁷

Among the men recruited to make this trip was a young man named Frederick Funston who was put in charge of the twelve-pound Hotchkiss field guns that were being taken to Cuba. As was usually the case, there was a period of weeks of waiting for the departure of the expedition. The thirty recruited men were available at a moment's notice in the city, and during the long hours of waiting, Funston drilled and worked with the other men in the use of the Hotchkiss. Funston himself had been unfamiliar with the gun until he received full instructions of its operation from the firm, Hartley & Graham, from which it was purchased.¹⁸ Finally the long awaited message arrived. "Be at Cortland [sic] Street Ferry at 7 P. M. ready to leave the City," the telegram read,¹⁹ and off they were on their adventure.²⁰

15. Carlisle, *op. cit.*, vol. II, app. III, pt. I, p. 12.

16. F. Funston, "To Cuba as a Filibusterer," *Scribner's*, vol. 48, Sept., 1910, p. 311.

17. *Ibid.*, p. 312.

18. *Ibid.*, p. 316.

19. *Ibid.*, p. 318.

20. This was the beginning of a colorful career for Funston. When he landed in Cuba he was under the command of Gomez and later Garcia, and while fighting with the insurrectionists he attained the rank of lieutenant-colonel. Later under his own flag, he was responsible for the capture of Emilio Aguinaldo, the leader of the

The night following the exit from Charleston the train reached Callahan, Florida, where the Florida Central and Peninsular (later the Seaboard Air Line) crossed the Plant Line. The train paused briefly and the last car, the private car in which the Cubans were riding, was quietly uncoupled, and the remainder of the train continued its journey to Jacksonville. A locomotive of the F. C. & P. picked up the car and headed for the coast. On the way toward the coast, the private train, as it had then become, stopped and picked up from a railroad siding, two freight cars ²¹ containing the ammunition which had been ordered from Bridgeport, Connecticut. These arms had been shipped to Jacksonville, but Fritot had them side-tracked at Callahan just as he had managed with the passenger car.

Finally the train stopped about one hundred yards from a bridge where the tug *Dauntless* was waiting. The men started transferring the freight to the tug just at sunrise on August 15, 1896, ²² and after five hours of hard work, the entire cargo was aboard the tug. The *Dauntless* headed south and gave several blasts with her whistle, steaming out of the Satilla River. This was just sixty miles north of Jacksonville where the detectives were patiently awaiting the arrival of the ammunition and anxiously looking for the Cubans who had disappeared overnight.

This type of venture was only for the courageous. It meant danger and hard work, and for the Cubans remaining in Cuba at the end of the trip, the only reward was that of patriotic pride and satisfaction. The

Philippine insurrection in March, 1901. He was in San Francisco as commander of the military district during the earthquake of 1906. He was in command of the United States troops that took part in the United States intervention in Mexico in 1914. In February, 1917, Major General Funston died while on the Mexican border and was succeeded in command by General John J. Pershing. *Dictionary of American Biography*, vol. VII, pp. 73-75.

21. Funston's and O'Brien's stories differ on the number of freight cars there were. The former says three, and the latter states there were two.
22. An account by E. W. Cruikshank, an employee of W. A. Bisbee, in collection of newspaper clippings and letters of E. W. Cruikshank.

Dauntless headed straight for Cuba and on the way encountered heavy weather. Funston described the voyage as follows:

I can never forget those four days of suffering as the little steamer labored through the sea, rolling and pitching, our only home, the deck, swept from time to time by clouds of spray, with an occasional wave for good measure. We lay about in our water soaked blankets, getting such snatches of sleep that we could, and now and then staggering to the rail to make the required contribution to Neptune. We certainly were as unhappy and as unheroic-looking a lot of adventurers as ever trusted themselves to the sea.²³

On the night of August 16, the *Dauntless* approached the coast of Cuba at the inlet known as Las Nuevas Grandes, near Nuevitas harbor.²⁴ She stopped one-half mile from the beach, and an embankment on one side obstructed the view of any length of the coast. There were eight flat-bottomed skiffs aboard, each equipped with two rowing oars and one steering oar. The skiffs were quickly manned and loaded. To Funston was given the job of loading the Hotchkiss gun, piece by piece, and getting it ashore. There was considerable surf on the beach and it required skill to make a safe landing. Each skiff made several trips back and forth, between ship and shore, with no more than one upset, which was not serious.

When Funston was making his sixth trip, however, he became aware of a searchlight beyond the embankment. He could not determine its proximity because of the intervening land, but he was fairly certain that it belonged to a large Spanish ship, as the smaller ones carried no such light.

From the *Dauntless*, O'Brien discovered the search-

23. Funston, *op. cit.*, p. 314.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 314.

light simultaneously and immediately weighed anchor. The *Dauntless* pulled out of the inlet none too soon, and undetected, or perhaps ignored, slipped out into the open sea.

Before this interruption, three-fourths of the cargo had been landed and the men on shore spent the rest of the night hiding as much of it as possible in the event that the Spanish might send out a searching party.

The next day at about eleven o'clock in the morning, the fearless O'Brien brought the *Dauntless* back to unload the remainder of the cargo. During the night he had taken the ship out to sea eight miles and there had awaited daylight before returning to shore. When the cargo was unshipped, the tug left her friends, who shortly joined General Capote under Maximo Gomez, and steamed for Navassa Island to meet the *Laurada*.²⁵

At the rendezvous the *Laurada* had expected to find three tugs, the *Dauntless*, *Three Friends*, and the *Commodore*. Each boat was to take one-third of the cargo to Cuba, but as the two latter ships were not allowed to leave port, the *Dauntless* was the only one able to keep the engagement. Necessarily then, the *Dauntless* took the remainder of the expedition in two consecutive trips. The first of these two trips she transported one-half of the cargo and men to Santa de Argo Niaco, twelve miles west of Santiago, and landed them in the afternoon of August 22. The landing was made without mishap and the tug returned to Navassa Island. The second trip, but the *Dauntless's* third since she left port, was completed on the following Monday morning, August 24, 1896.²⁶

This expedition was something for the authorities in Washington, Madrid, and Havana to think about, and it was a record so far as filibustering is concerned. In the testimony of a William J. Bruff, a dealer in munitions of New York City, given in the District Court of the Eastern District of Pennsylvania,²⁷ there appears

25. *Ibid.*, p. 317.

26. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 119-127.

27. *Suprap.* 4.

a list of the arms and equipment the *Dauntless* landed on Cuban soil within a week. The items were 2,100 Remington rifles, 250 Remington carbines, 250 Mauser repeating rifles, 250 carbine slings, 700,000 .43 caliber cartridges, 53,000 .44 caliber cartridges, 95,000 cartridges (seven millimeter caliber), 10,000 cartridges (7.65 millimeter caliber), two Hotchkiss twelve pound cannon, 500 rounds of cartridges for the cannon, ten pack saddles and harness for cannon, twelve holsters and belts, five pounds of glycerine, 200 burlap bags, fifty pounds of vaseline, six shovels, and three pick axes. All this material was delivered by the dealer at once and it was paid for in cash, the amount coming to about \$50,000.²⁸ This was an unusually large cargo for a filibuster, and the cost of the entire expedition was approximately \$110,000.²⁹

On her trip back to Brunswick, the *Dauntless* approached Key West and launched O'Brien and Nunez, with a party of fourteen, in a skiff and put out to sea again. The O'Brien-Nunez party entered Key West and, when questioned, freely spoke of the safe landing of three expeditions.³⁰ Nunez refused, however, to give any particulars further than the contents of the cargo landed, keeping the name of the ship secret.

At Brunswick bar, which was reached August 29, the *Dauntless* was put in quarantine. On September 3 she was released and went on up to Brunswick. There the Collector of Customs and the United States District Attorney questioned the crew of the ship.³¹ There were six Jamaican negroes among the crew who testified against the other men. On September 14, the ship was libeled, charged with violating neutrality laws. On September 22, she was released under a \$7,000 bond and sailed to Jacksonville.³²

After the cargo had been unshipped from the

28. Carlisle, *op. cit.*, vol. 2, app. III, pt. II, pp. 23-24.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 54.

30. Tampa *Morning Tribune*, August 30, 1896.

31. Cruikshank papers.

32. Cruikshank papers.

Laurada at Navassa Island, the steamer sailed to Port Antonio and then returned to Philadelphia. Hart, her owner, was indicted for violation of neutrality laws. He was sentenced to two years' imprisonment and a fine of \$500 was imposed upon him. An appeal was made but an affirmation was made of the judgment of the lower court.³³ The judge held that:

A combination of a number of men in the United States, with a common intent to proceed in a body to a foreign country and engage in hostilities, either by themselves or in cooperation with the others, against a power with which the United States is at peace, constitutes a military expedition when they actually proceed from the United States, whether they are then provided with arms or intend to secure them in transit. It is not necessary that all the persons shall be brought into personal contact with each other in the United States, or that they shall be drilled, uniformed, or prepared for efficient service.³⁴

This decision established the principle that to secure a conviction it would not be necessary to show that the defendant had provided the means for carrying the expedition to Cuba, but only that if he provided the means for any part of its journey with knowledge of its ultimate destination and of its unlawful character, he was guilty.

When the *Dauntless* entered the St. Johns River and put in at her wharf in Jacksonville on September 22, 1896, plans were already underway for her next expedition. William Bisbee had a clear title to the tug when she returned, for in the agreement reached between the owner and the *Junta*, the former was to receive from the latter \$10,000 for each landing.³⁵ By

33. Hart's final conviction came on March 18, 1898. F. E. Chadwick, *The Relations of the United States and Spain, Diplomacy*, p. 417.

34. J. B. Moore, *A Digest of International Law*, vol. VII, pp. 911-916.

35. Rubens, *op. cit.*, p. 163.

virtue of the fact that the ship had made three landings on her first voyage, Bisbee had received a credit of \$30,000, the amount of the mortgage held by the *Junta* on the *Dauntless*. This venture could be considered successful thus far.

In the plans for the new expedition, Fritot was again an important factor. The arms to be taken to Cuba were shipped on a Clyde Line steamer from New York to Jacksonville. The cargo included a recently invented Sims-Dudley Dynamite gun, one-half million rounds of ammunition, machetes, medicine, and the usual accouterments. Fritot arranged for the private car of the vice-president of the Florida East Coast Railway, J. R. Parrot, to be used by Nunez, O'Brien, and other leaders in the *Junta* on their trip from Charleston to Jacksonville. These men had journeyed to Charleston again to cast suspicion on the *Commodore*. In order to give the train an official appearance, R. T. Goff, general superintendent of the railroad, accompanied the Cubans on their trip to Jacksonville.³⁶

The special train with its important passengers continued south from Jacksonville and a few miles below that city picked up two side-tracked cars of ammunition. Upon reaching New Smyrna, two day-coaches from Tampa with seventy-five Cubans aboard, were coupled to the train. It continued southward and at Palm Beach the cargo and passengers were transferred to the waiting *Dauntless*.³⁷ That tug had left Jacksonville on October 5 escorted by the revenue cutter *Boutwell*, but she had eluded the federal ship.³⁸

On October 9 the *Dauntless* left Palm Beach and landed the expedition at the San Juan River, fifteen miles east of Cienfuegos on October 13, 1896.³⁹

On October 21st the *Dauntless* was seized off the coast at New Smyrna, where she was laying by for coal,

36. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 132.

37. *Ibid.*, p. 134.

38. Tampa *Morning Tribune*, October 13, 1896.

39. *Correspondencia Diplomática de la Delegación Cubana en Nueva York durante la guerra de independencia de 1895 a 1898*, tomo primero, p. 89.

by the revenue cutter *Raleigh*. The tug was taken to Fernandina and put in quarantine. From that time until December 29, the *Dauntless* was held in Fernandina and Jacksonville by the customs officials. Many times she applied for clearance papers to do salvage work only to be denied again and again permission to leave.⁴⁰ Captain Kilgore of the *Boutwell* even threatened to sink the tug with a shot on November 26 if she tried to leave without permission. The captain of the *Dauntless* was supposed to have received word of a valuable salvage job at that time and the owner was extremely anxious to do the work.⁴¹

At last on the night of December 29, the *Dauntless* was able to escape from Jacksonville. That day her captain had applied for clearance to Nuevitas, Cuba, but had been refused. That night, which had become unusually dark due to a dense fog, the tug left Jacksonville and at 11:00 P.M. steamed out at top speed, passing within a few yards of the cutter *Vesuvius* in the St. Johns River. The captain of the *Vesuvius*, caught unawares, had his ship facing in the opposite direction from the course of the *Dauntless*, and in a few minutes the tug was lost from sight in the impenetrable fog. At 1:30 A.M. the tug crossed the St. Johns bar and headed south.⁴²

In the meantime the *Three Friends* had gone on an expedition from Fernandina on December 14 but had been unable to land her cargo.⁴³ She had taken the men and munitions to No Name Key, a few miles east of Key West, and had returned to Jacksonville. "Dynamite" Johnny O'Brien had been the captain of that expedition but he had gotten off the ship at Key West and had there gone aboard the passenger boat *Olivette* for Tampa. From that city he took the train to Jack-

40. Once during this period she was fined for not having fire drill. Cruikshank papers.

41. Unidentified and undated newspaper clipping among Cruikshank papers.

42. Cruikshank papers.

43. This was the eighth voyage of the *Friends*.

sonville arriving there in time to take command of the *Dauntless*.⁴⁴

On New Year's Day 1897 the *Dauntless* reached No Name Key and loaded the cargo. In addition to a strong wind blowing from the northeast, making it difficult to effect a quick transfer, the loading was interrupted by the approach of a schooner mistaken for a government torpedo boat. The schooner was sighted coming straight for the key and it routed the Cubans. Every craft traveling from ship to shore raced off in a different direction while Captain O'Brien stood on the deck of the *Dauntless* cursing their luck.⁴⁵ He too was convinced that they had been caught.

It was all a mistake. Two men from the *Three Friends*, one a newspaper reporter, Ralph Delahaye Paine, the other a Cuban named Carbo, had gone to Key West and had learned about the escape of the *Dauntless* just in time to return to No Name Key. They had gotten the schooner *Vamoose*, a dispatch boat owned by William Randolph Hearst for whom Paine was running an errand to Cuba, to take them to the key. This harmless boat had been the cause of all the excitement, and when its occupants attempted to overtake some of the fleeing craft to tell them of their mistake, they only caused the boats of frightened men to flee faster.⁴⁶

By four o'clock in the afternoon most of the men had returned and the cargo was loaded. The *Dauntless* headed west, passing Key West at sunrise, and on the morning of January 3, reached Corrientes Bay at the extreme western end of Cuba.⁴⁷

The landing that followed is probably one of the most colorful and amusing events of its kind on record:

This final performance was more like a Fourth-of-July celebration than the secretive landing of a filibustering expedition [relates

44. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 152.

45. R. D. Paine, *Roads of Adventure*, p. 131.

46. *Ibid.*, p. 154.

47. *Idem.*

O'Brien]. As we came to an anchor I intended to give one short blast of the whistle to summon some of Maceo's troops, who we thought were waiting for us near the cape; but something went wrong with the siren, and it boomed its loudest for a full five minutes before we could shut it off. The *Dauntless* had a siren that would have done credit to an ocean liner, and if there were any Spanish troops or a gunboat within ten miles of us they ought to have heard it. Our nerves had hardly recovered from this shock when a careless Cuban dropped a box of dynamite on a coral reef and it exploded with a roar that started the echoes to going again. Fortunately, the man with the slippery fingers was far enough away from the rest of the party so that no one else was killed.⁴⁸

The cargo was landed without further mishap and the *Dauntless* returned to Jacksonville.

Upon the tug's return to home port, January 7, she was seized by the Collector of Customs, was libeled on January 22, and was subsequently released on a bond of \$15,000 on January 25.⁴⁹ A careful examination of the whole crew of the *Dauntless* was made by a grand jury but she was released by a unanimous vote because of insufficient evidence.⁵⁰

In the month following the seizure of the *Dauntless*, her owner, W. A. Bisbee, filed two damage suits.⁵¹ The first was against Captain Kilgore of the *Boutwell* for not allowing the tug to go on valuable salvage jobs, November 26 and December 10, 1896. The amount sued for was \$20,000. For the same reasons the second suit of \$20,000 was filed. This suit was filed against the ship owner's brother, Cyrus R. Bisbee, Collector of Customs of Jacksonville. In February another suit was

48. *Smith, op. cit.*, pp. 154-155.

49. *Florida Times-Union*, January 26, 1897.

50. *Smith, op. cit.*, p. 156.

51. *Florida Times-Union*, January 5, 1897.

filed against C. R. Bisbee for \$60,000. This was based on alleged losses suffered when the collector refused to clear the *Dauntless* for Port Antonio and for Nuevitas, Cuba. This brought a total of \$100,000 in suits filed by W. A. Bisbee.⁵²

Finally on May 1, 1897, the *Dauntless* was cleared for Savannah to do towing at that point. On May 17th she left Savannah at 6 A.M. for a "cruise" in southern waters with O'Brien as captain.⁵³

A cargo valued at \$80,000 was shipped from the New York *Junta* to Jacksonville but before reaching that city was transferred near Wilmington, North Carolina, from the railroad to a tug, *Alexander Jones*, at the dock of the Wilmington & Newbern Railway on the night of May 13. When the *Jones* reached Palm Beach, she took aboard Emilio Nunez and sixty Cubans from a fishing schooner and proceeded to Damas Key, May 19. Here she was met by the *Dauntless* which carried the cargo from the *Jones* to Cuba in two successive trips.

The first landing was made on May 21 about ten miles east of Nuevitas, and the second landing on May 24 was made about one and one-half miles east of Morro Castle. This daring second landing was made in answer to a threat from General Weyler.⁵⁴ After the last expedition (January 1897) the General had issued a letter stating publicly that he would hang O'Brien the next time he landed an expedition. O'Brien answered the threat with a public announcement that he would land the next expedition near Havana and that he would capture Weyler and use him for fuel in the *Dauntless*.⁵⁵ O'Brien came very close to fulfilling his promise entirely, for part of the dynamite he had landed was used to blow up a train on which Weyler was supposed to be traveling. The General was on the train that followed

52. *Ibid.*, March 3, 1897.

53. Cruikshank papers.

54. The commander of Spanish troops in Cuba, commonly called "The Butcher" by the Cubans because of his ruthless methods.

55. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 166.

the wrecked one, however, and so narrowly escaped death.

During the exciting adventures of these expeditions down among the keys and on Cuba's coast, there were frequent accounts in the American press concerning the persistent rumors of filibustering activity. There was no conclusive proof published of these activities, and W. A. Bisbee took advantage of this circumstance to try to counteract the effects of these rumors. In the *Florida Times-Union* on May 27, 1897, there appeared a statement made by this local businessman to the effect that he did not like the reports that had been published in regard to his ship, the *Dauntless*. The reports had stated that the ship had been loaded with arms the previous week in Savannah and that she had gone to Cuba. Bisbee offered a reward of \$250 to any person who could produce proof that the *Dauntless* had taken on arms or that she had violated any [neutrality] laws of the United States. As no proof was forthcoming, the shipowner scored a point in his fight against the customs officials.

The men in the *Junta*, the behind the scene promoters of filibustering, were continually at work. Huau and Fritot, realizing that the *Dauntless* would probably be detained when she returned to Jacksonville, arranged for her to pick up another expedition at New River Inlet, just below Fort Lauderdale.

Two carloads of arms and ammunition were placed aboard the sternwheeler *Biscayne*, along with thirty Cubans in command of a Colonel Mendez. On Saturday, May 29, the cargo was to be transferred to the *Dauntless*.⁵⁶

Quite by chance there was vacationing in Fort Lauderdale at this time a special Treasury Department Agent, Hambleton by name. He had been following the movements of the *Junta's* expeditionary planning and was taking a short leave from his work. Friday night, while with some friends on a sloop in New River Inlet,

56. *Ibid.*, p. 199.

he watched the *Biscayne* slip into the bay. Hambleton, feeling that the movement of a sternwheeler in that locality was unusual, kept a close watch on its activities.⁵⁷

The same night a "southeaster" blew in and delayed the transfer of the cargo until Monday. The *Dauntless* drew too much water when loaded to cross the bar and the *Biscayne* could not go in the open sea in a storm. On Monday, May 31, when the storm had subsided, the *Dauntless* took on coal and general supplies in addition to the cargo.⁵⁸

However, the loading of the *Dauntless* was interrupted. While the transfer was being made, Hambleton, in a rowboat and armed with a double-barreled shotgun, approached the tug and boarded her exclaiming, "In the name of the law I command you to stop putting those arms on this vessel! You are all under arrest!" The leader of the expedition stuck a revolver in the agent's ribs and spoke to the crew which had momentarily stopped in surprise. "Don't pay any attention to this person," said he. "He's not going to shoot anyone. Go ahead and load the ship."⁵⁹ After a brief conversation Hambleton was disarmed and thrown back into his rowboat in which he quickly returned to shore.

Two hours later about one-half of the arms had been loaded, and the men aboard the *Dauntless* saw a ship coming up from the south. At first they supposed it was the revenue cutter *Winona*, which they could outrun, but they soon realized that it was the *Marblehead*, a federal ship they could not outdistance. The crew of the *Dauntless* immediately cut loose from the *Biscayne* and steamed toward the Bahama Bank, seventy-five miles away.

In the six hour chase which ensued, the *Marblehead* gained on the tug considerably and fired a blank shell as a signal for her to stop. O'Brien, who was always ready to take a chance, was in favor of continuing, but

57. *Idem.*

58. *Idem.*

59. *Ibid.*, p. 200.

Nunez, the leader of the expedition, persuaded him to stop.⁶⁰

The *Marblehead* overtook the *Dauntless* and sent a lieutenant aboard. The transfer of the cargo had been so hasty that the crew had not had time enough to put all the arms below. Consequently when the officer boarded the ship, he beheld a deck cluttered with boxes marked ".43 caliber" and bundles of rifles wrapped in burlap. He inquired of Captain Jim Floyd⁶¹ where he was taking the boat, to which Floyd answered that they were looking for a wrench at Bahama Bank. "What are these?" asked the lieutenant, indicating the cartridges, "sardines, I suppose." The amazed captain answered in the affirmative.⁶²

This brief incident, wholly authentic or not, is significant in graphically displaying an attitude which was probably widespread among the populace of the countries neighboring Cuba. The federal agents were well aware of the truth and did not want to hinder the progress of the revolt in any way, but they had their duty to perform and had to make some semblance of performing it.

The *Dauntless* was ordered back to Key West where two inspectors looked over the ship and reported nothing out of order. Nevertheless, the tug was held *incommunicado* for twenty-four hours and orders were received from Washington demanding proceedings against her on the charge of being engaged in an organized military expedition.⁶³ The case was suspended June 8, due to lack of evidence.⁶⁴

Two days later, June 10, the *Dauntless* left Key West and went to Bahia Honda Key, just below No Name Key. There she was met by the *Biscayne* and the remainder of the cargo was transferred from that vessel to the tug. Early on the morning of June 18, when the

60. *Ibid.*, p. 203.

61. A negro from Jacksonville frequently aboard the *Dauntless*.

62. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 204.

63. *Ibid.*, p. 205.

64. *House of Representatives Document No. 326*, 55th Congress, 2nd Session, pt. B, p. 27.

Dauntless was forty-five miles north-northeast of the Key Piedras light off Cardenas harbor, the crown sheet of the boiler blew up, and the boat had to resort to her sails. Two days later she was picked up off Indian Key, Florida, by the revenue cutter *McLane*. An officer who boarded the tug found a crew of thirteen men, 175 rifles, 300,000 rounds of ammunition, three cases of hospital stores, and a number of machetes.⁶⁵ The revenue cutter towed the *Dauntless* to Key West where the crew was brought before a United States commissioner for questioning. As a result of the inquiry, the ship and crew were released and the *Dauntless* returned to Jacksonville in tow,⁶⁶ arriving there July 1.

From July 1 to August 18 the *Dauntless* was in dry-dock. While the repairs were being made, the cargo which she had been unable to put ashore in Cuba was unloaded and hidden. For the next two months, that is until October 17, the *Dauntless* was engaged in legitimate business in and around Savannah.

George Foster, junior partner of Bisbee & Foster, Jacksonville, was assisting Fritot in arranging another expedition in the week preceding October 17. Foster became ill, however, and had to leave many of the details to his employee, E. W. Cruikshank, as he had done in times previous.⁶⁷ In a letter to Cruikshank, dated October 14, Foster gave the following instructions:

I think she [*Dauntless*] better leave Savannah some time Friday night (tomorrow) because it is reported that the *Vesuvius* is coming there, and is liable to be there any minute; and besides it is better for us to know here that she is out before we get on the special train here;

65. *Ibid.*, p. 27.

66. Cruikshank papers.

67. An affidavit in possession of Mr. Cruikshank states "To all interested in the cause of Cuba Libre. I take pleasure in certifying that Mr. E. W. Cruikshank during the past two years has been identified with the work this Subdelegation has been carrying on in Florida and has been a hearty and earnest worker with the Cubans in their struggle for liberty. Jacksonville, June 12th, 1898. [signed] Jose A. Huau, Subdelegado."

we will leave here at seven Saturday night. Have seventy tons coal aboard, get the Ice, Meat, and Eggs, and see that the engineer has a plenty of good oil to last twenty days.

The connections were made and the *Dauntless* cleared the port.

A two-masted schooner, *Silver Heels*, from Rockland, Maine, had been chartered to carry the munitions for this enterprise from New York to Conception Island, located on the eastern side of the Bahamas. A Moran Line tug was chartered to tow the *Silver Reels* six hundred miles down the coast and from there the schooner would sail under her own canvas.⁶⁸

Bridgeport, Connecticut, was the city from which the munitions for the expedition began a trip which took six weeks to complete. The steam-lighter *Lizzie Henderson* was loaded in Bridgeport and steamed to Sandy Hook, where on Saturday night, October 17, the cargo was transferred to the *Silver Heels*. The Moran tug then took the schooner in tow at dawn Sunday. The trip to Conception Island lasted sixteen days because of adverse winds, and the delayed schooner arrived at her destination just six hours after the *Dauntless*, which had been waiting for her twelve days, had left for Key West to replenish the coal in her bunkers.

The authorities at Key West had orders from Washington to detain the *Dauntless* upon her entry to that port, therefore, she was seized immediately upon entering. Nevertheless, through friends of the *Junta*, including the deputy collector, one Ramon Alvares, the *Dauntless* was released on an affidavit stipulating that she would proceed to Jacksonville before going to any other port.⁶⁹ In fixing the time limit in the affidavit, within which the tug was to reach Jacksonville, enough time was allowed for her to go to Conception Island.

The meeting of the two boats came about when the *Dauntless* arrived at Conception Island where the *Silver*

68. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 215-217.

69. Cruikshank papers.

Heels had been for a week. The Cubans aboard the *Dauntless* were transferred to the *Silver Heels* and the tug towed the schooner to Orange Key - a more convenient location for the eventual completion of the expedition - and then continued her voyage to Jacksonville.⁷⁰ Upon the *Dauntless's* return to her home port, she was ordered to Fernandina to quarantine and was released therefrom on November 11.

On November 19, the filibustering *Dauntless* left Jacksonville for Savannah with the schooner *Jennie Thomas* in tow. This towing was just an excuse to leave port, and when the tug was stopped and searched in the St. Johns River no incriminating evidence was found. On the twentieth she was allowed to continue her trip.⁷¹ The *Thomas* was left at Savannah on the twenty-first and the *Dauntless* put to sea the morning of November 23, after having procured provisions from waiting lighters at Brunswick.⁷² Ordinarily the tug would have made at least two trips to Cuba with the cargo aboard the *Silver Heels*; but since the arms had been enroute so long and the Cubans were waiting for them, O'Brien decided to take the entire cargo in one trip.

The site selected for the landing was Cape Lucrecia, a few miles from Banes. In O'Brien's opinion it was not a good place to attempt to discharge the cargo as the approaching channel was rather narrow. Nevertheless, there was no choice, as it was the rendezvous already agreed upon with some of the Cuban rebels.

The landing was executed on the night of November 28. When the greater part of the cargo had been beached, a Spanish ship was seen approaching and the *Dauntless* immediately weighed anchor, the captain not wishing to chance being captured. As later events showed, the Spanish ship did not see the *Dauntless*, because, as the tug departed, she passed unseen in the wake of the

70. Smith, *op. cit.*, pp. 226-230.

71. Unidentified newspaper clipping in possession of F. D. Bisbee, dated November 20, 1897.

72. Cruikshank papers.

Spanish boat.⁷³ The *Dauntless* did not return to deliver the remnant of the cargo but continued north to Jacksonville. Before entering the city on December 2, however, the undischarged part of the cargo was unloaded and concealed a few miles from Jacksonville.⁷⁴

In the month of December the *Dauntless* resumed her legitimate business of salvaging. There had been no charges made against the ship at the time of her return, and her movements, though watched by the United States officials, were unrestricted. On January 8, 1898, the *Dauntless* went to Savannah to do some towing and was in that locality until February 12. On the latter date she went to Fernandina.⁷⁵

A shipment of arms from Bridgeport to Tampa had been diverted to Callahan by Fritot, an experienced hand at that kind of work. While Nunez and O'Brien remained in Jacksonville, General Sanguilly and a party of Cubans went to Tampa as a decoy. The ruse worked. The movement toward Tampa of men and arms, even though the latter never reached Tampa, was enough to lure the Spanish spies and United States inspectors to that city.⁷⁶

The night of February 12 was excellent for filibustering—dark and foggy. Nunez and O'Brien went to Fernandina with a party of Cubans who were to land with the arms. The *Dauntless* eased down the St. Johns River to Jim Floyd's house where the arms that had not been landed at Cape Lucrecia in December were hidden, and the overdue arms were put aboard. The tug then proceeded down the river, and by the time she reached its mouth she was steaming at top speed. She passed the revenue cutter *McCullough*, which was patrolling the St. Johns River, and quickly drew out of sight. The tug moved on to Fernandina, there picking up the waiting Cubans and arms, leaving that port at 3 A.M.

73. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 234.

74. Letter from E. W. Cruikshank to Dr. Guillermo Belt, Ambassador of Cuba in Washington, dated March 8, 1946.

75. Cruikshank papers.

76. *Florida Times-Union*, February 12, 1898.

On the night of February 15, the *Dauntless* landed one-half of her cargo inside Point Nuevas Grande, a short distance from Nuevitas. The following night the other half was beached inside the harbor at Mantanzas.⁷⁷ Both landings were without mishap.

The next day Nunez, O'Brien, and other passengers were put off at Bahia Honda, in the Florida Keys, and the *Dauntless* returned to Jacksonville with only the original crew aboard. On February 26, the men on the key were picked up by a Miami bound steamer, at which time they first heard of the sinking of the battleship *Maine*.⁷⁸

When the *Dauntless* reached Jacksonville, February 27, her filibustering days were over. On March 7 she was libeled for violating the neutrality laws and a United States deputy marshal was placed aboard.⁷⁹ On April 18, 1898, the Associated Press gave bond for \$25,000 and chartered the *Dauntless* to serve as a dispatch boat, operating between Cuba and the United States.⁸⁰

It is difficult to estimate the value of the aid given to the cause of *Cuba Libre* by the *Dauntless* and her owner, but it is a fact that this tug made more successful filibustering landings on Cuban soil than any other ship in the years 1895-1898.⁸¹ Even though the owner was well paid by the *Junta*, the Cuban people felt they were still indebted to that man. When the independence of Cuba was a reality and President Palma arrived at Havana, all the boats at anchor in the harbor went out to meet the presidential ship and escorted it to the landing. To the *Dauntless* was given the honor of leading the procession.⁸² At a later date the president of the republic presented Mr. Bisbee with a silver sword in acknowledgment of the gratitude of the Cuban people.⁸³

77. Cruikshank papers.

78. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 237.

79. *Florida Times-Union*, March 9, 1898.

80. F. D. Bisbee to writer, interview, May 6, 1948.

81. Benton, *op. cit.*, p. 42.

82. F. D. Bisbee to writer, interview, April 6, 1948.

83. Biographical sketch of W. A. Bisbee in possession of F. D. Bisbee.

THE DAUNTLESS

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This daring little ship, the *Dauntless*, is now owned by the Wood Towing Corporation in Norfolk, Virginia, and is known as the *Restless*. She is probably regarded as just another one of those indistinguishable tugs that work in and around the harbor. However, she is no ordinary boat. Her past will not permit her to sink into ignominious obscurity, even though her exciting days of adventure are long gone, and it is possible her present owners know nothing of her colorful history.

AN ARCHEOLOGIST AT FORT GADSDEN

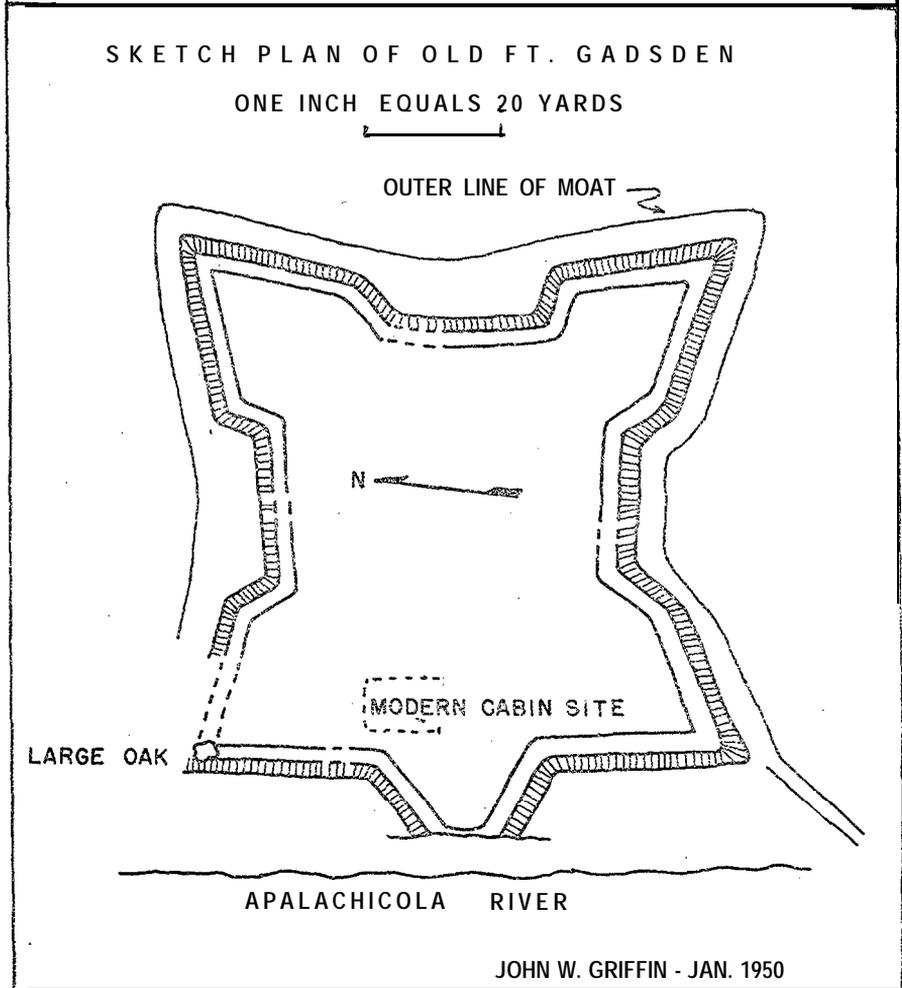
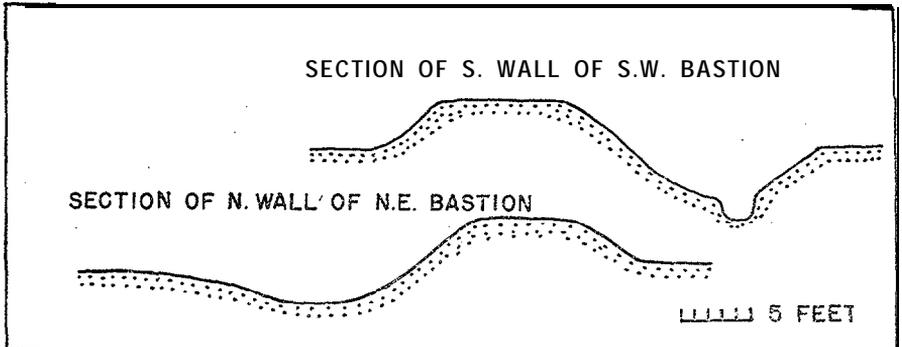
by JOHN W. GRIFFIN

While the search for documentary evidence and the writing of articles and monographs on the history of Florida finds continued and increasing interest, the locations in Florida at which historic events occurred often lie neglected and all but forgotten. Such was the case of Fort Gadsden, a monument to the War of 1812 and to Andrew Jackson's military forays into Spanish Florida. Recently, however, the United States Forest Service became interested in preserving and marking this structure as a historic site, and asked for the cooperation of the Florida Park Service in undertaking the background study necessary in such a program.

Thus it was that the writer spent several days at the site of Fort Gadsden in January 1950. The report which follows is based on this field work at the site, and is preliminary in nature since the time devoted to the project was sufficient for laying plans for the intelligent development of the site, but insufficient for a full study of the historic archeology.

Fort Gadsden lies on the east bank of the Apalachicola river on lands of the Apalachicola National Forest in Franklin county. It stands on Prospect Bluff, which fronts the river for about a mile, and is the most southerly bluff on the river with a good land approach. The fort is toward the southern end of the bluff, only several hundred yards north of the swamps bordering Fort Gadsden creek.¹ The last half mile to the site is now woods road, but to that point access is by paved or graded road.

1. The actual location is in the NE 1/4 of the SW 1/4 of Section 23, T 6 S, R 8 W.



HISTORICAL SUMMARY

Fortunately for our work, Dr. Mark F. Boyd had gathered and published much of the material on the history of Prospect Bluff.² Since this material is readily available in the *Quarterly*, only the briefest historical sketch will be offered here.

In 1804 James Innerarity, a partner in the firm of John Forbes & Co., successors to Panton, Leslie & Co., established a trading post at Prospect Bluff, probably somewhere in the neighborhood of Brickyard Landing, to the north of the later fort site. The post was in operation at the time that Col. Nicholls of the British Army began construction of a fort on the bluff in 1814. This fort, which was constructed as a British base, in Spanish territory, during the War of 1812, was an extensive affair with about seven acres included within its defenses. A map, prepared in 1818 by Capt. Gadsden of the United States Army, and published by Dr. Boyd, gives the outlines of the British fort, as well as the plan of later Fort Gadsden.³

When the British withdrew from Florida following the War of 1812, they left the fort and its contents in the hands of a group of runaway slaves and Indians. These latter included both Choctaw and Seminole, and probably a number of Upper Creek as well. All of the occupants were distinctly antagonistic to the United States, and raids from the fort upon the American frontier led to the decision to liquidate the post.

In 1816 a joint Army-Navy force descended upon the fort. After determining the range with cold shot, the naval vessels began using hot shot. The first round of hot shot from one of the gunboats penetrated the magazine, exploding it, and killing about 270 of the

2. See Mark F. Boyd, "Events at Prospect Bluff on the Apalachicola River, 1808-1818", *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 16, No. 2, pp. 55-96, October, 1937. This article contains a copy of Gadsden's map of 1818. See, also, Capt. James Gadsden's report on the defenses of the Floridas to General Jackson, reprinted in the *Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4, April, 1937. The present historical sketch is drawn from Dr. Boyd's paper.

3. Page 73 of Dr. Boyd's article, referred to above.

occupants outright. The vast majority of the remainder were wounded, and the so-called Negro Fort ceased to be a menace. This magazine explosion stands as one of the major mass catastrophes in Florida history.

The area was apparently abandoned until 1818, when General Jackson ordered the construction of the fort which he named Fort Gadsden. The plan of this fort, as previously mentioned, is to be seen on an 1818 map. An American garrison was maintained here, deep in Spanish territory, until the cession of Florida to the United States. The fort is one of the few places in Florida which can positively be associated with the actual presence of Andrew Jackson.

Soon after the American occupation of Florida, a townsite, Colinton, was laid out surrounding the fort, but apparently was never developed. During the Civil War, a Confederate post was maintained at the fort, and in more recent years a cabin, now destroyed, was located inside the embankments and the fort interior was planted in garden. Repeated visits by treasure and relic seekers have disturbed much of the area. Today, fishermen and hunters come to the site, as well as an occasional person interested in history.

INVESTIGATIONS

Although our investigations were brief, and of necessity preliminary, certain observations were made and certain problems were encountered which may be worthy of record.

Some traces of the older British fort remain. The outer trenches (see Gadsden's map for their outline) are in evidence, but the large eastern bastions, said to have been 15 feet high and 18 feet thick, were not noted. We might postulate that the Americans, who built a smaller fort, did not care to have these embankments available to possible attackers, and so leveled them. This is, however, supposition, unsupported by documentation. The area of the so-called Negro Fort, centering at the octagonal earthwork of the Gadsden map, is now marked by an irregular mound of sand several hundred feet

east of Fort Gadsden. The mound is about 100 feet in diameter and several feet high, and is surrounded by a trench. Presumably this was the location of the ill-fated magazine.

Most of our time was spent at Fort Gadsden itself, where the well-preserved earthworks were measured and plotted. A map of our field observations has been prepared and accompanies this report.

Except for an area on the north side which has been leveled to provide automotive and wagon access to the interior, the fort is completely outlined by earthworks. In form and size the outline conforms exactly to the plan on Gadsden's map of 1818, but at that time only the west, or river, side was an embankment; the other sides being palisaded. Three buildings, or sheds, formed the walls between the bastions on the north, east, and south. Another difference lies in the moat profile. Gadsden's cross-section shows a well-defined counter-scarp and glacis slope arrangement which is not apparent today. Rather, the present moat is a well marked depression, with its outer edge at ground level, as may be seen in the cross-sections on our map.

It is obvious, then, that the fort has been altered since 1818. Whether this alteration occurred in the years immediately following 1818, or whether it occurred during the Civil War, was one of the problems which confronted us at the site. A solution may be offered by Gadsden himself, who in his report to General Jackson made the following statement:⁴

Fort Gadsden is a temporary work, hastily erected, and of perishable materials, without constant repairs it could not last more than four or five years. If the position should therefore be selected for a permanent defense, an entire new work will have to be constructed.

It seems entirely reasonable to assume that when it was decided to maintain a garrison at Fort Gadsden

4. Page 244 of Gadsden's report, referred to above.

for several years that the embankments now in evidence were constructed by the garrison. Not only would such construction have strengthened the post, but it would also have provided work for troops isolated on the frontier. The finding of tasks to occupy the time of stationary troops is always a military problem.

On the other hand, the alterations could have been undertaken by the Confederates during their occupancy. Several arguments can be advanced against this interpretation, however. In the first place the outline is exactly that of Gadsden's fort, and it seems improbable that the plan would, or could, have been so faithfully followed forty years after the abandonment of a crude palisaded outline. Secondly, it is doubtful that the Confederates would have followed the pre-existing outline, since the type of fort is definitely not in keeping with military operations of the Civil War period. For example, Confederate gun emplacements in Torreya State Park, farther up the river, are based on entirely different military principles.

We might reasonably conclude that the earthworks were constructed in the years immediately following 1818 and before the cession of Florida to the United States.

ARTIFACTS

We were not, in the progress of our investigation, engaged in a search for artifacts. In the process of test-pitting the area, however, certain materials came to light.

Portions of three old glass bottles were found, all of heavy green glass. Two of these are of approximately quart size, and have the typical early nineteenth century contours of bottles for alcoholic beverages. The third is a neck portion of a larger bottle, perhaps a demijohn. A few fragments of glazed earthenware, or "China", of early nineteenth century types were also found. In the moat of Fort Gadsden a plain oval military brass buckle was found; this is of the type with two studs on the reverse side for attachment to one end of a belt or strap,

and a hook on the reverse side which fits into a hole on the other end of the belt or strap. An iron ring, attached to a bolt fitting, found on the surface within the fort may be a piece of artillery hardware.

In the area of the Negro Fort we found Indian pottery, "China", unglazed European earthenware, lead balls and melted lead fragments, a gun flint, a small iron ball, iron nails, and miscellaneous rusted scraps of iron. Since this was the area of the magazine explosion it might naturally be expected to contain more artifactual debris.

From time to time persons have found other artifacts at the site, including rifles which "loaded from the bow end", as one local informant who had obviously been to sea put it. Unfortunately, these articles have become scattered and in many cases lost, as is all too frequently the case with relics collected from curiosity. All artifacts found at the site lay near the surface, and in no place other than the moat, where six to eight inches of black dirt had accumulated, was there any appreciable amount of humus.

The Indian pottery at the site is of some little interest. Although our investigations were too cursory to enable us to state definitely that this pottery belonged with the fort occupation, it very possibly did. If such is the case, we have Indian pottery of the early nineteenth century, mostly dating from between 1814 and 1816, which could be the product of Choctaw, Seminole and/or Upper Creek. There are only twenty-five sherds, and all but two of these are smooth and undecorated. The two which are decorated have brushed or scored surfaces, much like the pottery found by Bullen along the Chattahoochee and tentatively attributed to the Lower Creek of the latter half of the eighteenth century.⁵ The sherds are all tempered with fine sand or grit, with minute particles of mica visible in most specimens. The paste is compact and most surfaces are well-

5. Ripley P. Bullen, "An archaeological survey of the Chattahoochee River Valley in Florida." In press.

smoothed; some are burnished to a polish. The sherds are thin, ranging from 3 to 8 mm., with an average of 5 mm. or less. This pottery sample, while admittedly small and inadequate, appears to be quite distinct from the known pottery complexes of the prehistoric and early historic northwest Gulf Coast.⁶ Fort Gadsden, or more specifically the so-called Negro Fort area, has the potentiality of aiding in the unraveling of historical Indian archeology in Florida.

CONCLUSION

This brief summary has indicated, once again, how the techniques of history and archeology can supplement and support one another. The joint approach, the writer feels, is much more fruitful than either approach employed in isolation. When enough data has been accumulated from numerous studies, the archeologist and historian together can attack the data to reach a fuller understanding of human behavior, which is, after all, the goal of both disciplines.

6. For description and discussion of the various archeological periods see Gordon R. Willey, *Archaeology of the Florida Gulf Coast*, Smithsonian Miscellaneous Collections, Vol. 113, Washington, 1949.

NORTHERN PLANS FOR THE ECONOMIC INVASION OF FLORIDA, 1862-1865

by ROBERT L. CLARKE

Almost with the beginning of the fratricidal conflict of 1861-1865 far-seeing politicians and interested economic groups from the North began an economic invasion of the South. First, a Confiscation Act made all property used in support of the rebellion subject to seizure by the federal government. Later in 1861, despite Abraham Lincoln's questioning of its constitutionality, Congress passed a second Confiscation Act which made the property of all Confederate officials subject to immediate confiscation by Union officials. The authors of the Act, by a provision that gave people supporting the Confederacy sixty days to drop their support or have their property become liable to federal confiscation, struck below the upper stratum of the southern official family and at the roots of southern life. Then, in the summer of 1862, Congress passed the Direct Tax Set which, once Union troops occupied rebel territory, made southern homes, lands, farms and plantations subject to sale or seizure by the federal government if the owners failed to pay the assessed taxes. The avowed objectives of the laws were to relieve "rebels" of their war producing materiel and to finance the war; but under them northerners could transfer southern wealth to themselves at the same time they emasculated the South politically.

Among the most frank in expressing their desire to exploit the South and to guide southern political development were the directors of the New England Emigrant Aid Company. This company had already experimented with sending emigrants to Kansas in an effort to flood that blood stained territory with abolitionist settlers. Now, with the war hardly more than a year old, the directors saw the South as a land of opportunity for northerners and northern ideals. To them the war presented the opportune time for settling in the South northern workmen in numbers large enough

to "support presses, schools, and churches true to their own principles and to the interests of freedom". Land for the emigrants would be no problem since the government was sure to acquire considerable quantities through confiscation and defaulted direct taxes. The job was too big for individuals to attempt; but an experienced company like theirs, "with a comprehensive view of all the objects to be attained" . . . "might profitably" direct the emigrants to their new homes. The implications of these plans were great. Should they succeed, southerners would lose both their wealth and their voice in the national political arena.¹

These far-reaching plans of 1862 came to naught because the company lacked sufficient capital, but early the next year the Executive Committee considered the idea again. In April 1863 the members discussed the advisability of planting a colony in Florida and appointed a special committee, including a surgeon on active military duty, to solicit the national government for official help in a project which would have increased the promoters' personal finances.²

Shrewdly, the ambitious northerners spoke only of the benefits that would accrue to the nation. The Executive Committee hoped to marshal its entire force to exert pressure on "some of the congressmen and others in Washington". They omitted any mention of their plans to secure confiscated land and evaded discussing the effects of their schemes on native southerners. Rather, they sought to convince government officials that the Confiscation Acts could provide land for northern settlers who were needed in the South. They were

1. T. M. Forbush, *History of the New England Emigrant Aid Company with A Report on Its Future Operations*, (Boston, 1862) ; C. J. Higginson to S. Cabot, Jr., April 16, 1862, New England Emigrant Aid Company Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

For other angles and details of the general subject of this paper see an article in this *Quarterly*: "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida 1862-1868" by George Winston Smith (xxvii, 99-130, 260-299. Oct. 1948, Jan. 1949).

2. Samuel A. Johnson, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company," p. 401. Unpublished doctoral dissertation, dated 1935, in the library in the University of Wisconsin.

willing to strip every southerner of all of his property except his homestead and 160 acres in order to provide homes for settlers who, in the heart of the South, would be firm supporters of the general government. This, they argued, was both necessary and just. All influential southerners were hostile to the government and their antipathy would inevitably lead to repeated conspiracies against it for power within it. With official help the company could forestall conspiracy by directing northern emigrants to southern states where the hostility appeared.

Like the earlier plan this one of 1863 did not materialize. But the company continued to plan for the economic control and exploitation of Florida. Through the summer of 1865 the company kept an interested eye on the state. Finally, in the winter of 1866-1867 it began a new move. In November 1866 the directors heard a Colonel Scott of Florida tell of opportunities which whetted their appetites. They bought space in newspapers, reopened their closed offices, held frequent meetings with Florida as the main order of business and sent a representative to look over the state. In the following January their Florida agent, Edward M. Cheney, who was to become a prominent Republican and support carpetbag rule, gave the company an on-the-spot organ when he purchased the Jacksonville *Florida Union*.⁴

For its post-war venture the company once again turned to the government for help and restated its objectives. To overcome the lack of funds which had limited their interest since 1862 to serious talks, the directors dug up a claim against the national government and petitioned Congress for speedy payment. They contended that negligence by federal officers permitted the destruction of a company-owned hotel in Kansas during the hectic days when Emigrant Aid Company settlers had battled foes of the Union there. But these unre-

3. Higginson to Cabot, April 11, 1863, Company Papers.

4. Johnson, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company," 401-414.

strained conquerors were not content to press their claim solely on its merits. They added the value of the project on which they would spend the \$25,000. They explained that "the present conditions of various parts of the United States . . . would be a call upon your petitioners for the use of all its resources and abilities to promote the purpose of its incorporations." Spokesmen for the company denied any desire to secure benefits for stockholders and proclaimed only the public good that would result from settling northern workers in Florida. There the emigrants would settle the rich soil, open resorts for invalids, and build permanent homes for "those whose delicate constitutions cannot endure the severe weather of the North".

The officials of the New England Company promised other national benefits from their plan to transplant friends of the Union. They wanted "to make Florida a truly loyal State" by flooding it with "Energetic, loyal, liberty loving colonists" who would be a wholesome influence in press, school and business. The promoters' sole avowed aim was to aid in the political, industrial and social "regeneration" of the South.⁵

Despite their claims of altruism there were obvious benefits in organized emigration to northern settlers, financiers and manufacturers. The Radical Republican political program would have kept native southerners from active participation in politics ; and Negro suffrage, coupled with the Republican votes of the new settlers, would have made the South a Republican pocket borough. Settlers would have profited by being able to acquire lands and homes for the ridiculously low unpaid direct taxes plus small charges. Thus indebted to the dominant party, the settlers would have been a further check on the planter-dominated ante-bellum Democratic Party ; they would unite with a southern yeomanry freed from subservience to the planter class.

Paralleling the advantages to the politicians were

5. New England Emigrant Aid Company petitions to Congress, January 4 and February 4, 1867, John A. Andrew Letterbooks, Massachusetts Historical Society.

others to the merchants, bankers and textile manufacturers who guided the New England Emigrant Aid Company. They foresaw a larger southern market in the emigrants and freedmen who might produce more cotton for New England mills and bring increased business and profits for all northern moneyed classes. By the winter of 1865 they had seen the necessity of cooperating with the Radicals. After their victory in 1866, politicians and merchants moved to consolidate their positions and gain the spoils.

Northerners who were neither politicians nor stockholders in the New England Company were also interested in the working of the Direct Tax Act in Florida. Lands sold for defaulted taxes could be bought cheaply. Moreover, the prospects of organized emigration made the easily purchased land a potential money maker for speculators. Whatever their interest, Nesmith and Sons of New York City reading that some Florida lots were scheduled for sale, sought information on their location and the terms of the sales.⁶

In New England there were patriotic Bostonians, Union lovers and industrialists, who had no desire to establish colonies or buy land in Florida. But they did spread propaganda that would make the state attractive to settlers who would increase the market for goods produced in New England factories. Through the New England Loyal Publication Society, voice of the exclusive, pro-administration Union League,⁷ the men bargaged the Army and newspapers with anti-Confederate broadsides. In 1862 John Murray Forbes conceived the idea of supplying newspapers all over the country with

6. Nesmith and Sons to Salmon P. Chase, December 7, 1863, Florida Direct Tax Papers, Treasury Department Annex, Washington.

7. George W. Smith, "Generative Forces of Union Propaganda: A Study in Civil War Pressure Groups," Chapter 6, unpublished doctoral dissertation, dated 1939, in the library of the University of Wisconsin, contains a full account of the origin, aims and work of the Union Leagues and the companion publication societies. Frank Friedel, "The Loyal Publication Society: A Pro-Union Propaganda Agency", in *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*, 26:361-2, has an account of the New York agency and shows its connections with those in Boston and Philadelphia.

reprints and articles for editorial material to mold public opinion. Forbes began the job independently after his associates refused to adopt his proposal, but they soon joined him and organized and financed the New England Loyal Publication Society to continue his work.⁸ Far from being just an organization satisfying some rich men's whims, the Society sent out publications that wielded influence.⁹

The early broadsides revealed the industrialists' economic interest in a South filled with free settlers which was similar to the radicals' political interest. While the politicians were interested in maintaining supremacy in national councils the manufacturers wanted to create an expanded market and reap new and greater profits. Edward S. Philbrick, a pioneer Yankee exploiter of southern wealth made available by the national government, told northerners what they could expect. In an article bluntly entitled "A New Market for Manufacturers" he wrote: "It may readily be seen that a considerable demand may arise for the articles above named [flour, molasses, rice, corn, salt, nails, etc.] and others of kindred nature, when a population of some millions shall be in a position to apply their earnings to the supply of their increasing wants. Should not the manufacturing interests of the North be awake to this?"¹⁰ The cotton manufacturer, Edward Atkinson, soon to head a group that would take over direction of the New England Emigrant Aid Company,¹¹ reminded the

8. Smith, "Generative Forces . . .", 289-290.

9. Arthur C. Cole, *The Irrepressible Conflict, 1850-1865 (A History of American Life*, edited by Dixon Ryan Fox and Arthur M. Schlesinger, Sr. vol. 8, New York, 1934), J. G. Randall, *The Civil War and Reconstruction*, (New York, 1937), 638; H. T. Tuckerman to editor of Society, June 13 (?), 1864, among broadsides in Boston Public Library.

Two Missouri editors were hostile to the broadsides. In response to a questionnaire they answered:

Want documents continued?	Do you print them?	See any in exchanges?	Suggestions?
Columbia as you like	not at all	seldom	will not
Warrenton No Sir	never	very few	burn them

10. *New England Loyal Publication Society Broadside* #95, July 28, 1863. Hereafter cited as Broadside

11. Johnson, "The New England Emigrant Aid Company," 392.

producers that "The impetus to be given to northern manufacturers when a slave population of four millions shall increase its wants . . . is obvious".¹²

To make the potential market an actual one the men behind the broadsides envisioned a yeomanry composed of various available groups, white southerners excepted. Following Atkinson's lead they proposed that freedmen be permitted to preempt land. Such a policy, they argued, would make the former slaves industrious and teach them some things that they could not learn in school.¹³ This apparently altruistic policy included unmentioned benefits to the men who were buying confiscated estates and raising cotton with black labor.

The manufacturers found another deserving group to set up as beneficiaries when they recommended that Congress pass a law allocating lands of states in rebellion to honorably discharged Union veterans.¹⁴ Organized emigration was another means to settle the South and fill the population void left by the war.¹⁵

Since the economic invasion of the South that the industrialists had in view was a long-range program rather than short-sighted land grabbing, they aimed at the entire section. They did, however, distribute material designed to make Florida attractive to northerners. When military victories convinced them that the Administration intended to apply the ten per cent proclamation there, they urged citizens of other states to migrate to Florida and help the local Unionists erect a government. If the army did no more than hold the points already won, good beef supplies would become available and the valley of the St. Johns river would be open to northern settlers. They told potential settlers to discount stories of alligators, swamps and mosquitoes and remember that it was rich with southern pine. Once the Florida Unionists began to rebuild their state the

12. *Broadside* #97, August 1, 1863.

13. *Broadside* #162, February 6, 1864.

14. *Broadside* #195, June 7, 1864.

15. *Broadside* #156, January 16, 1864 and 274, June 22, 1865.

Society predicted that a flood of emigrants would join them in their work.¹⁶

Two weeks later the picture of a Florida filled with advantages for men willing to take them continued with a letter from a Union officer. Up the St. Johns he had seen "very productive country; rich in all the tropical fruits." The healthfulness of the climate was evident from the river hotels that accommodated convalescents and the exceptionally good health of his comrades while their unit was in the state. Jacksonville looked just like a New England town and Fernandina had a good harbor and railroad connections. The officer concluded his first-hand observations with the expert opinion that the plan to colonize Florida would find "ample success".¹⁷

The avalanche of propaganda was not in vain for the manufacturers convinced themselves of the opportunities open in Florida and, leaving nothing to chance, proceeded to seek additional profits as they provided the state with the necessary Union minded population. Forbes, who had started the propaganda movement in industrial New England, wanted a paying proposition under the guise of a philanthropic venture; one that would "do more good than anything *purely* benevolent". He and Atkinson were particularly anxious to have the experienced Philbrick handle the Boston end of the project since he would "give confidence to capitalists". To get their backing Forbes meant to emphasize the fact that land was cheap in the West and the South but labor, "the Dear point", was cheaper in Florida than anywhere else they could find cheap land. He wanted large scale action to begin promptly and show a moderate profit. For additional aid Forbes thought that some emigrant aid society should spread information through the North, send agents into the South and provide officers to direct emigrants to desirable areas. To drama-

16. *Broadside* #170, March 3, 1864.

17. *Broadside* #174, March 17, 1864.

tize the situation he wanted the publication of some facts about the southern treatment of the labor question.¹⁸

The Forbes-Atkinson scheme, like the other colonization emigration plans, whatever corollary benefits to the Union they included, displayed an interest in the South that was far from any publicly stated war objective. To the men who proposed the migrations to settle northerners on land legally taken from southerners the Civil War was more than the climax of a humanitarian anti-slavery crusade, or a clash of ideologies over theories of the nature of the Union; it was a battle between the economic systems that dominated the sections. They saw the conflict as a glorious opportunity to grasp cheaply, legally, and with clear consciences, hitherto unavailable wealth while their adversaries were helpless to prevent the theft. War provided not only the opportunity but permitted them to camouflage their personal motives with claims of patriotism while they used federal revenue acts to press their economic invasion of the South.

18. Forbes to Atkinson, August 26, 1865 and September 1, 1865, Edward Atkinson Papers, Massachusetts Historical Society.

A FLORIDA SETTLER OF 1877

THE DIARY OF ERASTUS G. HILL

Chicago. Jany. 19th, 1877-

Am off for a home in the beautiful state of Florida. I can hardly realize that I am an emigrant & that after so many pleasant years in Chicago I am about to leave it perhaps forever. After two weeks investigation I have made up my mind to try it and if nothing else comes out of it I shall have a delightful trip for this season of the year. I only wish Hellie could go along but I hope to have her with me shortly. ****

The country we came through from Macon to Jessup is the poorest I have seen in the South. Pine sandy lands on which nothing will grow the only thing I could see done for more than 150 miles was getting out lumber & making turpentine. The only decent place the entire distance is Eastman where the Georgia Land & Lumbering Co have its Headquarters. Mr Eastman has built a very fine house & Mr Dodge of New York is just completing a fine large Hotel, though what there is to induce people to go there is more than I can see. We have considerable sport amongst ourselves in spite of our surroundings & pass the long weary days quite pleasantly. I talk politics with all sorts of people & find that they all without exception say they are tired of this continual wrangle & that what the people of the south want is peace and prosperity & no more agitation on political subjects. The niggers in this state all vote the Democratic ticket & do so from choice for they have been lied to & cheated by the carpetbaggers of the north until they have made up their minds that their real friends are their own people. I must confess that my mind has changed wonderfully in the last few days in respect to this question & there seems to be

Note-The QUARTERLY is grateful to Mrs. L. H. Hill of Lawtey, Florida, for permission to publish this diary which has been preserved for so many years in her family, and to Mr. A. Z. Adkins, Jr. of Gainesville for bringing it to the attention of the QUARTERLY and securing that permission. Our readers, also, will thank them ; for here we have a first-hand account of why and how so many thousands of families moved to Florida in the early days.

hardly a decent white man in the south but what is a democrat simply for the reason that the government has given them or forced upon them a diabolical set of rascals who plunder them of all they can acquire. We reach Jessup at 7 o'clock 185 miles in 11 hours pretty quick time. The train from Savannah comes along at 8 & we have time to get our supper & walk up & down the platform before we take it. I succeed in getting an upper berth & sleep pretty well till we awake in Florida.

Jany 26th 1877-

Jacksonville is reached at last we get here at 11 o'clock our ride since daylight was through a low flat pine & palmetto country worthless for all practical purposes & as a gentleman remarked not worth 25cts per acre. We reach Baldwin at about 9 o'clock & make connection with the Fernandina & Cedar Keys RR we come on to Jacksonville however. Stop at the Nichols House a very pleasant & comfortable Hotel as Southern Hotels go don't quite come up to our Palmer House. After dinner I called on Harry Stouk and found him quite pleasantly situated at the Montcrief House. T. L. Hansen & wife were here & I almost felt sorry that I hadn't gone there instead, but my stay will be so short here that it will make little difference. a Gentleman by the name of Traill in the service of the Hudson Bay Company is one of our 3. Chas Lord of England being the 3rd. Lord is in search of land & Traill in the search of health. I find he knows Bullock very well, as who dont? I fell in with a Gentleman by the name of West from Lafayette Ind. who spends his winters in Southern Florida & he is of the opinion of course that there is no section that has the advantages of Orange County west of Mellinville [Sanford] but it seems so far out of the world that I hesitate about trying it. It is about 250 miles south of here & the only communication is by water & private conveyance. I think I shall try the Gainesville Country first. Jacksonville is the most delightful town I ever saw on short acquaintance. We spent the afternoon in looking about town & I called on Mr

Keene who seems a very pleasant Gentleman. He has a very nice Dress and Fancy Goods Store & looks prosperous. had a very pleasant talk with him. he is a Maine man & has been here 21 years. I notice every house here is a hotel & I think there is more idleness to the square yard than any place I ever saw. no one seems to have anything to do but kill time The stores & business houses are a credit to the place being large & everything on sale that one could wish for. The town seems one vast grove of liveoaks & as they never lose their foliage they present a most beautiful sight all the yards are filled with flowers & orange trees & as the orange trees are filled with fruit they look beautifully. No grass in Florida, no grass in the yards, nothing but sand, sand, sand, but its the worst sand I ever saw. vegetation of all kinds seems to thrive luxuriously whether it needs fertilizing or not I dont know, but roses *are not in bloom* at least not in Jacksonville. the cold weather of the past winter has done a vast amount of damage to young trees & early production & makes people think that only Southern Florida can successfully raise tropical fruits. We do the town pretty thoroughly & the more we see of it the better we like it. The thom. stands at 70 & people sit with their doors and windows open & stroll up & down the covered verandas & dont act at all as if it was midwinter no overcoats needed. Oranges are to be seen everywhere & are very cheap. The finest can be bought for \$.25 per doz. & they are very much better than anything we can get at home All the Hotels have bands playing in the Parks in front of the house & the evening promenades are delightful. it is nearly full moon now & I can hardly imagine any more beautiful sight than the streets present this moonlight night. it is as near an earthly paradise as one can find on this continent & must be very like the evenings in Italy without the unpleasant surroundings. We retired at a late hour, leaving a very gay party of dancers in the dining room & fell asleep to the music from surrounding houses & parks. surely Jacksonville deserves all the praise it has received from its admiring friends.

Jany 27th-

We are up at 8 o'clock & get breakfast while picking our teeth on the piazza the agent of the Steamboat line came along & kindly invited us to go to Fernandina fare 2.00 as we have to go there anyhow it strikes us that we will save time by going today instead of waiting till Monday as I supposed we should be obliged to, so we close the trade and take our luggage aboard the boat. We start of so suddenly that I havnt time to say goodbye to Harry & they will think I am lost. We get a dozen fine oranges & go up on the upper deck and enjoy the beautiful day. Thom. stands at about 70 & the river is alive with boats sailing & rowing. Astor's yacht lays in the river opposite the Carleton House & is a beautiful craft. there seems to be some pleasant places down the river & quite a good many nice looking orange groves. When we get into the river called 2 sisters we have lots of sport Traill brought along his rifle and shotgun & we find game quite plenty. he shot 2 ducks some gulls a Kingfisher & made a wonderful shot with his rifle at a snipe over 200 yds. away & killed it. Ducks now very plenty but quite shy so that it was very difficult to get a shot at them. in places along the river we saw plenty of porpoises but as our boat was running very fast were not able to get a shot at them. notice a large number of cattle feeding on the marshes & some of them up to their necks in the water eating the tall grass. its about the only place where they can find any feed. most of them have short tails. The alligators bite off all they can reach. we havnt as yet got a good look at an aligator it is rather too early in the season for them in this part of the state. on account of the low tide we are delayed & dont get into Fernandina till 8 o'clock in the evening. we stop here notwithstanding the strenous efforts of the clerk of the boat to induce us to go on to St Mary's & stay over Sunday. We get a good supper & Traill finds in the landlord a red river man who talks over all the notibles of that country & who was Col of a Minnesota regiment during the war yet like everyone

else is a strong democrat now. Me is a very pleasant man & joins us in a game of whist in the parlor. Lord & I play against Traill & the Landlord & the score for 3
 Lord Traill Lord Traill Lord Traill
 games was 10 8 10 6 10 0 They
 thought it was time to go to bed & we thought so too
 for them.

Jany 28th-

Fernandina is a town of about 3000 inhabitants & delightfully situated, more so than any town I have seen it has St Marys river on one side & the Ocean on the other being on Amelia Island it must be 100 to 150 feet above the ocean & it is claimed has the most even temperature of any town in Florida. They claim that for every town so it must be taken with some allowance in the landlords garden however I notice cabbages heading out & he says he plants them at all seasons & they never freeze. Oranges seem to thrive here quite a good many being around the gardens with fruit on them. As it is Sunday and nothing going on in town it being unlike Chicago a religious community we take the shell road & walk over to the beach a distance of nearly 2 miles & find it a most delightful place. it extends up & down the coast for 20 miles & is as fine a beach as I ever saw. we can pick up any quantity of shells & as we walk towards St. Marys river there are several wrecks strewed along the shore. We strolled along the shore for 5 miles & as we come round into the river Fort Clinch comes in sight. we capture the place & find only a sergent in charge he lives a mile away & only look after it to see that no one does any damage. every-thing is falling to decay & unless something is done it will soon be a mass of ruins. It has mounted on the wall perhaps 1/2 a dozen immense 15 inch guns throwing 400 lb shot & down in the fort are a large number of smaller guns on wheels but they are rotting to pieces. The buildings are all falling down & the fort itself is fast being burried by the drifting sand. it was quite an important post during the war & was captured by Gen

Gilmore in 1862 & held during the rest of the war. We walk up through old Fernandina about a mile from the new town, this was the old Spanish settlement & remains of the old Fort still remain. When we reach the hotel we are very tired & ready for dinner to which we do ample justice & feel disposed to keep pretty quiet the rest of the day. I write a letter to Hellie & after supper all go to the African Church where we get the Simon-pure nigger worship. Twas quite amusing to my English friends. We left before services closed the Dark who was expounding the text was so long winded that we got tired & concluded that we wernt being instructed much & took a little walk around town. The Southern moonlight nights at this season of the year are the loveliest I ever saw. there seems to be a radiance that much surpasses the Northern moon I am inclined to think it must be a different moon. we cant enjoy it & sleep too however.

Jany 29th-

We wanted to get away into the country to day, but as there is but one train & that goes at 5 am we are unable to go as we havnt seen Mr Swann. Traill leaves us & returns to Jacksonville then to Southern Florida, hunting. he has a years leave of absence & we may meet again. he is a genial gentleman & we part from him with regret I think he will have to make Florida his home yet, for his lungs are very weak. Lord & I try to see Mr Swann but are unable to do so till 4 o'clock in the meanwhile we watch the Darks work & make up our mind that if there is a lazy shiftless set on earth its they. We see Mr Swann & find him a very pleasant gentleman. he talks with us for over two hours gives us letters of introduction to lots of people all along the road, passes from Fernandina to Cedar Keys & return for ourselves and families with transportation of all household goods &c free. the information he gives us is very valuable & he does it in the most disinterested way, tells us we need feel under no obligations to buy his land he only wants us to find a desirable place to locate

& be satisfied as we have to leave at 5 o'clock in the morning it is desirable to bring this diary to a close.

Gainesville Febry 2d 1877-

I have been knocking about so much the last 4 days that I couldn't find time or place to keep a single note. We left Fernandina Tuesday A M 5 o'clock the stars shining brightly & got to Baldwin at 9 for breakfast here we commute with the trains to and from Jacksonville. I wouldnt recommend Baldwin as a place of residence it must be under water a good part of the year. We have the best cars on this road I have seen in the south an evidence that a little of the nothern element is working, but few niggers at the stations & but few houses & few stations we get to Lawtey about 10 1/2 o'clock & make our first stop in search of a home jumping off the train the first man I see is Dr Gleason who lived on Park Avenue near Lincoln & the same chap who played chess with me at O'Neils several years ago I recognized him immediately & he me & I began to feel at home at once. he introduced me to Capt Burrin who owns 18,000 acres of land here & who sold Dr Harris & the Chicago cclony their tract. He is a jolly good hearted Englishman & lived here alone in the woods for 5 years & was coaxed into selling the colony their lot & after the ice was once broken he is willing to furnish all who came with land at \$5. per acre. Dr Gleason introduced us to all who were about & we took a walk up the RR about a mile to where some of the boys were planting cucumbers. found that some of them knew me for they were from Farwells, HW King & Co & other wholesale houses in Chicago. Dr Harris was out surveying so that I didnt see him till late in the evening. We went to the "Harris House" and took dinner. Col Rice wife & three children Dr Harris wife & three children & two or 3 of the boys live there it is a little one story log cabin & at one time they lodged & fed 23, only 3 rooms in the whole business. Mrs Harris & Mrs Rice do all the work & Mrs H. came here for her health. She was so delicate. the children run wild & look as if it entirely agreed with

them. after looking around the place some Dr Gleason & I took a trial at chess & I got beaten 2 games out of 3. took supper at the Harris House & made the acquaintance of the Dr. he is an a no 1 man who is a driver, has been about the world a great deal & seems to have profited by it. lately connected with "Nesby" on the Toledo Blade. he is the life & soul of the whole enterprise & runs it as far as the business is concerned. The association is composed of 33 members & every member has a vote. The town has been laid out 60 acres in acre lots & the lots drawn for. when the land is surveyed & platted the farms will be drawn for in the same way some take 40 & some 80 acres. it looks very primitive only 20 acres cleared around the station the rest all pine forest. they have rented & under cultivation 125 acres & will keep what cleared land they have in the track for the benefit of the association. We spent the evening at Capt Burrin & slept at Dr Gleason he has a rough board house one room down stairs & one up without battening the cracks & the air circulates quite freely through all parts of it yet it is sufficiently comfortable for any season of the year The Dr & I sat up till 10 o'clock & played chess & I won 3 games out of 4. we had a couple of cots made up in one corner of the room & curtained off with sheets which gave us very comfortable accommodations. Wednesday morning we lay in bed pretty late for we had been without much sleep & were pretty well fagged out. Dr Harris insisted upon taking us over his tract & after a good deal of delay loading cartridges &c &c we got off after dinner each with guns. we tramped the entire afternoon till dark killed a few birds, plover, pigeon &c & got besides a very good idea of the nature of the country. My impressions were very favorable & the Dr seems to think he has got the best land in Florida. I picked out 20 acres which I thought would suit me & also a town lot he says I can have the town lot on the same terms as the members but they wont sell the land for less than \$5 per acre. had a long talk with Harris privately & told him what Lord wanted & he *sat up*

with Burrin nearly all night talking about it. Lord wants a large tract for a stock farm & has got plenty of money to run it so he is something of a catch for a man who has got land to sell. I played again with Gleason & got beat 3 games out of 5 & went to bed at 2 o'clock. Thursday morning while we were eating breakfast Dr Harris came in to tell us that Mr Burrin wanted to take Lord over some of his tract & wanted him to stay over another day to do so, they insisted upon it so much that we concluded to do so & Burrin & Lord started off on horseback & were gone all day. Gleason & I took a good look at the town plat & I picked out a building lot provided I concluded to locate there I spaded into several places & found very good soil with a clay subsoil 2 to 3 feet down. it seems to me that stuff ought to grow on such land & the clearings that we looked at show that with the miserable cultivation they have they produce very fair crops. I saw & made the acquaintance of Mr Low a gentleman from Washington who has bought 1400 acres about 6 miles from Temples Mills & is building himself a nice house on it. I made an appointment to meet him the next day & go out to his place. during the day I played several games of chess & rather got the worst of it also met Dr Horsey at Capt Burrin's. he lives in Fernandina & comes here for his health. he has consumption & says he has prolonged his life for several years he thinks this is the helthiest place on the road. He tells me that scarlet fever, measles, diphtheria, croup, colera, Influenza are things never known here, in fact no contagious diseases at all are prevalent, & it is a perfect paradise for children. it makes me feel anxious to get the babies here as soon as possible. Lord got back towards night much pleased with the land he had been over & he and the Capt seemed to have got along together first rate. we called on several of the boys in their cabins & find them very comfortably situated & Gleason & I sat up till after midnight & played chess getting considerable the worst of it. Should I make up my mind to stay *here* it would relieve the monotony of backwoods

life to have someone who can give his evenings to the game. He is crazy to have me come if for nothing else than to play chess with him. Friday morning we get away & leave Lawtey behind after a very pleasant stay & it seems almost like leaving home it looks as if their prospects were good for a successful colony & I sincerely hope it may be so. we get to Temples at about 11 o'clock & find Mr. Low waiting for us & anxious we should go out to his place, but Mr Temple has some business & cant go with us but says if we will wait until tomorrow he will take us all around both Saturday & Sunday Mr Low has a nurseryman going out to look at his tract with the purpose of setting out an orchard so we conclude we will go on to Gainsville & here we are. We stop at the Arlington house & have splendid accomodations the best we have seen in Florida it is a new house just opened for trade & everything is first class & prices lower than in Jacksonville. They give us parlors 3 & 4 for our rooms. we get a *good square* meal & then hunt up Mr Tomlinson who together with Mr Loomis of Chicago is putting out a 10 acre orange grove. pass the P.O. on our way & find letters from home, which though old are very acceptable. We have no difficulty in finding Mr. Tomlinson who takes us out to his place & we get our first lessons in orange culture. he has taken a wild piece of land set out about 100 trees & same bannas fenced it all in & got it in very nice shape in just a year. it has cost him to say nothing of his own time & labor 1000\$ to do this & he has certainly a fine showing for the expense. He has bought sour stumps & a few sweet seedlings & intends to bud them as soon as the sap starts nicely. if he makes it a sucess it will be an entire sucess but if a falure an entire falure I think I should have set out 1/2 & 1/2 & got two chances. The trees are looking nicely not having been injured by the winter while a great many of the trees in the famous Orange County district were killed outright. He tells me that he payed 10\$ per acre for that ground a year ago & that adjoining him they ask 100 & several tracts have been bought by

Chicago parties at 75 I endeavored to get off from such high priced ground immediately especially as I couldn't see where even \$10 per acre was profitably invested. The soil about here is bald sand it wont grow white beans & only by the highest cultivation can vegetables be made to grow. truck farming *has not* succeeded in this locality except on the hammock lands further down the road & last year everyone engaged in it lost money on account of the long distance to transport & the bad order of stuff on arrival high freights & dishonesty of commission men. *They say* truck wont pay. they say lots of things here which if one should follow out, I have no doubt they would arrive at the same pitiable state in which the natives at present are. I think however as far as I can see that the people hereabouts are a better class than in most of the other southern states yet they are but little raised above the brute & the niggers are *no* better in many respects. Mr. Tomlinson is a man 71 years of age yet he doesnt look over 60. his years residence in Florida making him younger by 10 years he says. he can work hard all day without making him tired & he looks hale and hearty. he has the *only* orange grove in the neighborhood of Gainesville strange as it may seem, although there are plenty of trees in the yards in town which appear to thrive well. The people as a general thing are too poor to afford the expense & the most of them when asked why they havnt planted out trees say "they never thought of it", "well why dont you do it now," its too late now" it makes me think of the man in this same country who when asked why he didnt shingle his cabin replied that when it was fair weather it didnt need it & when it rained he couldnt" That is about as much sense as they have got. Gainesville seems better located than any town on the road me have seen. A good many of the recently built houses have been put up by men from the north & give the place a better appearance than other towns outside of Jacksonville. there must be 1500 or 2000 inhabitants. it lays on a high sandy knowl & overlooks the country for some distance

around. Mr Tomlinson took us to see Dr McMillin who is an old resident here & a large property owner & we talked with him several hours he had maps & plats and seemed to take considerable interest in having us locate near Gainesville. wrote home in the evening & went to bed pretty early having a good place to sleep for the first time in several nights.

Saturday Feby 2d-

After a good nights rest & a good breakfast we had a call from Mr Tomlinson who wanted us to see Col Thompson an U.S. official who owned a place about 15 miles north of here. we called upon him & while Lord talked with him I conversed with Mr Barnes the sheriff of the county. he is a very strong republican & takes extreme views on political subjects. I couldnt agree with him on many points. he is a Boston man & has lived here since the war as has Col Thompson, but Col T has been bulldozed out of the country & has got to leave & is willing to sell a place for which he paid 9000\$ for since the war for \$3000. We made an appointment to meet him Wednesday & look at the place our train left at 11 o'clock so we had to hurry to reach it got back to Temples Mills about 1 o'clock & found Mr Low waiting for us with two saddle horses Lord took one & he the other & Mr Temple & myself concluded that we would prefer a buggy. Mr T had dinner waiting for us of which we took "quantum sufficit" & started through the woods. There is no regular road & a buggy can be driven through the woods in every direction as we could drive much faster than they we took a round about way & crossed streams & bays & through timber. Mr Temple is a man about 60 years of age who has lived in this country for 20 years he is a diamond in the rough possessed of considerable means but no culture, a fairly educated man & should judge but an odd genius nevertheless. he is engaged in the lumber business & is the owner of Temples Mills & as I write can look through the avenue of bannanas described in the Florida New

Yorker. it was probably true to nature when taken but just now no one would recognize the original. They are just commencing to leaf out & will soon be as beautiful as ever, but I believe I am on my way to Sand Lake the "Winter Seat" of Mr Low. The ride is a very rough one & after about an hour we reach the spot on which he is building his house. it is a peculiar plan very southern but must be pleasant on account of being cool. 4 sleeping rooms over the main house & Dining room. The servants all live out of the house & the Kitchen is entirely seperate. it is situated in one of the loveliest spots I ever saw about 60 feet above a beautiful lake shaped something like this he is surrounded by a chain of lakes & although I dont believe his land would produce anything yet with plenty of money it can be made a delightful spot. he claims that it is particularly adapted to the orange & it may be but the getting to it is terrible & when Mr Temple moves away as he intends to do shortly having bought 7000 acres of land near Lawtey his nearest station will be Starke a distance of 10 miles. he is very enthusiastic about it & having an unlimited amount of money will no doubt make a beautiful place of it, but it would never do for a poor man. he has had a terrible time getting lumber hauled & says it has cost him 1/4 of his expense of building drawing stuff from Temples. I presume he will put a road through to the nearest station for his own use. he hasnt a neighbor nearer than 6 miles except a few miserable crackers & says his only fear is that he may get lonesome & his wife wish to return to Washington society. his plans are magnificent & if carried out will give him the loveliest place in Florida. Mr Astor who is now at Jacksonville will visit him next week & he proposes to give him a deer hunt & try & induce him to to make an investment in the vicinity he will have a sail boat for his own use & as the lakes about are filled with excellent fish & the woods alive with game he can enjoy life if he dont make a cent. it certainly would make a delightful winter resort. We stayed about & admired the

beautiful views to be had from different points until it was time to start for home for an evenings ride through the woods here wouldnt be very pleasant. Mr Low wanted Lord to stay with him all night he had some points to show him, so Mr Temple & I came home with the arrangement that we should visit Kingsley's lake tomorrow. after getting back I made the acquaintance of 2 of Mr Temples daughters who were educated at Wilmington Del & found them both intelligent & good looking besides they had traveled a good deal & seemed well informed on any subject of conversation. Although Mr Temple is a rich man he hasnt a carpet in his house no paint or plaster & his house isnt even boarded up inside tis a large 2 story house with 9 or 10 rooms & he says cost *him* about 500\$ it would be considered a fine house in Florida. he has 6 daughters & 1 son, 2 daughters dead. he wants to sell his place here & will sell his house & 80 acres of land for 800\$ tis very low and wet about here however, & he was oblinded to ditch for 1/2 a mile before he could build his house & when he leaves here & the station removed it will be 4 miles from a station. it would I think be a good opening for a colony, but for an individual rather rough. went to bed about 10 o'clock & had the *best* room in the house, very comfortable but exceedingly primitive.

Sunday Feby 3d-

Got up this morning rather late for even in this country the Sabbath is observed. I was somewhat disturbed in my rest by the niggers in the night & some other things. I realized more fully than ever before the force of the saying that Saturday night was niggers night. they kept up a shouting and holowing til I went to sleep. This morning there are indications of rain but after breakfast Mr T. has the horse "geared up" & we wait expectantly for Low & Lord & we continued to wait all day for they didnt put in an appearance till 4 o'clock which made it too late to go to Kingsley Lake. I made it quite pleasant however with The Misses

Temple & would have written some letters if I had had the writing materials. went around considerable & looked at the land in the vicinity. When Mr T. leaves here he will take the station with him & his new place which will be 4 miles from Lawtey he intends building a good house & improving from 20 to 40 acres of land & make a permanent home of it. he offers to sell me all the land I want & take my choice of \$1 per acre. I think I shall look at it & take a piece anyhow for Katie even if I dont want to stay there myself at present. he will clear it of timber so that that expense will be unnecessary I think it is a rare chance provided the land is all right. we did intend to go to Darky Church but found it was over a mile away so Lord & I sat on the porch with The Temple girls till about 10 o'clock & the "Old Folks" went to bed & left us there I didnt tell them I was married which made it much pleasanter. Monday - After breakfast which for the first time we took with the girls Mr T being at the mill. we went over to the mill which is the old man's pet & watched them cut lumber till train time & after bidding the family good bye & being assured by Mr T that we should be welcome whenever we came again we are off our next stopping place is at Waldo & we stop at the Waldo House kept by Mrs. Birge a widow from Charleston who with her mother make things very homelike more so than any place I have seen in Florida. as soon as dinner we got a conveyance & went out to see Santa Fe lake. we had letters to Gen Earle & Mr Ewing who both live on the shore of the lake, but neither were at home but we saw Mr Klee who is the proprietor & projector of the "Balmoral Hotel" a scheme which is in "Status Quo" on account of lack of funds it is a magnificent site & if the means were provided it could be made the Saratoga of the South one of the most beautiful lakes I ever saw 9 miles by 4 with high land all around particularly adapted to the growth of the orange, Lemon pineapple bannana &c it could be made a delightful spot. I will write to Mr Thompson & see if he wouldnt like to enter into the

scheme. There is a future in it for someone. no land can be bought which is desirable for less than 20 to 30\$ per acre & it is about 5 miles from the depot, but when people once get there they will never want to leave. Gen Earle has a very pleasant place but the "Earthly Paradise" business I failed to see yet I have no doubt it would be much pleasanter later in the season for I havnt found Florida to be a land of flowers at this season of the year anymore than Illinois. orange trees live oaks and other evergreens to be sure remain in foliage but everything else dies off in the winter & the face of the country is as bare as any other part of the States. twas about supper time when we returned & after tea Mrs Legan, Mrs Coleman, Lord & myself played whist till after 10 & each won 3 games. Mrs Coleman is a lady whose husband is in the U S Quartermasters department & has been ordered to Kansas while she has come to Florida to raise oranges. She has bought 40 acres of land about 3 miles from here & will build a house & live on it and improve the place She is waiting to have it surveyed before starting & in the meanwhile is stopping here. I had quite an interesting discussion with her on the subject of Spiritualism of which she is an ardent supporter.

Tuesday Feby 6th-

We got up intending to go to Gainesville but it looked so much like rain that we concluded to stay where we are & I wrote a note to Sheriff Barnes saying that we couldnt keep our appointment with him then we walked up to the RR to a place owned by a Capt Smith who has lived here over 30 years. he has about 200 bearing orange trees which look very well but havnt been attended to as they ought to be. twas a walk of 2 miles up & 2 back & as we walked pretty sharp got quite blown & had little appetite for dinner. I spent the afternoon in writing to Hellie Mr. Thompson & Smithmyer in the evening there was a minstrel performance close by but didnt care to go. Mr. Legare a man 80 years

old Mrs Coleman Lord & myself played whist & we beat 4 games out of 7 & after Mrs Birge's return she took her fathers place & we beat them 5 games in succession 3 of which were 0. They went to bed feeling very much down in the mouth & we thought they would have but little sleep in consequence. Wednesday morning when we awoke it was pouring & has continued to do so all day & we havnt been out of the house it is a perfect sea in every direction & were the soil not porous & sandy the roads would be impassible but as soon as the sun comes out everything is dry & hard as ever we have laid around the house & made ourselves as agreeable as possible to the ladies. Mrs Birge is a handsome young widow who is quite accomplished, paints plays & sings nicely & is very talkative & pleasant. her husband has been dead about 3 years & I think she wouldnt be averse to marrying again. it rains harder to night than it did this morning, but I hope it will be pleasanter tomorrow for I want to get through with our travels. We played whist again in the evening & won 6 out of 8 games. Lord & Mrs Coleman went to bed in disgust. Thursday 8th - We were up in good time & found it was a beautiful morning after breakfast Lord & I went down the RR for a mile or two & had a look at several places. it had rained a perfect torrent for nearly 24 hours & yet we found it perfectly dry & even walked across ploughed land without getting our boots dirty run across a gentleman from Charleston who had 160 acres & a very pleasant house. he showed us over his place & although it was rather too flat to suit me yet he may make quite a nice place of We went over a place owned by a Mr Dutton which showed the effects of the severe winter more than any place I have seen fully 1/2 of his small trees were killed but in conversation with a gentleman he told me he thought the most of them were dead before the freeze came. The town has been in quite a state of excitement over a murder by 2 niggers of a white man. it seems that he had bought a piece of property on which these fellows had squatted & Monday night they went to his house &

killed him with a gun loaded with broken nails. They got the fellows & have been trying them here to day. One man said to me that he thought perhaps they might be punished now but heretofore the law wouldnt reach them such was the miserable state of things here. After dinner we got away on the train & passing through Gainesville, Arredondo, Battons & Archer we arrived at Bronson where we found Col Couchman who had been expecting to see us for several days. he said Mr. Swann had been enquiring about us & Mr Burrin had asked him if he had seen anything of us. he took us immediately up to his office in the Court House, (after we had given our baggage to a dark to take it to the House used for a hotel) & showed us all the maps & parts of the country around about & then we took a walk around through several sections. the lands here are very sandy high & rolling & very pleasantly situated. I noticed one spot in particular in section 16 which pleased me specially, although as far as I could judge without trying the land it was rather poor for all purposes except oranges it belongs to the state & no one has tried to sell it therefore it remains unentered. I imagined something must be the matter with it or people wouldnt have gone around it twas a little over a mile from town & in the vicinity were a chain of low swampy lakes filled with cypress, yet abounding in fish so the Col said. The trees all through this section are filled with hanging moss which all physicians say is an indication of malaria. The swampy land near town is dense with this moss & the high pine land as well. I didnt at all like the locks of this & said so to the Col but he said the place was very healthy none more so in all the country, all of which I took in with a mental -if-. twas quite dark when we got back to town & we picked cur way through the woods to Col Coulter's house kept by a Mrs. Boyd as a sort of Semi hotel they gave us the usual hog & hominy with a few variations Mrs Coulter is a very pretty lady with 3 children. The land lady was a buxom widow & a Miss Somebody acted as business manager. After supper we

sat on the veranda with Col Coulter & the *judge* & talked Florida. The Col has a very large & nice place here & owns most of the land immediately adjoining the station we talked stock raising & recommended Mrs Birges calves which he said he would write for there were quite a number of young folks boarding at the place & they made things quite lively during the evening. We were pretty tired & went to bed early, had a room together & managed to get a fair nights rest. no plaster or paint in this house, which is the best in town. We were up in good season & after breakfast joined the Col at the depot the train comes along a little after 8 & after we had disposed of that we went into Col Sebring's store & waited till Coachman got ready to go with us. Col Seabring is an old Kentuckian who has lately settled here he has 80 acres & is building a very pleasant house about 1/2 a mile from town. he & a Dr Ambrose keep a general store seem to be quite interested in filling up the place before long Coachman came back & said that it was impossible to get any conveyance & we must go on foot, so we brace up & start off the Cols son with a gun going along. We traveled till 2 o'clock & saw some very pretty country & some very poor land. We were on the west side of the RR & the nearest land he had to show us was over 3 miles away I found the greatest difficulty was the distance from town & the malarial appearance of the country. I cant help thinking that it is sickly in hot weather here, assurances to the contrary notwithstanding. I get so I dont believe a word people tell me, for all tell a different story. one section seems to work against another & all unite to get the best of a stranger sections 31 and 29 have some very pretty points about them & if they went out of the world I should feel 1/2 tempted to give them a trial. We called at quite a number of places, at one of which we had a drink of most excellent water from a well about 35 feet deep this country is underlaid with clay & the water is very soft. one party found fault with it because it was too soft. We were as hungry as bears when we got back &

took our Hog and Hominy with good relish & at 4 o'clock were on our winding way having now examined all the desirable points on the road. Thought we might just as well go through to Cedar Keys as not for it cost nothing extra. Soon after leaving Bronson we came to the Gulf Hammock & for the first time I realized what Hammock land was. The Magnolia, Cypress Oak, pine palmetto and cedar grows in abundance & the growth of small trees fills up all the ground vines twine all through making an almost impenetrable thicket. There is but very little of this land in cultivation for it must cost a large amount of money & time to do it. the lands are very rich when once got under cultivation, but I wouldnt undertake to clear 10 acres for \$1000. the Palmettos are the largest I have seen, being some of them as big as one's body and 50 or 60 feet high. they use them for piling for they last a long time in the water & have no grain & useless for anything else as they cant be split. We got into Cedar Keys about dark. this is a place on a small island about one mile from the mainland & is a very scrubby looking town. We stop at the Island House kept by Dr McIlwain no plaster & no paint, but we have a most excellent supper of fried oysters fish good butter & milk & other things foreign to Florida after supper I find that the Dr plays chess & we play 5 games of which I lost 3. talked till after midnight with 2 men from down the coast one at Manatee & the other Tampa they talked up their section of course, but by a little shrewd questioning I found out that their section was badly damaged by the frost, that mails only came once a month & then they had to come to Cedar Keys after it, over 200 miles. after they grew anything there was no place to sell it, boats sometimes two weeks on the way to Cedar Keys in bad weather & only sail boats anyway -I passed- Mr Jones who lives at Homosassa about 40 miles below here & to whom I have a letter of introduction they tell me has a very pleasant pleasure house where parties go down from here to hunt & fish. he comes here in a sailboat 2 or 3 times a week & takes parties

down but as my business was not hunting & fishing I thought I wouldnt use my letter of introduction & we left at 6 o'clock in the morning Saturday at Roseland our engine broke down & we had to wait for two hours, but on this road 2 or 3 hours makes little difference when they have 13 hours to go 160 miles. we get our breakfast & Capt Mason's in the Hammock & visit his snakeship a hugh rattlesnake kept in a box, a savage looking fellow over 7 feet long which a chap here says he caught out in the brush. they are quite plenty in this part of the country, as in fact all kinds of vermin & reptiles are. The pine woods are comparatively free of them but the Hammocks & swamps have lots of such things, yet a gentleman told me he had tramped hundreds of miles hunting through the country & seen but very few not so many as in any northern state. didnt stop at Gainesville, but got off at Waldo & got my clothes which I left to be washed & I should judge that starch was another thing they didnt have in this country. Lord stopped off at Temple's & I came through to Lawtey & found everybody in good health & spirits. made arrangements to get my grub at Harris's & sleep at Dr Gleason's They all seem glad to see me back & have felt worried for fear I would get taken in somewhere else I attended the business meeting of the company in the evening & had the honor of being the only outsider present the rest who came being requested to vacate. it was arranged however that I should be invited to remain so I knew beforehand what was up. The members chose their lands & the utmost good feeling prevailed twas after 11 o'clock when we got back to the house. the Dr & I sat up a while until it got to be *bed time* talking about the lands I had looked at down the road & I turned into my rustic couch which was in one corner of the room & made up on a 5 foot bench about 2 feet across.

Sunday Feby 11th-

Was up quite early for sunday morning & went over to the stove & commenced a letter to Hellie wrote

till breakfast time went over to breakfast & after breakfast The Dr said he & Col Rice Campbell & Johns were going to look at their lands & wanted me to go along. I rolled up my pants & sleeves & told them I was ready. We started out at about 10 o'clock & pegged steadily till after 4 crossed bays & swamps knee deep got pretty thoroughly wet yet had a first-rate time & we were all as hungry as bears when we got back didnt change my wet boots or clothes but wore them all the evening. called to see Mr Bradshaw & wife and stayed till about 8 o'clock they are very pleasant folks, then picked my way in the dark across the town among the logs and stumps to the Drs & talked with him till midnight & tried my couch again.

Monday Feby 12th-

Tis a most beautiful morning but rather cool in fact cooler than any morning since I have been here. The boys & some of them last night were afraid of a frost but the Thom didnt get below 45-they have a very nice crop of potatoes & cucumbers & some other things that the cold would hurt & naturally feel anxious about it. I didnt get a bit of cold last night in consequence of my exposure something I couldnt have done anywhere but in Florida. I wrote a good long letter to Hellie or rather finished the one I commenced yesterday & another to Ten Eyck in which I am afraid I rather over did the thing in my description of the country, however it is best to make it strong enough. Lord came on the train going to Jacksonville & we parted company after a very pleasant acquaintance of 3 weeks whether I shall see him again or not is a question. The Capt went to Fernandina on the same train, so they had a chance to talk matters over on the train to Baldwin. The Dr & I went down the RR to look at some lots below the town plat, some of which looked very fair but whether or not I shall be able to make a trade for any of them is a question Had a good long letter from Hellie & learned that the baby had been quite sick, but was all right again. played chess with Dr G till after 1 o'clock & beat him 6 games out of 10 he didnt feel in good health the last

part of the play, but offered to bet me that he could win 8 9 games out of 12 in a series I didnt bet but we are going to play the series nevertheless & commence tonight. I got Campbell to figure on the cost of a house if I built one here & he said it would cost 260\$ - the sort of a one I wanted I suppose I might build a little box which would be a sweat pen in summer for 50\$ less. it costs but little more to build a good sized house than it does to build a little one. I looked at several pieces of land near the station but as the Capt has gone to Fernandina I didnt make any headway in a trade. have an appointment with Mr Temple tomorrow to meet him at his new station & see what sort of a place it is. I expect I will have to walk from here for the train dont stop there yet. I have my eye on a piece just east of the town plat here & if I can make a trade with the Capt. will proceed to business at once. tried to buy 20 acres south of the town of McCulby the Capt clerk & he wanted \$10 per acre he has cut the timber off of about 5 acres & has really a fine piece of land but they all seem to think they have a. gold mine under each acre had quite a lively tussel with the Dr at chess we played on two games till 1 o'clock & I got one of them. this is the 1st of a series of 12 games out of which the Dr says he can beat me 8.

Wednesday-It rains hard & nothing can be done of course. I cant meet Temple for he wont be on the ground such a day, & I write several letters to Merrill, Ten Eyck, Mr Matten &c after dinner it held up some & Dr Harris Col Rice & myself took guns & went for Meadow larks in the Tetson field where they are making depredations on the melons cucumbers beans & all green things. we drove them away & kept them away & killed 1/2 a dozen, besides getting a good wetting. Capt Burrin got back from Fernandina, but I didnt get a chance to see him till nearly night, meantime Gleason had got hold of him & made him believe it was going to ruin the prospects of the town if I was allowed to go away. he said I would go to Temples & of course use all my influence to get other people to go there too & that it musnt be done

"Why" says Burrin "I have sold several acre lots adjoining the piece he wants for 100\$ each & that 4 acre field next to him is worth 100\$ per acre I cant sell him that piece for any price to compete with Temples land" But you cant afford to let him go away, when we get such a man here we *must* keep him Dr Harris labored with him in the evening & Dr Gleason told me what had been done & said they had fixed the Capt so he was anxious to see me. We played 3 more of our series of games of which I lost 2, making me 2 to his 3 twas 1 1/2 o'clock when we got to bed.

Thursday-

It still continues to be cold & wet so much so that my overcoat is quite comfortable & I get a taste of the unpleasant side of Florida weather. I get breakfast & go over to the depot with the *determination* of going down to Temples, when the Capt takes me by the arm & says he wants me to go down with him & look at that piece of ground of course I hang back & tell him it is no use to talk about buying, that we couldnt come within 40 rods of a trade but he insisted upon my going with him & after looking it all over I asked him what proposition he had to make he began to tell how valuable the piece was & how much it would be worth &c&c & finally said if I wanted it I could have it at 5\$ per acre, before the words were fairly out of his mouth I said I would take it & that closed the trade & I became a citizen of Lawtey. I think I have made a very good trade & everyone tells me that I have the choicest piece of ground in the vicinity.

Feb'y 22-

I havnt added anything to this diary for several days having been so busy, & will send it as it is up to a week ago. Nothing of interest would be added for I have been clearing up land building fence surveying &c all the time commenced the house this morning will have to go down the road today to see about some lumber & tools I need a *grub hoe* & *spade* When the furniture is shipped have bill lading & duplicate receipt sent by mail to me. Nothing to add from last night. *be a good girl.*

ST. AUGUSTINE

In an article in the last issue of the QUARTERLY telling of several recently organized local and regional historical societies in Florida as evidence of the growth of interest in our State's history, there were a few lines on St. Augustine. The editor said:

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.

If this has suggested an examination or reexamination of her history on the part of some in St. Augustine, it is well ; for only St. Augustinians - they only of course - can do something about it. The *St. Augustine Record*, in an editorial, quotes those lines entire and asks for facts.

The QUARTERLY suggests that the Southern Historical Association be asked to request three historians, preferably from outside the State, whose report would be accepted without question by all, to examine the historical evidence of all prominent sites in St. Augustine: the Castillo, the gates, the ancient houses including the "Oldest House," and other conspicuous sites, and report on the evidence, with their opinion.

Only thus can St. Augustine rescue and assure her imperilled dignity.

The history-minded throughout all of Florida revere our foremost surviving historical gem. We have a real affection for her treasures and traditions, and we believe that our Ancient City *could* become one of the foremost historical gems of our whole country.

TEQUESTA, 1949

The 1949 issue of *Tequesta*, the annual of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, which appeared while the last number of this QUARTERLY was in press, is the ninth of the series; and, as usual, contains a number of interesting historical articles relating to that region. Most of the papers were read at the program meetings of the Association and at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society last year when we were guests of that organization. The publication of these papers, year by year, makes a permanent addition to the recorded history of South Florida; a history which, largely through the influence and efforts of the Association, is thus steadily being written.

Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, of the University of Miami and president of the Florida Historical Society, has been editor of *Tequesta* since 1946. As a long-time teacher of history and head of that department of the University, the historical worth of what he includes in the periodical is assured.

Five interesting articles comprise the issue:

Cape Florida Lighthouse

Charles M. Brookfield, who with Oliver Griswold recently published *They All Call it Tropical*, reviewed in our April issue of last year, tells of the earliest surviving landmark of the coast, the Cape Florida lighthouse, completed in 1825. The sight of the old brick tower now, long since abandoned, which for half a century warned vessels off the dangerous coast, raises the query: how many hundreds of them would have been lost without its friendly beam through the darkness or its black-capped white outline by day.

The most notable event of its history was an attack by the Indians in 1836 when one of its two occupants was killed and the other badly wounded and miraculously escaped. The tower was gutted, and it was not until 1846 that it was rebuilt and in operation again. In 1855 the light was raised to ninety-five feet. Destroyed again in 1861, it was dark until 1867, and was abandoned in 1878.

A half-tone reproduction of a photograph of the tower, which is still standing, shows how it appears today. The article is one of those read at our last annual meeting.

A Dash Through the Everglades

In 1892 James E. Ingraham led an expedition which has become legendary across the Everglades from Fort Myers to the Miami river, instigated and supported by Henry B. Plant. We can only surmise what Plant had in mind. The "Journal" of the party was published in the 1947 issue of *Tequesta*, edited with notes by Watt P. Marchman. Another account of the expedition, written by Alonzo Church who accompanied Ingraham was recorded later and copies of the manuscript given to a few libraries. The publication of the "Journal" aroused so much interest that Dr. Tebeau has included the Church narrative in this issue of *Tequesta*. There is an "Introduction" by Mr. Marchman, with a brief account of Mr. Church.

Recollections of Early Miami

Reminiscences of the early settlers always make good reading in addition to their historical value, and J. K. Dorn, who came to Miami more than half a century ago, had the opportunity of knowing the few who had come earlier. His narrative is a series of incidents and facts which are often more interesting than a connected history.

William Selby Harney: Indian Fighter

Very few names, other than Osceola, came out of the Seminole War with any acclaim, but Colonel Harney's has become legendary. He was a real fighter in the United States Army for more than forty years, and much of his fame, at least for us, was won in Florida. Oliver Griswold, in this paper which was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society in Miami last year, gives us a brief sketch of his whole career. He came to Florida with General Jackson, then

served against the Indians in the Northwest Territory; where, Mr. Griswold tells us, he formed a warm friendship with Jefferson Davis, then a second lieutenant. He was in the thick of the Black Hawk War, where his intimate comrade was Abraham Lincoln. He took an active part in the Seminole War, both in the fighting and the endless negotiation. In Florida, Harney is remembered most for the ambush on the Caloosahatchie, and the crossing of the Everglades. In 1840 he and his command were the first white men to cross the lower glades. He fought through the Mexican War, then conquered the Sioux, those war-like Indians of the plains. At the outbreak of the Civil War he was seized by the Confederates on his way to Washington and taken to Richmond, where he refused to join the Confederacy, and was released.

Early Pioneers of South Florida

Henry J. Wagner was born in Miami in 1871; his grandfather had come to the region in 1855, so what he has recorded in his recollections goes back to the very beginning of the settlement of the Miami region. Only a portion of the narrative which he left has been printed heretofore. The entire manuscript, from the files of the Association, is published here. There are twelve pages of his interesting story, most of which is nowhere else.

The Association

A roster of the officials of the Association and all members : Founding, Charter, Sustaining, and Annual is included; with the treasurer's report for the past fiscal year. There are 419 members, a remarkable number for a regional historical society.

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The historical program of the quarterly meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society on February 9, arranged by Mr. Richard P. Daniel, was featured by two papers written for the occasion.

Mrs. Margaret Cate took her hearers through much of the long history of Jekyll Island, a history closely connected throughout with that of northeastern Florida. Mrs. Cate is a historical consultant for Fort Frederica National Monument and has published "Our Today's and Yesterday's." She told of the first visits of the French Huguenots, and the Spanish under Menendez, and the missions established along the coast. Later came Oglethorpe who gave the island the name of his friend Sir Joseph Jekyll, who had contributed to the founding of Georgia. And there was much later history.

Coming home from our historical neighbors, a paper written by Mrs. Henry DuPre Bounetheau on "Early School Days in Jacksonville" was read by Mr. H. H. Buckman III, vice president of the Society. The author's grandfather settled in the locality in 1818, so her family are among the earliest pioneers. She writes of Miss DeMilly's school for girls, Miss Christy's school, and Mrs. Porter's, and Professor Abbott's, and "The Priory" established by the Rt. Rev. John F. Young, Bishop of the Episcopal Diocese of Florida.

Mr. William D. Barfield, president, presided; and the hostesses were Mrs. Herbert M. Corse, Mrs. Frances Ewell, and Mrs. W. S. Manning.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

It is expected that before the next number of the QUARTERLY is published payment of our grant from the State through the State Library Board will be resumed and we shall be enabled to resume our former size.

THE ANNUAL MEETING

As this issue of the QUARTERLY is expected to reach the members before the annual meeting, President Tebeau's official notice is reprinted from our last number for their information:

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, 15. The Board of Directors will meet on Thursday evening the 13th; there will be historical programs throughout Friday, with a program luncheon, and 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 Mr. 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 History, 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*

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

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DONATIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Gifts of Mary Teresa McKenna:

Letters (descriptive etc.), photographs, newspaper clippings, all relating to early Palm Beach and Lake Worth.

Gift of John M. Sweeney:

Photograph of St. Johns river steamer Astatula, 1880.

Gifts of the authors:

Artillery Through the Ages, Especially types used in America, by Albert C. Manucy, National Park Service.

Excavations on Upper Matecumbe Key, Florida, by John M. Goggin and F. H. Sommer.

Excavations in Southeast Florida, by Gordon R. Willey.

South Florida Treasure Trails, by Mary H. Clarke.

Virginia Imprints. Check List for Petersburg. Virginia State Library.

Essays in Southern History. University of North Carolina Press.

Transcript from register of St. Peters Church, New Smyrna. Baptisms New Smyrna 1766-1777, Baptisms St. Augustine 1777-1784, Marriages St. Augustine 1791-1804.

Battle of Olustee, lithograph, 22" x 28".

Papers of Walter Clark, 1857-1901

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

	<i>Nominated by</i>
Harry Simonhoff, Miami	Alberta Johnson
Dr. & Mrs. James L. Borland, Jacksonville	
	Alberta Johnson
Samuel S. Hendrix, Univ. of Fla.	H. J. Doherty Jr.
Lyall L. Frazier, Univ. of Fla.	M. J. Doherty Jr.
Roderick N. Macdonell, Groveland	Rev. J. F. McKeown
Ralph E. Odum, Tallahassee	Dorothy Dodd
Richard C. Holtzendorf, Univ. of Fla.	E. C. Williamson

Mrs. O. N. Tevander, Palm Beach	Roscoe T. Anthony
Lewis F. Haines, Univ. of Fla.	Samuel Proctor
Warren G. Fouraker, Fla. State Univ.	J. C. Yonge
Francis A. Rhodes, Univ. of Miss.	J. C. Yonge
Dorma Louise Griffis, Univ. of Fla.	J. C. Yonge

SUBSCRIPTION TO THE QUARTERLY

Carnegie Institute of Technology Pittsburgh, Penna.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY

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John W. Griffin is Florida State Archeologist. He has contributed several articles to the QUARTERLY.

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