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THE STRUGGLE FOR CONTROL OF THE FLORIDA
CENTRAL RAILROAD, 1867-1882

by PAUL E. FENLON

A golden age of laissez-faire capitalism began throughout the United States within a few years after Appomattox. This was an age of economic expansion which, led by railroad developments, transformed the United States within a generation, changing this country from an essentially agricultural nation into one of the most powerful industrial nations in the world. This era of transformation is sometimes called the period of the greatest industrial revolution in the history of mankind, but it was also a time when skillful financial manipulators fleeced thousands of investors and when there was widespread corruption of many local, state and federal legislators and officials.¹

This age of economic progress, low business ethics, and corruption was not restricted to any particular section of the United States, though these three attributes were found to varying degrees in the different sections of the country. In the South, where economic progress lagged behind the achievements realized in the North and the West, the recently humbled Confederate States were surrendered to the mercies of Reconstruction government, thus providing a substantial basis for violations of the principles of sound business and government operations and making the establishment of a new, dynamic socio-economic institution almost impossible to achieve.

The Florida Central Railroad was one of the many business

1. Charles A. and Mary R. Beard, *The Rise of American Civilization* (New York: Macmillan Company, 1930), II, 178: "Combinations and their enemies are seen operating in legislatures and courts, drawing lawmakers, governors, and judges into one structural pattern. Bribery, intrigue, and threats are matched by blackmail until the closest observer often fails to discover where honor begins and corruption ends."

Frederick Hicks, *High Finance in the Sixties* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1929), I: "the manipulators, fearless of public opinion, unrestrained and even aided by judges, lawmakers and executives, treated investors' money as their own."

concerns which were caught up in the fast moving flow of confusing events which followed the Civil War. An account of a fifteen year struggle for its control is presented on the following pages.

This account has been prepared largely from facts found in the files of the personal and business papers of Captain Edward M. L'Engle, one of the principal participants in the struggle. It is, therefore, in many ways the story of how Captain L'Engle, a native Southerner, responded to the changed circumstances of business life in Florida as well as being an account of the fifteen year conflict over the Florida Central.

The Railroad

The Florida Central's lines extended from the port of Jacksonville to the inland town of Lake City, where they were joined by the tracks of another railroad, providing a cross-state transportation route through what had been the most rapidly developing section of Florida in the decade before the Civil War. The route had come into existence only a few years before the outbreak of the Civil War. Its main purpose was to provide means of transportation for the cotton grown in the interior sections of north-central Florida. Another reason for its construction was the belief that more people would settle in the area serviced by it, and that, thereby, the value of the land in the area would increase substantially. With an established source of traffic, cotton, and the possibility of increased settlement and prosperity, the cross-state route seemed destined to achieve great financial success. The outcome of the Civil War changed all this. The plantation system, upon which the successful production of cotton seemed to depend, was no longer feasible. The development of the interior portion of Florida became much more problematical.



Courtesy Mrs. Cynthia L'Engle Baker and Richard P. Daniel

Captain L'Engle

Though the outlook for the Florida Central in post-Civil War Florida was uncertain and confusing, it was no more so than was the future which Captain Edward M. L'Engle faced when he returned to his native state after serving for four years in the Confederate army.

L'Engle was a descendant of some of the earliest, most successful, and most influential settlers of Florida.² For five years before the Civil War he had been a successful lawyer in Ocala, Florida, but he returned to Florida to find that the judicial system of his state was controlled by a coalition of Northern carpet-baggers and Southern scalawags. Because he refused to give up or pretend to relinquish his support of the traditions of the Old South, he found it impossible to again take up the flourishing legal practice which he had developed in ante bellum Florida. He, along with others of like attitude, gave serious consideration to the possibility of joining with hundreds of other Southerners who set out to establish new lives for themselves and their families in Europe, South America, or Mexico, but he decided to remain in Florida.

This decision led to his acceptance of a partnership in the law firm of Sanderson and L'Engle in Jacksonville. Colonel John P. Sanderson, the senior partner, was to handle most of the firm's contacts with the Reconstruction courts and L'Engle was to deal mainly with the preparation of legal briefs and most of the more routine affairs of the partnership.

Within a year after L'Engle joined Sanderson, however, he became involved in a series of legal and financial maneuvers which forced him into close contact with financial supporters of the Republican leaders and which occupied most of his time and

2. Unless otherwise noted, all data and quotations contained in the remainder of this article are taken from the *E. M. L'Engle Papers*, Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina.

efforts during the next one and one-half decades. These maneuvers started in 1867, when Captain L'Engle represented George W. Swepson, one of the South's most notorious railroad promoters, in Swepson's first effort to secure control of the Florida Central Railroad. They continued until 1882, when, in accordance with decisions of the United States Supreme Court, the Florida Central was sold at public auction.

Early in the fifteen year period during which L'Engle was associated with the struggle for control of the Florida Central he became convinced that Swepson, Swepson's close associate, Milton S. Littlefield, and several other men who became interested in the struggle did not have in mind the best interests of the railroad and of the communities it served. He then led a series of attempts to impede their operations and to assume control of the railroad.

If the importance of the laissez-faire attitude and of the circumstances of the South during the post-Civil War period are kept in mind, this study of the struggle for the control of the Florida Central Railroad may be appreciated as being representative, in many ways, of the emergence of the economy of the South, and, especially, of the Florida economy, from the chaotic conditions which accompanied the era of Reconstruction.

This conclusion seems particularly true in view of the fact that the personal papers of Captain L'Engle played such an important part in its preparation. L'Engle's reactions to the post-Civil War Florida scene may be defended as being typical of reactions experienced by many other Southerners. He was a product of the South's planter-aristocracy who was forced into trying to adjust to a changed society, a society in which the traditions of the Old South seemed to have no significant influence. L'Engle's political opinions and many of his more basic attitudes toward life were representative of opinions and atti-

tudes which were dominant among his socio-economic group; they clashed sharply with those opinions and attitudes which appeared essential for economic success in post-war Florida and throughout the South.

The First Five Years of the Struggle

Though L'Engle was first involved in the Florida Central struggle in 1867, he did not play an important part in it until after Milton S. Littlefield, with the financial support of George W. Swepson, had persuaded a majority of the members of the Florida Legislature to approve a bill which provided for the use of state credit as backing for one million dollars of Florida Central bonds. This legislative action was taken early in 1870, but, due to some peculiar agreements among some of the principals in the affair, one million dollars of state bonds that were issued and exchanged for one million dollars of Florida Central bonds were put into the hands of Colonel Edward Houstoun, one of the pioneer developers of railroads in Florida, to whom Swepson and Littlefield owed a substantial sum of money. Captain L'Engle and his law partner, Colonel John P. Sanderson, sought successfully to prevent this one million dollars of state bonds from being sold, though the Swepson-Littlefield combination did succeed in selling three million dollars of state bonds which were issued and exchanged for bonds of other railroads in Florida. The three million dollars of state bonds were sold to a Dutch syndicate of investors and speculators.³

During the successful effort to prevent Swepson and Littlefield from selling the one million dollars of state bonds which were exchanged for Florida Central bonds L'Engle sent letters to all of the stockholders of the Florida Central. He wrote:

3. The details of the events leading up to the action of the Florida Legislature, Littlefield's actions at the 1870 session of the Legislature, and the sale of the \$3,000,000 of bonds are described in an article in a recent issue of this *Quarterly*. Paul E. Fenlon, "The Notorious Swepson-Littlefield Fraud," XXXII (April, 1954), 231-261.

A majority - in interest - of the stockholders, for purposes of their own foreign to the interests of other stockholders and disconnected with the maintenance and management of the Road, have put a mortgage of one million dollars (twice the amount of the stock interest) on it as a basis for the issue of bonds. . . . This lien and the proceeds resulting from it will be beyond the reach of non-consenting stockholders. I propose to take such action as will protect their interests. I will encounter strong opposition in money and influence.

The prediction that there would be “strong opposition” proved to be correct, though L’Engle soon received support from a strong ally, Colonel Edward Houstoun, in attempting to force Swepson and Littlefield out of their dominant positions in the affairs of the Florida Central. Indirect support for this attempt came from a special committee of the Florida Legislature when it, early in February 1872, submitted a lengthy report of the Swepson-Littlefield maneuvers of 1869 and 1870. After the reading of this report a resolution to impeach Governor Harrison Reed was adopted, and the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund were called upon to institute legal action to have a receiver appointed to handle the business affairs of the railroads that had been involved in the Swepson-Littlefield fraud. A receiver was appointed, but L’Engle argued that the Florida Central Railroad’s property should be excluded from the receivership, because, “Many of the stockholders of the Florida Central have no combination with or interest in”⁴ the Swepson-Littlefield schemes. The Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund gave unanimous approval to L’Engle’s argument.

In view of these developments, L’Engle agreed with Colonel Houstoun, “that the time is auspicious to form a combination

4. *Minutes of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee: 1904), I, 494.

and rescue our railroad from Littlefield & Co. and the Carpet-bag government of Florida.” In this decision he was joined by the editor of the *Floridian*, who wrote, “Littlefield has run the length of his tether. He is like a man in a bog - every effort he makes sinks him deeper. . . . He is the personification of duplicity, fraud, and falsehood.”⁵

L’Engle filed a complaint against Littlefield in the 4th Circuit Court at Jacksonville, citing Littlefield’s past and present actions as the basis for the appointment of a receiver for the railroad. This complaint was the most completely documented and damaging accusation of Littlefield that had been brought into any court in Florida. Many of L’Engle’s fellow Floridians complimented him for filing the complaint. C. C. Yonge of Pensacola wrote: “Your complaint. . . contains a formidable array of charges against the defendant. If you succeed in compelling him to disgorge, you will have rendered a great service to the country.”

Littlefield was not to be forced so easily “to disgorge.” He, with the support of the still politically powerful Harrison Reed, persuaded the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to sell the Florida Central, though the Trustees postponed the sale until after the state and national election of 1872.

Because of this development, L’Engle shifted his attention from the judicial to the political arena. Throughout the summer of 1872 he devoted almost all of his time to the organization of political rallies and the holding of conferences with Conservative party leaders in various parts of the state. His efforts failed, however, as the Conservative party was defeated in a bitterly contested election.

After this political defeat L’Engle renewed his attack on Littlefield, threatening Littlefield with new, more damaging

5. Tallahassee *Floridian* May 21, 1872.

charges of fraud and corruption. Littlefield then agreed to support L'Engle for the presidency of the Florida Central, and he and L'Engle urged Colonel Houston to join in the move to make L'Engle the president of the company. Houston refused to cooperate in this move, though he agreed to favor the removal of Littlefield from this position and to create the position of "Managing Director" for L'Engle, with the understanding that the presidency would remain vacant for the time being.

In January 1873, nearly six years after L'Engle first became involved in the Swepson-Littlefield manipulations, he became the chief executive, "Managing Director," of the Florida Central Railroad.

Captain L'Engle as Managing Director of the Florida Central

L'Engle set out to prove that the Florida Central could be operated profitably, and could support a new issuance of bonds. Littlefield assured L'Engle, "My great desire has been and is to get an amicable settlement of our matters," and he requested a personal loan of five hundred dollars. L'Engle ignored the request. He was finding it difficult to operate a railroad that was plagued with the results of Littlefield's mismanagement of its business affairs. The precarious financial position of the Florida Central was so well known that the company could not "sell a through ticket, connecting roads being unwilling to pass its passengers through fear, born of experience, that their money will not be forthcoming when called for."⁶

By August of 1873 L'Engle's superintendent was able to report:

The Florida Central is in as good condition as it is possible to get it without some new iron. The roadbed is good. . . . Our credit is better than it has ever been before. . . , and I am sure that the public are better satisfied than ever

6. *Ibid.*, June 10, 1873.

before. All bills are paid promptly and the men get their money on the first day of the month. . . . Since April 15th the railroad has had net earnings of \$10,585.19. As you directed, the entire sum has been invested in improving our facilities.

The railroad seemed well on the way to becoming a sound business enterprise, but there was a constant threat of political intervention. L'Engle was informed in September that Acting Governor Day was being urged to seize the railroad. He instructed the superintendent of the railroad to surrender the assets of the company only if "superior force" was "actually used." He explained, "I want to make a criminal case against trespassers." The rumors proved inaccurate, and L'Engle continued to improve the efficiency of the railroad. His continued success resulted in his election to the position of President of the Florida Central on November 1, 1873.

L'Engle Loses Control of the Florida Central

The newly elected president was reminded, in mid-December of 1873, that politics were more important than good business practices in the control of the railroad. The state of Florida appealed to the United States Supreme Court, in a move designed to take control away from L'Engle, for a ruling on the validity of the four million dollars of state bonds which were exchanged for railroad bonds in 1870. The state contended: "The honor of the State is at stake and requires that the interest and principal of its bonds shall not be repudiated, but shall be paid when due. Do whatever may be done with individuals and their ill-gotten wealth, but save the honor of the State."⁷

These strong words in defense of what had become known as the "Swepson-Littlefield Fraud Bonds" prompted the editor of the *Floridian* to comment, "The Governor seems to cherish

7. *Ibid.*, January 13, 1874.

a strong affection for Littlefield.”⁸

Though none of the state bonds which had been exchanged for Florida Central bonds had been sold, Colonel Houstoun had allowed some of them to be given, in lieu of interest payments, to the purchasers of the other three million dollars of bonds involved in the Swepson-Littlefield fraud. A favorable decision on the state's appeal to the U. S. Supreme Court, therefore, would make the Florida Central financially responsible for part of the one million dollars of bonds.

An even more direct move was soon made by the state to force L'Engle out of control of the railroad. Judge Archibald, of the Duval County Circuit Court, was requested to appoint J. C. Greeley as the receiver of the railroad. This request was granted on April 15, 1874, and L'Engle instructed the superintendent of the Florida Central to ignore Judge Archibald's order. He wrote, "If there is any law left in the land, . . . the road will be returned to the company." This opinion was shared by many of Florida's newspaper editors. One of them wrote: "The seizure by Mr. Greeley and the orders of Judge Archibald are ominous signs of bad times. A prudent and wise judge would have acted differently. The high character of Mr. L'Engle demanded more regard."⁹

The controversy continued, with L'Engle fighting to protect his interests and the interests of the railroad. He explained to his future wife, Miss Frances Wirt of Wirtland, Virginia, in a letter written during the first week of May 1874:

I have been contending [in] . . . an issue worth fighting about, as I have been and am still doing with all the vigor and resources and influence that I can command. I was much relieved and rejoiced by a telegram sent me

8. *Ibid.*

9. *Ibid.*, April 21, 1874.

today from Washington announcing that the Supreme Court of the U. S. had taken charge of the subject matter of the dispute - and had appointed a "receiver" (viz Major Robert Walker of Tallahassee) over the whole line of road . . . This is a heavy blow to my adversaries and to the corrupt State government (for politics are largely mixed up in the fight) at which I know you will rejoice with me.¹⁰

Major Walker assumed full charge of the Florida Central on May 12, 1874, relieving Captain L'Engle of all responsibility for the company. The relief from executive responsibility was welcomed by L'Engle, who took advantage of the Walker appointment to carry out plans for his marriage to Miss Wirt and for a long, leisurely honeymoon trip through most of Europe during the summer and fall of 1874.

L'Engle Regains Control of the Florida Central

In January 1875 Captain L'Engle sent a strongly worded petition to the United States Supreme Court, requesting that Walker be dismissed and that the railroad be returned to the control of the Florida Central's board of directors. L'Engle stressed his belief that Walker had done little to improve the railroad during the eight months of his receivership, and he alleged that the company's own officials would be more conscientious, efficient, and thorough than Walker had been.

While Supreme Court action was awaited L'Engle and Walker tried to appear confident of the outcome of their controversy, though Walker made several efforts to achieve a compromise with L'Engle and L'Engle on May first, confided to his wife, "I am still 'on the ragged edge' of doubt and anxiety about my railroad matters."

10. Letter of E. M. L'Engle to Miss Frances Wirt, in the possession of Miss Gertrude N. L'Engle of Jacksonville, Florida.

On May third a Supreme Court ruling gave L'Engle reason to rejoice. It required: "that an account be taken by the receiver [Walker] . . . and the receiver be discharged unless something is due to him . . . and authority is given to pay said receiver if anything is found due."

Additional legal entanglements were placed in L'Engle's way, but he managed to have one of his close friends appointed the "examiner" to determine the validity of a claim which Major Walker submitted for personal funds which he said he had spent for the maintenance of the Florida Central.

Throughout the summer and fall of 1875 L'Engle remained in control of the railroad, though he realized that he would have to secure political support in order to strengthen his position.

The Election of 1876

As early as February of 1875 L'Engle made his position on the 1876 election clear:

There is much disorganization and contention in the democratic party . . . I will support any democrat who can be elected, and I may renounce all personal views positively. My first, last, and constant effort is and shall be party success and the redemption of the State.¹¹

Scandals in Washington and alleged corruption in Tallahassee were the principal points emphasized by L'Engle and his fellow Conservatives (Democrats) during the intensive campaign of 1876. Samuel Tilden, the Democratic presidential candidate, and George Drew, the Democratic-Conservative candidate for Governor of the state of Florida, were presented as men who would take immediate and drastic actions to halt what was pictured as trends toward corruption in all levels of government.

Strong support was given Tilden throughout all parts of

11. Letter in the possession of Miss Gertrude N. L'Engle.

Florida, and even stronger support was given Drew in one of the most hotly contested elections in the history of the United States. The outcome of the election was in doubt for many weeks after the voters went to the polls on November 7. It was decided finally that Drew was to be the new Governor of Florida and that Rutherford B. Hayes had defeated Tilden in Florida and in the nation.

Five Years of Struggle

Two days before Drew was inaugurated his predecessor, Marcellus Stearns, ordered the Florida Central to be sold on April 2, 1877. Drew postponed the sale, studied the Florida Central situation, and decided that the claims of the Dutch bondholders were clear enough to warrant the sale of the Florida Central for their benefit. The new Governor's decision to force the sale of the railroad was based on his belief that the purchasers of the three million dollars of state bonds of 1870 had acted in good faith in accepting part of the one million dollars of state bonds which had been exchanged for Florida Central bonds. The Dutchmen had accepted these bonds in lieu of interest payments on the bonds they had purchased.

While Governor Drew was considering the Florida Central's affairs Captain L'Engle moved to strengthen his position. He secured from Judge Archibald, of the Florida Circuit Court at Jacksonville, a *mandamus* to compel the stockholders of the Florida Central "to meet and organize the company for the benefit of equitable owners and claimants."¹² L'Engle was elected president of the company immediately after the stockholders' meeting was held on March 19, 1877. Among his fellow directors were: Joseph B. Stewart, the legal representative of the state of North Carolina; Milton S. Littlefield, John C. L'Engle, Captain L'Engle's younger brother; and N. K. Sawyer, the editor of the Jacksonville *Florida Union*.

12. *Floridian*, March 13, 1877.

Joseph B. Stewart was a New York lawyer who first became involved in the Florida railroad disputes in 1876. Several editors of Florida newspapers accused him of being the legal representative of George W. Swepson, rather than the state of North Carolina's lawyer, but these accusations were never substantiated. Mr. Stewart, who often referred to himself as "Big Joe," wrote many long letters to Captain L'Engle, giving advice about how to secure and maintain control of the Florida Central. L'Engle, for the most part, ignored Big Joe's advice.

General Littlefield was no longer a powerful political force, and his personal credit was almost entirely exhausted. He had dunned Captain L'Engle for various amounts of money throughout the preceding two or three years. His requests for "loans" ranged from one for five dollars for "laundry" to one for one hundred dollars for "traveling expenses."

The other members of the new board of directors were friendly with L'Engle and they were held in high esteem by many Floridians. The editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian* welcomed the new board of directors in the March 20, 1877 edition of his newspaper. "It appears [that] the road [is] in the hands of those who will improve its condition and make it a high way of travel creditable to the State."

The first official action of the new board was to authorize the issuance of new bonds ". . . of the par value of \$1,000 each . . . to an amount not exceeding \$590,000, . . . which bonds shall be secured . . . by a first mortgage lien on all the property of the company."¹³ The directors then provided that \$200,000 of the new bonds were to be given to L'Engle, to be used to "terminate litigation and pay the company's indebtedness."¹⁴

Governor Drew, in the meantime, had set May 1, 1877 as

13. *Minutes of Stockholders' Meeting, Florida Central Railroad Company*, United States Supreme Court Records, U. S. 100, 390.

14. *Ibid.*

the date of the public sale of the Florida Central, but on April 26 Thomas Settle, the judge of the U. S. Circuit Court, expressly forbade anyone from seizing or attempting to seize the railroad.¹⁵

The legal struggle for the control of the Florida Central continued throughout the remainder of 1877 and 1878, with Captain L'Engle directing litigation in both the United States Circuit Court for Northern Florida and the Florida Circuit Court at Jacksonville. He managed to retain control of the company by stressing the contention that the Dutch claimants could not give adequate proof that they were *bona fide* holders of state bonds which had been exchanged for Florida Central bonds. He emphasized that there was no conclusive evidence that the Dutch bondholders had received the bonds "in good faith."

While the legal battles raged L'Engle persuaded a supplier of iron rails to extend credit for one thousand tons of new rails for the Florida Central. The new rails, the first bought for the Florida Central since 1866, were laid during the late fall of 1877. L'Engle also arranged for the purchase of two passenger cars and one baggage car, and, in general, did "much to promote travel and increase the comfort of passengers."¹⁶

Captain L'Engle became increasingly confident about his ability to remain in control of the railroad. He reasoned that no fair-minded judge would intercede to remove him. He was very certain, therefore, that the Justices of the United States Supreme Court would rule finally in his favor.

L'Engle confidence was badly shaken on May 31, 1879, when Justice Joseph Bradley, of the U. S. Supreme Court, ruled in the U. S. Circuit Court at Jacksonville that the Florida Central was to be sold to satisfy the claims of the Dutch bondholders. Justice Bradley decided:

15. *Ibid.*, 525.

16. *Floridian*, October 23, 1877.

. . . the [Dutch bondholders] have a first lien upon the [Florida Central] . . . to the amount of all the bonds the State of Florida exchanged for the bonds of the Florida Central Railroad Company . . . held and owned by them . . . and all interest now matured and to mature thereon. . . . The amount of all . . . bonds owned and held . . . is one hundred and ninety-seven thousand dollars, and the amount of interest thereon now matured is one hundred and eighteen thousand five hundred and fifteen dollars and twenty cents.¹⁷

The 100,000 Supersedeas Bond

Captain L'Engle announced immediately that he would appeal Justice Bradley's decision to the United States Supreme Court, and he requested Bradley to set the amount of a *supersedeas* bond. Bradley obliged by setting the amount of the bond at \$100,000. He gave L'Engle two months, until the end of July, to raise the bond.

Captain L'Engle contacted many other railroad men, seeking help in raising the \$100,000 bond, but he received no encouragement. He then financed Littlefield in making a tour of the eastern part of the United States for the purpose of persuading someone "to go on the bond." Littlefield sent L'Engle frequent reports on the progress of his tour and even more frequent requests for "a few more dollars for expenses," but he failed to find sureties for the bond.

Early in July, less than a month before the final date for posting the bond, L'Engle was still without any assurance of being able to raise the bond. In a last, rather desperate effort, he went to New York to see if he could get some person or group to provide the bond. For over two weeks after his arrival in New York L'Engle was unable to make any progress

17. *Opinion and Decree of Mr. Justice Bradley in the Florida Railroad Cases*, U. S. 100, 578-579.

toward his goal, but then, suddenly, the bond was secured. He was notified by L. P. Bayne, a New York investment banker with whom he had done business previously, that a "good bond" could be secured if L'Engle would let him "use" \$75,000 of the Florida Central bonds of 1877. L'Engle grasped this opportunity eagerly, and the *supersedeas* bond was secured very quickly and easily – too quickly and too easily.

The bond was prepared by the law firm of Sullivan and Cromwell, one of the best known and most respected law firms in New York. L'Engle delivered it to Justice Bradley, on July 28, 1879. He then returned to Florida to prepare for the appeal to the United States Supreme Court of the May 31, 1879 decision of Justice Bradley.

Within ten days after L'Engle's return to Florida L. P. Bayne, the investment banker whom L'Engle had let "use" \$75,000 of the Florida Central bonds of 1877, informed him by telegram that the *supersedeas* bond was to be challenged by legal representatives of the Dutch bondholders. L'Engle departed immediately for New York, leaving Joseph B. "Big Joe" Stewart in charge of preparing for the appeal to the U. S. Supreme court.¹⁸

Attorneys Sullivan and Cromwell, Bayne, and L'Engle conducted a quick investigation of the sureties. They concluded that the \$100,000 *supersedeas* bond was probably worthless. L'Engle then requested Justice Bradley for permission to post a substitute bond. Bradley angrily refused this request and advised L'Engle to be prepared to defend both the bond and

18. *Deposition of William F. Quaile*, United States Supreme Court Records, U. S. 103, 220: "I was ordered by E. M. L'Engle . . . to prepare the record on the appeal to this court (U. S. Supreme Court). . . . I did not think there was sufficient time to prepare a full, true, and complete record of the case. . . . I allowed L'Engle to place his own clerks in the office. . . and the record was prepared under the direction of L'Engle and Mr. Joseph B. Stewart." Mr. Quaile was the Deputy United States Clerk for the Northern District of Florida.

L'Engle's actions in connection with procuring it.

Faced with the growing certainty that the *supersedeas* bond could not be defended successfully, Captain L'Engle went to Washington, D. C., where, on September 17, 1879 he retained Samuel F. Phillips, the Solicitor General of the United States, to represent him and the Florida Central. Three days later he and Solicitor General Phillips visited Justice Bradley in Stowe, Vermont, where Bradley was vacationing. They urged Bradley to reconsider his decision about the posting of a substitute *supersedeas* bond, pointing out that if Bradley continued to refuse L'Engle's request, the Florida Central would be sold in Jacksonville on the 25th of September. L'Engle and Phillips stressed that this development would further complicate the already tangled affairs of the railroad company, but Bradley refused to change his decision. Justice Bradley was still very angry about what was now admitted to have been a bogus *supersedeas* bond; he told L'Engle that he wanted to hear no more about the Florida Central railroad.

A detailed report of the sale of the Florida Central was contained in the Jacksonville *Florida Union* of September 26, 1879.

Up to a few minutes before the hour of the sale, the rumor was rife that no sale would be made. At precisely one o'clock. . . notice. . . was given that the sale was subject to the approval of the United States Court.

The first bid was made by C. D. Willard (chief legal Counsel for the Dutch bondholders), fifty thousand dollars; . . . the bidding went on. . . till the sum of \$305,000 was bid by Mr. Willard.

Thus ended this important chapter in the complicated railroad history of the State. The next battle will be over the confirmation of the sale before the United States Court. This will be another battle of giants.

From the best information in our possession, the situation is this: A bond was filed by Captain L'Engle, President of the Company, and accepted by Justice Bradley, which bond was to act as a *supersedeas* and so prevent the sale . . . It seems, however, that the bond was not what it should have been. . . . When Captain L'Engle discovered that some of the names on the bond were not good, he promptly. . . asked for an extension of time. Justices Bradley . . . declined to take any further action.

Under these circumstances the road was sold. The question now to be settled by the Supreme Court next month is whether they will allow President L'Engle to give another bond to sustain his appeal; if so, the sale of the Central will be set aside. If this is refused, the question of the confirmation of the sale will come up before Judge Settle (of the United States Circuit Court at Jacksonville) at the next regular term of the court, in which, of course, all objections, etc. will be argued.

. . . the whole State is interested in having an end put to litigation and the road improved and used for developing our own resources. . . . Captain L'Engle has done a great deal since the Central passed into his hands . . . , and the general public have a guarantee that so long as he remains at the helm this road will not be used to break down the trade of this city. . . . If the road does pass into other hands, the people want to be sure that it will pass under the control of those who will prove as faithful to the interests of this city and State as Captain L'Engle has proved himself to be.

The editor of the Tallahassee *Floridian* commented about the September 25th sale of the Florida Central.

Perhaps had Captain L'Engle succeeded in his application to Justice Bradley for time in which to give another bond, the end might have been different. The sale has yet to be approved, and some interesting developments may be brought out before the Court. Being only a layman, and not understanding the quips and quirks by which cases are often disposed of, we are unable to form an opinion as to what the Court may order when it is in possession of the facts.¹⁹

As the editor of the *Floridian* predicted, "some interesting developments" were brought out before the United States Supreme Court when the matter of the \$100,000 *supersedeas* bond came before it.

On November 17, 1879 the lawyers representing the Dutch bondholders began attempting to establish that Captain L'Engle had given to Justice Bradley a bond which he knew was worthless. They sought to show, furthermore, that Captain L'Engle had taken an active part in persuading he spurious sureties to sign the bond.

Captain L'Engle admitted readily that the bond was worthless, indicating that he did not "desire to enter into any discussion as to the sufficiency of the *supersedeas* bond." On the other hand, he protested angrily against the allegations of bad faith.

The appellants deny, with indignation, the attempt of the appellees, through false witness of abandoned men, to fasten upon them, and their honorable agents, the ignominy of knowingly offering for approval, and procuring to be approved, a fraudulent and worthless *supersedeas* bond.

The legal representatives of the Dutch bondholders established, however, that the four signers of the \$100,000 bond had

19. *Floridian*, September 30, 1879.

only the most tenuous claims to respectability and financial responsibility. It was pointed out that they were known habitues of the Bowery section of New York who had no connections with established business concerns of any kind.²⁰

The Supreme Court decision in the case was that the circumstances did not warrant giving the Florida Central Railroad Company permission to substitute another *supersedeas* bond. In the decision there was also mention made of Captain L'Engle's "negligence" in failing to investigate the sureties on the \$100,000 bond.

Final Settlement of the Florida Central Controversy

For another two years after the Supreme Court decision was given in the *supersedeas* bond case there were delays in settling the future of the Florida Central. Captain L'Engle played an increasingly less important part in the controversy, while Joseph B. Stewart and Milton S. Littlefield intensified their efforts to secure control of the railroad. Because of various legal maneuvers Captain L'Engle remained the president of the company until late in 1881, though he turned his attention to plans for the development of his legal practice in Jacksonville. He invited his nephew, William J. L'Engle, to join him in the practice of law. The invitation was accepted, and Captain L'Engle was well started on a new phase of his career by January, 1882, when the Florida Central passed into the hands of Sir Edward J. Reed, "a well known civil engineer and naval architect, . . . head of great enterprises in England, being the chairman of the Milford Dry Docks, the greatest work of the kind in the world."²¹

Within a few years after the settlement of the long controversy over the Florida Central two of the most important figures in

20. U. S. 103, 235-250.

21. *Floridian*, November 15, 1881.

the economic history of Florida pushed forward their plans for the development of much of the central and southern portions of the state. Henry B. Plant, an experienced railroad man, and Henry M. Flagler, a retired vice-president of the Standard Oil Company, opened up vast stretches of territory and brought a new era of land speculation and economic development to Florida. Railroad development, in both cases, led the way to general economic development, as Flagler and Plant built hotels, sold land for agricultural purposes, and established new towns. Miami, in less than a decade, grew from a village to a city which rivalled Jacksonville. Orlando, Sanford, DeLand, and other communities in Central Florida became important trading centers. Tampa became a major port, which, in 1898, was the center for the embarkation of United States troops sent to Cuba.

Captain L'Engle's role in the long struggle for the Florida Central was almost forgotten, and the story of the Florida Central became buried in half-remembered columns of newspapers, in the yellowing pages of court records, and among the hundreds of items in the personal files of Captain L'Engle.

L'Engle failed in his effort to win and keep control of the railroad, but his activities prevented the Florida Central from becoming one of the many railroads in the United States that were used by railroad promoters in the fantastic post-Civil War era and then left to fall into disuse and physical decay.

L'Engle's defeat in the struggle, furthermore, did not result in his failure to adjust to the post-war scene. By the time of his death in 1890 he was able to leave substantial amounts of personal property and real estate, located in both Florida and Tennessee.²² He was a prominent and outstandingly successful lawyer, real estate speculator, and bank official, serving for a

22. *Last Will and Testament of Edward M. L'Engle*, County Judge's Court, Duval County, Florida.

few years before his death as president of a bank which he founded with his brothers Henry and John.

This account of Captain L'Engle and the Florida Central railroad is, in many respects, illustrative of how Florida and many Floridians reacted to and survived the political, economic and social conditions of the period that preceded the Plant-Flagler era.



THE RAILROADS AND THE PUBLIC LANDS
OF FLORIDA, 1879-1905
by J. E. DOVELL

Opportunities for profitable economic enterprise in Florida, capitalizing on the resources of the mild climate and millions of acres of unsettled land, had intrigued Northern investors long before the Civil War when Yankee visitors built the state's first tourist industry.¹ During the war, Northern investors moved into the federally occupied areas and planned continued and accelerated economic invasion of Florida. In the years of Reconstruction the state was "full of northern men looking for a proposition" for profitable investment.² The visitation of Northerners increased from 1870 to 1890 as the United States enjoyed the new industrial expansion resulting from the profits of the war and ever mounting sums of surplus capital were made available for investment. The wilderness of the Florida peninsula attracted uncounted thousands who sought to take advantage of the opportunities of the southernmost frontier.

The greatest drawback to the development, however, remained in the lack of adequate transportation facilities. In the post-bellum years the only readily exploitable resource was located in the millions of acres of the public domain. The Internal Improvement Act of 1855 was the foundation upon which the ante-bellum state government had planned to build railroads, dig canals, and reclaim swamp and overflowed land before the war. Thus, in the post-war period public officials turned to the Improvement Fund for public assistance for private projects. In the interim, however, the public land trust had fallen upon evil days.

1. J. E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (New York, 1952), I, 379-384.
2. *Ibid.*, II, 526 *passim*. See also R. L. Clarke, "Northern Plans for the Economic Invasion of Florida, 1862-1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII (April, 1950), 263-264; G. W. Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida," *ibid.*, XVII (October, 1948), 107-108.

The predicament of the Improvement Fund was a result of the pledging of lands for railroad and canal construction or for the payment of railroad construction bonds. The railroad companies, exempt from taxation, had then issued bonds which were endorsed by the Trustees of the Fund. During the Civil War and Reconstruction the railroads defaulted on bond payments and the carriers reverted to the Improvement Fund. The Trustees sold the roads to promoters, often at twenty per cent of the original value usually payable in bonds, at face value. Many of these bonds had been quietly cornered for as little as twenty cents on the dollar. Land and bond subsidies for railroads, were issued continuously during the years of Reconstruction, although little railroad construction was accomplished.

Interest coupons on the bonds were in default when *one* of the original bondholders of the Florida Railroad instituted a suit and the Improvement Fund was placed in receivership. The Trustees continued to sell parcels of land through the Receiver, but these sales did not suffice to keep the debt from increasing and the Fund was being depleted by compound interest and legal expenses.³

The State officials made numerous attempts to sell enough of the lands to redeem the state's equity, but insolvency seemed the inevitable doom of the entire Fund. When William D. Bloxham became governor in 1881, 14,000,000 acres of Improvement Fund lands were encumbered with a debt of \$1,000,000 which bore an interest of \$70,000 a year. Meanwhile, the creditors proposed to the Federal Court administering the receivership that they either take over the lands or force the sale of the lands for settlement.

3. *Governor's Message*, January 2, 1833; Helen R. Sharp, "Samuel A. Swann and the Development of Florida, 1855-1900," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (October, 1941), 187-193; J. E. Dovell, "The Everglades Before Reclamation," *ibid.*, XXVI (July, 1947), 1-43.

The Disston Drainage Contract

Among the Northerners who visited Florida after the war was Hamilton Disston, heir to a prosperous Pennsylvania saw-making industry. Disston, an avid sports fisherman, had come south in 1877 and was no doubt apprised of the opportunities for investment and the sad affairs of the Improvement Fund by his friend General Henry S. Sanford. The developer of the town of Sanford may have interested the Philadelphian in Florida as a field for enterprise, for in February, 1881, Disston and several associates drew up articles of agreement with the Improvement Trustees to drain and reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands south of Township 23 East and east of Peace Creek in return for half the acreage involved. When the promoters found that the court decree would prevent the conveyance of lands under the contract, Bloxham induced Disston to purchase outright 4,000,000 acres of land for a million dollars.⁴ By the Disston sale, of May, 1881, the state improvement officials were able to pay off the debts and to assume an independent position with regard to further land disposition. The same sale allowed the Disston associates to proceed with the drainage contract in the Kissimmee-Okeechobee-Everglades watershed.

The Disston associates placed the advertising and sale of their lands in several companies. One of the companies accepted the drainage contract and assembled dredges at Ft. Myers and Kissimmee to work in the Caloosahatchee and Kissimmee River valleys. While most of the drainage efforts were devoted to the Kissimmee-St. Cloud area, where extensive drainage works and agricultural production were undertaken, enough canals were excavated to provide river boat navigation from Kissimmee on Lake Tohopekaliga to Lake Okeechobee and Ft. Myers. By 1883 four steamboats were operating from Kissimmee when President Chester A. Arthur made a fishing trip down the Kissimmee River,

4. Internal Improvement Fund *Minutes*, II, 433 *passim*.

where the *New York Tribune* of April 10th reported the Chief Executive "had reached the end of civilization." Shortly thereafter, a dozen steamboats were operating on the lakes and rivers of central and south Florida, some of them making scheduled thirty-six hour runs from Kissimmee to Ft. Myers.⁵

In the area around the Tohopekaliga lakes at the headwaters of the Kissimmee River the Disston interests sponsored the introduction and production of various crops on the drained land. Sugar cane plantings were made on the prairie between the two lakes, beginning with twenty acres in 1885. By 1887, the sugar plantation, named St. Cloud, had grown to a hundred acres. The harvest of that year averaged thirty-five tons of cane per acre with a sugar extraction of eight percent, or almost 5,000 pounds of granulated sugar for each acre of cane, a record not surpassed in the United States at the time.⁶ When Disston found the sugar yield satisfactory a separate corporation was organized to take advantage of the federal two cent per pound sugar bounty of 1890.

"The business was handled by promoters inexperienced in cane or other agricultural pursuits, and when the high bounty was taken off sugar the Disston Company went into bankruptcy with hundreds of other sugar companies in the cane and beet fields of the country."⁷

In order to secure accurate information on sugar cane growth in the soils of the reclaimed lands Disston persuaded the United States Department of Agriculture to establish an experiment station near St. Cloud, where in 1891 over thirty varieties of cane had been introduced from the East and West Indies and

5. J. E. Dovell, "Development of Commercial Transportation in Florida," *Economic Leaflets* (Gainesville, Florida), X (September, 1951), 2.

6. R. E. Rose, *The Disston Sugar Plantation – Its Success and Failure* (Tallahassee, 1912); C. Lyman Spencer, *The Sugar Situation* (Jacksonville, 1918), 88.

7. Spencer, *op. cit.*, 88.

the nation at large. In 1891, Dr. Harvey W. Wiley, in charge of the St. Cloud experiment plots, reported on the prospects of these and other similar lands in Florida. Wiley's observations were made in the Kissimmee Valley, around Lake Okeechobee, and in the Caloosahatchee Valley. Along the Kissimmee River he noted thick deposits of muck soils on a level with the water line which suggested artificial drainage through levees and pumps, similar to the installations on the plantations on the Mississippi below New Orleans.⁸ On the southern border of Lake Okeechobee, Wiley observed what he called the largest body of muck lands in the world and proposed two methods for their drainage: a canal 300 feet wide and 12 feet deep from the lake to the Atlantic Ocean or recovery of portions progressively through the construction of levees and canals.

As for gravity drainage of the Okeechobee lands, Wiley wrote "there is abundant natural fall to carry off the whole of the water, provided a canal of sufficient size can be constructed." He noted that these muck lands were sixteen feet deep, underlined with limestone of a high phosphoric content. As head of the Chemistry Bureau of the Department of Agriculture, his observations that the muck soils were wholly organic in composition and markedly deficient in mineral constituents were perhaps the first scientific notes of these most important characteristics of this class of south Florida lands. Even more significant for the future were this agricultural chemist's report that the drained muck lands under cultivation in the St. Cloud area for eight years had suffered a subsidence of several inches and his conclusion that "if the organic matter which these muck soils contain should decay there would of course, be a marked depression."⁹ In regard to climatic factors, he viewed the ad-

8. Harvey W. Wiley, "The Muck Lands of the Florida Peninsula," *Report of the Secretary of Agriculture*, 1891, *House Executive Documents* 1, part 6, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 163-171.

9. *Ibid.*, 167.

vantages of seasonal rains from May to October, and a dry season from October to June as particularly desirable for the growing and harvesting of sugar cane and rice. The disadvantages of dry winter and spring seasons could be overcome through installations of "artificial irrigation."

Wiley found several thousand acres of overflowed lands freed of water by the Disston drainage operations. Of these, 2,000 acres were in sugar cane, 5,000 acres in rice, and many acres in commercial vegetable gardens. His optimistic, yet largely prophetic conclusions, were that: "In no instance has cane been known to freeze in the Florida peninsula, during the period over which these observations extend. . . . It may be said, then, with confidence that in the region of Okeechobee Lake the lands which may be recovered for sugar making purposes have all the advantages of the climate of Cuba." He concluded: "There is practically no other body of land in the world which presents such remarkable possibilities of development as the muck lands bordering the southern shores of Lake Okeechobee. With a depth of soil averaging, perhaps eight feet, and an extent of nearly half a million acres, with surface almost level, it affords promise of development which reaches beyond the limits of prophecy."¹⁰

The Disston drainage venture was largely unsuccessful as the canals were too small to handle flood waters in the rainy seasons. In 1882 an agent for the Improvement Trustees cited the need for canals from Lake Okeechobee to the Caloosahatchee, St. Lucie, New, and Hillsboro rivers to effectuate the drainage plan. The Disston company continued some drainage operations until 1894 when the Trustees decided the provisions of the contract had been fulfilled.¹¹

10. *Ibid.*, 168-170.

11. I.I.F. *Minutes*, IV, 260-261. For contemporary observations of the operations, see: "Across South Central Florida in 1882: Reprint from New Orleans *Times-Democrat*," Tequesta, X (1950), 49-88 and *ibid.*, XI (1951), 63-92.

A committee of the Florida legislature, in 1885, reported: "We feel assured that the problem is capable of solution with an expenditure of money, time, and labor not disproportionate to the results. . . . The reduction of the waters is simply a question of sufficient capacity in the canals which may be dug for their relief." Another legislative committee, in 1909, concluded that the work performed by the Disston company should have been continued, but that the Trustees' transfer of 1,652,711 acres, finally deeded to the Disston drainage company, was too great a price to pay for demonstrating the feasibility of draining the state's wet lands in central and southern Florida."¹²

The long range value of the Disston works, however, cannot be overestimated as a step in the future development of central and southern Florida. Had the creditors of the Improvement Fund forced a liquidation in 1881 the effects would have been disastrous in many respects. The Disston efforts proved that the wet lands could be drained, but that drainage works required maintenance to remain beneficial. The records of the agricultural productions at St. Cloud, especially in sugar, were not lost to other developers who followed Disston.

Years of Indecision

The value of Governor William D. Bloxham's "disencumberment" of the public domain under the control of the Internal Improvement Fund through the Disston sale remains debatable. That the Disston sale assisted in opening an era of prosperity for Florida is beyond doubt, and had the sale not been made the liquidation of the Fund at the hands of the creditors would have been likely. The availability of the lands for bestowal to land-grant railroads, canals, other corporations, and state land

12. *Senate Document 89, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 23; Report of the Commission of the 1907 Legislature to Investigate the Internal Improvement Fund* (Tallahassee, 1909), 290.

selection agents certainly furnished one of the major post-bellum impulses for the attraction of Northern capital and the subsequent development of the entire state.

When Bloxham entered the governor's office in 1881 Florida had received patents to 14,800,000 acres of swamp and overflowed land of which 1,700,000 acres had been disposed of through 1880, including the lands alienated during the Reconstruction period.¹³ Under the 1850 federal swamp and overflowed land grant act the obligation had rested on the state of Florida to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands. Prior to Bloxham's administration the Trustees of the Improvement Fund, by their interpretation of the 1855 law, had refused to recognize legislative grants to private companies which included more than the alternate sections of land on each side of a properly incorporated railroad or canal.¹⁴ When the 1879 legislature enacted several laws granting lands beyond the six mile limit, without regard to the liabilities, obligations, or trusts of the Fund, Governor George F. Drew vetoed the bills. The legislature, thereafter, circumvented the executive veto by making subsequent land grants "subject to the trust created in the Act of January 6, 1885."¹⁵ While this legislative artifice followed the spirit of the 1850 act of Congress in making the land grant, there were no practical results since further state interest in reclamation of the wet lands was negligible before 1900.

In the aftermath of the chaos of Civil War and Reconstruction the demand for railroad construction was greater than ever. With the departure of the Republican Carpetbaggers and the assumption of the "Conservative Bourbon Democracy" leadership, the legislature "grabbed the only available means of support – *the swamp and overflowed lands* – and handed them over

13. *Message of the Governor*, 1883.

14. *1907 Commission Report*, 296.

15. Chapter 3167, *Laws of Florida*, 1879; Chapter 3226, *Laws of Florida*, 1881.

in lavish fashion to *railroad* companies which, generally speaking, exacted an usurious rate of interest for the help they rendered in putting the *northern and western* portions of the state back on their feet.¹⁶ After 1879 the lands granted to the state under the 1850 act were rapidly pledged to corporate interests for the ultimate benefit of the state at the expense of and despite the obligation to reclaim the swamp and overflowed lands.¹⁷

The redemption of the Internal Improvement Fund paved the way for Florida's boom era of railroad building through land bonuses. In 1880-1882, Bloxham and the other Trustees disposed of 4,500,000 acres, or more than twice the number delivered in the three decades after 1850. By the end of Bloxham's first term the patented lands totalled almost 15,700,000 acres. In 1883-1884, the Bloxham group deeded over three million acres to railroads, four million acres on the Disston purchase, almost two million acres on the Disston drainage contract for a total of roughly 8,250,000 acres. To 1885, over 10,300,000 acres of public lands had been alienated with a balance of some 5,400,000 remaining.¹⁸

From the first administration of Bloxham in 1881, through his second administration in 1900, the Trustees honored the land grants of the legislature and executed deeds to the grantees. From 1879 to 1899, ninety-two acts were passed by the legislature granting lands to corporations which would have required *more than three million acres of land over and above the lands patented to the state by 1907 to have satisfied the grants in full.*¹⁹ By 1901, railroad companies had received 8,725,000 acres; the Disston and other canal companies, 2,780,000 acres; and sales and

16. D. Graham Copeland, *Policy: A Report to the Board of Commissioners of the Everglades Drainage District* (Fort Myers, Florida) 1930, 25.

17. William S. Jennings, "Florida's Public Land," *Legislative Bluebook*, 1917 (Tallahassee, 1917), 48-49.

18. *Report of the Commissioner of Lands and Immigration, 1883-1884* (Tallahassee, 1884), 23-25.

19. *1807 Commission Report*, 341.

other transactions completed the disposal of the remaining acres out of a total of 24,000,000 acres of land conveyed by the United States to Florida before 1900.²⁰ The proportions of the railroad boom were such that 564 railroad companies were chartered or incorporated in the state. Of these, 251 were actually built and 154 were still in operation in 1939, though most of the railroads were consolidated, through the years, into four major systems. From 1854 to 1936, land grants of 9,000,000 acres were made to the railroads by Florida, with additional grants of 2,220,000 acres being made separately by the United States. Within twenty years after Bloxham's first term there were 3,500 miles of railroad in the state.²¹

As early as 1885 the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund issued certificates, in lieu of grants, to various railroads for lands embraced in legislative acts. Twelve years later when Bloxham returned as governor in 1897 the only appreciable amount of land left in the Fund was located south and east of Lake Okeechobee. But the title to those lands was in doubt; and further, several railroad companies held certificates, in the gross, to more than encompass the whole Everglades area. After 1879, the legislature had granted, and the Trustees had honored, grants of land to corporations as high as 20,000 acres per mile of railroad. By Bloxham's second term the resources of the Improvement Fund, though their peculiar administration, were once again in a stalemate of claims, litigation, and bankruptcy duplicating the status of the Fund when the state was returned to the Bourbon Democrats by the Carpetbaggers in 1876.²²

The Disston land sale and the inception of drainage projects in the Kissimmee-Okeechobee region publicized an unknown

20. Jennings, "Florida's Public Lands," *loc. cit.*, 53-54.

21. Ralph G. Hill and James H. Pledger, *The Railroads of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1939).

22. I.I.F. *Minutes*, IV, 202; *Report of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund*, July 28, 1904, *Senate Journal*, 1905, 536-561.

section and generated a curiosity which promoted another surge of travelers and explorers into central and south Florida. Under the sponsorship of the New Orleans *Times-Democrat*, a correspondent made a water trip from Kissimmee, through Lake Okeechobee and the Caloosahatchee River, to Ft. Myers in 1882. The trip was fully reported in the New Orleans newspaper which editorialized that: "It would result in material advantages to the country by making known a rich and promising section, hitherto closed to settlement."²³ The New Orleans paper sponsored a second trip in 1883 from Lake Okeechobee through the Everglades to tidewater, on the south, at Shark River. The correspondent reported, after a twenty-six day journey, that the area through which the party traveled would remain a vast and useless marsh forever.

The development of the lands along both east and west coasts brought the central area of the interior into focus and interest in the wet lands naturally followed. A railroad had reached Tampa by 1884 and extensions were made down the west coast soon thereafter. By 1888 a railroad extended to Daytona on the east coast and within a few years was extended to the Palm Beaches and Miami. The desirability of a cross-state connection was discussed, along with the potential development of vegetable lands, at a meeting of Henry B. Plant of the South Florida Railroad and Henry M. Flagler of the Florida East Coast Railroad in Tampa in February, 1892. James E. Ingraham, president of the South Florida road, later reported that Plant was leading the discussion "over a map which spread on the table, and he said to me, 'Mr. Ingraham, could we build a line from Fort Myers to Miami?'"²⁴ The upshot of the meeting was an expedition, under Ingraham's command, to run a line of levels across

23. "Across South Central Florida in 1882," *loc. cit.*, 53.

24. *Fort Lauderdale Tropical Sun*, January 1, 1922.

the Everglades. Leaving the western edge of the Everglades at Ft. Shackelford on March 21, 1892, the party reached Miami on April 7, but only after a harrowing and difficult passage through the rank vegetation and boggy terrain which was encountered.²⁵ While Ingraham's report did not encourage either Plant or Flagler in the proposition of a cross-state railroad this latter-day explorer found there was nothing "to prevent the water of the lake from flowing into the Ocean and leaving the land drained, if vents could be made in the long ledge of rock" on the eastern side of the Everglades.²⁶

Through these years the Trustees of the Improvement Fund received many proposals from individuals to enter and drain the wet lands of central and south Florida. Beyond receiving the proposals little was accomplished because of the belief, later cited by a commission of the legislature, which existed "in the minds of the Trustees. . . that the Fund belonged to the railroads."²⁷ On May 9, 1892, James E. Ingraham, president of the South Florida Railroad and leader of the expedition which had completed a passage across the Everglades a month earlier, appeared before the Trustees and presented a proposition "to drain the Everglades."²⁸ The Trustees notified railroad companies whose land grants had been earned but not fulfilled to attend a meeting on the following June 10 to show cause why contracts proposing to drain South Florida wet lands should not be consummated.

At the June meeting Ingraham presented propositions "to drain the Everglades," but representatives of six railroads protested the sale or pledge of any state lands until the land grant

25. Watt P. Marchman, editor, "The Ingraham Everglades Exploring Expedition, 1892," *Tequesta XVII* (1947), 3-43.

26. Everglades of Florida, *Senate Document*, 89, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 107.

27. *1907 Commission Report*, 292. For propositions relative to drainage, see I.I.F. *Minutes*, IV, 42, *passim*.

28. I.I.F. *Minutes*, IV, 198.

certificates held by their companies were satisfied. The Trustees "decided that in view of the fact that there was hardly a sufficient quantity of lands patented or to be patented to the state to satisfy the land grants to railroad companies earned but not yet satisfied, that the Board could not accept any of the propositions to drain or purchase any of the unpatented state lands."²⁹

The Flagler Drainage Contract

A short time after James E. Ingraham appeared before the Improvement Trustees with a proposal to drain the Everglades in 1892 he left the services of the Henry B. Plant enterprise. Ingraham then entered the employ of Henry M. Flagler as general agent, later becoming land commissioner and a vice president, of the Florida East Coast Railway. Though the project of draining the Everglades had attracted the attention of Plant, the railroad magnate was by no means sure that the scheme was feasible.³⁰ However, Ingraham's report of the possibilities of the lower east coast, made in connection with the 1892 Everglades expedition, intrigued Flagler and partly persuaded the developer to continue the railroad south of Daytona Beach.

The construction of the Florida East Coast Railroad was in no small part assisted by land grants from the state. The Flagler System then sponsored the Model Land Company, the Perrine Grant Land Company, the Chuluota Land Company, and the Okeechobee Company as agents in the promotion and sale of land acquired by the railroad. In order to attract purchasers and to develop sources of freight the Flagler agencies established industrial departments and employed agricultural representatives

29. *Ibid.*, 202. In May, 1893, Francis A. Hendry of Ft. Myers, a pioneer businessman and legislator, wrote the Trustees on behalf of several citizens of Lee County who wished to enter and cultivate a tract of unsurveyed land, at Ritta River, bordering Lake Okeechobee to raise winter vegetables, "If you will kindly grant this request it will doubtless prove of great advantage in the way of showing the great value of those waste lands, and prove to be of great interest to the State." *Ibid.*, 239-240.

30. *Senate Document* 89, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 107.

to assist their clients. With the opening of the railroad to Palm Beach and Dade counties rapid transportation for perishable fruit and vegetables was available and the Flagler interests quickly encouraged the cultivation of southeast Florida garden produce for the winter markets in the North and East.

After 1894 the East Coast Railroad devoted funds and efforts "toward opening and enlarging the natural streams for the purpose of lowering the water of the arms of the Glades during the winter season, in order to facilitate the growing of winter vegetables. This drainage also permitted some fruit growers owning small detached tracts of Glade land to so drain them that trees were successfully grown."³¹ James E. Ingraham wrote that "experiment proved that this work. . . was merely a matter of a great deal of digging. Henry M. Flagler took up the project, and it is being carried out by his lieutenants. We are not only making artificial outlets through the rock, but are also, by ditching and dredging, turning large bodies of water into rivers and creeks which flow to the ocean. The work has progressed far enough to enable me to predict confidently the opening in Florida, within a very few years, of a great tract of land of almost unprecedented fertility."³²

In February, 1898, Rufus E. Rose, representing James E. Ingraham, J. R. Parrott, and other officials of the East Coast Railway, sought a drainage contract for the development and sale of wet lands south of Lake Okeechobee. The Improvement Trustees agreed to deliver 20,000 acres of land for each 200,000 cubic yards of excavation for drainage purposes plus a cash settlement of \$5,000.³³ On June 29, 1898, the Trustees signed a contract with Rose, Ingraham, Parrott and others on this basis; in early October the Trustees agreed to the transfer of the

31. *Ibid.*, 95.

32. *Ibid.*, 107.

33. I.I.F. *Minutes*, IV, 432.

contract to the Florida East Coast Drainage and Sugar Company, a corporation that was a subsidiary of the Flagler-held Florida East Coast Railway.³⁴

By the end of the year, Rufus E. Rose secretary and superintendent of the Florida East Coast Drainage and Sugar Company, sent a copy of the proposed system for reclamation to the Trustees at Tallahassee. After running survey lines from Miami, Biscayne, and Modelo, Rose reported a seven foot fall from the head of the Miami River to tidewater, and a gradient of four inches per mile on the open Glades to their eastern edge. "From a practical standpoint. . . the fall is ample to drain perfectly, a territory of not less than thirty miles broad, west of the headwaters of the streams, *always provided a sufficient number of canals, of a total cross section, equal to the aggregate cross section of the stream flowing out of this territory be provided.* If this territory be diked on its northern and western boundaries the enclosed area will be more quickly drained, and the water level maintained lower than if the 'spill' from Lake Okeechobee be allowed to pass through the interior drainage canals."³⁵ Rose stated that there was no necessity nor advisability to drain the entire area, but by enclosing portions with dikes and canals in accordance with the progress of the work and the demand for land, "the whole can be eventually be put into shape for agriculture."

The Flagler drainage contract had stipulated commencement of operations within a year, but in 1900 the company asked for a two year extension and the Trustees granted the request.³⁶ In 1902 the company again asked for an extension of the contract as "negotiations are now pending by which this Company expects to obtain the necessary funds, amounting to one million

34. *Ibid.*, 437-444, 446-450.

35. *Ibid.*, 456-457.

36. *Ibid.*, V, 31-32.

dollars, for the active prosecution of the work of drainage." The Trustees refused, however, to grant another extension.³⁷ An observer later wrote that Flagler had hoped to get possession of the Everglades, partly as a railroad land grant and partly by purchase, with a company formed for their reclamation; the railroad builder was fortunate that the Trustees blocked the plan, for ensuing events proved that the work was far beyond the reach of private capital.³⁸ Although the drainage plans of the Flagler Company were still-born, a prospectus offering 50,000 shares of stock in denominations of \$100 each was of more than passing interest. The scheme presented by R. E. Rose, to the Trustees in 1898, was "practically the same" that was followed later when the state officials assumed the work of reclamation.³³

In his biennial message to the legislature in 1899, Governor Bloxham called attention to "the great value of the partially submerged lands in the Everglades, the practicability of their drainage, and the steady march of improvement looking to the utilization of those lands."⁴⁰ Bloxham also cited the contract with the East Coast Drainage and Sugar Company and said that there was no doubt that the agreement would redound profitably to Florida. He expressed the view that the region "was capable, with small reclamation and intelligent cultivation, of furnishing the million and a quarter tons of sugar that are annually brought into this country." As for the Flagler Company, reference has been made to the fact that the drainage plans never went much

37. *Ibid.*, 128-129.

38. Frederick W. Dau, *Florida Old and New* (New York, 1934), 297.

39. Statement of Rufus E. Rose before the legislative commission investigation, *1907 Commission Report*, 319-320. The company proposed to drain 800,000 acres in the Glades by removing the rock barriers at the head of the Hillsboro, Cypress, Middle, Little, New, Arch Creek, Snake, and Miami rivers. The impounded waters would then flow to tidewater through 12 canals of 50 foot width and 12 foot depth, supported by numerous lateral canals. The prospectus stated that the work would require 5 dredges for 5 years at an estimated cost of \$845,000. *Prospectus of Florida East Coast Drainage and Sugar Company* (St. Augustine, 1902), II.

40. *Messages and Documents*, 1899, 26.

further from the issuance of a prospectus of the corporation offering the sale of stock.

State Participation: The Work of Jennings

The initiation of the state program to reclaim the wet lands of Florida, and officially assume the obligation of the federal grant of 1850, can be attributed to a variety of motives. References, previously noted, bear witness to the fact that the question was discussed at length in the territorial and statehood years of the nineteenth century. The inability of private capital to overcome the difficulties of drainage and reclamation of the swamp and overflowed lands was demonstrated by the largely unsuccessful ventures of Disston and Flagler. In 1899, when Bloxham referred to "the great value of the partially submerged lands in the Everglades, the practicability of their drainage, and the steady march of improvement looking to the utilization of those lands," the informed knew that drainage and reclamation would be accomplished through resort, finally, to governmental activity.⁴¹

Although Bloxham proudly stated that "no other transaction has been of greater service to the State" than the Disston sale, the deal had hardly been consummated before criticism arose that the Tallahassee Bourbon Democrats had sold out the citizenry to the "damyankee" capitalists. Bloxham and his immediate successors in answer, could point to the hundreds of miles of railroads, the large amount of capital invested in "our limits," the influx of population, and the large amount of property placed on the tax books. But the *Pensacola Commercial* echoed the opposition by noting the danger to the American people inherent in the large land grants to railroads, who, in turn passed the land along to non-resident speculators.⁴² From

41. *Messages and Documents, Florida, 1899*, 26.

42. *Pensacola Commercial*, January 2, 1884. The article observed that "where the ownership of the soil is widely distributed men take the deepest interest in those things which tend towards the public good."

1876 to 1900 the close ties between the “developers” and the Bourbon Democrats were continued through economic subsidy, political control and the maintenance of the *status quo*. Corporations, especially railroad corporations, exercised undue influence and the hand of the vested and propertied interests was evident in public office and enactment.

When the Democratic Party espoused the basic principles of the Populist Party in 1896 and selected William Jennings Bryan as presidential nominee, liberals in the Florida Democratic Party were overjoyed. But when Bloxham, candidate of the party, and seeking his second term as governor, “cleverly skirted the real issues that faced Florida Democracy” and was elected, the liberal leaders began to prepare for the defeat of the Bourbons in 1900.⁴³ Florida’s farmers and merchants were experiencing the economics of high freight rates as well as the monopolistic practices of the land grant corporations; the liberal Democratic leaders proposed that the general welfare be considered along with economic expansion in Florida.

Indications of the trend to a new leadership were completed with the election of William S. Jennings as governor in 1900. A cousin of William Jennings Bryan, the first chief executive of the new century had campaigned on the national party platform of 1896. While Jennings made a good record as an administrator, especially in the field of public finance, his most significant contribution was made in the realm of public lands.⁴⁴

In the rush to grant the swamp and overflowed lands to the corporate interests from 1879 to 1900 there was very little public domain left in the Internal Improvement Fund when Jennings became Chairman of the Trustees in 1901. Millions of acres had passed to the railroads. In lieu of further lands to grant

43. Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, 1950), 145-146.

44. *1907 Commission Report*, 273 *passim*.

the Trustees had issued certificates to be granted when additional lands would be patented to Florida under the federal act of 1850. The only appreciable amounts of lands that might accrue to the Improvement Fund when Jennings became Governor and a Trustee were those south and east of Lake Okeechobee. In 1897, the Swamp Land Bureau of the Interior Department of the United States submitted list number 87 affecting 2,942,000 acres to the Florida Land Office, but revoked the list in May, 1898, "because it was thought to impinge upon the rights and interests of the Seminole Tribes."⁴⁵

In 1901, Jennings found the public land situation of the state to be something of a dilemma. Should the state receive the lands south and east of Lake Okeechobee, the land certificate holders were waiting to take up their claims. Should the title to the lands remain with the United States, there was little opportunity for drainage or reclamation or any other utilization of the lands by the state. The Governor and the other Trustees decided to employ three attorneys to study the powers and duties of the ex officio board under existing statutes and to submit opinions on the questions. The collective opinion of the special counsel formed the basis for a motion adopted in July, 1902, by the Board: "It is the duty of the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund under the act creating them to 'make such arrangements for the drainage of swamp and overflowed lands as in their judgment may be most advantageous to the fund and to the settlement and cultivation of the lands'. . . . In the judgment of the Trustees . . . the drainage, settlement and cultivation of the swamp and overflowed lands remaining undisposed

45. Fritzie P. Manuel, "Land Development in the Everglades," *National Defense Migration Hearings*. 77 Congress, 2 Session (1942), 12869. Bloxham had urged "action by both the General and State Governments, if homes are to be secured for the Seminole Indians remaining in this State." *Message and Documents*, 1899, 26.

... can best be accomplished by a sale of a portion of said lands." ⁴⁶

Shortly after the assertion of this policy the Trustees sold 100,000 acres of the Fund's land in several north Florida counties for \$223,000 and announced that the money would be utilized in discharging obligations first and that the remainder would be applied to the drainage of wet lands. Several railroad companies protested this action and brought suit to recover the lands or the money from the land sales. The railroads challenged the legality of the authority of the Trustees to use the money for any purpose other than the settlement of the claims of the railroads.

In March, 1903, Governor Jennings went to Washington "with a view to perfecting the State's title" to the Everglades area and obtained a new patent for 2,862,280 acres. ⁴⁷

Meanwhile Jennings began to collect data on the feasibility of draining the Everglades in preparation for the 1903 meeting of the legislature. ⁴⁸ In his message of 1903, the Governor presented the proposal for the drainage of the Everglades on the grounds that the wet lands could not be sold while under water and could not be drained until money was available from their sale. He placed the state in the position of the man who undertook to lift himself by his own bootstraps, and, "so far, has been almost as helpless in accomplishing the task." Citing the many reports on the possibilities of drainage, Jennings dwelt at length on the engineering feasibility and potential benefits to be derived from the proposed undertaking. He noted that a reported \$500,000 crop loss, from high water in 1903, which had occurred on the farms along the edge of the Everglades, would justify

46. I.I.F. *Minutes*, V, 118-119.

47. *Message and Documents*, 1903, 69; I.I.F. *Minutes*, V, 172.

48. W. S. Jennings, "Florida's Public Lands," *Legislative Bluebook* (Tallahassee, 1917), 51-52.

reclamation and protection of the small areas then under cultivation. He offered, however, no suggestions for state activity, but recommended "that the Congress of the United States be memorialized for an appropriation of a million dollars to this end."⁴⁹

The stand taken by Jennings and his fellow Trustees was a courageous one in view of the land claims of the railroads of five million acres. Land certificates of almost 700,000 acres, issued by previous Trustees, were unsettled in 1904.⁵⁰ The Governor later wrote that "this was the beginning of the determination of the Trustees to save the public lands, and the establishment of a policy that in the future the public lands should represent value and be paid for."⁵¹ When Jennings left office there was a balance of three million acres of land in the Improvement Fund.

DISPOSITION OF SWAMP AND OVERFLOWED LANDS
 (to August 6, 1904)⁵²

Railroad Companies	8,252,317.69	acres
Canal Companies	2,252,816.96	"
Hamilton Disston	4,000,000.00	"
Dickerson	248,602.98	"
Jackson	113,064.00	"
Other individuals	2,200,130.31	"
Total	17,056,932.74	"
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Patented to State	20,133,837.42	"
Deeded by Trustees	17,056,932.74	"
Balance in Fund	3,076,904.68	"
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Total Land Surface of Florida	35,072,640	acres
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49. *Message*, 1903, 64.

50. *Senate Journal*, 1905, 500-564.

51. Jennings, "Florida's Public Lands," *loc. cit.*, 55.

52. I.I.F. *Minutes*, VII, 532.

In the Jennings administration, 1901-1905, no deeds were made by the Trustees to any of the land grant claimants. The stand of the Trustees was attacked by several grantees and the matter was resolved in the case of the Southern States Land and Timber Company versus the Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund in the federal court at Pensacola. The land companies sought to enjoin the Trustees from the disposition of any lands other than to deed them to the holders of legislative grants. In orders handed down by Judge Charles Swayne, in 1907, the court authorized the Trustees to sell or dispose of the swamp and overflowed lands for purposes of drainage and reclamation. The position of Jennings was sustained; to him must accrue the credit for inaugurating the state's development of the wet lands in central and southern Florida.⁵³ He collected data on the possibilities and through his efforts the tangled web was unwound. Although Jennings' plans could not be effected, they were "merged in the subsequent settlement and plans for drainage followed by subsequent administrations."⁵⁴

"Save and Reclaim the People's Land"

The weakest link in the chain of Jennings' argument that the claims of the Improvement Fund on the swamp and overflowed lands were superior to the claims of the railroad grantees was that the Trustees had no reclamation program to substantiate their claims. Jennings' first step toward the establishment of a state policy for reclamation came with the recommendation in his 1903 message to the legislature that a federal appropriation would provide an excellent foundation for the drainage project. Since Jennings was prohibited from succeeding himself, the cause of reclamation was carried into the governor's race of 1904 by Napoleon Bonaparte Broward.

53. *Ibid.*, 537-538.

54. Everglades of Florida, *Senate Document* 89, 62 Congress, 1 Session, 13.

Born in Duval County in 1857, Broward was descended from a French soldier of the American Revolution who had settled in Spanish Florida. He served as sheriff of Duval County and was a representative in the legislature in 1901. Prior to the Spanish-American War he had engineered several filibustering runs to Cuba and before his campaign for the governorship had engaged in towing and wrecking business in Key West. In 1903 Broward wrote: "I decided to become a candidate and give the people an opportunity to elect a governor who has never allowed himself to be put under obligations to the land corporations of this State, and who will not be hampered as Chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund, in voting against giving away the State's lands, or in adjusting their claims to the money now in the State Treasury."⁵⁵

Broward's decision to seek the gubernatorial nomination in 1904 came, he said, after a futile search for a candidate who would attack corporate and special privileges and support railroad regulation, cleaner elections and "who would publicly pledge himself to deed no more trust lands, and do everything in his power to reclaim the Everglades."⁵⁶ The former sheriff had no political machine; he could not carry Duval County in either of the two primary elections. Evidence indicates, however, that Broward had the full support of Jennings and was heir to the drainage schemes that the governor had worked out.

55. N. B. Broward, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, Candidate for Governor of Florida*, reprint (Miami, 1938), 16; Proctor, *Broward*, 1-177.

56. Daniel A. Simmons, "'The Florida Everglades; How They Happened; What They Are; What They Will Be,'" *The World To-Day*, XVI (May 1909), 535; Proctor, *Broward*, 12.

STATE AID FOR INDIGENT SOLDIERS AND THEIR FAMILIES IN FLORIDA, 1861-65

by WILLIAM FRANK ZORNOW

Historians have long noted the economic weaknesses of the Confederate states as compared with those of the North. From the very beginning of the war the Southern economy seemed to become increasingly stagnant. In whole areas of the Confederacy there was actual privation and an economic decline which often bore no relationship whatsoever to the proximity of the Union army. These economic deficiencies unquestionably were one of the principal reasons for its collapse.

At no point is this economic stagnation more apparent than in the problem of how to care for the families of soldiers.¹ The Southern economy was burdened from the start with this additional question. In each of the states it demanded a solution, and a considerable amount of legislation and organized effort was devoted to this purpose. Although it was a problem of nation-wide magnitude, the Confederate government was inclined to regard it as one entirely in the province of state concern, and at first the states were equally willing to consider it a local matter.

Charles Ramsdell pointed out that when considering how this problem was handled some generalizations were permissible.² At first it was regarded as a local matter, but when it grew too extensive, state intervention became necessary. A second trend was to give first monetary relief to these families, and as the currency system collapsed this was replaced by a system of relief-in-kind. Clothing, food, and other necessities were laboriously distributed. As home-front morale became more demoralized it

1. The general situation among the people of the Confederacy can be conveniently surveyed in Bell Irvin Wiley, *The Plain People of the Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1944).
2. Charles W. Ramsdell, *Behind the Lines in the Southern Confederacy* (Baton Rouge, 1944), 62-68.

became necessary to resort to impressment and requisition in order to obtain the necessary provisions.

A thorough study of the care of the indigent families of soldiers is necessary if we are to acquire a better understanding of the economic problems confronting the Confederacy. Many questions must be answered. How much money was actually available for this purpose, and how many people were receiving aid? How much goods was distributed? What local taxes were levied to supply funds, and how successful were county agents and officials in collecting them? How many persons were diverted from other duties in order to meet the problems of collection and distribution?

In this article an attempt has been made to describe briefly the various methods instituted in Florida for the collection and distribution of goods and money for indigent families of soldiers. It is not a complete study for it does not treat with local efforts to solve the problem. The scope and administration of the system instituted by the state legislature has been examined, and an effort has been made to note similarities and differences between the Florida system and those established elsewhere.

Even before the Florida legislature took cognizance of the problem, several boards of county commissioners had taken it upon themselves to use the unappropriated balances in their county treasuries for relieving these people. The legislature took interest in the problem in December 1861. The first enactment placed the problem squarely in the laps of local officials. It authorized the collection of a special county levy for relief. The law provided that all boards of county commissioners could levy annually a separate tax not to exceed fifty percent on the state tax upon all property in their respective counties then subject to taxation. The fund raised by means of this tax was to be distributed for the relief and support of the indigent families

of any soldier in the county who had been or was in the armed forces of either the state or the Confederacy. The same act legalized all such expenditures from county treasuries made by local officials who had acted upon their own initiative.³

This system of local taxation and distribution continued in operation for approximately one year, but as was true in all the states it eventually proved to be inadequate. Tax collectors were dilatory, evasion was frequent, fraud was notoriously common, several county boards failed or refused to act, and the deterioration of the financial system added to the seriousness of the situation. The legislature eventually acted to correct it.

Under the provisions of a law enacted in December 1862, \$200,000 was appropriated for the relief of disabled soldiers and the indigent families of those then in service. The administration of the law was entrusted to the county officials. The justices of the peace were authorized to prepare lists of persons entitled to such assistance, including also those who had fled from the county because of the enemy but who intended to return later. These lists were then to be forwarded to the judges of the probate court, who in turn were to send them to the state comptroller. The governor was to distribute the appropriation to each county, taking into consideration the number of names on the list and the price of commodities in each community. The comptroller was to issue warrants for the money in favor of the county commissioners (or trustees appointed by the governor if the boards did not act). They would use it to purchase necessary supplies.

So pressing was the need for immediate relief that the new law provided for the advancement of funds in each county to persons designated by the governor. They would be entrusted with its distribution until such time as the justices and commis-

3. *The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of Florida, 11th Session*, c. 1263, 12-13. Cited hereinafter as *Acts*.

sioners could prepare their correct lists. Such sums advanced were to be deducted from those funds allocated to the county by the governor after the lists were prepared. This first appropriation of \$200,000 was to be used to supplement the local collection made by the county commissioners under the act of 1861: the county tax was still to be collected.⁴

One year later an additional appropriation of \$500,000 was made. This act provided for a considerable extension of the list of those eligible to receive state funds. The act of 1862 had specified that the money was to be used for aiding disabled soldiers and their families and the families of men in service who were needy. The later act made assistance available to families of soldiers in service, and to soldiers and their families if the latter had been killed or disabled. Presumably the local agents administering the act of 1862 had been somewhat restrictive in their interpretation of the word "family" and confined aid primarily to the wives, widows, and children of soldiers. The new law included mothers, fathers, brothers, and sisters of all soldiers who were serving or who had died or been disabled while on duty.⁵

Before June 1, 1864, new revised lists were to be forwarded to the comptroller. These were to be prepared by the county commissioners and justices of the peace. The judges of the probate court and the county commissioners were then to prepare a composite list of all needy person in the county as defined in the act. This final county list was then to be sent to the state comptroller. The governor was to arrange a semi-annual distribution of the allotted funds the first as soon as practicable and the second by August 1, 1864. The money allotted each county would depend upon the number of persons

4. *Acts, 12th Session, 1st Session*, c. 1337, 19-22.

5. The law excluded the families of deserters, but those who had fled the county because of the enemy were still to be included if it was their intention to return home later.

on the list and the local prices of commodities. The funds were to be spent by the board of commissioners for clothing, provisions, cards, spinning wheels, and other necessities, or a monetary grant could be made. The county commissioners were further authorized to continue the collection of local taxes under the act of 1861.⁶

In December 1864, the legislature appropriated an additional \$500,000 to be distributed in accordance with the procedure outlined in the act of 1863. To circumvent the fraud which often attended the distribution of this fund, the new law provided that all county officials involved in its distribution were to make quarterly sworn statements to the governor. Because of the increasingly large number of persons requiring assistance and because of the growing difficulty encountered in obtaining supplies, the justices of the peace were also required to supplement their duties of preparing lists by also helping the county commissioners with the actual distribution of goods. They, too, were required to make quarterly sworn reports to the county commissioners. So serious was the need for persons to carry out this act, that it was now made a misdemeanor for any county official who refused or failed to carry out his duties.⁷

In addition to the money appropriated for supplying indigent families of soldiers with food and clothing a joint resolution was adopted on December 8, 1862 appropriating \$20,000 to be used by the governor for the purpose of purchasing cotton and wool cards for distribution gratis among the poor in each county.⁸ The act of December 3, 1863 (c.1420), provided for the purchase of 3,000 cotton and 500 wool cards for distribution among the poor soldiers' families, and an act of December 1864 appro-

6. *Acts, 12th Session, 2nd Session*, c. 1420, 38-41.

7. *Acts, 13th Session, 1st Session*, c. 1461, 30-31.

8. *Acts, 12th Session, 1st Session*, resolution 6, p. 65. This act did not confine distribution only to soldiers' families.

priated \$50,000 for the purchase of 3,000 cards.⁹

Two other efforts were made in Florida to assist these indigent soldiers and their families. An act of 1862, exempted anyone who had served three years as a private from paying the poll tax and his property to the amount of one thousand dollars was exempted from taxation.¹⁰ A joint resolution was adopted the following year urging the Confederate government to exempt from the national tax-in-kind all women on farms whose husbands or sons were in service providing they had no slaves.¹¹

The last attempt to assist the poor families of veterans came in the form of a provision that the board of commissioners in each county was to prepare lists of soldiers' orphans and of the children of disabled soldiers who could not afford an education for them. Schools were to be provided for such children to be paid for by a special levy.¹²

When local collections by the county commissioners had proved unable to yield sufficient revenue to care for the indigent soldiers' families, the state legislature had appropriated a total of \$1,270,000 to supplement this dole. Even this proved insufficient. Dishonesty on the part of officials, fraudulent claims by many families not really in need unquestionably siphoned off much money, but this was not the real trouble. There was just not enough goods to go around. In 1864, the legislature had to report reluctantly that the county agents were unable to purchase enough food and other goods for all the persons in need. Most of the goods, complained the legislators, had been taken as tax-in-kind by agents of the Confederate government.¹³ There was not enough to meet the needs of both national and

9. *Acts, 13th Session, 1st Session*, c. 1454, 26-27.

10. *Acts, 12th Session 1st Session*, c. 1329, 14.

11. *Acts, 12th Session, 2nd Session*, resolution 5, 53.

12. *Acts, 13th Session, 1st Session*, c. 1443, 19-20.

13. *Acts, 13th Session, 1st Session*, resolution 5, 37. The tax in kind is described in John Schwab, *The Confederate States of America* (New York, 1904), 292-93, 298-99, 301-302.

state governments, and the agents of the former took the disproportionate share. After the Confederate agents had collected the tax-in-kind, there was not enough for state use. When more money was appropriated by the legislature, prices soared higher; this merely made the problem more acute. More goods fell into the hands of speculators, and some states were forced ultimately to resort to requisitions and impressments. This was not done in Florida although the situation was critical.

In Florida the legislature attempted by means of supplementary appropriations to aid the indigent families whose care at first was entrusted solely to local means. Throughout the entire war both monetary and grants-in-kind were extended to the people, and the form the grant would take was left entirely to the discretion of the boards of county commissioners. It was only late in the war that a degree of state supervision was exerted over the distribution of the goods, and this was necessary to prevent recurring frauds. Tax exemption for soldiers and the provisions for free education for the children of deceased or needy soldiers were relief devices utilized in Florida which were not in common use in the other states.

MISSION TO THE CREEK NATION IN 1794

Edited by RICHARD K. MURDOCH

So much effort has been directed to the story of the resolving of the post-Revolutionary War problems of the United States and Great Britain that insufficient attention has been paid to equally vexing problems with Spain and her allies, the southern Indians. In some respects this is not strange for even during the 1790's, the attention of the American people was directed toward Great Britain for it was with this nation that the new republic's economic future was most intimately associated. The two decades subsequent to the birth of the new nation saw constant friction along the Florida-Georgia frontier which often erupted locally into violent acts of vandalism, robbery, and even murder. A fair portion of the time of the State Department was taken up in attempts to negotiate officially with the Spanish agents accredited to the United States and unofficially in dealing with various Indian chieftains who were supposedly under the protection of the Spanish government. Naturally these unofficial negotiations were undertaken in Indian territory by official agents of the new republic. It did not require much time for the Indians to realize the advantage of their position as they were wooed first by one side and then by the other. The strange thing is that they did not press this advantage to the greatest possible limit as both governments were willing to go to great extremes to assure friendly relations with as many Indian groups as possible. At the first rumor of the conclusion of an agreement between the Indians and one government, the other would put a mission in the field to attempt to negotiate a second agreement that would nullify the terms of the first. This, after all, was the traditional pattern of frontier diplomacy as practiced for centuries by the colonial powers in the new world.

The United States seemed to have won a great diplomatic

victory by the conclusion of the Treaty of New York in 1790 even though it was necessary to make large concessions to obtain the agreement of McGillivray and his Creek chieftains. However the immediate results of this treaty were a bitter disappointment to the administration of President Washington as few of the anticipated advantages occurred. Hostilities between Georgians and Creeks continued along the Oconee-Altamaha frontier region and their tempo seemed to increase late in 1792 and early in 1793 as more property was stolen and more revenge raids were made by the aggrieved parties. State officials in Augusta were unwilling to assist federal agents in putting the terms of the hated treaty to the test. The handful of federal agents scattered along several hundred miles of wilderness trails were quite incapable of exerting any sort of control over the frontier settlements whose inhabitants had no desire or intention of cooperating with these agents. This attitude rendered the work of negotiating with the Indians almost impossible for no sooner would the agents resolve one problem than another would develop.

Across the undemarcated frontier the governor of East Florida faced approximately the same set of problems although he did have one technical advantage in that the Indians were in general allied in one way or another with his government. American blandishments tended to render this loyalty ephemeral and at times non-existent. Royal agents were just as hard put to resolve these problems of conflicting loyalties as were their counterparts on the Georgia side of the line. To add to the general feeling of uneasiness in St. Augustine the newly appointed governor of East Florida was a rather timid soul filled with apprehension lest every rumor from the frontier region actually represented the forerunner of a hostile move against his province, inspired, so he professed to believe, by firebrands from Paris filled with the new revolutionary zeal. Events transpiring in

Europe were only half-understood in Havana, New Orleans and St. Augustine, and were frequently grossly exaggerated. The governor feared that these zealots of revolution might recruit supporters within the United States, stressing the moral debt owed to France as a result of the 1778 agreements. After recruiting aid, the French agents might then persuade some or even all of the southeastern Indians to forsake their traditional loyalty to Spain and join forces with the assembling Franco-American army. While evidence does indicate that some such efforts were made along the Georgia frontier and in the upper regions of South Carolina, much of what was reported to Spanish officials was either unsupported rumor or, in some cases, pure malicious exaggeration carefully planted to alarm the timid governor. It was to check on these reports that he sent out several agents both official and unofficial to pass through the Indian lands, gathering chieftains together wherever possible for the purpose of consultation. All were to be exhorted to remain loyal to the Spanish Crown.

The Spanish in East Florida had long maintained a system of reporting among the Indians, relying on influential figures, usually half-breeds, to inform St. Augustine, St. Marks or Pensacola of any unusual activities taking place in the southeastern region. In addition the various trading posts of the firm of Pantan and Leslie were obligated by the terms of their royal charter to obtain the latest information from their Indian customers and to forward it through channels to Havana. Certain specifically designated royal Indian agents also made established rounds through the Indian towns. Yet in spite of this network of information gatherers which worked remarkable well considering the receptibility of the Indians to bribes and extravagant promises, the governor of East Florida late in 1793 did not feel satisfied that he was fully conversant with current happenings in the Creek country. He therefore decided to send a special

mission to the Lower Creeks to ascertain what if anything might be the success of the rumored attempts of Franco-American agents to turn the loyalties of these Indians away from Spain. He finally selected John Hambly, a long-time resident of the province, a successful storekeeper, and a man well-versed in Indian ways, as his most trusted lieutenant. He was instructed to make a lengthy journey to the Cusseta towns along the lower Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. He was to meet with at least two Spanish agents already in this area, Pedro Oliver and John Kinnard, the latter a well-known chieftain and leader of the Lower Creeks. Apparently Hambly was given a detailed set of instructions together with several letters or "talks" to be read to the assembled chieftains. The governor ordered the agent to be especially watchful for any signs of activity of the newly appointed American Indian agent, James Seagrove, already considered by the Spanish to be in league with the Franco-American plotters. Among the instructions handed Hambly was one to keep a careful log or diary of his trip. The following document represents Hambly's effort to comply with the governor's order to keep a complete account even to including frequent references to the weather which was mostly bad. The original of this diary written in Spanish by Hambly himself is located in the Archivo General de Indias: Santo Domingo, legajo 2563, in Spain, but for the purposes of this article, a photostatic copy in the Library of Congress, Washington, D. C., was utilized. In translating the text, an attempt has been made to retain the original Spanish spelling of proper names even to the inclusion of inconsistencies in spelling, while in the footnote material, reference is made to the spellings as appearing in Henry Gannett's, *A Guide to the Origin of Place Names in the United States* (Washington: Public Affairs Press, 1947) and in the *Rand McNally Commercial Atlas and Marketing Guide* (86th edition, 1955). It was the author's desire to avoid the controversy that sometimes rages

over the most acceptable spelling of certain southern Indian names.

As a postscript, it might be pointed out that the value of this document lies not so much in its actual content as in the manner in which the mission was carried out. The document does contribute certain expressions of unofficial views of frontier problems. It also shows clearly how carefully Hambly was briefed before he left not to take any steps not agreed to before he left St. Augustine.

*Diary of Don Juan Hambly On His Recent Trip
to the Lands of the Indians*

January 14, I reached Sn Agustin at the order of the governor ¹
1794 where I was detained until the eighteenth.

18. I left Sn Agustin with a "talk" from the governor for the Indian, Juan Kinnard,² one of the chiefs of the Lower Creeks³ and a letter for Don Pedro Oliver.⁴

19. I came to N. S. de la Concepcion ⁵ at ten at night.

20. I was occupied in preparation: for my trip.

21. I set out on foot because there was no horse arranged for the projected trip.

1 . The "governor" of East Florida at the time of Hambly's journey was Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, a rather weak-willed and not too energetic official who became firmly convinced in 1793 that a joint Franco-American expedition against one or both of the Floridas was about to strike out from the upper Oconee country in Georgia. For a more detailed account of this expedition, see Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs* (University of California Press, 1951).

2 . Juan (Jack) Kinnard was a Scotch half-breed who lived in considerable comfort on an extensive plantation near the confluence of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers in the lands of the Lower Creeks among whom he had great influence and by whom he was often called "king" or chief. According to a local Georgia map of 1818, "Kenerd's Place" was located on the north bank of Ketchofoonas Creek (now spelled Kinchafoonee) which flows into the Flint River near present-day Albany in Dougherty County, Georgia. In addition, he was regarded as the mouthpiece of the northern Seminoles. He was considered by the Spanish to be one of their most trusted Indian agents and allies although at times his attitude toward them was offensive and overbearing, especially if he knew that the Spanish were in need of his considerable influence among the Creeks. In the opinion of local American officials Kinnard was the logical successor to Mc-

22. At sunset I reached Lachua.⁶
23. I waited all day for a horse.
24. As yesterday, [I was] detained for [the lack of] a horse.
25. Late in the afternoon I obtained one from the Negro settlement of Payne.⁷
26. I left and reached the old fields of San Francisco.⁸
27. I met Kenhigic⁹ to the west of Santa Fe.¹⁰

Gillivray after the latter's death in 1793. By occupation Kinnard was a farmer and horse trader.

3. Lower Creeks (including the northern Seminoles) was that portion of the Creek Nation residing along the lower reaches of the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers.
4. Pedro Oliver, probably half French, was a faithful Spanish agent among the Lower Creeks. He was a lieutenant in the service of Governor Carondelet of Louisiana and was frequently sent on delicate missions with broad powers to negotiate agreements with Indian chieftains. In 1792 he settled down on the Little Tallassee River among the Creeks.
5. Nuestra Senora de la Concepcion cannot be identified from the available information although it presumably refers to the site of a former mission. Several locations with somewhat similar names are known to have existed in the immediate vicinity of St. Augustine.
6. Lachua or Alachua was a broad area in what is now Alachua County, Florida. The name appears on Romans' map of 1776 on the road from Poppa to San Pedro. The site of King Payne's Negro slave settlement at Prairie was in the Lachua region.
7. Payne (Paine) or King Payne of the Seminoles, the nephew of Cowkeeper and brother of Bowlegs, was an influential Seminole chief regarded by the Spanish as an ally although often suspected of theft of property. He had an extensive plantation in the Alachua plain, populated by many Negro slaves, some stolen from their Georgia masters. Here he raised horses which he frequently sold to the military in St. Augustine. He was killed at Alachua Savanna in 1812 by Georgia troops under the command of Colonel Newman.
8. San Francisco (de Potano) mission was one of the Timuquan missions evacuated by the Spanish in 1706. It was located just to the south of present-day Gainesville and appears on the Mitchell map of 1755 and Romans' map of 1776.
9. Kenhigic (Kinhaizce) remains a mystery although from internal evidence it appears that he may have been an influential figure among the Seminoles. It is possible that the person referred to by Hambly may have been Kinache of the Miccosukee.
10. San Tomas de Santa Fe mission was another of the Timuquan missions evacuated in 1706 and was located near a large Indian village of the same name. Hambly may be referring to the ruins of the mission or to the Santa Fe River nearby. He presumably crossed this river near present-day High Springs, Florida.

28. I took the letters from Don Juan Leslie ¹¹ to his brother since his horse had become exhausted, and I camped at the Sawaney. ¹²

29. I crossed the Sawaney camping in the country sometimes inundated by the San Pedro. ¹³

30. I crossed the Assilley River, ¹⁴ and pitched my tent.

31. I reached the Mickasuckie ¹⁵ with the horse exhausted.

February 1. I bought another horse, sent the letters to Don Roberto Leslie ¹⁶ and gave him an account of my intended expedition with a request both to him and to the commander of the Fort of San Marcos ¹⁷ that the two of them employ their powers with Kenhigic and the other neighboring chiefs in order that they might offer all the help that they can to the Plaza of San Agustin.

2. It rained incessantly all the day.

3. I set out for Mickasuckie.

4. I crossed the Okeelockaneys, ¹⁸ both big and little.

5. I reached the Flint River ¹⁹ in the afternoon.

11. Juan (John) Leslie, a long time resident of East Florida, was a partner of William Panton, in the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company, Indian traders and Spanish agents. For further information on both Leslie and Panton, see Marie Taylor Greenslade, "William Panton," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, XIV, 107-129.

12. Sawaney or Suwanee River.

13. San Pedro presumably refers to a river of that name, now called the Econfina, in Taylor County, Florida.

14. Assilley or Aucilla River.

15. Mickasuckie may refer to Lake Miccosukee in Leon and Jefferson counties, Florida, or more likely to an Indian village to the north of this lake for on the return leg of his journey, Hambly refers to "staying in Mickasuckie."

16. Roberto (Robert) Leslie was a younger brother of John Leslie who took an active part in his brother's trading business. He frequently went on trips to visit with the Indians to foster better trade relations.

17. Fort of San Marcos (de Apalache) was a small Spanish garrison post near the mouth of the St. Marks River in present-day Wakulla County, Florida. It was maintained as a means of spying on and controlling the trade going north into the Creek lands. The fort had been besieged for several days by William Augustus Bowles and his renegade Indian followers about a year before Hambly's journey. There was a trading post owned by Panton and Leslie in the immediate vicinity.

18. Okeelockaneys or Ochlockonee River.

19. Flint River was the main trading route into the Creek lands.

6. I crossed the river and reached the home of Kinnard.
7. I explained the "talk" of the governor to the Cuseta²⁰ King Kinnard and the others, and they decided to send one of his [Kinnard's] men to Don Diego Seagrove²¹ with a letter of which I annex a copy as faithful as my memory enables me to recall.
8. I took leave of Kinnard without anything new and camped.
9. I crossed the Chattahottchey²² right at the Hitchities²³ and put my camp in order.
10. I lost the road but an Indian pointed it out to me.
11. I followed and overtook Ricardo Burford²⁴ of the Altamaha²⁵ (we have adjoining plantations) and then Diego Aikein²⁶ of the Tuckabatchies²⁷ who joined up with us.
12. Very early in the morning, King Manso²⁸ of the

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20. Cuseta (Cussita) was one of the small groups of the Lower Creeks living in the region between the Flint and Chattahoochee rivers.
 21. Diego (James) Seagrove was the Superintendent of Indian Affairs, Southern Department, from 1790 to 1796. He made his headquarters with his brother who had a trading post at Trader's Hill on the St. Marys River in present-day Charlton County, Georgia, a short distance from the hamlet of Coleraine. He also held the post of civil magistrate in Patrickston, present-day St. Patrick. Seagrove was regarded by the Spanish as the chief thorn in their side in Indian matters as he kept up constant communication with the Creeks in an effort to swing them away from their normal Spanish ties. He was not too well liked in Georgia because of his ties with the federal government and his insistence on observing the obnoxious terms of the Treaty of New York.
 22. Chattahottchey or Chattahoochee River.
 23. Hitchities refers to Hitchities or Hachetes, a Lower Creek group and their village on the lower reaches of the Chattahoochee River.
 24. Ricardo (Richard) Burford presumably was one of the small number of settlers who remained in East Florida after the retrocession of 1783.
 25. Altamaha River represented the southwestern boundary of white settlement in southern Georgia at the time of Hambly's journey.
 26. Diego Aikin (James Aiken) was a plantation owner possessing property along the St. Johns River.
 27. Tuckabatchies or Tuckabatchee refers to a group of Upper Creeks and their town located on the Tallapoosa River in present-day Elmore County, Alabama.
 28. King Manso was one of the numerous chiefs of either the Lower Creeks or the northern Seminoles.

Tallacies²⁹ came to our lodgings and asked in a friendly manner from whence we came and enquired if the goods which we brought in the company of Burford pertained to Seagrove, or if they were his [Burford's]. I replied to this that they were his [Burford's], whereupon he left and Burford and I went on to Tuckabatchies. We had walked about two miles when an Indian appeared to us in a sudden meeting, asking us where we were going and I humored him, then asked if King Manso had been to our encampment. He said yes indeed, and that he [King Manso] had returned to his home. He then asked me for a flint and I gave him two, a after which he left. I came to Tuckatchies [*sic*] at three in the afternoon, and I acquainted Seagrove of the talk of Kinnard which appeared to cause him not a little commotion, and he then told me that he had tried to see me several times. As he had never dealt with me before except with great pleasure, it pleased him to be able to tell me that in regard to the information that I brought however alarming it might be, that for his part he was satisfied that it was groundless. In addition he had had letters from the Commander of the Frontiers of Georgia and from others as recently as the seventeenth of the previous month without them making mention of the subject which [he said] these rumors spread about with the design of putting the Indians in a state of consternation and of keeping them agitated. He will write to the Georgians immediately cautioning them to be on the lookout for whatever mischief the Indians might make across the frontiers of Georgia as they [Georgians] could seek satisfaction only from the Spanish government. I

29. Tallacies or Tallassee probably refers to a group of Upper Creeks and their town just to the north of the town of Tuckabatchee, also in Elmore County, Alabama.

added that since the Governor of Florida had sent me to see the Indians, I could not promise anything to anyone from Georgia concerning where I might receive an exact reply. [I added also] that I was trying to find out if the Savages were fit [to act] as go-betweens as the Georgians were already very angry with the Spaniards, and that it required very little to arouse their anger and that they were always desirous of there not being a living soul in Florida. And he said to me that it would be well not to spread false stories of that nature throughout the Nation. I replied to him saying that notwithstanding that which he might think or tell me, that I was forced to fulfill my obligation and that he should execute his in the same [manner] - As the river was not fordable and the beaten path impassible, I desired to meet an Indian who could show the way to the home of Don Pedro Oliver, but I could not find one.

13. It was at four in the afternoon that I met a white man, an acquaintance from Tuckabatchies. I accompanied him to his home.
14. Having set out in the morning we reached open ground covered by the waters which were in freshet.
15. I reached the home of Don Pedro Oliver at about eight in the morning where they informed me that he had gone by that stream that same morning to Mobile. I crossed the river and followed on the land until I overtook him as he was returning during the afternoon. He said to me that it pleased him that I had come in person observing that I had good reason to believe that if I should have sent the letter by an Indian, it would not have arrived in his hands.
16. In the house of Don Pedro I wrote to Senor Pan-

- ton³⁰ giving him the reason for the intended expedition against Florida and Louisiana. Don Pedro gave me his reply to the letter of the governor.
17. I took leave of Don Pedro, crossed the river³¹ with Julian³² above Ochlewallies;³³ and then I made camp.
18. I reached Tuckabatchies and after having breakfasted with Senor Seagrove, I asked him if he had anything for me to transmit (I was motivated to do this since when I passed there earlier, he showed me a little packet of letters addressed to Don Juan MacQueen³⁴ in Havana which he was thinking of delivering to Captain Oliver in order that the latter communicate them, but when I told him that he [MacQueen] was in San Agustin, he decided to send them with me on my return). He answered that he had nothing to send with me but that he would write a short letter for his brother which I might carry in a bundle to Kinnard if he would not already be gone in which case I might take it and deliver it to Senor Atkinson³⁵ who would direct it to its destination. I left Tuckabatchies at about two, Julian having gone on ahead.
19. After having crossed the River Thuckas,³⁶ I met the second chief of the Cusetas, spoke to him, and then

30. Panton refers to William Panton of the firm of Panton, Leslie and Company. See note 11 for further reference to Panton.

31. The "river" presumably refers to the Tallapoosa.

32. Julian presumably refers to a half-breed interpreter, Julian Cerrballo, employed by the governor of East Florida.

33. Ochlewallies presumably refers to Oklawaha, a wandering band of Seminoles who settled in Lower Creek country.

34. Juan (John) MacQueen or McQueen was the son of a North Carolina planter. He came to East Florida in 1790 and soon entered the service of the governor of that province as an advisor and military aide. He commanded a small force of rural militia in 1792 in the campaign to drive the rebels out of the St. Marks region.

35. Atkinson presumably refers to Andrew Atkinson who settled in East Florida in 1792 and who soon was appointed captain in the local militia.

36. River Thuckas may refer to the present-day Tallapoosa or to the Chattahoochee as Hambly had to cross both of them.

gians. It rained all night without cessation.

20. I left for Cusetas but the paths were so flooded by incessant rains that we had to go around by way of Entichies.³⁷ Because of this we were not able to reach Cusetas until the afternoon.
21. Since Kinnard had not as yet returned home, the Cuseta King himself received the letter of the governor, and [I told him he] ought to convoke the lower towns upon my return.
22. I wrote Tacobo³⁸ to tell Rouzeaux,³⁹ the interpreter of the Lower Creeks, to prohibit the interpreters from not complying with their obligations, and that I desired definitely that this be done. Not having received a reply, I asked the Cuseta King that he inform the towns adjoining in order that the chiefs who were meeting in them should come to hear the words of the governor with the view to make their replies in writing and to send them to S. S., it being completely determined for the congress [to be held] on the 24th. In the afternoon the Cuseta King ordered me to be called to tell me that he had several letters and that he desired their contents to be explained to him. They were addressed to Diego Seagrove so I told him that I did not desire to open them. Then he himself broke the envelop of a letter we camped. He had a letter from Don Diego Seagrove giving him the account according to which the Indian told me of the Cuseta Indians murdered by the Geor-

37. Entichies may refer to any of several Hitchetee towns lying in the vicinity of the Cuseta towns.

38. Tacobo remains unidentifiable although there are several Timucuan place names of a similar spelling.

39. Rouzeaux apparently refers to Jaime Dourouzeau, Derousseaux or Durousseaux (DeRousseau), a metizo often employed by both the Louisiana and East Florida officials as interpreter, agent and guide.

from Lt. Roberts⁴⁰ from the “port of the rocks”⁴¹ which contained mostly Seagrove’s personal business in which he said that he had just heard from Charleston that Great Britain had declared war, but that he doubted it. The other was from Governor Mathews⁴² written on February 5th in which he told the aforementioned Seagrove a full account of that which had passed between him and White Tail King⁴³ at the “port of the rocks” on the 29th, 30th and 31st of January. [The letter contained] that which he advised the Cuseta King and the others who were present. In it Governor Mathews repeated all the harm which the Indians had done without saying a word of any recompense or satisfaction about the deaths of Cuseta Indians caused by the Georgians. He told them only that if they desired to make peace, there would be a handing back of the bodies of the dead on both sides and a burial of them. He would dig up a new live oak and plant it above the pit and that a suitable vine growing into a tree would exhale incense to wipe out the injuries committed by both parties. But [he added] that the Indians had to consent to hue to the line according to that which was agreed upon at the Congress of New York,⁴⁴ and that the prisoners and goods which had been taken were to be given up and

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40. Lt. Roberts may refer to Richard Brooks Roberts, later a major in the Georgia militia, who was active along the Oconee and Altamaha rivers in the years after 1790.
 41. “Port (Point) of Rocks” presumably is the same as Rock Landing on the Oconee River near present-day Dublin in Laurens County, Georgia.
 42. Governor Mathews refers to George Mathews, a rather unpopular two-term governor of Georgia at a time when the land sales and Indian problems were at their peak. An excellent discussion of the governor’s later career is to be found in Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (University of Georgia Press, 1954).
 43. White Tail King may be the same as White Lieutenant of the Okfuskee who was a bitter foe of Seagrove and the Georgians.
 44. Congress of New York refers to the meeting of federal officials and Creek chieftains from which came the Treaty of New York in 1790.

handed back; and to show their good disposition for this peace, they [the Indians] should send at once all the prisoners and property which they possessed; and that if the Indians did not accede to these terms, the Americans would cover their lands with blood.

23. Nothing particular [happened]. I wrote again to Rouzeaux.
24. I explained the letter of the governor to the congregated chiefs and in the presence of Julian, Juan Antonio ⁴⁵ and Tomas Kerr. ⁴⁶ I received their reply and a letter from Rouzeaux. Before finishing the letter there came a Negro from Beard's Bluff ⁴⁷ across the Altamaha who told us (in the meantime it had been expressed in the aforementioned place to a white man named Townsend ⁴⁸) that the Americans were across the river for several days; that it was a question where they were and that they told him that they were going against the Plaza of San Agustin. This information which I explained to the Cuseta King put him in great consternation for he had heard earlier that the Americans were making preparations to attack the Plaza in the spring. He immediately dispatched several Indians in haste to the Flint River with orders to scout all the suspected places and he advised Kinnard in order that he might do the same.

45. Juan Antonio may refer to a Georgia settler named Joseph Anthony.

46. Thomas Kerr (Carr) may refer to a Georgian of that name, a colonel in the local militia who had a great interest in opening up the Indian lands to white settlement.

47. Beard's Bluff (Baird's Bluff) was a small community in present-day Long County, Georgia, near Ludowicz, where there was a crossing of the Altamaha River.

48. Townsend refers to Jacob Townshend, a trader among the Lower Creeks who acted as agent for both the Spanish and American governments. He was associated with William Panton in certain trading transactions and often reported Indian activities to the Spanish by way of letters to Panton.

25. I left Cusetas and in the afternoon a friend of Julian having overtaken us, he informed me that since [my] leaving the town, there had arrived an advice from the Upper Creeks⁴⁹ informing that the tenth of March had been selected for a general meeting of all the nation but that this did not meet with universal approval - [since they were] reminded that in the last general congress it was agreed that Seagrove should write to President Washington asking his reply as to what they had decided, and they believed that this [still] should be done; and that in the last assembly it was agreed that there should be a general congress of Choctaws, Chickasaws, Cherokees and Creeks, including the Seminoles, and that it should be held in the presence of Don Pedro Oliver and Don Diego Seagrove; but that it seemed impossible in such a short time that they should settle everything that they were to hear Seagrove say to them.

26. Nothing particular [happened].

27. In the afternoon I came to the home of Kinnard and told him of all that had transpired which vexed him very much. I told him that I believed definitely that Seagrove had deceived then and would still deceive them; that it was necessary to have the greatest vigilance since it was presumable that under the existing conditions the Americans were marching for their [the Indians'] lands. He told me that in reality it surprised him but that he would go to find out what Seagrove had to say, and that in de meantime he would be glad to send his people to survey and observe all the footpaths and that after the meeting and settling his business, he would go to see the governor in person.

49. Upper Creeks were that portion of the Creek Nation located along both banks of the middle reaches of the Chattahoochee River in both Georgia and Alabama.

28. Detained on account of my horses, when I said it was time to mount, Kinnard said to me that the reply of Seagrove to his [Kinnard's] letter was that he [Seagrove] was much overcome by laughter that Kinnard took so much notice of the letter of the governor when there really was nothing at all to be concerned about and that the Spanish were terrified at nothing. I begged that he order the letters that he had been sent, be sent by one of his Negroes with an Indian to St. Marys. But Kinnard declared in reply that coming as it had, he was vexed by what he [Seagrove] sent him, that his letters could stay where they were because he held for truth all that the governor of San Agustin wrote him, and that if he had to send these letters, the conveying of them would cost more than 300 pesos.

Mar. 1. I left the house of Kinnard. It rained incessantly all night.

2. It continued to rain all day.

3. I crossed the Flint River.

4. I arrived at the Little Okulockany⁵⁰ where the water was so high that I was not able to cross that night.

5. I crossed the Big Okulockany.⁵¹ It rained so hard during the night that the water rose many feet.

6. I began to build a sort of canoe.

7. I worked on the canoe.

8. I finished my canoe and crossed to the other side and found nothing there except a chapel more than three-quarters of a mile away.

50. Little Okulockany (Ochlockonee) probably refers to Little River, the western tributary of the Ochlockonee River in present-day Gadsden County, Florida.

51. Big Okulockany (Ochlockonee) refers to the main course of the Ochlockonee River.

9. I crossed the river and several gullies as the land was not flat.
10. The victuals were almost finished and the horses were very weary.
11. I came to Wackalla ⁵² near the Fort of San Marcos de Apalachee.
12. I went to the fort.
13. I came to the store of Mr. Leslie.
14. In the house of Mr. Leslie.
15. In his house.
16. In his house.
17. In his house.
18. In his house still resting.
19. I left the house of Mr. Leslie.
20. I arrived about four miles from Mickasuckie.
21. I entered Mickasuckie.
22. I stayed in Mickasuckie hoping that one or two Indians might accompany me as it was impossible to go on alone as the water was so high.
23. I left and reached a little town.
24. I left the little town with two Indians, put up two shelters, and then encamped.
25. Passed the winding Laguna de Puente ⁵³ and night fell.
26. I reached Sawaney with the water in flood, and looking for a canoe, I found one about a mile from the wharf; crossed the river and camped.
27. I found the road so bad due to the inundation of the water that I had to detour from the path and go through the woods.
28. At sunset I reached Santa Fe and observing that

52. Wackalla or Wakulla River.

53. Laguna del Puente refers to the swampy and often flooded areas to the west of the Suwanee River in present-day Madison County, Florida.

the river was rising, I realized it was useless to cross it at night.

- 29. I crossed several very flooded lagoons and camped.
- 30. Nothing new [happened].
- 31. I made a halt at a distance of about 6 miles from Picolta.⁵⁴

April 1. In the morning I reached the store of San Fernando,⁵⁵ crossed the St. Johns River about 12, and found myself obliged to camp at 6 miles from San Agustin as it was not possible to find horses to reach the town.

- 1. I entered the Plaza of San Agustin de Florida and finished the diary.

* * * * *

From all noted above I can do no less than opine that Seagrove thinks that the Indians were disposed to lend assistance to the Spanish government as they were well informed of the projected expedition with the destination to invade both provinces of Florida - with cunning the Lower Towns were advised to assemble in Tuckabatchies - with courage regardless of what happens, to divert them by his deceiving letter while in the meantime the Americans marched through their lands, or what is likewise presumable, to protect the Nation from hurt, because according to that it was possible to inquire and to know in the meantime if he were among the Indians. All of them except a few who Seagrove won over with gifts - all I say expressed themselves to be the implacable enemies of the Americans.

- John Hambly - This is a copy of the original which temporarily is in my care in the office. San Agustin de la Florida 10th of April of 1794. Manuel Rengil.

* * * * *

Translation of the discourse with which the King of Cusitas

54. Picolta (Picolota) was the picket post to the west of St. Augustine on the St. Johns River.

55. San Fernando refers to some unidentifiable location close to St. Augustine, possibly the site of Hambly's own store at St. George.

and warriors of Cowetas and Ositches answered to that received from the Governor of Florida.

Our friend and father. We have seen your discourse: We believe its contents if they (the French) thinking to pass through the Nation do not follow in peace. We have tried to maintain the peace for a long time, and we have consented to raise our sons in perfect tranquility. But these people (the Americans) in the meantime while we keep the peace, have killed two of our men. We knew that they were prepared to commence war. When we had done all possible to preserve harmony, they sent one of our men from their fort after having made fun of him for some time; they untied him and he has not as yet appeared here. We know that they intend to take possession of this pueblo and for this reason we must proceed with great care. Senor Seagrove has told us that notwithstanding all these events we should remain quiet, hoping that when the discourse comes from the north it will clear up all these things. The next moon the Four Nations are to celebrate a treaty.

BOOK REVIEWS

The Story of the Chokoloskee Bay Country; with the Reminiscences of Pioneer C. S. "Ted" Smallwood. By Charlton W. Tebeau. Copeland Studies in Florida History. (Coral Gables, University of Miami Press, 1955. Pp. 88. \$1.00.)

Devotees of local history who find their major interest in the story of the individual and his activities in his own community or elsewhere will delight in this book. Certainly it is a significant contribution to the field, for it is the story of individuals who pioneered in a region which, until the present, has undergone almost no physical change and has maintained essentially its frontier character. The tens of thousands of persons who have traveled along the Tamiami Trail, a few miles to the north, have been aware only of what seemed to be an impassable if not impenetrable stretch of the Everglades. The history of the area has seemed equally inaccessible. Yet Dr. Tebeau has produced an absorbing account of settlers, itinerant preachers and visiting priests, and of the economic life of the area.

The story of the Chokoloskee Bay area begins with the settlements of aboriginal Indians whose mound-building activities have left rich finds for archaeologists and anthropologists. After 1800, when the early Indian inhabitants had left the scene, the Chokoloskee Bay country was visited successively by Seminoles, military expeditions engaged in operations in the Seminole Wars and, beginning about 1870, a succession of settlers who had come to make their way on the Florida Frontier. Settlement was never very heavy but those who came were unusual and colorful.

Its inhabitants supported themselves by hunting and fishing, gathering the plumes of wild birds, turtling, and hunting raccoons and alligators for their skins. As late as 1910, "the residents of the Chokoloskee Bay country could move at will

from fishing to farming to wood cutting or charcoal making, to hunting, to clam digging, to employment at the clam canery." Farming, now largely gone, was once the country's most extensive economic asset. Winter vegetables, consisting largely of tomatoes, potatoes, peppers, cucumbers, cabbages, eggplants, melons, onions, bananas and sugar cane, were shipped by water to the Key West market and later trans-shipped to New York in Mallory Line steamships. At present, commercial fishing and the tourist business provide the area with its main source of livelihood.

The latter half of the book is devoted to the reminiscences of Charles Sherod "Ted" Smallwood. Although much of what Smallwood has written deals with areas other than the Chokoloskee Bay area itself, it does give an excellent picture of the South Florida frontier of half a century ago. Smallwood covered a considerable amount of territory and, while he was a peaceful man himself, he seems to have been on the scene where violence occurred. His reminiscences are simply told yet they are the words of a story teller. One might well regret that he had not met Ted Smallwood in his lifetime and listened to him recount his experiences.

Chokoloskee Island has now been connected to the mainland by a causeway, the building of which marks the end of an era and heralds a major transformation. As in so many areas of the state in recent years land values have soared, a motel constructed and the scourge of the wooded lands, the "bulldozer," is making its inroads.

Charlton W. Tebeau in this, the first of a series of studies of the southwest area of the peninsula, has done local history a major service. In his own writing he has caught the spirit of the Chokoloskee country, and in presenting C. S. "Ted" Smallwood's reminiscences has preserved its language and its quality. The book is well prepared with clear, readable type

and has excellent photographs of old settlers, landmarks and habitations.

FRANK B. SESSA

Miami Public Library.



NEWS AND NOTES

The Editor Emeritus

A number of dates are familiar to the members of the Florida Historical Society: the organization of the Society in 1856; the first issue of the *Quarterly* in April, 1908; the resumption of publication in July, 1924. Few members, however, known of the significance of 1892. In the fall of that year a thirteen year old boy asked for and received a copy of Richard L. Campbell's *Historical Sketches of Colonial Florida*.

In the years which followed, the boy, Julien C. Yonge, and his father, the late Philip Keyes Yonge, began to collect and preserve the source materials of Florida History. Year after year books, letters, manuscripts, documents, newspapers, and maps were secured and saved. By 1925 the Yonge Collection of Floridiana was not only the best in the state, but also Julien C. Yonge was the authority on Florida History. These were fortunate circumstances, for the Florida Historical *Quarterly* needed a qualified editor who had historical resources at his command. Julien C. Yonge was elected Editor of the *Quarterly* and brought out his first issue in January, 1925.

It has been repeated often and with truth that the *Quarterly* is the heart of the Florida Historical Society and that Julien is the *Quarterly*. Prior to January, 1925, eight numbers of the *Quarterly* had been published: four in 1908, two in 1909, and two in 1924. Since 1925 Julien C. Yonge has edited 124 numbers of the Society publication. In exactly thirty-one years of his editorship, he has produced more than 9,000 pages and almost 3,000,000 words. Some indication of the work involved can be imagined if one understands that at least five readings are made of every word and sentence that appears in the *Quarterly*. The Editor's task was enlarged by the care with which he edited and rewrote so many of the articles that were

published. Because of periodic dearth of material submitted for publication, the Editor searched books, magazines, and newspapers for interesting articles; and edited manuscripts. All articles, book reviews, and news in the 124 numbers of the *Quarterly* which are not identified as to author are the work of Julien C. Yonge. His own writings would make several volumes.

More important than quantity is the high standard of the *Quarterly*. The Editor's selection of articles, his meticulous reading of proof, and his ability to secure appropriate illustrations have earned the official publication of the Society a high place among state historical journals. Though always demanding accuracy, he achieved variety and appealed to reader interest.

Often quality depended in part on finances, and Julien C. Yonge persuaded individuals and organizations to pay the cost of needed illustrations and lengthy articles. Year after year his personal letters as well as the *Quarterly* added members to the Society. Never in his thirty-one years did he receive pay for his services as Editor, and had a salary been offered, he would have refused it. During periods of financial crisis in the Society, he paid those little sums such as postage which in total became large; and he "forgot" to ask for repayment when the Society could afford to pay its way. Other than as a means to a better *Quarterly*, money was not a consideration: accurate and interesting history was all that Julien C. Yonge desired.

Everyone regrets that he who has contributed most to recording the history of our past believes that he should give up one of his many activities. He will continue his important work of collecting and preserving the material of Florida History: students and readers requesting aid will bring a smile to his face, and he will search for sources and over-load in-

quirers with material. For him a good day will be one in which new materials are added to the P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History or to the Library of the Florida Historical Society, and the presence of numbers of sincere students working with the collected sources will make it a wonderful day. He will remain an active member of the Society, and in his kind and gentle way will advise the new editor.

Though members of the Society regret to see, "Julien C. Yonge, Editor Emeritus," on the inside cover page of the *Quarterly*, they recognize that at seventy-six years of age he has earned the right to be relieved of one of his many tasks. No matter his title, "Julien" and the *Quarterly* will be synonymous in the minds of the members of the Florida Historical Society.

Articles for the Quarterly

The new editor will attempt to continue the quantity and quality of the work done by Julien C. Yonge, but the *Quarterly* will depend upon the active participation of the members of the Society. Plans are maturing for the appointment of an editorial board, a book review editor, and a news and notes editor. Neither these individuals nor the editor can publish a journal of quality unless good articles are submitted. Practically any issue of the *Quarterly* can be filled with material written by professional historians, and the editor welcomes and urges the historian to send articles. The *Quarterly*, however, is not the organ of a professional historical society. More than ninety per cent of the members of the Florida Historical Society are not professional historians. Especially welcome are articles from lay members who will devote sufficient time to compose interesting papers. It is expected that an editorial board will stimulate the writing of articles, but such a board cannot succeed without the cooperation of an active membership.

Articles submitted for publication may range from ten to twenty-five pages. Only standard (8 1/2 by 11) white paper is acceptable, and at least one inch margins are necessary. Footnotes are numbered consecutively in the text with the notes typewritten on separate pages at the end of the article. Quotations of more than fifty words are indented without quotation marks. Text, quotations, footnotes, and bibliographies are to be double spaced. Bibliographies are not necessary in a footnoted article, and are to be limited to essential sources, if footnotes are not used.

Historical Societies

The excellent newsletters of the Jacksonville Historical Society and the Historical Association of Southern Florida are indicative of the activity of these two societies. On November 16, 1955, Philip S. May delivered an interesting account of "Columbus Drew, Stationer and Printer - A Century of American Heritage," to a large audience of the Jacksonville Society. This address was planned to coincide with the centennial of the H. & W. B. Drew Company which was established in 1855 by Columbus Drew whose descendants have owned and operated the business continuously since that date. Mrs. Karl Bardin (Marguerite Drew) and Hodson Drew made available a collection of photographs, letters, and documents which added a visual interest to the meeting. Raymond King delivered photostats to the Society, and these clearly showed that Jean Ribault signed his name Ribault. The name of the famous French explorer who sailed into the St. Johns River almost 400 years ago has been spelled in a number of ways.

The first program meeting of the 1955-1956 year was held by the Historical Association of Southern Florida on November 30, 1955. J. E. Dovell, professor of Political Science at the University of Florida and author of a number of books on Florida, addressed an audience of 350 on "Glades Life in the

Early Days." The program chairman of the Association, Justin Havee, has arranged for additional good speakers for coming programs. Because of the large attendance the Association program meetings are held in the auditorium of the Coral Gables High School.

The Pensacola Historical Society elected its first woman president, Miss Occie Clubbs, who is a noted local historian, a contributor to the *Quarterly*, and a junior high school principal. Other officers elected were: Mrs. Mark B. Presley, first vice president; Michael Flavin, second vice president; James Stewart Milner, third vice president; Mrs. W. Paul Hollowell, secretary; and Mrs. Pauline Hoover, treasurer. Twelve meetings of the Society are held each year. Summer activities included a trip to Fort Gaines on Dauphin Island, near Mobile, Alabama; a trip to Fort Pickens on Santa Rosa Island to view the historic cannon the Society had purchased and had mounted at the Fort; and an interesting ride up the Escambia River and East Bay. Other programs were by Miss Lucia Tryon who spoke on books in the Pensacola Library which are on the history of Pensacola; a dramatized talk on John Innerarity by his great grandson, Francis Taylor; and an account by Frederick Wicke of his great grandfather, William Henry Davison, a Boston-born, Harvard-educated civil engineer who lived for many years in Pensacola and died there at the age of 91 in 1916.

At the November 8, 1955, meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society, John W. Griffin spoke on the "Colonial Gardens of Saint Augustine." His description of gardens in colonial times was supplemented with a color film on "Flower Arrangements of Williamsburg." The museum project of the Society is nearing completion and the permanent exhibits which will portray a narrative of St. Augustine history should be ready in January of this year.

Many members of the St. Augustine Historical Society, representatives of other societies, and interested citizens attended the 283rd anniversary of the laying of the first stone of the foundation of the Castillo de San Marcos. The celebration was held at the Castillo de San Marcos National Monument in St. Augustine on November 9, 1955. In addition to appropriate speeches, a replica of the Spanish flag that was in use in 1672 was raised. There were a number of descendants of Spanish citizens who witnessed the first celebration in the audience.

The Museum at Port St. Joe

On December 16, 1955, the formal opening of the Interpretative Museum Exhibit of the State Constitution Convention Historic Memorial was held at Port St. Joe. The museum which was designed and constructed by the Florida State Museum of the University of Florida for the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials tells the story of the historic town of St. Joseph and of the writing of the first Florida Constitution in 1838-1839. In the principal address on the occasion, Governor LeRoy Collins paid tribute to the men who wrote the St. Joseph Constitution, reviewed the other constitutions of the state, and urged the writing of a new constitution which would provide for the needs of a modern agricultural and industrial state.

Coming Events

The American Jewish Historical Center in cooperation with the University of Miami and the Historical Association of Southern Florida will hold a one day conference in Miami Beach on February 15 on the writing of regional history in the South. In the morning session special attention will be given to the sources of regional history in the South and to the importance of their collection and preservation.

The Florida Historical Society will hold its annual meeting in St. Augustine on April 6 and 7. Since this is to be the centennial of the founding of the Society, it is hoped that members will make plans to attend and that it will be the best meeting in the history of the Society.

The University of Florida's Department of History will inaugurate a series of annual lectures on April 23, 24, 25 on the general theme of "American Civilization." The speaker for 1956 is John Allen Krout, vice president and provost of Columbia University. The speaker is noted both for his ability as a lecturer and for his many books on American History. These lectures are scheduled for 8:00 P.M., and the public is invited.

Information Wanted

The news and notes section of the *Quarterly* is designed as a clearing house for historical activities. News items are needed on local historical societies, personal activities related to history, reports from college history departments, and lists of materials on Florida that are desired by individuals and by organizations. Inquiries and reports should be addressed to "News and Notes," Florida Historical Society, P. O. Box 3645, University Station, Gainesville, Florida.

Columbia University is preparing for publication a new and complete edition of the papers of Alexander Hamilton. The editors wish to locate any letters to or from Hamilton and any other Hamilton documents that are in private hands. If any one possesses such documents, Harold C. Syrett, Editor, The Papers of Alexander Hamilton, Columbia University, New York 27, N. Y., would greatly appreciate any information on their whereabouts and availability.

Members of the Society who desire to dispose of back numbers of the *Quarterly* are urged to send a list of them to the

Secretary, for there are frequent calls for these. An author is anxious to see the *Jacksonville Metropolis*, September 6 through 30, 1898, and will purchase the copies of this newspaper, if they cannot be borrowed.



NEW MEMBERS, FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
(October-December)

Nominated by

Mrs. D. W. Webster, West Palm Beach.....Mrs. Clyde W. Fisher
Martin County Historical Society.....
Mr. Bob Cody, Kissimmee, Fla.....Dena Snodgrass
Glenn H. Arnold, Atlanta, Ga.....
Mrs. E. F. Posch, Tampa, Fla.....Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Mr. Charles W. Campbell, Jacksonville, Fla.....R. P. Daniel
Ned W. Richardson, Valparaiso, Fla.....C. W. Ruckel, Jr.
Mr. Oren E. Morton, Miami, Fla.....Elizabeth C. Baldwin
Chas. D. Lewis, New York, N. Y. (contributing).....C. H. Curry
Miss Elizabeth Flora, Jacksonville, Fla.....John W. Griffin
Claude L. DeVane, Plant City.....Albert DeVane
W. L. Sewell, Palm Beach.....

CHRISTMAS GIFT MEMBERS

Mr. William M. Madison, Jacksonville, Fla.....Lucien Y. Dyrenforth
Mr. Robert A. McKay, Tampa, Fla. (renewal).....D. B. McKay
Mrs. L. L. Burnet, Jacksonville, Fla. (renewal).....Geo. R. Coslow
Mr. Thomas E. Haile, Winter Park.....Mrs. Evans Haile
J. F. Bartleson, Jacksonville, Fla.....Mr. and Mrs. N. H. Bunting
Mrs. D. A. Butler, Havana, Fla.....Betty L. Butler
Rev. Stephen W. Ryder, Daytona Beach, Fla.....Ianthé Bond Hebel
Rev. Oliver Carmichael, Tallahassee, Fla.....H. L. Smith
Mrs. Marie Tanner, Norwalk, Conn.....Mrs. Helen H. Tanner
Miss Bertha R. Comstock, Miami, Fla.....R. D. Comstock
Mrs. Fred O. Drake, Tallahassee, Fla.....Bernard Shiell
Lib. Sister of the Holy Names
Convent of Mary Immaculate, Key West, Fla.....R. V. Rickcord
Robert Plaisance, Cannes, France.....John C. Blocker
Mr. Jean Valery, Montpellier (Herault), France.....John C. Blocker

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Statement of ownership and management of the Florida Historical *Quarterly* for 1955. Entered at Tallahassee, Florida. Publisher: Florida Historical Society. Editor Julien C. Yonge, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida.

Signed: Julien C. Yonge, *Editor*
September 27, 1955

Sworn to before me: Philip K. Yonge,
Notary Public, State of Florida.

