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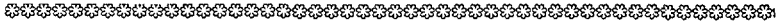
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NEWS AND NOTES

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FORT CAROLINE, CRADLE OF AMERICAN FREEDOM

by CHARLES E. BENNETT, M.C.

ALONG THE southern bank of the St. Johns River in northeastern Florida stand a wooded bluff and adjoining shorelands which may well be considered the birthplace of American ideals and freedom; or, at very least, the cradle of American ideals in the distant years of 1564 and 1565, and the beginning of the first permanent settlement of our country. The United States government is now, in 1956, establishing at the site what will be called Fort Caroline National Memorial. It is expected that it will be open to visitors by the early summer of 1957. Although the history of St. Johns Bluff, as the area is generally designated, stretches across the centuries from 1562 with almost uninterrupted activities of significance to modern America, its history is little known today outside of Florida and specialists in this particular period of history. The establishment of the memorial will undoubtedly open wide the doors of this historic period to the minds of many Americans who previously have given it less thought than it deserved.

St. Johns Bluff rises abruptly, about 70 feet, above the waters of the St. Johns, approximately five miles from where the river empties into the Atlantic Ocean. You can look northeastward over the St. Johns to Fort George Island, which is the site of an early 17th century Spanish mission (ruins on Ft. George are said by some historians to be remnants of this mission), the location of one of Oglethorpe's headquarters (a building of which is still standing), and the place where the buildings are still in use which once were used for the residential seat of John McIntosh in his 19th century revolutionary efforts against Spanish rule and for the later slave importation activities of Zephaniah Kingsley. Many of the points of interest on Fort George Island will soon be opened as Kingsley Plantation State Park. You can look eastward over marshes and distant forests to see the Atlantic Ocean as a misty horizon. To the south and west stretch beautiful woodlands. Out of sight along the St. Johns lies the city of Jacksonville (10 or 15 miles inland).

[3]

This spectacular promontory bows its head to no land in America; for here transpired some of our most important history. Its heavy subtropical growth of live oak, holly, magnolia, palm and palmetto hardly whisper of the idealism, romance and tragedy that have made it a land which all Americans should cherish.

The bluff with its adjoining acres is the very cradle of the American tradition of personal freedom. The curtain rose on its history when Jean Ribault, a Frenchman, came to the St. Johns River on May 1, 1562, in an effort to find a suitable place to locate a colony of Europeans, mostly French Huguenots, who desired to escape from the religious massacres and other oppressions of Europe of the 16th century.

When Ribault and his men set foot on the northern banks of the river in May, 1562, and offered there a prayer, they were the first people to come to what is now the United States for freedom; and their prayer was the first prayer ever offered on our shores by such idealists. They then crossed the river and erected a column on the south side in memory of their acts and to foretell their return. Before leaving the river valley they inspected the bluff as a possible location for the colony. They then sailed out into the Atlantic and northward to what is now South Carolina. There they erected another monument, to mark the limits of their future habitation. This first exploratory trip resulted in no permanent colony, included no women and was not provisioned for permanent occupancy. A small garrison of men stayed near Port Royal, South Carolina, for a time and then sailed for France.

Returning to Europe, Ribault was soon an involuntary but temporary guest in the prisons of Queen Elizabeth (in the Tower of London). There he wrote a book about his findings in the New World. So, it was another who led the actual colonization movement in 1564. He was Rene Laudonniere, who had accompanied Ribault in 1562.

Laudonniere led a group of about 300 men and women to the St. Johns, arriving at its shores on June 24, 1564. Perhaps never has our land welcomed a more diverse group. About their only point in common was their desire for freedom. Some wore the gilded armor and brightly colored clothes befitting their high

rank. Others were clad in simple clothes which indicated the manual labor to which they were accustomed. They were not all Frenchmen; and they included, among a predominately Protestant population, many Catholics. Their movement had been approved by John Calvin, the religious reformer, and by Charles IX, Catholic King of France. There were at the time no other settlements of white people in North America, north of Mexico.

The site chosen for habitation was the St. Johns bluff area, at which they arrived on June 25, 1564. They named their settlement La Caroline, after the King of France. The name La Caroline was gradually and then permanently changed to Fort Caroline. The choice of terrain was no doubt made on account of the commanding view from the bluff and for the ability of the land to sustain life, the colonists finding it to be productive of corn, potatoes and grapes.

Ribault has said of this land that it was "the fairest, frute-fullest and pleasantest of all the worlde" and that "the sight of the faire meadows is a pleasure not able to be expressed with tongue". Laudonniere said of it "the place was so pleasant that melancholias would be forced to change their nature" as they viewed it.

The colonists built a triangular fort in the flat land to the west of the bluff. Here they flew the French flag and set their ponderous cannon marked with the French coat of arms. Moats were dug on all sides and an impressive gate constructed and decorated with the arms of France and of Admiral Gaspard Coligny, a backer of, but not a participant, in the settlement. Buildings for munitions were set up inside the fort, and sentinels kept watch there and on the bluff. Some habitations were erected inside but there were many houses built outside the fort. The fortifications and houses were chiefly built of logs and earth. However, we are advised that the French also made brick and mortar for their houses from rock or clay found near by.

The colonists came supplied with seeds, tools and domestic animals. There were horses, sheep, asses, chickens, hogs, cattle and dogs. Many of the animals were probably consumed as food, for the settlers had difficulty in raising crops in the wild new land. They dug a well and also used a somewhat distant spring, probably the present source of Shipyard Creek (to the west of the bluff).

Time keeping was by use of an hour glass and lighting was by candle and lantern. Beds were built and hammocks strung according to preference. There was a flour mill, a bakery and a blacksmith shop.

Among the settlers were carpenters, mechanics, ordnance men, blacksmiths, barbers, tailors, shoemakers and brewers, as well as an artist, a crossbow maker, an astronomer, a physician and people of various other talents.

At first there was no regularly ordained preacher and religious services were conducted by laymen. They also conducted missionary work among the Indians. The colonists had a large bell to call the people to worship. A reenforcement expedition from France later added a preacher to their number.

These people were not long-faced zealots, however. They were liberal in their views and they found pleasure in earthly pursuits as well as religious services. They enjoyed drinking the wine which they produced. A letter from one of these settlers stated: "We hope to make some wine soon, which will be rather good." It is noted once they had just produced 20 hogshead of wine. They also quickly took up the habit of smoking from the Indians and were perhaps the first white men to take up smoking as a habit. They brought many books with them and they also played cards for amusement.

They enjoyed music by a fiddler, a piano (spinet) player, drummer, trumpeters, and fifers. Long after the French control had become a thing of the past, later Floridians would hear the Indians of that neighborhood singing French songs which they had learned from their romantic French companions.

Some of the men were impatient and bored with the struggle for survival in a wild land and took to pirating the Spanish ships of the Caribbean. These were returned to the colony for trial; and we find the colonists solemnly debating and deciding the question of whether they should be shot before or after hanging.

The community practiced in considerable measure the republican and democratic principles of political freedom. Even the actual location of the settlement was decided upon by opinions being expressed and "all resolving" to live at St. Johns Bluff. We find the colonists similarly deciding on the question of whether

or not a boat should be fitted up for a voyage to France. There was some criticism from France of Laudonniere's administration, as it was thought that he sought complete independence. We find Laudonniere saying of his critics that some people criticize because they think "that by diminishing the work of others, they can add to the force of their own weak courage. That is sometimes one of the most remarkable dangers that can come to a republic."

Some of the colonists occupied themselves very largely with trading with the Indians. An interesting little story has come down to us about one youth by the name of Piere Gambie, who set himself up as a business man and trader. Gambie went to an island in the St. Johns, probably the land now called Fleming's Island and traded there with the Indian population. It was not long before he was growing rich, and married the Indian Chief's daughter and was acting as second in command among the Indians. It is said that he stayed among the Indians for about a year before he decided to return to La Caroline on a visit. On the way he was killed by an Indian with whom he had experienced difficulty before. The Indian who killed Gambie was apparently motivated by resentment from the previous dispute and by a desire to obtain the riches which the French boy achieved through his good business with the Indians.

It is recorded that at La Caroline were born 8 or 10 children, the first children of freedom seeking Americans born in what is now the United States and apparently the first recorded births of any white persons in what is now the United States.

A few of the colonists returned to Europe shortly after coming to America and a number of important visits were made to the colony. The colony was reenforced by Captain Bourdet from France in 1564, visited by Sir John Hawkins, the Englishmen, in 1565 and again reenforced by Ribault in 1565.

The visit by Sir John Hawkins was the first visit to the United States by a slave trading expedition. Hawkins, the slave trader and corsair, was sailing in the good ship *Jesus*, which was accompanied by several other boats. A sailor who accompanied Hawkins said that the expedition was getting low on water but since a fresh wind had come up "every man was contented to pinch his owne bellie, whatsoever had happened" and the result

was that the expedition eventually put into the St. Johns River for water, although Hawkins had expected to get his water supply further to the south. In speaking of the habit of smoking at the colony the sailor said:

“The Floridians when they travell, have a kinde of herbe dried, who with a cane and an earthen cup in the end, with fire, and the dried herbs put together, doe sucke thorow the cane the smoke thereof, which smoke satisfieth their hunger, and therwith they live foure or five dayes without meat or drinke, and this all the Frenchmen used for this purpose; yet they do holde opinion withall, that it causeth water and fleame to void from their stomacks.”

The reenforcements brought by Ribault numbered about 600 and included both men and women. They had been with the colony but a very short time when an expedition headed by Pedro Menendez (under orders from King Philip II of Spain) made its appearance at the mouth of the St. Johns. This expedition was sent to wipe out Fort Caroline and to hold the land for Spain. Menendez first took his forces to what is now the site of St. Augustine and thereupon founded the city of St. Augustine, the oldest continuously existing city in the United States. When Menendez came, La Caroline was the only settlement of white people on the North American Continent, north of Mexico. It antedated St. Augustine by over a year, and its existence was the reason why St. Augustine was founded and thereafter maintained through the years. Previous to La Caroline, Philip II had given orders against Spanish settlement efforts north of Mexico, for several earlier efforts had resulted in costly failures.

The French and Spanish vessels approached each other in a heavy surf at the mouth of the St. Johns. Messages were exchanged. Menendez demanded surrender and received the prompt reply “I am the Admiral but sooner I prefer death.” The French vessels prepared for attack but the sea was growing rougher and wind made the ships unmanageable. Without coming close enough to engage the Spanish vessels in a full battle, the French vessels were swept down the Florida coast by the tropical storm and wrecked near what is now Daytona Beach.

Menendez, knowing that Ribault and his boats were occupied in the storm, made his way to St. Augustine and from there set out over land toward La Caroline with 500 soldiers. Their road had to be cut through the jungle and underbrush and the journey took about three days. On the night before the attack on the French colony, Menendez and his men camped at a small pond which is still to be seen. About the break of day on September 20, 1565, Menendez assembled at the shore of the pond a council of his men to decide whether they should go on or whether they should turn back and leave America to the French. There were dissenters but the strong will of Menendez was able to persuade the other leaders to go forward into battle. The Spaniards made quick work of killing 142 at Fort Caroline and capturing a number of women and children and a few men, including Spanish shipwrecked sailors whom the French had given haven. Some of the early records seem to imply that Menendez was a bit tardy about ordering that women and children should be spared; and state that some infants were killed and their bodies erected on the points of pikes stuck in the ground.

A very human little story about this trip from the newly founded St. Augustine to the older La Caroline community is found in the Spanish writings. We are told that a man by the name of Juan de San Vicente was very much against Menendez making this trip to La Caroline and begged off from making the trip by telling Menendez that he had a very serious stomach ache and a hurt leg. Vicente's real motives were shown by his remarks made after the departure of Menendez when he said: "I swear to God that I am expecting the news that all our soldiers have been killed, so that we who remain here may embark on these three ships and go to the Indies, for it is not reasonable that we should all die like beasts."

It should be noted that the French at La Caroline were unprepared because of the stormy weather and the early hour of the attack. Most of the people at the fort were inexperienced in fighting or were sick. Laudonniere himself had been very ill and he escaped from the fort (with the assistance of a page boy) after he had been left for dead with his sword arm slashed. He was soon met in his flight by Nicolas le Challeux, an ancient carpenter, who marveled at his own strength in being able to leap over the wall, being strongly sustained through the fear of

the circumstances from which he was fleeing. Le Challeux, who had been on his way to work, still had in his hand his chisel, which proved helpful to him in his flight toward the sea from St. Johns Bluff.

Laudonniere was also joined in flight by an unmarried woman whose duties had been to serve the community as a nurse and to care for the chickens. Laudonniere had found her working as a waitress in a tavern in France. Admiral Coligny had doubted the propriety of taking an unmarried woman on the venture to America. Several of the colonists had asked her hand at La Caroline and she ultimately married one of them in France. In her escape from the fort she was stabbed in the breast but she recovered and accompanied the enfeebled leader in his floundering towards the sea through the marshes.

Jacques Ribault, the son of Jean Ribault, took Laudonniere and a few more of the fugitives from the colony back to France. Jacques had been anchored near the colony at the time of the onslaught. He had been deterred from entering the fray because of fear of firing on his own people. Perhaps also the acts of the Spaniards gave him little enthusiasm for the combat. It is recorded that the assailants took the eyes of the dead and flicked them from the points of their daggers in the direction of the French boats.

Jean Ribault, the father, as well as about 350 of his followers were massacred on the Florida coast at Matanzas Inlet where Menendez found them trying to get across to Anastasia Island after their shipwreck. Menendez ambiguously offered the French his mercy and then tied them in groups of 10 and slaughtered them on the beaches at Matanzas, they having delivered up to him their arms relying upon his mercy. He spared those of the French who were Catholics and also persons with particular abilities as workmen or musicians. The man who actually killed Ribault first enquired of him as to whether Ribault did not expect his soldiers to obey orders. Ribault said "yes". Then the Spaniard said "I propose to obey the orders of my commander also. I am ordered to kill you". When Ribault knew that he was to die he said: "Twenty years more or less are of little account". Then he chanted a psalm and received the dagger thrust which ended his life.

According to some early accounts, Ribault's beard and skin were sent to King Philip of Spain and his head was cut in four pieces, which were distributed on the ends of lances on each corner of the fort at St. Augustine. Menendez wrote of Ribault to Philip: "I think it a very great good fortune that this man be dead, for the King of France could accomplish more with him and fifty thousand ducats than with other men and five hundred thousand ducats; and he could do more in one year, than another in ten . . ." Menendez thus disclosed that the real purpose of the conflict was to make firm the territorial claim of Spain over France in this part of the New World, all other apparent purposes of the conflict being rather immaterial.

The combat at La Caroline between the French and the Spanish was the first international conflict of white people in what is now the United States. The road which Menendez cleared between St. Augustine and La Caroline became the first regularly and continuously used highway in what is now the United States. Menendez left 300 men at La Caroline, which he renamed San Mateo and which continued as a fort and mission settlement for a great number of years. From this San Mateo colony were sent in 1566 the first colonists to Virginia.

At St. Johns Bluff one of the earliest churches in the new world was built in 1565 by Menendez. It was constructed from the planks which had been hewn for a Huguenot boat. The Spanish arms were erected over the main gate of the fort at San Mateo where the French arms had previously been. The Spanish renamed the river "San Juan," from which the present name of St. Johns is derived. The French name had been the River of May, after the date of the discovery on May 1, 1562.

Menendez took captives at La Caroline, at Mantazas and also at Cape Canaveral, where some of those shipwrecked from Ribault's fleet had established themselves. It is probable that some of these French people, perhaps several hundred, ultimately mingled with the newcomers to Florida to become a permanent part of the American race. The records indicate that a goodly number remained in Florida for several years at least, and a recorded incident concerning one of them shows that he was still at St. Augustine over ten years after his capture. It is known that Menendez treated these French people with great kindness after the exigencies of the first few days of conflict no longer

made such treatment impossible. The author has heard of one modern Florida family tracing descent from these early French Huguenots; and more adequate records would doubtless reveal a number of modern Floridians with this blood in their veins.

In 1568, Dominique de Gourgues, a Frenchman, and probably a Catholic, borrowed money and sold most of his estate to finance an expedition to St. Johns Bluff to revenge the acts of Menendez. He took 180 men and slaughtered about 400 at San Mateo. According to the account, the De Gourgues forces, after cutting their feet in their march through the oyster shell marshes, surprised some of the Spaniards as they sat about in the sun picking their teeth after a meal. Forthwith, the French slew most of them. De Gourgues hanged some of the Spaniards, having captured them for that purpose. He tacked up a sign over their bodies that he did this to them not as to Spaniards, but as to robbers and murderers.

The inspiration for this act was a sign which Menendez is said to have placed over Frenchmen whom he hanged at Fort Caroline, reading that this was done not unto Frenchmen but unto heretics.

An old Indian woman who expressed herself as being able to die in peace now that the French had returned, must have had but a short satisfaction, for Spain quickly rebuilt and re-occupied San Mateo upon the speedy departure of De Gourgues. During his brief stay, the Indians sang for him hymns that they had learned from La Caroline, including "Happy Is One To Be A Volunteer For God."

In 1586 most of St. Augustine's population withdrew to San Mateo under the attack of Sir Francis Drake, the Englishman who burned St. Augustine in that year. San Mateo itself only escaped from Drake's intended attack upon it by the providentially bad weather, which prevented, or at least discouraged Drake from making his planned attack on the latter settlement. A year or so earlier a pirate vessel was captured at San Mateo by the Spanish. San Mateo is mentioned as continuing as a fort or mission in later writings, being one of the two settlements in Florida mentioned by Coreal in 1669. But activity there apparently declined for a number of years.

In the early 18th century the land fell under the control of two British generals, Governor James Moore of South Carolina,

and then General James Oglethorpe of Georgia. British forces, including highland-clad Scots, pushed to the gates of St. Augustine but were unable to conquer that city. Oglethorpe maintained his headquarters on Ft. George Island, across the river from St. Johns Bluff.

It is highly improbable that there has ever been, since the original French settlement in 1564, any considerable period of time when this St. Johns Bluff area has not been inhabited by white people.

A new impetus to life there occurred when England took over all of Florida in 1763. Tories from the English colonies in the north began settling at St. Johns Bluff in the early part of the American Revolution. By the time that England turned back Florida to Spain in 1783 a prosperous town known as St. Johns Town flourished at St. Johns Bluff. A British fort was erected on top of the bluff.

About 300 buildings at St. Johns Town gave accommodations to some 1500 inhabitants. There were taverns, a Masonic Lodge, a livery stable, a drygoods store, a hardware store and a warehouse. Water Street and Prince's Street were lined with frame houses, some of which were imposing two-story buildings. The people of St. Johns Town had slaves and engaged in active naval stores trade. They were served by a physician and a preacher. Quite often they were bothered by "banditti" and occasionally the American forces gave them some consternation by approaching the near vicinity. English troops were stationed there to man the fort on the bluff, which was protected by cannon.

When Spain took Florida back from the British in 1783 St. Johns Town was renamed St. Vincent Ferrer, which had a stormy and colorful career, following the steady growth experienced under the British regime. Semipeaceful occupation was only established by the Spanish after two outlaws, Daniel McGirt and William Bowles, had been captured and thrown into prison. These highwaymen had used the village as a headquarters for their band of marauders.

Some of the English who remained in Florida, and some others of the local inhabitants, were not content with Spanish rule and they established a "Territory of East Florida" (1812-15). John McIntosh, its director, lived on Ft. George Island. For a time the bluff fell under the sphere of influence of this organ-

ization as the army of its revolutionary government, aided by United States troops, extended a military occupation from Fernandina to considerably south of St. Johns Bluff.

The unsettled conditions in the St. Johns Bluff area in the 19th century did not encourage peaceful settlement; and St. Vincent Ferrer fell into slow decay and attracted few newcomers for a long period of time. Furthermore, Zephaniah Kingsley, one of the most successful slave importers in America acquired the bluff itself and much of the land around it in the early part of the 19th century. He imported slaves to Florida and then smuggled them across the border into the United States, which had by then made the importation of slaves illegal. Kingsley used the bluff and its adjoining slopes as a shipbuilding site. From this activity came the present name of Shipyard Creek, which empties into the St. Johns to the west of the bluff. Kingsley lived at the old McIntosh plantation on Ft. George Island. There he set up his principal wife, a Negro princess, Anna Madegigine Jai, whom he had married in Madagascar by the rituals of the natives there. She lived in the old "White House" of the Territory of East Florida and proved herself to be an able business woman and a firm mistress of her slaves. This unorthodox mingling of races in marriage did not, however, result in harmony in the lives of those involved, and Anna's descendants moved to other localities.

During the War Between the States the bluff teemed with life in the Confederate fortifications there at the top of the bluff, which were established by General Joseph Finegan of the Confederate Army. The guns of the bluff were able to keep the United States troops from coming up the river on several occasions. The engagements on September 11, and 17, 1862, resulted in some loss of life to the Confederate forces. Finally 1,573 United States troops marched overland from Mayport, being supported from the river by 10 vessels, 6 of them gun boats. They made such an alarming display that the 500 Confederates retreated and left the bluff to the Union Army on October 3, 1862. President Jefferson Davis in a letter in 1863 wrote that the loss of this "position was a serious calamity." The earthworks of the Confederate forces are still traceable today on the bluff.

In April, 1898 (during the Spanish-American War), the United States government built and occupied on this tract a coast defense concrete fort, now standing in perfect condition. Two American soldiers were killed there in preparing mines for the St. Johns River channel.

The bluff, which was the attraction for the various settlements, has still substantially the same appearance which it has had from the early times. There has been some erosion along the shore in the vicinity; but it cannot be denied that a very substantial portion of the land used by the French, and by the subsequent occupations, remains. Also a spring, probably the one mentioned in the early account of this French colony, can yet be seen. The spot where Menendez camped before his descent on La Caroline can be readily identified, this being the place where he held the council which determined the nationality of a large portion of the New World. In the vicinity, Spanish coins struck between 1516 and 1555 have been found and also a gold ring with the French fleurs-de-lis upon it. Even today one can walk along the top of the bluff and see, as reminders of the early Indian occupations, many oyster shells and bits of pottery in the sandy soil. Bullets and shot of various kinds are often picked up by picnickers there.

St. Johns Bluff, as we know it now, has the virginal beauty which was described by all the great men who touched it or who were near it in the early days. As the sailor with Hawkins said: "It flourisheth with medow, pasture ground, with woods of Cedar and Cypress, and other sort, as better cannot be in the world." That English sailor also reported that Florida is "all the yeare long so greene, as any time in the Summer with us . . ."

So, today in this beautiful land in northeast Florida, surrounded on all sides by increasing activity, there exists this historic site which is soon to be memorialized by the United States government as the Fort Caroline National Memorial. It may be rightly termed the cradle of the American tradition of freedom, the birthplace of the first child born on our shores to this tradition, the place of the first recorded birth of a white child in what or now is the United States, the spot which marks the beginning of permanent colonization of our vast continent north of Mexico, the site of the first highway in what is now the United States, a spot fortified by more nations than any other spot in the United States, the

site of the council which decided the nationality of a large portion of the New World, and a spot which has a continuous history touching almost every phase of American development. Fort Caroline required the Spanish to establish and maintain St. Augustine and inspired the English to busy themselves in establishing the colonies at Roanoke and Jamestown. Truly, it was the first foothold of the permanent settlement of the United States. *

*On April 5, 1956, C. R. Vinten, Superintendent of Castillo de San Marcos National Monument wrote the following to Congressman Bennett:

I can report to you with very genuine pleasure that the program of planning and development at Fort Caroline National Memorial is making real progress.

The Construction program at the memorial began on February 17, this year. As of today, the entrance drive and parking area have been cleared and graded, concrete curbs and walks as well as storm sewers and water lines are installed, and the road and courtyard grading for the utility area has been completed. Road paving will begin soon.

From the standpoint of planning, the design for the Visitor Center and Maintenance Structures have been approved and in the near future we plan to advertise for bids for the construction of these buildings and their contingent utilities. Funds are available at this time to complete all major projects which now appear essential to the proper interpretation of the events which marked the beginning of permanent colonization of the vast continent north of Mexico.

The story of Fort Caroline will be told graphically in the Visitor Center, by means of maps, pictures, scaled models, and authentic specimens of military and domestic property similar to those used by both the French colonists and Indian natives of this early period. Plans for these exhibits are now being prepared by Park Service Historian Albert C. Manucy so that the exhibits may be installed as soon as the Visitor Center is ready for them.

According to the success we have experienced to date with development and planning work, the memorial should be ready for public visitation early in the summer of next year. We are looking forward to this occasion as it will represent the fulfillment of years of effort by individuals and organizations to secure national recognition of the Fort Caroline colony, which led directly to the permanent colonization of this region.

ALABAMA'S POLITICAL LEADERS AND THE ACQUISITION OF FLORIDA

by HUGH C. BAILEY

IF MANY AMERICANS were concerned with western expansion in 1819, it is equally true that many were greatly interested in expansion to the south. America's spirit of "manifest destiny" was by no means blunted with the purchase of Louisiana, and at the time of Alabama's admission to the Union the question of the acquisition and disposition of Florida had become a major issue. Nowhere was the concern greater than among the group which dominated the early years of Alabama's political life, "the Georgia Machine." Composed of former Georgians, many of whom originally came from Virginia, the "machine" was nurtured and directed from Washington by Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford. He and such Alabama "Georgians" as the former Georgia senators Charles Tait and William Wyatt Bibb were quite familiar with the efforts which had been made for Southern expansion.¹

They knew that as early as 1805 Jefferson had asked Congress for a two million dollar appropriation to be used as an aid in the negotiations to obtain West Florida. Contact with Napoleon, however, had produced no results, but between 1810 and 1813 revolution and military force procured West Florida from the Perdido River to the Mississippi for the young nation.

American nationalism had been accentuated by the War of 1812 at a time when Spanish strength was declining as a result of the Spanish-American revolutions. The Spanish foreign minister, Pizarro, "feared that some sudden move of the United States might bring on a war that would ruin Spain in America once and forever."² Therefore he decided to let the United States have Florida in return for which he hoped to receive a pledge from

1. The author has dealt fully with the dominance of the "Georgia Machine" in "John W. Walker and the 'Georgia Machine' in Early Alabama Politics." *The Alabama Review*, VIII (July, 1955), 179-195.

2. Samuel Bemis, *John Quincy Adams and the Foundations of American Foreign Policy*, (New York, 1949), 307.

the American government not to recognize any of the revolted provinces in Spanish America. To achieve this goal, the Spanish Minister to the United States, Don Luis de Onís y Gonzales, opened negotiations early in 1818.

These negotiations were interrupted in the spring of 1818 by Andrew Jackson's Florida expedition. Late in 1817 the hero of the Battle of New Orleans had been commissioned by the United States government to punish the Seminoles whose raids into American territory and provision of haven for escaped slaves had become quite an annoyance, and was authorized to pursue them across the Spanish border if necessary. With characteristic vigor, Jackson seized the posts of St. Marks and Pensacola, tried and executed two British citizens, deposed the Spanish governor, naming an American in his place, and burned the Spanish archives.

Onís demanded a return of Florida to Spanish authority, an indemnity for the episode, and punishment of Jackson. Yet he continued to discuss the potential treaty with Secretary of State John Quincy Adams on the assumption that Florida would be restored.³

Secretary of War John C. Calhoun wrote his good friend, Charles Tait, former Senator from Georgia and now Alabama's first United States District Judge, that Jackson's action was "unauthorized, and done . . . on his own responsibility." Such being the case the captured areas would, of course, be returned to Spain. Though not a pacifist, Calhoun was extremely anxious to avoid war over the Florida question. "We have nothing to gain in a Spanish War and much to lose," he declared. "Should the contest be confined to Spain and us, our commerce must pass from us to the neutral powers, particularly England. Should other powers be involved, and the war general, the wisest man cannot see its result. We must suffer. We want Time. Let us grow."⁴ Tait later was to mirror this same reasoning in his advice to John W. Walker, Alabama's "Georgia" member of the United States Senate.⁵

3. Bemis, *op. cit.*, 300-316.

4. John C. Calhoun to Charles A. Tait, July 20, 1818, Charles A. Tait Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, hereinafter cited as Tait Papers, Montgomery.

5. In order to quiet opposition Alabama's "Georgia Machine" allowed the second U.S. Senator from the state to be chosen outside its ranks. The office went to William Rufus King, who was elected Vice-President of the United States in 1854.

Holding these views, Secretary Calhoun was greatly concerned over any provocative action such as that taken by Jackson. Once he had received Tait's views on the subject, he spoke more freely, but in a confidential manner. ⁶ "It is indispensable that the military should on all occasions be held subordinate to orders: and, I know of no excuses except necessity that ought to exempt from punishment disobedience to orders," Calhoun held. If this were true why had Jackson not been punished?

Calhoun's answer to this question does not indicate his stand in the cabinet for court martialing Jackson. He diplomatically informed Tait that the reason for the administration's action was "adversity of opinion, as to the character of his (Jackson's) conduct." Some held that the General had received orders which he believed were from the President authorizing the action he had taken. "When to this was added the misconduct of the Spanish authority in Florida and the relation of this country with Spain, it was thought it would be highly improper to order any proceedings against the General." "Such was the diversity of view taken on this subject," Calhoun wrote, that it would "render it, perhaps, improper, to take the high toned course; as that ought not to be resorted to, but in a case free from doubt." ⁷

Reflecting an adverse attitude toward Jackson which was always held by many of the "Georgia" political clique, Territorial Governor William Wyatt Bibb of Alabama disagreed with Calhoun. "In apologizing for General Jackson," he held, the governmental leaders "have erred most egregiously." Bibb felt that they would gain nothing by it with Jackson's friends, and, at the same time, that they would "lose much with the thinking part of the Nation." "Not a moment should have been lost in arresting the Genl. and thereby showing a just regard to the preservation of our constitution," the Governor wrote. "No man should be permitted in a free country to usurp the whole powers of the whole government and to treat with contempt all authority except that of his own will." ⁸

6. Calhoun to Tait, September 5, 1818, Tait Papers, Montgomery. "Your train of reflections in relation to Jackson and Pensacola is such as I expected," the Secretary wrote. At the end of his letter he observed, "I have spoken to you freely on this interesting subject. You will consider it between ourselves."

7. *Id. to id., ibid.*

8. William W. Bibb to Tait, September 19, 1818, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

In this opinion Bibb undoubtedly reflected the views of the great national patron and godfather of Alabama's "Georgia Machine," Secretary of the Treasury William H. Crawford. A leading presidential candidate even in 1818, Crawford had joined Calhoun in staunch opposition to Jackson in the cabinet dispute over the Florida fiasco. Jackson, however, lay under no such misapprehensions as to Crawford's attitude as he did in the case of Calhoun. Therefore the bitterness between Crawford and Jackson became of immediate political import.

The election of a United States Senator in Tennessee in 1819 "was conducted with particular reference to the supposed quarrel between the Genl. and myself," Crawford wrote. "What ought to be done with this Man? He is not inferior to the Georgia Genl. [John Clark] ⁹ in depravity and vindictiveness, and superior to him in talents and address."

The Treasury Secretary avowed that he had no direct quarrel with Jackson. Searching his own actions, he could find the only source of offense to be his indifference to the anger Jackson had shown toward him, evidently produced by Crawford's stand on the Florida episode. ¹⁰

Although before 1824 Crawford personally tended to discount Jackson's political strength, ¹¹ some of his followers did not share these views and regretted that the "Florida Dispute" was not better exploited politically. As late as March, 1822, Georgia Congressman Thomas W. Cobb wrote that he believed that Jackson was the third person in a trio composed of Georgia's Governor John Clark, Calhoun and Jackson formed to defeat Crawford's presidential ambitions. "A glorious chance to dissolve this confederacy has been lost." Had wisdom guided the investigations

9. John Clark was the leader of the "popular" party in Georgia which opposed the powerful Crawford-Troup forces which was widely known as the aristocratic party of "the Virginians and their allies." See John E. Shipp, *Giant Days or the Life and Times of William H. Crawford, Embracing also Excerpts from His Diary, Letters and Speeches, together with a Copious Index to the Whole*, (Americus, 1909), 30-33, 68; also E. Merton Coulter, *Georgia, A Short History*, (Chapel Hill, 1947), 239-240.
10. William H. Crawford to Tait, November 15, 1819, Tait Papers, Montgomery.
11. *Id.* to *id.*, September 17, 1822, *ibid.* Crawford held that the nomination of Jackson by the Tennessee Legislature "can produce no effect whatever, unless it should effect the election of Colonel Williams to the senate. I am fearful that it was intended more for that purpose than any other. There is no other state in the Union that will take him for President."

of "the late Florida transactions Jackson would have been ruined," the congressman felt.¹²

Though Jackson had severe critics in the cabinet and the Congress, Secretary of State Adams eloquently defended his actions, in effect contending "Spain must either exercise responsible authority in the derelict province or cede it to the United States." With this warning, Florida was returned to Spain. Shortly thereafter, the Marquis de Yrujo, the new Spanish Foreign Minister, instructed Onís to grant Florida to the United States and to settle the "whole territorial question as best he could preferably by running the [western] boundary along the Missouri to its source and thence to the ocean *as far north as possible*."

The Spanish envoy received this *carte blanche* on January 4, 1819. Sensing the weakness of his position, he fought a valiant rear-guard action. Finally on Washington's birthday, February 22, 1819, he formally signed the Adams-Onís Treaty which ceded Florida to the United States and fixed a transcontinental boundary line between the United States and Spanish territory west of the Mississippi River. Two days after this, the Senate, by unanimous consent, gave its approval to one of the greatest diplomatic triumphs in American history.¹³ It appeared that the Florida question had been settled, but, as Senator John W. Walker prepared to assume his position in the Senate upon the admission of Alabama, the entire affair was again thrown in the hands of the American government.

Although the powers under which Onís signed the treaty contained a pledge that the Spanish King would approve any treaty negotiated by his plenipotentiary, the Council of State objected when the document reached Madrid. It pointed out that it contained no guarantee against the recognition of the independence of the Latin American states, no promise of the United States to better enforce its neutrality laws, while in the Council's opinion, too much territory had been ceded. Overawed by such a report, the King dispatched General Francisco Dionisio Vives to Washington to see if he could obtain more favorable terms.

As time passed the impatience of the American people grew greater. Senator Walker from his Washington vantage point was sensitive to this and conscious of its influence on the govern-

12. Thomas W. Cobb to Tait, March 8, 1822, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

13. Bemis, *op. cit.*, 317-340.

mental officials. Secretary Adams was disgusted, feeling that the President's "sympathetic Latin-American Policy" had destroyed his fine handiwork. He urged Monroe to advise Congress to occupy the Floridas by force. Henry Clay, at this time Speaker of the House, was jubilant since he felt Spain had saved the United States from an unprofitable deal. From the House chamber, he demanded that the United States occupy both Florida and Texas.¹⁴ The cry for action was heard everywhere. Secretary of the Treasury Crawford felt (November, 1819) that there was no intention of making Spanish refusal to ratify the treaty a cause of war; yet he believed that the Floridas would be occupied and, at the same time, a declaration would be issued stating "that war is not intended - that we shall limit our views to the accomplishment of what Spain ought to have done for us." By this means he presumed war would be avoided.¹⁵

Judge Charles Tait, who shared his wisdom with Senator Walker on every major issue, viewed the question with the greatest solicitude. He sincerely hoped that war, "the last resort of nations," could be avoided; yet, if it should come, he felt that the United States must be ready to respond with "promptitude & . . . unanimity." He feared, reflecting Calhoun's views, that such a war would be "disastrous" to the United States since its navigation would be sacrificed and its commerce would "become the *prey* of the privateering interests of all Europe"

He felt that the American Navy was much too small to protect the country's maritime interests, "spread," as they were "over every sea." Nor had it been ten times its current strength, it could not have protected American shipping. Should war come, "the British, the Dutch, the Dane, the Swede &c" would use the Spanish flag to attack American shipping, until, Tait feared, within a few years, "the American flag would (except on board a national ship) be a rarity on the Ocean."

Tait felt that great pressure would be exerted for war by all the Florida speculators, "all persons who expect contracts & fat jobs; all the military by land & sea who honestly pant for action & an opportunity to distinguish themselves," and many others. But he wondered if these special groups represented "the interest of the nation."

14. *Ibid.*, 350; John W. Walker to Tait, December 20, 1819, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

15. Crawford to Tait, November 15, 1819, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

The former Senator, however, was no advocate of "peace, at any price." He proposed the occupancy of so much of Florida "as may be necessary to secure us against Indian depredation." Once this was done American negotiation could go forward "on a solid basis," since the republic would have "one foot on Florida & the other on Texas bestriding the gulf of Mexico."¹⁶

Senator Walker deprecated a Spanish war, but felt that Tait's views were "perfectly correct." Should war come he could foresee only an annihilation of American commerce, since it would be "a war not so much of Spanish, but of commercial Europe." He felt that, "every rascal pecaroon of every nation would hoist the Spanish cross." The course of wisdom, then, was for the United States not to loose a Spanish war if it could be avoided with honor.

The Alabama senator believed that no one "seriously proposes that it [war] shall be proclaimed by us, but it may grow out of the measures which we adopt."¹⁷ On December 7, 1819, President Monroe, in his annual "State of the Union" message, asked Congress for authority to take over Florida, whereupon the House Committee on Foreign Affairs reported such a bill. This policy was countered by Henry Clay who introduced two resolutions in the "Committee of the Whole" stating that only Congress has power to cede territory which belongs to the United States (referring to Texas, in this instance) and that the equivalent in the Adams-Onis Treaty for that part of Louisiana west of the Sabine River was inadequate and that that area should not be transferred to any foreign power or the treaty renewed.¹⁸

Walker wondered what would be the result of an attempt to execute the President's policy, and, if something of this nature were not done, if the government would abandon the treaty, and "consider ourselves remitted to our ancient title, and take possession of Texas by virtue of the Louisiana treaty."

Both courses had their advocates. Walker felt sure that if Monroe's policy were adopted, it would be done with modifications; perhaps, a time would be set for Spanish concurrence beyond

16. Tait to Walker, November 15, 19, 1819, John W. Walker Papers, Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery, hereinafter cited as Walker Papers, Montgomery.

17. Walker to Tait, December 20, 1819, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

18. See Bemis, *op. cit.*, 351.

which no explanation [*sic*] will be allowed, no grace accorded." Meanwhile one could only wait and hope.¹⁹

Clay's resolutions never emerged from the "Committee of the Whole." They may have influenced the President's thinking, however. On Adams' advice, he sent a special message to Congress on March 27, 1820, suggesting that it delay action on his recommendations until the next session, allowing time for a new Spanish minister to arrive. Simultaneously, Secretary Adams informed the Georgia leader, John Forsyth, the United States' new Minister to Spain (1819-1823), that if Spanish approval of the Adams-Onis Treaty were withheld "the United States would insist upon further indemnity, and would reassert 'and never again relinquish' its rights to a western boundary at the Rio Grande del Norte."²⁰

Forsyth's mission proved notably unsuccessful. Israel Pickens, the future Alabama governor, though a friend of Forsyth, felt that had he "used a little more of the *suaviter in modo*, & left the *fortiter* to the government at home" he might have obtained better results.²¹

Judge Tait believed that his former colleague had permitted himself "to depart from the usual style, & temper, & courtesy in Diplomatic affairs." Tait did not question his motives, and, in an obvious reference to Jackson, wondered why "sh. not the same rule be applied to the man who runs riot in civil matters as to him who violates all Laws in Millitary [*sic*] affairs." He hoped that Forsyth would be permitted "to go off even with *eclat* in consideration 1st that he has only bullied Spain & 2d because his motive was good."

On a bit more reflection, Tait came to feel that Forsyth should be called home at once, since he could do no possible good in Madrid. The former senator was sorry for him since he had "subjected himself to the imputation of hunting for popularity through his diplomatic agency." He hoped that the government would "take care" of the "diplomat" after his return home.²²

When Senator Walker heard reports that Forsyth was returning home, he was sure that the diplomat must have been re-

19. Walker to Tait., December 20, 1819, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

20. See Bemis, *op. cit.*, 351 ff.

21. Israel Pickens to Walker, January 27, 1820 Walker Papers, Montgomery.

22. Tait to Walker, February 29, 1820, *ibid.*

called; at least, he felt, he should have been. Shortly after this Don Francis de Dionysio do Vives arrived in Washington (April 9) and a rumor flooded the city to the effect that he had brought the ratified treaty with him. By the 17th, however, it was agreed by the "secret-finders" that the Don had not brought the treaty "ratified by his *adored* master." Rumor then began to hold that he had received the power to agree to a new treaty which would enable the "instant possession of the Floridas" to be given the United States upon its concurrence.²³

General Vives soon made known Spain's demands for ratification. These included a strengthening of the neutrality laws, a guarantee of Spain's possessions in the western hemisphere and a pledge by the United States not to recognize any of the revolting Spanish-American colonies. Secretary Adams flatly refused these terms, holding that the United States had pursued a neutral policy and that to give pledges never to recognize the independence of the revolting colonies would be a violation of neutrality.²⁴

Senator Walker preferred to wait and see what would happen, but he had no fear of war during the current session of Congress. "No body is mad enough just now to fight for Florida," he wrote. Besides, "Our *sinews* are unstrung. Our war-chest is as empty as an exhausted receiver [reservoir]. The treasury . . . is *minus* even for the peace establishment." In such a condition, the United States would not precipitate war.²⁵

As the session closed in May, 1820, the Alabama senator bemoaned the fact that no major developments had taken place on the Florida issue. Not only had the nation not taken Florida, but it did not "rest authority in the President to do so contingently. 'Our poverty, and not our will, consents'," Walker wrote, as he returned home.²⁶

But again European distresses came to America's aid. Soon after Vives left Madrid, a liberal revolution took place. This, together with the danger that the United States might seize Florida - and even Texas should Clay's views prevail - led to a reversal of policy. Isolated in Europe and threatened in America, the Council of States now favored ratification, and the "new

23. Walker to Tait, April 17, 1820, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

24. Bemis, *op. cit.*, 351-352.

25. Walker to Tait, April 17, 1820, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

26. *Id.* to *id.*, May 14, 1820, *ibid.*

constitutional Cortes" gave its approval in secret on September 30, 1820, at the same time annulling its Florida land grants. The King signed the treaty October 24, 1820.²⁷

The revolution would appear also to have had effects on American policy. Had it not occurred, Secretary of War Calhoun believed that "there would have been little, or no diversity as to the course to be pursued on the termination of the correspondence with General Vives." In the opinion of Calhoun, "The occupation of the country in dispute would have followed."²⁸ Happily this was not necessary.

When Congress reconvened in the fall of 1820, the rumors that the cession had been made were repeated in the London journals and private letters from Madrid, though the government had received nothing official on the subject.²⁹ By the end of January, 1821, however, there was "no doubt . . . of its approval by the King with advice and consent of the Cortez." A policy of watchful negotiation had paid off.³⁰

Since the terms in the original treaty had provided that ratification must be exchanged within six months, President Monroe was forced to place its fate once more in the hands of the Senate. Senator Walker feared that "unctious politicians, [who] look with more solicitude to Texas" than to Florida, would impede its progress. Fortunately these fears did not prove to be correct. On February 19, 1821, the Senate again gave its approval, this time with four dissenting votes. These were cast by Senators James Brown of Louisiana, a brother-in-law of Henry Clay, Richard M. Johnson of Kentucky, William Allen Trimble of Ohio and John Williams of Tennessee.³¹

With the acquisition of Florida, the next question which became of paramount interest to Alabama's leaders was the disposition of the western portion of the area. The Alabama Constitutional Convention, led by Senator Walker and other "Georgians," had memorialized Congress praying that so much of the country as lies west of the Apalachicola River should be added to Alabama

27. Bemis, *op. cit.*, 352.

28. Calhoun to Tait, May 20, 1820, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

29. Walker to Tait, December 17, 1820, *ibid.*

30. *Id.* to *id.*, January 28, 1821, *ibid.*

31. *Id.* to *id.*, *ibid.*

upon the ratification of the treaty of annexation.³² The memorial pointed out that much of the area lies along the southern border of Alabama and that Pensacola "must become" the main seaport for at least the portion of the state "which lies south of [the] chain of Mountains dividing the waters of the Tennessee River from that of Mobile Bay." Unless the area should be given to Alabama, it held, "2/3's of Alabama will be blocked by a strip of territory 50 miles in breadth."

The convention pointed out that this portion of Florida was held to be composed of barren soil, while Eastern Florida "appears of itself sufficiently extensive to form a state." It requested the Congress to examine the condition of all concerned. If it did so and acted accordingly, the convention had no fear as to what the results would be.³³

Judge Tait sincerely hoped that the Congress would comply with the request of the convention. "Our Geographical symetry [*sic*] will be marred unless this annexation takes place," he wrote. He trusted that "the local divisions of this State our northern & our southern interests will not operate to obstruct a measure which cannot but be for the interest of this community."³⁴

In February, 1821, Senator Walker presented the memorial of the Alabama Convention to the Senate, where it was referred to the Foreign Relations Committee. Unfortunately Secretary Crawford and the other national leaders of the "Georgia" clique did not identify the cause of their Alabama brethren with their own, therefore shortly thereafter the Senate committee was discharged from the consideration of the measure.³⁵

Walker did not give up his struggle, however, nor did his friends and potential constituents give up hope. In February, 1822, Judge Tait planned the possible rearrangement of his court sessions should West Florida be added to his district. Since Pensacola was "as healthy in Sept. as in Jany.," he felt that he could retreat to it during the sickly season in South Alabama. He hoped

32. In Clarence E. Carter (ed.), *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, XVIII, *The Territory of Alabama, 1817-1819*, (Washington, 1952), 664-666.

33. *Ibid.*

34. Tait to Walker, November 16, 1821, Walker Papers, Montgomery.

35. *Journal of the Senate of the United States of America*, 16 Cong., 2 sess., (Washington, 1822), 211, 217, 226, hereinafter cited as *Sen. Jr.*

the annexation would take place since he deemed it "necessary for them & for us."³⁶

As late as July, 1822, Senator Walker received a request from J. H. Chaplin as to when a new memorial should be sent to Congress from the residents of Pensacola. Chaplin reported that the previous year when he presented a memorial on the subject, "the measure was unpopular," and he obtained only about two-hundred-thirty signers. At the time of his letter, however, he was convinced that "3/4's are now in favor" of annexation to Alabama. He was at a loss as to whether to memorialize the next session or delay yet another session before presenting another petition to Congress.³⁷

In the interim, however, the Senate had passed a bill establishing a territorial government for Florida. When this measure was under debate, Walker offered an amendment providing for the annexation of West Florida to Alabama, which was defeated 25 to 19. Walker and William R. King were joined by only two other Southern senators in voting for the measure.³⁸

Walker made "sundry eloquent languages" on the subject and felt that he had demonstrated that the annexation would be best for both Alabama and Florida. He received "a great many fine compliments" for his exertions, but these did not produce votes for his doomed amendments.

"It failed chiefly from the fears of the South," he wrote, but he felt that the failure was only temporary. "It must finally succeed," he held. "The Country belongs to us by position and common interests. Nature has given it to us, and Congress will not always withhold [it]." Walker found this to be the opinion of three-quarters of the Senate. The peninsula was "competent of itself" to become a state, and once this fact became established

36. Tait to Walker, February 22, 1822, Walker Papers, Montgomery. Tait also requested that if his judicial district were enlarged that he should receive an increase in salary, so that his stipend would be the same as that of the Mississippi Judge.

37. J. H. Chaplin to Walker, July 13, 1822, Walker Papers, Montgomery.

38. *Sen. Jr.*, 17 Cong., 1 sess., (Washington, 1823), 166-167. The boundary proposed for the territory to be annexed to Alabama was as follows: "Beginning at the mouth of the Perdido river; thence, up the same, to the thirty-first degree of north latitude; thence, along the said degree of latitude, to the middle of the Chatahouchie river; thence, along the middle of the said river Chatahouchie, or Apalachicola, to the Gulf of Mexico; thence, westwardly, including all adjacent islands dependent on the late province of West Florida, to the place of beginning."

in the statesmen's minds, "the natural union of West Florida and Alabama will [be] no longer forbidden." Though he was convinced that the present "is the best and wisest time" for annexation, Alabama's premier senator had to place his faith in the future. For once his trust was in vain.³⁹

The denouement of the Florida saga came in the spring of 1822. On March 8, President Monroe sent a message to Congress, accompanied by documents, advocating the recognition of the independence of the revolutionary Latin American republics. Walker felt that there would be no difficulty whatsoever in obtaining House approval. Though the Spanish minister strongly protested, he felt that the matter would rest there, and that the Senate would follow the lead of the lower chamber. "Less sensation has been excited by this measure than you would imagine," he wrote. "Many *great-men*, it is said, are ready and willing to visit these new powers in quality of ambassadors &c."⁴⁰

Senator Walker's crystal ball proved to be correct. Within less than two months the independent republics had received American recognition, and for all practical purposes, the Florida episode was at an end.

39. Walker to Tait, March 19, 1822, Tait Papers, Montgomery.

40. *Id.* to *id.*, *ibid.*

FLORIDA, IOWA, AND THE NATIONAL "BALANCE OF POWER," 1845

by FRANKLIN A. DOTY

TO FLORIDIANS, the admission of their state to the Union is an event in which interest arises as a matter of course from local and state pride and from general historical awareness of the times and circumstances. To Iowans, the event is of similar interest because of the pairing of the two states in the same act of admission. To the historically minded in general, the occasion provides a convenient focus for reconsidering some of the chief crosscurrents of national politics in the 1840's.

Textbooks of American history never speak of "The Florida Compromise" in the sense that they do of the Missouri Compromise, yet the two have a comparable significance in the political adjustments of the middle period of national history. The latter had established the valuable device of pairing a Northern with a Southern state as the nation's area grew. Michigan and Arkansas were thus paired in 1836, and the novelty of the idea had worn off by 1845. Indeed, as will be shown, it was by then a well-nigh unalterable procedure. None of the state admissions of 1836 or 1845, moreover, carried the far reaching policy commitments that accompanied the Missouri Compromise. These factors, together with the swift and unprecedented maneuver of annexing Texas, which greatly outdistanced the Florida-Iowa bill in popular concern, account for the less conspicuous nature of the "Florida Compromise" of 1845.

The present consideration is not a "revisionist" approach to the history of Florida and Iowa in 1845. It will trace some of the unexpected as well as the expected complications attending the admission of these states. It will, primarily, afford a glance at the somewhat unique appeal to a three-cornered balance of power concept within the nation; at the depth and severity of sectional political expression almost a generation before Sumter; at the attitudes concerning statehood and the Union on the frontiers of the 1840's; at the singularly involved - although sometimes far-fetched - interrelatedness of the principal public issues; and at some of the personalities who played a part in this episode.

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Territorial Period: Contrasts

There were some singular parallels in the attitudes of the territorial populations of both areas with respect to statehood and the problems and prospects of membership in the Union. There were also notable and interesting contrasts in the experience of the two territories in the years prior to 1845.

The peculiar terms of the Florida cession treaty of 1819, which stated that the inhabitants "shall be incorporated in the Union of the United States, as soon as may be consistent with the principles of the Federal Constitution, and admitted to the enjoyment of all the privileges, rights, and immunities of the citizens of the United States. . . ." had been responsible for a more or less continuous agitation of the statehood issue. In their earliest petitions for admission to the Union, as well as in their later memorials arising out of congressional inaction, Floridians reminded Congress of this promise and remonstrated against delays. They also used these same terms as the basis of claiming the right to statehood regardless of population size.

The Iowans of 1845, on the other hand, had known no such continuity as a territory, nor were there any prior commitments regarding statehood for the area other than that of 1820 which specified that it would be free soil. Between 1804 and 1838, the area that would become the twenty-ninth state had been administered under six different jurisdictions: the territories of Indiana, Louisiana, and Missouri, the "Unorganized Territory of the United States," and the territories of Michigan and of Wisconsin. The territory of Iowa was not formally organized until 1838, the same year in which Florida was already writing a state constitution at St. Joseph.¹

It is relevant to point out as well the distinction between the geographic integrity of Florida, delimited naturally by the sea on one side and politically by the established states on the other, and the tremendous stretches of woods, hills, and prairies out of which must one day be carved a state of Iowa. These geographic peculiarities contributed in significant ways - at times critically - to the problem of admission.

1. Cf. William Salter, *Iowa, The First Free State in The Louisiana Purchase . . . 1673-1846* (Chicago, 1905), *passim*.

Florida, of course, had felt for generations the impact of the Spanish culture in language, religion, commerce, and the like, while the first permanent settlements in Iowa were made by more truly indigenous folk, before whom the Indian receded under varying pressures. But this difference in cultural and folk origins is less significant than the manner in which the two territories fitted into the larger picture of their respective regions, further buttressing their contrasting attitudes toward slavery and related issues. Their very admission to the Union was fundamentally conditioned by this economic and political sectionalism. The limitations in the Florida constitution on emancipation of slaves and on the immigration of free Negroes into the state gave rise to the most controversial part of the congressional debates. In Iowa, on the other hand, while slavery was as inadmissible as emancipation was in Florida, the constitution writers significantly conceded to prejudice regarding Negroes, denying them political rights, and expressing in debate, though not in the final document, their desire to prevent further immigration of free Negroes into Iowa.²

Relations with the Indians in the two territories just prior to admission to the Union present another contrast which in turn played at least a minor role in the movement toward statehood. Iowans were fortunate, in a sense, that their location was athwart one of the main streams of westward migrations, for an established program of Indian treaties and removals had eased the relations between the white and red men. The Black Hawk war in 1832, an ugly interruption of this process, resulted in the opening of a huge and attractive area of additional settlement. The Black Hawk Purchase, extending nearly 200 miles along the west bank of the Mississippi north from the Missouri state boundary and west in depths varying from 40 to 50 miles, provided an area of nearly 6,000,000 acres which in the summer of 1833 was opened to peaceful settlement. This region, together with the "neutral grounds" obtained earlier from the Sioux and the Sac and Fox Indians in what is now extreme north-east Iowa, embraced practically all of the settled portion of Iowa up to 1845.

2. Benjamin F. Shambaugh, ed., *Fragments of Debates of the Iowa Constitutional Conventions of 1844 and 1846 along with Press Comments and other Materials on the Constitutions of 1844 and 1846* (Iowa City, 1900), 26-29, 33, 42, 46, 123, 155-6.

Thus at no time during the territorial period did Indian relations hinder Iowa's growth toward statehood.

The melancholy events in Florida's Indian relations during the later territorial period are well known. The uncertainty of life, the loss of property, and the decline of trade led to financial insolvency in the territorial government and to the actual suspension of tax payments during part of the Seminole war. The occurrence of the war almost exclusively in East Florida resulted in sectional differences with regard to the advisability of seeking statehood and in ironic references to the "bleeding, suffering" east from western elements in the state.³

The unequal burden of the war served to accentuate a more fundamental and longer standing sectionalism within territorial Florida. Succeeding the traditional division of the area into East and West Florida, marked by the Apalachicola river valley and dating from the British and Spanish administrations, there had been established a fairly pronounced economic division into an "East", a "Middle", and a "West" Florida, the latter two separating at the Apalachicola, and the Suwannee setting off east Florida. It was in middle Florida that planter wealth, higher living standards, and the attitudes associated with a budding proprietary aristocracy had become more prevalent, in contrast to the sparsely settled and war-ravaged east and the semi-barren littoral of the western gulf coast counties.

These differences were in turn reflected in opposing attitudes toward banking, toward taxation, as well as toward the very issue of statehood. Middle Florida, predominantly Whig, upheld the chartering and guaranteeing of banks by the territorial government and generally took the lead in urging the desirability of statehood, at least until the constitution was actually written, while the extremes of the territory quite consistently took negative attitudes on these issues. The territorial delegate to Congress prior to 1841, Charles Downing, at various times was asked to press for a single state, for two states, and for admitting part of the area as a state and continuing the remainder as a territory. Thus sectional controversy within the territory not only plagued

3. Dorothy Dodd, "The Movement for Statehood," in Florida State Library Board, *Florida Becomes a State* (Tallahassee, 1945), 48. The author has drawn extensively for this article from Miss Dodd's excellent treatment of the territorial period.

the efforts of Floridians to become a state, but, as will be shown, continued to be a real consideration in the congressional debates on admission.

No comparable difficulty arose in Iowa, although there was difference of opinion within the area respecting the exact delineation of the boundaries as they would affect the location of the already established communities within the proposed state. The discrepancy between the boundaries described in the first Iowa constitution (1844) and those described in the act of admission of March 3, 1845, made it necessary to amend these boundaries in the following year. During this debate it was revealed that some Iowans would have settled for the 42nd degree of latitude as the northern boundary of the state, while the residents of Dubuque, according to Stephen Douglas' remarks in Congress, "were not willing to have the boundary come close to them, so that they would be placed on the frontier. They wished either for such an arrangement as should cause Dubuque to be the largest town in a little state, or else to make it the central town of a large state."⁴

Territorial Period: Parallels

Although there were thus many differences in the historical experience of territorial Iowa and Florida prior to 1845, it is important to point out a number of similarities in the attitudes of the two areas, for these, as well as the contrasts, shed light on the debates over the admission of the two states

Except for local references, the speeches made in the Florida convention of 1838 and the Iowa convention of 1844 on the subject of banks might almost be exchanged with each other without doing violence to history.⁵ In both territories this issue was the most decisive divider of men and policies. Both conventions were controlled by local Democrats (Locofocos) and

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4. *The Congressional Globe* (Blair and Rives, eds., Washington, 1845), XV, 938. See the comment of *The Iowa Capital Reporter* (Iowa City) on "... the suicidal project for dwarfing the dimensions of Iowa, which originated in that town . . ." (August 27, 1845); reprinted in Shambaugh, *Fragments*, 262.
 5. See James Owen Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (Deland, 1926), 167-174, 180-184, 190-200 *passim*; and Shambaugh, *Fragments*, 68-72, 74-77, 79-81, 88-89, 189-191, 198-203.

in both of them the Whig minorities saw extreme measures incorporated into the two constitutions to limit banking and corporation activities.

In both territories one of the most consistent arguments for moving toward statehood was the desire for more self-government, particularly in the appointment of territorial officials and in readier access to courts of justice. In the earliest years of the Iowa territory, this latter problem seemed quite acute, and was emphasized (actually during the period of Michigan jurisdiction) on the occasion of a murder in Dubuque in 1834, when the citizens formed an *ad hoc* court and jury and tried the accused and hanged him.⁶ In later years the territorial government was more adequate, but the issue of self-government was repeatedly voiced.

More adequate court service and the local responsibility of officials were among the arguments in Governor Richard K. Call's appeal to the Florida territorial legislature in January, 1837, for action looking toward statehood. Directly thereafter, the legislature authorized a referendum on calling a constitutional convention, which was approved by some 63% of the voters.⁷ Again in 1842, three years after Florida's constitution had been written and submitted to Congress, this argument acquired new vigor in connection with the abortive attempt to reconvene the constitutional convention so as to arrange for actual election of state officials.

Probably the strongest argument in both territories against becoming a state sprang from the fear of increased taxes and the generally greater financial outlay accompanying more complete self-government. These two considerations - self-government *versus* expense - were indeed the occasion for a running battle of words and figures between the proponents and opponents of statehood. Reference has already been made to the virtual insolvency of the Florida government, brought on in large part by the Seminole war. While Iowa's financial plight was not as pressing, in both areas estimates of the increased expenses were cast up that served to dull the edge of eagerness for statehood. The depression of 1837 had of course had its repercussions in bank failures in both territories, and the general difficulty of frontier people in

6. Salter, *op.cit.*, 173.

7. Dodd, *op cit.*, 37.

getting possession of money made them reluctant to assume further monetary obligations.

A final concern which affected thinking in both territories was the problem of the appropriate timing of the request to Congress for admission, in view of the established tradition of pairing a Northern and a Southern state. This issue was the more worrisome in Florida because of Iowa's off again-on again behavior, although it was also a problem in Iowa because of the fear, during the years Florida's petition lay before Congress, that Wisconsin might steal a march on Iowa and come in with Florida, leaving Iowa's chances for admission in grave doubt.

Timing The Entrance

Florida was the earlier of the two to make the first moves toward statehood, but in addition to the problem of whether there should be one or two Floridas, progress was delayed somewhat by the alternative proposals that (1) east and west Florida be annexed to Georgia and Alabama, and (2) Georgia and Alabama cede their areas below 30° 15' of latitude to Florida in order to assure an adequate population and to obtain another state in "an undivided front in the support of the great principles of southern policy."⁸ Despite the failure of either of these proposals to materialize, the Legislative Council defeated in 1834 a bill to authorize a referendum on becoming a state.

After Governor Call's appeal in 1837, mentioned above, a constitutional convention was authorized, was elected in October of 1838, convened at St. Joseph on December 1, 1838, and finished its work on January 11, 1839.⁹ It was shortly before the election of the convention delegates in Florida that the Iowa territory was formed, and since there was no other state then ready for admission in 1839, the advocates of statehood in Florida were realistic enough to fear that their petition to Congress might face a long delay since "balance of power politics" carried more weight in Congress than "rights" assumed under the Treaty of 1819.

8. Dodd, *op.cit.*, quoting the Printed Journal of the Legislative Council, 1833, 54.

9. The complete journal of the convention is reprinted in *Florida Becomes a State*, Doc. No. 16.

Nevertheless, the "Memorial of the People of the Territory of Florida, for Admission into the Union," signed by Robert Raymond Reid, president of the convention, and by six other members, reached Congress in February, 1839, and was ordered printed by both Houses and in the Senate it was referred to the Judiciary Committee. It began with a recital of the many statements made before and after 1819 regarding the incorporation of Florida into the Union, and drew attention to the lapse of twenty years without action. The territorial census of 1838 was appended, and was explained as revealing only a partial picture, since

the presence of a hostile and savage foe prevented in many counties the execution of the law; many of our citizens, with their families, had been obliged to abandon temporarily their houses till the danger of massacre should become less imminent, and in other parts of the Territory the duty was entirely neglected.¹⁰

The main burden of the memorial, however, was to assert that, due to the nature of the Treaty of 1819, size of population could not be a factor in the territory's eligibility for admission to the Union. The petitioners felt, on the contrary, that their admission was "guarantied" by the Treaty. They uniquely argued that if any minimum representation ratio should be required, it ought to be the one in effect in 1819, which was 35,000, and which, according to the census, the territory now met. (Counting three-fifths of the slaves, the census showed a representation basis of 37,380.) But they went on to point out that the ratio varied with the whim of Congress; that it was inconceivable that the Congress would exclude a state if its population fell below the current ratio; and they "respectfully urged, that a rule or principle which would not justify the *expulsion* of a State with a deficient population, on the ground of inconsistency with the constitution should not exclude or prohibit *admission*."

The memorial plead finally that Floridians should no longer be kept under a regime "so hostile to the cardinal maxims of free government, so obviously at war with the vital principles of the

10. House Doc. 208, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, 2-3. The census showed (p. 25): White, 25,143; Slaves, 21,132; Free Blacks, 958; - Total 48,223.

Federal constitution," and called upon fellow citizens no longer to force upon them "the odious principle of 'taxation without representation'."

The Florida constitution, thus warmly pressed upon the Congress, was more coolly received at home where the Legislative Council, moved by Whig disgust at the provisions on banking and corporations, failed by only one vote in the upper house to pass a bill repealing the act that had authorized the convention.¹¹ It was not until several months after the new constitution reached Congress that Floridians got around to ratifying it themselves, and then only by the narrowest margin - 2,070 to 1,975 by one tally, and 2,071 to 1,958 by another.¹²

In this same fall of 1839, Governor Robert Lucas asked the Iowa territorial legislature to appeal to Congress for an enabling act to start the territory on the road to statehood, but the legislature refused to do so, mainly on the ground of the additional expense of statehood but also because of a feeling that the territorial government was comparatively liberal and satisfactory.¹³

Early in 1840, however, just as a second request for action from the Florida territorial legislature reached Congress, the governor of Iowa was able to persuade the territorial legislature to authorize a popular referendum, but in August, the voters defeated the project of calling a convention by a count of 2,907 to 937.¹⁴ It cannot be shown that this decision directly affected thinking in Florida, although it might well have encouraged Whig elements to believe that the unwelcome Florida constitution might be abandoned, for at the next meeting of the Florida legislature, in January, 1841, the upper house tried to authorize another referendum on the constitution to determine if the people wished "to support the burthens of a State Government." The lower house turned this down, and another appeal for congressional action was sent to Washington. The effect of Iowa's refusal to act at this time was, however, expressed in the *Pensacola Gazette* for

11. Dodd, *op.cit.*, 68, citing the House Journal, 1839, 105, and Senate Journal, 1839, 89.

12. Dodd, *op.cit.*, 69; *Florida Becomes a State*, Doc. No. 35.

13. James Alton James, "Constitution and Admission of Iowa into the Union," in *Johns Hopkins Studies in Historical and Political Science*, Ser. 18, No. 7 (Baltimore, 1900), 351.

14. James, *op. cit.*, 352, citing *The Iowa City Standard*, Nov. 27, 1840.

January 19, 1841, when it reported: "Florida and Iowa are Siamese twins - one cannot go without the other."¹⁵

In Iowa, the issue was revived in December, 1841, when Governor John Chambers asked the legislature to authorize another referendum. Beyond the usual arguments for statehood, the Governor appealed to sectional pride and the prospects for larger federal appropriations. It was also pointed out that, in view of Florida's pending application, if Iowa did not prepare herself, Wisconsin, an older territory, might become the pairing state. In the face of all this, Iowans for a second time defeated the project of a constitutional convention, 6,825 to 4,129, in August, 1842.¹⁶

The Iowa actions of 1842 seemed to have a more noticeable effect in Florida than those of the previous year. The decision to hold a second referendum in Iowa strengthened the desire for self-government in Florida, climaxed by the efforts, eventually unavailing, to reconvene the constitutional convention in order to authorize the election of state officials, so that Florida might be ready for admission the moment Iowa should be ready. But apathy and division, both in east and west Florida, led to the collapse of the movement, and fears of Northern domination were allayed, temporarily at least, by Iowa's second refusal, in August, 1842, to call a convention.

The Whigs gained control of the Florida legislature in 1843 and their antipathy to the Florida constitution resulted in taking no official action toward statehood. They did not even renew an appeal for congressional action. The despised and nearly rejected St. Joseph constitution came more and more to be a scapegoat for the distressed and the divisionists, inside and outside the legislature.

In Iowa, Governor Chambers, discouraged but not defeated, made a request in December, 1843, for a third referendum, which the legislature approved in February, 1844. When in the following April, the voters of Iowa at last approved the calling of a constitutional convention, a chain of actions and reactions commenced which ended with the passage of the double admission act in Congress, March 3, 1845.

15. Quoted in Dodd, *op.cit.*, 75.

16. James, *op.cit.*, 353, and n. 19, citing *The Iowa City Standard*, September 10, 1842.

The time for decisive action in Florida had come, but instead there seemed to be only division worse confounded. In the 1844 meeting of the legislature, east Florida had at last gotten through both houses a request for a division into two territories, only to have it turned down both in the House and Senate in Washington. The territorial delegate from Florida, David Levy (Yulee), a Democrat who succeeded Downing in the Florida election of 1841 and who was re-elected in 1843, now appeared to take primary responsibility for forwarding Florida's quest for statehood. In June, 1844, a bill for the admission of Florida, based on the St. Joseph constitution, and providing for eventual division into two states, was prepared in the House Committee on Territories. The new Florida Legislative Council elected in 1844 was controlled by Democrats who were determined to make an all out effort for statehood. It renewed in January, 1845, the appeal for congressional action and urged the delegate "in case Iowa is admitted, or seeks admission to the Union, to use his utmost endeavors to procure the passage of a law admitting Florida also into the Confederacy."¹⁷

Meanwhile, the Iowa constitutional convention, elected on a strictly Whig *versus* Democrat basis, and heavily weighted with members of the latter party, convened at Iowa City on October 7, 1844, and finished its task on November 1st. The remarkable similarity in the issues before the Iowa City and the St. Joseph meetings as well as in their treatment, has already been observed. The finished document from Iowa, as in the case of Florida, was rushed to Congress before being submitted to the people for ratification.

The House Debate

The session of Congress which was destined to admit both Florida and Iowa by the same bill was the second or "lame duck" session of the 28th Congress, which opened on Monday, December 2, 1844, and to which was read President Tyler's message on the following day. He rejoiced at the peacefulness of the recent national elections and, of course, at their results. He felt confident that the future would provide "the highest inducements

17. See Senate Journal, 28th Congress, 1st Session, 390; *Florida Becomes a State*, Docs. No. 46, 48, 49, and 51.

to cultivate and cherish a love of union, and to frown down every measure or effort which may be made to alienate the States, or the people of the States, in sentiment and feeling, from each other." He plead for "a sacred observance of the guaranties of the constitution" among which was the guaranty "of the domestic institutions of each of the States."¹⁸

These gentle hopes stood in contrast with the immediately succeeding debate in the House in which John Quincy Adams was able to have rescinded the celebrated Rule number 25 or "gag rule" on anti-slavery petitions. At the same time the Senate proceeded to entertain a parade of resolutions on the annexation of Texas, starting with McDuffie's and Benton's, the latter of which included the interesting proposition of dividing Texas into free and slave territory. Amid a plethora of lively arguments over slavery, abolition, petitions, and parliamentary maneuvers, Joshua R. Giddings of Ohio rose to propose that the animal property of the free states be represented in Congress, if the constitution could not be amended to restrict representation to free people. Proposals to annex Texas were countered with proposals to annex Canada.¹⁹ Such was the Congressional atmosphere upon the eve of considering the Florida-Iowa bill.

It will be recalled that the memorial from Florida asking for admission to the Union had lain before Congress since February, 1839, where it had been referred to committees and was subsequently neglected. When at last the Iowa constitution and petition were presented in both Houses in December, 1844, the stage was set for congressional action. As it developed, the Senate took no independent action on the petition of either state, but waited until the joint admission bill had passed the House.

In the House a debate arose promptly over the proper committee reference when Samuel F. Vinton, a veteran Whig congressman from Ohio, moved that the bill go to the Judiciary Committee. Augustus C. Dodge, the territorial delegate from Iowa, objected to this as contrary to the established precedent of sending such bills to the Committee on Territories, and cited the instances of Arkansas, Michigan, and Florida. More to the point was the comment of John Wentworth, a Democrat from Illinois, who indicated that reference to the Judiciary Committee would

18. *Globe*, XIV, 3.

19. *Globe*, XIV, 19, 266.

only serve the interests of "one of the parties in this country, whose object was to delay the admission of this territory."²⁰ Dodge and Wentworth were supported by Levy and by Alexander Duncan, of Ohio, who urged friends of the bill to send it to the Committee on Territories. With this political flourish, the bill was so referred.

The Committee on Territories was not unprepared for this moment. In its report of June 17, 1844, on the Florida resolutions, it had commented at length on the

settled policy to preserve, as nearly as possible, in one of the branches of the Legislature of the Union, that balance of power between two of the great divisions of the republic, which is so important to the harmony and security of the whole, and to the permanency of the Union. It is right that every section of this happy and prosperous confederacy should not only be, but feel itself to be, secure against any unjust or unequal action of the Federal Legislature upon those of their interests which may in some wise conflict with the interests, policy, or prejudices of other portions. It is only thus that there can be preserved that entire confidence and happy harmony which is so desirable to be maintained by all just and conciliatory means.

Regretting any further continuance in Florida of "the burdens and tyranny of a territorial condition," the Committee nevertheless had recommended postponing any action until Iowa, whose authorization of a constitutional convention had occurred just two months earlier, should be ready, at the next session, perhaps, for like consideration.²¹

Augustus Dodge wrote this account of the action of the Committee upon receiving the Iowa petition:

The Delegate from Florida, supported by the members from the South, brought forward a proposition for the prospective division of that State . . . The object of this move being palpably to increase the number of slave States and the weight of slave-holding representation in Congress, it of course met the warm opposition of the members from the non-slaveholding States, and, as a counter movement, they came forward with a similar proposition in regard to Iowa.

²⁰. *Globe*, XIV, 24.

²¹. Reports of Committees, 28th Congress, 1st Session; Report No. 577, 3.

After being fully, freely, and even angrily discussed, at various meetings of the committee, the result was that the proposition to divide Florida was carried, and that looking to a similar division of Iowa rejected, by a *strictly sectional vote*.²²

The action of the Committee on the petitions of the two territories came to the floor of the House on February 10, 1845. Sitting as the Committee of the Whole House on the State of the Union, it heard read a bill "to enable the people of Iowa to form a Constitution and State government" which it then laid aside informally. Whether this was a mere formality in the form of an "enabling act" or whether it was an attempt by the free-soil interests to secure the admission of Iowa singly is not revealed. A short while later in the same sitting, Aaron V. Brown, a Democrat from Tennessee and Chairman of the Committee on Territories, moved to take up a bill to admit Florida and Iowa jointly. The suspicion of obstructionist tactics receives some confirmation in the fact that the vote to take up the bill - 85 to 5 - was less than a quorum. "As it was said to be evident that there was a quorum present, the vote was again taken by the same tellers" with a result of 83 to 32. The more ardent free-soil Whigs could be expected, of course, to become aroused at failure to upset senatorial balance by getting Iowa admitted alone, if that was their objective. Yet in view of the number of years during which Florida's application had been pending, they could hardly have entertained much hope of avoiding the pairing of the two states. John Quincy Adams called the joining of the two states in one bill "a slave-monger trick."²³

The debate next moved to the question of the boundaries of Iowa as described in her constitution. This involved two problems, the exact location of the border line with Missouri, and the total size of the state. The House, happily as it turned out, accepted Chairman Brown's suggestion that the then long-standing controversy over the Iowa-Missouri boundary be omitted from debate, as the contending claims would be properly settled by the

22. "Address to the People of Iowa," (Burlington, June 23, 1845) printed in Shambaugh, *Fragments*, 255-6.

23. Charles Francis Adams, ed., *Memoirs of John Quincy Adams, Comprising Portions of his diary from 1795 to 1846* (12 Vols., Philadelphia, 1875-77), XII, 164.

United States Supreme Court. The issue was solved sooner than expected, when in the second Iowa constitution of 1846, the "northern boundary of Missouri" was accepted as the southern boundary of Iowa, instead of the more southerly "Sullivan's line" claimed in 1844.

The second aspect of the Iowa boundary problem was more complex and led directly to the issue of sectional rivalry. Iowans had originally described the state as stretching from the Mississippi to the Missouri, and extending from the Missouri boundary north to a line drawn between the mouth of the Sioux River and the junction of the Blue Earth and St. Peters rivers (now the Minnesota River) and down the latter to the Mississippi.²⁴ This would have included all of the present state except the north-west corner, and in addition a sizeable portion of what is now south-eastern Minnesota.

Duncan of Ohio quickly offered an amendment that would have cut the state approximately in half by making the western boundary, instead of the Missouri River, a line drawn due south from the Blue Earth-St. Peters junction. This line would have run about 20 miles west of the present site of Des Moines.²⁵ Duncan presented as his ostensible reason the advices furnished by the explorer-surveyor, J. N. Nicolett, in the latter's survey of the area.²⁶ Nicollet had recommended the formation of one state bounded on the east by the Mississippi, and extending west only so far as the watershed between the Mississippi and the Missouri, and as far north as the St. Peters. He contemplated another state in the same general latitude, with the Missouri-Platte junction as its center.²⁷

24. House Document No. 5, 28th Congress, 1st Session, 1.

25. *Globe*, XIV, 269.

26. "Report Intended to Illustrate a Map of the Hydrographical Basin of the Upper Mississippi River;" Executive Documents, II, No. 52, 28th Congress, 2nd Session.

27. *Ibid.*, 73-74. Nicollet's reasoning is interesting for its socio-economic overtones. "It would give to the State a depot on the St. Peter's river, whilst the Des Moines and the Iowa Rivers, running through its more central southern parts, would make the whole territory, excepting the small portion drained by the tributaries of St. Peter's river, assume the character of an extended valley, with nearly all its streams flowing in one general direction, to contribute their share of the mighty Mississippi. As the population would be composed of emigrants from all parts of the civilized world, by not extending the boundary so as to estrange one portion of the people from the other, on account of a difference of origin, or a different course of trade, they would be

The committee chairman defended the original boundaries as best because they came from the people living in the area, "whose voice should be listened to in the matter." He added that the original boundaries would make the state about equal to Michigan in size, and somewhat smaller than Missouri or Virginia. Duncan countered that such comparisons were unrealistic, that the boundaries he contended for were the boundaries of nature, and that they actually were "larger, in point of fertility of soil, than any two states in the United States."²⁸

Upon resumption of debate the next day, Representative Vinton came directly to the point that in the process of carving out such large states in the west as this proposed Iowa, the area was fatally depriving itself of its due weight in the Senate of the United States. He pointed to the potential population growth in the large western states which would soon exceed many of the seaboard states. If Florida could be divided into two states, he felt that like provision should be made for dividing Iowa. He argued that

it would be safer to give political power to the West, than to the Atlantic States, for the West was the great conservative power of this Union. Though the spirit of disunion might exist in the North and in the South, it could never live in the West, for the interests of the West, being inseparably connected with both, she would always hold them together.²⁹

Vinton thus revealed, without dissimulation, the real reason for creating a smaller Iowa. He was planning for the future "balance of power" developments within the nation and hoping to make up for past errors in this respect committed through yielding to pride in size and resources, as in the instances of Indiana, Illinois, and Michigan. Duncan's amendment to lop off

brought to live contentedly under the same laws and usages; whilst the uniform direction of the waters, together with the similarity of climate, soil, resources, and avenues to market, are well calculated to give to the inhabitants of this State a homogeneity of character and interest highly conducive to their well being, both morally and politically." (p. 74.)

28. *Globe*, XIV, 269.

29. *Globe*, XIV, 274.

the western half of the proposed state carried, 91 to 40. A second amendment by Duncan further reduced the area of the state in the north-east corner.

While the Iowa borders were still being debated, Florida's role in the scheme of things was introduced in the remarks of James E. Belser, a Democrat from Alabama. Belser, in a rejoinder to Vinton, had said that the people of his district did not expect any preservation of a balance of power through the admission of Florida along with Iowa. He went on to explain that

they knew . . . that the sceptre had departed from them long since; but they also knew that their natural allies were the grain-growing states of the West, to whom they had looked for succor in the hour of danger . . . They had no expectation of preserving the balance of power . . . They looked higher in their legislation. They looked to the entire nation - to its honor; to its ultimate grandeur; to the protection of its citizens; and to the maintenance of its character.³⁰

These remarks are somewhat extraordinary for their moderation in comparison with the contribution of other Southern representatives who joined the debate. They are also remarkable for their acknowledgment of the economic ties between the South and the West, and for their appeal to the values of the entire national community. In the course of his remarks, Belser did, however, defend the Florida constitution and this led the unyielding Adams to condemn the speech as "bathos . . . sinking into the slough of slavery."³¹

The decision on a truncated Iowa opened the way for a consideration of the Florida portion of the bill. Northern representatives rose promptly to the bait when confronted with the provisions in the Florida constitution which prohibited the legislature from passing laws to emancipate slaves, and which granted to it the power to prevent the immigration into Florida of free Negroes, mulattoes, or other persons of color, as well as to prevent their discharge from any vessel in a Florida port. (Sections 1 and 3 of Article XVI.) Controversy also arose over the provision in the bill for the ultimate division of Florida into two states.

30. *Idem.*

31. Adams, *Memoirs*, XII, 165.

When, on this latter point, John A. Pettit, Democrat of Indiana, moved to strike out the proviso, David Levy made an interesting, though not persuasive, observation. After pointing out the traditional division into two areas under the British and Spanish governments, he held up a map and purported to show that West Florida properly belonged to the "valley of the Mississippi, so that, instead of adding to the power of the Atlantic States, it would give one State to the Western, and another to the Atlantic section."³² It is doubtful if Levy were at all convinced that either or both Floridas would not be a truly Southern state. He certainly at no time objected to the state's constitutional provisions regarding slavery and immigration, and he could hardly have been persuaded that a "western" Florida would satisfy Northern whiggish scruples. He asserted, nevertheless, that the forcing of one government on all of Florida would be "a flagrant breach of trust, as well as a cruel piece of injustice." Following the debate, the proviso for the two states was stricken out in the Committee of the Whole House by a vote of 86 to 57.

With this decision temporarily made - it would have to be reviewed when the House met in regular session - attention was next drawn to the Florida constitutional provisions on slaves and free blacks. It was around these issues that the Florida debate reached its climax in the House. It began with a motion of Representative Freeman H. Morse, a Maine Whig, to the effect that the present bill would not become effective in Florida until a territorial convention met and removed the objectionable articles. Levy rose in astonishment to ask if Morse "could possibly be serious in offering such an amendment"³³ Aaron Brown, committee chairman in charge of the bill, objected to this amendment, and tried to establish the point that the sole obligation of Congress at this juncture was to determine if Florida had established a republican form of government, and that it was neither necessary nor to be expected that every member of the House should agree to every provision in the Florida constitution.

At this moment, a flurry of maneuvers was launched when the rising of the Committee of the Whole was secured, with the chair casting the deciding vote. Cave Johnson, a Tennessee Dem-

32. *Globe*, XIV, 275.

33. *National Intelligencer*, February 12, 1845.

ocrat, promptly moved that the Committee of the Whole again meet, with debate on the bill limited to twenty minutes. A motion to adjourn was given priority but was defeated. Johnson then moved his question, but Adams objected to limiting debate. The Speaker ruled the objection out of order. When Adams then moved to adjourn, the Speaker again held him out of order. The indefatigable Adams next moved to table the resolution on limiting debate, and yeas and nays were called. R. D. Davis of New York got in another motion to adjourn only to have it defeated, 72-80. The question of tabling the resolution lost, 45 to 112, and still another motion to adjourn was offered by E. J. Morris of Pennsylvania, was withdrawn by him, was renewed by John Dickey of Pennsylvania, and was subsequently defeated, 70-94. Johnson then withdrew his resolution, and succeeded in getting territorial business made the special order of the day for February 13, upon which a motion to adjourn carried. Thus in the space of half an hour, the Florida debate, although hardly begun, had called into play some rather furious parliamentary manipulations. On the date agreed upon, the full array of oratorical armaments were ready for display.

After agreeing to limit debate to two hours, the House met on the appointed day as the Committee of the Whole to resume consideration of Morse's amendment. Thomas Henry Bayly, a "States Right Democrat" of Virginia, rose in defense of Florida. In the earlier remarks of Representative Belser, the Alabamian had been particularly concerned with defending the immigration restrictions in the Florida constitution, and, in spite of his otherwise moderate views, he represented the feeling that any free black person was a menace in a state where slavery prevailed. It was apparently inconceivable that any such person moving into Florida could fail to be other than an *agent provocateur* for race riots and civil strife. ". . . free negroes who would go there," Belser insisted, "would go with no peaceable intentions, but with fire brands in their hands, and to excite dissatisfaction among the slaves."³⁴ This fixed idea at the same time satisfied the consciences of Southerners and fired the Northerners with ungovernable consternation.

34. *Globe*, XIV, 274.

Bayly resumed this line of thought, referring to Morse's efforts in the previous debate as "unqualified arrogance," during which remarks he was called to order by Adams for reflections cast on Morse, and Adams was sustained by the Chair. Bayly cited the discriminatory provisions in the laws of several Northern states regarding persons of color, and proceeded to attach the blame for the Florida restrictions directly to "the traitorous agitation of the abolition question in the North and in this House. They [Floridians] had been compelled to do it for their own security, and the preservation of their peace, and the quiet of their society."³⁵ He traced the roots of this agitation all the way to the abolitionists of England, and accused that nation of deliberately playing section against section in this country in order "to break down this Union . . . her most formidable rival." He then moved into the classic defenses and awesome prophesies which ran throughout this nation-rending controversy:

Everywhere the effect of this agitation had been to make the condition of the slaves worse. At the same time that the master was undone, the slave was made miserable; and all this was done by the professed friends of the slaves, who were in fact their worst enemies as they were regarded by the intelligent slaves of the South. But for mere party purposes - for the purpose of conciliating a few mad abolitionists who knew nothing about the matter, gentlemen were content to make the condition of the slave infinitely worse, and stir up feelings which ought never to prevail among the different members of the same community. Such a course of action being continued, harmony never could remain; and a state of things would be brought about which would make the hearts of patriots quail, as the result of those who, while they professed a love for the Union, were using their most energetic and direct efforts to destroy it.³⁶

In an attempt to steer consideration back to the immediate business at hand, Stephen Douglas of Illinois reemphasized what Aaron Brown had said earlier, namely, that all Congress was called upon to do was to determine if Florida's government was republican in form. He said he felt sure that it was, and pointedly remarked, in view of Bayly's speech, that "these same obnoxious provisions" were to be found in Virginia's constitution, yet no one

35. *Globe*, XIV, 283.

36. *Globe*, XIV, 283-4.

doubted its republican nature. He concluded that although there were parts of both the Florida and Iowa constitutions which he could not approve, he would vote for the admission of both states.³⁷

The final principal defense of Florida came from David Levy. He pointed to the principle of equality of states that had been established in the original Constitutional Convention, implying that the terms of Morse's amendment were an obvious contravention of it. He affirmed the republican nature of the Florida constitution, and cited Webster, "The Federalist," and "other works of authority" to show that this meant simply that the government "should emanate from the people."³⁸ He alluded briefly to the articles on slavery and free Negroes, and asked if Floridians "should be compelled to receive into their bosoms those who would destroy their peace."

Just prior to taking a vote on Morse's amendment, Representative Edward J. Black, a Democrat from Georgia, proposed that Iowa should not be admitted into the Union until it should strike from its constitution the clause that stated "Neither slavery nor involuntary servitude, unless for punishment of crimes, shall ever be tolerated in this state." This amendment was rejected without a roll call.³⁹

Morse's amendment to require Florida to change the constitution lost by a vote of 79 to 87. Only three other brief skirmishes were made to postpone or defeat the admission of Florida. Representative Preston King of New York proposed striking Florida from the bill altogether, so that Congress could vote on each state separately. This was considered, both by Dromgoole of Virginia and by Levy, as a deliberate effort to get Iowa in and keep Florida out. The motion failed, 57 to 89. Morse then moved that a provision be tacked onto the bill respecting Florida identical to that which had conditioned Missouri's admission to the Union, that is, that no law should ever be enacted under the Florida constitution which would deprive a citizen of any state of the privileges and immunities guaranteed by the federal constitution. But this also failed, 48 to 75. Lastly, Representative Charles H. Carroll, a New York Whig, proposed that an enumeration of the

37. *Globe*, XIV, 284.

38. *Globe*, XIV, 285.

39. *Niles National Register* (Baltimore) LXVII, No. 1,743 (February 22, 1845) 390; *Globe*, XIV, 285.

population in each territory be made, and that neither should be admitted unless it met the then current representation ratio of 70,680, but this likewise failed.

The Committee of the Whole House then rose, and in regular session the House approved the new smaller boundaries for Iowa, and formally rejected the proviso for establishing a second state in Florida by a vote of 123 to 77. An analysis of this roll call vote reaffirms the deepening patterns of sectional solidarity. Only six Southerners - three from Virginia and three from Maryland - crossed over, as it were, to join an almost solid Northern vote for striking out the proviso. In each state two of the three "apostates" were Whigs. Only three Northern representatives - all Democrats - voted to sustain the proviso - two from Indiana (who thus voted against their colleague's amendment) and Representative Orlando B. Ficklin of Illinois. There was probably no other moment in the Florida-Iowa debate which more clearly shows how secondary were the local and personal aspirations of the individuals in the territories to the great ebb and flow of national politics. The bitter convention battles in Iowa and Florida faded before the realities underlying a congressional decision in 1845, where two hours of debate and a handful of votes could decide the fate of tens of thousands of "territorials."

The bill was then read a third time, and at the very last moment, after Howell Cobb of Georgia had moved the previous question on its passage, Samuel Sample, an Indiana Whig, appealed to Cobb to withdraw so that the bill might be recommitted and reported out as separate bills for each state. This critical moment provides a tempting occasion for historical speculation on the possible results of recommitting the bill. Senator Rufus Choate was to ask the same thing a few days later in the Senate. Let it suffice to say that it is extremely unlikely that either state could have, at this date, been admitted singly. At any rate, Cobb refused to withdraw, and the bill went on to pass by a vote of 145 to 46.⁴⁰

A comparison of this vote with that on striking out the proviso for two Floridas reveals that, with but two exceptions, every one of the seventy-four Southerners who voted against striking out the proviso voted for the admission of the two states of Iowa

40. *Globe*, XIV, 286.

and Florida, thus appearing solidly to welcome one bona fide Southern state (if two could not be had) at the cost of admitting a Northern state as well. The ranks of the Northern majority were not so closed. Some forty-three of those who had voted against the two Floridas voted against the admission of Iowa and Florida. These votes are well scattered among the Northern states and probably represent the more extreme advocates of abolition, who thus protested against another slave state, even if paired with a free state. A majority of the Northerners went along with the admission of both states. The more than three-to-one vote in favor of the bill reveals basically the wide acceptance of this type of compromise at this stage of intersectional relations.

The Senate Debate

The Senate received the bill on February 14, where, as in the House a dispute arose over committee reference, with the Judiciary Committee finally receiving jurisdiction.⁴¹ The chairman of this committee was George M. Berrien, prominent Whig of Georgia, who had been Attorney-General in Jackson's cabinet, but had deserted the Democratic party and had been a delegate to the Whig convention in Baltimore in 1844. On February 24, Senator Berrien reported out the bill with no amendments and favorable to its passage. The press of time and the accumulation of business in the final week of the session served to delay consideration until March 1. Meanwhile, it should be borne in mind, the Senate on February 27 had completed action on the joint resolution to annex Texas.

The debate in the Senate differed from that in the House in that Iowa at no time received more than a passing reference, and in that it was more intense, personal, and disputatious. It ranged farther afield from the immediate issue and revealed more abundantly the determined attitudes and fixed positions as well as the theoretical and practical considerations in the minds of the participants.

41. This Committee "was known in the political world as the 'Whig Opium Committee' - an appellation which it received in consideration of the narcotics which it was in the habit of administering to all democratic measures committed to its keeping." Remarks of a Mr. Morgan, in Iowa Territorial House of Representatives, May 31, 1845; printed in Shambaugh, *Fragments*, 278.

Senator George Evans, a Whig from Maine who had been in the House from 1829 to 1841 and then went to the Senate, opened the discussion by presenting a grievance of his constituents. Provisions in Southern state constitutions similar to those in the Florida constitution prohibiting the immigration of free Negroes and subjecting them to arrest had actually resulted in mutinies and desertions of colored seamen aboard coast-wise trading vessels destined for Southern ports, and had thus seriously disturbed commerce.⁴² Notwithstanding this interference with enterprise, Senator Robert J. Walker of Mississippi, a Democratic member of the Judiciary Committee, defended these provisions on the basis of the police power of the states to "exclude every description of persons whose presence endangered their safety," of whom "none were more dangerous than the colored seamen, who might have come from St. Domingo, ready for any sort of crime." He cited the Ohio statute which required free colored persons to give bond and security for good behavior, and argued that "if it was competent for a state to restrict them at all, it might exclude them entirely."⁴³

As in the House, an attempt was made in the Senate by William Allen, an Ohio Democrat, to limit debate to the single issue of the republican form of the constitution. He hoped that discussion "would not be extended to the dark subject of slavery," and that the bill might pass "without agitating a question which could do no good."⁴⁴ He was not to have his way, however, for Evans and Berrien continued to argue, the latter insisting on the power of a state to protect itself from a "moral pestilence" as well as a physical one, and Evans inquiring if the imprisonment of a free Negro in Florida for "non-payment of jail fees" was an act of "self-preservation" on the part of Florida. Moreover, Evans flatly denied that the republican nature of the state constitution was the only issue before the Senate, and thereupon offered an amendment which would strike out the two objectionable articles from the Florida constitution.

The other Senator from Maine, John Fairfield, a Democrat, took issue with his own colleague, maintained that the question of republican form was the only issue, reminded the Senate that

42. *Globe*, XIV, 378.

43. *Idem*.

44. *Idem*.

states must be admitted on an equal basis, and declared that it was pointless to insist on these changes, for once Florida became a sovereign state, she could fashion her constitution in any way she chose.⁴⁵

At this point Senator Choate of Massachusetts entered the debate and gave it new verve as well as a new direction. Choate, one of the organizers of the Whig party in Massachusetts, and already a prominent and successful trial lawyer, had taken the seat in the Senate vacated by Daniel Webster in 1842 when the latter became secretary of state. He wanted, first of all, to separate the bill into two bills, one for each state, for, as his remarks are recorded, he "could most cheerfully and heartily give the hand of welcome to Iowa, but he could not - he would not say constitutionally, but he would say, conscientiously - give his hand to Florida."⁴⁶ He maintained that since the joint resolution to annex Texas had passed, the picture had changed, and asked, "Where and how is the balance to be by [sic] the North and East for Texas, now given to the South? Where is it to be found but in the steadfast part of America? If not there, it can be found nowhere else. God grant that it may be, there." Thus, he argued, an opportunity ought to be given to vote for the Iowa admission alone in order to redress the balance now tipped in favor of the south.

Choate moved on to align himself with those who felt the Senate's obligations extended to more than determining the republican form of a state constitution, and injected the disturbing idea that the power to admit new states is a permissive one, not a mandatory one, that Congress *may*, not *shall*, admit them, and that "there is no express constitutional obligation that they *shall* be admitted because they are republican." In a broader gesture, he asserted the duty of the Senate to look beyond the state constitution "to the consequences affecting ourselves." He felt he was exercising a duly delegated discretion, therefore, in objecting to the admission of Florida when her constitution "contained an article which would nullify one or more constitutional laws of the general government, or a retained power granted by the other States to the federal government." He would oppose this instrument, he asserted, "so long as it refuses to comply with our common requisitions."

45. *Idem.*

46. *Globe*, XIV, 379.

Here, indeed, Choate seemed to lay himself open to the charge assuming the judicial function, whereas he had, earlier in the speech, assured the Senate that in any comparable case involving Massachusetts, resort would be had to the United States Supreme Court, the proper agency for such an issue, and he had pledged himself that "[e]very man, woman, and child in that State would remain satisfied with the judgment." His solution, therefore, was to strike out what were to his mind the unconstitutional provisions, admit Florida, let her then enact necessary police regulations, and let these be tested in the courts through regular judicial procedure.

A formidable rejoinder from the Southern point of view was made by Senator William S. Archer of Virginia. He began by reasserting Berrien's argument of self-preservation, and declared, "You might have all the laws and institutions in the world, and we could not regard them," if to do so was at the risk of "domestic war" and "civil combustions" resulting from the incitement of slaves.⁴⁷ He admitted, however, that he wished the objectionable clauses had never been put in the Florida constitution at this stage.

The Virginia Senator then touched off the warmest repartee in the Senate debate when he added, "and they were not patriots . . . who did not . . . put aside the source of inevitable dissension [sic], but persevered in bringing it before the country." Senator Evans rose in resentment of what he felt was a reflection on his patriotism, only to be interrupted by Archer's objection to Evans' construction of his (Archer's) remarks. A clarification of remarks was refused because of the tone in which it was asked. Evans continued that he had assumed no tone and demanded no explanations. Archer interrupted to say that since no explanation was demanded, he would give one anyway. He denied the "slightest disrespect" for any one present, and said that he had spoken of "consequences, not motives." Somewhat mollified, Senator Evans then launched an attack on Archer's doctrine of self-preservation - ("the law of necessity," Archer interrupted). Evans explained that his complaint rested on the fact that the Florida laws affected perfectly innocent persons, with no intention of stirring up servile insurrections, merely because they were black. He cared

47. *Globe*, XIV, 380.

not, he said, how severe Florida's laws might be toward any bona fide malefactor.

A new twist was given to the discussion when Evans admitted that abolitionists were a troublesome and persistent lot. But he asked the Southern senators, "Has it ever occurred to you how you are aiding and abetting them?" He assured his listeners that, in reality, the last thing the abolitionists wanted was the repeal of such laws,

because every instance in which they are enforced gives them occasion to appeal to their fellow citizens of the free States, and thus gives them an opportunity of making converts. It gives them all the advantages which may be derived from argument founded upon this course of proceeding . . . The operation of such laws furnished one of the strongest arguments made use of by the abolitionists of the North, and was very useful to them in keeping up the excitement which they were able to maintain among our citizens.⁴⁸

He concluded that he would vote against the admission of Florida with such laws, implying that it was for the reason just stated.

Senator Archer was not convinced, apparently, for he reiterated that the dangers from immigrant free blacks was very real. He concluded with a conciliatory appeal. Admitting that it might be a real grievance for black sailors to be apprehended in the Southern states, he insisted that "an evil ten thousand times as great not only might be, but would be inevitably the consequence of the admission of these people." He asked the North to overlook this legislation, "even supposing they [the Northerners] had the law on their side," and urged them to pass it by "for the peace, harmony, and union of the States."⁴⁹

As a further conciliatory gesture, Senator Berrien tried to make it clear that the Florida prohibition on emancipation applied only to the legislature - it did not prohibit individuals from emancipating their slaves if they chose. From this he went on to the argument, reminiscent of Vinton's debate on Iowa in the House, that as a Southerner, he would gladly postpone the admission of Florida, for he felt that, in view of its size and potential population, Southern interests were being done irreparable

48. *Idem.*

49. *Globe*, XIV, 381.

harm in insisting on its admission as a single state - a move which, moreover, was "counter to the wishes of a majority of the people of that Territory."⁵⁰

At this point, as if to reciprocate the moderation of Senator Archer, Edward A. Hannagan of Indiana admitted he could not conscientiously argue against the Florida constitution when there were so many legal restrictions in his own state on free blacks. He not only rebuked his own colleague, Senator White, for his opposite stand, but also criticized the similar stand of Senator James F. Simmons of Rhode Island by pointing out that the latter state had been admitted to the Union with legalized primogeniture, yet was pleased to call itself republican.⁵¹ More importantly, however, he based his opposition to Evans' amendment on the conviction that "its adoption would be regarded as a concession to the accursed spirit of abolition." He felt that he was sustained in this view "by 145,000 out of 150,000 of the voters, whig and democratic, of Indiana." He would "yield not an inch to the spirit which had worked mischief for two hundred years; which lighted the fires of Smithfield, and reigned in the dungeons of the inquisition." He maintained that in no state in the Union were blacks recognized as fellow citizens, enjoying all the same privileges with the whites. He referred to the law of Massachusetts which permitted inter-racial marriage, and said he believed "the negroes had protested against it . . . [laughter.]"⁵²

After a brief scattered debate on some peripheral issues, the vote on Evans' amendment to require a change in Florida's constitution was defeated, 35 to 12. The bill was then reported back to the Senate, where it was promptly passed by a vote of 36 to 9.⁵³ The two roll calls were almost identical. Of the nine opposing the final bill, all but two were from New England, the others being from New Jersey and Michigan. The twelve votes in favor of requiring the constitutional changes were made up of the above nine, the other two senators from Michigan and New Jersey, and Senator White of Indiana. White was the only sena-

50. *Globe*, XIV, 382.

51. To this the Rhode Island senator made the strained reply that he "would not consent to have it said that Rhode Island was admitted into the Union; for she began that Union. She did not unite with other States, but they united with her." *Globe*, XIV, 383.

52. *Globe*, XIV, 382.

53. *Globe*, XIV, 383.

tor to have voted for the constitutional changes *and* for the admission of the state without the changes. Of those voting, no Southern senators approved of requiring the changes, and none failed to vote for the final bill. The four New Englanders who voted for the final bill, and against the changes, were all Democrats. Five senators did not vote on either question.

President Tyler signed the bill on March 3, 1845, and as soon as official word could be communicated to Florida, machinery for the election of state officials and for the members of Congress was put into action. David Levy was elected to Congress, but upon the convening of the state legislature, he was elevated to the Senate along with James D. Wescott. Subsequently, Edward C. Cabell was elected as representative, and the three took their places in the national government at the opening of the 29th Congress in December, 1845. This completed Florida's entry into the Union as the twenty-seventh state.

Strangely enough, Iowa had a somewhat tortuous path to follow yet before her admission was completed. It will be recalled that the constitution had not been submitted to the people of the territory before it was sent to Congress. It will be recalled also that the House drastically changed the boundaries and reduced the size of the state. In a letter to the people of Iowa, Augustus Dodge urged their approval of the reduced area, for, having witnessed the entire House debate, and knowing how the free-soil interests, somewhat taken aback at the annexation of Texas, had urged the creation of several, albeit smaller Northern states, he assured his constituents that "we will not be able hereafter under any circumstances, to obtain *one square mile more* for our new State" than what was then offered.⁵⁴ Due in part to the short time which the Iowans had to consider the alterations (election day had been set for the first Monday in April) and to the general feeling that approval of their constitution meant also the approval of the curtailed borders, the voters rejected their constitution, 6,023 to 7,019.⁵⁵

It remained for Iowa to call another constitutional convention in 1846, to propose another set of boundaries, to fight for them through several alterations proposed in Congress, to have

54. "Letter of Augustus C. Dodge to his Constituents," March 4, 1845; reprinted in Chambaugh, *Fragments*, 235.

55. James, *op.cit.*, 368, n. 52, citing *The Iowa Capital Reporter*, May 10, 1845.

them accepted at last by Congress, and finally to ratify her constitution in August, 1846. Then, after arranging for state elections, Iowa was formally proclaimed to be the twenty-ninth state on December 28, 1846.

The hard-sought balance, tardily rectified, and already upset by Texas, proved inadequate to preserve the harmony of union whose undermining contemporary statesmen dreaded yet could not stay. One hundred and eleven years have now elapsed since Congress first agreed to the joint admission of Florida and Iowa to the Union. Once drawn in battle array against each other in the civil strife foreshadowed by the debates on their admission, and again joined in common national destiny, these are now proud and prosperous commonwealths - the stubborn fruit of a common gestation - rich in human and material resources and planning ever greater glories.



FLORIDA IN 1855

by HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR.

ONE HUNDRED YEARS AGO when the Florida Historical Society was founded at St. Augustine the members of that organization lived in a region and a society which was vastly different from that which is known to millions of twentieth century Americans as "Florida." In those ancient days tourists were a rarity and resort hotels south of St. Augustine were even rarer. The cities were mere hamlets by present-day standards and almost all of the population was concentrated in the extreme northern part of the state. Industry was virtually non-existent and the mass of men were farmers. Negroes were held in slavery, and the aristocracy of the state was based upon and much of the wealth of the state was represented by this human chattel. The political scene was enlivened by two vociferous political parties but the grim sounds of sectional conflict which would mark the death of the two party system were already being heard. Yet in those early Floridians there was a pride and self confidence familiar to Floridians of the present-day.

Floridians of 1856 were not dismayed by the primitive conditions surrounding them. As they travelled the state the sandy rut roads, the unbridged rivers, the bouncing stage coaches, the circuitous steamboat voyages were uncomfortable and trying hardships but Floridians could forget them and, indeed, compliment themselves that they lived in a forward looking state which was rapidly moving to end such primitive means of transportation. The year 1856, they could boast, was a year of great beginnings for railways in Florida. Up in Jacksonville, work was started in March on the Florida, Atlantic, and Gulf Central Railroad which was to run west to Alligator (Lake City) where it would connect with the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad which was getting under way eastward from Tallahassee. The eventual aim of these two projects was to connect Jacksonville by rail with Pensacola. From Fernandina work had been underway since late 1855 on the Florida Railroad which was to connect with Cedar Keys on the west coast. In the far western end of the state Pensa-

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cola too had its railroad boom. In February, 1856, contracts were signed for construction of the Alabama and Florida Railroad which was to link at the Florida-Alabama line with a railroad from Montgomery. All these lines received city, county, and state aid, and gifts of land from the federal government amounting to 3800 acres per mile. Yet in spite of these much heralded beginnings there was only 56 miles of railroad in the state at the end of 1856 and the only complete line was the Tallahassee to St. Marks road which had been operating since 1836. However, 1856 was an important year for that little road for it was acquired by the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad, was rebuilt, and replaced its mules with a locomotive. With these improvements complete, the road boasted that trains of eight to ten cars daily made the twenty-one mile trip to St. Marks in only two hours.¹

Inadequate transportation facilities undoubtedly hindered the tourist trade in Florida one hundred years ago. Although the state was becoming known as a haven for invalids and travelers and as a sportsman's paradise because of its abundance of game, many travelers left with bitter memories of the primitive accommodations and means of transport. Perhaps some of these bitter travelers had run into the 1856 spells of bad weather. The winter had been unusually cold. In most un-chamber of commerce-like fashion, the *Pensacola Gazette* complained in January that it had been raining for three weeks and that the weather had been extremely cold. In February the papers carried the news that J. J. Arnow of Palatka had frozen to death while crossing Lake George in an open boat. As if the winter had not been bad enough, the fall brought an extremely destructive hurricane which swept the coast from Key West to Apalachicola, causing extensive crop damage and slightly injuring the capitol building in Tallahassee.²

The leading tourist city was St. Augustine where the Magnolia House and the Florida House were popular hotels. The ancient city seems to have been attractive largely because of its old world atmosphere. Other regions could base their appeal only on the beneficial character of their climates for invalids. The Bayport House in Hernando County was one of the southernmost

1. Jacksonville *Florida News*, February 23, April 26, December 11, 1856; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, February 2, August 30, December 11, 1856; *Pensacola Gazette*, February 16, 1856.
2. *Pensacola Gazette*, January 12, 1856; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, February 16, September 6, 1856.

health resorts, but even the Mansion House and the Buffington House in Jacksonville pitched their advertising appeals at the invalid. In Middleburg, on Black Creek, the Middleburg Hotel not only boasted of the beneficial climate but promised that a doctor would be on hand at all times in the winter months. Though it seems an unimportant and out of the way little hamlet today, in 1856 Middleburg had weekly steamer connections with Jacksonville, Palatka, Savannah, and Charleston.³

Although the early tourist trade is interesting, it was not of economic importance a century ago. The major activity was farming and the overwhelming majority of the people were farmers who did not reside in the cities which tourists saw. Less than 20 per cent of the population lived in towns and villages; only about two thousand of the state's 110,000 people were engaged in manufacturing enterprises. The two most important manufactures were lumbering and brick making, with lumbering being the more important. Farming was engaged in by most people all over the state but the richest agricultural areas, engaging the most Negro slaves, were the west Florida counties centering around Leon County. The major crops were cotton, corn, and sweet potatoes.⁴

In the more important agricultural counties the investment in slaves and farm property was naturally very heavy. The slaves alone in Leon County were valued at over four million dollars and numbered 9,120. Leon had the heaviest slave population of any county and interestingly enough had only 3,499 white people. Dade County was the only one having no slaves in 1856, and there were only 69 white people in Dade in that year. In all Florida in 1856 there were between eight and nine hundred free Negroes, about 300 of whom were in Pensacola, 125 in Key West, 75 in St. Augustine, and 70 in Tallahassee.⁵

The decade of the 1850's was one in which Florida's population grew tremendously. From 87,000 in 1850, it had grown to 140,000 in 1860. Most of the migration was to east Florida and was from the older Southern states. More than 50 per cent

3. Jacksonville *Florida News*, January 12, 1856; Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, February 21, 1856.

4. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*; Edwin L. Williams, "Florida in the Union, 1845-1861" (Ph.D dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1952), 162.

5. State Census of 1855 in *Florida House Journal: 1855*.

of the newcomers were from Georgia, with South Carolina, North Carolina, Alabama, and Virginia following in that order. The largest city in 1856 was Pensacola with about 2500 people. Key West, Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and St. Augustine followed closely behind. Pensacola was important for its navy yard, port facilities, and brick industry. Key West was an important center for the cigar, salt, and sponge industries and was the site of a newly begun naval depot. It was also the port in which the first large clipper ship in the South was constructed. Under the guidance of John Bartlum, the one thousand ton *Stephen R. Mallory* was launched there in 1856. Jacksonville was a rapidly growing port city and a center of activity in the lumber business, about 12 steam saw mills being in operation in this year. Tallahassee was important chiefly as the seat of government, but it boasted a brick industry second only to that of Pensacola. By 1856, St. Augustine was in decline as a port city because of the better facilities and more strategic location of Jacksonville, but it was the chief city in the small tourist business and had a small lumber industry.⁶

Florida's educational facilities were very limited a century ago. Though there are no figures for 1856, in 1860 there were only ninety-seven public schools and ninety-eight public school teachers, with a total annual income of \$20,000. There were, in addition, 138 private schools having 185 teachers, and an annual income of \$75,000. There were no universities. Nine free Negroes were reported attending school as late as 1860, but whether or not they were segregated is unknown.⁷ The state census of 1855 indicates that most children did not go to school. In that year there were 20,601 children between five and eighteen, but only 4,943 were in school.

As a virtual frontier region it is not to be expected that the cultural level of Florida would be very advanced. There was some opportunity, however, for the literate minded person to better himself. There were libraries in many communities: 66 altogether, supported by public subscription, schools, or churches. Most larger communities also boasted a bookseller. The most famous of these was probably Jacksonville's Columbus Drew who

6. Jacksonville *Florida News*, April 3, 1856; *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*; Williams, *op. cit.*, 164 *passim*; Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West, the Old and the New* (St. Augustine, 1912), 74, 113, 125, 173, 183-184.

7. *Eighth Census of the United States: 1860*.

in 1856 was publishing as well as selling books. On his shelves could be found the works of Longfellow, Dickens, Scott, Irving, Prescott, and even Thomas Babington Macaulay. Macaulay's *History of England* which was appearing in the 1850's was so popular with Jacksonville readers as to win notice in the columns of a local newspaper. That paper asserted that 73,000 volumes had been sold in the United States within ten days after its publication. On Drew's shelves in June could also be found the last work of a Florida novelist, Caroline Lee Hentz. Though a native of Massachusetts, Mrs. Hentz had long lived in the South and at the time of her death resided in Marianna. Many of her novels were set in Florida locales and her death in February had been mourned as though she had been a native Floridian.⁸

Literate Floridians also had a score of newspapers available to them, although those in the smaller communities were poorly written, carried little news, and were badly printed. All were weeklies and since they were usually partisans of a political party, political news often dominated their pages. The more influential papers were in St. Augustine, Jacksonville, Tallahassee, and Pensacola. St. Augustine's paper was appropriately called *The Ancient City*. Jacksonville boasted two papers, the Democratic organ *The Florida News*, and the spokesman of the American party, *The Florida Republican*. The two papers in Tallahassee were the *Democratic Floridian and Journal* and the *American Florida Sentinel*. Pensacola boasted the *Pensacola Gazette*, which was American in politics, and the *Florida Democrat*, devoted to its namesake. All the papers followed a general style of organization in which news and editorial comment were indiscriminantly mixed on the inside pages. Usually there were four or six pages. On page one came the text of presidential or gubernatorial messages or important political speeches. When the legislature was in session, its proceedings and laws filled page one. When none of this type of material was available the front page was usually filled with fiction and poetry. On pages two and three came local news and comment, and letters to the editor. Important national and world news was also copied here from other papers. The remaining pages were usually devoted to classified advertising.

The advertising in these early papers is often more rewarding

8. Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, February 2, March 6, 1856; Jacksonville *Florida News*, June 28, 1856.

to the social historian than the news. In the Florida papers, for instance, if we judge by the number of advertisements there were more lawyers in the state than members of any other profession. Another frequently printed advertisement was for runaway slaves, and often such advertisements carried the information that the slave had some identifying bodily mutilation. Lotteries quite often were advertised, and the Royal Havana Lottery which offered a grand prize of \$100,000, seems to have been particularly popular. Circuses were another form of amusement and in December the "Great Southern Circus" which visited Tallahassee sought to take advantage of sectional jealousies with its advertisement which proclaimed, "Southern Men, Southern Horses, Southern Enterprise against the World." Patent medicines were frequently advertised and were embarrassingly detailed in description of the maladies they would cure. One of these popular remedies was called Dr. Holloway's Ointment. Its makers solemnly declared that some of the world's most scientific surgeons relied solely upon their product. It would cure bunions, burns, chapped hands, chilblains, fistulas, gout, lumbago, piles, rheumatism, skin diseases, sore legs, sore throats, sore breasts, sore heads, sprains, scalds, swelled glands, stiff joints, ulcers, venereal sores, and wounds of all kinds. Anything not covered could probably be fixed with Dr. Holloway's Pills, which healed a long alphabetized list of ills starting with asthma and ending with worms of all kinds.⁹

Floridians of 1856, however, were probably less interested in reading about patent medicines than about two important news items which affected their everyday lives. In west Florida, the early part of the year brought disappointment to many citizens who felt that their section was being dominated by other parts of the state. Many of these people wished to be annexed to Alabama, where they seemed to think they would fare better. In 1855, they had succeeded in getting a bill through the Florida Legislature providing for a referendum on annexation, but their short-lived hopes were dashed by Governor James E. Broome's prompt veto of the measure. The *Marianna Patriot* was bitter in its protest and the *Pensacola Gazette* observed, "The people of

9. Jacksonville *Florida News*, January 12, June 28, 1856; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, December 6, 1856.

west Florida are not over much pleased with Gov. Broome's veto."¹⁰

In east Florida the most exciting news in January papers was news of new Indian troubles. Officially the Seminole war was over but several hundred Seminoles still remained in the depths of the Everglades where they successfully resisted all efforts to transport them to the far West. Late in 1855 these Indians had attacked military outposts and government explorers and surveyors working in south Florida.¹¹ Although there were only about one hundred warriors the newspapers set up a great hue and cry for federal action to remove them from the state, and skittish Floridians reported seeing signs of this small band as far north as Levy County.¹² Secretary of War Jefferson Davis promptly ordered coercive measures to remove the Indians and rewards of up to \$500 per head were offered by the Federal Indian Agent for the capture of warriors. Davis' order was published in January, 1856. Today the Seminoles still remain in Florida. Why did the Indians cling so tenaciously to their Florida homes? The editor of the *Florida News* thought he knew why. The Indians were lazy and had sense enough to know that nowhere else in the world could they live so easily. If need be, he said, they can stand like a flock of flamingoes on the beach and subsist from the shoals of fish along the shore. "It is the lazy man's 'snug haven,' the industrious poor man's paradise."¹³

Like 1956, the year 1856 was important to Floridians as an election year. In addition to local races, there was an important gubernatorial race and an exciting three-cornered presidential election. For the entire year news of these campaigns filled the papers. In 1856, however, Florida was a genuine two party state and the contesting sides were the Democratic party and the American, popularly called the Know Nothing party. The American party was composed in Florida of men of wealth and property with conservative leanings plus those who hated Democrats and had in the past worked with the now defunct Whig party. Nationally, the Americans had two notable issues: opposition to foreigners and opposition to Catholics. Some felt that the advant-

10. *Pensacola Gazette*, January 19, 1856.

11. Jacksonville *Florida News*, January 12, 1856.

12. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, January 9, April 17, 1856.

13. Jacksonville *Florida News*, January 26, April 5, 26, 1856.

tage of their emotional program was that it might overshadow the emotional slavery issue and serve to unite all native Americans. In Florida the American party did not emphasize the anti-Catholic issue and it generally nominated sound conservative men who were Union supporters and opposed to the disruptive tendencies of secessionists and abolitionists. Even the Democrats admitted there was little to criticize in the major candidates the Americans nominated for state offices except that they would not repudiate the platform of their party.¹⁴

Early in 1856 the national American Convention was held in Philadelphia and Florida was represented by former Governor Richard Keith Call, who received prominent notice by the press of the North and the South because of the conspicuous part he took in the proceedings. After the convention nominated Millard Fillmore, a former Whig president, for the presidency with Andrew Jackson Donelson as his running mate, Call returned to Florida and presided over the state American Convention. Afterward, with the vigorous assistance of his nephew Wilkinson Call, he stumped the state for the American candidates. The state convention named Call's cousin David S. Walker for the governorship and James M. Baker for Representative in Congress.¹⁵

In the presidential race the Democrats named James Buchanan with John C. Breckinridge as his running mate. Interestingly enough, of the three Florida Democratic presidential electors one, George W. Call, was former Governor Call's nephew and one, Medicus A. Long, was his son-in-law. In the Democratic State Convention held at Madison, Madison Starke Perry was named for the governorship and George S. Hawkins for Representative in Congress.¹⁶ In 1856 the Republican party also appeared on the scene for the first time, naming John C. Fremont for president. There was no Republican organization in Florida, however, and no Republican votes were cast in the state.

The American party proved to be strong where the old Whig party had been strong, in the west Florida counties centering

14. *Ibid.*, February 23, June 21, 1856. See also Arthur W. Thompson, "Political Nativism in Florida, 1848-1860," *Journal of Southern History* (February, 1949), XV, 39-65; and Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "The Florida Whigs" (M.A. Thesis, University of Florida, 1949).
15. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, April 8, 1856; Jacksonville *Florida News*, June 7, 1856.
16. Jacksonville *Florida News*, April 26, 1856.

around Tallahassee. In the east, Duval County was its stronghold and the Jacksonville city government was completely under its control. Because of its anti-Catholic associations, it did not organize in St. Augustine, but its followers there organized as Whigs and endorsed the American candidates. The Democrats retained control in St. Johns County and their candidate George R. Fairbanks was elected mayor of St. Augustine in 1856.¹⁷

Despite their inheritance of the Whig following the Americans did not win the state government or Florida's presidential votes. In November Buchanan was elected president and in October Perry had been elected governor. Despite the fact that the Democratic majority had been only about two thousand out of a total vote of around twelve thousand, the American party did not survive its defeat and many members announced their switch to the Democrats in the late days of the year. The hard core of opposition to the Democrats remained aloof, however, and organized the state Constitutional Union party in 1860.

By 1856, of course, the basic reason for the intensity of feeling in elections was the growing sectional conflict over slavery. Candidates were examined for their soundness on the slavery question and any weak spot was magnified and played up to the detriment of the suspect candidate. For instance, the Democratic *Florida News* charged the American party of Florida with "looseness" on the slavery question because one of the American presidential electors was rumored to have said in Philadelphia, "I don't exactly like slavery."¹⁸ By 1856 most of the extreme radical Democrats had already calculated the value of the Union and had decided that if it imperilled slavery the Union must end. These radicals took every occasion to insist that the federal Union was little more than an alliance between sovereign states which could be dissolved by its members at any time. The editor of the *Florida News* went so far as to claim that the Union was merely "a compact of lasting amity and alliance."¹⁹

All democrats were not so extreme but daily evidences of fear and distrust toward the North may be seen. The tenseness of the atmosphere induced the editor of the *Floridian and Journal* in December to give publicity to an anonymous letter, which he

17. *Ibid.*, May 10, December 6, 18, 25, 1856.

18. *Ibid.*, June 7, 1856.

19. *Ibid.*, January 12, 1856.

would have ordinarily ignored, asserting that an insurrection of slaves was in the making. The *Pensacola Gazette* passed on the news and suggested that a system of white patrols should be set up to keep the Negroes under surveillance. In Tallahassee, however, a group of level headed, but indignant large slaveholders in a joint letter to the *Floridian* denounced the mischievous intent of anonymous letter writers and pronounced this letter "a sheer fabrication and an unfounded slander upon the character of our slave population."²⁰

Further evidence of the tension of the times was the pressure being brought to bear upon young men to go to Kansas. By repealing the Missouri Compromise in 1854, Congress had opened Kansas to slavery and by 1856 the Civil War in miniature was being fought in Kansas territory. Settlers from the free states and those from the slave states had set up opposing governments to organize the territory and bring it into the Union as a state. The rival governments engaged in open battles in this year. Every emigrant from Florida was hailed by the Florida press as a hero going to join what was usually referred to as the "friends of law, order, and Constitutional rights" in their struggle against "a lawless, reckless rabble" as the freestaters were often called. The volume of emigration to that grim region, however, was very small and a Tallahassee newspaper flayed what it termed the "singular and culpable feeling of indifference upon this subject" in Florida. It suggested that a public fund be raised to assist those who were unable to finance the trip.²¹

Amidst these growing popular apprehensions the political harangues about state rights, the sovereignty of the states, and the need for severely restricting the power of the federal government went on and popular fears were not allayed by their growing bitterness. It must be noted, however, that these arguments were a rationale to protect slavery from federal regulation. There was no desire to weaken the power of the federal government to aid the states. Every newspaper hailed the laws passed by Congress which made generous gifts of land to the Florida railroads, and they all cried out to the federal government for more and

20. Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, December 6, 13, 1856; *Pensacola Gazette*, December 20, 1856.

21. Jacksonville *Florida Republican*, February 28, 1856; Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, February 9, April 26, 1856.

more action against the Seminole Indians. The rabid *Florida News* pointedly called for federal armies and federal subsidization of the militia to combat the Indians - on the grounds of necessity, of course.²² Though this blustering paper would have Florida use force against the Union to protect slavery, it claimed that the state could not afford to act on its own to fight Indians.

As we have looked back it seems that in detail Florida of one hundred years ago bore little physical, cultural, social, political, or economic resemblance to the Florida of our day. Yet it has seemed to me that there are certain parallels, certain broad similarities between these two Floridas. Then as now there were jealousies between different parts of the state. Then as now Florida had its political charlatans, its highway problems, its school shortages, its gambling, its bigots; and it was also bound up in a great national debate in which the Negro was at the center. As in the present, Florida in 1856 was also in a dynamic phase of its history. Immigrants were flooding in and commerce and industry were experiencing a growth previously unknown. Despite their problems Floridians were then as now buoyantly optimistic, confident of their future. A Floridian of 1956 knows exactly how the Pensacola editor of 1856 felt when, looking forward to the completion of railroad connections to the North, he wrote, "Our magnificent harbor will then be constantly filled with vessels from all parts of the world and trade and commerce will flow in upon us in a perfect golden stream."²³

22. Jacksonville *Florida News*, March 15, 1856.

23. *Pensacola Gazette*, March 15, 1856.

BOOK REVIEWS

A History of the Freedmen's Bureau. By George R. Bentley. (Philadelphia, University of Pennsylvania Press, 1955. 298 pp. Notes, appendix, bibliography, and index. \$5.00.)

THE RUNAWAY NEGROES, who began to appear at Union army headquarters early in the war, and who came in increasing numbers after Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation of January 1, 1863, had to be fed and cared for. They could not all be put to work or enrolled in the army. And as it became clear that emancipation would be a result of the war, some permanent solution of the problems of the freedmen had to be found.

The United States Government moved slowly and awkwardly toward a policy. Army officers were detailed to handle the problem temporarily. United States Treasury agents who managed confiscated Confederate property had a hand in it. Meanwhile, Freedmen's Aid Societies were raising money, providing some relief, and maintaining orphanages and schools. But all of these were temporary and somewhat makeshift arrangements. There was growing demand for a government policy and an agency to carry it out. Congress, finally in March, 1865, created the Bureau of Freedmen, Refugees and Abandoned Lands, commonly called the Freedmen's Bureau.

A mixture of motives brought this agency into being. Friends of the Negro wanted the Bureau to help him secure not only relief from his immediate economic distress, but also the land, education, justice, and civil and political rights which they doubted he would get without some such assistance. Business men wanted the Bureau to get cotton production under way, to be assured of a labor supply, and to protect investments in land and planting operations. Politicians wanted it for the patronage and votes it might involve. Needless to add, the freedman was often caught between those who would help him and those who would exploit him.

The Bureau never had the budget or sufficient personnel to accomplish the purposes for which it was created. Even the Radical Congress was unwilling to go that far in social and economic legislation. The Bureau did administer relief to freedmen and

refugees and, on many occasions, to destitute whites. It supervised the making of contracts that helped put the freedmen back to work and secured more equitable terms for them. It also encouraged the building and maintaining of schools for its charges, but these were gradually integrated with the state school systems. Its agents held court and administered justice in minor cases where freedmen were concerned until the new state governments under Radical Reconstruction began to function.

The Bureau failed to secure any considerable amount of land for the freedmen, either from the public domain or from confiscated estates. Unfortunately too, Freedmen's Savings Banks, legally separate from, but intimately associated with the Bureau, failed because of loose management, and the Negroes lost their meager savings. Finally, says Professor Bentley, the Bureau got an extension of its life to help organize the freedmen for political action. Bureau agents, already in contact with freedmen, were in a strategic position to teach them to vote, and, of course, to vote for their liberators, the Republicans. Just possibly they held the balance in the election of 1868.

This is a timely book. It recounts the story of one of the first efforts to secure for the Negro the benefits of his newly acquired freedom. The Bureau could never be better than the people who manned it and those with whom it worked. They all appear in the pages of this book. A reading of this account throws considerable light upon some of the factors in the current segregation-integration controversy.

This is historical scholarship at its best. It is notable for clarity of expression and readability. It is full of aptly chosen quotations that lend human interest to the story. And it is a very human sort of story. It is recommended for reading by laymen as well as scholars. It is fully documented, although some may object to the placing of the footnotes at the end of the book. It was awarded the Albert J. Beveridge Memorial prize for the best manuscript in American History submitted in 1954 and is published under the auspices of the American Historical Association.

This is a Florida book in the sense that Florida was one of the states in which the Bureau functioned. The author is a Floridian, a graduate of Miami High School, and the holder of

two degrees from the University of Florida where he is a member of the faculty.

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU

University of Miami

The Three Pebbles. By Richard Parker. (New York, David McKay Company, 1956. 218 pp. Illustrations. \$2.75.)

THE THREE PEBBLES is a fictional account of the French Huguenot attempt to colonize Florida in 1564 under Rene de Laudonniere. Written as historical adventure to appeal to young people of age 13 to 17, the story will find in addition a much wider audience whose interest is Floridiana.

The main character is teen-aged Huguenot, Pierre Debre, whose father, a printer, was forced to leave the son behind when he fled to Switzerland to avoid the penalty for being one of those who secretly printed little tracts explaining Calvinism.

Pierre's desperate attempt to be free from his underground existence brings him two friends, Pierre Gambi - a street boy adventurer who lives by his wits, and Pierre - a farm boy strong and practical. The three Pierres impulsively join the Florida venture, each for his own purpose.

Richard Parker takes the story of the expedition from its leaving Le Harve to the point approximately a year later when the unexpected appearance of the ships of Sir John Hawkins gave Laudonniere an opportunity to bargain for the rescue of the sad remnants of his colony.

Pierre Debre has become the personal servant of Laudonniere. Through his eyes the reader becomes acquainted with the leader, his lieutenant, Ottigny, also Arlac, La Caille and others of historical importance. Debre relates the landing on the St. Johns River, then called Riviere de May; the building of Fort Caroline and the gradual sad reduction of the colony by famine and unfortunate dealings with the Indian chiefs, Saturiba, Outina and Potanou. Gambi uses his quick tongue to serve as an interpreter between the French and the Indians and to further his own search for the wealth and treasure that was the typical goal of the bulk of the expedition. The farm boy struggles futilely to interest the

colonists, most of whom had never done any real work, in planting and trapping to feed themselves.

The plot is based on the facts given in Francis Parkman's *The Pioneers of France in the New World*, Chapters 4, 5 and 6 and utilizes the three main sources summarized there: The letters of Rene de Laudonniere, an account by the expedition's artist, Jacques Le Moyne, and a story of the colony by the carpenter Challeux. While the writing is not outstanding, the ingenious linking of little known historical facts and characters with the plausible adventure plot makes a worthwhile light historical novel.

MAY H. EDMONDS

Miami Public Library

AS THEY SAW FORREST. Edited by Robert Self Henry. (Jackson, Tenn., McCowart-Mercer Press, 1956. 306 pp. Maps and illustrations. \$5.00).

THE PAST TWENTY YEARS has brought an increasing interest in military history: in the United States a great deal of this interest has centered upon the Civil War. World War II, the Korean Conflict and the continuing interest in national defense is partly responsible for this trend. The volume under consideration here is one of the most recent additions to this body of military historical literature.

The subject of the book, General Nathan Bedford Forrest, is one of the most noteworthy of our American military leaders. Inexperienced in the arts of war, and with no formal military education, his successes in the Civil War were merely one phase of a varied and exceedingly active life. His boyhood was spent in a backward rural area as the son of a blacksmith. At sixteen he became the chief provider for his mother and numerous younger brothers and sisters. As farmer, horse-trader, real estate operator, slave dealer, and plantation owner, he had gained fame and fortune when at the age of thirty he enlisted in the Confederate States Army, and began the career which is the subject of the present volume.

This shrewd, successful business-man brought to the profession of arms a resourcefulness that seemed never to desert him. He was able to combine the cunning of the Indian-hunting frontiersman and the common sense of the American pioneer.

He would size up a situation and make decisions quickly without reference to the accepted rule-books. This combination brought to his military operations an originality that usually dumbfounded his adversaries and gained for him a reputation of invincibility. By mid-1864 General Forrest had assembled a versatile mounted fighting force of 10,000 men and 300 wagons, armed and equipped exclusively with captured Federal materiel. In more than two years, he had not received one requisition of either subsistence or ammunition from his own government, and had done more successful fighting than any other Southern general.

This collection of writings covering the military career of General Forrest is fairly representative of the period. Some of the authors served with him during various parts of his numerous campaigns. Others, such as General Viscount Wolseley, were contemporaries of General Forrest but had not known or served with him personally. A very small portion of the volume was set down in the form of diary entries at the time the incidents took place, but a vast majority of the material was written years or even decades after the war, and so are reminiscences rather than accurate history. The chief value of the present volume lies in the fact that it brings together the accounts of these various authors and makes them easily available in one place.

The last chapters of the volume include several selected pieces from General Forrest's correspondence. There are many other similar items that might well have been included in this section. This is not a reflection upon the items reprinted. However, this would have been an excellent place to have included many more of his writings. One might even wish that the editor had made this work a collection of all the important letters, orders, reports, official documents, and business correspondence of General Forrest. This would have produced a much larger volume, but the services and reputation of General Forrest were such that he certainly deserves to have his important papers collected and made easily available for those who are interested.

The writer also believes there is a place for the collected papers of the businessmen of General Forrest's period, especially those who contributed so much to the post-war economic development of the Southwestern states. General Forrest's exploits in

the business world are just as interesting, and display his remarkable characteristics fully as well as his military career, even though they may not be as hair-raising. He had amassed a fortune at the age of thirty (when the war began), and even though the war cost him most of his earlier fortune, he used the same energy, persistence, and good common sense to regain much of his former position and wealth after the war closed. One might also include the story of his connection with the Ku Klux Klan, and his other efforts to maintain the society he had fought so hard to defend during the war years.

There are two very excellent maps in this last section: the first is a detailed drawing of the campaign at Brice's Cross Roads, one of the more brilliant of Forrest's operations. The second is an excellent map of the entire territory over which General Forrest fought during his Civil War service. One could hardly overestimate the value of this to the student of Civil War history.

The quality of the book is excellent. The paper and print leave little to be desired; the illustrations are as much as could be expected from the original old prints and plates. The maps are easily followed and are on a special grade of paper that will stand a great deal of wear. The format is better than most, and the book is easily readable.

THEODORE R. PARKER

St. Petersburg Junior College



THE ANNUAL MEETING

by JOHN W. GRIFFIN

ON APRIL 13TH AND 14TH, 1956, the Florida Historical Society observed its centennial, if not its one hundredth annual meeting. Organized in 1856 as the Historical Society of Florida, the Society returned to St. Augustine, the place of its founding, for the occasion. The role of host was played by the St. Augustine Historical Society, and all program sessions were held at the Ponce de Leon Hotel, itself a reminder of the Flagler Era of Florida history.

Registration, which began Friday morning, totaled 126, of which 96 came from communities other than St. Augustine. Gainesville contributed twenty-one of the registrants, with Jacksonville running second with thirteen. Miami and Lakeland tied for third place with eight each, while close behind ran Tallahassee and Mt. Dora with six and Tampa with five. Thirteen other Florida communities were represented, as were seven other states and England.

The Friday morning program was devoted to a centennial observance with past-president John C. Blocker as chairman. Following the invocation by the Right Reverend Monsignor John J. Fitzpatrick, greetings were extended by Mayor Dwight L. Brett of St. Augustine and President X. L. Pellicer of the St. Augustine Historical Society. President Thrift made the response.

The first paper, by Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., of the University of Florida, set the stage by sketching in the background of "Florida in 1856." Then, as now, Florida was in a period of expansion and change, and political heat was being generated in 1856, just as in 1956. Watt P. Marchman, Director of the Rutherford B. Hayes Library, and former secretary and librarian of the Society, followed with a review of "The First Century of the Florida Historical Society." Organized in 1856, the Society became dormant during the Civil War, and was not successfully reorganized until 1902. The founders and leaders of the Society were named, and the trials and wanderings of a century were discussed. Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida concluded the session with a paper entitled "The Florida Historical Quarterly".

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Begun in 1908, publication was suspended the following year, and was not resumed until 1924. It may be said that in many respects the *Quarterly* has been the Society, and it may truly be said that from 1924 to 1955 Julien C. Yonge was the *Quarterly*. Through his untiring editorship the *Florida Historical Quarterly* has taken a high place among state historical journals.

The luncheon meeting, held in the Venido Room of the Ponce de Leon Hotel, was presided over by President Charles T. Thrift. As usual this was the occasion for reports from local and regional societies. Continued growth was reported from most quarters, and the organization of several new local societies and county historical commissions was noted.

The Friday afternoon program session, Charles S. Davis, Chairman, was devoted to papers on Florida under the United States. Weymouth T. Jordan, Florida State University, outlined "The Florida Plan; An Ante-Bellum Effort to Control Cotton Prices", an interesting early attempt to stabilize fluctuations in the market through agreement, warehousing, and selling at a fixed minimum price. M. W. Dodson, III, of Pensacola dealt with a later agricultural phase of Florida history in his paper "Hamilton Disston's St. Cloud Sugar Plantation." This enterprise, spanning the years 1887-1901, was a major factor in establishing the pattern of draining and farming the Everglades.

Samuel Proctor, University of Florida, described "Jewish Life in Florida During the Nineteenth Century," beginning with the large-looming name of Moses E. Levy. The population was small until the 1880's, when it began to expand. Charlton W. Tebeau, University of Miami, discussed "Seminole Indian Trading Posts in South Florida." Many South Florida communities had their beginning as a trading post, providing contact between the Indian and the white man.

Late afternoon found many visiting members enjoying the hospitality of the Woman's Exchange at a garden party held at the Old Spanish Treasury.

The Annual Banquet in the Venido Room of the Ponce de Leon Hotel was attended by 105 persons who enjoyed the setting and the food. President Charles T. Thrift served as toastmaster, and introduced the speaker, Elizabeth Ives of Southern Pines, North Carolina, who spoke briefly on her experiences in the

historic restoration movement in that area. At the banquet, the St. Augustine Historical Society presented a citation to Julien C. Yonge for his services on behalf of Florida history, and presented Mrs. Ives with an inscribed copy of Barcia's *History of Florida*.

An evening session of slide-talks was held with John W. Griffin as chairman. Earnest G. Gearhart, Jr., and Justin P. Havee ably represented the Historical Association of Southern Florida in presenting their slide-talk "The History of South Florida in Pictures." This presentation, designed for public showings, is an excellent example of the interpretation of local history. C. R. Vinten of the National Park Service concluded the evening with a colorful slide-talk about "Mission 66," the 10 year plan of the National Park Service to prepare our parks and historic shrines for ever increasing visitor use.

The program was resumed on Saturday morning, under the chairmanship of Miss Dena Snodgrass, with a session on Colonial Florida. Charles W. Arnade, University of Tampa, spoke on "The Trial of Florida: 1593-1602", a period during which repeated pressure was felt for the abandonment of Florida. Specifically treated was the investigation which assured its continuance. Mark F. Boyd, Tallahassee, followed with a biographical sketch of Juan Joseph Eligio de la Puente, perhaps the most important figure born in Florida in Spanish times, and a significant factor in Spain's attitude toward the American Revolution.

Julian Granberry, University of Florida, discussed "The Problem of Culture-Contact in Colonial Florida", advancing the thesis that cultural conflicts and misunderstandings played as great a role in unsettled Florida conditions as did the repercussions of European diplomatic and military affairs. Nancy Engstrom, University of Florida, concluded the program with a sketch of the administration and tribulations of Governor Pablo de Hita y Salazar (1675-1680) under the title "Governor Salazar: Red Tape, Adversity, Animosity".

The Business Meeting and election of officers is fully covered in another portion of the *Quarterly*. Following this meeting, members were invited to visit the various properties of the St. Augustine Historical Society, and to view the new museum of St. Augustine History opened during the meetings. A reception by the St. Augustine Society in the garden of the Llambias House marked the formal conclusion of the Centennial Meeting.

THE MINUTES

by DENA SNODGRASS

*Minutes of the Directors Meeting
St. Augustine, Florida - April 12, 1956*

THE OFFICERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE SOCIETY met in annual session at the Ponce de Leon Hotel, St. Augustine, April 12, 1956 at 8:00 P. M. with President Charles T. Thrift, Jr., presiding. Members present were Judge David Dunham, John C. Blocker, Julien C. Yonge, Rembert W. Patrick, J. Ryan Beiser, Albert C. Manucy, Frank B. Sessa, Harley Freeman, Dena Snodgrass and Elizabeth Baldwin. Communications from each absent member were noted.

The minutes of the October 1, 1955 meeting were approved on motion of Mr. Freeman, seconded by Judge Dunham.

Mrs. Baldwin presented the treasurer's report which was approved and filed as read. The worsening condition of the treasury was noted. The membership report showed a gain in numbers but a strong need for more of the higher paying classifications of membership. Between April 1, 1955 and April 1, 1956 there was an increase of 43 members of the Society.

Mr. Blocker, who originated the Christmas gift subscription plan, moved, seconded by Mr. Manucy and carried, that no further expenditure be made for this plan and that it be dropped after current supplies of printed materials are exhausted.

Mr. Beiser moved, seconded by Mr. Freeman and carried, that Mrs. Baldwin provide each director with a list of currently paid members living within his district, that he be asked to submit names of at least ten prospective members; further, that names of recent delinquents be supplied him for checking.

The budget for 1956-57 was presented and discussed. On motion of Mr. Blocker, seconded by Judge Dunham and carried, the budget was adopted as amended to show expected receipts from dues of \$3,500.

After full discussion of the condition of the treasury, of the rising cost of the *Quarterly* and of the wisdom of an increase in annual dues, it was moved by Mr. Blocker, seconded by Mr.

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Freeman and carried, that the Board of Directors propose to the annual membership meeting an increase in the annual dues from \$4 to \$5. (Those favoring were Messrs. Blocker, Freeman, Sessa, Manucy and Miss Snodgrass. Several abstained from voting.) Mr. Patrick brought out that the *Quarterly* now costs the Society about \$.95 a copy. Mr. Yonge thought an increase in dues would lose members and suggested a greater drive to secure memberships of the \$10 or above classifications.

The Board voted unanimously to propose to the annual membership meeting the creation of new membership categories, particularly in the amount of \$50 and of \$100, (the latter being an annual institutional membership and therefore varying from the \$100 life membership), and such other categories as the Board should in its discretion find expedient.

Mr. Sessa presented an offer in behalf of Past President Tebeau, the University of Miami Press and the Copeland Studies in Florida History to finance the printing of the index of the Florida Historical *Quarterly* on a non-profit basis, these two bodies to be reimbursed in the amount of the cost only, the Society retaining any balance. The Board unanimously requested Mr. Sessa to convey its thanks and acceptance of this generous offer and agreed that a credit line should be given the Press and the Studies. It was specified that supervision of the publication be in the hands of the Society's Editorial Board.

Mr. Yonge stated the indexing was progressing and expected completion of the work within the next six months.

New features of the *Quarterly* were discussed, with expressions of approval, and it was urged that all attempt to secure more articles from non-professional writers. The Editor stated that he had bids for printing the *Quarterly* from the Rose Printing Company, Tallahassee, the Convention Press, Jacksonville (these being in about the same amounts) and a somewhat higher bid from a press in Baltimore.

The dwindling supply of back numbers of the *Quarterly* was discussed. A listing of a collection of almost 100 copies of various numbers for sale by an estate was presented by Miss Snodgrass. Mr. Blocker moved, seconded by Mr. Manucy and carried, that the Society offer to buy this quantity for \$50. It was suggested that attention be called in the "Newsletter" to the supply of back issues.

Mr. Blocker, agreeing to continue as Chairman of the Legislative Committee, reported that the work was progressing. He asked Miss Snodgrass to contact Mrs. Nell Bostwick of Jacksonville, who operates a legislative bureau in Tallahassee, concerning help in the mechanics of handling any proposed legislation for the Society at the 1957 Session of the Legislature.

President Thrift commented on suggestions received from various directors on the plans for greater financial stability. Miss Snodgrass, Chairman of the Committee on Financial Stability, stated that execution of the plans would get under way at an early date.

Miss Snodgrass discussed briefly the possibility of the publication of a French manuscript given the Society by the late Honorable John B. Stetson, Jr., in cooperation with a Jacksonville group to commemorate the quadricentennial of the landing of Jean Ribault in 1622. On motion by Mr. Blocker, seconded by Mr. Manucy and carried, Mr. Patrick and Miss Snodgrass were authorized to negotiate with the Jacksonville group and secure a concrete proposal for presentation to the Society.

The President appointed a resolutions committee of Miss Snodgrass, Chairman, Mr. Frank B. Sessa and Mr. Rembert W. Patrick, to report to the annual meeting.

Mr. Sessa presented an invitation to the Society to hold its annual meeting in Miami in 1957. The Board's thanks were expressed and the matter referred to the in-coming Board of Directors in view of prior correspondence with the Director from Pensacola, Miss Clubbs.

A rising vote of thanks to President Thrift concluded the meeting.

*Minutes of the Annual Meeting
St. Augustine - April 14, 1956*

THE PRESIDENT CALLED THE MEETING TO ORDER at 12 o'clock following the morning program session as a matter of convenience to several members of the Board who found it necessary to leave prior to the announced time of the business meeting. The President asked that two matters be presented for discussion only at this time. This being agreed upon, the President directed the Secretary to read two recommendations from the Board: (1) The

Board of Directors proposes to the membership an increase in the annual dues of the Society from \$4 to \$5. (2) The Board of Directors proposes to the membership the creation of new classifications of membership: a \$50 membership and a \$100 membership (the latter being an annual institutional membership) and such other memberships as the Directors should deem it wise to create.

Several members spoke to the question of the increase in annual dues. It was brought out that the membership should be fully informed as to the need to increase the dues because of the rising cost of publication.

Mr. Blocker, Chairman of the Nominating Committee, read the slate of nominees: President, Dena Snodgrass; 1st Vice President, J. Velma Keen; 2nd Vice President, Albert C. Manucy; Recording Secretary, Ruby J. Hancock; Directors, Lucius Ruder, Mary Herbert, Ianthe Bond Hebel, Gilbert Richardson, Mary MacRae; Nominating Committee, 1957, David R. Dunham, Richard P. Daniel, Frank Sessa, Weymouth Jordan and Herbert J. Doherty, Jr.

The Society expressed its appreciation to Dr. Thrift for his service as President of the Society and the meeting was declared adjourned.

Annual Meeting
2 o'clock Session

President Thrift called the annual meeting to order at 2:00 P. M. and declared a quorum present. He read the report of the Nominating Committee in the absence of Chairman Blocker. Judge Dunham moved, seconded by Mr. Tebeau and unanimously carried that the President cast a unanimous ballot for the slate, there being no nominations from the floor.

Mr. Thrift handed the gavel to Miss Snodgrass, the newly elected president, who read the two proposals concerning dues from the Board of Directors. Mr. Manucy moved, seconded by Mr. Tebeau and carried, that the recommendation on the increase of annual dues from \$4 to \$5 be approved. Mr. Patrick moved, seconded by Mr. Bridgman and carried, that the new categories of memberships suggested by the Board be approved.

Mr. Patrick announced the winners of the high school essay contest and Dr. Emily Atkins of Jacksonville presented Arthur Foster, winner of first prize, who had worked under the supervision of Dr. Atkins. Other winners, Miss Sylvia Jean Hardaway of Gainesville and Miss Jean Smith of Jacksonville were unable to be present.

The question of the price to be charged by the Society for back issues of the *Quarterly* was raised in view of the increase in the dues. It was agreed that all numbers through Volume XX be sold for \$2.00, those from Volume XX through January, 1956 be \$1.00 and all numbers from that date be sold for \$1.25.

Mr. Thrift suggested that an attempt be made to secure sales tax exemption for the Society. Discussion of such exemption as secured by the Historical Association of Southern Florida and by the St. Augustine Historical Society followed. The matter was left in the hands of the President for discussion with Vice President Keen and with the Comptroller's office in Tallahassee.

The President read the following resolutions which were concurred in unanimously:

Resolution No. 1 - This year marks the founding of the Florida Historical Society here in St. Augustine in 1856. On this, the occasion of our centennial, we resolve to renew our interest in the history of Florida, to dedicate ourselves anew to continuing the work of the founders and to strive to gain the recognition that our state is due as the most historical of all.

Resolution No. 2 - The Society recognizes with pride the 31 years of faithful service of Julien C. Yonge as editor of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, now editor emeritus. During this time, Mr. Yonge has edited 124 numbers of the *Quarterly*, some 9,000 pages, at least one-third of which have been composed of his own writings or of articles he has selected and edited. The excellence of his work, the length of his service, have more than earned the deepest gratitude of the Society's officers and members, the admiration and respect of all interested in the cause of history. To him we express our sincere appreciation and our affection, resolving to strive to emulate his work in the years to come.

Resolution No. 3 - As the Centennial Meeting of the Florida Historical Society draws to a close, the officers and members express by this resolution their gratitude to the St. Augustine Historical Society and to all who have contributed to the presentation

THE MINUTES

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of this outstanding program and meeting. To each of them the Florida Historical Society is sincerely grateful. The warm welcome and gracious hospitality on this occasion shall be long remembered.

The members gave Past President Thrift a rising vote of thanks for his splendid leadership of the Society during two terms as its president.

There being no further business, the meeting was adjourned.

REPORT OF THE TREASURER
March 31, 1955 - April 1, 1956

Balance: March 31, 1955.....	\$ 2,949.36
Location of Balance:	
Florida Bank at Gainesville.....	\$1,463.24
First Federal Building and Loan (Endowment fund).....	1,486.12
Receipts:	
Membership dues	\$3,231.90
Contributing members	540.00
Life members	192.00
Institutional dues	25.00
Quarterlies sold	228.75
Mrs. J. T. Hancock (essay contest)	37.50
Reprints	79.20
Mark F. Boyd (to assist with Osceola Quart)...	150.00
Books sold	35.00
St. Augustine (5000 reprints Osceola)	2,500.00
St. Augustine (illust. Oct. Quart.)	156.00
Interest	44.15
Total receipts	7,219.50
Total to be accounted for	<u>\$10,168.86</u>
Disbursements:	
Printing of Quarterlies (4 issues)	3,849.54
Reprint Osceola (1000 copies).....	901.25
Reprint Osceola (St. Augustine 5000 copies)	2,214.50
Printing (other)	244.42
Essay contest	52.50
Express	25.45
Mr. Cox (salary Sept. 15 to Oct. 15).....	50.00
Stenographic help	174.25
Postage	165.28
Miscellaneous	213.42
(books and memberships, book repairs, office and library sup- plies, newsletter, bank service charges, copyrights, Library of Congress, taxes, annual conven- tion expenses)	
Total disbursements	7,890.61
Balance. April 1, 1956.....	<u>\$ 2,278.25</u>
Location of balance.	
Florida Bank at Gainesville.....	520.98
First Federal Building and Loan (Endowment fund)	1,757.27
	\$2,278.25

BUDGET

April 1, 1956 - March 31, 1957

Cash balance, checking account		
April 1, 1956		520.98
Estimated income:		
Membership dues		
Annual	3,500.00	
Libraries	428.00	
Student	14.00	
Fellow	550.00	
Institution	50.00	
Sale of <i>Quarterly</i>	100.00	
Interest	45.00	
Total estimated income.....		4,687.00
Total available funds		<u>\$ 5,207.98</u>
Estimated expenses:		
Florida Historical <i>Quarterly</i>	3,800.00	
Printing (other)	200.00	
Books, bookbinding, subscriptions, dues	100.00	
General office expenses	300.00	
Essay contest	50.00	
Total estimated expense		<u>4,450.00</u>
Estimated balance, April 1, 1957		757.98

NEWS AND NOTES

Activities of Historical Societies

The Halifax Historical Society visited the Bulow plantation ruins in May. Eileen Butts and Alice Strickland spoke before the Society. The next issue of the *Halifax Journal* is scheduled for October.



The Hillsborough County Historical Commission was the recipient of an original map of Florida by Will Stork, a gift from the Earl and Countess of Hillsborough on their recent visit to Tampa. Two initial sites have been selected by the Commission for marking, an 1856 Indian attack site and the location of a skirmish in 1863. Guest speakers at program meetings of the Commission the past year included Charles W. Arnade, Charles Knight and Major Edward Keenan. A museum, maintained in the court house, is open to visitors daily.



Ernest G. Gearhart, Jr., was elected president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida at the annual meeting in May. Other newly elected officers were E. M. Hancock, first vice president, Wayne E. Withers, second vice president and Robert M. McKey, treasurer. Kenneth S. Keyes, R. B. Roberts, H. Lewis Dorn, Thomas W. Hagan and Thomas P. Caldwell were added to the board of directors.

A former important industry of southern Florida was recognized in the dedication of a marker on March 5, 1956 by the Historical Association of Southern Florida during the Greater Miami Industrial Exposition. The marker, bearing the inscription "South Florida's First Industry: Starch Making", will be placed near Kendall on U. S. Highway No. 1 at the site of the last commercial starch mill. John B. Hurst, son of A. B. Hurst, owner of the mill, assisted in the unveiling. Thomas W. Hagan, the Association's president, spoke on the origin of the starch industry and its early significance.

John R. Dunkle of the University of Florida spoke before the Jacksonville Historical Society in May on the happenings in northeast Florida during the second Spanish period. Raymond H. King was elected president; Frank H. Elmore, Jr., first vice president; Mrs. Linwood Jeffereys, second vice president; Florence Morrish, treasurer; Martha Lee Segui, recording secretary; Mrs. W. E. Mott, corresponding secretary; Audrey Broward, archivist and Herbert Lamson, historian. Directors elected were Mrs. Karl Bardin, Burton Bryan, Harold R. Clark, James C. Craig, Theodore Hartridge, Mal Haughton, Mrs. W. S. Manning, Egbert Moore, H. Plant Osborne and Warren Wattles.



The Mount Dora Historical Society came into existence in 1954, and a little later was duly incorporated as a non-profit organization, for the purposes usually covered by historical societies. Its by-laws provide for a board of eleven directors, including the five officers, and call for four public meetings each year. At these public meetings the early experiences of the Simpson, Sadler and Donnelly families, first settlers in the 1870's, have been reviewed by members of those families; and the histories of Tangerine and Sorrento, adjacent communities, have been reviewed by early settlers in those communities. The churches, service clubs, recreational clubs, reading and art clubs, and all other organizations have been asked to furnish accounts of their organizations and history to date. Efforts have been made to impress upon all residents the importance of preserving such early documents, photographs and clippings as may be in their possession. This material will be the basis for the Society's main project - the writing of a comprehensive history of the city of Mount Dora. Frank E. Bridgman is president and Mary True Crosswhite is secretary of the Society.



A new series of museum exhibits, nineteen in number, have been placed in a remodeled museum room of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Through the use of colorful and dramatic modern museum techniques the visitor is introduced to the history

of our oldest city, told in chronological order. The first exhibit, containing arms and armor of the late sixteenth century, sets the theme of the conquest of the New World. Each case deals with one aspect of the story: The founding of St. Augustine, Drake's attack, Spanish missions, the War of Jenkins' Ear, the British town, the Minorcans, the Seminole War, the Flagler era, to mention a few.

The initial plan for the exhibit was the product of a committee of the St. Augustine Society. The exhibits themselves were constructed under contract with the Museum Laboratory of the National Park Service. A period of three years, from the initial planning to the final installation, was required before the museum was opened to the public in April.



The St. Lucie Historical Society and the Library Association at Fort Pierce have made plans for the addition of a new wing to the library for the Society's use with funds to be obtained from public subscription. The Society is interested in the collection of pertinent historical materials.



Guyte P. McCord was guest speaker before the Tallahassee Historical Society's annual meeting in May. Officers elected at that time were Weymouth T. Jordan, president; Miss Florence Bethea, vice president; D. A. Avant, treasurer and Miss Juanita Forbes, secretary.

College News

Charles W. Arnade of the University of Tampa has been awarded a grant by Princeton University for the publication of his book on the history of Bolivia. Gene Sterks has been requested to contribute a monograph in the Confederate Centennial Series.

Lyle N. McAlister of the University of Florida is doing research this summer in Mexico, D. F. on a grant from the American Philosophical Society. Rembert W. Patrick gave a series of lectures on social changes in the New South at Memphis State

College in June. John Allen Krout, vice president of Columbia University, lectured at the University of Florida in April. The lectures, which will be published, dealt with the principal historical forces which are reflected in American life today.

The Florida Folk Festival

The fourth annual Florida Folk Festival was held on May 4 and 5 at the Stephen Foster Memorial on the Suwannee River near White Springs. Aspects of Florida's history were re-enacted through the presentation of customs and dances of pioneers, Indians and various representative nationalities.

Inter-American Studies

A survey of investigations in progress in the field of Latin American studies is being jointly sponsored by the Department of Cultural Affairs of the Pan American Union and the School of Inter-American Studies of the University of Florida at Gainesville. Questionnaires have been sent to faculty members and graduate students in all disciplines, and to independent scholars and researchers who may have investigations under way connected with Latin America. Those who do not receive questionnaires through the mail are urged to request them from the School of Inter-American studies, University of Florida, Gainesville, Fla., in order that the published results may be as complete as possible. Distribution of the completed survey is scheduled for early fall.

The Lewis State Bank

The editorial staff of the *Quarterly* is grateful to George E. Lewis II and to Mark F. Boyd for the History of the Lewis State Bank which was distributed to members of the Society along with the April number of the *Quarterly*. An article on the Bank was conceived in the fall of 1955 and was planned for the April, 1956, issue of the *Quarterly*. Unfortunately the printing schedule prevented inclusion of the article in the *Quarterly*, but President Lewis of the Lewis State Bank arranged for distribution of the pamphlet history as a gift to our members. Mark F. Boyd was

requested by officials of the Bank to write the history, and the interesting and scholarly account was the natural result. The *Quarterly* salutes the Lewis State Bank on its centennial, and urges other business enterprises to give consideration to their history.

Olustee

The second edition, revised, of Mark F. Boyd's *Federal Campaign of 1864 in East Florida* has been published by the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. This definitive study of Olustee first appeared in the July, 1950 *Quarterly*. In addition to the text, the forty page pamphlet contains four pages of maps and a picture of the Monument and Museum of Olustee Battlefield.

The National Park Service

A recent addition to the National Park Service staff at Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, St. Augustine, is Historian Luis R. Arana. He is a native Puerto Rican, a graduate of Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico at San German, and has done graduate work at the University of Puerto Rico. Luis Arana entered the National Park Service at San Juan National Historic Site, Puerto Rico, in 1951. His work has included research in the history of the Spanish fortifications and military campaigns in Puerto Rico, which closely parallels the colonial history of Florida.

Albert Manucy, Supervisory Historian at Castillo de San Marcos, is on a several months' assignment with the Museum Branch of the National Park Service. This work is in connection with the "MISSION 66" program of the Service, aiming toward development of areas within the National Park System by 1966. Albert Manucy is designing museum exhibits for several historical parks in the South. Of special interest to Floridians are the museums under construction at Fort Caroline National Memorial near Jacksonville, Fla., and Fort Frederica National Monument, St. Simons Island, Ga. The Fort Caroline museum will tell the story of the 16th century French colony on the St. Johns river, and the Frederica displays cover the period 1736-1742, when

Anglo-Spanish hostilities in the Southeast reached a climax. Frederica was the fortified settlement established by James Oglethorpe as a base of operations against the Spanish at St. Augustine.

Two antique British cannon were presented to the National Park Service by the Island of Jamaica, British West Indies, through the Jamaica Historical Society for erection at the Fort Frederica National Monument, St. Simons Island, Georgia. The ceremonies attending the reception of the cannon were held at Fort Frederica on May 20 under the auspices of the National Park Service and the Fort Frederica Association.

Woodville School Centennial

Woodville School, at Woodville in Leon County, celebrated its centennial on May 5. Established first as Hickory Grove Academy and later called White Church School, it has been in continuous existence for 100 years. Many former pupils assembled at the school to witness a pageant depicting its history. F. A. Rhodes of the State Department of Education, successively pupil, teacher and principal at the school, delivered an address which outlined the institution's history and the work of many who had a part in its establishment and operation.



NEW MEMBERS

(Apr. - May)

ANNUAL MEMBERS

Nominated by

William Stuart McArthur, Ashford, Alabama	Elizabeth Baldwin
Nita K. Pyburn, Tallahassee, Fla	Julien C. Yonge
Mrs. H. L. Elledge, Okeechobee, Fla	Mrs. J. T. Hancock
L. P. Artman, Jr., Key West, Fla	H. J. Mitchell
Bob Wickman, Clearwater, Fla	Mary MacRae
K. L. Jeffcoat, Fort Myers, Fla	R. V. Rickcord
Pearl Skinner, Tallahassee, Fla	Julien C. Yonge
Emmet Anderson, Bartow, Fla	Elizabeth Baldwin
George L. Olsen, Gainesville, Fla	Mrs. Helen C. Ellerbe
Irving A. Leonard, Ann Arbor, Michigan	
J. Clyde Going, Ft. Myers, Fla	Chas. T. Thrift, Jr.
Lucetta Johnson, Morristown, N. J.	John Griffin
Mrs. Daniel B. Smith, Pensacola, Fla	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Edward W. Lawson, St. Augustine, Fla	John Griffin
Ellis Meserve, Okeechobee, Fla	Mrs. J. T. Hancock
Ralph A. Williams, Jacksonville, Fla	Dena Snodgrass
Willie Kate Tyson, Gainesville, Fla	Julien C. Yonge
Mrs. C. E. Adams, Arcadia, Fla	Elizabeth Baldwin
Mrs. Richard Ross, Ft. Lauderdale, Fla	August Burghard
Janet A. LaSalle, Chicago, Ill.	John Griffin
Mrs. James A. Cotey, Chicago 14, Ill.	John Griffin
Jack Williams, Gainesville, Fla.	R. W. Patrick
Mrs. Thelma Peters, Miami, Fla	David O. True
George L. Chindahl, Maitland, Fla	Julien C. Yonge
Mrs. Wilson Carraway, Tallahassee, Fla	Mrs. Lewis Lively

CONTRIBUTORS

- CHARLES E. BENNETT of Jacksonville is the Representative in Congress from the Second District of Florida. His leadership has been responsible for the establishment of the Fort Caroline National Memorial.
- HUGH C. BAILEY is Assistant Professor of History at Howard College, Birmingham, Alabama.
- FRANKLIN A. DOTY is Associate Professor of Social Sciences and History at the University of Florida.
- HERBERT J. DOHERTY, JR., is Assistant Professor of Social Sciences and History at the University of Florida.
- JOHN W. GRIFFIN is Executive Historian of the St. Augustine Historical Society.
- DENA SNODGRASS was Recording Secretary of the Florida Historical Society and is now President of the Society.