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APALACHICOLA IN 1838-1840: LETTERS FROM A YOUNG COTTON WAREHOUSE CLERK

edited by NILES SCHUH

John Chrystie wrote long, interesting letters from Apalachicola to the folks back home in New York. In a series of nine letters, written during the 1838-1839 and 1839-1840 business seasons, he described life in that busy cotton port. He wrote to his brother, Tom; to his brother's wife, Sis; and especially to his close friend, probably a cousin, Albert, about life in a young, fast-growing, frontier town in the territory of Florida. Business, social, and civic life were all of interest to the impressionable young man, and he had very definite ideas and opinions about most of what was going on around him.¹

At that time, Apalachicola, with a population of over 1,000 people, was on its way to becoming Florida's largest cotton port and the third largest on the Gulf of Mexico, after New Orleans and Mobile.² Its location at the mouth of the Apalachicola, Chattahoochee, and Flint rivers system gave it a unique advantage over other seaports in that part of the Gulf. That river system was the principal path of commerce into a large area of southwestern Georgia, southeastern Alabama, and middle Florida. The commerce was mainly cotton moving downriver and manufactured goods moving upriver. Cotton was the most important single product of the South at that time, and the economy of Apalachicola centered around it.³

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1. All quotations contained in the article are taken from a collection of nine letters in the private collection of the author; all are from Apalachicola and all are written by John Chrystie and addressed to relatives in New York City and Newburgh, New York. Six letters to Albert Chrystie, Jr., are dated December 23, 1838; January 5 and 13, February 3 and 12, 1839; and April 15, 1840. Two letters to Thomas W. Chrystie are dated February 10, 1839, and March 4, 1840. One letter to Mrs. Thomas W. Chrystie is dated January 4, 1840.
 2. See also Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola: The Beginning," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 47 (January 1967), 283-91.
 3. For a description of the town of Apalachicola, its strategic location, and its importance in Territorial Florida, see Harry P. Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861" (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1966). For a description of the Apalachicola River and its commerce see Harry P. Owens, "Port of

John Chrystie was related to several noted people on his mother's side. His mother's father was James Nicholson, who was described as a "distinguished officer" in the American Revolution. He held the rank of commodore and was "first on the list of American Post Captains"; later he was a prominent merchant in New York City. John's mother, Jehoiadden Nicholson Chrystie, was the youngest of eight children.⁴ Her sister, Hannah, had married Swiss-born Albert Gallatin in 1793. Gallatin was the United States minister to France and secretary of the treasury in Thomas Jefferson's cabinet.⁵ John's father was apparently the Reverend James Chrystie who is listed in contemporary records as serving in Newburgh, New York, from 1818 to 1821.⁶ Whether he was an elected or appointed official is not known.

Chrystie maintained close contact with his family through his letters, and apparently he was fond of his recently acquired sister-in-law as can be noted in a letter to his brother postmarked March 4, 1840.⁷

By the ship "St John"⁸ to leave here the middle of this week I send on two boxes of trees (young), roots, & so on, one for Sis & one for Cousin Frances Chrystie – You will find I think some valuable trees "for the ornament of" Windsor Hill among those of Sis's box – they are put up by a careful hand & I will write you again with their names & directions for planting etc. . . . I have just returned from the garden (a public one) hoping that the gardener might have the list of roots & directions ready to copy in this letter but I shall have to wait for next mail.

However Tom I hope you will find they will succeed well for I know Sis delights in such things unless she has removed her affections from all earthly things & bestowed them without any reserve upon little Addie

Apalachicola," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (July 1969), 15-18. See also William Warren Rogers, *Outposts on the Gulf* (Pensacola, 1986), 1-49.

4. Byam Kerby Stevens, *Genealogical-Biographical Histories of the Families of Stevens, Gallatin and Nicholson* (New York, 1911), 32-33, 35.
5. *Ibid.*, 22-25.
6. E. M. Rutenber and L. H. Clark, *History of Orange County, New York* (Philadelphia, 1881), 312.
7. Thomas W. Chrystie married Elizabeth A. Ludlow on October 12, 1838. James P. Maher, *Index to Marriages and Deaths in the New York Herald, 1835-1855* (Baltimore, 1987), 25. No other Chrystie weddings or deaths are listed in work.
8. Probably the 398-ton ship listed as being on the New York to New Orleans run for Collins' New Line in 1839. Carl C. Cutler, *Queens of the Western Ocean* (Annapolis, 1961), 500.

- for whom in particular the finest Magnolia in the box is intended & must be set out with all due ceremony that they may both grow up together.

Chrystie, as well as most letter writers of the time, included comments on the postal system in his letters. The mail was extremely important to everyone, and letters from home were especially treasured by one who considered himself almost an exile from the civilized world. Prior to the arrival of the railroad and the telegraph, even the newspaper had to depend on the postal system for its outside news. As a result, newspapers often carried notices and editorials about failures of mail delivery.⁹ Chrystie often complained on this subject, also, and with good cause, according to his descriptions. He starts his January 5, 1839, letter by saying:

There can be no doubt as to the fact of this being a very great country. We are now without a mail for the last ten days; the regulation is that it should arrive & leave here twice a week & it has missed arriving for the last three times, the first time owing to a disagreement between the Captain of mail boat & the PMaster – Whenever the boat arrives behind time if only 5 minutes the PMaster puts on the fine, & that time the mail not being ready at the precise time appointed the Captain came off & left it. The second time there happened to be a barbecue at Bainbridge (where the Boat receives the mail) & when the mail arrived there from the north the P.M. & all hands were “very joyful” the P.M. just having sense enough when informed that the mail had arrived, to tell the messenger to “go to hell & take the mail along with him” & when the time came for the mail to go on board, the P.M. & nine tenths of the people were under the table & the other tenth so damnably fuddled that as old Morton said they had no inclination for any mail except a *female*.

Later, in the same letter, Chrystie added:

Upon my word I hardly think it is worth while to send you this letter as I doubt whether you will ever receive it. The Mail boat is again down without a mail making the 4th mail missed – For the last three weeks now we have had but one mail & one paper (of one date I mean) during the whole time. We have no more idea of what is going on in NYk than if we were in [sic] the moon.

9. One major point of contention concerned the transfer of mail from the main east-west land route passing through Chattahoochee to the steamboat for transport down the river and vice versa. For a lengthy running account of this problem during 1839, see the *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 22, July 10, July 24, and August 14, 1839.

A week later he finally received some mail. "After a long interregnum of nearly three weeks the mail has at last come & brought us about two packs of old newspapers, Bills Lading & letters; among others one from you being the first I have received since 23 December."

An alternative to the postal system was to depend on ship captains to hand carry letters, but John apparently did not feel that the ships were as reliable, even after his experience with mail delivery he had described earlier. He asked his brother in February 1839 to "give my love to Sis & tell her she's very foolish for keeping her letters for the Packets – ask her what she does so for, & tell her she musn't do so any more – she must send her letters by mail."

An indication of transit times for mail and passengers in 1840, and one of the reasons Chrystie felt so far from home, can be noted from his estimates to Albert. "It will take your letter a fortnight to get here & within a week after I receive it I can leave by land for N York & be there in 8 or 10 days after." When Chrystie said "by land" he meant one could travel by stage and railroad once he reached Bainbridge or Columbus, Georgia, by steamboat. There were no decent roads connecting Apalachicola to anywhere at that time.¹⁰

Chrystie worked for Goldstein & Co. which maintained offices at 59 Water Street in Apalachicola.¹¹ The company operated as commission merchants in one of the three-story brick

10. For a description of postal routes serving Apalachicola and area see Richard J. Stannaback, "Postal Operations in Territorial Florida, 1821-1845," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 52 (October 1973), 169-71.

11. Apalachicola *The Courier*, May 8, 1839. Another advertisement on the same page lists Goldstein & Co. as also being in the insurance business but at a different address. From regular advertisements in the *Columbus* (Georgia) *Sentinel and Herald*, David Goldstein (or Goldsteine as it was spelled in that paper) operated as "D. Goldsteine & Co., Commission and Forwarding Merchant, Apalachicola, Flor.," from at least June 21, 1838. By October 25, 1838, it was "D. Goldsteine & Co., Commission Merchants, Apalachicola, Florida. Will advance on Cotton shipped to Havre, Liverpool and New York. D. Goldsteine, H. D. Darden, Apalachicola." *The Columbus Times* of September 2, 1841, announced the dissolution of Goldstein & Co, Henry Darden, the partner, stayed on in Apalachicola and in the same business at least through the 1840s. Although Chrystie mentions Goldstein and a "Darden's boy" in his letters as though they are known in New York, Goldstein could not be found in the New York business directories of the period.

warehouses along the riverfront. As commission merchants or cotton factors, Goldstein & Co. were the middlemen in the buying and selling of cotton. As middlemen, they were required to warehouse large amounts of cotton in Apalachicola on its journey from grower to user and from riverboat to ocean ship.¹² Chrystie was concerned principally with the cotton business, as is evident from his letters, and he sometimes became very tired of being surrounded by cotton both day and night.

On December 23, 1838, he wrote to his friend. "I have been writing business letters all day. . . . I have received about 800 bales of Cotton & loaded the ship *Glide* for NYk¹³ besides writing some 20 or 30 letters so you can see I am deep into the very vortex of business."¹⁴

And about two weeks later he wrote again.

The prospects of business this Winter are not very good, the crop is short & a large quantity of Cotton will be shipped to St. Joseph. We have the satisfaction however of knowing that . . . the house will do at least one half if not two thirds of all the business (Cotton business I mean) in this place— if it don't make money will at least pay expenses.

Business activity depended to a large extent on the level of water in the river, which in turn determined the river's navigability for steamboats. The business season ran from approximately September to June each year, a function of the cotton growing cycle and the navigability of the river. Fortunately, these annual cycles were usually compatible, although the depth of the water in the river during any given month could vary considerably from year to year. Chrystie's comments on whether he was busy or not reflected this situation.

On January 13, 1839, he wrote: "We have had very little business to attend to I am sorry to say – the damned river still keeps low & while that is the case nothing is done." On February

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12. Lynn W. Ware, "The Cotton Trade of the Apalachicola/Chattahoochee River Valley, 1840-1860" (Ph.D. dissertation, Florida State University, 1989), 12-13, 18-19. The terms "commission merchant" and "cotton factor" are used interchangeably. This dissertation contains an excellent discussion of cotton marketing and financing.
 13. Probably the 131-ton schooner *Glide*, listed in 1826 as operating between New York and Savannah under the Schooner Line which continued in operation at least until 1858. Cutler, *Queens of the Western Ocean*, 475-76.
 14. Ware, "The Cotton Trade," 12-13.

3, 1839, Chrystie commented: "Shipping scarce – freights damned high – Cotton brisk @ 15 c for prime – a lot of 180 bales having been sold at that figure by Goldstein & Co. yesterday." John wrote to his brother on February 10, 1839: "It has been an exceedingly dull season with us – the quantity of Cotton rec'd & of goods sold in the place has been less by one third nearly than it has ever been before."

During the following season on March 4, 1840, he wrote:

I have not really had time. . . . The river rose upon us all at once & Cotton came down at the rate of 7 & 8000 bales a week & we had at one time five ships loading altogether so you can form some idea of how we have been hurried. As there are now however two assistants besides myself in the counting room I have a little more leisure.

Later, in the same letter, he added:

I hate the sight of a Cotton bale & yet the fates have ordained that some ten or fifteen thousand of them should be eternally under my nose – I almost fancy at times that I am a Cotton bale myself.

On January 6, 1839, he wrote: "We have just received news of the sinking of another steam boat on the river making the third boat lost this season. This boat (the Alabama) had on 150 bales Cotton consigned to us." He complained about local prices and quality to his brother Tom. "I have serious intentions of coming down upon you with a 20\$ bill & 'an order to purchase' 1 dozen cord shirts as they are not to be had out here but of a poor kind & at a goddamned tall price."

He wrote to his friend in December 1838 to describe how he lived and worked in Apalachicola.

I have no news to tell you – nothing under God's heaven hardly that can interest you – there is no excitement here of any kind except that of business & when there is none of that you can hardly imagine what a damned dull place it is. We sleep in our warehouse, we get up in the morning, go up to the hotel to breakfast, come down again, go up to dinner, come down again, go up to tea, come down again, & spend the evening either in playing whist or lolling about our rooms smoking, talking & so on – this is when there is no business. When there is any of that though the scene is very different. We get up in the morning & have hardly time for anything else hardly time to go to bed again at night.

Chrystie did not think very highly of Apalachicola. He did not seem to like the place, the people, or the customs. He was,

however, much more critical of conditions during his first season there; by the second season, he had tempered his feelings and even enjoyed himself a few times. He seemed to be resigned to the fact that his stint in such a place was necessary. "I am certainly not making anything but am learning business, living in the best style the place affords (as the House pays all my expenses)."

Chrystie's life seems to have been restricted to a small area, as he lived and worked in the same building.

So you want to know how we live – you've seen a horse in a mill or a squirrel in a cage – well, so we live – we have a large three story brick warehouse in the rear of the second floor of which are two rooms– one is the counting room & immediately adjoining is our sleeping room, Harry & myself. This is very convenient as we can be as late & as early at business as we please. We feed at the Hotel where we have as good a table as we ever sat down to. . . . [I]n the evening we sit in our offices & play whist, or read papers when they come or write letters as I am doing at present– the evenings we have altogether to ourselves. Sundays, there is a man here reads the Episcopal service at the Hotel at which all the old women both in petticoats & breeches attend. He is the cashier of a bank here & I believe a damned hypocritical son of a seacock. Have never been to hear him yet having plenty of everything else to do & when I have nothing of that to do I generally take my flute & music up in the third story & blow away like mad – In fact my Sunday mornings are generally devoted to music.

He advised a friend thinking of coming to Apalachicola that "he'll find more sand & fleas here than in any three places he was ever in before but plenty to eat venison & game of all kind mighty good liquors if he is fond of eating & drinking & plenty of fellows that will eat & drink with him night & day."

Chrystie was probably not very well-off financially or else he likely would have fled the summer heat and fevers as most Northerners did. He and one of the "Apalachicola boys" did not have "any idea of going north next summer – we have half made an agreement to go & spend a week or two up in the Cherokee country in the northern part of Georgia together, when it is too damned hot to live in this place."

Chrystie obviously missed the cultural life of New York. He asked, "Have you been to any opera theaters?" and refers to plays, books, and music often. To his friend, he wrote, December 23, 1838: "You say I don't tell you anything about Apalach – I wish to God there was something here at all in-

teresting to you or any other human being – as I said before it is the dullest of dull places & I do assure you the only pleasure I have here besides my flute is when the mail comes & brings me a letter from you. I have very few books to read (& I hereby while I think of it lay my commands on you & Tom to beg borrow & steal all the books & music you can lay hands on pack it up in a box & send it out to me).”

Although initially very critical of “Society” in Apalachicola and avoiding it, Chrystie later became involved in some social affairs and appears to have enjoyed himself. In an early letter, though, he wrote: “As to Society I do not pretend to go into it at all & therefore know nothing of it. There are devilish few women in the place though & still fewer pretty women.” Later in the same letter, referring to his family’s hometown, he wrote:

Good Lord deliver me from the Society of a small place – You know New Burgh – well Apalach is one third the size of N. Burgh.¹⁵ Of course it is a reasonable conclusion that the society of Apalach is three times as bad & is cut up into three times as many little portions as that of N. Burgh was – & of course if a man goes into it he must run the risk of having his character & disposition cut up & his little failings & peccadilloes magnified by two thirds of his associates & sneered at by the other third – so damn all society. I’ll take the advice of old Iago when he told Othello “go put money in your pocket!”

As to myself I am as fat & in as good condition as a man can be in this delightful climate. I have no women to trouble me & as to men I am learning the art of troubling them devilish fast. I cultivate no intimacies & allow nobody to cultivate an intimacy with me & so manage to get along very well – finding myself among a pack of damned rascals, I am obliged to be “wide awake & full of fleas” to use an Apalachicola expression which by the way I consider a damned sight more significant one than Aunt Fav’s. She advised me to “do my business as if *I were walking in the rain* – if it leads me in the way of sinners. If it doesn’t lead me in that way though I presume I have the old lady’s permission to do it as if I were walking in the rain with an umbrella over my head – Ah Aunty bad rule that won’t work both ways.

Citizens celebrated holidays in the Florida territory with as much enthusiasm, but perhaps less decorum, as anywhere else. For example, Chrystie described New Years in a letter dated January 5, 1839.

15. Newburgh is in Orange County, New York, seventy miles up the Hudson River from New York City.

New Years eve in Apalachicola there was a ball given by a woman of particularly easy virtue in the lowest class of life a washerwoman & formerly a chambermaid on one of the steamboats. She managed to muster about 15 or 20 of the same kind of women as herself & they had a regularly rowdy time – everybody was there (my worthy self excepted & a few others) all the young cocks whom you saw in NYk almost & they kept up till 2 o'clock. The principal merchants here danced with their draymen's wives, & the Mayor of the City played the fiddle for them! Hurra for Apalach!

Upriver at Bainbridge, the inhabitants had their own amusements. In the same January 1839 letter, Chrystie described a local holiday game.

The whole town was in a complete uproar all hands being engaged in a "goose pulling." The nature of the ceremony is this– the finest goose that can be raised is caught, plucked of all his feathers, tied up by the legs to a pole about 10 feet high placed in the middle of the principal street, with his neck well greased & the "pullers" ride past the pole full gallop & all have a snatch at the goose neck; whoever pulls the animal off the pole has him & of course treats all hands. So much for Bainbridge.

During his second season in Apalachicola, Chrystie finally went to a party, and on January 4, 1840, he wrote his sister-in-law a lively description of it.

I was at a very amusing party a night or two since (New Years night) consisting of four ladies & five or six gentlemen all the elite of the great city of Apalach. Don't be alarmed though Sis – one of the ladies was a widow, pretty well on the down hill of life, with a nose like a coal of fire in a dark room, another married, the third engaged & the fourth–squints! So just reflect upon the state of my purse & the attractions of the ladies & consider me perfectly safe – The married lady was by far the most dangerous of the concern, being decidedly pretty & reminding me very strongly in her manner of our friend Kate Walsh. You may be surprised at hearing that we have anybody in such an out of the way place at all resembling so ladylike a character & you may also be assured that the discovery of such a resemblance added greatly to my enjoyment of the evening. A flute was brought out from some corner or other, where it had lain hid I should think for at least a generation, upon which however I piped, to the great delight, as a matter of course, of all the audience. Whiskey punch doins & cake fixins were also produced & as the spirit of liveliness & sociability spread over the party the spirit of dance also began to prevail & towards 12 o'clock we wound up the evening with a grand "Virginny Reel" performed by all hands – feet rather – & danced in a most astonishingly vigorous & frisky style. It was the first party I ever attended here & I enjoyed it very much – The ladies don't

sit around the room like so many wallflowers (as somebody so wittily remarked about a hundred years ago) neither do the gentlemen stand before them like so many watering pots, pouring words out upon them that have just as animating an effect as drops of cold water generally have. Contrariwise, a great deal of sociability & fun within proper bounds of course – but prythee Sis for Gods sake don't mention this to any woman in N Burgh or it will get to Mrs Chittenden's ears who will infallibly write down to her husband the Doctor¹⁶ that John Chrystie wrote Sis Chrystie so & so & that he, the Dr, must tell her, Mrs Chittenden, what lady in Apa has a red nose & what lady squints – & then poor I will be in a horrid scrape as I fancy you womankind don't generally like such animadversion upon your personal appearance – though I am not very sure – how is it?

Later, in the same letter, Chrystie wrote:

2 o'clock. Well Sis I am in a bad way, as we say here, & have just returned from a visit to another lady again! Very strange – last evening you must know I received a message from said lady threatening awful penalties if I did not come to see her, I not having done so since my introduction about three weeks ago – Feeling rather flattered (as what man would not at such a message? for she is beautiful) I went this morning & paid a longer visit than I would have dared to pay anyone in the [undecipherable] – I won't mention names but she's from Baltimore an intimate friend & correspondent of Cousin M.A. Chambers young very gay & as I said before very beautiful – but again I say Sis don't be frightened for she's *married*. So in a very short space of time you see I have been honored so far as to have become an intimate of two beauties *married* – Well, the Lord preserve me from the snares of the unmarried ones! that is if any of them think such a poor bedevilled poverty stricken merchants clerk as I worth spreading any snares for.

John Chrystie, of necessity, did his civic duty as a result of an ordinance passed by the city of Apalachicola on January 29, 1839. "To ensure the security and tranquility of the inhabitants, and safety of property." "All free white male inhabitants between the ages of eighteen and fifty years" were to take turns patrolling the streets every night to meet this goal. Any citizen failing in this duty would be subject to fine by the mayor. Chrystie was one of the men so obligated to "meet at the ringing of the City Bell at nine o'clock" and to "patrol the streets." They were "authorized to go into and examine all kitchens and out-houses within the jurisdiction of this Corporation, usually oc-

16. L. F. Chittenden, apparently an acquaintance from New York, was a prominent citizen of Apalachicola. He was mayor at the time Chrystie was there.

cupied by Negroes, or persons of color." They were also authorized to arrest and punish "by whipping" any slave or person of color caught away from home without a pass.¹⁷

Chrystie described his view of this civic duty in two letters. On February 3, 1839, he wrote:

I was out on a patrol the other night – a patrol you must know is a kind of City guard composed of all the young men of the place who turn out 5 at a time in turn to keep the peace & to guard the place from attempts at insurrection on the part of the negroes, from attacks by the Indians, from fire, thieves, & all other dangers that make night hideous. Well we had Bill Foster, Baker, Morton, J Day a pious old Methodist & myself¹⁸ – We entered every negro kitchen in the place made them put out all their lights & so on – some of the scenes we witnessed were tall & some of the doings were also tall I can't describe them on paper but if we meet again I will spin you a yarn on the subject – With such a crowd though as Bill Foster Baker Morton you may conceive – The Methodist caught hell before the night was up. All the patrol wound up the night by taking off a basket of champagne belonging to somebody or other & getting in a high "state of excitement."

It seems these patrols were an excuse for the young white men to have some rowdy fun. Chrystie described other patrolmen's antics in his letter of February 12, 1839, which was unfortunately partially torn.

Talking of punches puts-me-in-mind . . . grand row the other night in which . . . city was quiet & put all the little niggers to bed & laid their mamas along side of them all, they concluded to adjourn to the Hotel & have an oyster supper. Under the effect of oysters & punch the fun became fast & furious – but they got to opening baskets of champagne the bottles of which they circulated with such rapidity that they finally got to throwing them at each others heads . . . the meeting was broken up in most admired disorder – black [eyes & bloo]dy noses were rife among the genteel part of society.

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17. City of Apalachicola, *Ordinances of Apalachicola*, a typewritten copy of the original in the possession of Mrs. Patrick J. Lovett, Birmingham, Alabama. There is also a copy in the Apalachicola Public Library. The original ordinance was passed by the Council on January 29, 1839. Modifications were made in February 1839, and December 1843, and the ordinance was repealed March 8, 1847. A copy of the ordinance was printed in the *Apalachicola Gazette*, December 21, 1839. See the *Watchman of the Gulf*, August 12, 1843, for another colorful description of the "city guard" in action.
 18. Jeremiah and Daniel Day and Company are prominent merchants in Apalachicola. Ware, "The Cotton Trade," 147; Owens, "Apalachicola Before 1861," 204.

Chrystie's letters provide us valuable insight into Apalachicola business and society, but they are equally revealing for what they do not say. There were a number of things going on around Apalachicola and Florida that were of great interest to most residents which Chrystie did not mention. For example, he made no reference to the 1838 Constitutional Convention that was held just a few miles away in St. Joseph during his first season in Florida or the issue of statehood, which must have been discussed by many of his fellow inhabitants. His only mention of Indians was very brief, and it was one of the reasons for the local patrols. His residence in Apalachicola occurred in the middle of the Second Seminole War (1835-1842), but he does not mention it. While Apalachicola was some distance away from most of the military activity, several "Indian massacres" that took place a few miles up the river were described in local papers during his time in Florida.¹⁹ These omissions are probably further evidence that he considered himself a New Yorker who had the misfortune to have to spend some time in a place where he did not want to be. He could not become very interested in things he intended leaving behind as soon as possible.

The writer has found very little information on John Chrystie's life other than that reflected in his letters. Nothing has been found from before his two seasons in Apalachicola and very little after he returned North. His record disappears for ten years after the last letter from Apalachicola until he is listed as a broker at 60 Wall in an 1850-1851 New York city directory.²⁰ Presumably he continued as a broker in New York for the next several years. The 1857-1858 directory lists his widow, Frances, at his previous home address.²¹ Both his brother, Tom, and his friend, Albert, seem to have moved back to Newburgh around 1840, based on how John's letters are addressed to them.

19. See, for example, the *Apalachicola Gazette*, July 24, 1839, for a description of the killing of the Chairs (spelled Chaires elsewhere) family ten miles from Apalachicola and the January 29, 1840, edition describing the massacre of the Rowlett family, thirty miles from the town. Both attacks were blamed on the Indians.

20. Charles R. Rode, *Rode's New York City Directory, for 1850-1851* (New York, 1851).

21. *Trow's New York City Directory* (New York, 1858). John Chrystie's first listing in New York is in the 1850-1851 *Rode's Directory*. He continued to be listed in *Rode's*, and also in *Trow's Directories* each year until the listing of his widow, Frances, instead. One wonders if this is the same "Cousin Frances Chrystie" to whom he sent plants from Apalachicola.