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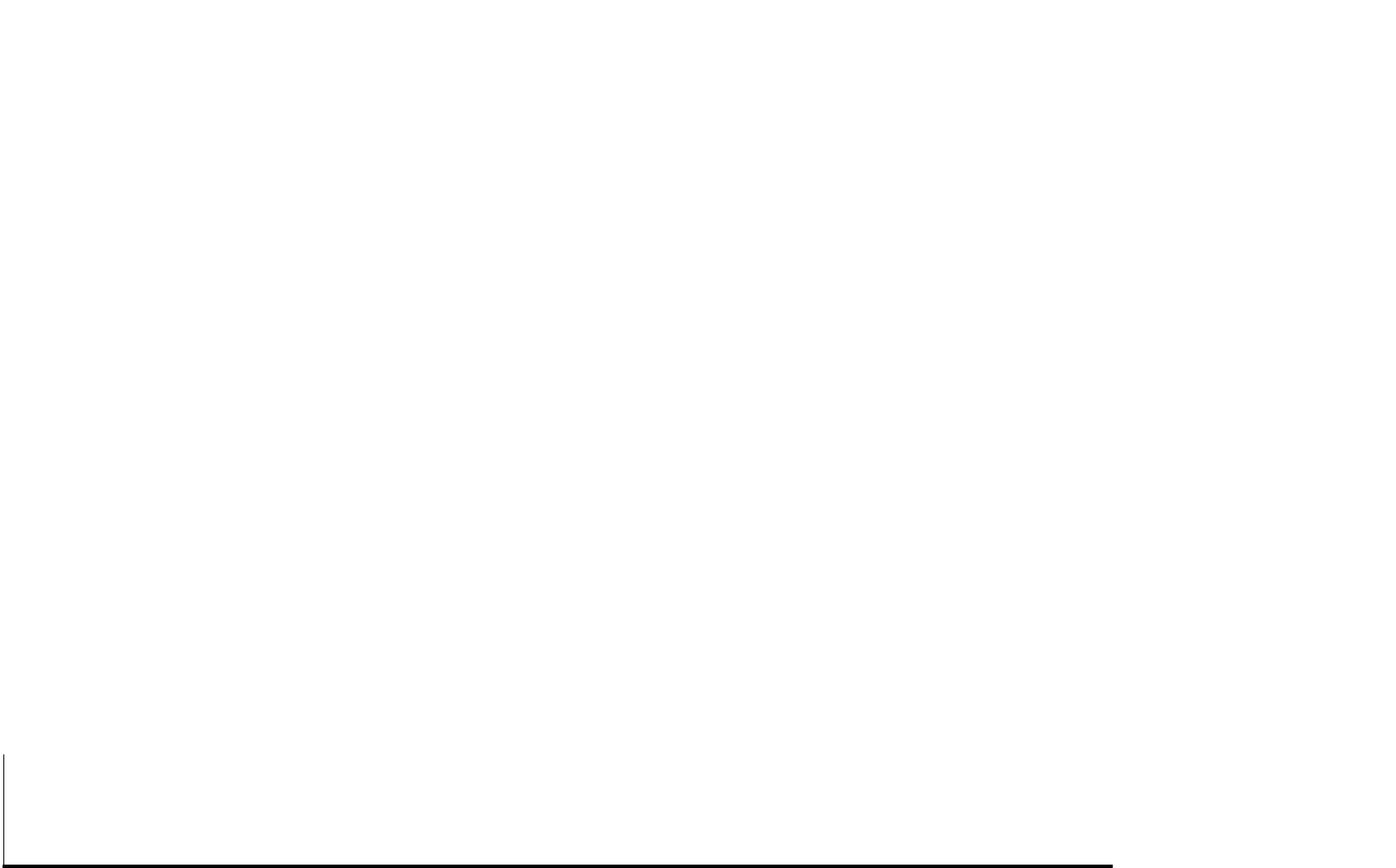
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ARE THERE DE SOTO RELICS IN FLORIDA?

by JOHN M. GOGGIN

The adventurous trip of Hernando de Soto from his debarkation on the Florida Gulf Coast in 1539, through thousands of miles of wilderness, to his death on the Mississippi River in 1542 has been the subject of many fictional and scholarly studies. Despite the careful attention given to his journey many questions arise in the minds of the students. One is the puzzling problem of why no material objects have ever been found which can be derived from the De Soto expedition. It is hard to believe a party of more than five hundred well-equipped men would leave or lose nothing along their line of march.

It seems most probable that many objects were lost or left behind; perhaps some have been found, but none are recognized. Until recently neither archeologists nor historians have had more than casual interest in Spanish objects found in the Southeast. In general, a European origin is recognized for them and one of two alternatives accepted. Either they are dated early to suit a writer's interpretation of historical events in the area, or it is thought that such things cannot be precisely dated and thus are of little value in historical studies.

However, recent work in the field of Spanish ceramics has indicated how restricted certain art forms are in time, thus being useful for dating. Work of this writer has led into other fields of Spanish material culture; and here, too, significant temporal patterns in styles can be seen. There is reason to believe that further study will enable us to recognize most objects dating from the various Spanish periods, and thus to obtain clues to various of the early explorers as well as later Spanish occupation.¹

1. This study represents a contribution from the research program of the Department of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida, aided by a grant from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc. I am grateful to Stephen V. Grancsay, Curator of Arms and Armor, The Metropolitan Museum of Art, for examining one of the specimens discussed and to the various institutions where I examined material considered in this paper.

As indicative of the situation we can discuss in this paper a number of objects from Florida (or its borders) of Spanish and Portuguese origin, which were found in or near Indian sites, and which can be dated from the first half or middle of the sixteenth century.² Furthermore, it will be seen that the most significant concentration of these objects is in the Tampa Bay area. This is one of the regions often associated with the landings of Hernando de Soto and Narvaez. While there is no direct evidence that these objects can be associated with either exploring party, they do represent the first identified Iberian objects from that region which date from the general period of De Soto's landing.

SPANISH POTTERY

The writer has been devoting a part of his research time in recent years to the problem of identifying and dating Spanish and Spanish Colonial ceramics. Majolica, or tin-enameled earthenware, has proven most suitable for analysis. As a result it is now possible to identify most of the forms, and place each within various, but relatively short, periods of time.

A single, but good sized, sherd of a very distinct type of majolica called Yayal Blue on White was washed out on the beach at the Safety Harbor site, north of St. Petersburg, on Old Tampa Bay.³ Studies in the West Indies indicate that this type appeared by 1500 and reached its maximum popularity in the middle of the sixteenth century (Goggin, n.d. *see Bibliography, post*).

Nearby at the Seven Oaks site four fragments of the early

2. Excepted from this discussion are various copper, silver, and gold ornaments found in South Florida Indian mounds. Some are of European origin but are not datable as yet; other, certainly pre-1500 in date, were made by Mexican, Colombian, Ecuadorian or other Indians, and represent Spanish loot lost from the treasure fleets in wrecks on the Florida coast. Glass beads, too, are omitted from this discussion although many in Florida must date from a very early date. They will be considered in another paper.

3. Found by Glenn Allen and now at the University Museum, Florida State University.

variety of Columbia Plain majolica were found (Florida State Museum, catalog nos. 2989, 2991).⁴ These again appear to be typical of the first half and middle of the sixteenth century.

Elsewhere in Florida majolica of the sixteenth century is rare. Known examples include one, early variety, Columbia Plain fragment from Upper Matecumbe Key (Goggin and Sommer, 1949, Pl. 1, E), while one fragment of Isabela Polychrome came from St. Augustine,⁵ and a possible sherd of the same type comes from Mound Key in Lee County.⁶ In addition to these examples there are numerous other fragments of Spanish pottery from the State; however, all that can be dated range from the end of the sixteenth century to later.

COINS

A University of Florida student, Robert Elder, found a small copper coin washed out on the beach at the Safety Harbor site. It has been identified as a *ceitel* of John III of Portugal who reigned from 1521 to 1577.⁷

Andrew Douglass (1885:143) found five silver Spanish coins in the Spruce Creek Mound (Vo 99) along with typical South Florida type ornaments.⁸ He comments that these were stamped with a 4. This material apparently went to the U. S. National Museum. At the present time, although other material is there, the coins seem to have been misplaced, but the catalog does refer to at least one of them (U.S.N.M. 11003) as a pistareen (2 reales) of Carlos and Joana who reigned from 1516 to 1556.

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4. The Seven Oaks Site (Pi 7) represented in the Florida State Museum by an extensive collection of Indian and Spanish objects, mainly glass beads, was apparently a burial mound about 1/2 mile southwest of Safety Harbor. The site has not been relocated.
 5. Material excavated by the St. Augustine Restoration project and now in the collections of the St. Augustine Historical Society. It is in mixed association with material dating into the 19th century or later.
 6. Anthropology Laboratory, University of Florida. Other historical material may be contemporaneous, but some is certainly much later.
 7. Through the kindness of Albert Mauncy and Harley Freeman the coin was sent to the American Numismatic Society and identified by its curator, Sydney P. Noe.
 8. These include copper and silver disks (Goggin, 1952, Pl. 8, A-B, E, I). An unusual European object is an iron horseshoe.

The others may have included a 4 real coin of the same rulers for they were sometimes marked with a very large and distinct Arabic 4.

Another coin of the same general period was found by Clarence B. Moore in the Bear Point Mound, Baldwin County, Alabama, just across from Florida. Of several found he remarks that one was a “. . . silver coin of Spanish-Mexico, which, we were informed at the United States mint, was struck by Charles and Joanna between 1521 and 1550” (Moore, 1901:426).

The last coin to mention is a 1/2 real silver coin of Ferdinand and Isabela (1474-1504) found in St. Augustine while construction excavations were being made some years ago in the Indian village site area at the Fountain of Youth Park. The reign of these monarchs predates any known Spanish occupation in Florida but it easily could have been lost by later peoples.⁹ Moreover coins of this kind were also minted by later rulers along with their own distinctive forms.

Later coins are not uncommon in Indian and other sites. They are not significant to the discussion here.

BRONZE HINGE

An unique openwork bronze object is in the collection from the Seven Oaks site (Florida State Museum, 2881). It appears to have been cast and subsequently the surface was incised to make certain of the junctions of the design stand out. At one end a square notch seems to have been a place of attachment, as reinforcements on the opposite side are pierced and a pin or stud protrudes opposite the hole (Fig. 1, A-B). Overall width is 3 1/4 inches, length is almost 3 inches, with a general thickness of about 1/16 inch.

Objects of this kind have not been reported from any other Florida, Southwestern, or Mexican archeological sites. However,

9. For example at La Vega Vieja, Dominican Republic (1514-1562), coins of Carlos and Juana are most common; but many examples of Ferdinand and Isabela coins, and even those of earlier rulers, are found.

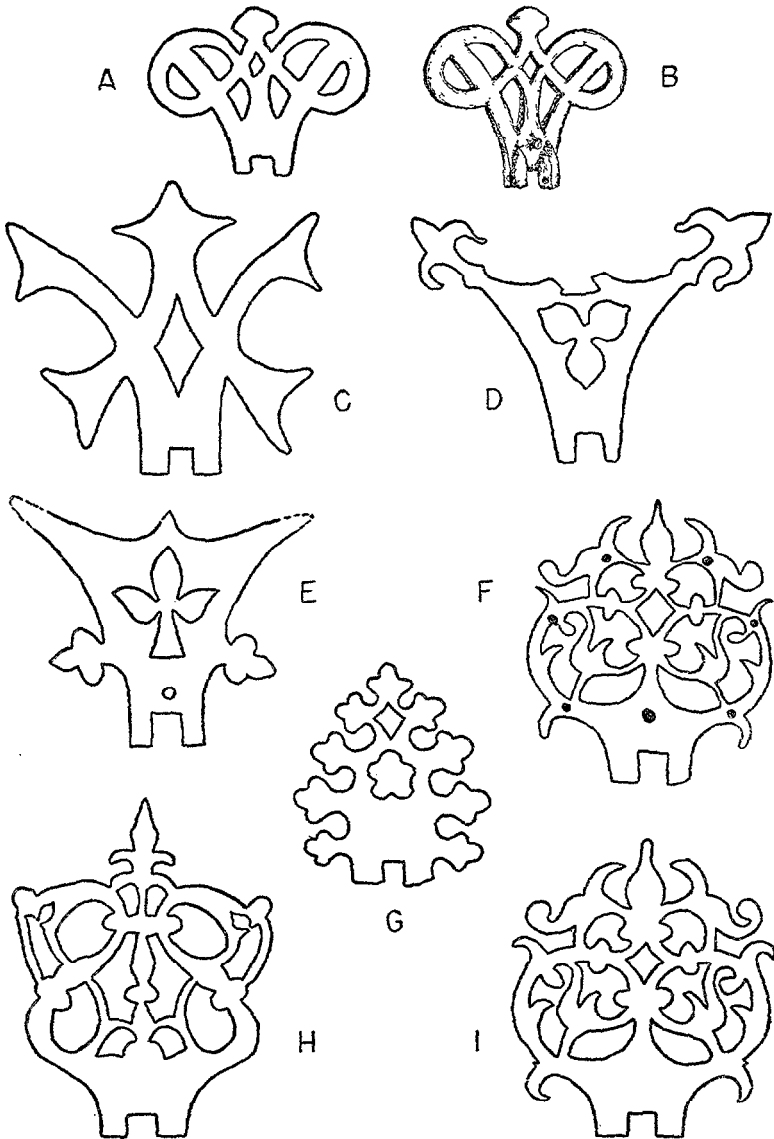


Figure 1. - Bronze hinges from Florida and de West Indies. A-B, Seven Oaks Mound, Florida; C and I, Caparra, Puerto Rico; D-H, La Vega Vieja, Dominican Republic. (Scale one-third.)

several examples are known from the West Indies. These can be described to show their similarity to the Florida specimen because they may be used to date our example.

Two similar specimens, apparently of bronze, were excavated at the site of Caparra in Puerto Rico. The first has a simple design "suggesting a monogram, the ends of whose letters are terminated in the gross caligraphic style varying from the manuscript style of the 16th century" (De Hostos, 1938:98). It measures $4 \frac{11}{16}$ inches in greatest width (Fig. 1, C).

The second Caparra specimen (Fig. 1, I) has been described as "a typical design of the Plateresque style of the Spanish Renaissance" (De Hostos, 1938:98).¹⁰ It measures $4 \frac{3}{4}$ inches long and $4 \frac{3}{16}$ inches wide.

A third group of five complete and two fragmentary specimens comes from La Vega Vieja, Dominican Republic.¹¹ The first of these is of special interest in two respects. It is the most complete of all specimens and is very similar to example no. 2 from Caparra. At first glance they appear identical, but a more careful study shows very minor differences (Fig. 1, F). It measures $4 \frac{3}{8}$ inches long, $3 \frac{13}{16}$ inches wide, and $\frac{1}{16}$ to $\frac{3}{32}$ inches thick. Cast in the back, behind the basal opening, is a heavy stud, and six pointed pins variously distributed. These are bent but measure over $\frac{1}{2}$ inch in length. Swung on an iron pin across the basal opening is a bar.

Specimen two, from the same site, is another in a Renaissance style, although not so elaborate in detail (Fig. 1, G). It measures $3 \frac{1}{2}$ inches long, $3 \frac{1}{8}$ inches wide and $\frac{3}{32}$ inches thick. It has the usual basal opening with the side pieces, stud ($\frac{3}{4}$ inches long), and three pointed pins almost 1 inch in length.

10. This and other quotations from De Hostos (1938) are translated. These specimens were seen in the Museum of Anthropology, University of Puerto Rico.

11. The first three specimens are on exhibit in the Museo Nacional, Ciudad Trujillo, Dominican Republic. They were studied there by the writer through the courtesy of Ing. Emil De Boyrie Moya and Prof. Felix Maria Perez Sanchez.

The third specimen is simple in design although in the same style. Three points are bent or broken off but have been indicated in the drawing (Fig. 1, E). Overall length is $4 \frac{7}{8}$ inches, width (restored) $4 \frac{7}{8}$ inches, and the approximate thickness is $\frac{3}{32}$ inches. The basal opening is somewhat wider than usual and the back has only a stud (approximately $\frac{5}{8}$ inches long) with no pointed pins.

The fourth example from La Vega Vieja, like the first, is an elaborate openwork piece in a Renaissance style (Fig. 1, H).¹² It measures $5 \frac{5}{8}$ inches long, $4 \frac{1}{8}$ inches wide, and averages about $\frac{3}{32}$ inch in thickness. It has the usual stud and five long (now bent) pins on the back.

Specimen five (Fig. 1, D) is one in the simpler style, like the first Caparra specimen and the third La Vega Vieja example. It is $4 \frac{1}{4}$ inches long, $5 \frac{3}{4}$ inches wide, and $\frac{1}{8}$ inch thick. One stud and two pins are on the back.

Of the two fragmentary specimens, one is identical with specimen four while the other, in the same style, is different from any seen.

Although the functions of the objects we have been discussing are not quite certain we will call them hinges. Stephen V. Grancsay, who has examined one of the specimens suggests their use on leather covered chests.¹³ Other suggested uses were as harness trappings. Several show evidence of attachment, presumably to leather by means of pointed pins or rivets on the back. These are now bent over. All have a slot which served to connect with another part but only one example has the connecting piece and it is not clear how this functioned. No example of the other half of the unit has been found unless it was another similar or identical piece.

12. The fourth and fifth specimens and the two fragmentary pieces from La Vega Vieja are in the Anthropology Laboratory, University of Florida.

13. Communication, Nov. 10, 1953.

The general characteristics of all specimens may be summarized as follows. The metal appears in all cases to be brass or more likely bronze, and the objects are cast. The pierced work design was probably formed in the casting process but the edges have been finished. An open slot at the base served to attach this to another half (?) or other piece. A heavy stud just behind the opening and several pointed pins, variously distributed, were cast on the back of the object. Overall sizes range from approximately 3 to over 5 inches. The Seven Oaks specimen is distinct in having the surface incising or engraving. It may be later work of Indians.

DATING THE HINGES

Since the hinges considered bear no marks, dates, or inscriptions which can be used for dating, they must be examined in terms of their associations and then they should be dated if possible.

Caparra lies about 6 kilometers from San Juan on the road to Bayamon, Puerto Rico. Excavations made here in 1935 by Adolfo de Hostos (1938) yielded considerable material and the remains of a major edifice. This has been identified by De Hostos as the house of Juan Ponce de Leon and the site of the first settlement on the island of Puerto Rico. It is believed to have been founded in 1508 and abandoned sometime after 1521 when the present city of San Juan was founded. Archeological materials, with the exception of superficial modern objects, do not conflict with an early 16th century date. Caparra, then, and the two hinges from there can be dated early in the first half of the 16th century.

La Vega Vieja, lying in the world famous valley of La Vega Real, in the present Dominican Republic, was founded in its present ruined location before 1514. It was a thriving colonial city until destroyed by an earthquake in 1562. The rebuilt city was located some distance away, and the ruined town gradually became little more than mounds of debris now occupied by

small farms. The first three specimens studied were found, according to museum data, in the ruins of the church. The others are reported only from the general site area. Surface collecting here by the writer on three trips in 1952 and 1953 yielded some 19th and 20th century material but the great majority of objects found, mainly ceramics, are early 16th century styles that fit well within the time range of the site's occupation. Thus it is clear that the La Vega Vieja occupation, and the hinges considered, can be reasonably placed in the first 60 years of the 16th century.

Examples of this type of object have not been found in any later sites so it is quite likely that the first half of the 16th century dating, as indicated by the Caparra and La Vega Vieja sites, is valid. Thus it is probable that the Seven Oaks specimen also dates from the first half of the century.¹⁴

This dating for Seven Oaks site equates well with the Indian data. The complex of material from the Seven Oaks site was placed by Gordon R. Willey (1949:334-5) in the Safety Harbor period which he dated from about 1510 to 1710 (Willey, 1949, Fig. 76). The writer's dating of the Safety Harbor period is from about 1435 to 1750 (Goggin, 1950, Fig. 2).

The presence of European objects and Indian-made objects of European materials indicates a post-1510 or 1515 date. The nature of these objects especially the glass beads further suggests a 16th century or at the latest first half of the 17th century date.

Since nothing is known of the general association of objects within the site it may be assumed that all European materials were contemporaneous. Among the European objects there is nothing to contradict this.

14. One word of caution must be introduced here. Recent finds, especially that of an ancient Spanish helmet in New Mexico (Lambert, 1952), indicate a great propensity of the Spanish to palm off their antique armor and perhaps other metal pieces on expeditions to the New World. Thus an early specimen could conceivably have been deposited later.

SUMMARY

The previous presentation covers to the best of my knowledge all of the Florida objects, of these types which, with reasonable certainty, can be dated in the first half of the 16th century. Other types of materials exist in Florida which are undoubtedly of the same period, but our evidence for dating them is weak or nonexistent.

The items discussed fall into two distinct areas, with two other finds widely spread:

Old Tampa Bay area:

Bronze hinge)
 Spanish majolica) Seven Oaks Site

Portuguese coin)
 Spanish majolica) Safety Harbor

Upper East Coast area:

Spanish majolica)
 Spanish coin) St. Augustine

Spanish coins Spruce Creek

The other finds of majolica at Upper Matecumbe Key and coins from the Alabama border are so widespread as to be of relatively much less importance.

CONCLUSIONS

Out of the great quantity of Spanish and European objects found in Florida archeological and historical sites only a small handful can be identified as dating from the first half or middle of the sixteenth century. This is regrettable because that era was the time of the early explorers, Ponce de Leon, Narvaez, and De Soto as well as others.

Yet, the very fact that we can now date these objects is in itself a sign of progress over the past years when any European object was "bonafide proof" of some early explorer or else

shrugged off as being of little historical significance. Although the primary object of this paper is to point out historic potentials to be derived from the study of material objects by presenting early Spanish material now known, another aspect can be noted.

Two clusters of early Spanish objects are obvious in these data, one on the Upper East Coast and the second on Old Tampa Bay. The former cluster is limited in both variety and numbers of objects. Such items can well be attributed to the extensive contacts Florida Indians had with the Spanish either through early shipwrecks or with explorers just after the middle of the 16th century. The presence of Spanish materials dating from the time of De Soto in the Old Tampa Bay area, a region often associated with De Soto, may be only a coincidence. Nevertheless, we cannot rule out the possibility that they are actual objects left or lost by that expedition. It is rather improbable, but still within the extreme realm of coincidence that the *ceitil* from Safety Harbor dropped from the pocket of the Gentleman of Elvas as he strolled down the shore. Equally as probable as the De Soto expedition provenience for these items is their possible origin from the Narvaez expedition. Many people perhaps would accept this provenience more readily than the De Soto.

In any case let us not dismiss too lightly this small but greatest concentration of identified early to mid-16th century Spanish objects reported from anywhere along the various postulated routes of the De Soto and Narvaez expeditions. It is probably well to remember that unless a "De Soto Tablet" of some sort is found, the ultimate pinpointing of De Soto's and other explorers' routes will probably have to be done, if not by Spanish pottery, coins, and bronze hinges, at least by very similar things.

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SALMON P. CHASE AND CIVIL WAR POLITICS
IN FLORIDA
by OVID L. FUTCH

When Secretary of the Treasury Salmon P. Chase was seeking the 1864 Republican presidential nomination, he endeavored to build political fences wherever fortune beckoned. One such state was Florida.

The Direct Tax law of 1862 gave him an opportunity for a political footing in Florida. This act provided for the appointment of Direct Tax Commissioners who were to assess real property in insurrectionary districts, advertise the taxes due, and sell at public auction the property of delinquent owners. The Treasury Department was in charge of administering this new law, and responsibility for appointing the Direct Tax Commissioners devolved upon Chase.

Chase was no unprincipled politician who would make appointments with consideration only for personal gain and with disregard for the public interest. But he was practical enough to look for appointees who would, he hoped, competently and faithfully perform their public duties and at the same time be mindful of the interests of the Treasury Secretary. In keeping with this policy, in September 1862, he appointed as Direct Tax Commissioners of Florida: Harrison Reed, John S. Sammis, and Lyman D. Stickney. Reed was a Wisconsin editor and politician who had been in Washington about a year. Sammis was originally a northern man who was living in Florida when the war began. Leaving Jacksonville with evacuating Federal forces in April 1862, he had gone to Washington where he sought a place on the Federal government's payrolls.¹

Stickney was something of an adventurer. He had a forceful personality and was gifted with a disarming demeanor which enabled him to make a very favorable impression on Chase. A

1. *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 18, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 65, 72, 84, 96-98, 165.

lawyer from Vermont, he had dabbled in sundry enterprises in various parts of the country. He appeared in Tallahassee in the winter of 1861-62. There he represented himself as agent for a wealthy New Orleans company interested in developing tropical agriculture in southern Florida. He obtained from the Florida legislature a grant of two townships on condition that he establish a colony within two years. Actually, a group of poor farmers had made up a fund of three hundred dollars to finance Stickney's trip to Tallahassee to procure the grant of land. The speculator took his "colonists" to the Fort Myers region and himself formed a partnership with a Mr. Evans, a recent immigrant from Virginia, who, it was rumored, had moved to Florida to set up a base for receiving African slaves. Stickney assumed half interest in all the slaves and other property Evans owned. Evans was to receive half the future profits from Stickney's colony. Among the implements of Evans's business was an old sloop, which Stickney began operating between Key West and the mainland, trading with Confederates on the mainland and United States government officials at Key West. The military commander at Key West finally put an embargo on the sloop, and Stickney, his "colony" having disintegrated, took up his residence at the principal hotel in Key West. There he started agitating for an election to send a delegate to Congress. When the military commander informed him that no such election would be permitted, he quietly disappeared, leaving unpaid a hotel bill of \$144. ² By June 1861 Stickney was in Washington, prospecting for a new place at the public trough. Seeking an appointment to the Florida Tax Commission, he made Chase believe he was a long-time resident of Florida.

Since the Tax Commission could function only in Federal-occupied territory, the first objective of Chase and his agents was to extend the control of Federal armies wherever feasible.

2. *Ibid.*; Samuel Walker to Abraham Lincoln, Apr. 2, 1864, Robert T. Lincoln Collection, Library of Congress.

From the beginning of the war Chase had encouraged military ventures which were consistent with his ideas on how the war should be conducted, and his motives were not censurable. To him, slavery was the great evil, the awful wickedness which had caused the war. Any plan to occupy rebel territory was a direct attack upon slavery, and therefore worthy. Doubtless he persuaded himself that if he were benefited politically, it was only incidental.

Accordingly Chase persistently urged extension of Federal control in Florida. When Stickney proposed to write a history of Florida for northern readers to attract immigrants to the state, Chase heartily endorsed the idea and promised to contribute a chapter.³ Were settlers swarming into Florida from the North, the work of the Tax Commissioners would be easier. The history was never published and there was no great rush of immigrants to Florida in the 1860's, but Chase's agents made a serious bid to secure for him a firm hold on the political allegiance of the state.

From the beginning Stickney was aware of the ambitions of the Secretary of the Treasury and understood that Chase expected the Florida Tax Commissioners to aid in the political reconstruction of the state. Neither would Chase object if the Treasury employees worked to advance his political fortunes. But the Tax Commissioners had a legitimate job to do in Florida. We may assume that Chase believed the men he appointed were capable and would attend to the business of the Treasury Department in a competent manner; but to his mind it was not necessary for them to neglect their duties in order to work for his political advancement. If his personal interests could be helped incidentally, well and good, but the public interest should come first.

3. L. D. Stickney to Salmon P. Chase, Nov. 13, 1865, Salmon P. Chase Letters (microfilm), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. Originals in Manuscripts Division, Library of Congress.

Stickney might well have been primarily an "imperialistic carpetbagger,"⁴ but he was also a Chase man, if only for selfish reasons. Furthermore, he was interested, so he asserted, in building up the state - promoting immigration, encouraging agriculture, aiding commerce, and pushing the restoration of Florida to the Union. Again his motives may have been altogether selfish. The richer Florida became, the greater the wealth awaiting exploitation. Similarly, the more influence and power Chase obtained, the greater Stickney's chances of increased awards, provided he retained the favor of his chief. Whatever the motives involved, the fact remains that there was a definite attempt to make Florida a Chase state when it came back into the Union.

Harrison Reed likewise comprehended the nature and conditions of his appointment, and he too seemed willing to play the game. But he and Stickney soon became antagonistic to each other, and one of the outstanding characteristics of the Florida Tax Commission was lack of cooperation. Reed and Stickney clashed for many reasons. For one, Reed resented Stickney's dominance of the commission. From its creation Stickney presumed to act as chairman, although his colleagues never elected him to the position and Chase had not designated him as chairman. Also, Stickney bested Reed in the contest to win first place in Chase's favor, who, impressed with Stickney's energetic bearing and swayed by his flattery, selected him as head organizer of the Chase partisans in north Florida. Is it assuming too much to suppose that Reed felt he should direct the Chase forces? He had not done badly as a politician in Wisconsin, and he was to do far better in Florida.

But Stickney overplayed his cards; his dishonesty was to catch up with him and eliminate him from the higher brackets of post-war carpetbaggers in Florida. The less colorful Reed rose to

4. See George Winston Smith, "Carpetbag Imperialism in Florida 1862-1868," *The Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXVII (Oct., 1948), pp. 99-130, (Jan., 1949), pp. 260-299.

become the state's chief executive. It seems only natural that one who possessed such ambitions and qualities should have smarted in a role subordinate to a man of Stickney's kind.

Sammis apparently was content to carry on, perhaps with the idea also of working for the cause - letting others lead. When the other two Commissioners clashed, he sided with Reed because the daring methods of the unblushing Stickney frightened him.

Stickney did not spend much time in Florida. Less than two weeks after the Commissioners arrived at Fernandina in January 1863, he left for Port Royal, South Carolina, to look after varied interests there. He accompanied the St. Marys expedition from Beaufort, stopping off at Fernandina late in January. Six or eight days later he journeyed again to the sea islands and did not visit Florida again until March 7 when he returned with an expedition for the third occupation of Jacksonville.⁵ As for the assessment of real estate, doubtless Stickney deemed such trivial business a waste of time. While in Fernandina the first time, he prepared written notices that an assessment had been made already, and asked Reed to sign them. Reed refused. They had a lengthy argument, Reed proclaiming the impropriety of giving such notices. Stickney dropped the subject and left on the next boat. Sammis and Reed then enlisted the aid of G. W. Arnott, an old resident of the town, and together they assessed the real property of Fernandina.⁶ The *New York Times* correspondent at Fernandina reported that the work of the Florida Commission was going forward at a commendable pace, and the Commission had already assessed a large amount of property which would soon be sold to loyal citizens.⁷

But Secretary Chase wanted another expedition to Jacksonville. It was essential to the success of the Florida Commission

5. *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 18, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 14.

6. *Ibid.*, p. 30.

7. *New York Times*, Feb. 10, 1863.

and a prerequisite to the return of Florida to the ranks of loyal states. In accordance with his chiefs wishes, Stickney labored to get this expedition under way, and it was partly because of his efforts that Federal forces reoccupied Jacksonville in early March 1863.

This occupation however, like its predecessors, was destined to be short and the Federal forces withdrew from Jacksonville again March 29, but Stickney was undaunted. On May 1 he left Fernandina for Hilton Head, carrying his trunk with him. He paid a visit to the sea islands and before the end of April was in Washington bolstering Chase's morale.⁸ Chase was disheartened but far from beaten. He continued to campaign for further operations in Florida - as well as in other states which he thought might be detached from the Confederacy. Writing in May to his brother-in-law, Major B. C. Ludlow, he expressed his views: "I look at the war under both military and political aspects; and it seems to me that military occupation should immediately be followed by political reconstruction, in order to secure permanent advantages." Therefore he would select, as the theatre of operations, those sections of the Confederacy in which reconstruction would be easiest and most stable. These sections were on the Gulf. "I would take Florida, Alabama, Louisiana, and Texas, and make free states of them as rapidly as possible." He would "arm the loyal population, white and black, so as to put them into a condition of self-defense."⁹

Colonel Thomas Wentworth Higginson's colored regiment had been used in the third occupation of Jacksonville. Chase had hoped that Higginson and his black troops would be the means of establishing permanent Federal control there, from which

8. *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 18, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, p. 14; Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 267.

9. Chase to Maj. B. C. Ludlow, May 12, 1863, J. W. Schuckers, *The Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase, United States Senator and Governor of Ohio; Secretary of the Treasury, and Chief-Justice of the United States* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1874), pp. 466-467.

place conquering armies would operate to "liberate" the interior of Florida. But Higginson's departure did not end Chase's plans to make use of negro troops in Florida. Colored regiments were being created in Massachusetts, and many leading citizens encouraged the recruiting of chocolate soldiers in the Mississippi Valley. Why not arrange to send some of these troops to Florida? Chase thought it could be managed. To a protege he wrote in mid-May: "The Florida project, which was much discouraged, seems now likely to be realized; and it is not unlikely that colored troops will be mainly relied on for its accomplishment." The first regiment from Massachusetts had already gone to Port Royal. "The second will probably follow in less than a fortnight."¹⁰

Stickney returned to Florida in August 1863 and launched a Chase propaganda campaign. He had set up a newspaper, *The Peninsula*, in Fernandina the previous February. Now he made his brother, John K. Stickney, editor of the paper. Its pages thereafter were frequently adorned with news of Chase, particularly news which put him in a favorable light. When the Secretary went to Ohio in October to vote and campaign for the Republican ticket in the state election, *The Peninsula* kept its readers informed of his movements, the great speeches he made, and the great ovations he received. Long quotations from his speeches often appeared in the columns of the paper.¹¹

L. D. Stickney's visit to Florida in August 1863 was, as usual, brief. He spent two or three days in Fernandina, went to St. Augustine and stayed a day or two, caught the next boat north, and arrived in Washington September 1. There he called on Chase to consult with him about the conduct of affairs in Florida. Military conquest was the pressing need. Stickney thought five thousand men would be enough to subdue Florida, and

10. Chase to Maj. Gen. James A. Garfield, May 14, 1863. *Ibid.*, p. 467.

11. *The Peninsula* (Fernandina), Aug. 13, 20, Oct. 29, 1863; *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 18, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 17, 69-70, 164, 166.

Major-General Quincy A. Gillmore, commanding the Department of the South, was friendly to the idea of a Florida campaign. Stickney hoped to get a Brigadier-General's commission for the Fernandina Commandant, Colonel Plaisted, and have him sent north to raise a brigade for use in Florida. The Tax Commissioner was very anxious that Florida should be made a separate military department, with his Beaufort friend, General Rufus Saxton, in command. Such an arrangement would make easier the work of political organization and give the Chase forces a tighter grip on the state.¹²

Harrison Reed was in Washington too, and the over-worked Treasury Secretary had to listen to the rantings of Reed and Stickney as they accused each other of dishonesty, double-dealing, and fraud. Harrison Reed's brother, Herbert, an appointee in the New York Customs House, wrote to Chase defending his brother and begging the Treasury chief not to let an innocent person be persecuted. He offered to prove that Stickney was the dishonest member of the Florida Tax Commission. For information on Stickney's activities and on Harrison Reed's character, Herbert Reed referred Chase to the three South Carolina District Tax Commissioners, William Henry Brisbane, A. D. Smith, and W. E. Wording. Brisbane was Herbert Reed's father-in-law, and Smith was Harrison Reed's brother-in-law. A week later Brisbane wrote Chase. Stickney, he said, tried to get the South Carolina Commissioners to allow two dollars per line for advertising tax sales. At that rate the bill would have been \$13,340, about seven times the amount the advertising was actually worth.¹³

Chase was hearing from Stickney, too. The latter said Reed had mishandled funds received from the sale of property in Fernandina. Stickney hinted that the political result of permit-

12. *Ibid.*, pp. 14, 151, 168.

13. Herbert Reed to Chase, Nov. 3, 1863, William Henry Brisbane to Chase, Nov. 10, 1863, Salmon P. Chase Letters.

ting Reed to remain on the Commission would be disastrous. In his place, Stickney wanted William Alsop. "His views are in perfect accord with mine."¹⁴ John S. Sammis had enough of the imbroglgio and resigned and Alsop replaced him, but Reed hung tenaciously to his appointment, struggling with Stickney for favor in Chase's eyes and ascendancy on the Florida Commission.

Chase had settled on Stickney as his political organizer for north Florida, but south Florida was in a different military department, and he needed someone there to work for him. On September 5, 1863, he offered to Judge William Lawrence of Ohio, an appointment as Federal Judge at Key West, but Lawrence, after long consideration, declined the offer.¹⁵ Then Chase asked the President to give Homer G. Plantz, his private secretary, the District Attorneyship at Key West, and Lincoln granted the request.

Plantz arrived at Key West on November 21, 1863. Two days later he wrote Chase promising to observe the political situation and to determine the politics of each government official at Key West. "Any political views I could give you today," he said, "would be too crude to deserve your attention." Although his observations were not completed, on December 1 he wrote again, trying to give Chase an idea of the difficulties to be surmounted at Key West. Political apathy prevailed. None of the inhabitants were native-born; none expected to stay there permanently. Everyone wanted to make money; on one wanted to take sides on questions. Better yet, no one wanted questions to arise and force him to take sides. Everyone was loyal. From the delegate to the 1861 Florida Convention who had voted for secession, to the "Conks" who sold prize vessels in Havana and Nassau for blockade-runners - all were Union men. But no one was anti-slavery. *The New Era*, an anti-slavery paper which had been

14. L. D. Stickney to Chase, Nov. 3, 1863. *Ibid.*

15. William Lawrence to Chase, Nov. 7, 9, 1863.

published there a year previously, was suppressed by the Commandant, Colonel T. H. Goode, and the new military commander, Brigadier-General Daniel Phineas Woodbury, refused all petitions for permission to revive it. Plantz thought Key West needed a Chase military commander. Then at least one-third of the population would be Chase supporters. A perfect remedy for the situation would be a live general "with a small expedition to operate on the mainland and re-connect Key West with it, by making this the Headquarters of a Floridian Department." If troops could not be sent, a commander would help. Plantz, of course, would not be idle, whether help was sent or not. But without means of contacting other parts of Florida, and with all those in authority at Key West passive or hostile, he would have to move cautiously.¹⁶

On December 12 Plantz penned a twelve-page letter to Chase which contained the result of his analysis of the politics and politicians at Key West. He believed that "unconditional Union men" constituted one-third of the voting population. He discussed the organization of the Court, the Custom House, and the Post Office, analyzed each Federal office-holder, and told Chase how each one would vote. As for the length of his letter, he explained: "If I have occupied more of your time than the importance of the locality would seem to warrant, it is because of the interest you have long taken in Florida affairs." The young attorney congratulated Chase on his appointment of Alsop to Sammis's vacated place on the Florida Direct Tax Commission, and added: "If now we could have a general who would aid us!"¹⁷

When Stickney arrived in Washington, in September 1863, the Deputy Commissioner of Internal Revenue delivered to him a circular signed by Commissioner of Internal Revenue Joseph J. Lewis, stating that an absence of a Tax Commissioner from his de-

16. Plantz to Chase, Nov. 23, Dec. 1, 1863.

17. Plantz to Chase, Dec. 12, 1863.

partment without leave would be a cause for removal. This might have been rather unsettling to one in Stickney's position, for in a year as a Florida Tax Commissioner, he had been not more than forty-five days in Florida. But he was not perturbed. He wrote a letter to Chase and Chase wrote a note to Lewis exempting Stickney from the order.¹⁸ The Treasury head probably convinced himself as usual that such was not inconsistent with the public good.

In December Stickney began a leisurely return to Florida. As usual, he tarried awhile in the sea islands. From there he wrote to Chase of a long talk with General Gillmore, who gave his cordial assent to Stickney's proposition to make Florida "a free state and forever extinguish slavery within its borders." Gillmore was ready *and able*, he said, to redeem Florida with colored troops if the government would consent. Could Chase not influence Secretary of War Stanton to direct him to employ negro troops against Florida rebels? "The time is most favorable." Influential Floridians, he wrote, had recently deserted from prominent positions in the rebel army to the Union side. "They say they left a sinking ship. I think it very important indeed for *you* that Gen'l Gillmore be identified with the Florida conquest. He is anxious to win distinction according to the Republican programme. At the same time, I do not think the Senate ought to be in a hurry to confirm him as a Maj-General. Wait until the Delegation in Congress from Florida ask his confirmation for his services in conquering the rebels of their state." Stickney asked Chase to send a revenue cutter to be used in rounding up Unionists along the coast and the St. Johns River. It was almost indispensable, he said, in organizing a state convention and in later proceedings toward a state organization. Operations on the coast would also add largely to Treasury income.¹⁹

18. *House of Representatives Executive Document*, No. 18, 38th Congress, 2nd Session, pp. 77, 168.

19. L. D. Stickney to Chase, Dec. 11, 1863, Chase Letters.

Stickney went on to Florida, now confident of military aid in reclaiming the state from the rebels. He stayed only one day in Fernandina, then went on to St. Augustine, and staged a "Union meeting" in the district court room on December 19, 1863. This meeting was intended to lay de foundation for the Chase organization in Florida, which, by virtue of such preparation, would be ready to take full advantage of the military conquest so soon to come. The Tax Commissioner himself called the meeting to order. D. R. Dunham was chosen chairman; Calvin L. Robinson and G. N. Papy became secretaries. A Committee drew up resolutions disavowing participation in and responsibility for the rebellion, declaring null and void the action of the secession convention of 1861, asserting that Florida's first interest was the resumption of Federal relations in the Union, declaring that the state constitution should proclaim emancipation, denying rebels the franchise, and providing for reorganization of the state government by "loyal" men. Philip Fraser, Homer G. Plantz, L. D. Stickney, G. N. Papy, William C. Morrill, C. Bravo, Peter Bennett, Calvin L. Robinson, Charles Howe, D. R. Dunham, Bartolo Olivarios, and J. W. Allen were appointed a committee to enact the above measures. The meeting then resolved "that it is desirable that Delegates assemble in Convention at the City of St. Augustine, Florida, on Tuesday, March 1, to amend the State Constitution in conformity to these resolutions." The "Unionists" said nothing about how the delegates to the convention would be chosen. Stickney, Robinson, Adolph Major, and others made speeches, which *The Peninsula* hoped to print in full the following week.²⁰

With the inestimable advantage of hindsight, one may be inclined to regard the resolutions of the St. Augustine Union meeting as remarkably unrealistic. But they were more than the despairing cries of excited agitators; Chase himself had given

20. *The Peninsula* (Fernandina), Dec. 24, 1863.

them his approval prior to the meeting.²¹ Nor should one be hasty to sneer at Chase for having so little political acumen as to think such a scheme could possibly succeed. The Secretary of the Treasury had a sincere desire to see slavery stamped out in all quarters. At the same time, he earnestly sought restoration of the Union. He wanted to believe reports which told of great numbers of loyal Floridians who were eager for deliverance from rebel control. Furthermore, Florida was not Chase's primary concern, even in politics; he could not concentrate on Florida to the exclusion of other states where a much larger number of votes was at stake. And finally, Chase had a man-sized job to do, aside from worrying about military ventures and political speculations. His administration of the nation's finances through the stress of costly civil war was a huge undertaking. All things considered, it is not remarkable that Chase made a ruinous error in calculating the strength of Unionism in Florida.

Writing to Chase of the St. Augustine meeting, Plantz proudly called his chiefs attention to his own presence on the committee to arrange for a convention though he had been unable to go to the meeting.²² The disadvantage of their military situation was clear in the obstacle it presented to the work of the committee, or any effort which involved cooperation between Stickney and Plantz. Key West, Tortugas, and the west coast of Florida to Charlotte's Harbor constituted General Woodbury's command, and were included in the Department of the Gulf, commanded by General Nathaniel P. Banks. The northern part of the state and the east coast, including the Federal strongholds, Fernandina and St. Augustine, were in the Department of the South. The coast and these ports being blockaded, no private ships could communicate with them; and Fernandina and Key West being in separate departments, army and navy

21. Plantz to Chase, Jan. 12, 1864, Chase Letters.

22. *Ibid.*

transports which touched at Fernandina did not go to Key West. In order to reach Fernandina or St. Augustine from Key West, one would have to go first to Hilton Head or New York.

January 1, 1864 found Stickney the presiding officer and principal speaker at another meeting in St. Augustine. This was a negro meeting, held to celebrate the first anniversary of the Emancipation Proclamation. He described the meeting to Chase and promised that in the deep south, where Chase had been most hated and his name most abused, he should have "at least one state of undoubted fidelity to your political faith." On the same day Plantz was addressing a similar meeting in Key West and the young attorney was deeply impressed by the occasion. Negroes were there from Georgia, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and the mainland of Florida. Plantz wrote Chase a report of his meeting too, with a summary of his speech, which he characterized as "radical-conservative." Many citizens of Key West denounced the meeting, but Plantz thought it had made a rallying point around which Unionism would gather and declare itself. Those who before had hesitated were now taking heart. More people were proclaiming themselves in favor of a reorganization of the state on the basis of freedom, and would not object even to negro suffrage. General Woodbury had established a school for negro children. Plantz considered the favorable trend of affairs the result of his own managerial ability and predicted checkmate for the conservatives in the near future.²³

Why should Chase not have been optimistic about Unionist sentiment in Florida, with such glowing reports coming in from his agents there? On January 7 Stickney mailed him a petition, addressed to the President and signed by "Floridians." requesting aid in ridding the state of rebels. The signers, said Stickney, were all legal voters under the old state constitution, and were

23. L. D. Stickney to Chase, Jan. 11, 1864, Plantz to Chase, Jan. 12, 1864.

eager to fight rebels on Florida soil. In every letter Stickney kept pressing Chase in regard to two things. One was the matter of a successor for Harrison Reed on the Florida Direct Tax Commission. Reed had finally relinquished his position, the resignation becoming effective December 31, 1863. Stickney wanted Major Andrew M. Sallade of Pennsylvania for the place. Further delay in appointing someone, he wrote, would impair the value of the Tax Commission. "I write this not less in your interest than in the public service." The other subject which Stickney always mentioned was the revenue cutter which he so ardently desired to have at his command. If Chase would only send one, Stickney was sure he could gather enough "legal" voters by March 1 (the day set for the St. Augustine Convention) to reorganize Florida on the basis of the President's reconstruction proclamation.²⁴ The proclamation to which Stickney referred was Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation of December 8, 1863, which set forth the ten per cent plan of reconstruction. According to this plan, citizens were to take the oath of allegiance to the United States in order to become voters. When enough had done this to comprise ten per cent of the state's voters in 1860, Lincoln would recognize a state government of their creation.

Stickney saw General Gillmore in Fernandina on January 10. The general, on a tour of inspection, stopped to talk with the Tax Commissioner about Florida affairs and promised to cooperate in carrying out Chase measures. Next day Stickney wrote Chase, suggesting that he write to Gillmore. Then the general could be more certain that Stickney was not misrepresenting Chase's sentiments.²⁵ Meanwhile Chase was sending Treasury reports and Chase speeches to Florida for distribution. Plantz informed him that both were bearing fruit at Key West. The

24. Stickney to Chase, Jan. 7, 21, 1864.

25. Stickney to Chase, Jan. 11, 1864.

financial administration is as popular here as it is everywhere," he wrote, "and the doctrines of the speeches grow in favor."²⁶

At this stage of the Florida political game, the opposing camp began to make leisurely preparations for the approaching skirmish. Stickney had anticipated Lincoln's interest in Florida, and he was sure it would increase as the time drew nearer for restoration of the state. Characteristically, Stickney had made an effort to ingratiate himself with the President, so that he would be in line for political rewards regardless of the outcome of the contest. On December 2, 1863, just before leaving Washington for New York, the sea islands, and Florida, he addressed a letter to Lincoln. He could not let the occasion pass, he said, "to earnestly urge" the President to authorize the loyal people of Florida to organize a state government in conformity with the constitution and laws of the Untied States. Stickney urged Lincoln to let all persons of lawful age, not disqualified by crime, whose fidelity to his administration and to his proclamation of freedom was unquestioned, be voters. Then the work of restoration would be speedy and permanent. "I make this request with the sincerest conviction that it will contribute much, very much to the honor and glory of your administration."²⁷

This attempt to get Lincoln's favor had no chance of success, or even of consideration. The President was perfectly aware of Stickney's relations with Chase, and if he ever saw the Tax Commissioner's letter, he was probably either amused at its artlessness or disgusted by its asininity. But Stickney knew that Lincoln must sooner or later take some action in regard to Florida, and he was determined not to be dealt out of the game. Immediately after the St. Augustine Union meeting of December 19, 1863, he wrote a letter to John Hay, the Presidents young private secretary. Stickney pictured the St. Augustine meeting as a response to Lincoln's Amnesty Proclamation, and

26. Plantz to Chase, Jan. 12, 1864.

27. Stickney to Lincoln, Dec. 2, 1863, Robert T. Lincoln Collection.

asked Hay to come down to Florida and be the state's representative in Congress. Hay discussed the matter with Lincoln, who said he would appoint Hay "a Commissioner to go to Florida and engineer the business there." The secretary observed from the report of the St. Augustine meeting that there seemed a prospect of getting the reconstruction of Florida under way early the next spring.²⁸

Stickney's invitation to Hay was not a shot in the dark. In company with Major Orloff M. Dorman, Hay had visited in Florida that previous spring, and had called on Stickney's friend, James M. Latta, then publisher of *The Peninsula*, at Fernandina. Latta reported that the three of them had indulged in "general rejoicing and good fellowship."²⁹ Knowing of Hay's interest in Florida, Stickney was sure that if the young secretary came, he would use his influence to help keep Gillmore working on the Florida campaign.

Gillmore himself had already taken steps looking to military operations in Florida. At Stickney's urging, Gillmore, on December 15, 1863, suggested to United States General-in-Chief Henry Wager Halleck that activities in Florida would be profitable. Operating in Florida, he would recover the most valuable portion of the state, cut off a rich source of the enemy's supplies, and increase the number of his colored troops. A week later "Old Brains" replied, giving Gillmore liberty to use his own discretion in regard to operations in the Department of the South, so long as the positions already held in front of Charleston were secure. Gillmore answered that if the War Department had no objection, he would very soon occupy the west bank of the St. Johns River, and establish small depots there, preparatory to an advance west in the near future.³⁰ Be-

28. Tyler Dennett, *Lincoln and the Civil War in the Diaries and Letters of John Hay* (New York: Dodd, Mead and Company, 1939), pp. 145-146.

29. *The Peninsula* (Fernandina), Apr. 30, 1863.

30. *Senate Report*, No. 47, 38th Congress, 1st Session, p. 1.

fore Gillmore heard any more from Halleck, John Hay arrived at Beaufort with a letter of instruction from Lincoln requesting that Gillmore supervise Florida reconstruction and keep it "within the range of the late proclamation on the subject."³¹

On January 21 Stickney, who was back in Beaufort, wrote Chase that Major Hay had arrived, commissioned by the President to enroll Florida voters. Hay had told him that Lincoln was highly pleased with the St. Augustine meeting. Stickney assured Chase that Hay would cooperate with the Tax Commissioner, and they would have no difficulty in enrolling the requisite number of voters to set up a state government according to Lincoln's plan. It would be easy now, for the revenue cutter had arrived.³²

Gillmore sent Hay on to Fernandina to extend to the people of Florida an opportunity to avail themselves of the benefits of the Amnesty Proclamation. The general had decided, from the tenor of Lincoln's instructions, and from conversations with Hay, that the President intended to give him no further directions on the subject of political reconstruction in Florida. His intention was to "initiate, guide and control such measures as may be necessary . . . to restore the State of Florida to its allegiance."³³

In Key West, Plantz was becoming restless. He worried about being unable to communicate with Stickney, and fretted about being so far from the center of political movements. He feared the division of the state between two military departments would be fatal to the Chase cause. Nevertheless, he arranged a meeting for January 28 in response to the St. Augustine call of December 19. A majority of the citizens of Key West were opposed to the restoration of Florida according to the Chase

31. John G. Nicolay and John Hay (eds.), *Abraham Lincoln: Complete Works, Comprising His Speeches, Letters, State Papers, and Miscellaneous Writings* (New York: The Century Company, 1894), II, 470.

32. Stickney to Chase, Jan. 21, 1864, Chase Letters.

33. *Senate Report*, No. 47, 38th Congress, 1st Session, pp. 22, 23.

program. Plantz knew this and was apprehensive about the outcome of the meeting. But his opponents of course did not attend the meeting and the Chase resolutions passed easily. The meeting over, Plantz felt cocky again. Writing to Chase, he said that full responsibility for staging the meeting had fallen on his own shoulders. Chase could read about the meeting in the New York *Tribune*. Patting himself on the back, he assured Chase: "I have smoked the conservatives out."³⁴

Chase too was becoming restive under the strain of pending developments. Writing to Stickney on February 1, he said:

Everything is looking very well here, except that our military movements are by no means so energetic as they should be. We cannot afford the prolongation of the rebellion.

I received a letter from General Gillmore today, in which he expressed the intention to clear out Florida forthwith, so that your path to the reconstruction of a Free State, under a Free Constitution, will be plain. I wish you to write me a little oftener. I wish to be kept fully posted by you.³⁵

Stickney was too busy to write very often, but he did manage an occasional optimistic report. Invariably he insinuated that they had nothing to fear from John Hay. Maybe Lincoln had sent his secretary to thwart any attempt on Chase's part to make Florida a Chase state, but if so, Stickney thought he had Hay completely fooled. That is what Stickney wanted Chase to believe and no doubt believed himself. But Hay was not fooled. He understood Stickney's game perfectly, and had no doubt of his own ability to match wits with the Tax Commissioner. Major Hay had ample reason to be confident, for the overpowering weight of advantage lay on the side of the Lincoln forces. The resolutions of the Union meetings at St. Augustine and Key West were completely out of harmony with the idea of enrolling

34. Samuel Walker to Lincoln, Apr. 2, 1864, Robert T. Lincoln Collection; Plantz to Chase, Jan. 27, 29, 1864, Chase Letters.

35. Chase to Stickney, Feb. 1, 1864, Robert B. Warden, *An Account of the Private Life and Public Services of Salmon Portland Chase* (Cincinnati, 1874), p. 569.

voters. Hay had come to Florida to see that reconstruction was conducted according to the presidential plan. His task was not difficult. The St. Augustine Unionists fixed upon March 1 as the date for the state convention to meet, making it obvious that they had no intention of obtaining a representative expression of the people. Indeed they must not fairly consult the people; to do so would mean sacrificing control of the convention. Chase and Stickney also wanted an early date for the convention in order to be sure of getting delegates in the Republican Union National Convention at Baltimore. As a matter of fact, elections had no place in Stickney's plan for securing delegates to the state convention. Elections were troublesome and could result in undesirable delegates. Instead, he would use his revenue cutter to pick up suitable men along the coast wherever he could find them. Plantz covertly sent a vessel up the west coast from Key West for the same purpose, and hopefully asked refugees from different parts of the state, temporarily residing at Key West, if they would like to be delegates to the convention.³⁶ Hay could sit back and watch if he wanted to do so. Then when Stickney and Plantz had their state government organized, he could tell Lincoln what were the methods used and the President would refuse to recognize it.

Stickney was soon complaining to Chase of the "copperhead" movement to enroll one-tenth of the voters, with the idea of letting them elect state officers and organize a state government. Such a policy, Stickney thought, was nonsense. It would be far better, in his opinion, to "let a convention of loyal people adopt a free constitution, make all who at the time are inhabitants of the state voters, and all immigrants from the loyal states voters as soon as they shall have fixed their domicile in Florida." On such a basis, Stickney was sure he could "work out a state organization which would harmonize perfectly with Republi-

36. Samuel Walker to Lincoln, Apr. 2, 1864, Robert T. Lincoln Collection.

canism as you have advocated and acted it.“³⁷ And so he could - if no one interfered with his recruiting of delegates for the “convention of loyal people.”

As political and military plans developed, Stickney kept reassuring Chase. The Tax Commissioner wrote that he was every day becoming more firmly convinced of the ease with which Florida could be restored to the Union. If Chase would send Sallade as a successor for Reed, Stickney and Alsop would proceed at once to Key West, confident that Alsop and he could enroll eleven hundred voters “under the Union Constitution of Florida very quickly.” He had lately been occupied, he wrote, “in organizing a free state league, or if you please, a Chase league. It will work to a charm.” In his Chase league were enrolled “men whom I know, and on whom in trying times I can rely.” He felt sure General Gillmore would do all he could for the organization. “He has given me very strong evidence indeed that he is your friend, decided and active.”³⁸

The “decided and active” General Gillmore was, meanwhile, pushing preparations for military occupation of Florida. Fortified with Lincoln’s letter of instruction and Hay’s encouragement, and unrestrained by Halleck or the War Department, he organized an expedition, and in early February, 1864 reoccupied Jacksonville.

Hay and Stickney accompanied the invading troops and upon arriving in Jacksonville went to work on political reconstruction.

Hay’s first experiences in Florida left him confident he would be able to enroll the required number of voters, despite de fact that so many rebels were in the army and so many loyal people had fled to the North. He soon changed his mind. Stickney, who also had recently written of the ease with which large numbers of Florida voters could be enrolled, now advised Chase that Lincoln’s plan would fail, and Hay admitted as much.³⁹

37. Stickney to Chase, Feb. 16, 1864, Chase Letters.

38. Stickney to Chase, Feb. 5, 1864.

39. Stickney to Chase, Feb. 16, 1864.

Actually, of course, Chase's political organizer felt no regret at the failure of the ten per cent plan. He would be able to control a small convention of opportunistic "Unionists," but if voters were signed up to the extent of ten per cent of Florida's voters in 1860, the political conservatives might be so strongly represented that Stickney and his friends would have little influence in the new government. If Hay should become sufficiently discouraged to return to Washington, the Chase men could proceed with political organization according to their own inclinations.

The military reverse at Olustee on February 20 ended all serious efforts to bring Florida back in the Union before the 1864 presidential election. But Stickney and his cohorts continued to make plans for setting up a state government. Four days after the battle he wrote Chase that Major Hay was now in hearty agreement with him about the best way of restoring Florida to the Union - to call a convention which would change the state constitution to make all inhabitants of the state free, and all of those of lawful age voters. "That accomplished, by opening the ports of Fernandina, St. Augustine, and Jacksonville, removing hindrances to northern immigrants, and giving me the use of a revenue cutter or any sea-going vessel for three or four weeks, I pledge to you that Florida shall be as bright a star as shines in freedom's constellation."⁴⁰ The revenue cutter which Chase had sent refused to operate. The mechanical failure of this boat aptly symbolized the Chase machine in Florida. Built according to standard model and design, of the usual materials, it nevertheless would not function properly.

In his isolated position at Key West, Plantz paid no attention to the reverse at Olustee, but innocently continued his political machinations. Thomas J. Boynton, United States Judge for the Southern District of Florida, was critically ill, and Plantz was concerned about the succession in case of Boynton's death.

40. Stickney to Chase, Feb. 24, 1864.

Boynton himself was not radical enough for Plantz's approval, and the attorney had often mentioned to Chase the expediency of having him removed. But if Boynton should die, Plantz was sure the majority of Key West citizens would want William Marvin to replace him. He was also afraid that if Marvin came to Key West, it would spell defeat for the Chase organization there. Marvin had held the judgeship before Boynton, and was now in New York. Plantz remarked significantly to Chase that William H. Seward would doubtless like to have Marvin sent to Key West. He thought a great deal depended, so far as southern Florida was concerned, on the judge they were to have at Key West if a change occurred. The implication was that it would be calamitous if Chase's political competitor, Seward, succeeded in getting his friend, Marvin, appointed to the Key West judgeship.⁴¹

Plantz still worried about his political isolation. To visit Fernandina was impossible while he held office, and communication was so slow as to be useless. "If I were in speaking distance of Stickney, Alsop, Fraser, and other of your friends, we might work together to some purpose," wrote the frustrated attorney. As it was, he was groping in the dark, but he hoped "to hit daylight before the game is over. If I can bear a more effective hand," he added hopefully, "do let me know."⁴²

In early March Plantz was honored by a visit from Stickney. Plantz must have been very happy to have the opportunity to confer with "the old man" himself. They discussed their program for the Chase organization, and each wrote to Chase praising the other. Stickney did not bother to call at the hotel where he had stayed in the spring of 1861, and where he still owed for his lodging. He and Plantz made various recommendations for Treasury appointments in Florida. Stickney wanted a tax assessor's appointment for his brother, John. "You would have no

41. Plantz to Chase, Feb. 29, 1864.

42. *Ibid.*

more active reliable friend in Florida. He can do much for emancipation, and especially much for you."

Chase had made some suggestions to Stickney in regard to the organization of the new state government in Florida, which suggestions met Stickney's hearty concurrence. He would endeavor to carry them out. Major Hay, said Stickney, would return to Washington by the next steamer. Stickney thought he "could do much good with the President to pass a week in Washington myself. Major Hay thinks so too." Indeed the Tax Commissioner had now been in Florida what was for him an unusually long time. If Chase had no objection, he would "make a flying trip to Washington." The executive committee appointed at the St. Augustine Union meeting of December 19 would, wrote Stickney, appoint delegates from Florida to the National Republican Union Convention. The delegates were to be Stickney, Plantz, and Philip Fraser. Would they, queried Stickney, be given seats in the convention? ⁴³

In early March Secretary Chase announced his withdrawal from the presidential canvass, for he was aware of the great advantage Lincoln had over him in the contest for the nomination. After writing his letter of withdrawal, he did no active campaigning, but his Florida agents continued to work. The Secretary wrote Plantz of his withdrawal, and Plantz was despondent. "With the loss of the leader, I tremble for the cause," he wrote, "and even though the cause triumph, half the pleasure I should have personally will be gone." He still hoped the country would learn "the needs of its safety and honor in time to call for your services in spite of your withdrawal; and I shall not work less earnestly, though I may be obliged to work differently, to that end." ⁴⁴

In spite of Chase's withdrawal, Chase men were not lacking at the Republican Union National Convention which assembled

43. Stickney to Chase, Mar. 15, 1864, Plantz to Chase, Mar. 28, 1864.

44. Plantz to Chase, Mar. 28, 1864.

in Baltimore on June 7. Many Treasury employees went up from Washington. Stickney and Plantz attended, as did other Chase agents from all parts of the country. These Chase backers had no official standing at all in the convention, but they were there to do what they could. They had prepared Chase propaganda to circulate at the convention, and they could work on the official delegates and try to swing them to Chase. Almost all of the delegates had been elected under pledges - express or implied - to vote for Lincoln, but there were a few there who were supporters of the Secretary of the Treasury. They were ready to put him in nomination, hoping to start a Chase boom. But the Secretary himself had no confidence in the plan and withdrew.⁴⁵ Chase wrote Stickney that he would not accept the nomination if it were offered to him. In electing delegates to the convention, he said, the nation had expressed a preference for Lincoln. "The nomination of any other man would be justly regarded as a fraud upon the people; and I value conscious integrity of purpose far more than office, even the highest."⁴⁶

After the Baltimore Convention, a Treasury agent's investigation brought to light the unsavory details of Stickney's activities, but Stickney retained his place on the Tax Commission. When Chief Justice Chase made a tour of the South in 1865, studying conditions and building fences for 1868, Stickney rushed on board his boat to greet him as the vessel touched the wharf at Jacksonville and was taken along on the tour around the Gulf.⁴⁷ At Key West, United States District Attorney Plantz was on hand to welcome them. He showed the visitors around, gave them a first-hand analysis of the political situation in the Southern District of Florida, and discussed steps to be taken in

45. J. Grey Jewell to Chase, June 9, 1864, Chase MSS., Series I, Library of Congress.

46. Chase to Stickney, May 25, 1864, Warden, *op. cit.*, p. 595.

47. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York: Columbia University, 1913), p. 352; Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour* (New York, 1866), p. 163.

reconstructing the State.⁴⁸ Stickney was to have no further share in Florida's political spoils, and Chase's influence in the reconstruction of Florida was negligible. But when the Republicans took over the State government in 1868, Plantz was appointed Judge of the First Judicial District and moved to Pensacola, where he died in 1872.

The Chief Justice undertook his spring 1865 tour of Florida and the conquered South for the purpose, among other things, of advising President Johnson on a program of reconstruction. But Johnson did not accept Chase's advice. The President, new dispenser of the patronage, fell out with Chase over reconstruction policy and the trial of Jefferson Davis; and the Chase machine, deprived of sustenance, rusted and fell apart, in Florida and throughout the restored United States.

48. *Ibid.*, p. 180.

DAVID BETTON MACOMB, FRONTIERSMAN

by ANDREW FOREST MUIR

Well known in American history is the peripatetic hunter and trapper, farmer and stockholder who at the head of the westward movement pushed into new areas only to abandon them when joined by too close neighbors. These folk were the vanguard of American civilization. Conspicuous among them are Daniel Boone and David Crockett. Less well known are the equally peripatetic professional men - lawyers, teachers, ministers, and physicians - who were largely instrumental in transmitting to the frontier the typical institutions of American life. Like the early group they too abandoned an area when it became stable and settled to turn their footsteps toward a newer frontier. During the 1830s there were two southern frontiers, Florida and Texas, and a surprisingly large number of professional men having played an active part in the one then moved to the other. To name lawyers only, Henry W. Fontaine, Thomas Jefferson Green, Algernon S. Thurston, and James Webb, who had been prominent in Florida, continued to Texas during or after the Texas Revolution and became even more prominent there. ¹ The movement was not, however, always westward, for John Ricord, who had been active in revolutionary Texas, later moved to Alachua County, Florida, during its formative period. ² A representative lawyer of the peripatetic type was David Betton ³

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1. For reference to these men in Florida, see Minutes of the Superior Court of Leon County, Florida (MSS. in Circuit Clerk's Office, Tallahassee), I, 6, 38, 144, 326; Tallahassee *Floridian*, August 14 and 28, 1832; Tallahassee *Florida Intelligencer*, October 6, 1826; Tallahassee *Florida Advocate*, November 25, 1828. For sketches, mostly concerned with their lives in Texas, see Walter Prescott Webb (ed.), *The Handbook of Texas* (Austin: The Texas State Historical Association, 1952), 2 vols. For Webb see Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida*, II, p. 73. For Thurston see Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism*. DeLand, 1926, p. 69.
 2. Andrew Forest Muir, "John Ricord" in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, LII (July, 1948), 49-59.
 3. Although no kinship can be demonstrated, it is interesting to note that during Macomb's residence in Tallahassee there were two prominent men there named Betton, Joseph R. and Turbott R.

Macomb, who had an affinity for frontiers, for he was born on one, lived on a second, and died on a third.

Macomb was born, October 30, 1793, in Detroit, nominally in Michigan Territory but actually under the jurisdiction of Upper Canada, the tenth child and fifth son of William Macomb and his wife Sarah Jane Dring.⁴ His father, a Scotch-Irishman, was a member of a prosperous family firm that combined Indian trading with general merchandise, real estate, and banking. A large land owner and foremost citizen, he had been elected, in the year before David's birth, a member of the provincial parliament of Upper Canada.⁵

David Betton Macomb's earliest years are obscure. His father died when David was in his third year, and apparently his mother together with her children moved to New York City where the mother died some years after her son.⁶ David apparently received a good education, for in his mature years he practiced both as a civil engineer and a lawyer, and he wrote in a literate hand and style. He knew Spanish and spoke French well enough for a Frenchman to think him a fellow. Sometime during his early life, he served briefly in a militia organization in which he acquired the title of colonel.⁷

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4. Henry Alexander Macomb, *The Macomb Family Record* (Camden, 1917) 11-13. See also, [Sarah Ann King], *Private Memair of Thomas Worthington* (Cincinnati: Robert Clarke & Co., 1882), appendix. For the authorship of this anonymous volume, see Ed Kilman, "Miss Lyda Macomb of Harrisburg Cherishes Rich Heritage from Nine Generations" in *Houston Post*, December 13, 1936.
 5. M. M. Quaife, "Detroit Biographies: Alexander Macomb" in *Burton Historical Collection Leaflet*, vol. 10, No. 1 (November, 1931), 4-5.
 6. Macomb, *The Macomb Family Record*, 11-13; *Detroit Free Press*, March 1, 1928.
 7. On July 13, 1836, in a letter to Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar, Macomb wrote that he had had "a short [military] service in the U States." Charles A. Gulick, Jr. and others (eds.), *The Papers of Mirabeau Buonaparte Lamar* (Austin: Texas State Library and Historical Commission, n.d.), V, 103-04. There is, however, no record in the Department of the Army of any military service performed by Macomb. Courtesy of Major General William E. Bergin, U.S.A., The Adjutant General. Consequently, the service must have been in a militia. Macomb was called colonel between 1826 and 1835. See *Florida Intelligencer*, July 22, 1826; deposition of Justian F. Davis, March 23, 1830, in Abraham Russell, Jr. vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the

In early manhood Macomb appeared in Ohio, and on March 13, 1816, he was married in Chillicothe to Mary Tiffin Worthington, daughter of the United States Senator (later Governor) Thomas Worthington.⁸ Seven children were born to this union, some of them at Worthington's home, Adena, in Chillicothe, others at Paint Creek Mill near Chillicothe, and the youngest in Florida.⁹ Macomb's activities in Ohio are obscure. It is possible that he was engaged in the operation of a grist or sawmill, for it is likely that Paint Creek Mill was a business as well as a place name. Certainly in 1819 and 1821 he was active in some business transactions in Chillicothe that entailed promissory notes for which he was subsequently sued in both Ohio and Florida.¹⁰

Possibly as the result of pressing debts resulting from unfortunate business operations, Macomb removed to Florida, that shortly before had passed into the jurisdiction of the United States and had been recently created a territory. The date of his arrival in the Territory is not known, but he appears to have been there as early as October, 1824.¹¹ He obviously migrated alone, for in the territorial census of 1825 he was listed

Circuit Court of Leon County, Florida (MSS. in Circuit Clerk's Office, Tallahassee), Law, file 334; *Floridian*, July 10, 1832; B. T. Archer to David G. Burnet, June 24, 1835, in David Gouverneur Burnet Papers (MSS. in Rosenberg Library, Galveston, Texas). Beginning December 7, 1835, Macomb held the rank of lieutenant colonel in the Texas Army.

8. Record of Marriages of Ross County, Ohio (MSS. in Office of Judge and Ex-Officio Clerk of the Probate Court, Chillicothe), AB, 275. For sketches of Worthington, see *Private Memoir of Thomas Worthington*; *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, III, 138; *Appleton's Cyclopaedia of American Biography*, VI, 617; *Biographical Dictionary of the American Congress, 1774-1949*, p. 2046; and that by Thomas T. Utter in *Dictionary of American Biography*, XX, 540-41.
9. *Private Memoir of Thomas Worthington*, appendix.
10. O. T. Reeves vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 471.
11. C. C. and R. W. Williams, assignees of John P. Duval, vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 356.

without a household.¹² Shortly afterwards, his family, then consisting of wife, two sons, and two daughters, followed him to Florida.

A short distance to the southeast of Tallahassee, already selected as capital of the Territory, Macomb established a plantation that covered portions of sections 9, 10, 15, and 16 of township 1 south and range 1 east, a part of which he was in possession of as early as June 1825.¹³ The plantation had 560 acres in 1828,¹⁴ and in addition, with George Fisher, Sr., Macomb held a farm known as Glass's Place.¹⁵ To his plantation Macomb gave the name Ben Venue, and here was born, on February 27, 1827, his seventh child, David Betton, Jr., who was to become a rear admiral in the United States Navy.¹⁶ In addition to his country seat, Macomb maintained, at least in 1826, a house in Tallahassee, on what is now Pensacola Street between Monroe and Adams.¹⁷ Like many others from the North, Macomb did not long remain a Yankee, for he soon became a slaveholder. Some, possibly all, of his slaves were hired by him rather than owned, for at times he had no slaves. For example, when he paid his 1829 taxes he paid no slave tax.¹⁸ In February, 1828, he rented three slaves, and he agreed to supply them with two linen suits in the spring and a comfortable suit of winter clothes in the fall, including shoes, stockings, and hats, and in

12. Dorothy Dodd, "The Florida Census of 1825" in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXII (July, 1943), 37.

13. Patent Books of Tallahassee Meridian (MSS. in Bur. Land Management, Washington, D. C.) II, 2, 71, 72, 240; III, 237; Deed Records of Leon County, Florida (MSS. in Circuit Clerk's Office, Tallahassee), A, 25-26, 175, 519-20; C, 146-47, 147-50, 362, 438-39, 511-12, 512, 596-97; D, pt. 2, 414-15.

14. A List of Tax's [*sic*] of Leon County for the Treasurer of Florida [for the year 1829] (MS. in Florida State Library, Tallahassee).

15. Charles E. Sherman vs. George Fisher, alias George Fisher, Sr., and David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 405. Another Macomb suit involving land title was John Doe, lessee of L. and M. A. Armistead, vs. David B. Macomb in Minutes of the Superior Court of Leon County, I, 443, 446, 451.

16. *Private Memoir of Thomas Worthington*, appendix; *Who Was Who in America, 1897-1942*, 766.

17. *Florida Intelligencer*, May 5, 1826.

18. A List of Tax's of Leon County for the Treasurer of Florida.

addition to pay the taxes due on them, to provide necessary medical attention, and to return them to their owner at the end of the year.¹⁹ The 1830 census listed Macomb's household as a substantial establishment. In addition to his wife and five children it included two unidentified whites, fifteen slaves, and one free Negro.²⁰

No information is available on Macomb's agricultural activities, but seemingly they were not successful. Equally unsuccessful were his purchase of an eighth interest in the Steamboat *Stebenville* in April, 1829,²¹ and a sortie into dry goods and groceries in January, 1829.²² More successful probably was a small investment in a tract of land in Magnolia, a town laid out on the St. Marks River in 1827.²³

Between 1826 and 1834 Macomb was a mail contractor in Florida. From 1826 to 1830 he was responsible for the eastern route, from Tallahassee to St. Augustine.²⁴ At the same time he had the contract for the northern route, from Tallahassee to Pindertown, Georgia.²⁵ On this latter route Macomb had a rider whom he paid eleven dollars a month. Until March 24, 1826, when he died, the rider was Henry F. Young,²⁶ and between

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19. Samuel Parkill vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 417.
 20. U. S. Census, 1830, Florida (microfilm in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville), sheet 120, line 5.
 21. William H. Mathers, Jr. and Thomas Hardyman vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 415.
 22. Daniel McRaeny and Timothy McCarty, merchants, trading under name of McRaeny & McCarty, vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 556.
 23. Deed Records of Leon County, B, pt. 2, 464-65. For material on Magnolia, see W. T. Cash, "Newport as a Business Center" in *Apalachee, the Publication of the Tallahassee Historical Society*, 1944, p. 14, and Dorothy Dodd, *The Tallahassee Railroad and the Town of St. Marks* (MS. read before the Tallahassee Historical Society, November 8, 1951; courtesy of Dr. Dodd).
 24. House Doc. 171, 19th Cong., 1st Sess., p. 14; House Doc. 121, 19th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 21; *Florida Advocate*, September 8, 1829.
 25. House Doc. 121, 19th Cong., 2d Sess., p. 21; *Florida Intelligencer*, March 11, 1826.
 26. *Florida Intelligencer*, March 24, 1826.

August, 1826, and August, 1827, it was James M. Kenion.²⁷ Between 1830 and 1834 Macomb had the contract for the western route, from Tallahassee to Pensacola, and a letter on mail transportation signed Loch-acray and published in 1833 was likely from his pen.²⁸ The United States later sued Macomb, possibly in reference to one of his mail contracts.²⁹

At least during the first years of his residence in Leon County, Macomb practiced law. On January 2, 1826, he "was admitted as a Counselor and Attorney . . . of the Court of Appeals." In March, 1826, he and William Allison McRea announced that they had associated themselves to practice in the superior and inferior courts of Jackson, Gadsden, and Leon counties, as well as the Court of Appeals at Tallahassee.³⁰ Later in the year McRea moved his office to Quincy in Gadsden County, but the partnership apparently survived, for in August the two jointly announced that they would attend to matters arising under the new congressional pre-emption law.³¹

Near the end of his life, Macomb wrote that he had been "a Judge in Florida for 7 years of a Court whose jurisdiction was concurrent with the Supreme [in reality, the Superior] Court, except in criminal cases," and he referred to a former Florida attorney who was then a brigadier general in the voluntary Texas Army for recommendations to his "reputation as a Lawyer

27. James M. Kenion vs. David B. Macomb in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 205.

28. Postoffice Department Records (MSS. in The National Archives, Washington, D. C.), 1830-1834, mail contract 2473; *Floridian*, June 1, 1833. Macomb's report on the St. Marks River was dated "Benvenue, on Lockacray."

29. The United States vs. David B. Macomb in Records of Leon County (MSS. in Circuit Clerk's Office, Tallahassee), vol. 99 (Minutes of the Superior Court of Leon County, July 17, 1828-April 9, 1836), 57; Minutes of the Superior Court of Leon County, I, 472, 482, 571.

30. Minute Book, Court of Appeals, Territory of Florida, p. 5; *Florida Intelligencer*, March 11, 1826. For cases handled by Macomb, see Minutes of the Superior Court of Leon County, I, 22, 26; Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 334.

31. *Florida Intelligencer*, September 1, 1826. On May 24, 1829, McRea was killed in Key West by Captain Charles E. Hawkins, who later held a commission in the Texas Navy. *Florida Advocate*, August 1, 1829.

and integrity and independence as a Judge.”³² Macomb served on the bench of the county court of Leon County as late as February, 1832,³³ so, if his later statement was correct, his service must have begun in 1825. A paucity of executive records in Florida precludes conclusive evidence of the beginning of his judicial tenure, but he was certainly on the bench as early as February 5, 1826.³⁴ Newspaper announcements of his appointment as judge of the county court appeared in March, 1826, and February, 1827.³⁵ In November, 1828, the Legislative Council, that appears to have spent a good portion of its time tinkering with the county court, increased the number of judges of the court to three, designated as justices,³⁶ and at the same time it confirmed Macomb’s appointment as one of the three justices of the county court of Leon County.³⁷ Shortly afterwards, Macomb’s two colleagues on the bench elected him presiding justice.³⁸ In November, 1829, the Legislative Council again altered the court to the extent of abolishing all three justiceships and providing for the court a justice of the peace to be styled presiding judge.³⁹ On November 22, Macomb was appointed to the position,⁴⁰ and he served until sometime in late February or early March, 1832, when he was succeeded by Benjamin Chaires.⁴¹ Presumably, the governor preferred to pass over Macomb and to appoint another.

As judge, presiding judge, and presiding justice, Macomb of-

32. Macomb to Sam Houston, San Jacinto, Texas, November 6, 1836, in Army Papers (MSS. in Archives, Texas State Library, Austin).

33. Misc. Proceedings [of the County Court of Leon County] (MS. in County Judge’s Office, Tallahassee), 64.

34. *Ibid.*, 9.

35. *Florida Intelligencer*, March 11, 1826; *Pensacola Gazette*, March 25, 1826, February 9, 1827.

36. Charles D. Farris, “The Courts of Territorial Florida” in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (April, 1941), 352.

37. [Executive Journal of the Territory of Florida] (MS. in Florida State Library), p. 49.

38. *Florida Advocate*, March 14, 1829.

39. Farris, “The Courts of Territorial Florida,” 352-53.

40. [Executive Journal of the Territory of Florida], p. 49.

41. *Floridian*, March 13, 1832; Misc. Proceedings, 65.

ficiated over a court that had civil and at times criminal jurisdiction. In addition, the county court had exclusive jurisdiction over the probating of wills and the administration of estates.⁴² In his official capacity Macomb also issued election proclamations and fixed bonds for those bound over to the superior court.⁴³ He had the authority to solemnize marriages, but there is no record that he ever did so.⁴⁴

A Duel with Achille Murat

Macomb twice stood without success as a candidate to represent Leon County in the territorial Legislative Council. He first tried in 1826, when he was defeated by William Wyatt⁴⁵ and again in 1829, when he lost to Captain Thomas Brown and Dr. Isaac W. Mitchell.⁴⁶ His first contest led to a duel with Achille Murat, nephew of Napoleon, who gave two differing accounts of the events that precipitated it. In a spirit of reminiscence, Murat related:

Mr McComb [*sic*] was my neighbor; he was a Frenchman.⁴⁷ I love him very much; we have great congenialite, and he is my neighbor. . . . It is my custom when I cannot feed my negroes, when there is no meat in the smoke house and I have no money to buy any, to say to them, "I have no meat for you, but you shall not work - take the holiday, and when I get the money you will work again." Just so they take the holiday, and because they do not work [in reality, because they had no food], they despoil my neighbor, Mr. Ma-

42. Farris, "The Courts of Territorial Florida," 360-62; Misc. Proceedings, 1-64.

43. *Florida Advocate*, March 28, 1829; Minutes of the Superior Court of Leon County, I, 309.

44. There is no record of any marriage by him in Marriage Records of Leon County (MSS. in County Judge's Office, Tallahassee), White, X.

45. *Florida Intelligencer*, July 22, September 1 and 8, October 6, 1826.

46. *Florida Advocate*, February 21, June 13, 1829.

47. Actually, Macomb was substantially English and Scotch-Irish. One of his eight great grandparents, however, was French. Macomb, *The Macomb Family Record*, 11-13.

Comb, of his hogs. My friend infuriates himself, and he try to infuriate me; but I cannot let my friend despoil *mon honneur*, so I send my first friend that I have made in the United States to tell my friend, Mr. Macomb, that he can have the satisfaction.⁴⁸

In contemporary letters written to a friend, however, Murat gave a different account. At a political rally during Macomb's campaign for the Council, Murat called him a turncoat. Macomb demanded proof of the charge, and after Murat had particularized, Macomb impeached the allegations. In a fit of temper Murat described him as "a damned, infernal, liar and begged the people present to witness the fact."⁴⁹

Three days later Macomb and Murat met near Hiamones Lake. Murat's shot went through Macomb's shirt without touching flesh, and Macomb's took off half of the little finger of Murat's right hand. Murat then exclaimed: "Ah! Mr. McComb, you have made one mark on me I will have all my life." Later the participants discovered that Mrs. Macomb, whom Murat, in his Gallic English, described as "one admirable woman," had been a witness to the exchange of shots. A gossip had told her that her husband would not fight but rather would back down. To this allegation Mrs. Macomb had replied, "Never," and had then set out on horseback to the site of the duel, where from the shelter of some trees she witnesses the proceedings. In describing the incident Murat later exclaimed, "*Mon Dieu*, I believe if her husband had back [*sic*] down, she would have shot him, and then shot me."⁵⁰

During his residence in Florida Macomb authored two pam-

48. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old* (Jacksonville: Ashmead Bros., 1883), 160.

49. A. J. Hanna, *A Prince in their Midst: the Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1947), 153. In a personal letter Professor Hanna gave as his source of this quotation manuscript letters of Murat to Antoine Claire Thibaudeau, August 13, 1826, and January 6, 1827, in the *Bibliothèque Nationale*, Paris.

50. Long, *Florida Breezes*, 160; Hanna, *A Prince in their Midst*, 152-53.

phlets on the Territory. In Tallahassee in 1827 he published a ten page pamphlet on the resources of Middle Florida entitled *Answer to Enquiries Relative to Middle Florida, Propounded by a Gentleman in Switzerland, with an Accompanying Letter of General Lafayette*.⁵¹ One reviewer thought the author had exaggerated the regional possibilities,⁵² but in the long run Macomb's judgment but not necessarily his bill of particulars has triumphed. In 1828, probably as a result of Macomb's kinship with the commanding general of the United States Army - for he was both first cousin and brother-in-law of Major General Alexander Macomb, U.S.A. - he was appointed by the Army Engineer Department to make a survey of the river and harbor of St. Marks with a view of ascertaining the "practicality and expense of removing the obstructions to the navigation of the same." Macomb spent two months on the survey, and in his published report, dated September 11, he expressed the opinion that the river and harbor could be made navigable at a trifling expense, especially by a novel use of an "improved mud-machine."⁵³ Although Macomb clearly anticipated a commission to perform the work, some years were to pass before the project was authorized, and then it was done under the direction of a regular army officer.⁵⁴

A man of cultured and cultivated tastes, Macomb in 1829 provided a pianoforte⁵⁵ for his elder daughter, Eleanor W., who was later described as "tho' not handsome . . . very bright and in-

51. Joseph Sabin, *A Dictionary of Books Relating to America, from its Discovery to the Present Time* (New York: J. Sabin's Son, 1879), XI, 83.

52. *North American Review*, XXVI (April, 1828), 494-97.

53. *Report from the Secretary of War, Transmitting a Report of the Survey and Estimate for Improving the Harbor of St. Marks, in Florida*, 20th Cong., 2d Sess., Doc. 45 (Serial 181), 4pp.

54. In 1832 a second survey and estimate was made by Lieutenant George W. Long, U.S.A., who subsequently removed the obstructions. Long to C. Gratiot, Magnolia, February 15, 1832, in *Floridian*, June 19, 1832

55. Eleanor W. Macomb, by next friend, David B. Macomb, vs. James D. Westcott, Jr. and James M. Mullin in Case Papers of the Circuit Court of Leon County, Law, file 540. Macomb later referred to this pianoforte in his will, executed February 2, 1837, that was neither filed for nor admitted to probate but preserved in Probate Case Papers of Harris County, Texas (MSS. in County Clerk's Office, Houston), file Mc 16.

telligent and cultivated, [who] sang and played well.“⁵⁶ Also interested in science, Macomb was a charter member of the Florida Institute of Agriculture, Antiquities, and Science, organized in 1825, and in the following year he was a member of the committee of arrangements to celebrate the institute's anniversary.⁵⁷

Macomb's position as lawyer and jurist gave him an important place in the ceremonial life of Tallahassee. At times he served as secretary of public meetings and as a member of committees of arrangements, as, for example, in connection with the celebration of Independence Day in 1826.⁵⁸ On this occasion he presided as master of ceremonies at a “barbecue” [*sic*] at which an ox, an ewe, two shoats, three dozen fowls, ten hams, and a quantity of fish and vegetables were consumed by some 150 persons. During the offering of toasts that followed, Macomb proposed “Henry Clay, the Orator, the Patriot and the statesman, whose genuine republicanism was strikingly manifested in preferring [*sic*] the Civilian to the Military Chieftain.”⁵⁹ Six years later, he offered *in absentia* another political toast, and it showed that he had changed in the intervening years from a Whig to a Democrat: “Martin Van Buren - The democracy of the whole U. S. have him now in keeping, 'onward and fear naught.’”⁶⁰ Apparently a previous shift from the Democratic to the Whig party had had something to do with his duel with Murat.

By 1832 a number of unpaid promissory notes made in his early years in Florida, as well as two made in Ohio, clamored for payment, and much of Macomb's property was seized and

56. [Adele Lubbock Looscan (ed.)], “Journal of Lewis Birdsall Harris, 1836-1842” in *Southwestern Historical Quarterly*, XXV (January, 1922), 186. One writer interpreted Harris's description to mean that Eleanor was “as ugly as a mud fence.” Houston Wade, *David G. Burnet Letters* (LaGrange: LaGrange Journal, n.d.), 74.

57. *Florida Intelligencer*, October 6, 1826.

58. *Ibid.*, May 5 and 19, 1826.

59. *Ibid.*, July 22, 1826.

60. *Floridian*, July 10, 1832.

sold by the marshal of the Middle District of Florida under executions issued by the superior court.⁶¹ Macomb obviously felt a sense of failure in his business affairs as well as in the termination of his political career. He then began to seek out a new frontier to which he might remove and where he might recoup his losses. By the middle of 1835 he had selected Texas, then on the verge of revolution against Mexico, to which place he went alone, leaving his family in Tallahassee, until June, 1836, when he escorted them to their new home.⁶² Although he had been for the most part unsuccessful in Florida, Macomb's entire life there was marked by honor and integrity, and these qualities extended to the grave, for in his will written a few days before his death he directed

. . . that all my estate real and personal in the County of Leon and Territory of Florida be placed in [the] hands of Edward Lockerman as Assignee [*sic*] for himself and all my creditors in Florida. . .⁶³

In Texas, near present day Houston, Macomb was elected to and sat in one of the revolutionary constituent assemblies, the Consultation.⁶⁴ In addition, he served as assistant adjutant and inspector general on the staff of Colonel Stephen F. Austin, of the Federal Army of Texas, in the autumn of 1835, during the first campaign against the Mexican forces in Texas,⁶⁵ and on December 7, he was commissioned lieutenant colonel of artillery in the regular Texas Army.⁶⁶ Having been sent on a purchasing

61. Deed Records of Leon County, C, 438-39, 596-97.

62. Macomb to Gen. Sam Houston, November 6, 1836.

63. Probate Case Papers of Harris County, Texas, file Mc 16.

64. H. P. N. Gammel (comp.), *The Laws of Texas, 1822-1897* (Austin: Gammel Book Company, 1898), I, 523-47; Comptrollers Civil Service Records (MSS. in Archives, Texas State Library, Austin), file David B. Macomb; *Telegraph and Texas Register* (San Felipe de Austin), I October 10, 1835), 2; I (November 7, 1835), 36.

65. [Eugene C. Barker (ed.)], "General Austin's Order Book for the Campaign of 1835" in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XI (July, 1907), 1-3, 16.

66. *Telegraph and Texas Register*, I (January 16, 1836), 89; Comptrollers Military Service Records (MSS. in Archives, Texas State Library), file David B. Macomb; Liberty Bounty (MSS. in General Land Office, Austin), file 98.

mission to New York by Major General Sam Houston, T.A. in the same month,⁶⁷ Macomb missed service in the spring campaign of 1836. Upon his return to Texas in June, he was placed in charge of a sawmill at Lynchburg near the San Jacinto battlefield. There his wife, who on the passage from Florida had caught a severe cold that quickly developed into galloping consumption,⁶⁸ died on October 19, 1836,⁶⁹ and at the same place⁷⁰ almost four months later, on February 14, 1837,⁷¹ in a slough of despair, Macomb committed suicide by cutting his throat with a razor.⁷² His only monument is Macomb Street in Tallahassee.

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67. Certificate of Sam Houston, January 25, 1839, in Comptrollers Military Service Records, file David B. Macomb.
 68. Macomb to Houston, November 6, 1836. For an account of Macomb's activities at the sawmill, see Andrew Forest Muir, "POWs from Santa Anna's Army Proved Poor Sawmill Help" in *Gulf Coast Lumberman*, Sept. 15, 1953; 60, 62, 65.
 69. *Telegraph and Texas Register* (Columbia), October 25, 1836; cenotaph in Grandview Cemetery, Chillicothe.
 70. Lost Book of Harris County (MS. in General Land Office, Austin), 73.
 71. Comptrollers Military Service Records, file David B. Macomb; Liberty Bounty, file 98.
 72. A. M. Clopper to Nicholas Clopper, Highland Cottage, March 1, 1837, in [Edward Nicholas Clopper (ed.)], "The Clopper Correspondence, 1834-1838" in *Quarterly of the Texas State Historical Association*, XIII (October, 1909), 141, and Edward Nicholas Clopper, *An American Family . . .* (n.p., no pub., 1950), 273.

LETTERS OF A FLORIDA SETTLER IN 1877

by W. A. SMITH

(Founder of Tacoma, Florida)

Introduction and editing by Edward C. Williamson

W. A. Smith was born in Hadley, Mass., in 1826. During his early boyhood his family moved to Wisconsin where he grew up. After marrying and raising a family of two sons and a daughter, he removed to Cortland, N. Y. Reading of Florida's attractions, he decided to settle there. En route to Florida, he made expenses by giving Bible lectures illustrated by magic-lantern slides.

In Florida he purchased forty acres two and one-half miles northwest of Micanopy, naming the little settlement which sprang up around his one-room log cabin, Tacoma. His letters to the Cortland newspaper which follow, describing the climate, business opportunities, and general living conditions, attracted friends who came to Tacoma and settled nearby, forming a small Northern colony.¹

LETTERS FROM FLORIDA

THE CLIMATE - CHARACTER OF THE COUNTRY - RICH LANDS -
LUXURIANT VEGETATION - THE CHANCES FOR PURCHASERS
- PRICE OF LAND - MECHANICS WANTED.

(Correspondence of The Standard and Journal)

Micanopy, Alachua Co., Florida,

January 22, 1877.

To say that I like this country does not half express my admiration. It is splendid, magnificent, glorious! While you of the North are wading about in the snow, shivering in the cold, dodging around the corners to get out of the way of the furious

1. The letters of W. A. Smith, clipped from the *Cortland Standard*, were given the Florida State Museum by his grandson, James Calvert Smith, of Holly Hill. Mr. Smith also furnished information concerning the life of his grandfather. Tacoma, he recalls, was named for a daughter of Micanopy, head chief of the Seminoles.

blasts, we here are enjoying the most delightful summer weather. The thermometer ranges daily from 75 to 85 degrees, with a gentle breeze from the southwest making the day so enjoyable that one would wish to live here forever. Wild plums are in blossom; blackberries are in bud and will be in bloom in a few days; and the jasmine, with its beautiful trumpet flowers, sends forth its delicate perfume, making Florida at this season of the year worthy indeed of her name.

I arrived in the State on the 29th of December. From about the first of that month up to the time of my arrival, the weather had been colder than had been known in the State for the last thirty or forty years. The first week in December the thermometer marked daily 30 degrees above zero. Orange trees at that time were in full growth, the young limbs and twigs were full of sap, and, in exposed situations, they froze and were partially killed. No tree of any size in any part of the State was killed wholly - only the ends of the limbs. Young orange trees of one or two years' growth in many cases were killed perhaps half-way to the ground, but nothing like the mischief was done that the correspondent of The New York Times would have the people believe. That writer had evidently met with a rather tough reception from some of these "crackers" in the South, and was determined to pay them off in coin of about equal value. I can sympathize with him fully, for I have had experience in Southern boarding-houses myself, and I have written some bitter things regarding the Southern style of living, and the exorbitant prices you must pay for everything you have and especially for what you don't have. But the Times correspondent berates not only the people but the country also. As far as his description of the country on the St. John's river is concerned, I think, from all that I hear of it, that he is about right. There is no doubt that the land is very sandy and generally very poor, but for all that, there is so much that is suitable for the

growth of the orange that the whole country up and down that river has become noted, and land has advanced in price very rapidly. There are no lands on the coast that begin to compare with the lands in the interior. The range of the rich hammock lands is not met with until one gets back from the coast about seventy-five to one hundred miles.² Then lands are met that will produce more under the same system of cultivation than any lands in the State of New York. I may as well state here what "hammock lands" are, for in my letters I shall often allude to them. They are lands covered with the heaviest growth of timber I ever saw, consisting of live oak and water oak (these are both evergreen), white, black, and red oak, basswood, ash, hickory, magnolia, sweet gum, and bay, besides a great many other kinds, with the names of which I am not familiar. There are also vines of all kinds, which grow and entwine themselves with every tree and shrub, making as a general thing an impenetrable jungle. Now any one knows that land that will produce such a variety of trees and trees of such prodigious growth, is not all sand by any means. Yet the land is sandy and is the easiest to work I ever saw. I have been digging holes for orange trees, and have pushed the spade down the full length of the blade without putting my foot on it at all. One horse or mule is all that is ever used here to plow, that being team enough. I have oats, corn, and peas up nicely that I have planted since I have located.

A great many in reading this letter will ask what are the chances of getting good land and what is the cost. There are all the chances to get land one can ask for, and cheap enough. These old land-owners have more land than they know what to do with, they have no means or way to work it, and renting does not pay them as a general thing. They are anxious to cut up their lands in small parcels to suit purchasers, and will sell

2. This distance from the coast is measured on the railroad which ran from Fernandina to Cedar Keys.

to purchasers on such terms as will be agreeable. The land that I have bought is located on what is known as the "Lightner estate," a plantation of 3,000 acres. The former proprietor was a roaring Methodist, and prayed God with all his might to kill off all the "Yanks," but as his prayers were not answered he wouldn't live in such a country, so he picked up his traps, and with his family joined the party that went to Brazil, where they could "enjoy freedom."³ The consequences were he died there, his family was scattered, some of the members are dead, and I learn that no one here now knows where any of them are. The estate went into bankruptcy, and has been surveyed out into 40 and 56-acre lots and sold for the benefit of the creditors. These lots have been sold and are being sold at from five to eight dollars per acre. There are several lots near where I am that can be bought for \$5 per acre, all cleared and ready for the plow. The fences are destroyed by rotting down and by fire. The price is nothing, as land can not be cleared and the roots and stumps taken out for less than fifty dollars per acre. Lumber can be bought at the saw-mill three miles away for fourteen dollars per 1,000 feet. Gainesville, ten miles north of here, is the county seat and a fine, growing town of 3,500 people. Micanopy is two and a half miles southeast, a place of about 300 inhabitants and having a post-office, stores, churches, &c. I have selected this location on account of the protection that orange trees will get from the lakes that surround me on every side. Let the wind blow from whatever way it may, it will have to pass over a body of water. There are no winds, however, that will do any damage to the orange trees except from the northwest. These lands are surely protected from that quarter. During the last freeze the trees were not hurt in this section in the least.

W. A. SMITH

3. The exodus of Southerners to Brazil is described by Lawrence F. Hill, "Confederate Exiles to Brazil," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, VII (1927), p. 192.

Micanopy, Alachua Co., Florida,
March 26, 1877.

FLORIDA FLEAS AND MOSQUITOES, AND HOW TO KEEP
CLEAR OF THEM.

"But the fleas! the fleas! they will eat us up alive." So they will if you come here and live as these Southern people do, and the same would be true in any part of the North if you live in the same way; but live as civilized people ought to, and I believe there will be no more trouble from the insect tribe here than elsewhere. The majority of the houses here built and occupied by Southerners, are set up on posts from two feet to six feet from the ground. The cattle, hogs, dogs, chickens, cats, and everything else live and sleep under the house. Follow the same style in York State, or any other State in the North, and how long do you think it would be before there would be fleas. Try it in Cortland and it would soon become a proverb, "Thicker than fleas in Cortland." I was in the northern part of the State at this time last year and was literally eaten alive by them. The boarding-houses where I had to stop were overrun with the vermin, and my clothing was full of them all the time, but not a single flea have I seen this year, and for the simple reason that I have built my house with a cellar under it. Mosquitoes are troublesome in the summer months, but any good housewife will keep them out with netting. House-flies are not near so plenty here as at the North. The big blue-bottle fly, I believe, is unknown here.

W. A. SMITH

Micanopy, Alachua Co., Florida,
April 8, 1877.

I believe from what I have seen and heard that I have located in one of the best portions of the State. One of the best groves in the State is in the village of Micanopy, and is owned

by Judge Edwards. The grove numbers 500 trees. A few of them are twenty years old, the balance are eleven years old this spring. The first time I was in his grove was about the first of February. The trees were then loaded with ripe fruit. He had begun to gather and send the fruit to Gainesville, where his entire crop was disposed of at \$10 per barrel net - a barrel containing from 250 to 300 oranges. I was in his grove again last Monday, the 2d inst. He was then going through the grove gathering the few scattering oranges left on the trees. I did not think to ask him how many barrels the grove yielded, but I did look particularly at the new set of fruit. Every tree is fairly covered with the new crop, the oranges now being about the size of a big pea. There will be at the very lowest estimate two barrels of oranges to each tree, which will make 1000 barrels of oranges for the grove, which at \$10 per barrel will amount to \$10,000 - not a bad income. If any one who comes to this country will take the trouble to visit Judge Edwards' grove, his doubts in regard to the profits of raising oranges, if he has any doubts, will disappear. It takes about eight or nine years to get bearing trees from the seed sown, but the best way to start a grove is to get the trees from some nursery from three to four years old. There are enough of them to be had about here now for from 30 to 40 cents each. There will soon be a greater demand for them, and they will be worth more. On the St. John's, trees are worth from 50 cents to \$1.00 each.

In this section of the State there is one of the finest chances for a colony of Northern people that I know of. There is a large plantation, owned by a Mr. Powell, who tells me that he will cut it up in small lots and sell at reasonable prices. He would not fix any price, but if he should ask \$10 per acre the land would be cheap. Lands that are suitable for the growth of the orange and other fruits of the orange family are going to advance in price, and that rapidly. People are beginning to realize

that there is something in Florida after all, and also that there are more desirable places to live than in a country where the mercury goes down from 22 to 30 degrees below zero in March.

Oranges are not the only fruits that can be raised here to good profit, but lemons, limes and citrons also. The latter grows on a tree that looks almost exactly like the orange tree. The fruit is five or six inches in diameter, looks something like a Cantelope melon, is preserved by soaking in salt and water for a while, then boiled in syrup made from sugar, and then sliced and put up for market. Bananas, figs, pomegranates, almonds, pecans, English walnuts and peaches are also raised in great abundance. So with grapes. The Scuppernong, one of the best grapes in the world and the easiest raised, grows here most luxuriantly. It is said to be a native of North Carolina and was found growing wild in the woods. This vine needs no trimming whatever - only give it room enough to grow by extending the arbor, and it will grow and bear for a hundred years. I saw a year ago last winter, in Georgia, two vines of this grape that covered, each of them, a trellis 25 feet wide by 100 feet long, and were stretching out for another hundred feet. The vine bears immensely. The grapes grow in clusters something like plums (never in bunches like other grapes), are about $\frac{3}{4}$ of an inch in diameter and of a yellow color. The vine itself bears hardly any resemblance to any other grape-vine - looking more like the long, slender, grayish twigs of the apple-tree.

There are a few questions which I must answer and then close. I am asked what tools or farming implements one must bring to this country. You must bring everything you want, for you can get nothing here but a plow. That you need not bring. There is not one of these old Southern planters that has another thing about his premises than one of those plows I described in my last letter, a great big, awkward hoe, and an axe with a straight handle. If there are any among those who read these

letters who intend to come to this country (and I hope there are many), I will say to them take steamer from New York to Fernandina, and thence go by railroad to Gainesville, 96 miles. Pay no attention to land-agents, for there are hosts of them on the way and every one, of course, has the best lands in the State for sale. His and his alone are good for anything, while that other fellows' are good for nothing. Pay no heed to any of them, but go to Gainesville and stop there. Take stage to Micanopy, go and see Judge Edwards' orange grove, and then come out 2 1/2 miles and see me. I can tell and show you more in one hour than I can write in all day. If you come to Florida you have got to have a starting-point somewhere, and it might as well be from the central portion of the State as elsewhere. I will be glad to do you all the good I can, and answer all the questions you desire to ask.

In about two weeks I will give the subject of growing sugar-cane attention in another letter to The Standard and Journal.

W. A. SMITH

ANSWERS TO CORRESPONDENTS - IGNORANCE OF FLORIDIANS CONCERNING NORTHERN FARMING IMPLEMENTS - A VALUABLE PECULIARITY OF THE ORANGE - CROWING SUGAR-CANE AND SUGAR-MAKING - No PLACE FOR CLERKS.

Micanopy, Alachua Co., Florida,

May 3, 1877.

I promised in my last communication to give in my next some facts in regard to the growing of sugar-cane, but before doing so I will have to answer a few questions asked by correspondents.

There are no homestead lands that are at all desirable. They are all so far away from civilization or of so poor quality that it would be very unwise for any one to locate upon them. The same may be said of the government lands. The East [West]

India Transit Company own a large lot of land lying on both sides of the rail-road running from Fernandina to Cedar Keys; but nearly, if not quite, all of these lands are totally unfit for the growth of the orange. The land is low, flat and wet, or very sandy pine land. Any of these lands can be bought at the rate of \$1.25 per acre.

In closing up my remarks in my last letter on the subject of orange growing, I meant to have added, but forgot to do so, that the orange is the most accommodating of fruits. One would naturally suppose that when the fruit is ripe it must be gathered. But this is not the case. The orange begins to ripen in November and will hang on the trees until the middle of the next April, getting better all the time. No wind except a hurricane will cause the fruit to fall, so that in case of a dull market or low prices from any cause the producer can let his oranges remain on the trees without danger of their rotting or being damaged in any other way.

For the growing of sugar-cane and the business of making sugar, I believe Florida to be one of the best States in the Union. Its soil and climate are perfectly adapted to that branch of agriculture. Nearly every one of the old residents here, both white and colored, has his patch of cane, and although it is cultivated in the most careless manner, the yield of sugar and syrup is very great. All their machinery for grinding, and fixtures for boiling are the most primitive kind, and of course the labor is performed at a great loss of time and material. Only a small proportion of the cane is worked into sugar. Hominy and molasses being the principal food of the natives, the cane is ground and the juice boiled into syrup and stored away for future use. From 300 to 400 gallons per acre is about the average yield. When the labor of grinding and boiling is done cleanly, the syrup is almost as good in flavor as melted sugar, and far superior to the best molasses. The cost of planting an acre of

cane is \$30 for the seed beside the labor. The modus operandi is first to plow the ground and then furrow it off with a deep furrow, the furrows being about four feet apart. This is done in February. Then take the last year's cane, cut it in pieces about two feet long and lay rows of these pieces in the furrow, laying them end to end, being careful to let each piece of cane break joints with those next to it. The cane grows in joints about four inches in length, so it is readily seen that by breaking joints in the seed cane the average distance apart of the joints as they lie in the furrow is only two inches, and as every joint sends up a shoot, it gives a standing cane every two inches the entire length of the row. The cane grows at the base nearly as large as a man's wrist and seven or eight feet high. Any one who has never seen a sugar-cane field can have no conception of the dense, heavy growth which covers it. That which is produced by the people about here is nothing to what it might be with good cultivation.

I will give a few statements from parties in the State who tried to see what the soil of Florida is made of, and to find out whether the growing of sugar is profitable or not. And first I will give the names of those who have made reports, with their addresses, so that if any of my readers are skeptical they may write to these parties and find out for themselves. Mr. A. P. Tully, of Crawfordville, Wakulla Co., says that he produced in the year 1868 from one acre and three eighths accurately measured, 1320 pounds of dry sugar, and 525 gallons of syrup. The same gentleman says that in 1869 he produced from seven-eighth of an acre the equivalent of 4400 pounds of dry sugar. He uses the word "equivalent" for the reason that a portion of the crop was made into syrup, and knowing from personal experience how many pounds of sugar a gallon of syrup will make he reports the crop in sugar. Four thousand and four hundred pounds of sugar per acre! I would like to know which is the more profitable, that or making butter at 25 or 30 cents per pound. The same gentleman pro-

duced in the year 1871 from an acre, 3400 pounds dry sugar and 160 gallons of molasses. In 1873 he produced from one acre of ground 4000 pounds of dry sugar. Mr. H. C. Gregory reports that he got from one acre of cane, in 1871, 735 gallons of syrup. Mr. A. M. Ferrell reports that he produced in 1871 from one and one-eighth of an acre 866 gallons of syrup. Messrs. Gregory, Ferrell, and Tully are careful, accurate, and reliable gentlemen. They know exactly what they report, and report exactly what they know to be true. There is no question but that the soil of Florida is pre-eminently adapted to the growth of sugar-cane, and what these men have done can be done again. A crop of cane is not like one of corn or other products that have to be planted early. A cane field will usually run five or six years without replanting. It requires good cultivation, of course, and a good deal of fertilizing, because it is a rank grower and heavy feeder. Like the orange it is of a very accommodating disposition. The grower is in no hurry or anxiety to grind his cane. Secure it when ripe by cutting up and piling away under cover, and it will keep for months, growing richer and sweeter all the time. Understand the seasons are not here as they are at the North. The whole winter can be devoted to such work as grinding cane, etc. In case a frost comes upon the cane it must be worked up forthwith or it will sour, and at the best it makes but an indifferent syrup. It will not grain after being frost-bitten.

There are other industries of profit that can be entered into in Florida, and these I will touch upon before I finish. To those who will ask if the State has not its disadvantages also, I will answer frankly yes, "lots of them." I will try to give a faithful record of these also, and that before long.

Since writing my last letter a Mr. Catlin, from Ottawa, Ill., has bought 40 acres adjoining mine on the east, has put up a small house and is living in it. I mention this because Mr. Catlin had land on the St. Johns river at Lake Dexter, considered as eligible as any place on the river. He has been there this spring

and sold out, and has come here and bought. He says that this section is far preferable to anything that can be found on the St. Johns river, the quality of soil being vastly superior to any of that river.

One more question I must answer and then I will close. I am asked how the mercantile business is in this country, and what the chance would be for a young man to clerk it. The business is overdone here as well as elsewhere. You had better chop cordwood for your board than to come here with the expectation of getting a living in that way. You would starve to death. A good hardware store opened in Gainesville would do well without a doubt, there being none there now. So many Northern people coming into the State, they want a good many things that can not be found among these natives, such as doors, sash, glass, paints, etc., etc. Will try to send another letter in about two weeks.

W. A. SMITH

FLORIDA WEATHER - WANT OF LUMBER AND SAW-MILLS - PLAIN
WORDS TO A DISPEPTIC CORRESPONDENT - THE
PARADISE OF SNAKES.

Micanopy, Alachua Co., Florida,
June 20, 1877.

In speaking of the disadvantages of this country in my last letter, I omitted to mention one of no small importance, and that is the difficulty which the inhabitants experience in procuring lumber to build with. There can enough be got such as it is, but it is not of the quality that a Northern man wants. It is about four miles to the nearest saw-mill from where I am located. Lumber can be got there, but it is manufactured in the most slovenly manner possible, no two boards alike and very seldom any one board will be found of like dimension throughout. It will be thick at one end and thin at the other. The same may be said of the scantling and joists also. The greatest diffi-

culty however, is the want of a planing-mill. There is none in all this section, and it is next to an impossibility to dress this Southern pine by hand. It is full of pitch and is harder and heavier than oak lumber. Unless the planes are kept as keen as a razor they will slide over the board as over a piece of steel. The owner of the saw-mill near here will not put in a planer on account of the cost. He can get five dollars per 1000 feet for dressing, and find ready sale for all the lumber he can manufacture. He is a Southerner and that accounts for his negligence. It is a maxim of all these Southerners not to do anything to-day that can be possibly put off till to-morrow, for something may turn up so that it need not be done at all.

The manufacture of lumber in this country affords a splendid opening for any one with a few thousand dollars capital. Mills can be located anywhere and find ready sale for all the lumber that can be made. This is one of the finest countries for that branch of business in the world. It can be carried on throughout the entire season, and at less expense than at the North, where the logs have to be cut in the winter, hauled to some stream and floated down in the spring. Here the saw-mill is usually located in the midst of the pine timber, the trees felled and hauled to the mill with teams attached to huge two-wheeled trucks, the wheels being fully eight feet in diameter with a six-inch tire upon them. The tree is hauled in its entire length of body, which is from 40 to 80 feet, and is sawed at that length, but is cut to dimensions with a side circular saw. It requires more power to drive a saw to cut this pine than to cut the pine of the North on account of its being so hard and full of pitch. Thousands of dollars of capital at the North that nets the owners only a very small per cent, could be employed in the manufacture of lumber in Florida at a net profit of more than one hundred per cent.; for the lumber will sell at the mill just as it runs from the log-good, bad and indifferent, for \$14 per 1000 feet and \$5 per 1000

for dressing.⁴ A small capital can be turned over and over and over again through the whole year. Work can be carried on every day of the year. There are no deep snows to contend with; no hills to climb; no rocks around which you have to work your way; but a straight level road from every tree direct to the mill. This letter will be read by friends who are engaged in the lumber business and have been for years, who have huge piles of the very best lumber on hand but with no sale for it. They will readily see that I am right, and agree with me that this is the place to make money in that business. These parties will know who I mean, and I will say here for their benefit that if they were located here in Florida near some growing place, and would push the business with the same vim and energy that they do now, they would become wealthy in a very few years.

I shall be under the necessity of taking up the gauntlet in this letter and defending my position. Any one who has read these letters can readily see that I believe Florida to be one of the finest States in the Union. I have received during the last week a paper containing a letter written by some one who is traveling about in the South. He doesn't sign his name. He writes from Augusta, Ga., but his letter is upon Florida - its climate, soil and productions - confined chiefly to the St. Johns. He may be right in all he says, confining his remarks to that section of the State, yet I doubt it very greatly. He does not qualify his remarks at all, so that one who is unacquainted with Florida would conclude that his statements would apply to any part of the State. In the first place, this R.H.M., whoever he is, says that the whole State is a peninsula of sand; that nothing will grow except by constant irrigation by pumps or by windmills; that the orange "bonanza" is a speculation and a delusion; that the orange-tree

4. This describes the typical small local mill in Florida. The large wholesale mills were in a quite different category, and were supplied with logs by rail or water. A few of these latter mills were owned and operated by lumbermen from the North, after their former stands were cut out.

on close inspection becomes a very small and sickly shrub, and so on and so on, doing a vast deal of mischief by discouraging those who desire to come here to better their condition. I will take up his statements, and write what I know and can prove. In the first place the State of Florida is not all sand and incapable of producing anything. I can show Mr. R.H.M., or any other person, multitudes of different cornfields about in this part of the State where the corn stands from ten to fifteen feet in height and as large around as a man's wrist. The ears of corn are many of them ten feet from the ground. I have lived nearly thirty years in Wisconsin, have seen big corn and have raised it too, have seen large fields of corn in the State of Illinois, the boasted corn State of the Union, but I have never seen such large growth as there is in Florida today. He says that constant irrigation is necessary. That's untrue. No State in the Union is better watered by the rainfall than Florida. The longest time between showers since I came here, the 28th of December, has been only ten days. As I said in a previous letter, the average rainfall of Florida is fifty-five inches yearly and that so equally distributed that a drouth of any extent is seldom known. The finest vegetables are produced in Florida that can be found anywhere. Many are engaged in the business of raising vegetables for the New York market. A Mr. Wheeler, of Arredondo, ten miles from here, has cleared \$1000 on cucumbers alone besides big profits on other stuff that he has raised and sent to New York. I went to see a man yesterday, Mr. Shufert by name, who, with the help of a little boy ten years old, had made \$300 clear in potatoes and tomatoes that he had shipped to New York this spring, and all from about one acre of ground. There are, at the very least, fifty bushels of tomatoes rotting on the vines that he has been unable to get off.

Mr. R.H.M. says also that the orange business is a delusion. That may be true on the St. Johns, but he need not make a sweeping declaration and take in the whole State. I would like to show him trees about here that have had hardly any care-

large, healthy, thrifty trees, loaded with the green fruit about an inch and a half in diameter - trees that yield their owners from a dollar or so to sixty or seventy dollars per tree, according to the age of the tree. I could go on and pick his letter in pieces from the beginning to the end, but think I have had enough. I can see plainly the cause of his ill feeling towards Florida. He has been living at the hotels and boarding-houses wherever he has been stopping in the State. He has eaten "hog and hominy" until he wishes it were all jammed down the throats of the keepers of these houses, as I have wished myself more than once while traveling in the South. Therefore I think that Mr. R.H.M. may be partly forgiven, and so we will drop him and the subject.

W. A. SMITH

TERRITORIAL PAPERS OF THE UNITED STATES

ALABAMA, 1817-1819 [*and Florida*]

Volume xviii of this series, relating to Alabama, has been published. As the territorial status of Alabama lasted only from 1817 when it was created from a portion of the territory of Mississippi, to 1819 when it was admitted as a state, this one volume contains all of the Alabama documents to be published.

The Florida Volumes

It is expected that the Florida Papers will extend to two or three volumes because of the long interval between the cession to the United States (1821) and statehood (1845). The Florida documents have been collected, but it will be two or three years before the first of the Florida volumes appears.

The series from the first (1934) have been compiled and edited with full notes by Dr. Clarence Edwin Carter, a scholar of skill and long experience in working with historical documents, so it goes without the saying that this Alabama volume is all that we would look for, as were the former publications. The documents included in all of these volumes are selections of course, because a search is made of all United States archives in Washington, and all documents of historical value for each territory brought together for this selection. However, each volume or volumes is a good history of the highlights in the several territories for those years.

BOOK REVIEW

Jose L. Franco: *Politica Continental Americana de Espana en Cuba 1812-1830*. No. XV de las Publicaciones del Archivo Nacional de Cuba. La Habana 1949. (Pp. vi, 429, illustrated, bibliography. Not indexed.)

The thesis of this book is well expressed by a single statement in the preface written by Joaquin Llaverias, Director of the *Archivo Nacional de Cuba*: "Havana . . . was the center of whatever political moves and investigations Spain undertook, toward the end of combatting and destroying the revolutionary labors of the *independistas*, who had at their van the Liberator Simon Bolivar and other American patriots, longing for total separation from the institutions of the nation then directed by Fernando VII." In the course of some 400 pages, author Franco defines the hemispheric scope of these counter-revolutionary activities, while showing them hopelessly inadequate due to the weakened condition of Spain itself.

Essentially the book deals with Havana's role in the action and intrigue; but other material explanatory of Spain's internal affairs and her foreign relations makes the work more comprehensive than the title indicates.

The initial chapter sketches political and economic backgrounds of the Empire, while the next three divisions recount Spanish relations (through Havana) with the United States, the Floridas, Louisiana, Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, Cartagena, Panama, Veracruz, Buenos Aires, and other important centers, including those set up by pirates. The author's treatment, in general, is to divide his narrative neatly and geographically, in order to finish East Florida (for instance) before he goes on to Louisiana.

The last two chapters present (1) the fact of Spanish-American independence (by 1821 Fort San Juan de Ulua at Veracruz was the only Spanish-held part of the continent), (2) King Fernando's insistence upon the return of the colonies to his absolutist regime (Independence was " 'Contrary to the legitimate rights of the

Crown of Spain and my royal sovereignty, [now] happily established . . . '), (3) the bold plans and frustrated schemes for returning the rebels to the fold ("impossible reconquest") and finally, (4) recognition of the fact of independence by liquidation of the "continental American policy developed by the colonial government at Havana over a 20-year period."

Jose Luciano Franco, Havana-born journalist and member of the *Sociedad Cubano de Estudio Historicos e Internacionales*, has chosen a turbulent period full of fascinating intrigue and bold action. His writing is clear and facile, entirely compatible with the orderly manner in which he has organized his material.

Few professional historians dare attempt what journalist Franco has done: use documentary extracts as the backbone of his book. Like the hard, lustrous beads of a necklace, the expressions from the old papers remain cryptic and immutable. Yet they are arranged in meaningful pattern by the chain of Franco's phrases. The presentation is vivid and gives the reader the feeling of watching developments as they occur from day to day. The majority of documentary sources are from the *Archivo Nacional de Cuba*, supplemented somewhat by Spanish and French archival papers and a sizeable number of secondary works.

FLORIDA INTEREST

There is much to interest students of Florida history. The *Politica* is a valuable companion piece to P. C. Brooks's *Diplomacy and the Borderlands* (University of California Press, 1939), a history of the Florida cession of 1821. About one-fifth of the Franco text contains narrative or biographical material relative to the Floridas.

St. Augustine and Pensacola were the citadels from which the Spanish watched the abortive efforts of the "American republicans" to annex these provinces of Spain. Detailed reports went to Havana with news of the schemes - rumored and otherwise - and actions of the hostile frontiersmen. From Havana the Flor-

ida compatriots were succored (in the words of *Intendente Alejandro Ramirez*) "in every way we could. Their commanders cry out like children in a nightmare. It is not possible, nor would it perhaps be wise to send them more for now."

The usurpation of Fernandina by the "Brethren of the Coast" receives considerable space, and many readers will find new material on men like Aury and MacGregor, for whom Fernandina was but a single square in highly checkered careers. Franco gives an overall picture of the pirate problems which plagued the commerce of all nations concerned with Gulf and Caribbean trade. The notorious Lafitte brothers and other traffickers maintained a highly organized "trade," and at various times claimed expedient, if not always cordial, relations with the governments of Britain, Spain, the United States, and the new republics of Spanish America. Moses Elias Levy of St. Thomas is said to have held "all the clandestine traffic of the Caribbean in his hands."

Tampa Bay and Key West also figured in the history of the period. Commodore David Porter was based at the latter port for some months in 1827 with his Mexican squadron; his nephew was slain in a battle with the Spanish frigate *Lealtad* off Havana in 1828.

But in addition to revealing new aspects of the confused turmoil in the Floridas, the book casts brighter light upon many hitherto shadowy figures such as Felipe Fatio of St. Augustine. Franco characterizes him (Florida kin will be pleased to know) as a man "of recognized honor and ability, and - a rare thing in the indolent Spanish bureaucracy - he possessed a great capacity for work . . ." Fatio won his recognition with the Spanish legation in Philadelphia, over the course of a painful expedition to Mexico to procure sorely-needed funds for the legation, and especially for his indefatigable labors in the Spanish cause at New Orleans. Ironically, Don Felipe died in poverty.

The story of William Augustus Bowles and his West Florida intrigues are well known. This book adds little. But it is pleasant

to come across other personalities, such as former Governor Sebastian Kindelan, and discover them in new positions of responsibility after their departure from the Florida scene.

Researchers will deplore the fact that the book is not indexed, and a map would help many Norteamericanos to become better oriented in the wide geographical field of which Sr. Franco has written. Those of us who are required to scan many volumes in the course of a study project could also wish for a summary at the conclusion of the volume.

Withal, however, this is a competent analysis of Havana as a Spanish base of operations - militarily and diplomatically - against insurgents, smugglers, and pirates, as well as a refuge for loyalists during a period packed with unrest and uncertainty. Perhaps of greatest value is the presentation of the Spanish viewpoint on matters which most of us have hitherto seen from a different side of the fence.

ALBERT MANUCY

National Park Service

NOTES

The Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association, held for the first time in Florida, at Jacksonville on November 12, 13, 14, was attended by several hundred historians and others interested from all parts of the South. An account of the plans made for the event and the several Florida host groups and committees appeared in the last issue of this *Quarterly* - especially noted was the Florida session with papers by Florida historical writers.

The presidential address, by Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna, the first president of the Association from Florida, was on "The Roles of the South in the French Intervention in Mexico."

Early and out-of-date records and unused and stored historical material of the *Florida State Board of Health* have been transferred to the Florida State Library where they will be available to any one who is interested in such research.

Recent appointments of interest at *John B. Stetson University* are: Dr. Royal G. Hall as Visiting Professor and Dr. Evans C. Johnson as Assistant Professor in the Departments of History and Political Science, College of Liberal Arts.

The Methodist Church in Ocala, 1844-1953, by George A. Foster, is an unusually complete narrative, for the records of that Church have been preserved with care and furnish the greater part of this history, which covers one hundred and nine years. But other sources have been used also, and the seventy-one pages of the volume tell of the community as well as the Church. Portraits of twenty-one pastors are included, with views of several former buildings of the "First Methodist Church of Ocala," and the present structure completed in 1952. The volume was printed by the Ocala Star-Banner Press.

LOCAL AND REGIONAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the November meeting of the Tallahassee Historical Society, Dr. Mark F. Boyd read a paper on "The Arsenal at Chattahoochee." In research for his *Report* to the National Park Service on the area of the Woodruff dam reservoir, Dr. Boyd brought to light much that we did not know about the building of the Arsenal and its history. The main building of the Arsenal group was and is one of the most substantial buildings in Florida and is still being used, after more than one hundred years, by the Florida State Hospital; so it is of much interest to us.

Mr. J. Velma Keen is president of the Society, having been elected to succeed Mrs. Margaret Key, who moved away from Tallahassee. Dr. F. A. Rhodes is vice president, Miss Mary Lamar Davis is secretary, and Mr. D. A. Avant is treasurer.

The Society has extended an invitation to the Florida Historical Society to hold its Annual Meeting in Tallahassee in March, which has been accepted. So they will again be hosts to the State body as they have been several times in the past.

JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The most important recent happening for the Jacksonville Historical Society was the Annual Meeting of the Southern Historical Association there in November, with the Society as a joint host. Especially successful were those parts of the program in which the Society took an active part. This event took the place of the program meeting which is usually held at that time.

The third issue of Papers, the serial publication of the Society, is being prepared for the press and will appear about midwinter. The nature of the former volumes, which include much State as well as local history, assures its interest and high character as real history. Each member receives a copy.

You do not need to live in Jacksonville to join the Society. Annual dues are but two dollars. If you are interested in our State's history, you would do well to be a member of the Jack-

sonville Historical Society. Miss Dena Snodgrass, 1541 Riverside Avenue, is Treasurer.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The second issue of the *President's News Letter* noted the growing collection of books, pictures, and letters being gathered by the Association, and the additional markers being placed on historic sites of the region. The most recent of these latter, on Dinner Key, a cast aluminum plaque, was unveiled on October 28, marking the site of the first Naval air base in World War I. This marker also records that in 1930 Pan American World Airways here inaugurated flying boat service to Latin America.

The 47th program meeting of the Association was on November 16, when Mr. Nevin D. Hoy of the United States Geological Survey read a paper: "Historical Review of Water Conditions in Southern Florida." This was of especial interest because of the recent floods in the area.

PENSACOLA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the October program meeting of the Pensacola Historical Society the historical novel, "The Lady of Arlington" was reviewed by the author Harnett T. Kane. This is a story of General Robert E. Lee and his wife Mary Curtis Lee.

At the November meeting Professor L. A. Ross of the Pensacola Junior College spoke on "Florida History, Modern Interpretation."

In December a two-hour tour took members and friends to Pensacola historic sites which was followed by a social hour at the home of a descendant of one of Pensacola's oldest families, Miss Lelia Abercrombie. Miss Ruby Parker is Chairman of the Program Committee.

A souvenir picture, "Reinforcement of Fort Pickens in 1861" was presented to each member by the Society's Honorary President, Mr. T. T. Wentworth Jr. Eighteen new members have been added to the membership.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY
THE ANNUAL MEETING
Tallahassee, March 25, 26, 27

To All Members of the Florida Historical Society:

GREETINGS: The Annual Meeting of the Society is called to be held in Tallahassee, at the invitation of the Tallahassee Historical Society, on March 25, 26 and 27, 1954.

Dean Charles S. Davis of Florida State University, chairman, J. Velma Keen, co-chairman, president of the Tallahassee Historical Society and vice-president of the Florida Historical Society, Margaret Ann Blocker, member of the State Library Board, Dorothy Dodd, state librarian, Francis A. Rhodes, vice-president of the Tallahassee Historical Society and R. Lee Goulding of Florida State University, a past director of the Florida Historical Society, as a committee on program and arrangements have promised a very interesting program.

The historical background of this famous old city and our State capital will furnish a fitting setting for a discussion of its history and that of our State.

Tallahassee is easily reached from anywhere in the State - by airplane, railroad, auto and bus; and has superior hotels, motels, and rooming accommodations which may be had within any range.

In addition to the pleasurable and cultural benefits to be derived from attendance, you will enjoy visits to Florida State University, the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical University, the Capitol, the Supreme Court, the State Library and other departments of our government.

It has been a number of years since we have met in Tallahassee and we hope for and expect a large attendance from all parts of the State.

The program, the hotel rates and other information, will be mailed to each member prior to the meeting.

It is earnestly urged that you make plans to attend this important meeting.

Respectfully submitted,

JOHN C. BLOCKER

President

P.S. The members are individually urged to bring in one or more new members for our Society.

DIRECTORS' MEETING

A meeting of the directors of the Society was held in Jacksonville on November 12, attended by President Blocker, Mr. Daniel, Mr. Davis, Mr. Dunham, Mr. Jeffreys, Mr. Johns, Mr. Tebeau, Mr. Thrift, Miss Snodgrass, and Mr. Williamson. Numerous matters were discussed, some of which will be referred to the Annual Meeting in March; and plans for that meeting were formulated.

Dr. Boyd's *Report* on his historical survey of the Woodruff dam reservoir site, a cooperative project of the Society and the National Park Service, now completed, was recognized as a valuable contribution to Florida history, and the hope was expressed that the Park Service will publish this.

A prize of a fifty dollar defense bond, contributed by Mr. Richard P. Daniel, will be awarded at the Annual Meeting for the best essay on Florida's history written by any high school student in the State, with both public and private schools eligible.

Mr. Williamson, our executive secretary, reported on the noteworthy gain in membership. Several officials and directors have been personally and individually at work seeking new members, so we now have *a larger membership than ever before*, with six hundred forty-six paid-up members; and in addition, one hundred thirty-eight libraries subscribe to the *Quarterly* at four dollars a year.

LUNCHEON CLUB ADDRESSES

Assistant Editor Edward C. Williamson addressed the Keystone Heights Rotary club on the subject of collecting Florida manuscripts and the gathering of today's historical material for present use and especially for the use of tomorrow's historians.

Mr. Williamson would be glad to address luncheon clubs and other organizations on invitation, with slides when requested.

NEW MEMBERS
(Oct.-Dec.)

	Nominated by
Laura Ware, (fellow) Jacksonville..	J. W. Hunter
Charles Haslam, St. Petersburg.	John C. Blocker
Edward David Tessier, St. Petersburg.	John C. Blocker
Dr. George E. Englehard, Leesburg.	Mrs. Franklin L. Ezell
Dr. Jorma I. Niven, Pensacola.	T. T. Wentworth, Jr.
Frank Bethel Marshburn, Bronson	John C. Blocker
A. Gilbert Wright, Gainesville..	Julien C. Yonge
T. Dewitt Taylor, Seville.	Edward C. Williamson
W. Lansing Gleason, Eau Gallie.	Edward C. Williamson
Mrs. Allie Dee Penix, Dade City.	Edward C. Williamson
Mrs. Georgena Erck, Leesburg.	Mrs. Franklin L. Ezell
Dean J. A. Battle, Florida Southern College.	A. F. Fugitt
Mrs. L. Keith Quinn, Lake Wales.	Dena Snodgrass
Willard H. Shaffert, Miami.	Mrs. Ruby L. Carson
Mrs. Mamie Musselman, Dade City..	Laura Spencer Porter
Lillian Blackstone, St. Petersburg.	Alfred E. Newman
A. R. Dunlap, St. Petersburg..	Alfred E. Newman
R. P. Wolff, Coral Gables.	C. W. Tebeau
Harry W. Anderson, Quincy..	C. H. Curry
Mrs. Frank Harrold, St. Augustine..	Mrs. Verle A. Pope
Robert A. McKay, Tampa	D. B. McKay
George Bartlett, St. Petersburg.	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Roy Jackson, Jacksonville.	John C. Blocker
William H. Stevens, Miami Beach..	John C. Blocker
R. S. Cotterill, Tallahassee..	Dr. Mark F. Boyd
Harold W. Shad, Jacksonville..	Dr. Lucien Y. Dyrenforth
Mr. and Mrs. W. Tresper Clarke, Long Island, N. Y..	Dena Snodgrass
Dr. J. M. Carlisle, Pensacola..	J. D. Carroll
Donald Fleet Davis, Gainesville..	Robert B. Lochrie, Jr.
Thomas W. Bryant, Lakeland.	Nelle Burke Kibler
William L. Hart, Winona Lake, Ind..	Edward C. Williamson
Sara May Love, Quincy..	C. H. Curry
Connie Stringer, Tallahassee	
Col. William Robinson, Jr., Quincy..	C. H. Curry
Fairfax Haskins, Sebring..	Edward T. Keenan
C. E. Crosland, Lakeland.	Edward T. Keenan
Mrs. Dick Bair, Leesburg Public Library..	Dr. George E. Engelhard
Howard V. Lee, East Lake Weir.	Edward T. Keenan

NEW SUBSCRIBERS TO THE QUARTERLY

(Secured by Edward C. Williamson)

Century High School	Lafayette High School,
Seville High School	Mayo
Palatka Senior High School	Miami Edison Senior High School
Lakeview High School,	Chattahoochee High School
Winter Garden	Gesu Junior High School,
Apopka Memorial High School	Miami
Coral Gables Senior High School	Moore Academy High School,
Landon High School	Dade City
Grand Ridge High School	Salem High School
Lincoln Memorial High School,	Turkey Creek High School
Palmetto	Robert E. Lee High School
Jesuit High School,	McKissick Memorial Library,
Tampa	University of South Carolina
Laurel Hill High School	Sebring High School,
	<i>secured by Ovid Futch.</i>

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE OF THE QUARTERLY

John M. Goggin, Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida, has specialized on the archaeology of Florida for a number of years.

Ovid L. Futch has a Master's degree from the University of Florida, and teaches social science in the Sebring High School.

Andrew Forest Muir is Professor of History and Political Science in Polytechnic Institute of Puerto Rico.

Albert C. Manucy is Historian, National Park Service, and a specialist on Florida Spanish colonial history.

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INTERNATIONAL A Marxist Review Published bi-monthly by the New International Publishing Co. Editor: MAX SHACHTMAN Managing
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ARTICLES The Metaphysical Revolt, by Mel Becker. The Fight for Freedom, by J. Parris. Volume XXIII, Number 3 (Whole No. 176),
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MAX SHACHTMAN Managing Editor JULIUS FALK Advisory Staff MICHAEL HARRINGTON CY JACKSON GEORGE POST MAX
MARTIN. Make a progressively greater financial contribution to its own development while continuing to provide support for its military
forces. (4). Develop substantially increased numbers of trained technical, professional, administrative and managerial personnel. 17.
Seek to influence the ROK to: a. Use external assistance and its own human and material resources more effectively. b. Adopt and
implement sound economic and fiscal policies, taking an increasingly greater responsibility for improving fiscal management. c.