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THE FLORIDA EXECUTIVE COUNCIL
AN EXPERIMENT IN CIVIL WAR ADMINISTRATION

by WILLIAM C. HAVARD

The conduct of a major war, even under favorable conditions of internal stability, often results in a state of organized confusion in the government. For the South in the Civil War, the administration of the war effort was complicated to an unusual degree by the necessity of simultaneously reorganizing the political union which bound the states together. And even within the individual states themselves, the urgency of the war situation demanded the assumption of governmental functions which were new to the states—functions such as external defense, control of the manufacturing and transportation of essential goods, and the financing of these and related war measures. Under such extraordinary circumstances, it is hardly surprising that extraordinary forms of governmental organization should appear.

It was natural, too, that the executive branch of government should have been the object of the most widespread criticism in those uncertain revolutionary times. The importance of the executive is greatly increased in time of war. The successful prosecution of a war is largely a matter of effective administration, with rapid decisions to be made on a myriad of problems requiring immediate settlement. The laborious resolution of issues by deliberation in a popular legislative assembly must give way, through broad legislative delegations of discretionary power, to a combination of administrative planning and execution. When a country is united and confident of its persisting democratic institutions, this transition is easily effected; but when the situation is aggravated by the internal dissension of civil war, it is difficult to make such an institutional adjustment. The establishment, in 1862, of an *Executive Council* for the State of Florida was symptomatic of this difficulty, both in the manner of its creation and in the method of its functioning.

Existing political arrangements were not calculated to help the State adjust to the political impact of secession and war. Governor John Milton, against whose administration the Executive Council was set up as a check, was elected in October 1860 (a month before the election of Lincoln had put the torch to the powder-keg of Southern radicalism), but he did not take office until a year later.¹ Between Milton's election and his assumption of office late in 1861, the State seceded from the Union, entered the Confederacy, and became engulfed in a full-scale war.

The mood of the greater part of the population, too, had changed during this interval from one of anxious waiting to an inflamed belligerency. Governor Madison S. Perry had assumed a very radical position. His message to the Legislature in November 1860 was full of strongly worded exhortations against the North, ending with an appeal for a secession convention;² and when the convention met in the following January he had forced its hand on the issue of withdrawal from the Union by sending State troops to take over the Federal arsenal at Chattahoochee, Fort Marion in St. Augustine, and Fort Clinch in Fernandina.³

By way of contrast, Governor-elect John Milton, was definitely in the conservative camp. He had earlier been openly opposed to secession, and continued until the beginning of the war to urge moderation.⁴ His nomination as Democratic candidate for governor in June 1860, was carried by the narrowest margin of votes in the nominating convention. Milton's home county, Jackson, had the largest group of delegates at the convention and thus aided greatly in securing the nomination for him. Coming from West Florida, which was the more conservative area of the

1. William Lamar Gammon, II, *Governor John Milton of Florida, Confederate States of America*, (Unpublished Master's Thesis, University of Florida), p. 73.

2. The Governor's Message to the General Assembly, *House Journal*, 1860, pp. 8-12.

3. Gammon, *op. cit.*, p. 77.

4. *Ibid.*, chaps. VI and VII.

State,⁵ and being a somewhat deliberate man, Milton was not calculated to fill the role of an oratorical inciter to great war deeds, which must have been expected of him in view of his predecessor's actions and the growing popular radicalism.

During the long interval between his election and his inauguration, Governor Milton, whose military experience and conservative predisposition made him aware of the gravity of the portending secession and war, spent some time inspecting the state's defenses.⁶ Upon assuming office, he became very dissatisfied with the administration of the State's military organization. He found that direction of the military was in the hands of the radical followers of Perry who lacked the capacities for military organization and leadership. In addition, the laws governing the recruitment, organization, and transfer to the Confederacy of the militia did not, in his opinion, provide adequately for the needs of the State. Accordingly, he began simultaneously to reorganize the state components over which he had authority and to try to influence the Confederate war department in its handling of Florida troops.⁷ His appointments were drawn either from the Whigs or from the more conservative ranks of the Democrats, and his efforts with the armed forces were based on the fairly definite military strategy of protecting the Apalachicola River valley which formed the center of communications not only from the Gulf to East and West Florida, but also from Florida into Alabama and Georgia.⁸

Financial troubles, of course, added to the trying problems of military organization. The actions of the Convention and the Legislature contradicted one another on the methods by which

5. William Watson Davis, *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida*. (New York: Columbia University Press, 1913), p. 63.

6. Gammon, *op. cit.*, p. 76.

7. Davis, *op. cit.*, pp. 142-143.

8. Gammon, *op. cit.*, p. 94.

money was to be raised.⁹ Tax-collection was suspended during 1860-1861¹⁰ and measures of the Legislature and the Convention vesting the Governor and the Quartermaster with authority to expend funds for military equipment were open to varying interpretations.¹¹ Finally, the state accounts in 1861 were "so badly muddled that it is probably impossible to estimate with accuracy how much was really expended and for what."¹² The 1861 Legislature constituted an additional burden on the Governor because it contained a sizeable number of radical Democrats who demonstrated little willingness to cooperate with him.¹³ And the radicals had an even stronger reserve force in the form of the secession Convention, which they could bring into a action to confuse further the already obscure locus of governmental power.

The theory and activities of the secession conventions of the various Southern states comprise some of the most interesting aspects of Civil War history. These conventions operated, implicitly if not always directly, under the sovereignty theory framed by Calhoun. This theory was based on the idea that sovereignty was illimitable, indivisible, and inalienable. Although sovereignty was an attribute of the whole people of the state, it was exercised through a convention especially chosen as a device by which the people could act in a sovereign capacity. The convention itself thus became in fact the sovereign people, exercising unlimited powers.¹⁴ Calhoun apparently was under the impression that this rigid doctrine was necessary to sustain

9. See: "Address by John C. McGehee, President of the Convention," *Journal of the Convention of the People of Florida in a Called Session Begun and held at the Capitol in the City of Tallahassee on Tuesday, January 14, 1862.* (Hereinafter referred to as *Convention Journal*, 1861 or 1862) p. 4. ff.

10. Gammon, *op. cit.*, p. 87.

11. *Convention Journal*, 1862, pp. 6-7.

12. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 91.

13. Gammon, *op. cit.*, pp. 114-117.

14. Laura A. White, "The Fate of Calhoun's Sovereign Convention in South Carolina," *American Historical Review*, (Vol. 34, July, 1929), p. 762.

the right to secede and his arguments were eagerly seized by Southern radicals.

The Calhoun theory was quite clearly invoked in Florida, although the conditions under which the Convention was called indicate that secession and not extensive State constitutional change was to be its main concern. The application of the idea of a sovereign convention is amply demonstrated by two significant pieces of internal evidence. First, in the act calling the Convention, the Legislature included the dictum that "the ordinances of said Convention shall be the supreme law of the State of Florida, anything elsewhere to the contrary notwithstanding."¹⁵ And second, the Convention, in all its pronouncements, made use of the phrase "the people of the State of Florida in Convention assembled,"¹⁶ rather than the pre-and post-war phrase, "We the people of the Territory [State] of Florida, by our Delegates in Convention, assembled . . .,"¹⁷ which implies a representative function rather than an act of transmutation. By these two usages in combination, both the unlimited power of the Convention and the actual translation of the Convention into the sovereign people are substantiated.

The Florida Convention, bolstered by the Calhoun doctrine, first met on January 3, 1861. Before it adjourned in April of the same year, (after having recessed from March 1 until April 18), it had passed the secession ordinance, approved a revised State Constitution, accepted the Confederate Constitution, and passed a number of ordinances which, although not directly concerned with the Constitution, would appear to have had extraordinary legal status by virtue of the sovereign nature of the Convention. In adjourning, the Convention not only left the way open for a future meeting, but also ensured against any other "sovereign"

15. *Laws of the State of Florida*, Tenth Session of the General Assembly, 1860-1861, Chapter 1094.

16. *Convention Journal*, 1861, *passim*.

17. See the *Convention Journal* of 1838-39 and subsequent ones.

Convention being called during the remainder of the year. Its adjournment resolution stated:

“Resolved, that this Convention now adjourn *sine die*, unless convened by the President on or before the 25th of December next.” Adopted April 27, 1861.¹⁸

Nothing further was heard of the Convention until John C. McGehee, its President, visited Tallahassee on December 10, 1861; at which time, he reports, he had not the slightest expectation that the Convention would reassemble. However, according to McGehee, many people, including members of the Convention, urged him to act because of “circumstances of difficulty and embarrassment in the affairs of . . . [the] Commonwealth, which could not be relieved by any other than *the sovereign power of the State*” Accordingly the President issued a call, dated December 13, for the Convention to reassemble on Tuesday, January 14th, 1862 in Tallahassee.¹⁹

This call and the subsequent actions of the Convention, including the establishment of the Executive Council, raised serious questions as to the legitimacy of this session of the Convention. In the first place there was a question as to whether, in scheduling a meeting of the Convention for a date later than that established by its own adjournment resolution, the Convention was not acting illegally. And secondly, the even more important question of the powers of the Convention itself were reopened.

The President of the Convention lightly dismissed the matter of the late date of its meeting with a semantical argument. He construed the word “convene” in the adjournment resolution to mean “call” or “convoke”, so that by issuing the call before December 25, even though the actual meeting was later, there was no abrogation of the intent of the Convention as expressed in the resolution.²⁰ The issue on the larger question was not thor-

18. *Convention Journal*, 1861, Resolution 33.

19. *Convention Journal*, 1862, p. 4 ff.

20. *Ibid.*, pp. 4-5.

oughly debated until the Convention's actions were complete.

The *Florida Sentinel*, published in Tallahassee, was one of the leading radical newspapers and had actively pressed the case for calling another session of the Convention. On the opening day of the session the paper argued that the motives of the Convention in reassembling were of the highest and, contrary to opinion in some quarters, the Convention did not meet solely for the purpose of criticising the Governor's acts and policies "and to pass ordinances abridging his power under the Constitution as an Executive." The editorial writer went on to argue, however, that the administration of Governor Milton certainly could claim the Convention's attention. Even more, the paper expressed itself as willing "to trust to their [the members of the Convention's] wisdom if they abridge the power of the Governor to the narrowest limit consistent with the Constitution and the interests of the State." The *Sentinel* also was careful to reiterate the fact that the Convention stood on completely legal grounds in practically anything it did because of the wording used in calling the Convention. As a capstone to its strong stand on this matter, the paper suggested that it would be a very good move should the Convention decide to establish by ordinance, as the State of South Carolina had just done, an Executive Council to assist the Governor in the administration of the war effort.²¹

The parallels between the action of the South Carolina Convention and the Florida Convention are too striking to be ignored. South Carolina, home of nullification, secession, and of Calhoun the theorist of both, certainly was in a position to set the precedents to be followed by the other seceding states in making provision for their independent governments. And on the points which concern us here, no Confederate state was more zealous in following South Carolina's lead than Florida.

The South Carolina Convention had set its first precedent for

21. *Florida Sentinel*, January 14, 1862.

Florida to follow when it reconvened itself in a called session on December 27, 1861. It set the second when it created by ordinance an Executive Council, which was to become "the source of the greatest political controversy in the civil war history of the state."²² The South Carolina Executive Council was composed of the Governor, the Lieutenant Governor and three other members selected by the Convention. The Council so organized was vested with almost unlimited war powers, including full control of the state military organization, the power to declare martial law, extensive powers of arrest and detention of disloyal persons, appropriation (with compensation) of private property, broad powers of appointment, and additional general powers with respect to finance. The Council went far beyond a mere cabinet system; it was a Council of Safety of which the Governor was merely another member. The appointed members were influential political figures and were possessed of great ability. They rapidly seized the initiative from the elected officials and, because the Convention had earlier abolished nearly all state cabinet posts, they were able to create and assume the headship of departments in the state administration. The members of the South Carolina Executive Council, being paid a full annual salary, became extremely active not only in planning, but in administering the affairs of the state as well.²³

By contrast with the South Carolina Council which it imitated, the Florida Executive Council was somewhat pallid in function and membership, if not in its legal basis. It was created by Ordinance 52 of the Convention, entitled "An ordinance for strengthening the Executive Department during the exigencies of the present war."²⁴ The Council was composed of four members elected by the Convention. Although the text of the ordinance

22. Charles Edward Cauthen, *South Carolina Goes to War, 1860-1865*, (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1950), p. 144.

23. *Ibid.* pp. 142-144.

24. *Constitution and Ordinances of the Convention*, (as revised), 1862, p. 31ff.

did not include the Governor in its membership, the implication was plain that he was to act for all purposes as a member of the Council. From the wording of the ordinance it is clear that the Council was to share fully in "the discharge of the duties imposed and in the exercise of the powers conferred upon . . ." ²⁵ the Governor. In other words, the Convention had decided that extraordinary powers had of necessity to be vested in an administrative authority of the State, that the Governor was not to be the sole and unchecked depository of these powers, and that an instrumentality of the Convention's own creation should be set up which would, in effect, act as a thorough check on the Governor by sharing directly in the exercise of these powers. The Convention created in legal form a plural executive, and conferred upon it some of the Governor's traditional powers and many additional war powers as well.

The powers of the Florida Council were precisely those which the South Carolina Convention had granted to its Council. The Governor and Council of Florida acting together had the power to declare martial law, to arrest and detain all disloyal and disaffected persons whose being at large they deemed inconsistent with the public safety, and to order and force the disposition or appropriation of private property for public uses subject to the owner's right of just compensation. In addition, the Council and the Governor could make and cause to be executed all orders, regulations and amendments (which they found expedient in view of eminent danger) for bringing into public service the whole or any part of the population. They could maintain the police; make, secure and employ arms and munitions of war for the defense of the State; constitute agencies and appoint the agents necessary to carry out their powers; and draw money from the treasury on warrants from the Comptroller for effecting these measures. The Council was given the power of appoint-

25. *Ibid.*, p. 31.

ment over military offices which had previously been in the hands of the Governor, as well as certain other appointive powers. The Council was also allowed to fill vacancies in its own membership, although Ordinance 58 amended this provision by providing that the president of the Convention could fill the vacancy if caused by death or failure of one of the members to accept the position.

The Governor was authorized to consult the Council in the discharge of all other duties and powers of his office, and if the need arose he could require the Council's advice in writing.

The first meeting of this new executive body was to be held, upon call of the Governor, within twenty days of the adjournment of the called session of the Convention. If the Governor did not issue the call, the Council was to assemble on February 28 and thereafter would set its own times of meeting. The Governor and any two of the Council were to constitute a quorum, and a majority vote of all those present was sufficient for action. The Council members were required to take the same oath of Office as the Governor, and they were subject to the same disabilities as the Governor for malpractice in office. Their pay was equivalent to that of the members of the Legislature.

Some checks were established against the use of arbitrary power by the Council. A full record of its proceedings was to be kept by the Governor's private secretary, who was to act as secretary to the Council without additional compensation. The records were especially to show the reasons for every arrest made by the Council's authority. These proceedings were to be presented to the Legislature on the opening day of its meetings, and were subject to legislative review, even to the extent of modification or repeal of the Council's actions. Nothing in the ordinance was to be construed as constituting a basis for the suspension of the writ of Habeas Corpus.

Having enacted this sweeping ordinance and several others

pertaining to the military and fiscal affairs of the State and having elected the Executive Council members, the Convention was ready to adjourn. Although it never actually met again, it was not prepared to surrender its sovereign status by adjourning *sine die*. Curiously, or perhaps appropriately enough, the ordinance creating the Council also established the conditions under which the Convention might meet in future called sessions. Such a meeting could be held on call of the President, and it would be mandatory for him to issue such a call if petitioned to do so by any thirty-five members. A special committee of five members was created to issue the call in the event of the death, resignation or disqualification of the President.

The members of the Executive Council were elected individually by the Convention: James A. Wiggins of Marion County won on the first ballot, M. D. Papy of Leon was the second member selected, polling a clear majority of the Convention votes on the eighth ballot; W. D. Barnes of Jackson won on the tenth ballot and Smith Simkins of Jefferson on the eleventh.²⁶ Among these men only M. D. Papy remains as something of a lasting name in Florida political history, having served as Attorney General of the State from 1853 to 1860.²⁷ He also was one of the five commissioners sent to Washington after the surrender of the Confederacy to inquire as to the status of the State in the Union. Later he participated in the framing of the "Black Code." Simkins served as the first sheriff of Jefferson County²⁸ and Barnes was nominated by the Democratic Party for Congress in 1868, but was defeated in the general election.²⁹ Beyond these efforts, the Council members seem not to have been particularly influential in the long-range political affairs of Florida.

26. *Convention Journal*, 1862, pp. 100-102.

27. Rowland H. Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta: The Southern Historical Association, 1902), Vol. II, pp. 91 and 94.

28. "Smith Simkins," *Biographical Souvenir of the States of Georgia and Florida*, (Chicago: F. A. Battey and Co., 1889), pp. 738-739.

29. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 611.

The Governor was unalterably opposed to the establishment of the Council, and adopted something of an attitude of passive resistance. When Papy, Wiggins, and Simkins presented themselves to him on February 28, 1862, in accordance with the directives of the ordinance establishing the Council, he registered his dissent in cogent terms.³⁰ His arguments against the legitimacy of the Convention were grounded in the idea that the Convention was created for limited purposes - in particular to decide on the matter of secession. At no time did the people, in his view, invest the Convention with ordinary legislative powers. Apparently Milton believed that the cause by which the Convention's ordinances were made the "supreme law" had reference only to a secession and constitutional actions by the Convention, and not to the many matters which they additionally brought into their purview by ordinances and resolutions. He went on to say that even if the people did intend to invest the Convention with sovereign powers and with powers of ordinary legislation, these powers were yielded when the secession Constitution was promulgated on April 27, 1861.

He further noted that he believed the Convention to hold two erroneous opinions on which it based its claims to the powers enunciated by it. First, there seemed to be an idea that when the State seceded its own organic government ceased. If this were true, said Milton, Florida could not have made the claim to be an independent sovereign state and had no right to secede. Second, the notion had been fostered that the people of Florida were indebted to the Convention for the Constitution. If this were true, it would merely be an incident of the first argument and the actions of the Convention were invalid on the grounds just noted. Actually, according to Milton, the Convention only republished the Constitution of an already sov-

30. Governor Milton's arguments, from which the following summary is derived, are included in "Proceedings of the Executive Council," *Senate Journal*, 1862, Appendix: "Documents Accompanying the Message of the Governor," pp. 53ff.

ereign state, after dissociating the State from the Union.

Governor Milton also raised the question as to where the Constitution fitted into the particular structure of laws on which the Convention acted. In creating the Council (as well as in other of its actions) the Convention was overriding the basic law itself. In reality it was violating the principle of the separation of powers by creating two legislative bodies-the Executive Council and the Convention - in addition to the General Assembly, and only the latter could be said to be under the control of the Constitution.

In brief, it was Milton's opinion that "the late 'Convention' had no right as a political body claiming to represent the people to have assembled, and no right after the constitution had been adopted and promulgated, and the officers of the State, civil and military, had been sworn to support it, to amend it."

He next noted that he did not arrogate to himself the authority to decide upon the powers of the Convention and that, although he considered these powers a matter for the judiciary to settle, the times called for harmony so "he would cheerfully cooperate with them (the Council) so far as he could do so consistently with the Constitution and laws of the State which as Governor he had sworn to preserve, protect and defend. . . ." He hoped that they could counsel together harmoniously and accomplish some benefit for the State, without infringing obligations of the Constitution, "while at the same time he did not admit any power claimed by them derived from the Convention. . . ."

The Governor apparently cooperated only in the discussion phases of the meetings, and did not vote when decisions were made. On one occasion, with two members present, the vote was split and the Governor was called upon to cast the deciding ballot. He refused, reiterating his previous stand and making the additional point that he was forbidden by the Constitution

to legislate and had no power to violate the constitution.³¹

Just as the arguments on behalf of convention sovereignty in Florida echoed those of South Carolina, so also did the Governor's arguments repeat, in part, the anti-sovereignty views of the *Charleston Courier*. The *Courier* had strongly opposed the sovereignty idea, holding that conventions were merely representative bodies composed of extraordinary delegates assembled on extraordinary occasions to discharge functions for which ordinary government was inadequate or unsuited. Constitution making in itself was not a sovereign function nor, for that matter was any governmental function illimitable. The Convention exercised derivative, not original, responsibility - the people were still sovereign. And even closer to the arguments of Milton were the *Courier's* statements that the Convention had violated the separation of powers principle, which was the accepted legal method of distributing those governmental powers which were vested in the agents of the sovereign people.³²

The Florida Executive Council, then, began its life under a condition of strained relations and it never achieved the prominence of its counterpart in South Carolina. It had been created by a convention whose vote on the question was divided 26 to 17. The regular cabinet posts were not abolished in Florida as they had been in South Carolina, so no opportunity was given the Council members to take over the departmental positions. For the most part the Council acted as an advisory body to the Governor and, more specifically, its members gave their sanction, in the form of resolutions, to a number of administrative actions which the Governor was left to carry out.

In all, the Executive Council met five times; ordinarily the sessions lasted for two or three days. Papy and Simkins were more conscientious in attending the meetings than Wiggins and

31. *Ibid.* Council meeting of April 26, 1862.

32. White, *op. cit.*, p. 763.

Barnes, Papy being present on all five occasions, Simkins on four, Wiggins on two, and Barnes on only one, and then not for the whole session. The beginning dates of the five meetings were February 28, April 3, April 11, April 26 and May 1; all, of course, in 1862.

By far the greatest part of the Council's activities were devoted to the approval of resolutions designed to allow the Governor to prosecute the war effort more vigorously. A comparison of the Council's resolutions with the Governor's attitudes on the war and his subsequent requests to the Legislature gives strong indications that the Council was largely engaged in ratifying the decisions which the Governor had arrived at independently.³³ With only two exceptions the council acted unanimously on all matters.

Not many of the Executive Council's actions can be construed as broad policy decisions. Approval of appointments, authorization of vouchers in small amount and similar resolutions occur most frequently among the records of the agency's business. In addition, various individual measures of war administration were sanctioned, including the right of the Governor to employ the Coast Guard as needed until it could be turned over to the Confederacy or until other Confederate services were substituted for it, authorization for the Governor to take up and use elsewhere specific railroad and telegraph installations which might otherwise fall into the hands of Union troops, authorization for the Governor to purchase or to have made such items as gunpowder and Pierson knives, and approval of the raising or disposition of certain bodies of troops.

Larger and more controversial issues than these, however, came before the Council. Perhaps the most important of all was the resolution reorganizing the state militia, which was

33. *E.g.*, The Governor's Message to the General Assembly, *House Journal*, 1862, p. 20ff.

passed on April 4, 1862. One of the most unfortunate earlier actions of the Convention in January, 1862, had been the approval of a motion disbanding the militia as of March 10 - ³⁴ more than a month before the Confederate Conscript Act of April 16. The carrying out of the Convention's orders came at a disastrous moment. The shortage of Confederate troops had forced a withdrawal of units from the deep South in order to protect the northern borders of the Confederacy at the very time when the Convention's action on the state militia compelled Governor Milton to abolish the only military forces with which the State could make any defense against the pressing Federal invasion. In the attempt to forestall the complete collapse of state defenses and to provide a systematic method of supplying the Confederacy's requisitions of troops, the Executive Council passed its short-lived resolution reorganizing the militia.

Under the militia plan approved by the Council all non-exempt able-bodied males between the ages of 16 and 60 were subject to military duty. Among those exempt were the Governor and the members of the Executive Council, most of the state executive and judicial officials, persons exempted by the Confederacy, railroad operating personnel, and those engaged in manufacturing salt. Regimental and battalion commanders were to enroll, with the assistance of the sheriffs, tax assessors, and tax collectors, all the men within their various Beats. Elections for officers were to be held and the returns sent to the Adjutant General. The units were to be required to drill as companies once a week, and as battalions or regiments at least every two months; and weekly reports were to be made by the company commanders to the Adjutant General. Men between 18 and 50 years of age were subject to detachment for active service in the Confederacy, with the various companies bearing an equal share of the men required for such active service. The older and younger men

34. Davis, *op. cit.*, p. 143.

were to remain organized for home defense when those subject to Confederate duty had been called. Fines were levied for failure to comply with the reorganization.³⁵

Objections were quickly raised to this plan. The *Florida Sentinel*, previously so eager to give full credence to the extravagant claims of power made on behalf of the Convention, now raised the strongest objections to the Council's action. Actually, the *Sentinel* was beginning a gradual change from its previous outspoken opposition to the Governor to a more moderate position of support for the chief executive. Oddly, the arguments of the paper were exactly those which the Governor had put to the Council at its first meeting. "Where," asked the *Sentinel*, "does the Executive Council gets its authority to reorganize the militia? Where does it [get] the power to legislate at all?" And a little later the writer asserts that, "It may be contended that the Council claim their authority from an ordinance of the Convention, and that by virtue of the assumed or arrogated omnipotence of that body, they, their creatures, can do what they please. This argument is not sound; for, even if the Convention had the right to legislate, which is extremely doubtful, they could not delegate that right to any other than that branch of government which they themselves, by the Constitution of their own creation, had made the depository of *all* legislative power." It should be added that in the midst of these theoretical arguments, the paper also made it clear that it was piqued at the fact that the Council had included its own membership in the list of those exempt from compulsory militia service.³⁶

The Council heeded the arguments of the opponents of the militia and on April 26, after having amended the resolution slightly at the previous meeting on April 11, repealed the militia

35. "Proceedings of the Executive Council," *op. cit.*, Meeting of April 4 (wrongly dated April 14 in the *Journal*).

36. *Florida Sentinel*, April 15, 1862.

reorganization measure.³⁷ From that time until late in the war, the Governor had to work within the framework of volunteer military organizations for any uses necessitated by the war.

Several other important problems were handled by the Council. On April 4, the Governor was authorized to take the necessary measures to prevent efforts to ship cotton from the State without his special leave. On the same date, he was permitted to establish martial law in East Florida. On April 28, the Council passed a stern resolution restricting the sale of alcoholic beverages, and on the following day they passed an even stronger resolution requiring the discontinuation, under pain of suppression, of distilleries. Finally, on April 29, the Council authorized the raising of a volunteer company, including a squad of cavalry, "to operate as a police force on or near the coast between the Apalachicola river and St. Andrews' Bay."

During its lifetime, the Council passed a total of about thirty resolutions or ratifications of gubernatorial orders and approved several appointments, including that of the Adjutant General. When it adjourned on Thursday May 1, at the end of its fifth session, the Council scheduled a meeting for the first Monday in July, unless the Governor should call it into session sooner. On May 15, the Governor received a message from M. D. Papy, directed to him and to the Council, in which Papy tendered his resignation without stating the grounds for his action. When the first Monday in July came, none of the Council attended the meeting and neither the Governor nor the Council called a subsequent one.

The legal demise of the Council did not occur, however, until the legislative session of November, 1862. At that session, the Governor's message contained a repetition of his arguments against the Council. Accompanying the message was a copy of all

37. "Proceedings of the Executive Council," *op. cit.*, meeting of April 26, 1862.

the ordinances and resolutions passed by the Convention. Particular attention was called to Ordinance 63 which declared thirty Convention ordinances and three resolutions to be "of a permanent character and not repealable by ordinary legislation." The other ordinances were declared to be temporary and repealable when circumstances required such action. Included among the latter was Ordinance 52, the ordinance creating the Florida Executive Council.³⁸ Acting on the Governor's strongly argued case against the Council, the Legislature repealed Ordinance 52.³⁹ Florida's experiment with a plural war executive was at an end.

The experiment had never been a real success. The members of the Council did not take the bit in their teeth and run away with the Florida executive as the South Carolina Council had done, probably because the Florida Convention had done less to disrupt the existing machinery of government than had the South Carolina Convention. At the same time the Council managed, through such actions as their resolution on the militia, to incur the antipathy of the supporters of the Council idea. Although the Governor did not wage a continuing fight against the Council, he was outspoken in his opposition to its creation and repeated his views on its inadvisability frequently. It was, after all, something of a slap in the face of his administration. Besides this, his conceptions of the legal structure of the State did not admit of its legitimacy, and he naturally preferred to choose his own advisors to assist in administering the affairs of the State. Once the highly emotional state of the population in the early days of secession and war had passed away and cooler appraisal of events was possible, it became obvious that Milton was a competent administrator and that his planning and execution of the affairs of the State were adequate, especially in the

38. The Governor's Message to the General Assembly, *House Journal*, 1862, p. 42. Also "Documents Accompanying the Message of the Governor," p. 71.

39. *Acts and Resolutions*, Twelfth General Assembly of the State of Florida, 1862, Chapter 1357.

light of the adverse conditions under which he worked. The radicalism of the Convention, too, had worked a hardship on the State in fiscal and military matters; the public and the Legislature had not forgotten the difficulties of validating currency and bond issues and the debacle attendant upon the dissolution of the militia. In short, the time had come to give up extraordinary remedies applied under conditions of unprecedented change and to revert to traditional constitutional practices.

It is interesting to note that the South Carolina Executive Council was dissolved in practically the same manner as its Florida counterpart. But by contrast, its dissolution was due largely to the popular enmity aroused by the aggressive use of its powers,⁴⁰ whereas the Florida Council passed from the scene without having made a great impact either on the structure or the policies of Florida government. However, the tradition of a collegial executive did not die in 1862; even today Florida's cabinet system represents an extreme example of the sharing of executive power between the governor and a body of administrative officials independent of the governor.

40. Cauthen, *op. cit.*, pp. 159-161.

THE CASE OF SOME INHABITANTS OF EAST FLORIDA *

1767 - 1785

by BARBARA GORELY TELLER

In London, in the spring of 1823, a young clerk named Daniel, in the House of Delcroix, Perfumers, received word that Mrs. Isabella Stout, widow of Daniel Stout of Nassau in the Bahamas, had been searching the length and breadth of England for him, as he was heir to part of the estate left by his aunt, Mary Rolph Stout of Nassau. The Colonial Secretary for the Bahamas, Mr. Samuel Nesbit, had also been searching, and about the same time located young Daniel and other members of his mother's family, the Rolphs of Canterbury, who empowered Nesbit to receive their legacies.

Daniel wrote excitedly to his newly-found American Cousin Isabella offering his assistance in settling the estate and inquiring about his Aunt Mary and her family. All the tales he had been told as a boy by his mother and his uncle about his far-away aunt in the Bahama Islands came back to his mind. He also remembered the package of neatly tied letters that he had found among his mother's things. These had been left to her when her brother, his Uncle Daniel Rolph, a silk mercer in Leadenhall Street, had died in 1795. On examination these proved to be the letters written from Florida and the Bahamas by Mary Rolph Stout to her brother who had acted as her business agent in London. With the help of these papers and his own memory, young Daniel could trace back the story.

His mother, Sarah Rolph, had been born in the shadow of Canterbury Cathedral and christened there, as were all the other children of Daniel Rolph of Canterbury. Sarah's brother Daniel went up to London to enter the silk business and her sister Mary went up to London to live with her godmother,

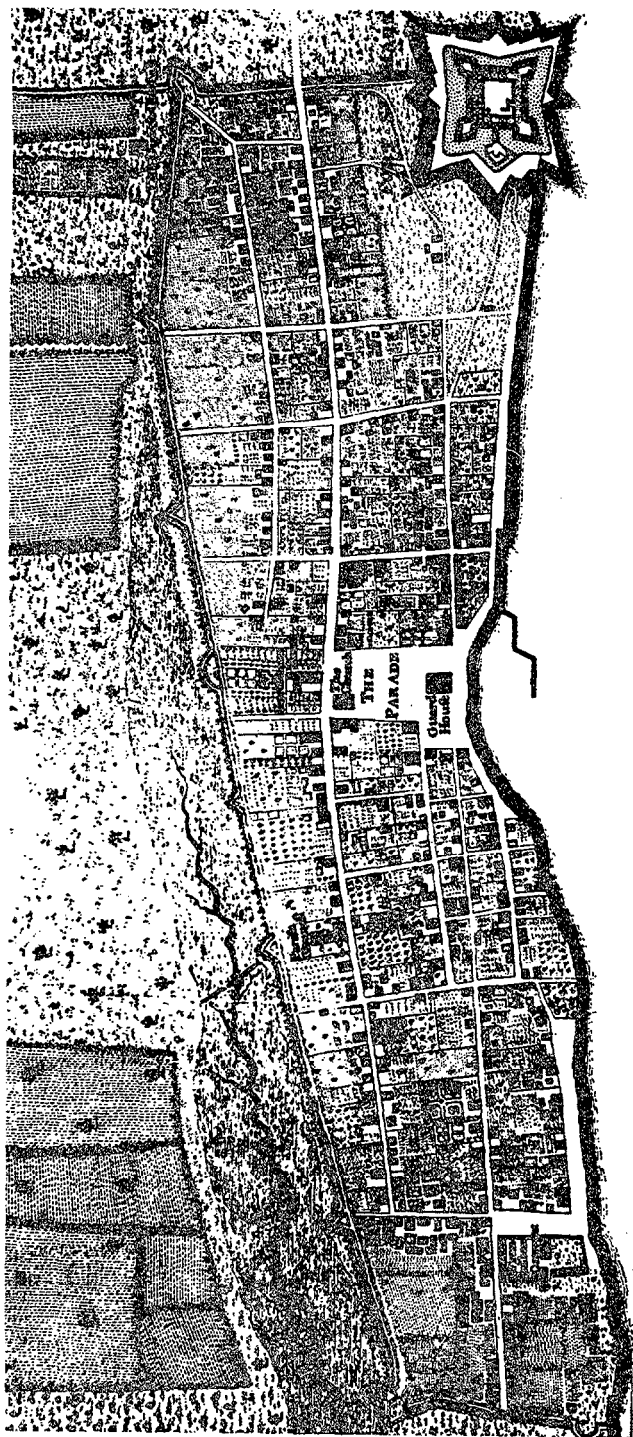
* The above title was suggested by a contemporaneous pamphlet: *The Case of the Inhabitants of East Florida* described in footnote 4 following.

Mrs. Eyers. It was while visiting her godmother that Mary met and married Joseph Stout of Philadelphia. He had served an apprenticeship to Dr. William Stork, an oculist by profession but also a botanist, a Member of the Royal Society, a friend of John Bartram, and an ardent promoter of the settlement of East Florida by the British.

In the Peace of 1763 East Florida had become British property. Two hundred and twenty-seven land grants were made by the Privy Council to titled noblemen, army and navy officers, and government officials, but actual settlement of the land progressed slowly. Dr. Stork visited Florida with Batram, and published *An Account of East Florida with Remarks on its future Importance to Trade and Commerce* (London, 1766). He described the climate, soil, and vegetation, and gave it glowing account of the city of St. Augustine. Other books and articles appeared with the purpose of awakening interest in the new colony and presenting East Florida as an El Dorado for every English gentleman who fancied himself as squire of broad American acres. One of the early, large grantees was John Tucker who held at least 31,000 acres on the banks of the St. Johns River.¹

Soon after the marriage of Mary Rolph and Joseph Stout, Dr. Stork obtained for Stout the appointment of manager of John Tucker's estates in East Florida. About 1767 the young couple set sail adventurously for their new life in the wilds of America. St. Augustine was their first home where they had a house on George Street while the Mount Tucker place on the river was being built. Here their first son, Joseph Jr., was born. Only one Petter has survived of this period written by Joseph, after they had moved to Mount Tucker.

1. See map of grants in the library of The Florida Historical Society.



ST AUGUSTINE
 the CAPITAL of
 EAST FLORIDA.

SCALE,
 660 Feet or 1 Furlong.

The Stout's town home was on George Street, the main center street from left to right (south to north) on this plan, which is reproduced from Wm. Stork: *A Description of East Florida*, London, 1769.

Mount Tucker, East Florida
July 24, 1769

Honoured Mother -

This comes with Our Duty to you & our kind Love to sisters and brothers hoping it will find you all in good health. I & the Little Boy are very well at present but my wife is sick and has bin now this ten days but hope she will get better sune . . . This Contrey has agreed midling well with our health as yet. Wee have bin sick but have no grate reason to complain as yet. . . Our little Boy is healthey & thrives well & is a fine Boy. We are very plasently situated on the River St. Johns. The Lands on both sides of the River belong to Mr. Tucker. We live on the East side of the River. The land is not very good. On the west side the the land is much better but not so plasent nor dry enough. I received letters from Mr. Tucker when I rec'd yours. He writes me that he has sent for 40 negroes more & 20 I have. I shall begin to make a plantation on the west side of the River when the rest of the negroes arrive. The crop that I shall make this year will be midling but much better than last year. This Contrey is plesent enough. We have litel or no winter. We have no snow nor ice and if there is a litel ice it is gone when the sun rises. Most of the Trees & fields are green all the year but the lands in general are not so good as I exspected . . . This letter I belive will come by a friend - so no more at present but our kind Love & Respects to you all from your

Ever Dutyfull & affectionate Son & Daughter

Joseph & Mary Stout

The Stouts were not alone in the wilderness, for other holdings were being built up and cultivated.² Not far away on the St.

2. See Charles Loch Mowat: *East Florida as a British Province 1763-1784*. Univ. of California Press. 1943.

Johns River were Spaulding's trading house, Denys Rolle's "Mount Pleasant" at Rollestown,³ Abraham Marshall's plantation "Satonía", James Penman's "Jericho", Francis Lovett's "Juliantown", and plantations owned by Admiral Sir Edward Hawke and Henry Strachey. Richard Oswald, famous as a peace commissioner in 1783, owned "Mount Oswald" and Captain Robert Bisset had "Mount Plenty." One of the most elaborate plantations was that of Lt. Gov. Moultrie who had built a stone mansion and pleasure grounds complete with bowling green, fish ponds, walks, and a great variety of rare trees. Small holdings were by such men also as William Drayton, James Moncrief, and Dr. Stork. Lord Egmont placed his estates on Amelia Island under the care of Stephen Egan, and Egan and the Moncrief family became close friends of the Stouts.

For ten active, pioneering years the Stouts remained at Mount Tucker. When the American Revolution broke out no more land grants were made. In 1779 the Stouts left Mount Tucker and purchased a plantation of their own on the Northwest Creek of the Matanzas River where they raised indigo. There were now four little boys in the family, Joseph, George, William and Daniel. Then the great blow fell. In 1783 the Peace of Paris gave East Florida back to the Spaniards and all the British settlers suddenly found themselves men without a country. Mary wrote about their troubles to her brother in London:

Matanzas, East Florida

April 28, 1783

Dear Brother

I have at last got time to write you these few lines to let you know that wee are all in good health at present Bless

3. Denys Rolle was the first grantee to attempt a real settlement of his lands. He established Rollestown and peopled it with the poor of London. His philanthropic experiment failed after several years trial because he found his settlers were drawn away to the gay life at St. Augustine.

God for it. I have omitted writing to you for some time past Because we have always been alarmed with some Bad thing or other from our enemies that have been on all sides of us for this long time past so I thought no news would be good news but now the worst thing that could have happened for us is come at last. We know not what to do nor where to go all our property being here and very little of it can be moved - only our few Slaves and Live Stock. When we came away from Mount Tucker the land office was shut up So that we could run no Land but were obliged to buy and payed a very great price for what we got and have been at a great expence for improvement Besides the trouble and slavery of all our formerly black and white so that we thought this being the 4th year we should certainly have made a great deal of our produce. We have been at a great expence for repairing and raising a new roof to the house in town . . . Nobody here but what are dissatisfied to the last degree. We are all very busy appraising our property according to the request of Lord Hawk's Letter to our Governor. This of ours we shall send to you. They will not come by the packet by the next ship that sails for London. You will please to make your self acquainted at the London tavern where East Florida proprietors meet and give in the papers that will be sent you by the first ship. You must try to see Deniss Rolle if you can and tell him you are my Brother. He may perhaps be of some service to you in the affair. I should be glad if you can see him and if he comes out hear again you must write by him and if mother can see him I should be glad and Return thanks for his and his Lady's kindness to me when I came to this Country. I lived next door to them when my son Joseph was born. They were the first friends met with here. Pray send your Brother word what price indigo brings at home for our last years crop lays upon our

hands and will fetch no price hear. . . My Dear Brother, if you should but see our plantation you would be very sory to Leave it and have such poor hopes of ever geting any thing for it. My house in town is valued at three hondred pound Sterling. The Land we live on cost us two hondred pound Sterling. It is not yet aprised nor our Stock of Catell, hogs etc. . . . Give my love to my friend Mrs. Eyre and famarly

You Ever Loving Sister till Death

Mary Stout

The plight of the Stouts was the plight of hundreds. They had put time and energy and money into their lands but they could not brook the thought of becoming Spanish subjects. Large numbers took the first boat back to England. Others, like the Arcadians, became scattered, homeless wanderers. A pamphlet published anonymously in 1784, and now very rare, called *The Case of the Inhabitants of East Florida* ⁴ was the vent for the indignation felt by the English settlers around St. Augustine. It listed all the reasons why the inhabitants should be compensated by the Crown for the losses they had sustained. The British Government heard their cry and the Claims Committee was set up to handle the situation.

In September of 1783 Joseph wrote that he had been in New Providence in the Bahamas, where his brother lived, to look over the land there but said that he did not intend going there if he could do better elsewhere.

They had thought, he said,

. . . of going to Novescotia but fear that it is to cold for us to bear it now we have bin so Long in this hot climett. Then other times we think of going to Carolina or Georgea

4. *The Case of the Inhabitants of East Florida. With an Appendix, containing papers, by which all the facts stated in the case are supported.* St. Augustine, East Florida, 1784.

but are afeard the times will not do as the Pepol do not agree among themselves yet about there government and levy very heavey taxes. Sometimes think of staying and to see how we may do with the Spaneards. . . but we are not determett of anything but stay till we hear further how it may be. We have not heard of the Definnetive treaty being signed yet. Perhaps things may take some turn yet. . .

Apparently the great decision to leave East Florida and seek a home temporarily in New Providence was made soon after this letter was sent. They sold the house on George Street, St. Augustine, to a Spaniard, "John Sanchie" for 106.17.6 and all the rest of the property was sacrificed at very low prices to Spaniards. They sent the Schedule of property with affidavit to Daniel Rolph with power of attorney to act for them in filing their claims. This letter, personally carried by Captain Welsh, did not reach London until March 6, 1784 and Daniel carefully noted on it that he had delivered the papers to Mr. Thomas Nixon at his house No 18 New Ormond St., Queen Square and paid 2.2 subscription money to help defray expences of the Claims Committee meeting at the London Tavern.

In 1785 the Stouts had arrived in Nassau but were still undetermined where to settle permanently. In May Mr. Stout set out for Philadelphia to visit his relatives partly for his health and partly to look over the business possibilities in that city. Mary yearned to go back to England just as the Moncriefs and other Florida neighbors had done at the sad evacuation. She fully expected to take a boat back by the summer of 1786 but her husband had not returned. It was a lonely time for her. Her little son William, who had been ill for two years had died and she was worried about her husband who seemed to show signs of consumption.

Nassau, Bahamas

May 2, 1786

Dear Brother Daniel. . .

. . . Several ships have gone from this place since I wrote you pr. Cap't King but waiting for Mr. Stout I deferred it in hopes of coming and surprising you about the month of June but now I dont know what time to sett . . . I am sure we cannot make out hear neither to get money nor anything else that is good. Joseph is grown a very stout boy and stands a bad chance of ever getting an opportunity of a trade or business for at the time when he should hove been bound we were obliged to keep him at home to help his father in the plantation. George is a good boy and takes his learning very well. He is 13 years old - all most time he was out but this troble of moving and being unseteled I try to keep our selves all to gether if I can till we come to England where I hope to stay all the days of my life and see them all seteled and doing well. . ."

A brief letter followed in August but she vainly waited for an answer until December and then sat down to write again:

. . . I informed you of the arrival of Mr. Stout from Philadelphia in August last and much better than he was when he went away from hear. My self and Children are well thank God for it. Joseph is as big as you were when I left England. He has been some time with Mr. Mugg the kings attorney of this place. Am in great hopes it will be of means of putting him forward in the world. . . Litell Daniel has just learnt his letters and begins to Spell. All of them are desirous to come home to England to see theyre friends and grandmother . . . We flatter our selves with some hopes of a recovery of our loss and as there is somthing more to add to the Memorial such as the account of loss of Boats

and all of the Shingles bought at St. Marys and left there on account of there not being room in the ship so with that and other things your brother has delivered to the gentlemen appointed hear by the Commissioners of Claims to inquire of property lost by the Cession of Florida to the King of Spain so hope with your friends in England and ours hear we shall do very well. As it is every day that the Council meets and as ours is No 20 it will not be long before we shall give you a full account of it. . . I can say no more this time but remain your

Ever loving Sister -

Mary Stout

In the Spring of 1787 they were even more deeply involved with the problem of their claims. All thought of going back to England had been put aside as they had gone into the retail trade business in a small way. Their troubles were expounded in the letter of April 13:

. . . Your brother has been examined and sworn before the Council. They asked him for his titels of the house but they were put in the hands of John Sanchie who bought it. These gentelmen want more proof that this house was our property. The man that was the vendu master could not be found that day but has since waited on them at difrent times but could not spare time to hear him. . . If your brothor should not get Mr. Slater to swear that the house was Mr. Stout's Right and Lawfull property you will have to go to Mr. David Yeats office. You will find it recorded in book as situated in George Street, Grants quarter [St. Augustine] . . . We broght our slaves of negro men and women and children with us here to this place. As to our Cattle, Cows and horses we broght none of them. One very fine mare was sold for eight dolars. The rest are gone - some

stolen, some ran away and some died so all lost to us. The hogs and fowls of difrent kinds we broght for Sea Store and got a few hear safe. Two boats and new shingles were left behind. The boats valued at 12 and shingles at 3. You will please to note the value of dolars in Florida. 4000 dolars was the sum the house and lot sold for. . . As we now expect a new governor hear we chuse to stay a while. We also expect this place to be made a free port. I have now to inform you that ever since my letter of the 23 August we have laid out some money on difrent articles to retale out again. We find it answers very well with great atenshon on my part and I have to attend the vendu every day. . .

Two more letters followed in quick succession telling that the Claims had been completed and sent to the Board of Commissioners, that it was going to be a hot summer which was most disagreeable for Mary because her "litell way of business" kept her "always in a hurry", and begging to be informed of the current price in London of such things as, "Loaf sugar, Candles, Soap, Cheese, Butter, Starch, Blue and Habardash."

On October 5th Mary had some fresh news to tell her brother.

. . . (Mr. Stout) has taken up Land on this island to settell a Cotten plantation with a few negros we have for the good of our Children. We intend to keep our Shop in town too for I shall not give up while I can make anything by it. Shall be in hopes of purchasing more slaves when we get paid for our losses in Florida. Cotten is the only thing to make money by in these Islands if ye can but get a good spot of ground. We have got land at the East end of Providence about 5 miles from where we live. You I supose will hear of a huricane that has hapened here on the 27 August has done a great deal of damage but thank God we were not hurt much by it all though there is a great deal of hurt

done the contry and shiping and some lives lost. Hope youl. have had a good Summer in England and good Crops of Corn. This Contry is better than we thought when we came here. Pepel take up land very fast and settell plantations . . .

When Daniel Rolph received this he noted on the bottom that he had left at the East Florida Claim office the plans of two tracts of land belonging to Joseph Stout together with an old grant of land of 350 acres made to John Moor by Governor Grant in 1769 which was the property bought by Stout for 200 around 1779. Daniel wrote twice to Joseph Stout in Philadelphia where he had gone once more on business, and later of the happy news that the first payment of their claim would be in April 1789, "at the Rate of 12/2 pr ct pr annum with 3/2 pr ct Interest." This did not come true, however, for more Powers of Attorney were needed and these had to be prepared and sent back to England before Daniel could receive the payments. Mary wrote how disappointed people were in hearing how much value had been taken off their Claims; that they had built a new little house. They had tried not to draw on any of the Claims money until they were assured that Daniel had the money in hand but the arrival in Nassau of a slave ship was too good an opportunity to lose to add to their "head rights" and enable them to have a claim to 200 more acres. Mary wrote excitedly to Daniel on July 11 that they had bought "a fine boy and girl" for 66 Sterling and that he was to honor the bill when it came due.

After months of anxious waiting they heard from Daniel in October that he had actually received the first part of their payment amounting to 65.7.8 and accepting the bill for 66. With minds relieved, the Stouts renewed their efforts to improve their store in Nassau and their plantations. "We return you ten thousand thanks for your care and troble that you have

taken on our account," Mary wrote on April 5, 1790, begging Daniel to take 20 to pay himself.

By the next year the tide had turned and the Stouts prospered as cotton planters in the years following.

APPENDIX

(Petition to Claims Commissioners)

TO THE COMMISSIONERS appointed by Act of Parliament to enquire into the Losses of all Such Persons who have suffered in their properties in consequence of the Cession of the Province of East Florida to the King of Spain-

The Memorial of Daniel Rolph of Leadenhall Street in the City of London Gentleman in the behalf and by virtue of a power from his Brother in Law Joseph Stout formerly of Saint Augustine in the Province of East Florida but now of Nassau in the Island of New Providence

Sheweth-That the said Joseph Stout resided many years in the Province of East Florida and was possessed of a Lot of Ground situated in George Street in the Town of Saint Augustine whereon was a good Dwelling house which in Consequence of the Cession of the Province to the Crown of Spain has been appraised and valued at 300 but that it having been put up to public Sale with other property belonging to Different Proprietors by the Provincial Vendue Master and the sum of 106.17.6 being bid for it by a Spaniard whose name is John Sanchie the Proprietor consented thereto and as your Memorialist Presumes the money was paid it should be deducted from the appraisement and that the Sum Claimed for the house to be for Lot No. 1 as expressed in the Schedule hereunto annexed 193.2.6.

That the said Joseph Stout was also Possessed of Two Tracts of Land one of 450 Acres situated on the Matanza River the other of 500 Acres near to the other both which have been appraised and are particularly described in the Schedule by No. 2 and 3.

That the said Joseph Stout had eight able young Negroes on his plantation. Sundry Cattle plantation Tools and Boats as are particularly described in No. 4 in the Schedule.

That the said Joseph Stout made Oath on the 20th September 1783 before James Hume Esquire then Chief Justice of the Province that the Articles mentioned in the Schedule were his Property and on the Same day the said Property was appraised by three Persons of fair character at the Sum Specified and to which Valuation they gave their testimony on oath before the said James Hume Esquire.

That your memorialist has not been Supplied by his Brother with any other Papers relating to the Property than what is expressed in the paper with Provincial Seal annexed which your memorialist presumes was all that he thought was necessary nor has he received any account of Sales of the Negroes nor any information to what place they are transported nor is he acquainted what became of the Cattle, Boats or Plantation Tools. Your Memorialist being thus so imperfectly informed respecting these articles He has written to his Brother for further particulars but thinks it necessary to present a Claim in the behalf of his Brother and to request permission To Lay before your board all the information he may receive in Answer to his Letters.

All which is most respectfully submitted to you
Your Most obedient humble servant

DANIEL ROLPH

(Notations by Daniel:)

Copied from the original Writ. by Thos. Nixon New Ormond Street Bedford Row

Wrote Joseph Stout a Copy of the above with a Request that he would send me further instructions Relating to the disposal of his Property & Particulars Relating to what became of the Negroes-Boats-Plantation Tools etc. by the HERO Captain Ranne-who sailed the beginning of Jany. 1787-the Letter was put in the Bagg at the Carolina Coffee house on Christmas day - 1786

A SCHEDULE and Valuation of the Real & Personall Estate of Joseph Stout Planter Situated in the Town of Saint Augustine in the Province of East Florida as appears by the Original grant and Title Produced and Laid before Us

A Town Lott of Land Situated in George Street on which is a good dwelling house with convenient offices	300	SD
One Tract of Land Situated an the Northeast Creek on the Mantanza River Containing 450 Acres. 250 of which is good Hammock and Swamp Land of which 27 acres are Cleared and Planted. the Remainder part is pine Barren of a good quality and near Navigation. On which are Erected a dwelling house Barnese and Kitchin we Value at ...	266	
Another Tract of land Containing 500 Acres 20 of which is Swamp and the Rest good pine Barren Situated near the above Tract and being equally convenient to Navigation We Value at	130	
8 able young Negroes	400	
3 Head of Neat Cattle	12	
13 Do. of Hoggs	15	
2 Boats	8	5
Plantation Tools	3	15
	1135.0.0	
by Money Received for Lot No. 1	106.17.6	
	1028.2.6	

CUBAN BLOODHOUNDS AND THE SEMINOLES

by JAMES W. COVINGTON

Throughout history man has made use of animals in his warfare. During the Middle Ages the "Man on horseback" gained many victories against those on foot who opposed him and it was not until the effective use of the long bow and gun powder that the foot soldier could hold his own in combat. The first animal that European man domesticated was the dog. Even as late as World War II canines of several breeds were used by both sides to guard against surprise attack and to track down fleeing foes and prisoners.

One of the most successful uses of dogs came during the Maroon Revolt in Jamaica. This rebellion lasted from 1655 to 1737 and was extremely hard to crush since the revolutionists hid in the mountains and could not be found by search parties. The British government decided to equip each army post with a pack of bloodhounds which could be used in tracking down the Negroes. Within a space of a year the dogs proved to be so effective that the revolt was crushed.

In 1795, another Maroon War broke out and the Jamaican Assembly sent to Cuba for one hundred bloodhounds. As soon as they arrived and were seen by the Negroes, memories of the sharp noses of the bloodhounds were revived and the Maroons sued for peace in one month's time. Some one wrote concerning the revolt: "It is pleasing to add that not a drop of blood was spilt after the dogs arrived in the island."¹

When in December 1835 the Seminole War began, the Indians fled into the almost inaccessible interior areas of Florida and from there waged a bitter warfare. The use of the Cuban bloodhounds was recalled, and how the dogs had brought that war to a quick end. Hence it was suggested that the Cuban dogs

1. Quoted from "Edwards' West Indies" in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 125.

be tried. Joel R. Poinsett, who was Secretary of War from 1837 to 1841 reported: "From the time I first entered upon the duties of the War Department, I continued to receive letters from officers commanding in Florida, as well as from the most enlightened citizens of that territory, urging the employment of bloodhounds as the most efficient means of terminating the atrocities daily perpetrated by the Indians on the settlers in that territory."² General Zachary Taylor, in 1838, requested and was granted permission to use the bloodhounds, but active campaigns near Lake Okeechobee in which the Seminoles were relentlessly pursued probably caused "Old Rough and Ready" to lay aside the project.³ While fighting against the Seminoles in a campaign which demanded quick action, Taylor acquired his nickname.⁴

It was Governor Richard K. Call of the Territory of Florida who started the wheels in motion to bring the dogs from Cuba when he sent Colonel Richard Fitzpatrick to the island.⁵ Colonel Fitzpatrick, assisted by Colonel Joseph Alzuarde, proceeded to Cuba where he found a plentiful supply of dogs and men who could handle them, and four handlers were hired. The Cubans were to be furnished transportation to and from Florida, were not to expose themselves to any danger and could return when they so desired.⁶ The boatload of thirty-three bloodhounds (costing \$151.72 each), four Cubans and two Florida militia officers left Matanzas, Cuba, and proceeded to Port Leon which

2. Joel R. Poinsett to Rep. Henry A. Wise, December 30, 1839 printed in *Army and Navy Chronicle* X, 115.

3. General Zachary Taylor to Adjutant General, July 28, 1838, *ibid.* Grant Foreman's *Indian Removal* (Norman, 1932) contains an excellent account of the steps leading to the Seminole War of 1835.

4. Brainerd Dyer, *Zachary Taylor* (Baton Rouge, 1946), 126.

5. Arthur L. Magenis to Poinsett, February 8, 1840 printed in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 115. Mr. Magenis, of St. Louis, Missouri, visited Tallahassee and gave Poinsett a verbal and written report concerning the bloodhounds.

6. Contract (translation) enclosed with letter of Governor Raymond Reid to Taylor, March 6, 1840, Records of United States Army Commands, Department of Florida, *Records of East Florida 1838-40*, National Archives, hereafter cited as *R.E.F.*

was the port closest to Tallahassee.⁷ The voyage was a most unhappy one and the boat landed in Florida with a load of seasick and hungry hounds. They had run into stormy weather which caused the boat to be forced off the route and thus exhaust the supply of food.⁸ The *Tallahassee Star* hailed the arrival of the dogs with: "If these hounds are put into service, we have more confidence in the speedy close of the war than ever before."⁹

The bloodhounds were taken to Magnolia and placed under the charge of Colonel John B. Collins, Quartermaster-General of the Territory of Florida. They went through a training process in order to adjust them to this new environment. A negro was told to run a mile into the woods and climb a tree, and one hour after his departure a bloodhound was set upon the trail and had no difficulty in finding the hidden man.

The *St. Augustine Herald* described the dogs thus:

So various are these dogs in color, shape, size and age, that at first sight they appear like an ordinary pack barking about a planter's dwelling, but examination proves them quite another thing. To describe a dog so as to be understood is difficult. I must therefore convey a general idea by requesting you to imagine a short-haired, black, red, yellow, brindled, or spotted dog, or any color that ever bedecked the species, 24 inches high and 36 inches long (or thereabouts), with a head, breast, fore-legs and shoulders like a light-made mastiff, and snout somewhat elongated, ears erect like a grey-hound, (mostly cropped where they bend) and loins, croup, haunches, and tail, like a grey-hound, only thicker set. This combination, you may con-

7. Account, Territory of Florida to the United States Government, enclosed with letter of Reid to Taylor, March 17, 1840, *ibid.* Port Leon was a thriving town and prosperous port until destroyed by a hurricane in 1842. St. Marks located three miles further up the St. Marks River began to prosper after the destruction of Port Leon.

8. Magenist to Poinsett, *loc. cit.*

9. *Tallahassee Star*, January 9, 1840.

ceive, produces an animal of great nerve, strength, and agility, and such, to all appearances, are these bloodhounds.

There are 34 in number - 5 or 6 old dogs, well trained - the remaining younger - some I should think not a year old; one of these, a lady bloodhound, walked about in the village with me as familiarly and lovingly as a spaniel; but her kindness was inoperative upon the rest of her clan, for such a set of ferocious beasts I never before saw.¹⁰

When the dogs had commenced their training at Magnolia, the newly appointed governor of the Territory, Robert R. Reid, wrote to General Taylor and offered their services to the United States Army.¹¹ General Taylor was pleased with the action taken by the territorial authorities and accepted the offer. He sent Lieutenant George Wood to Tallahassee to secure the governor's sanction for use of two Cubans and their dogs.¹²

Ten bloodhounds were turned over to Lieutenant George Wood on February 2 for use of the First Infantry. On the next day six dogs were delivered to Lieutenant R. B. Lanton of the Second Regiment, U. S. Dragoons.¹³

Northern newspapers had taken notice of these activities and soon there was a most noticeable react on from their readers. They used an effective weapon by writing their Congressmen and protesting against the use of the bloodhounds in the Seminole campaign. Senator James Buchanan of Pennsylvania presented a petition from the representatives of the Society of Friends in Delaware, New Jersey and Pennsylvania, and letters from citizens of Philadelphia, which attacked the intended action of the military authorities.¹⁴ Senator Thomas Benton of Missouri stated that the petitions sent to him had been signed by "the best people" and that the United States Government had no

10. *St. Augustine Herald*, February 6, 1840.

11. Reid to Taylor, January 16, 1840, *R.E.F.*

12. Taylor to Reid, January 27, 1840, *ibid.*

13. Reid to Taylor, March 17, 1840, *ibid.*

14. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 108.

previous knowledge of the action taken by the territorial government.¹⁵ Representative George Proffit of Indiana demanded the name of the Army officer that had sanctioned the bloodhound plan and offered a resolution enquiring into the matter, but withdrew it when another member objected.¹⁶ Other protests came from throughout the country and during the period from January 1840 to April 1840 the various Congressmen were busy noting the arrival of the memorials and referring them to the Committee on Military Affairs. That great orator and statesman Senator Daniel Webster of Massachusetts, seeing that the petitions had not forced the government to abandon the test of the bloodhounds, wanted "something decisive on this from some authoritative source so that the public might be disabused."¹⁷

Former President John Quincy Adams, now serving as a member of the House of Representatives, sought to inject some humor into this serious situation by asking the Secretary of War to check into the number and cost of the dogs and also present their family, political and marriage history in order to show that they were fit to be part of the United States Army. He also asked Secretary Poinsett if the pension laws were to be extended to the canines and their off-spring.¹⁸

Governor Reid saw the reaction to his scheme and defended the course of action that had been taken by Florida in a message to the legislature:

No occasion has yet occurred for testing the usefulness of the dogs brought from Cuba. It is still believed, however, that they may be used with effect; and why should they not be used? If robbers and assassins assail us, may we not defend our property and our lives even with blood-

15. *Ibid.*

16. *Niles Weekly Register*, LVII, 321.

17. *Ibid.*, LVIII, 10.

18. *Congressional Globe*, 26 Congress, 1 Session, 252.

hounds? Shall we look upon our ruined dwellings - upon the mangled bodies of men, women and children, and then meekly say, "the poor Indians have done this - we must be merciful and humane to them - we will not set our dogs upon them - oh, no! that would be more horrible than these butcheries." Those who are safe from Indian alarms, in distant cities and peaceful lands, may indulge in gentle strains of humanity and brotherly love; were they dwellers in the log cabins of Florida, they would atune their notes to harsher measures.¹⁹

The Navy and the Marines, not to be outdone by the Army, decided to use the bloodhounds in their raids against the Seminoles. Consequently, Lt. McLaughlin was dispatched in the schooner *Flint* to Cuba to secure a supply of dogs. It was intended that the dogs would be used in conjunction with light canoes built in South Carolina which could be easily moved into the various shallow lakes and swamps. Lt. McLaughlin reached Matanzas and secured the services of several Cubans and a number of dogs.²⁰

The Army tried a series of experiments with the dogs near Garey's Ferry on Black Creek a tributary of the St. Johns River, located about thirty miles southwest of Jacksonville. One such field trial was the release of an Indian prisoner who was told to travel five miles and climb a tree. The logs were put on the trail and they went directly to the tree where the Indian had concealed himself.²¹ Other experiments were tried with the dogs and from published accounts in the newspapers it appeared that the scheme would be a huge success. Several Indians were captured on scouting parties with the aid of dogs

19. *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 187.

20. *Ibid.*, 265.

21. *Jacksonville Advocate*, March 17, 1840, quoted in *Niles Weekly Register*, LVIII, 72.

and the *Jacksonville Advocate* now hopefully referred to the dogs as "peace hounds."²²

It should be noted at this time that the Army was most careful in its use of the bloodhounds. Secretary of War Poinsett warned Taylor that "... their use be confined, altogether to tracking the Indians; ... that they be muzzled when in the field and held with a leash while following the track of the enemy."²³ Taylor ordered his men that in no case would the dogs be allowed to disturb Indian women or children. He told the commanding officer to take careful note of how the dogs followed the trail so to judge their value for future operations.²⁴

Much money had been invested in the operation by the Territory of Florida and now, since the plan appeared so successful, it would be a good opportunity to ask the United States Government to pay for its share of the total cost. The four Cubans who had accompanied the dogs notified Reid that they wished to return home. Reid wrote to Taylor explaining the situation and enclosed a copy of the contract signed by Fitzpatrick in Cuba.²⁵ Taylor issued instructions that the men were to be paid for the time that they were actually in the service of the United States Government.²⁶ Reid saw that Taylor was in an agreeable mood for paying accounts due and sent him the bill of \$2,429.52 for the sixteen dogs that the Federal troops had employed. He also hoped that Taylor would pay for the cost of bringing the dogs from Cuba and for their upkeep until they were delivered to the Army. Reid did not want to push Taylor so he decided to enclose the additional unpaid account in another letter. Imagine his surprise when he received this answer: "... when these dogs were tendered to me, I informed you in

22. *Ibid.* See *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 187 for report of bloodhounds successful use.

23. Poinsett to Taylor, January 26, 1840, *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 116.

24. *Ibid.*, 174.

25. Reid to Taylor, March 6, 1840, *R.E.F.*

26. Extract of letter Taylor to Reid, March 10, 1840 found in letter Taylor to Reid, March 27, 1840. *ibid.*

answer that I would make trial of them to ascertain if they would be of service in trailing the Indians. Several experiments have been made with them and the officers having them in charge have reported them of no service whatever. Such being the case I do not feel authorized to order payment for them. . . " ²⁷

Taylor went on to say that he was still continuing the experiments with the dogs and if the experiment proved successful, then the Federal Government would pay for them. Reid also wrote to Poinsett but the Governor was informed that the matter was in Taylor's hands. ²⁸

A correspondent of the *Savannah Georgian* visited Garey's Ferry during March and sensed the inadequacy of the bloodhounds:

Eleven of these Florida bloodhounds, alias Cuba curs, are now at this post, feasting upon their six pounds of fresh beef each per day. They have been tried frequently within the last few days with an Indian prisonnier de guerre at this place, and if they will take his trail, it would be hard to prove it by those who were present. I have no confidence, however, in them.

As to their ferocity, it is all humbug - a child may fondle with them. They have been more grossly misrepresented than any set of animals in the world, the army not excepted. ²⁹

The bloodhounds were given repeated trials under combat conditions but the numerous swamps, bogs, lakes and streams of Florida prevented them from following a trail to any great distance. It was possible that these dogs also failed because they had been trained to pick up a scent left by the Negroes of

27. Taylor to Reid, March 23, 1840, *ibid.*

28. Poinsett to Reid, April 18, 1840, *ibid.*

29. *Savannah Georgian*, March 17, 1840, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle X*, 221.

Cuba who had a different racial odor than the Seminoles of Florida. One of the last tests of the dogs was noted in the *Army and Navy Chronicle* when the dogs refused to take any notice of blood-stained garments and weapons left by fleeing Seminoles and could not be induced to follow the trail.³⁰ In fact they were indifferent to the whole situation. The writer was sure that this indifference and the past failures would put an end to all hope that the dogs could help bring the war to a quick end.

The Navy had no better success with the dogs than the Army. Lt. McLaughlin took a scouting trip with the hounds to find some Seminoles. He found no Indians but one poor dog died from exhaustion.³¹

Governor Reid continued to write letters to Taylor concerning the unpaid accounts. He pointed out that the dogs were untried when turned over to the Army and he was certain that training would enable the dogs to find the Seminoles.³² These efforts were fruitless and it appears from the records that Florida was never paid for the bloodhounds.

Congress took cognizance of the entire proceedings and requested that since the matter had been closed by the Army no more bloodhound memorials would be considered.³³

30. Quoted in *Niles Weekly Register*, LVIII, 137. The Seminoles have a legend to the effect that they were able to make friends with the dogs and thus prevent any effective pursuit.

31. *St. Augustine News*, quoted in *Army and Navy Chronicle*, X, 365.

32. Reid to Taylor, April 20, 1840, *R.E.F.*

33. *Niles Weekly Register*, LVIII, 283.

FLORIDA AND THE BRITISH INVESTOR: 1880-1914

by ALFRED P. TISCHENDOFF

In the generation preceding World War I the attention of British investors focused on Latin America, the Far East, British Dominions, and the United States. Florida was not neglected by Britishers during the years from 1880 to 1914. At least 15 Limited companies with an authorized capital over 2.7 million were registered in London in this period to carry on business in the state.¹ A promotional campaign that reached its climax in the 1890's sought to interest the public in Florida ventures. Army and Navy officers, Members of Parliament, and titled gentry held shares and directorships in many of the enterprises. Only one company, the Florida Orange and Grapefruit Groves, was incorporated after 1900 and it never went to allotment. The Florida Syndicate alone survived the 1914-18 war.²

The Florida Land and Colonization Company organized in June, 1880 to purchase 26,000 acres scattered in Jacksonville, Sanford, St. Augustine, and in Alachua and Marion Counties.³ The company paid the owner, Henry Shelton Sanford, 60,000, mostly in fully-paid shares in the enterprise. By 1889 Sanford had disposed of many shares but with his wife still retained controlling interest. Two Britishers, Sir William Mackinnon and George Mackenzie, held nearly one-third of the 3,665 shares of 20 each. The company found itself in financial difficulty in the early 1890's and on October 14, 1892 decided to wind-

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1. Records of Limited companies that concluded their activities before 1917 have been transferred from the Company Registration Office in Bush House, London, to the Public Record Office where they may be inspected. Each company is given a number on the date of incorporation and must be ordered by that number. The file of the Florida Syndicate can be obtained at Bush House, W.C.2. Contracts, summaries of capital and shares, and lists of shareholders are included in company files. Information such as the development or final disposition of property is seldom included.
 2. Table A following contains a list of British Limited companies registered between 1880 and 1914 to work in Florida.
 3. File No. 14178.

up and form a new company with the same name. This was done in March, 1899 but only 7 in cash was ever subscribed for shares, most of them being issued as fully-paid to shareholders in the old concern. ⁴ In 1905 the company decided to disband and sell the property. There is no record of any dividends being paid. ⁵

The Florida Agricultural Company bought 27,000 acres of freehold land east of Kissimmee from Londoner James Hastings in December, 1882. ⁶ Most of the purchase price - 20,000 - was in shares and mortgage debentures in the company. The venture was short-lived. No summary of capital and shares was issued and on February 14, 1887 the company announced a lack of capital made it impossible to continue business. A liquidator was appointed and the property sold.

The East Florida Land and Produce Company purchased over 50,000 acres, part of which was called the St. Augustine Timber Tract in St. John County, on November 2, 1883. ⁷ A saw mill was built on the property. By 1894 50 investors had subscribed 72,330 in cash for 7,311 shares. Despite its large capital the company did not prosper. Business virtually ceased after January 6, 1896 and the concern revived only long enough to dispose of the property.

Two Limited enterprises organized in the 1880's, the Florida Investment and Agency Company and the Florida Southern Tobacco, Fruit and Farming Company, carried on no business before they were dissolved. ⁸

The Florida Southern Land and Finance Syndicate purchased 1,200 acres in Manatee County from the Florida Southern Railway Company and its President, John W. Chandler, in 1887. ⁹

4. File No. 60934.

5. An excellent source for dividend records is the *Stock Exchange Year-Book*, printed in London since 1875.

6. File No. 17662.

7. File No. 18533.

8. Files No. 19634 and 27733.

9. File No. 25320.

The company's capital was 3,675 in 7 shares of 525, all taken for cash. A letter from one of the directors to the Registrar of Companies on April 4, 1905 said:

The Company simply owned some land in Florida which they have not been able to deal with and which has become valueless. I am therefore instructed by the members of the Company to ask you to take the Company off the Register.¹⁰

The Florida Phosphate Company found it impractical to carry on business after a fall occurred in the price of phosphates.¹¹ Miles Davis of Wales owned property in Florida which the company files term only "townships 30 to 33, various sections." The Florida Phosphate Company paid Davis 30,000 in cash, plus shares, for the land in 1890. Shipments of ore began in 1893 but two years later the company was in the hands of a Receiver. The property was eventually sold by court order.

Sir Edward James Reed of Hextable, Kent County, a key figure in the establishment of the Florida Land and Mortgage Company in 1883, was perhaps the most interesting and colorful Britisher involved in Florida activities.¹² Born in Sheerness in 1830 he began a career in the Navy by studying at the School of Mathematics and Naval Construction in Portsmouth. Unhappy with his first appointment Reed left the Admiralty to write poetry and accept the editorship of the *Mechanic's Magazine* in 1853. Reed's plans for converting wooden ships to armor frigates eventually earned him the post of Chief Constructor of the Navy, a job he held for eight years. Turning to private

10. *Ibid.*

11. File No. 32194.

12. Information about Reed is taken from four sources: *The Times*, December 1, 1906; *Returns of Members of Parliament, United Kingdom, 1801-1880*, Part II, p. 510, xxi; *Dictionary of National Biography; Who Was Who, 1897-1916* (London), 590.

enterprise he joined Earl's Company in Hull as chairman of the board. From his own office in London came naval designs used by Turkey, Japan, Germany, Chile, and Brazil. In 1874 Reed - by then Sir Edward - entered Parliament as a member for Pembroke boroughs. In 1880 he took a seat for Cardiff, remaining in Parliament until 1895. Reed found time to travel widely. He journeyed to Russia and Japan and published books on his tour. His volumes on modern ships became standard works.

Sir Edward's association with Hamilton Disston of Philadelphia opened the way for the British Florida Land and Mortgage Company. In June, 1881 the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund of Florida decided to sell 4,000,000 acres to Disston.¹³ Reed became trustee with Dr. Jacobus Wertheim for a syndicate of American, Dutch, and English capitalists who assumed one-half of Disston's obligation. The syndicate took over 2,000,000 acres, ultimately acquiring an additional 300,000. The largest section covered 310,044.62 acres in Lafayette County, although the entire property lay in 29 counties.

The syndicate's land was sold on February 16, 1883 to the Florida Land and Mortgage Company, officially incorporated in London on March 5, 1883.¹⁴ Reed and Wertheim were the vendors and the price was 920,000 pounds, covered entirely by issuing 205,000 pounds in 7% preference shares of 10 pounds, 540,000 pounds in ordinary shares of 10 pounds, and 175,000 pounds in mortgage debentures in the company to Reed and other members of the syndicate. The new company planned to develop and sell the land. It hoped to encourage and promote immigration and "to provide for the sanitary, religious, and general welfare of the settlers by building libraries, schools, churches, building societies, parks, etc."¹⁵ Despite its tremendous capital power in the Florida Land and

13. For the story of the Disston purchase see an article by T. Frederick Davis, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, (January, 1939).

14. File No. 17992.

15. *Ibid.*, Memorandum of Association.

Mortgage Company was centered in a few hands. Only 12 investors held 20,500 preference shares according to the first report issued. Wertheim was the largest holder with 12,500. New York banker L. M. Lawson took 3,950 and Reed 1,783. Fifty-four thousand ordinary shares were divided among 27 shareholders. Lawson held 33,737, Reed 4,710, Wertheim 658, and Phillip Roddy, an ex-Confederate general, 13,258.¹⁶ Although well known Britishers such as Sir Henry Edwards, the Earl of Huntingdon, and Sir John Puleston, M.P., held shares in the company, Lawson, Roddy, Wertheim, and Reed continued to be the most important investors.

Shareholders were given the opportunity to buy company land. A resolution on November 7, 1885 authorized directors to accept fully-paid shares in exchange for land selling for not less than \$3.00 an acre. By 1888 over 14,000 ordinary shares had been given up under this system. The annual report for 1888 showed 1,624,784 acres still remained to be sold. The company paid no dividends to holders of ordinary and preference shares but debenture holders received their interest until default occurred in 1889. A year later the enterprise decided to transfer the remaining 1,200,000 acres to a new company for .90 an acre. Most of the purchase price was in shares of the new concern, the Land and Trust Company of Florida.¹⁷

Three Members of Parliament, A. Staveley Hill, A. A. Baumann, and T. W. Boord, were directors of the Land and Trust venture. The Florida Land and Mortgage Company held 43,699 of the Land and Trust's 70,395 shares. All were issued fully-paid. There were also A and B debentures totaling 126,117 pounds. Although interest on the A debentures was regularly paid, 51,543 pounds had accrued in interest on the B debentures by 1895. On

16. Roddy was also a shareholder in the Florida Estates Company which purchased 5,000 acres from the Florida Land and Mortgage Company in November, 1884. Ten years later the Estates concern decided to wind-up after apparently little success. File No. 20290.

17. File No. 32266.

November 29, 1899 shareholders resolved to disband the company. Capital was returned to contributories at the rate of 10s. for each 1 pounds share and debentures were redeemed.¹⁸ When the company was removed from the Register in 1910 the land had apparently left British hands.

Three of the 15 Limited companies formed by Britons to work in Florida paid dividends to investors. The Southern States Land and Timber Company bought several timber and lumber companies already in operation near Pensacola covering about 330,000 acres.¹⁹ By July, 1889, shortly after the purchase, 35 shareholders had subscribed 159,300 pounds. The list of investors included the Earl of Roseberry and James Gardener, a Cheltenham M.P. Shares sold for 5 pounds each. Thirty-two thousand ordinary shares, 1,000 founders, and 6,020 preference shares were issued when a dividend of 9% was declared for 1889-90. The company had a final meeting on March 23, 1900.

The Land and Mortgage Bank of Florida was registered June 13, 1889 to advance money on freehold property in Florida and adjoining states.²⁰ Among the directors were J. C. Greeley and J. F. Rollins of Florida. The authorized capital was 500,000 pounds and by 1893 62,200 pounds was called up. The company paid dividends of 5% in 1890; 8% for 1890-91; and 10% for the three years to 1893-4. The report for March, 1896 stated the company was in liquidation "because of non-receipt of remittances from Florida."

The Florida Syndicate, incorporated on January 13, 1892, remained on the register of companies in London for 40 years.²¹ For 128,000 pounds in 10 pound shares the company purchased about 75,110 acres in Citrus, Hernando, Marion, Levy, Sumter, and Clay

18. Thomas Skinner, *The Register of Defunct and Other Companies* (London, 1952).

19. File No. 27187. Reorganized in 1902 as Southern States Lumber Co. of Pensacola, of which P. K. Yonge was vice president and President for more than twenty years.

20. File No. 29143.

21. File No. 35595.

counties from vendors that included Greeley, Rollins & Morgan of Jacksonville. Twenty-two thousand pounds was then subscribed for the remaining shares. The enterprise was heavily Yorkshire in character, most of the directors coming from Keighley, Wakefield, and Bradford. The syndicate was chiefly concerned in selling land and timber, although it also owned a brickyard in Jacksonville. In 1894 investors received a dividend of 2%. It was the last declared. At the beginning of the 1920's the syndicate valued its property at 43,344 pounds (\$216,720). When the land boom slumped sales dropped and some installments from buyers had to be postponed. The report for 1930 said the financial situation was "even worse" than before. In 1932 the property was transferred to the Keighley Land Company. Land and timber sales from 1892 to 1932 brought the Florida Syndicate 87,635 pounds.

The investment of British capital in Florida enterprises was accompanied by a campaign to arouse interest in the state from residents of the United Kingdom. Captain J. W. Gambier, managing director of the Florida Land and Mortgage Company, wrote a brief review of Florida in 1883 to point out:

Its vast natural resources and as yet undeveloped industries - a country with which no other known Land, whether on the Continent of America or in the British Colonies, can bear comparison in offering that certainty of a prosperous future to the emigrant which all who seek to found a new home most eagerly look for. . . ²²

Gambier drew a word picture of a Londoner who scraped 200 pounds together and emigrated to Florida:

He has food in abundance, which he had not in England.

He has a good house over his head, which he had not by

22. J. W. Gambier, *Florida: Its Resources and Natural Advantages for the Emigrant, the Capitalist, the Manufacturer* (London, 1883), Intro.

any means in the rickety, unwholesome lodgings he occupied in Whitechapel. He has fish at his door; he has health and strength in his limbs. . . . If he is inert and idle he will be just as well off now as he will be in ten years; if he is enterprising and energetic, and turns his attention to any of the hundreds of modes there are of making money in Florida, he will grow rich and prosperous.²³

The benefits of owning land in Florida were presented:

In no country is the sacredness of property more reverently held; whilst we, on the east side of the Atlantic, see the giant hand of Socialism laying its greedy grasp on all property alike; and whilst here everything grows less and less secure, on the western side of the Atlantic these institutions grow stronger and stronger.²⁴

Gambier's company offered emigrants passage to America for as little as 4.4s if the traveler provided his own plate, mug, knife, and bedding.²⁵

Prospective emigrants had little difficulty in finding books on Florida living. Trubner & Company of London published four. "The South" Publishing Company and Bureau of Florida Information, Fleet Street, printed *Sunny Florida* and *Florida Portrayed* in the 1880's. In 1891 Charles Norton described hotel rates, highway routes, and gave maps of metropolitan areas in his *Handbook of Florida*. Arthur Montefiore advised settlers to be wary of unscrupulous land agents in London and Florida.²⁶

For a small fee a number of London agencies offered to help settlers on their way. Kennard Collins & Company of Haymarket proposed a year's test period of living in Florida.²⁷ An-

23. *Ibid.*, p. 100.

24. *Ibid.*, pp. 108-9.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 126.

26. Arthur Montefiore, *Florida and the English* (London, 1889), p. 19.

27. *Ibid.*, back cover advertisement.

other office called Florida "The Riviera of America" and offered particulars of farms and orange groves.²⁸ S. W. Silver & Company advertised pith helmets, tools, saddles, guns, and suits for the emigrant. One department store reminded customers of the heavy duty charged on certain goods sent to Florida and advised taking a supply of tropical tweeds.²⁹

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About 423,140 pounds was actually paid in cash by investors for shares in the 15 Limited companies organized between 1880 and 1914. The Southern States Land and Timber Company, one of the three enterprises to pay dividends, received the largest amount - 159,986 pounds. None of the companies was large in terms of shareholders. Eleven had less than 50. The two largest concerns, the Florida Syndicate and the Land Mortgage Bank of Florida, had less than 175 shareholders. Although all the companies have now been removed from the register of "live" ventures, the influence of their activities may perhaps still be felt in Florida. A writer in 1889 said:

The English emigration to that state is of so high an order that it reaches a plane of importance out of all proportion to its numerical strength. Not only have our sons or our brothers, but also "our sisters, our cousins, and our aunts," migrated thither. English ladies as well as English men and English lads have found in that interesting and unique peninsula many a delightful home.³⁰

Perhaps the story of their contribution to Florida's history will eventually be told.

28. *Ibid.*

29. *Ibid.*

30. *Ibid.*, p. 3.

Table A

BRITISH LIMITED COMPANIES REGISTERED IN LONDON FOR
FLORIDA ACTIVITIES: 1880-1914³¹

<i>Name and File No.</i>	<i>Date of Incorporation</i>
Florida Land and Colonization Company (14178)	June 10, 1880
Florida Agricultural Company (17662)	December 16, 1882
Florida Land and Mortgage Company (17992)	March 5, 1883
East Florida Land and Produce Company (18533)	June 30, 1883
Florida Investment and Agency Company (19634)	March 29, 1884
Florida Estates Company (20290)	September 23, 1884
Florida Southern Land and Finance Synd. (25320)	November 12, 1887
Southern States Land and Timber Company (27187)	January 11, 1888
Florida Southern Tobacco, Fruit and Farming Company (27733)	November 22, 1888
Land Mortgage Bank of Florida (29143)	June 13, 1889
Florida Phosphate Company (32194)	August 7, 1890
Land and Trust Company of Florida (32266)	August 21, 1890
Florida Syndicate (35595)	January 13, 1892
Florida Land and Colonization Company (60934)	March 3, 1899
Florida Orange and Grapefruit Groves (127513)	March 3, 1913

31. The file of the Florida Mortgage and Investment Company, formed in Scotland in 1884, may be inspected in Edinburgh at the Company Record Office.

A MASSACHUSETTS MECHANIC IN FLORIDA AND MEXICO - 1847

by ARTHUR W. THOMPSON

The growing tension between the United States and Mexico during the early part of 1846 found Florida singularly unenthusiastic for war. For one thing, she had only achieved statehood the year before. Then, too, she still felt the adverse impact not only of the 1837-43 depression, but also - more important - the devastation of the Seminole War. ¹ Despite these feelings, when Congress actually declared war on May 13, 1846, there was general support for the cause throughout the state. Ultimately, five Florida companies were called into service and three saw action in Mexico. ²

So far as the nation as a whole was concerned, Florida was of significance to the war effort mainly because of the important Navy Yard at Pensacola. The naval installation had been established there in 1825. It was not until 1837, however, that an extensive program of construction was undertaken with the erection of additional buildings, a floating drydock, and facilities for docking, repairing and building ships. During the early 1840's, appropriations for the Pensacola station declined; but the onset of the Mexican crisis brought a revival of activity in 1846 because, despite the fact that the town was about nine hundred miles from Vera Cruz, it was the nearest station for provisions and supplies.

Though hardly what one would call today a thriving metropolis, Pensacola was still one of the largest communities in Florida at the time. Its population was not very large; indeed, according to the 1845 census, the entire county of Escambia

1. T. Frederick Davis, "Florida's Part in the War with Mexico," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XX (January, 1942), 235.

2. *Ibid.*, p. 237; Justin H. Smith, *The War with Mexico* (New York, 1919), I, 537, II, 364-65.

had only 2,088 white residents.³ The influx of sailors and workmen at the Navy Yard and of soldiers at Fort Pickens temporarily swelled the town's population. After normal working hours, there was little in the way of any social life for the men. As a result, groups of individuals could be seen everywhere - drinking, smoking, singing, joking and fighting; fishing parties were organized and, from time to time, hardier souls went after the dreaded shark.⁴

Among those who reached Pensacola in February 1847 was Alfred N. Proctor, a mechanic from Boston, Massachusetts. A brief record of his stay in Florida, together with some of his experiences while in Mexico, are revealed in the following letters which he wrote to his brother and a friend in Massachusetts.⁵

Navy Yard Pensacola April 11th 1847
Sunday

Dear Brother

It is with pleasure that I sit down to write you a few lines in answer to yours which I recd on the 7th. Although it is but a few days since I wrote, yet as I am in want of some things I thought I would scribble a few lines. I want you to go to my trunk at Mrs Severance and look in the little trunk and take out the receipt for making fireworks. I am pretty confident that it is there although not sure, but if not, look the trunk over

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3. Dorothy Dodd, "Florida's Population in 1845," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXIV (July, 1945), 29; Edwin L. Williams, Jr., "Florida in the Union" (Ph.D. Dissertation, University of North Carolina, 1951), p. 161.
 4. *The Mexican War, by an English Soldier, Comprising Incidents and Adventures in the United States and Mexico with the American Army* (New York, 1860), p. 88-89, 92-93, 97.
 5. The letters reproduced here are from the manuscript collection in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida. For the sake of clarity, occasional changes have been made in punctuation and spelling. The editor wishes to thank Dr. Lyle N. McAlister, a specialist in Mexican history, for his assistance in the reading and identification of certain references in the following letters.

from top to bottom, and if you do not find it then look in the leather trunk that I left in the store, for I want it very much. I suppose that you have got the news long before this of the capture of Vera Cruz.⁶ We recd the news on the Morn of the 3rd of April from the Steamer Princeton.⁷ She came up the harbour in fine style with flags flying, guns firing, &&cc. She was only four days coming from that place. We had a grand illumination on that evening, every house was bright with candles and there were several large bon fires lighted, and every gun that could be raised was cracked off in honor of the victory. I had three guns to take care of, and the latter part of the eve we each of us took a gun, formed a company of about 20 (the most of which had double barrel guns) and marched around to the different houses and gave them a salute. We kept it till 10 and half past. They then went to a house, raised a fiddler and danced till broad day light, although Saturday night; I went to bed at 11 oclock or eleven to be better understood as there was to[o] much liquor used for me. On Monday they had another grand illumination, and having found out that I knew how to make fire works, they came to me to make some rockets. I told them I would undertake it although I had not time enough to make but half a doz or so. I made my cases and mixed my composition but as I had no receipt to go by, I did not succeed in making my rockets go but did make some wheels and used them the next night. I want now that you should copy my receipts off and send them on to me. Copy

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6. On November 7, 1846, Senator Thomas Hart Benton urged President James K. Polk to adopt a bolder strategy in prosecuting the war with Mexico. The unfavorable Congressional returns of that month, Hart insisted, called for more immediate action. He proposed the capture of Vera Cruz, and later of Mexico City itself. In this he was supported by General Winfield Scott. By November 14th, after repeated pressure, Polk decided on the capture of Vera Cruz. By the following March, Scott landed near the town and on March 29, 1847, Vera Cruz was occupied by American forces.
7. "The *Princeton* was the earliest naval steam propeller," and during March 1847 assisted in the bombardment and landing of troops at Vera Cruz; Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 25-26, 441.

PENSACOLA.

April 3, 1847.

✱ We are requested to say that M. Carrune declines running for the Mayorality.

Preparations are making by our patriotic citizens for another grand illumination, to-night, in honor of the brilliant achievement of our gallant Army and Navy at Vera Cruz. The excitement caused by the glorious news brought by the *Princeton* is very properly at high ebb.



Glorious News!

AMERICAN ARMS AGAIN VICTORIOUS!!

San Juan D'Ulloa is ours!!!

The U. S. war steamer *Princeton*, bearing the broad pennant of Commodore Conner, arrived at this port this morning, and came to anchor off our wharf, at half-past nine o'clock—exchanging salutes with the Navy Yard as she passed. The *Princeton* sailed from Vera Cruz on the 29th ultimo, and brings the glorious intelligence of the reduction of that city with the Castle of San Juan D'Ulloa, and their entire, unconditional surrender to our arms.

We are indebted to one of the officers of the *P.* for the following summary of the proceedings in this most brilliant a-

fell, as they had Castle to sustain

The *Princeton* Captain Eugle; Cruz, Com. Co from the castle o

The Commox board, having before Perry before these operations. the bearer of des and Col. Totter mediately for P We have not been her officers; and lateness of her compelled to thring particulars haste.

Naval.—T

R. S. Pinckney this port on Frid the Squadron in

That "Christ year," was formation with u the Fourth of Ju days, and ah! h and yet the days that part of them and the black box not long, but th Monday morning in the good old ti land, of which we master worked ev and made the boy cycle—a continu-

them correct and as they are, and get all further information you can, for I intend to have a grand display at some future day. I wish you would sell my type to Thomas Truworthy at the most that he will give for they will be good for nothing bye and bye. Also tell him that there is no chance of doing anything in a [restaurant?] here because there is but a few people that come here and the place is very small. I should like to see him very much. Mr Mayhen is well and sends his respts to Truworthy. I am glad to hear that John is getting better and hope he will get well soon. Mr. Mayhen is coming on in July next. About the first he will make some arrangements about getting watchmen for the Yard. . . ⁸ You may sell my lathe as the man that talked of buying it has backed out. He offered me 65 dollars for it delivered here. He thinks now of going away. Tell father that I would like to have a letter from him, and tell Bill to write me and write more distinct so that I can read it. We have very warm weather here, the mercury stands at 85 in the shade and tis pretty warm working I tell you. Mulberry's are ripe. Bela's potatoes are about 2 ft high and in full blossom. Give my best to Culln Brown, Miss Swallow, Denton Scott and the rest of my girls. I wish you would write oftener, do not wait until I write, but write two to my one, and always write as soon as you receive mine, for every two or three days I run to my dates of letters and count the days that have passed since I wrote and calculate when I shall receive one in return, as regular as you would calculate on a setting hen . . . ⁹ I am all run out for news and must close. My love to Nicholson [?] &c

from your ever affectionate brother

ALFRED N. PROCTOR

I have just recd yours of the 1st of April. It gives me great

8. Original letter torn at this point.

9. Original letter torn at this point.

pleasure I assure you to receive them and to find your letters so well filled. Keep on brother and write often. I will not send anything on yet until I hear more about how you get along in raising the rest but will send it is as soon as they succeed in raising the rest, positively. I hope the old bill will be settled now that it is agitated, and never be again brought before the company. I am willing to do my part whatever it is. . . . Dear brother I am troubled with the canker in the mouth the same as you. I have not been without two days since I have been here. Take sulphur and cream tarter every three days, then jump three days. Take it before eating in the morning with molasses, three tea spoonfulls and you will find it beneficial. Try it now.

Pensacola Navy Yard June 9th 1847

Dear Brother

Although I dont care anything about it, yet I feel as if you would expect something from me by this time, so I will scribble a few lines to let you know that I think of you, if I dont of the rest. I have received one or two from you since I wrote you and I have thought I would not write again for some months, but as circumstances are I attempt it once more. We are well here and I hope will continue so. There are but one or two cases of fever here now. The U.S. Ship Relief left here for Vera Cruz a few days ago.¹⁰ The Schooner Flint arrived day before yesterday from Norfolk.¹¹ She is a beautiful little craft; leaves tomorrow for Vera Cruz. We have plenty of news from the seat of war all the time. The Massachusetts Reg. leave for Monterey in a few days. I suppose you have heard of Sen

10. The advent of the yellow fever season always posed, at this time, a problem for those engaged in military planning. Frequently, the fever proved to be more deadly than enemy ammunition.

11. The schooner *Flint* was attached to the Home Squadron of the United States Navy under Commodore David Conner. During the better part of that year, the *Flint* spent considerable time in the vicinity of both Vera Cruz and Pensacola; Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 197.

Cushing[']s accident. He was walking in the front Plaza with a lady and fell off the end into a ditch and broke his ankle - he is recovering fast.¹² There has been a small number of desertions since their arrival.¹³ Three men ran away the other day and after they had crossed the River and proceeded a short distance down the River, they were attacked by a party of Comanche Indians and all three murdered.¹⁴ So much for proving traitors to their country. How I wish I was with them. The Lord knows that I would never leave them (the Regiment) as long as I drew the breath of life. I recd your double and very interesting letter a few days ago, 27th I think. You seem to indulge in a long train of imaginations and vain thoughts. I could not help laughing through the whole of it, but as I disagree with you on the subject I will say no more about it. We were paid off last Wednesday in hard coin silver.¹⁵ It would have done you good to have seen the men toteing it along on their shoulders with as much load as they could stagger under, for you know two or three hundred dollars in silver weighs a great deal. We have not been paid since the 15th of March and we had quite a pile. I had some fine fun this morning with

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12. Caleb C. Cushing, Massachusetts Congressional Representative, served as colonel of a Massachusetts regiment and was appointed brigadier general by President Polk on April 14, 1847. He later led a brigade.
 13. Of the approximately 90,000 regular army and volunteer troops who served during the Mexican War, some 6,750 deserted; Smith, *op. cit.*, I, 160, 262.
 14. The writer is probably in error as there were no Comanche Indians in the Pensacola area at this time. Since there were, however, a number of different Indian groups in that region, it is almost impossible to identify the particular group referred to.
 15. The national government had considerable difficulty in raising money to finance the Mexican War. This was aggravated by the absence of a national banking system between 1836 and 1863. The use of "hard coin silver" was prompted by a number of reasons, among them the fact that paper money depreciated too quickly. The Secretary of the Treasury in his report for 1847 indicated that "... the credit of the government was in truth enhanced by receiving and disbursing nothing but coin; thus placing all its transactions upon a basis more sound and entitled to higher credit than when it held no specie, had no money in its possession, and none even in the banks to pay its creditors but bank paper." Davis R. Dewey, *Financial History of the United States* (New York, 1907), p. 256; Smith, *op. cit.*, II, 258-60.

an alligator. He was quite small, not more than 3 1/2 ft long but quite smart. He was caught by a Nigger and brought before our house. I took hold of his tail and was pulling him a little when he turned very suddenly around and made a snap at my hand. I let go and just cleared him and thats all. I took particular care not to approach too near his honor after that, but let a stick play with him for a long time. They are very ugly looking animals. I tell you his mouth looks like your hand when you clap the wrist together and open it. I have no more news except that it is hot as mustard here. I saw the mercury up to 95 in the shade the other day. You may write back or not as you like but I think you had better wait till you hear from me again. Love to all inquiring friends

from your

true brother

ALFRED N. PROCTOR

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Navy Yard Pensacola Dec 19 1847

Friend Stevens

Although I have not written you before, I hope you will not think it is because I have not thought of you, for I have often had you in my mind, but have had so many to write to, that I have not taken a pen in hand to scribble a few lines to you until now; which I hope may be acceptable. I will commence back to my arrival at this place from Charleston. I arrived on 25 of Feb and went to work on the first day of March. I worked until the 3d of June when I left for Mexico.¹⁶ I believe I was very well liked in the Yard by every body except the master blacksmith under whose immediate direction I worked. He is a man of very limited abilities (and dont know enough to

16. There is an obvious discrepancy between the previous letter, dated June 9, 1847, and this statement of departure on June 3rd. Alfred Proctor's familiarity with obscure Mexican towns as well as the feasibility of his itinerary probably indicates a lapse of memory rather than his having concocted the entire story for the benefit of friend Stevens.

go in when it rains) in mechanical point of view, but I will say no more of him except that he was jealous and tried his best to get me out of the Yard. How he succeeded you will see soon. Before I left I went to the Commodore to see if he was satisfied with me and would give me work again if I should return. He told me yes and would give me work when I came back if my place was not filled, so I started on the 4th of June. I went in five days to Mexico from New Orleans. I landed at the splendid town of Bag Day [?]; at the mouth of the Rio Grande.¹⁷ I immediately left for Matamoros where I arrived in two days. Judge of my disappointment on arriving there to find that the Mass Regiment had been gone 10 or 12 days. I did not know what to [do], for I had received a letter from Capt Walsh of Company I just before I left stating that they were to stop there a long time in garrison, but I very quick made up my mind to follow on and catch them. Therefore I took up line of march for Monterey where I learned they were bound. On the night after leaving Matamoros I went to a fandango, which was the greatest place I ever saw.¹⁸ There were about 100 Mexicans, men and women, and but 5 of us Yankees to stand them, but I had a good six barrel revolver well loaded and capped and I had no great fear although they might have ate us if they had been disposed, but they were fortunately very peaceable, thinking perhaps that it was better to make money off of us and others, rather than to kill us and run the chance of being butchered themselves. After enjoying myself by seeing the dancing by the Senoritas and some of our crowd until about two oclock, I went back to the boat, and turned in. But that night played the devil with me, for I was taken down with the Mexican or bilous fever the

17. Present atlases do not indicate any evidence of such a town. An 1847 map reveals a Burita and a Boca Chica in the vicinity of the mouth of the Rio Grande, but none at the mouth itself.

18. Fandango-a Mexican dance.

next day, and was obliged to keep my berth until I arrived at Camargo about 4,00 (?) ¹⁹ miles up the [Rio Grande] River where I went to the hospital. I thought it was a very poor beginning on going into a strange country but I had to bear it after being sick about 14 days. I left the hospital the very day that the fever left me, and tried to see if I could get a chance to get on to Monterey but I found there was no train to leave for the next 14 days to come which was very dark to me. But getting on a boat we tried to get to Mier but the water was too low so we had to give that up. Having been greatly reduced in flesh and strength by my sickness and still being under the effects of the severe headache, I began to think of returning to *Amerika*. In three or four days I took a train through the inland country for Reynosa and although still sick I enjoyed myself much. If I had room I would give you a full account of it but I will defer it until some other time (suffice it to say I arrived in New Orleans after being gone two months, satisfied with seeing the elephants track for the present). While I was gone Mr Fell reported to the Commodore that I was no mechanick and could do nothing but a little brass filling, &c, consequently when I returned I was refused work by the Commodore. It being then very sickly in N[ew] Orleans I thought best to remain here through the sickly season. On the last of Oct the Civil Engineer had a falling out with the Comdt of the Yard and having seen some of my work, engaged me to put an engine in the Yard, he being authorized by the Government to employ his own help. I took hope and put it up in first rate shape and set it running. He was very much pleased with my success, and there being another engine under his charge on a new dredge boat which was built since I came here, he asked me if I thought I could run it. I told him yes. He had

19. The distance to Camargo is actually about one hundred and twenty five miles.

me get up steam and run her half a day. I did it and have run both engines once a week for the last two months. He has now recommended me to the Department as head engineer of his department. He has gone on to Washington and I expect him in three or four weeks. As soon as he returns we are to commence on the permanent wharf and dock So you see how much Mr Fell has made by his opposition to me. And in a short time he will have to leave the premises altogether for some better man from the North I hope He being born and brought up here, he hates a Northern man worse than the devil. We have received a splendid lathe from the North, the same pattern of the double-lathe in your shop. It is not put up yet and will not be until our new shop is finished which is now going up. We are to have a fine steam engine to drive the machinery as we have nothing but Nigger power.²⁰ The new shop is 280 ft long and 50 or 60 ft wide. At some further day there will be a great deal of work done at this place. I am very sorry to hear through my dear brother that there is some trouble with my friend Hiram Howard in relation to a pistol which I received from him as a token of friendship. He spoke to me of making me a present of it one night at the Melodeon at my brothers concert and said he had a fine pistol to give me if I would accept of it as I would probably have good use of it in Mexico as I then was full determined to go with the Regiment. The next night I saw him he had it and gave it to me wishing me to keep his name secret. I told him I would not learning that it came from Uncle Sam. I made no secret of showing the pistol to everyone of my acquaintance but with held the name. I am very sorry on his account be-

20. During the ante bellum era, white labor in Florida was exceedingly scarce. Negro slaves were used in the Navy Yard as mechanics, joiners and for the construction of docks; Arthur W. Thompson, "Political Nativism in Florida, 1848-1860: A Phase of Antiseccessionism," *Journal of Southern History*, XV (February, 1949), 54; J. E. Dovell, *Florida: Historic, Dramatic, Contemporary* (New York, 1953), I, 342.

cause I think him my friend and I think that he was prompted to it by the fact that I was going to Mexico in the service of Uncle Sam and thought it no harm. I really feel bad about it for if I had known the fact I never would have received it. It is now about time to close and I will say that I expect to be at home next May or first of June. I may return in the fall and I may stop in the North altogether. I hope you will send me an answer to this as soon as you get this. I will direct this to the care of Mr. Allen in case that you should be gone from the yard that he may forward it to you. My best respects to him and Mr Craig, &c, &c, Your friend

ALFRED N PROCTOR

A TRIP TO FLORIDA, 1867
THREE LETTERS OF MARY R. BIRCHARD
edited by WATT P. MARCHMAN

Mary Roxana Birchard, ¹ daughter of Austin Birchard, ² of Fayetteville, now Newfane, Vermont, was a first cousin of Rutherford Birchard Hayes who on March 4, 1877 became the nineteenth President of the United States. When Mary Birchard visited Florida during February and March, 1867, her cousin Rutherford was a Representative from Cincinnati, Ohio, in the Fortieth Congress of the United States,

Traveling southward so soon after the close of the Civil War, Mary Birchard, as a Northerner, was not certain how she would be received. Expecting to find bitterness among the Southerners, she was courteously treated by all she encountered. But she brought bitterness with her, for she had suffered a severe personal loss because of the War. Her younger brother, Sardis, ³ the baby of the family, had become a soldier in 1863; had been taken prisoner; and had died in Andersonville Prison on August 20, 1864.

Mary Birchard was invited on the Florida trip by a friend, Mrs. Mary ("Mollie") Coles, with whom she was living as a companion at the time. She was then forty years of age. Mrs. Coles came south in search of better health, and she and Mary

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1. Mary Roxana Birchard (1827-1876) the eldest daughter of four children of Austin Birchard and Mary Adeline Putnam, did not marry. She often visited Ohio where her Uncle Sardis Birchard and her sister Charlotte lived. She died in the terrible Ashtabula, Ohio, train disaster, December 29, 1876, while returning home to Vermont. Her body was never recovered.
 2. Austin Birchard (1793-1879) was a brother of Sophia Birchard Hayes, President Hayes's mother. In 1846 he was elected state senator and in 1854 became treasurer of the Windham County Savings Bank, a post he held for twenty years.
 3. Sardis Birchard (1842-1864), enlisted in Co. L, 11th Vt. Regt., on June 27, 1863 and became first sergeant. He was taken prisoner on the Weldon railroad, June 23, 1864, and carried to Andersonville, Ga., where he died August 20, 1864, and was buried in grave number 6334.

Birchard were among the first, after the War, to herald an ever increasing source of income for Florida - the tourist trade.

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Mills House ⁴

Charleston S.C. Feb 13th 1867 ⁵

My Dear Father,

We arrived here yesterday P. M. after a very stormy passage on the Quaker City.⁶ We were put in charge of the Capt who gave us his room, the finest place on the boat. Our [place is] at his right hand at the table & ourselves the envied of all as we had attention of Capt West on all occasions. He is a staunch man & a jolly sailor, Mary Coles did not sit up a moment - was very sick. We started Saturday at 3. P. M & reach'd here Tuesday 3 P.M. Saturday night was terribly stormy. We ship'd two seas that went over the smoke pipe's of the steamer. I was really frightened & quite sick. The Capt came in & waited upon us like a nurse & we were so ill we didn't mind it. The table in our state room tipp'd over & the chairs came tumbling after. The dishes danced about in the pantry - the brimy ocean came oozing into our room - I thought we should go down. In the morn the Capt. came in & enquired how we were. I said we were almost wreck'd; he laugh'd at us & said we had been in no danger. I told him I had rather *see a ship* than *ship a sea*. We could of course eat nothing. We laid in bed most of time. Mollie's bed in the words of Goldsmith "Contriv'd a double debt to pay, A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day." The silver belonging to the boat was kept there in drawers

4. Mills House was located on the southwest corner of Meeting and Green Streets, Charleston.

5. This and the following letter to Austin Birchard are in the Austin Birchard Papers, The Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

6. The steamer *Quaker City* does not appear on any of the passenger lines for the run between New York and Charleston. It is probable that the U. S. steamer *Quaker City* purchased by the government on August 19, 1861, and used as part of the Atlantic Squadron for blockading the Confederacy, was the same boat.

& the waiter came in after it, but nothing disturb'd us, we were so sick. I got up after awhile & reeled about - went on deck. Monday night the Capt took me to see the phosphorus in the sea; it was very fine. The grand old waves with silver crests, & the sparkling glow light was so beautiful that I then, & there, forgave old Ocean for making me like Whittier - "a contributor to the Atlantic." Had I been well I should have enjoy'd the tempest if I had felt safe. Monday morning I was horrified to see a rainbow in the sky; the prospect seem'd gloomy, but we had nothing as fearful as the tempest of Sat. night.

Arriv'd here; Capt W took us to this fine Hotel, into a fine room where we remain till Friday, then take boat for Florida, stop at Fernandina over night & then go down to Enterprise where we shall remain awhile. Capt. took us today out into this col[l]apsed, dilapidated town. Fire has swept thro' the business part leaving blacken'd ruin. Marks of shell are visible on many of the houses. I mean to go to the Stockade tomorrow & see where Amherst ⁷ spent so many wretched hours.

The Chamber of Commerce was here tonight for the first time since the war. The dining room is quite near us & we hear them gabble. Capt. is an invited guest. There is about 80 beside the guests.

Later - I've been eaves dropping & have heard the Carolinians make three after dinner speeches. Gov. Orr ⁸ talk'd very well - was willing S. C. should be fill'd with enterprising people even if they came from the North. There was some difference of opinion among them but they have got thro' without a fight & are passing by our door & expressing themselves in as audible a manner as can be expected considering the

7. Amherst Morse, of Co. E, 11th Vt. Regt. He was captured on the Weldon railroad, June 23, 1864, with Sardis Birchard, and was imprisoned at various places, including Charleston.

8. James Lawrence Orr (1822-1873), was the forty-fourth governor, 1866-1868, of South Carolina, and after the war was appointed by President Grant minister to Russia.

liquor they have taken. It is half past eleven & we shall go to bed now after our first day in Charleston. I'll finish tomorrow.

Have sent you a paper today with our arrivals in.

Good night.

[MARY BICHARD]

I'll send you the paper with the proceedings of the last night meeting. I enjoy'd the way some of the old traitors squirm'd over the Gov.'s speech. It was quite amusing to me. I've no time to enlarge further on the affair.

[Austin Bichard

Fayetteville, Vt.]

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Brock House,⁹ & the only one.

Enterprise Fla Feb 17th [1867].

My Dear Father,

We arr'd here last night after the most delightful sail from Palatka to this place up the St. Johns. It was a scene of enchantment, a perfect July day. Sometimes our channel was so narrow our boat would almost touch both shores & then so wide we could not see land on one side - the grand old oaks draped in its long graceful grey moss, standing like old druids with long grey locks. The bright sunlight, the singing birds & the rippled river, added to the delightful motion of our boat, left only the wish that our dear friends c'd enjoy it with us. An occasional shot from our boat announced to the Southern denizens (alligators) of the fair river that they had better keep down & not open their wide jaws to Northerners in such a rebellious manner. They got tired of it & like the S[outhern] C[onfederac]y, went under.

9. For another description of the Brock House, about a year later, see Ledyard Bill, *A Winter in Florida* . . . (New York, 1870), pp. 125-126. The Library of the Florida Historical Society has the registers of the Brock House for the years 1875-1911.

This morning I sit opposite Young ¹⁰ the Tribune correspondent. Judge Hackett of N. Y. is here. Quite a place this is for invalids. Mollie & I have been to the bowling alley this morn with Miss Polk who came in the boat with us, & a Mr Gilchrist & two nieces. They are from Jacksonville - know intimately the lady Mrs. Bozeman wish'd to introduce to me. They are delightful people & very kind every one is to us. We shall stop here awhile; the house is on a lovely lake, an orange grove - one side with oranges on it, & pines on the other. A darkies encampment near, that looks very gipsy like. I cannot realize as I walk about in this summer sun that you are ice bound. I must say I like this best. This house is quite primitive, no carpets curtains nor luxuries, but when out doors is so charming you can wink at the discomforts inside. We shall walk & sail & chat & I think enjoy this novel out of the world spot very much. I feel as tho' I was out of America on foreign land & dont all the time feel like myself but wonder if it isn't somebody else.

Sometimes in the height of my enjoyment of this weird, wild, luxuriant nature, a terrible sadness thrills me, & I feel like shutting it all out & giving up to my sorrow, but I know I must not. I Heard two of the [men] talking on the boat. I wanted to pitch them overboard to their kindred alligators. One said it w'd have been better for the South had Davis been hung ten y'rs ago.

We were invited to an excursion today to lake Harney but had been so long on the water concluded to try terra firma for today. - In their talk here it is "before the war" this & that-

We have a large room overlooking the lake - Miss Polk on one side - her brother on the other side of us. One of our

10. John Russell Young (1840-1899), journalist, was managing editor of the New York *Tribune* at the time. President McKinley appointed him Librarian of Congress in 1897. See John Russell Young, *Men and Memories* (New York, 1901).

passengers shot a wild Turkey & the boat went ashore & got it. I shall never forget that charming sail, but it is a long way from civilization. Capt Brock ¹¹ was an old blockade runner. We dont hear as yet any insidious remarks about Yankee's. I shall try & not get into any disputes. We will try & enjoy what is agreeable & shun the opposite. We get our mail but once pr week; the boat goes out to-night. Send this to Lottie ¹² & I will not write her this mail, n'xt week will write her. Direct my letters to Savannah Ga Care of Wm M Tunno & Co. They are the Bankers who supply us. It has cost Mollie more than \$100 to get here, but I think it will benefit her. Love to all.

Affec yr daughter

MARY

[Austin Birchard

Fayetteville, Vt.]

Brock house (the only one)

Enterprise Fla. Mar 9th 1867. ¹³

[Sardis Birchard ¹⁴

Fremont, Ohio.]

My Dear Uncle,

For many weeks I have been intending to write you. . . . I wish Uncle Sardis you were down here in this sunny land. I think it w'd do you good. My windows overlook a lovely lake & beautiful Orange grove. The rich perfume of those

11. Mary Birchard may not have known it, but Captain Jacob Brock was also a native Vermonter. He had begun, in the 1850's, to build an inland enterprise on the St. Johns River *to encourage* visits of tourists and sportsmen. He operated several boats and built the inn which he called the Brock House. See Branch Cabell and A. J. Hanna, *The St. Johns . . .* (New York, 1943), pp. 266-268.

12. "Lottie" was Mary Birchard's sister, Charlotte Putnam Birchard.

13. This letter, incomplete, is in the Sardis Birchard Papers, The Hayes Memorial Library, Fremont, Ohio.

14. Sardis Birchard (1800-1874), bachelor uncle of Mary Birchard, was a pioneer settler of Fremont, Ohio; a prominent merchant and banker. He became the legal guardian of his nephew, Rutherford B. Hayes, and willed the future president all of his property, including beautiful "Spiegle Grove" when he died.

starry blossoms, comes to me on the sweet sunsh. wind; & beautiful birds, gay butterflies & sunny skies, make you forget that it is winter anywhere, but only "glorious summer." We, Mrs Coles & myself have been here three weeks & two days; have had uninterrupted warm sunshine, thermometer ranging from 76 to 86.

I will give you a description of *Enterprise*. The name is suggestive. It is the Shire [county-seat] of Volusia Co.; the termination of navigation. It is on Lake Monroe. As you reach the shore from the Steamer on y'r left is the orange grove, with both fruit & flowers on the trees. On the right is a large hotel call'd the Brock house. This is fill'd with invalids mostly, consumptives who find this climate unrivaled for pulmonary disease, dry & hot, [and they] can live out of doors - but I digress; in the rear of this house a building dignified by the name of store stands; near that a bowling alley & work shop combined; a barny looking thing call'd a court house; and a blacksmith's shop, besides a log hut, comprise *Enterprise*. Permanent biped inhabitants 7 but it is densely inhabited by alligators, snakes, fleas, musquitoes, lizards &c &c.

March 14th. I was a little under the weather for a few days & my letter c'd not go by the boat, but must wait another week. Had a letter from Father saying all were well, so I am contented. Some Akron people came last boat. They know the Austins. We intend to leave here next Boat for Hibernia Fla. It is getting too warm here.

There isn't a waggon in this place; a few mules & horses roam about. These people date their privations since the War, but facts are stubborn things & the face of the country tells the story of laziness & as Miss Ophelia says "*shiftlessness*." The black stewardess told a lady on the boat, *Enterprise* was an old Indian name, she didn't know what it meant. The blacks are

lazy & independent; it will take a long time to raise them to a state of moral agency.

There isn't a garden in this enterprising town. We might, with just an iota of industry, be now enjoying green peas, strawberries, & tomatoes & all new vegetables but everything we eat is bro't in the boat, even condensed milk, tho' we have at this hotel a *V[ermont]t* cow but such a forlorn homesick looking traveller you never saw. She means & looks with supreme contempt on everything around after refusing to eat. She cost \$160; poor thing she looks as tho' she w'd give her powder horns for a nibble from her native hills.

A Curse seems to rest upon this sunny land; nothing but Yankee enterprise will ever develop its resources.

[At] *Old Enterprise*, a mile from here, there are relics of an old sugar mill, but no evidence of a local habitation & the *name* is a burlesque!! There is an Indian Mound there constructed of shells, & some sulphur springs, & lovely orange groves, tall palm trees & sweet flowers, all too beautiful to "waste their sweetness" on rattle snakes, alligators & rebels.

We have just had a shower, the first since we came. The orange grove looks as tho' every leaf was varnish'd; birds are singing, insects humming & the *sky* & land & lake seem more lovely than before.

Our trip from Savannah here up the St. Johns river was enchanting. Often our little boat was so near the shore we could grasp the leaves of the trees, then we w'd suddenly shoot out from the gracefully curved stream into a lake all glittery with diamonds of the finest water. Sometimes we would halt at a *place* with a *name* & a log house, a few rough looking bipeds both wh'te & bl'k who look'd as tho' they had been thro' the wars - The amusement [on the boat] was killing alligators. They shot at 100, did not kill them all, but they the alligators thinking

"discretion the better part of valor", like the Southern confederacy, *went under* with considerable dispatch & found their last *ditch*. The north was too strong for them even on their own grounds.

I will take another sheet to finish. I should like very much to hear directly from you, to know how you are this season. I almost wrote summer. I was quite disappointed not going to Washington en route here. [We] shall go [home] by land; we came by sea.

I Design visiting my dear Brother Sardis' grave before I come home. I do not feel willing to return home till I have been where his precious young life was crush'd out. I may not find the exact place where he lies, but the spot mark'd for him I will try & believe is it, & plant some flower or tree over the grave. It is pretty hard to control my feelings sometimes as I walk about in this sunny land & think what he suffer'd. I Drive it from my mind, as I know I must keep cheerful on Mrs Coles' account.

She pays all my expenses for my company We find Northern people every where which makes it very pleasant. N. Y. & Boston have been well represented here. We had plenty letters of introduction & have been very fortunate thus far. We came all the way by water. From N Y to Charleston we were out in a terrible storm & were very sick, but Capt West who had us in charge done everything in his power for us. He put us in care of the Capt of the Dictator,¹⁵ & so we were transfer'd from that to the "Darlington".¹⁶ We had no trouble with our baggage & very little anoyance of any kind. Met a great many Northern people travelling in quest of health.

We return by rail from Charleston, spend a week in Aiken

15. The *Dictator* and the *City Point* were steamers which operated out of Charleston for Savannah, Fernandina and Jacksonville every Tuesday and Saturday. (*Jowitt's Charleston City Directory, and Business Register*, 1869-70, p. 260.)

16. The *Darlington* was one of Captain Jacob Brock's boats which operated on the St. Johns River between Jacksonville and Enterprise.

S.C. then to Richmond & Washington. Shall not get to N Y before the middle of May. I feel very anxious about Lottie's health. She has cough and pain her chest. I wish she was here instead of me. It would do her good I know. Another winter if she isn't better she must go South.

I learned that martial law is proclaim'd thro' the late rebellious states. We expect soldiers here next week to camp near us. Why dont they put Andy Johnson under martial law? I dont hear much since here; there is but one Southern lady in the house, & she is a poor widow with two young children, who has quite chang'd her opinion of Yankee's since she has been here. We haven't yet come in contact with the rabid kind who dare talk.

I've been to the *court house* ¹⁷ this morning; no latch on the door, no whole glass in the window, & I assure you nothing courtly or elegant in its architecture. I Dont think a louder laugh ever echo'd thro' those halls of justice, even at the wit of the Salon's who occupied those rough benches, than I gave at the sight of this enterprising public building. Well, what has made these people to differ? The answer is obvious - Slavery. How miserably blind they have been to their own interest to submit such a degraded existence. They are as great sufferers as the blacks have been. I think they begin to see it, but are so mad, that good should come to them thro' the *hated Yankee's* that they wont admit it. I think now they hang their hopes on "*My Policy*" [President Johnson] and expect he will bring them back like conquering hero's instead of subdued reb's.

March 16. Today we have a fire in our room. It is raining, not very cold, but damp & a fire very acceptable. Two days more & the boat (the link that connects us with the world) will be here with letters. We think of leaving here then for Hibernia about 160 miles north of here.

17. Enterprise, besides being a resort, was the county seat of Volusia County (See Sidney Lanier, *Florida, its Scenery, Climate and History* . . . Philadelphia, 1876, p. 318).

I Fear the quality of this letter will not make amends for the quantity, but when I get where I can see more of this country & people, my letters may be more interesting.

Remember me kindly to my Fremont friends. Where is Sarah Grant? ¹⁸

I Hope this letter will find you in good health. Remember me to Lucy & Rutherford ¹⁹ when you write them; tell them I was very sorry not to go to W[ashingto]n while they were there. Good bye.

Affec y'r niece

MARY R. BIRCHARD.

18. Sarah Jane Grant was a daughter of George and Statira Dickinson Grant, early settlers of Fremont.

19. Rutherford B. and Lucy Webb Hayes.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

The officers and directors of the Society meet in our library on September 11 while this number of the *Quarterly* is in the press. A report for the members will be included in the next issue.

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EDWARD C. WILLIAMSON

After two years of loyal and very efficient service as Executive Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian of our Society, Edward C. Williamson has resigned to affiliate again with the defense forces of our country. He goes with the air arm as Director of Research Studies, Historical Section, Air University, Maxwell Field, Alabama, where his historical knowledge and experience is needed.

In the long history of our Society there has never been a period of greater growth and we now have a larger membership than ever before. This was also the period of President Blocker's service, the great success of which we all know well. The Society is appreciative of and grateful for the work of this team.

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SECRETARY AND LIBRARIAN M. G. COX

President Thrift has appointed Mr. Merlin G. Cox as Executive Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian of the Society until a meeting of the Directors and the Annual Meeting when he will be elected to those offices.

Mr. Cox, a native of Missouri, received his A.B. and M.A. degrees in history at the University of Illinois, where he studied under the noted historian the late James G. Randall. He then taught history at Centenary College, and for the past three years has been Associate Professor of History at State Teachers College, Troy, Alabama. He is now on leave for study at the University of Florida leading to a Ph.D. degree in history. He has served as President of the American Association of Uni-

versity Professors, and has organized regional student conferences for the study of international relations, one of which was attended by representatives from the United States Department of State.

REMBERT W. PATRICK

With a year's leave from the University of Florida, and on a Ford Foundation Fellowship, Dr. R. W. Patrick is now at Yale University for study and research.

In 1950 the grant to the Florida Historical Society from the State through the State Library Board ceased; and the Society's income, being solely from the dues of members and library subscriptions to the *Quarterly*, was about half of what was needed for the salary of our secretary and librarian, the printing of the *Quarterly*, and the rent of our rooms in St. Augustine. It was then Dr. Patrick who proposed and who secured an offer, which we accepted, from the University of Florida to furnish suitable air-conditioned rooms for our headquarters and library, together with an annual grant of \$2,000. (In lieu of the grant, the University now furnishes our secretary and librarian, also a part-time student assistant, the services of a professional cataloger, and minor expenses.) And it was Dr. Patrick who directed the moving of the library, and has since in large part solved our problems at the University.

BENEFACTORS OF THE LIBRARY

It was suggested in the last issue of the *Quarterly* that the Society, in recognition of special gifts to our library, enroll the names of those as *Benefactors* who make a contribution for building up our historical and research collections.

Our library has since received from Dr. Lucien Y. Dyrenforth of Jacksonville, through our Recording Secretary and Director Miss Dena Snodgrass, a projector for reading microfilm. Because

films are now becoming the most important source for historical research, and as we had no way to read them, this gift is of especial value. Dr. Dyrenforth has become the first *Benefactor*.

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Now that we have a microfilm reader, the Society's library can be built up readily with films. Any of our members who have Florida historical material which they do not care to part with could have it filmed and deposit the film in our library where it would be available to any writer or researcher, for our library is at the service of everyone who is interested in the history of our State, whether he is a member or not.

Also, there is much in other libraries relating to Florida which we do not have; hence anyone could become a *Benefactor* by presenting to the library a copy on film of some rare or possibly unique document or pamphlet. The Library of Congress has a vast amount of such Florida historical material. Some of this they have already filmed, and positive copies of these films may be purchased from that Library at a very small cost.

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NEW MEMBERS

(Mar.-Sept.)

Nominated by:

Charles G. Hays, West Palm Beach	Edward C. Williamson
H. D. Mendenhall, Fla. State University	Mark F. Boyd
Ben F. Rogers, Fla. State University	Edward C. Williamson
C. Frank Harrison, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Thomas T. Dunn, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
W. H. Miles, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Merle E. Rudy St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
T. G. Mixson, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Sam H. Mann, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
James T. Earle, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Mrs. Frances Tippetts Johnston, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Allen C. Grazier, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
William B. Tippetts, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
John Monahan, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Frank Smith, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
S. Henry Harris, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Robert Bussey, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
John D. Harris, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Herbert Caulfield, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Mrs. John C. Packard, Marianna	Walter P. Fuller
Norman L. Kilpatrick, Fla. State University	Louise Richardson
Arthur C. Nielson, DeLand	John E. Johns

Michael N. Flavin, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth Jr.
Mrs. Susie Blitch Marble, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth Jr.
Betty Robinson, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth Jr.
J. C. McLendon, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth Jr.
Thomas F. Collins, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Charles A. Robinson Sr., St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Joe W. Davis, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Frank D. McDevitt, St. Petersburg	John C. Blocker
Jane Wentworth, Pensacola	T. T. Wentworth Jr.
F. K. Weeden, Jamestown, N.Y.	J. Velma Keen
Douglas Sparks, Lake Wales	Edward T. Keenan
Walter A. Payne, University of Florida	E. C. Williamson
John H. Wright, St. Petersburg	E. C. Williamson
James V. Doyle Jr., Jacksonville	Dena Snodgrass
Robert H. Ischinger, D.D., Reading	E. C. Williamson
Joseph A. Bower, Palm Beach (fellow)	Mrs. Henry Kohl
Mrs. John Thompson, Oviedo	Verle A. Pope
Gerald Kent Leftwich, Orlando	R. L. Summer
Mrs. Bernard Pope Day, Short Hills, N.J.	E. C. Williamson
Louis C. Goolsby, Gainesville	E. C. Williamson
Duncan L. Clinch, Miami	Dena Snodgrass
Albert DeVane, Lake Placid	Edward T. Keenan
George Esper, Miami	C. W. Tebeau
Josephine Paula Roehrig, Miami	E. C. Williamson
Martin C. McNiell, St. Petersburg	John Monahan
Frank J. Falsone, Tampa	John Monahan
Eddie K. Maloof, St. Petersburg	John Monahan
Mildred C. Woodford, St. Petersburg	John Monahan
Richard H. Frey, Miami Beach	John Monahan
James d'Coursey Parrish, Miami Beach	John Monahan
Mrs. V. D. Glover, Daytona Beach	Harley L. Freeman
Marguerite Drennen, Titusville	John W. Griffin
Kenneth A. McGowan, Quincy	C. H. Curry
Holmes M. Melton, Jr., University of Florida	Samuel Proctor
William Tucker Weeks, Lynn Haven	Julien C. Yonge
Evans C. Johnson, Stetson University	John E. Johns
Basil A. Nickelson, Lantana	Julien C. Yonge
John McNulty, Cedar Keys	Julien C. Yonge
Neil Register Childers, Jay	Julien C. Yonge
Dr. Epaminondas P. Panagopoulos, Detroit, Mich.	John W. Griffin
William Omer Foster, Fla. Southern College	Charles T. Thrift, Jr.
Archie L. McNeal, University of Florida	C. W. Tebeau
Merlin G. Cox, University of Fla.	R. W. Patrick

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS ISSUE OF THE *QUARTERLY*

WILLIAM C. HAVARD is Assistant Professor of Political Science, and Acting Director, Public Administration Clearing Service, University of Florida.

BARBARA GORELY TELLER (Mrs. Graham Prescott Teller) of Brookline, Massachusetts, is a descendant of the Stout family, letters of which, edited by Mrs. Teller, are included in this issue of the *Quarterly*. They have been handed down in her family for nearly two centuries.

ALFRED P. TISCHENDORF is taking a Ph.D degree at the University of Chicago. His research for this article in London was done on a Rotary International Fellowship.

ARTHUR W. THOMPSON, Assistant Professor, University of Florida, has often contributed to this *Quarterly*. He is on leave for a year, as visiting lecturer at the College of the City of New York.

JAMES W. COVINGTON is Professor of History, University of Tampa.

WATT P. MARCHMAN is Director, (President) Hayes Memorial Library, Freemont, Ohio. He was formerly Secretary, Treasurer, and Librarian, Florida Historical Society,



Plate 1. Pencil sketch of Osceola by John R. Vinton.



Plate 2. Print of Osceola, 1838, from John R. Vinton.