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* * * To explore the field of Florida history, to seek and gather up the ancient chronicles in which its annals are contained, to retain the legendary lore which may yet throw light upon the past, to trace its monuments and remains, to elucidate what has been written, to disprove the false and support the true, to do justice to the men who have figured in the olden time, to keep and preserve all that is known in trust for those who are to come after us, to increase and extend the knowledge of our history, and to teach our children that first essential knowledge, the history of our State, are objects well worthy of our best efforts. To accomplish these ends we have organized the Historical Society of Florida.

Saint Augustine, April, 1857

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

DOCUMENTS RELATING TO EL DESTINO AND
CHEMONIE PLANTATIONS, MIDDLE
FLORIDA, 1828-1868. Part I

INTRODUCTION

Probably no other section of the United States has passed through such far-reaching social and economic changes in the last seventy years as the Southern States. In the midst of a land where cotton was king and agriculture the predominant source of wealth, there have arisen new and flourishing industries and extensive development of natural resources. And that is not all; in agriculture itself new methods, new products, and last but by no means least, a new labor system have caused the old days to vanish forever.

(Note—This series of plantation documents will be continued through several numbers of the QUARTERLY. Taken singly, some of these may seem to be of slight interest and of no value to the recording of Florida's history; but they have been selected to give a view of plantation life and conditions and practice from as many different directions as possible, and it is believed that together they picture at least an outline of what a typical Middle Florida plantation was before the War. Portions of the journals of the overseers, their letters to the owner, and extracts *literatim* from the other records of the plantation and its mill will follow: day after day the numbers, and frequently the names, of the hands in the field and at each of numerous and widely different tasks—births and deaths of the slaves, sickness, weather, crops, disasters.

Dr. Abbey (she is professor of history at Florida State College for Women, Tallahassee), in arranging the documents for publication, has added much to their value by a general introduction and full notes throughout. Plantation days, now so long gone in the Tallahassee region, are about to fade from recollection with the passing of their last survivors; so it is well that Professor Abbey has undertaken this work there and now—adding to our appreciation of the documents by outside gleanings. To all of the work she brings a keen interest and historical training.

There is much advantage in publishing each document complete, instead of a narrative based on the whole. Accuracy and atmosphere are secured, but of even more importance—opportunity is given abundantly for reading between the lines. —Ed.)

The ante-bellum plantation lives only in memory; but with the hope of recapturing and preserving some bit of the flavor of that earlier time, the *Florida Historical Society Quarterly* is beginning the publication of a series of plantation manuscripts.

The plantations in question were called El Destino and Chemonie, and were located a short distance from Tallahassee, Florida. The former was one of the well-known pioneer estates of the territory, the latter was acquired by the owner of El Destino in 1839 or 1840. The section of country of which these two plantations formed a part was what was known as Middle Florida and comprised, roughly speaking, the district between the Suwannee and Apalachicola rivers. This land was discovered to be exceptionally fertile and, after the removal of the Seminoles, was the scene of rather extensive settlement. St. Augustine with its vicinity was already becoming known for its orange groves while Pensacola was beginning to compete with Mobile for commerce; thus, it was left to the lot of Middle Florida to become the agricultural center of the new state. The prosperity of the region was not without its darker side, however, for Florida soil was thin as well as fertile, and the problems arising from erosion were never absent.

The extant El Destino and Chemonie records have had an interesting and involved history. In his search for early Floridiana, Dr. James O. Knauss, formerly Professor of History at Florida State College for Women, visited El Destino and there unearthed a mass of material consisting of plantation and mill journals, reports of overseers, legal papers of various kinds, contracts, letters, etc. By a somewhat circuitous route, a large part of these came into the possession of the Missouri Historical Society; the major part of those has been printed in the excellent volume, *Flor-*

ida Plantation Records, edited by Ulrich B. Phillips and James D. Glunt. The remaining documents, which have not been published, were divided by their owner, George Noble Jones, between the Florida Historical Society and the Georgia Historical Society according to the content of the material in question. It is selections from these manuscripts which will, in successive instalments; appear in the QUARTERLY.

The QUARTERLY proposes to publish the records just mentioned according to a definite plan. The present instalment contains a somewhat detailed account of the plantations in question, their origin, extent, growth, and the many and varied aspects of their life. The purpose of this narrative is not merely to make intelligible a series of records which are from fifty to a hundred years old but to restore the outlines and atmosphere of plantation activity as one would attempt to clarify the delineation of the figures in an old masterpiece. Following this introduction, there will appear, in this and subsequent issues, edited selections from the manuscripts themselves. By far the greater number of those selections will be from unpublished records but, now and then, it has been thought wise to reprint extracts from *Florida Plantation Records* to fill in some gap or round out the picture by adding a significant detail.

The establishment of El Destino seems to have been the result of an attempt at land speculation in Middle Florida undertaken by John Nuttall, a Virginia planter, and his sons James and William B. Nuttall. The tract of land which was to prove the nucleus of the estate was obtained from the United States government on January 3, 1828.¹ Two months later, according to the papers of the Nuttall family, a corps of negroes

¹ This tract consisted of the E 1/2, SW 1/4, section 5, township 1 south, range 3 east, Department of the Interior, General Land Office.

was started from Virginia to Florida, ² presumably to provide the labor for the new venture. By May of that year, William B. Nuttall, the son in charge of the business, had procured a tract of land consisting of 480 acres which, in the articles of agreement drawn up by the father and two sons, was definitely named El Destino. The tract thus amassed was composed of two grants of government land ³ and 320 acres purchased from one, John Moor. Of the latter little can be discovered. He was not a real estate dealer on any large scale for there are few records of property acquisition or sales to his credit; on the other hand his transaction with Nuttall was a rather clever speculation. The land had been originally the possession of William M. McCarty who had received it from the government in 1826. ⁴ On June 4, 1828, Moor bought the property for \$1100 and before the sun had set, sold it to Nuttall for \$2350. ⁵

In the fall of 1828 the three Nuttalls drew up a plan whereby El Destino was to be cultivated on a profit sharing basis. The arrangement was to last three years. John Nuttall was the heaviest stockholder for not only was he supposed to have purchased the land but he agreed to put up most of the slaves. These laborers were naturally the group already in Florida. James Nuttall contributed sixteen negroes, while William B. put up neither negroes nor money but was

² See III. of appended documents. The original of this list is in the handwriting of John Nuttall.

³ A second grant of land was taken from the United States by Nuttall in May, 1828. This consisted of the E 1/2, NE 1/4, section 6, township 1 south, range 3 east.

⁴ The land was actually taken from the government in August, 1826.

⁵ The record of the sale of the property by McCarty to Moor is to be found in the records of the Clerk of the County Court, Leon County-Records of County Court, Tallahassee, A433. The terms of the sale by Moor to Nuttall is printed as I. of the appended documents

to work out his share as plantation manager. The profits were to be divided into thirty-two parts, ten of which fell to the share of James. The remaining twenty-two parts were divided between John and William B., two-thirds going to John and one-third to his son. By the terms of the contract, James was at liberty to withdraw his negroes at any time during the three years, provided he did not endanger a crop thereby. ⁶

The next four years saw many changes in the plantation. Additional land was acquired by new grants from the government and also by the purchase of the northwest quarter of section six from James M. C. and Ann Eliza Baker. ⁷ All this land was deeded to William B. Nuttall. In fact the original purchase from John Moor was also deeded to him, a situation which occasioned a protest at a later date. This procedure was justified by Mrs. Nuttall in the litigation which arose at the time of the settlement of the Nuttall estate on the ground that John Nuttall never paid any of the \$2350 but that all the expenditures made in connection with the plantation were met by William B. Nuttall. ⁸

A further charge was made against the management of the plantation during this period of joint ownership, namely, that Nuttall neither rendered an account of the earnings of El Destino nor shared the profits according to the terms of the agreement men-

⁶ See II. of the appended documents.

⁷ Deed of sale of land from James M. C. and Ann Eliza Baker to William B. Nuttall-Records of the Clerk of County Court, Tallahassee, D 611. The sale is recorded as taking place on February 8, 1836, but Nuttall entered the land at the State Land Office in November, 1830.

⁸ Reply of Mary Wallace Nuttall, Administratrix of William B. Nuttall deceased, to a bill in Chancery exhibited against her and the Union Bank of Florida by James Patton, Executor of John Nuttall deceased, May 11, 1839.

tioned above.⁹ Here again, Mrs. Nuttall justified her husband's action on the ground that the cost of the establishment of the plantation had used up the entire earnings of those early years. In fact, the estate of William B. Nuttall brought a counter-claim against the estate of John Nuttall for a share of the amount thus spent. The money had been used for many purposes : forests had to be cleared, the land prepared for cultivation, equipment and stock supplied, and dwellings erected for both owner and laborers. It was maintained in this counter-claim that at least \$11,500 had come out of the private funds of William B. Nuttall.¹⁰

In 1832 several events of importance affected the Nuttall fortunes. On June 20, William B. Nuttall married Mary Wallace Savage, a Savannah heiress who had, among other things, a half interest in fifty-four slaves. Some of the negroes were brought to El Destino,¹¹ and sizable sums from the Savage fortune were employed by Nuttall in his many real estate speculations. The same year witnessed the death of John Nuttall and the end of the joint control of El Destino. In December William B. Nuttall purchased the entire plantation for \$17,000 from the executor of his father's estate, James Patton.¹² Shortly thereafter James and Alexander, brothers of William B.,

⁹ Bill in Chancery exhibited by James Patton, Executor of John Nuttall deceased, against William B. Nuttall deceased and the Union Bank of Florida, November 15, 1838. Patton held that "with reasonable industry and attention" William B. Nuttall could have made \$12,000 for each of the three years. This sum was exclusive of repairs.

¹⁰ *Supra* 8. Mrs. Nuttall claimed that not only had her husband received no compensation for the amount spent out of his own funds but that no arrangement for such compensation had ever been suggested.

¹¹ William B. Nuttall to Mary S. Nuttall, Dec. 7, 1833. The letter discusses, among other things, the sale of Hannah, one of the Savage negroes.

¹² See IV. of the appended documents.

left El Destino for Louisiana and North Carolina respectively. Each carried with him a group of John Nuttall's negroes without making any-payment to their new owner. Alexander, it is true, did give his brother two notes for \$3640 payable "on demand," and there is also evidence that he expected to buy others of his father's slaves as he wished. In a later letter written as a protest against disposing of the negroes, he asserted that he would not have consented to the sale of the property to Nuttall on any other basis.¹³

The settlement arranged between Nuttall and James Patton was not satisfactory as Nuttall became heavily involved in real estate speculation. His most ambitious scheme was the attempted purchase of a whole township which was the tract presented by the United States government to General Lafayette.¹⁴ Out of this venture, Nuttall expected to realize some \$60,000 profit but his hopes had no foundation and, as a result, he embarked on a highly intricate system of borrowing. The payments on El Destino could not be, or, at least, were not made, the slaves on the place were mortgaged to the Union Bank and, finally, resort was made to his New York factors who gave him a loan of \$3000 on his 1836 cotton crop, an unusual proceeding for that date.¹⁵ In the midst of this mystic

¹³ See V. of the appended documents.

¹⁴ The grant of township 1 north, range 1 east was made to General Lafayette in accordance with an act of Congress by John Quincy Adams on July 4, 1825. In May, 1833, the General's Florida friends received his permission to put the land on the market, as he hoped to use the proceeds of the sales as a nucleus of a "modest fortune" for himself and heirs. At this time, he wished to keep a section and a half of land for each of his children. The speculation of Nuttall was never actually completed for he did not succeed in purchasing the entire township. The records for the sale of the land of the Lafayette grant, together with the letter of Lafayette, may be found in the records of the Clerk of the County Court, Leon County, Tallahassee.

¹⁵ See VI. of the appended documents.

financial maze, the gentleman died of apoplexy on April 20, 1836.¹⁶

At the time of Nuttall's death, his wife and child were visiting in Newport, Rhode Island. The management of the estate was, therefore, assumed by Hector W. Braden, a Tallahassee lawyer, who was for some time president of the Union Bank and a participant in many of Nuttall's speculations.

As there was no will which could be found, Mary Savage Nuttall was made administratrix of the estate and, with the assistance of the aforementioned Braden, sought to untangle her husband's affairs. That optimistic gentleman had placed the amount of Nuttall's indebtedness at \$40,000 but the accounts doubled the sum; furthermore all the property and growing crop had been heavily mortgaged.¹⁷ Finding the estate nearly or quite insolvent, Braden prudently developed the habit of paying off those obligations which bore his own endorsement.

During the four years of Mrs. Nuttall's widowhood Braden remained her chief adviser, but from later charges made against him, the advice consisted of everything but specific information regarding the state of her properties. In the suit of Braden vs. Jones and wife, Jones made the assertion that his wife knew little of the condition of her affairs and less of her impending bankruptcy.¹⁸ It is probably true that Bra-

¹⁶ See VII. of the appended documents.

¹⁷ The letter from Hector W. Braden to Mrs. Savage announcing the death of William B. Nuttall contains numerous notes in the handwriting of George Noble Jones, who now comes into the narrative. One of these notes is to the effect that all the property and growing crop were mortgaged by Nuttall before his death. This letter is VII. of the documents herein printed.

¹⁸ In a letter to William H. Brockenborough, who was the lawyer for George Noble Jones in the litigation with Braden, Jones declared that "Braden always deluded her [Mrs. Jones] with the belief that her affairs were most prosperous-at the time of her marriage, she did not believe she had debts of consequence."

den was somewhat impractical and visionary, he impressed Mrs. Savage thus at least, but another reason for his reticence on the mundane topic of finance may have been the budding friendship which sprang up between himself and his friend's widow. Indications are not lacking that Braden entertained a few hopes of possessing the property and hand of his fair client.

The fates, assisted by Mary Savage Nuttall, decreed a far different future, however, for in May, 1840, she married George Noble Jones, a member of a wealthy and illustrious Savannah family. When El Destino was put upon the block a short time later in a foreclosure sale, Jones bought the property and all but one of the negroes.¹⁹ A short time before her marriage, the bride had been the recipient of a bequest from an uncle which she decided to take in the form of eighty negroes. To give employment to this corps, she had purchased on credit from Braden, a plantation called Chemonie, located about six miles north of El Destino. Thus El Destino and Chemonie become merged into one property in our narrative, and, under the guidance of George Noble Jones and his heirs commence their long and interesting history in Middle Florida.

EL DESTINO AND CHEMONIE, THEIR HISTORY FROM 1840

When George Noble Jones, or G. Noble Jones as he came to be called, undertook to pilot the fortunes of El Destino and Chemonie he was already well versed in the problems of plantation management through ex-

¹⁹ *Florida Plantation Records*, pp. 541-544. The list of property given here does not coincide exactly with the land taken up or purchased by Nuttall. The reason for this may be that the rest of the land was not mortgaged, or the deed may have been faulty as so many of those early deeds were. Jones not only bought the El Destino lands but a large part of Nuttall's property in other parts of Middle Florida.

perience with a third estate in Jefferson County, Georgia, which was larger than either of the other two. As the family interests were thus divided, Jones never lived in Florida, except for certain portions of the year, until after 1865. During these periodic visits, moreover, the family always resided at El Destino rather than Chemonie; in fact, there was no dwelling at the latter place where they could stay. As a result El Destino interests and especially, El Destino negroes were supposed to have been unusually close to the members of the family, particularly Mrs. Jones. Certain it is that El Destino was the plantation which, in the eyes of other planters of the neighborhood, was more closely identified with Jones.

The actual management of the plantation was intrusted to overseers, one for each place, while the owner himself was represented for a time by R. W. White of Tallahassee.²⁰ The agent appears so seldom that he is little more than a name. Much the same may be said for Jones himself. As the recipient of the various reports, journals, etc., he is talked to rather than talked about. From other sources, however, one learns that he was of a genial and engaging nature, kind to his kinsmen and devoted to his family. He was by no means indifferent to plantation improvement, and at one time even considered establishing a cotton factory at El Destino. On the other hand, he was an enthusiastic sportsman, travelled extensively, and displayed a sufficiently literary turn of mind to be invited to ad-

²⁰ White ended his connection with Jones in 1850. There is nothing in any of the documents which gives a clue to his resignation from his position save the fact that in September 1850, Roberson, the overseer at the El Destino mill became involved in a plantation scandal. White expected him to withdraw and was planning on undertaking the completion of his work, namely, the construction of the mill. A few months later, White was no longer Jones's agent but Roberson was still in command at the mill. There may, or may not, be some connection between these events.

dress the Savannah Library Society. Like most planters, Jones had the failing of investing too heavily in land, so during most of his life in Florida, he was heavily in debt.²¹ The personalities of the overseers must be reached by reading between the lines. Frequently, they discussed or criticised each other; sometimes they gave some personal opinion, but ordinarily their reports and journals dealt purely with business. All the overseers had one characteristic about which there can be no doubt, namely their free use of the King's English and utter disregard for authority in the matter of spelling.

The managers were employed under contracts of varying duration but the arrangements therein were usually made on the basis of a year's work. Salaries averaged \$400 a year with "certain customary perquisites." Job Freeman, who was in charge at El Destino during the Braden regime, received \$500, but his successors were less fortunate. John Evans, who came to Chemonie from Jones's Georgia plantation in 1847, received \$400. This had increased to \$500 by 1858 and a year later we find him asking for a further increase to \$600, probably due to the fact that he was planning to marry. How these amounts compare with others which were being paid in Florida is not known. Six hundred dollars was evidently a maximum amount to Evans inasmuch as he promised that, "if you will give me this I never shall ask you to Raise my wages any more," but he justified his plea on the ground that eight years in the service of one planter entitled him "to have as good wages as some of the Rest of the overseers in Fa that dont manage any more hands than I doe."²² From all available records, the El Des-

²¹ *Florida Plantation Records*, pp. 21-23

²² John Evans to George Noble Jones, Sept. 9, 1854, *Florida Plantations Records*, p. 98.

tino overseers fared in much the same fashion. The "customary perquisites" or, as Evans called them, "priviledgs" included the usual dwelling, a servant to cook and wash, corn and fodder for one horse and an adequate supply of bread and meat.²³ Roberson, the overseer of El Destino mill, had the right to plant a certain plot of land for his own use,²⁴ a favor which was probably shared by the others.

The role of overseer on the Jones plantations, as on most of their kind, was a varied and many-sided occupation. Not only was it necessary to be a capable farmer but problems arose which demanded a doctor, preacher, judge, jury, and executioner.

Cotton was, as might be expected, the chief product, but sufficient produce had to be grown to make the plantation as nearly self-sustaining as possible. At Chemonie in 1851, for example, only 451 acres out of 771 were planted in cotton; the rest having been used for corn, oats, sugar cane, potatoes, and rice.²⁵ The thinness of the soil required constant building up; frequent reference was made in the journals to teams whose work had been interrupted to "hall leaves." The Florida storms were always a disturbing possibility if not a devastating reality and when all else failed the "Cattapillar" could ruin a year's crop in short order. Throughout the vicissitudes of the planting season the overseers maintained a superb tranquility, for they reported all the evils to which planting was a prey with a kind of bland indifference. In this struggle with nature, the owners were destined to wage a

²³ Contract between Jones and Jesse W. Whatley, 1849. *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 577. This document is to be reprinted from the above reference as part of the records of El Destino.

²⁴ For conditions regarding the mill, see the letters of Roberson to Jones. These will be printed in a later number of the *QUARTERLY*.

²⁵ *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 771

losing fight; the prosperity of both El Destino and Chemonie decreased steadily after 1865 and eventually El Destino was ruined as a plantation by the rapid spread of the bollweevil.²⁶

As far as possible articles used on the estates were home-made. The baskets for carrying cotton to the gin were woven by the hands from white oak splits; home sewed corn husks made the mule collars, and the plough lines were home twisted cotton rope. Even the cloth, both wool and cotton, which was used for negro clothing and the large plantation sacks was manufactured on the place until 1856 when the Southern Rights Manufacturing Company opened a textile mill at Monticello.²⁷ The clothing was given to the negroes in the form of cloth. Six yards was the average length for pants and jackets or frocks but occasionally some portly negress needed the saving grace of an extra yard. The amounts thus supplied reached generous proportions. In 1851 at Chemonie 729 yards of cloth were parcelled out as summer and winter clothing for 85 negroes.²⁸ At El Destino, about the same time, 624 yards were used for "winter clothes, blankets and shirts."²⁹ The recipients of this donation numbered 101 and, judging from the allowances granted, were most of them adults, unless the pickaninnies made up in blankets what they did not need as clothes.

Likewise, most of the food produced on the place was rationed. In favorable years, an adequate crop of cowpeas, corn, hay, fodder, etc., could be harvested for the year's needs. Some meat was always available

²⁶ *Ibid.* p. 8

²⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 39-40. In 1856 Jones sent 207 pounds of wool to be washed and carded by this company.

²⁸ *Ibid.* pp. 430-434. Of the 85 negroes, 83 received both summer and winter clothing.

²⁹ *Ibid.* pp. 555-557.

from the plantation stock but this was never sufficient and, each year, the overseers had to purchase bacon and other varieties of meat. Each week the hands received their allowances, usually, a peck of corn and three and a half pounds of meat. On Chemonie, a half pound of meat was sometimes deducted for every pint of syrup.³⁰ Other foodstuffs were frequently substituted and some of the negroes may have had their own plots which they were allowed to cultivate.

Imported articles consisted mostly of farm supplies, tools and food. Some of these were obtained from Mr. White at Tallahassee but, after he ceased to be the agent of Jones in Florida, the commonest procedure was to write to the owner himself at Savannah or Newport. Shipments were usually made through McNaught and Ormond, merchants at Newport, Florida. In like manner, the outgoing products of the plantations were sent through a definite channel. During the lifetime of William B. Nuttall and the Braden regime, the disposal of the cotton crop was put in the hands of James Hamilton & Son of New York. The sale of the plantation had ended this arrangement, for Jones merged the output of his Georgia and Florida properties and sold it through Robert Habersham & Son of Savannah.³¹

The relations between master and slaves on the Jones plantations was usually excellent. Very little change occurred in the personnel of the estates; the same names appear again and again in the tabulations and reports for some twenty or thirty years. Even the War brought only a slight dislocation of the hands, due, no doubt, to the fact that Middle Florida was never occupied by Federal troops. Many of the ex-

³⁰ *Ibid.* p. 588. Tabulations of food rations for Chemonie are given for the years 1851 and 1856. There are no such tabulations available for El Destino.

³¹ *Ibid.* p. 514

slaves remained to work the old fields on a crop-sharing basis. In fact, several of these folk are still living on both places.

The nucleus of the corps on El Destino was the slaves purchased by George Noble Jones at the foreclosure sale in 1844.³² There had been sixty-seven of these at the time but their increase had been so rapid that the number came to exceed the needs of El Destino. In 1865, the tax list gives the number as one hundred and forty-three.³³

Chemonie, it will be remembered, was peopled by the "Savage negroes," about eighty in all, whom Mrs. Jones had inherited from an uncle. Jones rarely sold his negroes but in 1860 he disposed of a group of the Chemonie hands due to his straightened circumstances. According to a letter of one of his children, he was confirmed in his decision by the fact that these slaves had displayed no increase for some time while, on the other hand, there were more laborers at El Destino than could be profitably employed. Twenty-nine of the Savage group were given to Mary Wallace Nuttall, the child of Mrs. Jones by her first husband, the remaining fifty-three were sold for \$44,200. At the same time, Jones sold himself, as trustee for his wife, sixty-three of his-own slaves for about \$33,000 thus netting a profit of \$13,000.³⁴

The care of the negroes naturally devolved upon the overseers who not only supervised their labor and kept them fed, clothed, and housed but set himself up as general apothecary and physician. Illnesses of various kinds and degree were prevalent. The explanation doubtless lay in the lack of economic incentive rather than in poor sanitation or lack of care. Slaves fre-

³² *Ibid.* pp. 541-43. The cost of these slaves was \$20,238.

³³ *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 561. Jones's tax list was made out April 18, 1865, nine days after Lee's surrender.

³⁴ *Ibid.* p. 560.

quently magnified their petty ailments to get leisure. Disorders of digestion and fever made up the most common causes of sickness; frequent reference is also made to cases of "dropsy." In 1852, Evans reported an epidemic of measles among the plantations of Middle Florida. The death rate was very high, and, as Evans had never had the measles himself, he was much alarmed. No cases appeared at Chemonie but the place was virtually quarantined for a time. As Evans expressed it, "I dont allow one of the young hands to Leave the Plantation Not Even to Visit El Destino." ³⁵ Much of the illness was the result of peculiar habits among the negroes. Evans complained of one, Mungins, who was fatally ill of the so-called dropsy and added, "If I could keep him from Eating and drinking so much water I probably Might Cure him but he will keep his old trade stealing Chickings of Nights and Eating Large baits of them about half Cooked." ³⁶ Another practise, to quote Evans, was dirt eating. As he wrote Jones in one report, "the rest of the Black People is well except Juner and Little Joe, they Eat dirt and are bloted up I think I have got Joe broken off from Eating dirt now and I think I will have Juner cured by a Nother week." ³⁷

Most of the ailments were cured by the overseer but occasionally the seriousness of the sickness or the lack of response to home remedies necessitated the calling of a physician. Visits from physicians were surprisingly few. During 1855, a doctor was called to Chemonie only 18 times at a cost of only \$43. ³⁸ Each plantation was equipped with its medical stores and dental kit, so to speak, and requisitions from Jones

³⁵ *Ibid.* p. 71. Evans to Jones, June 15, 1852

³⁶ *Ibid.* p. 81. Evans to Jones, Sept. 1852.

³⁷ *Ibid.* p. 63. Evans to Jones, April 2, 1852

³⁸ *Ibid.* p. 574. The physician was William F. Robertson.

contained "vermifuge," castor oil, and nippers for pulling teeth.³⁹

The forces of each plantation were divided into a plough gang and hoe gang under its respective negro foreman or "driver," and a standard of labor set for the force. Under this standard, all the negroes were rated as a full hand, half hand, etc., according to their various abilities. The weaker members of the group were usually placed in the hoe gang, most of the women were classified as hoe hand until disabled when they were set to spinning, nursing and cooking. Old men and boys had the regular task of tending cattle, while several pickaninnies kept themselves out of mischief toting drinking water to the gangs in the fields.⁴⁰ At El Destino, there was an additional gang of mill hands who lived at the quarters but were under a separate overseer.

The discipline among the hands was usually fairly good, for although none of the overseers kept systematic records of punishments they rarely mentioned serious problems of insubordination. Slaves frequently ran away, usually because they were being hard pressed during the harvest time. Moxley, an overseer, reported during one season that two negroes ran away because he had had them whipped for not picking over

³⁹ The medicine desired at El Destino in January, 1847, was listed as follows:

"Medison wantin on Eldistina

Blistering ointment

Ipacak

Quinine

Sallaratus

Camphire

Casteroil

Flaxceede

nippers for pulling teeth and gum lancet" In

Florida Plantation Records, p. 573.

⁴⁰ *Ibid.* pp. 33ff.

eighty-five to ninety-five pounds of cotton per day.⁴¹ The only real crisis regarding discipline which was recorded arose at El Destino under Moxley's regime. Four women ran away to Tallahassee where they tried to take refuge at the home of "Lawyer Davis" whose servant was the husband of one of them. The escapade was apparently the result of an agreement to leave should they be whipped again for short cotton. The negroes were arrested and put in jail where they stayed until Moxley secured their release. When the women returned to the plantation the overseer attempted to administer a further chastisement at which Aberdeen, the brother of one, seized an axe and would have used it on Moxley had not the driver intervened. Aberdeen received all due punishment in the presence of Evans who was asked to come over from Chemonie as a witness.⁴² The whole episode occasioned marked attention, one might almost say notoriety, in the neighborhood because it called forth the charge that Moxley was subjecting his negroes to cruel and inhuman treatment. Several Tallahassee gentlemen investigated the condition of the women before they left the city and one of them, W. G. Davis, undertook to protest to Jones himself. Moxley's regime was investigated at the request of the owner and he was finally exonerated. Evans discussed the affair in several of his reports and, while he stood by Moxley, was forced to admit that the latter was inclined to administer punishment "in too Large doses." Evans himself believed in tempering the chastisement to fit the repentance of the sinner and the amount of work he had to perform.⁴³ The blame for the situation on El Destino

⁴¹ *Ibid.*, p. 97. D. N. Moxley to Jones, Sept. 8, 1854. Moxley was aiming to make an average of 110 pounds per day. The negroes frequently picked as much as 130 pounds per day apiece.

⁴² *Ibid.*, p. 110. Evans to Jones, October 18, 1854.

⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 117. Evans to Jones, Nov. 16, 1854.

he placed not so much on Moxley as on his predecessors, whose laxity made his regulations seem unusually severe, and on the loose discipline of the mill hands who were always a disturbing element in the quarters.⁴⁴

Other aspects of plantation life are revealed in an extremely isolated and fragmentary fashion. Births and deaths were usually recorded, but little mention was made of marriage. Enough was said, however, to indicate that it was customary to ask the overseer for permission to marry, and once he was called upon to grant a divorce.⁴⁵ Religious teaching was not wholly disregarded, for El Destino had its own church and at least once during its ministry, there was a thoroughgoing revival of sinners.⁴⁶ Little concerning the amusements or pleasures of the negroes was reported in the communications of the overseers, but as their chief interests were details of business, this is not surprising.

In addition to his agricultural interests, Jones undertook several industrial projects. He erected a grist-mill and saw-mill on El Destino and had some thought of establishing a textile mill in connection therewith. The construction of a canal, as a tail-race to the mill, which was large enough to permit the installation of machinery was probably completed with this end in view. The two mills just mentioned were well under way by 1852 through the efforts of "Judge" Jonathan Roberson.

In many ways, a better picture may be reconstructed of Roberson than of any of the other over-

⁴⁴ *Ibid.* pp. 62 and 140. Evans to Jones, April 2, 1852; Evans to Jones, July 16, 1854.

⁴⁵ This does not necessarily mean that there were no records kept on various questions but merely that they are not now in existence.

⁴⁶ Roberson to Jones, May 1, 1852. These letters will appear in a later number of the **QUARTERLY**.

seers. True, the picture was hardly a pleasing one, for the "Judge" was neither an efficient overseer nor a strict adherent of the straight and narrow path. He came from Savannah to construct and manage the El Destino mills. He must have been in middle life for he had at least one grown son whom Jones occasionally took the trouble to visit. What he had ever done to earn the title of "judge" is unknown but it is certain that it had nothing to do with education or learning in any form. Less is known about the contract under which he worked than about his private life. From his letters one may gather that he had, in addition to his salary, the "customary perquisites" that is, a house, servant, and certain allowances of food stuffs. He, also, had some stock and land which he farmed.⁴⁷

The mill construction was carried on by a corps of laborers drawn from El Destino. One infers also that separate teams and wagons were provided. Progress was aggravatingly slow at all times. This may have been due to the difficulties of the task and the unreliable labor but the overseers of El Destino and Chemonie thought otherwise. Indeed, Evans bluntly declared that Roberson was purposely holding up the work in order to prolong his own job.⁴⁸ The mills were eventually finished, however, and continued to be operated by Roberson until after the War for Southern Independence.

The immediate end of the mills was naturally to meet the demands of the Jones plantations, but here again there were many conflicts. The work sent Roberson was usually delayed and, once done, seldom

⁴⁷ These facts have to be gleaned from the correspondence between Roberson and Jones which will appear later. There is no record of the contract between Roberson and his employer.

⁴⁸ *Florida Plantation Records*, p. 110. Evans to Jones, July 16, 1855

satisfactory. A wagon wheel which Evans sent to El Destino for repairs was unduly held up at a time when he was "Verry Much in Need of it about hawling Leaves."⁴⁹ At another time Roberson ignored the specifications for some timber which he was to saw for Chemonie, with the result that none of it could be used. After this episode Evans "quit him" saying that he "would have liked verry much to of got the Lumber sawed at El Destino Mills as it would of bin a great saving I waited on the judge as Long as I could."⁵⁰

Moxley came to grief with the "Judge" over the repair of the El Destino gin. Roberson wrote Jones that the machine was in good working condition, a report which aroused the overseer. As the latter told his employer, "I am sorry he has maid such a mistake. it is true that he sharpened the gin very well there is something else to do to a gin besides Sharping."⁵¹

The most serious question which came up concerning the relations of the plantation and the mill was the matter of discipline. The mill crew lived at the quarters but worked under their own regulations. For example, they did not have to be at work as early as the other hands, a circumstance which corrupted the dusky brethren denied the luxury of this extra time. As Evans put it, "negroes is this disposition, if they see negroes around them Ideling why they want to doe so two."⁵² The laxity of Roberson's hold over the hands created further trouble. Shortly after he came to El Destino, he became involved in a sordid intrigue with one of his own negroes. Contrary to expectations, he was not discharged and the difficulties continued. Moxley claimed that at one time the "Judge" had not been on the canal for two weeks when the hands were at

⁴⁹ *Ibid.* p. 76. Evans to Jones, July 16, 1852

⁵⁰ *Ibid.* p. 143. Evans to Jones, Aug. 15, 1855

⁵¹ *Ibid.* p. 103. Moxley to Jones, Sept. 21, 1854

⁵² *Ibid.* p. 111. Evans to Jones, October 18, 1854

work.⁵³ This, of course, afforded ample opportunity for loafing and mischief on the part of the negroes. Roberson wanted a post office at the mill but the overseer opposed the move on the ground that it would merely give one more opportunity for the neglect of the mill business.

Nothing of these questions found their way into the reports which Roberson sent to Savannah. Therefore, no chance is afforded of learning both sides to the story. On the other hand, in spite of the claims of slowness, laxity, and moral iniquity brought against him, Roberson remained at El Destino until late in the 60's and during the War was not only in charge of the mill but also overseer of the plantation. Of course this latter circumstance may have been due to the lack of man power in the South during those trying years rather than to any personal quality of Roberson.

The period of prosperity for both El Destino and Chemonie ended in 1865, even though neither place had been disturbed by the military events of that day. The war losses of the Jones fortune were heavy. The Georgia plantation was in Sherman's path and its contribution to his destruction was 500 bales of cotton worth \$225 a bale.⁵⁴ Most of the negroes left the place as a result of the devastations in the region.

Reports and journals for the plantations during the period of reconstruction are more than meager. Jones took up his permanent residence at El Destino shortly after the end of the struggle and, as either he or his son was on the ground for the next twenty years, the need for detailed records was eliminated.

Arrangements were made with most of the ex-slaves to work the land on a crop-sharing basis. Tracts

⁵³ *Ibid.* p. 131. Evans to Jones, June 15, 1855

⁵⁴ *Ibid.* p. 204. Robert H. Gardiner to Wallace S. Jones, Nov. 7, 1879. Gardiner married Sarah Fenwick Jones. The Gardiners lived in Maine.

of land, comprising about one hundred and fifty to two hundred acres, were let to companies or squads, each squad containing about eight or ten negroes under a "head man." The planter furnished all the necessities for cultivation in return for two-thirds of the cotton crop and a percentage of the corn.⁵⁵ This system broke down after a few years and was followed by a variety of individual arrangements.

The actual work of managing the plantations was done not by Jones but by his son, Wallace S. Jones. Wallace Jones had been educated abroad, was in fact, a graduate of Saint Cyr. His tastes were not those of a planter as one of his uncles took occasion to remind him, but nevertheless, he toiled on contending with the senseless and unreasonable regulations of the reconstruction regime and struggling to keep his labor against the enticements of neighboring planters.

As early as 1876, Jones Senior agreed to sell the property for \$20,000 and his Yankee brother-in-law undertook to advertise it to that group of Northerners who had already developed "a great rage" for Florida.⁵⁶ The estates were still on the market at his death two years later, in 1878.

In 1885, Grover Cleveland became President, thus restoring that office to the Democratic party for the first time in twenty-five years. The event brought a momentous change to El Destino, for Wallace Jones applied for a foreign appointment. The same year he was made United States consul at Messina and ten years later, Consul General at Rome. During his absence the estates became even less profitable than formerly, due to poor management and the general depression of the times. The owners were tired of their

⁵⁵ *Ibid.* p. 37. Types of contracts for tenant farmers, etc., will be reprinted from *Florida Plantation Records* in a later number of the *QUARTERLY*.

⁵⁶ *Ibid.* p. 204. Gardiner to Jones, Nov. 7, 1879

properties and kept them constantly on the market. It was not until 1919, however, that George Noble Jones II, a grandson of the George Noble Jones of the records, sold El Destino for \$70,000. The low price was due to the ravages of the bollweevil which since 1914 had infested the plantation. The second estate, Chemonie, is still in the possession of the Jones family.

KATHRYN T. ABBEY

* * *

THE DOCUMENTS

*Deed of the Sale of the El Destino Property by
John Moore to William B. Nuttall*¹

John Moore & Wife This Indenture made this fourth
 to day of June in the year of Our
William B. Nuttall Lord one thousand eight hun-
 dred and Twenty eight. Between

John Moore and Matilda his wife of the County of Leon and Territory of Florida of the one part and William B. Nuttall² of the aforesaid County and Territory of the other part, Witnefseth that the said John Moore and Matilda his wife for and in consideration of the sum of two thousand three hundred and fifty dollars

¹ The deed for this sale was recorded by the clerk of the County Court, Leon County, on July 31, 1829 - Records of the Clerk of the County Court, Tallahassee, B 465.

² The deed was made out to William B. Nuttall although, according to the agreement drawn up between the members of the Nuttall family (see II), John Nuttall, father of William B., was supposed to pay for the property. In the litigation started later by the executor of the estate of John Nuttall, James Patton, this point was raised. Mary Savage Nuttall, widow of William B. and the administratrix of his property, claimed that John Nuttall had never paid any of the amount agreed upon, hence the titles had not been recorded in his name. See Bill and Charge brought against William B. Nuttall by James Patton, 1838, and Reply of Mary Savage Nuttall to a bill in Chancery exhibited against her by James Patton, May 11, 1839.

lawful money of the United States to them the said John Moore and Matilda his Wife in hand paid the receipt whereof is hereby Acknowledged he the said John Moor and Matilda his wife have granted bargained and sold and by these presents do grant bargain and sell unto the said William B. Nuttall his heirs etc the following tracts of land, ³ to wit, the West half of the North West quarter of Section five Township one South of Range three East in the District of lands offered for sale at Tallahassee in the Territory of Florida Containing Eighty Acres and three hundredths of an Acre according to the Official plot of the Survey of the said lands returned to the General land office by the surveyor General. The West half of the North East quarter of Section Six in Township one South of Range three East in the District of lands offered for Sale at Tallahassee in the Territory of Florida Containing Eighty Acres and three hundredths of an Acre according to the Official plot of the Surveyor of the Said lands returned to the General land office by the Surveyor General the East half ⁴ of the South East quarter of Section five in Township One South of Range 3 East in the District of lands offered

³ The land sold had been obtained from the United States government in August, 1826, by William M. McCarty. They were sold to John Moor on June 4, 1828 (the day of their sale to Nuttall) for \$1100 - Records of the Clerk of the County Court. Tallahassee. A 433 and Records of General Land Office of United States, Gainesville.

⁴ There may be a mistake in the listing of this half quarter. According to the record of the foreclosure sale at the time when George Noble Jones acquired El Destino this half quarter is not the east half but the west half of the southeast quarter of Section 5. (Fla. Plant. Rcds., p. 543.) Furthermore, the official map of El Destino does not include the east half of the southeast quarter of section 5 as part of the estate. A third reason for thinking that the listing given above is a mistake is the fact that if the land purchased was the east half of the southeast quarter, it would have been an isolated strip of land unconnected with the rest of the property.

for Sale at Tallahassee in the Territory of Florida Containing Eighty Acres and three hundredths of an acre according to the Official plot of the Survey of the Said land returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General. The West half of the South West quarter of Section five in Township South of Range three East in the District of lands offered for sale at Tallahassee in the Territory of Florida Containing eighty Acres and three hundredths of an Acre according to the Official plot of the Survey of the Said land returned to the General Land Office by the Surveyor General. All of Which will more fully appear by reference to Certificates Nos. Seven hundred and thirty five. Seven hundred and thirty Six. Seven hundred and forty One and Seven hundred and forty two deposited in the General Land Office and upon which patents issued Conveying the Said lands to Wm M. McCarty and signed by John Q Adams President of the United States and by George Graham Commissioner of the General Land Office and bearing date the first day of November in the year of Our Lord one thousand eight hundred and Twenty Six and of the Independence of the United States the fifty first. To have and to hold the Said lands and every part and parcel thereof with the appurtinances unto the Said William B. Nuttall his heirs and assigns forever. In Testimony Whereof the said John Moor and Matilda his Wife have hereunto subscribed their names the day and year first written-

Signed Sealed and

JOHN MOORE (Seal)

delivered in presence of

MATILDA L. MOORE (Seal)

TURBUTT R. BETTON, J.P.

THOMAS I. WALSH

ABRAHAM RAPLEY

* * *

II.

Articles of Agreement concerning the Establishment of El Destino.

Articles of agreement entered into, this 18th day of September 1828, between John Nuttall, James Nuttall and William B. Nuttall, in reference to the settlement of a plantation, in Leon County Florida, (called El Destino) purchased by the said John Nuttall from John Moor,⁵ which is to take place, and go into operation, the 25th December next, and to continue in operation for the space of three years (until the 25th December 1831) - The said John Nuttall is to have placed on the said plantation, at the above mentioned time, thirty six⁶ negroes, which are at this time not in Florida, and of which thirty two are to be considered laborers; and the said James Nuttall, on the same plantation, and at the same time, is to have placed sixteen negroes which are now not there, and of which ten are to be considered laborers.-The said William Nuttall is to take charge of the said plantation and to cultivate the same with the said negroes-belonging to the said John and James Nuttall-for the period of three years-the time above mentioned-And the said William B. Nuttall, after defraying all expenses accruing on the said plantation, and incident thereto, is to divide the net profits thereto into thirty two parts, and pay over to the said James Nuttall ten parts-according to the proportion of his negroes-and two thirds of the remaining twenty two parts to the said John Nuttall, and the remaining third, of the

⁵ See note 1. There is a discrepancy in the statements regarding the purchase price. In the bill and charge brought against William B. Nuttall by James Patton, executor for the estate of John Nuttall, the assertion was made that the property cost \$2,680. The recorded deed of the purchase gives the amount as \$2,350.

⁶ He actually sent 40 negroes. See III.

twenty two parts, the said William B. Nuttall is to retain for and have himself. ⁷ The said James Nuttall may withdraw his negroes within three years if he thinks proper-provided, that he do not, by so doing, interfere with a crop arranged. The said John Nuttall may add hands at pleasure and the division of the profits continue to be governed by the rules above applied;- vis, 2/3 of J. N.'s proportion to W. B. N.

JOHN NUTTALL

JAS. NUTTALL

WM. B. NUTTALL

* * *

III.

List of Negroes sent to Florida March 1st 1828. ⁸

Isham & Mary Chesly, Demps, Stephen,	
Emily & Little Pleasant	-----11
Minna Melia Nancy Mary John	
Pleasant, Betsy (his wife) Charles,	
Iverson, Young, Susan, Elisa, Jane	----- 8
Kate, Nutty, Easter, Hannah, & Colman	----- 5
Phillis, her son Frank, Reubin, Hay-	
wood & Sam	----- 5
Sold sold sold	
Muriah, Betsy, Rachel, & Sim	----- 4
Willie, Frank, Peter, Tom, Moses,	
& Currie	----- 6

	39
Temp -----	1

	40

⁷ William B. Nuttall made no account or statement of conditions on El Destino to the other two partners during the period designated. In the bill and charge brought against him

⁸ This list is in the handwriting of John Nuttall.

[Verso :]

List things started with

200 lbs Bacon - 11 Bus Corn - 72 Bus Meal, Fodder etc.
 8 Chit axes - 5 Grub Hoes - 1 H Saw⁹ - 1 D Knife¹⁰
 Auger & Chisel - 2 Degan Plough Hoes¹¹

* * *

IV.

Articles of Agreement concerning the Sale of El Destino to William B. Nuttall

Decr - 24th 1832.

Articles of agreement entered into this day between William C. Patton,¹² agent of James Patton, Executor of John Nuttall, die-of the first part and William B. Nuttall of the second part.

The said Patton does hereby agree and bind himself to convey unto the said Nuttall all of the property of any description belonging to the late John Nuttall in the territory of Florida and at the plantation called El Destino; and the said Nuttall agrees and binds himself to give for the said property seventeen thousand

in 1838 by James Patton, it was claimed that "with reasonable industry and attention" he might have cleared \$12,000 annually. In her reply to this bill, Mary Savage Nuttall testified that not only were there no profits made on El Destino during this time but that Nuttall spent out of his private funds at least \$11,500. When the Union Bank replied to the same bill in Chancery, it claimed that it knew nothing of this agreement, as it had never been given legal form nor made public, and that it had supposed that the land had always been owned outright by William B. Nuttall.

⁹"H Saw" is hand saw

¹⁰"D Knife" is probably ditch knife.

¹¹ The difference between "grub hoes" and "plough hoes" is that the former is a small hand hoe while the latter is horse drawn and may hoe several rows at once.

¹² At John Nuttall's death in 1832, James Patton was made executor of his estate. Due to differences with William B. Nuttall over the El Destino property, William Patton was given power of attorney by James Patton to "settle, adjust, and close" the business. Bill and Charge brought against William B. Nuttall, 1838, by James Patton.

dollars 13 - six thousand to be paid in a draft on New York, and the other, eleven thousand dollars, to be paid in two equal annual instalments in New York, the last instalment for five thousand live hundred dollars to bear interest at the rate of six per cent fur one year.¹⁴ And it is hereby understood between both parties that an undefeasible title is not to be made to the said Nuttall for said property untill all the said amounts are paid-that is to say until the first draft in N. York is paid and the two equal instalments of five thousand five hundred each are paid - all of which they both bind themselves to-

WILLIAM C. PATTON

WM. B. NUTTALL

[Verso, in Nuttall's writing :]

It is understood that the executor or executors of John Nuttall, die, are not to be made liable on account of the cond mentioned or included in the foregoing contract.

WM. B. NUTTALL

* * *

V.

*Letter of A. H. Nuttall to William B. Nuttall
concerning El Destino*

Level Green¹⁵ - July the 25th 1834

Dear Sir

I received your letter of the last mail the content

¹³ From the charges later made by James Patton, Nuttall had set the value of the El Destino property at \$10,000.

¹⁴ On December 30, 1832, William B. Nuttall gave James Patton two notes for \$5500 each, one payable January 1, 1833, and the other January 1, 1834. By October 1836, \$2740 had been paid on these notes. The remainder of the \$17,000 was never paid-Bill and charge brought against William B. Nuttall by James Patton, 1828.

¹⁵ The letter is marked Pattonville in the handwriting. of A. H. Nuttall. It is possible that "Level Green" is the name of an estate rather than the town Levelgreen, Virginia. Nuttall was supposed to live in North Carolina.

of which I read with utter astonishment. You certainly have not forgotten that I hold a letter from you while at the north in which you agreed to let me have the property¹⁶ at what it cost you and give me my time to pay for it in - provided I would sign the permit for the sale of said property, which I should certainly not have done, had it not been for that stipulation on your part; and my reason for not signing the permit would have been, this, I know if Father had known the discontent of the negroes he certainly would have had them brought back for he had promised to do so.

To be candid I must say your treatment toward me in this matter does not savour much of the fraternal love and friendship you professed for me when you influenced me to go to the south almost to my ruin; and I must say still more if you are determined in the face of our contract, which I shall prove by your letter and brother James evidence to try to effect my injury, I shall forthwith take council and be prepared to defend myself against the worst.

I assure you it is a source of great grief to me to have such impressions made on my mind relative to a brother as your letter has made.

We are all well
Yours
A. H. NUTTALL

S

P I will deliver to brother James your message.

* * *

¹⁶ When A. H. Nuttall left Florida after the death of his father, he took with him to North Carolina a number of his father's slaves. He gave his brother two notes for the sum of \$3640 and agreed to pay them "on demand." The "property" mentioned here is probably the rest of the John Nuttall slaves. The event which caused him such irritation might well have been the mortgage of some of these negroes to the Union Bank of Florida, March 1, 1834.

VI.

*Mortgage on the Cotton Crop of 1836 to James
Hamilton & Son*¹⁷

I Wm B. Nuttall have rec' this day of James Hamilton and Wm. F. Hamilton - trading as James Hamilton & Son Three thousand and seven 80/100 Dollars on my Cotton crop for the year 1836¹⁸ -And I promise and agree to ship and consign at my own risk to said James Hamilton & Son at new York from St. Marks or Magnolia the whole of my said cotton crop that I grow during the said year as soon as the same is got out and baled which I do promise and agree shall be done as soon as possible-and said Jas Hamilton and son on the receipt of said Cotton are to sell the same and upon such sale after payments of this and all other advances with Interest at Eight per Cent and also all Costs Charges freight Expenses and Commissions are to pay me the balance of the proceeds when due and for the fulfilment of Said Contract my said Cotton crop is hereby pledged mortgaged and hypothecated to said Jas Hamilton & Son or assigne.

In testimony whereof I have signed this instrument this 22nd Dec' 1835.

WM. B. NUTTALL (Seal)

Witness

WM. H. BRODIE

* * *

¹⁷ James Hamilton and Son were the cotton factors, whom Nuttall had for several years. There are numerous records of his transactions with them.

¹⁸ Crop liens were not very common at this early date but the one in question was not the only loan which was made to Nuttall. From the very meager record of his accounts with Hamilton and Son, one must conclude that he was heavily in debt to them most of the time.

VII.

*Letter of Hector W. Braden to Mrs. Mary Savage
announcing the death of William B. Nuttall.*¹⁹

Tallahassee April 22 nd 1836

Dear Madam

I have painful intelligence to communicate to you, which from the bad state of health of Col Nuttall for several months, I hope may not be altogether unexpected. My poor friend is no more For several weeks his health had been very delicate, but he had recovered sufficiently to be able to commence his journey northward which he would have undertaken in a few days,²⁰ he had an attack of apoplexy about a week ago, immediately after which I saw him. My brother remained with him several days and thought he had entirely recovered. Doctor Waddel was very attentive to him, and thought he was in no danger, the day before yesterday, he awoke in the morning, seemingly in good health directed breakfast to be prepared and observed that he intended after breakfast to ride up to Mr. Footman's to dinner, immediately after in the act of rising from his bed, he had an attack of apoplexy which in a few seconds terminated his existence-A young man from Virginia a Mr Godwin, an acquaintance of Col Nuttall's and who accompanied Col. Nuttall from Charleston and had been with him since and had been very attentive to him was in the room with him at the time - He was buried yesterday by the side of his daughter with every mark of respect by his friends and neighbors - It was a matter of great regret to me that I could not have been with my excellent friend

¹⁹ Efforts have been made to find the age of Nuttall at the time of his death but with no success. None of the documents give the slightest clue and there are no records of deaths occurring as early as 1836.

²⁰ Mrs. Nuttall and her small daughter were at Newport, Rhode Island, when her husband died.

in his last moments and I have written to you that you might communicate this great affliction to Mrs. Nuttall in such way as your affection and descretion may dictate - Mr. Footman ²¹ told me he would write to Mr. Anderson and some other of your friends in Savannah. Mr. Footman and myself made a partial examination of such papers as we could find, that those of importance might be preserved. there was no will found amongst them. we shall return on monday next and lock up every thing of value - We will attend to the Interests of this estate until you give some direction concerning it. The Boy Wm. ²² says Col Nuttall made a will he thought before he left New York. I have thought if he did so he might have left it with yourself or Mrs. Nuttall - You will pardon me my dear madam for speaking of business in a letter intending to convey such sad intelligence, but as it is of much importance to yourself & Mrs. Nuttall I hope you will do so. If there is no will ²³ it will be necessary that some of your friends should come here and administer as the estate is somewhat involved, but I think can be easily extricated, if it is not [MS. torn] involved than I apprehend - I think the estate is indebted about Forty thousand dollars, ²⁴ most of which will have to be paid within a year or two, there will be sufficient however from the present coming crop to pay 12 or 15 thousand

²¹ There are sufficient references among the documents to indicate that Mr. Footman was at times a participant in Nuttall's real estate speculations.

²² This was doubtless the mulatto later referred to as William Nuttall. He was never a hand on the plantation but occupied the position of butler or body servant.

²³ No will was ever found. There is no record in the Probate Court files of any such document, also subsequent litigation mentions the efforts of Mrs. Nuttall to preserve her "dower rights" in her husband's estate which would indicate that there was no will.

²⁴ The indebtedness of the Nuttall estate was discovered to be not \$40,000 but nearly \$87,000.

dollars ²⁵ & eventually the profits on the LaFayette lands will pay most of the balance if it could be made available which however cannot probably for some years-in the meantime some other arrangement must be made. I shall leave the Territory by the 5th of June, and should before that time be glad to hear from you-
with great Respect

H. W. BRADEN ²⁶

²⁵ This opinion of Braden was unfounded as all the property and the growing crop were heavily mortgaged.

²⁶ Hector W. Braden was a Tallahassee lawyer. He was the partner of Nuttall in many of his enterprises and endorsed his notes to the amount of \$11,000. In 1835, he was made Director of the Union Bank which held most of Nuttall's mortgages. In fact, his indebtedness to the Bank was estimated as \$52,700.

(This series of documents will be continued in the next number of the QUARTERLY.)

ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS, ST. AUGUSTINE;
THE FRANCISCANS IN FLORIDA

On June 12th, 1523, Lucas Vasquez de Ayllon, a Spanish judge living on the Island of Santo Domingo, was commissioned by Ferdinand and Isabella to explore the Atlantic Coast for eight hundred leagues and to found somewhere a settlement within three years.¹ "He was to influence the natives to receive the preachers, who were to inform and instruct them and make them good Christians Whatever is needful," continues the document, "in transporting them shall be paid entirely from the rents and profits which in any manner shall belong to us in the said land."

Thus in 1523 did the sovereigns of Spain obligate themselves to maintain Divine worship on our coast.

Early in July, 1526, Ayllon sailed from Puerto de la Plata with three Dominican priests.² According to Ecija, pilot-in-chief of the "Florida," he landed at the point where subsequently the English founded Jamestown. Unfortunately de Ayllon was carried off by a pestilential fever shortly after his arrival. He died Oct. 10th, 1526.³

Pedro Menendez, a famous naval commander, obtaining from Philip II a commission to occupy and settle Florida sailed from Cadiz June 29th, 1565, and on August 28th reached that coast. He called the spot where he landed St. Augustine. On the 8th of September, 1565, the Reverend Mendoza Grajales celebrated a solemn Mass of Thanksgiving. This was the first Mass said in Florida.

¹ *Lowery, The Spanish Settlements Within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, 1901), pp.

² *Ibid.* p. 165

³ Relaciones Ecija, pilota-mayor de la Florida

Menendez, in his asiento (contract) with the king, March 20th, 1565, had bound himself to bring out ten or twelve Religious of some Order and four Jesuits. St. Francis Borgia, formerly the Duke of Gandia but now the General of the Jesuits, personally selected ten men to go with Menendez who were to bring to the natives the knowledge of the Savior. These priests arrived in 1568, but the natives treated them most cruelly and put some of them to death.⁴ Hearing of the death of Father Segura, S. J. and of the apparent hopelessness of any permanent Spanish settlement in Florida, he withdrew the remaining members of the Society and sent them to Mexico where they founded a very flourishing Province.⁵

As both the sons of St. Dominic and St. Ignatius failed in their endeavor to convert the Indians, these missions finally devolved on the sons of St. Francis.⁶

The present age has witnessed a remarkable interest in the life and works of St. Francis. The son of Pietro Bernardone, a rich cloth merchant, he was born in 1181 at Assisi in Umbria, which place has become the goal of a new race of pilgrims. Without strife or schism "God's Poor Little Man" became the means of renewing the youth of his Church. To kindle the love of God in the world and to reanimate the life of the spirit in the hearts of men-such was his mission. Even those who care little about the order he founded, and who have scant sympathy for the Church to which he belonged, find themselves looking across the ages for his guidance and invoking his name in grateful remembrance.

⁴ See QUARTERLY, Vol. VI, p. 182. Ray, *Jesuit Martyrs in Florida*.

⁵ Shea, *Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886) p. 150

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 151

In the early days Florida embraced all that territory extending northward "to the poles and westward to the Pacific ocean." After the voyages of the French and the English navigators, its boundaries were limited to the shores of the Chesapeake Bay and the Mississippi River.

The first Franciscans to arrive in St. Augustine were the Rev. Alonzo de Reynoso with a number of other priests and laybrothers, toward the end of 1577. At Nombre de Dios and San Sebastian they began their labors among the Indians. Soon a number of converts became regular attendants at the Sunday Mass in the parish church.⁷ Of course all buildings, churches, schools and convents, were rudely constructed of logs obtained from the neighboring forests.

In 1592 twelve more friars arrived with their superior, Fray Jean de Silva and at once placed themselves under the charge of Reverend Francis Marron, Guardian, or Warden, of the Convent.⁸ One of them, a Mexican, Father Francisco de Pareja, drew up in the language of the Indians, his *Abridgment of Christian Doctrine*, said to be the first work compiled in any of the Indian languages.⁹ By 1594 there were no less than twenty mission houses.¹⁰

Like the Jesuits, many of the Franciscans were martyrs within the widespread territory of what was then Florida, six of a group of seven being murdered by the Indians in 1597; Father Francisco de Avila

⁷ [Barcia] *Ensayo Cronologico Para la Historia de la Florida* (Madrid, 1723) p. 162

⁸ Fairbanks, *The History and Antiquities of St. Augustine, Florida* (New York, 1858) p. 114

⁹ Brinton (*The Floridian Peninsular*, Philadelphia, 1859, p. 42) gives this distinction to a grammar and catechism drawn up by Padre Antonio Sedeno who had been deputed to the Province of Guale, now Amelia Island. Brinton lists also Pareja's other works in the Indian tongue.

¹⁰ Brinton, op. cit. p. 156

alone being saved. The following documents” are descriptive of the massacre, and of the Franciscans of the period :-

In the city of St. Augustine, Province of Florida, July 1, 1598, Gonzalo Menendez Canso, Governor and Captain-General of the King our Lord, says: That in the month of October past of 1597 he was notified of an uprising of the Indians of the Province of Guale. They had refused to obey your Majesty and killed the Religious of the order of San Francisco sent out to convert and teach them.

The Governor ordered me, the secretary, that I should go to the monastery of San Francisco, of this city, and in his name ask the custodian priest of said house, Fray Francisco Marron, to give permission to Fray Francisco de Avila, who had been sent to teach and convert the Indians, that under the oath which is administered to the Religious of his Order, he declare how his companions were killed, what he has seen and heard, and the causes that have moved them to commit such a crime as the killing of the priests.

The present notary public went to the Monastery of San Francisco of this city, read and showed the decree above to Fray Francisco Marron, custodian of the provinces, who said: that mindful that Fray Francisco de Avila was one of the friars sent out to teach and convert in the Peninsular of Guale, and as the Lord, Our God, had seen proper to deliver him from being killed by the Indians, as his companions had been, and as a person who knew the habits and manners of the Indians, and knew their language, he deemed it wise to give him freedom to say and declare

¹¹ Averette and Brooks, *The Unwritten History of Old St. Augustine*, pp. 34-52

An account of the martyred Franciscan missionaries was written and published by Geronimo de Ore: *Relacion de los Martires que ha Avido en la Florida* (Madrid, 1604).

all he considered would be to the services of God of the killing of his companions-except in cases and things criminal where his rights of priesthood prohibited, such as death by the cutting of members. And this I say and sign in his name-Fray Francisco Marron.

Juan Ximines

St. Augustine, Florida, July 20, 1598

Gonzalo Menendez Canco, Governor . . . ordered to be called Fray Francisco de Avila that in virtue of the permission granted him by the custodian Fray Francisco Marron, to say and declare all he knows concerning the killing of his companions by the Indians, and of his imprisonment and captivity-whether his person was badly treated, and all that had occurred worthy of relating, so as to punish such crime as it deserves to be.

Fray Francisco de Avila said: Although it was true Fray Marron had granted him permission to speak, he could not make use of it, in cases so grave and criminal as the present--it was prohibited him by the sacred canons of priesthood, to attest in such crimes, because it would force him to say that which might condemn some, and so he did not wish to speak or declare in this case, not to fall into any error. Besides being mindful that the Governor had brought seven Indians from the peninsular at the time of his ransom, he could know and understand from them all that they might claim. This he said and I sign it in his name-Fray Francisco de Avila.

Juan Ximines, Notary Public

The Governor ordered to appear before him one of the seven Indians who were brought from the peninsular, to whom the following questions were put. From where do you come and what is your name? He

came from Tupique and his name was Lucas. Are you a Christian? Yes. The name of your parents and have they been Casiques? His father's name was Felipe and he was Casique of Tupique. Had there been any priest there? There had been one named Fray Blas Rodriguez. Tell and declare what had become of Fray Blas. That about ten or eleven moons past eight Casiques held a conference. When night came they killed the priest. A helping hand was given them by a chief called Pisiache, that he might kill him with a hatchet, with which he gave him a blow on the head, from which wound he died almost instantly. Afterwards they buried him in the church. Say and declare what cause they had for killing the priest. That Micas and Casiques said they killed him because he was artful and took away their enchantment or witchcraft, and would not allow them to have more than one wife.

Did he know Fray Miguel de Annon, and Fray Antonio Lego, among the teachers of Guale, and Fray Pedro de Corpa, among the teachers of Tolomato, and Fray Francisco de Avila, among the teachers of Ospo? I have known them all, and they have been killed. Fray Miguel had his hands tied behind him, but he did not know if they had killed him-Fray Antonio was tied, but he does not know how he was killed-he had heard it said they had killed him with wooden weapons, and that Fray Pedro Corpa two Casiques had killed him in the night while sleeping, that Fray Francisco de Avila they had not killed, but had him captive near Tolofino until he should be ransomed by the Governor.

Was Fray Francisco well or ill treated in the prison? Sometimes they beat him with sticks and abused him. They sometimes fed him, but not always,

and when they did it was on the leaves and tendrils of vines.

Was he present at the death of Fray Blas and the other priests when they were killed? He arrived in time to see Fray Blas die-the others he had not seen.

Gonzalo Menendez Canco

In presence of
Juan Ximenes

(From a letter of Fray Francisco Parga of the San Francisco Order to the King)

February - 1600

Your Majesty :

I write giving an account as I was one of the eleven monks sent by your majesty to spread the Gospel and teach the natives of this country. When we arrived we were assigned to different places or posts, each one trying his utmost to do what he could for the redemption of these souls. It being such as arduous and difficult life, having to traverse bad roads on foot, with little or nothing to eat at times, that little fruit has yet been yielded although the harvest which we hope eventually to reap for the Lord is worth the trials and sacrifices made. . . . There are more than eighty churches that have been built in the different missions and others under construction. We are moved to do this to encourage those Indians who are incapable of good conceptions and obedience. They have always had their own ministry so they listen with little appreciation to what we preach and teach, in grave detriment to the poor newly converted Indians notwithstanding that our teaching and converting accrues to their own good, as we aid and provide for them in their time of hunger when crops have failed. The Indians are so lazy and improvident that if we did not take care of

the crops after planting they would have nothing. They do not even save the seed for another planting. Of the Governor I wish to say as little as possible, but the misery, impediment and calamities among Indians and Christians is due to his avarice, and if the poor Spaniards who are in the Garrison at St. Augustine had not the hope that your Majesty would be informed in some way and send them relief from the fearful calamity which this Garrison is suffering, the affliction among the married men as well as the single would become unendurable. They dare not under any circumstances send you information, as it would cost them their lives, and so they have prayed and implored me as Chaplain to render a strict account. The war with the Indians where many have been killed and many brought in as prisoners was uncalled for and the Indians are much incensed.

On March 14, 1599, the Convent and the fortifications were destroyed by fire. By 1602, the structures not yet having been rebuilt, the king sent eight hundred ducats to restore them.¹² Everything was in a state of neglect; and the settlers, as well as the soldiers of the garrison, would at this time have been deprived of the consolation of religion but for the Franciscan fathers ; so Governor Canso proposed that the Guardian of the Convent, on whom and his community the whole spiritual care of the place had devolved, should be made parish priest and chaplain of the fort.¹³

In 1610 the king selected this newly built Convent as a Capitular House. "It was here" says John Lee Williams in his history of Florida "that the See of Rome chartered this great religious province under

¹² Shea, *op. cit.*, pp. 156, 157

¹³ Letter of Gov. Ybarra, Jan. 8, 1604

the Order of the Franciscans. It was called St. Helena. All the minor establishments throughout the province were represented at the great Franciscan house in St. Augustine."

An addition of thirty-two Franciscans, partly under Geronimo de Ore in 1612, and partly sent out by Philip III the year after, sped the work of conversion.

On December 4th, 1630, the king made especial provision for the maintenance of this convent and missions. He ordered money annually to be drawn from Mexico to furnish them with supplies and clothing.¹⁴

In 1646 St. Augustine contained about three hundred people. Attached to St. Francis monastery in 1634 were thirty-five priests and a number of lay-brothers. The community ministered to forty-four settlements scattered over all that territory between the city and Chesapeake Bay. The number of converted Indians is estimated to have been thirty thousand or more.¹⁵

By 1649 the priests had increased to fifty, and the episcopal revenue amounted to the equivalent of four hundred dollars. Another increase in the activities of the missionaries was owing to a subsidy of twenty-four Franciscans under Alonzo de Moral in 1676.

The Franciscan Juan Ferro Macuardo, inspector of the Church in Florida, has given an account of the missions of the period in *Florida-Memorial en Derecho al Rei sobre la Visita a la Florida* (Madrid, 1690).¹⁶

During the War of the Spanish Succession Gov-

¹⁴ Barcia, op. cit. p. 197

¹⁵ Fairbanks (op. cit. p. 122) says: In 1648 St. Augustine contained a flourishing monastery of the Order of St. Francis with fifty Franciscans, men very zealous for the conversion of the Indians, and regarded by their countrymen with the highest veneration.

¹⁶ Brinton, op. cit. p. 45

ernor Moore of South Carolina and Col. Robert Daniel invaded Florida. Daniel entered by Pilatka, whereas Moore attacked from the sea. They set fire to the city October 22nd, 1702, destroying the convent and church of the Franciscan Fathers and other important buildings. ¹⁷ Both perpetuated untold barbarities, and seven missionaries were murdered. A Protestant clergyman, the Rev. Edward Marston, writing to the Rev. Dr. Bray, Charlestown, says : "To show what friends (?) some of them are to learning and books, when they were at St. Augustine, they burned the convent library worth about six hundred pounds sterling, a collection of Greek and Latin Fathers: the Holy Bible itself did not escape destruction, because it was written in Latin. This outrage was done as soon as they arrived, by order of Col. Rob't. Daniel." ¹⁸

Money was sent from Spain to rebuild the Franciscan Convent ; but official dishonesty prevailed, and the money was misapplied. Indeed, nothing was done for some time except to run up a wretched chapel with four stone walls and a palmetto roof, while nearby stood huts like those of the Indians to serve as a convent. ¹⁹

A question of the right of sanctuary occurred at St. Augustine in 1737. Francis del Moral had been superceded as governor by Manuel Joseph de Justiz, yet he not only refused to recognize his successor, but even to allow him to land. Moral eventually finding himself deserted, fled to the convent of the Franciscan fathers, where he claimed the right of sanctuary. Governor Justiz appealed to the Bishop to suspend the right of sanctuary, and having obtained it he pro-

¹⁷ Shea. op. cit. p. 460; also Carroll's *Hist. Coll.* Vol. II, p. 352

¹⁸ *Doc. History P. E. Church*, Vol. I. pp. 11, 12

¹⁹ Shea, op. cit., p. 471

ceeded to the convent, where Moral surrendered himself a prisoner.²⁰

For years the Apalachian Indians as well as convicts from Mexico, were employed in the construction of the Fortress of San Marco and St. Francis monastery. Hundreds were needed to cut the coquina rock found on Anastasia Island, transport it to the water and ferry it across the bay.

Both buildings were completed during the administration of Governor Don Alonzo Fernandez de Herrera who was appointed in the year 1755.

By treaty of 1763 with England Florida ceased to belong to Spain. All of the friars and most of the other Spaniards - about five thousand - returned either to their mother country or went to Cuba. To protect the church property from being seized by the British, Don Juan Eligio de la Puente, acting for the Spanish government, conveyed to John Gordon, an English Catholic, the bishop's house for one thousand dollars, the Convent of St. Francis for fifteen hundred dollars, the church "Nuestra Senora de la Leche" for three hundred dollars and the site of the new parish church with its still unfinished walls for three hundred dollars.

The British government disregarded all these agreements. The bishop's house was given to the Church of England. The Franciscan convent, inasmuch as it had the best wellwater in the place, was turned over to its troops. This is how St. Francis monastery became the barracks for the English soldiery.

The English,, not finding the convent to their liking, constructed other and larger buildings of wood for housing its soldiers. All this material was brought from New York by boat. Romans, a contemporaneous

²⁰ Letter of Gov. Justiz, March 22, 1737

writer, calls them "Such stupendous piles of buildings, which were large enough to contain five regiments when it was a matter of great doubt whether there will ever be necessity to keep one whole regiment here. Most men would think the money spent would have been better laid out in roads and fences throughout the province. Convent with church is taken into the body of the Barracks." ²¹

By the treaty of 1783 St. Augustine was returned to Spain. The Franciscans of the Province of Santa Elena de la Florida had not been indifferent to the recovery of the colony. On July 3rd, 1784, the Reverend Francisco Roderico Capote, in the name of the Province of which he was the delegate and Custos, petitioned the Crown asking that they should be put in possession of the convent and missions which had belonged to them when Florida was ceded to England. He set forth that their convent was still standing and that their Province had been in possession of it and the Indian missions for a century and a half before 1763, as appeared by the Royal Cédulas in the archives of the Commissary General. Now that Florida was restored to the Crown of Spain, they were ready and even anxious to return and resume their labors for the conversion of the Indians. ²²

The matter was considered by the king in the Council of the Indies and the opinions of the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba and the Governor of Florida were requested before taking definite action. Governor Zepedes in his reply deemed it inadvisable to introduce the Franciscans again till the country was settled by Spaniards and a larger population there. The rights

²¹ Romans, *Natural History of East and West Florida* (New York, 1776) pp. 261-262. There is a plan of the building in Stork, *A Description of East Florida* (London, 1769), which differs materially from the later plan.

²² Relaciones Capote, July 3, 1784

of the Franciscans were acknowledged: "but," as he averred, "the edifice which formerly served them as a convent was completely transformed and had lost all appearance of such a habitation for Religious ; that it was too far from the city to allow the friars to furnish promptly to the faithful any spiritual consolation ; that in the event of their return, it would be necessary to rebuild the convent and the Church and set aside a fund to support the friars till there were faithful enough to contribute the necessary alms ; that four priests already there, sufficed for the wants of the people."²³

The Governor's arguments prevailed. The Franciscans were not to return. Nevertheless we find in a document discovered in the Royal Hacienda in Havana that in 1786 the friars obtained permission to reestablish themselves in their old convent and missions. Two Franciscans - Fra Tracomés, who taught school, and Fra Juan who acted as chaplain to the garrison-were the first to arrive. Others were to come later. On May 21st - the Governor of St. Augustine wrote to the Provincial to remind him of his promises. However no more came. The last Franciscan, according to the Catholic Encyclopedia, left Florida in 1795. The name of the priest is not given.

The immense barracks built by the English were destroyed by fire in 1792. Consequently the Spanish soldiers took possession of the old convent and remained there till the change of flags in 1821.

In 1818 an English traveller found the "monastery" occupied as a barracks for the troops of the garrison, with the one Franciscan friar of the place as their chaplain.²⁴

²³ Letter of Governor Zespedes, Sept. 1, 1768

²⁴ *A Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship Two Friends*, London, 1819, p. 120

On July 10, 1821, Florida became territory of the United States.

The first use of the main convent building after the cession was as a jail.²⁵ How long it was used thus is unknown. In 1832 Congress passed an act setting it aside as a military reservation. A careful search of the War Department records reveals that the first return, or report from the St. Augustine post was not made till November, 1838. At that time Capt. J. W. Washington was in command of Co. B of the Fourth Artillery.

The Barracks, as they were called while in the possession of and used by the United States Army, were rebuilt by the War Department in 1867, being completed in the latter part of that year.

(From the *St. Augustine Examiner*, Nov. 9, 1867 :)

The Barracks, which have just been completed, are an ornament to the town; too much praise cannot be given to Mr. Davis, the Superintendent, and to Lieutenant and Quartermaster Logan.

In the report for April, 1881, do we for the first time find the use of the title "St. Francis Barracks, St. Augustine, Florida." The post was then garrisoned by Companies A and H of the Fifth Artillery. All subsequent reports were headed "St. Francis Barracks."²⁶

On August 15th, 1907 the State of Florida leased the buildings for five years as State military headquarters. The main building was gutted by fire in December of 1915 and for some years its dismal ruins were eloquent reminders of past greatness and present neglect.

St. Francis Convent underwent many changes during its occupancy by the British and American

²⁵ Forbes, *Sketches of the Floridas* (New York, 1821) p. 87

²⁶ This information supplied by Peter Stewart, St. Augustine.

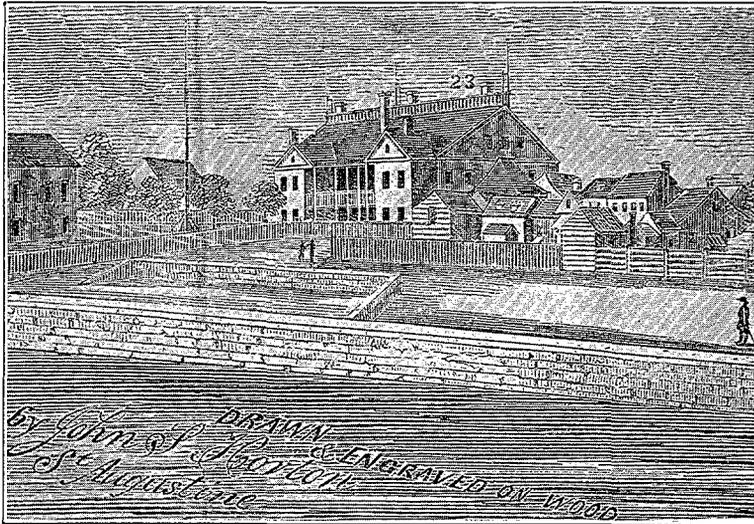
troops and its appearance was very much altered. It had formerly a large circular look-out upon the top, from which an extensive view of the surrounding country could be obtained. The walls were probably the oldest in the city.²⁷

In 1848 the Reverend Benedict Madeore presented a memorial to Congress claiming that St. Francis Barracks and other buildings were Catholic Church property. Congress passed a resolution to submit "The difference between the Catholic Church of St. Augustine and the U. S. Government to arbitration."

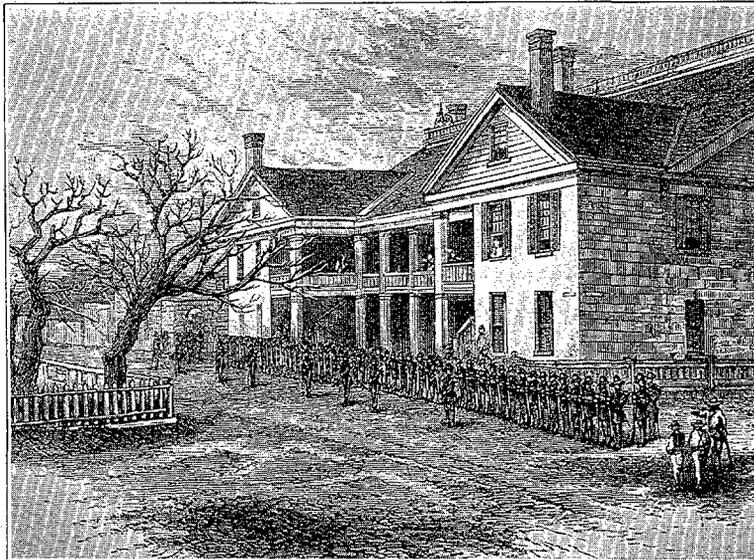
Stephen R. Mallory, of Key West, was selected as the arbitrator. Having given the matter deep and thorough study he decided that the Catholic Church had no just title to the property in litigation. So the matter rested till Right Reverend William John Kenny D. D., third bishop of St. Augustine, reopened the case. He went to Washington to interview Judge Taft, Secretary of War during the Roosevelt administration, and was most graciously received by the Department. "Go", said Judge Taft to the bishop, "go to Barcelona, go to Madrid, go to any of the centres of Spain where there may be found the documents you require to prove your contention and bring them to me. I assure you that it will afford us the greatest pleasure to return these properties to you if you can make good your claim."

Bishop Kenny spent many weeks in Spain visiting the libraries and archives to discover papers that would prove these claims. He returned with a number of papers which the lawyers in Spain said would give the proofs he wanted ; and Reverend Dom James O.S.B., of St. Leo Abbey, translated these papers for the Bishop. Unfortunately they contained no expressions to show that the properties used by the Fran-

²⁷ Fairbanks, op. cit., p. 188



ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS DURING THE EARLY AMERICAN PERIOD
(circa 1840).



ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS-A DRESS PARADE
AFTER THE REBUILDING OF 1867



AFTER THE REBUILDING OF 1923

ciscans ever belonged to the Order. Shortly after viewing these papers, His Lordship grew ill and dropped the case.

Senator Mallory, who had rendered the opinion adverse to the contentions of the Catholic Church, based his decision on the following points-

1) When Spain surrendered Florida to the U. S. it made no provisions to safeguard this property.

2) Spain in 1783 took quiet possession of the monastery and used it for its soldiery. It made no attempt to reimburse the friars for having deprived them of their domicile.

3) The Franciscans, either because their patriotism induced them to make this sacrifice, or because they realized that throughout their ministrations they had acted as servants of the crown and for the salvation of souls, never asked any compensation.

The Rule of St. Francis, unlike all other Orders, establishes Poverty for the Order as a whole, as well as for the individual members. Perhaps it was because of this that they made no demands for reimbursement by the Spanish government.

In 1921 St. John's County sent a delegation to Tallahassee to appeal to the Legislature then in session to restore the historic building; this resulted in the enactment of the following laws :-

(Laws of Florida, Chapter 8444 No. 49 A. D. 1921)

AN ACT TO AUTHORIZE THE REPAIR AND RESTORATION OF THE ARSENAL TO BE USED BY THE STATE OF FLORIDA ON THE SITE FORMERLY OCCUPIED BY THE ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS BUILDING AT ST. AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA.

Be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Florida:

Section 1. Whereas the St. Francis Barracks Building located on property belonging to the Federal Government at St. Augustine, Florida, was, while being used by the State of Florida as an arsenal under an agreement with the Federal Government that the State of Florida would maintain all build-

ings upon the said property used by the State of Florida, destroyed by fire; and

Whereas the Secretary of War of the United States on the 26th day of May, 1920, requested the Governor of the State of Florida to take the necessary steps to restore such buildings on said lot; and

Whereas the restoration of said building to be used as an Arsenal for the State of Florida located at the headquarters of the Adjutant General of the State of Florida if necessary; therefore

The Governor, the Secretary of State of the State of Florida, and the Adjutant General of the State of Florida, be and they are hereby, constituted a Commission to be known as Arsenal Building Commission, and the said Commission is hereby authorized to adopt plans and specifications and in accordance therewith repair and restore upon the lot in St. Augustine, Florida, lately occupied by the St. Francis Barracks Building, the building to be used as an Arsenal by the State of Florida in accordance with the agreement between the State of Florida and the United States War Department.

Provided, that the said Building Commission before entering into any contract for the repair and restoration of said building shall take up with the War Department of the United States the character and kind of such repair and restoration of said building, and if said building is repaired or restored in a manner producing a better or more expensive building than was destroyed by fire as aforesaid, then in that event to enter into an agreement with the United States for it to defray its proportionate share of the expenditure necessary to produce such better or more expensive building, it being the intention of this proviso that the State of Florida should not expend a greater amount than is necessary to repair and restore the building to a like condition as before its damage by fire.

Section 2. For the purpose of carrying out the provisions of this Act there is hereby appropriated the sum of Forty Thousand (\$40,000.00) dollars or so much thereof as may be necessary to be paid out of the State Treasury of Florida from funds not otherwise appropriated, and which shall be paid for the repair and restoration of the building herein provided for upon warrants drawn by the Comptroller upon the State Treasury, which warrants shall be drawn only in payment of bills which shall have been approved by the Governor.

Section 4 (!) This Act shall take effect upon its passage and approval by the Governor.

Approved June 14, 1921.

* * *

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 20.

A MEMORIAL TO THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA ASKING THAT IT GRANT TO THE STATE OF FLORIDA FOR MILITARY PURPOSES, THE LAND AND BUILDINGS KNOWN AS ST. FRANCIS BARRACKS IN THE CITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, IN SAID STATE.

Whereas It is understood that the United States contemplates the early abandonment of the property in St. Augustine, Florida, known as St. Francis Barracks, as a military post, or reservation for military purposes ; and

Whereas The historic associations connected with said St. Francis Barracks make it fitting that the military character and use of said property should be preserved and continued; therefore

Be It Resolved by the House of Representatives, the Senate Concurring :

(1) That the Congress of the United States be, and is hereby requested to grant to the State of Florida the property constituting and known as St. Francis Barracks, located in the City of St. Augustine, in the State of Florida, to be kept, maintained and used by the said State of Florida for military purposes and no other.

(2) That the Secretary of State be, and is hereby directed to furnish to each of the Senators and Representatives from this State a copy of this resolution certified under the great seal of the State.

* * *

Senate Concurrent Resolution No. 21.

A CONCURRENT RESOLUTION AUTHORIZING AND DIRECTING THE GOVERNOR AND ATTORNEY GENERAL OF THE STATE OF FLORIDA TO ACCEPT FOR AND IN THE NAME OF SAID STATE SUCH GRANT OF PROPERTY AS MAY BE MADE OR AUTHORIZED BY THE CONGRESS OF THE UNITED STATES TO IT FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.

Whereas the Congress of the United States has been requested to grant to the State of Florida, for military purposes, the property known as St. Francis Barracks, situated in the City of St. Augustine, Florida;

Therefore, be it resolved by the Senate, the House of Representatives concurring:

Sec. 1. That the Governor and Attorney General of the State of Florida be, and are hereby, authorized and empowered to accept for and in the name and behalf of the said State any grant or cession of the property constituting and known as St. Francis Barracks, situated in the City of St. Augustine, in said State which shall or may be made to the State of Florida by the United States or the authority thereof.

Sec. 2. That the Secretary of State be, and is hereby, directed to furnish a copy of this resolution, certified under the Great Seal of the State, to each Senator and member of the House of Representatives from this State, and to any officer or department of the government of the United States as or when requested or may be necessary in furtherance of the purposes of this resolution.²⁸

* * *

AN ACT PROVIDING THAT THE GOVERNMENT PROPERTY KNOWN AS THE SAINT FRANCIS BARRACKS, AT SAINT AUGUSTINE, FLORIDA, BE DONATED TO THE STATE OF FLORIDA FOR MILITARY PURPOSES.²⁹

Be it enacted by the Senate and the House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled, That the Government buildings and the land connected therewith, known as Saint Francis Barracks, at Saint Augustine, Florida, be, and the same is hereby, donated to the State of Florida, to be held by said State and used for military purposes, subject to the following express condition that upon notice in writing by the President of the United States to the governor of the State of Florida that the United States has need for said property, this grant shall cease and title to said lands and all improvements thereon shall immediately revert to the United States.

Approved, March 1, 1922.

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Francis A. Hollingsworth, architect, of St. Augustine, under the direction of the late Adjutant Gen-

²⁸ Acknowledgment is made for copies of the above acts and resolutions to Judge J. A. Hendley.

²⁹ ***United States Statutes at Large***, Vol. 42, p. 401

eral Charles P. Lovell, drew the plans for the restoration of the Barracks, modelling them after the lines of the former structure. In addition to the necessary space for offices, the arsenal now furnishes club-rooms for various patriotic organizations of St. Augustine, including the American Legion, Boy Scouts, Spanish War Veterans, Chatfield Post, and the Grand Army of the Republic. The auditorium has a seating capacity for five hundred. Whenever desired the people, for a nominal sum, may obtain the use of these quarters for patriotic and civic entertainments, but never for conducting any religious services of a sectarian character.³⁰

St. Francis Barracks, once the home of the sons of St. Francis, is perhaps the only religious edifice ever taken and used continuously by the United States for military purposes. This came about through the treaty made with Spain and not by an act of hostility against the Catholic Church. The Franciscans will probably never again take possession of their ancient home. Surely, though, some day-and may it be soon-there will be some place in Florida to which they will be called to renew the work so successfully and efficiently performed by their saintly and courageous predecessors.

ABBOT CHARLES

³⁰ Art. 4, *Adj.-Gen. Rep.*, June 8, 1925

JEFFERSON COUNTY, FLORIDA, 1827-1910

By Samuel Pasco

Part II.

The Seminole War. - The treaty negotiated with the Florida tribes of Indians at Moultrie Creek, September 18, 1823, provided for their removal to a location on the peninsula designated in the treaty, but by an additional article some of the principal chiefs and their connections were allowed to remain in Middle Florida upon certain bodies of land granted to them for their use and occupation. The main body of the Indians removed to the district assigned to them during the winter of 1824. They had left their old homes and hunting grounds with great reluctance. They were not satisfied with their new location and through their agent, Gad Humphreys, petitioned for an extension of their boundary line further north. Additional issues of provisions were made to them, for their removal had interfered with the cultivation of their crops.

It was not long before there was a renewal of the trouble, and differences soon arose between them and the white settlers which had existed in Middle Florida before and about the time of the exchange of the flags. Complaints were made that the white people encroached upon the Indian borders and that the Indians left their reservations and trespassed upon the whites. Several laws were enacted by the Legislative Council to remedy these evils. But the border troubles between people of different races long inimical to one another, each smarting under the remembrances of former injuries or acts of violence, were too deep-seated to be remedied by legislative acts or legal penalties inflicted

upon individual offenders. Under the conditions which prevailed the two races could not live in peace as near neighbors, and history repeated itself. The inferior race had to yield to the Anglo-Saxon and the Indian finally had to move out of his way. As early as 1825, Acting-Governor George Walton recommended to the Secretary of War their removal from the Territory and this course of action was now determined upon by the authorities in Washington with the full approval of the people of Florida.

It is not my purpose to give a history of the war which followed. I shall confine myself mainly to the part taken by the people of Jefferson County and to the incursions of the enemy within our borders and the attacks of their marauding parties upon the homes and settlements which were defenseless or without adequate protection. The records afford but meagre information upon these subjects. The principal Indian settlements were east of the Suwannee and most of the troops were sent there. All the general engagements occurred in East and South Florida and the commanding officers and military writers have given but little attention to the events which occurred in Middle and West Florida. But the part taken by the early settlers of Jefferson County in its defense and in carrying on the war in other parts of Florida are of great interest to the present generation who are enjoying the fruits of their courage and sufferings and self-denial.

It is a matter of regret that no permanent record of the past was made before the principal actors in the stirring days of the thirties and forties passed away. Fire and decay have destroyed many letters and papers which would have been of great assistance in the investigations I have made and would, no doubt, have aided the memory of the survivors of those days

by enabling them to give exact details of facts which they remember only in a general way. I am greatly indebted to these survivors, and have also gleaned much information from the messages of the governors of the Territory, the proceedings of the Legislative Council, the records of our county, the files of the War Department in Washington, and different works upon Florida, which I have found in the library of the Florida Historical Society at Jacksonville, and in other libraries in other parts of the country.

Before the attack at Fort King and the massacre of Dade and his party, volunteers had been called for and mustered into the service of the United States. Jefferson had furnished her quota of these, and two companies under command of Captain James Scott and Captain William Bailey, were in a force of five hundred men from Middle Florida, under General Richard K. Call, which formed a junction with General Clinch at Fort Drane, ten miles south of Micanopy in Marion County. These troops had been levied for one month only and their time had nearly expired. General Clinch hastened towards the Withlacoochee, where Osceola was in command of a large body of Indians, many of them fresh from their attack upon Major Dade. The hostile forces met on December 31, at a crossing of the river in Sumter County, only three days after Dade's massacre, but General Clinch and his men had heard nothing of the former engagement at the time of this battle. Osceola's force was beyond the river and the ford which they expected to find was impassable, but some of the troops crossed in a canoe, which was found at the bank, seven or eight at a time, some swam the river and some got over on trees which were felled, so that their tops lodged on an island near the further shore, but most of the volunteers were left behind. Two hundred of the regulars

and twenty-eight only of the volunteers reached the south side of the Withlacoochee, where they were soon attacked by a large force of Indians, who raised a yell and opened a galling fire upon them. Osceola was disabled early in the fight, but his men held their ground for more than an hour, when on the third charge, after an inspiring address by General Clinch, they were routed and fled and the battle ended.

Colonel Samuel Parkhill, Adjutant General, distinguished himself by constant, active service from the beginning to the close of the engagement. Major Gamble, one of General Call's aides and Captains Scott and Bailey, took guns and fought in line with the twenty-eight volunteers, who crossed the river. General Clinch was advised by General Call not to attempt to renew the attack on the next day as the time for the volunteers had expired and the men had determined to return to their homes. Nearly one-fourth of those engaged in this battle under General Clinch were killed or wounded, and the failure to accomplish the purpose of the expedition disturbed the white settlers and increased the confidence of the Indians.

In January, 1836, General Winfield Scott was placed in command of the troops in Florida. He proceeded without delay to the scene of action and prepared his plans for a new campaign. In doing this he arranged for a supply of provisions to be stored on the Withlacoochee, within reach of one of the columns of his army, which was to move southward from Fort Drane.

The Withlacoochee Block-house. - About the middle of March, Major John McLemore was ordered to proceed to the Suwannee to procure corn for this purpose and a company from Jefferson County was ordered to report to him at Oldtown and assist him in collecting and protecting the provisions. This company was raised under the authority of Governor

Richard K. Call, in the lower part of the county and was mustered into the service of the United States at Waukeelah for three weeks, March 3, 1836. The officers were James M. K. Holloman, captain; Joseph McCants, 1st lieutenant ; L. B. Walker, 2nd lieutenant; and Samuel W. Barrington, 3rd lieutenant. I succeeded in obtaining a copy of a muster and payroll of this company in Washington and it contains the names of fifty-five privates, 2 musicians, and a commissary. Many of these names are well known in the neighborhoods of Waukeelah, Lloyd and Wacissa and although the old soldiers who then bore them with honor have all gone to rest on the other side of the river of life, many of their descendants and members of the same families are still living in the county.

Captain Holloman marched with his company along the St. Augustine road to Charles Ferry on the Suwannee and from there to Oldtown. Under the direction of Major McLemore, twelve beeves were driven up, slaughtered and kiln-dried and 600 or 700 bushels of corn were collected. These provisions were loaded on a barge ninety feet long and a flat, with barricades as a protection against the Indians. The detachment proceeded safely to the mouth of the river and coasted along the Gulf coast to the mouth of the Withlacoochee, where they expected to meet General Scott or a courier from him with orders. Volley guns were fired in accordance with a pre-arranged signal but there was no response and they continued on their way up the river in accordance with their orders and repeated the signal at the place where further instructions were looked for, but again there was no response. So they selected a suitable location on the south side of the river about twenty miles from its mouth and commenced to build a block-house for sheltering the provisions and defending themselves against attack.

The walls were raised eight feet high that night before they slept and it was finished in seven days with a covering of pine bark.

Major McLemore and Lieutenant McCants, who had been appointed adjutant of the regiment to which the company belonged, returned in the barge with a few of the men to Oldtown, where the former soon after was taken sick and died. About forty of the company were left at the block-house with Captain Holloman, who expected Major McLemore to return with reinforcements or to be relieved by General Scott. The block-house was completed on the evening of Saturday, April 10th, up to which time no Indians had appeared to molest them. Their first attack was made on Monday about the break of day, when a thousand warriors raised the war whoop and opened a heavy fire, which was continued till about eleven o'clock without effect. The attack was renewed after dark, when they built fires two or three hundred yards from the house in all directions and the war whoop sounded all through the night. The fighting commenced again the next morning and lasted four or five hours.

The beleaguered garrison had but little rest after this day or night. The assaults were continued off and on from day to day with more or less vigor. Sometimes under cover of the darkness the redskins would approach the walls and insult and threaten the inmates, telling them that they could not escape and that they would get them after a while. A fierce onset was made by several hundred warriors on the 15th of April and in the confusion caused by the yells of the savages and the continuous noise of their guns, they got possession of the flat, which they took a short distance down the river and cut in pieces. On the 24th they fired blazing arrows into the roof and set it on fire, while they poured volleys of bullets against the

house. The only water supply of the defenders with which to extinguish the burning roof, was a hole by the side of the block-house and this was available only at high tide. The water was drawn from this hole in a two quart tin bucket tied to a line. The Indians directed their shots against the line and the bucket but the fire was extinguished before it injured the main body of the building.

Captain Holloman saw the necessity of protecting the water supply, so on the 3rd of May, he arranged to have a few posts set up in the edge of the river in a ditch, which had already been dug. Irving Granger, Story, and Jernigan were detailed as guards to stand at designated points and protect the men who were bringing up and planting the posts under the supervision of the captain. While he was thus engaged, Captain Holloman was shot in the back of the neck and instantly killed. The work was abandoned, and at night the body was taken into the block house, sewed up in some tent cloth with rocks to sink it and put in the river. It was not safe to attempt any other mode of burial.

The bullets of the Indians was not the only danger that menaced the lives of these brave men. Hunger was gnawing at their vitals and starvation was approaching. The meat they had taken with them from Oldtown had spoiled and the corn was rotting from exposure to the rain after the burning of their roof. A few sacks were protected by great care and they cracked the grains on an old steel mill and boiled the coarse hominy with pieces of a pork barrel to make it palatable. For forty days they subsisted on corn and brackish water from the river-side.

All hope of relief from the officers under whose orders they were serving had departed and Lieutenant Walker, who took command of the company after the

death of Captain Holloman, determined to attempt to open communication with the outside world. Sergeant John M. Leek, John Rogers, and John Riley, who were accustomed to the water, volunteered to risk their lives for their comrades in an effort to accomplish this. They accordingly patched up a leaky canoe and on a dark night started down the river for Oldtown, taking with them a letter from Lieutenant Walker to Major McLemore. They reached the mouth of the Suwannee safely but the Indians saw them, raised the war whoop and opened fire upon them ; so they changed their course, ran westward along the Gulf coast till they reached St. Marks and then went on to Tallahassee and reported to General Leigh Read.

A company of eighty men was immediately raised. Read took command and they embarked on the steam-boat *Minerva*, May 22. The next day they reached the mouth of the Withlacoochee and at night ran the boat up the river to the block-house. The boat made so much noise as it went up the river, getting up into the timber on the banks, the men sawing the logs and cutting down the limbs and branches, which obstructed the passage, that the Indians supposed large reinforcements were on the way ; so they made no attack upon the block-house or the rescuing party. By morning the boat was out of the river with Lieutenant Walker and his men safe on board. Then the Indians built big fires along the coast and danced the war dance with yells of defiance and shouts of victory.

Notwithstanding their close confinement, their loss of rest, their short rations and their hardships and sufferings, there were no deaths from disease during the siege and only one man was killed besides the captain; this was Eli Sealey, who was shot on the 13th of April. A few others were wounded, but none seriously.

The boat returned to St. Marks; and soon after their return Lieutenant Walker and his company were mustered out of service, their time having expired. The courage, fortitude and endurance of this splendid body of citizen soldiers, summoned hastily from the ordinary business of their lives, aroused general admiration. Governor Call in reporting the matter to the War Department sent Lieutenant Walker's letter, a copy of which I have in my possession, to Secretary Cass, but no immediate action was taken by the State or United States authorities to commend or reward their action. But in February, 1840, a resolution was introduced into the House of Representatives of the Legislative Council by Walker Anderson, of Pensacola, declaring that their services "should be commemorated and live in the hearts of this nation and a grateful posterity." It was further resolved that the Governor be requested to prepare a medal and present the same to the officers and men who defended the block-house, with the thanks of the people of Florida and the assurance of the grateful appreciation in which they would be ever held. This resolution was adopted by both houses of the Council and approved by the Governor, but the medals were never presented.

When the discharged soldiers got back to Jefferson County they found the whole country in a state of alarm and confusion. An attack had been made upon Judge Thomas Randall's plantation and some of his servants had been carried off. Other outrages had been committed and many families had taken refuge in Monticello. But the excitement subsided, people returned to their homes and put them in a state of defence and scouting parties were organized to watch the movements of the enemy and to unite for mutual defence and protection, in case of an attack.

I have already given an account of the destruction

of the home of Rev. Tilman D. Purifoy and the sad fate of his family and servants. There were many other cases of murder and pillage and incendiarism in our county, but none were more horrible than this. I wish I could give a full history of those, but it is not possible, for time soon effaces the recollections of the past, when Mother Earth has hidden the victims of cruelty in her bosom. In the cases I shall attempt to describe, I can give but little more than an outline of the facts. I have not been able to ascertain even the years when the outrages occurred.

Captain James Scott was living near Lloyd when the war opened and was then in the service of the State, as I have shown in an earlier part of this address. One afternoon, at a later date, he rode from his home in company with a neighbor, Captain William Bailey, better known to us by his later title of General. The marauding Indians saw them and supposed he was going to spend the night with General Bailey and that they could safely attack his place. Some of them were heard to say "only squaws at home." But Captain Scott returned before it was quite dark and was sitting with his family in their living room after supper, when a group of Indians appeared at the back door and without warning fired into the room. Scott and his overseer, who was in the house, instantly seized their guns, which in those days were always ready for immediate use, and returned the fire and with good effect, as the condition of the house afterwards proved. The attacking party fled upon meeting with this unexpected resistance, taking with them, as was their custom, those who had been disabled or killed. Captain Scott followed them to the door and challenged them to return, but they had had fighting enough. In the attack, Mrs. Perrine, who was visiting the Scott family at the time, was killed and William

J. Bailey, son of General Wm. Bailey, was wounded. Mrs. Perrine was showing the children, who were gathered around her, an illustrated volume, which had been recently received and it was preserved for many years in the family, marked and stained with her blood.

At another time the house of Mr. Slaughter, father of Harris, near Turkey Scratch, on the road to Natural Bridge, was robbed and burned. Mr. Slaughter had gone to Monticello to attend court; early in the evening his wife and children heard the Indians approaching and fled from the house in an opposite direction and concealed themselves in the woods, where they were not discovered. After setting the house on fire, the Indians hastened away and Mrs. Slaughter went cautiously towards the town with her children, until she met her husband. No trace was found of the band of robbers and incendiaries.

A similar attack was made upon the house of John Gray in the neighborhood of Elizabeth Church, but with more disastrous results. The attacking party added murder to their other crimes and all of the inmates of the house were killed.

The last marauding party of the War in Jefferson County committed some outrages on or near the Aucilla River. Colonel William J. Bailey raised a company of twenty men and went in pursuit of them. One of them was captured in Madison County and hanged. The pursuit continued to the Suwannee and was not abandoned until all the gang were killed or dispersed.

The War Department has record of some of our Jefferson County officers as follows :-

One James Scott served as captain of a company of volunteers under the command of Colonel R. C. Parish, Florida War. His name appears on a muster roll of the company covering the period from December 9, 1835, to January 7, 1836. No further record of him has been found.

One William J. Bailey served as captain of a company of Florida Mounted Volunteers in the Florida War. He was enrolled May 20, 1839, at Magnolia, Florida, to serve four months, and was mustered out of service with the company, as captain, September 29, 1839, at Camp Pleasant.

One William J. Bailey served in Bailey's Battalion of Florida Mounted Militia (1839-1840), Florida War. He was mustered into service as major October 9, 1839, to serve four months; was promoted to be lieutenant-colonel March 3, 1840, and was mustered out of service as lieutenant-colonel, May 19, 1840, at Camp Pleasant, Florida. He was mustered into service to date May 20, 1840, as colonel, 1st Regiment Florida Mounted Militia, Florida War, to serve three months, and was mustered out of service with the regiment, as colonel, November 23, 1840. He was again mustered into service November 23, 1840, as colonel 1st Florida Mounted Militia, Florida War, to serve three months, and was mustered out of service with the regiment, as colonel, April 17, 1841.

One William Bailey (name also borne as William J. Bailey) served as major in Bailey's Battalion, Florida Mounted Militia, Florida War. He was mustered into service August 24, 1839, and was mustered out of service October 8, 1839.

One James M. K. Holloman was captain of a company of Jefferson County, Middle Florida, Drafted Militia, Florida War. His name appears on an undated muster roll of the company, stationed at Monticello, covering the period from March 3 to June 3, 1836, with entries showing that he was enrolled March 3, 1836, at Monticello, by the Governor and that he was killed at block house on the Withlacoochee May 3, 1836.

One L. B. Walker served as a second lieutenant in Captain Holloman's company of Jefferson County, Florida, Drafted Militia, Florida War. He was enrolled March 3, 1836 at Monticello by the Governor. No further record of him has been found, nor has anything been found of record to show when or for what period Captain Holloman's company was mustered into service.

It is evident that the names of William Bailey and William J. Bailey have been confused in the record.

By the early part of 1842, most of the Indians had surrendered or been captured and had been removed to their new homes in the West. In August, General Worth issued a general order, announcing that hostili-

ties had ceased. Gradually the apprehensions of the people subsided, a feeling of security followed the disturbed conditions which had existed, the people resumed their farming operations and soon the population of Jefferson was largely increased by the incoming of many settlers, mainly from other Southern States. For the next twenty years there was a period of peace and prosperity. The census returns show an increase in the population from 5,713 in 1840 to 9,786 in 1860, more than 72 per cent.

Transportation.- It was in the latter part of this period in January, 1859, that I came to the county upon the invitation of the trustees of Waukeenah Academy, who had elected me as principal of that institution. There was then no railway communication with the outside world, but the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad was being constructed and trains were running between Tallahassee and a temporary station, called Number Three or Walker's, about half a mile west of the Pinhook or Monticello and Waukeenah road. This, in connection with the railway from Tallahassee to St. Marks, afforded an outlet to the port through which the cotton and other products of Leon and Jefferson and lower Georgia were shipped and where merchandise and supplies were received from New York and New Orleans for the planters and merchants in this section. The former transportation route to the coast from Monticello to Newport had been by the Pinhook road and the merchants and planters of southern Georgia used this road after reaching Monticello. This wagon route had not been entirely abandoned in 1859 and trains of them often passed through Waukeenah in the winter months loaded with cotton, and on the return trip with cases, barrels, and casks of merchandise.

The railroad facilities in Georgia extended south

to Albany and mails and passengers from further north were carried by a stage line through Thomasville and Monticello to the terminus of the Pensacola and Georgia Railroad at Walker's and thence by rail to Tallahassee. There was also a stage line through this section from Jacksonville. Two years later the different companies had laid their tracks eastward and there was continuous railway communication from Tallahassee to Jacksonville and Fernandina ; and early in 1862 the line westward was extended to Midway in Gadsden County. The northern communication by stage through Thomasville to Albany was continued and the construction of the South Western road from Savannah, just before the war, opened a new outlet in that direction by a stage line from Monticello to Dixie, Georgia.

I travelled from Savannah by the Central R. R. to Macon, thence by the South Western to Albany, where I took the stage. The dinner house was at Youngs ; early in the evening a stop was made in Thomasville and on the following morning we reached Monticello. There I stopped for a few hours and the stage went to the railroad terminus at old station Number Three, or Walker's.

Monticello. - There were two hotels at Monticello, the Blackburn House, formerly the Banner House, on the corner of the court house square and Jefferson Street southeast of the court house, and the Bless House on Washington Street, where the Mays warehouse now stands. Both of the main hotel buildings were of brick and both were in later years destroyed by fire.

The churches were all situated where they now are, except the Episcopal. This was a wooden structure on the right-hand corner of Washington Street and the Waukeenah road. This also, was destroyed by

fire after the War. The present brick academy, then one of the finest buildings in the State, had been completed. The lodge rooms of the Masons and Odd Fellows were in the upper story. The post office was in a wooden building on the corner of the court house square and Washington Street and south of the latter. Charles A. Bradley was postmaster.

Waukeelah. - At Waukeelah I made my home at the hotel kept by William T. Carpenter. The people of that community were mostly from North and South Carolina and had long maintained a school of high character there. Some of my predecessors were college graduates, well known as successful educators. Among these were Louis I. Fleming and Mr. L'Engle, who were afterwards lawyers of great reputation in Jacksonville, and William O. Girardeau who was then principal of the Jefferson Academy in Monticello. A new academy building had been completed a few years before with a Masonic lodge room in the upper story. The house was a plain wooden structure and is still standing, but it has recently been enlarged. I was kindly received by the patrons of the school and by the people I associated with and with whom I was brought in contact; my work in the Academy was appreciated and before many months had passed I felt that I could adopt Florida as my permanent home.

Secession.-Notwithstanding the angry debates in Congress upon the differences between the North and the South and the unfriendly spirit in which these differences were discussed by the press in both sections, there were no forebodings of the storm of war which was soon to break upon the land. The country was prosperous, the people were engaged in their usual pursuits and enjoyments and it seemed to be taken for granted that there would be peaceful solution of the differences which existed in the country. But the next

year as the presidential election drew near the skies' grew darker; the John Brown raid, the division of the Democratic party into two opposing factions, one supporting Breckinridge for the presidency, the other Douglas, and the probable success of the Republican candidate disturbed the tranquillity which had prevailed. The people became impressed with the belief that the election of the Republican candidates would result in an attempt on the part of the general government to interfere with the rights and institutions of the states and the property of the people of the South, and a withdrawal from the Union was advocated as the best remedy for these evils. When the success of the Republican party was announced the feeling in favor of secession grew stronger. The Legislature took steps to call a state convention to take action upon the question, and a large majority of the people of Jefferson County advocated it and elected four delegates who were known to be in favor of the movement. These were J. Patton Anderson, William S. Dilworth, Thompson B. Lamar and Thomas M. Palmer. The convention met in Tallahassee on the 3rd day of January, 1861, and on the 10th the Ordinance of Secession. was adopted.

The War for Southern Independence. - It was not generally believed that this action would result in war. An editorial in the *New York Tribune* used this language, "Let the wayward sisters depart in peace"; and this was thought would be the policy of the new administration. Nevertheless, the Legislature took early action for reorganizing the military forces of the State and it was not long before volunteer companies were being formed for defensive purposes in case of invasion. Among the first of these companies in Jefferson was a cavalry company in Waukeenah, commanded by Captain William S. Murphy; and an

infantry company in Monticello called the Jefferson Rifles, commanded by Captain William O. Girardeau.

In March, 1361, the Governor called for a regiment of infantry to serve at Pensacola and a company was at once raised at Monticello to form a part of this regiment; it was mustered into the Confederate service on the 5th of April. It was the first company to leave the county and its officers were as follows ; captain, J. Patton Anderson, who afterwards was elected colonel of the regiment, and before the war closed reached the rank of major general ; first lieutenant, Thompson B. Lamar, who succeeded Anderson as captain and was afterwards lieutenant-colonel and colonel of the Fifth Florida Regiment, and also served on the staff of General Joseph E. Johnson and was killed in action near Petersburg in 1864; second lieutenant, William Capers Bird, who afterwards was captain of Company C, when the regiment was reorganized and who was severely wounded at Shiloh. Richard Turnbull and William Scott also served as lieutenants in this company, and the latter afterwards became adjutant of the Fifth Florida Regiment.

Six other companies were raised in Jefferson County during the War, five infantry and one cavalry. I give a list of these here with the names of those who served with the rank of captain.

The Jefferson Beauregards, Company E, 3rd Florida, captains, Daniel B. Bird and Hamilton K. Walker, former killed at Perryville, Ky.; the Jefferson Rifles, Co. H, 3rd Florida, captains, William O. Girardeau and Matthew H. Strain ; Co. A, 5th Florida, captains, William J. Bailey and William K. Partridge ; Co. G, 5th Florida, captains, William J. Bailey and George D. Raysor, the former was wounded at Gettysburg and died in prison ; Co. K, 10th Florida, captains, Pickens B. Bird and Marion J. Clark, the former served first

as lieutenant in Co. E, 3rd Florida and was promoted from captain in Co. K, 10th Florida to major of 9th Florida, he was mortally wounded at Cold Harbor, June 3, 1864, and died two days later; Co. F, 1st Florida Reserves, captain, Wiley A. Barwick, this company did not leave the State but was engaged in the battle of Natural Bridge ; the Magnolia Dragoons, Co. A, 15th Confederate Cavalry, captains, Robert H. Partridge (promoted major), and John Ulmer.

Besides these eight full companies, a number of our young men enlisted in R. H. Gamble's and C. E. Dyke's light artillery companies, in D. W. Gwynn's cavalry company and in the Howell Guards, Co. M, 2nd Florida, under captains George W. Parkhill and Richard C. Parkhill.

Jefferson County sent out more soldiers in these companies than she had voters and most of those who remained at home were organized for home defence, whenever they were needed. When General Newton landed on the coast expecting to penetrate into the interior, take possession of Tallahassee and overrun Middle Florida, the alarm went out to every plantation and home in Jefferson and the older men and boys who were at home hastened to join the small military force that was guarding the country about St. Marks and assisted in impeding the march of the invaders. And when the two armies met at Natural Bridge on our county line and Newton was defeated and driven back to his ships, full share of the honor of the splendid victory which was there achieved belonged to the sons of Jefferson.

The 1st, 3rd, and 4th of these regiments served in the army of Tennessee ; the 2nd, 5th, 9th and 10th, in the Army of Northern Virginia; the 15th Confederate Cavalry in West Florida and Alabama ; and many of the companies in the regiments mentioned served in

different parts of Florida before leaving the State, so our Jefferson County soldiers, besides defending our own State against hostile incursions, fought in all the great battles of the War east of the Mississippi under Lee, the two Johnsons, Bragg, and Beauregard. They made up a part of that splendid line which for four years held back a vastly superior force with unlimited resources until death, disease, and other casualties of war had so thinned and weakened the line that it could no longer be kept intact.

Reconstruction. - The end came, the star of the Confederacy set in clouds and disappointment, but the soldier had done his best and he accepted the result manfully. He returned to his home and went to work to build up his broken plans of life and resume the duties of citizenship, though under conditions which at times were more trying in many respects than those he had encountered in his military life.

Under President Johnson's proclamations, granting amnesty to those who had maintained the cause of the Confederacy (excepting certain specified classes) and authorizing the holding of a convention under military supervision for the reestablishment of the state government and the restoration of the political relations of the state with the general government, the people of Florida elected delegates to represent the different counties, and on the 25th of October, 1865, the convention assembled at Tallahassee to revise or amend the state constitution, so as to comply with the terms required by the chief executive in Washington, and adapt the fundamental law to the new social conditions of the people. Jefferson County was represented by William Capers Bird, William B. Cooper, and Asa May. The convention completed its work in a way that was satisfactory to the President, a general election was held November 29, 1865, and as soon

as the result was officially declared, the new state and county officers were inducted into their offices. The new General Assembly convened December 18, 1865, two U. S. senators were elected and such legislation was enacted as was deemed necessary to bring the laws into harmony with the new constitution.

It was believed that the Union was restored. The planters made contracts with their employees and renters and entered upon the new year in a hopeful spirit. The most prolific source of trouble was the Freedman's Bureau, organized under the law of Congress for the protection of the newly emancipated negroes. Its officers were authorized to supervise the contracts of servants and laborers of the African race and to take cognizance of cases in which the freedmen felt that they had grievances. These officers had the right to call upon the military authorities to execute their order and detachments of troops, many of them belonging to negro regiments, were stationed at different points to support the authority of the Bureau.

Many of those who were entrusted with power to exercise functions which belonged to the state courts had filled inferior positions in the army or in some other government service. They had come to Florida full of prejudice or ill will against our people; they were without legal training and their action was often arbitrary and oppressive and injurious to the interest of all classes. But it was endured with much patience in the hope that the rights and privileges of the people would soon be fully restored and that the general government would cease to interfere with the administration of the affairs of the State and the execution of its laws. This hope was not realized for many years. Conditions grew worse. Men of extreme views controlled the action of Congress. The power of the President to reestablish and reorganize the states

which had formed the Southern Confederacy was denied and the state governments formed under his plan of reconstruction were overthrown. The South was divided into military districts under the authority of generals of the army whose powers were almost absolute. While some of the local officers were retained, others were removed and their successors appointed by the general commanding at his pleasure.

A new convention was ordered ; many of the prominent and influential citizens of the State were disfranchised ; the ballot was given to the recently enfranchised freedmen; men who had followed the army into the State for gain and graft organized the negroes into secret leagues in the black belt and by their votes were elected to represent counties where they were strangers and had no property but their personal baggage, which they carried in their carpet bags. A constitution was framed by a convention made up largely of such delegates as these and ignorant negroes ; the few old citizens of the State who were chosen from the white counties were powerless. Power was given to the Governor to appoint county officers all over the State, so that even in the counties where the white people were in the majority, the local offices were filled by these new political elements or by some of the few representatives of the old citizenship, who were in political sympathy with the chief executive.

Jefferson, like many of her sister counties, had a bitter experience in those days. Property was unsafe, crime went unpunished, wastefulness and extravagance prevailed in the administration of the public business and taxation became burdensome. A full account of this period of our history ought to be made a matter of permanent record for the information of those who have come upon the stage of action since those days, as well as those who come after us.

In 1876 there was a change for the better. George F. Drew was elected governor and under the power of appointment in the constitution which then existed, he filled our county offices with our home people who were in harmony with the spirit of reform and good government which his administration represented. But here these people were in the minority, and the business interests and intelligence of the county continued to be unrepresented in the councils of the State until 1885. A state convention was then held to frame a new constitution to take the place of the one adopted in 1868, during the period of the second reconstruction. In the election of delegates to this convention, the white people of Jefferson realized the importance of having their interest protected in the organization and determined, if possible, to defeat the five colored men who had been nominated by the opposition and to elect five of their own number. In this they succeeded ; these representatives had an influential voice in shaping the new constitution, and one of them was honored by being chosen president of the convention.

During the four years of war a large proportion of the planters and business men were in the military service, the usual crops of cotton were not made, the merchants had sold their goods for Confederate money, many of them were indebted to Northern houses for their latest purchases in 1860. The planters needed horses, mules, farming utensils, and supplies to plant and cultivate their crops ; and when the soldiers returned to their homes in the summer of 1865 after the surrender at Appomattox, the future looked dark and gloomy. Many found themselves reduced from affluence to poverty, but they bore their privations patiently and adapted their new mode of living to their changed conditions, hoping that the future would bring a return of prosperity ; but, as I have already

shown, the reconstruction period brought no relief. The census returns and tax-books show that property values steadily decreased and taxes increased every year. In fact, there was no sale for lands and the valuations fixed by the assessors were merely nominal.

The New Era. - But there has been a steady improvement within the last twenty years. The resources and productions of our section have attracted a good class of settlers from other states and men of capital and enterprise and industry have established their homes among us. They have assisted in the development of new industries and our labor has been turned into new channels. The pine forests have yielded turpentine and lumber to add to our wealth. Nurseries have been established and seed and shrubs and trees have been shipped to all parts of the country. The pear trees yield reliable crops, which have brought good prices and our former staples of corn and cotton have largely increased in value.

Some years ago a few of our industrious housewives planted some pecans in their gardens and front yards. These trees in course of time produced abundant crops which brought generous prices. The result was a new industry of which Jefferson County has become the centre. The demand for young trees has become so great, that our nurserymen cannot supply them and some of the old plantations in the country are being divided into small farms and planted in young trees. The pecan has been taken under the protection of the National Nut Growers Association and this association has recently held its 9th annual convention in our new court house, being the first great organization that we have had the honor and pleasure of entertaining here.

A fine grade of leaf tobacco has been raised in the

county and this also promises to be a very profitable industry.

The development of these industries and the proof that so many valuable productions can be raised in our soil, have caused a great demand for our lands and many sales have recently been made at good prices, so that the old expression of being land-poor has become obsolete in Jefferson.

This brief history demonstrates that those who lived here before us did their work well, and with the limited means at their command accomplished great results in the development of the material resources of this community and the establishment of the educational, moral, and religious institutions upon which our Christian civilization is founded. We have inherited the results of their labors and the duty and responsibility of carrying them forward rests upon us and we must discharge these duties and meet these responsibilities industriously, faithfully, and conscientiously.

NOTES AND COMMENT

Now, for the first time, an issue of the QUARTERLY goes to press without a balance in the Society's treasury to cover the cost of printing. The Society has decided to hold its annual dues at two dollars, so that any one in Florida who feels an interest in the past of the State may retain membership. Several Members have become Contributing Members for this year, with dues of ten dollars. Unless a few others come forward thus, the QUARTERLY, lately expanded, must return to its former meager size. There would be no obligation on the part of any one to continue such membership. It is hoped that with the growth of the Society and with a return of the State to general prosperity the regular dues may be sufficient support.

The annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society will be held at St. Augustine on February 8 next. In accordance with an invitation given and accepted at the last annual meeting, the St. Augustine Historical Society will be our hosts. President Frederick S. Vaill, under whom arrangements have been made, extends a cordial invitation to the members individually to come to St. Augustine, and to the public to attend the public sessions when historical addresses will be made. Many members doubtless have the expectation of attending an annual meeting some day ; if so, now is the time - for St. Augustine was the center of early Florida colonial history and nowhere else in the State are there relics and monuments of equal interest. Though the meetings and entertainment will extend over the greater part of the morning and afternoon, members from a large section of the State will be able to come and return home that day. Program and def-

inite hours will be announced in the press a week or more prior to the meeting.

During every period of Florida's history a large part of her people have been members of some church, and this is especially true of those upon whom the building of the State and the carrying on of her government have rested. Without a full record of its churches and their work, the history of Florida would be incomplete. Mention has been made here of certain published sketches and histories of several local and sectional religious bodies in Florida. Two others have recently appeared : *The Centennial of the Euchee Valley Presbyterian Church, 1828-1928* (Pensacola, 1928, 24 p., ill's.), by G. T. Bourne; and *Christ Church Parish, Pensacola, Florida, 1827-1927* (Pensacola, 1928, 80 p., ill's), by Julia J. Yonge. The former is a record of the religious activities of the important Scotch settlement in Walton County. The latter is a full narrative of the establishment and century's growth of one of the earliest Protestant bodies formed in Florida after its cession to the United States, with some account of the work of the Church of England in West Florida during the British colonial period.

It is desirable to record here other published histories of churches in Florida, both as items of interest and for the information of those seeking such historical material. Should you know of any, will you not inform the **QUARTERLY**.

East Florida as a Refuge of Southern Loyalists, 1774-1785, a paper presented at the last annual meeting of the American Antiquarian Society, Worcester, Massachusetts, by Dr. Wilbur H. Siebert, of Ohio State University, now appears in the *Proceedings* of that society (Vol. 37, Part 2, pp. 226-246). Professor Sie-

bert has long been at work on this phase of Florida and United States colonial history-an important field of which we know little. It is surprising to most of us to be told that during the year 1778 alone there entered East Florida near seven thousand refugees from Georgia and Carolina, most of them never to return to their former homes. Some account is also taken in this article of the uprooting, once more and in a very few years, of those among them who had made homes in the new country and who, with nearly all of the other inhabitants of both British Floridas, were virtually expelled when Spain returned in 1783. The present paper is only the beginning of a full account of the subject which Professor Siebert will work out and publish.

The second (and last) volume of *The Luna Papers*, translated and edited with an historical introduction by Herbert Ingram Priestley and published under the direction of James Alexander Robertson by the Florida State Historical Society, has appeared. This is among the most important of all foundation material for the writing of Florida's colonial history. The complete work will be reviewed in an early issue of the **QUARTERLY**.

The Irving Bacheller-Florida Historical Society Essay Contest will be held at Rollins College, Winter Park, February 22 next. This contest, in which four prizes are awarded, is open to all Florida high school students of the junior and senior classes. Any one of the following subjects may be chosen:-(1) The Conquistadores of Florida, 1513-1561; (2) France versus Spain in Florida, 1562-1574; (3) Florida, a Spanish Colony, 1574-1763.

Alfred J. Hanna, of the faculty of Rollins College, is chairman of the contest committee. He will be pleased to send full information to any one. The Florida Historical Society hopes that many students will write essays for submission to the committee.

Furthering the two main objects of the Society—a fuller knowledge of the State's past, and its diffusion—Rollins College is instituting a course in Florida history. This is under the direction of Alfred J. Hanna, whose interest in that subject and in the work of the Society is well known to his fellow-members. The QUARTERLY will be the gainer, as well as the cause for which we are working.

The conference system of college education, planned and now being developed at Rollins by President Hamilton Holt, should prove the ideal method for this course. Instead of memorizing and reciting what some one has written of an event, or listening to a lecture which he may or may not find of interest, then being examined on what he can recollect, the student will dig for the facts himself with the constant help and advice of his instructor. The course will cover the first three periods of Florida's history: The Conquistadores, 1513-1561; France versus Spain, 1562-1574; Florida a Spanish Colony, 1574-1763.

A new edition of Mrs. Minnie Moore-Willson's *The Seminoles of Florida* has appeared. This is the eighth edition of that much read volume, the seventh of which was described in the QUARTERLY for July last. The work has been revised and now contains thirty-two illustrations in half-tone, and an extensive vocabulary. Copies may be had from any book dealer or from the author in Kissimmee. The price is two and one-half dollars.

Fred Willis Hoyt, treasurer of the Society since November 13, 1924, died in Jacksonville, his home, on October 28. He was born at Meredith, New Hampshire, June 3, 1856. Coming to Florida in early life he was at the same time school teacher and editor of the weekly *Fernandina Journal*. In 1876 he went to Jacksonville as city editor of the weekly *Florida Sun*, which in the following year became a daily with Mr. Hoyt as city editor and general manager. In 1882 he married Kate A. Taylor, and from that year was a merchant in Fernandina. When the First National Bank of that place was organized he became chairman of the board of directors. He served as president of the City Council of Fernandina and as a member of the Nassau County Board of Commissioners. Having returned to Jacksonville, in 1903 he was associated in the organization of the Atlantic National Bank and was vice president from its beginning until his death. Organizing the American Trust Company of Jacksonville in 1913, he became its president.

Mr. Hoyt held office in numerous local and Florida public organizations: The Red Cross, Florida Tuberculosis Association, Florida Bankers' Association and others, hence it is well known that much of his life's work was given to his community and to his State ; but perhaps he gave as much again of many kinds of assistance, and in various ways, to his fellow men. These and all of the bodies of which he was a part will feel the loss of his help and especially of his presence as much as the Historical Society will.

NEW MEMBERS-

The following have become members of the Society during the past quarter-

Contributing Members

Bryan, Nathan P.	Jacksonville
Chase, Joshua C.	Winter Park
Hartridge, John E.	Jacksonville
Hodges, William C.	Tallahassee
Knight, Peter O.	Tampa
Knotts, A. F.	Yankeetown
Raney, George P.	Tampa
Ruge, John G.	Apalachicola
Sutton, John B.	Tampa

Members

Abel, Mrs. Mary D.	Millville
Alley, R. C.	West Palm Beach
Bogart, Mrs. E. M.	Jacksonville
Bosanquet, Louis P.	Fruitland Park
Calvit, M.	Palatka
Fennell, Alma	Gainesville
Hall, M. Lewis	Ft. Lauderdale
Hendry, William T.	Perry
Howell, Harry B.	Jacksonville
Jeffreys, Linwood	Jacksonville
Johnson, W. C.	Jacksonville
Lindsey, Mrs. B. H., Sr.	Perry
Miller, Alfred	Jacksonville
Maddox, H.	Archer
Nixon, Charles A.	Alva
Porcher, E. P.	Cocoa
Preston, J. E.	Palatka
Robineau, S. Pierre	Miami
Sanchez, E. M.	Jacksonville
Scott, Paul R.	Miami
Shields, Bayard B.	Jacksonville
Siebert, Wilbur H.	Columbus, Ohio
Steit, Mrs. Bertha H.	Lakeland
Stirling, Frank	Davie
Taylor, Mrs. Arabella W.	Jacksonville
Thomas, Jefferson	Leesburg
Thomas, W. R.	Gainesville
White, Morris E.	Tampa
Werner, Charles J.	Miami

DONATIONS-

By Duncan U. Fletcher:

American Historical Association Annual Reports, 1908-1922; 24 vols.

Mortality Rates of the United States, 1910-1920

List of Geographical Atlases in Library of Congress

Report of Civil Aviation

Baedeker, United States Traveller's Companion

Wealth, Debt, and Taxation, 1913, 2 vols.

14th Census of the United States, 5 vols.

By Elizabeth Maria Maxey Bogart, author

Legends of Kanyiska

By Charles J. Werner, author

Dr. Isaac Hulse, U. S. Army, Life and Letters

By Carnegie Institution through courtesy of Rev.

E. L. Pennington

Catalogues of Documents in Spanish and Cuban

Archives Relating to the United States, 22

vols.