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FLORIDA IN 1845
STATISTICS - ECONOMIC LIFE - SOCIAL LIFE
by DOROTHY DODD

When the government of the State of Florida was organized in June 1845, the state contained a population of some 66,500.¹ Although Florida has a total area of 58,560 square miles,² 47 percent of the population was concentrated in the 7,333 square miles (only 12.5 percent of the state total) lying between the Apalachicola and Suwannee rivers, then known as Middle Florida. The remaining 53 percent was distributed fairly evenly between West and East Florida, 25 percent being in the former and 28 percent in the latter. But since West Florida -between the Perdido and Apalachicola rivers- has an area of only 8,171 square miles, while there are 43,056 square miles in East Florida - i.e., all that part of the peninsula lying south and east of the Suwannee river-there was a great difference in density of population.

According to Turner's criterion that territory with less than 6 inhabitants to the square mile was part of the frontier, Florida was indeed a frontier

Note - Here are a great number of little-known and unknown facts of Florida in 1845 condensed into a few pages, from which can be got a good idea of the economic life and some picture of the social life of our pioneers on their entrance into the Union. This article is one result of long research by the author into various sources, but largely in the manuscript and other historical material in the Florida State Library. - *Ed.*

1. A census of Florida's population in 1845 by counties and broken into whites, slaves and free Negroes, follows this article. It has been compiled by Dr. Dodd from several sources most of which are in manuscript in the Florida State Library, such as Comptroller's Record of Claims and the tax rolls for 1845, with other figures from the Florida Senate Journal 1845.
2. Areas are taken from U. S. Bureau of the Census, *Sixteenth Census of the United States: 1940. Areas of the United States, 1940* (Washington, Govt. Print. Off., 1942). Although the Georgia-Florida boundary was not fixed in 1845, the present figures are approximately correct, as the line was finally adjusted substantially in accord with Florida's claims.

state in 1845. The state as a whole had only 1.12 inhabitants per square mile. Even when taken by sections, this test of the frontier held true, Middle Florida having 4 persons per square mile, West Florida 2, and East Florida .44. Only Leon county seems to have passed the frontier stage, with a population density of 13.8. Men predominated in the white population, 54 percent of the adult whites in the 17 counties for which we have data being males. And in sparsely settled counties, such as Marion, Benton, Orange, and Hillsborough, men outnumbered women two to one. Only in St. Johns county was there an excess of females over males.³ About 53 percent of the total population was white, but there was a blackbelt consisting of Jackson county, with 52.9 percent slaves; Gadsden, with 53 percent; Leon, with 68.9 percent; and Jefferson, with 64.3 percent. Nassau county, in the extreme northeastern corner of the state, also had a slave population of slightly more than .50 percent of the total.

The foregoing figures reflect both the nature of the land and the history of the territory during the 24 years between the change of flags and statehood. In 1821, the white population of Florida was concentrated in the western and eastern extremes. Of an estimated total of 4,500, about 800 were in Pensacola and its environs and 3,700 in East Florida from the vicinity of St. Augustine to the St. Marys river. Middle Florida and the peninsula west of the St. Johns were occupied by an estimated 5,000 Indians.⁴ During the first two decades, immigrants were attracted largely to Middle Florida for several reasons. The best planting lands of the territory,

3. See Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1845, Adj. Sess., App., p. 2.

4. Jedidiah Morse, *Report . . . on Indian Affairs* (New Haven, 1822). pp. 308-310.

namely those suited to the cultivation of cotton, were supposed to be in that section; the surveys of public lands were begun there; and the central part of the peninsula, from about the present location of Ocala south to the Caloosahatchee river, had been set aside as an Indian reserve. Furthermore, the seven-year war that broke out over the removal of the Indians in 1835 and lasted until 1842 made a battleground of the entire peninsula and effectively stemmed the flow of immigration into East Florida.

The outbreak of the Indian war also halted the surveys of public lands, which by 1836 had been virtually completed to the second basis parallel between Townships 14 and 15, South, just north of Ocala.⁵ Hostilities ceased in August 1842 however, when the Indians remaining in Florida were temporarily assigned the lands between Charlotte Harbor and Peace creek on the west and the Kissimmee river and Lake Okeechobee on the east, Lake Istokpoga being the northern, and Shark river the southern, limit.⁶ In the same month Congress passed the Armed Occupation Act, offering homesteads to actual settlers in that part of Florida lying south of the line between Townships 9 and 10, South, which runs about three miles north of Palatka. Resumption of the public surveys was ordered to accommodate settlers under this act, plans being made for the survey of "about a million acres of land, in detached parcels, at various eligible points."⁷ By 1845, 1,048 permits, covering 167,680 acres, had been sanctioned under the act.⁸ The largest settlements were around Ft. King (now Ocala) and near Ft. Cross on the upper reaches of

5. H. Doc. 6, 24th Cong., 2d sess. [301], p. 4 ; H. Doc. 24, 27th Cong., 2d sess. [401], plat.

6. *National Intelligencer*, Aug. 25, 1842.

7. H. Doc. 18, 27th Cong., 3d sess. [419], p. 4.

8. S. Doc. 16, 29th Cong., 1st sess. [472], p. 4.

the Withlacoochee river. Smaller settlements were made south of Ft. Fanning on the Suwannee river, on Hillsborough bay between the Hillsborough and Alafia rivers, and south of the Manatee river. There were also scattered settlements near the coast from Palatka to Miami river and Bay Biscayne.⁹ The sale of lands in 1845 reflected the new trend toward East Florida, for of a total of 20,053 acres taken up by private entry, 12,123 acres were in East Florida as compared with 7,930 acres in Middle and West Florida.¹⁰

As a result of this immigration, four new counties were established in East Florida between 1842 and 1845, as contrasted with one each in West and Middle Florida. Consequently, of the 26 counties in existence in 1845, exactly half were in East Florida. The counties, by sections, and their county seats, were :

West Florida - Escambia, Pensacola ; Santa Rosa, Milton ; Walton, Eucheeanna ; Jackson, Marianna ; Washington, Roach's Bluff ; Calhoun, Iola ; Franklin, Apalachicola.

Middle Florida - Gadsden, Quincy ; Leon, Tallahassee ; Wakulla, New Port ; Jefferson, Monticello ; Madison, Madison Court House ; Hamilton, Jasper.

East Florida - Columbia, Alligator (now Lake City) ; Nassau, Nassau Court House; Duval, Jacksonville; St. Johns, St. Augustine; Orange, Enterprize ; St. Lucie (now Brevard), St. Lucie ; Dade, Miami ; Monroe, Key West ; Hillsborough, Tampa Bay; Benton (now Hernando), Annuttaliga; Marion, Camp King (now Ocala) ; Alachua, Newnansville ; Levy, Wacasassa.¹¹

9. Dorothy Dodd, "Letters from East Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (July, 1936), p. 53.

10. H. Doc. 9, 29th Cong., 2d sess. [498], p. 14.

11. This list is taken from a letter of Governor W. D. Moseley, July 3, 1845, in MS. letterbook in the Florida State Library. Strangely, Governor Moseley omitted Dade and Monroe counties, which have been added by the writer.

Economic Life

Florida had an agricultural economy based on staple crops suited to the plantation system. This system was well established, however, only in the blackbelt counties of Jackson, Gadsden, Leon, and Jefferson. It undoubtedly reached its highest development in Florida in Leon county, yet in 1845 roughly 20 percent of the persons engaged in agriculture in the county operated holdings of 40 to 320 acres without owning slaves, while only 10 percent were large planters holding 50 or more slaves. Farmers owning from 1 to 10 slaves accounted for 40 percent of the agriculturists. The remaining 30 percent, owning from 11 to 49 slaves, may be classified as middle class planters.¹² Only seven planters owned more than 100 slaves. The largest planting interest in the county was the estate of Benjamin Chaires, owner of 181 slaves and 7,940 acres. The two next largest slaveholders were Robert W. Williams, with 176 slaves and 2,832 acres, and Bryan Croom, with 133 slaves and 2,484 acres.

The largest slaveowner in Gadsden county, Oscar Filyaw, held 83 slaves and 560 acres.¹³ He was one of 12 large planters constituting about 5 percent of the agriculturists in the county. Middle class planters, owning 11 to 49 slaves, were present in the same proportion as in Leon county, being 30 percent of the total, while farmers with 1 to 10 slaves made up 40 percent, and non-slaveowning farmers accounted for the remaining 25 percent. Hamilton county, outside of the blackbelt but one

12. Data relative to slave ownership in Leon and other counties are taken from the 1845 tax rolls in the Florida State Library. The figures are only approximate, as occupations are not given. Landowners holding 40 to 320 acres, when the returns were not made by an agent or trustee and when no slave ownership was indicated; are classed as non-slaveowning farmers. All owners of slaves who held 40 acres or more of land are counted.

13. Other large planters had a far greater acreage.

of the older counties, had only one large planter, Francis J. Ross, who owned 52 slaves and 1,720 acres. He and 11 middle class planters constituted some 17 percent of the county's agriculturists, while the remaining 83 percent was evenly divided between non-slaveowners and farmers holding from 1 to 10 slaves. Marion county, established in 1844 in territory opened to settlement under the Armed Occupation Act, likewise had only one large planter, John H. Madison, with 51 slaves and 770 acres. Of 247 white males over 21 years of age, ¹⁴ 70 percent owned no slaves. Most of the 79 persons who did hold slaves had not secured title to their land and paid no land tax. Of these, 47 owned 1 to 5 slaves, and only 10 persons could be called middle class planters by virtue of owning 11 or more slaves.

Cotton was the great cash staple of the state, but more than 80 percent of the crop was raised in the four blackbelt counties. The concentration of wealth in that relatively small area is indicated by the contemporary statement that nearly four-fifths of the state's capital was devoted to "the production of cotton for export, and corn for home consumption." ¹⁵ Although Florida planters endeavored to raise breadstuffs and meats for their slaves, they never succeeded in doing so in sufficient quantity. Consequently, western corn and bacon were imported from New Orleans, and hogs were driven in on foot from Tennessee and North Georgia. It was necessary, also, to import horses and mules from North Carolina, Tennessee, Kentucky, and Ohio. ¹⁶

Since, as a Tallahasseean stated, "Cotton is the ruling guide with us to good or bad times," ¹⁷ times

14. Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1845, Adj. Sess., App., p. 2.

15. S. Doc. 2, 29th Cong., 1st Sess. [471], p. 665.

16. *Ibid.*, pp. 666, 670.

17. "C. H. B." in *Florida Sentinel*, Mar. 19, 1844.

were far from good in 1845. The price of cotton, which had remained above 10 cents during the decade of the 'thirties, and in the best years had been as high as 15 and 16 cents, began to decline in 1840.¹⁸ At the height of the season in 1845, cotton was bringing at Apalachicola, the principal cotton market of the state, from 3 1/2 to 6 1/2 cents a pound.¹⁹ Where a planter during the 'thirties had received from 10 to 15 percent return on his investment in lands and slaves, in 1845 he averaged 5 or 6 percent.²⁰ This might not have been so bad had the planters really owned their lands and slaves. Many in the blackbelt, however, were heavily mortgaged to the Union Bank, which was trying to liquidate its assets, and it had been only by the grace of stay laws that some had not been sold out by the marshal.

These conditions caused planters to seek other staple crops to supplement, if not to supplant, cotton. Sugar was looked to as an alternative, especially in East Florida. A fair crop was harvested in that section in 1845,²¹ but the sugar plantations along the St. Johns river had not recovered from the devastations of the Indian War. Planters in Jackson county and Middle Florida hopefully turned to it, year after year, sometimes producing as much as 200,000 pounds in a season, but its cultivation as an export staple was never firmly established there.

A more promising substitute seemed to be Cuban tobacco. It had been cultivated in East Florida since 1822²² and in Gadsden county since 1828, but

18. S. Doc. 2, 29th Cong., 1st sess. [471], p. 669.

19. See *Commercial Advertiser*, Mar. 15 and 22, 1845.

20. S. Doc. 2, 29th Cong., 1st sess. [471], pp. 666, 669, 670.

21. *Pensacola Gazette*, Dec. 13, 1845, quoting *News* (Jacksonville), Nov. 21, 1845.

22. Charles Vignoles, *Observations on the Floridas* (New York, p. 100.

without much success because the Florida product lacked flavor. A chance shipment of the silky, broad, spotted Florida leaf to Bremen in 1842 found favor in the German market as cigar wrappers, and tobacco acreage was expanded until the bumper crop of 1,200,000 pounds in 1845 glutted the market.²³ The best tobacco land was in Gadsden and Leon counties, but even the small farmers of Walton and Washington cultivated the leaf,²⁴ and an East Florida correspondent of the *Charleston Courier* reported, "Every body here is going into the tobacco culture, which . . . requires no machinery and the poorest can engage in it."²⁵

The preeminence of agriculture was recognized in the contemporary remark that the population of Florida might be divided into three classes, "planter, overseer, and cracker or stocktender."²⁶ This was an overstatement, though men in the planter class engaged in the practice of law and medicine, manufacturing, banking, and even inn-keeping. Commission merchants, or factors, especially in Apalachicola and Key West, and retail merchants, in all towns, constituted an important economic group, while the mechanics, or artisans, were a self-conscious class with which newspaper editors and overseers identified themselves. This group consisted of printers, carpenters, masons, tailors, boot and shoe makers, cabinet makers who would act as undertaker on occasion, and metalsmiths. Most of the towns supported two or three taverns, there were numerous bars and restaurants in Tallahassee and Apalachicola, and practically every county was served by at least one retailer of spirituous liquors.

23. "Florida and Spanish Tobacco," *DeBow's Review*, XVIII (Jan., 1855), pp. 38, 39.

24. *Pensacola Gazette*, July 5, 1845.

25. Quoted in *Niles' Register*, LXIX (Sept. 13, 1845), p. 24.

26. *Florida Sentinel*, Mar. 19, 1844.

The two recognized professions were law and medicine, with dentistry accorded a quasi-professional status. Dr. S. C. McIntyre, a Tallahassee dentist, for instance, was also a daguerreotype artist.²⁷

Law was the more lucrative profession, the top income from its practice being some \$4,000 a year, while the best medical practice brought in hardly half that amount. At least seven counties had no physician, and many lacked lawyers. Since it was the custom for lawyers to ride circuit, the latter deficiency was supplied from the towns in which the legal profession was concentrated.²⁸

Commerce and trade centered, of course, in the towns. The principal commercial town of the state was Apalachicola, which owed its preeminence to its river connection with the cotton-raising sections of Alabama and Georgia on the Chattahoochee and Flint rivers. Far below Apalachicola in importance as a cotton-shipping port, but the export point for much of Middle Florida and some of south Georgia, was the new town of Newport on the St. Marks river. Other seaport towns were Pensacola, whose chief export was lumber; Key West, with its unique wrecking business; St. Augustine, which drowsed along with a few tourists and invalids and little substantial trade; and Jacksonville, the advantage of whose site near the mouth of the St. Johns was largely nullified by the undeveloped state of the back country. Cedar Keys and Tampa were just beginning to develop from military posts into towns. The interior towns, such as Marianna, Quincy, Monticello, Madison, and Newnansville, were local trading centers and county seats. Tallahassee was raised from this category by being the capital of the

27. *Ibid.*, Jan. 28, 1845.

28. Much of the data for this paragraph is taken from the *Florida Sentinel*, Dec. 9, 1845, and from 1845 tax rolls.

state and the business center of the planting counties of Middle Florida.

Apalachicola was a sleepy community of only several hundred persons in the summer, but it came to life in the fall when the new cotton crop started coming in. Then the streets filled with people, steamboats came "booming down the river with their tall chimneys peeping over the bales of cotton" with which they were laden, the ringing of the auction bell and the cries of the auctioneer were heard, and lighters plied busily between tall ships in the bay and wharves covered with cotton.²⁹ During the year ending August 31, 1845, Apalachicola shipped 153,388 of the total of 188,893 bales of cotton exported from Florida ports.³⁰ Since the port of St. Marks (i.e., Newport and St. Marks) shipped 30,000 bales during the same period,³¹ all other Florida ports exported only about 5,000 bales. Nearly two-thirds of the state total was shipped coastwise; the other third was exported directly to Great Britain, France, and other European countries. Apalachicola and Newport also exported most of the state's tobacco crop, and the former shipped considerable sawed lumber, though not so much as Pensacola. Exports of lesser importance were staves, cedar logs, hides (of both cattle and deer), furs, and beeswax.

Communication was by water, when possible. Steamboats had regularly plied the Apalachicola river and its tributaries since 1827,³² and possibly earlier. The first steamboat appeared on the St. Johns in 1831, when the *George Washington* made the run from Savannah to Jacksonville by the inside

29. *Commercial Advertiser*, Sept. 30, 1844.

30. *Ibid.*, Sept. 23, Oct. 7, 1845.

31. The exact amount was 30,232 bales for the year ending October 1. *Florida Sentinel*, Nov. 25, 1845.

32. The *Steubenville*, Captain Vincent, was taken from Mobile to the Apalachicola in the spring of 1827. *Pensacola Gazette*, July 6, 1827.

passage,³³ and by 1845 there was a regular packet line between Savannah and Palatka³⁴ which connected with the weekly run of the *Sarah Spalding* from the latter place to Enterprise, 125 miles up the river.³⁵ The first steamboat to make a regular run on the Suwannee was the *Orpheus*, which appeared on that river in October, 1845, to carry the weekly mail from Cedar Keys to Columbus.³⁶

Since these rivers afforded no east and west communication, intercourse between the sections was either by sea, which in the case of communication between East Florida and the Middle or West involved the lengthy and dangerous trip around the peninsula, or by overland routes. The project of improving transportation by the construction of a canal or railroad across the peninsula, so often agitated during the territorial period, was still no more than a topic for discussion, and of the four short railroads built in the 'thirties, only the line from Tallahassee to St. Marks was still in operation.

The main overland route started at Whitesville, or Garey's Ferry, at the forks of Black creek in the present Clay county, which was a junction point for Jacksonville and St. Augustine. Running south through Newnansville, in Alachua county, it then swung north to Alligator (Lake City). From Alligator a traveler could take a southern or northern route to Tallahassee. The former, which appears to have been the main one, ran through Columbus and Madison Court House; the latter through Jasper and Monticello. From Tallahassee there was the choice of railroad transportation to St. Marks, where a ship could be taken to Apalachicola or Pensacola; coach service, through Quincy, to Chatta-

33. *Niles' Register*, XL (June 18, 1831), p. 234.

34. *Florida Journal*, Dec. 3, 1842.

35. *News*, Nov. 8, 1845.

36. *Ibid.*, Oct. 25, 1845.

hoochee and thence by steamboat to Apalachicola; or an all-coach route through Bainbridge, Georgia, Chattahoochee, Marianna, Campbellton, Almirante (in the northern part of the present Okaloosa County), and Milton to Pensacola.³⁷

Accommodations for travelers were afforded by the two-horse stage coaches that carried the mails. Jesse Carter, proprietor of the Central Line, operating between Garey's Ferry and Tallahassee, advertised that he ran "two splendid four seat Troy built Coaches."³⁸ The fare for the six-day trip was \$18.00, with half-price tickets for children under 12. Passengers, of course, paid for their own meals and over-night accommodations. Baggage was limited to 40 pounds, an extra charge being made for any in excess of that amount. This was a weekly service, but the coach line from Tallahassee to Pensacola, by way of Bainbridge and Marianna, ran three times a week.

On the lesser routes, mail service was by horse. The total annual transportation of the mails in Florida for the year ending June 30, 1845, was 335,947 miles, of which 96,680 miles was carried on horseback, 163,894 miles in coaches, and 75,400 miles by steamboat. The last figure included a weekly run between Palatka and Savannah.³⁹ Among the 66 post offices served were six opened since January 1, 1845, in the new counties of Benton and Marion.⁴⁰ The volume of business of these offices ranged from net proceeds of \$2,852.39 at Apalachicola, whose

37. These routes are worked out from the 1843 advertisement for postal contracts (*Florida Herald*, Apr. 10, 1843) which were still operative in 1845 (see *Register . . . of the United States*, 1845, App., pp. 504, 505.)

38. *News*, Dec. 12, 1845.

39. S. Doc. 1, 29th Cong., 1st sess. [470], pp. 862, 863, 871.

40. *Register . . . of the United States*, 1845, App., pp. 260-263. Although 67 post offices are listed as being in operation in Florida on June 30, 1845, "Sugar Valley" in "Murray" county obviously was not in the state.

postmaster received a compensation of \$1,002.37, to 2 cents at Camp Izard, in Marion county, where the postmaster received 1 cent for his services.

There was little manufacturing in 1845, but what there was falls into two classes, manufactures for export, which were in reality extractive industries, and manufactures for home consumption. A salt manufactory, established in Key West in 1834, was turning out 30,000 bushels a year by solar evaporation. The product, said to be superior in quality to imported salt, was sold at New Orleans and other Gulf ports for 23 cents a bushel. Settlers on the lower East Coast manufactured and shipped from Key West to northern markets some 20,000 pounds of "coontee," or arrowroot, each year, for which they received 5 cents a pound.⁴¹ The only important manufacturing industry, however, was the lumber business, centered in Santa Rosa county in West Florida and in Nassau and Duval counties in East Florida, although there were several saw mills in Middle Florida. Both steam and water mills were in use. In Santa Rosa county, \$150,000 was invested in 20 saw mills, which employed 200 men.⁴² An estimated 4,000,000 feet of lumber and 300,000 shingles were exported from Pensacola during the year ending June 1, 1845, while about 2,000,000 feet of lumber was shipped from Apalachicola. Much of the latter, however, undoubtedly was manufactured in Georgia and Alabama.⁴³ Unfortunately, no figures are available for East Florida.

Other manufacturing establishments were natural subsidiaries of an agricultural society. Grist mills were to be found in most of the counties of West and Middle Florida, though there were few

41. S. Doc. 2, 29th Cong., 1st sess. [471], pp. 660, 664.

42. *Ibid.*, p. 489.

43. *Ibid.*, p. 493.

in East Florida.⁴⁴ Bricks and lime were made in Escambia and Leon counties. Jefferson had a tannery that employed six men and a carriage and wagon factory employing 25 men to produce products of an annual value of \$12,000. A smaller wagon factory was operated in Madison county and, presumably, similar establishments reported in Gadsden and Leon counties in 1840⁴⁵ were still in operation in 1845. A tobacco manufactory in Pensacola employed three men, probably in "twisting segars," while at Arcadia, near Milton in Santa Rosa county, juniper pails of a superior quality were made. At Arcadia, also, was under construction in 1845 the first of three cotton manufacturing mills to be erected in Florida before the Civil War, although it did not begin production until April, 1846.⁴⁶ Prior to this, only the coarsest cottons and linsey-woolsey were spun and woven by hand.⁴⁷

Social Life

The settlers who followed the American flag into Florida brought with them the cultural institutions of the Anglo-American communities from which they came. Where these institutions depended upon organization for expression, they naturally flourished best in the towns and in the more prosperous planting communities of Middle and West Florida. This was true of churches, schools, newspapers, and fraternal organizations.

Although the Catholic Church was the only organized religious body in Florida when the United

44. *Ibid.*, p. 489; U. S. Department of State, *Compendium of the . . . Returns of the Sixth Census . . .* (Washington, 1841), p. 344.

45. See *Ibid.*

46. See Dorothy Dodd, "The Manufacture of Cotton in Florida Before and During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIII (July, 1934), pp. 3-15.

47. S. Doc. 2, 29th Cong., 1st sess. [471], p. 667.

States took over, it made practically no gains during the territorial period. By 1822, Baptists, Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Methodists had all found footholds in the territory.⁴⁸ Baptist churches in Middle Florida affiliated with the Ochlockonee Association, organized in 1825, while those in East Florida helped to organize the Suwannee River Association in 1835. In 1843 the Baptist churches split over the question of missions and drew apart into the sects now known as Missionary and Primitive. As a result of this schism, the Florida Association was formed by the missionary group, the two older associations adhering to the anti-missionary doctrine.⁴⁹ The Diocese of Florida of the Protestant Episcopal Church was organized by seven parishes at a convention held in Tallahassee, January 17, 1838, and the Presbytery of Florida, erected by the Synod of South Carolina and Georgia in 1840, held its first meeting in Tallahassee, January 28, 1841.⁵⁰ The General Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church in 1844 established the Florida Conference, which convened for the first time in

48. For the Episcopalians, see Edgar Legare Pennington, "The Protestant Episcopal Church in Florida, 1763-1892," *Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church*, VII (Mar., 1938), pp. 3-77; for the Methodists, see Charles Tinsley Thrift, Jr., *The Trail of the Florida Circuit Rider* (Lakeland, Fla., Florida Southern College Press, 1944). I do not know of any comprehensive account of the Baptist and Presbyterian churches in Florida. There was a Baptist church constituted at Pigeon Creek, Nassau county, January 7, 1821 (Pigeon Creek Church Record, microfilm in the Florida State Library), and Presbyterians had settled in Walton and Gadsden counties by 1822 (see William E. McIlwain, *The Early Planting of Presbyterianism in West Florida* [Pensacola, Fla., 1926]).

49. "Delegates from the Baptist Churches, favorable to the Benevolent Institutions for the spread of the Gospel," were invited to meet at Indian Springs Church in Leon County on March 2, 1843 (*Florida Sentinel*, March 17, 1843), and it was doubtless as a result of this meeting that the Florida Association was formed.

50. *Floridian*, Dec. 12, 1840, Feb. 20, 1841.

Tallahassee on February 6, 1845. The Protestant Methodist Church also had a circuit in Middle Florida by 1845, and there was a Congregational Society at Apalachicola.⁵¹

Best adapted to a frontier life were the Methodists and Baptists, the former because of their itinerant system, the latter because their simple associational form of organization and dependence upon a volunteer ministry did not presuppose much financial support. These denominations were therefore dominant in the rural areas, while the Episcopalians, Presbyterians, and Catholics found or retained footholds mainly in the towns, and there sometimes with difficulty.

The only functioning Catholic churches in 1845 were at St. Augustine and Pensacola. Mission stations, subsidiary to the former, were maintained at Jacksonville and on Amelia Island, and services were occasionally held at Apalachicola, Tallahassee, and Key West. The Protestant Episcopal Diocese of Florida had nine parishes - at Pensacola, Apalachicola, Marianna, Quincy, Tallahassee, Monticello, Jacksonville, St. Augustine, and Key West - many of which leaned heavily for financial aid upon the Domestic and Foreign Missionary Society of the Church. Churches within the Presbytery of Florida included Marianna, Quincy, Tallahassee, Monticello, and Madison, while outside the geographical limits of the Presbytery were such churches as the old Euchee Valley Church in Walton county and those at Jacksonville, Mandarin, and St. Augustine, which were attached to the Presbytery of Georgia.

The Florida Baptist Association in 1845 consisted of thirty-one churches, three of which were in Jackson county, four in Columbia, one in Duval, and three in Georgia, the other nineteen being in

51. *Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 8, 1845.

Middle Florida.⁵² The new Association had entered enthusiastically into home mission work and in 1844-5 engaged two missionaries, one of whom traveled 2,789 miles and preached 189 sermons in West Florida, while the other traveled 4,079 miles and preached 170 sermons in East Florida.⁵³ In 1845-6, the Association sent out five missionaries, one in the West and two in each the Middle and East.⁵⁴

Equally energetic were the Methodists, who by 1844 had followed the flow of immigrants into East Florida and established missions at Camp King (Ocala), Chuckachattie (near Brooksville), Indian River, and Hillsborough Bay.⁵⁵ The Florida Conference at its first session set up four districts-Quincy and Tallahassee, covering Middle Florida and adjacent Georgia territory; St. Marys, embracing the coastal region of northeast Florida and southeast Georgia; and Newnansville, covering the remainder of East Florida.⁵⁶ The Hillsborough and Indian River missions were dropped in 1845, but the following year the former was renewed and a mission was designated for Orange County.⁵⁷ West Florida, which was then, as now, under the jurisdiction of the Alabama Conference, was served by at least two missions - Escambia and Holmes Valley,⁵⁸ and there was a church at Apalachicola.⁵⁹

The missionary fervor of the Baptists and

52. Unfortunately, statistics for the Ochlockonee and Suwannee River Associations are not available. The latter had seven Florida churches reporting in 1848. Suwannee River Baptist Association, *Minutes*, 1848, p. 8.

53. Florida Baptist Association, *Minutes*, 1845, pp. 7-8.

54. *Ibid.*, 1846, p. 4.

55. *Florida Sentinel*, Feb. 6, 1844.

56. Thrift, *op. cit.*, pp. 74-76.

57. *Commercial Advertiser*, Mar. 7, 1846.

58. F. W. Hoskins, *The History of Methodism in Pensacola, Florida*. . . . (Nashville, 1928), p. 60.

59. *Commercial Advertiser*, Apr. 19, 1845.

Methodists was probably due, in part, to a religious awakening that began to sweep Middle Florida as early as 1842.⁶⁰ The section seems to have been dotted with camp grounds and the papers frequently carried notices of an "old fashioned Methodist Camp-Meeting" or "a general protracted meeting," with "cloth tents, every family to provide their own meat and bread," or promising "ample provision for those who may come from a distance."⁶¹ Negroes, as well as whites, participated in these meetings. Indeed, all denominations ministered to the Negroes and there is good reason to believe that in many churches, especially in rural communities, Negro membership far exceeded white.

The Temperance Movement

Closely allied with the religious revival was the temperance movement. Liquor was plentiful and cheap. Wholesale prices ranged from 35 cents a gallon for the best plain whiskey, through 40 cents for New England rum and 80 cents for old rye, to \$3.50 for imported cognac brandy.⁶² And there were plenty of retailers to purvey it - 8 in Tallahassee and 14 in Apalachicola, for instance, though neither town had as much as 2,500 population. There was at least some truth in the statement concerning Tallahassee "that more than one-half the young men, who locate here, die drunkards . . . They spend their evenings at the billiard saloons or gambling houses, because they have no father's house; *drink* because it is *fashionable*, and the grog seller winds up their assets for administration."⁶³ Temperance Societies were formed to combat this very real social evil and in 1845 there were active organizations in

60. See *Florida Sentinel* and *Star of Florida* for May and June, 1842.

61. *Florida Sentinel*, May 27, Oct. 7, 1845.

62. *Southern Journal*, Jan. 13, 1846.

63. "C. H. B." in *Florida Sentinel*, Mar. 19, 1844.

Tallahassee, Apalachicola, St. Augustine, and perhaps other towns. The Society in Apalachicola increased in less than a year from 12 to 158 members.⁶⁴ Its activities were sufficiently successful to attract the following notice from the proprietor of the Sans Souci bar and restaurant : "Choice WINES and LIQUORS will always be served out to those who are so unfortunate as yet to be without the pale of the 'Tetotal Abstinence Society'."⁶⁵

Education

There were few, if any, public schools, in the modern sense of the word. The nearest thing, perhaps, were the log-cabin schools maintained by the Scotch Presbyterian settlers of the Euchee Valley, in Walton county, though many of these "were parochial schools, organized and controlled by the session" of the Euchee Valley Church.⁶⁶ The instruction afforded by these schools was probably no more than "the rudiments of an English Education" offered by the day schools that were not uncommon in the towns. Such a school in Apalachicola offered, for a five-months session, reading, writing, and arithmetic at a fee of \$9.00, and English grammar and geography at \$10.00.⁶⁷

The customary educational institution was the academy, which was found from St. Augustine and Jacksonville to Pensacola and was especially prevalent in Middle Florida. Some academies were semi-public in that they were governed by boards of trustees often consisting of the most prominent men in the community, while others were purely private ventures. The school year generally consisted of two five-months sessions, climaxed by public ex-

64. *Commercial Advertiser*, June 24, 1845.

65. *Ibid.*, Nov. 8, 1845.

66. McIlwain. *op. cit.* p. 18.

67. *Commercial Advertiser*, Nov. 22, 1845.

aminations. Both boarding and day students were taken, and a successful academy might enroll some 80 or 90 pupils. The academies usually offered instruction to both male and female pupils, though in separate departments. St. Augustine, however, had a seminary for young ladies⁶⁸ and, in the fall of 1845, N. M. Hentz, "late professor of Modern Languages in the University of North Carolina, assisted by his wife, C. Lee Hentz," the authoress, opened a similar school in Pensacola.⁶⁹ Although Dr. Hentz probably possessed a better formal education than other Florida teachers of the period, it was not uncommon for Florida schools to be conducted by college graduates. C. W. Downing and A. C. Gillette, who ran the St. Augustine Academy, were educated at the University of Virginia and Yale, respectively,⁷⁰ and James H. Horner, a graduate of the University of North Carolina, taught "a select classical school" in Jackson county under the patronage of Dr. Samuel C. Bellamy.⁷¹

The most extensive curriculum was offered by the West Florida Collegiate Institute, of Pensacola, whose courses ranged "from the first rudiments of learning to the studies of the Freshman year in college."⁷² This institute had the distinction of publishing in 1845 the first catalog issued by a Florida educational institution.⁷³ The Quincy Male and Female Academy may perhaps be taken as typical of the better class academy. In addition to the common branches, it offered its students "the highest branches of an English Education, embracing Natural and Moral Philosophy, Rhetoric, Botany, Chemistry, Geology, Mineralogy, Book-keeping,

68. *News*, Sept. 6, 1845.

69. *Pensacola Gazette*, Sept. 3, 1845.

70. *News*, Aug. 23, 1845.

71. *Florida Sentinel*, Nov. 18, 1845.

72. *Pensacola Gazette*, Sept. 13, 1845.

73. Diocese of Florida, *Journal of the Proceedings*, 1846, p. 16.

&c., &c.," as well as "the Languages, embracing Latin, Greek and French, together with the higher branches of Mathematics, including Algebra, Geometry, Mensuration, Surveying, &c., &c." Although in establishing the institution the trustees had "looked with deep and anxious solicitude to the eradication of a too popular error in female education, viz: the neglect of the more *solid* and *fundamental* branches," yet females who desired it could obtain instruction in music, drawing, and painting, and "Ornamental Needle-work, embracing Worsted Embroidery, &c., &c." Expenses for board and tuition ranged from \$116 to \$140 a year.⁷⁴

Newspapers

There were 10 newspapers in Florida in 1845, 3 of which were in Tallahassee, 2 in St. Augustine, and 1 each in Pensacola, Apalachicola, Newport, Jacksonville, and Key West. Their combined circulation probably did not reach 4,000 copies.⁷⁵ All were four-page weeklies. About half of their space was devoted to advertisements, which usually filled all of the back page and parts of the first and third pages. Reading matter consisted of short articles picked up from contemporary periodicals, national and foreign news several weeks old, and brief local notices and editorial comment. Only when a political campaign was in progress was there much space devoted to Florida affairs.

Booksellers offered a variety of works for amusement and edification. G. Burt & Co., of St. Augustine, in addition to annuals and school books, advertised a stock of 1,200 volumes of history, novels, and travels.⁷⁶ School books in use included Webster's spelling books, Greenleaf's *Grammar*,

74. *Florida Sentinel*, Mar. 10, 1846.

75. James Owen Knauss, *Territorial Florida Journalism* (DeLand, Fla., Florida State Historical Society, 1927). pp. 42, 84.

76. *News*, Aug. 30, 1845.

Murray's *Grammar*, Mair's *Syntax*, and arithmetic, chemistry, Latin, Greek, and French textbooks. *Intellectual Philosophy and Moral Philosophy*, by Abercrombie, and *Natural Philosophy*, by Comstock or Coffin, were available, as were Watt's and Methodist hymnbooks, the *United States Speaker*, and Harper's Family Library.⁷⁷ The novel reader could obtain, often in cheap paper-backed reprints, works of Balzac, Dumas, G. P. R. James, Dickens, Madame D'Arblay, Frederika Bremer, and other favorites. Such light reading was available in Florida only a month or so after publication.⁷⁸

Most of the organized social activities were for men. Freemasonry had been introduced into the territory as early as 1821 and had become well established in the planting districts of Middle and West Florida by 1830, when the Grand Lodge of Florida was organized. When a special communication of the Grand Lodge was convened at Tallahassee, June 23, 1845, to participate in the ceremonies incident to the organization of the government of the State of Florida, there were seven working lodges, as follows: Jackson No. 1, at Tallahassee; Washington No. 2, at Quincy; Harmony No. 3, at Marianna; Franklin No. 6, at Apalachicola; Madison No. 11, at Madison; St. John's No. 12, at St. Augustine; and Dade No. 14, at Key West.⁷⁹ By 1845, there were also two lodges of the International

77. Advertisement of Smith & Catlin in *Pensacola Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1845.

78. B. S. Hawley advertised in the *Commercial Advertiser*, of March 22, 1845, the receipt of *The Maid of Honor, or The Massacre of St. Bartholomew*, from the French of Madame de Bour, and *The Regent's Daughter*, from the French of Alexander Dumas, in the same month their publication was noted in the book section of *Hunt's Merchants' Magazine*. XII (Mar., 1845), p. 304.

79. *Proceedings at Seventy-fifth Anniversary of the Organization of the Grand Lodge of Florida F. & A. M. at Jacksonville, January 18, 1905, with Address of Hon. Samuel Pasco, Past Grand Master*, p. 25.

Order of Odd Fellows in Jacksonville-Florida Lodge No. 1 and Kennedy Lodge No. 2.⁸⁰ Fire companies, crack militia companies, and debating societies also offered social diversions to the younger men, while public dinners and barbecues attracted males of all ages. Women's activities outside the home, on the other hand, were restricted to an occasional church supper or bazaar or an infrequent ball, when the "Spanish dance, the Waltz, and the Cotillion" would keep "the merry company on their feet till daylight."⁸¹

Dress

The ladies who attended such affairs wore gowns whose long, full skirts, held out by stiffly starched underskirts, gave the impression of very small waists. Deep berthas fell over closely-fitting bodices cut high in the neck. Lace caps trimmed with flowers and ribbons, and perhaps lace mittens or gloves, completed the costumes. The gentlemen were apt to be resplendent in tight pantaloons and dress coats cut to display fancy vests of figured satin, silk, or velvet. Workaday clothes were of much the same styles. Women's dresses were long-sleeved and high-necked, worn with bonnets on the street and usually with caps in the house. Materials varied with the season, such fabrics as mouslin de laine, cashmere, and alpaca being popular in winter but giving place to organdy, muslin, and balzarine in summer. Men marked the change of seasons by replacing their woolen frock coats with more comfortable garments of plaid gingham or linen.

Until the economic distress of the early 'forties, all who could afford to do so were accustomed to spend the summer months at Northern watering places for the sake of health. When times grew

80. *News*, Feb. 13, 1846.

81. *Ibid.*, Feb. 27, 1846.

hard, summer resorts were found nearer home. Lake Bradford and Bel Air, a few miles from Tallahassee "in the midst of the pine woods, and in a sandy and barren soil," were thought "to be free from the effects of malaria, which a more fertile soil generates."⁸² Tallahasseans also used St. James Island as a summering place, while Hickory Hill was "a place of Summer Retreat in Washington county."⁸³ White Sulphur Springs, in Hamilton county, and the Suwannee, or Lower Mineral Springs, in Columbia county, sought to offer the attractions of regular spas. The waters of the former were advertised "to possess excellent medicinal qualities," and its bath house was equipped "with force pumps, and tubs for shower baths, either cold or warm."⁸⁴ The proprietor of the latter promised the "very best fare that can be obtained in this section of the country," and that "beds will be properly attended to and kept clean and airy."⁸⁵ Residents of St. Augustine and Pensacola took advantage of their location to indulge in sea bathing during the warmer months. The St. Augustine salt water bathing house, open every day from sunrise until 10 P. M., was reserved on Tuesdays and Thursdays "exclusively for the use of the Ladies,"⁸⁶ while in Pensacola there were "Bathing Houses in the Bay for the use of Ladies, near to which" were "other Bathing Houses for the use of Gentlemen."⁸⁷

Citizens of Tallahassee, Quincy, and Apalachicola enjoyed an intellectual and artistic treat in the winter of 1845, when Mr. Richards, of Georgia, gave a series of eight subscription lectures in each of

82. Diocese of Florida, *Journal of the Proceedings*, 1845, p. 7.

83. *Florida Sentinel*, Nov. 8, 1845.

84. *Star of Florida*, June 27, 1845.

85. *Florida Sentinel*, June 10, 1845.

86. *News*, June 14, 1845.

87. *Pensacola Gazette*, Feb. 1, 1845.

those towns. Lectures on The Atmosphere and The Moon and Her Phenomena were elucidated "by a series of splendid Moving Dioramas, and other Beautiful transparencies, Exhibited on a scale of unusual magnitude and brilliancy, by means of a Grand Oxy-Hydrogen Magic Lantern." Such subjects as Electricity and Galvanism and Steam and the Steam Engine were "illustrated fully and brilliantly" by "a working steam engine," a large electric magnet, and other apparatus. Each performance concluded with landscape views of "The Falls of Niagara, Westminster Abbey, St. Peter's at Rome," etc., topped off "with several exquisite designs representing life," including "The Blooming Carnation," "The Fiery Skeleton," and "The Beautiful Maiden."⁸⁸ On a less elevated plane was the performance of Wyman, the ventriloquist and magician, who appeared in Tallahassee with an "automaton speaking figure" that was "nightly received with screams of laughter."⁸⁹ Apalachicola also enjoyed in April its customary visit from a theatrical company.⁹⁰

These entertainments certainly were restricted to persons in towns having the price of admission. Indeed, much of what has been written here is applicable only to town life. Unfortunately, available material affords little data on the average Floridian of 1845.

88. *Florida Sentinel*, Jan. 28, Feb. 25, 1845; *Commercial Advertiser*, Mar. 22, 1845.

89. *Florida Sentinel*, Mar. 4, 1845.

90. *Commercial Advertiser*, Apr. 12 and 19, 1844.

FLORIDA'S POPULATION IN 1845

by DOROTHY DODD

The first census of the State of Florida was taken in the summer of 1845. The census takers were slow in making their returns, and data for only 17 of the 26 counties were submitted to the adjourned session of the General Assembly, which met in November. The census was actually taken, however, in every county except St. Lucia and Dade, a total of 66,381 inhabitants being reported.

In the following tabulation, the total population of counties marked (*) is taken from the Comptroller's Record of Claims, volumes A and B, in the Florida State Library, which records the number of heads for which the census taker was paid; the numbers of slaves and free Negroes are taken from tax rolls for 1845, also in the State Library (those for Calhoun and Levy are not extant) ; and the number of whites is obtained by subtracting slaves and free Negroes from the total. These figures should be reasonably accurate, since the census taker was also the tax assessor, except that the tax rolls list only free men of color between 21 and 60 years of age. Consequently, the number of free Negroes in some counties is certainly too low, and the number of whites is correspondingly high. Other figures are from the published returns in Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1845, Adj. Sess., App. p. 2, except that the total for Orange county is corrected from 795 to 195, as given in the Record of Claims.

POPULATION OF FLORIDA, 1845

County	Whites	Slaves	Free Negroes	Total
*Escambia	2088	924	44	3056
*Santa Rosa	1441	471	5	1917
Walton	2173	431	14	2619
Washington	833	417	9	1259
Jackson	2607	2980	22	5629
*Calhoun				947
*Franklin	1034	276	2	1312
Gadsden	3575	4057	13	7645
Leon	2928	6632	52	9612
Wakulla	748	413	1	1162
Jefferson	2324	4200	1	6525
Madison	2011	1749	2	3762
Hamilton	1478	563	12	1953
Columbia	3054	1025	5	4084
Alachua	1105	759	2	1866
*Levy				179
Marion	947	523	5	1475
Benton	399	161	1	561
Duval	2032	1608	154	3511
*Nassau	856	879	3	1738
St. Johns	1625	1325	164	3114
Orange	129	66	0	195
St. Lucia				
Hillsborough	466	364	6	836
Dade				
*Monroe	1220	192	12	1424

THE LAST SPANISH CENSUS OF PENSACOLA, 1820

by DUVON C. CORBITT

Prior to 1812 the Spanish monarch did not see fit to grant Pensacola the right to organize as a municipality; consequently, the West Florida capital was governed up to that year by military commandants whose authority was untrammelled by elective officers. With the inauguration of the Constitution of 1812, however, it became necessary to allow the organization of municipal government there, since the charter in question provided such government for all towns and communities having one thousand or more free inhabitants, or whose special conditions necessitated local government. Therefore, Pensacola's municipal government, consisting of an *alcalde*, or mayor, and a city council was set up. It functioned until Ferdinand VII abrogated the constitution in 1814.¹

In 1820 a revolution in Spain forced the king to restore the constitutional system that he abhorred. When the news of this change in the mother country reached West Florida the governor thought he was obligated to institute another constitutional regime there. In the meantime, however, a number of circumstances had brought about the migration of many former residents of the province. Among the forces bringing about this migration there stands out the occupation of the province by Andrew Jackson. The governor, Jose Callava, however seems not to have questioned the right of his capital to organize again as a municipality, and so proceeded at once with the elections looking to that end. The governor did order a census to be made, probably

1. For a discussion of Spanish institutions in Florida at this time see D. C. Corbitt, "The Administrative System in the Floridas, 1781-1821," *Tequesta*, 1942 and 1943.

to justify himself should his acts be called in question. Before this census was completed one Jose Norriega had been elected *alcalde*, and after studying available documents concerned with his office reached the conclusion that practically all civil authority in West Florida pertained to him. When he laid claim to this authority the governor, reenforced by the counsel of his legal advisor (*auditor de guerra*),² refused to grant the demand and a heated dispute ensued during which both parties searched for records to support their respective claims.

While the dispute was in progress the census was completed.³ At first glance it seemed to prove that Pensacola was not entitled to municipal government because it fell far short of the required one thousand. The governor tried to use this as an excuse to abolish the office of *alcalde* but its holder promptly asserted that "special conditions" prevailed which warranted municipal government regardless of population. He further asserted that in the taking of the census several persons had been overlooked. He also produced documents that cast doubt on the right of the *auditor de guerra* to continue in office under the constitutional regime. This impasse led to an appeal from both parties to the provincial *diputacion* in Havana.⁴ That body, elected indirectly from the whole province, was charged with rather wide legislative and administrative du-

2. Nicholas Santos Suarez

3. A copy of the census is in Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 13, number 6.

4. The papers concerned with this dispute are in Archivo Nacional de Cuba, Floridas, legajo 2, number 35, legajo 13, numbers 6 and 14, and *ibid.* Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 861, number 29160, pp. 6, 27-28. For an account of the *diputacion provincial de la Habana* see Corbitt, *op. cit.* and D. C. Corbitt, "Cuba y el sisetma administrativa en las Floridas, 1779-1821." This last is a paper that was presented at the First Historical Congress of Cuba, October 8, 1942.

ties as well as some that partook of a judicial nature. Since East and West Florida were both included in the province of Havana under the constitutional regime, it was to the Havana body that the dispute had to be referred for settlement.⁵ This it did in due time, but not before orders had arrived from Spain to hand over the Floridas to the United States. Before news of the decision in Havana reached Pensacola, Andrew Jackson had arrived in the city to take control.

The American governor proposed to continue the Spanish system until a permanent organization could be provided ; consequently, he appointed a man to take over the duties of the retiring *alcalde*. This man, Henry M. Brackenridge, could not learn from Norriega the extent of his duties for the simple reason that the latter did not know what they were. Nor does it appear that Norriega ever explained to his successor that he and Governor Calava had been almost at daggers' points over the question for months. Thus it came about that the second attempt to establish municipal government in Pensacola served only to complicate the last months of Spanish rule and the first weeks of American rule. We are indebted, however, to this effort for a socio-economic picture of life in Pensacola on the eve of its transfer to the United States.

The census report consists of a list of residents with columns of data opposite the names. There is appended an official summary made, it would seem, for the use of the governor. There are listed 713 persons of all colors, soldiers and government officials being omitted. The persons named were

5. *Diario del Gobierno Constitucional de la Habana*, January 18 and 20, 1813 ; and *Archivo Nacional de Cuba*, Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 861, number 20160.

6. For the appointment see *American State Papers, Miscellaneous*, II, pp. 904-905.

shown to have lived in one hundred and eighty-two houses. The official summary puts the total at 695 persons; but evidently the tabulation was carelessly made; in fact, it will be necessary later to call attention to other errors in the official summary.

At first glance it would appear that Governor Callava might have been responsible for making the total appear as small as possible in order to help in the battle with the *alcalde*, but the erratic variation of other figures in the summary disproves this view. Nevertheless, in spite of the careless manner in which this summary was made, it merits quotation because it indicates the type of information that the authorities, considered as important:

WHITES	Males	1 to 14 years	78	235
			93	
		over 45	64	
	Females	1 to 14	77	206
		14 to 45	104	
over 45		25		
FREE COLORED	Males	1 to 14	60	108
		14 to 45	76	
		over 45	12	
	Females	1 to 14	46	146
		14 to 45	80	
		over 45	20	
total			695	

The age groups have no bearing whatever on the political situation that called forth the census. Rather the grouping would suggest a desire on the part of the officials to ascertain the persons capable of child-bearing or military service. The only part of the summary concerned with politics is a note at the bottom which said: "There are in this Plaza and district one hundred and twenty-six Citizens."

As for the mistakes in the compilation: the greatest variation appears in the total for whites. Instead of 235 white males and 206 white females, a glance at the census list shows the figures to be 252 and 199 respectively. The totals for colored

are more nearly correct. Whereas the summary shows 254 males and females, the list of names reveals 259. If, however, the three mestizas cited are included among the colored population, there is a difference of only one from the official summary.

Turning from the summary to the complete list; since the individuals are listed according to whether they were white, black; mulatto or mestizo, it is possible to subdivide the colored population. In this way we find 65 blacks and 194 mulattoes, besides the three persons of part Indian blood. It is known that there were many Negro slaves in Pensacola at the time, but their names do not appear.

By a check through the tabulation of birthplaces, it appears that only seven of Pensacola's residents who were native born were forty years old or over; that is, old enough to have been living there before the return of Spanish rule in 1781. Of these seven, four were colored. The other three were white women, two of whom seem to have belonged to the same family. It may be noted also that of the 713 persons in the census list, 370 were born in Pensacola. Of these 230 were white, 18 black, and 122 mulattoes. There were 17 persons from the neighboring town of Mobile (1 white, 3 blacks, and 4 mulattoes). Five came from Baton Rouge which, like Mobile, was then in American hands although still claimed by Spain as part of West Florida. From the part of Louisiana considered as such by Spain there were 155 persons (79 whites, 16 blacks, and 60 mulattoes). Spain and her dominions contributed as follows :

Catalonia	22	
Canaries	13	
Cuba	10	(7 whites and 2 blacks)
Centa	3	
Valencia	3	
Vizcaya	2	
Andalusia	4	
Galicia	8	
Castilla	7	
Mayorca	3	
New Spain	7	
Santander	1	
San Roque	1	
Malaga	2	
Alicante	1	
Sevilla	2	
Toledo	1	
Xerez	1	
Aragon	1	
Asturias	1	
Cartegena	2	
Santo Domingo	1	
Madrid	1	
Ferol	1	
From elsewhere they came as follows:		
France	5	
Italy	3	
Germany	3	
Canada	1	(a white woman)
Scotland		
Georgia	1	(Negro woman)
Portugal	2	
Carolina	3	(2 whites and 1 black)
Charleston	2	(1 white and 1 black)
Genoa	1	
Philadelphia	1	
Normandy	1	
Africa	18	(5 males and 13 females)
Ocsin	1	
Virginia	4	(3 whites and 1 black)
Indian Nation	5	(blacks)
Jamaica	1	
Rome	1	
Ireland	1	
England	2	(both white, a man and a woman)
Baltimore	1	(black)

On the occupational side we find that two barbers, one white and one colored, were able to care for the male heads of Pensacola. There were an equal number of billiard parlor operators; but there was only one surgeon, one innkeeper, one gunsmith and one confectioner, all white men. Three white

cigarmakers supplied commercial smokes. Only three men, all colored, plied the trade of mason, but the carpenter's trade was bi-racial with seven whites and ten blacks and mulattoes. Both races also served as shoemakers (seven whites and fifteen blacks), as fishermen (10 whites and 3 blacks), as bakers (6 whites and 2 blacks), as tailors (3 whites and 2 blacks), and as blacksmiths (3 whites and 1 black). One Negro woman professed to be a pastry cook, while another was a seller of tripe. The port captain was of course white, as were all of the 14 sailors listed. Two other whites were wagoners, 8 were forest rangers, 3 were cattle men, and one a cowboy. The sacristan was also white, and so was the interpreter and the three silversmiths. The 18 grocers were all white, mostly from Spain (Galicia and Catalonia), but the ship-keepers were mixed, ten being white and two colored. Twenty-five white men and one white woman were farmers, but two Negro men were also in the same category. Fourteen white men were listed simply as employees, as was also one white woman. Only eleven white women professed to have any other occupation than that of housewife. The lady farmer has been mentioned. One white woman was a laundress, six were seamstresses, while one rated as a dressmaker.

Of the colored women, only four appear to have been housewives. Besides the pastry cook, the two peddlers and the tripe-seller, there were 23 who classified themselves as seamstresses, 27 as laundresses, and one as a servant. One Indian woman also professed to wash for a living.

The white seamstresses appear from the records, to have been, for the most part, respectable widows, but as much cannot be said for the women of color. The compilers of the census must have raised their

eyebrows knowingly as they wrote "seamstress" or "laundress" after the names of fifty Negro and mulatto women, for with very few exceptions they were unmarried mothers living openly with white men. Of the 379 persons whose parentage is given, 101 were illegitimate. The town could boast of 55 married women and 34 widows, but there were also 39 mothers of illegitimate children besides 8 women without children living openly with men who were not their husbands. In 23 cases colored women lived with white men, while only 6 lived with men of their own race. It should be said, however, that only one white woman is listed as the mother of an illegitimate child and her paramour is not given.

In a number of cases the children of the same Negro mother are separated into blacks and mulattoes. This is true in a few instances when the mother was living with a white man at the time of the census. Evidently a change of paramours was not infrequent. Several moral oddities, or what seemed to be such, are to be noted. There was, for instance, an unmarried mulatto woman of 28 years with three children of the same color (aged 7, 4, and 1) living in the same house with an unmarried grocer of 43 years and a retired sergeant of 61 also unmarried. Again there is the case of a mulatto laundress from Georgia, aged 19, who lived in the same house as three bakers of 41, 34, and 21 years respectively. Then, too, there was a mulatto seamstress from Louisiana who, although unmarried, lived with a shopkeeper who was listed as married, but whose wife does not appear in the census. It should be noted also that widows and widowers were carefully listed as such.

A grocer from Santander was married but he lived alone. A fellow grocer did not live alone but with an unmarried negro woman, the mother of two

mulatto children. Nor was this all ; there was also in his house an unmarried negro mother who had three mulatto children. An unmarried shoemaker lived with his son. A mulatto girl of 19 lived in the house with a white employer of 28, and a mulatto carpenter of 27. And there was a mulatto woman of 50 years, who made her home with a grocer of the same age, while in the same house lived a native Pensacola tailor of 30 years.

Pensacola was an interesting town in 1820 despite its small population.

PIONEER FLORIDA

by T. FREDERICK DAVIS

JACKSON'S PREMATURE PROCLAMATION, 1821

The treaty of "Amity, Settlement and Limits" by which Spain ceded the Floridas (East and West) to the United States, was concluded and signed on February 22, 1819, but ratifications were not exchanged until February 22, 1821 - both transactions coincidentally being on the anniversary of George Washington's birth. On March 10, 1821, General Andrew Jackson was appointed to take over the Floridas from Spain, and assume their government pending their formal creation as a territory of the Union. The commission bestowed upon him the title: *Governor of the Floridas, exercising all the powers and authorities heretofore exercised by the governor, and captain-general, and intendant of the island of Cuba, and by the governors of East and West Florida within the said provinces, respectively.*

Jackson never fully understood the ramifications of this authority, nor anyone without much study, but he realized that they amounted to a dictatorship, and on one occasion remarked : "I am clothed with powers that no one under a republic ought to possess, and which I trust will never be given to any man again."¹

General Jackson left Nashville about the middle of April, 1821, en route to Pensacola to assume his duties, and troops of the Fourth Regiment marched southward to garrison the fortifications in West Florida. A temporary encampment was made at Montpelier, Alabama. Here, on May 31, 1821, General Jackson severed connection with the army, stating in a farewell address to the troops: "This day, officers and soldiers, closes my military func-

1. Pensacola *Floridian*, Sept. 22, 1821.

tions, and consequently dissolves the military connection which has hitherto existed between you and myself as Commander of the Southern Division of the Army of the United States." ²

We digress a moment to correct a misinterpretation that has crept into Florida histories designating Jackson as Military Governor of Florida. His position as governor was civil, not military. He could have called upon the troops in cases of emergency, and they without doubt would have responded promptly ; but their command was vested in the Secretary of War and not in the governor of Florida. ³ If a modifying term be desired, provisional governor is the proper one.

At Montpelier, Jackson opened correspondence with the Spanish governor at Pensacola concerning the surrender of West Florida and apparently some understanding was tentatively reached. On June 15, 1821, he and the troops proceeded towards Pensacola, arriving in the vicinity on the 17th, where they encamped fifteen miles from the town. ⁴ Here Jackson expected to make quick and final arrangements for the transfer, evinced in a proclamation prepared for execution as of June 25, 1821. This proclamation proved to be premature. It was never released officially, but someone obtained a copy and sent it to a Georgia newspaper. Concerning the proclamation, and the confusion generally appertaining to the transfer of the Floridas, the editor of *Niles' Weekly Register*, July 21, 1821, wrote as follows :

"We are yet without advices of the surrender of Florida to the authorities of the United States. A proclamation, as if by Gen. Jackson, and dated at

2. Pensacola *Floridian*, Aug. 18, 1821.

3. *Niles' Weekly Register*, Baltimore, April 20, 1822.

4. *Ibid.* July 21, 1821.

Pensacola, on the 25th day of June, announcing the event, has had a full run through the newspapers. It first appeared in the Georgia Recorder, published at Milledgeville on the 3rd of July, and without signature-the editor of which, however, took care to say that it was evidently forwarded before the consummation of the transfer. This explanation is omitted in many of the papers, and the Philadelphia editors have ventured to *sign* the proclamation for the general, to make it complete! The probability is, that Gen. Jackson had a proclamation prepared and expected to issue it at Pensacola on the 25th of June, and that some one accidentally obtained a copy, and, indiscreetly, forwarded it for publication, without the general's privity or consent. It is true, that the Spaniards in doing business do not conform to the rules which most other men deem correct, yet it can hardly be believed that Pensacola would be surrendered on the 25th of *June*, and St. Augustine be refused to be given up on [before] the 1st or 2nd of *July*, the date of our last accounts from the latter place and those received more than a week ago, when it was thought that the delivery would not take place before the 20th inst. [July], if even before the day limited by the treaty, say the 22nd of next month [August]. It is pretty evident that the surrender was calculated upon as to take place about the 25th of June-but we know that the troops, &c. which left Amelia island for that purpose and arrived off St. Augustine did return [to Amelia] - the Spanish governor not being in readiness to receive them. [The transfer of East Florida at St. Augustine was accomplished on July 10, 1821.] If there is virtue in patience, certainly Spain has exerted that quality in the United States almost to an exhaustion of its principle. On the 15th ult. [June] Gen. Jackson moved with the troops from

Montpelier for Pensacola, and we can easily apprehend that he will not be well satisfied if they are required to return, as were those which went to St. Augustine-but the delivery of the post cannot be *demand*ed until the 22nd of August, when, without doubt, he will be in the possession of it. A Montgomery (Alab.) paper of the 20th ult [June] says ---"We have seen a gentleman who left Pensacola on the 17th inst. [June], who informs us that he met Gen. Jackson, on the same day, in company with the fourth regiment, within fifteen miles of the town, which he was to take immediate possession of, the commissioners on the part of Spain having arrived in the Hornet, as noticed in our last."

As we have seen, Jackson arrived in the vicinity of Pensacola on June 17, 1821. There he remained static for a full month. The main cause of delay was Jackson's insistence that all Spanish troops in West Florida be collected at Pensacola and embarked as a whole immediately after the transfer. There was a Spanish garrison at the isolated post St. Marks that could not be transported promptly, owing to lack of shipping. Time wore on-and the well-known temperament of Andrew Jackson permits a surmise of Jacksonian wrath. Finally, on or about July 15, the St. Marks garrison arrived at Pensacola, and on July 17, 1821, the ceremony of the "change of flags" for West Florida was performed. East Florida had already been transferred on July 10 at St. Augustine, Col. Robert Butler representing Governor Jackson in the transaction.

The *National Intelligencer* (Washington) published a letter dated at Pensacola 18th July, 1821, which included a good account of the transfer ceremonies. To preserve this record, *Niles' Weekly Register* of August 25, 1821, reprinted it, from which the following is extracted :

"Yesterday, after a series of delay, and disappointments, of a piece with the whole tenor of our twenty years' negotiations with Spain, the American authorities were finally and formally put in possession of this city, of the fortress of the Barrancas, and of the dominion of the Floridas. Out of tenderness to the feelings of the Spaniards, deeply excited by the painful separation about to take place between those who go and those who remain—and who are allied not only by the ties of intimacy and friendship, contracted during a long period of a common residence in this pleasant and salubrious region, and confirmed by a community of habits and religion, as well as of lineage and language, but knitted together by the most sacred and endearing bands of consanguinity and affiance, the ceremony was conducted with very little ostentation. The Spanish governor's guard, consisting of a full company of dismounted dragoons of the regiment of Tarragona, elegantly clad and equipped, was paraded at an early hour of the morning in front of the government house. About 8 o'clock a battalion of the 4th regiment of U. S. infantry, and a company of the 4th regiment of U. S. artillery, the whole under the command of Col. Brooke, of the 4th infantry, were drawn up on the public square, opposite to the Spanish guard, having marched into town from the encampment at Galvez' Spring. The usual military salute passed between them. Four companies of infantry from the American line, under the command of major Dinkins, of the 5th infantry, were then detached to take possession of the Barrancas, which is nearly nine miles below this city.

"At 10 o'clock, the hour previously appointed, general Jackson, attended by his aides, secretary, interpreters, &c. crossed the green, passed between

the double line formed by the troops of both nations, who simultaneously saluted him by presenting arms, and entered the government house, where the formality of the transfer was soon dispatched, and the Spanish serjeant's guard at the gate was immediately relieved by an American guard. After a few minutes, governor Jackson, accompanied by Col. Callava, the late commandant, and their respective suites, left the government house and passed through the same double line of troops, to the house which the governor [Jackson] has rented for the temporary accommodation of his family. The Spanish troops were then marched to the place of embarkation-the American flag was displayed upon the flag-staff, and grand salutes were fired by the artillery company and the U.S. ship *Hornet*, a gun being given to each state and territory of the Federal Union, not forgetting Florida, and the regimental band, and that of the *Hornet*, playing the "Star Spangled Banner" all the while. In the course of the day a number of citizens waited on the new governor to pay their respects, and offer their congratulations.

"The delivery of the Barrancas was performed with a little more parade. The Spanish flag was lowered to half-mast. The American flag was raised to a level with it. Both flags were, in this situation, saluted by the Spaniards. After which, the Spanish colours were hauled down, and the American ensign was hoisted. The Americans then saluted their national flag. The American troops made a fine and martial appearance, and the *Hornet* was gaily dressed."

EARLY SETTLERS IN BRITISH WEST FLORIDA

by CLINTON N. HOWARD

The land grant records of the British colony of West Florida comprise a fairly complete census of the population of the colony in the early years.¹

Land was granted by the king-in-council and the governor and council. Grants by the former were presented to the latter for *execution in a mandamus*. The governor and council in West Florida usually set aside certain days in each month for consideration of petitions for grants of land, so the land grant records of the colony comprise a part of the minutes of the council.

The proclamation of 1763 forbade settlement west of the watershed of the Appalachian mountains until the plan for the gradual extinction of the Indian title by purchase could be put into operation. Study has shown that the limitation was intended to pacify the Indians who had revolted under Pontiac and the plan for extinction of the Indian title was intended to please the colonists.

Why the colony of West Florida was established at all and why it was established with its given boundaries, are questions which are deserving of an answer. Aside from reasons of capital and commercial investments, part of the answers to these questions bear directly upon the matter of immigration to the colony. Who came to West Florida is as important to the student of social history as what they did after they got there.

1. An analysis of these records for the early years of the colony will appear in the writer's forthcoming study of British development of West Florida. All of the material discussed here, unless otherwise indicated, is drawn from the Minutes of the Council of West Florida or other documents in the colony's archives. These are now deposited in the Public Record Office of Great Britain, Colonial Office Division, Class Five.

The British frontier in North America was redefined in 1763. The need for that redefinition was forced on the imperial government by the cession in the treaty of Paris (1763) of all the land east of the Mississippi river. The proclamation of 1763 had its genesis in Pontiac's revolt, and is best understood in terms of the evolution of an imperial policy toward native peoples. It was hoped that the establishment of Quebec and the two Floridas would relieve the pressure along the line of settlement for the time being. This incidental calculation resulted in putting the westward push of the Americans in the South about twenty-five years ahead of that to the north. The ultimate result was to bring the territory of West Florida into the United States perhaps rather earlier than might have been expected, because few of the English settlers in West Florida evacuated the territory when it was ceded to Spain in 1783.²

The imperial government was suffering from an embarrassment of free land in 1763. But the attempts of the Indian officials and the furtrading interests to maintain the eastern Mississippi valley as a closed preserve failed by 1768, and the thought that any such attempt could be successful was fully

2. It should be kept in mind that British West Florida extended westward to the Mississippi river. At its establishment in 1763 its northern boundary was the 31st degree of latitude, but by proclamation the next year its area was greatly increased by pushing this boundary up to the mouth of "the Yazoo, whence it extended eastwards to the Chattahoochee. The capital throughout the British period was Pensacola, far southeast of its geographical center; and the first settlers, as Dr. Howard indicates through the land grants, came to the Pensacola region. But finding the soil in this district comparatively sterile they, and the later immigrants, went westwards; and within five years the Natchez region was claiming most of them. Hence it must be remembered that this article relates in large part to territory which is no longer Florida, and the author's statement on evacuation does not apply to the Pensacola region. - *Ed.*

answered by Edmund Burke in his speech on conciliation with America on March 22, 1775:

As the growing population of the colonies is evidently one cause of their resistance, it was last session mentioned in both Houses, by men of weight, and received not without applause, that, in order to check this evil, it would be proper for the crown to make no further grants of land. But to this scheme there are two objections. The first, that there is already so much unsettled land in private hands as to afford room for an immense future population, although the crown not only withheld its grants, but annihilated its soil. If this be the case, then the only effect . . . would be to raise the value of the possessions in the hands of the great private monopolists, without any adequate check on the growing and alarming mischief of population.

But if you stopped your grants, what would be the consequence? The people would occupy without grants. They have already so occupied in many places. You cannot station garrisons in every part of these deserts. If you drive the people from one place, they will carry on their annual tillage, and remove with their flocks and herds to another. Many of the people in the back settlements are already little attached to particular situations. Already they have topped the Appalachian Mountains. From thence they behold before them an immense plain, one vast, rich, level meadow; a square of five hundred miles. Over this they would wander without a possibility of restraint; they would change their manners with the habits of their life; would soon forget a government by which they were disowned; would become hordes of

English Tartars, and, pouring down upon your unfortified frontiers a fierce and irresistible cavalry, become masters of your governors and your counsellors, your collectors and comptrollers, and of all the slaves that adhere to them. Such would, and, in no long time, must be, the effect of attempting to forbid as a crime, and to suppress as an evil, the command and blessing of Providence, "Increase and multiply." Such would be the happy result of an endeavor to keep as a lair of wild beasts that earth which God by an express charter has given to the children of men. Far different, and surely much wiser, has been our policy hitherto. Hitherto, we have invited our people, by every kind of bounty, to fixed establishments. We have invited the husbandman to look to authority for his title. We have taught him piously to believe in the mysterious virtue of wax and parchment. We have thrown each tract of land, as it was peopled, into districts, that the ruling power should never be wholly out of sight. We have settled all we could ; and we have carefully attended every settlement with government.

As Burke implies, the topography of the country is of importance in giving a clue to the lines of migration. The British military expedition for the reoccupation of the Mississippi valley followed the route obvious in the country and its rivers. The later routes of immigration were the same. The Tennessee, Ohio, and Mississippi rivers brought many settlers to West Florida, especially to the western parts of the province around Natchez, after about 1768. It seems probable that both the old English road around the southern tip of the Appalachian mountains and Natchez trace were put to use.

Possibly some of the settlers came to Pensacola by sea from New York and Charleston as well as across the Atlantic.

In some cases the Minutes of the Council show that the immigrants came in a party and in some cases the better circumstanced sent an agent ahead. The outstanding case is that of Phineas Lyman and his Company of Adventurers who were granted land on the Mississippi river. Because the distances were shorter by far in most cases than those of the Oregon trail and other trails of the trans-Mississippi West, the probability appears to be that a large number of immigrants came in single, two, or three family groups. More typical than Lyman's venture is that of John Smith whose petition for six hundred acres on the Mississippi river set forth that he had been encouraged by a number of inhabitants of Pennsylvania to view lands on the Mississippi ; that so he had left and come down the Ohio river and the Mississippi river to West Florida; that he had found the land was exceeding good and that he proposed to bring his wife and family of five to West Florida the next spring. This John Smith presented his case to the council on December 17, 1768.

Both the imperial and the provincial governments made some effort to prevent the creation of a class of large landholders in the province. This is not to say that there were no large grants; for instance, Patrick, fifth earl of Elbank, received twenty thousand acres in one continuous strip. Exceptions achieved by influence, "connection" and patronage were, perhaps, still the rule in Whig England, but the general policy of the home and colonial government in West Florida seems to have been to grant lands to all proprietors who could and would develop it and pay the fees and quit-rents. For

financial as well as political reasons this was a logical policy for a government which was trying to economize at the same time that it was trying to break up the monopolistic Whig oligarchy. It was in line with the new policy of the imperial government which, in spite of exceptions it was forced to make for political reasons, did with surprising energy conduct spasmodic campaigns to reduce absentee office-holders, charter ownership of colonies, and all other factors which rendered less efficient and less direct the royal administration of the colony.

It should be remembered that large numbers of recent immigrants to the colonies especially, probably, the Scotch-Irish, who came in such numbers to West Florida, had been driven from home by the enclosure movement in the British Isles which resulted from the agricultural revolution in England, the transfer of wool-growing to Scotland after 1707 and the subjection of Ireland after the treaty of Limerick in 1691. The industrial system in England was not yet prepared to absorb large numbers of workers, and room had to be found somewhere in the empire for the large numbers of small farmers and agricultural workers.

It should be added that West Florida was fortunate in this matter in that it had originally received bad publicity, notably in the *North Briton* (number 45) which at its cession had referred to it as "that barren swamp of Florida." Although this last description was largely directed against the Spanish cession, most of which became East Florida, yet Pensacola, at one time a penal station, was made the capital of West Florida which was partly formed from the former French colony of Louisiana. This fact doubtless confused the two colonies in the minds of most people who knew noth-

ing of the country. The early reports from Pensacola and even Mobile were not encouraging to dreams of quick tropical wealth. It was only the discovery of the rich farming land near Natchez which began a boom which had its effect upon the country, even in spite of the retrocession to Spain in 1783.

Whatever the reason for it, the apparent attempt of the imperial and the provincial government to develop a small farming and artisan class rather than a plantation class is interesting in the light of the earlier history of the Atlantic coast and West Indian colonies. There was a small and perhaps growing trade in negro slaves in West Florida during the British period, but slavery does not seem to have taken a deep root in the province by the end of the British period. There was a beginning of the growing of cotton in West Florida as early as 1767, but half a century was to pass before "King Cotton" reversed the agricultural pattern of the country and made it the plantation area of the South par excellence.

All of the Spaniards evacuated Pensacola and its environs upon its surrender to the British.³ A great many of the French around Mobile preferred to remain where they were, and later this immigration was increased by the announcement of the cession of New Orleans to Spain. The British imperial government made a policy of encouraging foreign-born emigrants to settle in the province, and frequently went to considerable length in subsidizing them. The most notable instance of this in West Florida was the case of Campbelltown. The French Huguenot settlers of this town were brought to the colony under the leadership of Lieutenant-governor

5. See Wilbur F. Siebert, "How the Spaniards Evacuated Pensacola in 1763" in *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XI, 48-57.

Montfort Browne and at the expense of the Board of Trade. The experiment was far from being a success, however, and the governor and council were called upon time and time again to come to the aid of these settlers. The town was finally abandoned. The imperial and provincial officials did what they could to encourage the immigration to the province of Acadians, both from Louisiana and from the seaboard colonies where they had been scattered a few years previously. The older French settlers around Mobile appear to have been more deeply rooted and to have continued their life, in most ways, undisturbed by the change of rulers.⁴ Some Germans settled along the coast west of Mobile and gave to that region the name Cote D'Allemand.⁵ The imperial government tried to encourage the immigration of Palatine Germans, presumably for the purposes of viniculture.

Aside from these, foreign settlements it is evident that in these early years about nine-tenths of the settlers were of the official class, that is, of the army, the navy and the government "civil" service - provincial or imperial - or contractors, merchants and followers of these groups. These persons mostly petitioned for grants around Pensacola bay, which thus gave promise of being the center of population in these early years. Smaller groups received grants along the coast and far above the fall-line of the Mobile and Escambe rivers. Throughout the first two years these centers grew in the number of grants, with the population slowly spreading along the coast through the present West Florida parishes of Louisiana toward Fort Bute and the Mississippi river. In 1766 numerous re-

4. See Peter Joseph Hamilton, *Colonial Mobile*, New York, 1897.

5. See J. H. Deiler, "Settlement of The German Coast of Louisiana and The Creoles of German Descent," *German-American Annals*, XI, 34-63, 67-102, 123-163, 179-207

quests begin to appear for grants on the Mississippi near Natchez, and by the close of 1767 the westward movement of the population toward Natchez was in full swing. Many persons petitioned to be allowed to give up their grants along the coast because the soil was sandy and barren. These petitioners asked for a fresh grant, usually in the neighborhood of Natchez, although occasionally land above the fall-line of the Mobile or Escambe rivers was asked for. The withdrawal of the troops from the western part of the province appears to have only temporarily hampered settlement in the neighborhood of Natchez, but it seems seriously to have diminished the authority of the government in these parts.

Of all the groups of immigrants who went to West Florida the ones most difficult to trace are those from the other British colonies. Predominantly these were, in the early years, it would seem safe to say, English or Scotch-Irish by descent, if not birth. The records bear testimony to considerable migration from Virginia, Pennsylvania and New England. The Scotch-Irish group seems to have come in large part from North Carolina. The increasing amount of emigration from the older colonies is interesting. The colonists were in the restless beginnings of the movement which carried them westward across the continent.

Governor Johnstone writing in 1766 to John Pownall, secretary of the Board of Trade, on the effect of the Stamp Act said: "As the Establishment of the Stamp Duty in this Province has been the Occasion of much Discontent among the Lower Class of People, and most of whom are Irish Emigrants who have resided some time in North America, I think it proper to relate the whole respecting that Subject from the beginning . . . Our principle

Communications being with North America, the Spirit of what is there called Liberty begun to infuse itself here, and many Arguments were handed about, to show why the Act should not take Place."

An estimate of the number of settlers in West Florida in these early years must at present rest upon the same basis of fragmentary evidence of the description of their character estate and places of origin. Governor Johnstone once estimated that the population of the province numbered eighteen hundred to two thousand during his administration. We have no authority for his figures, but it is likely that they were what he intended—a fairly close approximation of the truth. The names of the land grantees in the period 1764-1769 numbered over five hundred. This number excludes grantees who are known to have been non-resident, usually English merchants. The number also includes officials of the province and of the customs and Indian service, and army and navy officers and men. In most cases these officials were in residence in the province over an extended period of years, and in most instances they took out land grants. They were sufficiently well established so that in every way they deserve to be classed as residents. Deputy Indian superintendent Charles Stuart owned land in West Florida. Brigadier-General Frederick Haldimand is a particularly interesting example of an owner of land in many of the provinces in North America.

The average grantee was the head of a household. Most of the petitioners simply asked for so many acres, in addition to the allowance of land for their "family right," but some of them specified a wife, so many children, other relatives, indentured servants and slaves. Francis du Planey, grantee of a plantation near Lake Pontchartrain, was probably

one of the old French settlers. He declared that he had fifty slaves in addition to white servants. A Patrick Morgan declared that he expected fifteen slaves from the West Indies in two weeks.

Many of the grantees declared anywhere between four and ten children. By omitting, however, the slaves and servants, and by averaging each grantee as possessed of a wife and two children, the total number of settlers approximates that given by Governor Johnstone. This may be even more likely when servants and extra children and non-land owners are allowed to make up for the undoubtedly large number of single men who were in the province in the army.

Because the land grant records in these early years are largely, if not wholly, the record of the better circumstanced of the settlers, a rough analysis of the record yields interesting results. Of some five hundred odd names in the record, approximately four hundred seem to be of English, Scottish, or Irish descent. Of these a little less than one hundred clearly occupy official positions. This probably accounts for their presence in the colony. Some seventy odd French are entered as grantees. Seven grantees seem to be without doubt Hebrews, three seem to be Germans from Pennsylvania, two Germans from the Cote D'Allemand, and three other grantees might be either Italian or Spanish.

These figures can only be taken as indicative rather than literal. They show a number of settlers of British descent and may indicate that during the brief twenty years of the colony's existence the imperial government's policy of encouragement of alien immigration was not as successful as it might have been.

NOTES ON SEMINOLE NEGROES IN THE BAHAMAS

by KENNETH W. PORTER

On telling Alan Lomax, folksong collector, of my interest in and research on Seminole Negroes he exclaimed "Do you know there are some in the Bahamas today?"

I told him I had followed their trail from Florida to Oklahoma, to Texas, to Mexico, but not yet in the other direction.

"Yes" he said "I haven't seen them but they are said to be in the northern part of Andros Island. I heard about them when I was in the Bahamas. The other Negroes are afraid of them-say they're wild men, live in trees, shoot fish with bows and arrows, and are all named Bowlegs."

"Bowlegs? That's a Seminole Negro name all right-from King Bowlegs and his children Billy and Harriet Bowlegs, who were the owners or patrons of so many of the Seminole Negroes. I've encountered that name among the Seminole Negroes along the whole trail to Mexico. And - by the way -wasn't there a 'Mr. Bowlegs' among the singers you recorded in the Bahamas several years ago?"¹

"Yes, he was a stray from Andros but had been brought from there at a very early age and didn't remember much about it."

Mr. Lomax's account bore, on the face of it, evidence of a basis in fact. It is unlikely, for example, that the name Bowlegs could have been a coincidence or an invention. Also, hunting or fishing with bow and arrow might be expected among isolated

1. The Library of Congress: Music division, *Check-list of recorded songs in the English language in the Archive of American Folk Song*, Washington, D. C., 1942, vol. A-K pp. 8, 205. "And then I lay my body down" and "Johnny come blow the organ." Sung by Mr. Bowlegs, Nassau, Bahamas, 1935.

Seminole Negroes ; for, as late as 1842, the hostile Seminole Indians in Florida were saving their ammunition by using bows and arrows for hunting "and could kill a deer with an arrow almost as certainly as with a ball." ² As to their living in trees, we'll forget that until further evidence is available.

How and why did these Seminole Negroes reach the Bahamas? The answer must lie primarily in the unsettled state of Florida during the last years of Spanish rule. Runaway slaves had for generations fled from Georgia and South Carolina plantations to seek refuge among the Seminole Indians, and their numbers reached such proportions that in 1812 and 1813, and again in 1816 and 1818, Georgia and Tennessee volunteers and United States military and naval forces invading Florida broke up Negro settlements. The first invasion was beaten off, though the Seminole chief King Payne (Payne is still probably the most common surname among Seminole Negroes) lost his life in battle; the second destroyed Payne's town of Alachua, and the town of his brother and successor Bowlegs, and drove the Indians and Negroes west to the Suwannee; the third resulted in the destruction of the Negro Fort on the Apalachicola, built and equipped by the British during the War of 1812 and garrisoned by runaway Negroes; and the fourth, under Andrew Jackson, destroyed the Negro and Indian towns on the Suwannee which acknowledged Bowleg's kingship, and drove the survivors southward. "The remnant of the black and colored people who had served with Colonel Nichols [a British officer] during the late war [of 1812], fugitive slaves from all the southern section of the union, as well as from the Spanish plantations in Florida and from

2. Foreman, Grant, *Indian removal*, Norman, Okla., 1932, p. 382.

St. Augustine, followed up on the steps of the Indians, and formed considerable settlements on the waters of Tampa bay . . . [some] made their way down to cape Florida and the reefs, about which they were collected within a year and a half past [this account was first published in 1823] to upwards of three hundred; vast numbers have been . . . since carried off by the Bahama wreckers . . . [and] smuggled into the remoter islands, and at this period, large numbers have been found on St. Andrews [Andros] and the Biminis." ³

The Bahamas would have been a natural refuge for Seminole Negroes, because the Seminole had long enjoyed close trade-relations with those islands. Alexander Arbuthnot, the merchant, and Robert C. Ambrister, the soldier and adventurer, who had been executed virtually at Jackson's orders in 1818 for intervening in the affairs of the Seminole in a fashion hostile to the United States, had both come to Florida from the Bahamas.

The Seminole War, which broke out in 1835 and was supported in some quarters as much by a desire to capture Negroes living among the Indians as to remove the Indians themselves to the west of the Mississippi, again threw the Negro population of Florida into confusion. Hundreds of slaves left the plantations to join the hostile Seminole, or were carried away, voluntarily or involuntarily, by the insurgents. Creek Indians were recruited as scouts for the United States forces by the promise of such booty, including Negroes, as they might capture from the enemy. It was natural that the harassed Negroes should again think of the Bahamas as a haven of refuge, as they had been a score of years earlier. Gen. T. S. Jesup, commanding United

3. Vignoles, Charles, *Observations Upon the Floridas*, Brooklyn, p. 134.

States forces in Florida, wrote from Tampa Bay, June 8, 1837, to Joseph McBride: "From the best information I can obtain, many of the negroes who have run away from their masters within a few years past, as well as the Indian negroes claimed by white people, have gone to those islands [the Bahamas]. I think it probable that all the negroes in the nation who can find the means of escape will follow."⁴ Gen. Jessup was probably referring, among other sources of information, to a report that a large schooner had been observed about July 13, 1836, at Indian Key, full of Negroes, probably Indian Negroes from New River, who were escaping from Florida.⁵ (Cuba, as well as the Bahamas, it should be said, was probably also a haven of refuge). The above amply confirms and explains an extensive migration of Seminole Negroes to the Bahamas over a century ago.

But have these Seminole Negroes to any significant extent preserved their identity and are they to be identified with the folk reported by Alan Lomax? The late Elsie Clews Parsons reports in a folklore publication that "from about 1830 to 1836, from the Florida everglades region, Negroes with Indian blood migrated to Andros. . . . The Indian descendants are located for the most part, however, at Nicolls Town, and my stay there was brief." Miss Parsons lists, among her folktale informants at the latter place, two schoolboys, Samuel L. and W. S. Bowlegs, and remarks that "Billy Bowlegs was once the vernacular on Andros for the Seminole Indian immigrant." She also mentions customs among the Andros islanders which have also been reported among the Seminole Negroes of the Texas-Mexican border - "settin' ups" with the

4. 25th Cong., 3d sess., H. of R., War Dep't, doc. 225, p. 17.

5. 26th cong., 1st sess., Sen., doc. 278 pp. 73-74

dead, with prayer, singing, food, and drink, called "devil dances" by the Anglican Church.⁶ These wakes, however, could be drawn from a common African origin. It would seem to be impossible, however to connect the tree - dwelling, fish-shooting, "wild" Bowlgs of Andros Island directly with the schoolboy Bowlgs encountered at Nicolls Town.

Examination of a dozen or more handbooks, guide-books, histories, travel-accounts, dealing with the Bahamas, reveals no further specific reference to the Seminole Negroes of Andros Island. There is found, however, in a publication of about twenty years ago the following: "It is to be hoped that the mystery of the interior of this land [Andros] will some day be unfathomed by means of aviation, when the allegations of explorers as to the existence of a tribe of people who hunt with bows and arrows can be investigated." Here, probably, are the wild, bow-and-arrow hunting, tree-dwelling people referred to by Alan Lomax. Whether they are to be identified, as by his informants, with Seminole Negroes, awaits further investigation.

6. Parsons, Elsie Clews, *Folk-Tales of Andros Island, Bahamas* (Memoirs of the American Folk-Lore Society, xiii), N. Y., 1918, ix, xiii, xv, xvi, 87.

7. Moseley, Mary, *The Bahamas handbook*, Nassau, 1926, p. 66.

TERRITORIAL FLORIDA

Florida During the Territorial Days, by Sidney Walter Martin. Athens, The University of Georgia Press, 1944 (308 p. \$3.00).

Pioneer Florida, as does the pioneer era of most countries, holds a good story, and Dr. Martin has caught much of it; and being a good story-teller, tells the story or series of stories well, so the reader is sure to be interested.

First comes the acquisition of Florida as a part of the manifest destiny of the United States. Then, as a preparation for telling about the cession, there is a bit on the Spanish Floridas, of General Jackson's incursion in 1818, and the long negotiations leading to the treaty signed on February 22, 1819, in which the Florida cession was but one of the questions settled. Much space is given to the pre-ratification contests, a major political issue in this country as well as in Spain, with England's sub-surface encouragement of Spain's continued resistance.

Most of the second chapter is an entertaining account of Andrew Jackson's colorful part as star in the drama of the first few months of United States sovereignty, his continuous impatience with the not to be hurried Spaniard, and his extraordinary arrest of the former Spanish governor. Details of certain happenings which are not widely known are brought out, and the chapter ends with a quotation from the *National Intelligencer* that the acquisition of Florida was "an event among the most important in the annals of our country since 1803."

A chapter on "Government and Politics" treats interestingly of the set-up of the territorial government which at first was entirely appointive and hence under the direct control of Washington. But

in 1826 the choice of the Legislative Council was given to the electorate, and by degrees the privileges of self-government were extended; but notwithstanding efforts to the contrary, the governor was appointed by the President throughout the territorial period.

The national political parties had their loyal supporters in Florida, and Whigs and Democrats have their heated contests on local as well as national issues in Professor Martin's pages.

Governor DuVal, who is due and receives a chapter, is another colorful figure who is made the most of.

The confirmation of land titles was one of the most important questions which had to be settled in the first decade, and if it were not so already, it was made the most complicated and the most long-drawn-out, so this chapter is one of the longest in the volume.

Except for Jackson's entertaining impetuosity, that which will interest the general reader most is what is told of the social and economic conditions. More so than on the average frontier, Florida's newcomers covered a wide range of social standing. Crackers drifted down from the backwoods of Georgia and the Carolinas, small farmers took up "armed occupation" lands in the central peninsula and northwards, and genuine aristocrats came to make a start in the Tallahassee region while the country was still a wilderness.

And in the latter district there was the same wide range of fortune: at first the crudeness of the frontier, to be followed soon by the sudden wealth of outside money borrowed as capital, to be mostly spent as income-the proceeds of the faith bonds; then the inevitable crash, to be followed by the slower building-up of a cotton-planting economy there.

All of which gives the opportunity for an interesting narrative.

But the opportunity does not end there; for the Seminole war in Florida was by far the longest and the costliest in life and property and money of all our Indian wars, retarding the settlement and development of peninsula Florida for the better part of a decade.

There is a chapter on "Internal Improvements" which is longer than warranted by results if not in interest, for of the numerous projects described the majority were never even begun and only a handful were completed, for which of course the writer is not to be blamed. Many of these improvements were roads, which might well have been "opened" instead of the author's "built." The short-lived banks with their rosy prospects and fantastic capital are included in internal improvements, which it was hoped they would be.

The last chapter is on the coming of statehood. There is an account of the St. Joseph convention which drafted a constitution for the expectant state to be submitted to Congress; a discussion of the important contests in its framing, reflecting the controversial political questions of the day: the banks, and the desirability of statehood itself with the fight of the East for division and two states; and the adoption of the constitution at the polls; and statehood itself.

As is often the case when writing in a field which is largely virgin, errors have crept in, and they are numerous; but the book is written for the general reading public to whom accuracy is not paramount. The author was thorough in his research, having gone to all of the principal sources of primary material; but due perhaps to the abnormal conditions of the time, the volume was evidently put into and

through the press in haste and without the checking and rechecking so necessary in historical work. Many errors are doubtless typographical, others are apparently the result of hasty use of the author's own notes, while some statements seem to have been made without a careful weighing of the known facts.

As the result of the experience gained in the writing of this his first book the author's next volume, which will also relate to Florida, will undoubtedly take a high rank.

THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

As was to be expected there has been less activity among the local historical societies of the State during the war. But interest is being revived, though it likely will not equal that of prewar years until the war is ended.

In normal times one of the most active of these is the Jacksonville Historical Society which resumed its meetings on April 13. About thirty members and several visitors gathered at the Jacksonville Junior College, with President Herbert M. Corse presiding.

Dr. Carita Doggett Corse introduced the speaker of the evening Mr. J. W. Somerville who spoke on "Steamboating on the St. Johns River in the Early Days." Mr. Somerville is a member of an old family of steamboat operators and related many of his personal experiences in steamboating on the river. The names of the old boats were recalled with some amusing and other thrilling stories.

At the regular election officers and directors were chosen as follows:

President, Richard P. Daniel

Vice President, William Mott

Corresponding Secretary, Miss Mary Graff

Recording Secretary, Miss Dorothy Knoeppel

Treasurer, James D. Holmes

Directors :

Mrs. Linwood Jeffreys

Mrs. Oscar Rawls

Mrs. William Manning

Miss Dena Snodgrass

Dr. Lucille Marsh

Miss Margaret Weed

Dr. Webster Merritt

Charles J. Williams

Mrs. John Porter

Honorary director, Philip S. May

Mr. Philip S. May was elected honorary director in his capacity as president of the Florida Historical Society.

President Daniel took the chair and made a brief talk introducing the new officers and directors in turn, each of whom gave assurances of full support.

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

MINUTES OF THE 43RD ANNUAL MEETING OF THE
FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY HELD IN THE LIBRARY
OF THE SOCIETY AT ST. AUGUSTINE JUNE 8, 1945.

President Philip S. May called the meeting to order at 10:45 a. m. Attending members registered, and there being a quorum present, the meeting continued. Mr. May called for the reports of officers.

Mrs. M. A. Johnson, Acting Librarian and Corresponding Secretary, read her report on use of the library, and the report on membership. Mr. Albert Manucy read the report of the Treasurer, and at the request of Mr. Richard P. Daniel of Jacksonville, explained the purpose of the various funds in the Society's treasury.

The reports were accepted.

President May, making his annual report, mentioned that upon invitation from the Tallahassee Historical Society, the Florida Historical Society had planned its annual meeting for Tallahassee on March 3, 1945, centenary of the date when the bill admitting Florida to the Union was signed by President Tyler. An Office of Defense Transportation ruling restricting non-essential travel, however, prevented carrying out the plan, though the Tallahassee Society was able to present a suitable commemorative program on that date.

The most significant work carried out, by the Florida Historical Society during the year, Mr. May stated, was that done by the Committee for Observation of the Centennial of Statehood, chairman of which is Dr. Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee. This committee provided and distributed information for centennial observances by local organizations all over the State, and gained much favorable comment for the Society. Mr. May lauded the work

of the centennial committee, and further told the membership that at Dr. Boyd's instance, the services of a clipping bureau had been employed to furnish copies of all newspaper notices of centennial observances. Dr. Boyd has undertaken to include this material in a scrapbook for deposit in the library.

Mr. May also called attention to the issuance by the U. S. Post Office Department of a Florida centennial stamp, and cited the work of Miss Dena Snodgrass of Jacksonville in working with the Department on designing the stamp.

Pointing to a newly acquired portrait of Governor William D. Moseley, Florida's first State governor, Mr. May stated that Governor Moseley had not been a charter member of the Florida Historical Society, but his name does appear on the second membership roll. The portrait was presented to the Society by Mr. M. H. Haughton of Jacksonville, a descendant of the distinguished Governor, and Mr. May expressed the gratitude of the Society to Mr. Haughton's nephew, Mr. Malachi Haughton, Jr., of Jacksonville, who was present.

After reviewing another important event of the year - the observance of the Florida centenary in the U.S. Congress-, through the courtesy of Representative Joe Hendricks Mr. May presented to the Society several copies of the *Congressional Record*, wherein the congressional observances are recorded. Mr. May also called attention to the magazine *Florida Highways*. The June 1945 issue of this magazine, appearing 100 years after the inauguration of Governor Moseley, is devoted largely to the history of Florida during the past 100 years. Other publications mentioned by the President in his summary of centennial publications were *Then and Now, or Florida 1845 and 1945*, compiled by Mr.

W. T. Cash's committee on information, and Dr. Walter Martin's *Territorial Florida*.

Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna of Winter Park made a progress report on a source book under preparation by the State Library Board and the State Centennial Commission. This book, due for publication late in the year, will contain a selection of documents drawn from State Library papers pertinent to the admission of Florida to the Union.

The President requested the Recording Secretary to read the portion of the 1944 annual meeting minutes relative to the appointment of a Committee for the Selection of a Permanent Home for the Society in St. Augustine. This being done, Mr. May said he had received assurances that the present location of the library at 32 Cathedral Place, St. Augustine, would be available for some time to come, and if it became necessary for the organization to move its quarters, suitable notice would be given. He outlined the work of the committee in inspecting potential homesites in St. Augustine. He then asked Mr. Richard P. Daniel, chairman of the committee, to read Mr. Daniel's letter of December 5, 1944, in which Mr. Daniel stated that he was not convinced that any of the sites inspected by the committee in St. Augustine were suitable for acquisition by the Society as a permanent Home, and suggesting "that we look further before excluding everywhere but St. Augustine, in our recommendations to our Society for a site for its permanent Home." He qualified his recommendations, however, with the statement that he would, of course, support the majority view, and urged the Society to work toward a practical solution of the Home problem that would receive the hearty and unanimous endorsement of all the membership.

Mr. May asked Dr. A. J. Hanna of Winter Park

to read the majority report of the Committee for the Selection of a Permanent Home. In reading, Dr. Hanna pointed out that this report did not constitute conclusive action by the committee, but was advanced as a constructive and practical approach toward solution of the problem of acquiring a Home for the Society. The report suggested that the Society request the lease of the Llambias House in St. Augustine for a 10-year period at one dollar per year, with option of renewal for an additional 10 years. The Society would assume maintenance of this historic house. The report also recommended the purchase of a large lot adjacent to the Llambias House, and construction of a vault and study room for housing the more valuable records of the Society.

Dr. Hanna moved that a committee headed by Mr. Gaines R. Wilson of Coconut Grove be appointed to consult with the Trustees of the Llambias House to determine what arrangements might be made; the committee then to make a digest of the majority report already submitted, and refer the matter by mail to the membership for voting, ballots to be counted by October 1, 1945. If the membership decision proved favorable; the officers of the Society should be empowered to carry out the recommendations contained in the committee report. Mr. X. L. Pellicer of St. Augustine seconded. Mr. Daniel offered an amendment to the motion in clarification of the appointment of the committee: that the committee be composed of Mr. Wilson, chairman, Mr. Philip S. May, and three members to be appointed by the President. The amendment was accepted.

In discussion, Judge George Couper Gibbs of Jacksonville endorsed the majority report submitted by the committee as a practical suggestion, agreeing

that St. Augustine was a peculiarly fit and proper place for establishment of the Society's Home. He recommended, however, that the Society exercise care in establishing itself permanently in a historic house such as the Llambias House. He pointed out the historicity of the Worth House, where he had once gone to school, and later held court. It is a larger structure in a more central location in St. Augustine, and the Judge expressed the opinion that if opportunity of acquiring the Worth House later presented itself, the Society should be in a position to seize this opportunity.

Miss Emily L. Wilson of St. Augustine briefly compared the history of the two houses. The Llambias House is considerably older than the Worth House, and is located near the library of the St. Augustine Historical Society. Students would find it convenient to have the two libraries close together.

President May asked Mr. Daniel to take the chair.

Mr. May then asked the Secretary to read a communication from Mr. Julien Yonge, Editor of the Society's *Quarterly*. The statement from Mr. Yonge urged that the matter of a permanent Home for the Society be not seriously considered at this meeting, in view of the fact that at this time comparatively few members of the Society were able to be present to give consideration to such an important subject.

Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna strongly endorsed St. Augustine as the permanent location for the Society's Home. If, however, there were a decision to consider other locations, she said that the State Library would request consideration as a depository for the library of the Florida Historical Society. This request would carry considerable weight, inasmuch as the State Library Board has for several years past paid the Society for library

services rendered. If the Society's library were moved elsewhere, these payments would probably be discontinued.

Mr. May stated that he believed the motion on the floor represented the consensus and called for the question. The motion passed.

(The meeting adjourned for luncheon, and reconvened at Castle Warden Hotel at 2:15 p.m.)

Mr. Daniel brought out the fact that the Charter of the Society provides that the principal office of the Society be in Jacksonville. President May explained that under Florida statutes it was necessary to designate a specific location for such organizations as the Society, and read the pertinent portion of the Charter.

Mr. Daniel moved that Judge George Couper Gibbs be appointed a committee of one to take the necessary steps to bring about the amendment of the Charter to permit legal continuance at the St. Augustine location. The motion was seconded and carried.

In accepting the appointment, Judge Gibbs said that there was no prohibition in the Charter against having other Society quarters at other locations than Jacksonville. He also pointed out the ease with which amendments might be made, but specified that a resolution by the Society would first be necessary, and he did not believe the present meeting was entirely representative. His understanding of the sentiment of the meeting, he said, was to begin constructive inquiry, leading toward bringing the matter to the attention of every member of the Society.

Mr. Herbert M. Corse of Jacksonville introduced the following resolution :

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: that the Florida Historical Society invite the currently acting president of each local historical society in the State to become honorary members of the Board of Directors of the Florida Historical Society, for the purpose of working cooperatively with historical organizations throughout the State. Mr. Cash seconded. The resolution was adopted.

President May introduced the suggestion from an Alachua County member of the Society that the Florida Historical Society undertake the marking of the Bellamy Road, a territorial road from St. Augustine to Pensacola. The matter was tabled.

Mr. May then mentioned the prospective gift of a medallion of considerable intrinsic value, but unrelated to Florida, and requested an expression of opinion from the membership as to whether a gift of this sort was acceptable by the Society. The matter was referred to the incoming Board of Directors.

President May requested Mr. Pellicer to take the chair, then offered the following resolution from the floor:

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: that the University of Florida be respectfully requested by the Florida Historical Society to establish in its curricula a required course in Florida history. Mrs. Marjorie Rawlings Baskin of St. Augustine seconded.

During discussion, the desirability of making Florida history materials available to students of all ages was brought out, but it was also emphasized by Dr. Kathryn A. Hanna that it was not practicable to recommend that Florida history be a required

course at any college. Mr. May amended the resolution to read as follows:

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: that the University of Florida be respectfully requested by the Florida Historical Society to establish and offer a course in Florida history to the students of the University of Florida.

Mrs. Baskin seconded the amended resolution, and it was duly passed and adopted.

Judge George Couper Gibbs introduced the following resolution, which was duly seconded, discussed, and adopted :

BE IT RESOLVED: In order that knowledge of the history of Florida and the inspiration of its traditions may serve to make our children better citizens of their State and Nation, and more prepared for the responsibilities and problems of the future, The Florida Historical Society recommends to the people of Florida that more emphasis be placed upon the teaching and study of the history of Florida in the grammar and high school grades; and urges that every effort be made by the institutions of the State and every organization having in its keeping records of the past to cooperate with our school authorities and our children that they may be helped and encouraged in this work.

In furtherance of this purpose, it is suggested that our children be encouraged to write compositions and essays, not only upon historical subjects affecting the entire State, but particularly upon those affecting the persons and events in their own neighborhood, and that the best of these in the judgment of their teach-

ers be sent to the Society for due acknowledgment and consideration, and those worthy thereof for preservation among the records of the Florida Historical Society.

And that, through the press of the State, publicity be given to this action of the Society.

Miss Dena Snodgrass, chairman of the Nominations Committee, read the following report of the Committee:

Slate of Officers, Florida Historical Society

1945-1946

President: Karl A. Bickel, Sarasota

First Vice-President: Col. John B. Stetson, Jr.,
U.S.M.C.

Second Vice-President: Dr. Kathryn Abbey Hanna,
Winter Park

Recording Secretary and Treasurer : Albert Manucy,
St. Augustine

Corresponding Secretary and Librarian: Watt P.
Marchman, U.S.A. (on leave)

Acting Corresponding Secretary and Librarian :
Mrs. M. A. Johnson, St. Augustine

Director, Second Congressional District: Dr. Webster Merritt, Jacksonville

Director, Sixth Congressional District: Bishop
Henry I. Louttit, West Palm Beach

Director-at-Large : K. A. MacGowan, Quincy

Nominations committee for 1946

Miss Daisy Parker, Tallahassee, chairman

Miss Cornelia Leffler, Miami

Mrs. A. B. Whitman, Orlando

Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., Lakeland

Wiley R. Reynolds, Palm Beach

Richard P. Daniel, Jacksonville

Miss Snodgrass moved the acceptance of the report and that the secretary cast the ballot. Mr. Wilson seconded, the motion passed unanimously, and the officers were duly elected.

Mr. May announced the appointment of the following committee for consultation with the trustees of the Llambias house:

Gaines R. Wilson, Coconut Grove, chairman

Mrs. Evelyn W. Vaill, St. Augustine

Richard P. Daniel, Jacksonville

Miss Dena Snodgrass, Jacksonville

Philip S. May, Jacksonville

Dr. A. J. Hanna introduced the following resolution, which was duly seconded and adopted:

BE IT HEREBY RESOLVED: that the Florida Historical Society do extend sincere thanks and appreciation to Manager Norton Baskin of Castle Warden Hotel, St. Augustine, and to his staff for the personal courtesies and efficient service which they have rendered to the Society during its Annual Meeting, June 8, 1945.

The meeting adjourned at 3:10 p.m.

Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT C. MANUCY
Recording Secretary

Approved:

PHILIP S. MAY
President

REPORT OF THE TREASURER, FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, March 1, 1945

GENERAL FUND

Balance, March 1, 1944 \$ 493.35

Receipts :

Dues	\$1,593.24	
Quarterlies sold	85.25	
Accommodations	25.00	
McMurtrie Reprints	15.00	
Gifts	3.00	1,721.49 \$2,214.84

Expenditures :

Salary	1,200.00
Accommodations	25.00
Other	283.33

Balance March 1, 1945	706.51	2,214.84
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STATE OF FLORIDA FUND

Balance, March 1, 1944 759.66

Receipts : 1,800.00

	2,559.66	2,559.66
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Expenditures :

Florida Historical Quarterly (two issues)	446.03
Rent	300.00

746.03

Balance, March 1, 1945	1,813.63	2,559.66
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No receipts nor expenditures were made in the following other funds during the year March 1, 1944 to March 1, 1945:

ROBERTSON MEMORIAL FUND, Balance, March 1, 1945	4.00
LIFE MEMBERSHIP FUND, Balance, March 1, 1945	300.00
ARCHAEOLOGY FUND, Balance, March 1, 1945	25.78
BUILDING FUND	25.00

CONSOLIDATED STATEMENT

Balance, March 1, 1944 1,607.79

Total receipts 3,521.49

5,129.28

Total expenditures	2,254.36
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Balance, March 1, 1945	2,874.92
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Respectfully submitted,

ALBERT C. MANUCY

Treasurer

REPORT OF MEMBERSHIP, FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY, March 1, 1945

March 1, 1944, Total membership	767
March 1, 1945, New members	60
	<hr/>
	827
Cancelled by death	14
Resignations	13
Non-payment of dues or lack of address	66 93
Total Membership, March 1, 1945	734

REPORT ON TYPES OF MEMBERSHIP, March 1, 1945

Total membership	734
Life	4
Honorary	1
Contributing	39
Annual	497
Institutional	70
Exchanges	63
New members*	60
*Between March 1 and June 1, 1945, a total of 22 new members have been added.	

Respectfully submitted,
Mrs M. A. JOHNSON
Acting Corresponding Secretary

REPORT OF THE ACTING LIBRARIAN

The Florida Historical Society's library has as usual been busy this past year with a succession of requests for material on a variety of subjects. Most of the use of the library is by mail, although a number have used the library in person. War conditions affecting travel have decreased the number of visitors, and increased the volume of mail inquiries.

Among the visitors were writers, school teachers, and groups of students seeking material for essay contests on the history of Florida leading up to statehood. One school teacher taking an extension history course spent approximately forty hours in research over a period of several weeks.

Of the many requests for data, one of the most interesting in view of the distance came from a Training Center in North Africa, for material on early Florida Indians, having found there reference to articles published in the *Quarterly*. The information was forwarded and a V-Mail note of appreciation is on file.

Information on David E. Yulee was supplied to the University of Toronto, and some time ago came a request from Honolulu for an article appearing in the *Quarterly* in 1936.

From Nebraska came a letter asking about the history of the centennial stamp, construction of the Capitol building, date, and name of architect; and a Californian asked for the meaning of Tallahassee.

These are but a few of the many inquiries received, some easily answered; while others required one and two weeks' research.

Much valuable manuscript material has been added to the library during the year, the most notable being the Panton-Leslie Papers, approximately 400 pieces, consisting of original letters and documents covering a period between 1764 and 1830.

Mr. Paul Hardaway of Pawtucket, Rhode Island, has again, with his usual generosity, contributed a number of books, pamphlets, and various items of interest; and of much value and usefulness are the volumes contributed by Mrs. Nelson R. Perry, of Asheville, N. C. and Sanibel Island, Florida. Among these are six volumes, the English translation of Herrera, which is much sought for, the French edition of the *Voyages of Coreal*, and a number of later books on Florida.

That Vanishing Eden is a valued gift of its author, Dr. Thomas Barbour.

The library's accessions have been more fully described in the *Quarterly*, but added since the last publication is a four-page original letter from Henry S. Sanford, founder of Sanford, Florida to Chester A. Arthur, dated 1881, in which he comments on the political situation in Florida. This letter is a gift of Dr. Herbert Laub of the University of Tampa, through Dr. A. J. Hanna.

And of great value to future historians are the *Stories of Florida Marines*. This collection consists of typed press releases on individual Florida members of the Marine Corps, their service, exploits, decorations, etc. These stories are contributed by the Marine Corps Headquarters, Atlanta.

In connection with the Centennial, the activities of the Society's headquarters consisted of mailing out multigraphed form letters suggesting local observance of one or more of the dates commemorating Florida's statehood: March 3, when President Tyler signed the Act; March 18, formal admittance to statehood, or June 25, when William D. Moseley was inaugurated governor.

The Florida Historical Society centennial pamphlets *Then and Now*, compiled by Mr. W. T. Cash,

have created much interest, quantities having been mailed by request throughout the State.

The attention of members of the Society is called to the framed picture of Governor Moseley, a recent gift of Mr. Matthew Houghton, grandson of the governor.

Respectfully submitted

ALBERTA JOHNSON

Acting Librarian

NEW MEMBERS

The following have become members of the Society since the last issue of the *Quarterly*:

Mrs. Wm. B. Hart, St. Augustine
Mrs. H. M. Wilson, Jacksonville
William Hard, Coconut Grove
Mrs. W. H. Killingsworth, St. Augustine
John Wilson Somerville, Jacksonville
Molly Carewe, Jacksonville
Julius F. Parker, Tallahassee
Lillian Barnhard Gilkes, Ridgefield, Conn.
Mrs. R. J. Walters, Miami
Laura B. Turner, Miami
Mrs. Clayton Kirtland, St. Augustine
Mrs. Sidney W. Creasey, Gainesville
Dr. Ellwood C. Nance, University of Tampa
Mrs. Oscar G. Rawls, Jacksonville
Barton P. Turnbull, Summit
Miss Kate J. Wever, Jacksonville
Whitfield M. Palmer, Ocala
Mrs. W. Phil Genovar, St. Augustine
J. W. Rabb, Ocala

DECEASED:

Mrs. Raymond Robins, Brooksville
Henry Brewer, Ishpeming, Michigan
Mrs. Charlton Yarnall, Devon, Penna.
Mrs. Thomas W. Phillips, Jr., Butler, Penna.
William Van Fleet, Auburndale

ACCESSIONS TO THE LIBRARY

Memoir of Hernando de Escalante Fontanedo Respecting Florida, translated by Buckingham Smith. Reprinted with revisions by the Historical Association of Southern Florida, 1944

Address of Governor Spessard L. Holland, Tampa, Dec. 4, 1944

Poor's Railroads of the U. S. 4 additional vols.

War of the Rebellion, Records of the Union and Confederate Armies. Vol. 1, Operations in Florida

Picturesque America, 1872. Florida scenes

Louis Pendleton, *In the Okefenokee*, 1895

Nina Kirby Smith Buck, *All is Fair in Love and War...* Early life of General Kirby Smith. Presented by the author.

Two letters of General Kirby Smith : (transcripts) St. Augustine 1835, Tallahassee 1836. Both descriptive. Also letter to him from his mother.

Sidney Walter Martin, *Florida During Territorial Days*. University of Georgia Press, 1944

Kenneth W. Porter, *Negroes and the East Florida Annexation Plot, 1811-13*. *Journal of Negro History*, Jan. 1945

Portrait (framed) of Governor Moseley. Gift of his grandson, Matthew H. Houghton of Jacksonville

Donated by Dickinson Memorial Library, Orange City, and Miss Katherine Boyles : Numerous issues of *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *League of Nations News*, D. A. R. publications, *Journal of American History*, various Florida newspapers

Donated by Emory H. Price, M. C. *Congressional Record*, with addresses of representatives commemorating Florida's centennial

Publications of the University of Santo Domingo, 10 vols. Gift of the University

Theodore Pratt, *Big Blow*, a Florida story. Gift of the author

George A. Zabriskie, *The Chesapeake Affair*. Gift of the author

Original letter of Henry S. Sanford to President Chester A. Arthur, Nov. 19, 1881, on the political situation in Florida. Gift of Dr. C. Herbert Laub, University of Tampa, through Prof. A. J. Hanna

Stories About Marines from Florida. (typed 124 p.) Gift of Headquarters U.S.M.C. Atlanta

Ration cards, yellow fever epidemic in Jacksonville 1888. Gift of Brooke G. White Jr., Jacksonville

Mr. W. A. Pratt of Lake Worth has given the Library a number of historical articles from newspapers, many of which he wrote. These relate largely to Palatka and Putnam county and are of the pre-Civil War era and later: an account of Governor Moseley and his family, Stark's company of the War, reminiscences of Captain Dickison, steamboat days on the St. Johns, a Palatka Christmas celebration known as "Fantastics," the early post, and other subjects.

The collection and preservation of just such narratives is one of the main objects of our library. If there are any

such in your community not yet recorded, or any recorded but in danger of being lost forever, why not get them together and send them to the library, thereby gaining certain immortality for yourself.

THE QUARTERLY

As you have doubtless noticed, our *Quarterly* is growing again. Since the beginning of the war we have averaged only about two-thirds of our former number of pages. We hope the size can be increased steadily. The saving under our budget has resulted in a good balance, so we expect to begin publishing documents again, and there will be a few in each future number-for the right kind of documents hold a large and important part in the writing of history.

The article on the Patriot War, including two unpublished letters of General John McIntosh written in camp before St. Augustine, which was announced for this issue, will appear in the next number of the *Quarterly*.

Due to present conditions our recent issues have been late in reaching the members; and this number has been held from the press to include the minutes and reports from the annual meeting.

A CENTENNIAL NUMBER

The June issue of *Florida Highways* commemorates Florida's centennial with a special number containing: "Florida's Capital" by the editor, Mr. John Kilgore; "Florida-1845 to 1945" by Mr. W. T. Cash, state librarian; "Florida Enters the Union" by Professor Rembert W. Patrick of the University of Florida; and "Florida's Great Seal," also by the editor. All are fully illustrated, largely with contemporaneous views from the library of Dr. Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee.

Members of the Florida Historical Society, who will each receive a copy of this issue with the advertisements removed, have the editor and publishers of *Florida Highways* to thank for a souvenir of the centennial of high merit and well worth preserving.

Contributors to this number

Dorothy Dodd, Florida State Archivist, has contributed numerous articles to this *Quarterly*.

T. Frederick Davis, historian of Jacksonville, has contributed much to this *Quarterly*, including our Ponce de Leon number.

Clinton N. Howard is Associate Professor of History, the University of California, Los Angeles.

Kenneth W. Porter is a member of the Department of History, Vassar College.

Duvon C. Corbitt is a member of the staff of Columbia College, Columbia, S. C.