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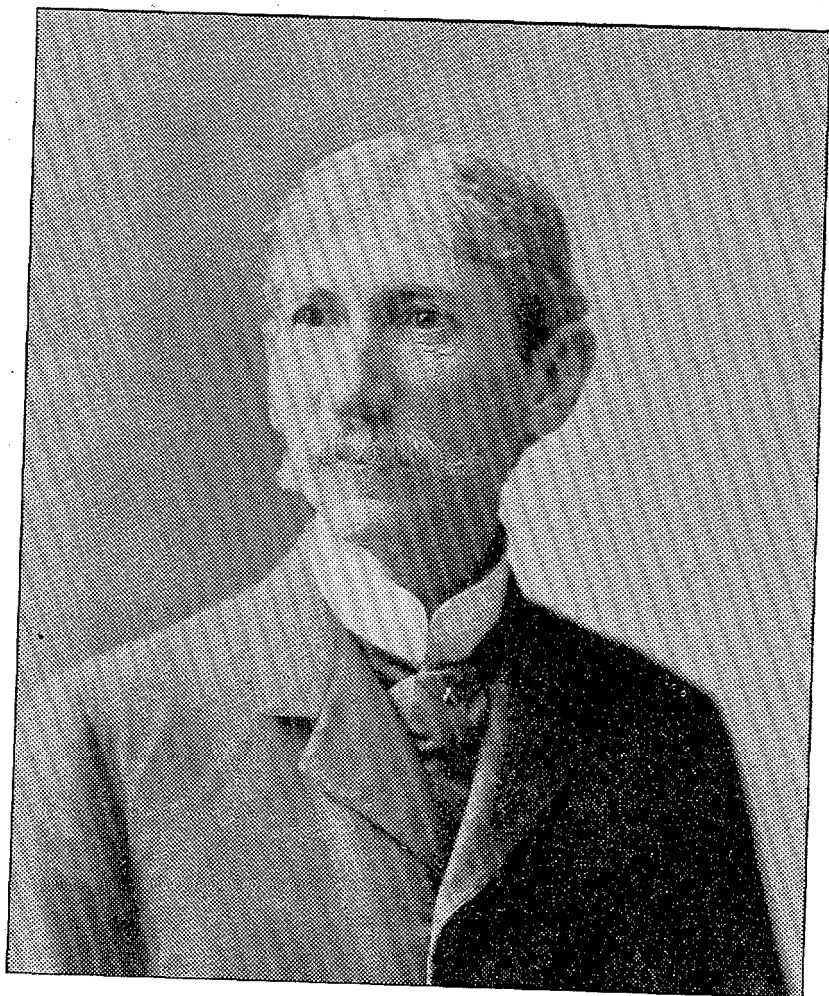
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Hon. FRANCIS PHILIP FLEMING

T H E

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY.

I N M E M O R I A M .

Francis Philip Fleming.

Among the most distinguished names of Floridians who have been honored with the position as chief magistrate of the state stands the name of Francis Philip Fleming. Notable and conspicuous as were his many public services unquestionably that of the establishment of a State Board of Health exceeded all others, since this service has proven of immeasurable benefit to the state and also to the country at large in preventing the introduction of epidemic diseases from other lands.

Governor Fleming was not only himself a native of Florida, but both of his parents were also born Floridians, back of whom can be traced a long line of distinguished Scotch-Irish ancestry, of which any man might well be proud. His paternal grandfather was George Fleming, a descendant of the barons of Slane, who, after the loss of titles and estates as a most devoted adherent of the unfortunate James Stuart, emigrated to Florida, in 1785, there to begin life over again in a new world. He soon attained prominence in the military service of the Spanish government, and received large grants for his "distinguished and extraordinary services, to which he contributed both his property and person in defence of the said province at different periods, sacrificing and abandoning his property, as a faithful subject, worthy of every recompense for his love, fidelity and patriotism," according to the quaint language of the ancient grants. He married Sophia, daughter of Francis Philip Fatio, a Swiss immigrant of wealth and prominence, and their son, Lewis, born in 1798, became a citizen known and honored by all, who distinguished himself in the Indian wars as a major on the staff of Governor Richard K. Call, was especially mentioned for gallantry at the battle of Wahoo Swamp, the greatest battle of the war, and died "full of years and honors" in

1862. His home for a short time was in St. Augustine, but he spent much time in the improvement of a fine estate on the St. John's River, at Hibernia, which became the permanent home of his descendants and yet remains a valued and beloved family possession.

Col. Lewis Fleming lived in Cuba for several years when a young man, where he married his first wife, Augustina Cortez, a direct descendant of Hernando Cortez, the conqueror of Mexico, who was the mother of George and Lewis I. Fleming, and Sophia, the wife of Clark Stevens. His second wife, the mother of Governor Fleming, was Margaret Seton, also a native of Florida, and the daughter of Charles Seton, a member of the famous Scotch family of that name and a descendant of that Sir Christopher Seton whose wife was Christine, the sister of Robert Bruce, the celebrated Scottish patriot. A son of this marriage, Charles Seton Fleming, was a captain in the Confederate service and was killed while in command of his regiment, the Second Florida Infantry, as its senior surviving officer, June 3rd, 1864, while leading it in a gallant charge at the battle of Cold Harbor. Col. Lewis I. Fleming, son of the first wife, was a prominent lawyer of Jacksonville, the partner of Col. James J. Daniel, and Francis P. Fleming, this being for many years one of the leading law firms of the State. A younger son, ex-State Senator Frederic A. Fleming, was also a soldier in the Confederate service, and now resides in the old family home at Hibernia.

Governor Francis P. Fleming was born at Panama, in Duval County, September 28th, 1841. His education was begun at home under the instruction of private tutors, and before he had reached the age of twenty he enlisted as a private in the company of Capt. John W. Starke, afterwards a part of the famous Second Florida regiment. In the Virginia and Peninsula campaigns he served under Generals Magruder, Johnson and Lee. He became quartermaster-sergeant of his regiment in November, 1862, and in August, 1863, was made first lieutenant of Company D., First Florida Cavalry, serving under Generals Johnson and Hood.

Governor Fleming's war record was a brilliant one. In the Peninsula Campaign he participated in the battles of Peach Orchard, Williamsburg, Seven Pines, Second Manassas, Fredericksburg, Chancellorsville, Harper's Ferry, the Wilderness, Spottsylvania, Cold Harbor,

Petersburg, Seven Days' Fight around Richmond, Antietam and Gettysburg. In the latter part of July, 1863, he was transferred to the western army as first lieutenant of Company D., First Florida Cavalry (dis-mounted), and took part in the battles of Chickamauga, Missionary Ridge, Tunnel Hill, Resaca, Cassville, Dallas, New Hope Church, Kennesaw, Dead Angle, Peach Tree Creek, Atlanta, and Jonesboro, and while at home on sick leave commanded a company of volunteers at the battle of Natural Bridge, near Tallahassee.

At the close of the war he returned to Florida and at once began the study of the law, and was admitted to the bar in Jacksonville, May 12th, 1868, shortly after becoming a member of the firm of Fleming and Daniel. He married, May 23rd, 1871, Floride Lydia Pearson, a daughter of Hon. Bird M. Pearson, formerly a justice of the Florida Supreme Court. Their children are, Francis Philip Fleming, Junior, and Charles Seton Fleming, both associated with him in the practice of law under the firm name of Fleming and Fleming, and a daughter, Elizabeth Legere Fleming.

No citizen of Florida took a more active interest in the political conditions prevailing in Florida than did Governor Fleming, being prominent among those determined and undaunted Democrats who led the way to deliverance of Florida from carpetbag misrule. He served for several years as a member of the State Democratic Executive Committee, and as an effective and convincing speaker on the hustings, particularly during the campaign which resulted in the election of Governor George F. Drew in 1876. The years which followed he devoted to his profession, and, although still deeply interested in all political affairs, could-not be prevailed upon to accept office, until he was nominated for the governorship at St. Augustine, in 1888. The ensuing campaign was one of peculiar difficulty and hardship. A severe epidemic of yellow fever prevailed in many parts of the state, and local authorities, in the absence of general regulations, established a vigorous quarantine. Notwithstanding these difficulties of communication and the personal bereavement caused by the death of both of the senior members of his firm, the campaign was vigorously conducted, and a larger vote polled for Governor Fleming than had previously been cast for that office.

Profoundly impressed with the need for better protection from the ravages of epidemic diseases, Governor

Fleming, immediately after his inauguration, proclaimed an extra session of the legislature, to assemble in February, 1889, for the specific purpose of establishing a state Board of Health, in accordance with the authority conferred by the state constitution. A broad, comprehensive and effective law was enacted, creating a state board, conferring upon it necessary powers, and providing for its adequate support by a special tax, and this measure remains practically unchanged to the present time, a monument to the sound judgment of the legislature and the wisdom and executive ability of the governor.

Republican misrule during the reconstruction period had so depleted the public treasury that strong measures of rehabilitation were demanded, but the poverty of the people had impelled the government, under Democratic rule, to reduce taxation to a point that was little less than disastrous to the state finances. The prevailing methods of assessing property appear to have retained their previous defects of inaccuracy and inequality, for the aggregate valuation, nominally represented upon the assessment rolls at some ninety millions of dollars, should have been placed at fully three times that amount of actual value. The entire burden of the cost of criminal prosecution was borne by the state government, the enormously increased expense of providing for the indigent insane, the rapidly increasing cost of the system of public instruction, the pensions of needy and deserving Confederate soldiers, the expenses of the extra and regular sessions of the legislature, all of these things were a heavy drain upon the slender finances of the state. With cheerful courage and undaunted hopefulness Governor Fleming and his cabinet met and solved these knotty problems of statecraft, and wrung success from threatened failure.

In his message to the legislature of 1889 Governor Fleming called attention to the urgent need for a different method of assessing taxable property ; of the duty of the various counties to bear a part of the cost of criminal prosecutions, proportionate to the business arising in their respective courts; the establishment of a bureau of immigration; the building of a State prison; the creation of the office of State Chemist; the establishment of a fisheries commission; the careful revision of the pension law; and many other timely and valuable measures. Many of these recommendations of the governor were

made into laws by the legislature of 1889 and remain on the books to-day.

The senatorial election by the legislature of 1891 was an event of unusual interest, the contestants being Wilkinson Call, who desired re-election, Dannette H. Mays and J. G. Speer. The caucus met from day to day, for several weeks and finally adjourned sine die without making a nomination. The joint session of the two houses also assembled each day and voted without making a choice. Following the adjournment of the caucus, the joint session was called, as usual, but a portion of the senators, determined to prevent the re-election of Senator Call, absented themselves, leaving the Senate without a quorum. The remaining Senators and Representatives proceeded to hold the joint session, and Senator Call was declared elected by a majority of one vote. Governor Fleming, holding that no valid election had occurred; refused to certify the action of the joint session, and appointed R. IS. M. Davidson, who had been a Representative in Congress for a period aggregating fourteen years, to fill the position of senator, but upon the assembling of the Congress the contest was decided by the Senate, by votes of Republican senators, against Governor Fleming's contention, and Mr. Call was seated as senator.

The legislature of 1891 destroyed the usefulness of the Bureau of Immigration, by depriving it of its income, abolished the Railroad Commission, and refused to make an appropriation for a state exhibit at the World's Fair, at Chicago, in 1893. An effort was made by Governor Fleming to raise a fund for the latter purpose, and a convention, over which he presided, was held at Orlando, at which considerable enthusiasm was manifested, and a fund started, but it was deemed insufficient for the purpose, and the effort had to be abandoned. This legislature, of 1891, adopting a recommendation of the governor, made an appropriation for the expense of a state encampment, which was held at St. Augustine, for ten days in August, 1891, the governor and his military staff going into camp with the troops. This legislature also authorized the Board of Trustees of the Internal Improvement Fund to set apart certain State lands in South Florida for the permanent occupation of the remnant of Indian tribes inhabiting that region; and Governor Fleming appointed a commission

of three prominent citizens to receive and hold such lands in trust for this purpose.

Besides the office of chief magistrate of his native state, Governor Fleming filled many other positions of trust and honor in his home community. He has been commodore and trustee of the Florida Yacht Club; commander of R. E. Lee Camp of Confederate Veterans; aide-de-camp to Gen. John B. Gordon, commander-in-chief, U. C. V., commander of the Florida division of the U. C. V.; vestryman and warden of St. John's Episcopal Church of Jacksonville; chancellor of the Episcopal diocese of Florida; president of the Church Club; member of the Florida Board of Trade, and of the Seminole Club; trustee of the University School of Medicine of Richmond, Va.; president of the Jacksonville Bar Association; and member of the Florida Bar Association; president of the Old Confederate Soldiers' and Sailors' Home Association; president and an active member of the Florida Historical Society; and editor and frequent contributor to that Society's Quarterly Publication, taking an active part in the preservation of the widely scattered material relating to the history of Florida, for the collection and preservation of which the state government has never made any adequate provision. In all of these positions he has performed the several duties belonging to them with wisdom, earnestness and fidelity, endearing himself to his associates and fellow citizens by his kindly and sympathetic disposition, his unwearied devotion to duty and his thoughtfulness and courtesy in every business and social relation.

After retiring from the governorship he resumed the practice of law in Jacksonville, refusing flattering inducements to re-enter political life, including that of a place on the bench of the Supreme Court.

On the 20th of December, 1908, at his home in Jacksonville, after a long and painful illness, Governor Fleming passed to his reward, leaving the entire population of his beloved State to mourn his irreparable loss. A thoughtful and affectionate husband and father, a devoted friend, a brave soldier, a loyal and patriotic citizen, a faithful public officer, a wise counsellor, an ardent and zealous churchman, and a conscientious, charitable and consistent Christian gentleman, his memory will long survive among those for whom he made the world better for his having lived in it.

PENSACOLA.

Its Early History.

By Mrs. S. J. Gonzalez, in Pensacola Journal.

Turning the hands of time backward along the dial of Floridian history, we find chronicled in the year 1559- or according to some writers 1553- the birth of an infant city on the shores of Ochees, a beautiful deep water bay, which offered safe anchorage to a fleet sailing northward under the command of one Tristram DeLuna, one of those adventurous Spaniards who, following the ignis fatuus of all Spanish explorers of the gulf - the fabulous golden stores of a country to the northward - had entered the harbor in search of a landing place.

How the beauty of its scenery must have impressed him we can judge from our own appreciation, dulled as it is by familiarity. Tangled native vine and creeper, stately growths of oak and pine, with here and there a flowering shrub, lent a dark and brilliant background to the shimmering blue of its placid waters. Here the lurking Indian aborigines watched the followers of DeLuna disembark, and here, somewhere in the neighborhood of Barrancas, DeLuna planted a colony - the primitive Pensacola.

No record is found of life in this settlement. Peopled by a class of men better versed in the use of arms than in implements of toil ; unsupported by the parent colony, the ill-nourished settlement dwindled, until only a miserable remnant of the expedition remained to follow DeLuna, when he was recalled after two years of ineffectual attempts to establish a permanent settlement on the shores of Ochees - the Indian appellation of the beautiful bay upon which Tristram DeLuna afterwards bestowed the name Santa Marie, in accordance with the custom that prevailed among Spanish explorers of designating their discoveries by titles of religious significance.

The name Pensacola is supposed by some to be a transposition of "Peniscola," a small seaport of Spain. There are diverging opinions on this subject, some claiming that the name of Santa Marie was given by DeLuna to the town, and not to the bay, and was in full, Santa Marie di Peniscola (St. Mary's of the peninsula) later abbreviated to Pensacola.

The name, unlike the settlement that primarily bore it, had taken deep root in the soil of the bay shore and though buried for a hundred and odd years in the silence of a few ruined and deserted huts was destined to spring into new life, and again figure in the pages of history, although the existence of DeLuna was forgotten and his bones dust before the day of resurrection.

In 1696 Andres d'Arriola, a leader in a new generation, sailed the course taken by Tristram DeLuna, many years previous, landing as near as can be ascertained on the same spot. He reconstructed the abandoned settlement which still bore the name of Pensacola. To him is attributed the building of the first Spanish fortification, later known as San Carlos. This new colony showed signs of more vigorous life than its predecessor, and bid fair to become a thriving town, even trading with other gulf ports, but disturbances in Europe set waves in motion that engulfed the smaller colonies of the new world, and in 1718 a French commander, Desnard des Champmeslin, acting under instructions of Blenville at New Orleans, attacked and captured the town, burning it to the ground, and dispersing the inhabitants.

In the conflict and conflagration that wiped out the second Pensacola, all the records of its life and struggles, if such had ever been made, were of course destroyed, but allowing the imagination to play over accounts of similar settlements, we may form some idea of conditions, and draw a picture of the demolished settlement.

We have certain knowledge of a stone fort—we can judge that the other buildings so easily destroyed were but mere thatched huts or at best cottages, clustered around a church, because every expedition, in those days, had its chaplain and was generally accompanied by members of various religious orders, zealously bent on the conversion of the Indians, so, that we can not doubt that a church of some sort existed—all huddled together under the sheltering fort.

There were days of plenty, perhaps revelry and feasting, when the transports, brought supplies from the mother colony, and days of hunger when these supplies ran low. Maize and other native products obtained from Indians in exchange for paltry trinkets, for these wandering sailors and soldiers had not yet learned to till the ground.

The fruit that grew abundantly in Southern and Eastern Florida, was not indigenous to its western portion. Flowers bloomed everywhere, but the luxuriant blossoms, that charmed the eye of the explorer and gave the land its name, were not satisfying to the palate.

Of the social life we can form small idea, but can safely surmise that the adventurers who followed d'Arriola in search of gold or territory, did not burden themselves with wife or family, and yet we can hardly suppose that these men dispensed with the gentle ministrations of womankind through the twenty years that the colony existed. Therefore it is safe to infer that many, an Indian maiden, bought or seduced from neighboring tribes shared the lives and labors of these men, who as a rule were not fettered by too exacting a sense of moral obligation. Who knows but that many a dark-skinned Floridian, if he could trace the rambling branches of his family tree, might find its root in the heart of some dusky tribe. In the annals of a later period we find records of the marriages of white men who had succumbed to the charms of Indian maidens and given them the legal right to bear their names, and there is no reason to suppose their Spanish predecessors were any more squeamish when the need of a wife presented itself.

The flames that destroyed the second Pensacola failed to obliterate the name which rose phoenix-like from its ashes to be bestowed on a colony begun (probably by stragglers and refugees from the destroyed town) on Santa Rosa Island shortly after the destruction of the second settlement, for although the former site had been restored to the Spaniards by order of the French government, the island was doubtless considered better protected from unexpected attacks by the Indians.

According to a sketch made in 1743 by a trader visiting the port, the Santa Rosa town had made some architectural advancement, A stone church, public fountain, and the commandant's house, an imposing structure, inasmuch as it boasted of two stories. Rows of smaller dwellings were laid out with a view to forming streets, and in a position to command the entrance to the harbor, the very necessary fort. We can suppose there were also warehouses, as a lucrative trade had been established with other colonies, in Louisiana and Cuba. Here also originated the lumber trade, on which the prosperity of Pensacola has always so largely depended.

It would seem that a settlement flourishing under such auspicious conditions would be a permanency, but a power beyond man's control had willed otherwise, and in 1754, in one fearful night, the results of a quarter of a century of human endeavor were swept into the angry surging waters of the gulf.

Exactly in what shape the devastating forces came is not known, but some tremendous upheaval of nature must have submerged or engulfed a portion of the island, for its dimensions, even in the memory of the oldest inhabitant, have never been such as to afford a site for a growing city. When the storm subsided those who had survived the fury of the elements clung together on the wet sand unsheltered and homeless - far from the help and succor that in our days would pour in at the tapping of a wire.

This was the last ephemeral growth. Transplanted by the survivors of the hurricane to the northern shore of the bay, to an indentation bordered east and west by estuaries, later known as Bayous Chico and Texas, Pensacola at last took permanent hold on Florida soil, although it remained for years but a puny, insignificant hamlet forgotten in the turmoil of European wars by the powers that had originally builded and destroyed it.

By the treaty of Paris in 1763 Florida became a British province, and when Spain removed the troops quartered in Pensacola, the entire population emigrated to Cuba rather than to remain under British rule. From what can be learned of the town at that time, they did not abandon much - a collection of palmetto thatched huts, surrounded by a stockade of pine posts as a protection from Indian depredations.

Pensacola became the capital of the British province, and under British rule many improvements were inaugurated. It was during the administration of the English Governor Johnstone that the town was surveyed and laid out in blocks and streets, the main thoroughfares bearing the names of England's king and queen-George and Charlotte. A centrally located district, extending as far north as the present Intendencia street, was reserved for a public park and other public uses, and early became the center around which the business life of the town revolved.

On the summit of Palafox Hill, then called after an English general, Gage Hill, was erected an observatory

and from its towering height, instead of the sightless eyes of the stone carved Confederate veteran, the alert gaze of a British sentinel kept watch, searching the broad expanse of Santa Marie for alien or piratical craft.

In 1772 Peter Chester, another governor under British rule, built a fort on Gage Hill-Fort George during the English occupancy, but changed to St. Michael after the capture by Galvez. It is still remembered by that name by the oldest inhabitants of Pensacola. Entering the house of Dr. Herron, the visitor stands on the site of its council chamber, where the white invaders - Spanish and English in their turn, held powwow with representative members of Creek, Choctaw or Seminole nations, councils on which much of the peace and prosperity of the province depended. Here the terms of capitulation were signed that transferred Pensacola from British domination to Spanish rule again.

This fort being constructed only of earth and timber, soon fell into decay, after the merciless bombardment of Gen. Jackson in 1814. There are men in the community today, who, as boys, hunted small game in the thicket of blackjack that had grown over the ruins.

The period from 1772 to 1781 of British domination was the most prosperous and peaceful that Pensacola had ever known. Several business enterprises were set on foot and trading posts established, while considerable export trade was also carried on. Immigration was encouraged by liberal grants from the government. The population was further increased by numbers of peacefully disposed persons from the northern colonies, who traveled southward, to avoid the turmoil of political disturbances then agitating that part of the country.

From a mere hamlet or army post Pensacola had developed into a flourishing city. Its prosperity, however, received a severe check, when, in May, 1780 an earthquake of some severity robbed its inhabitants of all feeling of security. Many of the most wealthy left the city, removing from it at the same time their business interests.

The city had scarcely recovered from the panic caused by the earthquake when the boom of cannonading over Gage Hill warned the inhabitants of an attacking force. The Spanish, carrying into the colonies the disruptions of Europe, had attacked and taken Fort George. Almost all the English inhabitants left the city rather than to

submit to the arbitrary religious restrictions imposed by incoming Spanish rulers. With the English exodus, the tide of Pensacola prosperity seemed to ebb.

The successive governors appointed by the Spanish government, it would seem, concerned themselves very little with the condition of the town one way or the other. It is not until the administration of Vicente Folch in 1796 that we hear of any changes being made. For some reason not apparent, he planned to build a city further down the bay, to succeed Pensacola as chief town of the province. In the absence of any other apparent motive for such a course we may suppose that a desire for personal aggrandizement or achievement prompted his intention or he may have wished to obliterate all traces of British occupancy. However, it may be, a royal mandate forbade his carrying out his plans.

His iconoclastic instincts then found vent in another direction. He undertook to change the English plan of the city, curtailing the space allotted for the public park, making Government street its northern boundary, dividing the surplus into lots and selling many of them. The Spanish Intendant Morales disapproved of Folch's proceedings, refusing to confirm the titles on his visit to Pensacola in 1806, thus rendering subtitles given through sales made previous to that date illegal, and laying a foundation for litigation and lawsuits.

The clipping of the generous space set aside in the first plan of the city has continued from time to time, until only two small squares of the original park remain - Saville square, or as it should more properly be called, Surville, being named after an intrepid Spanish soldier who did some valiant fighting on the spot, and Ferdinand square (the present plaza), named in honor of the then ruling king of Spain. Both these squares extended southward to the water front, with no intervening buildings, except a Spanish battery of small guns for saluting, erected on the south side of the plaza of Ferdinand VII.

In studying the history of colonization in the New World, we find generally speaking, that the colonial pulse beat in unison with the agitating upheavals of the mother country, so that the disturbances in the Spanish kingdom during the first years of the nineteenth century brought on a spasm of patriotic enthusiasm in Spanish Pensacola, resulting in the substitution of the names of Spanish heroes, or victories, for the English names hitherto des-

ignating the principal streets, thereby erecting a lasting memorial to Spanish glory, for in a city where the intersection streets are Palafox, Baylen, Romana, Zaragossa and Alcaniz, the military glamour of Spain, though now faded, is not easily forgotten.

In the war of 1812 between the United States and England, Pensacola became a basic point from which the English were allowed to distribute supplies to their Indian allies. Mateo Maurique, the governor, even allowed British soldiers to garrison the forts. There had been more or less dissatisfaction among Spanish officials over Napoleon's transfer of Louisiana to the United States, causing a feeling of hostility toward the Americans, and resulting in this breach of neutrality, and led to the invasion of the city of Pensacola by Gen. Jackson.

History again centers round the fort on the hill, that being the first object of attack. During Jackson's short stay in the town, he inspired the Spanish population with more friendly sentiments toward the Americans. Comparing the behavior of his forces with that of the British soldiery, they decided that Jackson's occupancy was the lesser of two evils.

It is in connection with Gen. Jackson's invasion that the name of Don Manuel Gonzalez first figures in the pages of local history under circumstances that have made the name a synonym for honor and patriotic integrity and laid the foundation of a lasting friendship between himself and the American general.

The Gonzales family has been in past years so intimately associated with the life of Pensacola, connected, as it is by marriage with the best families, vitalized and invigorated by the blood of noble Castillian dons, that a few facts about its progenitor may not be out of place in this article. Don Manuel came to Pensacola in 1784, a volunteer soldier, serving with honor in the Spanish army. He was appointed Indian agent in 1792, showing great ability in management of affairs connected with the various tribes, and obtaining great influence over them, and establishing peaceful relations, that were uninterrupted, until the machinations of the English in 1814 stirred them into hostility.

Don Manuel Gonzalez was at one time in charge of the Spanish commissary, a large storehouse situated on the site occupied now by the wholesale grocery of Lewis Bear, and of course facing on the Plaza. This building

in later years was converted into a city market. Here the thrifty housewife and vender haggled over the price of the necessities of life, and the major-domo of more affluent houses, purchased without question the most available luxuries. Perhaps the most popular section of his market was the coffee stand, where those who were early abroad, and others who had not yet retired, met to sip the exhilarating beverage that had become so necessary to the Spanish temperament, and, which, to suit Spanish taste, must be "black as night, strong as love, and hot as hell." So it was served at the old market stand with an accompaniment of hot calas, a sort of fried cake, the compounding of which is only understood by the old Spanish cooks of slavery times.

That Don Manuel Gonzalez was a man whom "the king delighted to honor," is apparent from the concessions or grants of land, made in his favor by the Spanish government. He owned a large cattle range, extending as far north as Gonzalia, and encircling the city on the east, as far as Gabaronne on the bay shore. A tall chimney still stands at that point, and like some ancient obelisk, marks the site of some dead and gone industry.

After the Floridas became United States territory, Don Manuel refused to join the body of his compatriots, who, rather than "pay tribute to Caesar," broke home and family ties and migrated to the Spanish colonies of South America. He was appointed to a responsible position in the American army in 1822, and continued a citizen of Pensacola until the time of his death, which occurred in 1838.

Mr. Peter Gonzalez, a son of Don Manuel, was for many years the agent or manager of the stage coach line, running between Pensacola and the eastern shore of Mobile bay, that being the only means of public travel in those days, unless horseback riding was preferred. It is recorded that Bishop Potier made visitations to the various parishes of the Mobile diocese on horseback in 1826. Perhaps there are some who remember the old "ride and tie" method by which two men might take a long trip with one horse. One rode to a certain point, the other following on foot. When the designated point was reached, the rider dismounted, tied the horse and left him for the use of the man who had started on foot, when the same program was repeated.

A little incident narrated by Mr. Peter Gonzalez in connection with the stage coach line will demonstrate the force of habit.

A driver who had been in his employ, making the trip regularly, without intermission for a number of years, finally decided that a holiday was due him, making the request, which was granted. When he again reported for work, Mr. Gonzalez inquired as to what disposition he had made of his time. The query elicited the fact that having passed so many years of his life on top of the coach, he had no interest elsewhere, and so had followed the coach, over the accustomed route, on foot.

Mr. Peter was the father of Mr. F. Gonzalez, known to the public as a man of wide charity and, at the time of his death proprietor of the Golay Mills.

Another well-remembered name is that of Major Samuel Z. Gonzalez, holding that commission in the American army, and also at one time collector of ports. He is still spoken of as a representative type of the old Spanish don, fearing no man, chivalrous toward women and upright in all his ways.

The Gonzalez family is allied either by tie of blood or marriage with many of the oldest Spanish families. The Morenos, Bonifays and Yniestras are all close connections.

After Jackson's expulsion of the English in 1814 Pensacola again dropped out of sight, enjoying a period of somnolent inactivity. The stirring business enterprises that had from time to time increased the prosperity and furthered the development of Florida's (and incidentally, of Pensacola's) natural resources, had been inaugurated by the English or Americans, for although good soldiers chivalrous and brave, an easygoing indolence is a national characteristic of the Spanish people.

The reply of an old Pensacolian when asked why he did not occupy himself with some profitable employment must have been an inherent sentiment transmitted from a colonial forefather. "God made the day to rest, and the night to sleep; what time is there to work?"

Certain it is that the old Spanish inhabitants took life easily. Surrounded by slaves, who stood at beck and call, and whose labor furnished a revenue, they lived to enjoy life. Six days in the week does not seem to have given time enough for worldly pleasures.

When Jackson was appointed governor general of Florida in 1821 he again visited Pensacola, accompanied by his wife. Her strict Puritanical ideas were particularly shocked by the loose observance of the Lord's day, and which brought forth a lively protest from that lady. We find her complaining that places of business were kept open on the Sabbath. But we must take into consideration that many of the small tradespeople lived in the rear or on the second floor of their stores, and therefore the front door stood open, more in hospitable welcome to friends and neighbors than as a matter of business. That such was the case in one instance can be gathered from the following story:

A dealer in groceries, whose business did not warrant the keeping of books or bookkeeper, was in the habit of chalking down memoranda of credit sales on the floor under his bed in the rear room. A customer coming in one day to settle his account, the storekeeper was somewhat embarrassed to find his wife had scrubbed out the memoranda. His accounts (while unwashed) were reliable, but it is told of another dealer, who could not write, that he made his memoranda by drawings; which method sometimes led to such slight misunderstandings as the following:

"Hey, Mr. -. When you going to pay for that cheese?"

"I never bought any cheese from you."

"Oh yes, but I got it in my book."

"I tell you, I never bought any cheese, but I owe you for a grindstone."

After a few minutes' puzzled scrutiny of the hieroglyphic account, the dealer acknowledged his mistake.

"That's so, that's right,- I forgot to draw a hole in the middle."

Mrs. Jackson further complains that "dancing and fiddling took up the greater part of the day," and it cannot be denied that such pastimes were indulged in, or that the soft dulcet tones of the guitar, accompanied by the strains of a love song, were not then heard more frequently than the Psalms. It would seem that the religious observance of the Sabbath had almost been forgotten; but we must remember that after the English occupancy, Catholic church property had, contrary to terms of Spanish treaty been destroyed, or put to other uses, so that when the Spanish again came into possession,

there was neither church nor priest in Pensacola, and for many years the people were deprived of spiritual ministrations and the public practices of devotion. Under these circumstances, it is scarcely to be wondered at that the prayerful observance of the Sunday should be forgotten.

A brief glance at the ecclesiastical history of Pensacola will bring to light a story of struggle and vicissitudes.

The Jesuit and Dominican fathers sacrificed much in their endeavors to establish churches in the early Catholic colonies, and with varied success. We find the existence of a church in Pensacola, recorded as early as 1696, which must have belonged to the settlement of d'Arriola and there is mention of a church on the island settlement, but from the time of the removal of the city to the northern shore of the bay, the pages of church history are blank up to the period of British ascendancy and then it is only through mention of confiscation of church property and oppressive legislation against Catholics, that we have any knowledge of the existence of a church at the time.

The next we hear of the return to Catholic worship is after the English exodus at the time of Galvez's invasion, when Pensacola again came under the dominion of Spain. The resultant influx of Spanish people must have been accomplished by pastor, or priest, for a warehouse situated somewhere near the site of the present county jail was utilized for church services with a Father Coleman in charge. This good priest's efforts to gather together the scattered flock would be a history by itself, while his successes might be narrated in a few pages. It was through the untiring efforts of this priest that a small frame church was finally erected on a government grant on the east side of the Plaza. Miss Sabina Bonifay, a lady devoted to the interest of the church, performed the duties of sexton in this church up to the time of the civil war. This church, like subsequent structures for the same purpose in the city, was under patronage of St. Michael.

Despite Father Coleman's zealous efforts at reorganizing a parish, when the newly-ordained Bishop Potier of Mobile made his first visitation in 1886, he found the church in a deplorable condition. Although the faith still lived in the hearts of the people, nourished and kept

alive by the teaching and example of many pious mothers, who, though altars were desolated, kept God enshrined in their hearts, still, its outward practice was neglected.

This church on the Plaza was destroyed by the federal forces during the civil war; but not before it had fulfilled its mission. Through the patient endeavor of successive pastors, the scattered flock had again been gathered into a devout congregation, faithful to the practice and teachings of their religion.

After peace was restored and the refugees returned to wrecked or demolished homes, a new church was built facing on Government street, near the opera house. It was doomed to share the fate of the old St. Michael's, being burned to the ground, along with the parsonage, in 1882.

Of the Protestant churches in Pensacola the Episcopalian and Presbyterian are the oldest. The first Episcopalian church, 1936, was built so as to face Seville square, and many of the best families of the town congregated under its roof. It escaped destruction at the hands of a wanton soldiery and still stands grey and ivy grown, a memorial of other days.

The Presbyterian church antedated the Episcopal some years. Many Scotch Presbyterians came to Pensacola during the English era, and engaged in extensive business transactions, notable among whom was one William Panton, a man of great commercial influence ; to which fact was due, in all probability, his exemption from retaliatory religious restrictions imposed by the incoming Spanish government. He may have been one of the earliest contributors to a church fund. That its bell pealed forth its clear resonant tones to the annoyance of an old Spanish inhabitant is certain, for tradition tells of his complaining to the minister, that its clamoring tongue disturbed his siesta.

The practice of gaming, a sport in which all classes indulged, called forth the loudest protest from the lady, whom the chances of war had raised to an eminence from which her voice might be heard. But what constituted a vice in Mrs. Jackson's opinion was only regarded as a gentleman's pastime among the Spaniards. The practice of card playing is so common in Spain that it might almost be considered the national game. It constituted the chief amusement of her colonial children.

Although large stakes were often put up, it was more to add zest and excitement to the game, than as a matter of profit.

To accuse a man of cheating at cards was an insult to be avenged in blood. It is only after the introduction of the American element into the community that we hear of the sharp manipulators of the card-pack. This brings to mind an incident of Spanish times and the gaming table.

Two professional sharpers who had drifted into the town engaged in a game of cards with a preconcerted scheme to fleece their opponents.

One of the intended victims noticed that one of the strangers was signaling the number of trump cards he held to his partner by placing a corresponding number of fingers on the table. Without any warning the Spaniard whipped out a knife and chopped off the two fingers then doing duty, coolly remarking: "It's a good thing you didn't have four trumps, or you'd have no fingers."

The progressive pace of Pensacola's development as we trace it through the various epochs of its history, has been that of the kangaroo. A succession of forward leaps and pauses, punctuated by sudden booms and yellow fever epidemics. The last mentioned, thanks to improved sanitary conditions and scientific discoveries here and elsewhere, has ceased to menace the city. It was during one of these eruptive periods, 1836, that a brilliant future loomed up for the city. A New York syndicate conceived the project of building a railroad between Pensacola and Montgomery. The iron and cars were brought from England. Work was actually begun, and the road graded the whole length of the route, making it the third railroad in the scale of length in the United States.

Major Chase, whose residence on North Palafox street was for years spoken of as "the Chase house," but which, after a series of metamorphoses, has become the Escambia hotel, was superintendent of this road, and a Mr. Graham constructing engineer. A position full of brain-racking problems, one which threatened to turn his hair grey, met him in the labor question.

Some few slaves might have been leased, but a handful of men can't build a railroad. The only recourse was to import foreign labor.

Three ship loads of Irish workmen were the first installment furnished by the European agent.

Mr. Graham's own words, "they worked like beavers, and fought like devils," and as the last attribute offset their usefulness, Mr. Graham decided it would be better to employ men of a more phlegmatic nationality, as he wanted men to lay rails, not to wield the shillelah.

To replace the Irishmen, four ship loads of Dutch laborers were next sent over. Two of the captains succeeded in landing their human freight, but the passengers on the other two boats decided that they did not like the looks of the town and insisted on being carried to New Orleans.

Constructor Graham soon found he had swapped the witch for the devil, for the Dutch went on strike twice every day, throwing down picks and spades at 10 in the morning, positively refusing to work until each individual was served with a stein of beer. At 4 p. m. the same demand was made, backed by a refusal to work without the liquid refreshment.

A perplexing state of affairs that led Mr. Graham to ask the captain "if he could take his d- Dutchmen and drown them," and the captain, who it seems had his share of the trouble, replied "most willingly," if only Mr. Graham would show show him the law for it.

So much for human endeavor. All its fret and fume amounted to naught. In the financial panic of 1837 the project fell through for lack of funds to carry it to completion.

It was not until 1856 that the reconstruction of the road was undertaken. Although financed by the same company, and under the same management as the earlier road, the route was changed. Instead of running through the eastern part of the town, the course lay northward, as does the present road. After various delays it was completed to Pollard, Ala., in 1861.

During the civil war the tracks on this road were torn up, presumably by the Confederates, with the object of hampering the movements of the northern foe. The rolling stock was either stolen or destroyed.

A third attempt to connect Pensacola by rail with northern points, was made shortly after the close of the war, and has proved more permanent. This road terminated at Flomaton, then more familiarly spoken of as the Junction.

This last venture was entirely a southern enterprise, much of the stock being subscribed by southern planters. The city of Pensacola subscribed \$270,000, issuing bonds for that amount, which were afterwards increased.

Through a series of business manipulations, an astute financier secured the controlling interest, eventually selling out at immense personal profit to the L. & N. system, under which it is still operated.

The constructive periods of these railroads mark three epochs in the history of Pensacola. The first, a demarkation of the Spanish era proper, and the beginning of the disintegration of a family, for such were the resident people of Spanish towns. Through marriage and intermarriage, more or less nearly akin, they fraternized as the children of one home, bearing each other's burdens, sharing each other's joys. "To laugh with those who laugh and sigh with those who sigh" was a Christian precept that was put into daily practice in those early days, when men were, it would seem, less selfish, ever ready to lend a helping hand to one another.

In social life the same spirit of true democracy existed. The bluest blood might run in the veins of some, but it did not forbid a courteous demeanor toward those in whose views the life-giving fluid ran in more plebeian tint. Bon ton and elite as applicable to social status, had not yet been written in the vocabulary of the town. A ball was an occasion for a general gathering - not a function participated in by a select few. Men took time for such things then. The pater familias and the matron danced with youths and maiden, and "all went merry as a marriage bell."

Later, in 1812, we hear of disruptions. The Americans are masters of the town, and some high spirited members of the family have broken the circle and moved to parts unknown. There is a day when those who have remained stand with bowed heads and sorrowful hearts near the flagstaffs in the center of the Plaza, to watch the Spanish flag come down. But time, the great healer, closes the wound, and native and alien mingle in social intercourse. We can imagine the little group that clustered on street corners, or in the Plaza, to discuss an entertainment, at which Mrs. Jackson was guest of honor. In low tones, they tell of the host's embarrassment when that lady requested a pipe that she might take her accustomed smoke after dinner. A hasty search

had only been productive of a common clay pipe, such entertainment, at which Mrs. Jackson was guest of honor as was used by the slaves in their quarters.

As these gentlemen narrate the incident they smoke cigarettes, made of the best Cuban tobacco, rolled in dainty strips, cut from dried corn shucks.

That was a time when mutual trust and confidence characterized all business transactions. Where, in these days of iron bound contracts and grinding mortgage, shall we hear the like of this:

"Mr. - I wish you would lend me some cash. I need it in my business."

"All right; how much do you want?"

"\$500 will do, I think."

"Here's my key ; help yourself."

The lender never turned in his chair. A year later the debtor returned;

"Mr. - here's that \$500 I borrowed."

"Oh! all right. Take the key and put it where you got it."

Perhaps this was the same man who refused to take a man's note because he was sure if he didn't pay the money he wouldn't pay the paper.

The second railroad introduced a period of disorganization and disaster. The war cloud, though no larger than a man's hand, was gathering on the horizon. Already the shadow of the coming struggle had dulled the capacity for enjoyment. Men's hearts were heavy with a premonition that the coming strife would change affluence to indigence.

A whispered hope of freedom had reached the negro quarters, and an inward exultation made them less fearful of the lash, less docile and obedient. Even those who had the kindest masters were ready to desert them at the first intimation of emancipation.

After the war cloud burst, the non-combatants of Pensacola evacuated the city seeking shelter in more protected towns. Everything was left at the disposal of an invading soldiery, whose pleasure, it seems was to wantonly destroy.

After peace was declared the refugees returned to find wreck and ruin on every side. It took brave hearts to pick up the broken threads and piece together demolished industries and fortunes and begin life under new conditions. The topsy turvy state of affairs was well

stated by a freed slave, when he told a white prisoner of war "bottom rail on top now, move up, bottom rail on top," though the speech cost him his life in later years.

The building of the third road inaugurated an epoch, the history of which is not yet written.

By the slow process of evolution the old Spanish city is becoming Americanized, even the fiery element conspiring to obliterate all traces of Spanish occupancy, until but few of the quaint old landmarks remain.

With the arms of commerce reaching out towards Panama, and the deep water bay of Pensacola furnishing unrivalled facilities for trade there is no telling where the future leaps may land our town in the scale of prosperous cities.

At present the leaps are skyward; yet why, with so much ground space, such high jumps should be necessary is beyond my comprehension. Perhaps the spirit of the Plaza still holds the business of the town around it.

With the contemplated skyscrapers the city should adopt "a banner with a strange device, Excelsior."

SENATOR YULEE.

A Biographical Sketch by C. Wickliffe Yulee.

The adage that: no man is a hero to his valet, may be coupled with one that: every man is a hero to his child; which fact the writer promises to bear ever in mind, endeavoring to anticipate the modifications of those candid friends whose friendship is never so demonstrative as when clipping one's wings. But it is a matter of some regret that a person who feels compelled thus to issue a self-denying ordinance, should have been selected to write, for the Florida Historical Society, the biography of Senator Yulee; since any historical narrative must have a strong element of hero-worship in order to make a substantial picture for the general reader.

David Levy Yulee was born in the year 1810 on the island of St. Thomas, W. I., which being at that time a British possession, made him by birth a British subject, and his earliest recollection of life was, when at the age of five, upon the transfer of the island to Denmark, he saw the English flag hauled down. Evidently the portentous significance with which this was regarded by the inhabitants, created such an atmosphere of awe as to impress the event upon his childish memory, where it stood, in isolated importance, the only thing he could recall within that period which ended with his ninth year.

His grandfather had been, although racially Portuguese, a high official in the Emperor of Morocco's court, and as such had been given the rank of prince. Upon the death of the Emperor, whose side he had espoused against the intriguing heir, he was obliged to fly at a moment's notice to England, taking with him his wife, an English Jewess, and their infant son. The last named, upon maturity, was obliged to go into trade, and his mother, who had exaggerated ideas as to the importance of the princely title, insisted upon his dropping the name of Yulee temporarily, and the adoption of Levy, that of her own father. This name he retained to the day of his death, although, long before, he had acquired an independent fortune in the lumber business in St. Thomas. He approved, however, of the resumption of that of



Hon. DAVID LEVY YULEE

Yulee by his son-the subject of this sketch - and for convenience it will be the one used throughout.

There are two other incidents of Senator Yulee's childhood which must be recorded, because of the mark they left; the one upon his physical, the other upon his psychological being.

Having been given an apple by some one - if a woman, the fall of Adam might be traced, **pari passu** - he climbed upon one of the stone gate-pillars of his father's residence in order to enjoy himself, with tranquillity, in "splendid isolation." A passing practical joker threatening to seize the fruit, he started back, fell, and as a result, bore for the remainder of his life, upon the center of his forehead, a deep blue scar, which, curiously enough, formed the letter Y with perfect distinctness.

The second occurrence took place when, at the age of nine, in order to attend school at Norfolk, Virginia, he had sailed from St. Thomas, never to return. The ship lay becalmed, and the lad was watching with great interest the sailors enjoying a sea bath. Suddenly one of these, approaching from behind, seized him, and dived deep into the bottomless water. Anyone who has ever been in a position to realize with Clarence

****What pain it was to drown!
What dreadful noise of water in mine ears!
What sights of ugly death within mine eyes!"

can well imagine the terrifying impression, made by such an unwonted experience upon a child, whose misgivings had been already excited by seeing all vestige of land sink mysteriously below the horizon. While, in after life, he frequently went upon coasting steamers between Southern ports, his aversion to being out of sight of land was so great as, not only to prevent all travel abroad for pleasure, but also to induce his refusal, when offered the choice of representing this country at any one of three most attractive European courts.

The school in which young Yulee now found himself, was one kept by an English clergyman, a friend of his father's, nearly all the other scholars belonging to the old Virginia families, whose places lined the banks of the river James. The friendships he formed here lasted, without exception, all his life, and were, Southern fashion, inherited by the succeeding generation, as the writer was glad to find, when he entered the University of Vir-

ginia. Fortunate, too, was the School in its master, who, while holding the affections of his pupils, bent his chief energies toward forming their characters. The present master of Harrow has well said: "However we may fail in teaching our pupils the classics or mathematics, we hope that we do teach them to 'play the game.'" Truly, is not a fine scorn for success, by unfair methods, worth all the hexameters and integral calculus in the world?

Some six years later, his stay at this school, and that of his elder brother at Harvard College, was suddenly terminated by a letter from their father, announcing that he would no longer contribute to their support, except as he would to any other of God's creatures. He had worked himself into this condition of religious socialism by long pondering upon the failure of all religions to supply some simple rule of action - to be used by the learned or unlearned - instead of a series of varying dogmas.

Educated at an English university, his father a Mahometan, and his mother a Jewess, his mind, as was indicated by marginal notes on books, seemed ever reaching out for some foundation upon which alike could stand the most humane, the most extensive, and the oldest of existing religions. The precept by which he finally enunciated this universal religion was: "All our actions must be for the love of God only;" which, while theoretically most sound, led practically to a few spasmodic ultra examples, but far oftener, resulted in sophistic self-reasoning, through which he did whatever he wished.

Thus cast adrift, the lad, probably by the advice of friends, went to a plantation of his father's in Florida, where the overseer felt no hesitation in sheltering and feeding him; while his clothing was supplied out of the abundance provided for the slaves. His scholastic education thus abruptly terminated, he found himself equipped with good elementary knowledge, a little Latin, no Greek, and some French of that sturdy British kind which pronounced "un garçon," "ong garcong." But he had, partly inherited, partly acquired, a great love of reading, and, as the only form of sport for which he cared was fishing, of which there was little near-by, most of his time was given to books.

As he grew to manhood he frequently visited St. Augustine, where to the many charming old Spanish families there were added, as residents, those of the mili-

tary and legal United States officers, as well as a large number from the Northern states, attracted by the quaintness of the ancient city and its salubrious climate.

Here he soon had a large circle of warm friends, who gave him that sympathy and, in some cases, guidance which he should have received from his father. It was with one of these that he studied law,* and in this profession he succeeded from the first, and would probably, had he adhered to it, have attained quite as high rank as he did in political life, for which he soon abandoned it.

His entry into the latter arena was, without blare of trumpets, simply as the clerk to the Territorial Legislature, a hotly contested post, to which he was chosen, not so much because of special fitness as because his numerous friends thought he needed it. Thus, at the outset, was struck what may be deemed the keynote of his character and career, the capacity of binding to himself those to whom he gave his friendship by the strongest cords of mutual affection.

While he never spared himself in their cause, they were in turn devoted, and the friends of his friends were his. As a corollary, his enemies, though few in number,* were correspondingly bitter, but, almost without exception, undesirable in any different relation.

The next phase in this career, was when, in 1841 he ran as the Democratic candidate for the office of Territorial Delegate. In this successful canvass he had to cover a vast extent, and address himself to a constituency which varied from the cultured society of St. Augustine and Tallahassee, to gatherings of cow-boys and woodsmen, so primitive that once, at a barbecue, he won the entire vote of a solid Whig precinct by a lucky bull's-eye shot.

Unknown himself, a Delegate from a newly-formed, remote and sparsely settled Territory, he appeared in the House of Representatives at a time when it contained, perhaps, more brilliant debaters than ever before in its history ; and he might have remained long without being able to command attention, but for a malignant attack by some personal enemies.

These individuals petitioned the House to declare him ineligible, on the ground that his father, having remained a British citizen, he himself remained one, although residing for twenty years in Florida.

*Governor, and also U. S. Judge Robert R. Ried.

The Committee on Elections which consisted of six Whigs to three Republicans (Democrats) were inclined to report adversely upon him, and, from his constitutional want of punctuality, he had not been in his place when the day for discussing his eligibility was fixed, and was not fully prepared. But in moving a postponement of the case, he showed: that by the treaty with Spain all inhabitants of Florida, at the time of transfer, were entitled to United States citizenship, that his father had claimed to be a citizen, and the claim had been allowed, both by the Attorney-General of the United States and by the United States District Court; and while admitting that Congress had the legal right to repudiate the action of the Executive and Judicial departments, he asked if they had a moral right to do so.

Deprecating the bringing of political feeling into such matters he said, if the Whigs who had a majority on the floor as well as in Committee, sought a victim, he stood ready; for, "I am a Republican."

That speech settled the matter, not only of his right to a seat, but, also, to be heard, and although in the various debates, in which he presently shared, he was opposed by such men as Adams, Fillmore, Giddings, Everett, Roosevelt, Cushing, etc., they showed plainly that this new comer seemed to them worth answering.

For a beginner, he showed also remarkable knowledge of parliamentary law ; indeed, the only occasions when he showed ignorance of it were when he wished to make some remarks which were out of order ; and it was generally too late when his opponents awoke to the fact.

His first speech upon any topic of general importance was upon the expediency of annulling the extradition clause of the "Ashburton" treaty with England, on account of the latter's refusal to return some escaping slaves, who had been indicted for theft and murder by a Grand Jury of Florida. He showed, by incontestable precedents, that the British government, led by abolitionists, were in this action flagrantly violating their own laws.

Thus at once Mr. Yulee identified himself with the great question of slavery, around which the destinies of the United States were to whirl, with augmenting violence, for twenty-five years more; and then fling upon the Southern States a burden of political and social danger, which will harass them far into distant years.

It should be admitted, that to the present generation, ignorant of peculiar circumstances, the preservation of slavery by the Southern States must seem as barbarous a survival, in the nineteenth century, as the infliction, by England, of the death penalty for forgery of a marriage license; or as the drowning of witches, in the eighteenth, by Massachusetts; or as the present absolute control of parents over children, and captain over seamen, may seem to pious socialists of the future.

The explanation is that after the importation of slaves in large quantities, (enforced by England) it could never be discussed as a purely moral question; but only as merged with that of the opposing economic interests of the North and the South. That it was not, in itself, palpably wrong may be inferred from the fact that it was expressly provided for in Leviticus (25) and Exodus (21) ; was never forbidden by Christ, and specifically approved of by St. Paul; while it existed under British sanction until 1833.

Moreover, the Puritans, one of the most moral peoples known to history, practised it, regulated it legislatively, and their legislature never gave the slaves their freedom, but it was gradually obtained by legal decisions, based on the Bill of Rights; a process delayed by the ignorance of the beneficiaries, as may be inferred from the following advertisement appearing in the *Continental Journal*, March 1781, "Boston: To be sold ** a negro wench 17 years old, ** has no notion of Freedom, ** not known to have any failing, but being with child, which is the only cause of her being sold."

They placed them apart in their schools, churches and cemeteries; and did the same with all blacks as late as 1835 without protest except by a few individuals.*

Slave ships were fitted out by the Massachusetts government, and also by private citizens along the whole New England coast; while in the Federal Convention of 1787, New Hampshire, Massachusetts and Connecticut voted to extend the time limit for the untaxed importation of slaves - Rhode Island and New York not voting.

These facts do not prove slavery to be right, but that the South's principles differed chronologically only, not basically, from those of the North; and the Southerner, beside believing *the negroes' immunity to malaria made

*See Harriet Martineau.

their labor essential, had them already in too great quantity, to consider them from a purely ethical standpoint. Moreover, he honestly thought, with Miss Martineau, a hostile critic, that : "the patience of slave owners probably surpasses the whole Christian world;" and that the deprivation of civic rights was no greater cause for unhappiness to blacks than it was to white women and children.

The Quakers of Pennsylvania, being opposed to any use of force, had, from the first, opposed slavery, but made no active propaganda until Lundy started at Baltimore a paper; in which he was later (1829) joined by Garrison, who had previously edited one devoted to temperance. The latter who, with the zeal of novelty, favored the overthrow of slavery, "if not by peaceful means, then by blood," soon parted with the more gentle Quaker and, alone, started upon what long seemed a heroically hopeless crusade. Refused every hall or church, he was finally indebted to a body of infidels, for an opportunity of speaking in Boston, where later (1835) he was dragged through the streets, by a "mob of gentlemen of property and standing." Recruits came to him slowly and his cause might long have languished, had not its principles been needed to give cohesion to a far mightier impulse.

The germ of the abolition movement may be found in a law of Connecticut passed in 1774. This state which had most stringent laws governing slaves, and did not free them until 1844, in the year first named passed a law prohibiting the importation of slaves because it was thought "injurious to the poor" and "inconvenient." We shall see how the industrial war, which started here, took the battle cry of a few zealous philanthropists, and wrote the history of a continent.

The hardy and industrious men who, to better their fortunes, had left their eastern homes, traveled the difficult passes of the Alleghanies, and settled in that part of Virginia's huge gift to the Union, now known as Ohio, viewed with jealousy the possible competition of slave labor, which was rapidly occupying the country south of the Ohio. So in 1784 they fought the first battle for free labor by asking Congress to forbid slavery in all United States Territory, although the great bulk of it had been given by Southern States. This law was defeated, but in 1787 another battle was fought and slav-

ery was driven from all that vast region lying north of the Ohio River, or latitude 38 degrees 27 minutes.

The next conflict, occurring in 1820, was over new territory - the Louisiana purchase - and when peace was concluded, free labor had advanced one hundred and fifty miles, driving the slaves south of parallel of latitude 36 deg. 30 min.; which if prolonged to the Pacific, gave to the victorious white more than two-thirds of all new territory. Against this surrender, thirty-seven Southern members of Congress protested to the last.

The new treaty did not endure so long as the old, and those few Southerners who thought partial concessions would stop the army of northern expansion, saw their error in 1850. At first the objection of the Northerners had been to the slave rather than slavery, but, in excluding the former, they were obliged to denounce the latter and eventually felt they were waging a holy war. They had seen Texas given over to slave labor, protected by an imaginary line of latitude, and, now that the rich mines of New Mexico and southern California were the prize, they leaped the feeble barrier and, by the Wilmot Proviso, demanded, amid sounding blasts from the legislatures of fifteen Northern States, that all territory, then or in the future, should be surrendered to free labor. Penned in by a foe vastly superior in numbers and resources, with its back to the ocean, the South in desperation reached its hand toward a weapon, forged by a Northern state in the Federal Convention-Secession. mise of the arms intended to protect the South.

Whence this feeling of desperation? The answer can be found in a letter from Mr. Yulee (now a Senator*) to Mr. Calhoun, July 1849: "We must have security and fireside peace." He saw that, if the slave states were not allowed to expand, it meant not only complete political paralysis, but what was far worse, their africanization. The greater fertility of the negroes, and the reluctance of white immigrants to compete with slaves, made this inevitable; and the non-slave states would gradually repeal all national laws protecting the South from incendiary instigation, and eventually must, in common consistency, change the constitution, give the slaves their freedom and electoral dominion over the whites.

*He took his seat in the Senate Dec. 1, 1845.

So he entered the contest ardently and, to the Wilmot Proviso, answered by a resolution in the Senate 14 February, 1848, that the territories belonged equally to confirmed some ten years later by the Supreme Court, the citizens of all the states and that therefore any citizen might take into them his slave property; a doctrine confirmed some ten years later by the Supreme Court, in the famous Dred Scott decision. And he fought, to the last, against the capture, by free labor, of Southern California, thereby dismantling the Missouri Compromise of the arms intended to protect the South.

In the same letter to Mr. Calhoun, after suggesting, among various plans of action, one for a convention of all of the states, Mr. Yulee said that if an amendment to the Constitution providing the South against aggression, were not adopted he thought it "the best policy to take steps at once for a separation." If Secession was ever wise, that was the time; when passions were not so generally inflamed, and the relative strength not so disproportionate as in 1860 ; besides there were in the Southern States three-fourths of the veterans of the Mexican war, as a sedative upon a coercive spirit.

If his political convictions were sectional, Senator Yulee's personal feelings were not; for no Southerners mingled more generally in Washington society than his wife and himself. He had married in 1846 a daughter of ex-Governor Wickliffe of Kentucky, a member of Tyler's Cabinet. She was called "The Wickliffe Madonna," according to Mrs. Clay's memoirs, on account of her goodness and beauty. In corroboration of the latter point, the writer may be pardoned for mentioning that a New York gentleman told him he was once listening to an important speech in the Senate, when, suddenly, a rapidly wafted whisper turned the eyes, and attention, of the dense throng toward a beautiful woman, who had just entered the Cabinet Gallery. Upon inquiry he was informed that she was the wife of Senator Yulee.

Shortly after their marriage they had, travelled through some of the Northern states, being everywhere received most cordially. They visited Governor Winthrop in his beautiful home near Boston, where they were entertained with that warm courtesy, which does so much to make the whole world kin. In Washington,

*It was just before his marriage that he resumed the name Of Yulee.

therefore, they never encountered or cherished those feelings of sectional hostility which so often estranged others.

During the next ten years, a large part of Senator Yulee's time was given to that valuable work which is called routine, because there is nothing spectacular about it.

As Chairman of the Naval Committee, which he became the year after his entry into the Senate; he labored ceaselessly, being opposed in almost every projected improvement.

Although Florida furnished the live oak for wooden ships, he urged, with final success, the building of iron ones, as being more durable, both in and out of commission; and also favored the building of some by private contract. It was instanced that a particular wooden ship, within three years after completion, had received \$75,000 more in repairs than its whole original cost.

The annual attempts to abolish flogging in the navy he strongly resisted, on the ground that the only substitute was imprisonment, which weakened the ship's efficiency and threw more work on the more worthy men. On this account, the seamen themselves had almost unanimously petitioned to have it retained. The opposition was generally led by Hale of New Hampshire and other abolitionists, who thus showed that they did not limit their humanitarian sympathies to the negro.

But it was a somewhat morbid declaration of Hale's, that he would be willing to wipe out the whole glorious record of our navy, if he could at the same time expunge that of its flogging. Such a feeling could not be shared by any man from the South, of which Harriet Martineau wrote : "What can be expected of little boys brought up to consider physical courage the highest attribute of manhood?" So it came as a surprise to Southerners when later these Yankees, driven by the lash of duty, stormed the heights of Lookout Mountain.

Obstructed in the same quarter, he succeeded in passing a bill, which had been delayed more than forty years: that providing bounty for Decatur and his seventy-nine men who, under the guns of shore batteries, sword in hand, boarded and destroyed a frigate manned by a thousand Tripolitans.

To his explanation and assurance was due, also, the bill authorizing the Grinnell expedition in search of Sir John Franklin.

Later, as head of the Committee on Post Offices and Post Roads, he conducted its measures with rare patience and judgment, being always equipped with a thorough knowledge of the subject. Bending all his energies toward securing a weekly mail to Europe, he was the first to propose, in furtherance, payment by sea postage alone, instead of subsidy; and subsequently he urged cheap ocean postage, in the interest of foreign immigrants. When it was a question of improving the postal service, he often voted alone with the Northern Senators.

Whatever he undertook he gave himself up to with, as Floyd-Buchanan's Secretary of War wrote of him: "an energy and zeal which commanded usual success," and, as to his thoroughness, Webster once complained that "the Senator from Florida had not read the Act with his usual diligence and acuteness." Upon another occasion a Senator seeing a high pile of books and papers upon his desk said: "I move, Mr. President, that we save time by giving the Senator from Florida whatever he wants - we know he is going to get it."

Whether it was, to save a thoughtless midshipman from being shot, in time of peace, for technical mutiny, or to restore a wrongfully discharged paymaster, he worked night and day investigating, arguing and pleading until the wrong was righted. As a result, hundreds of people, personally unknown to him, held him in grateful affection; which may account for the following incident - otherwise an impenetrable mystery.

Traveling upon one of the lake steamers, which touched at Toronto, he saw it moving off, as he approached the wharf, after wandering through the town. Excitedly he commenced to run, waving his hat, and calling loudly amid the derisive shouts and laughter of the assembled crowd, which sank into dumb and foolish amazement, as the boat, making a graceful curve, returned, picked him up, and resumed its way. Seeking the Captain, as soon as possible, Senator Yulee thanked him, to which he replied: "There are only two men in the world I would turn my boat back for - one is the President of the United States, and **you** are the other." Just as he was about to explain, one of the crew gave him some message, and he left, promising to resume later; but in the evening he was taken ill and died during the night.

Although unyielding upon the slavery question and that of States Rights, Senator Yulee, upon other matters was, by no means a bitter partisan. Upon one occasion, when a correspondent named Ritchie had made a libelous attack upon the motives of certain Whig Senators, he moved his exclusion from the Senate galleries. In this he was supported by Senator Calhoun, whereupon Senator Turney accused the Senator from Florida, in common with a few other Senators, of joining with the great South Carolinian in an apparently disinterested legislative course, in order to further his Presidential aspirations. This brought a hot rejoinder from the one, and an historic speech from the other; while a few authoritative words from Webster the magnificent, sealed the fate of the factious opposition.

To this natural disposition to look at the other side of the shield, were added, as the great crisis of 1860 approached, other reasons for an increasing belief that secession might not, after all, be necessary. Not only did his numerous warm friends at the North assure him, constantly, that a violent abolition programme would never be permitted, but he had also formed sanguine hopes for an economic development of the South, and especially of his own idolized State, which, by inducing white immigration, would prevent that "Africanization" which was the great danger.

While Florida was still mostly a vast wilderness, he had drawn up an "Internal Improvement Act" which, utilizing United States grants of land, as a basis of credit, built an extensive system of railroads through trackless forests, where the locomotives' clarion was the first summons to the beasts of the field, for a surrender of their territory, to those forces of civilization which are now in occupation.

One portion of this system crossed the peninsula from the Gulf of Mexico to the-Atlantic,* and it was thought that the commerce between New York and the Mississippi Valley would seek this route to avoid the danger and delay of a voyage around the capes of Florida. The fast steamers supported by this trade would carry fruits and vegetables from Florida and Georgia, and their growth would draw immigrants from the white market-gardeners of the North. In the autumn of 1860, after

*The Florida Railroad, incorporated Jan., 1853.

years of repeated failure, and the pledging of his own small private fortune, the road was just completed, special steamers had been built, contracts for the mail between New York and New Orleans granted, and at the Atlantic terminus, where five years before had been the abandoned indigo plantation of the Countess of Egmont, was a thriving commercial town. A few months passed; the town was deserted, Northern mail was smuggled through military lines, and the steamers, intended to carry the first fruits of the South, in friendly exchange for the harmlessly adulterated biscuit of the North, were landing hostile troops.

Another reason for hope with Senator Yulee was his confidence that the West would not join with the East in aggressive abolition legislation. Because of this, and also of personal friendship he warmly espoused the political leadership of Stephen A. Douglass, and had at the convention of '56 effected an agreement with the leaders of certain delegations, which would have nominated him, but there was an accidental delay in making this known, and Douglass' telegram of withdrawal greeted them as they entered the hall.

Again, when the Charleston Convention of 1860 met, he was in favor of Douglass, was averse to the withdrawal of Southern delegations, and advised in a published letter, that Florida should send no delegation to Richmond, but stand ready to indorse the action of the Baltimore convention - which was the adjourned Charleston one. This brought him disfavor from his political friends. But when Douglass repudiated the right of secession, Senator Yulee was "surprised and grieved" and could no longer support him.

Two incidents will well illustrate Senator Yulee's frame of mind at this period.

His elder brother having become an officer of the crack "Washington Rifles" remarked to him, that the South might soon need troops; which called forth an angry rebuke from the younger, who said it was "nonsense" and that the other "ought to know better."

Then again, after the election of Lincoln, the writer, whose childish curiosity had been excited by the announcement of two Floridian callers: "Captain Byrd and Major Partridge" heard, with the indignation natural to the officer of a boys' company, his own father counselling "moderation" and "patience" to men whose

very names already suggested congenital timidity. This too, when, a few days before, his mother had a caller (Lord Lyons) who drank tea, instead of Madeira or whiskey!

When Governor Wickliffe, ex-President Tyler and other friends came on in advance of the Peace Congress, Senator Yulee was often in earnest conference with them at the old National Hotel and elsewhere.

But the time had come when the words of any man or set of men on either side were as futile as those addressed by Canute to the rising ocean, and blown back in his face by the gathering winds of heaven.

*The people of the upper class at the North still remained tolerant, even friendly toward Southerners, but those of the middle-the backbone of any community-had become convinced that the hand of the Lord must be raised against the sinful race, and were quite ready to be that hand.

While the Puritan was no longer so austere as in the days of Hudibras, and did not "blaspheme, custard through the nose," making it, on the contrary, when moulded into pies, a staple of diet, yet he never could feel sympathetic toward the easy going Southerner, whom he regarded as "gluttonous and a wine-bibber," given over to a love of horses, women and a mediaeval code of honor.

So when he saw the injustice and atrocity, so often exhibited in the recapture of slaves, forgetting that it was mostly from the cruel masters that slaves were apt to flee, and not knowing that the negro-trader, so much in evidence, was despised at the South, he set down all Southerners as heedlessly inhuman; which was as unjust as if, because of the cruelty of some parent to a child, which he could see in any newspaper, he should conclude that all parents, except himself, were cruel.

And the leaders of the abolition movement did not conceal these opinions or their intention to punish; for they were men of such clear vision, that, had they been present when Christ suggested the casting of stones upon the sinful woman, they would speedily have raised over her a lithic pile, which should at the same time be a warning to the depraved, and a monument to their own rectitude. The South being "a mechante badger," "defended itself when attacked" and its language was, probably, much more violent.

All this, however, was but the tumult of the surface, and had little to do with the deep, silent flood of World-Justice, which was, inevitably, to submerge the South, regardless of what local devastation it wrought, or who first built upon the shifting sand.

Slavery was unjust-wrong-for the good of the world and the country, at large, it was destined to perish, although the South might suffer grievously. But far better that it should do so in a gallant fight of five million against eighteen million whites, bringing to the front on both sides those willing to risk their lives for the right, than, in a decade, or more, of rancor, incendiary incitement and remodeling of the Constitution for partisan purposes.

According to ordinary human lights the South could not well have acted differently at this crisis, except that some moral advantage would, perhaps, have been gained by refraining from the attack on Fort Sumter.

Those who said: "Wait in the Union for some overt act against your rights," were counseling the questionable strategy of Artemus Ward when he "firmly planted his nose between the teeth of his adversary."

"But" they say, "Lincoln was a good man"-so was Garrison, so, even, was John Brown; referring to whose raid, Beecher said: "That John Baptist work, before the last (Lincoln) election, prepared the way and tie are going forward"-the pages of history are blotted everywhere with the stern cruelty of good men, in their efforts to crush the sin out of those they believe to be sinners.

Great as was Lincoln's personality and intellect, he was not chosen leader on that account, but because he was the incarnation of the soul of his party and had, first enunciated its fundamental creed-that a thing cannot be wrong on one side of a surveyor's line and right on the other when he said: "I believe this government cannot endure permanently half slave and half free." Moreover, with his strong sense of justice he saw; equally, that, when the slaves were freemen, they could not remain deprived of votes, and he therefore announced the corollary of the greater principle: "I embrace with pleasure this opportunity of declaring my disapprobation of that clause of the Constitution which denies to a portion of the colored people the right of suffrage."^{*}

^{*}Speech reported in Illinois State Journal (a leading Republican organ) Sept 164 1856.

Such was the goal upon which his far-seeing gaze was fixed; and it must be remembered that, though a man of gentle ways, Lincoln, in his psychological and political progress took many cautious, but not one backward step.

Thus the Southern people, if they remained in the Union, had the prospect, either of having themselves placed, by constitutional methods, in subjection to their former slaves, or that other alternative, so wisely expressed by Lincoln in his Cooper Institute Lecture: "How much would you gain by forcing the sentiment which created it, (The Republican Party) out of the peaceful channel of the ballot-box, into some other channel? What would that other channel probably be? Would the number of John Browns be lessened or enlarged by the operation?" So they overwhelmingly decided to exercise what they believed to be a constitutional right, and withdraw from a distracted Union, in which the first battle of interstate warfare had already been fought at Harper's Ferry.

Senator Yulee when he found that the victorious Republicans would admit of no fresh guarantees for the future, fully approved of the secession, for which Florida had assembled a convention ; especially as he thought the only hope for a peaceful issue, "as the North is consolidating upon a plan of force," lay "in forming a Southern Confederacy and army" in order "to bring them (the Northerners) to a sense of the gravity of the crisis.." In furtherance of this he advised the taking immediate possession of all Florida forts and arsenals. This *was* being done all over the seceding states and had a two-fold reason. An incidental one was that it was feared insurrectionary slaves might get hold of the arms and ammunition ; as is shown by the reports of Federal officers in the United States Official Record. The main reason, of course, was that they did not wish to leave such formidable footholds for possible invaders. This danger had been foreseen by Elbridge Gerry (of Massachusetts) in the Constitutional Convention of '87, who objected to the clause, giving the General Government exclusive jurisdiction over places purchased by it for the erection of forts, etc. ; "that the strongholds proposed would be a means of awing the state into an undue obedience to the General Government,?" so on motion of Mr. King (Mass.) : by the consent of the Legislature of the state was added.*

*Madison Papers. Elliot.

South Carolina had already sent commissioners to Washington saying she would resume, by the law of eminent domain, possession of such property, and repay the government its expenditures thereon, (although the South through the tariff, had paid more than its share of the purchasing money). This was refused by Holt, Acting Secretary of War, on the ground that absolute jurisdiction once given could not be revoked. As if Austria, which purchased the site of its Embassy at Washington, and now exercises Absolute Jurisdiction over it, could still do so if diplomatic relations were severed. With some reason; too, the Southern States, who had notice of the hostile utterances and preparations in certain Northern States, might claim to use their forts, under that clause of the Constitution which forbids a State "to engage in War unless actually invaded or in such immediate danger as will not admit of delay." (The emphasis is the writer's). This matter was to assume a portentous significance as to Senator Yulee, at the close of hostilities.

The simultaneous action of those states which meant to secede was advised by a meeting of their Senators, which, although private, was not secret, being discussed generally in and out of the lobbies of Congress. Of this meeting Senator Yulee wrote to a correspondent that "it is thought by remaining here until 4th March we can keep the hands of Mr. Buchanan tied" as to force bills, etc. (They would also put the Republican Senators on the horns of a dilemma as to the right of a State to secede.) But he neither approved of such action nor conformed to it, for after the Telegraph announced Florida's secession (10 January, '61), he took no part in the Senate's proceedings, formally withdrawing from that body, as soon as he received official notification from the convention. (21st January.)

"Although in his haste" he had angrily written that he should "give the enemy a shot before retiring," when the time actually came, his speech was only one of deep sorrow that his state must withdraw, being "not willing to disturb the peace of her associates by an inflamed and protracted struggle within the Union." "The people of Florida," said he, "will ever preserve a grateful memory of past connection with this Government and a just pride in the continued development of American society. They will also remember that, although, to their regret, a

majority of the people of the State, in the Northern portion of the Union, have seen their duty lie in a path fatal to Southern Society, they have had the sympathies of a large array of noble spirits, in those states, whose sense of justice and whose brave efforts to uphold the right have not been less appreciated because unsuccessful. Acknowledging, Mr. President, with grateful emotions my obligations for the many courtesies I have enjoyed in my intercourse with the gentlemen of this body, and with most cordial good wishes for their personal welfare, I retire from their midst, in willing loyalty to the mandate of my state, with full approval of her act."

Of this scene Mrs. Clay, an eye witness, writes in her Memoirs: "As one by one Senators Yulee, Mallory, Clay, and Jefferson Davis rose, the emotion of their brother senators and of us in, the galleries increased, women grew hysterical and waved their handkerchiefs ** men wept and embraced each other mournfully, *** scarcely a member of that Senatorial body but was pale with the terrible significance of the hour."

(To be continued.)

FLORIDA'S "STATE LIBRARY."

The words are quoted, because, although in frequent use, they constitute a gross misnomer, the so-called "State Library" of Florida having always consisted of a great mass of printed books, pamphlets, maps, documents, etc., mixed and jumbled together in inextricable confusion, on shelves, on the floors, filed in dark corners and under stairways, in the damp basement of the State Capitol - a shame and a disgrace to the intelligence and public spirit of a civilized and long-suffering people.

That the earliest legislators of the State realized the vital necessity of carefully preserving, for the use of their posterity, the public records and historical treasures which, even in their day, had begun to accumulate, is abundantly manifested in the initial legislation of the infant state. As early as July 13, 1845, only a short time after the admission of the State and probably at the first legislative session, a statute was enacted providing that "it shall be the duty of the Secretary of State to cause all the books and maps belonging to the State to be collected together and disposed of as follows: One copy of each book or map to be placed in a room on the same story with the legislative rooms, in suitable cases, and properly arranged, and labeled and numbered, which collection shall be called The Legislative Library, and shall be for the use of the members of the General Assembly during the sessions thereof; and when there are two copies of any one book or map, one copy thereof shall be placed in the office of the Secretary of State, and arranged, labeled and numbered, as aforesaid, and which shall be called Executive Library." This law is yet in force, has never been repealed, and is a part of the present Revised Statutes of the State.

Ten years later, in 1855, another act was passed, also now in force, providing that the two libraries above created, shall be "under the care, management and superintendence of the Secretary of State, who is hereby declared ex-officio Librarian of the State of Florida ;" and the same statute commanded that "the said Librarian shall make a correct and full Catalogue of the books in the several offices under his charge," and authorized him to exchange duplicates for other books, etc., "with a view to the improvement and increase of the libraries aforesaid.."

Just what steps were taken in the olden time to comply with these requirements it might be difficult, and certainly would be immaterial, to ascertain. During the protracted administration of the late lamented Secretary of State, Dr. Jno. L. Crawford, a space in the upper corridor of the Capitol was partitioned off and furnished with shelving, and a large number of the (apparently) most valuable of the books, maps, etc., was deposited there; and many such occupied shelves are in the office of the Secretary, but so far as is known no Catalogue was ever prepared.

When the Capitol was remodeled and enlarged in 1902, the commissioners enjoyed a most favorable opportunity to provide suitable quarters for the "State Library," but they failed to do so, and the exigencies of the public business now demand the use of every room in the remodeled building, and complaint is heard that not enough room exists for the proper conduct of the State's business. No proper provision having been made for library accommodations, Secretary of State H. Clay Crawford caused shelving to be placed on either side of the basement halls, and in some of the basement rooms, and there quite a large number of books were placed, without arrangement or Catalogue, and subject to rapid deterioration by reason of dampness and dust accumulations, as well as by the ravages of moths and other insects, and of mice and rats. In their present location and condition they are of no practical use for any purpose, and indeed, without laborious investigation, no one desiring to ascertain what the collection really contains can do so. There is every reason to believe that among the conglomerate mass of printed matter might be found items of inestimable historical value.

The cause of the conditions which have thus been very inadequately described appears to have been a rather extraordinary and utterly reprehensible niggardliness on the part of Florida legislatures. The law authorizes the Secretary of State to appoint an assistant, but expressly forbids the payment of such assistant from the State Treasury and declares that he "shall look to the Secretary of State alone for his compensation" (Act of Dec. 17, 1861). The entire time of the Secretary is occupied in the performance of the routine duties of his position, and the services of two clerks and a stenographer are required to enable him to conduct the business of his

office. He has no time to devote to the arrangement, listing and preservation of the contents of the "State Library" and no provision whatever has ever been made by any legislature for the cost of employing a suitable and competent person to perform this duty. The compensation of the Secretary of State, although it was increased in 1897 from \$1,500 to \$2,000 per annum, is yet no more than enough to pay for the numerous, onerous, and constantly increasing duties imposed upon him, by law, and it would be, and would always have been, a gross hardship upon him to expect him to pay out of his private means the necessary cost of carrying out the provisions of law above quoted - to overhaul the entire mass of material, to re-arrange it in the cramped and inadequate space provided for it, to make complete and properly classified catalogues and to take such steps as might be found necessary for its proper care and due preservation.

The failure, for a period of more than sixty years, of Florida legislatures to make provision for the performance of the work above indicated appears the more inexplicable when the fact is considered that even now, with the mass of material increased by the accumulations of that long period, the actual expenditure necessary to accomplish the results contemplated in the law would not exceed the sum of \$3,000 per annum, and it might be done for less.

An Indian Battlefield Near Melrose.

By H. von Noszky.

Although it is well known that the neighborhood of Melrose is rich in Indian mounds and a fine hunting ground for flint arrowheads, pottery; and the like, few are aware that within a few miles of Melrose was fought one of the most important battles on Florida soil. This struggle took place between DeSoto's forces and the Indians under Vitachuco, some time in 1539. Garcilasso de la Vega, in his "History of the Conquest of Florida" (edited in English by Barnard Shipp in his "DeSoto and Florida") says that DeSoto landed at Ucita (the big mound on the government reservation at Tampa), June 1, 1539, that after a month he went on to Uri-baracua (near Dade City), thence northwest on the Withlacoochee River, crossed into the province of Acuera, thence twenty leagues (50 miles to Ocala, on the Ocklawaha River, thence to Vitachuco; near Melrose, the capital or chief town of Vitachuco, the chieftain. This town is described as being located on a plain with one or more large mounds for the huts of the chiefs in the centre.

Vitachuco had invited DeSoto to remain in his town for several days during which he planned to destroy the Spaniards. This plan became known to Jean Ortis, who had been among the Indians at Tampa as a slave for ten years, having been captured by Harriga from the ship sent to search for Narvaez. Ortis could understand their language and he informed DeSoto. So when Vitachuco invited DeSoto out to see his army whose arms had been concealed, DeSoto took his army along, and also took as a personal escort twelve of his strongest men to offset the twelve strong Indians Vitachuco had taken with him to seize DeSoto.

Of the battleground the narrative says that it took place on a plain, or level place, that it was bordered on the left by wood and on the right by marshes or ponds, one of which had a good sandy bottom and water so deep that at four paces from the edge it was over a man's head. The other lake, or marsh, was three-quarters of a league wide and they did not see the other end of it. The Indians formed a crescent in the centre

of this plain, and when the Spaniards came against them their cavalry went between the Indians and the woods on the left, and the foot soldiers with DeSoto at their head marched between the Indians and this pond, or marsh.

When on the plain DeSoto had a musket fired as a signal and they charged the Indians with great fury. The narrator states that the battle lasted three hours and that when the Indians tried to flee thousands were killed. Nine hundred of them jumped into the deep pond and would not surrender until the next day, or until they had become completely exhausted from swimming.

After they had remained several days at Vitachuco, DeSoto left and marched four leagues to a river, and so the narrator proceeds to relate the further adventures of the explorer. After reading the above history I began to inquire as to the possible situation of the town of Vitachuco, and with the kind assistance of Dr. Frank McRae I was able to locate it perfectly. The crescent shaped lake - Two-Mile Pond ; the marsh-now called Whahoo Hammock ; the small river - Etonia Creek ; even the large Indian mound was found; and the given distances are fairly correct. The tribe of Indians located around Lake Santa Fe and Newnan's Lake must have been wonderful workmen to judge from the fine arrow-heads and other flint instruments found, some of which are real works of art. Thanks are also due to W. L. Andrews, Opelika, Alabama, for information and data.

An Appeal for Legislative Aid.

Below is, a copy of a bill which has been presented to the Legislature, requesting the State to make such provision as it may in its judgment see fit for the financial assistance of the Florida Historical Society. The bill is a literal copy of the one, offered at the last session of the Legislature, which passed the Senate but was left on the calendar of the House. The Society was organized to awaken interest in the preservation of historical data of the state in the absence of any official bureau or department and its active officers are doing all that busy men with numerous personal and family duties can perform to carry out the purposes of the organization.

It numbers among its deceased members, such men as George R. Fairbanks, Francis P. Fleming and Geo. W. Wilson, each of whom gave liberally of his strength and means to the Society so long as he lived.

Of course, growth under such circumstances is slow and much more can be accomplished with a little financial assistance from the state. There is no politics in this bill and there will be no lobby to urge its passage but the Society confidently appeals to the broad and liberal representatives for assistance in the passage of the bill in order that the work may go on with renewed vigor and success.

A BILL TO BE ENTITLED.

AN ACT in aid and furtherance of the objects of the Florida Historical Society.

WHEREAS, The Florida Historical Society, a corporation not for profit, has been organized, having for its object "the collection, arrangement and preservation of all material pertaining to the history of, or in any manner illustrative of Florida, including books, pamphlets, documents, archives, manuscripts, newspapers, diaries, notes; letters; speeches, maps, plats, surveys, portraits, photographs or other likeness of men and women promi-

nent in Florida history, pictorial illustrations of Florida scenery, buildings., establishments, institutions, monuments, relics and products. Also relics of every kind whether historical or prehistorical, fossils, geological specimens, and everything in any manner illustrative of Florida.

"To prepare, edit and publish articles, sketches, biographies, pamphlets, books and documents, descriptive or illustrative of Florida."

AND WHEREAS, the said Florida Historical Society has the use of a commodious room in the fire proof Public Library Building in the City of Jacksonville as a place. of receptacle for the preservation and safe keeping of all histories, literature, records, data, material, archives, relics and all things which may be collected by or Come into the custody or control of the said Society in accordance with its objects.

AND WHEREAS, the objects of the Florida Historical Society and the work in which it is engaged is of great public utility and interest to the people of the state of Florida :

Therefore, be it enacted by the Legislature of the State of Florida:

Section 1.- That the Florida Historical Society, through its officers, is hereby authorized to investigate and examine the archives, papers, accounts and books of the State of Florida at the Capitol, under the supervision of the respective custodians thereof, for the purpose of the procurement of such data and other material connected with, or illustrative of the history of Florida, and to make copies and to take the custody of any paper, document or publication connected therewith, provided this shall not include the original of any official file, paper, document or publication of any department or public office of the State. And provided further that no original of any kind shall be taken without the consent of the Board of State Institutions.

Section 2.- That the sum of Twelve Hundred (\$1,200.00) Dollars per annum be hereby appropriated on account of the expenses and support of the Florida Historical Society, to be paid quarterly to the Treasurer of the Florida Historical Society.

Section 3.- This act shall be in force as soon as it becomes a law by approval of the Governor or otherwise.

Editorial Notes.

Arrangements have been made by which the room occupied by the Florida Historical Society at the Jacksonville Free Public Library will again be open to the public. The room was formerly open on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays, from 9 to 1, but through lack of means to employ a custodian the room was temporarily closed some months ago.

Friends of the late Governor Fleming, realizing what a deep interest he took in the society from its organization, have enlisted the gratuitous help of six prominent young ladies of this city, who have been generous enough to donate their services one morning every two weeks in acting as custodian of the property and keeping the room open to the public on Mondays, Wednesdays and Fridays from 9 to 1. These young ladies are Miss Elizabeth Fleming, Miss Irene Bacon, Miss Emma Maxwell, Miss Gertrude L'Engle, Miss Fannie Holt and Mrs. William Barnes. We are sure there are other young ladies who would gladly volunteer their services as custodian for one morning each week, in which case it might be practicable to open the room every morning of the week instead of only on three mornings.

An attractive show-case has been purchased by the society, partly with funds furnished by interested members, for the display of the rare and interesting curios now deposited in the room occupied by the society. This case will stand in the vestibule on the second floor of the public library building; where it will be accessible to the general public.

The collection of curios includes relics of the Florida Indians, territorial bonds of Florida, Confederate notes and bonds, relics of early Spanish occupation, rare photographs and other miscellaneous items. The society would be glad to increase this collection very materially, either by gift or by loan, and you are earnestly asked to assist the Executive Committee in this matter. Such articles will be much safer deposited with the Florida Historical Society in the fire-proof building of the Public Library than they are in private residences.

Correspondence of early Florida throwing light on any phase of the state's history is particularly desirable, and there surely must be a great mass of valuable and neglected letters and documents hidden away in private ownership that would become extremely valuable to the future historian. Can you not help the Historical Society to bring to light some of this material?

We publish in this number a biographical sketch of Senator David L. Yulee by his son C. Wickliffe Yulee which, for the first time, so far as we are aware, deals comprehensively with the romantic life of this distinguished representative of Florida. The sketch was the result of a request to the author by the Executive Committee for an article on this subject, and the loving care, thoroughness and biographical ability of the son presents a finished sketch of the father, which enriches the historical data of the Society and of the State. Mr. Yulee has also sent the Society certain valuable papers concerning early Territorial history of which we will give more particulars in a later number. His interest and co-operation is greatly appreciated by the Society.

So much which relates to the past history of the state is hidden away in pigeon holes, and so much has never been written, and can be obtained only from those who have either received the tradition from their ancestors or have witnessed the events in their early days, that the Executive Committee is endeavoring to collect this data, by the appointment of Secretaries in every County. We are glad to report Judge E. C. Maxwell has become the corresponding secretary for Escambia and the Hon. John G. Detwilder for Volusia. We shall be glad to receive any authentic information from any source. Our object is to collect unpublished historical data and to preserve it for all time, by publishing it in our quarterly.

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