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CONTENTS

Letters of Samuel Forry, Surgeon U. S. Army, 1837-
1838. Part I

History of the Introduction and Culture of Cuba To-
bacco in Florida

CHIEF-JUSTICE C. H. DUPONT

Contemporaneous Pen-pictures of Richard Keith Call
and Thomas Brown (1841)

The Legal Status of the Negro in Florida

THELMA BATES

Jesuit Martyrs in Florida

SAMUEL H. RAY, S. J.

Book Review

Florida Plantation Records, By Ulrich B. Phillips

JAMES OWEN KNAUSS

Notes and Comment

The Anglican Church in Florida

Milly Francis

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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

Saint Augustine, April, 1857

LETTERS OF SAMUEL FORRY, SURGEON U. S.
ARMY, 1837-1838

P a r t I

[These letters, written during Dr. Forry's service in Florida, and relating to the Seminole War, are in the possession of John Wolcott Phelps, of Northfield, Massachusetts, a son of Gen. J. W. Phelps to whom they were written.]

Samuel Forry, born June 23, 1811, at Berlin, Pennsylvania, received his degree in medicine at the University of Pennsylvania and was appointed assistant surgeon, U. S. Army, in 1836, serving until 1840. He wrote: The Climate of the United States and its Endemic Influences, New York, 1842; Meteorology. . . . New York, 1843; Statistical Report of the Sickness and Mortality in the Army of the United States 1819-1839, Washington, 1840; etc. He died November 8, 1844.]

(Written to Lieut. John W. Phelps, 4th Artillery, Black Creek.)

Fort King, July 3d, 1837.

Dear Phelps,

Your epistle of the 29th ult. came duly to hand.

I have read Gov. Cass' appeal to the people of the United States. He uses up Gen. Clinch *in toto*. He not only proves that he gave Clinch all the forces he required, but more than were demanded. Capt. Galt is obliged to confess that in its composition it is classical, and that its arguments are very plausible; but he insists that all his extracts are garbled, and that Clinch will yet triumph. With the people of the Union, who view Cass without any of that just detestation, exhibited in the Army, his vindication will be regarded conclusive and triumphant.

You have had the honour, I presume, of looking upon our valiant chieftain [Gen. Jesup]. During his stay at this post, the Gen. condescended to converse with his humble servant-myself, Under Capt. Galt's deserted bower he was so kind as to enlighten my obfuscated intellect upon various topics connected with the *iste chates*.

There are two causes to which he attributes the bad faith of the Seminoles, both arising from the conduct of unprincipled white men. A company, ramifying into Georgia, was formed to speculate in the negro property of the Indians. Individuals came into the Territory, (Cooly was one of these) with their pockets full of powers of attorney. The negroes became aware of this, grew alarmed, and fled from Gen. Jesup's camp.

The other cause was the bad faith of the Creeks, as shown in the escape of Miconope. The conduct of our Creek allies, however, is excusable. Having come to Florida to fight the battles of the white man, their natural enemy, kind treatment towards the women and children, left in Alabama, was at least to have been expected. On the contrary, they became the prey of those infernal vampyres that congregate on our frontier, who, in violation of all that is honourable in man and all that is sacred in female character, have taken advantage of their unprotected condition. A young squaw, flying from one of these demoniac ravishers, was shot down dead. These facts having reached the ears of our Creeks, can we be surprised at their want of good faith? Were their women and children not in our power, the consequences might be more serious. Although the flame is suppressed, the fires of Aetna rage concealed.

He said that Tom Carr proved treacherous. I then remarked that Paddy Carr at least was faithful. "No," said the Gen., "*he is false!*"

Another cause operated in inducing the Seminoles to leave the immigrating camp. It grew sickly ; a few cases of measles appeared, and as the Indians draw no distinction between this disease and small pox, many fled terrified. Indians hostile to immigration were also constantly engaged in giving currency to rumors

that as soon as the tribes were securely in Gen. Jesup's power at sea, they would all become food for fishes.

The issue of matters soon became apparent; but Gen. J. resolved that he would not be the first to violate the treaty, although he might secure Miconope with a few of his people. Tom Carr and several other Creeks were placed as spies over the emigrating camp, with orders to report to the General as soon as the Seminoles should take to flight. Several mounted companies were lying ready for the pursuit. The Creeks, however, winked at the matter; for they allowed the oily ex-Governor 15 hours start. Judgment had already been pronounced; had they been caught, every soul of them would have been suspended upon the *loftiest* pines! On the night of their departure, the General did not retire to rest, as he was in hourly expectation of learning the event.

"The Indians," says the General, "are a persecuted race, and we are engaged in an unholy cause." He never sought the glory of driving a people from their native soil—he made application to be relieved from this unpleasant duty, but it was denied until the Indians should be removed from the Territory.

So anxious are the Indians to remain here, that they proposed to Gen. Jesup to form another treaty, in which he might prescribe their boundaries. "Put us even down upon the capes, below Charlotte's Harbour," said they. Jumper said that they were born here under the genial rays of the sun, and that removal to a colder country would kill them. He had visited the new country, and saw that it had nothing but green oaks. Here if we get wet, we can kindle a fire with pine sticks, and dry ourselves; there we would get sick. If the crop fails here, we can plant another the same year—the ground is full of Koontee root—the wood alive with game—the lakes and ponds so

abound with fish that our little boys can shoot them with bow and arrow.

Arrangements are on foot for a new campaign on a magnificent scale. Capt. Crossman has been despatched to Missouri with authority to tender to some celebrated Indian agent, (I forget his name,) the rank of a Brigadier on condition that he bring to Florida 10 or 15 hundred Shawnees and Delawares. The noble Tecumseh, you know, was of the tribe of the Shawnees ; and the Delawares possessed Pennsylvania on the arrival of William Penn ; their dominions extended from the Hudson to the Potomac. What a singular spectacle will then be presented. The remnants of the Atlantic tribes, beaten back year after year by the march of civilization, shall again be brought to the Atlantic coast to drive westward the last of their own noble but infatuated race. A 1000 Cherokees have already volunteered their services. If such an Indian body and a considerable regular and militia force are brought into the field, it is hoped that the Seminoles will be awed into submission without further bloodshed.

Paddy Carr arrived at this post this morning escorting a wagon train. I have yet had no opportunity to cultivate his acquaintance. Capt. Boyd lies sick at Santa Fee.

Yours truly,

Samuel Forry.

Lieut. Phelps, 4th Artillery

July 4th.

By Jove, we are going to have a little sub-treaty. One of Paddy Carr's men, this morning, met two hostiles who said that about a dozen of them had been hovering about the fort for some days. Their object was to ascertain whether we had any Indians with us, who could *lingoter* for them, as they wished to sell us water-melons, a patch of which they have about

one day's journey from here. When they last saw the General, they said they had a straight talk, and they hoped that now all was peace. They agreed to meet Paddy Carr tomorrow morning at the same spot.

* *

(Written to Lieut. J. W. Phelps, 4th Artillery, Black Creek.)

Tohopka Micho, July 7th, 1837.

Dear Phelps,

To keep you apprized of current events, I will just say that the soi-disant hostiles have been in every day since the date of my last. Our traffic consists in venison and watermelons. The friendlies supply us in peaches.

Believe me yours truly,
Forry.

P. S. Yesterday there were five Indians here, and today two men and one lady. They are *bona fide* Seminoles, of old King Payne's tribe. Cudjo says that he knew them *before* they were born.

I spend much of my time in the Indian camps. Yesterday a Creek with a high fever became delirious. He jumped up and seized his gun, cried out to Paddy Carr that 5000 were coming down upon them, "but," said he, "let us not run; let us meet them like warriors."

General Jesup has just written our Commandant to treat the hostiles kindly.

* * *

(Written to Lieut. J. W. Phelps, 4th Artillery, Black Creek.)

Fort King, August 1st, 1837

D e a r S i r ,

I have read Gen. Clinch's reply to Gov. Cass. I now perceive the honour and frankness of a soldier contrasted with the subtle arts of the diplomatist. I have changed my ground, in toto. Cass, in making his ag-

gregate of the troops ordered to Florida, estimates the companies as full, whereas it is well known that they were mere skeletons ; the three nominal companies, for example, that arrived with tardy pace at Fort Brooke, did not number more than *100 efficient* men. Again: Clinch, by a certain order, is invested with the command of all the troops of Florida ; and yet Cass, in estimating the additional companies ordered on, takes into the account the forces of Dade at Key West. Etc. There are some men, indeed, gifted with the faculty of weaving an argumentative tissue, which, like frost-work upon the casement, presents shapes so symmetrical and *beautiful* as to command our admiration, and which, not unlike it, vanishes with the first breath of reason, nor leaves a trace behind.

On the evening of the 25th July, I received a request to visit Miconopy to consult in a case of gunshot wound. Accompanied by a negro boy as a guide, I set out about 10 o'clock in the evening, and arrived there about 4 o'clock in the morning. Just as I reached the grand hammocks, the moon arose above the horizon. Oh! but it was a wild and picturesque moonlight excursion! Just imagine me, attended by my sable page, viewing, by the beams of Diana, at midnight, the ruins of McIntosh's plantation amid the majesty of nature's works! Now casting my eye along the surface of Lake Orange, and now emerging from the gloomy thickets into the pretty prairie near Fort Defiance. Waving beneath the lunar beams, this prairie was to me a perfect *deceptio oculi*. Until I entered it, it was impossible to divest my mind of the idea that *it was the heaving ocean*.

But I must tell you something about our patient. Being convalescent from a severe attack of fever, he was lying on his bed asleep, when he received the wound by the accidental discharge of a musket. At the

moment, both of his hands embraced one of his knees, which accounts for the singularity of the wound. The thumb and middle finger of the right hand were carried off, the limb just above the knee was completely traversed, as well as the wrist of the left arm. The charge consisted of the usual cartridge, an ounce-ball and 3 buck-shot. The ball was found in his sleeve. As Dr. Maffit desired me to operate, I amputated the finger and thumb at the metacarpal joint, and then the thigh. It was determined to amputate the thigh, because the femoral artery was ruptured and the extremity was cold, and more especially as the constitution of the patient, debilitated by the diseases of a Southern climate, would inevitably sink under the efforts made by nature to repair the injuries. The hope that was held out to him proved fallacious. About three hours after the operation, the poor soldier groaned and suddenly expired. This result, however, confirms the propriety of the amputation: as his system did not rally from the shock of the operation, much less could it have sustained itself under the demands made by nature for the reparation of these lesions.

Had I not made the respectability of our Seminoles a party question, I should now pronounce them a set of rascals. No chiefs have yet appeared ; the hunters tell us daily that the Chiefs are so scattered that it is not easy to find them.

It is probable that a Seminole deputation will visit Washington.

Yours truly,

Phelps

Forry

(Written to Lieut. J. W. Phelps, U. S. Army, Black Creek)

Fort King, Florida, August 3d, 1837.

My Dear Friend,

Today John Hicks of the Miccasukees made his appearance in our camp. He said that he expected to find here the other chiefs, but supposed that their delay was owing to the circumstance of Holatuchoe's residence being below Charlotte's harbour, and that part of his family was very sick. Hicks is one of the party captured by Capt. Bell last February. He states that, having heard of the treaty, he had collected his people on the Suwannee, and that he was on the main trail leading to Tampa when he encountered Capt. Bell. Suspecting no danger, they allowed themselves to be captured. He, however, escaped.

Powell, he says, has taken possession of Fort Mellon, and that Coe-hadjo is fishing on the lake. Much suffering is now endured by the Indians on account of sickness and want of provisions.

We are now daily visited by small parties of Miccasukees. There is one encampment at the Old Agency ; another about two miles East; and third on the Ocklawaha.

Yours etc.,

Lieut. J. W. Phelps

Samuel Forry

August 4th. P.S. The above was written yesterday morning in the disappointed hope of transmitting it by the extra-express. Nothing has since transpired worthy of mention. We live in an atmosphere of Miccasukees. John Hicks has an encampment among the ruins of Rodger's sutter-houses. Hicks yesterday deposited \$30 with Paddy Carr, which, by the way, is one of the strongest manifestations of a pacific disposition. Paddy has gone out several miles to bring in a sick Seminole, one of his *hostile friends*.

The Major is on the alert incessantly, night and day. Our position is, indeed, so singular that an attack would not, at any moment, come unexpectedly.

F.

P.S. No. 2 Hicks is a very fine looking Indian. He says that, had his father lived, this war would never have occurred.

F.

* * *

(Written to Lieut. J. W. Phelps, 4th Artillery, Black Creek, probably from Fort King.)

Sunday, August 6th [1837]

Dear Phelps,

Your letter reached here this morning. You tell me all things, save one. Where is Gen. Jesup? or when does he propose visiting us?

This morning we had a long pow-wow. In addition to John Hicks, there have come two stalwart fellows, under the character of aids-de-camp, the one to Powell and the other to Coe-hadjo. Vague rumors, they say, had reached them of Indian depredations made upon cattle, and that they have been authorized to seize these unruly fellows who disregard the orders of their chiefs. In the next place, they put themselves in the position of the injured party, on account of the three Indians carried to St. Augustine. It had disorganized all our mutual arrangements,-they had great difficulty in restraining the relatives from sallying forth to take avengement,-it had caused much distrust on the part of the Indians, etc., etc. In fact, they argued their question well, and proved *satisfactorily* that we are a treacherous people, and devoid of that honourable feeling which should characterize international intercourse.

Powell's aid intends to accompany Major Childs to Miconoy on Tuesday, with a view to arrange all

difficulties. The Major has permission to go to Old Point.

Ross crossed the Ocklawaha yesterday. He represents it as a very formidable "fortitude." Our hostile friends encompass us closer every day. Perhaps we are slumbering on the crust of a volcano.

The head of the War Department has granted Gen. Jesup the following Indian force: four hundred Shawnees, 200 Delawares, 200 Choctaws, 100 Kickapoos, and 100 Sacs and Foxes. We shall then have war to the knife, Every warrior shall be killed, and all the women and children become slaves to the captor! How magnanimous is a civilized and enlightened Republic of the 19th century! In the Catalogue of earth's nations, the name of Seminole shall be erased! They have been weighed in the balance, and found wanting! The edict has gone forth!

The Seminole, however, is not to be frightened by such a raw-head-and-bloody-bone story. He knows full well that when Indians operate with U. States forces, their savage customs, be they what they may, are held in check. In the conference today, not a word was said about immigration.

Your wiseacres are determined to make you a historiographer ; well, so mote it be! Write it in a book! "Ay, that will he," say they. It must be written in a book! "Oh" exclaims one, "it ought to be written in a book! it will be a glorious book! write it, Lieutenant, I beseech you!" "He will write it," says the Bhow Begum ; and after her nasal protuberance was titillated in its schneiderian membrane by means of a pinch of snuff, she added,—"and he will dedicate the book to me!" Your noddies, it appears, "look as knowing as divinities." Pooh! my man Mills looked as wise as an owl, when he droned out- "I guess we will *have some more Injin books soon!*"

I am not disposed to boast about our storms. But

by the lungs of old Aeolus, I wish we had a tornado-meter. Our winds think no more of twisting off a score of mighty pines, than Baron Von Tufts does of cracking off the stem of a single tobacco pipe.

Well, it appears there is some prospect of your retrograding to Fort King. As a requisition has been made for more troops to defend us against the *friendly hostiles*, it is thought that you will be ordered.

The Indians, sir, do know how to melt silver. A Seminole in Paddy's Camp, reduced three dollars to a fluid state, and manufactured a very neat head-band. He used an earthen crucible, and blew the fire incessantly.

Tuesday the 8th-

Lieut. Warner arrived here yesterday from Miconopy with the dried skeleton of a company, by way of reinforcement.

I have a Seminole and his wife in the Hospital. Paddy brought him from a neighboring camp, suffering excessively from diarrhea and *shingles*. Ask the Doctor the meaning of the latter term. Aye, the poor son of nature's wild, felt-

"The icy worm around him steal
Without the power to scare away
The cold consumers of his day."

Is it quoted right? If so, it is not applicable ; for, the red-skinned warrior is getting well.

Well, by Jove, the Major is gone, accompanied by Major Carr, Powell's aid, and the Paymaster. Don't you think the command of this post belongs to Major Carr in preference to Capt. Galt?

Three Creeks committed suicide at Tampa, the cause assigned is *nostalgia*.

Yours of the 6th has just come to hand. Well, to proceed in order :- 1st. Damn your criticism. 2d. In

regard to the dead soldier, I would advise you to re-peruse my letter. I did not, I think, say that his dying "Proved" the propriety of the operation. Acting upon the opinion that the man would die without an amputation, we stated to him our conviction that the removal of the limb afforded *a chance of saving his life* ; and thus his death confirmed the propriety of our views for the reason stated in the former letter. Had we believed death inevitable in either condition, we should at once have turned him over to the sexton. 3d. In regard to extra-expresses, I can only say that they were *confidential*. In regard to occurrences here, you have had them all. I wrote by last mail.

Ling's resignation has been accepted.

Yours,
Forry

Six Miccasukees, who have been in before, have just arrived as *avant-courier*. They state that the delegation expected was broken up by reason of a failure in meeting at the appointed time, but that another delegation is now on the way. It consists of Coa-hadjo, Yoha-hadjo (not the one killed by Shelton) and Ho-anees Tustenuggee. Should high waters not delay their progress, they will be here tomorrow.

F.

* * *

(Written to Lieut. J. W. Phelps, U. S. Army, Black Creek.)

Fort King, August 15th, 1837.

Dear Lieutenant,

The Baron is under arrest. It were a long story to tell: suffice it to say that Paddy Carr being at Miconope, and Tufts being about to issue to the Indians some blankets, the Capt. requested him to delay it until the return of Paddy. The Baron, however, issued until ordered to stop, when in a fit of vexation,

he put them into a waggon and sent them on the way to Miconope. Learning this, the Capt. came to Tuft's tent, when the following conversation ensued:- "Is there a waggon gone?" "Yes, to Miconopy." "What is in it?" "The remainder of the blankets." "Anything else?" "No." "Order out a saddled horse." "I can't without a written order." As the Capt. was walking towards the stables, Tufts cried out-"Phagan, saddle a horse and bring him out, but he cannot go without a written order." As the Capt. was returning, Tufts again cried out-"Phagan, if you saddle a horse without my order, I will discharge you." Just at this moment the Capt. and Tufts met, when the former said-"Go to your tent, sir, and consider yourself arrested."

A general gloom hangs over the Indian Camp. Moss, second in command, is dead. I never believed Indians susceptible of so much sympathy. A relative fanned him without intermission for seven days and nights in succession. When he died, Paddy, Abraham, and others yelled and blubbered like women.

In my last, which I presume you had not received when you wrote, I spoke of Powell's aid. After his departure, our Commandant asked Cudjo whether he knew him, "I know him! Yes, and he know me too! He use for steal my pigs afore de war!"

At Clinch's treaty at this post, Miconope sent word that he could not come and sign the treaty-that he had the belly-ache.

Some of our Miccasukees have several times visited the Everglades. They say it is six days' journey from Lake Tohopkolika. Cocoa-nuts, full of milk, grow there in abundance.

You have, I presume, received my last in which I spoke of our auxiliary Indian force from the Northwest. Under the impression that you may not be aware of the force soon expected, I will merely add that Gen. Jesup writes to our Capt. that he will soon

be in command of 4100 Regulars, and that two mounted regiments are ready for the field. A Brigade of mounted Kentucky boys has tendered its services, and also several spy companies.

Coa-hadjo and Tuskeneho are now at this post. Coa-hadjo, you know, was one of the western delegation. He belonged to the emigrating party ; but after the murder of Charley Emathla, he was told that if ever he should mention the word "Arkansaw" they would cut his throat. He is a Chehaw of John Ho-Pawnee's tribe. - Yoha-hadjo, another of the present delegation, has not yet arrived. (It is not the Yoha-hadjo killed by Gen. Shelton.) Coa-hadjo says that after much delay at Fort Mellon, he resolved to go to Tampa, thinking that the other Indians would the sooner follow. He received rations from Col. Harney ; but he had got no farther than Lake Tohopkohko when Sam Jones came on in the rear like a roaring lion. Sam asked Coa how he dared to leave before he himself was ready. "Remember Charley Emathla," said he. "Back, this moment, or I will cut your throat." As Abiaka had a strong force with him, Coa-hadjo was obliged to comply.

Coa-hadjo says that the only obstacle in the way of emigration is the obstinacy of Sam Jones, and that he has now become so sulky that he cannot be induced to express any opinion ; that that part of the Miccasukee tribe that originally constituted the Tallahasseees, has gone over to Miconope, and that even Powell has joined the standard of the old Governor, although he still remains with the Miccasukees to the end of controlling their movements. So says Coa-hadjo.

There are now at least 200 friendly hostiles in our immediate vicinity.

Another member of the delegation has arrived-Yo-ho-la-chu-hun-ne, one of Abiaka's subs. John Hick's and Powell's aid are also in Paddy's camp. I

have had Hicks under medical treatment several days. They say that all the Chiefs, save Sam Jones, promised to be at Tampa in October for immigration.

As the Chiefs will remain here until an answer comes from Gen. Jesup, Coa-hadjo will go to his old town to hunt and fish. He asked for a little corn to make *sofska*, but the Capt. said he was not authorized to grant his request. "Ah!" said he, "you may hear one of these days that Coa-hadjo attempted to live on water, and that he perished." I thought our treatment very inhospitable. The Indians are excessively anxious to have a sutter store. The clouds of war, they say, are now dispersed, and the sun of peace shines over all; and that we ought to live in friendship for the few days they are destined to sojourn in the land of their fathers.

Mast sublimely yours, with ennobled sentiments of
thrice exalted friendship. Forry.

Lieut. J. W. Phelps.

Don't be surprised to hear of a fight.

* * *

(Written to Lieut. J. W. Phelps, Black Creek.)

Fort King, August 20th, 1837.

Dear Sir:

I have just had the pleasure of receiving from you two letters and a pamphlet; so God bless you. I have now merely time to say a word.

I wrote a letter to you the same day that the Capt. wrote the one which brought here Gen. Jesup. I broke open the letter to add a postscript about midnight, but the Capt. said that no letters could go with a special express. Seeing which way the hint was directed, I spoke out, which led to a desire on his part that matters of that kind should be kept private as much as possible. I tore it off immediately, sealed it up, and

then could not resist the temptation of scratching in a word about a fight. No express, however, arrived from Tampa until yesterday.-The cause of the excitement was this:- After the talk, feast, smoke, and ball play, every Indian disappeared, as if a magic. Women and children who had been here a fortnight were all gone. Even my sick Indian and his wife were sucus cha. We, of course, expected an attack - a letter was despatched to the Gen. and every soldier lay outside of his quarters upon his arms-and at daylight or soon after, their sleepless eyes discovered several Seminoles advancing, weighed down with venison.

Yours in haste,

Samuel Forry.

Tufts is re-instated, and Ross has assumed the command on account of the illness of the Capt. I have no time to say anything about the treaty, it is all nothing.

F.

(This series of letters will be continued in the following issues of the QUARTERLY.)

HISTORY OF THE INTRODUCTION AND CULTURE OF CUBA TOBACCO IN FLORIDA

[An address delivered before the Florida Fruit Growers Association, at Jacksonville, January 20, 1875, by Ex-Chief Justice Charles H. DuPont of the Supreme Court of Florida, and taken from the Proceedings of that meeting.]

It is now believed that in the history of a people a record of the lives of the people themselves is of greater import than that of those in authority. The facts regarding early tobacco growing in Florida are now generally unknown, but of greater importance is the record of Judge Dupont's observations extending over a period of forty years on "the influence of tobacco culture upon the moral and intellectual status of the population" of Gadsden County.]

The seed of the Cuba tobacco was introduced into the State about the year 1828 by Governor William P. Duval, one of the early civil governors of the then territory. The product of this seed was a short, narrow leaf, possessing in an extraordinary degree the delightful aroma of the best Havana cigar. It for a long time bore the name of its distinguished introducer, and was currently known as the "Little Duval", to distinguish it from a larger variety, afterwards introduced, and known as the "Florida Wrapper".

The first reliable experiment that was made with the Cuba tobacco as a market crop, was inaugurated about the year 1830 by Mr. John Smith, a citizen of Gadsden county, who had recently immigrated from the State of Virginia, and was well acquainted with the culture of the Virginia chewing tobacco. His first experiment was with the, "Little Duval," but the demand for the "Wrapper" leaf becoming urgent, and the product per acre being much larger, he abandoned the former and confined his attention exclusively to the latter. His extraordinary success attracted the attention of the non-slaveholders and other small planters, and with them it soon became a staple market crop, and with the large cotton planters an extra

crop, which without curtailing the amount of cotton produced, usually paid all the expenses of the plantation.

Statistics of Production.-By reference to the census report of 1850, it will be seen that the total amount of tobacco produced in the State at that date is set down at 998,614 lbs., and that the amount credited to Gadsden county is 776,177 lbs., being over three times as much as was produced in all the other counties of the State combined. I have had no access to the census report of 1860, and if I had, I doubt if the statistics of Southern products could be relied on as perfectly accurate, owing to the sectional difficulties occurring in the latter part of that year. But from information obtained from intelligent and reliable merchants of Quincy, I feel authorized to place the crop of Gadsden county for that year at over 1,200,000 lbs. It will thus be seen that from the single crop of tobacco, independent of the cotton and other market crops, the planters and farmers of Gadsden county realized (estimating the price at twenty-five cents per pound) the comfortable sum of \$300,000. It was this accession to the value of her products that enabled her people to make such rapid advancement in the accumulation of wealth, and its attendant comforts and benefits in the decade reaching from 1850 to 1860 ; and it teaches a lesson which should not go unheeded, viz: the importance of diversifying the products of the farm.

Down to the year 1865 tobacco continued to engage the attention of the farmers and planters, but with the proclamation of emancipation it ceased almost entirely to be cultivated, it being found that the labor was too unreliable to risk it as a market crop. It has only been within the last few years that its cultivation has been resumed, and it now bids fair to occupy its former status in the program of our agri-

cultural products. The crop of the county in 1873 was less than 100,000 lbs.; the crop of 1874 is estimated at not less than 200,000 lbs., and, from present indications, this latter amount will be fully doubled the present year.

* * * * *

There is an error of opinion very current in the country which I desire to correct. It is that the product of seed procured in Cuba tends to deterioration in the soil and climate of Florida. This opinion I unhesitatingly pronounce to be unfounded in fact, and in proof of the assertion I assert of my own knowledge that the variety known as the "Little Duval" after twenty years or more of successive reproduction, was found to have lost nothing of that peculiar aroma and delicate fragrance which it exhibited upon its first introduction. The seed of that variety has become extinct, and I consider it a great loss, to the county. There is, however, a variety introduced during the late war, and cultivated by one or two planters, which is very highly praised by the lover of a strong cigar. It lacks the mild and delicate fragrance of the "Little Duval," but is highly aromatic and somewhat pungent, making a very strong cigar, and for that reason is perhaps better suited to the prevailing taste of the present day. The cigars made from this variety have readily commanded eighty dollars per thousand.

Influence of the Tobacco Culture Upon the Moral and Intellectual Status of the Population.-- Under this head I shall confine my remarks to Gadsden county, for the reason that in no other county of the State was the production of sufficient importance to have exerted any appreciable effect, either moral, intellectual, or economical. The undulating character of the country embraced within the territorial limits of

Gadsden county rendered it uninviting to the occupancy of large cotton planters and extensive slaveholders ; and hence the early settlers were of the class usually denominated farmers. Being of limited pecuniary means, which prevented them from entering upon large enterprises, they were content, if by industry and economy they could succeed in providing for the physical comfort of the family. Their highest ambition was to attain to and maintain the position occupied by their fathers who had gone before them. The struggle was for the comfortable support of the physical man ; the lack of pecuniary means checked the effort and even the desire for advancement. There was an evident lack of that social refinement and intellectual culture which is the concomitant of wealth. Just at this juncture there was introduced a *new industry* (the cultivation of Cuba tobacco) which exactly met the necessity of their condition. While it required no outlay of capital, it gave a return for the labor expended beyond the most sanguine anticipations. It furnished light and pleasant employment for the entire family, embracing wife and children, and by their united efforts they were greeted at the end of the year with a cash surplus over and above the provision necessary to be made for the supply of their physical wants. With this surplus annually accumulating comes the budding of a manly and commendable ambition. The father contemplates himself, and then looks upon his children as they gather around the domestic hearth: he becomes conscious of his own deficiencies, and forthwith registers in his swelling bosom the manly resolve that his children shall realize advantages which he never enjoyed. Soon the little log meeting-house undergoes repairs and enlargement, and others are erected for the more comfortable accommodation of the neighborhood. The preacher, in his visits to his weekly appointments, receives a warm-

er pressure of the hand that greets him, and a more cordial invitation to partake of the hospitality of the farm-house. The cry goes out, too, for the inauguration of a higher grade of schools than is usually found in the sparsely-populated new country. The cry increases and increases until it reaches to an imperative demand. Then the few educated men of the county meet in council to deliberate on the subject, and the result of that, deliberation is an application to the Legislative Council for a charter of incorporation for the establishment of the "Quincy Academy." The site is selected, the funds required for the erection of the building come rolling in, and largely from the accumulated surplus before referred to. The building is completed, and the occasion is celebrated by a "feast of fat things" at which the presiding spirit was that of one whose 'mortal remains have long since slumbered far away from the loved home of his adoption. Could he have lived out but half the days allotted to man his large heart would have bounded with joy at beholding the full consummation of his most cherished hopes. But he has gone to his reward, and I can but exclaim: All honor to the memory of James A. Dunlap.

In due course of time the doors of the institution were thrown open for the reception of pupils, and soon its spacious halls were crowded with robust, rosy-cheeked boys and lithesome lassies fresh from their rural homes. The first public examination comes on, and is a notable occasion throughout the community. Watch that rough-looking old countryman, dressed in his homespun suit, and sitting on the front bench, as that bright-eyed boy marches with confident step up to the "blackboard". Mark the intensity of that gaze as it follows the chalk that traces the lines of the forty-seventh proposition in the first book of Euclid. See how he bends forward to catch the utterances as

the boy begins to speak of the straight line AB; the angles CD and EF; the hypotenuse GH, and the tangent XY. See how the muscles of his face twitch. But mark him particularly as the little fellow turns from the board to the teacher and emphasizes the (to him) cabalistic words *quod erat demonstrandum*. It is well for the old father that the strong box containing the accumulated surplus of years was safely reposing under lock and key at the farm-house. Had it been within his reach at that moment of his supreme exultation, its contents would all have gone into the treasury of the academy.

But let us pass into the adjacent hall. Mark that sedate and matronly-looking woman, arrayed in her Quaker bonnet and calico gown. Mark her well as that slender maiden, with lithe and elastic form, raven tresses and sparkling eyes, that tell of her semi-tropical nativity, advances to read a composition: See the rising and falling of the mother's bosom as the maiden progresses in her task. There is a tear in her eye, but it is not the tear of sorrow or grief; it is the involuntary outgushing of a grateful heart—the manifestation of a gratified aspiration.

But the sketch is not yet completed. Follow the party on their return to the old homestead. See the little white heads as they come rushing to greet the brother and sister who have returned to spend vacation at home. Soon the family circle is formed around the cheerful hearth, and then occurs such a plying and answering of questions as rivals the "Babel" of ancient days. From that moment the old homestead puts on a new aspect. The younger children are taught the observance of good manners and the conventionalities of polite society. The interior becomes more tidy, while the front yard begins to be beautified with flowers. The old father, catching inspiration from the scene, rises to higher aspirations and redoubles his diligence,

and soon fortune, with its concomitant comforts and advantages, crowns his well-directed efforts. Then the children being prepared by proper culture, take their places in respectable society, with the fair promise of transmitting that respectability to future generations. There is no "shoddy" in that, no training of the "tamed bear," no bounding to the top at one leap and "kicking the ladder from beneath," only to look down with contempt upon those who have been less fortunate in trade or speculation. In this case, moral, social, and intellectual culture have kept pace with the accumulation of wealth, and the effect is seen in the after life and conduct of the participants.

This is no fancy sketch, but the embodiment and illustration of a *fact*- that claims the serious attention of the political economist, viz.: the importance of inaugurating *new industries* suited and fitted to the condition of the population. The importance of this fact is as applicable to the mechanical and manufacturing classes as it is to the agricultural.

But I owe an apology. Led off by the crowding reminiscences of more than forty years, I had well nigh forgotten the task specially assigned to me. . . .

[There follows in detail-The best soil. Preparation of the land. Planting. Cultivation. Worming, topping, and succoring. Housing and preparing for market. Average product and price.]

RICHARD KEITH CALL-THOMAS BROWN

[The following sketches written by Horatio Waldo, editor of the Florida Journal of Apalachicola, were published in the issue of March 17, 1841, of that paper. They were brought to light and copied for the QUARTERLY by research students of Florida State College for Women.]

Richard Keith Call, ex-Governor of Florida, is known to fame in both the military and civil world. During Jackson's campaign in 1813-1814, he was found in the ranks as a private soldier, and although but 19 years of age, fought his way to distinction; and attracted the attention, and secured the lasting friendship of the Hero of Orleans. He emigrated to Florida in 1820, and was appointed Delegate to Congress, and in 1836 the office of Governor of the Territory was conferred upon him by Mr. Van Buren, which station he filled until the fall of 1839. During a part of the year '37 he took the field against the Seminoles, and commanded conjointly with Gen'l Jesup. He is about 46 years of age and possesses a remarkably commanding figure and form. He is perhaps; the best natural orator in Florida. What with a fair personal appearance-a form tall and erect-a countenance open and manly-an eye, large, bright and intelligent, and a readiness of speech, with a voice of much melody and power, he is at all times an interesting and commanding speaker. His manners are apparently reserved and ostentatious, particularly to a stranger: but to those who know him intimately he is the affable and accomplished gentleman-the kind and enthusiastic friend ; while his ardent temperament-which it may be, not infrequently leads to prejudice-a natural consequence flowing from the development of strong traits of character.

Governor Call has filled numerous high and dis-

tinguished stations among his fellow men, and in the discharge of their important trusts, has won very general admiration and confidence. His residence is in the vicinity of Tallahassee, and his noble mansion and hospitable board, appropriately in accord with the high toned sentiments of his nature.

Thomas Brown. - Upon the theatre of political action in Florida, General Brown has for the last twelve years borne no insignificant part. He hails from old Virginia, and was formerly a member of the Legislature of that mother State. In this Territory he has held the offices of Adjutant-General of the militia, Auditor of Public Accounts, member of the Legislative Council on various occasions, Speaker of the House of Representatives, and one of the most prominent members of the St. Joseph Convention. ¹ In all places of public trust he is ever found, the industrious, faithful, and indefatigable officer, the courteous and accommodating gentleman, and the honest man. General Brown is a man of superior talents. Whatever might have been his early education, whether complete or deficient, he has, since grown to manhood, acquired a vast fund of useful information; and place him where you will, he brings that information to bear with a readiness and force which renders him equal to any, and superior to most of his associates. To a natural clearness and strength of intellect, he unites a quickness of perception which enables him to grasp - a subject of magnitude, and handle it with force and effect. Gen. Brown is 50 years of age, about five feet six inches in height, and slender and delicate in his proportions. His physical frame bears the strong impress of past care and thought, and upon his benevolent brow, are the deep furrows of mental anxiety and labor. As a private citizen, and in his social rela-

¹ Thomas Brown was elected governor of Florida and served the term 1848-1852.

tions, it were superfluous for me to record here, what every Floridian knows full well, that the subject of this sketch is amiable and estimable to an exalted degree. If pure goodness of heart, and unbounded liberality of feeling, could enrich or impoverish a man at will, then would my excellent friend be rich or poor, each hour of his useful and honorable life.

“His life is gentle ; and the elements
So mix'd in him, that nature may stand up
And say to all the world - This is a man!”

THE LEGAL STATUS OF THE NEGRO IN FLORIDA

The history of the negro has been for centuries a history of enslavement. Sir Harry Johnston observed that the negro, "more than any other human type has been marked out by his mental and physical characteristics as the servant of other races." His dominant characteristics, docility, submissiveness, cheerfulness of disposition and a short memory for sorrows and cruelties have made him largely subordinate to others. "Of this disposition the most aggressive and progressive race has taken advantage and for centuries held the black man in bondage."¹

The negro has been in America from the time of the early colonies; occupying the place first of a slave, a laborer for the economic development of the country, and after 1865 the place of a freedman, a citizen. With this change in status came the need for a readjustment, which would fit a people, hitherto subjected to the rule of the white man, for the duties and responsibilities devolving necessarily on a citizen.

Florida as a territory and as a state has dealt with the negro in both these phases. In the treaty of cession concluded with Spain in 1821, after the negotiations for the purchase of Florida two years earlier, no provision was made concerning the slaves then residing in the territory. How many slaves were in Florida at that time we have no way of knowing. The only estimate we have is that there were about eight hundred living among the Seminole Indians, most of whom were runaways.²

¹ Riley, B. F., *The White Man's Burden*. p. 79

² Population of Florida, negro and white, 1830-1920. (From

Before the time when Florida became a part of the territory of the United States many states of the Union had already abolished slavery. This new land, however, was geographically situated in that section where slavery was considered a necessary institution for economic welfare. It was not a difference in the character of the American people that made the South the last home of the American slave, but rather it was the favorable conditions of climate and of fertile soil in the new states.

There have been numerous accounts of existing conditions in the slave-holding states, some of them picturing extreme cruelty toward the slaves, others a peaceful, contented life. Perhaps it can be said that all or most of these are partly true ; for the system of slave labor was extensive, making it possible for existing conditions to vary from one extreme to the other.

In Florida, as elsewhere in the South, it was necessary that the slave system be supported by statutory law. The purpose of this was to regulate the system, to control the slave, and to protect him against ill Gage. An early problem to be settled by the territorial government of Florida was the legal status of the slave; in 1828 this was determined when by act of the Legislative Council he was classed as personal

Negro Population in the United States, 1790-1915. Bureau of the Census. p. 57)

| Year | White | Negro | Slave | Free |
|------------|---------|---------|--------|-------|
| 1830..... | 18,385 | 16,345 | 15,501 | 844 |
| 1840 | 27,943 | 26,534 | 25,717 | 817 |
| 1850 | 47,203 | 40,242 | 39,310 | 932 |
| 1860 | 77,746 | 62,677 | 61,745 | 932 |
| 1870 | 96,057 | 91,689 | ----- | ----- |
| 1880 | 142,605 | 126,690 | ----- | ----- |
| 1890 | 224,949 | 166,180 | ----- | ----- |
| 1900 | 297,333 | 230,730 | ----- | ----- |
| 1910 | 443,634 | 308,669 | ----- | ----- |
| 1920..... | 638,153 | 329,487 | ----- | ----- |

property,³ a status which remained unchanged as long as the institution of slavery existed.

In building up a slave code, the laws regarding crime were considered a matter for separate legislation where slaves were concerned. Not only was the legislation separate but the punishment for an offence was usually more severe. In 1828 any slave or free negro involved in a riot, a rout, unlawful assembly, quarrel, or fight, was made subject to a fine not exceeding twenty dollars or a punishment of stripes not exceeding thirty-nine. Any white person found guilty of being at an unlawful meeting or assembly under this provision was liable to a fine of not more than one hundred dollars or thirty-nine lashes. Whipping was also made the penalty for having firearms. This was a preventive measure against revolt and insurrection.⁴

Slaves were protected by law against unusual and cruel punishment from their masters, employers, or overseers, by the penalty of a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars, depending upon the magnitude of the offence. It is interesting to note that the money received from this source was to be paid into the treasury of the Territory for the use of the literary fund.⁵ However, in the same act, both unusual and cruel punishment was provided, to be inflicted by the courts for certain crimes and misdemeanors committed by negroes. The offences coming under this act were an attempt to commit any capital offence, manslaughter, burning any dwelling house, store, cotton gin, barn, or stable.

³ **Be it further enacted**, That from and after the passage of this act, slaves shall be deemed, held and taken as personal property for every purpose whatever. **Approved November 15, 1828.**

⁴ Duval, John P., **Compilation of the Public Acts of the Territory of Florida, Passed Prior to 1840**, Tallahassee, 1839. pp. 218-219.

⁵ **Ibid.** p. 223

The penalty inflicted on an offender was a moderate whipping, having his ears nailed to posts, or having his hand burnt with a heated iron in open court, or even the penalty of death, depending on the seriousness of the offence, at the discretion of the court.⁶

Accused slaves were tried in the regular courts of the Territory according to the law of 1828. The same court procedure was observed in the trial of slaves as that observed in the trial of free persons. There was a difference, however, in the matter of witnesses, for there were only two instances when the testimony of a negro, bond or free, was accepted, namely: in the pleas of the Territory, for or against negroes, or in civil cases where free negroes or mulattoes alone were parties. Even then before a slave was examined as a witness he was threatened with whipping or having his ears nailed to posts if it were found that he did not tell the truth.⁷ With such limitations placed on testimony it can be concluded that many trials were not fair, in that the facts were not always complete.

Being considered as propey, the slave became an object of taxation along with other property. In an ordinance to raise revenue in Pensacola, February 12, 1825, the Secretary of the Board was appointed to furnish the Commissioners with the assessment rolls of the preceding year, entering the following items of taxable property ; houses and lots, four-wheeled pleasure carriages, horses and mules, and slaves. On all slaves above the age of ten and under fifty there was levied a tax of twenty-five cents.⁸ And in 1828 the Legislative Council levied a tax of twenty-five cents⁹ on every slave between the ages of fifteen and

⁶ *Ibid.* p. 224

⁷ *Ibid.* pp. 227-228

⁸ *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, February 12, 1825

⁹ Duval, *Compilation*. . . . p. 310

fifty. A tax of ten dollars was imposed on every slave hired out, provided the owner of the slave did not permanently reside in the territory.¹⁰ In 1839 the tax on slaves was raised from twenty-five to fifty cents by act of the Council.¹¹

Throughout the whole period of slavery there was an ever-present fear of insurrection. In all the southern states special provisions were made to prevent such occurrence. There were frequent crimes committed by individual slaves, but the most feared were those in which there might be concerted action among them. There are numerous records of groups of slaves in other states murdering their masters.¹²

We have seen that in 1833 negroes in Florida were prohibited from having firearms. Never after this were slaves or free negroes permitted to be armed except in defence against Indians, and later against a people at war with the citizens of the State. Their freedom of movement was greatly restricted, especially at night, by the requirement that they should have a written pass signed by their master to show the cause of absence from the plantation.¹³

To make these laws effective there was created a system of patrols. These patrols, a kind of police militia, were made up of men in the neighborhood. At certain intervals, usually at night, these bands of men were called out for the purpose of checking up on the whereabouts of slaves and searching their cottages

¹⁰ *Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Passed at the 10th Session Commencing January 2d. . . .* 1832, p. 128

¹¹ Duval, *Compilation. . . .* p. 319

¹² Phillips, *The American Negro Slave*, pp. 463-4, 480. The Nat Turner insurrection of 1831 in Virginia caused much uneasiness throughout the South. There were more than forty negroes involved in this and about fifty-five white persons were killed.

¹³ *Acts of the General Assembly of the State of Florida , 1846. p. 43*

for firearms. A moderate whipping was the usual punishment inflicted by these men on any slave taken up.¹⁴

This same fear of insurrection was probably responsible for the tendency in slave-holding states to diminish the number of the free colored population. Through the free negroes it was believed that the slaves were made discontented by abolitionist propaganda. Also free negroes were held to be responsible to some extent for the number of runaways among the slaves. We call them free negroes, yet they were less than free, occupying a half-way status, subject to many of the regulations of the black code. In four states they were required to have official guardians; in eight they were required to be registered. In law courts their testimony had no more weight than that of slaves, generally. In some places they were forbidden to trade, in others from migrating into one commonwealth from another.¹⁵ As early as 1829 in Florida it was made unlawful for any free negro to migrate or to be brought into the territory from any part of the United States or elsewhere.

Not only was there much feeling against the migration of free negroes into Florida but also against the manumission of slaves within the Territory. Manumission was made unlawful by act of the Legislative Council during the same year (1829). A certain judicial procedure was required for the manumission of a slave and it was required that every slave given his freedom be transported from the Territory within thirty days. The act further provided that

¹⁴ One wonders why the usual penalty inflicted on slaves was whipping rather than imprisonment. The probable reason was that imprisonment would not have been a punishment to a slave and at the same time would have been a loss to his master in a financial way, since the loss of a single day's work meant the loss of money.

¹⁵ Hart, A. B., *Slavery and Abolition*, p. 84

any slave freed contrary to the preceding provision would not be deemed free but would be liable to be taken up and sold into slavery again under order of the superior or county courts.¹⁶

The most dreaded contrivance which aided runaway slaves was the "underground railway" whereby slaves were assisted by free negroes and by abolitionists to make their escape. Many times, however, slaves did not succeed in getting beyond the jurisdiction of the State or other slave-holding states. In such cases it was often possible for them to be apprehended and returned to their owners. In Florida, in 1828, it was decreed that any runaway slave taken up was to be carried before a justice of the peace whose duty it was to commit such slave to the county jail or send him to the owner, who should pay a sum of five dollars to the person apprehending him and also all reasonable costs and charges.¹⁷ As a means of apprehending runaway slaves advertisements giving a full description of them were printed in the newspapers. Then, too, since it was sometimes long before a slave was taken up, a notice was placed in the paper in order that the owner might be informed of his apprehension. Notices similar to the following were printed in nearly every issue of the newspapers of the day.

Runaway Negro

Committed to Jail this day, a negro man as a runaway slave. Said negro is about five feet, 8 inches high, about thirty years of age, thick set, and stoops a little when walking, has small scar over the right eye, one under the chin, and on each hand, and a large scar on the left shoulder blade, back slightly scarred by the whip. He was dressed in gray kersey pants and round jacket, and says he belongs to John B. White, of Harris County, Georgia. Had with him, when taken up, a badly writ-

¹⁶ Duval, *Compilation* p. 228

¹⁷ *Ibid.* p. 221

ten and worded pass, name could not be positively ascertained. Any person owning said negro will please come forward, prove property, pay charges and take him away.

C. J. SHEPARD

Sheriff of Franklin County, Florida ¹⁸

Apalachicola, March 1st, 1844."

In 1828 it was made a death penalty for a master of a ship to conceal on board and carry away any slave, the property of a citizen of the Territory." At the next session of the Council an act was passed whereby any person convicted of slave stealing should suffer death.²⁰

Another phase of the same problem was that which arose during the Seminole War concerning both runaway slaves and those who had been taken in the war. From official correspondence in regard to the matter we learn that many of the negroes who had been captured in the war were returned, but the Indians were in no way obligated to turn over runaway slaves who had sought refuge in their midst. By treaty obligations the Indians were bound to return runaways before they ceded the territory. However, after they were no longer the owners of the land they were obligated only to return those negroes taken as prisoners of war.²¹

The following is an extract from a letter written by Gen. Thomas S. Jesup of the United States Army at St. Augustine:

"I have made arrangements for the delivery of the negroes captured during the war by the Indians. They are to be delivered if they can be taken without delaying the Indians in their movements, at the posts on the St. Johns.

The Indians are not bound to surrender runaway negroes. Before they ceded the country, they were bound to do so but it is not now their business. They must and shall give up those taken during the war, or at all events, they shall not take them out of the country. . . ."

¹⁸ **Commercial Advertiser**, Apalachicola, Florida, March 4, 1844

¹⁹ **Acts** 1828, p. 92

²⁰ **Ibid.** 1829, p. 93

²¹ **Executive Documents, 25th Congress, 3rd Session, No. 225**, p. 12

Additional legislation concerning the hiring of slaves appears in a bill passed in 1831 regulating the system. However, as early as 1826 newspaper advertisements were printed showing that such a system existed at that time. Not only were negroes hired for farm labor but for other work which is usually thought of as requiring more skill. In the Navy Yard in Pensacola negroes were hired as mechanics and joiners by Samuel R. Overton, who was Navy Agent in 1827.²²

During the period in which Florida was preparing for statehood there was an increasing anti-slavery agitation throughout the nation, especially after 1830. The new movement, with such leaders as William Lloyd Garrison and Wendell Phillips was so radical as to demand immediate abolition of slavery with no compensation. Even though the abolitionists made slavery a moral issue it soon reached such proportions that it became a political force.

The expansion of the nation during the forties and fifties naturally increased the controversy over

²² *Pensacola Gazette and West Florida Advertiser*, April 27, 1827.

An interesting fact about the advertisement printed by Mr. Overton is that as a part of it is the following:

"Three pair of prime oxen are also required immediately for which a liberal price will be given. S. R. O."

The following is typical in form of the usual advertisements:

Negroes Wanted

The Subscriber

Wishes to hire by the year, to commence on the 1st of September next, two stout, hearty Negro Men and one Negro Woman. The men must be acquainted with farming and come well recommended in other respects. The woman must be a good cook and family servant. Those from the country would be preferred; and for such answering the above description, liberal wages will be given.

Randal Allis.

slavery, for whenever a new state was admitted into the Union or a new territory was created the slavery question became the main issue. In fact, when Florida was admitted into the Union in 1845, Iowa was admitted at the same time as a free state so that the ratio of free and slave states would be unchanged.²³ Abolitionists opposed the annexation of Texas in 1848 because they realized that it would mean more slave territory. Likewise in 1849 slave-holders became very much alarmed and protested against the proposed anti-slavery legislation in the District of Columbia and in regard to the status of California, New Mexico and Arizona.

Public opinion in Florida toward this controversy in national politics is expressed in the slavery provisions of the constitution of 1845. The General Assembly was forbidden to pass laws for the emancipation of slaves. Likewise, immigrants to the State were not to be forbidden to bring with them their slaves, except in a case where a slave had committed a crime in another state.²⁴

The feeling aroused over the proposed legislation which resulted in the well known Compromise of 1850 is probably the chief reason back of the resolutions drawn up by the Assembly of Florida in 1849 in which it is stated that "under no circumstances will the people of this state be willing to recognize as binding, any enactment of the Federal Government which has for its object the prohibition of slavery in any territory south of the line of the Missouri Compromise

.....²⁵

²³ *The South in the Building of the Nation*, Smith, Charles II., *History of the States*, Vol. 3, p. 41

²⁴ Acts 1845, p. 22. Under the same article the General Assembly was given the power to prevent the immigration of free negroes into the state.

²⁵ Acts. 1849 p. 111

Four years after Florida had become one of the states of the Union she was willing to take any action along with other slave-holding states to defend what her citizens believed to be their natural right, that of residing with their property in any territory belonging to the United States. There already existed alienation between the sections, and the dissolution of the Union seemed inevitable if such a controversy continued.

To preserve her labor system throughout the turmoil in the nation, the South took every possible measure. A tightening-up of the laws concerning slaves was evident in all the southern states. In Florida we find the slave code becoming more severe in its terms from the late forties until the time of secession.

A revision of the criminal laws was made in 1848, defining the acts deemed felony. The commission of such offence by a free negro, mulatto, or slave, was made punishable by whipping not exceeding one hundred lashes. A free negro convicted of felony had also to pay the expense of prosecution or be sold temporarily to service for that purpose.²⁶

All free negroes who were in the Territory before the cession of Florida to the United States were required to have a guardian. At the same time a capitation tax of one dollar per annum was levied on all free negroes who had been brought into the Territory since 1819. In order to facilitate the collecting of this tax it was decreed that failure to pay it made a negro liable to seizure and sale by the sheriff. The sale, however, was not a sale into permanent slavery. He was sold for the amount of the tax to the person who bid the shortest time of servitude. In this way the negro was forced to pay, in labor, the amount of the tax.²⁷

²⁶ Acts . . . 1848. p. 11
²⁷ 1850. p. 115

In 1847 it was made unlawful for a captain, master or owner of a ship to bring into the island of Key West any free negro or free mulatto. The penalty for violation of this act was one hundred dollars for every offence. It was stated in a later explanatory act that “-all vessels arriving in the port of Key West, in distress or disabled condition, with Free Negro Crews, the same may remain on board said vessels, or on the wharf to which said vessel is lying, without being arrested and confined in the Jail-”²⁸

All free negroes or mulattoes who had been brought into the territory since February 10, 1832, were ordered to leave, and after ten days notice any person who had refused to comply with the order could be sold for ninety-nine years.²⁹ However, this act was repealed by the next session of the Council.³⁰

In 1858, a permissive act was passed by the assembly, by which free negroes in the State could select their own masters and become slaves. Since 1847 it had been unlawful for free negroes to reside in the State, so this act would imply that those free negroes who had evaded the law until this time could make choice between leaving the State and becoming slaves. A judicial procedure was required in the matter of choosing a master, by which the negro filed a petition in the circuit court of the county in which he resided, setting forth his desire to choose a master, stating therein the name of such master or mistress. After four weeks notice, it was the duty of the clerk of the court to issue a summons both to the petitioner and to the proposed master, citing them to appear before the court at the next succeeding term. If the judge

²⁸ *Acts. . . . 1847. p. 61*

²⁹ *Acts. . . . 1842. p. 34*

³⁰ *Acts. . . . 1843. p. 50*

after examining both the negro and the prospective master believed the negro's choice to be a wise one, the petition was granted. From that time the petitioner became the property and slave of the master.³¹ Free negroes, it was believed, were a menace to the preservation of slavery, and it was that supposition which led to the stringent measures taken to rid the State entirely of them.

Until this period there had been no legislation concerning trade with slaves. In 1847, however, it was made unlawful to sell liquor or to trade any article whatever without express license in writing from the person having control of the slave. The penalty for violation of this act was a fine not less than twenty-five nor more than two hundred dollars, or imprisonment not exceeding three months.³² Eight years later the law was made more rigid in regard to liquor, for it was declared unlawful not only to sell but to give any spirituous liquors to any negro within the State, in any quantity, "Provided-That this act shall not be so construed as to forbid owners from giving their own slaves spirituous liquors."³³

Under certain regulations slaves had been permitted previously to hire their time. In providing stricter legislation, however, this matter was not overlooked. In 1856 slaves were absolutely prohibited to hire their own time, and masters allowing it were liable to a fine of not less than ten nor more than fifty dollars. It was the duty of the sheriffs of the several counties to ascertain and inform against all persons and to arrest and commit to jail all slaves violating this act.³⁴

³¹ *Acts. . . . 1858.* p. 13

³² *Acts. . . . 1846,* p. 20

³³ *Acts. . . . 1854.* p. 42

³⁴ *Acts. . . . 1856.* p. 24

Another problem arose about 1850 in connection with the removal of the Seminole Indians from the State to lands west of the Mississippi. There were many runaway negroes belonging to the citizens of Florida living among the Seminoles. If these negroes had been removed from the State along with the Indians, their recovery by their proper owners would have been extremely difficult if not impossible. The General Assembly took up the matter and declared it unlawful for the Indian Agent or Army officer or any other person to remove out of the limits of the State any negroes who came in to the concentration camps with the Indians. When negroes came in they were to be held for at least six weeks during which time advertisements should be placed in some newspaper published at the capital of the State fully describing them, so that any one claiming them might have the opportunity "to institute legal proceedings and have the title settled by judicial decree."³⁵

This brings us to the period of the War for Southern Independence. Even though this war was fought on other issues besides slavery, it was inevitable that that should be one of the problems settled by its outcome.

Many accounts have come down to us of the loyalty of slaves to the citizens of the South during the War. This loyalty especially in Florida was considered remarkable, where the slaves were within the sound of guns of vessels of the United States for six-hundred miles along the seaboard. In many instances plantations were cared for as well as though the owners had not been away. Even though this was the general condition, there existed a certain amount of lawlessness, enough, in fact, to necessitate the creation of special tribunals in Florida in 1864 for the

³⁵ **Acts.** . . . 1852. pp. 113-114

trial of capital offences committed by slaves. These tribunals were composed of two justices of the peace and twelve citizens, qualified jurors of the county where the crime had been committed. When an offender was convicted by one of these tribunals the penalty for the offence was death by hanging.³⁶

With the end of the War came the abolition of the institution of slavery, Florida, with the other states of the Confederacy, was left destitute. There had been a great loss of life and much destruction of property. Perhaps the greatest problem of the reconstruction era, however, was that of the ex-slave. Many adjustments became necessary as a result of the changed status of the negro. This element of the population had become a discontented people, with many of them homeless, and the problem of making them settle down and become responsible for themselves was one which could not be solved in a short time.

In order to bring the statute laws of the state into conformity with the amended constitution of the United States, it was necessary to make many changes. C. H. DuPont and A. J. Peeler were appointed as an investigation committee to report to the General Assembly any necessary changes or amendments, with reference especially to the altered condition of the colored race. This committee recommended that both races be subjected to the same code with regard to the commission of offences, as far as it could be done without impairing the efficiency of the, prescribed penalties. Next in importance to the enactment of laws for the prevention of crime and the regulation of domestic relations was a well regulated labor system for the negroes. This class of the population had been suddenly changed from a well-pro-

³⁶ *Acts. . . . 1864.* pp. 7-8

vided-for one into a class with no status as laborers. In accordance with its findings the committee presented a bill concerning contracts, and another concerning the matter of equality before the law.³⁷

In adjusting domestic relations of former slaves the Legislature passed an act which required "all colored persons claiming to be living together in the relation of husband and wife", within nine months to be regularly joined in the bonds of matrimony by some person legally authorized to perform the ceremony.³⁸ The general effect of this law on those negroes to whom it applied was a feeling of resentment, for they could not understand how this ceremony could make them any more married or why it was necessary. In 1866 an act was passed providing for the recognition of common law marriage of former slaves.³⁹ Provision was also made whereby all laws applicable to the marriage relation between white persons should in the future apply also to the colored population of the state."⁴⁰

The Freedmen's Bureau had been created in 1865 for the purpose of rendering temporary relief to former slaves, and later to help them to adapt themselves to the changed social conditions. This bureau did not accomplish its second purpose, partly because of "too minute supervision" and partly because its regulations were unsuited to southern conditions.⁴¹ After this failure the whites and blacks of the South were left to work out their own labor difficulties.

The best solution of the economic problem was the continuance of negro labor in agricultural work. At

³⁷ *Senate Journal 1865*. pp. 49-58

³⁹ Acts. . . . 1866. p. 22

⁴⁰ *Ibid.*

⁴¹ *The South in the Building of the Nation* - Watson, Thomas, *Economic History*. Vol. VI, p. 5

first negroes had to work for wages since they had no capital. To make this system effective an act was passed in 1866 concerning contracts, which provided that all contracts with persons of color 'should be made in writing and fully explained to them before two credible witnesses. Protection was provided for the employers of agricultural laborers also by the provision for a penalty to be imposed on any one who should break a contract.⁴² As time went on the system of labor largely evolved into one in which the negroes worked on shares, later renting small tracts of land. Those who acquired habits of thrift and forethought also acquired means enough to build houses and purchase property, thus becoming "proprietors of the soil to which they were once attached, as slaves."⁴³ The process was a slow one, however, for between 1865 and 1880 the negro passed through a turbulent period in which the normal evolution of his "free status" was greatly hampered. Emphasis was placed on his newly acquired political privileges rather than on economic conditions and considerations.

The main element in training the negro to take his place as a citizen, was that element which is necessary for the training of any citizen-education. His attainments and ability rested on the efficiency of the educational system devised for his training. Booker T. Washington has said, "The weak point to my mind in the reconstruction era was that no strong force was brought to bear in the direction of preparing the Negro to become an intelligent, reliable citizen and voter."⁴⁴ The evolving of the educational system for

⁴² *Acts. . . . 1866*, p. 21

⁴³ *Senate Journal*, 1875, Report of Commissioner of Lands and Immigration, 1874, p. 15-17

⁴⁴ Washington, Booker T. *The Future of the American Negro*, p. 10

the negro was a slow process, with many difficulties of race prejudice to be overcome.

The system of public education in existence in the southern states prior to the War automatically ceased in 1861. Thus public education for white children was still in the experimental stage in the South when there came a demand for education for both races. As yet much of the population had not been won over to the idea of public education at all. Thus it was natural that it should take even a longer period of time for public opinion to be swayed very far in the direction of the principle of provision for the public education of the negro. It was to be expected too that during the early period of the reconstruction era other phases of reconstructing the South claimed more immediate attention than the development of a public school system.

Prior to 1865 public education for the negro was an unheard of project. In fact, as long as the negro occupied the place of a slave in the class scale, it would have been impossible to institute public education. In 1832 and again in 1846 laws were passed by the Legislative Council prohibiting negroes to congregate for any purpose except for work or to attend divine worship at any place attended by white persons.⁴⁵

In 1866, however, an act concerning schools for freedmen was passed by the General Assembly. This provided for the appointment by the Governor, with the advice and consent of the Senate, of a Superintendent of Common Schools for Freedman, who should hold his office during the administration of the governor. In the more thickly populated counties assistant superintendents were to be appointed. It was the duty of the superintendent, with the aid of the assist-

⁴⁵ *Acts. . . . 1832.* p. 145

ants, to establish schools for freedmen in counties where the number of children of persons of color would warrant it.

Teachers in these schools were to procure a certificate from the superintendent in the regular manner, paying for such a sum of five dollars which was to be used for the benefit of the fund for common schools for freedmen. These certificates were valid for one year and in every case the superintendent retained the right to cancel them at any time for the reasons of incompetency, 'immorality, or for other sufficient cause.

By the same act a tax was levied upon all male persons of color between the ages of twenty-one and fifty-five years, of one dollar each, the proceeds of which were to constitute a fund, to be called the Common School Fund, for the education of freedmen.

The salary of the superintendent was fixed at one thousand dollars, that of his assistants at two hundred dollars per annum. The act further provided for the collection from each pupil of a tuition fee, which should be prescribed by the superintendent. An annual report was required by the Legislature, stating the number of schools established, number of pupils, amount of the school fund expended, amount in the treasury, number of teachers employed, and all other matters of general interest.⁴⁶ However good in principle this act was, the want of funds, the paralyzing effects of the War and the general lack of experience in the organization of schools, prevented any immediate efficient results from this source.

It was through the aid of the Freedmen% Bureau, northern benevolent associations, and various churches, in contributing to the support of teachers and erecting school buildings at their own expense,

⁴⁶ *Acts*. . . . 1866. pp. 37-9

that negro education had its real beginning in the southern states.⁴⁷

These reports of these activities are apt to be prejudiced because of the unnatural conditions existing in the South during the reconstruction era. However, they are the only available sources of information concerning education of this period.

By the end of the year 1866, through aid from the Freedmen's Bureau, the number of colored schools had increased from thirty to sixty-five, the number of teachers from nineteen to forty-five, and the school enrollment from nineteen hundred to more than two thousand. In his report of that year, Superintendent of Common Schools for Freedmen, Reverend E. B. Duncan, says :

These schools have been marked by a most earnest perseverance on the part of the teachers, while the pupils take the liveliest interest, and numbers who have gone only four months read and spell readily and . . . show great progress in figures . . . The teachers have been most all colored, of good moral character, delighting in their work, maintaining good discipline, men of energy and many well qualified.

These schools continued in existence and new ones were established throughout the two following years.

For the most part there was no discrimination against negroes in school matters and negro teachers were paid as liberal salaries as other teachers of similar qualifications. In general the sentiment of the

⁴⁷ Cochran, *History of Public School Education in Florida*. Lancaster, Penn. [1921] p. 29.

Honorable C. Thurston Chase, State Superintendent of Public Instruction, in making his report to Governor Reed in January 1869, said in regard to the teachers of negro schools: "Coming at a time when the freed children were cast suddenly at the threshold of a new life, unused to the responsibilities and ignorant of the duties thus thrust upon them, they (the teachers) were welcomed with great joy and labored with sincere Christian devotion amidst hardships and privations. . . ."

negro and his race pride were strongly opposed to having white teachers placed in their schools and they did not seek co-education of the races. The controversy over combined education led to the passing of an act in 1895, which prohibited white and negro youth from being taught in the same schools. The penalty provided for the violation of this act was a fine of not less than one hundred and fifty dollars nor more than five hundred, or imprisonment in the county jail for not less than three months nor more than six months for every such offence. ⁴⁸

By act of the Legislature of 1905, in amending a former statute relating to a normal school for colored teachers, a colored normal school was established at Tallahassee. Provision was made for a board of control, which had as its duties the election of the faculty and the authority to add other departments of instruction and education to the institution when deemed advisable. ⁴⁹ In 1909, the name of this school was changed to Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes. ⁵⁰ This change was probably made in conformity with the growing belief that industrial education was the greatest need of the negro. It was widely believed that because of industrial education, the disposition to look upon labor as a disgrace was on the wane and that this phase of education stimulated production and increased trade. Appropriations made for the support and maintenance of higher education in the State have each time included a proportionate amount for the Florida Agricultural and Mechanical College for Negroes. In 1909 the appropriation was \$228,900, a large part of which was expended in a building program.

⁴⁸ Acts . . . 1895. pp. 96-97

⁴⁹ Acts . . . 1905. pp. 38-45

⁵⁰ Acts . . . 1909. p. 69

The greatest detriment to the progress of the negro has been the race problem so called—that of two races in one country. In the southern states this problem has been ever in the minds of the legislators. Florida, with the other states of the South, has demanded complete segregation of the races and the principle of the supremacy of the white race. We have already seen that provision was made for the segregation of the races in the matter of education. In other matters there has been the same demand for this separation. Beginning in 1887 various measures have been passed by the Florida Legislature providing for separate accommodations for white and colored passengers by railroad companies, even to the extent of requiring them to furnish separate ticket windows.⁵¹ The same principle has been applied to measures concerning accommodations on street cars,⁵² and likewise to the complete separation of white and negro prisoners.⁵³ In 1909, the Legislature passed a resolution requesting their senators and representatives in the Congress of the United States to exert their influence at Washington to prevent the appointment of negroes to federal offices in the State of Florida.

Briefly then, the present status of the negro in Florida can be summarized: In all things the principle of separation of the two races has been foremost, especially in social matters. Theoretically the two races are equal before the law, in political privileges and in education. In practice, however, the theory of white supremacy prevails to a large extent and the influence of the black race in the affairs of the state has made no advance.

⁵¹ *Acts.* . . . 1885. p. 116; 1907. p. 103

⁵² *Acts.* . . . 1905. pp. 99; 1907. pp. 99-100

⁵³ *Acts.* . . . 1905. p. 132; 1909. pp. 171-172

Booker T. Washington has laid down a principle which might further the growth of the influence of the race. He makes a plea for the interlacing of our industrial, commercial, civil and religious life in such a way as to make the interests of both races one - "In all things that are purely social we can be as separate as the fingers, yet one as the hand in all things essential to mutual progress." ⁵⁴

THELMA BATES.

Florida State College for Women.

⁵⁴ Editorial in *Birmingham* (Ala.) *News*, June 8, 1926

JESUIT MARTYRS IN FLORIDA

Sanson d'Abbeville, the Royal Geographer of France, tells us that Florida of the latter part of the sixteenth century could be considered a part of New France, since the French were the first to establish a colony there with the consent of the inhabitants of the country. "It could be considered also as a part of New Spain, since the Spaniards have there at present two colonies, which are subject to St. Dominic, one of the Audiencias of New Spain. But these two colonies are so weak and so close to one another that they are hardly worthy of notice. We may say that Florida lies between New France and New Spain and that it stretches from the River of Palms which is on the border of the Province of Panuco, in New Spain, on up to the Jordan River that separates it from Virginia, which I consider as a part of New France." ¹

The greater part of the coast of Florida is upon the Gulf of Mexico, which washes upon its southern boundary ; the other part is upon the Sea of the North, which bathes its Eastern shore.

The Spaniards have no colony upon the Gulf of Mexico nor upon the coast where the French formerly were. The two colonies which they have in Florida are St. Augustine and St. Mathew, five or six leagues apart St. Augustine, which is the better and the stronger of the two colonies, was taken and pillaged by Francis Drake in 1585.

Florida was first discovered in 1496 by Sebastian Cabot, whom the English king, Henry VII, sent westward in search of the passage for navigation to the

¹ Nicholas Sanson d'Abbeville, *L'Amerique en Plusieurs Cartes en Divers Traitez de Geographie et D'Histoire*. . . . Paris, 1657.

Following the quotation above, the account is a translation *passim* from the same work.

Orient; he was content to have seen this country before unknown and to make a report of it to His Majesty. John Ponce de Leon in the name of the King of Castille, was there in 1512 and wished to establish there a colony. The inhabitants fought him off; they wounded him and forced him to retire to Porto Rico where he was governor. In 1520, and 1524, Lucas Vasques d'Aillon and other Spaniards descended upon the coast of Florida at divers times with no other purpose than to take away the inhabitants and transport them to work in the mines of Spain. Pamphile Narvaes was there again in 1528 and crossed the country to the Apalachi Mountains where he hoped to find gold.

In 1534 came the brilliant expedition of Ferdinand deSoto. He brought 350 cavalrymen and 900 infantry.² He crossed nearly the whole of Florida without taking the trouble to establish a colony. He molested the inhabitants and was pursued by them in turn for many years and at the end of it all found not the riches for which he had gone in search. He died in that country and was buried in the depths of a River least the enemies should lay hands upon the body. About three hundred men and three hundred horses returned from the expedition in 1543. All the advantages derived from his labor is that he gave to the country the name of Florida either because he arrived there on the day of the Feast of the Flowers or because of the flowers they found there.

In 1549 the Emperor, Charles V. and the Council of the Indies thought it better not to send thither any more men of arms but rather men of religion to soften by religion the wild manners of these people. Louis [Cancer] de Barbastra, of the Order of St. Benedict, and some other religious went thither. He and two of his companions were killed while the rest of his com-

² Many of Sanson's dates and details are incorrect.

panions saved themselves by flight back to the boat they had brought with them.

The French were not in Florida until the reign of Charles IX. Francis Ribaut was sent to Florida in 1562. He made an alliance with the inhabitants and built Fort Caroline upon the River May. Laudoniere returned to Florida in 1564 and Gascon came over in 1567³

But before continuing, adding to Sanson's story, we should recall an important factor in the making of the history of Florida: that the civil and religious history are so closely woven together during this period that to omit the religious thread would be to see only the half.

About this time there came to the shores of Florida the first of those missionaries whose organization was as yet very young but full of great promise. The Society of Jesus was founded in 1540. Thirty-one years later ten of that Society had laid down their lives upon the shores of Florida⁴ in the hope of planting the cross upon the sands and in the hearts of the natives.

The first of these was Father Pedro Martinez. The expedition in which he sailed left Spain on the 28th of June, 1566. They went first to Havana and from there set sail for St. Augustine, Florida. After sailing around for about a month (for they had no pilot) they found themselves on the 14th of September near some "unknown" land. Some of the party, among whom was Father Martinez, went ashore to reconnoitre. They had already reached shore when a storm came up and the ship was driven out to sea, leaving the landing party to its own resources. These latter wandered along the coast and finally met some In-

³ From Sanson, *op. cit.*

⁴ The limits of Florida at that period were vague, but the country under that name might be said to have extended from the Rio Grande to the Potomac rivers.

dians, from whom they asked the direction to St. Augustine. They thought they had been understood and answered and going in the direction pointed out, they came to a small island and met more Indians, the Tacatucuranos, who were at that time at war with the Spaniards. Going further on they met with other Indians who at first received them well but afterwards began to act suspiciously. One of the sailors noticed this and warned Father Martinez, who went back into the boat. But as there were still more sailors on land the party waited for them. In the meantime Indians came into the boat and began to look over it curiously. Suddenly they threw Father Martinez into the water and dragged him ashore, beating him as they dragged him. On shore the Father managed to throw himself on his knees, but as he did so one of the Indians split his head open. The three sailors who were on shore were also killed, the rest managing to escape in a boat, finally reached a Spanish post. These events were related by one of Father Martinez' companions and also by a Spaniard named Flores.⁵

On the 4th of February, 1571, four other Jesuits laid down their lives in the same cause. Father Luis de Quiros and two novice brothers Gabriel de Solis and John Baptist Mendez, Spaniards, and also an Indian novice brother who was born in Florida, were all massacred by the savages.

One of the barbarians, Don Luis de Velasco, formerly taken to Spain and solemnly baptized, had promised to assist them as interpreter. But from the moment that he again breathed his native air, he re-

⁵ The above account is from Astrain, *History of the Spanish Assistancy of the Society of Jesus*. See also, Tanner, *Societas Jesu*. . . . Prague, 1675, pp. 443-445. Shea (*Catholic Church in Colonial Days*, New York, 1886, p. 142) believes this island, Tacatacuru, is Cumberland, not far from the mouth of the St. Johns River.

covered his former ferocity. He led the missionaries into the interior of the country ⁶ and there left them for three or four months. They soon understood the lot that awaited them. They, therefore, prepared themselves for martyrdom by a life of prayer and rigorous mortifications. Father de Quiros and Brothers de Solis and Mendez detached themselves from their companions to go in search of the apostate and make a final appeal to him, and after having found him they conjured him in the name of Jesus Christ to recall his promises and his baptism. The miserable fellow pretended to listen to them and even gave his word that he would follow them without delay. But it was to sacrifice them to his gods. In fact, the next day, and at the head of a band from his tribe, he tracked them and as soon as he came upon them, he shot an arrow that cut in two the heart of Father de Quiros and gave the signal to massacre his companions. The three fell bathed in their blood. ⁷

Soon afterwards, on the 8th of February, the vice-provincial of the missions of Florida, Father John Baptist Segura, was massacred by a blow of the hatchet from the same apostate, who a few days before had taken the life of Father Luis de Quiros and companions. With him were killed in the same manner Brothers Gabriel Gomez, Sanche de Zavallos, Pierre de Linares, and Christopher Redondo who for the past four months had prepared for martyrdom in union with their saintly master. ⁸

SAMUEL H. RAY, S.J.

⁶ Near the headwaters of Chesapeake Bay.

⁷ P. Elesban de Guilhermy, S. J., *Menologe, S. J. Assis-tance d'Espagne*. Paris, 1902, p. 227. See also: Shea, op. cit. pp. 147-149; and Tanner, op. cit. p. 447.

⁸ Guilhermy, op. cit., p. 250. Shea, op.cit. pp. 149-150
[It is of much interest to know that the correspondence of the Jesuit missionaries in Florida is soon to appear in Reverend Father Astrain's Monumenta Historica Societatis Jesu-Monumenta Mexicana; Vol. II, Part I. - Ed.]

BOOK REVIEW

Florida Plantation Records from the Papers of George Noble Jones. Edited by Ulrich Bonnell Phillips, Ph.D., Professor of American History in the University of Michigan, and James David Glunt, A. M., Instructor in History in the University of Florida. [Publications of the Missouri Historical Society.] (St. Louis, 1927, x, 596 pp.)

Among historical students it is a truism that no reasonably accurate and complete history can be written without a wealth of source material. The lack of such matter has been & great handicap to all writers of Florida history. However, more and more of the original documents are now being brought to light and published. For the Spanish period the work of the Florida State Historical Society and of Herbert Eugene Bolton is particularly notable. Through the instrumentality of the National Government the documents in Washington relating to territorial days will soon be made available. The latest addition to this lengthening list of pioneer works is the volume now under discussion.

The heart of the old South's civilization was the plantation, and its prosperity rested on the production of cotton. In a general way every one knows the chief features of this industry, but the actual everyday life on the cotton plantation is a sealed book to most of us. In Dr. Phillips' work there are one hundred and eighteen pages of letters written by the overseers of two Middle Florida plantations, El Destino and Chemonie, to the owner, George Noble Jones, between February 9, 1848, and May 3, 1858. In this correspondence with its phonetic (probably a more accurate term would be non-phonetic) spelling and its

ungrammatical language, we see life on a Florida plantation in all its grim reality,-with its hopes of bumper crops ruined time and again by the elements, with its diseases and its crude medical treatments, with its routine of work, and with its punishments. It is unfortunate that not a single letter of the war period has survived, and comparatively few of the disastrous years of the reconstruction nightmare.

Following the correspondence there are about three hundred pages of transcripts taken from the daily journals made by the overseers of the two plantations between January, 1847, and August, 1857. At first sight these journals seem devoid of great interest. However, the cumulative effect of hundreds of entries enables us to form a fairly clear picture of plantation life, which supplements the impressions gained by reading the overseers' letters.

The remainder of the source material in the volume consists of various inventories of slaves, livestock, implements and foodstuffs, of bills, of lists of needed supplies, etc. Considered in their entirety these records of El Destino and Chemonie supply us with valuable information about antebellum conditions in the Tallahassee country ; although, as the editor suggests, records of other plantations must be brought to light and studied before we can generalize.

Professor Phillips, the chief editor of the collection, is a native of Georgia. He has been engaged for more than twenty years in collecting source material on southern history and has published a number of authoritative works in this field. It is consequently to be expected that his forty-two page introduction is as valuable as any other part of the volume. The titles of the subdivisions indicate its scope: Plantation Records in General, The George Noble Jones Papers in Particular, The Plantation Realm and the Province

of Middle Florida, The Owners of El Destino and Chemonie, The Overseers, The Slaves, Freedmen, Up-keep and Output. When the statement is made that it has the scholarliness and breadth of vision found in the author's *American Negro Slavery*, nothing more need be added.

The assistant editor, James D. Glunt, instructor in history in the University of Florida, has a brief article on El Destino and Chemonie in 1925. It is difficult to decide what the purpose of the article is—probably to give a popular touch to the volume, or perhaps to show the changes wrought by fifty or sixty years in the cotton plantations of the old Lower South. If the latter is the purpose, this article will be of greater interest to later historians than to those of the present generation.

The reviewer hopes that the book will be read by Floridians who are interested in the records of their state and that it will stimulate them to unearth and preserve other plantation material.

JAMES OWEN KNAUSS.

NOTES AND COMMENT

On the invitation of President L. M. Spivey and Professor S. G. Coe of the Department of History of Southern College, Lakeland, extended at the annual meeting in February last, this year's meeting of the Society will be held at that College on Tuesday, the seventh of February. Members from many parts of the State came to Winter Park last year; may not those who are working for the success of this meeting be greeted by a gathering from every part of Florida? All who know our hosts, the College, and Lakeland, assure you of a cordial welcome. Will you not come!

The last line of Dr. Knauss's review of *Florida Plantation Records*, in this number, is characteristic of him. It is another plea to Floridians to search out and preserve the few remaining records of Florida's past. Perhaps no one in the State has done more to forward that work than he ; and though now in a distant part of the country he loses no opportunity to remind us that these scattered documents still in private hands are fast being thrown away or destroyed. While in Florida he was continually searching for such material, and it might well be that the records and letters which were the source of the above mentioned volume owe their discovery and preservation to him.

It will be asked why the work was published by the Missouri Historical Society. While in Tallahassee, Dr. Knauss came upon these journals and letters in the attic of El Destino plantation-house, where by degrees they were being destroyed. Recognizing their

value, he secured permission from the owner, George Noble Jones, of Savannah, for their removal and preservation; but meanwhile the caretaker of the plantation, thus learning of their value, sold the lot to a dealer in antiquities, and they were at length bought by the Missouri Historical Society. It was not until arrangements had been made for the publication of a large part of the material that that society learned that ownership still rested with Mr. Jones. He agreed to their publication as planned.

Many of the records from El Destino and Chemonie plantations were not published, and these and some other documents in his possession relating to Florida have been presented to The Florida Historical Society by Mr. Jones. A number of these will be given to our readers when the *QUARTERLY* is able to publish them.

So little is known of Anglican Church history in Florida that the following note on that subject, sent to the *QUARTERLY* by Reverend Edgar L. Pennington, a member of the Society, is of much interest:

Dr. Thomas Secker, Archbishop of Canterbury, carried on a correspondence with Dr. Samuel Johnson, the first president of King's College (now Columbia University), New York, for some time; the letters that have been published show that his Grace relied to a large degree on the judgment of the American divine in matters affecting the Church of England in the American colonies. The Archbishop was at the head of the great missionary organization of the Church, the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel in Foreign Parts. In a letter written by Archbishop Secker to "Good Dr. Johnson," the 22nd of May, 1764, we find a paragraph which shows that the Eng-

lish Church was no sooner cognizant of Florida as a British possession than it made plans to establish missionaries on the ground. - "Four clergymen will be appointed for Florida, with salaries of 100 pounds each ; and four schoolmasters with 25 pounds each ; and the Society have been desired to provide them." (Beardsley, *Life and Correspondence of Samuel Johnson*, pp. 281-282.)

EDGAR LEGARE PENNINGTON.

A note of an incident which should be more widely known has been sent to the **QUARTERLY** by Thomas Frederick Davis. This is taken from *Narrative of a Voyage to the Spanish Main in the Ship Two Friends* (London, 1819).

Hidlis Hadjo, an Indian Chief, sometimes called Francis the Prophet, went with Colonel Nichols to England, and upon returning to Florida was captured and executed by General Jackson. A short time previous to his capture "a straggler from the militia of Georgia, named M'Krimmon, was captured by the Indians, and was about to be sacrificed to Indian vengeance, tied to the stake, the tomahawk raised to terminate his existence, no chance appeared of escape ; at that moment Millie Francis, the daughter of Hidlis Hadjo, placed herself between the executioner and his victim, and arrested his uplifted arm ; then throwing herself at the feet of her father, she implored the life of his prisoner; it was granted, and he was liberated. To the honor of M'Krimmon, it must be added, that some time after, learning that Milly Francis had given herself up, with others of her unfortunate race, in a state of wretched destitution, to the commander of Fort Clairborne, he immediately set forward to render her assistance, determined to make her his wife, and thus in some sort, repay the noble and dis-

interested generosity of his savior. Milly, upon learning the intentions of M'Krimmon, declared that she was not influenced by any personal motive, that she should have acted in the same way for any other unfortunate victim ; she therefore declined his offer."

These have become members of the Society during the past quarter:

Contributing member-

Richmond, Mrs. Henry L. Jacksonville

Active members-

| | |
|---------------------------|------------------|
| Burton, Clara | Orlando |
| Doonan, J. T. | Atlanta, Georgia |
| Douglas, Lean R. | Dade City |
| Gibbs, George A. | Tampa |
| Hall, T. B. | Miami Beach |
| Landrum, Annie Burke | Pensacola |
| Lowry, Mrs. S. deLeon | Tampa |
| May, F. P. | Quincy |
| Miller, F. D. | Jacksonville |
| McDonald, Mrs. Frances M. | Jacksonville |
| Saxon, George W. | Tallahassee |
| Sistrunk, Mrs. S. T. | Ocala |
| Van Geyt, Peter J. | Tampa |

The following volumes have been donated to the library of the Society:

By T. Frederick Davis:

Cutler, *History of Florida, Past and Present.* 3 vols.

Chapin, *Florida, 1513-1913, Past, Present and Future.*

Copy of testimony, court-martial of Arbuthnot and Ambrister.

By Duncan U. Fletcher:

Inside Route Pilot, Key West to the Rio Grande,
1925

do. New York to Key West, 1927

Senate Documents

By J. W. White:

Webb's Jacksonville and Consolidated Directory,
1886. Containing directories of St. Augustine,
Palatka, Gainesville, Orlando, Ocala, Tampa,
and Kissimmee.

By A. H. Roberts:

Photograph of monument marking the intersec-
tion of the guide meridian and base parallel
for Florida.

By W. L. Hill :

Copy of the treaty of 1783 between Great Britain
and Spain.