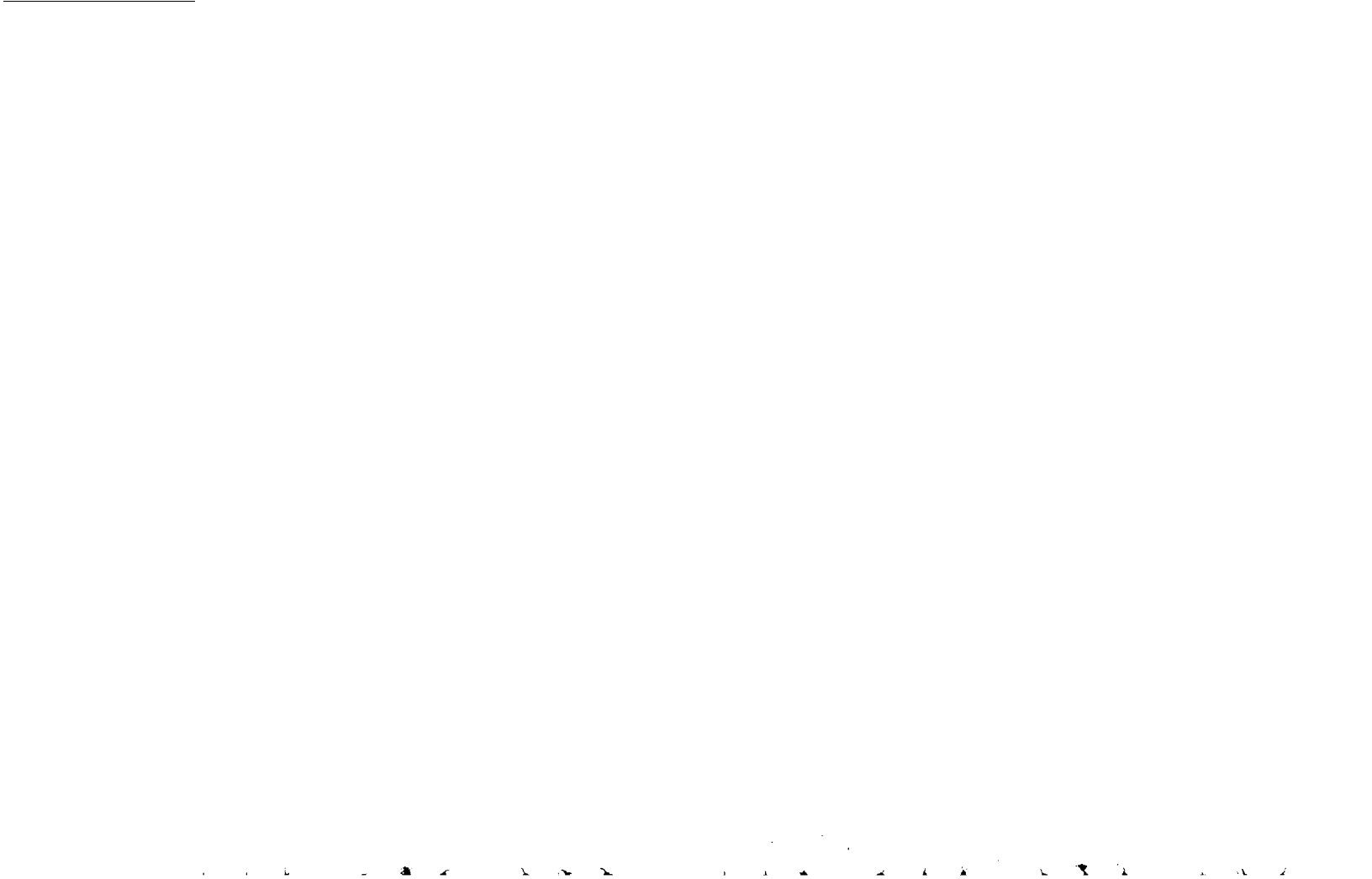




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EARLY EDUCATION IN TALLAHASSEE AND THE
WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY, NOW FLORIDA
STATE UNIVERSITY

by WILLIAM G. DODD

PART I

The school problems of early Tallahassee, after a long process of trial and error, were finally solved by the establishment, on January 1, 1857, of the West Florida Seminary. Though the Seminary was nominally a State institution, actually for many years nearly all of its students were from Tallahassee and vicinity, and it was to all intents and purposes a Tallahassee school. With its location in the town, citizens were at last assured of a permanent means of educating their sons, and a little later, their daughters also. Until this fortunate event, Tallahassee, like the other towns of the Territory and the young State, was left to her own resources, never too abundant, in meeting this essential civic obligation.

For twenty-five years a succession of private schools and two chartered academies furnished the boys and girls of the community with their only opportunity for schooling, unless parents could afford and preferred the instruction of a tutor or a governess for their children. The private schools were, with hardly an exception, short-lived. The academies were intended to be permanent, but only one of them fulfilled its intention. Nevertheless, as they were the only educational institutions which could make any claim to being sponsored by the community, our interest in Tallahassee schools of the early period finds its center mainly in the two academies.

The education provided for the children of Tallahassee differed in no essential from that of the South in general. The separation of the sexes through all the grades, the public examination at the close of each term, the fixed curriculum, the requisite charge for tuition, - all were typical and obtained, with the necessary changes in individual cases, in all schools, private and corporate, until the middle of the century.

The course of study comprised the primary and intermediate subjects, as well as an advanced or so-called collegiate course covering some of our high-school curriculum and a good deal in addition to it. Current parlance designated the pre-collegiate subjects as the "common" or "English" branches, and that part of the pupil's education as a "common school" or, more often, as an "English," education. Up to this point, the program of study was identical for boys and girls.

The four-year advanced course for boys was built around mathematics and the classics. In fully equipped schools, the elementary biological and physical sciences, under the names respectively of "natural history" and "natural philosophy," were also regarded as core material. The curriculum was filled out with general history; sometimes with modern language, and always with English, including rhetoric, composition, declamation, and literature or "belles lettres ;" with "mental science," "moral science" and logic.

In the higher course of the female school, for mathematics and Greek were substituted subjects thought to be more suitable for girls. Modern language, usually French, was studied instead of Greek. Music, that is to say, piano, was taught and "taken" regularly; but there is no record of instruction in voice and singing, either solo or choral. The customary description of a desirable female education was "the useful and polite." Included in the latter were drawing, painting, needle-work, wax-work, guitar, and other "ornamental branches."

A complete curriculum was offered to girls first in Leon Female Academy in 1844, and to boys about ten years later in Florida Institute, the immediate predecessor of the West Florida Seminary. Needless to say, private schools could not, and did not, pretend to teach all the subjects of a fully developed curriculum.

The average tuition in boys' schools for a five months' term scaled upward from \$12.50 for the primary branches to about \$22.50 for the advanced course. In girls' schools, the range was from \$11.50 to \$17.50. The

higher fee points to the fact that few schools for girls were concerned with offerings beyond an English education. Frequently, however, special subjects which, like French, were considered a necessary part of a girl's "polite" education, and regularly the special subjects, such as music, painting, and drawing, were charged extra by the subject.

Leon Academy

Very soon after Tallahassee began its corporate existence, interested citizens were making plans for a boys' school. Their concern led to the establishment, early in 1827, of the Leon Academy. Not until seventeen years later did public-spirited men meet the long growing need of a similar school for girls by founding the Leon Female Academy. The fortunes of the two institutions were notably different. From the very first, Leon Academy had to struggle to maintain itself, and in the end it succumbed to financial distress, and about 1840 ceased to exist. On the other hand, Leon Female Academy, once it was launched, continued its career with reasonable success until, in 1858, it was absorbed in the West Florida Seminary.

The first public notice of Leon Academy was the advertisement in the *Pensacola Gazette* of March 9, 1827, which stated that the Academy was "under the superintendence" of Rev. Henry M. White, A. M. ¹ Rev. Mr. White was a Presbyterian minister who through some portion of 1826 had been endeavoring to persuade the people of Tallahassee of their need not only of "the Gospel" but also a "seminary of learning." As of late December 1826, his success in promoting the school had been quite negligible. Associated with him in the enterprise were William Wyatt and a few other zealous townsmen. And we are to understand that the founding of the

1. J. O. Knauss, "Education in Early Florida, 1821-1829," *Florida Historical Quarterly* April, 1925, p. 26.

Academy in time to open in March 1827 was due to the efforts of this group.²

The Academy building, erected not later than 1828 and possibly earlier, was built originally as a school and a "house of worship." Appropriately, it was made possible by subscriptions from interested individuals as well as from the municipality itself.³ We need not think of the structure as in any way imposing. It was later spoken of as having an "upper room."⁴ It, therefore, had two stories or, at, least, a story and a half. The lower floor may have been large enough to seat 40 to 50 pupils, with extra space for additional chairs, if needed, on Sunday. The appointments were, no doubt, the simplest and plainest possible.⁵

At the beginning of 1831, Leon Academy was certainly under the control of the Tallahassee City Council, and it is not improbable that the supervision of the school had been committed to the Council from the beginning. If so, from its inception, the Academy was looked upon as the village school. The city government was thus authorized to appoint trustees who were to see to all such matters as "would tend to the interest and good govern-

2. The facts stated are in a letter from Rev. Mr. White to Col. H. D. Stone, dated December 27, 1826. Col. Stone was president of the Legislative Council of 1827, and at the time Rev. Mr. White was chaplain. The letter is in the Florida State Library.

3. *Florida Advocate*, January 3, 1829. Financial statement of Tallahassee for 1828, including a number of items for 1827. This lists the payment of \$208.00 to John W. Levinus, the builder, for the city's subscription "for the erection of Leon Academy and house of worship." Throughout its subsequent history, it was frequently used for Sunday Schools and for "divine services" on Sunday. At least once, it served as an art museum, when the itinerant artist P. Copman, displayed his "Gallery of Paintings" in the "old Academy Buildings" (*Floridian*, October 21, 1839).

4. *Florida Sentinel*, November 28, 1843.

5. Of lesser importance is the exact location of the Academy. From our sources of information this cannot be ascertained. It can be said with much certainty, however, that the site of the school was in the northwest part of the town as originally plotted, within the area bounded at present on the north and south by Park and College avenues, and on the east and west by Duval and Boulevard streets. (Leon Co. Deed Book A, pp. 191-192; Isham G. Searcy's Map of Early Tallahassee, a fascimile of which is in the Florida State Library).

ment of the institution." ⁶ As Leon Academy was incorporated by an act of the Legislative Council of February 12, 1831, the ordinance of February 8, which charged the trustees with their duties, must have been passed with the sympathy and understanding of the trustees named in the act of incorporation. They were David B. McComb, James McMullin, Robert Butler, Turbott Betton, John P. Duval, John V. Gary, and Leslie A. Thompson. ⁷

The administrative record of the school was a sorry one. In the nine years from its opening in March 1827 to the summer of 1836, six men are known to have had charge of the Academy as principals. This continual turn-over could not have been wholly due to inefficiency; for at least one of the six, James H. Cox, a graduate of Hampden-Sidney College and principal of the Academy from 1832 to 1834, is shown by his record to have been a highly competent and resourceful administrator. The lack of financial resources defeated all his plans, as it probably did those of the other principals. In September 1836, John M. Brook, a Virginian, announced that on October 3 he would open Leon Academy as a "private Seminary for boys." ⁸ These words can mean only that the trustees had ceased to operate the Academy, though no doubt they continued to control and manage its property. The school itself as a going concern had "folded."

When the activities of the Academy had thus been suspended for about four years, the trustees made one final desperate effort to keep the old school from dying on their hands. To this end, they addressed to the Legislative Council of 1840 a petition which is significant for two things: the clear picture it gives of the deplorable school conditions in the town, and the means of correct-

6. *Floridian and Advocate*, March 24, 1831. City ordinance of February 8, 1831.

7. *Florida (Ter.) Acts 1831*, p. 86.

8. *Floridian*, September 17, 1836.

ing them which the petitioners proposed and which they asked the Council to sanction.⁹

The petition recited that although the population of Tallahassee was growing rapidly and its prosperity was increasing daily, the town had almost no school facilities, there being at the time only one school for girls and none for boys. This sad state of affairs existed simply because no money was available to provide suitable and necessary buildings. The petitioners adroitly assured the Council that they were asking for no appropriation from the Territorial treasury, already overburdened by the expenses of the Indian War. But they did desire to direct the Council's attention to the fact that in the older states, large sums of money were being raised for schools and education by lotteries. And they appealed to the "enlightened generosity" of the Council to authorize them to raise by like means of lotteries enough money to erect two school buildings, one for girls and one for boys.

The trustees must have conveyed their flattering appeal to the Council with tongue in cheek ; and they could not have been greatly surprised when the Council very promptly turned it down. The only immediate help the legislators could, or would, offer was to pass on March 2 an "Act in Relation to the Trustees of Leon Academy,"¹⁰ whereby certain school funds in the custody of the Treasurer of the Territory were to be paid to the trustees "to assist said trustees in building an Academy."¹¹

How much the provisions of the act netted the petitioners, we do not know. One thing is certain : no new buildings were erected. The school officials, nevertheless, continued their efforts, and on March 4, 1840, they an-

9. The manuscript of the petition, which is in the vault of the Secretary of State, is undated; but its contents as well as the action of the Council show clearly it was addressed to the Legislative Council of 1840. It was signed by T. R. Betton, J. P. Duval, Francis Eppes, Thomas Brown, R. Y. Welford, A. F. Duval, and A. M. Gatlin, the first five by the proxy of A. M. Gatlin, Secretary of the Board.

10. Florida (Ter.) House of Representatives *Journal* 1840, pp. 40 ff.

11. Florida (Ter.) *Acts* 1840, p. 63.

nounced that they had established a male school which would open on March 9 "in the old Methodist Meeting House,"¹² and that they had engaged Mr. Sheftall and Dr. Moore to take charge of it. At the same time, they made their final appeal to the public: "In this new attempt to establish Academies in the City, the trustees earnestly appeal to the pride and invoke the aid of their fellow-citizens : they trust that while flourishing Academies are liberally supported elsewhere around them, the inhabitants of the Capital of the Territory will henceforward manifest a more devoted interest in cherishing their own City institutions."

Sad to relate, the pride to which they appealed did not exist, or at least was dormant. There is no record that their manly solicitation brought any marked or unusual response. The Academy, it seems, "petered out" for good and all. The only thing that remained was the old building, which continued to serve various purposes for some years. Of its final fate, nothing is known.

The opinion or "belief" is sometimes expressed¹³ that Leon Academy was the forerunner from which developed the West Florida Seminary and later the Florida State College for Women. This has no basis in fact. Leon Academy died of inanition in 1840. The Seminary was founded seventeen years later. The only connection between the two is in the fact that some of the leading citizens of Tallahassee were interested in both institutions.

As we have seen, the trustees, in attempting to prolong the life of Leon Academy, envisaged the erection of both a male and a female Academy building. So far as the boys' education was concerned, these men were able to accept the total failure of their plan, if not with complacency, at least with resignation. The younger boys were at least no worse off than they had been, as they could still have private teachers. And parents who so desired and who possessed the means could send their older sons to northern schools to complete their education, as some of them had already been doing.

12. *Floridian*, March 7, 1840.

13. For example, Dr. Knauss, *op. cit.* p. 26, refers to this "belief."

Female Academy of Leon

The education of girls was another matter. In a society whose chivalric ideals gave a cardinal position to the protection of womanhood, parents preferred to keep their daughters within the purview of the home until their education was complete. The transitory private schools had never served this desirable end, even reasonably well. But for want of anything better, the parents had continued to depend on them until at length the uncertainty and inadequacy of their daughters' education forced them to recognize the necessity of a permanent community school. This tardy realization was the occasion of the new era in female education which began in the fall of 1843 with the arrival in Tallahassee of the Misses Bates.

Miss Mary Bates and her two younger sisters came from South Carolina where for six years they had been successful teachers. The immediate reason for their removal was their delicate health and the hope that the climate of Florida would be beneficial to them.¹⁴ Their reputation as teachers preceded their coming and their advent was hailed as a most fortunate occurrence for the town. Twelve men, important in civic affairs and in the State government, gave their names as references.¹⁵ And the enthusiastic editor of the *Sentinel* declared that "so favorable an opportunity for the establishment of a permanent and well-conducted literary institution" had never before been offered to the community.¹⁶

The Misses Bates opened their school on Monday, November 20, 1843, "in the upper room of the Academy." This arrangement was in no way satisfactory, and the school operated "under great disadvantages." However, these inconveniences could be endured, for the ladies obligated themselves to their patrons for only one term

14. *Florida Sentinel*, October 22, 1844.

15. They were B. F. Whitner, Richard Hayward, John P. Duval, S. S. Sibley, Thomas Brown, Rev. Joshua Phelps, Francis Eppes, David C. Wilson, Thomas Baltzell, Robert J. Hackley, James E. Broome, James D. Westcott, Jr. (*Florida Sentinel*, November 28, 1843.)

16. *Ibid.*

of five months, pending the result of their trial of the Florida climate.¹⁷ Fortunately, at the end of the session, the experiment was regarded as satisfactory. The ladies' health was better, and the patrons were well pleased with their school. The three teachers, therefore, made their plans to remain in Florida.

The outcome of this decision is made clear in an advertisement which appeared in the *Sentinel* of September 21, 1844. It was headed "Female Academy of Leon" and was signed by the trustees B. F. Whitner, Richard Hayward, David C. Wilson, and Thomas Baltzell. It announced the opening of "this institution" on November 4, under the direction of the, Misses Bates, and stated further, "through the generosity of the public, we are enabled to prepare suitable buildings in an admirable situation, and to procure the necessary school apparatus." Certain other events help us to make this statement more explicit.

On September 18, 1844, Anderson Peeler and Mary Jane Peeler, for a consideration of \$100.00, deeded to the trustees of the Female Academy of Leon lot 216, North Addition, fronting 85 feet on Bronough Street and 170 feet deep, "for the purpose of erecting thereon a Female Academy with other suitable improvements."¹⁸ This was the "admirable situation" of the new school.

From the words "preparation of suitable buildings" we are to understand that the trustees considered the six weeks between the date of the deed and November 4 when the school was to open, to be long enough to erect the necessary building, even though it may not have been complete in all details. Just how the trustees financed the total project, we are not told; but the expression "the generosity of the public" suggests that, in addition to the gift of the lot by the Peelers, a considerable contribution for the building and equipment was made by in-

17. *Ibid.* October 22, 1844.

18. Leon Co. Deed Book G, 623. At some subsequent date, the Trustees acquired lot 217, adjoining lot 216 on the north. As late as 1911, a building on the site in question was used for school purposes and was popularly referred to as the Female Academy.

terested citizens, including no doubt the trustees themselves.

The final step of placing the school on a firm legal basis was taken the following spring. By the act of the Legislative Council of March 11, 1845, seven citizens of Tallahassee were incorporated as the Trustees of Leon Female Academy. The seven were those who had signed the advertisement of September 21, 1844 with the addition of George W. Call, George S. C. Johnson, and James E. Broome.

The acclaim with which the Bates sisters were greeted on their arrival in Tallahassee proved to be well deserved. They organized and administered a course of study which met completely the contemporary standard of a "useful and polite education" and whose intrinsic value was no less than that of the curriculum offered to boys thirteen years later in the West Florida Seminary. The Misses Bates are known to have directed the school through the summer of 1845.¹⁹ After that season, there is no further mention of them in the local papers; but it seems likely that they continued in charge of the Academy until the spring of 1846. At this point, it is appropriate to give a brief account of Tallahassee's private schools, with one of which the subsequent history of Leon Female Academy was directly connected.

Private Schools at Statehood

The private schools were, for the most part, one-teacher affairs, set up in rented quarters. Some of them were conducted by citizens of the town. But by far the greater number of private teachers, both men and women, came from places farther north, attracted by what seemed the need in Tallahassee of their particular form of public service. It was a pathetic and unwholesome feature of some of these ventures that the health of the newcomers was seriously impaired, and that they came to Florida to escape the rigors of northern winters. And too frequently the common scourge of tuberculosis cut

19. *Star of Florida*, May 16, 1845.

short their careers not long after their arrival in Tallahassee.

All the early schools depended for their existence on the tuition received. The master of a private school and the principal appointed by the trustees of one of the academies alike operated their schools at their own risk and made out of them what they could, if anything. Competition, the fickleness of patrons, and still worse, the facile indifference of some of them about paying their children's tuition fees, were some of the adverse conditions which made the "business of teaching" an exceedingly precarious one. And it is hardly surprising that the story of the private schools is an almost unbroken account of their financial failure and early death.

At the distance of a century, the sites of these old schools, as announced, have a quaint sound. Designations like "the house lately occupied by Mr. Bronough," or "the building in the rear of the Episcopal Church," or "the house opposite the Post Office" mean nothing to modern ears except something vaguely remote. But in the village, they served their purpose as well as a street name and a house number. On the other hand, a number of locations, frequently used for school purposes, can still be identified. Such, for example, were the Leon Academy, the lower floor of the Masonic Hall, the Methodist Church with its adjacent parsonage, and the basement of the Court House.²⁰

The physical equipment of the private schools was no doubt extremely simple. Ordinarily, one fairly large room with desks for pupils, a table and chair for the teacher, a blackboard and perhaps some maps, would meet practically all the needs. But the meagre fittings in no way hindered their enjoyment of high-sounding names. A few were content to be called simply "school" or "select school" but many adopted the more imposing title of seminary or institute or academy. In the familiar

20. The Masonic Hall, which was located near the Leon Academy, was a two-story building, the upper floor being used for lodge purposes and the lower as a school-room (Mary L. Davis, "Tallahassee through Territorial Days," *Apalachee* 1944, p. 53).

manner of a small town, the terms were used interchangeably and without any consistency.

The first school for girls was opened on October 12, 1829, by Mrs. Jane Gray.²¹ Others followed fast. In the succeeding twelve years, as many girls' schools announced their offerings in the town papers. Competition was keen, and in some seasons as many as three schools were going at the same time. About one-half of the twelve were boarding-schools which their mistresses conducted in their own homes; and of these some were primary and elementary schools for girls under twelve years of age.

In few, if any, of those which operated outside the home and which professed to offer a suitable education for girls, did the course of study comprise anything above the English branches. But they all showed a strong predilection for the "ornamental branches" from which a substantial portion of the school income was derived. The establishment of the Female Academy in 1844 did away with the need of separate girls' schools, and practically, if not entirely, eliminated them.²²

With the final collapse of Leon Academy in 1840, the field of boys' education was turned over to the private teachers. For ten years, boys' schools came and went almost with the regularity of the seasons. We may not assume that all of them were advertised; some, apparently, were not. But of the teachers who did announce their designs to the public, there was a long procession. Each year until late in the decade, a boy in the small town

21. *Florida Advocate*, October 6, 1829. About the same time, Thomas Esten Randolph announced his intention of starting a "Boarding School for Young Ladies" at his home eleven miles northeast of Tallahassee (*Ibid.* September 22, 1829). It is not known whether this project ever materialized.

22. Only two of the female schools of the thirties are worthy of more than passing mention. In 1834, Mrs. Mary E. Brown, of Columbus, Georgia, opened a school in the basement of the Methodist parsonage, and with the support of prominent citizens was able to keep it going for almost two years. From June 1834 to June 1835 Rev. James H. Tyng, an Episcopal minister who came from the diocese of Pennsylvania as missionary to Tallahassee, as a part of his Christian ministry conducted a select school for girls which he advertised as a Female Seminary.

had two schools to choose from, and in some years, three. The field of male education was a veritable waste land.

A few of the masters of these schools reveal in their announcements personalities which, in a more extended account, it would be interesting to dwell upon. But most of them are to us of today only names. Of them all, there was but one whose character, training, and experience enabled and entitled him to hold a place of historical importance in the development of Tallahassee schools.

Rev. William Neil was a native of North Carolina, a graduate of the College of New Jersey, and a student of divinity at the Princeton Theological Seminary. While at Princeton, he met Eliza A. Bogart, who later became his wife and also his efficient assistant in educational work.

On November 3, 1845, he opened his Male Academy in the south basement of the Court House. At the time he was forty-five years old, and had been a teacher for fifteen years. And although he was trained primarily for the ministry, it was his fixed purpose to continue teaching as a complementary vocation.²³ He had left his work in Petersburg, Virginia, on the assurance of prospective patrons that Tallahassee needed and desired a permanent school of a high order. And it is pleasant to note that the worth of both Mr. and Mrs. Neil was recognized by enough citizens of the right kind to induce them to remain in Tallahassee for eight years. After they had been in Florida a little less than a year they became identified with the Leon Female Academy, the account of which is now resumed.

When, in the spring of 1846, the Misses Bates, as it seems, severed their connection with the Female Academy, the trustees turned to William Neil and his wife to take charge of the school. Neil's announcement in the fall of 1846 called it the Leon Male and Female Academy,

23. *Florida Sentinel*, November 11, 1845 ; E. C. Scott, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S., 1861-1941* (Austin, Texas, 1942), p. 534. Neil was received as a member of the Presbytery of Florida in June, 1846. He was not at any time the pastor of the Tallahassee Presbyterian Church, but throughout his stay in Florida was stated supply at Iamonia Church (*ibid.*).

and Mrs. Eliza Neil was named as principal of the female department. From this we are permitted to infer that the trustees agreed for Mr. Neil to move his male school from the Court House to the premises of the Academy. He was thus conveniently situated, with his wife's help, to direct both schools.

The arrangement thus effected continued until the summer of 1850. Of the internal affairs of the Academy through those years, we know almost nothing. But we do know that the Neils were highly regarded as citizens and teachers. To hold the confidence of the Tallahassee public for five years was no mean achievement. And it was a notable testimonial to their ability and trustworthiness that in 1850 Mr. Neil was called to administer the newly established Free School, while Mrs. Neil was left in charge of the Female Academy.

The decade of the fifties brought about highly important developments in Tallahassee school affairs. The continuity of the Female Academy, which had been in uninterrupted operation for five years, was unbroken for another eight. Out of the chaos of the forties in boys' education grew plans which culminated in the town's securing the West Florida Seminary. Eighteen months later, the fortunes of the Academy and the Seminary were joined in a school system whose stability enabled it to last out the century. These significant events are to be related, in some detail, in succeeding paragraphs.

A "Free School"

For a small town, Tallahassee was fortunate in having a large number of forward-looking citizens. Such men, we may well understand, were not content merely to accept the low state to which the education of their boys had sunk. In their plans to do something about the situation, they were encouraged, or at least influenced, by the agitation through the decade of the forties in favor of a State system of public schools, ultimately provided for in the Act of January 10, 1849. As public education must be based on taxation, it is not unlikely that

the discussions and plans of the state legislature strengthened the belief of many Tallahassee citizens that in taxation must be found the solution of their own school problem. At any rate, for some time before the close of the decade, there had been growing in the town a sentiment for trying out a new plan of free education.

The sentiment crystallized on December 26, 1849 in a public meeting of "citizens friendly to the establishment of a Common School." The meeting was held in the court house, and was presided over by Captain R. A. Shine, a contractor and builder whose name appears frequently in the records of the city government and of various city schools. The resolution which the citizens adopted unanimously marked the very beginning of Tallahassee's Free School project. By it, the intendant was requested to instruct the inspectors in the city election of January 7, 1850, to poll the voters *viva voce* on the question: "Are you, or not, in favor of the establishment by the City Government of a Public School?"²⁴

The exact result of the poll, unfortunately, is lost; but it is certain that a large majority voted "yes."²⁵ Accordingly, on March 26, 1850, the City Council passed an ordinance "to establish a Free School for the City of Tallahassee." By its provisions the Council, acting as a Board of Trustees, was to have general direction of the school. The first session was to begin on April 1, 1850 and to conclude on August 13. A teacher was to be engaged for six months, and to be paid from the city treasury at the rate of \$800.00 a year. Male children not under seven years of age, residing within the corporate limits of Tallahassee, were to be admitted free; and those residing beyond these limits could be admitted on such terms as the Council-determined. It was hoped to make the school coeducational later, if the finances of the city warranted it, but at the time no provision was made for an increase in taxes.²⁶

24. *Floridian and Journal*, December 29, 1849.

25. *Ibid.*, February 21, 1859. Article by "Philo Coleman."

26. *Ibid.*, March 30, 1860.

In the meantime, the Council had advertised for a teacher to take charge of the "free male school" at a salary of \$800.00 a year.²⁷ They thus secured Jesse P. Smith, a graduate of the University of North Carolina and, for the preceding five years, principal of the male school at Fayetteville in that state.²⁸ On the appointed day, April 1, the Free School opened in the lower story of the old Masonic Hall. The use of this room was said to be "for the present," from which, in view of later developments, we may understand that the City Council hoped in time to have its own school building.

As by the terms of the ordinance of March 26 Smith was engaged for only six months, his contract ended on September 30, and he was not reengaged. This short tenure might indicate that the relations between Smith and the Council were not satisfactory. It is just as likely, however, that the Council had already selected William Neil as the permanent principal on the understanding that he could finish the school year at the Female Academy, and that Smith was engaged for the interim only.²⁹

On October 1 the "Public School" reopened with Neil in charge and with A. Warner Clisby as his assistant.³⁰ The two were reengaged to conduct the "City Common School" for the year 1851-1852,³¹ and they continued in charge until the school ceased to operate in March 1853.³²

The details of Tallahassee's cautious venture in free education are impossible to determine. In April 1851 the editor of the *Floridian*, with the intendant (mayor) visit-

27. *Florida Sentinel*, March 5, 1850.

28. *Floridian and Journal*, March 30, 1850.

29. On October 7, Smith opened his own school for boys which he called the Tallahassee High School. During the same fall and winter three other private schools were being operated: one for boys; by J. B. Galbraith, and two for girls, one each by a Miss Smith and by Miss Elizabeth C. Clayton of Charleston, South Carolina. The Free School had plenty of competition!

30. *Florida Sentinel*, September 24, 1850.

31. *Ibid.*, September 23, 1851

32. The Neils left Tallahassee for Virginia in the summer of 1853. Mrs. Neil died in 1872. Mr. Neil died in Texas in 1881, aged 81 years. (E. C. Scott, *Ministerial Directory of the Presbyterian Church, U. S.*, 1861-1941 (Austin, Texas, 1942), p. 534.

ed the school and was "gratified at the attendance" and at the progress the pupils seemed to be making; but this tepid cliché tells us nothing about the school. Except for some meager details in the financial reports of the City for 1850 and 1853, our remaining information is limited to the fact that the City Council for 1853, at their first meeting on January 10, decided to discontinue the school at the close of the term on March 31.³³

The Free School's short career of three years does not necessarily indicate that it was a failure while it lasted, nor that it might not have developed into a satisfactory means of educating the children of the town, had enough patrons so desired. The project, however, did not receive the proper patronage; and marked disagreements in the town as to its wisdom, or even its feasibility, are plainly indicated.

Even before the school opened, one of city's editors was raising the question whether the action of the Council was not premature, seeing that the city possessed neither the building nor the appointments without which no school could prosper. And he reminded the authorities that precipitate action would endanger, if it did not defeat, their long term plans.³⁴ Back of such public comment must have been wide discussion, *pro* and *con*, of the city's attempt to support a free school.

At the end of the year 1851 two opposing parties were taking steps to get control of the city government. In the election of January 8, 1852, voters were confronted with two lists of candidates, the "School Ticket" and the "Corporation Ticket." The difference between the two parties, apparently, was something relating to schools, but what the specific issue was we are not told. It may have had something to do with the free school; or, since the city was soon to face the question of building a new school-house, something pertaining to this may have entered the issue.

33. *Floridian and Journal*, January 15, 1853. The financial statements referred to show that the Council was paying, in round numbers, \$1,400.00 a year for teachers and that at the closing of the school on March 31, 1853, the sum of \$345.00 was still due the instructors.

34. *Florida Sentinel*, March 5, 1850.

The candidates on the school ticket were, with one exception, the same as had composed the City Council for 1851, and in the January election, this group was returned to office with David S. Walker as the new intendant. Whatever plans the corporation group may have had were therefore put aside for the time being. But in January 1853 a Council was elected which discontinued the free school and gave their support to the plans already in progress for erecting a new school building. The dissolution of the free school, therefore, was in no sense an abandonment of the free school policy. It represented simply a change in the city's plans for maintaining such a school. The modified plan and the new building enterprise were the results of certain actions of the state legislature of 1850.

Florida Institute or Tallahassee Seminary

On January 24, 1851, an act establishing seminaries east and west of the Suwannee river was approved by the State Legislature, but the location of the two schools was left for the future. However, as an initial step toward selecting the locations, the same legislature had already passed two highly important resolutions. The first was that city and county authorities as well as individuals be requested to report to the Governor, to be laid by him before the General Assembly of 1852, a statement of the amount these authorities and individuals would contribute, in lands, buildings, and money, for the purpose of establishing a Seminary of Learning. The second was that each seminary should be awarded to the county which, in the opinion of the next General Assembly, presented the greatest inducement for the location of the seminary.³⁵

Naturally, Tallahassee was eager to respond to this request. Before she did so, however, she had another matter to consider. There existed in the town neither a building nor equipment adequate to the education of her boys. A new school building would be one of the greatest

³⁵ Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1850, p. 170.

inducements she could offer for locating the Seminary in Tallahassee. But, even if this was hot enough to secure the coveted award, the town badly needed such a building in any case. How to get it was the problem which engaged the attention of the city authorities.

The new City Council of 1852 went to work on the problem immediately. They had for consideration the alternative of buying a building and remodeling it, or of erecting an entirely new structure. At one time, they were actually negotiating for the purchase of a building, but were unable to complete the deal for lack of money. At the very time, the Fire Fund had an unappropriated balance of about \$1,500.00. The Council, therefore, through the intendant, D. S. Walker, petitioned the Circuit Court, J. Wayles Baker, judge, to order this balance to be paid to the City Council, to be used by them for school purposes. The Court granted the prayer by ordering the Master in Chancery in charge of the Fund to pay over to the City Council the sum of \$1,500.00, "exclusively for the use and benefit of a free school or free schools in the City of Tallahassee."³⁶

36. City of Tallahassee vs. J. B. Bull, *et. al.* (Leon County Chancery Case File No. 1327) : D. S. Walker's Petition to the Circuit Court, filed April 1, 1852.

The Fire Fund was the popular name of the money which benevolent corporations and individuals of many southern towns and cities contributed for the relief of sufferers in the disastrous fire of May 25, 1843. After the City Council had met the needs of all who were willing to accept help, the Fund amounted to about \$2,750.00.

Among the vicissitudes which materially reduced the value of the Fund was a lively and costly litigation over its final disposal. The upshot of this contest was that the Master in Chancery, Benjamin F. Whitner, by order of the Court, took charge of the balance and lent it out at 8 percent, spending the interest on the education of indigent children in Tallahassee.

By Whitner's report of March 25, 1851, the Fund amounted to \$2,092.50. Of this, \$1,500.00 was represented by the note of R. A. Shine, and \$592.50 was in cash. In April of the same year, in response to a petition of the Trustees of Leon Female Academy through their president, M. A. Long, the Court granted them \$600.00 for the use of the Female Academy. The remainder of about \$1,500.00 was the sum which D. S. Walker, in his petition, asked the Court to transfer to the city government.

The facts relating to the Fire Fund, here greatly abridged, are recited at length in Walker's petition. This petition seems to be the ground for the erroneous statement, frequently made, that the Free School was established in 1852, through the efforts of D. S. Walker.

By the beginning of 1853 plans were well advanced for building a "City School House" of brick, and "of such dimensions that it shall be an ornament to the city." A subscription list was being circulated in the town; and at the same meeting at which they decided to discontinue the Free School, the City Council subscribed \$1,400.00 toward the new building.³⁷

Fortunately, or unfortunately as some citizens thought, the city owned a block of four lots, amounting to about ten acres, on which the structure could be placed. These lots, designated as 34, 35, 40 and 41 in the north half of the county quarter,³⁸ were located between Park avenue and Jefferson street on the southeast corner of the present campus of Florida State University. And this was the site chosen by the city authorities for the proposed building.³⁹

The selection was not accepted without a good deal of outspoken dissent by citizens. Objections were raised that the location was not central enough, and repeated suggestions were made that some other site, preferably on the present Park avenue, be purchased. For some time past, the plot containing the four lots, had enjoyed the popular appellation of "Gallows Hill." A jester who signed himself "CIT" wrote the local paper that he objected to locating any school in such unsavory surroundings. Furthermore, the school would be inaccessible, as in wet weather, the low ground between the proposed site and the town was impassable. But CIT's main objection was that the site chosen was too "near in." The building, he thought, ought to be placed at Bel Air or Lake Bradford, or at some other point far enough away to prevent parents from boarding their boys at home. To all the serious objections, the editor sensibly replied that to spend money, as yet insufficient for the building, for the purchase of a new site, would likely be to destroy the enterprise altogether.⁴⁰

37. *Floridian and Journal*, January 15, 1853.

38. Leon County Deed Book L, 517.

39. *Floridian and Journal*, February 18, 1854.

40. *Ibid.*

At the beginning of 1854, the City Council could count on as a building fund about \$1,500.00 which citizens had subscribed; R. A. Shine's note for \$1,500.00 which he had borrowed from the Fire Fund ; and the Council's own previous subscription of \$1,400.00. The total of \$4,440.00 was a long way from being enough to erect such a building as was desirable and needful. But the Council had their own plans for obtaining the necessary additional money ; and on February 1, 1854, the city clerk advertised for bids. Detailed specifications were included in the advertisement ; and it was stipulated that separate bids must be offered for the brick-work and the wood-work. The bids were opened on March 27 at a meeting of the intendant, W. R. Hayward, and the Council. Four bids had been submitted, but the contracts were awarded to R. A. Shine for the brick-work and plastering at \$3,335.00, and to I. R. Bowen for the wood-work and painting at \$2,837.00. The total contract price was \$6,172.00.⁴¹

The Council's manner of meeting this obligation is indicated in the financial statement of the city for the year ending December 31, 1854.⁴² The statement lists among the assets three pertinent items: (1) Borrowed on city bonds for one, two, three, four, five years at 8 per cent \$3,300.00; (2) note of R. A. Shine, \$1,500.00; (3) other money, not specified, from the Fire Fund \$327.26 - a total of \$5,127.26. We are to understand that the Council's former subscription of \$1,400.00 was written off. The \$1,500.00 subscribed by citizens, added to the listed assets, made the total available funds \$6,627.26. The City thus had above the contract price of the building the sum of \$455.26, together with the debt of \$3,300.00. The surplus of \$455.26 would come in handy a little later when furniture and equipment for the school had to be bought.

The builders carried out their part of the contract with no unnecessary delay, and the following November,

41. *Ibid.*

42. *Ibid.*, January 6, 1855.

in his memorial to the Legislature, the intendant, W. R. Hayward, could refer to the building as "nearing completion."⁴³ Four months later, it was ready for occupancy. Tallahassee's public school building was at last a reality.

The editor's prediction⁴⁴ that when completed the edifice would be the handsomest in the city was not an overstatement. The "New School" stood well in front of the present Westcott building of Florida State University. The main body of the structure, 60 feet long by 40 feet wide and two stories high, was surmounted by a wooden shingle roof with gutters and down-spouts of copper. The heavy brick walls were covered with cream-tinted stucco, and the Ionic cornice and entablature, as well as all other exterior wooden surfaces except the roof, were painted white. The porch or portico, with its massive brick pillars, also stuccoed, was approached by a set of wooden steps five feet high, extending the full length of the porch.

In the interior, the ceilings were twelve feet high. Each floor had a "school-room" and two smaller recitation rooms, with the necessary passages and openings for stairs. Leading from the first to the second floor were two stairways, with cherry banisters and newels. All windows were fitted with Venetian blinds. The interior wood-work, excepting the banisters and newels, was painted white, and the walls and ceilings were finished in white-coat.⁴⁵

It was the original design to enclose the portion of the grounds on which the building stood with a circular drive, beginning at the east entrance of the campus and issuing on the Quincy road in the west. On both sides of the driveway shade trees were to be planted, thus making it "a delightful promenade."⁴⁶

The new institution had no official name, and for nearly a year after its completion, in official announce-

43. Florida Senate, *Journal*, 1854, p. 205.

44. *Floridian and Journal*, April 1, 1854.

45. *Ibid.*, February 18, 1854.

46. *Ibid.*, April 1, 1854.

ments, news items, and editorial comments, it was referred to variously as the City School, the Tallahassee Seminary, the City Seminary, the Tallahassee Institute, and the Tallahassee Male Seminary. But W. Y. Peyton, the first president, in his advertisements and announcements, regularly called it the Florida Institute, and this seems to have become its accepted title.

In his advertisement of the opening of the school, headed "Tallahassee Seminary," Thomas Hayward, intendant for 1955, stated that the Board of Trustees would comprise the City Council as well as the following gentlemen: Dr. Charles G. English, J. Wayles Baker, James Kirksey, Rev. D. McNeil Turner, Francis Eppes, Arvah Hopkins, Dr. Miles Nash, and Norman Butler. With the eight members of the Council and the intendant, the Board would thus have seventeen members.⁴⁷

This cumbersome arrangement was not intended to be permanent. The gentlemen named were all prominent citizens and all were vitally concerned with the city's educational interests. In inaugurating the activities of the school, the Council evidently intended by the announcement to give public recognition to the efforts and achievements of these men in bringing to completion the plans for the new school.

Whatever may have been their part in the deliberations of the Board at first, the arrangement terminated, maybe at the desire of these men themselves, with the passage of the city ordinance of June 26, 1855 "for the permanent and more effective Organization of the City Seminary." Sections 1 and 2 of the ordinance provided that the intendant and the City Council are constituted a Board of Trustees of the "Tallahassee Seminary," but the said Trustees "may seek the cooperation and advice of a suitable number of citizens."⁴⁸

On April 30, 1855, the long contemplated city school opened. To start it, the trustees had engaged Dr. H. W. P.

47. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1855.

48. *Ibid.*, June 30, 1855. The other sections of the ordinance are concerned with the relation of the president of the school to the trustees and with his privileges and duties as the head of the institution.

Junius and as his assistant D. P. Clayton, both from South Carolina. Nothing is known of them except that Dr. Junius was recommended by Dr. Bachman of Charleston and by Dr. Henry of Columbia College, and that Mr. Clayton had received his education at "the South Carolina College."⁴⁹

The subjects offered were the customary English branches and the advanced studies in classics, mathematics, and science. French, German, and Italian were available for all pupils whose parents desired such a course of study. For the English branches, the tuition was \$12.00 a year; for the higher studies, \$30.00 annually. The Florida Institute was by no means a "free school;" yet it is to be noted that the charges, especially for the common branches, were extremely reasonable in comparison with those of the ordinary private school. We are not told how many pupils were enrolled in the spring of 1855.

The administration in charge of the school at its opening was not the permanent one contemplated by the trustees, for in the following summer, they engaged W. Y. Peyton as principal. The news was first made public in Tallahassee in an item copied from the *Richmond Enquirer* of August 28 which stated, "W. Y. Peyton of Williamsburg has been elected President of Tallahassee Institute, with a permanent salary of \$1,200.00 a year. Mr. Peyton holds the A.M. and B.L. degrees from William and Mary College."⁵⁰ A week later appeared the advertisement of the trustees, signed by Thomas Hayward, intendant and president of the Board of Trustees of the Tallahassee Male Seminary. This announced that the trustees had retained Dr. Junius as teacher of classics and modern languages, and D. B. Clayton as teacher of the common branches, and that they had elected William Y. Peyton as principal. The fine distinction between the titles "principal" and "president" did not exist for the city fathers; but it did for Mr. Peyton who always announced himself as President of Florida Institute.

49. *Ibid.*, April 28, 1855.

50. *Ibid.*, September 8, 1855.

To organize the new school, the trustees could hardly have selected a better man than Peyton. His first two announcements in the spring and fall of 1856 reveal his busy activity through the first year of his presidency. He divided the whole school into the preparatory and collegiate departments. In the former were offered the subjects usually "taught in High Schools and Academies." The organization of this division involved grading the pupils in the common branches and grouping them in classes suitable to their advancement. Students in the Collegiate Department were classified as members of the junior, the middle, or the senior class. This department provided "a full and entire course of Ancient Languages, Mathematics, and the usual English branches taught in southern Colleges."⁵¹

President Peyton also built up the equipment of the laboratory by the addition of a "new and splendid set of Apparatus, with Charts, Maps, etc."⁵² As an extra-curricular activity, he organized and presided over the Philomathean Debating Society. Other student organizations, which doubtless received his encouragement, were the Thespian Corps which on suitable occasions presented dramas before the public, and the Orchestra which assisted the Thespian Corps. And finally, he issued a catalog of the Institute, a publication which it would be highly interesting to see today.

No definite statistics of enrollment are extant; but at one time in the scholastic year 1855-1856, the Institute had about 100 students.⁵³ In the calendar year 1856, the tuition receipts amounted to \$565.50, and the City Council paid for teachers the sum of \$2,442.00.⁵⁴ Clearly, the school was far from paying its own way. But the Council, when they set the tuition fees at only one-half the customary charges, certainly anticipated the resulting deficit and were prepared to make it up. This is further evident from the fact that in the fall of the same

51. *Ibid.*, March 15, 1856.

52. *Ibid.*, March 15 and September 20, 1856.

53. *Ibid.*, October 4, 1856.

54. *Ibid.*, January 3, 1857. Financial statement of Tallahassee for 1856.

year, 1856, the Council offered to the legislature \$2,000.00 annually as part of their inducement to locate the West Florida Seminary in Tallahassee.⁵⁵

When, on October 6, 1856, the Institute reopened after the long vacation, the trustees and President Peyton had good reason to congratulate themselves on the progress of the school. That they did so is seen in their somewhat ambitious plans for the immediate future. One of these was to erect a gymnasium on the campus "for the physical education of the students - a matter grossly neglected in modern systems of training."⁵⁶ Further plans were being made by which "friends of the Institution" would petition the coming legislature to constitute Florida Institute the University of Florida, and to grant a charter and State aid for the purpose, with powers to confer degrees and to grant honors.

The editor's reference to the friends of the institution raises the interesting question who these friends were. A good deal of light is thrown on the question by a scholarship report which was published in January 1857 and which gave the names of students who had obtained the highest grade in the last semi-annual examination. The number of students so reported was forty-four. As the total enrollment was approximately 100, nearly one-half the student body were on the honor list. Either the teachers were magnanimous in their grading, or Tallahassee youth were uncommonly bright.

In the preparatory department, exclusive of the primary classes in spelling and reading, eighteen classes were necessary to provide the proper gradation of the pupils : three in English grammar; two in geography; two in history; five in arithmetic; three in Latin grammar; and one each in algebra, ancient geography, and Latin reader. Even if Dr. Junius took the Latin classes, Mr. Clayton's teaching-load appears terrifying.

In the collegiate department, classes were held in higher algebra, geometry, Caesar, Cicero, Livy, Greek

55. Florida House of Representatives, *Journal*, 1856, p. 148.

56. *Floridian and Journal*, October 4, 1856.

grammar, Greek reader, Greek New Testament, Herodotus, English composition and declamation, logic. It is to be supposed that there were also classes in science, but no honor students were reported in these subjects.

The students in attendance give us a fair idea of the class of citizens who were patronizing the school. An incomplete list of pupils in the preparatory department includes the names Baltzell, Broome, Brown, Butler, Croom, Damon, DeMilly, Dyke, Eppes, Lewis, Nash, Perkins, Randolph, Shine - all prominent families in Tallahassee in the fifties. Evidently, "the best people" were supporting the school.

Eight students in the collegiate department are named in the scholarship report: Anderson, Austin, Hayward, Patton, Robertson, Shine, Westcott, Woodward. Of the eight, two may be identified as individuals. Robertson was W. F. Robertson who later was a successful physician in Tallahassee. Westcott was James D. Westcott, Jr., whose name, by his bequests, was permanently linked to West Florida Seminary, to Florida State College for Women, and now to Florida State University. Robertson received the highest grades in the total examination. Westcott was pronounced the best writer in the school.⁵⁷

This glimpse into the class-rooms is the last we are permitted to have. For on January 1, 1857, the Florida Institute, as such, ceased to operate. In its place, the West Florida Seminary came into existence; and Tallahassee was secure in the possession of the prize for which she had planned and worked for almost six years.

(Part II will be included in the next issue of the Quarterly)

57. *Ibid.*, January 10, 1857.

TAYLOR COUNTY HISTORY AND CIVIL WAR DESERTERS

by W. T. CASH

When Florida seceded from the Union, Taylor county was four years old, it having been created from Madison county on December 23, 1856. As a functioning political unit its age was at least six months less, for the members of its first board of county commissioners were not qualified until March 27, 1857, and its first judge of probate, one of whose duties was to preside at board meetings, was not commissioned until July 4, following.

Where was the first board meeting held? The act creating the county states "that until the necessary buildings may be erected for holding the Court ¹ at the County Site of Taylor County, the courts of said County shall be held at the house of Daniel Bryant," ² but with the information at hand this house cannot be located.

The first commissioners' meeting may have been held October 2, 1857. At any rate on that date the board bought forty acres of land from the Internal Improvement Board for county site purposes for \$75.00 and soon afterward ³ erected a log courthouse on it. This was the beginning of the present town of Perry, which probably got its name from the governor just coming into office—Madison S. Perry. However, when the first post office at the county seat was established in 1869 it was called "Rose Head." The name was changed to Perry early in 1875, but Florida maps had carried both names for at least six years.

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1. Although the principal courts held were circuit and justice of the peace courts, the county commissioners at times functioned as a court.
 2. Bryant's name was on the Madison taxroll before the creation of Taylor and those of Taylor for 1858 and 1859. No land was assessed to him in Madison, and on the Taylor rolls mentioned there was no separation of land and improvements making it impossible to say whether a taxpayer owned land or not. Such evidence as we have indicates that Bryant, like many other earlier settlers, occupied land he did not own.
 3. The exact date cannot be ascertained, but it was probably during 1858.

County's Rank in Population and Wealth

At the time of its first census (1860), six counties had fewer inhabitants than Taylor's 1,384. They were Dade 83, Brevard 246, Manatee 854, Orange 987, Volusia 1,158, and Hernando 1,200. Only three, however, had less taxable wealth: Dade \$15,000,⁴ Brevard \$100,240, and Holmes \$217,623. Less than one-fourth of Taylor's total assessment of \$289,476 was the \$64,400 valuation of its 116 slaves.⁵

The county's poor showing in population and wealth was because of its late settlement. There were at least three reasons why early Florida immigrants did not go to this area. Most of the land was hard to clear and to outward appearances poorer than that to the north and west. There was dread of the Indians because the numerous swamps furnished them good hiding-places. The St. Augustine-Pensacola Road ran several miles north of the present northern boundary and the main routes traveled by settlers moving farther inland entered Florida far to the northeast.

A Probable Settlement of the Spanish Period

There is good reason to believe there was a mission⁶ at or near the Thomas Mill shoals on the lower Fenholloway river during the first Spanish period and that Thomas Mill Hammock, a fertile tract of land about one and three-fourths miles to the southwest, was cultivated by the Spaniards or by Indians⁷ under Spanish supervision.

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4. The writer has been unable to find a Dade taxroll for 1860, but the state census of 1855 gives a valuation of \$15,001. It must have been less in 1860 for between 1855 and then its population decreased from 97 to 83.
 5. The U. S. census figures are 125, but this may have been taken at a different time from that when the assessor's roll was prepared.
 6. The name was "Ivitachuco" (it also has other spellings). It is mentioned by Rerick, *Memoirs of Florida* (Atlanta, 1902) and shown on the map facing p. 456 of John Gilmary Shea, *The Catholic Church in Colonial Days* (New York, 1886).
 7. Many Indians occupied the hammock during the Florida War, 1835-42 (see *Niles' Register*, LVIII, 243.)

The Thomas Mills

The Spaniards at some time during their first occupation opened a road from St. Augustine to Apalachee by way of the Alachua district, crossing the Suwannee river some miles above the present Old Town, the Steinhatchee at the falls, and the Fenholloway at or near the Thomas Mill shoals. William Bartram mentions this road ⁸ in his *Travels* (London, 1794) :

"Next day, early in the morning, we crossed the river [the Suwannee], landing on the other shore opposite the town⁹ . . . After crossing, we struck off from the river into the forests sometimes falling into, and keeping for a time, the ancient Spanish high road to Pensacola now almost obliterated."

Sometime prior to 1840 (probably during the first Spanish period) mills were erected at the Thomas Mill shoals at a point where the Fenholloway is separated by an island into two parts, the right or western stream usually having an approximately two foot fall, except in times of high water.

The mills are mentioned in Colonel William Bailey's report of his campaign in 1840, part of which is given in the statements below:

"These two encampments [Indian camps] were about two miles south of the Jackson trail, and between the foot-log on the Econfeenee and Thomas's Old Mills on the Fenholloway." ¹⁰

Who was the owner of the Thomas mills and when were they operated? The writer does not know, but there is a possible clue : During at least part of the decade 1680-1690 Don Tomas Mendez Marquez ¹¹ was the owner of an hacienda in the Alachua district and large herds of cattle, which we have reason to believe ranged on both sides of

8. *Travels through North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, etc.*, London, 1792, p. 230.

9. Tallahaschte, a Seminole town on the east bank of the Suwannee river, thought to be at what is now called "New Clay Landing."

10. Andrew Welch, *Oceola Nikkanochee* (London, 1841), p. 227.

11. Tomas's home was probably near the Suwannee river in the present Gilchrist county.

the Suwannee. Tomas's wealth was doubtless known to thirty-five French pirates who in 1682 were active along the West coast of Florida, for in June they sailed up the Suwannee river to his hacienda, capturing him and his family and offering to release them for a ransom of money and 150 head of cattle. The pirates were soon surprised by a band of Timucua Indians who rescued Tomas and his household.¹²

Could this Tomas have been the owner of the fields Bartram found in 1774 in the Old Town Hammock¹³ and of the Thomas¹⁴ mills on the lower Fenholloway?

Certainly the Thomas (or Tomas) who owned the mills must have been a person of more than ordinary importance for his name is still applied to at least two islands (Thomas' island and Thomas Mill island), a creek (Thomas' run), and a good-sized hammock (Thomas Mill hammock.)¹⁵

James H. Sloan, a deputy surveyor working under the Surveyor General of Florida in 1847, made a survey of township 5, south, range 6, east, in which the Thomas mills were located, showing what he calls "Thomas Mill road" entering the township from the southwest corner of section 33 of township 4, south, range 6 east, thence through section 5 of township 5, south, range 6 east, thence in a slightly southwesterly direction to the middle of the west side of section 8, same township and range, thence southeastwardly through the same section to the mill site on the Fenholloway river. Notation is made on the plat book, in the Commissioner of Agriculture's office, from whence this information was obtained, that one David Thomas had surveyed the exterior lines of this township in 1825.

If, as the writer believes, the wealthy Spaniard Don Tomas was the owner of the mill, the mill road shown on the plat book must have run about thirty miles to the San Pedro fields shown on the Stuart-Purcell map of

12. See Mark F. Boyd, "The Fortifications at San Marcos de Apalache," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV (July 1936), 5.

13. Bartram, *op. cit.*, p. 231.

14. Tomas in Spanish is Thomas in English.

15. Called "Thomas' hammock" in *Niles Register*, LVIII (June 20, 1840), 243.

1778 giving the route from Pensacola to St. Augustine. Joseph Purcell, who prepared the map, states that the San Pedro fields must have once been in a large and flourishing Spanish settlement. The fields were in the vicinity of the present Mosley Hall, and were a few miles west or southwest of the San Pedro mission, itself about eight or nine miles west of the Suwannee river.¹⁶

Andrew Jackson in Taylor County

During Jackson's campaign in Florida to punish the Seminoles, one of his subordinate commanders, the half-breed Creek General William McIntosh, had a fight with the Indians led by Peter McQueen, near the Natural Bridge on the Econfina, April 12, 1818. General McIntosh, in giving an account of the battle wrote, "I heard of Peter McQueen being near the road we were traveling, and I took my warriors and went and fought him . . . When we first began to fight them they were in a bad swamp, and fought us there for about an hour, when they ran and we followed them three miles. They fought us in all about three hours. We killed thirty-seven of them and took ninety-eight women and children and six men prisoners, and about seven hundred head of cattle, and a number of horses, with a good many hogs and some corn. We lost three killed, and have five wounded."¹⁷

This was apparently the only fight the American forces under Jackson had within the present Taylor county.

Florida War Operations in Taylor County

During parts of the years 1838 and 1839, while the Florida War of 1835-42 was in progress, General Zachary Taylor commanded troops in this area. Writing from Tampa Bay, July 20, 1839, he said:

"I reached the Istenhachee [the present Steinhat-

16. See Mark F. Boyd, "A Map of the Road from Pensacola to St. Augustine, 1778," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVII (July 1938), 15-23.

17. James Parton, *Life of Andrew Jackson* (New York, 1861, 3 vols.), II, p. 456.

chee] river . . . on the 18th December, [1838] and found four companies 6th infantry under Major Noel, who had been actively employed in opening roads, erecting defenses, store houses, & c. . . .

"I put him into immediate motion, together with the troops who accompanied me, to examine the swamps and hammocks of the Istenhachee, Econfinny, and Finihallo-away . . . On the 30th a large camp, supposed to contain one hundred and twenty people, was discovered in a large hammock between the Econfinny and Finihalloaway. This was surprised, and all the effects taken from it; such, however, was the dense cover of the enemy that nothing more decisive was accomplished." ¹⁸

That General Taylor, who resigned his command in May, 1840, did not fully clear the area he described in his report of June 20, 1839 is shown by the following item taken from *Niles' Register* of June 20, 1840:

"We learn from the Floridian (Tallahassee) that Col. Bailey, with a battalion of Florida volunteers, has returned from a scouting expedition in fine health and spirits. They found no Indians till passing the Econfena, three towns were discovered, in Thomas' [Thomas Mill] hammock and destroyed; one of them had seventeen lodges. It is supposed that the Indians inhabiting them must have numbered about one hundred. They fled on being discovered, and were pursued in vain, owing to the denseness of the swamps. Capt. Hall shot one who was nearly white. He was a chief, and it is conjectured is the same fellow so often noticed in the attacks on frontier families. He was fairly run down before he was shot. The party had been pursued for several miles, but our troops were unable to come up with them. Considerable plunder was taken. The Indian killed had 60 or 70 bullets in his pouch. The troops started on the 16th for Deadman's bay."

General Zachary Taylor reported that he found four companies of the 6th Infantry under Major Noel, who had been actively employed in opening roads and con-

18. John T. Sprague, *The Florida War* (New York, 1848) p. 223.

structing defenses. The forts they built ¹⁹ were on the Econfina, Fenholloway and Steinhatchee rivers. In a letter from the United States War Department the following information concerning these forts is given : ²⁰

Fort Andrew-On left bank of Fenholloway; erected March 2, 1839 ; abandoned June 6, 1840.

Fort Frank Brook-Near mouth of the Steinhatchee ; erected Nov., 1838 ; abandoned June, 1840.

Fort Mitchell-On left bank of south branch of Fenholloway ; erected Feb. 2, 1840 ; abandoned May 28, 1840.

Fort Hulbert-Seventeen miles northwest of Fort Frank Brook and on or near the Fenholloway river ; erected Feb. 2, 1840; abandoned June 13, 1840.

Fort Pleasant-On Econfina about two miles down from present town of Shady Grove. Erection and abandonment dates not given.

Twenty-four persons stationed at these forts during their occupation died of disease or were killed, twenty being at Fort Pleasant and four at Fort Andrew. Two at Fort Pleasant were killed by Indians and one at Fort Andrew died from wounds received. One at Fort Andrew was shot by a guard. All others died of disease.

Early American Interest in Area

Settlement was on the way, for in 1836 the Legislative Council passed the following act:

"The Fenholloway River in Madison County, is hereby declared, and is hereafter, to be recognized as a navigable stream up to the mouth of Rocky Creek.

Littleton Myrick, Samuel B. Richardson, and Neil Campbell, shall be, and they are hereby, appointed commissioners, who, or a majority of them, shall have full power and authority to direct and superintend the opening and removing any obstruction in said river; and they are hereby declared to have full power and authority to do and perform all acts and doings that shall become necessary to effect the same.

It shall not be lawful to erect any bridge or other impediment across said river, or to make any obstruction therein, by which the free navigation thereof may be obstructed; and all such bridges, impediments, or obstructions, are hereby declared common nuisances, and may be proceeded against and removed as such ; and if any person

19. In so far as the present Taylor County is concerned.

20. The exact words of the letter are not quoted. The writer's intent is to clarify the meaning for the reader.

or persons, shall raise, create, or build, any such bridge, impediment, or obstruction, he or they shall be liable to double the damages sustained by any person or persons by reason thereof, and shall also be liable to indictment for a misdemeanor, and on conviction thereof, shall be punished by a fine not exceeding five hundred dollars: *Provided, however,* this act shall not prevent the erection of any bridge, or other works, which shall not obstruct the free navigation of said river for boats laden with cotton or other produce."²¹

Had not the Seminole War intervened, there is little question but the settlement of the present Taylor county would have begun ten years earlier than it did. One man, Simeon A. Smith, acquired approximately 2,000 acres of land some six miles south of the present Hampton Springs in 1839. He may have been one of the soldiers under General Taylor there, as this was about the time the general's campaign ended. Although Smith possibly had his eye on the excellent timber tracts on Okefinokee creek, he seems to have let it go for taxes, for his name does not appear on any Taylor county tax rolls.

First Settlers

It can be stated, however, that actual settlers began moving in before the end of 1844. Although no entries are listed for that year, it was often the case that settlers lived on land several years prior to buying it. Sometimes after moving into an area they either wanted time to pick and choose, or it was difficult to get money for the necessary entry fees.

The first land entry by an actual settler may have been that of Mary Sever²² who on June 16, 1845, bought a good-sized tract just west of the present site of Eridu, and south of the present Madison county line.

All the early land entries, except that of Simeon A. Smith, who was certainly not a settler, were just south of the present northern Taylor county line, in township 2, south, ranges 6 and 7 east. Between the Mary Sever

21. Leslie A. Thompson, *Digest of the Statute Law of the State of Florida* (Boston, 1847), p. 517.

22. Mary Sever may have never lived on the land, but William H. Sever, doubtless a close relative, entered land about three miles to the east, which he is known to have occupied, a little more than two years later.

entry and 1850, Silas Overstreet, Bryant Sheffield, Cornelius English and Mary Overstreet, entered land in township 2, range 6, and James Wallace and William H. Sever in township 2, range 7.

Some settlers who moved into the present Taylor county by or soon after 1850, but did not acquire land until years later if ever, were Nathan Smart, John W. Mixson, John E. Jenkins, Sr., John H. O'Steen, Henry Donaldson,²³ E. F. Ezell, John M. Towles, Robert M. Hendry, Richard Harrison, Green B. Hill, Boyett D. Poppell, James J. Mixson, Starling Parker, Henry F. Smart, Gabriel Harden, Savage Strickland, Joshua J. Adams,²⁴ Rice Mathis, Francis Roundtree, Daniel Bryant, Green B. Harrell, W. C. Carlton, J. R. Mott, C. L. Powell, Darling Sapp, Alexander Ezell, Robert Henderson, Redden English, Allen Coker, W. R. Whiddon, Z. O. Lovett, John Catlett, W. N. Johnson, W. M. Townsend, Wyche Fulford, H. T. Brannen, William R. Bevan, James M. Faulkner, J. H. Ellison, J. A. J. Collins and Calvin Davis.

A Private School Contract

That at least some of these settlers were interested in educating their children is shown by the following contract made in 1850, between John W. Mixson and four settlers who desired a school.

ARTICLE OF AGREEMENT

Entered Into this day Between John W. Mixson on the first part and we the Under Assigned on the second part Which Will Shew that we the subscribers on the second part do Agree to pay Said Mixson one Dollar per Month per Scholar for two Months payable. Viz In Corn pork or Bacon at Cash price, And its fairly Understood this school Continues At the Same House²⁵ the time Specified Above and that Said Mixson Faithfully Teaches Such Branches As Reading Writing and Arithmetic The time Specified Above According to Law and to Commerce Forthwith After the close of the present Quarter Which Will be on or

23. A grandson is now a clerk in the Perry post office.

24. Thomas B. Adams, a Jacksonville lawyer, is a grandson.

25. This probably meant that a school then being taught there was to be continued.

Before the 25th of Oct. 1850 Monday following to Commence Subscribed.

Truly yours Ever and Affectionate And Most truly Yours
*John W. Mixson*²⁶

Subscribed
 Nathan Smart 3
 John W. Mixson 3
 Mary Rogers 5
 27 Maria A. Jenkins 2
 Harriet E. Parker 2

John E. Jenkins, Sr., a settler in the community where Mixson taught his school, hearing of the discovery of gold in California, in 1848 or 1849,²⁸ drove an ox-team the 3,000 intervening miles to the land of gold. After a four years absence he returned enough improved in financial condition to buy several hundred acres of land and erect a water mill on Rocky creek about four miles northwest of the present Perry. The nine-room frame house he soon afterward built on his land was undoubtedly of lumber sawed at his mill and was probably the only house in the county at the time not of log construction.

Early Communities

By 1855 there were settlements in the vicinities of Shady Grove, Pisgah, Thomas Mill Island, Oakland, Barker Hammock, Lake Bird, Blue Creek, Sunnyside and Carlton Spring.²⁹

Probably surpassing all the other communities was Pisgah, the settlement where John W. Mixson taught the school mentioned above. Near the schoolhouse, almost certainly the first ever built in the county, a well dug before the Civil War did duty for forty years or more and was still in service when the writer taught there in 1900.

26. From a photostat in the Florida State Library. The original contract is in possession of Mrs. W. H. Hines of Cross City, Fla.

27. Maria A. Jenkins was probably the wife of John E. Jenkins.

28. These dates are believed to be substantially correct. Information was received from an early settler and one or more descendants of such settlers.

29. Some of these communities have borne more than one name. For example, Sunnyside was afterward (and probably before) known as the "Vann" or "Big Muddy" settlement. The Thomas Mill Island community was a generation ago merely known as "the Island." It is now almost if not quite abandoned.

The first post office in Taylor county was located in this same Pisgah community. It was established May 6, 1854 and Nathan C. Smart, a signer of the Mixson school contract mentioned above, was made postmaster.³⁰

Taylor County Created

Further evidence of growth of this area is indicated by the introduction of a bill in the Florida House of Representatives, November 26, 1855, to organize the County of Taylor. The cause of the failure of this bill is unknown, but it may have been because many thought the area included within the proposed county was large enough for two.

On November 26, 1856, James W. McQueen, one of the representatives from Madison county, gave notice of intention at some future day to introduce a bill to organize two new counties out of the county of Madison. The House Journal of December 10, 1856 states that Mr. McQueen that day, pursuant to previous notice, introduced a bill to create and organize the counties of Lafayette and Taylor. After this was amended somewhat it unanimously passed December 17. The Senate passed the bill two days later with 14 votes for and three against. Governor Broome signed it December 23.

Although Taylor county had begun to function as a separate governmental unit and the place for a county seat had been chosen before the end of 1857, its first tax roll was not approved by the county commissioners until June 4, 1858. This roll showed 173 poll tax payers and 67 others³¹ with a total property valuation of \$279,152. The other rolls through 1861 give the following taxation figures:

-
30. Smart, like many others of the time, had not made a land entry, but a few years later acquired a tract described as the north half of the northwest quarter of section 3, township 4, south, range 7, east. It is about 4 miles northwest of the present Perry.
31. Others included persons above 50 years of age, out-of-county persons owning property in Taylor and business firms.

| Year | Polls | Others | Total | Total valuation exclusive of poll tax ³² |
|------|-------|--------|-------|---|
| 1858 | 169 | 86 | 240 | \$292,167 |
| 1859 | 182 | 111 | 293 | 285,046 |
| 1860 | 177 | 118 | 295 | 289,476 |
| 1861 | 164 | 118 | 282 | 325,671 |

The increase of population from 1,384 in 1860 to 1,453 in 1870 shows that growth had reached a standstill. This was not caused by the war for Madison and numerous other counties which had greater economic losses than Taylor grew rapidly during the 1860-1870 decade. The railroad which was completed from Jacksonville to Tallahassee before the war was probably the main cause of population increase in north Florida.

Settlers' Names Perpetuated

Notwithstanding the emigration from Taylor county during the years before and following the Civil War, many had no intention of leaving. One will still find those bearing such early settlers' names as Albritton, Donaldson, Cox, Blue, Carlton, Hendry, Mixson, Mathis, Williams, Green, Parker, Poppell, Houck, Lundy, Ezell, Johnson, Willis, Woods, Davis, Rowell, Brannen, Towles, Deal, Strickland, Whiddon, Cruce, Gamble, Denmark and numerous others.

Some of these names and those of persons long gone are preserved in such place-designations as Wallace Pond, Powell Hammock, Jordan Pond, Barker Hammock, Drew Slough, Bevan Creek, Ewing Spring, Keaton Beach, ³³ Hampton Springs, Smith-McCuller Creek, Jonesville fishery, Faulkner Spring, ³⁴ and Camp Carlton. ³⁵

Homes and Customs of Settlers

Taylor county pioneers lived simply but substantial-

32. Fifty cents was assessed against each person subject to a poll tax.

33. The Keatons did not come until after the war.

34. Now called "Fenholloway Spring."

35. Now known as "The Campground."

ly. Of 295 persons on the tax roll of 1860, 181 persons each had 10 head of cattle and hogs or more, 102 had 25 or more, and seventy-eight from 50 to 1,500. There are good reasons for believing that had the true figures been substituted for those on the tax rolls they would have more than doubled these amounts. But being substantial property owners does not indicate that they lived in costly residences.

With the exception of the nine-room Jenkins home on Rocky creek, mentioned in a former paragraph, there was probably not a frame house in the whole county. The average settler lived in a one-room cabin with a front porch or front and back porches ; however, numbers of the more well-to-do had either double-penned or hip-roofed log dwellings. A double-penned house was one of two log pens united by a hallway and having a "stick-and-dirt" chimney at the end of each pen. Nearly always these houses had front and back porches called piazzas, extending the full length of the building on each side. Sometimes there was a second story called the upstairs, but oftener, to provide the extra room the second story furnished, plank or ceiling-board rooms were constructed on the back piazza. A hip-roofed house had a roof at right angles to and lowered from that over the single log pen first set up, which served to cover one or more so-called backrooms. Like double-penned houses, dwellings of this type generally had front and back porches, and likewise a room or rooms were frequently erected on the back porch. Close to many of the larger houses were log kitchens where cooking and eating took place. These were often connected with the main dwelling by walks which might or might not have roof coverings.

Even the simplest dwellings had front yards full of rose bushes, cape jessamine, four o'clocks, primroses, rosemarys, honeysuckles and others, and near the more pretentious ones, in addition to the plants mentioned, were altheas, arbor vitae, cedars and magnolias. Nearby those homes were nearly always mulberry and chinaberry

trees. Outside the front gates wateroaks were frequently set to become large trees within a few years.

Most of the furniture in these homes—chairs, tables, shelves, clothes-presses and whatever else, was home made. Many chairs were manufactured at local chair-makers' shops, but not a few families sat on benches. Cooking was nearly all done on fire-places inside the houses, but some persons had roofed cookplaces on the outside. These were elevated platform-like structures overlaid with six inches or more of sand, on which the cookpots were arranged.

The settlers cooperated with each other almost one hundred per cent, helping out at log-rollings, rail-splittings, house-raisings, fodder-pullings and hog-killings.

Only one or two settlers in any community had a sugar-cane mill and this was not only used by its owner but his neighbors, who paid an agreed-upon amount of syrup, or brown sugar, as the case might be, for its use. Cane-grindings usually ran from early in November until almost Christmas and frequently wound up with dances, euphoniouly called "frolics." Frolics also followed log-rollings and rail-splittings ; but probably most were given for the fun of the thing, or as a means of getting young folks (and frequently older ones, too) together.

The favorite dance at frolics was the cotillion. In this eight persons, four males and four females, danced over the floor while some person called the figures, starting with, "Honor your partner, lady on the left, balance all." Then followed, "Swing your partners, your corners too," and "all promenade." After a multitude of "sass-shaying," "ladies floating," "balancing your partners," etc., the cotillion was ended by "Right hands to your partners, gents to the center and ladies to their seats."

Music was furnished by backwoods fiddlers most of whose instruments cost less than ten dollars. Some tunes played were "Cindy," "Arkansas Traveler," "Hell After the Yearling," "Mississippi Sawyer," "Honey I

Hate to Leave You," "Drunkard in the Sawgrass," and "The Girl I Left Behind Me."

Dancing was against the rules of every Protestant denomination but the frequent excommunication of members failed to stop it.

Education, Religion and Culture

From the very first, Taylor county settlers were interested in education and before the end of 1860 eight schools were in operation.³⁶ That year the sum of \$185.40 or 45 cents per pupil was allotted Taylor county from the state school funds. A teacher with, say, 20 pupils, would have 20 times 45 cents or \$9.00 added to whatever the patrons paid him.

It is impossible to tell how well these schools functioned but the writer has known a sufficient number of ante-bellum settlers of Taylor county to be certain that more than 80 per cent of them were taught to read and write and is satisfied from what he actually knows that fully 90 per cent could read well enough to get the meaning of words.

Many were by no means without culture. In some homes could be found the works of Peter Parley, St. Pierre's *Paul and Virginia*, Jonathan Edwards' *Life of Rev. David Brainerd Taylor*, DeFoe's *Robinson Crusoe*, Rev. Richard Flavel's *Fountain of Life*, William Gillmore Simms' *Francis Marion*, and always the King James Bible.

In school they learned far more than mere geography in books on that subject by such authors as Rev. Jedidiah Morse; and numerous selections from McGuffey's fifth and sixth readers gave them an excellent introduction to Shakespeare.

These frontier folks were far better learned in old British and early American ballads than their present-day descendants and frequently sang with great gusto

36. James H. Wentworth, county superintendent of public instruction, reported in 1869 that sometime during that year eight schools had been running. It is practically certain that these were in houses used prior to the war.

"Lord Randal, My Son," "The House Carpenter," "Lord Thomas and Fair Ellen," "Two Loving Sisters Neat and Trim" (one version of the "Two Sisters" ballad), "Barbara Allen," "Sweet Mary," "The Rake and Rambling Boy," and "Maggie."

The census of 1860 reported two Baptist and two Methodist churches in the county with seating capacities of 350 and 300, respectively. Many church services, however, were held in private homes, under brush arbors, or some regular gathering place. In the churches and religious gatherings of those days one often heard such hymns as "Rock of Ages," "Come Humble Sinners in Whose Breast," "There Is a Fountain Filled With Blood," "When I Can Read My Title Clear," "On Jordan's Stormy Banks I Stand," and "The Lord Will Provide."

Fundamentalism was universal and even those who were excommunicated from the churches were as certain of the existence of heaven and hell as they were of Washington or Tallahassee. An infidel was considered worse than a murderer or hog thief.

Industries

Nearly all buying and selling was done at Newport on the St. Marks river and until several years after the opening of the twentieth century one main highway out of Perry was still called "Newport Road." Over this, prior to the war, went most of the county's cotton, hides, and what was produced in excess of domestic needs of sugar, syrup, pork, beeswax, etc.

Brought home were barrels of flour, caddies of tobacco, packages of snuff, sacks of coffee, bolts of cloth, axes, plow tools and general replenishments of family needs, not forgetting the necessary supplies of calomel and quinine, opium, paregoric, Dover's powders and blue mass. Many bought jugs of whiskey, either for beverage or medical use, but quite often for both.

The chief industries of the county at secession were farming and stock raising. A few ran fisheries and there

were five or six small merchants. The two largest stores, run by Neal Hendry and J. H. Sappington, had stocks assessed at \$1,500 each; John S. Cochran's goods were valued at \$500, and Emory Vann's at \$380. Two other persons had mercantile stocks listed at \$50 each. All were small country stores. E. F. Ezell, John M. Towles and William Bevan operated fisheries.

By the census of 1860 Taylor county had 20,154 acres in farms of which 5,072 acres were improved. Those produced crops as follows:

Wheat 49 bushels, rye 28 bushels, corn 27,100 bushels, oats 12 bushels, rice 600 pounds, tobacco 250 pounds, ginned cotton 90 bales averaging 400 pounds each, wool 210 pounds, peas and beans 6,302 bushels,³⁷ Irish potatoes 321 bushels, sweet potatoes 18,005 bushels, cane sugar molasses 1,738 gallons, and cane sugar 24,000 pounds.³⁸ Other products of Taylor county farmers and stockmen were butter 6,253 pounds, beeswax 198 pounds, and orchard products valued at \$4,150. The value of slaughtered animal products was \$18,128.

The only corn mill in the county employed one hand at a cost of \$240 per year and produced meal valued at \$2,000. The one saw mill also employed one hand at an annual cost of \$240 and sawed \$600 worth of lumber.³⁹

On the Eve of War

On the eve of the Civil War Taylor county seemed perfectly oblivious to the struggle in the offing. In after years, however, there were some who talked of the warning signs they saw in the sky that people might have done well to heed. There were meteors or shooting stars, displays of the aurora borealis (not known by that name of course), and perhaps one or more comets.

In spite of the fact that less than one-tenth of Taylor county's population in 1860 was slaves, the result of the

37. Probably includes peanuts.

38. These figures almost certainly refer to crops produced in 1859, the year before the census was taken.

39. The proprietor of the mill was undoubtedly John E. Jenkins, Sr. At the same water mill meal was ground and lumber sawed.

election in that year showed a small majority for the secession Democrat, John Milton, for governor. We do not have the exact vote in the gubernatorial race but R. B. Hilton, the Democratic candidate for Congress got 86 votes to 84 for Richard C. Allen, the Constitutional Unionist candidate. The Democrats won a more decisive victory in the presidential election, their electors receiving 86 votes to 64 for the Constitutional Unionists.

While secession was being discussed following the victory, in the nation, of the Republicans, one or more Union speeches were made in Taylor county. Wilkinson Call, a nephew of ex-Governor R. K. Call, spoke at Shady Grove and perhaps at other places, but seemingly without influencing many.

In the secession convention which met January 3, 1861, Madison, Taylor and Lafayette counties were considered as a group, the whole being allowed four members. Two of these were residents of Madison county and one each of Lafayette and Taylor respectively. Taylor's member, W. H. Sever, was strong for secession, voting against every movement in the convention calculated to cause delay.

Soldiers Taylor County Furnished

If William Watson Davis is correct in his assertion that Florida contributed 15,000 soldiers and sailors to the Confederacy,⁴⁰ it may be stated, the writer believes, with as much correctness that Taylor county furnished not less than 250, a number somewhat above the general average, and considerably more than its voting population.

There were few enlistments prior to the first of June 1861, but soon after that date volunteering became rapid. Madison was the chief enlistment point but many joined the service at Monticello and some at various other places.

40. *The Civil War and Reconstruction in Florida* (New York, 1913) p. 322.

The county furnished approximately ten officers to the Confederate army, three of whom, John M. Hendry, Thomas T. Carlton and James W. Faulkner, were captains. John S. Cochran was a first lieutenant, and there were about half a dozen second and third lieutenants.

Such incomplete evidence as we can get from *Soldiers of Florida*, published under the direction of the Board of the Commissioners of State Institutions in 1903, indicates that more Taylor county soldiers served in Virginia than in the West. Perhaps as many as 75 either remained in Florida or were sent back for service there. Some of these helped guard salt works along the coast and others did valiant fighting at Olustee, Natural Bridge and other battles and skirmishes.

Salt Making Along Taylor County Coast

During the course of the war salt became so scarce a commodity that numbers of persons living in Taylor and nearby counties made land entries along the Gulf coast of the county for the purpose of acquiring salt-manufacturing sites. Among these were Gabriel Harden, Jackson Sapp, John Taylor, Randall B. Williams, William H. Sever, Joseph Eaton,* Elias E. Blackburn,* Wm. W. Barrs,* John Barrs,* James W. Faulkner, John Towles, Jesse W. Hunter,* J. Bryant Crech,* Civil J. Fulford, Wyche Fulford, William Standaland, Thomas Young, Wiley W. Whiddon, John R. Morse, Rufus Standaland and John G. Pettus.⁴¹

Signs of old salt works still remain in the southern part of the county, where perhaps more was made than elsewhere. There are good reasons to believe several of those making it at other points had by late in 1863 or early in 1864 either deserted to the enemy or at least had begun communication with the Federals in Cedar Key. Probably half of the salt-makers were from south Georgia and counties nearby Taylor. Salt-manufacturing so impressed some with its possibilities for profit that a few persons continued in the business until possibly as late as 1867.

41. Names marked (*) were non-residents.

State Assistance to Poor Families

By 1862 numbers of Taylor county families were having to endure such inconveniences as inability to get soap, flour, refined sugar and clothing, but necessity became the mother of invention. The boys who were left behind, and even the women folks, chopped down black-jacks, the ashes of which after burning were made into lye forming the base of the family soap.

Many families kept their looms going, working until late at night in weaving material for their clothing. Socks and stockings were home knit.

Brown sugar was easily manufactured each year at cane-grinding time and rice was had from small planted patches.

To assist poor families to get the necessary cards to prepare their cotton and wool for weaving, the legislature of 1862 passed a joint resolution reading,

Resolved by the Senate and House of Representatives of the State of Florida in General Assembly convened. That the sum of twenty thousand dollars is hereby appropriated and placed at the disposal of the Governor of the State for the purpose of purchasing and importing from abroad a quantity of Cotton and Wool Cards sufficient to supply the present necessity of the people of the State; the Governor shall cause said cards to be distributed to the poor in each county in the State gratis and without charge; *Provided, however,* that if a surplus of said Cards remain after supplying the poor, the Governor shall cause the same to be sold at a price sufficient to remunerate the State for the number so disposed by sale.⁴²

The legislature of 1862 appropriated \$200,000 for the relief of needy soldiers' families, in which, of course, Taylor county was to share proportionately. Supplementing this, the legislatures of 1863 and 1864 each appropriated \$500,000.

Samuel Benezet, Quartermaster General in 1864, reported that he had sent 73 pairs of cards to Taylor county, and paid out \$4,570.32 for the relief of families in that county during 1862-63, and \$8,999.60 in 1863-64.

It was doubtless to provide extra food for themselves that a number of Taylor county families during the war penned cattle without the owners' permission. The Legis-

42. *Florida Acts*, 1862, p. 65.

lature of 1863 passed an act to stop this in Levy, Duval, Taylor, Lafayette and Wakulla counties. In 1864 this act was amended to include Brevard, Sumter, Hernando and Orange counties.

The Governor in 1864 approved an act for the education of soldiers' children. Under this it was made the duty of the county commissioners of each county not only to provide schools but to certify to the Governor the cost of maintaining them. On the Governor's approval it became the duty of the Comptroller to issue the warrants needed in payment. It is most unlikely that Taylor county ever got a dollar under this act, but nevertheless there were schools taught in the county during the war probably at the same places that James H. Wentworth mentioned in his report for the year 1868-69 after the war. As the writer remembers, he heard his mother say she went to school at Pisgah, about three miles northwest of Perry during the war. This school had been running at least since 1850.

That liquor was being legally sold in Taylor county during the war is proven by an act of 1863, returning to Edward Jordan \$50 he had overpaid for his license. The \$100 he had sent in was twice the amount required. It happened that Jordan was sheriff of the county at that time.

HUNTING DESERTERS

Before the end of 1863 many deserters from South Georgia and Madison and Jefferson counties joined persons in Taylor county, who either had gotten their fill of fighting or who never meant to enter the combat. The county has extensive swamps which furnish good hide-outs and these were well used, but an undetermined number, doubtless less than twenty of fighting age, went to Cedar Key, embarking with their families from Snyder's island, near the mouth of the Econfina and Rock island, near the mouth of the Fenholloway. Those who went to Cedar Key were said to have "gone to the Yankees."

The Confederate government took little or no notice of deserters in Taylor county until early in 1864, probably because their activities prior to that time had not been noticeable. In March 1864, Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Capers was given command of a force sent to punish those who were disloyal to the Confederate government. The following letter, dated March 27, 1864 from Colonel Capers to Major J. L. Cross, Assistant Adjutant General, sent from Camp Linton in Jefferson county, explains what went on during the campaign:

"Major: I have the honor to report that in obedience to Special Orders, No. 7 (extract), paragraphs I, and II, I assumed command of the troops designated to operate against the deserters and disaffected citizens of Taylor and Lafayette Counties, in this State. From the best information I could obtain the camp of the enemy was located near the mouth of the Econfina River, on the east bank, and surrounded by a thick marsh, which at high tide was overflowed, rendering communications with the adjoining swamps and hammocks exceedingly difficult. The recent heavy rains had swollen the rivers to such an extent that the swamps and hammock lands were covered with water and deemed almost impassable by the citizens. Under the circumstances I found it impracticable to picket the road from the Natural Bridge to the bridge over the lower-ferry of the Econfina River, as directed in the orders referred to, and decided to make a reconnoissance of the country in force to the Gulf coast and attack the enemy's camp wherever found. With this object in view I ordered the detachment of cavalry, under command of Major Camfield, to proceed from this point down the east bank of the Econfina River and to co-operate with the Twelfth-Battalion in an attack upon the enemy's camp upon Snyder's Island. Moving with the Twelfth Georgia Battalion from Gamble's farm to the Natural Bridge, and through the swamp on the east bank of the Aucilla River, I passed entirely through the country occupied by the disaffected citizens and deserters, and reached the camp of the enemy at daylight on the morning of the 24th instant. Here I found nothing but the deserted huts of the deserters, and no trace of any camp regularly organized by the enemy. The inaccessible character of the swamps, which extend from Gamble's to the coast, and the experience of the war conducted for years between the Seminole Indians and the U. S. forces in this section without any positive result, and the further demonstrated fact that these deserters and disaffected citizens did not maintain any organized encampment, but remained concealed in the vicinity of their homes, determined me to destroy their houses, in addition to the removal of their families as directed in the orders referred from district headquarters. Accordingly I ordered the destruction of every house on the east and west banks of the Econfina and Fenholloway Rivers belonging to these people.

"The captured muster-roll herewith presented (A) enabled me to obtain positive evidence as to the disloyalty of the inhabitants, and from the fact that they had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States Government, I could not discriminate between them and citizens of the United States in arms against the Confederacy. At William Strickland's house (who is the leader of the gang) was captured

the muster-roll referred to, 2,000 rounds of fixed ammunition for the Springfield musket, several barrels of flour from the U. S. Subsistence Department, and several other articles which evidenced the regularity of their communication with the enemy's gun-boats. Having destroyed their property and secured their families, I returned to Mr. Linton's farm to rest the infantry, who were broken down by a continued march of several days through densely wooded swamps, and water at times so deep as to necessitate the removal of cartridge-boxes to keep the ammunition in order. In addition to the destruction of their property I have to report the capture of three prisoners, two of whom have their names on the muster-roll of the company. I have also to report the death of two men of the cavalry detachment, who were killed on the morning of the 24th instant by an accident which cannot but be considered the result of carelessness.⁴³ As no official report of this matter has been made to me, I refer to it as the loss accruing to the service by the expedition. The secondary effects of the plan adopted with these people is manifested in the communication of W. W. Strickland, sent to my headquarters on yesterday, and which is herewith submitted (B). The terms upon which he proposed to leave the swamps are such that I must refer the matter to the commanding general before answering him definitely. The subject is a delicate one, and some diplomacy must be used to secure the ends proposed. On the borders of these swamps are large planting interests, with hundreds of negroes upon them of immense service to the Confederacy in the production of grain and bacon. From their hiding places these men can commit depredations upon the property to such an extent as to materially interfere with the farming operations, and I would urge upon the general commanding the necessity under these circumstances of compromising with these men as may be consistent with the general weal. Should Strickland's company be conciliated, it will in all probability lead to the dispersion of those under the command of Coker and White, on the Fenholloway and Steinhatchee⁴⁴.

The muster-roll Colonel Capers mentioned having captured (A) read as follows:

"We, the undersigned, members of a company called the 'Independent Union Rangers' of Taylor County, Fla., do agree that we will cheerfully obey all orders given by the officers we elect over us, that we will bear true allegiance to the United States of America; that we will not under pain of such penalty or punishment as a court-martial

43. What happened was that the deserter-hunting forces were attacked by the deserters from their hiding place in a tall saw palmetto patch at a point some four and one-half miles northwest of Perry. In this attack two men were killed and two were wounded. One of the wounded men, Ryle Smith (possibly the Robert R. Smith mentioned on page 258 of *Soldiers of Florida*), was carried to the home of the writer's maternal grandfather, who lived about one and one-half miles north of where the deserters' made their attack. Later-probably after the war-the man who shot Smith told him if he had known who it was he (the deserter) would not have shot him. The writer's mother, who was then a little over eleven years old remembered the carrying of Smith to their home quite well.

44. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. LIII, pp. 316-318.

composed of ten men of the company, appointed by the captain, may inflict, give any information or speak in the presence of any one, even though it be our wives and families, of any expedition, raid, or attack that we may be about to undertake; that we agree to shoot or in some other way destroy any person or persons who are proven to be spies of the enemy, or any person who has carried information from our camps to any person through whom it may have gotten to the enemy; that all orders issued by our commanding officers relative to the killing of cattle and seizure of provisions will be cheerfully obeyed; that we agree to bring all property seized on our raids and expeditions to such place as our commanding officers may direct for the common benefit of all concerned, and in case of a division the captain shall make such distribution as to him seems most just; that we agree to make known any meeting or traitorous proceedings, or any violation of any orders of the superior officers, to our captain as soon as possible; that we agree to punish by death, or such other punishment as a court-martial may inflict, any person who may desert or entice others to do so, or shall treat with contempt his officer or weaken his authority in any way, or shall plunder or abuse any person known to be friendly to us.

"William W. Strickland, C. K. Martin, N. D. Poppell, William S. Stanaland, James M. Strickland, G. G. Sheffield, Ison Sheffield, J. W. Wallace, R. S. Stanaland, J. B. Brannon, W. A. Brannon, B. A. Driggers, C. E. Tullington, M. J. Snipes, F. Johnson, J. Snipes, J. Ayers, W. Martin, J. Martin, J. Sapp, D. Sapp, D. Harding, W. Fulford, F. Groomes, J. Johnson, A. Kirkland, B. Poppell, E. Bishop, J. Bishop, L. Whitehurst, J. Poppell, A. Starling, P. Snipes, P. Poppell."⁴⁵

The following is the letter (B) Mr. Strickland addressed to Lieutenant Colonel Capers:

"Lieut.-Col. H. D. Capers:

"My dear sir: I got your letter that you left with Mr. Johnson the 26th. I am anxious to hear from you, and you from me, for I cannot control my men since they saw you fire our house. I cannot control them any longer. I aint accountable for what they do now. As for myself, I will do anything that any half white man ever done, only to go into the Confederate war any more, though when I was in it I done my duty, I reckon. Ask Colonel Smith if I was not as good a soldier as long as he was captain, and would have been yet if Mr. Smith had of staid captain, but now I have went on the other side and tried what we call United States of Taylor, but I find it is like the Confederate men-more wind than work. As for myself, I aint agoing in for any order, only to stay with Mr. Johnson and help him tend to his stock, and I will help him to pen or drive cattle for you, but my oath will not permit me to fight any more. If you will send and get me an exemption and my men that have taken the oath to stay in Taylor and raise stock for you they will do so, but they will not go into war if you had as many again men and dogs, for our title is Florida Royals, and if we can't get a furlough from Mr. Jeff Davis during the war you will find our title right for a while: so I remain a flea until I get a furlough from headquarters, and when you put your thumb on me and then raise it up I will be gone. I give you my respects for the good attentions you paid to my wife, for it was not her

45. *Ibid.*, pp. 318-319.

notion for me to do as I was doing. Just set me and my men free from the war and we will try with leave to get corn till we can make. If not, you can go to moving the steers out of the adjoining three counties. So here is my love for the good attentions for my wife and child. If the war lasts long enough and you will raise him to be a soldier, he will show the spunk of his daddy.

"So I remain

W. W. Strickland
Florida Royals"⁴⁶

There are good reasons for believing that about one-third of Strickland's "Independent Union Rangers" or "Florida Royals" came to Taylor county during the war. Examples of these were such persons as Driggers, Groomes, Harding, Kirkland, and Whitehurst, who were on neither the 1860 nor the 1861 county tax rolls. There were one or more Sheffields on these rolls, but it is practically certain that neither G. G. nor Ison Sheffield were relations of these.

The James Coker company mentioned by Colonel Capers may have numbered as many as ten persons, of whom probably more than half were from south Georgia. White's company on the Steinhatchee was almost certainly composed of Lafayette county men.

It would be a fair estimate to say that Taylor county did not furnish over 40 resident deserters, including those who went to the Federals in Cedar Key. That Strickland's company was by far the largest deserter band in the county is proved by its being singled out for destruction and/or pacification by Lieutenant-Colonel Capers.

It will be noted that Colonel Capers in his letter to Major Cross said, "Accordingly I ordered the destruction of every house on the east and west banks of the Econfina and Fenholloway rivers belonging to these people." The Colonel probably confused Rocky creek, the principal tributary of the Fenholloway river with the main river for it was on the middle portion of this creek in the Pisgah or Jenkins mill community that much if not most of the house burning occurred.

Major Charles H. Camfield apparently had charge of all house burnings and for many years after the war

46. *Ibid.*, pp. 319.

ended he was regarded as just about the meanest man that ever set his foot in Taylor county. He did not stop with burning deserters' homes, but acted as if his duty required him to burn any where there were one or two deserters in the family, although as many or more might be loyally serving the Confederacy. One J. H. Ellison had four sons in the Southern army and two who had deserted, yet his house was burned. Camfield did not fire the nine-room home of John E. Jenkins, Sr., (the Taylor county man who went to California), although he and his sons had joined the Federals in Cedar Key. Instead he (Camfield) used this as his headquarters ; maybe leaving it undestroyed because he thought he might be sent to Taylor county on a second raid.

Governor Milton Disapproved of Capers' Raid

That Governor John Milton was displeased is shown by a letter which he wrote on May 5, 1864, to General J. Patton Anderson. Said the Governor :

I would respectfully invite your consideration . . . [to] the destruction of the property of persons who are deserters or skulkers or supposed to be. I am not convinced that any benefit has resulted from it, on the contrary it has made many women and children homeless and exposed them to disgrace and suffering. Some of these women and children *are the mothers and helpless brothers and sisters of patriotic and brave men who are soldiers in the armies of Virginia and the West.*

I must respectfully request that you will issue an order to prevent in future, the destruction of dwellings and other property necessary to the support and comfort of women and children. Already much difficulty is experienced in preventing the starvation of soldiers' families in different parts of the State, and in supplying the necessary subsistence and forage to sustain our troops in the field. The destruction of property in Taylor and Lafayette counties has caused many women and children to be dependent on the Government, who were able to support themselves.⁴⁷

In a not-too-good attempt to justify what Colonel Capers had done in Taylor county, General J. Patton Anderson in a letter of June 29, 1864 said in part:

The case of Ellison seems to be in the same predicament as to evidence, (as that of one George W. Martin who was wrongly put in custody by Confederate troops and then released) though Col. Smith thinks him a dangerous man, and one that ought not to be permitted to return to his old haunts. Col. S. has known him for many years,

47. Milton Letterbook, 1863-65, p. 60. MS in Florida State Library.

and controverts positively some of the statements made by Ellison in his petition for release. Col. S. says that one of the four sons whom the old man asserts to be in the Va. army, is a deserter and now in the gang which infests the neighborhood of the old man's residence, & c. Under these circumstances, I have deemed it the prudent course to retain him (old Mr. J. H. Ellison) until Col. S. can make further investigation of the case.⁴⁸

Colonel Smith, it will be noted, did not deny that Ellison had sons in the Confederate army, but only made rebuttal by saying that one of the four "is a deserter and now in the gang that infest the neighborhood." Remembering that Ellison's house had been burned and such provisions as he had destroyed, about March 24 or 25, is it surprising that one of the four boys in the Confederate army should desert, after learning of the wrong perpetrated upon his father? The surprise is that more of them did not desert.

It was doubtless Lieutenant Colonel Capers, who was primarily to blame for the destruction wrought in Taylor county by Major Camfield's cavalry force, but the average person discussing it after the war blamed Camfield. In 1896 I heard an aunt, who heard that Camfield died of consumption (the name then given tuberculosis), say substantially "I hope it's not so, for that would have given him time to repent and kept him from getting his just deserts in the hereafter." Yet that aunt was the daughter of a Confederate soldier and later was married to a Confederate, a man wounded at Chickamauga. After Camfield's raid, numbers who had been loyal to the Confederacy apparently became half-way indifferent. They sometimes fed deserters who were hiding and in other ways manifested a don't-care-much attitude as to the final results of the war.

The deserters' wives seized by Colonel Capers' command were carried to Camp Smith six miles south of Tallahassee, and from this point on July 7, 1864, wrote Governor John Milton the following letter:⁴⁹

48. *Ibid.*, pp. 114-115.

49. *Ibid.*, pp. 111-112. Names marked (*) are not believed to have been residents of Taylor County.

To His Excellency John Milton
Governor, State of Florida

We the undersigned families of Taylor and Lafayette Counties have the honor to petition your Excellency that you will withdraw your objection to our being sent to the Blockading Vessel, to seek our Fathers, Husbands & Brothers.

However much they may be to blame in having left the Confederate States, we are their wives and daughters are eternally united with them, and situated as we are, we prefer to follow their fortunes. We know that most of them are still on the coast and believe that we could soon be re-united with them. Indeed, your Excellency, we have a show of justice in our petition. We are most of us houseless and homeless and we should certainly now be allowed the privilege of going to the Federals who are mainly instrumental in offering such inducements to our male protectors as to induce them to leave us. The Military Authorities offered us the privilege of going through the lines, as a matter to be accepted or rejected by us, and now we humbly petition your honor to leave us a free choice, and even to assist us to go where we can be better taken care of.

We subscribe ourselves as representing each one her family.

Yours Most Respectfully

Sivil J. Fulford
Elizabeth Standley [Standaland]
Catharine Allbritton
Mary Ann Wright*
Elizabeth Croom* [Groom]
Frances Strawn*
Mary Strawn*
Elizabeth Martin*
Eliza Poppell
Martha A. Bright*
Carry A. Allbritton
Nancy Strawn*

In April 1864, a company of home guards was organized, designated in *Soldiers of Florida*, as "Roll- Company-, 1st Florida Reserves," with James W. Faulkner as captain. The size of the company is unknown, but the writer has satisfactory information that the ten names listed there (page 313) by no means include all its members.

Whether this company was organized for better protection against Federal forces who could have easily landed from Cedar Key at various Taylor county points, or as a dodge against service at the fighting front would be hard to prove at this day. From the best information the writer has been able to get, the company met at various intervals at Camp Carlton on the Fenholloway river to carry on drilling exercises. Certainly after some of these Home Guards began to draw pensions under the

liberal pension law of 1907, neighbors and even kinsmen did not think they deserved them.⁵⁰

Tiring of the War

By 1865 Taylor county people were getting well tired of the war, some becoming so disgusted with it as to call it "a rich man's war and a poor man's fight." They had witnessed many injustices. They had known of house burnings where at least some members of the family were away fighting for the Confederacy. They knew how in some sections of the county south Georgians were hiding out to dodge service. They did not like the unfairness shown in allowing some men to keep out of fighting. Probably more than all, they objected to doing without things that prior to 1861 they had been able to get with ease. Soldiers would write home about conditions at the front such letters as the one below sent December 4, 1863, by a Madison county soldier to his mother:⁵¹

"Dear Mother

Seat my Self this morning to inform you that I am well an we have got orders to leave here. But I do not know wher we are going too but out west. I will wright you as soon as I git to my Journey end I will wright to you again. Mother I Sent you them Slays But I cant hear wherther you got them or not Wright to her Brother Ben has gone back to Virginia and tell him if he hant gone not go take the woods first. tha have Shorten Our Rashens again we have not bin paid off yet and I dont know when we will be."

Execution of W. W. Strickland

Many loyal Confederates were saddened and doubtless a number angered by the execution of W. W. Strickland by shooting at Tallahassee in March 1865. Strickland was the man who wrote the letter to Lieutenant Colonel H. D. Capers specifying conditions upon which the deserter band would cease its activities, provided they did not have to do any more fighting. These conditions,

50. The following persons are known to have served in the Homes Guards company: James W. Faulkner, captain, F. M. Adams, A. J. Adams, Thomas L. Gunter, William C. Henderson, Thomas B. Hendry, Ezekiel Hodges, M. C. Mathis, M. A. Mixson, W. J. Morgan, Mills W. Parker, S. N. Smith, J. M. Wilder. There were doubtless at least twenty-five others in the company.

51. MS. in Florida State Library.

we are reasonably sure, were not satisfactorily met,⁵² for when captured in March, 1865 Strickland was listed as member of the Second Florida Cavalry, U. S. Army. He and a Federal soldier taken with him were charged with trying to burn a railroad bridge⁵³ and according to the ordinary rules of war his execution was just. But many Taylor county citizens knew why Strickland deserted and perhaps were more sympathetic toward him than they would have otherwise been.

A comrade of Strickland's told the writer some forty years ago that while the company of which both were members was stationed in Jefferson county Strickland hearing that his wife was dangerously ill at their home across the Aucilla river in Taylor county, about fifteen or twenty miles away, asked leave of the captain to go to see her. Being refused he went anyhow and upon his return the captain told him that in punishment he would have to grub a stump and wear a barrel placarded "Coward." Strickland, as his comrade later related it, said, "I'll die before I'll do it." This overbearing captain was therefore the cause of Strickland's desertion.

As Strickland's letter to Colonel Capers stated he had been a good soldier as long as Colonel Smith was captain, we may infer that his desertion bore a relation to the change in his company commander.

Another very probable reason for the displeasure of Taylor county folks at Strickland's execution was that

52. Assistant Adjutant-General Cross, writing to Colonel Capers, March 28, 1864, stated: "Mr. Strickland's letter has been referred to General Anderson for his decision, with recommendation that those who have taken the oath of allegiance to the United States be received as we do deserters from that Government, provided they come in and consider themselves in good faith citizens of the United States. Those who have deserted from our Army and will come in by the 5th of April will be sent to their regiments and those subject to the military service who have never been in it are recommended to be employed to tend and drive beef, provided they come in and give themselves up. If Mr. Strickland will meet you under a flag of truce it is the opinion of the brigadier general commanding that this whole matter can be settled without further difficulty." (*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, Series I, Vol. LIII, p. 320)

53. Probably the bridge across the Aucilla river between the present towns of Greenville and Aucilla.

his father-in-law, W. N. Johnson, was a wealthy stock owner who helped many needy families by letting them pen his cattle, not only enabling them to better fertilize their sugar cane, vegetable gardens and tobacco and sweet potato patches, but to get milk and butter free for several months each year. In addition to this Mr. Johnson had one or more sons in the Confederate service and this very likely made his neighbors and acquaintances think that Strickland should not have been shot. The Strickland execution lost the Confederate cause far more support than it gained.

War's End Pleased Most Citizens

The end of the war was not displeasing to the majority of Taylor county citizens. There were not many slave owners and these were not greatly hurt, as they, in general, had more wealth in cattle than in negroes; and during the years following the war they had little trouble in hiring the service of their former slaves at low cost. There was, of course, the four years loss of time suffered by soldiers in the service. Many had the whole course of their lives changed. Numbers of soldiers who had marched and traveled about so much got a roving notion into their heads and not a few went to South Florida or to Texas as a result. Nearby counties such as Madison and Jefferson took their toll and, on this account, Taylor county's population increase during the decade 1860-1870 was much less than it should have been from the natural increase caused by excess of births over deaths.

The permanent results of the war seem to have been more hatred for the negroes, a distaste for political control by the wealthy, a desire to be left severely alone, a greater detestation than ever of outside authority and a permanent appetite for the corn bread and collards to which the Civil War had accustomed them.

ROBERT E. LEE IN FLORIDA

by KARL A. BICKEL

The career of General Robert E. Lee is so overwhelmingly associated with the valleys of Virginia and the great and decisive battles of the Civil War that his very real personal interest in Florida and the fact that as one of the commission of United States Army officers in 1849 he made a detailed and personal examination of the entire coast line of Florida from Pensacola to Jacksonville and Fernandina, has been largely obscured. During this tour of inspection as secretary of the commission, he recorded the results of the examination of every bay, river mouth of any importance, or estuary, and with his brother officers reported not only upon the military significance of these but likewise commented upon their present and possible commercial or agricultural future.

This document, entitled "Report of the Board of Engineers Upon Their Examination of the West and East Coast of Florida, from Pensacola Harbor to Amelia Island," is now in the files of the National Archives in Washington. The writer's interest in the Florida portion of General Lee's career was aroused by a brief paragraph in Douglas Southall Freeman's extraordinarily interesting and historically important *Robert E. Lee, A Biography*, in which he referred to the expedition.

This suggested letters to the War Department, the Library of Congress, and finally through the friendly and very helpful cooperation of both, to the National Archives. Thereupon, after a considerable search, the War Records Office of the National Archives revealed in the records of the Chief of Engineers the original *Report* from Colonel Robert E. Lee, March 12, 1849, making certain recommendations for military reservations along the Florida coast, as well as the general report of the Board of Engineers hitherto mentioned. The instructions from the War Department constituting the Board were

NOTE—This paper was read at the annual meeting of the Florida Historical Society on February 6 last.

issued by General James E. Totten, Chief Engineer, on September 8, 1848.

Colonel Lee was made the Recorder for the Board ; and the later report, completed at the conclusion of the survey and dated Savannah, Ga. March 14th, 1849, is in his handwriting.

On January 15th General Lee, visiting in Baltimore, wrote General Totten, Chief of Engineers:

Sir: Since my arrival in this city I have learned that there is a map of a portion of the coast of East and West Florida, made some years since by a party of officers of the Corps of Topographical Engineers and published in three sheets, giving the result of surveys of that coast east of Mobile with the details of several harbors viz, St. Josephs, Apalachicola, etc. in reference possibly to the contemplated canal across the isthmus of Florida. I have to request if possible a copy of said map for the use of the Board of Engineers Officers now on the way to examine the Florida coast. If the map in question can be mailed tomorrow (16th.) directed to Col. DeRussy at Charleston, S. C., it will overtake them there. If it does not overtake the Board at that point it will be left at the P. O. where it must be forwarded.

Very respectfully your Obedient Servant,
R. E. Lee, Lt. Col. & Recorder

The map, according to a letter to Lee from General Totten, dated Washington, January 16th., was mailed to Col. DeRussy at Mobile, not Charleston, on that day. He further remarked that if a copy of the map of the State of Florida compiled in 1846 and then in the Topographical Bureau could be obtained, it would also be sent to Mobile.

In reply to a request that it would be interesting to see if the maps sent the Board could be located, the National Archives, with a patience and pertinacity that seemingly always exists in the hearts of a true historical researcher, went into a long and exhausting search for

the maps. There was some slight confusion at the start as to just what map or maps Colonel Lee and General Totten had referred to, but this finally was cleared up and W. L. G. Joerg, Chief of the Cartographic Records Branch, Natural Resources Records Division, wrote :

The maps have been found. The map requested by Lee in his letter of January 15th., 1849 is ambiguously identified by his reference to "details of several harbors viz, St. Josephs, Apalachicola, etc." although the "some years since" of Lee's letter turns out to be 1829. As to be expected from Lee's reference to East and West Florida, in the old territorial sense, the map does not include the entire peninsula but only goes south as far as Tampa Bay and Indian River.

Negative photostats of this map have been placed in the library of the Florida Historical Society.

Other Visits to Florida

Lee apparently visited Florida four times during his life. His father, General Harry Lee, returning from the West Indies where he had been for some months recovering his health, had landed on his return at Cumberland Island, Georgia, where at Dungeness was the estate of his old Commander, General Nathaniel Green. Here General Harry Lee was most kindly cared for and here he died on March 15, 1818. He was buried here in the plantation garden. In 1862 the plantation was owned by a great nephew of General Green, a Mr. Nightengale.

Late in 1861 Gen. Lee was assigned to the command of the department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, and in a letter to his wife dated Coosawahatchie, S. C., January 18, 1862, he writes,

While at Fernandina I went over to Cumberland Island and walked to Dungeness, the former residence of General Green. It was my first visit to the house, and I had the gratification at length of visiting my father's grave. He died there, you may recol-

lect, on his way from the West Indies, and was interred in one corner of the family cemetery. The spot is marked by a plain marble slab with his name, age and date of his death. The garden was beautiful, enclosed by the finest hedge I have ever seen. It was of wild olive.

This was apparently General Lee's second trip to Fernandina. In a letter to his wife dated Savannah, November 18, 1861, he writes, "This is the first moment I have had to write you and I am now waiting the call to breakfast on my way to Brunswick, Fernandina, etc." Later, writing from Savannah on November 22, 1861, to his daughters, Lee states, "This is my second visit to Savannah. I have been down the coast to visit Amelia Island to examine the defenses. They are poor indeed. I hope the enemy will be polite enough to wait for us."

This was Lee's last appearance in Florida as a soldier. In the early part of March 1862 he was recalled to Richmond by President Davis and was assigned on March 13th, under the direction of the President, "to the conduct of the military operations of the armies of the Confederate States."

His Last Visit to Florida

During the winter and spring of 1870 Gen. Lee's health was impaired and he was persuaded to take a trip into the deep South. He left Lexington with his daughter on March 24. At Raleigh, Charlotte, and Salisbury there were bands and speeches and banquets.

"We spent the night in the sleeping car" his daughter Agnes wrote her mother on April 3 from Savannah, "very handsome and comfortable but the novelty, I suppose, made us wakeful. I think we will go to Florida in a few days."

But they were still in Savannah on April 17, when Lee, writing again to his "dear Mary," said, "Tomorrow I expect to go to Florida and will stop at Amelia Island. Visitors to that region coming out say that the

weather is uncomfortably hot. If I find it so I shall return."

The record of this last visit to Florida, as contained in his letters, is not long. He visited Cumberland Island again and went up the St. Johns River nearly to Palatka, spending a night at the home of Col. Robert G. Cole near there, after which the entire party returned to Savannah. Col. Cole had been a member of General Lee's staff during the time he was in command of the Army of Virginia and they were close friends. In a letter to his wife dated Savannah, April 18, he wrote,

I returned from Florida Sunday, April 16th, having had a very pleasant trip as far as Palatka on the St. Johns. We visited Cumberland Island, and Agnes decorated my father's grave with beautiful fresh flowers. I presume it is the last time that I shall be able to pay to it my tribute of respect. The cemetery is unharmed and the grave is in good order, although the house at Dungeness has been burned and the island devastated. Mr. Nightengale, the present proprietor, accompanied me from Brunswick. We spent a night at Col. Cole's, a beautiful place near Palatka and ate oranges from the trees. We passed some other beautiful places on the river but could not stop at any place but Jacksonville, where we remained from 4 P. M. to 3 A. M. next morning, rode over the town and were hospitably entertained by Col. Sanderson. The climate was delightful, the fish inviting and abundant.

That was General Lee's farewell to Florida. It could scarcely have been more happily phrased. He died at Lexington, Virginia on October 10 the same year.

The Cole home, visited by Gen. Lee in 1870, was on the east bank of the St. Johns several miles south of Federal Point, at Orange Mills. It was the pre-Civil War home of Col. Cole's brother, Archibald H. Cole, who was associated with David Levy Yulee in the building of the Florida Railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Key. The

old place has disappeared. The house burned about 1900, and the orange grove of several thousand trees was completely destroyed in the freezes of 1895 and 1899. But it is recalled by a nephew of Col. Cole, a director of the Florida Historical Society: Facing the river, with moss-hung live oaks between, it had its own wharf where the river steamers stopped to add to their cargoes of oranges. So Gen. Lee did not go to Palatka, but could land at the front door of his host.

The Palatka *Herald* of April 20, 1870, says:

General Lee paid our county a visit on the last trip of the Nick King. He spent the night with Colonel Cole at Orange Mills. Our citizens would have been glad to have had the honor of his presence, but in this they were disappointed. Whether here, or in Virginia, General Lee will live in the hearts of his countrymen.

The Cruise and the Report

General Lee is known to have written letters to his family from the schooner Phenix, the vessel provided by the Government for the cruise and which the commission boarded at Mobile. These letters, five in number, are owned by descendants and are still held from publication although the family have been generous in permitting historians to read them. They were written between February 1, and March 18, 1849. The first was mailed from Mobile, the second dated February 2, was mailed from Apalachicola, the third was mailed at Cedar Keys February 13, the fourth dated February 22, was dated at Key West and the fifth from St. Augustine March 18. The report itself indicates that Lee visited Fort Brooke, Tampa Bay, and probably St. Marks, Key West and the Miami area on Biscayne Bay. It seems certain that the commissioners did not remain on board the Phenix during the relatively long stays in these ports. A photostat of the Report of the Board of Engineers upon their examination of the West and East coast of

Florida, a typed copy of the same, have been deposited in the library of The Florida Historical Society at St. Augustine. Typed, it amounts to some 36 pages. It is clear, concise and, while frequently technical, is often generally interesting in its comment upon current commercial conditions along the coast and the references which Lee included as to its present and future commercial possibilities.

Sketching very rapidly the situation at Pensacola, which had been previously surveyed by the army engineers, the Board commented upon the situation at Apalachicola, noting its healthy climate and the fact it was already quite "navigable for light steamers." Apalachicola, Lee noted, contained a population of 1,500 and for the year ending Sept. 2, 1847 had imports valued at \$2,661,000 and exports of \$5,435,789. Cotton, the principal item, had been exported to the extent of 160,000 bales. The occupation of the west end of St. George Island by a military work was urged as a preliminary step towards complete protection.

At St. Marks, the report states that the export that year had amounted to 30,000 bales of cotton. The Board recommended that the old Spanish fort at St. Marks be reserved for a defense site. Off Cedar Keys the Board observed that the Suwannee was navigated for 200 miles by light steamers. Cedar Keys exported 2,234 bales of cotton and 2,000 bales of hides and skins that year.

Tampa Bay, Mullet Key, Egmont Key, Longboat Key and the mouth of the Manatee received the Board's attention. The Board was obviously impressed with the possibilities of Tampa Bay, yet it was a difficult position to defend. The Board recommended the reservation of keys at the Bay's mouth for future works, the erection of a work on Egmont Key, and further study.

The coast, they noted, south of Tampa off Sarasota, was "bolder" than to the north of Tampa. The inspection of Charlotte Harbor was detailed but in the end the Board made no recommendations as to defensive

works. From Cape Romano to Cape Sable no recommendations were made.

It is obvious that the attention of the Board was definitely aroused by the situation they found at Biscayne Bay. Its importance, they stated, from both a military and commercial viewpoint, was based upon the excellence of its position.

"When surveys are completed the erection of defensive works at this point may become important to complete the system commenced at Cay West and Tortugas."

The Board accepted Fort Marion as sufficient for the needs of St. Augustine and then passed on to a study of the mouth of the St. Johns River and Jacksonville.

"The commerce of the St. Johns," said the report, "is such that it may soon require protection." Stating that they believed future surveys were important, they advanced the opinion that a military work on Baton Island would "probably prevent an attack upon Jacksonville."

In conclusion the Board recommended that St. George's Sound and Tampa Bay receive first attention from the Government. Following that, they urged action on Biscayne Bay, Cedar Keys and the St. Johns River. Thirdly, they recommended works at St. Joseph's Sound, St. Marks River and Charlotte Harbor.

SPANISH RELIEF POLICY
AND THE EAST FLORIDA REFUGEES OF 1763

by DUVON C. CORBITT

"Jesus, Maria y Josef!"

So runs the pious ejection scrawled across the front page of the bundle of documents in the Archivo Nacional de Cuba concerned with pensions to wives, widows and daughters of the Floridians who chose to follow the retreating Spanish flag in 1763 and 1764.¹ It is not surprising that the Havanese officials called for help from on high when they found themselves confronted with the feeding and housing of the whole population of East Florida after the cession of that province to Great Britain by the Peace of Paris. Fortunately the total of that population scarcely exceeded three thousand; but, even so, the drain on a treasury always dependent on a subsidy from New Spain was considerable; moreover, that same treasury was also faced with the financing of the reconstruction and fortification of Cuba's capital after an eleven months siege and occupation by British forces.

Over in New Spain itself officials were called on to deal with a similar situation created by the migration to Vera Cruz and Campeche of the whole population of West Florida. There, however, the refugees entered a more populous colony, thus making the problem relatively smaller than that created in Cuba. There was, however, something of a parallel in the way the two groups of refugees were handled, in that attempts were made to settle them on small farms in agricultural colonies.² In each case, too, a pension plan was worked out, but here the parallel ends, for the pension system was developed in Cuba and simply extended to West Floridians residing in New Spain. This fact calls for special consideration.

There were in East Florida some 3,100 persons at the time of the cession of the province to Britain. About

1. The bundle is the Archivo Nacional de Cuba (hereinafter cited as A.N.C.), Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

2. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3. See also A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

the time hostilities ceased half a hundred of the troops were sent to strengthen the garrison at St. Marks. After the peace ten militiamen, their families and their slaves were transported at their own request to Campeche. The rest of the East Floridians were taken to Havana. Bishop Pedro Agustin Morel de Santa Cruz, who had been expelled from Havana by the British and who was in St. Augustine at the time of the cession, took it upon himself to bear the expense of sending seventy-four women and children to Cuba. The rest of the population, including 551 soldiers,³ were transported to Havana at government expense.

To dispose of the members of the armed services was simply a matter of assigning them to other posts of duty, but the civilians presented a real problem. Temporary lodgings were found for them in and around Havana, a number being allocated in the Barrio de Guadalupe, just outside the city wall, while the others were distributed in the town of Regla across the bay or in Guanabacoa some six miles farther east. As a provisional relief measure each individual was given a daily allowance of one *real* for subsistence, but even this small amount for so many persons constituted a serious drain on the already overworked Cuban treasury.

Providential care took the earthly form of a certain Don Geronimo Contreras who seems to have been of Florida extraction. Part of his large holdings in the locality of Ceiba Mocha, in the jurisdiction of Mantanzas, was offered for distribution among the refugees. In this way⁴ nearly one hundred families were provided with homes. This tract contained 108 *caballerias*, or 3,600 acres. The plan of settlement as worked out by the Conde de Ricla,

3. A study of the migration is found in W. H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX, No. 2, (October, 1940), 145-154. The total number of emigrants, according to Professor Siebert, was 3,091. A transcript from the Archivo General de Indias, 86-7-11 (in the Webb Memorial Library in St. Augustine) places the total population at 3,046, but this seems to omit the troops sent to St. Marks just before evacuation, which Professor Siebert includes.

4. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3.

captain general of the island, and Alejandro O'Reilly, inspector general of troops, called for the allotment of one *caballeria* - thirty-two acres-to each family. In addition to this gift of land each head of a family received a loan of sixty pesos, to be repaid over a period of ten years, and a slave valued at one hundred and fifty pesos, to be paid for within the same period. Each family also received an assortment of farm implements the purchase price of which-nine pesos, two reales - was deducted from the loan of sixty pesos. In return for the land, loans and transportation to their new homes, the settlers renounced any further claims against the government.⁵ A number of the Floridians sought and obtained advances on the cash loans before leaving Havana, the amounts ranging from four to twenty pesos, the remainder being paid on arrival in the colony⁶ where the slaves and farm implements were also delivered.⁷

The first group of colonists, including seventy-three heads of families, arrived at the site of the proposed settlement about the first of April of 1764, and some time before June fifth of that year they were joined by twenty-one other families.⁸ A village on the European style, in which each family would have a house and lot and from which they would go out to their several farms, was part of the original plan. One *caballeria* of land was set aside and surveyed for this purpose, but as late as 1822 the village lots were still undistributed because the colonists seemed to prefer living on their farms.⁹ When finally a village did develop it was at some distance from the place assigned.

The name chosen for the colony was San Augustin de la Nueva Florida. Notwithstanding the fact that the estate of Don Geronimo Contreras was called "San Au-

5. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 880, no. 29,668.

6. A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3.

7. A.N.C. Realengos, legajo 67, no. 13.

8. Two lists of original heads of families, numbering 73, are found in A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3. Another list with names of arrivals through July 5, 1764 is in A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 13.

9. A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 880, no. 29,668.

gustin," and that the small stream near the site of the colony bore the same name, it seems that the exiles thought rather of perpetuating the name of their former home. For the next half-century San Augustin de la Nueva, Florida fought a losing battle with the traditional name of Ceiba Mocha by which the town nearby is still called. A broken ceiba tree, that is, a "ceiba Mocha," that stood out prominently by the King's Highway was responsible for that name.¹⁰ Events during the past century have given this village a peculiarly romantic history of the Robin Hood type, which could be more properly the topic of a separate study. Near it the almost legendary Manuel Garcia was killed, and in its cemetery his remains lay buried until they were spirited away to prevent their being removed to Havana. More important to the present problem is the fact that descendents of many of the East Floridians are to be found in the town and its vicinity today.

The settlement of the colony at San Augustin de la Nueva Florida was only one phase of the problem of re-establishing hundreds of civilians from East Florida. Under the provisions of a cedula of January 31, 1731, all widows and orphan daughters of soldiers who had served in Florida were entitled to a pension of two *reales* per day as long as they remained single. This military pension was called *limosna de Florida*, literally "alms of Florida." Since Florida had been little more than a military post a large portion of the female refugees of 1763 could qualify for the *limosna*.¹¹ By special grace of the king the pension was extended to include all Florida women who had lost one or both parents regardless of military service of fathers or husbands. The *limosna* list was also extended by other additions-but with varying

10. *Guia de Forasteros de la Isla de Cuba* (An annual volume listing persons connected with the administration. Published by the press of the Captaincy General), 1798, p. 30, and 1803, p. 122. See also A.N.C., Realengos, legajo 67, no. 3; A.N.C., Gobierno Superior Civil, legajo 880, no. 29,689; and the *Diario del Gobierno Constitucional de la Habana*, September 23, 1813.

11. A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, libro XI, pp. 77-79.

amounts assigned as the pension-so that by 1766 all women and girls not settled in the colony at San Augustin de la Nueva Florida were on the pension roll. In the meantime, however, the government had decided that the males could take care of themselves regardless of age, and their ration of one real per day was cut off.

The haphazard manner in which the ladies had been pensioned, especially in regard to amounts, led to confusion and misunderstanding. To systematize the Florida pension program orders were sent out from Spain for Captain General Antonio Maria Bucarely to suggest a permanent plan.¹² This he did in July 1770 and in November of that year his suggestions received royal approval. At the same time the king's ministers ordered the Cuban intendant, Miguel de Altarriba, to make payments in Havana according to the pension list submitted by the captain general. Wives, widows and daughters of men living in Florida at the time of the cession to Britain were to receive one *real* per day while single. Daughters born after the migration were to be excluded, as well as all Floridians living outside their native land at the time of the treaty. Widows and orphans of Florida soldiers were to continue to receive the two *reales* assigned them by the *cedula* of 1731. If, however, the husband or father of a pensioner entered the royal service the *limosna* was to be discontinued since it was not "the will of His Majesty . . . that one individual receive two salaries."¹³ No provision was made for men who had not served in the armed forces.

At the end of the American Revolution, East Florida returned to Spanish control, but there was no mass return of the exiles. The census taken in St. Augustine in 1786 listed only fourteen of the hundreds of families who had migrated in 1763 and 1764, and although these fourteen families contained a total of 132 persons, scarcely a fifth of the number had resided in Florida before the

12. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 23.

13. The regulation and accompanying documents are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 12, no. 2.

migration. The rest were wives, husbands, children or slaves acquired by Floridians while residing in Cuba.¹⁴ Official policy toward those who had returned was hardly calculated to encourage others to follow their example. Lacking specific instructions on the point, the Havana authorities suspended the *limosna* to women who went back to Florida. Loath to surrender the government subsidy, recipients of the pension were hesitant about risking another migration on the mere possibility of taking up where they and their fathers had left off a generation before.

By 1789 the effect of this policy began to be noted by the intendant of Cuba, Domingo de Hernani. To the minister of the Indies the intendant reported on April 3 of that year that he had paid out during the preceding fiscal year 22,996 pesos to 318 ex-Florida women, not one of whom had tried to return to Florida since the return of the flag. Government transportation and the continuation of the pension to returning Floridians were his suggestions for promoting the repopulation of the province.¹⁵ The minister's response was a set of instructions to the intendant to continue the pensions to women who went back to Florida, and also an announcement that the houses and land held during the first Spanish period could be recovered.¹⁶

Hernani's proposition seems to have been an outgrowth of a petition from Jose Ponce de Leon and his wife, Catalina de Porras. This came before the Junta de Real Hacienda in 1789. The couple asked for transportation to St. Augustine because they were "loaded with children and therefore labored under great difficulties" in Cuba. They hoped to get to their native land "where perhaps they could obtain with fewer fatigues the necessary subsistence for their family." It was agreed that passage for the family should be paid from the public funds. At the same time the Junta decided to do as much

14. Joseph B. Lockey, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XVIII, No. 1 (July, 1939), 11-31.

15. Hernani to Valdes, April 3, 1789, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

16. Valdes to Hernani, July 3, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

for other Floridians who wished to be repatriated, eight pesos to be allowed for each person in addition to regular army rations en route. If the women happened to be daughters of officers they were to receive the "*gratificación of the table*" while on shipboard.¹⁷ For this program royal approval was given,¹⁸ and it is of interest to note that the lady who helped to start this policy died soon after reaching her native city of St. Augustine.¹⁹

A number of other requests were made that led to complete revision of the Florida pension plan, whether the recipients were in Cuba, New Spain, or in Florida itself. Lucia Escalona, who had been among the first of the refugees to return to St. Augustine, asked that her pension be made payable in Florida instead of Havana as heretofore. Lucia had already been the subject of considerable study, for it was with great difficulty that she had been able to obtain a pension at all. Her first petition on the subject was refused by the Junta de Hacienda on the ground that she had no legal proof that she was a widow, her husband, a sailor of St. Augustine having simply sailed away and failed to return. Perseverance, however, finally got Lucia the pension on the grounds that she was "an effective widow" (*viuda efectivo*) since her husband had been missing for fifty years. The Junta granted her request with a note of praise because she had set an example worthy of emulation by her compatriots in going back to develop her native land.

Along with the papers concerned with Lucia Escalona went other documents dealing with petitions from still other Florida women asking that their pensions be continued, and that they be given back the houses they possessed prior to 1763, about which there seems to have been considerable difficulty in spite of lengthy legisla-

17. Hernani to Valdes, May 29, 1789, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

See also A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, libro IX, p. 198.

18. Valdes to Hernani, August 5, 1789, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

19. Records of the Cathedral of St. Augustine, May 22, 1803. Josef Ponce de Leon (son of Francisco Ponce de Leon and Dona Jacoba del Pueyo), having lost his wife Catalina de Porrás, married Antonia Tremal, widow of Luis Suchy. Data furnished by the late Mrs. E. W. Lawson.

tion on the subject. Among the petitions was one from Maria de los Angeles Florencia asking that the two *reales* per day formerly paid to her as the daughter of a Florida officer be restored. This pension had been discontinued when the lady married. Now she was a widow and wanted it back. The petition was forwarded to Spain along with other requests and a proposal from the new intendant, Pablo Valiente, for a new regulation that would link Florida pensions with a broader program designed to promote the development of the province. The projected regulation was approved by the king on March 18, 1791. The substance of its twelve articles were as follows: (1) the treasury was to furnish transportation to all Floridians who desired to repatriate themselves ; (2) those migrating to Florida, or who were already there would continue to receive their pensions; (3) Floridians living in Cuba and drawing one *real* per day would be allowed one and a half if they went back to Florida ; (4) girls born in Cuba of Florida parents would receive two *reales* per day until they married or reached the age of thirty, provided they moved to Florida ; (5) Florida women married to non-Floridians would receive one real per day if they returned to their native land ; (6) women too old to return and take possession of their property would, however, receive their pensions in Cuba; (7) female members of Florida families settled in Ceiba Mocha²⁰ or Campeche²¹ could be returned to the pension roll provided they moved back to Florida, their pensions to be equal to what they received before accepting the farms ; (8) property owned in Florida in 1763 could be recovered on presenting evidence of such ownership ; (9) loans would be made from the treasury to those desiring to build homes, repayment to be made within ten years; (10) returning exiles would be granted farm lands in such amounts as they could cultivate ; (11) the treasury would provide each family with a negro slave and also

20. The site of the colony of East Floridians.

21. The residents of Pensacola and vicinity were sent to Vera Cruz and Campeche.

with farm implements on the condition that the recipient would agree to pay for them within the ten year period ; (12) Floridians would henceforth have preference in the selection of government employees.²²

It will be noted that "articles 9, 10, and 11 were simply adaptations from the plan used in settling the refugees at San Augustin de la Nueva Florida. The rest were peculiar to the Florida situation, although no. 12 deserves special mention. It represents a radical departure from the fixed policy of Spain of preferring Peninsular born Spaniards to colonials in official appointments whether in Spain or over seas.

On giving approval to this new plan the king added the condition that where property formerly owned by Floridians had been subsequently granted to some one else, the government could compensate them by grants from the lands belonging to the crown. At the same time the king instructed the viceroy of New Spain to supply the money necessary to carry out the new Florida policy; that is, the viceroy was to increase the subsidy (*situado*) already being sent to Florida to cover the deficit in the administration's budget.²³

Finally, in the particular case of Maria de los Angeles Florencia, whose petition had provoked the general regulation, the intendant recommended payment of one *real* per day, since the lady was living in Havana which the government was not interested in populating. It would be increased, however, if she returned to Florida²⁴. This suggestion by the intendant was finally approved by the king.²⁵

In the meantime the royal order of 1791 began to produce some few results in the way of inducing Floridians to return to their native land. On January 16, 1794, bulletins were posted on public buildings in Havana in-

22. This regulation and accompanying documents are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22. A duplicate set is *ibid.* legajo 14, no. 93.

23. A certified copy of the order is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 14, no. 93.

24. Two copies of this recommendation, dated July 2, 1792, are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

25. Royal order of November 8, 1792, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

forming Florida refugees of their new rights and privileges.²⁶ There was an immediate, if not general, response. Antonio Pueyo informed Captain General Luis de las Casas that he would like to go to Florida with his daughter Maria Manuela "in order that she might be able to enjoy the privileges that His Majesty had granted to families that returned to that Plaza."²⁷ A similar petition came from Maria Ventura Rodriguez, who wanted to get to Florida with her husband, Francisco Santa Ana, to enjoy the "grace of His Majesty."²⁸ After the corresponding number of investigations, consultations, explanations, and examinations had greatly enriched Spanish archival wealth, the two petitions were granted.²⁹

It should be noted that in connection with these two petitions there came into general use the term Junta de Floridanos. The Junta had existed in fact if not in name since a royal order of May 26, 1775 instructed Captain General Diego Navarro to convoke a meeting of the intendant, the accountant, the *asesor de gobierno*, and the *asesor de la intendencia* when necessary to decide questions relating to the *limosna de Florida*. But, since this was the identical group that advised the captain general and the intendant on matters concerning the treasury, it continued to be referred to as the Junta de Real Hacienda even when discussing Florida problems. By 1791, however, another name was coming into use. In a letter to the intendant the captain general asked him to discuss the new royal order of March 18 in the "Junta de Floridanos."³⁰ This would suggest that the term was well understood in official circles at that time, and it is certain that in the future its use became customary.³¹

26. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

27. Las Casas to Valiente, January 29, 1793, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

28. Las Casas to Viliente, February 15, 1793, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

29. The multitude of certificates, *acuerdos*, etc., concerned with these petitions, are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

30. Las Casas to Hernani, June 20, 1791, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

31. See for instance the *acuerdo* of the Junta de Floridanos on March 20, 1791, A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

As to the petitioners themselves, although their requests were approved in 1793, it was well into 1795 before Maria Ventura Rodriguez and her husband were provided with transportation, when the captain general issued orders for their passage to be paid to St. Augustine on the sloop *Maria*, Captain Pedro Dalton, and the intendant gave instructions for Dalton to be provided with food for the use of these passengers.³² Some time thereafter they sailed for St. Augustine where Maria was granted the lot on which the Anglican church had been located during the British occupation.³³

The intendant's posters in Havana led two "useful natives of the Canary Islands," who were heads of families, to apply for transportation to Florida with the corresponding pension to their womenfolk. They had interpreted the royal order as a plan to secure settlers instead of a relief program for displaced Floridians of 1763. The intendant had to inform them that only native Florida women were included in the provisions of the order, but he was struck with the idea of the Canary Islanders and recommended to the home government an amplification of its relief program so as to make it into a plan for settlement and development of Florida. The Spanish authorities considered the cost and turned down the proposition, although a specific decree gave the two Canary Islands families the rights and privileges of pre-1763 Floridians. It was expressly stated in the decree, however, that nobody else was included in the provisions.

In the absence of any power to make a serious effort to populate the Florida peninsula, authorities in Cuba plodded along as best they could repatriating the few ex-Floridians and their descendants who applied under the existing laws. Nor was the task easy, for it was often difficult to decide on the merits and demerits of pension claims. At a meeting of the Junta de Floridanas on April

32. Las Casas commanded that she be given passage on the first available vessel. All orders concerned with this case are in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

33. This data was very graciously supplied by Mrs. E. W. Lawson. See also *Spanish Land Grants in Florida, Confirmed Claim*, vol. III (Tallahassee, 1941), p. 58.

29, 1793 a number of requests for repatriation were considered, but there was so much confusion in the available data that the Junta called upon the intendant to "purify" the claims by checking the lists of Florida pensioners.³⁴ What results, if any, were obtained is not indicated in existing documents. In the meantime, however, other petitions came in Jose Suarez and his wife, Maria de la Lus Alcantara were informed that the lady would receive two *reales* per day if she moved back to Florida. They came back at the Junta with the assertion that they would gladly go "provided their four daughters were declared eligible to receive the *limosna* of two *reales*. The Junta, "after meditated reflections," declared that the mother should receive the pension indicated, but that the daughters were ineligible because their father was not a native of Florida.³⁵

In the meantime returning Floridians were creating problems for the governor at St. Augustine. First there was the question of property held before 1763, which was sometimes difficult to locate, or if located was occupied by other persons. There was also considerable uncertainty as to the exact meaning of some of the new legislation. Then, too, the pensions given to returning refugees caused earlier migrants to demand corresponding increases in their own allowances, and there was always the question of persons claiming pensions because of their own military services or that of husbands or fathers. In 1790 Juana Margarita Rivero, widow of the chief pilot of St. Augustine, asked for two *reales* per day on the basis of her husband's service. In support of the claim she cited her extreme need and that of her five minor children, explaining that her two adult sons were married and no longer able to support her. The petition became involved in official red tape and it was still unanswered when two years later Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada sent to Havana an inquiry concerning

34. A copy of the report is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

35. Note the minutes for the April 18, 1795 and July 28, 1796 sessions of the Junta de Floridanas, copies in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

it. Six months more passed before it got before the Junta de Floridanas where it received favorable action. It still had to go to the *contaduria* for examination, so that 1794 had arrived before the captain general forwarded the petition to Spain with a recommendation that it be approved.³⁶ It seems that the petition was finally granted, but one cannot but wonder about the needy lady and her children during these years.

The East Florida governor wanted advice on other questions concerning ex-refugees, informing Captain General Luis de las Casas that he had received no information whatever about the royal order of March 18, 1791 beyond a casual reference to it. He felt the need of information on the following points: (1) if the said order included all female Floridians who were orphans of father or both parents, or if it referred only to widows; (2) if it applied to widows after they contracted a second marriage, and to orphan girls after marriage; (3) if the widows and orphans residing in Florida, "of whom there were several who did not enjoy it," should receive the pension. The governor asserted that he thought it would be preferable to pay pensioners residing in Florida through the offices in St. Augustine rather than in Havana. He pointed out that as then administered, all but one pensioner (Lucia Escalona, who had received a special grace) were forced to collect through an agent in Havana, paying him two per cent commission. There were also the further risks and delays contingent on getting the money to St. Augustine after it was collected by the agent. Quesada's final problem raised the question of inequalities in pensions: some women received two *reales* and others only one.³⁷

In reply to this questionnaire Las Casas sent a copy of the order in question, together with an explanation of its application as modified by the later order of November 8, 1792. All native Florida women, he said, whether wives, widows, or orphans, who had gone to Florida

36. The papers connected with this case are in A.N.C., Floridas legajo 9, no. 22. What action was taken by the king is not recorded.

37. Quesada's letter is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

since the date of the last mentioned order, were included in its provisions; a second marriage by such women did not affect their pension status; women residing in Florida at the time of the promulgation of the order were "by no means" included in its provisions; pensioners living in East Florida were henceforth to be paid in St. Augustine; and, finally, widows and orphans of soldiers were to receive two *reales* daily while those of mere residents or militiamen would get only one.³⁸

At least one Florida woman recovered her property in St. Augustine without leaving Cuba. Juana Navarro, daughter of Lieutenant Francisco Navarro of the garrison of the first Spanish period and widow of Corporal Salvador Francisco de Porrás of the same corps, took steps in 1793 to regain possession of two houses and farms owned in the earlier period. She was living in Havana, and was "very advanced in age," and "full of miseries and evils, without other possibilities for support than the two farms, and with three Maiden daughters, one of whom was also well advanced in years and almost blind." Juana claimed that her pension was seven years in arrears. After the usual amount of delay for investigations and multiplication of documents, orders came out from Spain for the payment of the pension and the return of the property. Finally, late in 1795, Governor Quesada was able to report from St. Augustine that the property had been handed over to Juana's agent.³⁹ It is interesting to note that one of the houses is still standing.⁴⁰ In spite of her advanced age Juana's name was still on the pension roll as late as 1805.⁴¹

The pension roll of 1805, which has been so useful in preparing this study, has many items of interest not mentioned thus far. In the first place it contains 296 names. By checking these against the 318 on the list for

38. The communication, dated *April* 26, 1794, is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 9, no. 22.

39. The papers concerned with *this petition* form two bundles in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 14, numbers 40 and 50.

40. The late Mrs. E. W. Lawson very kindly checked the maps of the period in the Webb Memorial Library to secure this information.

41. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 6, no. 27.

1789, it seems certain that twenty-two Florida women had repatriated themselves as a result of the 1791-92 legislation. This interpretation is based on the fact that treasury officials followed the practice of simply copying *in toto* former lists with certain symbols or notes to indicate deaths or marriages. The list for 1805 shows that sixty pensioners had died before January 1 of that year, and that sixty-seven others had lost their pensions before that by remarrying. There had been two other marriages and as many deaths in the quarter ending April 1. But in spite of both types of casualties the *limosna de Florida* continued to be no mean item in the treasury accounts. For the quarter in question, payments amount to the respectable sum of 3,907 *pesos*.⁴²

The following items may also be gathered from the 1805 roll: one hundred seventy-three women drew two *reales* or more per day; four received one and one half; and one hundred eighteen only one. It is not clear where the pension of one and one half *reales* came into being. Josepha Herrera drew four *reales* and Micaela Sanchez Casahonda received six,⁴³ probably because their husbands had been officers instead of mere residents or soldiers in the ranks.

Documentary material on the history of the *limosna* after 1805 is fragmentary, but that available points pretty conclusively to the fact that there was no subsequent legislation of importance on the subject. There is every reason to believe that such a history, if available, would consist principally of records of pension claims and payments, with the customary notes added to the rolls as deaths or marriages occurred. Catalina de Jesus Hijuelos, widowed mother of Francisco Entralgo Aventurero, who was killed in action in Florida, was added to the list in 1813 with a pension of three *reales* daily under a decree of the Cortes of October 28, 1811,⁴⁴ but this was apart from the refugee problem, although the mother's

42. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 6, no. 27.

43. For such grants in Cuba see Duvon C. Corbitt, "Mercedes and Realengos: A Survey of the Public Land System in Cuba," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XIX, no. 3 (August, 1939), 262-285.

44. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 18, no. 156.

name was placed on the same pension roll as the refugees of 1763 and their descendants.

The only complete list of the *limosneras de Florida* made after 1805 that is still available was prepared in 1842, and contains eleven names, only three of which appeared on the 1805 list. When the list was revised in 1852 only three pensioners were still living; Sebastiana Contreras, Concepcion Miranda, and Luisa Casistos.⁴⁵

Limosneras de Florida, a Unique Experiment

What about Spanish reaction to the relief measures adopted for the refugees of 1763? In the first place, it is the only experiment of its kind tried by Spain in her American colonies. To have continued such a program would have meant bankruptcy. Thousands of Spanish subjects fled from Santa Domingo after Spain was forced to cede to France her half of that island in 1795, and other thousands were forced from their homes by the revolutions that swept the continental colonies after 1810. Spain went doggedly through with the program adopted for the Floridians who followed her flag in 1763 and 1764, but she did not choose to give a repeat performance. When in 1821 other Floridians took part in another wholesale exodus because their land had been ceded to the United States, transportation for them was paid as far as Havana,⁴⁶ but the most they got from the king beyond that was an order of June 11, 1822 instructing the captain general of Cuba to "attend and protect them as they deserve because of their adhesion to the Government of His Majesty."⁴⁷

In other words, Floridians who followed the flag in 1821, except those entitled to a military pension of some kind, had to look out for themselves in the best way they could.

45. The list prepared in 1842 was used until 1852. It is in A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 12, no. 2. At the end of each account for those mentioned is a note referring to the new list.

46. A.N.C., Reales Ordenes, libro XXXVIII, p. 197.

47. A.N.C., Floridas, legajo 4, no. 21. See Duvon C. Corbitt, "Immigration in Cuba," *Hispanic American Historical Review*, XXII, no. 2 (May, 1942), 280-308.

BOOK REVIEWS

Lake Okeechobee: Wellspring of the Everglades, by Alfred Jackson Hanna and Kathryn Abbey Hanna. (Indianapolis and New York: The Bobbs-Merrill Company, 1948. 379 pp. \$4.00)

In the January 1948 issue of this *Quarterly* the writer reviewed Marjory Stoneman Douglas's *The Everglades: River of Grass* and stated without fear of contradiction that the author had made an outstanding contribution to the growing body of published Floridiana. The Hannas' volume on Lake Okeechobee adequately blocks in another space in the mosaic of recorded Florida history and description. It would be impossible to write these two volumes on segments of the Kissimmee river-Lake Okeechobee-Everglades watershed without some duplication, but to the credit of these authors it may be said that they have written their books with a minimum of overlapping detail.

The Everglades story in Mrs. Douglas's volume covers southern Florida from the Atlantic coast to the Gulf. The Lake Okeechobee region as construed by the Hannas, extends from the headwaters of the Kissimmee river to the oil wells at Sunniland in Collier county, over three hundred miles distant. While no hard and fast lines can be drawn which delineate the areas to be covered in these regional studies of the lakes and rivers series, nonetheless, the reader may rightly end in bewilderment as to whether the Disston developments at St. Cloud, eighty-five miles north of Lake Okeechobee, are a part of the same Okeechobeeland which also contains the Everglades National Park which extends over a hundred miles south of the big lake.

The time sequence of the Hannas' narrative lies largely within the present century. As has been said before, there are few sources available relating to the interior of southern Florida before the Seminole Indian war of the late 1830's. In consequence, the first one hundred pages of the Okeechobee story form an interesting introduction to the land of the big lake. Much informa-

tion, previously unpublished in a single volume, is woven into the account of the abortive attempts of the young state of Florida to promote the reclamation of its swamp and overflowed lands in the two decades before the Civil War. While the full story surrounding the political maneuvering between Florida's senators David L. Yulee and James D. Westcott Jr. remains to be told, the Hannas accurately highlight the intrigue of that episode. They introduce the invaluable Buckingham Smith Report and ably follow the "battles for land" as the one easily exploitable resource of Florida. The chapters on "Cow Cavalry" and "Gold on the Hoof" provide the transition from the renewal of Indian skirmishes in the 1850's to the Disston land purchase of 1881. The significance of these hitherto unpublicized phases of Florida history lies in the pioneering efforts of the hardy settlers who ranged their stock on the vast grasslands of Kissimmee Valley which became one of the important foodbaskets of the Confederate States.

The accounts of Disston's "Kingly Domain" will draw much attention, for here is the fullest and most accurate account of the controversial sale of four million acres of Florida's land for the sum of a million dollars during the Bloxham administration of the early 1880's. Few will argue but that the Disston operations gave proof to all previous contentions of the value of the muck lands of Florida when drained. It is hard, however, to visualize the Disston enterprises as "a model of efficiency and dispatch" (p. 97) in comparison with the State drainage efforts in later years, or to rationalize the citation, without comment, of State Engineer H. S. Duval's report of 1884 that Disston had permanently drained over two million acres of the so-called wet lands. Duval's optimistic figures were questioned by the committee appointed by Governor Edward A. Perry, which reported in February 1887 that the Disston Company had permanently drained 80,000 acres in the immediate vicinity of Kissimmee City.

With the settlement of the interior of Florida in the last fifty years, brought about in large measure through the promotion of outside capitalists, including Plant, Flagler and Disston, it was inevitable that the large unsettled areas in the Kissimmee Valley and the Everglades should become attractive as sources of potential profits from investments in land. The authors have presented fascinating pictures of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, "State Father" of large-scale reclamation, and of the land boom of the early nineteen-teens. Here again, they have presented much new material, particularly on the spectacular real estate promotion, the collapse of the land boom, and subsequent Congressional investigations of the whole Everglades drainage scheme.

In addition to the central theme of the drainage of the Everglades (and included in this was the lowering of the water level of Lake Okeechobee), the authors have included a mass of incidental anecdotes and folklore for the entertainment of the reader. The tall tales of the Lake settlers and 'Glades pioneers, the Lake fishermen, the Ashley Gang, the Duchess of Moore Haven, and Thomas E. Will, to cite just a few, will regale the reader with stories whose base of truth is stranger than fiction and much more interesting! All in all, *Lake Okeechobee* is a work of absorbing interest, and to the uninitiated will provide a glamorous trip into a seeming never-neverland. As portrayers of the life and labor of the native and adopted sons and daughters of the Peninsular State the authors justify their established position in the field of Florida literature.

It is unfortunate that the Hannas were forced to meet a publisher's deadline date. This reviewer echoes the words of David O. True in that he "would like to have had them spend another year in just writing the book. . . ." There are several instances of hurried preparation, particularly the first sentence of the second paragraph on page 125. The continual usage of the phrases "course of empire" (p. 35 *et passim*) and "empire builders" (p. 91 *et passim*) tends to become monotonous, as well as the adjective "succulent."

The bibliographical notes are adequate, although mention should be made of several missing items, notably "The Minutes of the Board of Commissioners of the Everglades Drainage District" and the 1942 Florida Hearings (441 pp.) of the Congressional Committee which investigated the migratory labor problem in the Okeechobee region.

A few errors, especially in names, have slipped into the volume. The Florida Constitution referred to on page 120 is that of 1885, not 1887; J. E. Dovel should be J. E. Dovell (p. 172) ; Doyle E. Carleton should be Doyle E. Carlton (pp. 263, 283). The quotation on page 239 from John Newhouse's "Memories" to the effect that settlers might plant seeds and secure an income within a week is a misquote. Even the real estate men knew better than to lie that much. It should be noted that the John Newhouse manuscript "Memories of Early Days in the 'Glades" has no connection with the Thomas Elmer Will papers, though both are at the University of Florida.

The Hannas have written a book which will certainly have wide appeal, and their treatment of the subject-matter is excellent. In keeping with the perennial optimism so prevalent in the "Sunshine State" their conclusion that the area is not a vanishing Eden is good, but on the basis of the records of the past history of southern Florida is not too valid. Further evidence of this optimism may be found in their treatment of the problems of labor and of conservation in the Okeechobee-Everglades area, in which there is no real agreement. Similarly, no mention is made of the experiments of the United States Sugar Corporation in the field of sweet potato starch processing, experiments which seem to have ended in a very expensive plant failure and partial reorganization of this corporate enterprise.

Lake Okeechobee is another outstanding contribution toward the setting-down in print of Florida's little known history, and is a worthy product of two of Florida's foremost writers. Both the native son and the tourist will wel-

come this regional study with its full measure of information and entertainment.

J. E. DOVELL

University of Florida

Lakanal, the Regicide: A Biographical and Historical Study of the Career of Joseph Lakanal, by John Charles Dawson. University of Alabama Press, 1948. (215 p. \$5.00)

The reaction from the French Revolution forced many of the active participants to flee the country, and among these was Joseph Lakanal who spent many years in our South, the greater part in Alabama. The story of these years-and the rest of his life-is now told for the first time by Dr. John C. Dawson, professor emeritus, The University of Alabama.

Born in Southern France in 1762 of a middle class family, Joseph Lakanal, possessed of a bright mind, began teaching in his youth. Imbued with liberal ideas, he led the revolutionary movement in his native Department. As a delegate to the French National Convention in 1792, he participated in many debates, in one of which he contended for the execution of King Louis XVI.

As a forward looking Republican, Lakanal urged a system of national education. He sought increased teachers' salaries, an extended curriculum, education for women, greater emphasis on physical education, prohibition of clergy teaching, and exchange of teachers with foreign countries. In 1793 he became Secretary of the Committee of Public Instruction of the French Convention. In this position, he was sent on several missions in France but whatever the nature of the journey he revealed an interest in education.

From 1797 to 1815 Lakanal served in relatively unimportant positions. He left France in 1816 and settled on a farm in Kentucky. Here he corresponded with Thomas Jefferson, Henry Clay and others. Shortly, he became involved in an abortive plot to restore Napoleon to the French throne.

In 1822 this restless Frenchman became president of the College of Orleans at New Orleans, and here he was able to put into effect some of his educational ideas. Opposition soon forced him elsewhere. He moved to Alabama, and it is Dr. Dawson's story of these years that interests us most. Finally in 1837, after twenty years in the United States, he returned to France.

Lakanal's diary, his published speeches, his papers and his books furnished the chief sources for this study. The author could have made the study more readable by paraphrasing many of the long quotations and shortening the book, by eliminating the numerous subtitles in all chapters and, if possible, by the addition of more details about the private life of the man.

GEORGE C. OSBORN

University of Florida

THE STORY OF ST. PETERSBURG

In 1924 Karl H. Grismer published his *History of St. Petersburg, Historical and Biographical*. This has now been rewritten, brought up to date, extended to 418 pages with many additional illustrations, and republished as *The Story of St. Petersburg, The History of the Lower Pinellas Peninsula and the Sunshine City*. (P. K. Smith & Company, St. Petersburg. \$5.00)

ARCHAEOLOGY IN FLORIDA

A REPORT ON THE GOODNOW MOUND

Though we call archaeology "pre-history," so much has been learned about the former inhabitants of the land we might almost omit the prefix. This is not nearly so true of Florida aborigines as it is of many other parts of the country; and what has been accomplished here has been done by scientists from outside the State: Moore, Wyman, Stirling, Hrdlicka, Fewkes, Willey and others. Recently two of our own young men have been avidly following an urge which must have been congenital by digging into the history before history of the peninsula. These are John W. Griffin of Daytona Beach and John M. Goggin of Miami, the one at the University of Chicago and the other in Peabody Museum at Yale University. Both have contributed some results of their investigations to this *Quarterly*. One has come back to Florida and it is hoped the other will also. *

After years of neglect, or let us say procrastination, Florida, through its State government, has begun to take part in digging up the history of our early years. At the last session of the Legislature an appointive archaeologist was authorized for the Florida Park Service, largely through the efforts of Karl A. Bickel, former president of our Society, and Lewis G. Scoggin, Park Director. John W. Griffin is the first archaeologist, and Mark F. Boyd, president of our Florida Historical Society, is honorary historical adviser. Headquarters were first established at Highlands Hammock State Park, but have been moved to a permanent location in Florida State Museum, University of Florida, Gainesville.

Activation was begun with enthusiasm, and already results are evident in the publication of *Contributions to the Archaeology of Florida, Number One: "The Goodnow Mound, Highlands County, Florida ; by John W. Griffin, Archaeologist, and Hale G. Smith, Assistant*

*John M. Goggin has since become Associate Professor of Sociology and Anthropology, University of Florida.

Archaeologist, Florida Park Service." (36 p. 5 plates) Tallahassee, 1948. As long as available, copies may be had from Florida Park Service, Tallahassee.

Excavations were carried on for three weeks at the Goodnow site and the results were satisfactory. Numerous burials were encountered and much evidence gathered showing the extensive trade carried on in the area with the early Europeans. This mound "is fully historic and probably dates from the 1530-1700 time range."

Included is a description of excavations at the Skipper site, also on Lake Josephine. This mound "is prehistoric, dating from the approximate period 1200-1500 A. D."

Investigations are now being carried on at certain mission sites in north Florida, and the results will be made known ere long. Meanwhile an exceedingly interesting exhibit of specimens from these sites has been arranged in the library of the Florida Historical Society in St. Augustine, a sight of which would be ample reward for quite a journey there.

LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES OF FLORIDA

JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

There appeared in May last the first number of a *News Letter* to be published at intervals by the Jacksonville Historical Society.

This number, issued by Miss Dena Snodgrass, chairman, included an account of the Quarterly Program Meeting of the Society on May 12. The principal address was on "The Early History of Fernandina" by Dr. Frank G. Slaughter, who made a study of that district as background for his historical novel *The Golden Isle*, published last year.

There is also an announcement that the Jacksonville Public Library has provided a permanent home for the archives of the Society. These will be in charge of Miss Audrey Broward of the Library staff. Miss Broward is chairman of the Society's Archives Committee. Any one who has rare historical material relating to Jacksonville which they will lend or donate should see or write to Miss Broward. Such material should be put in a safe place, now, where it would be cared for and would be of service, for not much survived the Jacksonville fire.

The *News Letter* also stated that Dr. Carita Doggett Corse has completed a history of St. Luke's Hospital of Jacksonville to commemorate the 75th anniversary of the founding of the Hospital.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

The annual meeting of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, was held at Miami on March 24 last, featuring Fort Jefferson. Mr. John K. Pennekamp, associate editor of *Miami Herald*, read a paper "Forty Million Bricks and a Moat" descriptive of that huge and romantic fortification, and its most noteworthy character Dr. Samuel A. Mudd. Mr. C. Ray Vinten of St. Augustine, Coordinating Superintendent, Southeastern National Monuments, National Park Service, showed a

color film with comments on the fort and its island, including the marine and bird life of the area.

The Association also arranged an interesting and successful show-window exhibit of historical material relating to Southern Florida on one of Miami's main thoroughfares which attracted much attention.

ST. AUGUSTINE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the Quarterly meeting of the St. Augustine Historical Society on April 13 Mr. X. L. Pellicer, vice-president and executive chairman, made several interesting reports upon the activities of the Society:

The old building on St. George street, not far from the city gates, known at one time as the Whitney house, and in recent years called the Dodge house, owned by the Society, is being restored as far as possible. This old building figured in the second Spanish period, and has been used as shop-and-dwelling to the present time. Great care and study is being taken to put it in condition and it will be made ready once again as a shop-dwelling and continue to play its part in the life of the city.

A Translation of Barcia

The Society, through the Publications Committee, endorsed by the Executive Committee, has begun the translation of one of the most important and authoritative works on ancient Florida - a Florida then comprising a large part of the present United States. This is Barcia's *Ensayo Chronologico para la Historia General de la Florida*, Madrid, 1723. The services of Mr. Anthony Kerrigan have been secured for this translation. Mr. Edward Lawson and Mr. Albert Manucy will serve at all times in checking and giving the manuscript careful annotating. This was long the dream of Miss Emily L. Wilson, whose vast amount of research, notes and other contributions to the Society has enabled it to take its place as an authoritative organization. The publication will be dedicated to Miss Wilson.

The Society with the cooperation, of WFOY radio station of St. Augustine has broadcast a series "WFOY is There," similar to the "CBS is There" programs. The first was "The Founding of St. Augustine, 1565"; then "The Drake Attack, 1586"; followed by "The Installation of Gov. Tonyn, 1774"; and "The Return of the Spanish, 1784."

The Program Committee is outlining and preparing programs covering various periods, episodes and people in the life of St. Augustine and vicinity. Mr. Harris is now preparing a group "Travelogue in St. Augustine, 19th century" for illustrated lectures in the fall and winter.

TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY

At the May meeting of the Tallahassee Historical Society officers for the following year were elected. These are: R. L. Goulding, president; Mrs. Mabel Hamilton, vice president ; D. A. Avant Sr., treasurer ; Dorothy Dodd, secretary; the new directors are A. R. Seymour, Ruby Diamond, and Mary Lamar Davis.

The next issue of *Apalachee*, the annual publication of the Society, was discussed, and it was announced that the papers for that issue are all in hand.

FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

OUR DRIVE FOR NEW MEMBERS

Realizing the imperative need for an increase in the membership of the Society if we are to go forward, or even hold our own, President Boyd has planned and inaugurated a state-wide drive through the regional directors and the members of the Society in all parts of Florida. The directors are appointing county chairmen, but our individual members constitute the local committees—hence every member of the Society is a member of his or her county committee, and each one is urged to bring in at least one new member.

Some of the county chairmen and committees are already at work, others are beginning their campaigns. First to get underway was Alachua county with Samuel C. Proctor of the University of Florida as chairman. First he aroused the latent interest in local history which undoubtedly exists everywhere, and which when cultivated frequently leads to a real interest in State history. Obtaining the use of two large show-windows in different locations on the busiest street of Gainesville, he found and borrowed costumes worn during the past century in that section, which made an unusual exhibit. The other window held numerous items of Gainesville's past, as well as books and documents and maps relating to Florida in general. Both windows attracted a lively and continuous interest throughout a week. Evidently of most appeal were the costumes and a number of early photographs of groups of various organizations in which many passers-by discovered themselves as they were years ago.

Perhaps the descriptions of these windows will suggest similar ones to other chairmen. But it should be noted that personal solicitation for membership is usually necessary after interest has been aroused.

A WORD FROM OUR PRESIDENT

New members are a most valued asset to any organization, but more especially to the Florida Historical Society, and it is with a very real sense of satisfaction that

we include a good list of new members in this issue of the *Quarterly*. I express to them a hearty welcome into fellowship with the Society and the hope that each and every one will become active participants in our organization.

To the older members may I say that the campaign for an enlarged membership has not yet attained real momentum. While this list of new members would be most gratifying if a campaign for new members were not underway, yet from the standpoint of a campaign it leaves much to be desired. As mentioned elsewhere it does not seem unreasonable to believe that somewhere near one-tenth of one per cent of the population of our state should be potentially interested in the history of Florida, or from 2,500 to 3,000 persons, which would treble our membership, yet we are making progress slowly towards this goal. The inertia which is impeding the attainment of the desired momentum is widespread, extending from a few directors who have not as yet submitted nominations of county chairmen, to persons nominated for such chairmanships who have either declined the responsibility, or if accepting have not as yet organized their county committees. Fortunately the picture is not uniformly gray, as a few-and one especially as you will note-to whom we are grateful, have been active and successful.

The importance of this effort to the welfare of the Society is so great, that I feel I should be remiss in my responsibility as president were I to overlook this situation or fail to call again for the active participation of all.

MARK F. BOYD

NEW MEMBERS OF THE SOCIETY

ALACHUA COUNTY

SAMUEL C. PROCTOR, *Chairman*.

| | | |
|-----------------------------------|-----------------------|---------------------|
| Ancil N. Payne | University of Florida | <i>Nominated by</i> |
| Bevode C. McCall | " " " | Samuel C. Proctor |
| Wm. E. Barringer | " " " | " " |
| Woodson C. Tucker, Jr. | " " " | " " |
| Mr. and Mrs. Hanford O. Enwall | Gainesville | " " |

| | | | |
|-------------------------|-----------------------|---|---|
| Harriet C. Skofield | University of Florida | " | " |
| Donald E. Worcester | " " " | " | " |
| Herbert J. Doherty, Jr. | " " " | " | " |
| Freeman H. Hart | " " " | " | " |
| W. E. Baker | Gainesville | " | " |
| Richard V. Rickenbach | " | " | " |
| Seldon F. Waldo | University of Florida | " | " |
| Adelaide Yon | " " " | " | " |
| Manning J. Dauer | " " " | " | " |
| Roland Cutler | " " " | " | " |
| Mrs. W. H. Latour | " " " | " | " |
| Mrs. R. L. Watkins | Gainesville | " | " |
| Samuel W. Getzen | " | " | " |
| Edith P. Pitts | University of Florida | " | " |
| Vivian Prince | " " " | " | " |
| Orville F. Quackenbush | " " " | " | " |
| Alfred A. Ring | " " " | " | " |
| Mrs. Robert C. Blake | " " " | " | " |
| Margaret Starke Perry | Gainesville | " | " |
| Mrs. Frank Lee | " | " | " |

DUVAL COUNTY

FRANK H. ELMORE JR., *Chairman*

| | | |
|------------------------|------------------------|---------------------|
| Albert E. Barrs | Jacksonville | <i>Nominated by</i> |
| Peyton J. Watson Sr. | " | Herbert Lamson |
| Ruth German | " | Russell Frink |
| Mrs. E. H. Oliver | (for Catholic Council) | " |
| Mrs. W. R. Harney | Jacksonville | Mark F. Boyd |
| Jesse Robinson Fritot | " | Mrs. H. H. Buckman |
| Wm. J. Rodgers | " | Mrs. Harman |
| Bronson E. Lamb Sr. | " | Mrs. H. M. Corse |
| Evalyn I. Daniel | Jacksonville | |
| Mrs. W. R. Harney | Jacksonville | |
| Mrs. James R. Stockton | " | Dena Snodgrass |
| Byron Thompson | " | " |
| Rabbi Sydney Lefkowitz | " | Samuel C. Proctor |
| Wesley W. VanMalsen | " | " |

DADE COUNTY

GAINES R. WILSON, *Chairman*

| | | |
|--------------------------|--------------|---------------------|
| Robert Mitchell Davidson | Miami Beach | <i>Nominated by</i> |
| R. V. Waters | Miami | F. W. Cason |
| Mrs. Ralph H. Sartor | Coral Gables | " |
| Claire D. Whitehurst | " " | Ruby Leach Carson |
| Floyd Monk | " " | " |
| Mrs. Richard H. Rice | Kendall | Mrs. R. V. Ott |

COLLIER COUNTY

SAM C. COLLIER, *Chairman*

| | |
|--------------------|------------|
| Sam C. Collier | Everglades |
| Barron Collier Jr. | " |
| Miles Collier | " |

PINELLAS COUNTY

JOHN C. BLOCKER, *Chairman*

Louis Henry Zinsser (Fellows member) Safety Harbor

Edward H. Beckett (Fellows member) Tarpon Springs
 Lucius S. Ruder Clearwater

POLK COUNTY

| | | |
|--------------------|--------------------------|---------------------|
| Henry Fuller | Lakeland | <i>Nominated by</i> |
| Jere W. Annis | " | Webster Merritt |
| Donald A. Thompson | " | " " |
| E. T. Roux Library | Florida Southern College | |
| Elizabeth L. Brown | Davenport | |

BROWARD COUNTY

MRS. FRANK STRANAHAN, *Chairman*

| | | |
|---------------------|----------------|---------------------|
| L. E. Moore | Ft. Lauderdale | <i>Nominated by</i> |
| Robert L. Zabriskie | " | William Pierce |
| Elinor B. Ford | " | " " |
| Philip Dressler | " | " " |

ST. JOHNS COUNTY

Mrs. F. S. VAILL, *Chairman*

Milton E. Bacon
 Mrs. F. J. Buchanan
 St. Augustine

Nominated by
 H. Maddox

| | | |
|-------------------------|-------------------------|--------------------|
| C. L. Sowell | Quincy, Gadsden County | |
| Mabel K. Laird | Tampa | |
| Arline Risdon Mansfield | Madison | |
| Melvin H. Tennis | Valpariso | |
| Marvin H. Sears | Arcadia | |
| Hattie Allen | Sorrento | |
| Mrs. J. T. Hancock | Okeechobee | W. T. Cash |
| Wyndham Hayward | Winter Park | |
| Juanita DeVette | Fernandina | J. Wm. Decker |
| R. V. Rickford | Sarasota | |
| R. W. Birdsell Jr. | Osprey, Sarasota County | |
| Mrs. Harold T. Butts | Ormond Beach | |
| Mrs. C. A. Lock | Dade City | Mrs. H. H. Buckman |

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 Mrs. J. F. Dodge, St. Augustine.
 T. A. Mellon, Pittsburgh, Penn., and Summer Haven, Florida.
 Barton F. Turnbull, Summit, New Jersey and Monticello, Florida.
 George W. Monroe, Quincy.

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The Significance of Florida to the Confederacy, by Frances Hobart (typescript) 12p.

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