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

GEORGE R. FAIRBANKS.

Saint *Augustine*, April, 1857

ST. JOSEPH, AN EPISODE OF THE ECONOMIC AND POLITICAL HISTORY OF FLORIDA

PART II

We must now retrace our steps and consider the rivalry between the towns of St. Joseph and Apalachicola after the Lake Wimico and St. Joseph Railroad began business in September, 1836. While the preliminary work for the development of St. Joseph as a rival to the parent city was being so successfully carried out, the supporters of the latter place were not idle. At the beginning of 1836, the Apalachicola Land Co. donated \$20,000 to be used to deepen the western channel and the harbor, thus permitting all vessels to come within seven miles of the city and those of a maximum draught of twelve feet, to the wharves. At the same time the company gave \$1000 to the city for purposes of general improvement, and \$5000 to defray the expenses of filling up the hollows and grading the streets.⁶⁶ In order to counteract the influence of the energetic *St. Joseph Telegraph*, the officers of the company financed the establishment of a new paper, the *Apalachicola Gazette*, and engaged as editor and ostensible proprietor, one of the ablest veterans of Georgia journalism, Cosam Emir Bartlett, mentioned above, who had for several years been in the publishing business in Columbus.⁶⁷

Consequently the fall of 1836 found the rivals ready for a bitter commercial war. The records for the years 1836 to 1841 are too meagre to be entirely

⁶⁶ *Apalachicola Gazette*, March 10, 1836.

⁶⁷ Many of the original documents of the transactions between Bartlett and the Apalachicola Land Co. are still in existence and are now in the possession of his granddaughter, Miss Josephine Bartlett.

satisfactory to anyone interested in the struggle. The outcome of the rivalry in the winter of 1836-1837 seems to have been a decided victory for the older town, although St. Joseph may have fared better than is apparent. Our only source of information is the partisan *Gazette*, no copies of the successor of the *Telegraph*, the *St. Joseph Times*, of this winter having survived. According to the Apalachicola paper, eighteen steamers were plying between that town and Georgia,⁶⁸ an increase of three or more over the preceding year.⁶⁹ The total number of vessels that arrived between November 1, 1836, and January 31, 1837, amounted to 115, while during the same time in the preceding year the number had been only forty-eight.⁷⁰ The malicious *Gazette* announced with great glee in its issue of December 31, 1836, that two steamers were aground in the Lake Wimico channel.

The promoters of St. Joseph realized the disadvantages under which they were laboring. With a spirit that is not surpassed by any modern business firm who is willing to scrap costly machines for more modern ones, they decided to construct a new railroad from the town to the Apalachicola River at Tennessee Bluff, where the town of Iola was soon to develop.⁷¹ This new road would have two advantages over the old one, the treacherous Lake Wimico would be avoided, and the transportation distance between St. Joseph and Georgia would be considerably less than between Apalachicola and Georgia-Iola being twenty-eight miles from the new town and seventy from the old one-while the Lake Wimico route made St. Joseph more distant from the cotton fields than Apalachicola. The Saints never wasted much time

⁶⁸ *Apalachicola Gazette*, February 11, 1837.

⁶⁹ *Apalachicola Gazette*, March 17, 1836.

⁷⁰ *Apalachicola Gazette*, February 11, 1837.

⁷¹ *Apalachicola Gazette*, April 15, 1837, et al.

translating their plans into deeds. By the end of August, 1837, the *Times*⁷² announced that \$50,000 had been paid to Mr. Chaires, the contractor, and that ten miles of the railroad had been graded and the requisite timbers prepared. However, there was no possibility of the completion of the work for the season of 1837-1838.

It is truly remarkable that such an undertaking should have been prosecuted at the very time when the financial depression of 1837 was affecting both nation and territory. The Florida banks were hard hit, and the chief institutions, like the Union Bank of Tallahassee, suspended specie payment in May.⁷³ However, despite these adverse conditions, the Apalachicola, not to be outdone by their rivals, had planned an ambitious building program. The *Gazette* announced in March that there were now completed or in process of construction, 2000 feet of continuous brick stores on Water Street, - each three stories high, and eighty feet deep.⁷⁴

This year is also memorable for the first visitation to St. Joseph of one of those tropical gales that at recurring intervals sweep upon the coast from the Gulf of Mexico. The hurricane hit Apalachicola on August 30 and then passed inland. The center of the storm was apparently to the east of St. Joseph, a fact which caused the city to escape with less damage than the older town. The estimated loss at Apalachicola was first put at \$200,000, which was, however, later reduced to \$50,000. At St. Joseph, a three story building, belonging to a Capt. Leslie of New York, was razed to the ground, as well as several smaller houses. The damage to the wharf was very slight. Thus it seemed that the fickle goddess of na-

⁷² In the *Pensacola Gazette*, September 9, 1837.

⁷³ *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 3, 1837.

⁷⁴ *Apalachicola Gazette*, March 18, 1837.

ture at last favored the Saints rather than their rivals.⁷⁵

The first contemporaneous description of the new town by an eye witness also dates from 1837. Cosam Emir Bartlett, leaving his editorial sanctum at the end of May, ventured into the enemy's lair, where he was well received. On his return to Apalachicola he published his impressions in his paper. He declared, "The devil himself is not half so ugly as he is sometimes painted, and the Saints are pretty clever fellows after all." He found that they had erected some neat, snug houses, and "kept things nice and comfortable". Bartlett seemed to be particularly impressed by the fact that they had ice-naturally a great luxury in those small towns of the lower South.⁷⁶

The second season of commercial competition between the cities, the winter of 1837-1838, found Apalachicola retaining her supremacy, although her rival's efforts to divert trade were much more successful now than in the preceding year. While the Saints were exporting more than 30,000 bales of cotton,⁷⁷ the total shipped by the older town exceeded 50,000.⁷⁸ St. Joseph was undoubtedly making inroads upon Apalachicola's prosperity, but in doing so, the railroad company was compelled to lower its freight rates to such an extent that the income was barely sufficient to meet operating expenses, and no dividends could be declared on the original investment.* The question seemed to be which town would be willing to endure the cutthroat competition the longer.

⁷⁵ Accounts of the gale are found in the *Apalachicola Gazette* of September 2 and September 16, and in the *Pensacola Gazette* of September 9, in an article from the St. Joseph Times.

⁷⁶ *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 3, 1837.

⁷⁷ *Pensacola Gazette*, June 30, 1838.

⁷⁸ *Apalachicola Gazette*, May 31, 1838.

⁷⁹ *Pensacola Gazette*, June 30, 1838.

During this season and the following summer, the construction of the railroad to Iola progressed, so that there was hope of its completion by September. This, however, could not be realized, and the town was compelled to wait a year longer. The inhabitants succeeded in obtaining a new outlet in May or June, 1838, when a highway was completed from Georgia through Marianna and St. Joseph to Apalachicola. As the *Times* said, "One of the great obstacles to the prosperity of our place, was its difficulty of access by land. This is now removed, and we already find the advantages from it, in the market carts, and pleasure parties which impart substantial comfort and gaiety to our city". The town had the additional satisfaction of knowing that Apalachicola had been outwitted, for the road as at first projected by the National Government was to run to that city without touching St. Joseph.⁸⁰

Another interesting description of the town by a Florida publisher has come down to us from this year. In June, 1838, Benjamin D. Wright, of the *Pensacola Gazette*, visited the place, and published in the issue of June 30 an account that deserves to be quoted at some length.

A hasty visit to this rising city, enabled us the other day, to take a birds-eye view of its growing importance. The enterprise of its citizens has certainly forced it forward with a rapidity which could *scarcely* have been looked for. We say "forced it forward" because everything which has hitherto been done at St. Joseph has required an actual *outlay* of capital, and as yet they can hardly be said to have received the slightest return. The present railroad is *six* miles long and does not seem to have been constructed with great skill or accuracy. Its inequalities are in some places considerable, though nowhere so great as to prevent the locomotive to surmount them with facility.

⁸⁰ *Pensacola Gazette*, June 16, 1838.

The town has an air and aspect of newness, that is scarcely to be seen anywhere else. The space which is covered (or rather which is scattered over) by the town is large, the streets are wide, the squares numerous, and many of the lots, especially those owned by persons abroad, are unoccupied; so that most of the buildings have an appearance which cannot be otherwise so well described as by saying that they all seem to be standing out of doors. Nevertheless there are some very pretty residences, and not a few large and commodious houses for business. Among the latter is the Mansion House, kept by the public's diligent and worthy servant Armstrong. In some of the onomies he may be less *au fait* than those who have consumed their lives in toiling up "the hill when [sic] Fame's proud temple shines afar," but in the science of gastronomy, he is hard to beat. Others may eat to live; but that is not in the philosophy of mine host. He not only lives to eat, but he very soon puts everybody about him upon doing the same thing. In short all the comforts that can be reasonably desired await the wayfarer at the Mansion House.

Wright concludes his article with a statement showing the great interest that the city was creating throughout the entire territory. He declares that he publishes his account so that he will not need to repeat the information a hundred times, for "scarcely an hour passes, that some one does not tax our endurance by same questions about St. Joseph".

The town was undoubtedly increasing in population, but one must not imagine that it was very big. Wright's phrase that the houses seemed "to be standing out of doors" is accurate; this is proved by the results, of an official census held in the spring of 1838, which showed that Calhoun County had a population of only 1,645, of which 532 were colored. There were only 260 voters in the county. These figures, small as they are, do not compare unfavorably with those of Franklin County, which had, in the same census, 1890 white inhabitants, 176 colored people, and 262 voters.⁸¹

⁸¹ *Apalachicola Gazette*, July 12, 1838.

Thus supposing a mere rapid increase in the population of St. Joseph, we may believe that the towns were about equal in size as the third season of competition, the winter of 1838-1839, approached. Unfortunately, complete statistics for this season are not available. Apalachicola's exports decreased so that only three-fourths as many bales of cotton were shipped as the year before.⁸² It is believed that St. Joseph's trade decreased proportionately, for there is no suggestion anywhere that the city 'savored a great commercial victory.'⁸³

During this winter, the work on the St. Joseph and Iola Railroad was pushed steadily on. It was completed sometime during 1839. Although the exact date of the opening cannot be ascertained, it was probably as late as October, for the advertisement appearing in various numbers of the Times,⁸⁴ announcing its opening, is dated October 28, 1839. Even before the completion of the railroad, the restless Saints were turning to a new project, or rather to an old one of 1835, the construction of a canal from Lake Wimico to the Bay. The vigilant *Gazette* of February 2, announced the project in these terms: "Our friends of St. Joseph have already become convinced that the new railroad to Iola will not answer their purpose. It is about to share the fate of the old road to the Depot - being thrown by in disgust. They now talk of beginning anew, and digging a

⁸² See the files of the *Apalachicola Gazette* of the first six months of 1838.

⁸³ The reason for the sharp fall in the exportation of cotton from this region was undoubtedly the poor cotton crop, - a general condition. The entire United States crop for the season 1838-1839 amounted to 1,360,522 bales, which was only about three-fourths as many as were raised during the preceding season. (See C. W. Dabney, Jr. : *The Cotton Plant*, Washington, Government Printing Office, 1896, p. 41.)

⁸⁴ For example, the issue of September 26, 1840.

canal from their bay to the Apalachicola River". This canal was presumably never begun.

The population seems to have been increasing fairly rapidly at this time. The number of voters who expressed their preference at the constitutional election of May, 1839, amounted to 283,⁸⁵ twenty-three more than were enumerated in the census of the preceding year, and about seventy more than went to the polls in the same election in Apalachicola.⁸⁶

St. Joseph was again visited in 1839 by a prominent Florida journalist, Samuel S. Sibley, of the *Floridian* of Tallahassee. He, like Bartlett and Wright in former years, published an account of the city in his paper.⁸⁷

We made a trip a week or two since to the cities of Apalachicola and St. Joseph. Embarking at St. Marks on board a steamboat, we first visited the city of "Granite pillars" going through St. George's Sound. South Cape, which we passed, is a dangerous place for vessels coasting between St. Marks and New Orleans or the other ports westwardly. Apalachicola is a proud specimen of American enterprise. It is we think if it has good luck, destined to be one of the finest cities on the gulf. The merchants are business men.

We went the inland passage from Apalachicola to St. Joseph. This is a beautiful place. If the canal is dug to it contemplated before Apalachicola gets the start too much, it may outstrip its rival, With its two railroads, one to Lake Wimico the other to Iola, there may, however, be some doubt. But it is a pleasant city. The best place we think to establish the Florida University we have yet seen. We may be partial-but we were brought up near salt water⁸⁸ and we like fish and oysters mightily. We can't speak too highly of the citizens of that place. Their city is the seat of hospitality, kindness and liberality. We would not say less of the citi-

⁸⁵ Quincy Sentinel, February 19, 1841. (Gov. Reid's report to the Legislature.)

⁸⁶ *Apalachicola Gazette*, May 11, 1839.

⁸⁷ *The Floridian*, August 17, 1839.

⁸⁸ Sibley was raised in Bridgeton, New Jersey. See Knauss, op. cit., p. 61.

zens of Apalachicola so far as our short visit would permit us to form an opinion.

During the fourth season of competition, the winter of 1839-1840, a new locomotive was put into operation on the Iola Railroad.⁸⁹ This was the last big investment made by the Saints, so far as we know. The lion's share of the bumper cotton crop of the season was shipped from Apalachicola. Of the almost 105,000 bales exported from this region, more than seventy per cent, 72,232 bales to be exact, were sent from the wharves of the older city.⁹⁰

The results of this year's rivalry were the death blow to St. Joseph's aspirations for commercial supremacy. Much wealth had been lavishly spent by the promoters in laying out the city, in erecting warehouses and wharves on the bay, on Lake Wimico and on the river at Iola, in constructing thirty-six miles of railroad, in purchasing at least three locomotives and in dredging the bay and the lake. A long continued and able campaign of publicity had been conducted. All political wire pulling that was humanly possible had been attempted. Inducements to settlers and business men had been made with unusual farsightedness. Churches, schools, well-kept public houses with ice-cold drinks, and a good race track had been established.⁹¹ It may be safely said that the founders of St. Joseph had done practically everything possible to make their venture a success, but all in vain. The handicaps of nature proved too great. The financial resources of the Saints were about ex-

⁸⁹ St. *Joseph Times*, February 12, 1840.

⁹⁰ The Commercial *Advertiser* (of Apalachicola), October 24, 1840. The paper claims that the statistics were obtained from⁹¹ the customs collector's office.

⁹¹ The race track, which has not been hitherto mentioned in this article, is referred to time and time again in the papers. Thus, the many sided Gautier is the secretary of the Race Track Course, according to the St. *Joseph Times* of August 4, 1840.

hausted; and the heyday of their strongest allies, the banks, had long since passed. New causes of worry were beginning to disturb both cities. The western Georgia cotton belt was about to be connected with the Atlantic coast by rail, and the river above the Florida boundary was no longer as navigable as it had formerly been.⁹²

A letter written by Charles Downing, the Florida territorial delegate in Congress, shows how nearly the city was at the end of its resources in 1840. It also enables us to get another glimpse of the town.⁹³

The next place I would designate for a courthouse and jail is St. Joseph's situated on a bay, second to none on the Gulf of Mexico except it be to Pensacola. It is connected by railroads with the important river of Apalachicola. These railroads have been constructed by individual capital and enterprise which has exhausted the means of the citizens, and left nothing for public buildings. It is a place of great and increasing commerce, foreign and domestic; and the shipping lists weekly published in the public journal of the place, containing a large proportion of vessels from foreign ports, would astonish you, when told that the city could number but three or four years from its first establishment. Even to you, sir, who are accustomed to the magic growth of the western towns, this would seem, a still more rapid creation. Without a bank,⁹⁴ to make it a bubble, without a back country yet filled up, without a river, pouring the produce of the country above into its market, with a rival town at the mouth of the river from whence it draws its internal commerce, it has by its splendid bay and the noble enterprise of its citizens overcome these many obstacles to its prosperity and now stands with its tall masts on one side, and its smoking engines and groaning cars on the other, ready and able to "go ahead" in the race of competition with the most forward.

⁹² St. *Joseph Times*, November 7, 1840.

⁹³ News (of St. Augustine) May 1, 1840. The contents of this letter may not be reliable, since Downing naturally would be tempted to so color his account that he would have the best chance to persuade Congress to help St. Joseph.

⁹⁴ This was literally true at this time, but Downing avoids *mentioning* the town's *connections* with banks.

St. Joseph approached its fifth and last commercial season in an almost hopeless frame of mind. There was one little item of cheering news. The opening of a new passenger route from Charleston, South Carolina, to Mobile and New Orleans by way of the town was announced for October, 1840. This would bring transient visitors to the place every second day from the populous Atlantic seacoast and might be the forerunner of better things. However, the hope was vain.⁹⁵ Before long, rumors began circulating that the residents of the older city were going to buy out the chief promoters of the town. In fact, the *Apalachicola*, the only paper of this locality of which a fairly complete file for the winter of 1840-1841 is preserved, definitely announced the purchase. The transfer of ownership probably took place, but the lack of corroborating evidence prevents us from being absolutely certain on this point. The paper's statement may have been simply a piece of propaganda to harm the younger city, but this seems hardly probable, since the days of insidious attack on the rival had ended about a year earlier.

What hope could the future now hold for the settlers and property owners of the town? Many, had invested in real estate, and numbers of people had built their homes here. The commerce of the place would not be sufficient to support the inhabitants. Apparently a decision was reached to encourage summer visitors and thus make the city an early Pablo Beach for Middle Florida. This seemed to be an easy task, since the bay had always been noted for its beauty and its cooling sea breezes, and its climate was re-

⁹⁵ See Seymour Dunbar: *A History of Travel in America*, Indianapolis, 1915; Vol. III, p. 971. The route ran from Charleston to Brunswick, Georgia, by steamboat; from Brunswick to Tallahassee by post coach; from Tallahassee to St. Marks by railroad; and from St. Marks to Lake Wimico by steamboat.

puted to be the healthiest in the South. Hence, we find gathered here in the summer of 1841 some of the leading people of the territory. St. Joseph had laid aside its role as a commercial metropolis and appeared as an attractive pleasure resort.

However, all hopes were soon to be utterly crushed.

“For the angel of death spread his wings on the blast;
* * * * *

And the eyes of the sleepers wax'd deadly and chill”.

This summer will always be remembered in the traditions of Florida, as the time when the dread scourge, yellow fever, reached its most malignant form in the annals of the territory. St. Joseph was hard hit. It is not known how many persons died there, but thirty-seven deaths occurred between the middle of June and July 30,⁹⁶ and many more must have been added after that time, since the plague continued to rage with unabated fury for almost two months longer.

Other places, notably Apalachicola, had as high a mortality, but in no other town were so many eminent inhabitants stricken. The wife of former Governor Duval, whose early romance and marriage are so sympathetically portrayed by Washington Irving,⁹⁷ succumbed on July 14.⁹⁸ The fever seemed to single out for its victims the representatives to the St. Joseph Constitutional Convention of 1838. The other Calhoun County delegate, Richard C. Allen,⁹⁹ and the wife and sister of George T. Ward,¹⁰⁰ one of the delegates from Leon County, passed away. The publish-

⁹⁶ *The Florida Sentinel* of Tallahassee, September 6, 1841.

⁹⁷ In his *The Early Experiences of Ralph Ringwood* in *Wolfert's Roost*.

⁹⁸ *The Florida Sentinel*, September 20, 1841.

⁹⁹ *Star of Florida* (of Tallahassee), August 18, 1841.

¹⁰⁰ *Pensacola Gazette*, August 7, 1841. Governor Reid, the delegate from St. John's County, and his daughter died in Tallahassee. (See *Pensacola Gazette*, July 17, 1841).

ers and their relatives were also targets of the deadly epidemic. One of the best stylists in the Florida newspaper world, Joseph B. Webb, the proprietor of the *Florida Journal*, which had succeeded the *Apalachicola Gazette*, caught the disease in St. Joseph and died before he reached home.¹⁰¹ Dr. E. R. Gibson, who had been associate editor of the *United States Telegraph* of Washington, D. C., between 1832 and 1835, and had been living intermittently in the territory as newspaper publisher and public official since 1823, also fell before the onslaughts of the destroyer.¹⁰² Samuel S. Sibley, the former editor of the *Floridian*, who had just moved to St. Joseph, lost his wife in the great epidemic.¹⁰³

With high and low, free and slave, thus relentlessly mowed down, it occasions no surprise to learn that people fled from the dangerous vicinity. Very few ships entered or left the beautiful bay. The town was practically isolated and almost depopulated, so that only 500 people were left on August 25.¹⁰⁴ According to one report, no physician remained in the place.¹⁰⁵ The newspapers of both Apalachicola and St. Joseph suspended publication, the former temporarily and the latter permanently.¹⁰⁶ As if nature wanted to emphasize her abhorrence of the place, a severe gale swept down upon it in September. The details of its violence and the damage wrought are entirely lacking, although the storm is mentioned by some of the Florida papers.

¹⁰¹ *Florida Sentinel*, September 3, 1841.

¹⁰² *Floridian*, September 11, 1841.

¹⁰³ *Floridian*, August 7, 1841

¹⁰⁴ *Florida Herald*, of St. Augustine, October 29, 1841, from an article in the *St. Joseph Times*, August 25.

¹⁰⁵ *Pensacola Gazette*, August 21, 1841.

¹⁰⁶ West, in his pamphlet on Old St. *Jo*, has an interesting but imaginative account of St. Joseph during the epidemic.

When the cooler weather of the autumn months at last checked the devastation of the plague, life and business in the older town assumed its normal aspect, but the glory and prosperity of St. Joseph were gone forever. The most remarkable result of the calamity, besides the complete ruin of the town, was the tradition that gradually developed that the gallant city had been a place of utter wickedness. One can guess how the legend arose. Here there had been a flourishing place, which had been crushed in a most striking manner, as if by divine wrath. The superficial analogy to Sodom and Gomorrah, and other wicked Biblical cities, was so apparent, that the temptation to use St. Joseph as an object lesson to worldly minded, amusement loving persons, could not be resisted. However, the town did not deserve the appellation of "the wickedest place in the United States" any more than other cities along the Gulf coast. It had its race track and its public houses where alcoholic liquors were imbibed in quantities ; the sailors coming from all quarters gave it a rough element; but there is absolutely no evidence that it was in any way abnormal in this respect. The publicity organ of its bitter rival, the *Apalachicola Gazette*, not once hinted that it was steeped in vice and degradation. In fact, all contemporary accounts praise the industry and liberality of its inhabitants. Some of the most cultured people of the lower South lived here, and long afterwards one of them, the mother of R. J. Moses, wrote the following in an almost mystical strain: "St. Joseph in ruins is more dear to my heart than any spot of more worldly grandeur, so peaceful, so healthful, it seems as if its very repose led me nearer to my God, so free from conventionalities and restraints, so gloriously stamped by the Finger of God".¹⁰⁷ R. J.

¹⁰⁷ This is in the possession of J. C. Yonge, Pensacola.

Moses himself wrote that St. Joseph “had as generous and whole-souled a population as is to be found anywhere”.

There still remains the sad duty of the historian to record the events after the final tragedy. Naturally real estate values collapsed. Mr. Moses bought the house for thirty-seven dollars and fifty cents, that he unsuccessfully attempted to rent four or five years previously for six hundred dollars per annum. He later sold this house, with the dwelling that had cost him \$4,000, and his father’s residence valued at \$2,000, for seventy-five dollars. The inhabitants could not meet their financial obligations, and the banks were compelled to foreclose the mortgages. But the mortgages were practically worthless, since real estate had depreciated so much in value, with the result that the struggling Union Bank alone lost \$150,000.¹⁰⁸ The banks attached all slaves belonging to the ‘unfortunates, as well as their lands.

Some of the inhabitants, seeing complete poverty staring them in the face, took their movable property, including the colored people, and attempted to escape to Texas, which did not as yet belong to the United States. A notable example of this was the unfortunate editor of the *St. Joseph Times*, Peter W. Gautier, Jr., who had been living since September, 1841, in the vicinity of Marianna, cultivating, according to a contemporary report, peas and philosophy.¹⁰⁹ Accounts of his flight are found in almost every paper published in Florida at the time. Extracts from two of them will be sufficient.

¹⁰⁸ See Brevard, op. cit., Vol. I, pp. 215-216. It is a source of much regret to the author of this article that he had no opportunity to examine the journals of the United States House of Representatives for these years, as they are known to contain information on the Florida banks and St. Joseph.

¹⁰⁹ *Florida Sentinel*, November 19, 1841.

The ex-Editor of the St. Joseph Times has to use our vernacular "sloped"-G. T. T. [Gone To Texas]. Last week a Colonel Milton, a gentleman of notoriety in New Orleans, Mobile and Columbus, by some achievements in matters of honor, gallantry, etc., arrived here [i. e., Apalachicola] in the steamer James Y. Smith and chartered a Schooner for Texas.-The Reverend Mr. Peter W. Gautier, Sr., and his son, the ex-Editor, arrived about the same time in St. Joseph. The schooner proceeded there, and took fifty-three negroes on board a part, as is said, of the movable assets of the Union Bank, together with the Editor, the old gentleman and Col. Milton.¹¹⁰

It is said a portion of the black population of a quondam editor of West Florida are missing, and that he has changed his motto of "In medio tutissimus ibis" to that of Absquatulandibus rapidus Texibus. Adieu to peas and philosophy.¹¹¹

Thus ended the career of one of Florida's most talented and promising young men.

Hardly any records of St. Joseph for the year 1842 have survived. The *Florida Journal* of Apalachicola in its issue of May 21 says: "St. Joseph with her artificial resources and beautiful Bay, has sunk into an everlasting commercial sleep."¹¹² Of course the railroads went bankrupt, and some time during this year, or the one immediately following, the rails were removed to be used to build a road in Georgia.¹¹³

The dismantling of the town occurred in 1843. The residents of Apalachicola bought the deserted houses, tore them down, shipped them by water to their city and erected them there. Issue after issue of the *Commercial Advertiser* announces the arrival of vessels laden with building material from the dying

¹¹⁰ Copied from the *Florida Journal* in the *Pensacola Gazette*, February 12, 1842, and the News of St. Augustine, February 26, 1842.

¹¹¹ *Florida Sentinel*, February 4, 1842.

¹¹² *Pensacola Gazette*, May 28, 1842.

¹¹³ According to the *Apalachicola Times* of August 28, 1926. What the source of this statement is cannot be ascertained; but' its accuracy is quite probable.

town. The most interesting item is found in the issue of August 12.

The schooner *Phrenologist* arrived at our port from St. Joseph, on Tuesday last, bringing part of a large house, about to be erected on the corner of Commerce and Center Streets by our enterprising citizen, Capt. H. F. Simmons. This building was formerly used as a hotel in St. Joseph, in her palmy days, but will soon be helping swell the tide of prosperity for Apalachicola. This bringing houses from St. Joseph and erecting them here seems to be the work of magic "Adzakly." ¹¹⁴

The election returns of 1843 indicate how the population of the town had dwindled. St. Joseph cast nineteen votes for the delegate to Congress while Apalachicola cast two hundred and fifty-two. ¹¹⁵ A year later only sixty-seven votes were polled in the entire county. ¹¹⁶ In March, 1844, the territorial legislature gave official recognition to the decline of the town, by passing a bill entitled, "An act to alter and change the present County site of Calhoun County". ¹¹⁷ The few people still living at the place were visited and inconvenienced by another terrific gale in September, 1844, when considerable damage was reported. ¹¹⁸

Nobody knows when St. Joseph became a real "Deserted Village", when only "yon widowed solitary thing" was left, as "the sad historian of the pensive plain". It is certain that everything of value was gradually removed. Even the chimneys were torn down during the War for Southern Independence to make vats for evaporating salt. ¹¹⁹ Thus, at last, prac-

¹¹⁴ This article was reprinted in the *Pensacola Gazette* of August 22, 1843. The *Commercial Advertiser* of July 29 and September 2, 1843, also mention these activities.

¹¹⁵ *Florida Herald* of St. Augustine, June 5, 1843.

¹¹⁶ *News of St. Augustine*, February 15, 1845.

¹¹⁷ *1844 Acts*, p. 46.

¹¹⁸ *Commercial Advertiser*, September 9, 1844.

¹¹⁹ From the journal of R. J. Moses.

tically nothing except the cemetery was left of the little city whose inhabitants had so bravely and with such bold enterprise defied nature and man in unequal competition.

JAMES OWEN KNAUSS .

[Author's Note-Despite the apparently complete documentation of this article, the reader must be warned against the belief that the last word on St. Joseph has here been said. No definitive account of any historical event can ever be given, but this article does not even approach definitiveness. Many sources of St. Joseph material were not used. Two that are known to exist may be noted: the papers of the Apalachicola Land Co., some of which at least survive but are inaccessible, and the journals of the United States House of Representatives. While the latter were unfortunately not available when I was writing, they formed a partial basis of some secondary sources that I used. Other sources doubtless exist which have not yet been located. For instance, copies of old Columbus, Apalachicola and St. Joseph newspapers may be hidden away in some attic or chest. Particularly valuable would be the issues from 1833 to 1842. All letters, diaries and journals which touch on St. Joseph and Apalachicola of this period should be preserved. Public spirited citizens of Florida would make the State and its historians their debtors if they would locate and preserve such material, publishing the fact of their existence in this **QUARTERLY**.

Since the publication of the first part of this article, the author has learned that in July or August, 1897, there was published in **The Tallahasseean**, of Tallahassee, an article on St. Joseph written by Robert Ranson. He has not been able to locate a copy of this newspaper. Mr. Ranson, now living in Miami, writes that he obtained a large part of the information for the article from Captain _____ Cook, who lived in St. Joseph when the town was flourishing. It is unfortunate that no copy of this paper seems to have survived.]

NOTES ON THE ORIGIN OF THE SEMINOLE INDIANS OF FLORIDA

The settlement of the Seminole Indians in Florida has been entirely within the historical period. They were renegade Creeks (Muskokis) from Georgia, who invaded Florida following the raids made by the English under Governor Moore, of South Carolina, beginning in 1702. Moore drove the Timuquanas who inhabited the northern part of Florida (extending far southward) to the protection of the forts at St. Augustine.

The Creeks, who were his allies, came in as Seminoles - following these English raids. The word Seminole is from Sua (Sun God), ma (literally mother, but in such connection a most emphatic negative) - ol (people, as derived synthetically from oc, spirit and atl great the generative force of life, as well as the regenerative, being attributed to water-specifically the ocean as the origin of life). The name Seminole is, therefore, people whom the Sun God does not love" (i. e. accursed).

The Indians found here by the early explorers (de Narvaea and de Soto) were evidently descendants of Maya immigrants from Yucatan. Some of them, as for example, the Apalaches, can be traced by name to the headwaters of the Guarani stem of the Orinocco River in South America.

The original Indians living between the Aucilla and Apalachicola rivers took the name of Miccosukees following de Soto's expedition, -that is, all except a remnant that retained the name of Apalaches and lived near the mouth of the Apalachicola river, a band of some fourteen being all that were left when the forced migration to the West was made by the

U. S. government following the early Indian War (1835-1842).

The Miccosukees assumed that name as meaning "Chiefs of the Hog Clan". Primitive people generally adopt a tribal name of some esteemed wild animal of their residential location. This was the case in instance. Vasco Porcallo, an officer in the expedition of de Soto, contributed to it thirteen hogs from his estate in Cuba. These were landed at, or near, St. Marks and were carried with the army until it disintegrated after leaving what are the present confines of Florida; Many of these hogs must have strayed in foraging a living, and so became the progenitors of the Florida "razorbacks". The name, as of a phraternity, Miccosukee, denotes Micco (chiefs) and sukaw (hog). Micco itself is from "ma (mother, through whom those Indians traced descent) oc (spirit) and kah or ku (the heart coordinating with breath as the life force-polysynthetically, the principle, as also the principal or chief, element of creation). Sukaw is from sua (sun) and kaw (that is the life and mind as likened to the flight of a bird, in this case applied to the exhalation of the breath in calling, and so understood as the supplication to the sun by the animal, specifically in the lowing of the buffalo or domestic cattle, and extended in application to hogs).

The Miccosukees were too intrepid to permit the migration of the Seminoles through their territory ; so the course of invasion was to the eastward along the upland that has ever since been called "Trail Ridge" (running southward between Jacksonville and McClenny, about one and one-half miles east of the latter town, there crossing State Highway No. 1).

The Seminoles, following their invasion, became dominant in all territory to the east and southward of the Miccosukees. In the Indian War of 1835 the

Micosukees were forced into an alliance with the Seminoles and were consequently driven with them into South Florida. However, the Micosukees held themselves superior to the Seminoles; and as prisoners of war refused to accept food issued along with that to the Seminoles. This distinction has been maintained to a degree in separate tribal settlement of the Seminoles now in South Florida.

The Muskokis, from whom the Seminoles broke away, were probably distant relations of the Mayas. They settled to the westward, and in time broke across the settlement of the Mayas (who were undoubtedly the mound-builders) taking possession of middle Georgia to the Atlantic coast.

In the Gulf there are ocean *currents* that probably made the course of respective settlements from its south-west coast. The Mayas likely came with the current that sets from the coast of Mexico to within a few miles of the Florida coast, where it either joins the outflowing Gulf stream or at times joins a current flowing northward and west of north to the entrance of Mobile Bay. The Mayas evidently crossed this counter-current and made a landing about the mouth of the Suwannee River. On the other hand, the Muscayas (ancestors of the Muskokis) probably followed the counter-current to the coast of Alabama and westward. The original Indian town of Ocala was near the mouth of the Suwannee River, and its meaning is "House (settlement) of the Spirit-fathers" (ancestors now become spirits).

The most prominent of the Seminole chiefs of early days was Seccofoe, who lived at Alachua sinks, on Payne's Prairie, at the time of Bartram's visit, to Florida (1774). His name has been understood to mean "Cow keeper" confused with sukaw; but, in reality it means "Sun Spirit of the High (crescent) Moon" (The Eclipse).

The Seminoles were inferior in culture to the Indians they supplanted. They were only in degree (imitatively) agriculturists, while the Mayas and Timuqanas were good primitive farmers. The Seminoles made no imprint except by waging war against the whites, and by transferring some of the geographical names from other localities. For instance, the Amasura River was changed to Withlacoochee as taken from a stream of that name that is a tributary of the Suwannee and made one of the boundaries of the Muskokis (Creeks).

FRANK DREW.

THE SIGNIFICANCE OF FLORIDA'S HISTORY

It is, indeed a pleasure to appear before this distinguished body, of which I have the honor to be a member, to say something about the history of Florida. Take it by and large, there is no section of the country that has had a history more varied. Few equal it in the meaning of that history; and few come near it in richness. Not one state equals it in length of days of concrete history. Not one state in all the Union can trace its first tiny settlement by Europeans so early. No Spanish colony had servants more devoted or loyal ; no state of these United States, sons and daughters more devoted and gifted; and no state of the American Union has the promise of a future more glorious.

Fit topics these to stir the epic poet rather than the staid historian. Some Floridian, beloved of the Muse of Poetry, should arise to sing in mighty verse the glories of his state ; to celebrate in swelling paens its beauties ; to tell the world in "verse that shall not be forgotten", its struggles, its vicissitudes, its wonders, its glories, its people, its homes.

Rut it is my lot to try to say something of the significance of Florida's history. Since I am not an epic, or any other kind of a poet, but only a delver in the records of the past, I must forsooth, address this gathering in a very ordinary and perhaps homely fashion, endeavoring in my brief remarks to recall to your minds certain events that should be known of every Floridian. The topic "Significance of Florida's History" may perhaps sound as though I were about to give a philosophical disquisition. Far from

Note - This address was delivered by Dr. Robertson before the Society at its recent annual meeting.

it! Put yourselves at ease, ladies and gentlemen, I intend merely to refer to some of the striking events in the history of Florida and you yourselves shall evolve for yourselves their significance. Yours is the real task. You must be the philosophers. You must be the interpreters. You must continue to build this State nobly, so that the blue field of its star on our national banner may never be dimmed.

Away back before the tiny fleet of the Discoverer came to the isles of the west, what was Florida? A land of dense woods and swamps and sand and coast upon which the waves beat restlessly ; a land through which roamed scanty bands of dusky folks, living upon the products of the chase, the bounty of the sea, and somewhat upon the bounty of the land, but for all that, almost an unbroken wilderness, the terrors of which were only at times apparent and the beauties of which were unappreciated. A land lying fallow for the future use of man.

And then came Ponce de Leon. Was he the first European? We know not. We only know he was the first of whom we have record. But I often wonder whether Juan de la Cosa, who was the chief pilot of Columbus and the owner of one of the ships of the fleet of Columbus, did not glimpse these shores. His map of 1500, which shows a Cuba easily recognizable does not show Florida at all, - but I wonder. Then there are those other two maps of about 1502, the Cantino and the Canerio and the recently discovered Richard King map of about the same date. Do they, or do they not, show Florida? It is disputed, but I am inclined to believe they show some conception of the mainland. Rut after all we must fall back upon tired Ponce de Leon as the beginning of the concrete history of Florida.

These beginnings were not happy, for the poor native was the sufferer and it was long before the

whites could gain a foothold. The advent of the white man spelt destruction for the native, for let alone the cruelty which these bearded men brought him, he could ill adapt his life-that of the stone age-to the standard that had been reached in Europe.

Slaving expeditions, Ponce's second visit-even more disastrous than his first, for it brought his death-the belief that Florida was a second Mexico or Peru, the disastrous expedition of Pamfilo de Narvaez, the one-eyed, who had attempted to oppose the great Cortez in Mexico-what were these but the growing pains of the new land, that peninsula which thrust itself down between ocean and gulf for hundreds of miles?

And what was that dreadful march of Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca and his three companions, left behind in this desert land after Narvaez and his men had escaped in their crazy boats - Narvaez and many with him to death in old ocean? What meant this precarious hand to mouth existence, each day in danger of their lives from wild Indians, among whom they passed as conjurers and witch-doctors until they fell in with men of the Coronado expedition away out on the western plains? What was this but the beginning of the western movement which forms such a vital chapter in the, early life of our own nation?

The Soto expedition of the 1530's was better planned. Its commander, young, knightly, generous, brave and the perfect lover, but brought up in the hard school of the Pizarros - though never partaking to the full of their ferocity - showered his wealth drawn from the conquest of Peru upon his preparations. Six hundred men, some hundreds of horses, great fierce dogs, droves of cattle and hogs for food, and other equipment, the expedition set out joyously into the wilderness ; through woods, across swamps, across rivers, sojourning among Indians, some hos-

tile, some friendly, ever in search of the golden treasure that lured them on, but ever foiled them. On across the vast flood of the Mississippi and then back because of the death of the brilliant leader, and the escape of those left alive to Mexico. Truly, he who would woo Florida must do it in another way.

So evidently thought the viceroy of New Spain, Luis de Velasco, when in obedience to his king's orders he despatched his friend, Tristan de Luna y Arellano to this obstinate but inviting land. Now the scene shifts. Other European nations have begun to dispute Spain's right to all the new world. French and English, and later the Dutch, were to question the Pope's right to act as the arbiter of the world, to be the source of international law. Fear of French and English sent out the Luna expedition with orders to effect a permanent settlement at Santa Elena, up the Atlantic Coast. Notwithstanding the care with which the expedition was prepared, the ample instructions of the viceroy, the faithfulness and good intentions of the commander, poor Luna y Arellano, worn out by his labors, sick, lonely, and losing his grip on himself and his men, was not the man to carry out the king's orders, and this attempt too ended in naught.

And now came the master mind, the great, the dauntless, the resourceful, the loyal Pedro Menendez de Aviles, one of the greatest pioneer administrators the world knows, comparable to Mexico's conqueror, Ferdinand Cortes, and to him of the Philippines, Miguel Lopez de Legazpi. He it was who established Florida's first permanent settlement; he it was who destroyed the aspiration of the French Huguenots in those regions-would we could forget this part of his career-and he it was who really gave Florida to Spain, and started it along the pathway to the present.

From the first buffer colony, an outlying outpost to cover its colonies farther south and west, Florida never received from Spain that attention which it deserved. Hence its growth was slow and its resources were not discovered or developed. Outside of the few settlements, there was comparatively little activity, except in the missions established so freely by the Franciscans over what is now Florida and Georgia, and the scant garrisons oftentimes accompanying them. There were some dreadful massacres and the missionaries tasted the pangs of martyrdom. But the Christian religion was taught the dusky neofites, and learned men early compiled grammars, catechisms and other books in the language of the Florida Indians. These remain to this day almost the only known examples of the language of the early inhabitants of this peninsula - for the early Indians themselves vanished long ago, to have their places taken by the runaway Creeks called Seminoles.

Even before 1600, Florida was to suffer from buccaneering raids when the great Sir Francis Drake visited these shores leaving disaster and death behind him. Later the English settlements to the north began and the northward expansion of Spain was checked. The seventeenth century is filled with the raids of the buccaneers, fears of English aggression, and above all, fears for Mexico and the West Indies. Yet, Florida was never given the support that it needed. Its garrisons were scanty and poorly equipped. Supplies were irregular. Its very officials were often unpaid. Expenses were met by subventions from the treasury in Mexico, but frequently they did not reach Florida for several years at a time, and some of the ships bearing the necessary money fell a prey to pirates or to old ocean. The country passed but a precarious existence from the first-

reminding one of the suffering so carefully related by Alvar Nunez Cabeza de Vaca.

As the English settlements grew, they began to press southward, and Florida began to be restricted. Then actual invasion and a fight for life, all without adequate support from the mother country. The foe is driven back, but still threatens. Oglethorpe finally founds the colony of Georgia, and the ancient Guale which has been the scene of so much missionary effort passes forever from the hands of Spain and becomes English. And at last, the Old French and Indian War ends with the British in possession of Florida, which for administrative purposes they divide into two parts, East and West Florida.

The English civilization supplants the Spanish. The Spaniards move out. New industries are started. New activities spring into being. New trails are broken through the wilderness, and Florida feels the impulses of a new life.

But the American revolution sends Florida back again into the arms of Spain, and the English move out while the Spaniards move in. Spain holds brief sway once more until the young giant of the north will no longer brook the possession of this peninsula by any but itself; and heeding the meaning of the purchase of Louisiana, the revolutions of West and East Florida, the invasions by Jackson and his western men, Spain at last regretfully and painfully hauls down its colors, while the flag of the north, our flag, takes its place.

Now we come to the growth of the territory, the introduction of the institutions and culture of the United States, the material development of this pearl of great price. Never had Florida's history moved so rapidly. Does it mean nothing that the charming capital of this state was chosen by a man from the

east and one from the west, pushing, through almost trackless wilderness or along inhospitable coasts until they meet? Does it mean nothing that among the earliest Americans to come here were those of culture and refinement, imbued with what is best in American ideals and culture, loving American institutions and standing for order and law? These were propitious beginnings.

The territory grows, transportation becomes easier, educational facilities better, material wealth of greater bulk. The infant begins to stretch its waist band and to declare that there is room for another star in the flag. Statehood is gained, but soon the stars and stripes are replaced by the stars and bars. Four years of warfare are lived through. The stars and stripes once more float over the devoted land. Florida lives through its reconstruction period - worse, by far, than the war. Once more it stands squarely upon its own feet. Its later development begins, and here at last, to paraphrase Whitman, you "stand with your robust soul".

Is there no meaning to all this? Is the end within itself? Nay, not so. Is not the meaning this, that Florida shall advance more in the future than in all the past? That the present generation and generations yet unborn will carry the fame of Florida farther still by their achievements, by their honest work, whatever be the field and scope thereof.

And finally, is it not the realization of the greatness and the importance of this past history and the promise of even better things to come that inspired Buckingham Smith and Fairbanks and their companions to found our predecessor, The Historical Society of Florida; ourselves to reestablish this society? Is it not such realization that has led to the foundation of various local historical societies throughout Florida; and the same realization that has led to the

annual Irving Bacheller contest among high school students? Has this realization not also led to the founding of the Florida State Historical Society which is collecting and publishing the sources for the history of Florida? Should it not also lead to a joining of the Florida Historical and Florida State Historical Societies into a single body with a single aim and purpose, namely, to preserve and to publish in the fullest measure possible for the present generation and for its posterity, Florida's wonderful history?

It would seem that this might be worth while. Pulling together one serious body can certainly be more effective than two, since the aims and objects of both are the same.

You have listened to me very patiently, ladies and gentlemen. If there is an epic poet among you who can really set forth the greatness and beauty of Florida's history, now is the time for him or her to appear. May there be such a one.

JAMES ALEXANDER ROBERTSON .

FLORIDA HISTORY - A FIELD OF COLORFUL ORIGINAL SOURCES

If you were to read the complete history of Florida (which has not as yet been written), you would probably enjoy it as a wonderful story, almost too dramatic to be true ; but if you set yourself the task of writing an account of any part of that long struggle between four nations, you would find yourself a very active person-selecting, arranging, and presenting an untried mass of fiery and illuminating material. And the sooner you went to those original sources of information-the state documents, voluminous reports, the illustrated maps, and eloquent letters of the old Spanish, French, English and American official records, the greater would be your chance of contributing a living chapter to a very lonely field of historical effort.

Only recently has the would-be writer of Florida history been able to benefit by the original documents of these periods, which for a long time were inaccessible, even to those abroad, except through accredited research workers. Now, in the valuable works of Mrs. Connor, a great mass of Spanish records have been translated and published, opening a vivid field for the would-be historian. After reading the letters of De Soto, with that remarkable story of Juan Ortiz (which Sidney Lanier said was worth more to him than the story of the Mississippi) ; after turning the pages of LeMoynes sketches which tell more of the Indians than any history; and after tracing our course on the picturesque maps of Bernard Romans, with their frescoes of mermaids, dolphins, classic

Note - This address was delivered by Mrs. Corse before the Society at its recent annual meeting.

maidens and noble natives, you will find an indescribable aura of the real moving story rising about you, and you may be able to write it, fresh and unspoiled by any other hand.

Here, for example, are some documents which I obtained in 1917 at the British Colonial Office by special employment for that purpose of research workers. They deal with the fortunes of the Loyalists in Florida after the success of the American Revolution had made their position untenable there. Spain was about to take back the Floridas and her indifferent policy toward land owners was a far cry from the liberal bounties and protection of the English government. These letters have never been published, because the Colonial Office has been printing only one volume of its records a year, and I discovered that it would be many, many years before they reached the year 1784 at the present rate of publication. I have never used these letters myself, and I now wish to present them to this Society, hoping that they may be of some small service to those future Florida historians for whose works we all look forward.

It is a sad tale of exile and suffering which yet lacks its Longfellow, and must be pieced out from the reports of the harassed governor and embarrassed colonial secretaries. First I have selected excerpts from a letter of Governor Tonym to Thomas Townshend, English secretary of state, imploring him to use his influence against ceding Florida to Spain. These poor people could not realize that their great government was helpless before the adverse tide of events.

Sir,

. . . . The principal part of the original Planters, after having expended large sums of money, and surmounted many

difficulties began to feel themselves in comfortable circumstances and great plenty. They were happy in the full enjoyment of their native rights and privileges, under His Majesty's auspices, and mild Government, and in the *reflection*, that they amidst a general revolt, stood firm and distinguished for their allegiance, and with their lives and fortunes determined to maintain it.

A late accession of near twelve thousand loyalists from the other provinces, gave us internal strength and confidence, that we should remain under His Majesty's protection. This consideration, Sir, induced them liberally to lay out the wrecks of *their* fortunes in building Houses, and forming Settlements for their present accommodation, and future comfort, and in justice to them, I dare affirm, they were ambitious of this province ever remaining characterized for loyalty.

Settlements are formed, above a hundred miles on each side of this Town, and the Planters who came prejudiced against this Country, are perfectly satisfied with the soil: great additions are made to Saint Augustine, and two Villages are formed on St. John's River, in one of which within these six months two hundred commodious Houses have been built. Removed from this state of composure, and these pleasant and healthy abodes, they are to encounter fresh difficulties and to look for new habitations in some remote part of His Majesty's Dominions, rather than submit to the arbitrary power of a foreign Prince, or humbly to supplicate, their late enemies to be admitted under their protection to the privilege of Citizens.

The inhabitants, Sir, are busy in settling their affairs, but as far as I can learn quite at a loss-how to dispose of themselves. The West India Islands are stocked, and it requires a greater capital than in general they are possessed of to form Settlements in them, the unremitting heat of the climate is with many a formidable obstacle. Providence and the Bahama Islands are mere rocks, fit only for fishermen and the Inhabitants live chiefly by wrecking. Nova Scotia is too cold a climate for those who have lived in the southern Colonies, and entirely unfit for an outlet, and comfortable habitation for owners of slaves.

As the Inhabitants of every denomination are at a great loss, to fix where to betake themselves to, I have warmly recommended to them to secure crops, of which there is at present a good prospect; and in hopes that His Majesty in his wis-

dom will provide a commodious residence for them, and prevent their becoming subjects of a foreign state, which in the end must be hurtful to the Empire.

I have the honour &c.

Pat Tonyn

St. Augustine 15th May 1783.

Right Honourable

Thomas Townshend Esq.

Vainly did the home government assure the frantic colonists that they would be transported, eared for, and reimbursed in other British possessions. Their fears were only too well grounded, for beginning with the forced sale of their large land grants to the few and not nearly so wealthy Spanish colonists, they suffered losses and hardships, of which many perished before Government aid reached them.

Here is a letter to Colonial Governor Tonyn from the English secretary of state, telling him that the cession had actually been accomplished and instructing him how to proceed with the evacuation.

Whitehall, 4th Dec. 1783.

Sir,

.
You will see by the 5th Article, that a term of 18 Months (or a longer time if it should be thought necessary) is allowed to all the British Subjects who may be desirous of leaving the Province, for the Sale of their Estates, and the removal of their Families and Effects; His Majesty, in consideration of the sufferings to which they have been exposed, and with a view to afford them every possible assistance in that undertaking, has been graciously pleased to order 4,000 Tons of Shipping to be dispatched to St. Augustine, to be appropriated to their reception, a part of which will immediately proceed thither. The Officers Commanding at the Leeward Islands, as well as Jamaica, are also instructed to contribute towards the execution of that Service, and in all probability a considerable Supply of Shipping will be sent from those Islands; so that I hope there will be no want of the means of

removal, whenever the Settlers shall be ready to withdraw themselves from that Province.

.....

It has been a matter of much perplexity and embarrassment to the King's Servants to provide an Asylum for the unfortunate people. The Islands of Bahama being nearly in the same Latitude with their former Possessions, very thinly Inhabited, and but little Cultivated, it was proposed to Government to purchase the propriety of them for the accommodation of such as may chuse to become Settlers thereon. The King's Servants very readily attended to the proposal, and Measures are at this time pursuing to obtain the possession of them, and, where Tracks of Land will be given to them (gratis) proportioned to their former situations, and ability to cultivate them. The ungranted and uncultivated Lands in the several West India Islands will also be appropriated to their use, but at present no State of those Lands can be procured of sufficient accuracy, to regulate their movements thither.

.....

For those who prefer the Bahama Islands, a considerable **quantity** of Provisions has already been provided and dispatched, and Supplies will be sent to the West Indies, proportioned to the members who may desire to become Settlers upon those Islands.

.....

The Commanders of all the Vessels that proceed from England, as well as those which will be sent to you from the West Indies, will be directed to follow your Orders, and much will depend upon the regularity observed in the Embarkation, of properly Classing people together, who may fix upon the same place of Destination, in an early completion of the Evacuation of the Province. It is not supposed that the quantity of Shipping proposed by the Government for that Service, will answer the end, upon a single Embarkation, but after the first is made, and has proceeded to the place of destination, the Vessels must be ordered to return, and so to go on, until the whole is effected.

.....

I am to signify to you His Majesty's desire, that you do continue in East Florida, during as much of the remainder of the term stipulated by the Treaty, for the Complete Evacu-

ation of the Province, as you shall judge necessary for the purposes beforementioned.

.....

Thus were thousands of colonists unceremoniously shipped from their homes. At the ports of embarkation, household goods were piled hill-high, slaves and cattle herded on the shore, and the weeping of friends who were to part forever could be heard above the uproar and confusion.

The fate of Rollestown on the St. Johns is typical of many large holdings, which sank back into the wilderness after the Spaniards returned to their little towns and the Indians reclaimed the vast interior.

Denys Rolle was a wealthy gentleman of Devonshire who had invested large sums in Florida, regardless of the gathering storm of revolution to the north. He was bold and visionary, impatient and impractical - not a sturdy pioneer like Dr. Turnbull - and Governor Grant was at first sorely tried by his erratic procedure. He was finally satisfied, however, with a splendid tract of land about a hundred miles up the St. Johns and a mile from San Mateo, including eighty thousand acres of fine plantation and cattle land. But Rolle had philanthropic as well as pioneering ambitions, and his first colonists were vagrants picked up off the streets of English towns, whom he hoped to make over in the new land. He built the little village of Rollestown, and established them there at a cost of fifty-five thousand dollars. But they proved utterly unfit for the hard life of a pioneer farmer, and were lacking in physical and moral stamina. The lesson that grown people are almost irreclaimable was learned over a hundred years later, and probably the dream of Denys Rolle could only be realized among children in the George Junior Republics of today.

After two hundred whites had drifted away, escaping at every opportunity, Rolle finally established his plantations with negroes. This proved to be a good investment, except for one setback with a dishonest overseer, who robbed him while he was in England trying, like the fiery Britisher that he was, to equip ships to fight the Americans. But then Loyalist refugees from the colonies began to drift in, many of them penniless, and all the plantations lost much from either voluntary or involuntary donations to their aid. Finally the dire news of the cession of Florida to Spain put an end to Rolle's hopes, and we find him hurriedly chartering a boat to save his negroes, stores and cattle from the Indians. He asked the King of England for Mogane, an island of the Bahamas north of Turk's Island, to compensate for the loss of over \$120,000 expended in Florida, a fortune in those days. But in 1785 we find his possessions on the Island of Exuma, another one of the Bahamas, only one third of his negroes still "taskable" and his other wealth sadly dissipated. His is but a sample of the pathetic plight of the early colonists, blown like chaff before the whirlwinds of European wars, their governments too engrossed in the great diplomatic game at home to shelter those so weak and far away. Their seemingly futile efforts were not in vain, however, for they proved for the first time that Florida's real wealth lay in her soil and climate, the making of groves and plantations, and not in fabulous gold mines or fountains of youth. Their pioneer efforts were realized by their American grandsons fifty years later, and their brightest dreams are even now coming true before our own eyes.

CARITA DOGGETT CORSE.

el dia diez proximo se ha de dar posesion de esta Provincia al Senor comisionado de los Estados Unidos legitimamente autorizado para recibirla Coronel Don ROBERTO BUTLER, evacuando el territorio los oficiales y Tropas Espanolas, que ocuparan los oficiales y Tropas Americanas, con arreglo al tratado celebrado en Washington en 22 de Febrero de 1819, Real Cedula de 24 de Octubre del ano anterior, y demas ordenes con hallo, como comisionado para la entrega ; **en** el momento que esta se verifique cesan las autoridades Espanolas en el egercicio de sus funciones y entran a desempenar las suyas las Americanas. De mi deber es participaros esta importante mutacion, politica ; antes os he hecho saber lo estipulado por nuestro gobierno para aseguraros en el libre egercicio de la Religion Catolica, en vuestras propiedades, y goces que el mismo tratado garantiza ; tambien os he manifestado las franquicias, gracias y protection que ofrece nuestro gobierno a los que acomode trasladarse a algunos pantos de la Monarquia Espanola y en particular a la Ysla de Cuba. Ceso en mandaros, pero aun permanecere entre vosotros el preciso tiempo para concluir algunos particulares de la comision, cuya resolucion espero del superior gobierno, mientras me hallaran pronto a facilitar los auxilios que esten a mi alcance a los que soliciten su traslacion a la Habana, y donde quiera que me halle a daros testimonio del particular concepto y aprecio que me mereceis.

Floridanos, vais 'a dar la ultima prueba de vuestras virtudes obediendo las disposiciones de S. M. Ojata eesen con este cambio todas las vicisitudes que las circunstancias os han hecho sufrir con resignacion heroica ! testigo de ella, y de los sacrificios que habeis hecho por la patria manifestare los que me consten de cada uno si se les ofrece coma lo hago en general de todos : me lisongeo con la idea de que sereis felices que es todo lo que os desea vuestro

Amigo y Conciudadano,

EL CORONEL

Jose Coppinger

San Agustin de la Florida 7 de Julio de 1821.



Inhabitants of East Florida :

On the tenth day of next month possession of this Province must be given to the commissioner of the United States legally authorized to receive it, Colonel ROBERT BUTLER, the Spanish officers and troops evacuating the territory which will be occupied by American officers and troops according to the treaty celebrated in Washington, February 22, 1819, the Royal Cedula of October 24, of last year, and the other orders with which I am charged as commissioner for its delivery. The moment this is accomplished, the Spanish authorities shall cease in the exercise of their functions and the Americans shall enter to take charge of theirs. It is my duty to inform you of this important political change. I have before made known to you the stipulations made by our government in order to secure for you the free exercise of the Catholic religion, your property, and the privileges which the same treaty guarantees; I have also communicated to you the immunities, favors, and protection which our government offers to those who prefer to remove to any places under the Spanish Monarchy, and particularly to the Island of Cuba. I cease to govern you, but shall still remain amongst you the necessary time to finish some of the details of the commission whose decision I am awaiting from the superior government, and in the mean time you will find me ready to facilitate any means within my reach to those who request transportation to Habana and, wherever I may be, to testify to you the special regard and appreciation you merit from me.

Floridians, you are about to give the last proof of your virtues by obeying the orders of His Majesty! Oh, that with this change all the vicissitudes which circumstances have made you suffer with heroic resignation may cease! as witness thereof and of the sacrifices that you have made for the country, I shall testify to those things which are known to me of each one, if occasion offers, as I do in general of all. I flatter myself with the idea that you will be happy, which is the whole desire of your

Friend and Fellow citizen,

COLONEL

Jose' Coppinger.

[Rubric]

St. Augustine, Florida, July 7, 1821.

Note - The copy of Gov. Coppinger's proclamation reproduced here is believed to be unique. It has been preserved and given to the Historical Society by Mrs. Annie Averette, a member, of St. Augustine. The original of which this is a facsimile, measures 7 1/2" x 13".

ANTE-BELLUM CENSUS ENUMERATIONS IN FLORIDA

Although Spain agreed to cede Florida to the United States in 1819, the transfer did not take place until 1821; so the territory was not represented in the United States census of 1820. The first statistical account of its population, therefore, is that of 1830.

U. S. Census of 1830. - Florida in 1830 had fifteen counties, only two or three of which were in the peninsula portion of the State, which was then almost uninhabited. For some reason the enumerators in West Florida did not follow county boundaries, but returned the inhabitants as living between certain streams. These enumeration units were referred in later censuses as nearly as possible to the corresponding counties, but the 1830 figures cannot be taken literally for any West Florida county. For example, the population between the Escambia and Yellow rivers in 1830 was referred in later censuses to Santa Rosa County, although that county was not established until 1842.

The total population of the territory as reported in 1830 was 34,730, of which 18,385 were white, 844 free colored, and 15,501 slaves. West Florida then had 1.3 inhabitants per square mile, Middle Florida (the most fertile section) 2.2, Northeast Florida 1.1,

Note-These early census returns cannot be analyzed as fully, as they deserve without exceeding the space available here, hence this article is chiefly confined to a study of population; and statistics of agriculture, manufacturing, etc., receive only the briefest mention. The author hopes to make a more complete study, brought down to date or nearly so. If any reader can supply additional information or suggest a source of it, he will value it highly.

the peninsula 0.04, and the whole territory about 0.6. Leon County (which was then about twice as large as at present) was the most populous, having 6494 inhabitants. Gadsden, Madison, Nassau and Mosquito counties had more negroes than whites, while in the rest of the territory the whites constituted about 60% of the total. Over half the free negroes were in the counties of Escambia and St. Johns, and presumably in the cities of Pensacola and St. Augustine. Of the white population, 34.4% were under 10 years old (indicating an annual birth-rate of about 40 per thousand), and only about 43.57% were over 21 years.

First Territorial Census. - A few years later the citizens of Florida were impatient to have their growing territory made a state, and a certain minimum population was required for statehood. Accordingly steps were taken for a census, a plan already in operation in some other southern states. A law passed by the Legislative Council, and approved by the Governor on Feb. 12, 1837, required the sheriff of every county to ascertain by June 1 "the number of inhabitants, male and female, white, black and coloured" in the county, and transmit a certified copy in triplicate to the treasurer of the territory, to be reported by the latter to the Council. The compensation (to be fixed by the Council) was not to exceed three-quarters of a cent per capita, and a fine of one thousand dollars was prescribed for non-performance. The sheriffs were allowed to employ their deputies for the work.

Evidently the compensation was too low to assure the carrying out of the plan, for Governor Call, in his message of Jan. 2, 1838, stated that with few exceptions the sheriffs had not done their duty in the matter and were therefore subject to the penalty prescribed. He then stressed the necessity of a cen-

sus to show if there were enough inhabitants for statehood. Accordingly another attempt was made, and a law passed on Jan. 22, 1838, and approved Jan. 26, provided for the appointment by the governor of as many enumerators as expedient, to count the "white persons, slaves, and free persons of colour", on or before April 1. Duty certified returns were to be made to the governor and secretary of the territory on or before May 1, and certified copies were to be filed in the county clerks' offices. The compensation was fixed at five cents per head.

No record of the cost, or official publication of the results, of this census have been found, but most of the results were published in the *Pensacola Gazette* of July 21, and in the *Apalachicola Gazette*, July 26, 1838, and perhaps in other papers about the same time. No returns had been received from Columbia, Duval, Hamilton, Mosquito and Nassau counties. The total population of the others was 41,224, and the territorial total was estimated (by means of the number of voters in the delinquent counties) as 48,831, of which 25,173 were assumed to be white and 23,658 black. These figures are quite consistent with those of the federal census two years later. They were still insufficient for statehood.

The constitution of 1839, framed at St. Joseph, provided in Article IX that a census should be taken in 1845 and every tenth year thereafter, primarily for apportionment purposes. (The apportionment, according to a rule of Congress, was to be based on the total white population and three-fifths of the number of slaves.)

U. S. Census of 1840. - In the meanwhile the federal census of 1840 was taken. That divided the population of each of the twenty counties and of two towns (St. Augustine and Tallahassee) according to

race, servitude, sex and age groups ; and also gave statistics of occupations, pensioners, defectives, schools, illiteracy, agriculture, horticulture, commerce, fisheries, forests, and manufacturing. The agricultural statistics gave merely the production of various crops, but nothing about the number or size of farms.

The population of the territory at that time totaled 54,477 (just about one per square mile), of which 27,943 were white, 817 free colored, and 25,717 slaves. No enumeration was made in Monroe County outside of Key West, but no doubt most of the population of the county was living in the city, as at the present time. Leon County was still the most populous, with 10,715 inhabitants, but over two-thirds of them were slaves. None of the four peninsula counties had over 700 people (or 100 slaves). West Florida had 1.6 persons per square mile, Middle Florida 3.8, northeast Florida 1.9, and the peninsula 0.05. Negroes outnumbered whites in the counties of Gadsden, Jackson, Jefferson and Leon, as they do today. Over half the free negroes were in Escambia and St. Johns counties, as in 1830, and next in order were Duval and Monroe. The percentage of whites was 55.5 in West Florida, 41.8 in Middle Florida, 62.9 in northeast Florida, and 86.7 in the peninsula. The correlation of negroes with soil fertility, not only in Florida but in other southern states, was about as marked then as it is today.

Among the whites the percentage of persons under ten years old was 30.1 (a decrease of about one-ninth in ten years), and the percentage of adults was about 47.9. The corresponding figures for negroes were 31.1 and 42.9.

The population of three principal cities, by race, etc., was as follows :-

	Total	White	Free Col.	Slaves
St. Augustine	2459	1476	120	863
Tallahassee.....	1616	815	16	785
Key West	688	516	76	96

Females were slightly in the majority in both races in St. Augustine, but not in the other two places.

By occupation 12,117 persons were reported engaged in agriculture, 1177 in manufacturing and trades, 435 in navigating the ocean; 401 in commerce, 204 in learned professions, and 118 in navigating lakes and rivers.

State Census of 1845. - In compliance with the constitution of 1839, the first state legislature, in July, 1845, enacted a law for the taking of a census by the assessors of revenue in each county, said census to enumerate the whites, free colored, and slaves, as before, and also the taxable property. The compensation provided was eight cents per head in counties with less than five hundred inhabitants, and in others five cents each for the first thousand, three cents for the second and third thousand, and two cents for all over three thousand. The returns were to be made to the Secretary of State, and paid for by the Treasurer ; and it was provided that if the assessors in any county failed to perform their duty the task should devolve upon the sheriff.

No date seems to have been fixed for this census, but the work must have begun promptly, for the returns from seventeen of the twenty-six counties were transmitted by the Secretary of State to the Governor on Nov. 17, and published as Document No. 1 accompanying the Governor's message to the 'adjourned session of the Legislature of 1845. Apparently no returns were ever received from the other

nine counties. The cost of the census was \$2237.59, or about four cents per person enumerated.

The census table as published contains several inconsistencies, perhaps due to typographical errors; but the population returned for the seventeen counties was about 56,000, and assuming that the population of the nine missing ones was intermediate between the 1840 and 1850 figures, the State total must have been about 70,000, or 27% more than in 1840.

By race, etc., the population of the seventeen counties was 50.7% white, 0.8% free colored, and 48.5% slaves.. Returns from the missing counties (Calhoun, Dade, Escambia, Franklin, Levy, Monroe, Nassau, St. Lucie and Santa Rosa), would doubtless have increased the proportion of whites. Males were considerably in the majority among the whites, but not among the free colored and slaves. The per cent of adults among the whites was 44.1, a little more than in 1830, but less than in 1840. (It may have been higher in the missing counties, though.)

Some sort of a school census must have been taken at the same time, or a little later, for on pages 29-36 of an appendix to the legislative journals of 1848 there is a census of children (age and color not specified) in each township (except in a few counties that made no returns), who could read but not write, read and write, and neither read nor write, with totals.

U. S. Census of 1850. - The United States census of 1850 was better managed than any preceding one. The director at the time of enumeration was Joseph C. G. Kennedy, of Pennsylvania, but he was succeeded in 1853 by J. D. B. DeBow, of New Orleans (who published DeBow's Review, a magazine devoted to the resources of the South, from 1846 to 1871). This census covered population, agriculture, manufacturing, schools, churches, libraries, and various other

subjects, and Kennedy published the results of it in a quarto volume in 1853, several times as bulky as the 1840 census report. DeBow, who was evidently an accomplished statistician, condensed the salient features of the census into an octave "compendium", adding a few previously unpublished tabulations, and many analyses and comparisons. This was published in 1854, and fortunately enough copies were printed so that the volume is still fairly common.

Florida at that time had twenty-eight counties and 87,445 inhabitants (an increase of 74.8% in ten years), of which 47,203 were white, 932 free colored, and 39,310 slaves. Males were considerably in excess among the whites, slightly in excess among the slaves, and in the minority among the free negroes.

The density of population and percentage of whites in five principal divisions of the state was as follows :-

	Inhabitants Per Mile	Per Cent White
West _ _ _ _ _	2.7	59.6
M i d d l e _ _ _ _ _	5.4	42.6
Northeast _ _ _ _ _	2.3	61.5
Central _ _ _ _ _	0.3	64.9
S o u t h _ _ _ _ _	0.2	79.7

Separate figures (incomplete as to slaves in a few cases) were given for eleven cities and towns, of which the largest were Key West (about 2400), Pensacola, St. Augustine, Jacksonville, and Tampa, in the order named. No other listed had as many as five hundred inhabitants, but Tallahassee, which was not returned separately, probably ranked between St. Augustine and Jacksonville. Estimating the numbers of the omitted slaves, it seems that the proportion of whites and of free negroes was larger, and of slaves consequently smaller, in the cities than in the state as a whole. In the cities females outnumbered

males among the slaves and still more among the free negroes, but not among the whites.

Families, of the white and free colored population, were counted for the first time, and totaled 9,107, making 5.3 persons per family. Among the whites 32.3% were under ten and 43% over twenty-one years of age, which was not very different from the 1830 figures, but indicated a higher birth-rate than in 1840, apparently. The corresponding figures for negroes were 31.7 and 43.5.

The leading occupations (of free males over fifteen years of age) were as follows: Farmers 5750, laborers 2537, mariners 550, carpenters 543, soldiers 423, merchants 345, clerks 247, planters 217, federal and state officers 185, physicians 135, lawyers 131, overseers 130, students 125, black and white smiths 120, and teachers 112.

The statistics of immigration from other states and countries, births, marriages, deaths, churches, libraries, farms, etc., would make an interesting story in themselves, but must be passed over for the present ; merely mentioning that about half the people living in Florida in 1850 were born elsewhere, and only about one per cent of the State's area was in cultivation .

State Census of 1855. - The preparations for the state census of 1855 were more elaborate than those of 1845. The law (approved Jan. 13, 1855) provided for the appointment of one enumerator in each county by the governor, and his compensation was to be the same as provided in 1845, except that ten cents per capita (instead of eight) was allowed for counties of less than five hundred inhabitants. No time was set for beginning the work, but the returns were required to be submitted to the Secretary of State by September 1.

The results of this census are found on pages 23-28 of the appendix to the legislative journals of 1855. Florida at that time had thirty-one counties, but Manatee was not separated from Hillsborough in the returns, and no report was received from Duval. The aggregate population of the thirty counties reporting is given in one place as 110,850, but that does not correspond exactly with the sums of other figures, indicating clerical or typographical errors somewhere. Duval County, judging from the 1850 and 1860 figures, must have had about 4800 people, making the State total about 115,000, or 32% more than in 1850.

The population was divided according to race, sex, age, etc., as follows :-

	Whites		Free Colored	Slaves
	Under 21	Over 21		
Male ___	17,672	14,426	366	24,597
	Under 18	Over 18		
Female _	15,825	12,570	438	24,929
T o t a l	60,439		804	49,526

There were said to be 20,601 children (white?) between the ages of five and eighteen, of whom 4943 were attending school.

There were 2265,503 acres of (farm?) land, valued at \$13,910,981, or \$6.14 per acre. Slaves were valued at \$27,250,551, or \$550 apiece. These data were also summed up by sections of the State (West, Middle, East and South).

U. S. Census of 1860. - The United States census of 1860 was directed again by J. C. G. Kennedy, and followed approximately the plan of 1850. Florida then had thirty-seven counties, but no report was received from Hernando, and its population was esti-

mated at 1200 in the census volume. (But 2000 would probably have been nearer right, for it had 1637 in 1855 and 2938 in 1870).

The State total was given as 140,424 (an increase of 61% in ten years), of which 77,747 were white, 932 free colored, and 61,745 slaves. Mulattoes and blacks were counted separately, and mulattoes constituted 72.3% of the free colored and 8.5% of the slaves. Or, to put it in another way, 11.4% of the mulattoes and less than one-half of one per cent of the blacks were free. Males were in the majority among the whites and blacks, and females among the mulattoes.

Counties with whites in the minority were Alachua, Gadsden, Jefferson, Leon, Madison and Marion. Leon was still the most populous county in the State, with 12,343 inhabitants, and Jackson came next, with 10,209. Of the free population, 75,370 were natives of the United States, and 3,309 foreign-born. There were 15,090 free families, or 5.2 persons per family, a slight reduction from the 1850 figure.

A table of slave-holders in the volume devoted to agriculture shows that a little more than one (free) family in three owned slaves, with an average number of twelve slaves apiece. The highest ratio of slave-holders to families was in Leon County (66.2%), and that county also had the largest number of slaves per owner (17.7). Other counties with more than half the families owning slaves were Columbia, Jefferson, Marion and Nassau.

Separate figures were given for sixteen cities and towns, the largest being Pensacola (2876), Key West (2832), Jacksonville (2118), Tallahassee (1932), St. Augustine (1914), Apalachicola (1904), Milton (1815), Fernandina (1390), and Monticello (1083). These together contained 17,864 inhabitants, of which 63.6% were white, 3.2% free colored, and 33.2% slaves.. Putting it in another way, these nine cities

included 12.7% of the total population of the state, 14.6% of the white population, 61.1% of the free colored population, and 9.6% of the slave population. These last figures tend to confirm what was already known from other sources, that in Florida and other southern states the slaves were mostly farm laborers and domestic servants, and the free negroes mostly skilled laborers, who found their best opportunities in towns and cities.

At the present time many of our cities have more women than men; but in 1860 there were no girl stenographers and clerks and few lady teachers, and most of Florida was a sort of frontier country anyway. Consequently males were in the majority, in the white population of every town listed in the census, except St. Augustine. There were also more men than women among the slaves in most of the towns, though not among the free negroes.

Although generally speaking the civilization of 1860 was primitive compared with that of today, there was considerable wealth and culture in the older-settled parts of the state. The average farm in Florida in 1860 was worth \$3485, of which \$2502 represented land and buildings, \$137 implements and machinery, and \$846 live-stock. And the averages were much higher than this in some of the more fertile counties which had large cotton plantations. But the Civil War soon upset the plantation system, and the 1860 level of farm values was not reached again for a generation or two. The farm acreage nearly doubled between 1850 and 1860, but little if anything was said in those days about the alleged need of a million farmers to "till the idle acres", although less than 2 per cent of the area of the state was cultivated, and the population was only one-tenth as dense as it is now.

Tallahassee, Florida.

ROLAND M. HARPER.

BOOK REVIEW

Territorial Florida Journalism. By JAMES OWEN KNAUSS. DeLand, Florida, The Florida, State Historical Society, 1926.

When it became known about three years ago that Professor James O. Knauss was planning to compile a history of the early Florida newspapers, it meant practically a guarantee that the work would be done in a thorough and scholarly way. His book on the early German newspapers of Pennsylvania, published in 1922, under the title *Social Conditions Among the Pennsylvania Germans in the Eighteenth Century*, was a monograph in which a graphic and informative narrative was most aptly joined to a wealth of bibliographical detail. This expectation is justified by the appearance of the volume, with the title *Territorial Florida Journalism*, published under the auspices of the Florida State Historical Society, in an octave volume of two hundred and fifty pages.

By territorial Florida the author means the period from 1821 to 1845, during which time the various districts were preparing for statehood, each competing for prominence in the new venture ; agriculture, commerce and railroad building were beginning to bring wealth; and settlers were flocking from other parts of the country to treble the population in these twenty-five years. In such a development newspapers play an important part, and particularly so in Florida. Whether because they were well edited or because there was little printing outside of newspapers,

Note—Clarence S. Brigham, the writer of this review, is librarian of the American Antiquarian Society, and as keeper of their extraordinary collection of early American newspapers and as author of *Bibliography of American Newspapers*, he has become the foremost authority in this field. - Ed.

they constitute a body of source material of relatively high value to the historian.

In the arrangement and proportion of his chapters, Dr. Knauss shows excellent judgment. The first chapter is a summary history of the territory. The second, devoted to "The Newspapers", contains a readable history of each of the forty-five papers, with mention of their political affiliations and place in the community, followed by general estimates of circulation, cost of advertisements, and money value of the printing establishments. The third chapter, on "The Newspaper Men", is rather a departure for such a bibliography in that it gives biographical sketches of the publishers and editors where such information could be found. Then follow three appendices, one an alphabetical list of the newspapers, the second a chronological list with a checklist of all copies located, and the third a series of newspaper extracts relating to the constitutional convention of 1838. The checklist of copies located must have meant a vast amount of research and is of the highest reference value. Finally come a bibliographical list of works consulted, an excellent index, and a folder of six photographic facsimiles of early newspapers. Incidentally, the book is finely printed and a credit to all responsible for its publication.

Although the bibliography begins with 1821, there is full mention of the known facts regarding the *East Florida Gazette* published by John Wells in 1783-1784, no copy of which has ever been located in this country. It is interesting to note that Mr. Worthington C. Ford, working in the Public Archives Office at London last year, found issues of this paper for March 1, May 3, and May 17, 1783, vol. I, nos. 5, 14 and 16, all printed at St. Augustine by Charles

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Wright for John Wells, Jr. Photostats of these three issues will shortly reach this country.

Dr. Knauss's volume is an excellent piece of historical and bibliographical work and leaves little to be desired. He had a comparatively small field to cover, but he has done it exceedingly well. The work is a model for others to follow who aspire to write the history of the newspapers of any state or town. It also shows how the history of a locality can be written from its newspapers and how color can be given to the narrative by contemporaneous accounts of social and economic events.

CLARENCE S. BRIGHAM.

NOTES AND COMMENT

The excerpts from correspondence between Governor Tonyn of East Florida and his home government, included in Carita Doggett Corse's address before the Society at its recent annual meeting and published in this number, give us our first intimate glimpse of the distress of the English colonists in Florida on being torn, as it were, from their homes in 1784 and scattered abroad.

In addition to these, Mrs. Corse has given to the library of the Society copies of many other papers from the same source, the Public Record Office in London. Included are all of the transcripts of documents complete used or mentioned in her *Dr. Andrew Turnbull and the New Smyrna Colony* (Florida, The Drew Press, 1919) and listed in that work, pp. 197-210. But of even greater interest, if perhaps of less value, is a collection of transcripts from the same source relating to the colonization project of Lord Rolle on the upper St. Johns River. These consist of copies and tracings of several score documents and plats-letters, memorials, reports including letters and inventories, from Rolle and Governor Grant to the officials of the Colonial Office, as well as much passing between the proprietor and the governor. From these the story of that episode, so impracticable and illadvised, but so energetically carried on, can and we trust will be told in some detail.

The passing on of many of our most earnest members was recorded in the last number. To these names must be added Reverend Van Winder Shields of Jacksonville and Mr. George G. Currie of West Palm Beach. Mr. Currie, whose interest in Florida

history was keen and deep, was long on the membership roll. Reverend Mr. Shields was one of those who reestablished the Society in 1902 and one of the eight who were its incorporators in 1905.

Is your interest in the Society and its work growing? If not, then, even with our great increase in membership, we are not as strong as we were last year.

The need for an endowment to support the many important activities of the American Historical Association was shown here in a recent issue. All work carried on by the Association is directly or indirectly of benefit to the work we ourselves are doing; so, in addition to the satisfaction a contributor may feel in endorsing this movement and assisting the Association, our members in contributing may be sure also that they are helping in the work we ourselves have undertaken. Florida's quota of five thousand dollars (of the one million dollar fund being collected for that purpose) is being got together by President Hamilton Holt and Mr. A. J. Hanna, of Rollins College, to whom contributions should be sent.

A monument "To Commemorate the First White Settlement on Indian River Under the Armed Occupation Act, 1843-1849" was unveiled on Washington's birthday last at Ankona, seven miles south of Fort Pierce. An address was delivered by Robert Ranson.

Mr. Waldo E. Cummer, of Jacksonville, has become a Life Member of the Society. The small balance in our treasury has at once become respectable, and through this expression of his interest we are able to add a few pages to each issue of the *QUARTERLY* for the next year.

The annual dues of two dollars now cover the cost of printing and mailing the review, but that is all. If you are able to do so and would become a Contributing Member for this year (there is no obligation to continue the contributing dues of ten dollars) the Society could then undertake some further work it should be doing.

General C. P. Summerall, Chief of Staff of the United States Army, becoming a member of the Society, says. . . . "It is most gratifying to know that The Florida Historical Society is developing this important feature of our State."

The following also have become members during the past quarter. Their interest is highly valued. We trust those who have the opportunity to do so will take an active part in the work of the body.

Alsop, John T., Jr.	Jacksonville
Avery Public Library	New Port Richey
Corse, Carita Doggett	Ortega
Dyer, Thomas A.	T a m p a
Drake, Mrs. Trusten P.	Ocala
Dobbin, Mrs. James F.	Jacksonville
Greenslade, Mrs. John W.	Newport, R. I.
Hall, John L.	Jacksonville
Hoffman, Carl T.	Miami
Ingram,, Frank P.	Tampa
James, T. E.	Miami
Jones, Dwight B.	Jacksonville
Merryman, Carl	Chicago, Illinois
Meigs, Delia G.	Jacksonville
May, E. C.	Inverness
Myers, Mrs. Fred T.	Tallahassee
Porter, Laura Spencer	Dade City
Price, A. F.	Dade City
St. Augustine Historical Society	St. Augustine

Todd, Mrs. Mabel Loomis Coconut Grove
Taliaferro, William M. T a m p a
Trenary, B. F. Jacksonville
Von Falkenburg, Friedrich Tallahassee

Donations received during past quarter:-

Early History of Lee County and Fort Myers
Presented by author, F. Q. Hendry

Messages and Documents, Florida, 1903
Presented by C. Seton Fleming

Sketches of Jacksonville-The Gateway to Florida
White's Guide to Florida, 1891-1892
Makers of America-Florida Edition, 4 vols.
Daily Florida Standard, July 8, 1887, Feb. 23, 1892 and Sept.
17, 1895
Presented by J. W. White.

Papers and documents relating to military career of George
M. P. Holt, Daytona, Florida.
Presented by George H. Baldwin

Book of Mormonism, autographed by Joseph Smith
Presented by Moses Folsom

75 cent note on State Bank of Florida, Tallahassee, March 1st,
1862
Presented by Frank S. Gray

Metropolitan Record and New York Vindicator, Sept. 15, 1866,
March 30, 1867, Oct. 6, 1866
Presented by J. W. White

Proceedings of 4th Annual State Convention of the United
Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division, Gaines-
ville, January 9, 1901

Women of the Confederacy, Memorial Edition, The News and
Courier, Charleston, S. C., January 7, 1905. 2 copies
Presented by C. Seton Fleming

Notes for \$1.00 and \$2.00 on the Florida Atlantic and Gulf
Central Railroad Company, May 8, 1859

\$10 and \$20 notes of Confederate States of America.

\$1 note of "Island of Cuba" captured on Spanish steamer
"Argonauta" in 1898

Presented by Frank S. Gray

Principes du Gouvernement Republican, by Achille Murat

Presented by John Y. Detwiler

The Ride of The Thirty Cavaliers, by Rose Mills Powers

Autographed and presented by author

Photostat copy of St. Johns River during English occupation.

Original owned by Sir James Grant, of Scotland

Presented by George Cole Scott

Reminiscences, 40 years in the Barnett National Bank

Presented by Don. H. Barnett

Copy of portrait of Micanopy, by Catlin, in National Museum,
Washington

Presented by Fred Cubberly

John Branch, 1782-1863, by Marshall DeLancey Haywood

Presented by C. Seton Fleming

History and Facts of the Regular Recognized Republican Party
of Florida

Presented by Fred Cubberly

Some A. D. 1900 Democratic Platforms, Political Pamphlets by
E. B. Bailey, Pasco

Presented by Fred Cubberly

Shipping Bill, Steamer "Carolina", May, 1855

Presented by Mr. B. F. McCoy through E. P. Owen, Jr.

Portrait of Josiah T. Walls, Member of Congress and of Gov-
ernor Stearns

Presented by Fred Cubberly

Centennial of Trinity Parish of St. Augustine, and The Com-
ing of the Church to Florida

Presented by Mrs. M. H. Haughton

Map by George Purcell, 1783, of Virginia, North Carolina,
South Carolina and Georgia, comprehending the Span-
ish provinces of East and West Florida
Presented by Mrs. H. H. Buckman

Oil portrait of Stephen A. Douglass
Presented by Miss Alice J. Drew

The Baldwin Crowder, May 17, 1865. (A MS. newspaper is-
sued by soldiers at Baldwin, Florida)

Confederate Money
Presented by Mrs. Brooke G. White, Jacksonville

View of the Capitol at Tallahassee, 1877.
Presented by Frank Drew.

As this number of the review is in **press** another member, one of the most zealous students of Florida history, has passed away. On June 9 Mrs. W. E. (Jeannette Thurber) Connor died in New York City. Something of what she had already accomplished and of the further work she had undertaken was told of here last year. The latter and more was all being steadily carried forward until her last illness. Material had been collected also-mainly from the archives in Seville-for a work giving us the almost unknown story of the early Spanish Florida missions, and much of this had been written. Another volume of her Records was in preparation; as was a volume of letters of Pedro Menendez.

Who is there to continue her work!

But she has another memorial besides her published and unpublished books, for the preservation of Turtle Mound, which is now assured, will be a continual reminder of her deep interest in Florida's past. Because of this interest, the Mound will be a permanent monument as well as a relic of the period whose

history must remain almost unknown, and a companion to the monument of that other period, of which she was writing, the Fort of San Marcos at St. Augustine.