

# STARS

Florida Historical Quarterly

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Volume 30  
Issue 3 *Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol 30,*  
*Issue 3*

Article 1

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1951

## Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 30, Issue 3

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### Recommended Citation

Society, Florida Historical (1951) "Florida Historical Quarterly, Vol. 30, Issue 3," *Florida Historical Quarterly*. Vol. 30 : Iss. 3 , Article 1.

Available at: <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/fhq/vol30/iss3/1>

**The  
FLORIDA HISTORICAL QUARTERLY**

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SUBSCRIPTION FOUR DOLLARS

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Office of publication, Tallahassee, Florida

Published quarterly by

THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Gainesville, Florida



## EDUCATION IN ST. AUGUSTINE, 1821-1845

by **FRANK G. LEWIS**

The struggle for free public schools, particularly in certain cities and states, even in whole regions, has often revolved about historical issues such as those concerned with social and economic classes, taxation, and religion. Some observable differences in the development of school systems in the various regions of America can be traced to the different influences of the cultural heritages of the English and Spanish colonists. The struggle for a free school in St. Augustine during the territorial period exemplifies the evolution of an ever-increasing conviction of a need for a system of schools to train the youth of all classes without regard to rank or religion.

The acceptance of education as a definite social responsibility became an actuality in the northern and western states by 1860. Florida, like the other southern states, was unable to accomplish much until after the War for Southern Independence. Even then it was not without a struggle in which the controversy waxed hot between those in favor and those opposed.<sup>1</sup>

The reasons given by the opposition to free and universal education fall under one or more of three classifications: (1) Religious intolerance and denominational prejudice, (2) a sentiment opposed to equal opportunities for all classes, and (3) unwillingness to assume the inevitable expense of a free school through public taxation.

In a discourse on education, a citizen of St. Augustine stated, in regard to the first, that religion should not influence or participate in education. In reference to grammar schools of the colonial period, he said:

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1. George Gould and Gerald A. Yoakam, *The Teacher and His Work*, New York, 1947, p. 151.

Almost the only books used in them were, the spelling book, the Catechism, the New-Testament, and the Holy-Bible. The latter was read over and over without end.

. . . let it [religion] not be overdone, or it assuredly brings on dreadful reactions.<sup>2</sup>

Concerning the effects of the course taken in education by the early southern settlers, Brevard said in regard to the second:

In Florida as elsewhere in the south, the children of the well to do were taught at home, or attended private schools. Indeed, until after the war between the states, this was the usual plan for preparatory education and of course, tended to produce and maintain an aristocracy.<sup>3</sup>

The public's unwillingness to assume the cost of almost any civic improvement through taxation is aptly presented by a Mr. Colbert, who wrote:

Much complaint is made, by a respectable portion of the inhabitants, against the system of taxation, lately adopted by the Corporation of this City. It is considered extremely unequal and oppressive; at variance with a sound policy, and highly injurious to the industry and commerce of this place.<sup>4</sup>

#### THE COLONIAL BACKGROUND

Many references are found to schools of the first Spanish occupation in Florida in the Indices of Royal Cedulae, so even the earliest settlers apparently had some type of schooling for their children. After the transfer of Florida to the English an attempt was made to establish a school, but the salary offered was too low to tempt any qualified person to

2. *The Florida Herald*, September 6, 1832.

3. Caroline M. Brevard, *A History of Florida*, DeLand, 1924, p. 180.

4. *East Florida Herald*, March 7, 1826.

teach. In 1774 the Reverend John Leadbeater was offered a salary and the tuition fees, but he refused, stating that he would not live in East Florida, nor raise a family there for five times that amount.<sup>5</sup>

Though the Spanish probably planned a free school in East Florida before the English period of colonization, it was not until they returned in 1783 that definite plans were made for the establishment of such a school. Father Hassett who was chosen to establish the school wrote twenty-six rules for the guidance of both teacher and pupil, and these left their impress on successive generations, for they were followed by the Catholic instructors thereafter. They were translated and described by Joseph B. Lockey.<sup>6</sup>

The governor must have encountered great difficulty in filling the position of schoolmaster. A letter from Jose Monesterio, a teacher by temporary appointment, is replete with grievances that assuredly were no inducement for anyone to teach under such conditions. He wrote that when he was first appointed there were nine children of the First Class and fifteen writers, but "Today there gather about seventy, although eighty-one have gathered to put themselves on the list. . . . All are instructed in one hall of eight varas [22 1/4 feet] in width and as many in length. . . ." He pleaded for more space and equipment for the pupils and more salary for himself: "He cannot do it owing to the eight Pesos that have been assigned him for monthly salary being invested in increasing his food to more than his ration, because, attending to the teaching, he cannot take care of it himself, and in the other small expenses natural to Man."<sup>7</sup>

Considering the apparent attempt on the part of the Span-

5. Wilbur H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, DeLand, 1929, vol. I, p. 5.

6. Joseph B. Lockey, "Public Education in Spanish St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV, (January, 1937), 147-168.

7. St. Augustine Historical Society Library. Photostatic copy of original letter.

ish colonial government to establish satisfactory and adequate education, the inhabitants should have enjoyed a higher economic and social standard than is evidenced. Such attempts met with little success, however, due primarily to the inability to secure suitable teachers because of the low pay offered, and because of the deep-rooted indifference with which the inhabitants viewed the education of their children.

The prolific Minorcans who migrated from New Smyrna to St. Augustine during the English occupation to seek refuge from the tyrannical overseers of Dr. Turnbull, represented a large portion of the inhabitants of St. Augustine when the Floridas were receded to Spain. The background of their exodus, as presented by Romans, is of value in understanding the problems of social and economic nature arising during the future Territorial Period. Romans pictured these people as being of high caliber, whose migration to Florida was enticed by unfulfilled promises of Dr. Turnbull.<sup>8</sup> Turnbull, in retaliation to the stinging attack on his integrity by Romans, stated that the immigrants were shiftless vagrants and of such undesirable character that the officials of their native lands encouraged their departure.<sup>9</sup> Regardless of the character of these people when they first landed on Florida's shores, those who escaped to St. Augustine must have been bitter indeed, with little present enthusiasm for self or civic improvement.

The early schools supported by the Spanish government was an attempt toward universal education, especially those of the second Spanish dominion. From the time of the founding of St. Augustine, the Roman Catholic Church, under whose guidance these schools functioned, appeared persistent in its determination to educate all children and to eradicate

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8. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida*, New York, 1775, pp. 268-273.

9. P. Lee Phillips, *Notes on the Life and Works of Bernard Romans*, DeLand, 1924, pp. 106-111.

ignorance. Following the recession in 1783, steps were taken to bring the school within the reach of all children. Provisions were made for the compulsory attendance of those of the white race, while attendance of colored was purely voluntary. Father Hassett's rules and regulations were definitely a step toward universal education and, had the Spanish treasury been more liberal in its aid, probably would have succeeded to a greater extent in educating those children who were to take a part in the civil and social life of St. Augustine during the Territorial Period.

The Anglican Church, during the period of the English dominion, attempted education to a small degree until the civil government provided professional teachers. The little good resulting from this attempt was partly offset by the selfish and inept acts of a few wealthy Englishmen in providing workers for their lands. The migrants from New Smyrna, who represented 70 per cent of the population of St. Augustine at the time of the recession, were poor and, generally speaking, ignorant, with little desire for the benefits of education.

This, then, was the general background of colonial education: A long history of church sponsored schools, some free and some levying fees; a populace who were not permanent, but the majority of whom moved in order to remain loyal to the flag of their country; and a government that did not levy or collect taxes.

### THE PRIVATE SCHOOLS

During the early part of the Territorial Period a certain pattern began developing that had, by 1832, definitely presented itself as a movement by a small minority to create in the citizens of St. Augustine an interest favorable to schools. Theirs, however, was a difficult task that met with many defeats. The educational horizon must have appeared

very dark to these advocates, since the few schools that did succeed in making a start seldom endured the indifferent attitude of the populace and soon succumbed to the insufficiency of pupils and lack of income.

There were more than twenty-three private schools, nine academies, and three seminaries taught by more than thirty-nine teachers in St. Augustine during the Territorial Period, 1821-1845.<sup>10</sup> St. Augustine may have been more fortunate in education than the few other towns in Florida during this and prior periods because of the interest and efforts of the Roman Catholic Church. In view of the fact that most of the inhabitants at that time were of that denomination some provision was usually made by the Church for child education, at least in the elementary subjects of reading, writing, and arithmetic. Most of these older schools apparently concentrated their efforts on boys. A review of the numerous county court records in which land or merchandise was transferred from one person to another reveals that the man's signature was usually his own, while that of his wife bears the name written in another hand followed by her (x) mark, signifying that she could not write her own name. Because the records of this period involve those people who were subjects of the King of Spain during the colonial occupation, and since the Crown frowned upon coeducation, it is natural that many of the girls of that time grew up to be the illiterate women of the Territorial Period.

The only private school that was carried over in 1821 from the Spanish flag of which there is a record, was that of Eusebio Maria Gomez. This was not in the true sense a private school for it was financed, at least in part, by the Royal Spanish Treasury until the exchange of flags. It apparently continued to function, however, until 1824, for

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10. *East Florida Herald, Florida Herald, The Florida Herald and Southern Democrat, The News, passim.*, 1823-1845.

there are no known records nor reasons to believe that it had suspended.

Gomez was first appointed master of the King's School on November 7, 1817.<sup>11</sup> The next reference to him is in a deed book wherein is recorded a yearly rental lease dated April 17, 1824, and again a few months later when he was evicted from his house. Following the eviction, Eusebio Gomez retained a lawyer and filed his complaint:

Gomez' house was situated in a certain street there called George's Street, he the said plaintiff then and there being a school-master, and then and there holding his school and teaching divers young children, then and there present in said dwelling house, and they the said defendants then and there with force and arms turned the said plaintiff and the said young children out of his said dwelling house, and greatly frightened the said children and dispersed and drove them to their homes in great trepidation and distress and by that means wholly broke up the school of the said plaintiff and the said defendants kept possession of the said house for the span of 4 hours and searched and rifled the same against the will of the said plaintiff and they the said defendants still keep possession of the said house against the will of the said plaintiff and five chairs, three tables, four benches, four writing desks, two bedsteads and two beds, the property of the said plaintiff, and in the said house then being, all of the value of one hundred dollars were then and there by the said defendants turned out of the said house into the street and utterly spoiled.<sup>12</sup>

There is reference in the same packet wherein two fathers

11. Coppinger to Cevallos, Jan. 22, 1817, and accompanying documents - A.G.I.:S.D., Leg. 2580.

12. St. Johns County Archives, File G-4: Gomez vs Gibson.

would not send their children back to Gomez for further instruction. So apparently he either tried to reorganize his school and failed, or did succeed, and taught for a time.

Various other schools were established or proposed during the early Territorial Period as will be seen in various city documents and advertisements inserted in the newspapers of St. Augustine.

At a meeting of the City Council on December 20, 1822, a resolution was made permitting “. . . the lower part of the City Hall be given to Mrs. Girty for the purpose of a school until such time as it shall be wanted for a more important one or for other purposes.”<sup>13</sup> No other reference has been found to show how long Mrs. Girty taught; but a month later, on January 24, 1823, also in the Minutes of the City Council, it is found that “A letter was received from Messrs. Cotter and Waldo soliciting the room in the lower part of the City Hall for the purpose of establishing a Classical and English School - Resolved that the said Messrs. Cotter and Waldo have the use of said room for the space of two months free of rent.” They were the first to advertise a school, offering spelling, reading, and writing for two dollars per month; arithmetic and grammar for two dollars and fifty cents; geography and the construction of maps, three dollars; surveying and navigation, four dollars; Greek and Latin, including the other branches necessary for a collegiate course, five dollars per month.<sup>14</sup>

In the same issue of the *Herald* appeared an article by a proponent of education, but he was either against taxes or foresaw the problems that would arise from the establishment of a public school. It may be possible that he was well-acquainted with the findings of the committee for a

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13. “Minutes of the City Council,” December 20, 1822.

14. *East Florida Herald*, February 1, 1823.

school of a year and a half previously.<sup>15</sup> He stated that education was a ". . . grand instrument for conveying light to the human mind," and that "If we wish to promote public virtue, elevate national character, and add strength to the national institutions, let the youthful mind be instructed." He quickly added, however, "Although our situation is not favourable for the establishment of common schools, . . . the matter should not be forgotten."

On March 22, 1823, P. Menard, who previously had advertised in the *Florida Gazette* (September 8, 1821) his intention of establishing an auction business in addition to such items he had for sale as gun-powder and shot, soap, tobacco, sugar, nails, brandy, etc., stated that ". . . having been solicited by some respectable citizens of this place, to teach the rudiments of the French Language, offers his services to the public. . . ." <sup>16</sup>

M. Andrew Burgevin, formerly a surveyor,<sup>17</sup> proposed to teach ". . . the young gentlemen of this town . . . the art of **RAISING PLANS and SURVEYING.**" He also proposed to teach the officers of the militia . . . who are desirous to know the first rudiments of the career of glory. . . ." elementary principles of campaign fortifications.<sup>18</sup> Mr. Burgevin probably did not meet with much success.

Some attempt was made to supply an education to the children of indigent families, because in the Minutes of the City Council, November 15, 1823, James P. Cotter was permitted to ". . . have the school room now occupied by him, free from rent, provided that he consents to receive three

15. *Florida Gazette*, September 15, 1821. Fifty-eight days after the exchange of flags a meeting was held to consider establishing a school, a library, and a Protestant Church. Nothing else is recorded concerning the actions of the committees. Apparently no enthusiasm or support was received from the citizens.

16. *East Florida Herald*, March 22, 1823.

17. Historical Records Survey, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida, passim.*, Vols. I to V.

18. *East Florida Herald*, August 23, 1823.

children of indigent parents into his school free from all charge for schooling.”

On August 30, 1825, the proponents of education must have received a pleasant and encouraging surprise for it was announced that an academy would be started in St. Augustine. Furthermore, this academy was to have trustees in St. Augustine, Charleston, South Carolina, and Savannah, Georgia. They planned to lease a temporary structure until a permanent building could be erected, to apply to the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida for permission to incorporate when that governing body met in November, 1825, and to accommodate students not only from St. Augustine, but from neighboring states as well. They also anticipated a rather large paying student body, and had “. . . good reasons to believe that the establishment will meet with the encouragement and support of the Congress of the United States.”

In their address the trustees mentioned the importance of education in a democracy where, “. . . without the vain distinctions of birth or rank, [a person] may boldly aspire to the highest offices of trust, of honor, or of emolument in his country.” They also observed that in states where there was a comparatively adequate standard of education, “. . . their laws are formed with more wisdom; their administration of justice is more sound and correct, - public spirit is more active, public morals more refined; public improvements more advanced. . . .” On the board of trustees were Joseph L. Smith and the editor of the *East Florida Herald*, E. B. Gould, both of whom were later to become mayors of St. Augustine.<sup>19</sup>

The academy did not materialize. Possibly the same hidden forces were at work here as were those that influenced the abolishment of the free school established seven years later.

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19. *Ibid.*, September 6, 1825.

Possibly the trustees made a mistake in stating: "The sentiments of religion and morality will be strongly inculcated, but the tenets and principles of no particular religious sect will be instilled into their minds." Then, too, some may have counted on help from Congress. Such aid would permit all children to receive education, regardless of the social position of their families, and result in a society that would be less liable to aristocratic domination. Such significant underlying forces as religious influences and aristocratic principles, should be neither overlooked nor underestimated in an attempt to analyze the struggle for public schools or the development of education in St. Augustine during the Territorial Period.

Many teachers advertised in the weekly paper for pupils, but the most persistent, and therefore probably the most successful, were Mr. and Mrs. Ball, whose school was later taken over by a Mr. Lewis and a Mr. Phillips. The latter must have been a good public relations principal when one considers that he had public demonstrations of his students' advancements and succeeded in teaching both Catholic and Protestant children. Most of the teachers taught for but a very short time and only a few continued for more than a year or two, whereas advertisements are found showing that Mr. Phillips was teaching fifteen years after he established his first school.

These pioneer teachers had serious financial difficulties. A teacher with twenty pupils in the higher courses, which was very unlikely, might have a gross income, if all pupils paid, of \$30 to \$40 per month. After the overhead, such as rent, supplies, etc., is deducted, the remaining net income would be grossly inadequate.

There were other conditions prevalent in St. Augustine to discourage teachers. One individual wrote: ". . . our sit-

uation is not favorable for the establishment of common schools. . . .” The majority of the inhabitants were poor and received their scant sustenance from the land or by fishing, a class whose indifference toward education, and apathy, or a general attitude of satisfaction with the present day, virtually forbade improvements, and thus encouraged their children to grow up with the same attitude, and to be satisfied with the same standard of living. To these unfortunate conditions was added the serious blow of the great freeze of 1835 when the thermometer sank to ten degrees above zero.<sup>20</sup> This abnormal cold froze the orange trees to the ground and eliminated the income of those dependent on the citrus market which had been quite lucrative. R. K. Sewell stated in his *Sketches of St. Augustine* (see *post*) that just before the freeze the orange trade reputedly supplied an income of \$72,000 per year.

These adverse conditions, plus another which was implied in the newspapers and other contemporaneous writings, imposed a difficult problem on the private school teacher. This was the fact that a large majority of the inhabitants were of the Roman Catholic faith. There is no evidence that the Church interfered with a school provided the teacher limited his lectures to academic work or fulfilled the religious obligations sanctioned by the priests.

On March 6, 1834, a letter to the editor of *The Florida Herald* stated: “Although it is a circumstance seriously to be regretted that there is not a public Seminary for the education of the numerous children with which our streets are crowded, yet there is an Academy and a Preparatory School, where a few are educated, and the instructors have given great satisfaction. There are also three or four schools for small children kept by young ladies, but the number edu-

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20. J. Frederick Davis, “Early Orange Culture in Florida and the Epochal Cold of 1835,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XV, (April, 1937), 238.

cated in these different establishments does not exceed 100 or 110 - a very trifling proportion of the number who cannot get educated."

Evidence is available, however, that points to the interest of several of the mayors and the City Council to offer aid in the education of the youth of St. Augustine. It was to them that Michael Usina addressed the following letter in 1838:

Gentlemen:

I offer myself to your honorable body, as candidate for clerk of the Market and Marshal. Should you think proper to confer the appointment upon me, I will oblige myself to pay out of my salary, the schooling of four poor children of the City for one year, those who may be designated by your Honorable Body.<sup>21</sup>

At the beginning of the third decade of the nineteenth century a trend to religious schools is noted. These schools, apparently pioneered by Reverend Timothy McCarthy, stressed an effort to imbibe into the minds of the pupils a moral training in addition to academic instruction. The school, or schools, that advertised in the newspapers and were under the auspices of the Catholic Church made their debut during the middle of the Territorial Period and either constantly or intermittently functioned until after Florida was admitted into the Union in 1845.

### THE FREE SCHOOL

St. Augustine was the site of a heterogeneous grouping of people whose economic, social, and religious characteristics and heritages retarded the growth and development of education during the Territorial Period. The arresting factors influencing the achievement of free, and consequently an attempt at universal, education included influences attributed

21. City vault, file 2.

to aristocracy and refusal to support education through taxation.

That these characteristics and inheritances were largely legacies of the Spanish colonial government is shown in an article written for the purpose of educating the public as to the necessity of taxes in a democracy:

The former government was colonial, and altogether military. It was supported by the mother country, but which, from a narrow and jealous policy, drew little or no revenue from it. Neither agriculture, commerce, nor the useful arts were, in the least degree, encouraged.<sup>22</sup>

The daily rations of the inhabitants were generally meager. Religion was dominant. There was no encouragement of initiative. The citizens seemed to personify the town itself in reflecting the antiquity of life as well as of thought. Sewall briefly summarized this: "On the whole, it will be seen . . . that this city is not without its interest to the antiquary and to the historian. If not old Spain in miniature, it is a chip of the block of the old in the new world, a relic of the past interwoven with the texture of the present age."<sup>23</sup>

It was several years before the immigrants from the northern and bordering states who came to St. Augustine overcame the passive apathy of the native Floridians. An article entitled "Public Spirit" appeared in the *East Florida Herald* on August 2, 1823, stating, "It is an undeniable fact that this town, and indeed, the country generally, have been in a state of woeful retrogression ever since the exchange of flags." He "fondly believed" that the aggressive northerners who came to St. Augustine would impart some of their industry to the native Floridians but, unfortunately, the same . . . sluggishness and indifference which characterized the

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22. *East Florida Herald*, March 7, 1826.

23. Sewall, R. K., *Sketches of St. Augustine*, New York, 1848, p. 17.

colonial dependents upon a foreign government . . . was instead adopted by them. This is no exaggerated picture; and although some persons may think it bad policy to exhibit it to the world, I am convinced of the contrary.”

There were a minority of citizens, however, who foresaw the need of common school education and sought to persuade their fellowtownsmen to prepare their community for such a school. On September 13, 1821, only fifty-eight days after the exchange of flags at St. Augustine, a group met to discuss the possibilities, “and take into consideration the subject of establishing a Protestant Church, a Library and a Public Academy . . . that a committee of three be appointed to report the best practical plan of a Public School or Schools, for the Inhabitants of East Florida. . . .”<sup>24</sup>

Nothing else has been found concerning the committee. It may be assumed, in the light of evidence herein later mentioned, that the efforts of this group to establish the school, church, and library failed miserably.

The editor of the *East Florida Herald*, the only newspaper in St. Augustine in 1823, E. B. Gould, a native of New Jersey, was quite sympathetic toward education. He reprinted many articles from other newspapers and magazines that pertained to education and was apparently eager to receive letters from his subscribers that would stir the people to pave the way for public schools. He commented, “There is not a subject in any country so well worthy of public and individual attention as that of education.” He recommended that full consideration be given to every opportunity that presented itself relative to “. . . the various systems which may seem best to suit their conditions.”

Their condition, the citizens must have concluded, was not best suited for a public school-especially if its cost was

24. *Florida Gazette*, September 15, 1821.

to be borne by taxation. An article appeared in the *Herald* on March 7, 1826, that seems to explain this reluctance on the part of the citizens to pay taxes:

Much complaint is made, by a respectable portion of the inhabitants, against the system of taxation, lately adopted by the Corporation of this City. . . .

In all civil governments taxation, of some kind or other, is indispensably necessary, for the well-being of society.

Under the Spanish government, no regular system of taxation was adopted, either for this city or any part of the country. Hence the strong repugnance of the old inhabitants to any sort of taxes. But this is a prejudice of the most injurious nature to the welfare and prosperity of the country. They must renounce it.

The *Herald*, July 31, 1824, in an article written in both Spanish and English, stated that of the 350 children within the city only eighty were receiving the benefits of education. In 1832, only 27.4 per cent of the children under fifteen years of age were attending schools of all sorts, and only 16.7 per cent receiving what may be considered proper instruction.

Considering the small number of children receiving education it is of little wonder that the small minority of friends of education formed the St. Augustine auxiliary chapter of the Florida Education Society in 1831.

This society wasted little time before planning for and working toward its ends. On March 3, 1832, Thomas Douglas and Dr. W. H. Simmons wrote a letter of acceptance to serve as trustees to the free school. On May 17 the *Florida Herald* published the ordinance that provided for a school "which shall be free to all free white children of both sexes residing within the limits" of St. Augustine. It provided, how-

ever, "that no children shall be admitted to said school whose parents or guardians . . . shall not pay a city tax." One-fourth of all the taxes collected would be turned over to the trustees for operation of the school. It specified the following taxes:

"On every hundred dollars in value of real estate, 25 cents, and when the value is under one hundred dollars, 12 1/2 cents.

On every slave between the ages of fifteen and fifty, 25 cents.

On every dray or cart kept for hire, 25 cents.

On every dog, 25 cents.

On every person (other than transient traders,) vending goods, wares or merchandise within said city, the following taxes, on amount of capital employed in trade, to wit;

On every hundred dollars, 10 cents.

On every sum less than one hundred dollars, 25 cents.

On every Billiard Table, 25 cents."

Section eight of the ordinance requested the trustees to have the school "open and ready with one or more instructors for the reception of free white children of both sexes, of this city, on or before the 20th day of May next." This ordinance was passed March 31, 1832.

Even before the school was opened a petition was circulated upon which over one hundred citizens affixed their names in open disapprobation to that part of the ordinance which levied a tax for support of the school. This petition stated "However desirous we may be of promoting education among all classes, it is not, at this moment of unexampled pecuniary distress, felt alike by those few who enjoy a comparative independence, as well as the many who are placed in humbler circumstances; that a tax (which may be called exorbitant) should be imposed on us and our fellow citizens."

Many of the citizens were determined not to pay the school tax. Action was taken by the sheriff against John Gibson and John Alden for refusal to pay. Several letters and articles derogatory to the free school were published in the *Herald*. The theme of each was to oppose the tax and praise education.

These letters and articles in general seem to have been written in sincerity and in good faith even though they were detrimental to the free school. Had the mayor and City Council called a public meeting to review and explain the ordinance and to clarify its authority by the Act of Incorporation of 1831, such letters would have been contradictory because the people voted for the Act of Incorporation of 1931, which expressly permitted establishment of such a school. On the other hand, sincere as these letters may appear, they objected to the small tax which really amounted to much less than what the current costs were for sending a child to a private school.

Consider two hypothetical cases: First: a wealthy family with an exceptionally large estate and orange groves, (this was before the freeze of 1835, when the orange trade was active and lucrative,) valued at \$5,000, two pleasure buggies, eight slaves, and two dogs, would have to pay fifteen dollars and fifty cents the cost of sustaining one child in a "Classical course" for three months. Second: an average family with a house valued at \$1,000, a buggy, and a dog would have to pay three dollars tax - the cost of an elementary "English course" for about six weeks.

In October (1832) the City Council passed a resolution closing the free school because of the widespread opposition and interruption of the collection of the school tax. It was resolved that the free school ". . . be for the present, suspended until the said question can be tried and deter-

mined at the next Superior Court in November ensuing." The case to be tried was a test as to whether or not the City Council could force the citizens to pay a school tax.

In accordance with a resolution of the City Council, the mayor issued the following proclamation decreeing suspension of the school:

**PROCLAMATION**

*Mayor's Office, Oct. 17th, 1832*

In pursuance of a resolution of the City Council, I hereby make known to the citizens of St. Augustine, that the free school recently established in this city under and in virtue of the act of incorporation of the 4th of February, 1831, has been suspended. It is proper and perhaps expected by those who have both advocated and supported so useful and beneficial an institution to explain the motives and reasons which have induced the City Council to discontinue it. A charitable and benevolent feeling for those whose station in life rendered them unable to bestow upon their children the advantages of education, and an honest and thorough conviction of the important benefits that must necessarily result to the community from a measure effectually calculated to improve the minds and morals of the young who are now springing up among us, and render them useful citizens, and virtuous members of society, induced the City Council to establish this school by taxation, as the only mode which could render it permanent. The plan was the only effectual one that could be suggested, and which is in general and practical operation in many parts of the United States, where hundreds and thousands of the youth of our country are enjoying and reaping the benefits of a good education on economical terms. Various objections were stated by certain persons to this institu-

tion at its first establishment, but obviously intended to cloak the real motives of their opposition, as we think that no reason offered by them can strike the mind of any reasonable being with any force whatever. Three competent persons were appointed to conduct the school, one female and two male instructors, to receive the three a sum not exceeding \$1100 per annum, and this raised by a tax in proportion to the amount of property owned by those subjected to it. But the small circle of opposition soon began to expand, until the most decided and inveterate hostility, threw every embarrassment that could be devised in the way, and resorted to every measure that could impede and finally annihilate the school, by refusing themselves to pay, and encouraging others also to resist the payment of the taxes necessary for its support. They have succeeded, and let the consequences rest with them. The school is ended - one hundred and twenty children are again turned adrift; those, whose parents can afford it, to continue their education in some other institution, but those whose parents are unable to assist them, to grow up in ignorance, and at some future day to curse in bitterness of heart those who have thus contributed to their degradation and wretchedness. The City Council have discharged their duty - and though they have been compelled to submit to the opposition for the present, they are sustained by a conscious feeling that they have acted for the people's good. To those who have opposed them in this useful measure, they wish that time may bring no bitter reflection for the injury they have done to themselves and their unfortunate fellow creatures. Whilst they sincerely regret the condition of those who have been the victims of a selfish opposition,

and trust that their suffering offspring will find a redress in the watchful care of a superintending Providence.

Let those alone rejoice, who grudge to the children of the poor, the benefits of learning.

**JOHN GRAY, JR. Mayor.**

Test, Jos. S. SANCHEZ, Clerk.

Just what the mayor meant by his statement: "Various objections were stated by certain persons to this institution at its first establishment, but obviously intended to cloak the real motives of their opposition . . ." is not definitely known. The answer, however, may possibly be found in the statement by the "Native Floridian," concerning the part played by a dominating religion and a selfish aristocracy.<sup>25</sup> Evidence points directly to the latter, whereas only allusions are made to the influence of the former.

A week after the proclamation by the mayor, a letter to the editor signed *Stator*, in reviewing the causes of the downfall of the free school wrote, "This opposition arose, as we have been informed chiefly from those who were most able to pay the tax; who seemed to consider it as an imposition that they should be made to contribute to the education of the children of the poor and the destitute." This is the same thought as that conveyed by the "Native Floridian," only more forcefully stated. He reminded those objectors that their own children were educated on far cheaper terms than that involving a tutor or private school: "By this economical arrangement the children of the Poor may be said to have been instructed without cost, as they were educated along with those of the rich, who were yet put to no extra expense thereby; but on the contrary, had these children taught upon much cheaper terms than they could otherwise have been."

To those who desired to help the poor, but feared that

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25. *Florida Herald*, September 6, 1832.

their gestures may be misinterpreted, or even refused, by the indigents designed to be benefited, he said, they “. . . are pleased at having an opportunity of administering to the mental and moral wants of the poor, and of concealing the hand of charity under the mantle of the State, which is thus thrown with a wise and Paternal care over the lowest of her children.”

In answer to the complaints of those who objected that they would pay taxes from which they would receive no benefits, he stated: “We doubt indeed, whether that can be considered as charity, which redounds as much to the benefit of the giver as to the receiver, which tends to attach the citizens of the state more firmly to it; and to strengthen the cause of liberty by diffusing its blessings, and promoting a knowledge of its principles. . . .”

In verifying the statement of the mayor in regard to the authority of the City Council to establish a free school, and to levy taxes to support it, he clearly stated, “. . . it is objected that the tax imposed by the Council is a special tax, which the People are under no obligation to pay. This tax, however, is authorized by the charter of Incorporation; this Charter has been accepted by the People, and they therefore cannot complain of the enforcement of its provisions by the council. Where the object was their own good, and that of their children, they had surely the less reason to complain. . . .”

*Stator* also mentioned that a public examination of the pupils was successful in the branches “. . . taught at the School, in Reading, Parsing, Writing, Arithmetic, and Astronomy, . . .”

In an effort to test the legality of this undertaking, various records relevant to the free school were assembled and prepared for offer to the Superior Court which was to convene

in November of 1832. These exhibits are in the city vault in St. Augustine and reveal, among other defaulters of the school tax, such names as Andrew Burgevin, formerly a teacher in St. Augustine; John Drisdale, formerly a member of the committee of trustees of the first academy proposed for St. Augustine in 1825, active in civic affairs and probably in the higher social brackets; E. B. Gould, editor of *The Florida Herald*, later mayor of St. Augustine, and an advocate of better education (providing, as noted, that he did not have to pay taxes to support it); Eusebio Gomez, a teacher in St. Augustine from 1816 to 1824, recipient of a land grant of twelve thousand acres, and whose daughter was at this time teaching school there; G. W. Perpall, active in civic and church affairs, and a member of the board of trustees of the free school.

#### *Summary*

It appears then, that the fate of the free school was controlled by both economic and social influences with religion playing an important, if apparently only an implied, part. Objection to paying the school tax was the outward reason given by most of the opponents. Some were probably sincere in believing that these taxes were illegal and oppressive. The evidence seems to indicate, however, that others may have used the objection to the tax only as a pretext to veil their real motives. These, in many instances, were the people who could best afford to pay the tax, who had previously led the public to believe they were staunch supporters of education, and who were often leaders in civic affairs. The inclination toward the aristocracy of wealth and position, and the influence of the Catholic Church were factors which seemed important to the writers of that time in determining the fate of the steps taken toward providing free educational opportunities for all the youth of St. Augustine.

The educational background of the majority of the inhabitants of St. Augustine was responsible to no small degree for the resistance to the movement favoring education. The schools that were established during the colonial period functioned under such adverse conditions as insufficient supplies, inadequate housing, and especially underpaid and dissatisfied teachers. Only boys attended these schools. It was these children who grew up to be the men and women who viewed with indifference the matter of education during the Territorial Period.

In spite of the adverse forces, there was a slow development in education, even though successful establishment of free schools was not accomplished. The legacies and inheritances of the colonial period were, to a great extent, responsible for the three fundamental reasons used openly or hidden by the opposition. These may be classified as: A sentiment opposed to equal opportunities for all classes, an unwillingness to assume the inevitable expense of a free school through public taxation, and religious opposition.

THE EARLY CAREER OF EDWIN T. JENCKES  
A FLORIDA PIONEER OF THE 1830's

by EARL C. TANNER

A leader of the eastern faction in early state politics was Edwin T. Jenckes, known to his adversaries as "the fat man of Florida." Jenckes was a delegate to the St. Joseph Constitutional Convention of 1838-39 and apparently commanded a large following, for he was designated chairman of two committees. According to the opposition press, he weighed 450 to 500 pounds and was "the greatest" man at the convention. It was alleged that he "retained in his own person, all the management, tact, industry and talent of the whole eastern delegation" and that he, himself, voted five proxies. In case of "any little splitting" between the middle and the western delegations, Jenckes' "aye or nay, which reverberated through the halls like hoarse thunder, gave law to the whole body. . . ." <sup>1</sup> Despite the palpable exaggeration of these charges, it is clear that Jenckes was a power in the politics of the period; from the Constitutional Convention, he went on to a career in the State Legislature.

Jenckes' public life is a matter of record, but little has been known of his origins or of his private life. The recent discovery of a collection of Jenckes' letters in the archives of the Rhode Island Historical Society has materially supplemented the scant data previously available and has made possible the reconstruction of Jenckes' career up to the time of the St. Joseph Convention. The following biographical sketch, based almost wholly on Rhode Island sources, will be devoted to Jenckes' background and, more particularly, to his first years in Florida. <sup>2</sup>

1. *Apalachicola Gazette*, June 8, 1839.

2. Except as otherwise noted, this article is based on the Nightingale and Jenckes papers at the Rhode Island Historical Society, Providence, Rhode Island. In the interests of intelligibility, some minor alterations

Edwin T. Jenckes was born at Providence, Rhode Island, on March 20, 1797.<sup>3</sup> Two years later, his father, a sea-going merchant, died on the island of St. Thomas,<sup>4</sup> leaving the family in comfortable circumstances. Young Jenckes received a good education including a French school and, probably, a period of commercial apprenticeship with the Providence firm of Edward Carrington & Co. At the age of twenty, he sailed from Providence as clerk of the Carrington ship *Lion*, bound for the West Coast of South America and for Canton. The *Lion* arrived in Chilean waters just a few months after the liberation of Valparaiso from Spanish colonial domination and before Spanish sea power in the area had been destroyed. By good luck the *Lion* safely ran the Imperial blockade and entered Valparaiso, where the captain and Jenckes traded their Providence cargo for Chilean silver and copper, articles intended for the China market.

The *Lion* slipped out of Valparaiso and, again eluding capture, proceeded safely to Canton. There vessels from Providence had been regular visitors for thirty years. The distribution of "gifts," the sale of the ship's cargo, and the purchase of teas, nankeens, and chinaware were all reduced to a routine and caused the young clerk of the *Lion* less difficulty than he had experienced on the coast of Chile. From Canton, the *Lion* returned to Providence with a cargo so satisfactory to the owners that Jenckes was promoted to the rank of supercargo and given full responsibility for the business of the company's brig *Viper*, bound, like the *Lion* before her, for Valparaiso and Canton.

This time, Jenckes did not return to Providence for six

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have been made in punctuation, capitalization, and spelling of passages quoted from Jenckes' letters. Our appreciation and our thanks are expressed to that Society.

3. William W. Chapin, *Genealogy of the Nightingale Family* (Providence, 1912), 11. Typed manuscript at the Rhode Island Historical Society.
4. *Providence Gazette*, June 1, 1799.

years. The *Viper* sailed from Providence to Chile (which had lately been freed from Spanish blockade by Lord Cochrane and the Chilean navy); from Chile to China; and from China back to Chile. At Valparaiso Jenckes sold both cargo and brig, remitting the proceeds to Edward Carrington & Co. in Providence. Then, with the company's approbation and good will, he settled down to an independent business career in Chile.

Jenckes' residence on the West Coast coincided with the wars for independence in the Republic of Peru: a period of high profits for merchants familiar with the markets, the language, and the right people. Jenckes was such a merchant. He joined another American to found the house of Frost and Jenckes, commission agents for trade through Chile to Peru or China. In a few strenuous years, Jenckes succeeded in acquiring the basis for a very substantial fortune. Then, while business prospects continued excellent, he began to notice disturbing signs that his health was failing.

In March, 1825, Jenckes' letters to Providence first hinted that he might give up his career and come home. He was on a business voyage from Chile to Peru when he wrote, "I have suffered severely in my health and find it indispensably necessary that I should leave the sea and become fixed for a while to some more steady and regular life. My wishes all point toward home, but my interest that I should remain in the Pacific." A few months later, he hesitatingly made the decision. He wrote to Providence of his intention to "go and see fairly for myself if I can live at home or not." Late in 1825, he took passage on the brig *Fame* of Providence, bringing with him a young Chilean gentleman who wished to learn English.

After an appropriate period of rest and reunion in Providence, Jenckes made an excursion to Philadelphia for the

dual purpose of turning in some South American metal at the mint and consulting Dr. Philip Physick, the most celebrated physician in the country. Negotiations at the mint were successful, but Physick, who was a strong advocate of bleeding, advised Jenckes that his circulatory system was badly damaged and beyond any hope for improvement. Jenckes sadly reported to his uncle in Providence, "Whilst I have been pursuing fortune with unremitting exertions, I have neglected the only thing that could render it worth attaining by enabling me to enjoy it - health."

Jenckes returned to Providence and for two years tried to enjoy his enforced retirement. He married his cousin, Hannah, and lived on a farm. His mother was in town and her house was available for short visits. This leisurely routine was varied on one occasion by a sight-seeing excursion to the Catskills; the ladies were delighted, but not Jenckes, who had visited Chile and China at the age of twenty.

By the fall of 1828, Jenckes was so depressed that he could no longer face the prospect of living out his life in retirement. He found himself longing for the excitement of active life and for the mild climate he had experienced in Chile. But there were the problems of his health and of his family. At this point, a possible solution occurred to him: why not try Florida? After preliminary investigation, he felt fairly confident that his capital invested in a sugar and cotton plantation would yield a good living. "At any rate," he wrote, "if I were sure of not having a six pence in six months from this time, I would not pass another two years with no employment for my mind - nothing at stake - nothing to hope for - to sit quietly and brood over my bodily infirmity month after month - in fact business of some kind and a warm climate are indispensable for me. . . ."

By November, 1828, Jenckes was en route to St. Augustine.

In Savannah he learned that he would have to purchase horses and a wagon and complete his journey by land; otherwise, he would be without transportation when he reached Florida. Savannah was, at the time, suffering from a severe epidemic of dengue. According to Jenckes, seven-eighths of the inhabitants were sick or had been so, but he, himself, was not affected. "My own health," he wrote, "is . . . decidedly much better than it has been for a year past - the weather is delightfully warm and pleasant. . . ."

Jenckes' next message was dated six weeks later from Charleston, South Carolina. He had been to St. Augustine, and wanted the family to know, "I have purchased a plantation in E. Florida and shall pay here [in Charleston] \$4000 cash and shall further require \$15 or 16,000 more for negroes and outfits." He requested his uncle to start disposing of securities to the amount required.

Three days later, Jenckes wrote again in high spirits. He was feeling better than he had felt for years, "in fact far better than I ever expected to be when I left Rhode Island." He confided to his uncle that if Florida had not pleased him, he had been determined to sail for Chile in the spring. But Florida did please him, and "the facility of getting backwards and forwards with the constant and easy communications by water and mail has had great influence. . . ." Jenckes' immediate plan was to obtain negroes and supplies in Charleston and to return to Florida for planting. "The principal object," he wrote, "is to get in sufficient cane for seed as it takes several years to get a sufficient stock grown for grinding and so many are entering into it that the seed cane is procured with difficulty. . . ." He was convinced that cane could profitably be grown in northern Florida.

A few days later, Jenckes was at his new home, Waterford Plantation, St. Johns County, Florida. Almost immedi-

ately, a number of difficulties presented themselves. The area experienced what Jenckes called a "most unlucky and premature frost." He had scarcely anything in the ground himself, but the incident was disturbing. A load of bricks which he ordered to be delivered by water was lost when the vessel carrying it ran onto the bar. Only by the greatest exertions was he able to get enough seed cane to plant a few acres. "For some of it I went 60 miles with my boats and other have carted long distances and paid high prices." Building materials and labor were also expensive, but he did not feel discouraged. "I have plenty of employment for body and mind and enjoy better health than I have done for several years."

Later in the month, Jenckes made a short business trip to Charleston, but he was soon back at Waterford supervising the planting and the building operations. In February he was able to report considerable progress.

I have been here several weeks with my negroes and have had so far less trouble than I anticipated in breaking in and managing a gang strangers to the place, the work, and to each other. We have got some land cleared, fenced and planted, negroes houses etc. put up and a good deal of other work done. So soon as I have finished planting and got them fairly underway, I shall leave the place in charge of an overseer to go on clearing and making provisions and return to R. I. for the summer.

It was not long before Jenckes was taking part in the life of the district, for in March of 1829, a few months after he had established himself at his plantation, it is recorded that polls were opened for election of a delegate to represent Florida in the 21st Congress with a polling place "at North

River at Jenckes' house," and he was appointed one of the inspectors at this election.<sup>5</sup>

The only other notable development of the year was a contract to supply the Army with firewood at \$4.00 the cord. This brought in \$400.

Jenckes spent the summer of 1829 in Providence with his family and friends, including the young Chilean, who was getting ready to enter Brown University. Then, in the fall, he escorted his wife to Waterford. He soon had occasion to write back to Providence, "Altho I thought I had provided for everything necessary for my buildings, plantation, and family . . . yet something is constantly wanting or falling short and I have to pay enhanced prices for everything bought here or in Charleston. . . ." Work on the buildings took much more time than had been anticipated. The workmen (some of who he had brought from the North) were skillful, but the weather was warm and "the mosquitoes begin to bite sharp." He observed that "You cannot drive work as you would in R. I." The 1830 crop consisted of 43 acres of cane, 26 acres of cotton, 20 acres of peas and pumpkins, and 3 acres of garden stuff. Jenckes placed particular confidence in 700 new orange trees. "I consider them the most certain and productive of any kind of planting. There has been some increase to the grove planted, but it bears no proportion to the increased demand for the fruit."<sup>6</sup> The Army firewood contract was renewed but with the price raised to \$5.00 the cord.

The first few years at Waterford Plantation called for hard

5. St. Johns County Court Records, File P-s.

6. In 1831, Jenckes' enthusiasm was still strong: "There has been an unusual demand for that fruit this year being all sold, gathered, and shipped before it was near ripe and at very high prices. (The fruit from one acre has been sold for \$1000 Dollars on the trees.) I shall continue to increase and improve my grove in the hope we may sometime or other benefit by it altho it will very likely be overdone like everything else." Edwin T. Jenckes, Waterford Plantation, to Samuel Nightingale, Providence, R. I., Dec. 25, 1831.

work and were far from profitable. Once Jenckes wrote, half seriously, "If I should make no crop for a year or two to come I shall have to come to R. I. and get the benefit of the insolvent act." But he was no victim of nostalgia. In June, 1831, he wrote "Neither Hannah or myself will probably ever return to Rhode Island." In August he wrote still more emphatically, "I must sink or swim with Florida and altho in a pecuniary point of view I was better off in R. I., yet I would not return if I could be placed in my former situation tomorrow." This declaration was made in the face of a 50% drop in sugar prices accompanied by an equal rise in the cost of most every article needed on the plantation. Later that year, the bulk of the cane crop was lost to an unexpected frost. Jenckes, who had been more foresighted than his neighbors, saved 90 barrels of sugar, 20 barrels of 4th proof rum, 2 hogsheads of syrup, and 10 hogsheads of molasses.<sup>7</sup>

By 1832, prospects were improving, though summer failed to bring the usual rains. The following paragraphs extracted from a letter of June 16 illustrate the problems and the progress of Waterford Plantation in the fourth year of its operations.

The weather was severely cold and unusually dry during the winter leaving the ground illy prepared to sustain the drought which has followed. My cane has never looked well, but a field of nearly 100 acres of corn (all tasselled out) which looked finely is now nearly or totally destroyed.

The negroes have had sundry alligators killed and turned with their bellies up in the field for several weeks which is an infallible method of bringing rain, but "all signs fail in a dry time." I am embanking low ground and clearing more upland, having planted a light market crop and a large

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7. Early in 1832, Jenckes reported, "I sold in town one-third of my sugar and molasses at 8 cents and 28 cents and have been waiting for some time to ship the remainder to Charleston. . . ." Edwin T. Jenckes, Waterford Plantation, to Samuel Nightingale, Providence, R. I., Feb. 6, 1832.

crop of provisions to allow time for that purpose. The loss of both, however, will be an ugly "back set" . . .

My cane last season produced me about 2000 Dolls. That with 2000 more I have invested in negroes, calculating to scratch along with my expenses by selling wood and other odds and ends. I have many calls and ways of getting *rid* of money and I find the only way of keeping along (and I hope gaining a little to windward) is never to have any. This doctrine is one the ladies disapprove in toto, therefore plan to keep my secret. If I should lose my crop *entirely*, which I have no doubt of, I shall have *hard scratching* for money this year.

We are getting to live very comfortably now, almost entirely from the plantation. With more cleared land, and more stock, and an orange grove coming on, if I live a few years longer we shall be as well off as planters generally are. I have now over 1000 orange trees alive and growing and shall have as many more this season.

By 1832, Jenckes had long since ceased to consider himself a Rhode Islander. To his uncle he wrote, "I am a southerner-a free mason-a Jackson man and make rum into the bargain."<sup>8</sup> Still, old ties could not be immediately and wholly dissolved. Jenckes' relations with his former home were on a pattern that has since become standard. For example, there was the problem of the farm outside Providence. The first years, Wilson, the hired man, was left in charge with directions to sell the apples, cider, potatoes, squashes, etc. Jenckes requested his uncle to take an occasional look at Wilson and, "should he behave improperly, discharge him." In a postscript added, "There is some celery at

8. Next year Jenckes apparently sided with Carolina in the nullification controversy: "The political aspect of affairs makes everything uncertain and gloomy in the extreme. Nothing but a miracle can save the country from a civil war. If it comes to that, Carolina will not stand alone." Edwin T. Jenckes, Waterford Plantation, to Samuel Nightingale, Providence, R. I., Jan. 8, 1833.

the farm at your service." By 1831, Jenckes had begun to find his northern property a troublesome responsibility. "It is, as it lays, totally unproductive . . ." He ordered it sold.

Though no longer residents of Providence, the Jenckes family could not get along without the Providence papers. "I paid my bill for the *Phoenix* up to the time I left Providence last (and I think a month or two ahead)," wrote Jenckes. And he continued with some irritation, "Both that and the *Journal* are recd so irregularly that I hardly know if I am a subscriber." On another occasion he wrote, "'will you be good enough to stop my *Daily Advertiser* and take the semi-weekly *Journal* in the room of it? The ladies have rated it a bore all winter." The ladies referred to were Mrs. Jenckes and certain relatives who came south to spend the winter on Waterford Plantation. Finally, as might be supposed, Jenckes regularly sent oranges to family and friends back North.

#### *The Seminole War*

By 1836, Jenckes had long since transferred both his estate and his loyalty to Florida. When the Seminole War swept over the state, Jenckes' reactions were those of a complete southerner. Driven from his plantation by fear of an Indian attack, he took temporary refuge at Camp Long Beach, near St. Augustine. The letter that follows was addressed to Jenckes' uncle in Providence and offers a vivid picture of a planter's fortunes at the height of the Seminole War.<sup>9</sup>

Camp Long Beach, Near St. Augustine  
February 7, 1836

Dear Sir,

Since I wrote you a few days since, every thing has gone as badly as possible & the whole of East Florida with the exception of 4 or 5 towns in the possession of the Indians. Never was there so blundering a piece of business as our

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9. The following letter is complete except for the first paragraph, which deals exclusively with personal finances and has been omitted.

government has made of this. Urgent requisition for aid was made by the commanding officer here as early as last November and the only troops yet actually joined is one company of 50 men and another just arrived at St. Augustine & unable to join Genl. Clinch. We observe the Secretary at War says "I have placed 14 companies or 700 men at Genl. Clinch's command which will be ample to restore peace to Florida," (3000 U. S. Troops will hardly do it) but he does not say that these 14 companies are yet scattered over the U. S. from Chicago to Arkansas. Of the 6 companies stationed here under Genl. Clinch the rattle and the fever has left from 150 to 180 men only & they are shut up at Camp King unable to prevent the Indians from burning store houses within musket shot of them. We have just received the disastrous news of 2 companies U. S. troops comprising 120 officers & privates who were landed at Tampa and marched to join Clinch, & within 18 miles of the ground of the last battle of Outhlacouchy were attacked and murdered only 3 covered with wounds escaping to tell the tale. From the aggression of the Creeks on the Georgia frontier there is little doubt that they are in union with the Seminoles in this business and our only well settled portion of the country has been obliged to withdraw their troops and we are left to be plundered. The country has been kept in ignorance until these devils have gathered strength and force under the *paternal system* of our government. Had we been left to ourselves these hell hounds would have been driven into the sea long since. The remark of the French King "God preserve us from our friends and we will take care of our enemies," is truly applicable in this case. The whole U. S. arms, military stores and provisions for the campaign deposited at Picolata 16 miles from this have been saved by a few militia from St. Augustine first, and subsequently by a

small volunteer artillery company from Savannah, their post surrounded by Indians and so daring as to murder and scalp a man 100 yards from the post in the day time. All communication with the country except by an armed force is cut off in every direction and we listen morning and evening for the sunset and sunrise gun of this handful of men with as much fear as hope. A company of young men from St. Augustine 30 or 40 strong commanded by Mr. Putnam (the same that came passenger with mother) were endeavouring to protect the removal of some articles (in which duty they have been employed near 2 months) from Anderson's place (the same Anderson that was passenger with Susan) were attacked by 150 Indians and after a severe action and killing a good lot of them came off with 2 killed (a son of Judge Gould's is one) and 18 wounded, some mortally. They have just arrived in town and the whole South is now abandoned to the Indians this being the last port in that quarter from Cape Florida to the gates of the city. They have destroyed the lighthouses along the coast. One family with whom I stopped whilst on my Southern tour last summer are amongst the murdered. They had left New River where I knew them and gone to Key Biscayne for safety.

I fell in last summer near the Everglades with this same gang of Indians who have been amongst the worse and altho they were then rather sulky and considered dangerous they did not molest me altho all night encamped near them and far from any assistance in a wild swamp at the head of New River.

In one sense I have perhaps been fortunate as I was prepared and just starting with an exploring party (partly in boats, partly by land) through the thickest of the Indian country. We were accidentally detained a few days and then disturbances broke out. Otherwise as we should have

been absent 2 mo. and unaware of hostilities we should all doubtless have been massacred.

Great alarm exists even in St. Augustine. They are busily palisading the old works across the Peninsula on which it stands and many sending their families off to Charleston and every man in the place is under arms day and night. The population as you are aware is almost entirely composed of people who depend for their daily bread upon their labor, their little gardens, and fields and fishing and hunting (with a population of 2000 there is not one pauper.) Their groves destroyed last year and this winter shut up in town and prevented by their military duties from doing anything else great distress for provisions has been endured by many. Last week unsolicited and unlooked for a steam boat arrived bringing as a present from the citizens of Charleston to the needy of the town 1000 bushels corn, 100 barrels flour, 50 bbls. pork, 20 casks rice &c. &c. This was nobly done and ample for this occasion.

As regards our own affairs, we are still encamped here as I consider it at least as safe as St. Augustine and more convenient and in the crowded state of the town about as comfortable. We have built a number of large and small camps and are very well covered from the weather, better than you would suppose possible when the only material is the brush wood and some palmetto which grows upon the ground and the only tool used a hatchet.

I applied to the General for a guard for our neighborhood and 16 mounted men were assigned and stationed at Michlers. I go backward and forwards as often as I can do it with safety which is when the guard are enabled to scour the woods around us and ascertain that no Indians are lurking about. As the guard, however, have their own concerns to look after and join in the escort of the mails, ex-

presses, transport of arms and provisions, and other duties, I have been enabled to remove but little from home and fear I shall not be able much longer even to draw our supplies and provisions from home but leave all to its fate. As I can only employ a few of my most trusty hands and that with caution and much exposure to night and bad weather, if they burn us up it will be nearly a total loss. They have been in a swamp about 8 miles from us and perhaps nearer and no house between us and them.

The season for planting cane has long passed and we have not a hill planted and the seed is rotting in the banks. Our potatoes should now be planting, and another fortnight brings corn planting time and we have not yet commenced clearing up the ground for it. A sorry prospect for the coming year and yet we are amongst the fortunate few who have not yet lost home and our negroes. The general plan of the Indians has been to lurk about the plantations until they can kill the few whites to found and then by force and persuasion carry off the negroes who are immediately painted and armed. In this way near 400 have been already lost in E. Florida and there is not now in all the country east of the River St. Johns a person attending to his usual avocations. The larger portion guarding the towns and a few mounted rangers form the balance to keep information of the enemy and communication open as far as possible. Please to show this to mother and *assure her that I think we are personally as safe as if in St. Augustine*, and although it is not very pleasant to be driven from home to live on the beach with the gofers, to boat about the river when one had rather be in bed, to carry a horse load of arms day and night, and gun in hand to be peeping into every palmetto by the road or bush by the river side expecting to start red shanks instead of partridges and ducks, yet so far we are

none the worse for it, and hope for the best. If the worse happens, it will only be exchanging a clapboard house for a log one and eating our hominy and syrup, venison or oysters from white earthen instead of blue China.

With my affec. regards to all, your

E. T. JENCKES

P.S. 4 P.M.

Two steam boats and a schooner have just arrived bringing four companies volunteers from Charleston with arms and stores. All Hail Carolina - true to herself - true to her friends! May God preserve her and her chivalric people and their institutions for ever, is the heart felt prayer that rises from the lip of many houseless wanderers this night.

After the above report from Camp Long Beach, the Nightingale and Jenckes correspondence is abruptly broken off. It may be inferred, however, that Jenckes' term as a refugee was not prolonged much after the date of his last letter: next year the Seminole menace receded and soon Jenckes was ready to enter the arena of state politics. The only later document in the series is a brief note from Mrs. Jenckes to Samuel Nightingale dated Waterford, July 13, 1848. Mrs. Jenckes asked for some advice on investment problems and incidentally confessed that her health and spirits were poor. She was suffering from chills and fever and was taking quinine. She was probably lonely, for, though the letter makes no mention of the fact, Edwin T. Jenckes had died in St. Augustine on November 4, 1847.<sup>10</sup> The Florida career of this colorful figure, beginning less than ten years after the Purchase, provides an early illustration of a northern businessman turned southern planter and politician.

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10. Chapin, *op. cit.*, 11. *Florida Herald*, Nov. 9(11), 1847.

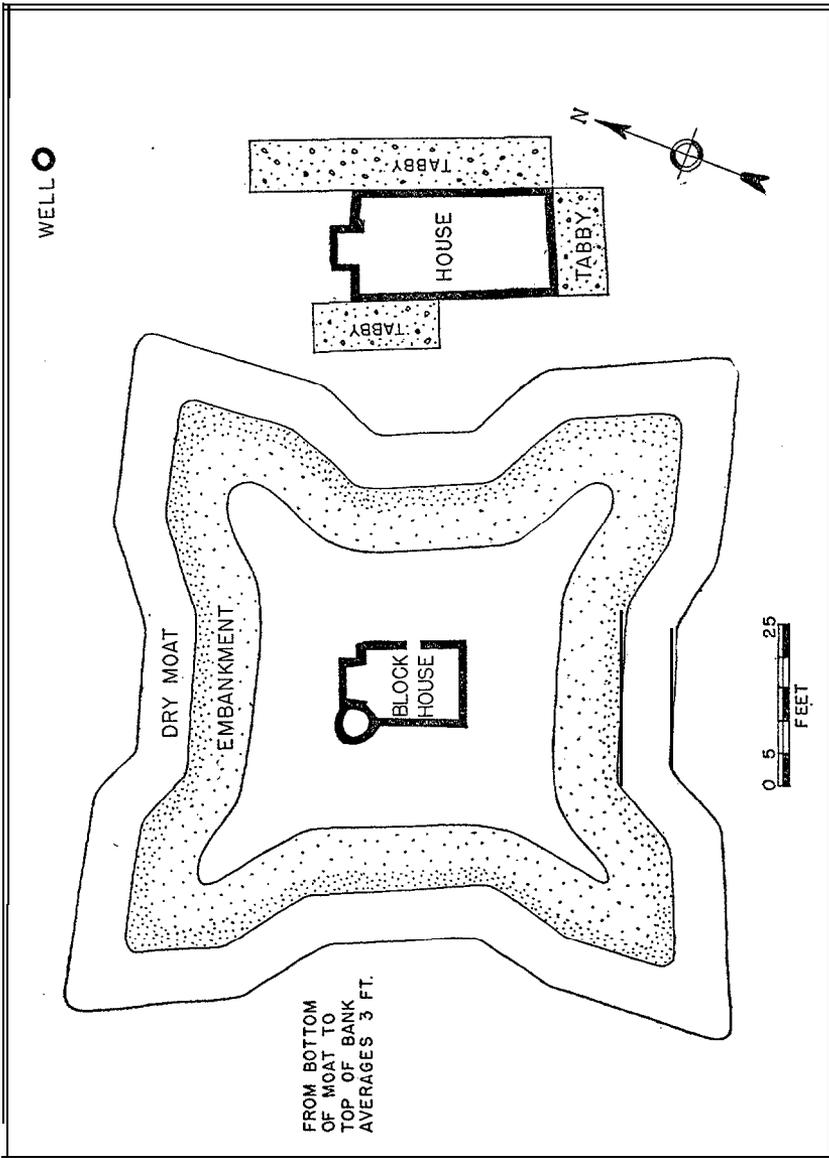
## THE ADDISON BLOCKHOUSE

by JOHN W. GRIFFIN

The so-called Addison blockhouse, situated on the old Addison grant near the Tomoka River in coastal Volusia County, has long been an enigma. The alternatives of dating suggested by persons interested in it have ranged from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and its builders have variously been claimed to have been Spaniards, Englishmen, or Americans. In order to lay plans for a valid interpretation of the structure to the public, the Florida Park Service undertook a study to determine its origin and history.

The blockhouse itself is a small coquina rock structure, about eleven and a half by fifteen feet in size (see plan). One end is completely dominated by a large fireplace almost seven feet wide and six feet high. To one side of this, and adjoining it, is a circular tower roughly six feet in diameter, rising to a height of about eleven feet. The tower is capped by blocks of coquina, giving a battlemented effect, and a series of loop holes are present about a foot beneath the top. The walls of the building, averaging six feet in height, are also battlemented, and are broken by a door on the east side.

Covered with moss and ferns, and lighted by sunshine filtering through the canopy of trees, the little building possesses all of the charm and romance of antiquity that could be desired, but reduced to the cold inked lines of measured drawings it appears little short of ridiculous. The combination keystone and lintel over the doorway is incredibly weak, the entry to the tower is partly above the protecting walls, and vision from the tower is obscured on one side by the chimney of the out-of-scale fireplace. A close examination of the masonry reveals that much of the building is a recon-



struction of the not too distant past, and we are fortunate in having the statement of the man who did some of this reconstruction. Writing in 1936, Mr. Charles A. Ballough said:

About sixteen years ago I was called upon to do some rock work for a company, developing the property on and near the Addison grant. A small coquina rock structure known as the blockhouse, was in need of repair, especially, on the walls. The fireplace and turret were in excellent condition and needed no repairs. The reconstruction, which consisted solely on the walls, was simply following the outlines of the previous wall structure. The ditch, or moat, surrounding the block-house was already there and appeared to have been dug at the time of the construction of the block-house.<sup>1</sup>

As may be seen by examining the building, the outlines of previous wall structure which Mr. Ballough followed are the bottom several courses of stone. There is no real evidence that the original walls of stone ever extended higher than this, and there is a strong possibility that they were foundations for a wooden wall.

Although Mr. Ballough did not repair the fireplace and tower they, too, bear unmistakable signs of reconstruction. In summary, only the base of the tower, a considerable portion of the fireplace (omitting the upper part of the chimney), and the foundations of the walls are demonstrably original. From this evidence alone it would have been impossible to conclude that the building had ever been a blockhouse, since all of the features which make it appear so are the work of later hands. But the moat or ditch, mentioned in the quotation above, is a reality, and the trees growing in it and on the earthwork inside it testify that it is not a product of

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1. Letter by Charles A. Ballough, Feb. 23, 1936, "To whom it may concern." Has been published in Edith P. Stanton, *Early Plantations of the Halifax*, Ormond, 1949.

the present century. The area enclosed by the moat is about forty feet square, with bastions at each of the four corners (see plan). The "blockhouse" stands in the middle of this fort outline.

Thus, establishing the fact that the present coquina structure may have been rebuilt to look like a fort, and may not originally have appeared as it does today, in no way invalidates the fact that the structure is located in a definite fort outline. There is no denying that a fort once stood on the Addison grant; the problem which confronts us is one of identification. Who built this fort, and when? In approaching this problem we shall combine the information of three disciplines; history, archaeology, and geography. Any explanation, in order to qualify, must satisfy all three sets of criteria.

#### EXCAVATIONS

When the site of the blockhouse was acquired by the Volusia Hammock State Park Association, arrangements were made with the St. Augustine Historical Program of the Carnegie Institution for an archaeological investigation of the ruins. Twelve days in April of 1939 were devoted to the work, and the archaeologist, Mr. W. J. Winter, prepared a field report which remained unpublished.<sup>2</sup> The materials found in the excavations were left in the care of the Park Association, and have been examined by the present writer.

To the east of the moat Winter found coquina foundations flanked by tabby floor areas in an area a little more than fifty feet from the blockhouse and within fifteen feet of the moat. About fifty feet to the north of these foundations was a circular coquina well. The well and the foundation area were cleared, trenches were extended through the earthworks in several places, and the bottom of the moat was excavated

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2. A copy of this report is in the files of the archaeological survey of the Florida Park Service. The writer wishes to thank Mr. Winter for permission to publish the results of his excavations.

on the north, east, and south sides. The floor of the blockhouse was dug down to undisturbed earth, and the rubble and dirt were cleaned out of the tower. At various places on the site isolated coquina blocks were found, but test holes in these areas revealed no further trace of structures.

Artifacts came from both the blockhouse and the foundation area, but the moat and earthwork were relatively sterile, and the well contained very little. The writer examined these artifacts, and in addition submitted photographs to Mr. M. W. Thomas, Jr., of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.<sup>3</sup> A description and listing of these materials will be published in a later paper. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that the pottery ("China" in popular parlance) was all of types known to have been manufactured between 1800 and 1840. The other materials - iron tools, hardware, glass bottles, and clay pipes - all fitted this same dating, although some of the types were also in use earlier. Not a single specimen, however, could be dated as from times not including the 1800-1840 range, and none of the specimens were Spanish in origin. There were no differences in materials from the blockhouse and the foundation area, indicating that the two structures were contemporaneous, or nearly so. In summary, the evidence from the artifacts suggests a dating within the first half of the nineteenth century.

When fully uncovered, the tabby floor and coquina foundations appeared to represent a house. The structure itself, enclosed by the coquina foundations, would have been about 16 by 38 feet in size, with a large fireplace in the north end (see plan). The three tabby areas flank the foundations, and may best be interpreted as porches or terraces. The largest one, eight feet wide and longer than the house, located on the east side of the foundations, may be taken as the

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3. The writer wishes to thank Mr. Thomas for his kind cooperation.

front porch. Another tabby area, eight feet wide and sixteen feet long, probably represents a side porch at the south end of the house. The remaining area, nearly the same size as the preceding one, is on the west side of the structure, and may be interpreted as the back porch.

The evidence was insufficient to suggest whether the building had originally been one or two stories in height, but either the house was of frame construction above the foundations or large quantities of rock have been removed from the site. The simple rectangular floor plan suggests a gabled roof with the ridge running parallel to the long axis, which is to say, parallel with the blockhouse.

The blockhouse is within fifty feet of the house. Its walls parallel those of the house, its fireplace is also in the north end, and its door is in line with the postulated back porch of the house. There is little doubt but that it is part of the same structural complex.

We have already mentioned that much of the existing blockhouse is reconstruction, and probably the most important discovery made by Winter was a “. . . section of brick cistern dome, about 3 feet by 10 inches, starting at top of original wall of tower about 2 feet above ground level. Rest of tower is reconstruction.”

Remove the tower, the battlements, and the other reconstruction work, and what do we have? A small building with a huge fireplace and a cistern, located about fifty feet from the presumed back porch of a dwelling house. There is only one type of building that logically satisfies that description, and that is the outside kitchen building common in plantation days.

But, we must not forget that the blockhouse is located within a perfectly good fort outline. This was, for some time, the most puzzling feature of the site. If the earthworks had

not been present we could have, with some justification, abandoned our investigation, declaring that the blockhouse was merely a reconstructed kitchen of early nineteenth century plantation days.

Looking at the problem of the earthworks from the point of view of logic, several incongruities appear. If the fort was constructed while the house was standing - with some portions of the house not over fifteen feet from the moat - the house would constitute a danger to the fort. The ridge of even a one story house would be at a higher level than the palisade which probably stood on the earthwork, permitting an attacker to gain the house and fire down into the fort. Unless we are willing to concede that the builders of the fort ignored such an elementary problem of defense, we are forced to the probability that the earthworks are either earlier or later than the house, and kitchen. If earlier, it would seem illogical for an owner of over a thousand acres to separate his house from his kitchen by a moat which would only make passage between the two more difficult. The most reasonable assumption is that the earthwork is later than the house, but let us now see what history has to say.

#### THE FIRST SPANISH PERIOD

One of the most persistent local interpretations of the blockhouse is that it represents a fort of early Spanish times. This interpretation is based on a letter written by Captain Antonio de Prado in 1569, containing recommendations on the forts of Florida. In this letter, four forts are recommended; San Anton, in Carlos; St. Augustine, the major post; and San Pedro and San Felipe in Guale.<sup>4</sup> For the St. Augustine fort, de Prado suggested two outposts of fifty men each, one at

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4. Jeanette Thurber Conner, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, Vol. I, Deland, 1925, pp. 291-293.

Matanzas and one at Nacoroco. Some investigators have claimed that the blockhouse is the post at Nacoroco.

Geographically speaking, the site of the blockhouse will not qualify. The post was to be located between two rivers, one going to Matanzas and the other to Mosquitos. Its obvious function was to protect this point. The Indian town of Nacoroco, as we know from the Mexia narrative of 1605, was at such a point - the mouth of the Tomoka River.<sup>5</sup> The blockhouse is two miles from this point, and in such a location that it could not conceivably have protected anything until a road was built, which was not done until the British Period.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the de Prado letter is that it has been taken as a statement of accomplished reality, rather than in its actual nature of a series of recommendations. There seems to be no evidence that the recommendations concerning a post at Nacoroco were ever acted upon. Certainly, in 1573, when several witnesses attest in detail to the defenses of Florida, there is no mention of such a post.<sup>6</sup> In the same year a shipwreck victim found a Spanish sentinel at Matanzas, but none below.<sup>7</sup> There was no post at Nacoroco when Mexia visited it in 1605, nor does he mention there ever having been one.

So far as construction is concerned there are several discrepancies. DePrado speaks of triangular forts, "built of beams and timber, fagots and earth." Coquina was not mentioned for the simple reason that it had not yet been discovered by the Spaniards. In 1570 the Spaniards still did not know of the existence of stone in Florida, and suggestions were made that stone be imported from Cuba for the construc-

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5. John W. Griffin and Hale G. Smith, "Nacoroco," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1949. In a broad sense Nacoroco might be taken to include the Bay of Nacoroco (Tomoka Basin) and the River of Nacoroco (Halifax River).

6. Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-103.

7. *Ibid*, p. 69.

tion of forts.<sup>8</sup> A letter written in 1583 may contain the first reference to the discovery of coquina,<sup>9</sup> but as late as 1737 Arredondo knew only of the coquina on Anastasia Island.<sup>10</sup>

To these brief notes we may add the reminder that none of the excavated materials from the blockhouse can be said to have come from this period. With the criteria of history, archaeology, and geography all unsatisfied we must discard the sixteenth century fort as an explanation.

### **THE BRITISH PERIOD**

The region around the Tomoka River was settled by Europeans for the first time during the British Period (1763-83), and one of the plantations would seem to have covered at least a portion of the later Addison grant. This was the 2000 acre tract of James Moultrie,<sup>11</sup> not to be confused with other grants to John Moultrie in the same region.

The grant was made in 1771, and land clearing operations commenced almost at once. In the claims later presented to the Crown it was stated that 150 acres of this tract were cleared and planted in indigo and provisions, the latter mostly corn. Twenty-five to thirty negroes were working on the plantation, and suitable structures were provided for them, as well as a house for an overseer. This house is of interest to us for it is described as, ". . . a dwelling House framed of Wood with a Stone Chimney one Storey high a Piazza & two small Wings . . ." This description could readily be applied to the foundation ruins and tabby porches uncovered on the Addison place.

An absolute identification of the ruins with the house men-

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8. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

9. Letter by P. Menendez Marques, in Buckingham Smith papers, New York Historical Society. Index of these papers in Florida Historical Society Library.

10. Typescript of translation of Arredondo's report dated January, 1737, in Florida Historical Society Library.

11. W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, Vol. II. Deland, 1929. Pp. 92-101.

tioned in the claims cannot be made, for no materials assignable to the British Period, and to no other period, were found in the excavations. The vast bulk of the nails found were of a stamped variety not made before 1800. There is a distinct possibility, however, that the British Period foundations were reused by the subsequent occupants, nearly a quarter of a century later.

The fort, in any event, remains unexplained. No mention is made of it in the Moultrie claims, or by the witnesses called to testify concerning these claims.

### THE SECOND SPANISH AND TERRITORIAL AMERICAN PERIODS

In 1783 Florida was returned to Spain, and all of the inhabitants of plantations in the Halifax area left their lands. The period of abandonment did not last long, however. Before 1800 a few settlers had drifted into the deserted region, particularly near Mosquito Inlet. Very soon after 1800 an influx of settlers, mostly British, and many of them from the Bahamas, established themselves in the area.

One of these settlers was John Addison. His first grant of 1,800 acres was in the New Smyrna-Mosquito Inlet region, but in 1807 he transferred this acreage for 1,414 acres on the Tomoka River. This is the plantation on which the blockhouse is located. In 1816 Addison petitioned for absolute title to the land, for the Spanish procedure deferred the granting of absolute title until the land had been cultivated and improved for a period of ten years. The title was granted following confirmation by Joseph M. Hernandez and F. M. Arredondo, Jr., that Addison had cleared and planted the land, constructed buildings and fences, and possessed slaves and livestock.<sup>12</sup>

The period during which the plantations were being estab-

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12. Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, Vol. II, Tallahassee, 1941. Pp. 8-10.

lished was not completely a peaceful one. Indian raids caused the temporary abandonment of many of the Halifax plantations about 1808. Seemingly these troubles were followed in a few years by other disruptive raids during the Patriot Revolution, even though the records scanned so far have not revealed specific details of raids along the coast south of St. Augustine. Robert McHardy, whose plantation was the second one north of Addison, filed a claim against the United States for damage to his property caused by operations of U. S. troops at this time. In 1843 his estate was awarded the sum of \$10,815 on this claim,<sup>13</sup> which would seem to constitute an acknowledgement by the court of the justice of his claim.

James Ormond III tells of an attack on the Addison plantation during the Patriot uprisings. His account is second-hand, inasmuch as he was not in Florida at the time, but there seems to be little reason to doubt its validity. According to him, the planters of the region, reinforced by some dragoons from St. Augustine,<sup>14</sup> ambushed and virtually annihilated the raiders as they left their boats at Addison's Landing.<sup>15</sup>

With the change of flags all of the plantation owners presented their claims to the U. S. Board of Commissioners. Addison's claim was officially confirmed by Congress in 1827, by which time he had died. His death occurred in 1825, and he is buried on the plantation, near the banks of the Tomoka River.

The property passed to his brother, Thomas Addison, who in 1825 transferred it to Thomas H. Dummett, with Dummett's slaves serving as security.<sup>16</sup> In 1826 Dummett, who had evidently

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13. *A Private Memoir of the Life and Services of Admiral J. B. B. McHardy*, Privately printed by the family, 1894. However, McHardy did not settle the Tomoka plantation until 1815, and the raid must have been on his lands nearer Mosquito Inlet.
  14. Ormond says the dragoons were dispatched by Governor Coppinger, but if the date was 1812-13 as he gives it, the governor was Kindelan rather than Coppinger.
  15. James Ormond III, *Reminiscences Concerning the Early Days of the Halifax Country*, Ormond, 1941.
  16. St. Johns County, Deed Book F. Pp. 265-268.

overextended himself in the purchase and development of properties in the area, transferred a one-fourth undivided part of this plantation and the adjoining one he had purchased from John Bunch to the brothers Duncan and Kenneth MacRae.<sup>17</sup> Sometime before 1830 the MacRaes obtained sole possession of the Addison tract, and the United States Census of 1830 lists Duncan McRae as a family head, and gives those under him as one white male (presumably Kenneth), one free female of color, and 64 slaves.<sup>18</sup> In 1832 litigation developed around the title. John Gilliland, a nephew of Addison's from Ireland, with Joseph Hunter acting as his administrator sought to recover the property, complaining that Dummett's obligation had never been settled.<sup>19</sup> The outcome of this suit, and its ramifications, were not pursued by the present writer.

Seemingly the MacRaes followed the trend toward sugar planting and the development of sugar mills, which became an intensive pursuit only after the change of flags.<sup>20</sup> The coquina mill ruins on the Addison grant, with the date 1832 carved above the door, must have been built by the MacRaes rather than by either Addison or Dummett. But the MacRae mill, as well as the other large ones of the area, was unable to operate for a sufficient time to justify its construction, for the year 1835 spelled disaster for the planters of the Halifax. The year opened with a freeze probably unequalled in recorded Florida history.<sup>21</sup> The temperature dropped to 10 degrees in St. Augustine and hovered around freezing for 56 hours or more. Ice formed many feet offshore in the St. Johns River. The same year brought a heavy downsurge in the sugar market,<sup>22</sup> and most of the planters, already in debt, were no doubt in a serious position.

17. St. John County, Deed Book F. Pp. 256-261.

18. U. S. Census of 1830, Mosquito County, Florida. Microfilm in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

19. St. John County, File Drawer H-7.

20. Vignoles in his *Observations on the Floridas* (1823) so indicates. See page 14 of this work.

21. T. Frederick Davis, "Early Orange Culture in Florida and the Epocal Cold of 1835," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1937.

22. Emory Q. Hawk, *Economic History of the South*, New York, 1934. Page 264.

In the meantime, affairs with the Seminole Indians were drawing to a head, and as the year 1835 neared its end, at Christmas time in fact, the plantations suffered their final blow. Without warning, the Halifax area was attacked, many of the plantations burned and looted, and the settlers forced to withdraw to Bulow's plantation where a small militia force was quartered, and where a small fort had been built. On the 18th day of January, 1836, an expedition from Bulowville engaged the Indians at Dunlawton plantation, near present-day Port Orange.<sup>23</sup> On the 23rd of January Bulowville was abandoned, and the entire Halifax area was left to the Indians.<sup>24</sup>

It is at this point that most local histories leave us, with the plantations destroyed and the population withdrawn. So far as the blockhouse is concerned we are presented with two possible times of construction. Addison could have constructed the fortification around his kitchen in the unsettled times of the Patriot Revolution, or MacRae could have done the same thing as the situation with the Indians became more tense. In both cases, however, the objection that we have previously offered - that the house was a danger to the fort so long as it stood - confronts us. Actually, the events of the Seminole Wars in the region had just begun, and it is in the period subsequent to the abandonment of the plantations - in the period that logic had previously suggested - that we find the solution.

As late as February 17, 1836, a reconnaissance party from St. Augustine found the Addison plantation (Carrickfergus) still intact. Toward the end of February the Carolina Regiment of Volunteers marched southward from St. Augustine.<sup>25</sup> They

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23. See James Ormond III, *op. cit.*, for an account of this battle.

24. Ruth D. Wilson, "The Bulow Plantation, 1821-1835," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 1945. Page 235.

25. Two officers of the Carolina regiment wrote books from which the following information is summarized. These books are: A Lieutenant of the Left Wing [W. W. Smith], *Sketch of the Seminole War and Sketches During a Campaign*, Charleston, 1836, and M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, Charleston and New York, 1836.

were a portion of the troops which were to assemble as the left wing of General Winfield Scott's campaign against the Seminoles in central Florida. Portions of the Carolina regiment reached Bulow's burned and deserted plantation on the 25th of February, and occupied the fort which had been built there, and which still stood although the house was destroyed. On the morning of the 26th part of the regiment marched toward Carrickfergus, the plantation of Duncan MacRae. Here they encamped, having found the place destroyed. A corn crib still smouldered, indicating the recency of the destruction.

When Lt. W. W. Smith visited Camp M'Crae, as they called it, on the 28th of February he "found the Col. busily occupied with the Capt. of Pioneers in the construction of a Fort." <sup>26</sup> The Captain of Pioneers was M. M. Cohen, whose comments are of considerable interest to us.

We have thrown up an extensive breast work, (with deep trenches around it) constructed a commissary store-house, and mounted a small cannon a-top of it. This piece we named M'Duffie . . .

We have also levelled the embankments [presumably drainage ditch embankments], burned the grass, cut the palmetto and scrub, and removed all objects that were within rifle shot of our camp, behind which the enemy could conceal himself. <sup>27</sup>

The fact that the commissary-store, with the 4-pounder M'Duffie atop it, was within the fort is definitely indicated in Lt. Smith's account.

Our enigma is no more. The earthwork and moat surrounding the blockhouse were constructed by the Carolina Volunteers in 1836. The objection of the nearby location of the house is removed, for it was in ruins when the fort was built.

26. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

27. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

We may picture the situation as follows. The Carolinians arrived at the MacRae plantation, finding it in ruins, for as Lt. Smith says, "The dwelling house, sugar house, and every other building on the place except those two mentioned [a fowl house and a Negro shack], were destroyed."<sup>28</sup> If, as we suspect, the kitchen was originally of frame construction, only the chimneys and foundations of the kitchen and house remained standing. The fort was laid out around the old kitchen, and its ruins were converted into the commissary-store. Inside the moat, and atop the embankment, which would provide a banquette or firing platform, a wall or palisade was constructed.

A visitor to the site in 1876 describes the fort as "Octagonal in shape, about 18 feet high."<sup>29</sup> The outline is in no sense an octagon but other, and later, observers have made the same mistake. The height of eighteen feet certainly implies that at least a portion of the palisade was standing in 1876. The evidence all seems to point to construction regarded as typical of Seminole War forts, or pickets, by Potter:

The pickets are made by splitting pine logs about eighteen feet in length into two parts, and driving them upright and firmly into the ground close together, with the flat side inwards; these are braced together by a strip of board nailed on the inside. The tops are sharpened, and holes are cut seven or eight feet from the ground for the fire arms. A range of benches extends around the work about three feet high, from which the fire is delivered. All our forts in that country are so formed.<sup>30</sup>

In the light of this information, and the 1876 description of the height of the fort, the present reconstruction of the block-house is ridiculous. Both the battlemented walls and the tower

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28. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

29. Clipping in Marie Mann Boyd's scrapbook, an article by E. N. Waldron, quoting Calvin Day. Information from Mrs. J. E. Hebel.

30. W. Potter, *The War in Florida*, Baltimore, 1836, p. 98.

would have been below the line of the palisade, and could have served no function. It is more reasonable to assume that the kitchen was rewalled and reroofed to form the storehouse, and that a platform was extended above this building to a sufficient height for the cannon to have fired over the palisade.

The Carolinians probably also demolished the chimney of the dwelling house in keeping with their program of removing objects within rifle shot of the fort behind which an enemy could hide. This demolished chimney could well be the source of stone from which the reconstruction of the blockhouse in the present century was made. It is extremely unlikely that any masonry construction was undertaken by the Carolinians in establishing the post.

Camp M'Crae was occupied by the volunteers from February 27th until sometime in March of 1836, but we must not imagine that all of the troops were quartered in the small fort that they had constructed. Probably the majority were camped in the open fields. When Lt. Smith and his party joined the group on March 7th they so bivouacked, though rain drove them to the dubious shelter of a dilapidated Negro house about a half mile from the fort.<sup>31</sup> A fowl house, the only other accommodation, was used as a hospital for the great number of men down with the measles.<sup>32</sup>

The morning of March 10 found many of the soldiers scattered from the camp gathering wood and sugar cane. A soldier named Winster was walking within 20 or 30 yards of the sugar mill, which was located several hundred yards from the camp. Ben Wiggins, the old mulatto guide of the regiment, and an experienced man where Indians were concerned, whispered to Winster not to go farther - Indians were around.<sup>33</sup> Winster disregarded the warning, but Old Ben slowly and indifferently retreated, warning others as he passed them.

31. Smith, *op cit.*, p. 196.

32. *Ibid.*

33. This is the same Old Ben who figured prominently in the battle of Dunlawton, where according to James Ormond III (*op. cit.*) he rallied the forces with the statement, "My God, Gentlemans, is 'on na' goin' to run away from a parcel of dam Indians . . ."

Suddenly the air was rent with shots and Indian whoops. The sleeping members of the regiment quickly awoke, and the companies fell into line. The Indians were behind the sugar mill, and delivered a hot fire for a short time, with some of the balls striking the fort. However, when they saw that the troops were prepared to charge, the Indians quickly withdrew across the fields into the hammocks. The four-pounder M'Duffie had not been fired early in the engagement for fear of hitting some of the Carolina men scattered through the fields, and when it could have fired at the retreating enemy it ignominiously tumbled down.

Three of the Carolinians were killed in the engagement, including Winster, who had disregarded Old Ben's warning. Two of the three had been scalped.

Preparations were still being made to move the regiment and other troops in the area to the St. Johns River. Gradually the Carolinians congregated at MacRae, drawing in from St. Joseph and Bulow farther to the north. A unit of U. S. troops was stationed at Williams' plantation (present day Daytona Beach), and some supplies came to this point by the steamboat *Dolphin* from St. Augustine.<sup>34</sup> General Eustis himself made the trip to Mosquito on one occasion. On March 19, Major Kirby, at Williams', received orders to move his force to Tomoka to join the rest, in preparation for leaving the next morning for Volusia.<sup>35</sup> On the same day Captain Thomas Parker, commanding at MacRae, submitted a listing of the sick, presumably sufferers of the measles mentioned earlier, who would have to be left behind. The listing totals 76 officers and men, of whom 55 could bear arms and assist in the defense of the post if attacked.<sup>36</sup>

34. Letters, Major Kirby to Commanding Officer at Tomoka, March 13, 1836, and General Eustis to Brig. General Bull, March 13, 1836. These letters, and those referred to in the succeeding two notes, are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

35. Major R. M. Kirby to Brig. Gen. Bull, March 19, 1836.

36. Capt. Thomas Parker to Brig. Gen. Bull, March 19, 1836.

The major part of the force marched westward to Volusia, and thence into the interior. The sick, we must presume, were left behind, and later either joined the regiment or returned to St. Augustine. At any rate, MacRae was probably abandoned before the end of March, and so far as we have discovered was not reoccupied.

This should end the story of Fort MacRae, which had seen its brief span of service and tasted its brief moment of action, but there are always tantalizing loose ends. The cannon M'Duffie, which had stood in the fort, and which is mentioned so prominently in the accounts, is known to have accompanied the Carolinians to Volusia and beyond. Yet, in 1876, a spiked gun was taken from the fort.<sup>37</sup> The only reasonable assumption that can be made is that this was another gun, left by another portion of the troops which assembled at Fort MacRae to aid the convalescents in the event of an attack. When all had recovered from the measles they withdrew from the post, and possibly spiked the gun and left it behind. Research to date has failed to recover any evidence indicating a later reusage of the fort which could account for the piece.

The gun was taken to Daytona, and repaired in time to salute the 4th of July of 1876. Ten years later it was used to salute the entry of the first train into Daytona. "The proprietor of Bloomington [Kingston] had hauled out the old Tomoka cannon, which at this time fired its last salute, for in booming out to welcome the appearance of the train it burst, doing no damage except to itself."<sup>38</sup> A more symbolic occurrence could hardly be imagined by the writer of fiction - the frontier had passed, the railroad had entered.

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37. I am indebted to Mrs. J. E. Hebel for this information, which comes from the clipping by E. N. Waldron referred to above.

38. *Halifax Journal*, Dec. 9, 1886. Information from Mrs. J. E. Hebel.

ARIZONA APACHES AS "GUESTS" IN FLORIDA

by **OMEGA G. EAST AND ALBERT C. MANUCY**

"Stop stealing our Apaches!" protested the lady from the West, when she learned that Geronimo's deeds are part of the story told in the old Spanish fort at St. Augustine.

But Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, a Spanish-built defense of the 1600's, has a good claim on some Apaches - as well as Seminoles, Cherokees, Kiowas, Comanches, and several other once-powerful Indian nations.

Drafted labor from the Timucua, Guale, and Apalache Indians (tribes that have been extinct some 200 years) helped to build the Spanish Castillo. The Seminole Osceola, famed as champion of his people's rights, was among the Indian prisoners of the U. S. Army here in 1837. During the 1870's, numbers of Kiowas, Comanches, Caddoes and other rebellious red men of the Oklahoma Territory were disciplined by expatriation in this Florida stronghold. And here in 1886-87 some 500 Apaches arrived for what a news reporter of the day called a "summer residence by the sea."<sup>1</sup> Strangely enough, however, the Apaches objected to leaving their desert wastes for the eastern vacationland. Apparently no one had told them that St. Augustine was a fashionable spa - the Riviera of America.<sup>2</sup>

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- \* This paper is a resume of Mr. East's "Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, 1886-1887" (Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, January 1951), a 109-page illustrated typescript in National Park Service files.
1. *Florida Times-Union*, April 15, 1886; see also *id.*, April 14, 1886. This paper is hereafter cited as "*Times-Union*."
  2. Sources pertaining to the removal of the Apaches from the West to Fort Marion include: W. S. Nye, *Carbine and Lance* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1943); E. C. and T. H. Whitney, *History and Capture of Geronimo and the Apache Indians* (Times-Union print, 1887); Anton Mazzanovich, *Trailing Geronimo* (Hollywood, Cal., 1931); Herbert Welsh, *Apache Prisoners in Fort Marion, St. Augustine, Florida* (Office of the Indian Rights Association, Philadelphia, 1887); Dewitt Webb, "Paper read before the Duchess County Medical Society of New York, September 1887" (St. Augustine Historical Society typescript); J. D. Edwards, "Things I Remember about St. Augustine" (Castillo de San Marcos typescript); *Times-Union*, April 14, 1886; see also *id.*, April 15, Aug. 31, Sept. 9, 18, 20, 26, 1886.

In those days, Westerners were glad to see the East "steal" their Indians. For centuries the warlike savages of the Dragoon and Chiricahua Mountains had raided the peaceful valley farms, well earning the name of Apache or "enemy people."<sup>3</sup> Finally, with the Gadsden Purchase of 1853 and the influx of white settlers, the Apache raids in the Southwest became an Army problem, and by 1872 most of the renegade Indians were corralled on Arizona reservations.<sup>4</sup>

Had they stayed there, this story would never have been written. But in 1885, Chief Mangus took French leave, and for several months the Army had its hands full, chasing down the runaways. It was well into 1886 before Gen. George Crook had most of them rounded up and headed back for the reservation. Then, much of his work was undone, as a medicine man named Geronimo talked a band of warriors into slipping away with Chief Natchez and himself.<sup>5</sup>

Crook was succeeded by Gen. Nelson A. Miles, a 47-year-old Civil War veteran who, a decade later, was to become Commander-in-Chief of the U. S. Army. As Miles dogged Geronimo's band, the whole country watched his progress. "We should be strongly in favor of court-martialing and shooting the officer or soldier who captures Geronimo," wrote one editor. "The man to be rewarded is the man who brings in his corpse."<sup>6</sup>

Trapping wily Geronimo was more easily done with an editorial pen than with a cavalryman's saber, but Gen. Miles constantly dogged the renegades until they were forced to terms at Skeleton Canyon on September 4, 1886. A month later, Geronimo, Natchez, Mangus, and some fourteen other ringleaders were on the way to Fort Pickens at Pensacola,

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3. Thelma C. Martin, Jr., "Oklahoma Indian Tribes - Brief Historical Sketches" (Castillo de San Marcos mimeograph), see Kiowa-Apache.

4. Whitney, 12; Mazzanovich, 276.

5. Whitney, 11.

6. *Times-Union*, April 30, 1886.

Florida, while the women and children captured with them were routed to Fort Marion, as the U. S. Army called the Castillo, on the opposite coast of Florida.<sup>7</sup>

This was only part of the punishment meted out to the Chiricahua and Warm Spring Apaches, however. Repeated attacks on settlers in Arizona and New Mexico made it imperative to move the Chiricahua and Warm Spring Apaches out as a safety measure. And so it was that in 1886 over 500 Apaches were sent by train from Arizona to St. Augustine, to live at Fort Marion as prisoners of war.

When the first prison train arrived at Jacksonville, so many curious people thronged the station platform that the train guards were forced to leave the Indians and keep order among the whites. The onlookers were quite shocked to see that Indian boys and even some of the bucks were minus those nether garments usually considered indispensable to the male wardrobe. They were also impressed by the dignity of the captured warriors. As one observer put it, "The women carried the baggage while the men carried their dignity."<sup>8</sup>

Lt. Col. L. L. Langdon, the commandant at Fort Marion, estimated that he had room for about 150 prisoners. He was dismayed, to say the least, when 500 Indians put in an appearance.<sup>9</sup>

7. Richard Wheatley, "The Caged Tigers of Santa Rosa," *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, August 1889; Edward S. Ellis, "Geronimo," *Frank Leslie's Popular Monthly Magazine*, Vol. 38, 1894, p. 617; Mazzanovich, 261; Letter Adjutant General's Office to Commanding Officer, Fort Barrancas, Fla., March 3, 1936; James D. Richardson, (ed.) *Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897*, 1901, 779; *Story of His Life, Taken Down and Edited by S. M. Barrett, Superintendent of Education, Lawton, Oklahoma* (N. Y., 1906), 177-178; George M. Brown, *Ponce de Leon Land and Florida War Record* (The Author, St. Augustine, 1902, 4th ed.); 114; Woodworth Clum, *Apache Agent; the Story of John C. Clum* (1936), 286; Letter, Sam Houser to C. R. Vinten, August 5, 1943; James W. Moffit to Katherine S. Lawson, Oct. 8, 1938; W. A. Pratt to Alberta Johnson, Aug. 30, 1943; Julien C. Yonge to Albert C. Manucky, July 15, 1950 (Castillo de San Marcos); *Daily News-Herald* (Jacksonville, Fla.) Dec. 29, 1887; *Times-Union*, April 15, May 18, 26, Sept. 9, 11, 17, 1886.

8. *Times-Union*, Sept. 20, 1886.

9. Welsh, 26.

Langdon set up housekeeping for his charges on top of the fort, in a tent city which, said a reporter, looked like "an Indian camp lifted from the mountains or plains of Arizona and transplanted intact to the narrow confines of Fort Marion."<sup>10</sup> And indeed, the 130-odd tents, crowded with occupants, were so close together that there was little room even for the cooking fires.

While most of the sightseers who flocked to the old fort looked upon the Indians as curiosities, there were a few who felt real concern. "To corral between two and three hundred vigorous bucks, old and young, in Fort Marion, may be considered in the light of a dangerous experiment," one newspaper commented nervously. "Suppose, with their well known cunning, they take to the woods here and make their way to the camps [of the Seminoles] in the Everglades? What then? Such a thing is not an impossibility."<sup>11</sup> "Actually, there were only about a hundred bucks in the fort. But they included names that any Indian fighter of the time knew and respected: Chihuahua, Nana, Chatto, Loco and many others.

Nevertheless, confinement at the fort was not rigid. Women and children went to and fro as they pleased, and parties of men were even permitted to visit the town. According to a newspaper account of the day, the Indians were "the happiest people in our midst, with nothing to do but eat and promenade the streets. They don't look like beings that are greatly abused."<sup>12</sup> Indeed, the townsfolk were the abused ones, as aboriginal tomtoms beat out the rhythms for nocturnal medicine dances. "Through 'all of a stilly night'," complained an insomniac, "their incantation can be heard within the fort where they occasionally find a victim to make medicine over."<sup>13</sup> The Army, however, provided Dr. Dewitt Webb, a

10. Welsh, 13.

11. *Times-Union*, April 18, 1886.

12. *Id.*, April 9, 1887.

13. Whitney, 14.

medical officer, and his efficient ministrations all but put the medicine men out of business.<sup>14</sup>

In the main, the townspeople enjoyed having the Apaches at the fort. St. Augustine's mayor considered them "a great addition to the charms of the place."<sup>15</sup> Hundreds of people came to see them, and many took away lifelong memories of the colorful Apaches.

There was the Indian voice at sunset from the Castillo watchtower. Each evening it sang, first high and strong, then gradually dropping lower and lower until it was a lament of loneliness - a longing to return to the people in Arizona.<sup>16</sup> And there was one old fellow who frequently had the "sulks." At such time he sought the privacy of the tower, there to stay until hunger finally drove him down to join his fellows.<sup>17</sup>

St. Augustine ladies pitied the half-clad savages, and sewed some red flannel shirts for the unfortunates. But when the good ladies made their next visit, they noticed that some of the men displayed several shirts hanging outside their trousers, while others wore none at all. It turned out that the Apache was addicted to gambling - and to the victor belong the spoils. The ladies, piqued over the turn of events, made sure that no prisoner ever again "lost his shirt" in a game.<sup>18</sup>

Other ladies bent their efforts toward more formal education of the prisoners. Mrs. Horace Caruthers and Misses Mather and Clark had worked with Capt. R. H. Pratt among the Oklahoma Indians at the fort during the 1870's. Their efforts had helped Pratt to envision the plan which grew into Carlisle Indian Training School. Again these good women

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14. Webb, 1.

15. *Times-Union*, Sept. 17, 1886.

16. Josephine B. Jacobs, "Indian Prisoners at Fort Marion from 1875 to 1887," (Castillo de San Marcos typescript), 15.

17. James Calvert Smith, Paintings and accompanying titles (St. Augustine Historical Society).

18. Nina L. Duryea, February 1947 (personal statement on file at St. Augustine Historical Society).

volunteered their services, and in the fort classrooms taught the Apaches English, arithmetic, spelling and religion. The Sisters of St. Joseph contracted to help, and taught about sixty boys and girls in school classrooms. Later, more than a hundred youngsters were sent to Carlisle.<sup>19</sup>

A dozen children were born at Fort Marion, and the first of them was Geronimo's. His wife christened the child "Marion," after the fort, and a silver tag reading "Marion Geronimo, September 13, 1886," always hung from the babe's wicker cradle.<sup>20</sup> Chihuahua's youngest was also born here, and given the appropriate name of "Coquina," since the fort is made of that shellrock.<sup>21</sup>

The Indians made a deep impression on the St. Augustine youngsters, and taught them to use the bow and arrow. One old-timer recalls that he aimed one of his practice shots at the family doorway. "I hit the door," he said. The arrow went right through our house - and did my mother give me a licking."<sup>22</sup>

V. D. Capo of St. Augustine still remembers his first hair-raising experience with the Apaches. "My first job," he says, "was with a butcher. The first delivery I had to make was to Fort Marion. By the time I got through the entrance, my hat began to stand up. The Indians gave a whoop and started running toward me with knives in their hands. The knives were to divide the meat. I first thought they intended to divide me."<sup>23</sup>

Since the Indians were such a curiosity to city folk from the East, souvenir hunters were on hand to speculate in

19. Elaine Goodale Eastman, *Pratt, the Red Man's Moses* (University of Oklahoma Press, 1935), 206; Brown, 114; Letter, Nina Pratt Hawkins to Herbert E. Kahler, March 5, 1936 (Castillo de San Marcos); Welsh, 3, 12; *Times-Union*, Sept. 9, 17, 18, Oct. 25, 30, Dec. 17, 21, 1886; *id.*, April 15, 18, 21, 22, 23, 24, 27, 1887.

20. *Times-Union*, Sept. 19, 1886; Whitney, 11.

21. Webb, 7; Whitney, 11.

22. Jacobs, 9.

23. *St. Augustine Record*, May 8, 1944.

trinkets the prisoners had brought from Arizona. One Charley Schneur, known locally as the "king of the curiosity men," evidently managed to corner the market, garnering practically all of the Apache curiosities. In return, he generously presented each prisoner with a copy of his new "Historical Guide to St. Augustine."<sup>24</sup> Eventually, for the protection of the Indians, permission to enter the fort was restricted to clergymen, physicians, and such other persons as might benefit the prisoners.<sup>25</sup>

Generally speaking, however, while the townspeople thought the Indians were a valuable tourist attraction, many of them pitied the Indians, and felt they should be moved some place where they would have more room. The Indian Rights Association investigated, and strongly recommended the removal. War Department orders for the transfer came in 1887. Mount Vernon Barracks, Ala., a reservation of 2,100 acres, was their new home.

On April 27, 1887, the Apaches left Fort Marion. "Lo! The poor Indians silently picked up their tents and stole away in the dark hours of the night for the shores of Old Alabama," rhapsodized a local newshawk, "and a feeling of relief, for many reasons, is experienced about the old city."<sup>26</sup>

Two years later the prisoners at Fort Pickens joined the rest at Mount Vernon, and there they remained until 1894, when all were transferred to Fort Sill, Okla. In 1913 most of the Apaches were sent to the Mescalero Reservation in New Mexico, though a few of them preferred to stay in Oklahoma, where they lived quietly near the town of Apache. Geronimo himself died at Fort Sill in 1909.<sup>27</sup>

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24. *Times-Union*, Sept. 26, 1886.

25. Welsh, 15.

26. *Times-Union*, April 27, 1887; see also Alfred J. Hanna and Kathryn A. Hanna, *Florida's Golden Sands* (The Bobbs-Merrill Co., Inc., Indianapolis, 1950), 198.

27. Letter, A.G.O. to Commanding Officer, Fort Barrancas, March 3, 1936; Nye, 298-302.

BOOK REVIEWS

***The Georgia-Florida Frontier***, 1793-1796. Spanish reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs. By Richard K. Murdoch. (Berkeley and Los Angeles; University of California Press, 1951. pp. 208)

The main theme in this study, except chapter one, concerns French-American designs against the Spanish in East Florida and the Spanish reaction to these designs; and how Spain could and did make use of her limited military resources.

The author begins with a concise survey of the early history of Florida, pointing out its strategic location which made it important to Spain, England, and France.

The competition for Florida on the part of the French and Spanish is brought out, ending in a permanent settlement by Spain in 1565. Other than minor skirmishes with England, a century and a half of peaceful development followed.

The end of the Seven Year's War brought about a transfer of Florida to England, and for twenty years the colony was prosperous with some increase in population and economic development, factors that made for loyalty to England during the American Revolution. The results of the Revolution brought the colony again under the control of Spain who retained it until transferred to the United States.

Due to the expansion of the state of Georgia and the resulting conflict of its interests with those of the Indians and Spanish between the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers, the difficulties for Spain were not over. The lifting of the restrictions of the Spanish colonial policy permitted American citizens to settle between the two rivers, thus creating future problems for the Spanish authorities.

By the fall of 1793, the Spanish were aware of a new and more dangerous threat to their position in East Florida from inhabitants of the area between the St. Johns and St. Marys

rivers. The study, in chapter seven, reveals in detail the plans of the inhabitants and the counter plans and measures that the Spanish adopted and carried out to end the threat.

The author discusses the border rebellions in East Florida and the seizure of Amelia Island by the anti-Spanish forces. Although the Spanish lost border posts and the Island, they subsequently recovered them.

The punishment of the rebels, who were confined in jail and who had their property destroyed, is brought out in chapter ten.

Then follows the reappearance of General Clark along the Altamaha River, and his plan to attack East Florida through the Creek Indian lands. This threat to the security of East Florida caused Spanish authorities to bring pressure upon the United States government, who in turn put pressure upon Georgia to end the activities of Clark. Spanish authorities moved against this threat of Clark and after some negotiations peace was achieved in 1796.

This narrative and evaluation of the events along the Georgia-Florida frontier is of importance also in its relation to American development, for the struggle represented a phase in the relations of the United States, France, and Spain. It was local in scope, yet a part of the vast frontier development, revealing the conditions and ambitions of the frontiersmen. Furthermore, the monograph shows that in 1793-96, various groups were interested in freeing Florida from Spanish occupation.

An additional factor agitating the Georgia-Spanish relations was the desire of commercial interests to extend their influence into the forbidden territory. Therefore, in 1793 if the United States desired to remove the Spanish from Florida, it could find a number of causes for a quarrel and the arrival of Citizen Genet, who had plans to execute against the Spanish, did not calm the disturbed situation.

Dr. Murdoch makes clear the plans of Citizen Mangourit, the

French consul accredited to the states of North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, a capable and enthusiastic agent of France, who hoped to activate through Samuel Hammond of Georgia, a well-known and popular individual. Mangourit's plans for an attack on East Florida were well received in Georgia, and many influential Georgians were at one time or another involved.

Murdoch states that the Spanish knew of the projected attacks, and despite the disloyalty of some of the American settlers between the St. Johns and St. Marys rivers, they formulated plans to counter the schemes of the French and Georgians. Many official messages flowed between East Florida and Cuba asking for reinforcements that were seldom forthcoming, yet the scheme of Mangourit and Hammond was not successful.

The study also reveals the different viewpoints of the federal and the state governments on how to handle the Indian problem; on the questions of recruiting for a foreign army; right of the Secretary of the Treasury to enforce the terms of the neutrality proclamation through the collection of customs; and the extent to which federal troops could be employed within a state to enforce federal regulations.

The work is well documented from abundant source material and has an extensive bibliography for those who may be interested in this phase of American border history.

**JESSE L. KEENE**

*University of Tampa*

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#### TRANSPORTATION IN FLORIDA

Anyone interested in the history of transportation in Florida by water and rail prior to 1900 may obtain on request a copy of ***The Development of Commercial Transportation in Florida*** by J. E. Dovell, published by the Bureau of Economic and Business Research, University of Florida.

Dr. Dovell traces the growth of water transportation, which was the principal means of communication and carriage in Florida during the colonial and territorial periods. This was the main reason why most of the early plantations were along the St. Marys and the St. Johns rivers and Indian River. In the early days each planter had his own boats, but commercial transportation steadily developed and regular lines of steamers were established in time on the St. Johns, the Suwannee, the Apalachicola, and later on the Ocklawaha. From 1877 to 1895 the St. Johns river enjoyed a traffic of great volume, with steamship lines from Charleston and Savannah to Fernandina, Jacksonville, and Palatka; and a fleet of smaller vessels to Sanford and the upper St. Johns, with a local line on Indian River. The last stand of interior water transportation was between Kissimmee and Ft. Myers.

Railroad building in Florida was almost negligible until the late 1850's when an exceedingly generous subsidy of public lands by the Internal Improvement Fund for every mile built promoted lines from Fernandina to Cedar Keys, Jacksonville to Tallahassee, and from Pensacola northwards, for a total of 416 miles before 1861. The same extraordinary or greater generosity prompted a renewal of construction after 1881, and in ten years 2,566 miles were in operation in Florida. So a large part of all Florida public lands have gone to the railroads. The Louisville and Nashville, for building its line from Pensacola to the Apalachicola river, actually received more than 2,000,000 acres of a much larger grant, which alone is one-fifteenth of the entire land area of the State.

There is a brief summary of the operations of Flagler, Plant, Chipley of the L. & N., and Williams and Warfield of the Seaboard Air Line, who were responsible for the building or consolidation of the four systems in today's Florida.

## REGIONAL AND LOCAL HISTORICAL SOCIETIES

### **THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA**

In the last issue of the *Quarterly* mention was made of the Historical Markers Program of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and of the marker placed in Miami commemorating the site of the ancient Indian village of Tequesta. On October 28 another marker of the series was unveiled at Key West's Meacham Field on the spot from which the first regularly scheduled international flight was made by Pan American World Airways from Key West to Havana, twenty-four years before. The plaque was unveiled by Adam G. Adams, president of the Association. From this beginning in Florida, Pan American World Airways has spread throughout the Carribean, around South America, and across the Atlantic and Pacific oceans.

The next marker will be placed in Miami to honor Julia D. Tuttle, one of the city's two founders.

Research by the Association has brought together the important facts in the founding and growth of Miami. A brief summary has been published in cooperation with the Miami Chamber of Commerce. This will be sent on request to the Chamber.

The Association (P. O. Box 537, Miami 4) extends an invitation to all who are interested in the history of South Florida to become members. The annual dues are two dollars and the Association's periodical *Tequesta* is sent to all members.

The 1951 issue of *Tequesta*, edited by Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau as have five former issues, appears as this number of our *Quarterly* goes to press and will be reviewed in our next issue.

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### **THE JACKSONVILLE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

For the Quarterly Program Meeting of the Jacksonville Historical Society on November 20, Dr. Mark F. Boyd was invited to speak on the Guale Missions, upon which he has done much

research. His interest in the mission of San Luis near Tallahassee, about which he wrote in *Here They Once Stood*, led to an interest in the other far-flung missions of the first Spanish period. Some of these were in Guale, northwards from Jacksonville.

Other program meetings are planned, for Jacksonville has an active Society.

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#### **THE TALLAHASSEE HISTORICAL SOCIETY**

At the first of the season's program meetings of the Tallahassee Historical Society in November the feature was a paper by Dr. Dorothy Dodd on "The Tallahassee Railroad and the Town of St. Marks," based on some new material recently found in the Leon county court house by Miss Mary Davis, secretary of the Society. This includes the original contract between the railroad company and the contractors who built the road. Other program meetings are planned.

## THE FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

Forty issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly* are still in print, including several complete volumes and other scattering numbers beginning with vol. X (1931). The price to the public is one dollar per issue, but these are sold to members of our Society and to public libraries in Florida at fifty cents each. Some of the most interesting and historically valuable articles we have published are included in these. Perhaps some of our members would like to fill out their files and add this large amount of our State's history to their libraries. Nowhere else can be found so varied or more authentic narratives of Florida's past. These forty issues will be sold to members of the Society and public libraries separately, or the lot for fifteen dollars.

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### DIRECTORS' MEETING

A called meeting of the Directors was held in the Society's library on October 27. President Daniel and Miss Snodgrass came from Jacksonville, Mr. Blocker from St. Petersburg, and Mr. Thrift from Lakeland. With the Gainesville members, this was more than a quorum.

A number of matters were discussed, the results of which will be referred to the Annual Meeting. These included the Osceola Commission, the Citrus Museum, an endowment fund, a complete index to all thirty volumes of the *Quarterly*, the printing of the Society's Constitution and Bylaws, the inclusion of genealogical material in the *Quarterly*, and institutional memberships.

It was agreed that the State Library Board be urged to expand the services of the State Library to provide a department of archives, publications, general references for State officials and legislators, and a library extension service.

President Daniel reported that the Annual Meeting, which

will be held in Jacksonville at the invitation of the Jacksonville Historical Society, will be on April 25 and 26, with headquarters at the George Washington hotel.

It was agreed that a meeting of the Directors be held in January next, subject to the call of the President.

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**CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER OF THE QUARTERLY**

**Frank G. Lewis** has an M. A. degree from the University of Florida and is now studying at the University of Maryland.

**Earl C. Tanner**, of Providence, Rhode Island, has a Ph. D. degree in history from Harvard University.

**John W. Griffin** is Archeologist, Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials. He has an M. A. degree from the University of Chicago, and has often contributed articles to this *Quarterly*.

**Albert C. Manucy**, a graduate of the University of Florida, has given the *Quarterly* several scholarly articles on Spanish sources for Florida's history. He is Historian for the Southeastern Areas, National Park Service, Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine.

**Omega G. East**, a graduate of the University of Miami, is a historical aide at Castillo de San Marcos.