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[1]

POPULATION CHANGE AS AN ELEMENT IN THE HISTORICAL GEOGRAPHY OF ST. AUGUSTINE

by JOHN R. DUNKLE

THE HISTORY OF ST. AUGUSTINE, like the history of every place, is an intricate drama of personalities and events set against a backdrop of the physical and cultural environment. This paper attempts to outline the pattern of one facet of the cultural background: population. It is believed that this may be justified by the fact that population changes correlate with events and shed light on those events. Further, population changes serve as an index to changes in economy.

If the national census were not such a recent invention this attempt to trace a pattern would be considerably more accurate. However, enough data is available to make some comparisons and draw some conclusions. As new documents are brought to light these are subject to change.

THE FIRST SPANISH PERIOD

Pedro Menendez de Aviles organized a great expeditionary force for his attempt to gain control of Florida and hold it against French attack.¹ He sailed from Spain with some 2,000 people. About half were soldiers, some 200 were sailors. Apparently there were about 100 married men, which presupposes 100 women and perhaps 150 children, although there is no record of the latter. Among the men there were tailors, carpenters, shoemakers, farmers, priests, tanners, locksmiths and silversmiths, most of whom also served as soldiers. Various landfalls were made in the Caribbean before reaching Florida. Upon touching at Hispaniola some 500 people deserted. Later 500 were to desert

1. Information about this period is of two types. The first is documentary, consisting of scattered references to numbers of people found by searching published sources and documents such as the Stetson Collection. Such a search is endless for often data is to be found only amidst totally unrelated material. It is therefore more than probable that there exist listings and accounts more specific than the ones herein brought to light. A second source of information is statistical, resulting from a study of the Parish Records. An assessment of this data will follow the analysis of the documentary information.

directly from Florida. Menendez utilized some of his force in military operations in the Caribbean after attacking the French in Florida. Thus in spite of the original size of the expedition Menendez could leave a complement of only seventy men at St. Augustine. As is the case in most records, the number of women and children is not given.

In 1569, the towns established along the Atlantic were strengthened and eighty men were added to St. Augustine. Some fourteen women were brought and no doubt some of these remained at St. Augustine. By 1572 it seems fairly certain that there were about ten married farmers in St. Augustine and about twenty-five single soldiers. By 1577 there seem to be about one hundred officers and men. In this ten year period since the founding it is probable that more girls were available for marriage and child-bearing and that a more normal sex-ratio was becoming established. In 1578 it is reported that there were 186 men in the port of whom twenty-seven were seamen, 157 were soldiers, and "two Frenchmen." The following year the governor requested that fifty men be sent which would complete the 300 place *dotacion*, that as many as possible be married and that a half-dozen unmarried women be sent. One wonders at this small request! It perhaps indicates the availability of Indian wives. In this same year the Council of the Indies recommended that thirty Negro slaves be sent to Florida. It is not certain that this plan was carried out.

The great event of the 1580's was the raid by Sir Frances Drake. The fort was held by 150 men at that time and the town was significant enough for mention. After the raid men were added to the garrison increasing it to 200. In 1592 twelve priests were brought to St. Augustine.

The picture for the year 1600 is fairly clear. Two separate reports indicate 250 men in the garrison. One report comments that they were mostly married. Yet in a record of monies apportioned to married men (perhaps not *all* married men benefited) there were thirty-seven men having a total of 103 children, fourteen men with no children and six men listed as "not sharing." This would give a total of only fifty-seven men. Several men had five or six children and one had seven. This document leads one to believe that other such lists might be extant.

In 1604 there were 190 effective troops. There were some thirty Negroes of whom eighteen were fit for work, seven were men too old to work and nine were women. The following year there was a request for a dozen more Negroes and three or four Negro women with an appended note that the other Negroes had been there some forty years and were dying off. A request was also made for extra rations for married men, indicating that this was not standard practice. A great event in the years 1605 and 1606 was the visit of Bishop Altamiro. On this trip he baptized many Indians and confirmed many former baptisms. Since he traveled far northward his account of baptizing 370 whites is hard to use with reference to St. Augustine.

The mercenary character of the military forces of the period is illustrated by a listing of foreign persons made in 1607. There were twenty-eight Portuguese, six Germans, twenty Frenchmen and two Flemish. The eleven who were married had a total of fifty children, an average of five per family.

It is worth noting that in 1607 when Jamestown was founded St. Augustine was already forty-two years old. After considering all of the evidence it seems that there were from three to five hundred persons in and around St. Augustine. At about this time there seems to have been some effort to strengthen the garrison. In 1609 some sixty men were sent as soldiers. In 1619, 186 men were listed in an accounting of active personnel. A note in 1621 indicates 250 people on the payroll including thirty-five priests, eighteen sailors, twenty "petitioners" (soldiers too old to be of active assistance) and three widows of soldiers. There were thirty-six Negroes. In 1638 there were 300 in the *dotacion* but of these forty were priests and only 100 effective infantry were stationed in St. Augustine. At about this time Indians were brought as forced labor to work on the fort. Just how many is unknown as well as how they were quartered.

In 1647 a document states the number of "residents" as over three hundred. It seems a very conservative estimate. In 1655 a smallpox plague swept through the Florida Indian population and probably struck the town also. A note this same year requests twelve Negroes for work on the fort. In 1662 it was reported that there were 180 soldiers in St. Augustine and thirty sons of soldiers who would help defend the fort. In 1662 there again

appears the statement that there were "more than 300 inhabitants, soldiers and married people." At the time of the British attack in 1669 there were only 200 effective soldiers.

The *dotacion* was increased in this year to 350 and forty-three new men were ordered to Florida. One wonders why the local youths were not enlisted. In 1674 it was noted that the fort had twenty guns and that a governor, a sergeant-major, a treasurer, an auditor, two captains and three hundred enlisted men were in the town. Yet a note in 1675 states that when ships left for the Caribbean or on patrol duty there were only eighty who remained to defend the town. In 1676 a letter indicates that three hundred Indians were brought yearly from Apalachee, Guale and Timucua to work on the fort and that such was their hardship that very few lived to return. This information may well be exaggerated for it is contained in a clerical letter which condemns the governor on various other counts as well. In 1679 a roll indicates 288 places on the *dotacion* of which 198 were effective, seven were paid to widows, nineteen were old and sick, twenty-nine were officers and thirty-one were in Apalachee. In addition there were perhaps fifty clergy. The following year fifty foot soldiers were sent to Florida. A comment the next year indicates a total of one hundred families in the town. If each family included four children this would give a total of 600 relatively permanent residents. In any event there were enough "civilians" so that in 1683 two companies of militia could be formed.

In 1685 the first really good clue to the total population comes to light in the statement that during the English attack "our 1400 persons found shelter inside the fort, including women and children." As English pressure increased runaway Negro slaves found refuge in the city. One hundred criminals and political prisoners were brought from New Spain for labor. At about this time English Catholics were allowed to settle in Florida. Accordingly Dickinson notes in his journal of 1696 that he visited with an Englishman married to a Spanish woman. They had seven children. He also stated that the garrison held about 300 soldiers. That same year the governor reported a *dotacion* of 350 places of which 111 were infantry, eight or ten were ill, thirty-seven were "false muster," eleven were women and children, twenty-eight were petitioners and four were infants.

At the time of Moore's raid in 1702 it is noted that over 1,000 people entered the fort for refuge. As a result the governor requested that the *dotacion* be increased to five hundred since there were only 130 men active in the garrison.

In 1746 the Bishop of Tricale reported that there were 1509 inhabitants and that he had confirmed 630 Spanish and 403 free Negroes and slaves. During the preceding years a long-standing plan to send colonists from the Canary Islands had apparently been carried out. Extra reinforcements were also brought so that in 1743 there were more than 700 men over and above the normal complement. Criminal labor from New Spain in the number of 250 men were also brought to Florida.

Since the First Spanish period closed with the evacuation of the people we have an excellent record whereby the final population can be established. One report fixes the number at 3,104; another at 3,005. Of this number 551 were military. Of the free Negro community which had been established north of the fort, there were 87: thirty-one men, thirty-four women and twenty-two children. There were 246 Canary Islanders. There were twenty-four Germans. Eighty-three Indians elected to leave Florida. Slaves numbered 303, men, women, boys and girls being totaled separately since their value differed. The military families included 582 women, 438 boys and 447 girls. The King paid expences of 895 men, 760 women, 659 boys and 608 girls. The Bishop of Cuba paid the expenses of twenty-five women and forty-nine children. Only a very few people, three to eight, stayed in St. Augustine.

While no census exists for this period, the parish records of births, deaths and marriages offer a method of statistical analysis which gives considerable information. With enough time one could obtain a running census via an actual listing of the names. The method used here involves a counting of the number of baptisms. Again this is time consuming so that this study was confined to a count of pairs of years at decade intervals. The birds of each of the pairs was averaged so that "calendar accident" would be reduced. The result (see Table I) shows an increase from seven births in the 1595 period to one hundred ten in the 1760 period. From the birth figures one can obtain the number of people if one makes an assumption concerning the birth-rate.

No doubt the rate itself changed during the whole of the Spanish period so that any assumed figure would be at best a gross estimate. Based on birth-rate in other times and places it would seem reason-

TABLE I
St. Augustine, Florida
Survey of Baptisms from Parish Records

Year	Number	Baptisms Two Year Average	Population computed from 40/1000 birthrate
1595	8		
1596	6	7	175
1600	3		
1601	19	11	275
1610	21		
1611	15	18	450
1620	14		
1621	22	18	450
1630	26		
1631	17	21.5	538
1640	22		
1641	24	23	575
1650	26		
1651	21	23.5	588
1660	22		
1661	36	29	725
1670	29		
1671	29	29	725
1680	44		
1681	35	39.5	988
1690	55		
1691	39	47	1,175
1700	37		
1701	36	36.5	912
1710	31		
1711	33	32	800
1720	44		
1721	30	37	925
1730	47		
1731	61	54	1,350
1740	58		
1741	48	53	1,325
1750	74		
1751	65	68	1,700
1760	105		
1761	115	110	2,750

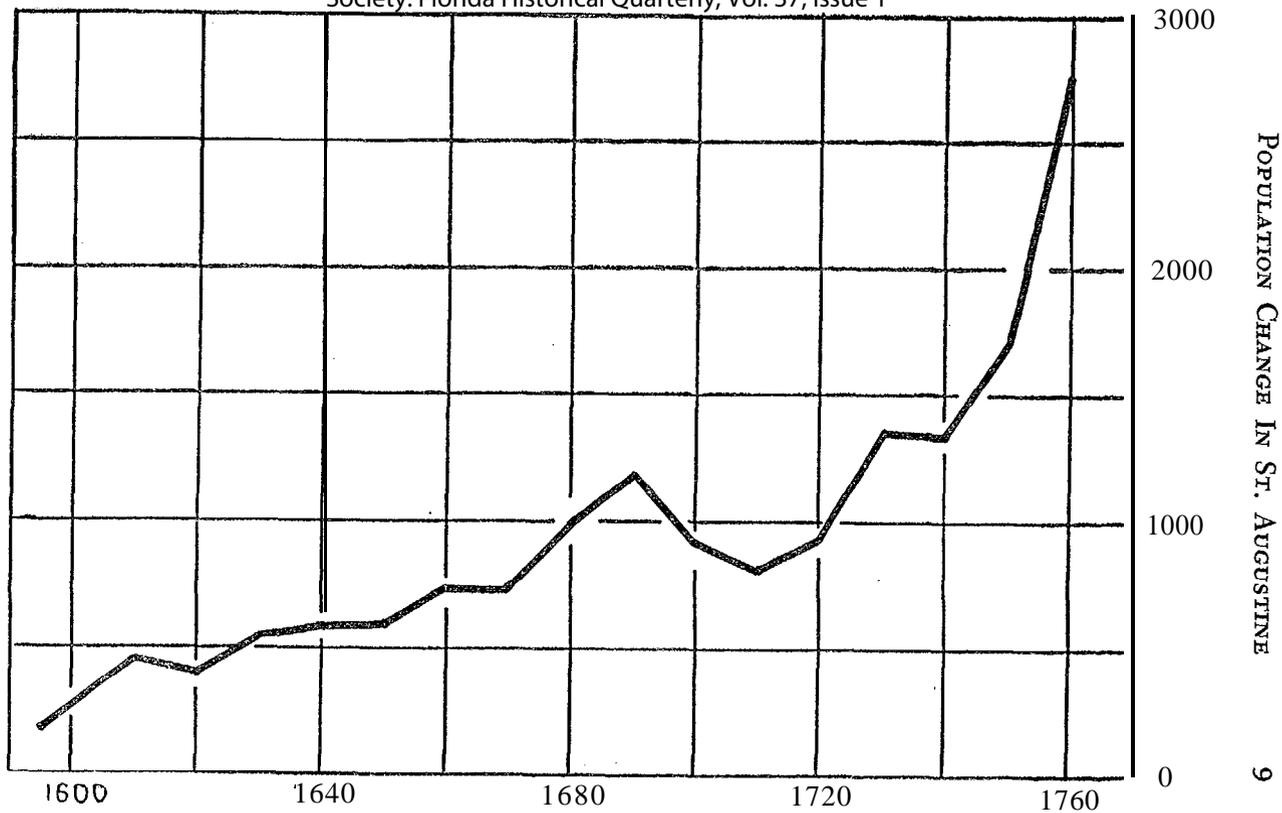


Figure 1. St. Augustine, Florida. Number of people. 1595 to 1760 computed for Baptismal Records.

able that a rate of forty per thousand (40/1000) would not be far from wrong. Application of this rate produces a population of 175 for 1595, and 2,750 for 1760. The latter figure is of the right order of magnitude in terms of the documentary record. It must always be remembered that these figures derived from the birth rate reflect families and not de unmarried clergyman and soldier. Further they account only for the white population.

In spite of the obvious pitfalls involved in the application of this method the resulting curve (See Figure 1) fits the known facts about the history of St. Augustine. Thus the population rose rather steadily to a peak of 1,175 in 1690. It then declined for two decades reaching a low of 800 in 1710. By 1730 the population had increased to 1350 at which figure is leveled for a decade. A sharp increase from 1700 to 2,750 was experienced in the decade of tension prior to the end of the period. While the city may not actually have decreased in the amounts shown on the graphs certainly the interval from 1690 to 1710 was one in which the city failed to prosper.

THE ENGLISH PERIOD

Although the period of British occupation was very short changes were so numerous that only an annual census could have provided us with a truly realistic picture. Lacking this it is useful to distinguish three categories of population: the permanent group, the Minorcan group and the Loyalist group.

De Brahm in his *History of the Three Provinces* provides a list which is indicative of the permanent population. It is essentially a listing by occupation. Although he states that between 1763 and 1771 there were some 3,000 people in East Florida, the list itself enumerates only 144 married men and 144 single men plus 1400 Minorcans and over 900 slaves. A close analysis of the listing indicates a non-Minorcan white population for the town of St. Augustine of about five hundred. In another place he notes "The inhabitants (Garrison excepted) consisted anno 1770 of 124 persons, of whom 50 were married and 74 unmarried. N. B. Women and Children were not Comprehended in this number." This latter note illustrates the common failing of most censuses prior to the pattern set by the United States

census. A further interesting commentary on the character of the community in this period is a note that while only two men were hanged, four men died in the line of duty as constables.

During the first years of the period only the 14th Regiment, consisting of some 200 men, was stationed in the town. From time to time the number was increased as in 1770 when 641 men of the 21st Regiment and six companies (number of men unspecified) were encamped north of the town enroute from West Florida.

The Minorcan group, which forms the major connecting link between the population of eighteenth century St. Augustine and the present, may be treated as a unit. The total number brought to Florida by Turnbull was close to 1,400. Church registers give a graphic account of their misfortunes. The deaths during the first year numbered 450, and 170 died in the second year. By 1772 the deaths had dropped to ten per year but increased to eighty per year in 1777 at which time the group removed to St. Augustine. The number of births per year is recorded from 1768 to 1784 and ranged from a low of ten in 1769 to a high of fifty-one in 1773. After the move to St. Augustine the number leveled to about thirty-five per year. If the birth rate is assumed to be forty per thousand a total of about 890 persons is indicated. This number seems consistent with the total of 409 recorded as having come to St. Augustine in 1777.² Yet a census made in 1786 specified that there were 86 females and 103 males born in Minorca and fifteen females and seven males born in "Mosquitos." This number totals only 211. This latter figure probably represents the degree to which the original group had disappeared.³

A third segment, the Loyalist Group, has been studied exhaustively by Siebert in his *Loyalists in East Florida*. Unfortunately it is difficult to decide from his work just how many people came to St. Augustine itself. However, he concludes that some 13,000 persons entered East Florida. In 1778 Governor Tonyn estimated a "permanent" population of 1,000 whites and 3,000 Negroes for the colony. In March of 1783 he estimated that 8,000 persons had come to Florida giving it a total of 11,000.

While no figure has been found for St. Augustine it would

2. British Colonial Office Records. "Number of Mahonese, Italians and Greeks." CO 5-558. January 15, 1778.

3. Father Hassett's Census of 1786. East Florida Papers.

seem reasonable to suppose that a very large fraction, at least one-third, of the influx settled in or near the town. In any event it was large enough to create an emergency, for regulations governing sanitation, slaves, traffic and food rationing were for the first time deemed necessary.

TABLE II
 St. Augustine, Florida
 General Census Summary
 1784
 Number According to Future Plans

Intent	Religious Plan	Number	Slaves
To remain	Already catholic	25	29
	To be converted	37	203
	To not be converted	80	32
	Minorcans (Catholic)	<u>445</u>	<u>?</u>
		587	264 (?)
Undecided	-	155	?
To leave	-	1181	?
TOTAL		1923	264 (?)

Source: *East Florida Papers*

Number According to Nativity of the Group
 Which Desired to Remain or Was Undecided

<i>Country of Birth</i>	<i>Number</i>
Minorca	445
Ireland	23
England	11
America	9
Scotland	7
Germany	6
France	2
Switzerland	2
Florida	1

Yet when the period ended very few of these new immigrants remained. As a result the English by bringing the Minorcans made St. Augustine more of a Spanish city than it had ever been before.

THE SECOND SPANISH PERIOD

This period provides the most intensive census record up to and including the present era. There is some sort of enumeration for each of the following dates: 1784, 1786, 1793, 1797 and 1815. Further, a census dated 1813 includes St. Augustine and adjacent areas.⁴

As of 1784, the eve of the British withdrawal, there was a total of 1,992 persons (654 families) in St. Augustine. Of these, 445 were Minorcans, thirty-six were British Catholics, thirty-seven persons desired to remain and become Catholics, eighty desired to remain but not conform, 155 were undecided about remaining and 1,181 persons wanted to leave (See Table II). This number does not include the slave population. The Minorcan group was the largest single element of the population inclined toward remaining, but of the group who either wanted to remain or were undecided there were twenty-three Irish, eleven English, seven Scots, six Germans and nine from the United States. Most of the essential trades were represented from planter to laborer, merchant to doctor.

The second available census seems to be dated about 1785. It is certainly prior to 1786 and seems to have been made soon after the British evacuation in an attempt to settle land distribution. The tabulation specifically lists the acreage held by land owners and it is clear that nearly the whole group wanted more land. The Minorcans held on the average about three to five acres although some few had fifty to 100 acres. The British, on the other hand, claimed large tracts, one claim being over 17,000 acres and another over 7,200 acres. These large acreages were not adjacent to St. Augustine and do not represent farm-

4. These documents are a part of the collection known as the "East Florida Papers." The writer is indebted to J. B. Lockey who made transcripts of the data giving them upon his death to the Yonge Library of Florida History. His article, "The St. Augustine Census of 1786", *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Volume 18, 1939, pp. 11-31, is an analysis of one of these censuses.

steads or cultivated plots. The cosmopolitan nature of the population continued. In this census, however, a distinction is made between those from "Minorca" and those from "Majorca" and a great number of the returns state a specific town such as Liorna or Naples. Nine people claimed Florida as their home. The Irish group had declined to five. Those from the United States listed Pennsylvania, New York, Maryland and North Carolina as birth places. Significantly, the British were the largest slave holders. The three largest groups according to occupation were laborers, marines and carpenters in that order, with forty-eight people being listed as laborers. The total population stands at 881 people. Of these 606 are white of whom 431 are Minorcans. Of the adults there were 169 males to 114 females and of the children 176 males to 147 females. This disproportion of males is not great considering the newness of the population. The Minorcan group had been established for some years but of the twenty-two new Spanish adults there were seventeen males to five females. (See Table III)

The census of 1786 taken by the parish priest, Father Hassett, for school purposes "provides additional information of value in picturing these early years of Spanish occupancy. The total

TABLE III
 St. Augustine, Florida
 General Census Summary
 C. 1785
 Number According to Nativity, Race, Sex and Age

Nativity	Adults		White Children		Total	Negro (slaves) by Nativity of Owner	
	Male	Female	Male	Female		Male	Female
Florida and Cuba	14	6	24	15	59	52	13
Spain	17	5	4	5	31	9	6
"Mahonese"	119	85	119	108	431	35	35
Britain	29	18	29	19	95	125	
Total	179	114	176	147	616	275	

Source: *East Florida Papers*

POPULATION CHANGE IN ST. AUGUSTINE

15

resident population is now 953, a fairly large increase. In addition he lists 300 persons as being sub-urban and notes that there are 450 troops stationed in the garrison bringing the grand total for the locality up to 1,703. By classes the distribution remains about the same, the Minorcan group being by far the largest. There has been some addition of Spanish officials but a decrease in the foreign (non-Spanish speaking) group. The number of slaves has increased only slightly. Altogether it strengthens the picture presented as of 1785 and serves to augment it. There were 119 married men and 101 single men. For the female population there were 125 married or widowed and only twenty-seven single. It has been possible to tabulate also the size of households. By far the largest number of households had from three to five people but there were a significant number of single person households and a few households with eight to ten persons exclusive of slaves. With respect to slave holding the most usual situation was for a household to own only one slave although a significant number owned from two to four slaves. Only a very few households owned more than four and the maximum number was eleven. (See Table IV)

By 1793 the population had increased considerably. The community now contained 927 white people and 412 slaves, a total of 1,339 people. A note appended to the listing states that there were 1,291 persons to which could be added 438 soldiers.

TABLE IV
St. Augustine, Florida
Census Summary
1786

Number by Nativity, Race and Sex

Nativity	white		Total	Negro (slave and free)		
	Male	Female		Male	Female	Total
Foreigners	47	41	88	72	56	128
Minorcans	243	231	474	45	37	71
Floridians	30	21	51	42	40	82
Spanish	28	19	47	8	4	12
Total	348	312	660	156	137	293

Source: *East Florida Papers*

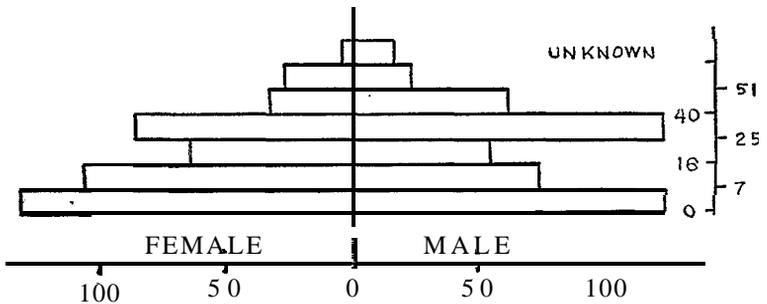


FIGURE 2. St. Augustine, Florida. 1793. White Population. Age-Sex Distribution.

Whichever total is correct an increase in indicated. Certain other features of this census serve to round out the picture. For the first time the age-sex data is complete. (See Figure 2) This population pyramid shows the preponderance of men in the productive age range from twenty-six to forty, there being 122 men to 86 women. At all lower ages, however, there are more females than males, indicating that the sex ratio was becoming more normal. The same thing cannot be said of the Negro group where there were 383 males to only twenty-nine females. It is entirely probable that this latter figure is somewhat exaggerated for almost certainly many children of both sexes were not listed. This particular census lists names of persons by streets and if a base map were available a population distribution picture could be presented. Lacking such a map one may say that there seems to be little change from the British period except that a considerable number of people are listed as living on "el camino de la Feria" (the Ferry Road), on "las Orillas del Rio Matanzas" (the banks of the Matanzas River) and on "Las Orillas del Rio Norte" (the banks of the North River) indicating that the community had spread beyond the walls of the old city. We are again able to ascertain with considerable accuracy the number of slaves per household. Of 145 households listed, ninety-five owned no male slave. Twenty-eight households owned one male slave. Nine owned two slaves. Only one household owned as many as nine male slaves. Eighty-five households owned no female slaves, twenty-eight owned one female, eighteen owned two and only twelve households owned more than two females. Thus while

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slavery was very much a part of the community there were a large number of households which could not afford this luxury.

The racial question is given still further clarification in a census dated 1797. (See Table V) As of this date there were in the town 851 white people, thirty-three free mulattoes, fifty-two free Negroes, twenty-four slave mulattoes and 288 slave Negroes: a total of 1,248 persons. To this number may be added 202 persons living along Rio del Norte and 143 persons living along Rio Matanzas bringing the community as a whole up to 1,592 persons. It is significant that the free mulattoes and Negroes lived almost exclusively in the town. Interesting too is the fact that there were twenty-one free mulatto women to only twelve free mulatto men. The sex ratio among the white group had become practically equated for there were 512 females to 490 males. More startling is the equating of the sex ratio for the slave group.

The date of the next census is uncertain. A cross-check of names and ages with other census leads one to venture that it dates between 1810 and 1812. The listings are arranged according to *barrios* (wards) and interestingly enough these areas are retained in the ward divisions of the United States census of 1830. Unfortunately no base map is available for delimiting the boundaries of the wards, although their names give some

TABLE V
St. Augustine, Florida
Census Summary
1797

Number By Race, Sex and Social Status

Status	St. Augustine		Rio Norte		Rio Matanzas		Total
	Male	Female	Male	Female	Male	Female	
White	411	440	57	53	22	24	1007
Free mulatto	12	21	1	0	1	4	39
Free negro	26	26	6	4	1	0	63
Slave mulatto	14	10	1	0	1	3	29
Slave negro	144	144	48	30	52	36	454
Totals	607	641	113	87	77	67	1592

Source: *East Florida Papers*

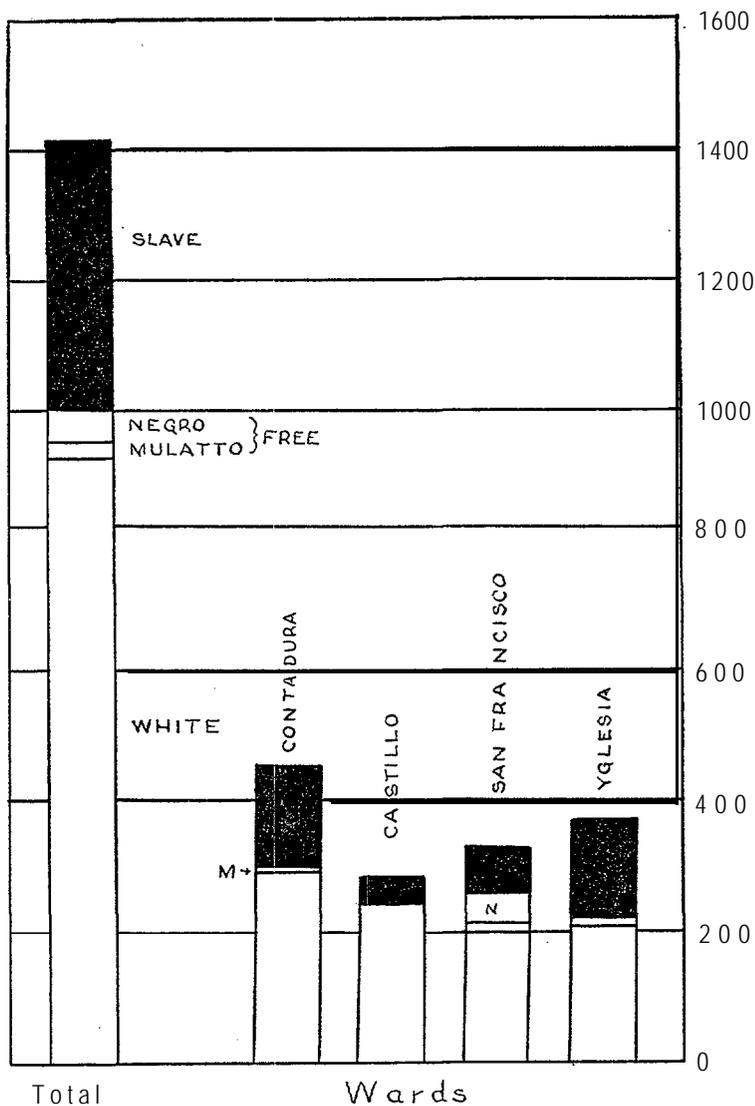


FIGURE 3. St. Augustine, Florida. c. 1810-1812. Population by race and by wards within the city.

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indication of their general location. (See Figure 3) Roughly one-fourth of the population of just over 1,400 lived in each ward. There were 471 white males and 452 white females, 230 slave Negro males and 194 slave Negro females. This census is especially valuable because it gives the age-sex pattern for both the free and the slave groups. With respect to the white group there is a much larger number of females over sixteen than males. The cause of this is uncertain and it may reflect only a lack of inclusion of garrison personnel. The contrast between the white and the slave group is striking. Nearly all of the slave group lies between age sixteen and twenty-five, the laboring age, with a very small number of persons over fifty. (See Figure 4)

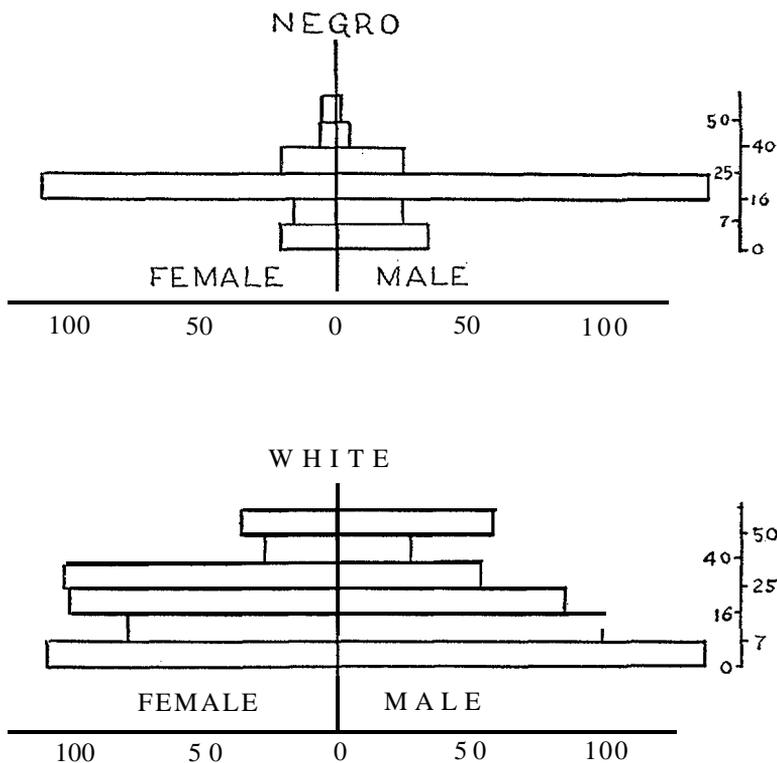


FIGURE 4. St. Augustine, Florida. c. 1810-1812. Population by race, age and sex.

The final census for the period is dated 1815. Its validity is somewhat in question for the under-seven age group seems very small in the white group. The extent of the populated area is indicated by the listing which includes the four wards within the city as well as listings for Matanzas, San Sebastian, San Pablo, Rio Mosquitos, Puerta Sur, Rio San Juan, Puerto de la Ysla Amalis and San Nicolas. The total for the four wards within the city was 1,383 persons of whom 840 were white. The total for all the areas was 3,729 persons, Amelia Island alone having 1,491. In short, St. Augustine was becoming just a part of a populated area extending from the St. Marys River southward. An interesting feature of this census is an indication of marital status for the St. Augustine wards. In the group aged over sixteen in the white group there were 215 single, 266 married and 54 widowed. Of this widowed group forty-one were women. In the Negro slave group there were 205 single and only twenty-four married. Apparently the sacrament of marriage was not pressed upon the slave group. (See Table VI)

In summary we may say that the population of St. Augustine grew only slowly during the period although settlement outside the town proceeded at a more rapid rate. The slave group increased gradually but never equalled the white group. The abnormal sex ratio of the early years was gradually readjusted under normal birth conditions although the varying number of garrison troops created periodic imbalances. The community regarded the city walls with less concern than in the first Spanish period and

TABLE VI
 St. Augustine, Florida
 Marital Status of Population
 Over Sixteen Years of Age
 1815

Single Male	Free White				Negro Slave						
	Single	Married	Widowed		Single	Married	Widowed				
	Female	M	F	M	F	M	F	M	F		
101	114	131	135	13	41	100	105	12	12	6	6
215		266		54 (Totals)		205		24		112	

Source: *East Florida Papers*

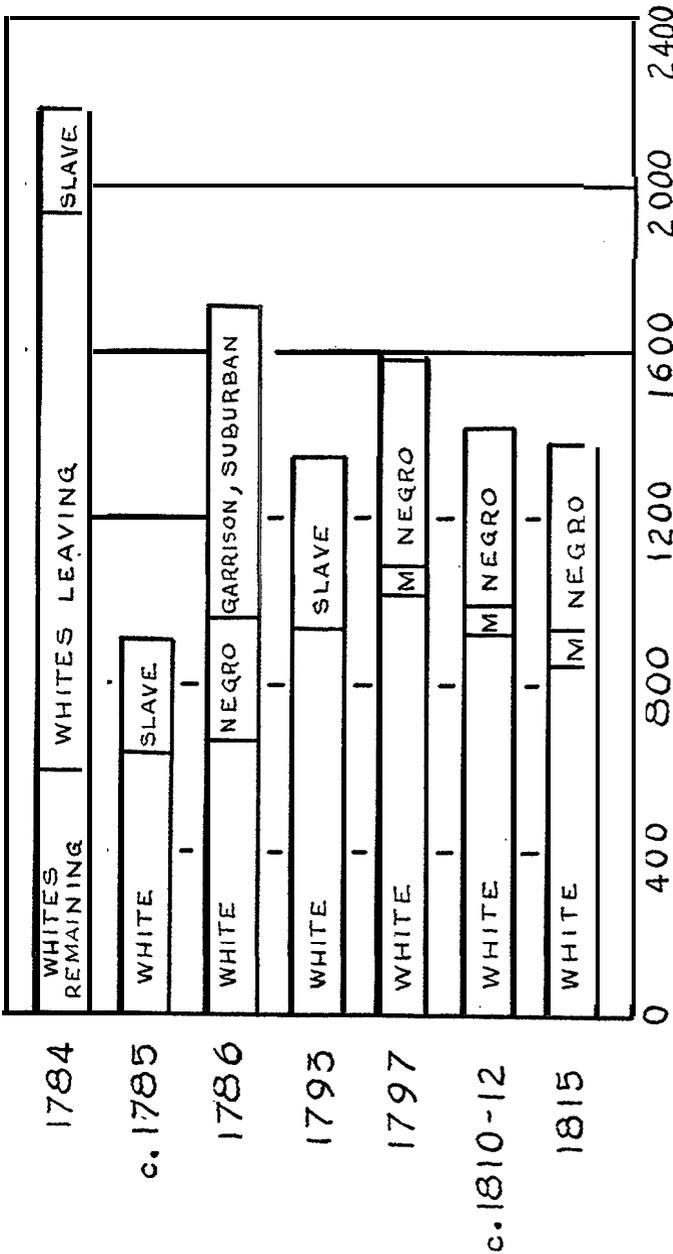


FIGURE 5. St. Augustine, Florida. Second Spanish Period. Summary of Census data.

therefore de town limits were less fixed. Throughout most of the period the community held a size of between 1,200 and 1,500 persons. (See Figure 5)

THE AMERICAN PERIOD

There is a most unfortunate gap in data between 1815 and 1830. Because of the newness of Florida as a territory the United

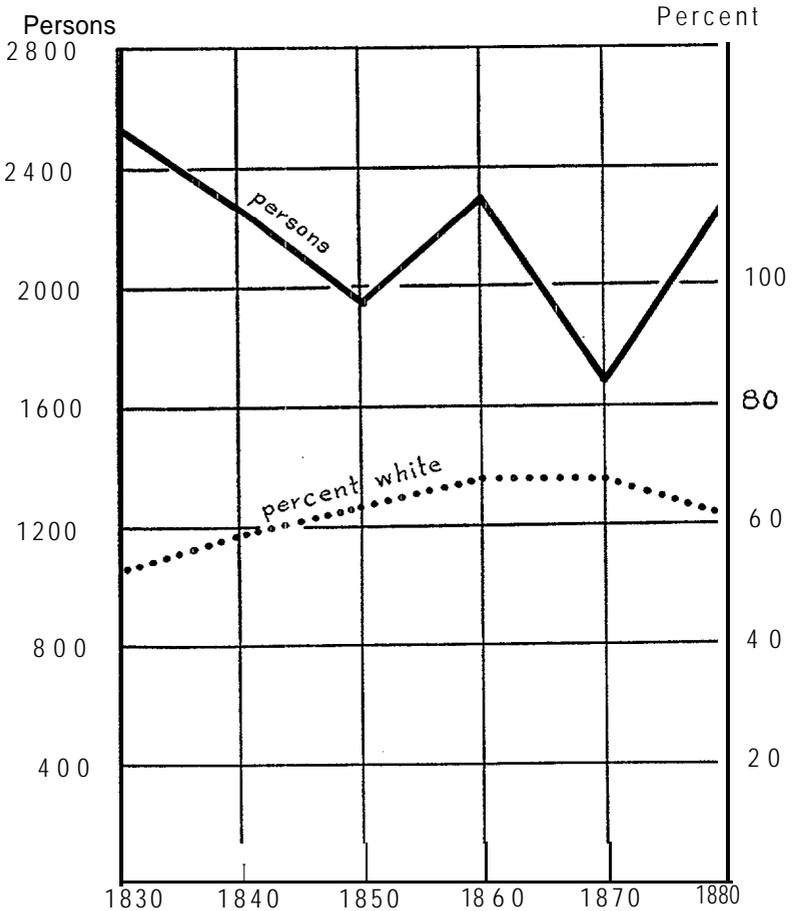


FIGURE 6. St. Augustine, Florida. 1830 to 1880. Population Change.

States Census of 1820 did not apply. No other record of the population has come to light thus far. Thus we must pick up the thread with the 1830 census.⁵

As of 1830 St. Augustine included 1,335 white persons, 172 free colored persons and 1,037 slaves, making a total of 2,544 persons. (See Figure 6 for changes from 1830 to 1880) The frontier nature of the community is evidenced by the unusually large percentage of white males of ages twenty to forty and the corresponding low proportion of females. Eleven percent of the males were age thirty to thirty-nine while only 4.9 per cent of the females were in this group. The years of upheaval toward the end of the Spanish period produced a lowering in the usually large number of persons fifteen to nineteen among the white group. As in later years there are more female (52.9 per cent) Negro slaves than male reflecting the use of slaves for household help.

The census of 1840 shows a slight overall decline from 2,544 to 2,352, but this decline was entirely due to a drop in the non-white group. The white group actually increased to 1,369. However, the picture is one of stagnation for in a decade a town should increase some by natural increase. The normalization of the sex ratio indicates an emigration of surplus white males, the difference being made up by locally born females. In both the free and the slave group there is a decrease in the number of children under ten.

In spite of increased tourist movement the resident population continued to decline. In a state where plantations were having a real boom in the north and in which political activity and economic activity were moving in hand, St. Augustine, off the beaten track and having a poor hinterland, was rapidly falling by the wayside. By 1850 there were only 1,217 white persons and the number of slaves had declined to the point where the total population was only 1,938 persons. The free colored population

5. The discussion of this period is based both on the published data of the U. S. Census and, more importantly, on examination of microfilms of the original census tracts available in the Yonge Library of Florida History. These tracts made possible tabulations which are not included in the published data and in certain instances indicated necessary revisions as in the case of the 1830 census where the published figure of 1,709 for the total population apparently included only the free population.

had declined to ninety. In short there were seven hundred fewer people in 1850 than in 1830. In both the white and the non-white groups there were about forty-three per cent males. In the white group especially there were very few in the fifteen to nineteen age bracket. The young men were leaving town.

From the census of 1850 it has been possible to tabulate the occupations of the white population. (See Figure 7) Some eighteen per cent of the group are laborers and about seventeen per cent are engaged in agriculture, forestry or fisheries. Significantly

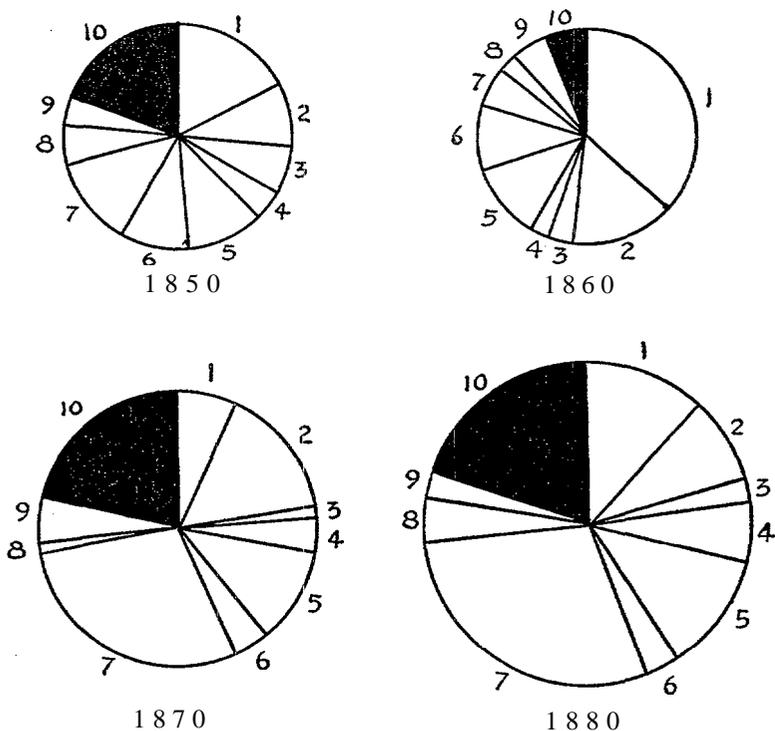


FIGURE 7. St. Augustine, Florida. 1850 to 1880. The Labor Force by Major Industry Groups.

- | | |
|--------------------------------------|--------------------------|
| 1. Agriculture, Forestry and Fishery | 6. Business and Repair |
| 2. Construction | 7. Personal Services |
| 3. Manufacturing | 8. Public Administration |
| 4. Transportation and Commerce | 9. Professions |
| 5. Wholesale and Retail | 10. Labor |

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some nine per cent are engaged in construction and about twenty per cent in commerce. Personal service occupations include only thirteen per cent but it must be remembered that most personal services were performed by slaves. The 1870 figure, taken after emancipation, is almost doubled. There was in 1850 a small cigar factory employing fifteen people.

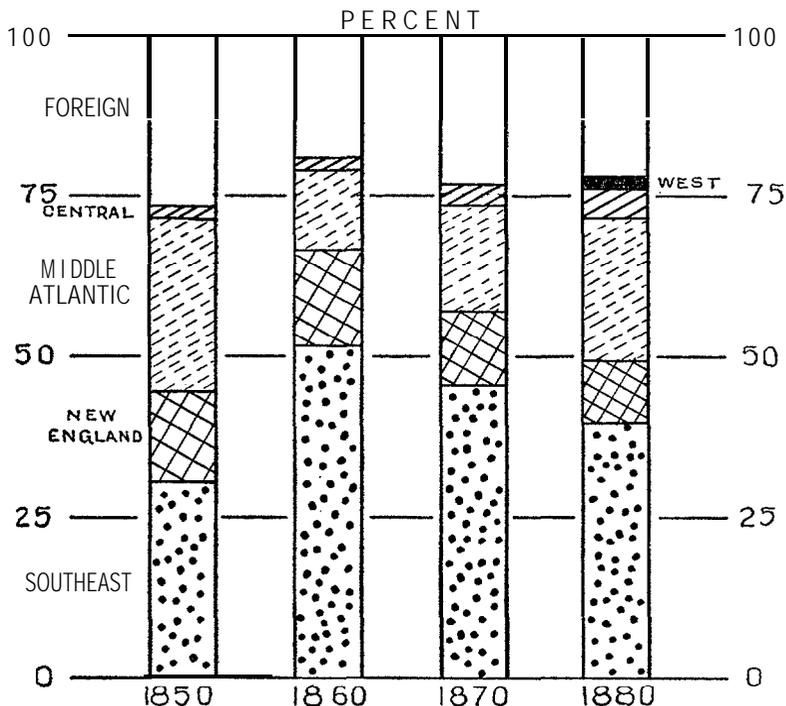


FIGURE 8. St. Augustine, Florida. 1850 to 1880. Nativity: Percentage of the Out-of-State population from the several sections of the United States.

For the first time there is an indication in 1850 of the nativity of the population (See Figure 8). Of the total free population 84.6 per cent was born in Florida. This is probably a rather low figure as compared with the South as a whole. Of the out-of-state group thirty per cent were born in the South, twenty-seven per cent in the Middle Atlantic States, fourteen per cent in New Eng-

land and twenty-nine per cent were born outside the United States. Of the individual states New York and Georgia led. Of the foreign nations the British Isles, France and Germany in that order were major suppliers of immigrants. For the South it was a very cosmopolitan population, especially when one recognizes that the Minorcan group has retained something of its identity up to the present.

By 1860 the population had increased considerably and of this population a larger percentage was born in the South. The increase came among the white group which rose to 1,568 bringing the total to 2,307. There was still a female majority but the male percentage had increased to 47.9 per cent. The white sex ratio in the twenty to twenty-nine age bracket was nearly balanced. The net immigration is indicated by the fact that only seventy-five per cent of this 1860 population was born in Florida. Of the out-of-state group, fifty-one per cent was born in the South, fifteen per cent in New England and thirteen per cent in the Middle Atlantic States. Only nineteen per cent was foreign-born. Again Georgia and New York among the states and the British Isles among the nations were leading suppliers.

The picture of occupations is complicated by the fact that almost twice the number of persons list themselves as farmers than a decade earlier. It is impossible to ascertain whether this represents an extension of the census area to the city margins or a bonafide change in the character of the community, but probably the former. The significant increase in the percentage engaged in construction represents the building boom which accompanied the increase in population as St. Augustine boomed as a tourist center.

The first available information concerning the school population comes in the 1860 census. (See Figure 9). Thus we find that in the age five to fourteen bracket seventy-one per cent of the white boys and seventy-seven per cent of the white girls were in school. No figures are given for the slave population. At a guess this would seem to be a fairly high figure in terms of the national average at that period and matches well the comments of travelers of that era who commented of the high "cultural" level of St. Augustine.

Although the War Between the States inflicted no physical

damage on St. Augustine it interrupted the budding tourist industry and caused a great exodus of people. Although after the war tourists again moved toward the "ancient city" the census of 1870 shows that the population totaled only 1,700 persons. This decline was produced by a removal of both white and Negro groups with the result that there were listed only 1,123 whites, 177 mulattoes and 373 Negroes. It is interesting to note that at this date three classes were distinguished while the most recent census distinguished only white and non-white categories. The male percentage stood at 45.7 for the white group and a new low of 41.0 per cent for the non-white group. This latter figure illustrates the extent to which the freedman was more mobile than the freedwoman. This is illustrated also in the age-sex pattern for there were twelve per cent of the females in the twenty to twenty-nine age bracket while only five per cent of the males were thus encompassed. Another effect of the war shows up in the birth picture where only ten per cent of the white population lies

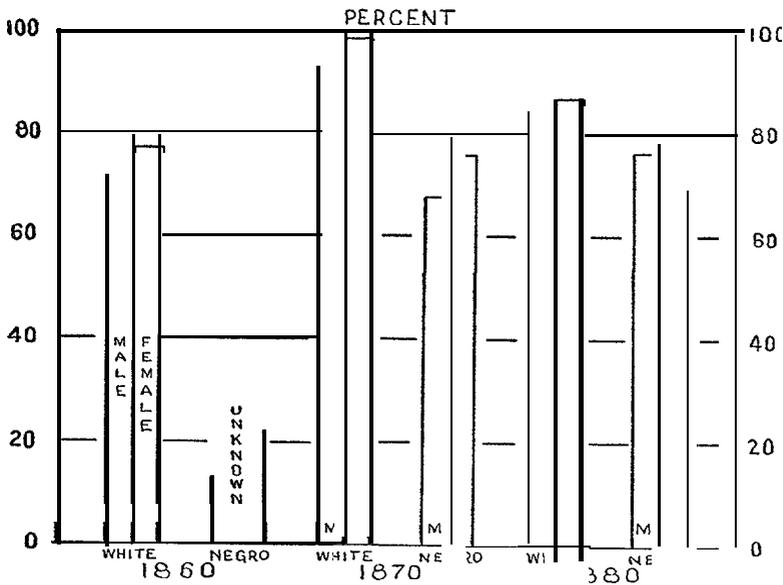


FIGURE 9. St. Augustine, Florida. 1860 to 1880. School Attendance of children age 5-14.

in the group age five through nine where fifteen per cent were in that bracket in the 1860 census.

Since there was a reduction in the population after 1860 the nativity of the population is significant only as shifts in emphasis occur. Of the total group 76.2 per cent were born in Florida. Of the out-of-state group, five per cent were born in the South, sixteen per cent in the Middle Atlantic States and twelve per cent in New England. The number of persons born in South Carolina increased as did the number from Virginia, Louisiana and Kentucky. Some twenty-six per cent of the out-of-state group was foreign-born, many of them being soldiers stationed in the town. Ireland and France head the list.

The picture of occupations for 1870 is not comparable to that for 1860 because of the inclusion of the now freed slaves. As a result twenty-nine per cent were engaged in personal services and eighteen per cent were classed as laborers. The greatest decrease is in the agriculture category, probably as a result of distinguishing farm laborer from farmer. It is interesting to note that while forty-eight non-whites were listed as laborers there were also thirty-four white laborers. While there were no Negroes in the professions or in commerce there was a small number of Negro carpenters and masons.

By 1870 educational opportunities had increased. For the first time the Negro situation can be assessed. Again percentages are based on a tabulation of the children age five through fourteen. Thus there were 71.6 per cent of these Negro children in school and 96.2 per cent of the white children. In each case the percentage of females was greater than that of males.

By 1880 St. Augustine was out of the doldrums and had increased to 2,295 people (although this was still lower than 1830) of whom 1,414 were white, 361 mulatto and 521 Negro. It is noteworthy that the increase of the non-white group was proportionately greater as the need for service personnel grew with the tourist trade. The Florida-born percentage had declined to 74.6 for the white population. Of the out-of-state group the south supplied forty per cent, the Middle Atlantic States twenty-two per cent and New England ten per cent. For the first time Illinois, Ohio and Wisconsin assumed some importance. Among the foreign-born several new nations were represented.

POPULATION CHANGE IN ST. AUGUSTINE

The pattern of occupations remained much the same as in 1870. One indicator of the increasing importance of tourism is a listing of a sizeable number of saloon and liquor dealers. There were also a number of railway employees.

With respect to education conditions were not quite so good. The white attendance was down to 85.3 per cent while the Negro attendance had increased only one per cent. For the first time there were slightly more Negro boys attending than Negro girls.

Census data for the decades from 1880 to 1950 is so readily

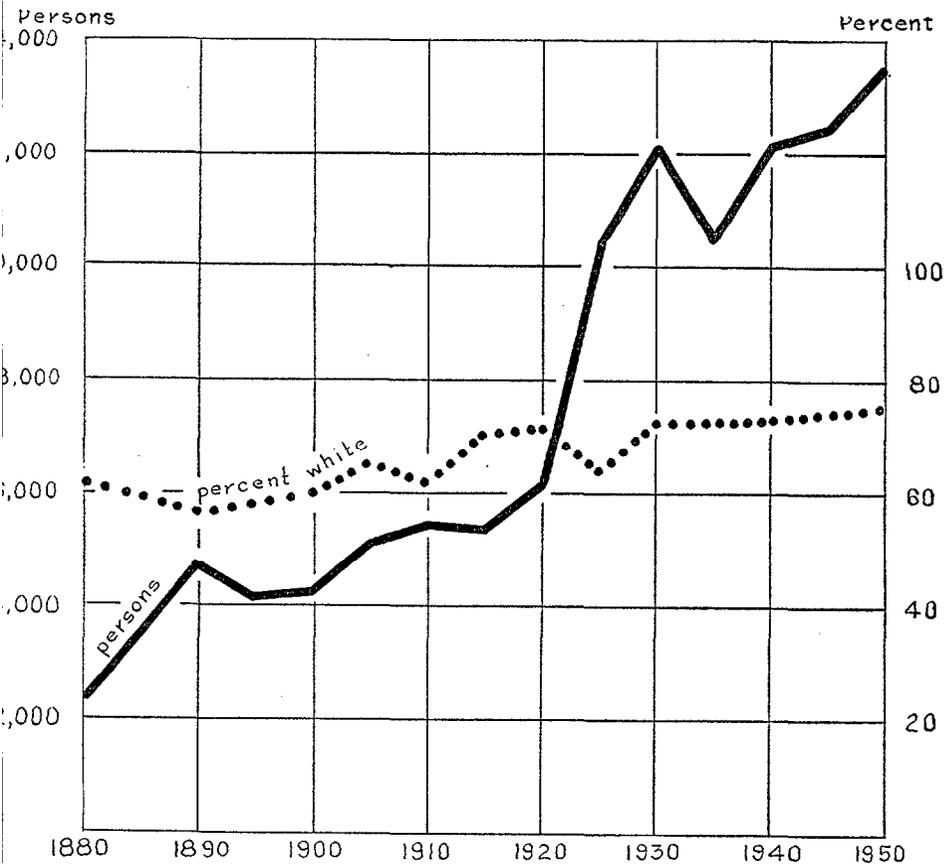


Figure 10. St. Augustine, Florida. 1880 to 1950. Population Change.

available that only the broad pattern will be considered. (See Figure 10) St. Augustine grew from the 2,300 of 1880 to almost 14,000 in 1950. This growth was far from regular, however. While the population more than doubled between 1880 and 1890 under the impetus of the Florida East Coast rail enterprise it then declined to a low of about 4,100 in the following five years as the rail line was extended farther south. Growth was steady but gradual to a number of 6,200 in 1920 at which time the Florida boom again brought a doubling such that by 1930 the population reached 12,000. While there was an actual decrease during the first five years of the depression there was a later increase so that the total for 1940 equaled that of 1930. During the post-war boom population has again risen and it may be that the 1960 census will show an increase of a size comparable to the 1920's.

The percentage of the population which is white has been rising rather steadily from sixty-one per cent in 1880 to seventy-six per cent in 1950. The percentage of the population which is male has remained slightly below fifty per cent. In common with all of America the percentage of foreign born has been slowly declining, reaching a low of three per cent in 1950.

The nativity pattern of the modern population is available only from the mid-seasonal census taken by the state of Florida. Unfortunately this data is obtainable only for the county as a whole, since 1920 the county has been increasing at an even faster rate than the city. In 1925 some seventy per cent of the white population and fifty-three per cent of the Negro population of the county lived in St. Augustine. By 1945 these figures were reduced to sixty-three and forty-five per cent respectively. Some of this change is produced by growth just outside the city limits of St. Augustine and represents a growth of the city itself. Recognizing the pitfalls it is still useful to analyze the nativity for the county. (See Figure 11)

With respect to the Negro group fifty-five per cent were born in Florida as of 1925. This number has risen to sixty-four per cent by 1945. In each year all but about two per cent were born in the southeast. Georgia and South Carolina were second only to Florida as suppliers.

Among the white group something over fifty per cent were born in Florida and about twenty per cent were born in other

POPULATION CHANGE IN ST. AUGUSTINE

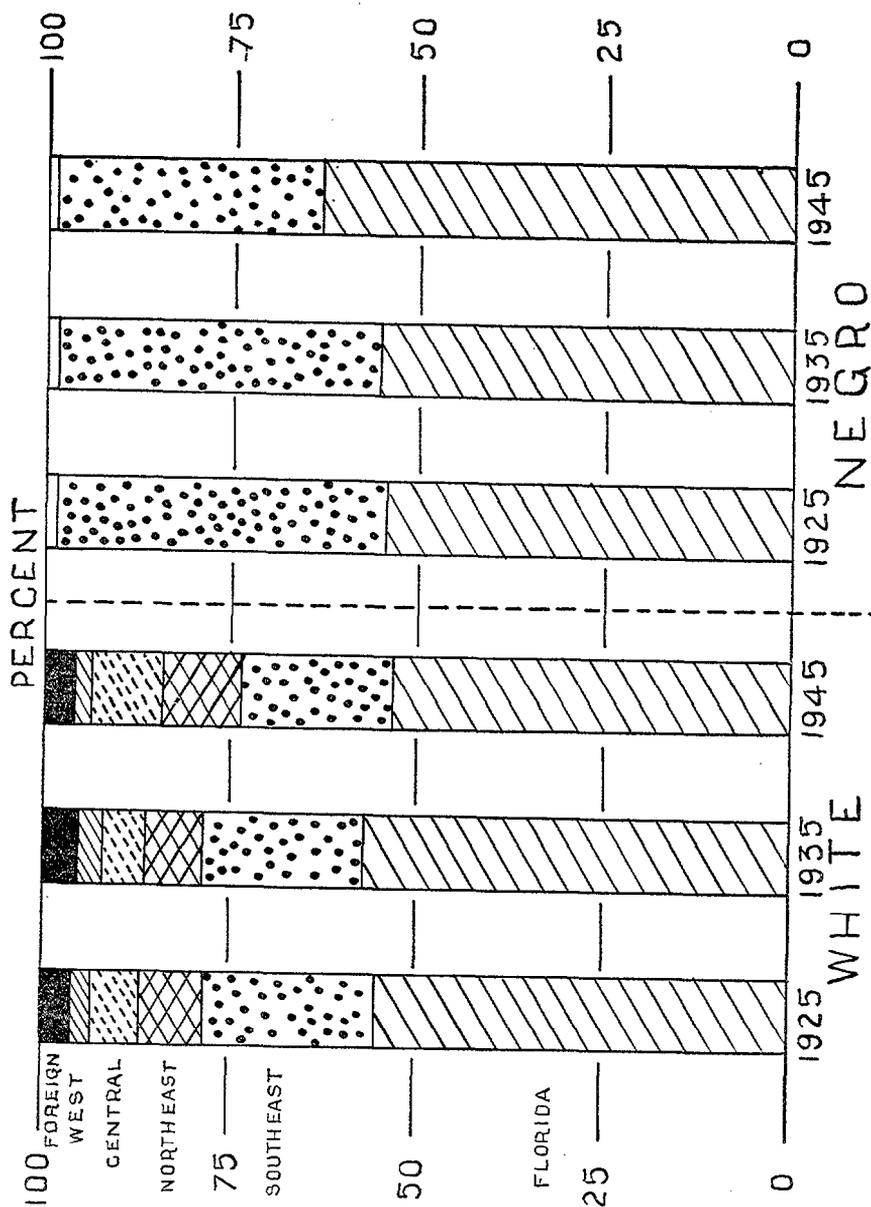


FIGURE 11. St. Johns County, Florida, 1925 to 1945. Nativity.

southeastern states for each of the census years 1925 to 1945. In each census the eastern states led the central states, slightly, as suppliers. Among the individual states the largest supplier was Georgia with 10.9 per cent. New York and Pennsylvania followed with 5.9 per cent each. Other states in order included South Carolina, North Carolina, Illinois and Alabama. Even supposing that all of these non-southeastern people lived in St. Augustine itself the number would not be large enough to account for the rapid growth of the town in the last thirty years. Rather it must be said that the city grew as Floridians and other Southerners moved to the city to service the needs of the tourist.

The three to four per cent of the population which is foreign born is primarily of British stock. From 1905 to 1915 there was some increase of German and Russian born. After 1915 there was an increased number of south and east Europeans. While the number has always been small (only 470 persons in the peak year of 1920) the proportion has been higher than the typical city of the "Old South."

In conclusion it may be hoped that this survey of the population of St. Augustine may serve to augment the picture of the cultural setting in which the events which produce Florida's history have taken place. More study is needed to fill out the population story. Especially it would be helpful to fill in the gap of the early territorial days when things were much in a state of flux.

WHAT BECAME OF THE MAN WHO CUT OFF JENKINS' EAR?

by EDWARD W. LAWSON

ALMOST ALL HISTORIES mention the unfortunate experience of Master Robert Jenkins who achieved fame by giving his name to the War of Jenkins' Ear. Some even tell that the man who removed Jenkins' auricle was called Fandino, captain of a Spanish Coast Guard. What ultimately became of Fandino remains a mystery. He deserves better recognition in the history of Florida, for it was he who was largely responsible for the failure of General James Oglethorpe to capture St. Augustine's Castillo de San Marcos, and hence the abandonment of the siege of our oldest city by the English in 1740.

The world events which led to Master Jenkins' misfortune started with the Treaty of Utrecht, signed by England and Spain in 1713. One of the features of this treaty was the Asiento, a contract by which the South Sea Company, a British organization, was given the exclusive right, for 30 years, to import and sell annually in the Spanish American colonies, "not less than 4,800 sound, healthy, merchantable Negroes, 40 years old." There was also a provision allowing England to send one shipload of merchandise to Spanish America each year, it being stipulated that the ship should not exceed 600 tons burden. Both of these treaty provisions were regularly violated by English merchants. The Island of Jamaica (which had been in undisputed possession of the British since 1670), became a base for the South Sea Company, and also for many English smugglers who exchanged their cargoes at minor Spanish ports for gold or for products of the country.¹

There was no doubt that the brig *Rebecca* of Glasgow registry, which Master Jenkins commanded, had been engaged in smuggling before Captain Juan de Leon Fandino boarded her from his Spanish Coast Guard on April 9 [20], 1731.² Although

[33]

1. *The Cambridge Modern History*, 1925, VI, 47-48

2. In mid-eighteenth century the English were still using "Old Style" (Julian) Calendar. The Spaniards adopted "New Style" (Gregorian) Calendar in 1582. At the time of this account the difference was 11 days. Where English dates are quoted, the corresponding modern dates are given in brackets, e.g. Apr. 9 [20].

[33]

there was no contraband on board the *Rebecca*, Jenkins had a considerable sum of Spanish gold in his chest, and she was overstocked with fresh provisions. The *Rebecca* was captured not far from Havana. Her papers called for a voyage from Jamaica to London. She was too far off her course to be considered an innocent merchantman. The probability is that Jenkins contemplated sneaking into the Bay of Honduras for a clandestine cargo of dye wood.

Just what precipitated the disagreement between the two captains is not of record. The outcome is well attested. Fandino cut off one of Master Jenkins' ears and handed it to him with the instruction: "Take this to your king and tell him if he were here I would do the same to him."³ Then after relieving the *Rebecca* of her gold, and a goodly part of her provisions, Fandino released her.

The English ship arrived in the Thames Estuary on June 11 [22], 1731. Master Jenkins' report of the treatment he had received created much excitement, and shortly after his arrival he was permitted to state his case before King George II.⁴

The excitement soon died down, insofar as Master Jenkins' misfortune was concerned; but Fandino continued to give English shipmasters considerable concern. On July 1 [12], 1731, he captured the English sloop *Dolphin* on its way from Barbados to Cape Fear, Carolina, which he took in to Barracoa, Cuba, plundered, and later sent her to Havana where she was sold in the Spanish Admiralty Court. On September 9 [20], 1731, the English sloop *Prince William*, en route from Virginia to Jamaica, was captured by the Spanish sloop *Casarra*, commanded by Captain Juan Fandino and taken in to Barracoa where she was plundered and then released.⁵

These two feats roused Rear Admiral Charles Stewart [or Stuart], then in command of British naval forces in the West Indies, to send a vigorous protest to his Excellency Dionisio Martinez de la Vega, Governor of Havana, in which he said, among other things:

3. Sir William Laird Clowes, *The Royal Navy*, 7 vols. [London, 1898] III, 51

4. *Dictionary of National Biography*, Sidney Lee, ed. [London, 1892] XXIX, 306

5. *The English Historical Review*, Rev. Mandell Chrieghton, ed. [London, 1889], 744-748. Hereinafter cited as EHR.

I was in hopes . . . that you would have made use of your power to have detected and discouraged the violence and villainies which for a long time have been practiced by those you distinguish by the name of Guarda Costas: . . . I have repeated assurances that you allow vessels to be fitted out of your harbour, particularly one Fandino and others who have committed the most cruel piratical outrages on several ships and vessels of the King, my Master's subjects. . . ."

This was the Rear Admiral's official position. On the other hand, he wrote to the Duke of Newcastle, on October 12 [23], 1731:

I can assure you that the sloops which sail from this island manned and armed for this illicit trade, have more than once bragged to me of having murdered seven or eight Spaniards on their own shores. I can't help observing that I believe I am the first military person who stood up in the defense of peace and quietness, and for the delivering of vessels, against a parcel of men who call themselves merchants, but are no better than peddlers, and one of them formerly in jail for piracy.⁶

So nothing more was done in the matter of Jenkins' ear for several years; but the capture of English merchant ships engaged in clandestine commerce with the Spanish American colonies continued. The London merchants, agonized by their losses, began to agitate for a war on Spain.

Walpole, the British prime minister, was opposed to such action and was harshly censured by the Opposition. A paper was presented to Parliament, in 1738, showing that since the Treaty of Seville, [November, 1729] 52 British ships had been taken or plundered by the Spaniards.⁷

Petitions were presented in Parliament from the mercantile towns and cities, stating the violence to which they had been exposed and imploring relief and protection. The House, in grand committee, proceeded to hear counsel for the merchants, and to examine evidence. On March 17 [28] it was "ordered" that Robert Jenkins do attend on Tuesday morning next, the Committee of the Whole House . . .

In the account which was given at the time by the periodical papers and pamphlets of the opposition, the Spanish

6. *Ibid*, 741 and *The Royal Navy*, III, 264

captain is reported . . . to have hanged Jenkins three times, one with a cabin boy at his feet, and then to have cut off one of his ears. . . . After relating the transaction, with many additional circumstances of insult and barbarity, he [Jenkins] displayed his ear, which he had preserved, as some assert, in a box, and others in a bottle. . . . Being asked by a member what he thought when he found himself in the hands of such barbarians, he replied, "I recommended my soul to God, and my cause to my country." These words, and the display of his ear, which wrapped in cotton he always carried about with him, filled the House with indignation.⁸

"The House, scarcely less inflamed than the populace with this recital, voted an unanimous address to the King, 'Beseeching His Majesty to use his endeavors to obtain effectual relief for his aged subjects. . . .' To this address the King returned a gracious and favorable answer, and on the 20th [31st] of May, 1738, the Parliament was prorogued."⁹

"In spite of Walpole's love of peace, and determined efforts to preserve it; in 1739 a war broke out with Spain. . . . This war is often called the War of Jenkins' Ear."¹⁰

Although the complaints of the London merchants were the principal cause of this war, there were other matters in dispute which contributed to it. Ever since the English invasion of Spain's "Continent of Florida", and the founding of Jamestown in 1607, there had been many complaints by the Spaniards. From time to time new treaties had been signed, each one moving the British boundary further south, nearer to St. Augustine. There were English attacks on the Spanish city in 1702 and in 1726; but Castillo de San Marcos was a formidable fortress. In neither of these attacks had it been forced to surrender. The situation of St. Augustine had been precarious for more than 130 years before the War of Jenkins' Ear began. The Spanish governor, Don Manuel de Montiano, was not taken by surprise. He

7. William Balshan, *The History of Great Britain from the Revolution in 1688 to the Treaty of Amiens, 1802*, 12 vols. (London, 1805), IV 6; and *Gabbet's Parliamentary History of England* (London, 1812), X, Column 636.

8. *Ibid.*

9. Balshan, *op. cit.*, 6.

10. *Larner's History for Ready Reference*, 6 vols. (London, 1812), II, 922.

had kept close watch on General James Oglethorpe ever since the brash Scot had founded Savannah in 1733. Two years before this war started, Montiano sent a letter to Don Juan Francisco de Guemes y Horcasitas, Governor General at Havana, stating that he knew Oglethorpe's plans, and that he was putting Castillo de San Marcos in the best possible state for defense.¹¹ This was followed by several other letters on the same subject. On February 23, 1740, Montiano asked that some galleys be sent him, as they were necessary for his defense plans.¹² The galleys arrived at St. Augustine on April 14; three commanded by Don Francisco de Castillo, three in command of Don Juan de Leon Fandino, the same man who had cut off Master Robert Jenkins' ear.¹³

So it was that when Colonel Van der Dussen was sent by Oglethorpe to establish a camp and battery on Point Quartell, or Cartell, (names given by the English to the south end of the peninsula which formed the north shore of St. Augustine Inlet, and which the Spaniards called San Mateo.), the Colonel was able to see the six galleys lying under the protection of the guns of the Castillo. Nor was he left long in doubt as to the part the galleys would play in the defense of the fortress and town. That same afternoon the galleys were seen in motion, coming toward Point Quartell. The Colonel put his men under arms and marched them along the beach toward the Point, about a quarter mile distant from his camp site. As soon as they were within range, the galleys opened fire. Having fired some twenty shot, not one of which fell more than twenty yards from the English soldiers; Van der Dussen ordered a hasty retreat to his camp. The little ships returned to their haven, under the guns of the Castillo. Later the Colonel learned that each galley was rowed by twenty oars; each carried a crew of thirty men and two officers; each had some swivel guns fore and aft, and in the bow a nine pounder which outranged the six pounders Oglethorpe had allotted for the defense of Point Quartell.

Van der Dussen at once saw the danger in Oglethorpe's plan to land most of his forces on Anastasia Island, which forms the eastern boundary of the Harbor. He pointed out "it would be a

11. *Collections of the Georgia Historical Society*, V-VII, part I, letter no. 2. Hereinafter cited as Montiano's Letters.

12. Montiano's Letters, no. 187.

13. Montiano's Letters, no. 193.

great Disservice to the whole Affair, for it would leave the Galleys Masters of the Harbour to stop all Communication between them [the divided English forces] but by Sea, which was very uncertain." A council of war was held by the commanders of the seven British warships blockading the City, on June 5 [16], which, in reply to Oglethorpe's request that he be informed as to how long the ships could stay on the coast, gave its opinion that the ships could not remain longer than July 5 [16], "without running the utmost Hazard to his Majesty's ships going on shore. But in case an easterly Wind should set in, we depart sooner."

Nevertheless, Oglethorpe, overruling the objections raised by all of his officers, obstinately insisted in establishing his main position on the Island. The results were as Van der Dussen had predicted. His battery on Point Quartell, inadequately defended, was constantly threatened with capture by landing parties from the galleys. The landing of Oglethorpe's troops on the Island and establishment of a battery there were delayed by constant sorties of galleys, which dropped large and small shot among the English landing forces until driven off by fire from the blockading ships. The Island forces were wholly dependant on supplies from the ships, given with reluctance because any day a storm might make it imperative that they leave the coast.¹⁴

Far from the watchful eye of their General, the Scotch and Indian garrison left at Fort Moze (the eastern anchor of St. Augustine's outer defense line) relaxed discipline. The Fort was attacked by the Spaniards on Sunday morning, June 25, with loss to the garrison of 68 dead and 34 prisoners, while the Spaniards lost but one officer.¹⁵ The remainder of Fort Moze's garrison fled across the North River to unite with Van der Dussen's forces, harried on the way by fire from the galleys.¹⁶

Finally, on July 20, Oglethorpe lifted the siege and went back to Georgia.¹⁷

This, however did not end Fandino's services. Now that the siege was over, he was not content to remain a commander of galleys. Governor Montiano had armed the sloop *Campechana*

14. *The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740*, Reprint from Colonial Records of South Carolina, So. Car. Archives Dept., Columbia, 1954. *passim*.

15. Montiano's Letters, no. 203.

16. *The St. Augustine Expedition of 1740*.

17. Montiano's Letters, no. 205.

as a privateer and sent her out under command of Joseph Sanchez. Although Sanchez succeeded in capturing and bringing in an English ship loaded with wheat, further privateering did not appeal to him. Fandino was eager to take his place. The Governor bought the *Campechana*, fitted it out with captured cordage to the satisfaction of Fandino, and on December 3, 1740, he set sail with a fair wind. On the 5th he was off the bar of Carolina [Charleston]. It had been his intention to station himself off Cape Ferro [Fear] out of sight of land; but finding himself so close to Carolina, as well as to the pilot of the bar, he captured the pilot and sent the pilot's launch to St. Augustine. On December 19 Fandino sent in a large English schooner he had captured. On December 29, 1740, the *Campechana* returned to St. Augustine, Fandino stating that he was forced to return because his crew could not stand the severe cold of that winter any further north.¹⁸

No record has been found of when Fandino made his last departure from St. Augustine. The next news of him comes in a letter written by Captain Thomas Frankland who, at the age of 25, was assigned to the Jamaica station in command of His Majesty's 20 gun frigate *Rose*.¹⁹ Frankland wrote:

12th June, 1742, His Majesty's ship *Rose*, Cooper River, South Carolina - Captain Thomas Frankland to the Secretaries of the Admiralty.

I have the pleasure to inform you that on the 4th instant being on my cruise amongst the Bahamas, in stretching up from the salt-ponds at Little Exuma to Great Exuma, on the dawning of the day I discovered four sail of vessels two leagues in the wind's eye plying to windward, two large ships, a snow and a schooner. Upon seeing me they hoisted English colours; I immediately gave chase under French colours; judging them to be what I afterwards found them.

By 11, being within gun shot of them. I threw out my proper colours and fired across their fore-foot; upon which they all hoisted Spanish colours, and the three top-sail vessels bore down upon me and threw in their broadsides, which I received, not firing a gun till I run the snow close alongside (finding her the vessel of the greatest force), when I poured

18. Montiano's Letters, no. 248.

19. *North Carolina Booklet*, North Carolina Society of the Daughters of the Revolution, Raleigh, N. C., VI, no. 1, July, 1906. "A Colonial Admiral of Cape Fear."

in my whole broadside, muskets and all, and she warmly returned it with the addition of fire and poisoned arrows, the two ships still continuing a brisk fire, which I returned now and then a gun as they chanced to bear upon them, bending my main force at the snow; in this manner was engaged for three hours, when the two ships stood away, one to windward, the other before the wind, both being hulled as was afterward found, in several places. I then endeavored to lay the snow aboard, which she shunned with the utmost caution, maintaining a warm fire till I had torn her almost to rags, the commander having determined rather to sink than strike, for reasons you'll hereinafter be sensible of; but in about four hours, the people in opposition to the captain, hauled down the colours and cried for quarters. I immediately took the prisoners on board, and manned the snow and sent her in quest of the ship that run to leeward, whilst I gave chase to the other ship and schooner, both of which I retook the next day (the ship was from London, the schooner from Maryland, both prizes. He afterwards found the snow with the other ship, also an English prize, at Providence, and has now come with all four to Carolina.)

The snow was from Havana, sailed on 12th February on the King's account, a prime sailor mounted ten carriage guns, four of them 6 pounders, and ten swivels, manned when she sailed from thence with 80 men (but have since got some more hands at Augustine, Gives an account of his crew and prizes.) The Captain of the snow is Juan de Leon Fandino has had a commission from the King since 1719, in all which time he has never been taken. He is the man who commanded the *Guarda Costa* out of the Havana that took Jenkins, when his ears was cut off. He attacked one of our 20-gun ships off the point of Caballions on the north side of Cuba with two galleys. He commanded the vessels which attacked Captain Warren off St. Augustine and was Commandant of the galleys during the siege of that place. . . . I have been more particular than ordinary in this narrative to your Lordships to show what a bold dangerous enemy he has been. He oftentimes has expressed himself he would rather a thousand times have been shot than taken; and indeed naught but such a desperado, with his crew of Indians, Mulattos, and Negroes could have acted as he did; for we were at least two hours within pistol shot of him keeping a continued fire. His people finding he never would strike (and we had the heels of them) they for some time having entreated him, all left the deck and went down in the hold; he then ordered an English prisoner to do it and cry for quarters.²⁰

20. EHR, *loc. cit.*

"Frankland sent this man at once to Hyland to be tried for his life."²¹

"Captain Frankland has sent him to England, and he is now in Custody at Portsmouth."²²

What was Fandino's fate? Was he tried at Portsmouth and executed as a pirate? The Admiralty Librarian states: "If Fandino was put on trial, after his arrival at Portsmouth, it would have been a trial by the civil power - and not by a naval court martial. I presume the Court with the necessary jurisdiction would have been the High Court of Admiralty, whose records are in the Public Record Office."²³

The Public Record Office states: "The Admiralty Records do not appear to contain any registers of Prisoners at Portsmouth so early in date. . . ."²⁴

Was Fandino granted a trial by Naval Court Martial? Was the dagger pointed toward him when he was brought in to hear its verdict? Or, was his commission from the King of Spain recognized? Was he confined in Dartmoor, to be released at the end of the War of Austrian Succession, into which the War of Jenkins' Ear merged? Was he released on signing of the treaty of Aix-la Chapelle, in 1748? Or, was he forgotten and left to die in Dartmoor?

Whatever may have been the ultimate fate of Don Juan de Leon Fandino; St. Augustine owes him a monument in recognition of his contribution to the defense of our "Ancient City" in a time of desperate need.

21. Charnock, *Biographia Navalis*, London, 1797. V, 18.

22. *The London Gazette*, Aug. 3, 1742.

23. Letter from Bonner-Smith, Librarian, Admiralty Library, 30 January, 1939, to L. V. Benet. Copy in this writer's file.

24. Enclosure in letter 1479/1678, Public Record Office, London, 5 March, 1939, to L. V. Benet. Copy in this writer's file.

ECONOMIC PROBLEMS OF FLORIDA GOVERNORS, 1700-1763

by JOHN J. TEPASKE

MANY PROBLEMS plagued the eighteenth-century Florida governor, but none vexed him more than the economic plight of his settlement. Florida was a poverty-stricken military outpost of the Spanish Empire on the northeastern fringe of New Spain. It was unable to sustain itself with mining or agricultural enterprises and was wholly dependent upon outside aid for its existence. Want, misery, and destitution were the lot of the soldiers and their families living in this unpopular community. Securing money and supplies for them was the governor's greatest single responsibility; no colonial question received his more devoted attention.¹

THE SUBSIDY

Sole means of support for Florida came from an annual subsidy (*situado*) which before 1702 was paid from the royal treasury in Mexico City. Each year the governor of Florida and his principal military, religious, and political advisers chose an agent (*situadista*) to go to New Spain for collection of this subvention. This agent presented the governor's certified statements of the needs of Florida and bargained with the viceroy for the money and supplies required by its residents. What he obtained was then carried overland to Vera Cruz and put on ships bound for Havana, Cuba. From here the specie and goods were transhipped to Saint Augustine and distributed among the garrison there.² The number of soldiers and royal officials actually serving in Florida determined the annual grant; by 1700 approximately

1. From 1700 to 1763 economic questions in Florida took first place with the governor, the king, and the Council of the Indies. The governors' letters, royal orders and dispatches, minutes of the Council, and opinions of its legal advisers far outweigh documents on other questions.
2. AGI (Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain), Audiencia of Santo Domingo (hereafter Santo Domingo), Legajo 843. Despacho del rey al gobernador de la Florida, 8 March 1702.

350 soldiers, their families, and a few royal officials - close to 1,600 people - demanded almost 81,000 pesos a year.³

Theoretically this subsidy was adequate to maintain Florida had it been properly administered, but in practice many evils cropped up. The viceroy found it profitable to delay payment, often for several consecutive years. He simply turned his back on the governor's agent until the Florida province absolutely demanded assistance to survive. The august ruler of New Spain then remitted only what was necessary to keep the Saint Augustine garrison alive temporarily while his huge debt to Florida for past subsidies continued to grow. In 1703 this debt amounted to 456,959 pesos.⁴

The complaints and entreaties of the Florida governor did little to eliminate the troublesome delays. Lack of ships in Vera Cruz to carry the subsidy to Florida, lack of exact information on the number of men actually serving there, and lack of money in his own bailiwick to pay the subvention were the viceroy's principal excuses.

A second abuse developed from these dilatory payments. The inadequacy of the Florida food supply, caused by the viceroy's procrastination, ultimately forced the governor of Florida to buy goods in Cuba on credit at high rates of interest.⁵ Thus when the subsidy was finally released, what little remained in hard money after purchase of supplies in New Spain was quickly gobbled up by usurious Havana merchants. Additional delays in payment then began the same cycle over again. Had the subsidy been remitted regularly, the governor could have avoided these exorbitant interest payments and used the money for the needs of the colony.

Price and quality of supplies furnished to Florida with money from the annual subsidy were other facets of the same problem. The governor needed specie badly. If his agent could buy supplies at a low price, more money remained to meet his other obligations. Unfortunately, the Florida agent made few bargains. The viceroy, probably in collusion with merchants in

3. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 836. Despacho del rey al gobernador de la Florida, 28 May 1700. The grant for 1700 was 80,842 pesos, 2 reales, 16 maravedis.

4. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 853. Testimonio de los autos fechos sobre la paga de San Agustin de la Florida: ano de 1703.

5. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 840. Carta del provincial Fr. Simon de Salas del orden de San Francisco al rey, 14 June 1705.

Mexico City, bought food for the governor's representative at outlandish prices, even for inflation-ridden New Spain. In many instances foodstuffs were of inferior quality, and it was not uncommon to find wormy flour and rancid pork among the items destined for Florida.⁶ If these supplies were not contaminated at the time of purchase, a few months on the damp wharves of Vera Cruz considerably abetted the moldering process. The exorbitant cost of the journey by land from Mexico City to the Gulf and by sea from Vera Cruz to Saint Augustine drained still more pesos from the subsidy and added to the governor's economic woes.

REVISION OF THE SUBSIDY SYSTEM

In 1702 the persistent complaints of the governor of Florida finally brought about a change in the subsidy system. In March Philip V ordered that the annual Florida grant be paid from the sales taxes (*alcabalas*) of Puebla de los Angeles, situated south-east of Mexico City on the road to Vera Cruz. Responsibility for the subsidy was taken out of the viceroy's hands and given to the Bishop of Puebla, who had to disburse the money and buy supplies requested by the governor's agent. Half of every subsidy had to be in specie. To avoid the old delays, the king ordered the Florida agent to spend no more than six months in Puebla carrying out his charge.⁷ Arrangements were also made to remit annually twenty-five per cent in specie over and above the regular subsidy to retire debts owed from past *situados*.⁸

Several advantages apparently accrued to Florida as a result of the change. Since the annual income from the Puebla excise taxes was almost 140,000 pesos and the Florida subsidy was only 80,000 pesos, there was now a reliable source of income to provide the subvention.⁹ Prices of supplies were purportedly lower in Puebla than in Mexico City, and the journey to Vera Cruz was shorter and less costly.¹⁰ Perhaps too, there was hope that a

6. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 836. Despacho del rey al gobernador de la Florida, 22 May 1702.

7. See Garbiel de Cardenas y Cano, *Ensayo cronologico para la historia general de la Florida*, II (Madrid, 1829), 349-354. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 843. Despacho del rey al gobernador de la Florida, 8 March 1702.

8. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 843. Despacho del rey allos oficial es reales de la real hacienda de la ciudad de Mexico en Nueva Espana, 13 January 1702.

9. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 836. Consulta del Consejo de las Indias, 29 August 1710.

10. Cardenas y Cano, *Ensayo cronologico*, II, 356.

dedicated religious official would administer the subsidy more equitably than the viceroy had done in the past.

Once the new system was finally established in 1708, it was at least a temporary success. For a few years ships carrying the Puebla subsidy entered Saint Augustine inlet bringing the Florida colony its yearly quota of money and food. Between 1707 and 1716, 912,290 pesos in specie and supplies left New Spain for Florida.¹¹ The twenty-five per cent payments, in addition to the regular subsidy, retired the governor's old obligations to his soldiers and to Cuban merchants and eliminated a part of the old debt for past *situados*. In 1709 this debt amounted to 273,479 pesos;¹² five years later it had been cut to 211,290 pesos.¹³

THE OLD EVILS RE-APPEAR

But the picture soon changed. Delivery of the subsidy was still irregular and a source of real trial to the governor and his hard-pressed colonists. In the spring of 1712 English capture of a supply ship bound for Florida made cats, horses, and dogs real delicacies at Saint Augustine supper tables.¹⁴ At the same time these conditions enabled the second-in-command of the Florida presidio, Don Juan de Ayala Escobar, to exploit the residents of the colony. He illegally procured several boatloads of food from the English in South Carolina and sold them to the people of Saint Augustine. Desperate for food and tired of their domestic-animal fare, the hungry soldiers flocked to Ayala's shop and bought his high-priced meat and flour with what little they had saved or on credit against their future salaries.

It was a sordid affair, which the governor was powerless to handle. One pound of Don Juan's maize cost one real; in Havana one real could buy over one and one-half bushels of the same commodity. Meat priced at nineteen pesos in Florida brought only two pesos in Cuba. When Governor Francisco de

11. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 854. Carta del gobernador de Cuba al rey, 20 January 1719.

12. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 853. Informe de los oficiales reales de la Florida, 17 August 1712.

13. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 854. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 24 April 1714.

14. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 848. Testimonio en relacion sobre la buen a obra del señor gobernador y capitan general Don Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez, 20 December 1715.

Corcoles y Martinez attempted to arrest his avaricious second-in-command, the entire garrison threatened to mutiny. In a dramatic scene in the public square of Saint Augustine, the governor prudently backed down and, to the approving cries of the assembled residents, exonerated Don Juan.¹⁵ Ayala had kept them alive and they meant to show their appreciation. After all the governor had done little to help them.

In Puebla the governor's agent soon began to experience difficulties also. Long delays made a farce of the order requiring him to conduct his business within six months; shortages in payment of the subsidy also became common. Don Joseph Benedit Horruitiner, dispatched to New Spain in 1712, was unable to secure the full amount due him because of other warrants on the sales taxes which had drained the Puebla treasury. To make up for this shortage of over 13,000 pesos, the bishop's agents saddled Horruitiner with this amount in fine china, silk, and woolen cloth. For his part Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez items for specie in Vera Cruz. Their pledge was a lie. He could not unload these dainties on unreceptive Vera Cruz merchants and returned to Saint Augustine with the unwanted dishes and cloth. For his part Governor Francisco de Corcoles y Martinez was outraged and threw poor Don Joseph into prison for dereliction of duty. From all reports he was not a model prisoner and died later while his case was being considered by the Council of the Indies in Spain.¹⁶

It did not take long for other abuses to re-appear. In 1716 and 1717 a delay of twenty-one months in remitting the subsidy cut the daily ration to less than two pounds of flour - this for soldiers with large families.¹⁷ The bad condition of food bought

15. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 841. Consulta de la Junta de Guerra de las Indias, 11 July 1713. See also AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 847. Carta del contador de la Florida (Francisco Menendez Marques) al rey, 6 June 1712.

16. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 848. El señor fiscal del Consejo de las Indias contra el capitán Don Joseph Benedit Horruitiner a cuyo cargo fue el situado a la plaza de San Agustín de la Florida sobre haber dicho capitán empleado el caudal de él en generos y mercaderías y paga a los soldados de aquel presidio . . . n. d. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 848. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 9 February 1713. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 843. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 23 April 1714.

17. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 854. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey 22 June 1716. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 843. Carta del gobernador interino de la Florida al rey, 22 November 1717.

in Puebla and its high cost also became a common gubernatorial complaint.¹⁸ In 1735 Governor Francisco del Moral Sanchez pointed out that merchants in Puebla made a fifty per cent profit on all goods shipped to Florida. Ordinarily six bushels of wheat cost eight pesos, but the special price for his Florida garrison was twelve pesos.¹⁹ The next year the English capture of the *situado* ship carrying 97,000 pesos in money and supplies added still more to Moral's financial troubles.²⁰ In what he imagined to be a discreet move, however, he paid his soldiers in rum (*aguardiente*).²¹ If he was unable to relieve their hunger, he at least hoped to make them forget it temporarily. In that his method proved highly unsuccessful.

THE GOVERNOR SUGGESTS REFORMS

Throughout the early part of the eighteenth century, different governors of Florida offered various solutions to the economic problems of their colony and presented reforms for the subsidy system. In 1715 Governor Corcoles suggested that two hundred Galician families be sent from Spain to Florida to farm the rich land near Apalache. Foodstuffs ordinarily purchased in New Spain or Cuba could thus be grown within the colony and relieve the garrison of its perpetual supply problem.²² This plan obtained ready acceptance from all but the poor Galicians, who refused the crown's offer of free passage to Florida and of aid in money, seed, and implements once they arrived. They protested to the captain general in Galicia that if they were to die of hunger, they would rather starve in Spain than in Saint Augustine.²³

A later effort to bring families from the Canary Islands proved more successful. Between 1757 and 1761, over seven hundred islanders migrated to Florida to aid in developing the

18. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 854. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 24 April 1720.
19. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 2530. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 6 March 1735.
20. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 845. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al virrey de Nueva Espana, 26 March 1743.
21. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 848. Carta del obispo auxiliar de la Florida al gobernador de Cuba, 22 December 1736.
22. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 833. Consulta del Consejo de las Indias, 12 February 1715.
23. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 2530. Consulta del Consejo de las Indias, 15 July 1739.

country agriculturally.²⁴ For the most part, however, they were a troublemaking group without real farming experience.²⁵ Their only real contribution was in aiding Governor Alonso Fernandez de Heredia in the establishment of a naval stores industry.²⁶ This enterprise, which gained impetus about 1757, had a bright future, but the Spaniards left Florida in 1763 before they could obtain any real results.

Immigration, aimed at making the Florida colony less dependent upon the subsidy, was a move toward self-sustenance, a basic reform. But other suggestions from the governor worked toward correction of the lesser evils of the subsidy system. In 1724 the able and beloved Governor Antonio de Benavides requested that the subsidy be sent by land instead of by sea. By maintaining a land route between New Spain and Florida, he hoped to eliminate the delays occasioned by the lack of ships in Vera Cruz. He envisaged a line of Spanish presidios on the Gulf Coast from Vera Cruz to Apalache. Initially these forts would serve as a protection for the land route, but eventually they might open the way for a lucrative coastal trade.²⁷ But to this far-sighted proposal, the Council paid little heed.

In 1735 and again in 1736 Governor Moral advocated another reform, which a predecessor had already promulgated.²⁸ Moral asked that the entire subsidy be remitted to Florida in hard money. This would then enable him to bargain for supplies more advantageously in Havana, Yucatan, or Vera Cruz. This, in turn, would destroy the monopoly of Puebla merchants, one cause of high prices.²⁹

On the surface, the proposal appeared sound, but Moral's motives were less than noble. Under his rule Saint Augustine had become a center of illicit trade with the English, an almost unpardonable Spanish colonial offense. In 1736 one resident wrote that Englishmen walked the streets of Saint Augustine

24. Francisco Morales Padron, "Colonos canarios en Indias," *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*, VII (1951), 429.

25. *Ibid.*, p. 403.

26. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 2530. Consulta del Consejo de las Indias, 5 April 1758.

27. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 865. El acuerdo del Consejo de las Indias, n. d., 1724.

28. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 840. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 15 October 1701.

29. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 2532. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 30 June 1734.

as if they were in London.³⁰ A Cuban official stated that during his short sojourn in Florida six English vessels had entered the harbor with supplies.³¹ Thus, with extra specie from Puebla, Moral hoped to bargain for food, not with merchants in Havana or Campeche, but with English traders. The Council was aware of his actions, however, and refused Moral's request. He was ultimately ousted in 1737 for deliberately flaunting royal strictures against such commerce.

Governor Manuel de Montiano, who succeeded to the governorship in 1737, advocated other innovations to cure the economic ills of Florida. In 1744 he shocked the king and the Council of the Indies with the news that the Bishop in Puebla owed his colony 530,140 pesos, a figure which aptly demonstrates the failure of the Puebla system to keep pace with the needs of the colony. To eliminate this exorbitant debit, Montiano set forth an elaborate devaluation scheme. He asked that 132,523 pesos be minted in special coins solely for use in Florida. Their value in relation to Mexican specie would be four to one—that is, the silver in one Mexican peso would be contained in four Florida pesos. While he admitted that the scheme would not work for the rest of the Empire, Montiano saw definite advantages for Florida. Not only would the new coins confuse English traders and make illicit trade difficult but also the new monetary system would prevent the flight of hard money from the colony since it had no value outside of Florida. In a spirit of unbounded optimism, he pointed out that a large debt could be completely paid off by a quarter of the amount actually owing. In Florida he could use the money for the needy, the construction of new buildings and defense projects, and payment of debts to Cuban merchants.³² He did not, however, propose any price-fixing system.

The Council of the Indies took up Montiano's proposal but agreed that a change in the intrinsic value of money was always a delicate point. Still, its members saw a chance to retire an outstanding debt by only a quarter of the amount due and the opportunity to eliminate illicit trade practices in Florida. Upon

30. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 862. Carta de Don Philippe de Yturrieta al gobernador de Cuba, 28 August 1736.

31. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 862. Carta del gobernador de Cuba al obispo de Cuba, 26 October 1736.

32. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 849. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 8 February 1744.

the Council's recommendation the king ordered the Viceroy of New Spain to mint 150,000 pesos and escudos to be worth 600,000 pesos in Florida.³³ He also provided for an exchange of old and new money with merchants of the Royal Havana Company, which then had the responsibility of supplying the Florida garrison.³⁴ Again nothing resulted from these grandiose plans. There is no evidence that the viceroy minted the coins, which could have relieved the desperate economic plight of the Florida colony.

Two years after his proposal of the devaluation scheme, Montiano advocated another plan, which surely must have raised the royal eyebrows of the newly crowned Ferdinand VI. Montiano argued that the plight of those serving under him could only be alleviated by free trade with English colonies in America. He was, of course, aware of the laws against such a trade, but in his opinion, the only salvation for Florida lay in such a plan. Besides, it had certain very obvious advantages. Goods brought into Saint Augustine on English ships removed the risks and expenses involved when they were transported by Spanish vessels. Molded bread, wormy flour, spoiled corn, and rancid meat would be a thing of the past since he would be able to examine the goods to be purchased. In addition, English traders furnished supplies at lower prices than their Spanish counterparts. Twenty five pounds of English flour cost eleven reales while the same item cost sixteen reales in New Spain.

To circumvent the religious damage which might result from trade with English heretics, the governor suggested that all exchanges be made on Santa Anastasia Island across the river from Saint Augustine. In this way he could insure the residents of the town against contamination by Protestant sailors. Montiano also indicated that quick discharge of English cargoes would eliminate all opportunities for intercourse between the two nations.³⁵ The arguments were all on the side of the governor, but Ferdinand VI was not yet prepared to grant such a radical departure from traditional trade policy. As a result, the Florida garrison still con-

33. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 838. Consulta del Consejo de las Indias, 6 July 1745.

34. A royal *cedula* promulgated late in 1740 provided for this new trading company.

35. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 848. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 15 April 1746.

tinued to receive costly and tainted supplies. Expedience had kept the garrison going since 1565, and the king and the Council were willing to continue this policy.

THE REFORM OF 1740

The multitude of complaints and suggestions about the evils of the subsidy system brought about only one change after 1702. Late in 1740 the king ordered that the entire subsidy be remitted to Cuba in hard money. Here the newly formed Royal Company of Havana would contract for supplies required by the Florida garrison, obtain the necessary money from the *situado*, and send on the remaining specie to Saint Augustine.³⁶ A similar company, established in Caracas in 1728, had eliminated the need for a subsidy in that area, and undoubtedly the king and the Council hoped the same thing might occur in Florida.

Such hopes were unfounded. The new Havana Company still required the subsidy from Puebla to buy supplies for Florida. Unless it received the money, the company refused to send on the needed goods. During the company's first years, the governor of Florida engaged its directors in a perpetual argument over the price of goods and over specific articles of the agreement to supply his colony.³⁷ But in the main, it was the recurrence of the same difficulty - procrastination in New Spain - which lay at the root of these arguments.

After 1748, however, complaints of the Florida governor about non-delivery of the annual grant diminished. From the documents it is difficult to ascertain why, but it appears that the Havana Company began to make contracts with English traders in New York and South Carolina to furnish Florida with its annual needs.³⁸ As Montiano had pointed out in 1746, English

36. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 838. Consulta del Consejo de las Indias, 27 May 1741, gives the text of the royal order establishing the new company.
37. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 845. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 2 October 1742.
38. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 2542. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 13 July 1752. AGI, Santo Domingo, Legajo 2542. Carta del gobernador de la Florida al rey, 26 August 1756. In both letters the governor writes of the arrival of English ships in Saint Augustine from South Carolina and New York with supplies ordered by the Royal Havana Company, an indication that this was common practice.

prices were lower; their supplies were in good condition; and there were no risks involved in transporting them. These advantages were not lost on the Havana Company. The governor still had his problems, it is true, for the Havana Company retained more of the subsidy than he believed justified, but the problem of maintaining those serving under him eased to a considerable extent. With a profitable naval stores industry a very real possibility by the late 1750's, hopes for an economic awakening in Florida were high. Unfortunately, a diplomat's treaty turned the colony over to Great Britain in 1763 before these hopes were realized.

CONCLUSION

From this hasty analysis of the economic problems of the eighteenth-century governor of Florida, it is apparent that his position was no sinecure. Delays and shortages in the subsidy, capture of supply ships by foreign pirates and warships, inferior quality of foodstuffs, and their extremely high cost all contributed to the complexity of his tasks. Reforms instituted in Spain or innovations proposed by the governor of Florida failed to revive the struggling colony. With maladministration of the subsidy at the root of its economic problems, Florida was unable to develop despite the suggestions of various governors for improvement. In the end, too much depended upon the annual grant from New Spain.

The most outstanding fact of all, however, is that the Spaniards were able to maintain their foothold in Florida in the face of these almost insurmountable economic difficulties. Perennially short of food and money and without an income from trade, mining, or farming to supplement aid from Cuba and New Spain, the Spanish governor and his soldiers managed to withstand two attacks by superior forces and ultimately to retain their precarious position in Florida. It is a tribute to Spanish enterprise and endurance that the colony survived at all.

MARION COUNTY NEWSPAPERS

by R. N. DOSH

THE FLORIDA PRESS ASSOCIATION, in celebrating the 75th anniversary of that organization, asked me to prepare a history of the *Ocala Star-Banner*. The article prepared at that time has been revised somewhat and brought up to date.

Any article dealing with the *Star-Banner* has to be, to some extent, a history of the newspapers of Marion County, because of the personalities of the men and women who have been connected with the *Ocala Banner*, the *Ocala Evening Star* and other newspapers published in the county over a period of 88 years or more. Thus, it will be seen that the Marion County newspapers ante-date the Florida Press Association.

Editors, owners and publishers of Marion County newspapers were not only interested in the business as a means of making a livelihood. They took an active part in the civic and business affairs of the county and its politics, some having held public office.

Over the span of the years, they materially assisted in the development of its agricultural and industrial resources, and were prominently identified with its educational and religious life. They have ever been in the forefront of those advocating and supporting progressive programs for the economic and cultural betterment of humanity in all walks of life.

Holding stature as dean of the newspaper profession in the county was the venerable and highly respected Francis Eppes Harris, who established the *Ocala Weekly Banner* in 1866 and was its editor and owner for 62 years. The *Ocala Banner* was not only the oldest newspaper in Marion County, but it was of the longest existence under the control of one family in Florida.

It was in continuous publication, and under the ownership of the Harris family, from the date of its establishment until its successor, the *Ocala Morning Banner*, was sold to John H. Perry, Sr. on March 2, 1943. Perry purchased the *Ocala Evening Star* in September of the same year, and the two papers were merged under the name of the *Ocala Star-Banner*.

In its early days, the *Banner* office was located on the west

[53]

side of Main Street, a short distance from the Fort King intersection. It was a well equipped office for that day.

Readers of this article will be surprised to learn that about 1886 the Stovall brothers, Wallace, who later established the Tampa Tribune, which he built into southwest Florida's leading daily, and his brother, Tom, published the *Marion Free Press*, also a weekly. They printed their paper on a hand press and did the mechanical work themselves.

About 1887, Milton F. Hood acquired the *Florida Baptist Witness* which had been published in DeLand and moved it to Ocala, where it remained until 1903.

In the late 1890's, "Colonel" Tom Harris established the *New Capitol* when there was a movement on foot to move the state capital from Tallahassee to a more central Florida city. In 1900 a capital removal election was held, with Ocala and several other cities contending with Tallahassee, but sentiment for capital removal was divided among the contenders. A majority of the votes cast favored retention of Tallahassee as the capital.

In 1890 or thereabouts, after phosphate was found in Dunnellon, and the little west Florida town became a booming mining center, Eugene Matthews established the *Dunnellon News*. Matthews was an outspoken editor, almost too outspoken for some people, chief among them being a wealthy citizen who had leased a large number of state convicts and then subleased them to the owners of phosphate mines near Dunnellon. The convicts were brutally treated. Matthews printed something about it, which displeased the mine owners, or some of them. Under threats and pressure Matthews sold out his paper and came to Ocala to become a compositor on the New Capitol.

(Eugene Matthews later established the *Starke Telegraph*, was elected to the Legislature from Bradford County, and if memory serves, was appointed to the State Railroad Commission by Governor Hardee, and served in that capacity for many years until he retired due to ill health.)

The *New Capitol* was a newsy newspaper. It took an afternoon press service from what was the predecessor of the Associated Press. As it was a morning newspaper, this would be a joke now - the paper received its dispatches about 4 p.m. and issued them to its readers before 7 o'clock the next morning.

The town depended on the Jacksonville *Times-Union* for

outside news. The paper arrived between 1 and 2 p.m. The Jacksonville *Metropolis* carried the same dispatches as the *New Capitol*, but did not reach Ocala before 2 or 3 a.m. the following day and was distributed to its readers about the same time the *New Capitol* was delivered.

During a short period between 1886 and 1892 the *Banner* issued a daily, but Harris did not find it paid and wisely discontinued publication.

In 1893 the *Banner* moved to the building it occupied when it ceased publication on North Main Street just across the street from the present location of the *Star-Banner*. Joining Harris as business manager was C. L. Bittinger, who had engaged in school work.

Among the *Banner* office "force" were Port V. Leavengood and Simeon Lummus. (Lummus later executed a contract for purchase of the *Banner*, but gave it up after a short time.) Both Bittinger and Leavengood became associated with and were part owners of the *Ocala Evening Star*, which had made its appearance as a daily in 1895.

The Stovall brothers had gone to other fields. In 1892 they were running a weekly in Bartow, and in 1893 Wallace F. Stovall established the *Tampa Tribune*.

The *Free Press*, established by the Stovalls, in 1892 was under the management of Louis J. Brumby. Later Brumby, who had a flair for feature writing, established a magazine type publication which I believe he called the *Florida Agriculturist*. It was the forerunner of the *Florida Grower* and similar publications of today.

The *Florida Baptist Witness*, which was moved to Ocala in 1887, had developed into the most influential church paper of the state. It had come under the ownership of J. C. Porter, who toured the state, spoke in Baptist churches and built up the *Witness* by his personal work. He was highly educated and rated as an excellent writer, and made the paper interesting for the Baptists.

The *Witness* office was located in an old ramshackle wooden structure on the east side of Main Street, immediately south of the old First Methodist Church. The old building became a fire hazard and was torn down.

Meanwhile, Porter raised money among the Baptists to build a three-story brick building on the corner of Fort King Avenue

and Osceola Street. (The building is now occupied by the county health clinic.) It was in this building that the *Ocala Evening Star* came into existence.

Mention should be made here that in the late 1890s when the village of Silver Springs Park flourished, there was a small newspaper published there. The only reason it is mentioned is that it was here Robert W. Bentley learned to set type. Bentley later went to New York where he became a writer on the *Journal*, I believe. Returning to Florida, he occupied the position of managing editor of the *Tampa Times* and also of the *Tampa Tribune*, and established the *Bradenton Herald*. Bentley was chairman of the State Road Department in the Carlton administration, and later returned to Bradenton to become publisher of the *Herald* under the new ownership.

In 1893, J. H. Benjamin, who had been working on the *New Capitol*, joined the *Witness* force as foreman, and was later to become editor of the *Ocala Evening Star*.

The *New Capitol* had a vicarious career. It went from one owner to another, under one name and another. J. V. Burke, a phosphate man, somewhat renowned as a politician in the Catts regime, controlled it for a while, and at one time it was operated by Jake Israel, an Ocala merchant, who renamed it the *Mail and Express*. The exact date of its suspension is not remembered.

Late in 1894 and early in 1895 came the disastrous freeze that seemed for a time to have rung the death knell for the citrus industry. Coupled with the freeze, the two Ocala banks closed their doors. Another Ocala resource, which had been slowly dwindling since 1893, failed entirely in 1895. This was Marti City, where a thriving cigar industry had been established. One by one the factories closed down and family after family of Cuban cigar workers moved to Tampa. The entire colony was deeply in sympathy with the Cuban patriots and many of the younger men were pledged to fight in the Cuban cause. In 1895 the last Cuban revolution broke out and a few weeks later the once flourishing Marti City was abandoned.

It was in the midst of this scarcity, the worst ever to hit Marion County, that a new star in Marion County's firmament was born. On June 5, 1895, the *Ocala Evening Star* was born in the Baptist *Witness* office. It was set up with *Witness* type and printed on the *Witness* Press. J. C. Porter of the *Witness*

and Abraham Lincoln Harding of Kansas City were the proprietors.

But the man who built up the *Star* was Robert R. Carroll, who came to Ocala from Mississippi. He was part owner, business manager, local editor and everything and all things, including commercial printing solicitor and payroll raiser.

Later on C. L. Bittinger, who had been business manager of the *Banner*, joined the *Star* family and became a partner, purchasing Porter's interest. The masthead carried the line, "Bittinger & Carroll," Bittinger assuming the title of editor.

A sidelight of the *Star* may be of interest. The circulation was small at first, and delivery was within a small radius. The first and only carrier boy for a time was young B. S. "Benjie" Weathers, member of a prominent family. He was then about 14 years old and delivered his papers on a pony. (B. J. Weathers served for many years as vice president of the Florida National Bank of Jacksonville, and was one of the state's leading financiers.)

J. H. Benjamin, boss of the *Witness* composing room, became the guiding genius of the *Evening Star*, acting as managing editor and foreman. He edited all the copy that went into the paper, padded out the skeleton telegraph service and supplemented it with "clipped dispatches" from the big morning dailies.

When Bittinger joined the *Evening Star* in 1897, he at once began to build up the newly founded *Weekly Star*, which was to the people of Marion County what the *Evening Star* was to the people of Ocala. Most of the mechanical equipment of the *New Capitol* was purchased by the *Star*, including a small pony Potter press, which was put to good use in the commercial printing department.

There was little change in the personnel of the *Star* for several years. But in 1903-4, a big gap was made in the ranks, when J. C. Porter went home, never to return. During his illness he sold the *Baptist Witness* to W. L. Mahon who removed it to Jacksonville. Some six or seven years later, after the *Witness* had been battered around from pillar to post, its temporary owner, F. C. Edwards, brought it back to be published in its old home. In a few months the paper was again removed to a new location.

Some time early in the 1900s the *Banner* again started publishing a daily. Colonel Harris was the editor, his daughter, Miss Sarah Harris (now Mrs. S. H. Lloyd, residing in Jackson-

ville), society and local editor and Port V. Leavengood, business manager.

The *Weekly Star*, which was changed in form to a tabloid and was edited for a while by Al. Cody, now publisher of the *Florida Cattleman*, and the *Weekly Banner* were discontinued in the 1930's when the *Morning Banner* and the *Evening Star* began to extend their coverage into the county by establishing motor routes.

I can only make mention of two small weeklies that were published at McIntosh in North Marion County and at Summerfield in the southern end of the county. P. W. Collens, who came to Florida from Pennsylvania, edited the *Summerfield Chronicle*, which was printed on a job press; and a Mr. Hendrix published the *North Marion News*. They were in circulation during the 1920's. Both papers were well edited and filled with news of these two communities. They were discontinued some time after Collens and Hendrix died.

In 1911 the *Star* suffered a great loss in the death of C. L. Bittinger, a just, kind and public spirited man, well beloved by the citizens of Ocala and Marion County.

His dead, however, did not sever his name from the masthead of the *Star*. His widow, Mrs. Helen J. Bittinger, continued to hold an interest in the paper, and their daughter, Mabel Adele, a few years later became society editor. (At the time this is being written, Miss Bittinger is writing the column, "From the Old Files," which appears in the *Star-Banner* twice weekly.

There was no great change in the *Star* with the passing of Bittinger. J. H. Benjamin, in addition to acting as foreman, became editor. Their ideas were similar and there was no change in policy. Benjamin, who was a student of history, well informed on national and international affairs, and gifted with the ability to write barbed comments, soon made a name for himself as the "Ocala editor who never pulls his punches." His short paragraphs, which were pungent and sometimes barbed, were widely quoted in other papers.

"Uncle Ben" did more work than any man I have ever been associated with. He not only "ran" the news end of the paper, but did most of the work himself, making up the forms and editing all copy that went into the paper. After his day's work was done on the floor, he would take a short nap in the late afternoon, and

after supper sit down at his desk to do his editorial work. Never during the time he was editor of the *Star* did anything but original matter appear in the first column on the editorial page.

In 1906 the writer left the composing room of the *Banner*, which was publishing a six-column, four page daily, with "patent" front page shipped in from Atlanta by express every day, and joined the *Star* staff where in the capacity of makeup man and compositor I remained for some 18 years.

I had learned my trade at the "case" in the *Banner* office and felt at home in my new surroundings. I immediately formed a lasting friendship with and love for J. H. Benjamin, my mentor and adviser. "Uncle Ben", as he was known to everybody, was a lovable character, liked and respected by everybody.

As the *Star* had a limited staff, everybody gathered the local news. Occasionally when I would attend a political meeting, or some local event, Benjamin would insist that I write the "story." This I did, using the linotype as my typewriter. This training stood me in good stead when, out of a clear sky one day, I was asked to accept the position of editor of the *Star*. More about that later.

In 1917 Port Leavengood, who had been for years with the *Banner*, bought an interest in the *Star* and became its business manager. Trained as a printer, he could do any and everything around a printing office. He wrote news stories, solicited advertising, collected the bills and, on occasion, when we were in a tight spot, put on his apron and came into the composing room to set ads. He wrote a good news story, and made friends readily.

Louis H. Chazal, one of the most dedicated newspaper men I have ever known, served on the *Star* as a reporter for some months before the United States went into World War I. He learned the newspaper business on the South Carolina State at Columbia.

After the war, Chazal was connected with advertising agencies in Philadelphia and St. Petersburg, but newspapering was his first love, and he again joined the *Star* staff in 1932. Chazal not only served as the No. 1 reporter on the *Star* but also divided time on the editorial desk with the editor.

Louis Chazal, in collaboration with Mrs. Edith Ott, now a resident of Lake Weir, has been engaged for the past 25 years

in writing a history of Marion County. These two have gathered more information about Marion County than has ever been set down on paper before. It is their hope that they can find means to publish this history for use in the Marion County schools.

Chazal, who suffered a heart attack about two years ago, still does some writing for the *Star-Banner* which appears on the editorial page. He was associate editor before his enforced retirement.

In the early autumn of 1919, the *Star* left the building where it was born and worked faithfully and generally well for 24 years and moved to its present location on North Main Street, just across from the *Banner* office.

Not long after the *Star* moved to its new location, Robert R. Carroll left us to become interested in the automobile business. He had the agency for the Chalmers and Maxwell line of cars and trucks, and was making money. Unfortunately, Carroll over extended himself, with business booming and when the slump came, he lost everything he had, including his stock in the Star Publishing Company. Shortly afterwards he moved to Sarasota, where he became associated with the *Times* under the Reagin ownership, I believe. A few years later he died.

Mention should be made of the newspapers published in Dunnellon, under various owners. Some time in the early 1900's there was a paper in Dunnellon called the *Hornet*, edited by an old preacher who used language witty and ungrammatical enough to attract attention, but there was very little sting in the *Hornet* outside of its name. The *Hornet* was moved to Dunnellon from High Springs.

Some time after the *Hornet* suspended, another paper appeared. Its name was the *Advocate* and it was made up and printed in the *Ocala Star* office. Its editor was Quincy Peacock, who came from Williston. The *Advocate* suspended after a short period and for some years Dunnellon did not have a paper.

In the early 1920's George Adams, a veteran newspaper man from South Florida, brought an outfit to Dunnellon and started the *Truth*, a small but live newspaper. He did very well until his health failed, when the paper passed to his wife and daughter.

The *Truth* was bought by Mrs. Iva T. Sprinkle, who already owned three papers in various parts of the state. She later served

two terms as superintendent of public instruction in Marion County, and more recently held the same office in Duval County.

On November 28, 1928, "Colonel Frank" Harris, who had become known as the "nester of the Florida press," passed to his reward. He had retired in June of that year and his son, Frank Harris, Jr., had taken over the management and operation of the *Banner*, which then was a weekly.

"Colonel Frank." as he was affectionately called by legions of friends, was buried in the uniform of a general of the Army of the Confederacy, having served as a boy in the War Between the States.

Shortly after his death, in June of the same year, Harris Powers, his grandson who had just graduated from Northwestern University, came to Ocala and started the *Ocala Morning Banner*. He installed two linotypes and a Goss flatbed press, started taking the United Press service and began putting out an up-to-date, newsy sheet.

In the early part of 1926, when the Silver Springs Corporation leased the Springs property from Ray & Davidson, stockholders in the corporation established the *Central Florida Times*, located in the building just in the rear of the *Star-Banner*. The *Times* was equipped with four linotypes, a Hoe rotary press which had seen service in the New York World, and a large staff. It was reported by grapevine that the paper represented a \$90,000 investment. It was thought the *Times* would soon put the *Star* out of business.

Unfortunately its owners didn't know anything about the newspaper business, and the advertising rates were so high Ocala merchants could not afford to use its columns. It folded up after four months of operation. It made one bad mistake, an attempt to get through Congress a bill to close the head of Silver Springs to navigation. Opposing that proposition was my first editorial fight. It was easily won as I had all of Ocala backing me.

In the latter part of September, 1925, Benjamin resigned as editor of the *Star* and went to West Palm Beach to join his friend Joe Earman until his paper, the *Weekly Independent*, suspended, and then returned to his first love, Marion County, to take over as editor of Mrs. Sprinkle's *Dunnellon News*. He resigned this position when he realized the paper could not make the grade.

Removing to Tampa he made his home with his son, L. E. Benjamin.

When "Uncle Ben" left the *Star*, much to my surprise - and consternation - "Port" Leavengood called me downstairs and told me that he wanted me to be the new editor. I took the job under protest, believing that I was wholly unqualified for it, and literally trembled in my boots. Not having confidence in myself, it was some months before I would consent to have my name appear at the top of the editorial page.

Little did we in the *Star* office realize when Leavengood brought his son, Hansel D. Leavengood into the office about 1917 as a printer, that he was training the future publisher of the *Star* and the *Star-Banner*. Port Leavengood died in 1929 and with his passing, casting another shadow over the *Star* family and the community, Hansel Leavengood assumed the duties of manager and publisher. How well he has succeeded in that capacity, I need only mention that he and his mother own the building in which the *Star-Banner* is housed, the building where the *All Florida Magazine* is published and other properties. Also, that as publisher of the *Star-Banner*, he is recognized as one of Florida's most successful publishers.

In March, 1943, John H. Perry, sensing that Ocala offered a good field for expansion of his newspaper chain, purchased the *Ocala Morning Banner*, and started modernizing it. Realizing that competing with Perry would be a foolhardy undertaking, Hansel Leavengood and his partner, Miss Adele Bittinger, sold the Evening *Star* to Perry in September of that year. The first issue of the *Ocala Star-Banner*, the name I had selected, appeared. Hansel Leavengood continued as publisher of the combined papers, and I as editor.

From that date to this, the *Star-Banner*, has grown and prospered. Perry completely re-equipped the mechanical plant, installing a 32 page Goss rotary press, numerous linotypes and other machinery. The paper carries the full Associated Press report, publishes five days in the afternoon and a Sunday edition, which frequently runs to 32 pages, the capacity of the press.

I believe I can say with a fair degree of modesty, that the *Star-Banner* under the Perry ownership and the management of my lifetime friend, Hansel Leavengood, together with the assist-

ance of a fine staff, is keeping abreast of the growth of Ocala and Marion County.

In December, 1957, when the editorial and news departments were removed to more commodious quarters on Washington Street, there was a reorganization of the staff. C. B. (Bernard) Watts, a graduate of the University of Florida where he studied journalism, was made city and telegraph editor. Watts, who joined the *Star-Banner* in 1949 as sports editor, had been serving as court and general news reporter. He is an all around newspaper man who can fill any assignment.

Victor P. Leavengood, son of the publisher, who became connected with the paper in June, 1952, as manager of the commercial department, was advanced to the post of assistant to the publisher and business manager. Victor is a graduate of the University of Florida and the Harvard School of Business Administration.

Other members of the staff are David Cook, court reporter and picture editor; Johnny Walker and Mrs. Frances Sheppard, news reporting and feature writing; Bill Bryant, sports editor; Mrs. Homer Klay and Rosa Nell Wilson, women's page editors.

The *Star-Banner*, under the Perry ownership, has kept pace with the growth of the community and county which it serves. When the *Star* and *Banner* were merged, the average size of the paper was 10 to 16 pages. Now the average page run is from 20-28 and 32 pages. The Sunday morning paper, which replaced the Saturday afternoon paper, taxes the capacity of the 32-page Rotary press, which is equipped to do color work.

The circulation has grown steadily and currently 8300 copies are printed. The paper is circulated in every part of the county by motor carrier route. There are some 55 people employed, not counting the 24 carriers, eight of them operating motor routes.

The *Marion County Sun*, a 11 by 17 page tabloid weekly which is devoted largely to pictures of Marion County people and scenes, was established in July 1949 by Clyde Hooker, editor and owner. Hooker came to Marion County to take a position as reporter on the *Star-Banner*.

Hooker recently sold his interest in the *Sun* to Charles E. Wise and William H. Dyer, who formerly owned and published papers in Ohio and Indiana. Wise is publisher and Dyer is editor of the *Sun*.

Another John Perry Publication, which is published in the *Star-Banner* building on Washington Street, was established in 1953. It has the largest state-wide circulation of any publication in Florida, with upwards of 400,000 copies being printed. The *All Florida Magazine* which is true to its name, is included as a supplement in 21 newspapers from Pensacola to Key West. It is distributed Sunday morning. Its circulation is so large that the big 32-page, four-color press is in constant operation throughout the week. Stuart L. Patton is publisher; Gene Gruber, editor; Lillie Mae Marshall, associate editor and Bea Bolton, art editor.

After reading over what I have written in the foregoing, I realize how inadequately I have portrayed the personalities of the men, and women who have made newspaper history in Ocala and Marion County, or how dedicated they were to their profession and their loyalty to the community and their fellow citizens.

Take Colonel Frank Harris as an example. Harris as I knew him in his late life, was a gentleman of the old school - kindly, courteous, mild mannered, quick to forgive and slow to offend. He was, in my mind, the Henry Watterson of Florida Journalism. His editorials were scholarly, prose poems in some instances, lengthy but never flamboyant.

Harris, whose immediate contemporaries were George Wilson, editor of the *Times-Union*, Wallace Stovall of the *Tribune*, Judge Benjamin Harrison of Palatka and Colonel D. B. McKay of the *Tampa Times*, took a prominent part in politics, and his writings were widely quoted throughout the state.

He filled some minor political offices, and served on many civic boards and committees, and was frequently mentioned in connection with the governorship. But for the fact that he feared to meet defeat in the political arena, he might have been elected governor of Florida.

Bittinger, Porter and Benjamin were of a different temperament, but all wielded an influence for good in the community. Bittinger was a great mixer, especially friendly to the country people. He made daily rounds of the business district, talking to as many country people as he could contact. Instead of writing weighty editorials, he filled his space with their comments on local and national affairs. He was a good platform speaker and always in demand at public gatherings, picnics and rallies.

Porter, well educated and well read, was essentially a preach-

er. Leaving the mechanical details of publishing the *Witness* in other hands, Benjamin's in particular, he traveled the state constantly, speaking to Baptist groups wherever he went, and building the influence and subscription list of the *Witness*.

When Benjamin became editor of the *Star*, he threw himself into the job of making the *Star* known throughout the state, and his fine editorial expressions sometimes sharply worded, and always to the point, were recognized as the work of a master craftsman. Almost totally deaf, he managed to keep contact with the public and abreast of what was going on throughout the country. He made friends wherever he went. He was a man with a great love for humanity, and his kindness toward others, friendship and sympathy in times of sorrow or distress, won him a host of friends.

Port Leavengood and "Bob" Carroll, much occupied with the business affairs of the *Banner* and *Star*, left the editorial work largely to their associates, but they, too, made their contribution to a community in which they were highly respected as business men of sterling worth and character. I worked with all of them, counted them as my friends and held them in the highest respect. I can truthfully say that Marion County was fortunate to have such men in charge of their newspapers, which as someone has said, are but mirrors of the communities they serve.

I have made no mention of the long succession of young women who served as society writers and reporters on the two papers, or some of the reporters who went on to higher rungs on the ladder of journalism. One, Edgar Easterly, who came to the *Evening Star* as a stripling reporter, became a topnotch Associated Press editor and only recently resigned as Associated Press bureau chief in Louisville to become executive secretary to Governor A. B. "Happy" Chandler of Kentucky. Some of the young women who wrote society items for the *Star* and *Banner* today are the wives of prominent Ocala business and professional men.

And the carrier boys. Many of the business and professional men of Ocala today are the carrier boys of yesterday, either of the *Star* or the *Banner*. They are lawyers, doctors, merchants, school officials, bankers and corporation executives. Some former *Star* and *Banner* carrier boys have gone out into the world to make their mark in high places, in the professions and the business world.

REMINISCENCES OF THE CIVIL WAR

by JAMES M. DANCY

LIFE REMINISCENCES of James M. Dancy, who first saw the light of day at Buena Vista on the east bank of the St. Johns River, on the 15 day of January, 1845; son of Francis L. and Florida F. Dancy; now at this date [June 30, 1933] eighty-eight and one-half years of age, writing this without glasses.

My father came to Florida as a United States Officer (a graduate of the United States Military Academy at West Point, New York, in the class of 1828) after his marriage to Florida F. Reid, daughter of Judge Robert R. Reid of Augusta, Georgia (afterwards territorial Governor of Florida from 1839 to 1842)¹ (was stricken in Tallahassee, Florida, with two of his daughters, Elizabeth and Rosalie, with yellow fever).

My father had as his mechanic an elderly man, who used a pit saw. This saw was about nine feet long and perhaps twelve inches wide at the handle and, tapering down to a point. It had to be used by hand to saw logs into boards in a pit; thence the name. These boards were used for door and window casings for our residence.

This residence was constructed of hewn lightwood sills upon lightwood blocks about three feet high. The walls were peeled cypress logs. This residence is fifty feet in length by twenty feet in width with a ten-foot hallway and a twelve foot piazza, front and back. This entire structure was put up without nails. All casings were put in with wooden pegs. This building was erected in the year 1844 and is still standing at this date, as sound as ever.

Our carpenter constructed the corn-sheller - a large, solid wheel with flattened heads of nails driven in rows across the entire face of the wheel. A frame was built for the wheel to revolve on; a trough was erected the length of the width of this wheel,

1. Robert Raymond Reid was appointed territorial governor of Florida in 1839, but was replaced early in 1841 by Richard Keith Call. The footnotes for this article are supplied by the editor of the *Quarterly*. There are inconsistencies in grammar, spelling, and capitalization in the reminiscences of James M. Dancy, and these have been retained. On the whole, however, his writing is remarkably good.

close enough so that when an ear of corn was dropped into this trough and the wheel turned, it would take the grains of corn off the cob. The grains would fall into a receptacle. Then he made a solid bed of sawed timber twelve inches thick, out of which he cut a circular center for two stone rollers to fit in. These stone rollers were about three inches thick; the top one had a hole in the center to put the grain in, and a small hole for a spike to fit in on the edge of the stone. This heavy frame was set on legs and placed between two posts, on top of which was a heavy piece of timber with a hole cut through it. A pole with a spike in the upper end of it was put through the hole. The spike end was then placed in the hole in the upper round stone. Shelled corn was inserted in the receptacle; the hand organ was turned, and corn, crushed into grist and meal, would begin to flow into a receptacle below.

After the war of states' rights,² we used a different hand organ to make our grist and meal. This was a hopper machine with two handles, and, oh, how I did hate for grinding time to come. But we had to eat then the same as we do now. But now we can just step to the store and get what we want without the use of the hand organs.

Of course I was no different from any other boy. I took a great fancy to the old carpenter, and he to me. I was always just at his heels. After he had supplied everything necessary at the home, my father gave him the task of putting up living quarters for the negro slaves at the farm. One night he came in and asked me if I did not want to accompany him next morning and spend a day or two with him. So of course I, as all children would be, was eager to go. I made the trip out all right. He, of course, was busy at his work all day; hence, he paid but little attention to me. But when he came in to get his supper, I did not want any. I felt sick, and began to cry to go back home. He tried in every way to pacify me, but it was no use. So, while the wolves were howling along the road, he took me on his back, and with a light in his hand carried me back home. You may be sure he never did again ask me to go out to the farm.

My earliest recollection of school was a split board shack on the east bank of the St. Johns River about one-fourth of a mile

2. The Civil War.

up from our home and about the same distance down from our nearest neighbor. Morecio Sanchez and his family of two sons, Emanuel and Henry, and three daughters, Panchita, Deloris, and Eugenia, as scholars. Our first teacher was a tall thin elderly woman, an old maid sister of my father's, Elizabeth Dancy, from Tarboro, North Carolina. I do not recall how many years she remained our teacher.

The next teacher was a large, stout Englishman, who had resided in Boston, Massachusetts, for some years. He was very fastidious about his eating, especially meat. It must be hung up in the shady air until he could begin to see it move about, then it was to be taken down and cooked. Of course no one but he would eat it. And poultry must be treated in the same way. They must be tied up by the tail feathers until they dropped out. I do not think he remained as teacher very long.

Our next teacher, a young New Yorker threatened with consumption, was just from college. In a short time he regained his health entirely. One night my father was awakened by loud singing and by the voice of someone leading in prayer out at the servants' quarters. He went out and found our teacher, Mr. Benjamin W. Thompson, having a prayer meeting with the servants. This was more than my father's hot Southern blood could stand. He broke up the meeting. Next morning at breakfast he informed the young man that he could pack up his belongings and leave. This he did. He went to Fernandina, Florida, where he had friends, and obtained a position which he retained until our War and secession was declared. He went back home to New York, where he went into the U. S. Volunteer army and was promoted to a brigadier generalship. After the war he sent to my brother Benjamin, for (he claimed) his name's sake, the first ten-dollar greenback we saw after the war.

My next schooling was during the early stages of our War in 1862. My father took me by Savannah, where he had to get a permit from the commanding officer to take me on to Athens, Georgia, where I was left at a private school managed by a principal, A. M. Scudder. I was there for eight months. This was really the only schooling I ever received.

I returned by way of Augusta, where, on the sand hills nearby, where the McLaws lived (relatives of my mother) I saw

General Lafayette McLaws in his Confederate uniform. He was a major general then, assigned to Gen. Joseph E. John's [Johnston] army, then in Tennessee. I spent several days there with his family.

On my arrival at home near my eighteenth birthday I took one of our woods-raised ponies and rode into Capt. J. J. Dickinson's [Dickison] camp at Rallston on the banks of the St. Johns River six miles above our home, and enlisted in his company. They were then preparing to move camp across the river by Sweetwater Branch back of Palatka, where we made camp. Next day we had inspection of horses and equipment. I was notified that I would have to have a heavier horse, as the one I had was too light for service, and that I must get another as soon as possible. I was called to picket duty next morning with the squad and was ordered to repair to a landing at the Rosignol place near the mouth of Rice Creek, five miles below Palatka.

About midday a few days later, the man on look out reported a federal gun boat steaming up the river about twenty miles below. This was reported to headquarters, and we were instructed to hold ourselves in readiness to return to camp and prepare for action in the event of an attempt of the Federal fleet to land their troops at Palatka. Our company was divided into two detachments: one located to the right, up the river on a bluff, under the command of our Captain J. J. Dickinson; the other, in which I was, was under First Lieutenant McCardle and was located in a ditch down the river, back of Teasdale and Reid's wharf and warehouse. All night as we lay in this ditch we could hear, across the river, workmen constructing a temporary wharf for the purpose of taking on the one thousand negro troops with white officers which had been landed at Federal Point, Cornelius DuPont's wharf.

This expedition was sent out from the Federal headquarters in Jacksonville for the express purpose of capturing my father, F. L. Dancy. Fortunately for him, he had decided the day before to move his family and servants from the old home on the bank of the river to the plantation two and one-half miles back. As soon as the Federal gun boat approached this wharf, Cornelius DuPont, a neighbor living there, mounted his horse and rode as fast as he could to the plantation, where he notified my father of

the landing of the troops. My father sent little William Dancy (later Dr. Dancy) and one of the small negro boys to the top of a corn house nearby to watch the road to the river, and to notify him when the troops came in sight. Instead, the boys became busy at play and forgot their mission. Father was talking to Mr. DuPont, who was still on horseback, when the latter looked up. There in full sight were the glistening rifles of the oncoming troops. Mr. DuPont put spurs to his horse and dashed off back through the swamp on a road by which he had come. My father, terrified, of course, called to the boys, who lost no time in getting down and running to the negro quarters, where dinner was being prepared. Father gathered the two families, white and black, who then ran across the open field. Just as they reached the back fence near the wood, the Federal troops reached the quarters and opened fire upon the fleeing family. My father was the last to enter the woods to safety.

The enemy did not pursue, but stopped at the quarter where the dinner was ready and soon made an end to that. They next caught all the poultry - ducks, and chickens, pigs, etc., and loaded them upon an old mule, which we called Buster. Very soon, however, even with the bayonet's prodding, they could not make him keep up. Accordingly, they killed him, and loaded the plunder upon the men.

My father had left one of our able-bodied men slaves as a picket. The troops had avoided him in coming out but took him as they went in. In a few weeks he was enlisted in the Federal Army.

They marched up to where the wharf had been constructed that night. Next morning, just at daylight, the gun boat steamed up to Teasdale and Reid's dock, put out lines, made fast, and began to run out cannon on gangplanks. Several men, not soldiers, came out in the street in plain view of us. Of course they did not see us in the ditch, of a sudden there was a report of small arms from J. J. Dickinson's detachment. The men ashore ran for their lives. Capt. Dickinson could see cannon being unloaded; consequently, he decided to put a stop to this and opened fire. Hawsers were chopped in two on board ship. Engines began to turn, and the ship moved out into the channel. The next moment, shells began to explode. Capt. Dickinson's squad, after firing, started

for our camp. We were the last to pass under the shell fire, one shell exploding under a corner of the building behind which we took refuge. About half way out to our camp a twenty-inch shell struck a large pine tree about thirty feet from the ground, exploded, and tore that tree to splinters. That was the last shell fired, and we were safe in our camp.

I received word from my father that he and the family had safely crossed the river on a flatboat from Forester's Point on the East side to a place called Number Ten directly opposite on the west bank, and that he wished me to join him on the intersection of the river road with the road that would carry him west to Starke. As my horse was too light for cavalry [*sic.*] service, I had no trouble in getting permission from my company commander for a thirty days leave of absence in which to obtain a heavier horse. Accordingly, next day I met my father with his teams at the intersection named, and we proceeded on our way to Columbia county. All the men, both white and black, were walking with heavily loaded teams, both horses and mules, and often it was slow going.

Our first night camping out was on a stream out of Kingsley's Pond, as it was then called. Not accustomed to taking such tramps, I was chafed so badly that I took my clothes off and waded out into the water, where I stayed for an hour or more. On my return to camp my Mother had some cornstarch (or meal) ready for me to apply to my chafe. Of course I slept soundly after my experience of two nights and days in Palatka. My chafe next morning was gone, and, though I tramped with the teams two days more before we reached our destination in Columbia County, I was not troubled any more.

We were located there on a large plantation, which included a dwelling house, out houses for slaves, barns, and a lot for stock. As soon as spring opened, the crops were planted, and real farming was begun.

My thirty-days' leave would soon expire. Since my father had no money with which to purchase a larger horse, I had to look to some other branch of the service. I heard in Lake City that Capt. Joe Dunham of Appalachicola was dividing his command with his first lieutenant, Capt. Able. The command was then in camp at Three-mile Branch on Price's Farm, near Jack-

sonville, Florida. My father and I took a train at Lake City to see Capt. Dunham, who at once accepted me as a member of his artillery company. There followed a transfer from Dickinson's Cavalry to Dunham's artillery, where I served to the end of the war.

Before entering upon my War record, I shall go back to the effect of that Federal expedition which caused my father and family to break up their home. In the year 1858 my father was appointed by President Buchanan United States Surveyor General of Florida, with headquarters in one wing of the United States barracks in St. Augustine, Florida. My brother next in age older than I, Robert F. Dancy, was selected by my father as chief clerk in his office, while a nephew, Edward Foxhall, of Tarboro, North Carolina, was chosen as draftsman to make maps of surveys as made by U. S. Deputy surveyors in the field (the latter were sent out by contracts with the then Surveyor General). In the general election of 1860 the Democratic candidate for President was defeated, and Abraham Lincoln, Abolitionist,³ was elected President. This administration, headed by Abraham Lincoln, who was assisted by William H. Seward and E. M. Staunton (the then Secretary of War) - all the bitterest enemies of the South's advancement and wealth - would listen to no arbitration of the questions of disagreement. Instead, they forced a war by ordering an army to capture Fort Sumter, South Carolina. Did they capture it? No! The loyal citizens of that state, the very first to secede from the Union, arose in arms and defended that fort to the last.⁴ However, it was demolished. Although my father was holding a Federal office, he was a true Southern gentleman. He saw no way other than secession, in which he believed and for which he fought. At once, despite the protest of the U. S. Custodian of the barracks, he turned over the United States Surveyor General's office to the Commission of Lands of the State of Florida, and offered his services to Jefferson Davis, the President of the Thirteen Confederate States.⁵ For this act my father was the

3. Abraham Lincoln was not an abolitionist.

4. The author of these reminiscences was confused with regard to Fort Sumter. A federal force held the fort, and on April 12, 1862 a confederate force bombarded it.

5. The confederate flag had thirteen stars. These represented the seven states of the lower south, South Carolina, Georgia, Florida, Alabama, Mississippi, Louisiana, and Texas; four border states, Virginia, North

mark aimed at when the expedition of the thousand colored troops with white officers was sent up the St. Johns River from Jacksonville to capture him. But it was not to be his fate. As shown in after years, Beast Butler, the commanding official in New Orleans, was allowed to place our President Jefferson Davis, in irons in a dungeon of Fortress Monroe, Virginia.

MY CONFEDERATE WAR SERVICES

My artillery service began in camp at Miles Price's Farm on Three-mile Branch, west of Jacksonville. In this encampment was the largest part of Brigadier General Joseph Finegan's Florida army, consisting of artillery, infantry, and cavalry. About five thousand men were called a brigade.

We had been there only a short time when Able's Battery of four twelve-pound guns received orders to join Gen. Joseph E. Johnston's army, then stationed at Murphreesboro, Tennessee. The train to convey them was at White House station on what is now the Seaboard Railway. The men and guns were already loaded on the cars when one of the Picket family appeared at the officers' car and insisted upon boarding the train. The guard called Capt. Able, who was in command. The latter told Mr. Picket that it was against military orders to allow a civilian to ride on a military train. Picket insisted on boarding the train, putting his foot on the car step; whereupon, Capt. Able ordered the guard to put him off. As the order was executed, Picket cursed the officers. The train pulled out for Lake City, here it was to spend the night. Picket rushed to his stable nearby, where his horse was, saddled the beast, mounted, and rode at a gallop to Lake City. The train had arrived, and Capt. Able had gone to the Cathy Hotel to get his supper. He was sitting in the drawing room, waiting to be called, when Picket entered the door, with a cowhide in one hand and a pistol in the other. He cursed Capt. Able and told him he had come to get satisfaction for having him put off the train. Advancing with the cowhide in his hand, he raised

Carolina, Tennessee, and Arkansas; and Missouri and Kentucky. In the latter states rump sessions of the legislatures seceded from the United States, requested admission into the Confederacy, and in December, 1861, were admitted. Both Kentucky and Missouri, however, were officially and in reality loyal states.

it to strike the captain. As Able was unarmed, he reached back and caught the chair he had been sitting in to defend himself. Before he could use the chair, Picket shot him five times in his body, and, walking up to the body where it fell, cursed, and kicked it. Then he turned and walked out, mounted his horse, and rode leisurely back to home at White House sixty miles away.

Naturally, the commanding officer was notified. Incensed, he ordered Picket to be arrested and tried by military court. Upon his arrest he was brought to Lake City, then the headquarters of the Florida Confederate Army. Picket, a civilian, had wilfully premeditated and carried out the murder of a Confederate army officer. He took the advantage of waiving hasty trial, employing a civilian attorney to defend him in what he claimed a personal insult. As a result, he never went to trial, for the reason that Gen. Finegan's Brigade, which included Capt. Able's company, was ordered to join, the army of Tennessee. Capt. Able's body was taken in charge by his brother-in-law, Thomas Roots, and buried at Appalachicola, Florida, their home.

Dunham's Battery was not included in the order to go west and before Finegan's Brigade left the state the army of invasion stationed in Jacksonville (Seymour's army) had made an unsuccessful raid on Gainesville and had been repulsed. Retreating to Baldwin, twenty miles out of Jacksonville, they added reinforcements amounting to about twenty-five thousand ⁶ men and prepared to go to Tallahassee by way of Lake City, our Headquarters. Our company was ordered to mobilize with our army of defense at Olustee. The entire force included these troops from Georgia: Col. Colquett's Brigade, the 32nd and 64th Infantries, cavalry under Gen. H. R. Jackson and Duncan Clinch, and Dunham's and Bruce's Light Artillery; the following Florida troops; Finegan's Brigade, Smith's Infantry, Dickinson's Chamber's, and Scott's Cavalry. The commander of the Georgia troops was Gen. Colquett; the commander of the Mississippi troops, Gen. G. P. Harrison. I will state here that a detachment of one hundred and fifty men of the First Georgia Regulars, sent from the army of Virginia under command of Major McGill, with company commander Capt. Cannon and Second Lieut. R. F. Dancy, were in line of battle at Olustee, Florida. The last named lieutenant

6. General Truman Seymour's force at the Battle of Olustee was approximately 5,500 in number.

was selected by Gen. George P. Harrison on his staff. My father, then in Lake City as C. S. Commissary Collector of the tax in kind, furnished the horse for him to ride to the battle field. The Gen. and his staff were assembled nearly a mile from the enemy's front line. The enemy opened fire with twelve-pound shell artillery, and almost at the first fire a shell exploded in their midst, and my brother, Robert F. Dancy, was struck in the left side by a piece of shell about the size of my fist, and was instantly killed, falling from his horse. His body was sent to the rear and taken in charge by his body servant, George, and brought to Lake City. His Captain Cannon was later killed in action, and both bodies are in one grave in Lake City, Florida.

The Federal Army, repulsed by our forces, threw away their arms and everything that would impede their hasty flight down the railroad to Baldwin, where the main body of their defeated army had assembled to await Schuyler's. On their front line of battle at Olustee was a picked regiment on one thousand colored troops under white officers. Of this regiment only twenty-seven soldiers were captured and brought into the hospital in Lake City. The rest fell before their pickets could notify them to unstack their arms to defend themselves. The opening fire of the gallant 32nd Georgia Regiment, the finest body of men I ever saw in line, and the short distance between the forces, were so effective that very few escaped instant death. This repulse was the last attempt of the Federal commander to reach Tallahassee.

After this we were moved West on the outskirts of Lake City to camp in Toss's field. In this enclosure were all species of farm and domestic animals - cattle, sheep, hogs, etc. I had a colored boy as body servant and cook. One morning he came to tell me that our mess chest was too full of meat for the cover to shut down. I went to see what the trouble was. There I saw at least one-half of a large hog. I was told by one of my mess to be quiet. He explained that a raiding party had been out that night and had killed and cleaned one of Ross's fattening hogs. Several days after, it appeared that the Confederate Commissary supply department was located in an old storage warehouse near the railroad depot. The train would bring in cars loaded with government supplies. The commissary captain would ask for a detachment of the men in camp to unload these cars. Part of this detachment

was of our company. They found while they were storing supplies in this warehouse that the only fastening to the back door was a bar from one casing across to the other, placed behind loops, leaving a crack between the doors wide enough to insert a chisel and lift the bar out of the loops. As the door was wide open, they could easily load a wagon with just such supplies as they wished. One of my mess assisted in doing this. One morning my servant came to me with the same complaint about the mess chest. I went to it and found it was as full of sides of bacon, hams, etc., as it had been before. Very soon the commissary captain discovered the thefts and put bolts above the bar at each end to keep it from being lifted.

About this time we received notice that a Federal expedition was going up the St. Johns River. The purpose was to locate four or five river steamers that had been taken up the St. Johns to Dunn's Creek, a stream flowing into Lake Crescent (in old times called Dunn's Lake). A stream emptying into this lake was called Haw Creek from the fact that it flows from a large haw bush prairie. This creek at its mouth is very deep, and the steamers were sunk in the deep water. Our one gun battery under command of Second Lieut. Mortimer Bates was ordered to Palatka. We took tram to Waldo and arrived there in the afternoon. We were ordered to walk, as the road part of the way was heavy sand. When the command started, I did not move from the railroad platform (I had been suffering with my feet and did not feel that I could undertake a walk of forty miles), expecting my sergeant to order me to do so. He went off without coming near me. As it was past the dinner hour, and I had eaten nothing, I got my body servant to hunt up a colored cook in town to bake us a pone of corn bread (we had plenty of meal). He did so, and we ate heartily.

About this time the train for Lake City by Baldwin came along, and we took that back to Lake City. As Dr. A. S. Baldwin was our surgeon in charge of the hospital there, I reported to him next morning and was assigned to bed. After my feet were examined, I was put under treatment for a few days. Next morning a messenger came to me from headquarters with a note saying that Lieut. Bates had given notice that I had deserted my command and that I had better get busy and join it at once. I

got my discharge from the hospital and took the train to join my company at Palatka. I left Lake City with my body servant by train.

On arriving at Waldo in the afternoon I found Mr. Bunnell, my father's man, in charge of teams that were engaged in collecting supplies of all kinds from the farmers - corn, fodder, hay, pork, bacon, and all products of the farm for the use of our troops. My father, F. L. Dancy, was commissioned as captain, stationed in Lake City, and put in charge of this tax in kind in the commissary department. There teams were unloading the wagons and loading the cars when I arrived. I went to Mr. Bunnell and told him I wanted to ride on one of his wagons as far as the Orange Springs intersection with the Palatka road, as he had told me that he was going to Orange Springs that night. We put our luggage on the wagon. It was late in the afternoon when we started, and in the night, when the driver told me he was at the road intersection and pointed out the direction we should take to get to Palatka, we found the road plain to follow in the moonlight. After walking some distance we decided to camp on the road side until morning. At daybreak we woke and by roll call were at our company camp on the Five-mile Pond west of Palatka.

On arriving I at once reported to my commissary sergeant for duty. He said that I could not answer at roll call for the reason that I had been reported as a deserter from my command without leave. He would notify Lieutenant Mortimer Bates, in command of his detachment, and I could go to my companion's tent and await orders. I did so. First, having had no breakfast or supper the night before, I sent my body servant to the commissary sergeant to draw some rations. He soon returned and prepared some breakfast. Very soon after breakfast the corporal of the day guard called for me and said Lieut. Bates ordered me put under arrest for ten days. I would not be called to answer roll call or do any camp duty, but my punishment would be to take all the small arms belonging to the company and clean them up bright for inspection. This my body servant did while I looked on - not very heavy punishment for me.

I was told by my mess mate that our detachment had been under fire from a Federal gun boat. An expedition had been sent from Federal headquarters in Jacksonville - one man of war

and one small steamer, the "Tender", - up the St. Johns River and Dunn's Creek into Dunn's Lake, now Crescent Lake, and from thence to the mouth of Haw Creek, a large stream. The owners of the river steamers had selected this deep water in which to sink their boats, five or six in number. The Federal expedition was to raise the boats for their use. With the "Tender" leading the way, they approached Horse Landing. Capt. Dickinson in command had been notified, and he had ordered Lieut. Bates with his detachment and guns to proceed to Horse Landing and to conceal his gun on an elevated bluff on the bank of the river. As the "Tender" came within range a double charge of twelve-pound canister fire was opened upon it, with the result that the rudder chain was shot in two and the steering gear was helpless. The "Tender" was drifted by the current onto a sand bar in the middle of the river. Our guns, both cannon and Springfield rifles, were making it too hot for those steamboat men. They concluded that as the water was so shallow, they could escape by going overboard and wading to safety on the opposite shore. After going overboard they found a deeper channel than the one the boat was in. Many of them were drowned in this attempt. The captain and the remainder of the crew, seeing their situation, very soon ran up a white flag of surrender and were soon prisoners of war. The man of war, after firing several heavy shells - none of them near the mark-, retired down the river. The prisoners, which included the captain and about thirty men, were conducted under guard to Capt. Dickinson's tent and relieved of everything of value in their possession. It was reported that Capt. D. relieved the boat captain of five hundred dollars in greenbacks, but of course this could not be verified. Under heavy guard these prisoners were sent to the Confederate prison camp stockade at Andersonville, Georgia. The expedition having been turned back in their objective, the sunken steamers remained where they were until after the close of the War in 1865.

Our battery detachment was ordered to Orange Springs. After remaining there ten days, my time of punishment being over, I was admitted to duty and roll call. We were ordered back to Lake City, and from there to a point on the Suwannee River near the mouth of the Santa Fe River, where one of our blockade runners was unloading quartermasters' supplies-clothing, shoes,

etc. Teams were there hauling them to Lake City storage warehouses and returning loaded with cotton, which, was being loaded on this steamer. The steamer in spite of the strict Federal blockade of all the Gulf ports had evaded the enemy and run in and out, but on the second attempt it was captured.

From here were ordered to Shell Point, near St. Marks, on the Gulf, to guard Confederate salt works making salt by evaporating Gulf water, and to guard fisheries where fish, principally mullet, were being caught and dry-cured. One day in one haul of the seine I saw as many as forty barrels taken. I myself put up a quantity for our family use at home. One morning what should appear close in but a blockade craft, a sail sloop, and anchored within less than a mile of the shore. Our commanding officer, Lieut. Bates, having no orders to fire upon them, dispatched a courier to Tallahassee ten miles away to get orders. The courier did not get back until late afternoon; said he got lost (which was not so). The wind sprang up; the blockade put up sail and moved out of reach. If we had had orders we could easily have sunk or captured that craft.

We were relieved from that duty and ordered to Chattahoochee, Florida. The Federal forces at Appalachicola had sent an expedition as high up the river as Ricoe's Bluff, captured our pickets there, destroyed bee gums and everything they could lay their hands on, and returned down the river. We were ordered to go down there and get the picket horses and bring them up to our camp. It was a bitter cold night. We rode down to a large creek we had to cross and found it out of its banks. We did not relish having to swim for horses, but we had orders to go, so in we went. We reached the opposite bank soaked to our skins. I never but once after came so near freezing to death. After riding for twenty miles near the bluff we came to a large pile of shavings made from juniper shingles. Without orders we got off our horses as best we could, struck a match, and soon had a glowing fire by which to dry. We remained by it until sunrise that morn before we mounted and rode to the bluff. As we approached we were warned by the humming bees, collected on broken gums, that they had been disturbed enough. Our officer called to an old woman standing in her door, to know where the captured picket horses were. Her reply was that she had them locked up

in her lot and did not expect to give them to any rebel. Our officer told her he must take them to headquarters. She told him he would do so over her dead body. He placed her under arrest. The lot fence was taken down, and the horses haltered. No saddles or bridles could be found. We took our way back to camp.

From that time on to the disbanding of our company, April 5, 1865, the most disagreeable service I was called upon to render was hunting deserters. Two Jackson County men in our company deserted and went home not far across the river from Chattahoochee. I was detailed with four others to capture them at night if possible. We would cross the river, ride out to near their houses, surround the house, knock on the door, and, when a light was secured (we generally carried light with us), see that no one was secreted in it. On one occasion as I approached the front of the house a very fierce dog came for me, I raised my gun with its iron ramrod and brought it down. The dog turned back, but the rod went on and I have not seen it since.

On our next expedition a captain was sent with us with trained blood hounds to track the deserters down. We arrived before daylight in the vicinity of their homes. The dogs were released, and in passing an old mill house on the bank of a stream they struck a trail and dashed down a road leading from the mill house. With the captain in the lead we dashed after them. Very soon the dogs began to bay as though they had overtaken the object of their pursuit. They had. There with grave dug was a burial group ready to lower a body into a grave. Well, if any one could have seen the faces of those deserter hunters. With down-cast heads we turned and made a bee line back to camp.

That was our last trip with dogs, but not the last for the captain and his dogs. The Federals had made a raid and driven in some of our scouts further up the coast. The captain and his dogs were sent there, but, notified by deserters of his coming, the Federals had prepared a trap for them. They had him surrounded on all sides but one, and that they considered an impenetrable river swamp that no horseman could enter. It was impossible for horse, but not for man. When he saw the body of Federals coming he opened fire upon them, turning his dogs loose. Leaving his horse, he called his dogs, entered the "impenetrable" swamp, and concealed himself, his dogs still howling after him. There

he remained until night. The Federals, giving up the chase, returned without him to their quarters. He came out with one faithful dog. His horse gone, he made his way back on foot to his camp. All this time without food.

We were still in camp at Chattahoochee. About the 4th of April [March], 1865, our First Lieut. Rambo was ordered to join our cavalry, then on picket duty at Newport on the St. Marks River. They went. Very soon reports came that the Federals were launching troops at the mouth of that river for the purpose of going to Tallahassee. From that point they would have to come over an extensive marsh with deep streams to get to highland at Newport. Scott's, Simmons', and other cavalry, with some infantry, new issue (men from fifty-five to sixty-five years of age and boys from fourteen to eighteen years of age), were the troops to meet this Federal expedition. Our Lieut. Rambo reported afterward that the Federal troops could be plainly seen coming steadily on, throwing up a passage and building bridges across this marsh. He had his gun in position ready to open fire at the moment he was ordered to do so. He never received orders at all. The infantry, and cavalry left him. The enemy was then near enough to open fire on him with small arms. He ordered his men to rush in, limber up the gun, and get out. They got out, fortunately with the limber and all the ammunition.

That branch of our army moved across St. Marks River at the Natural Bridge.⁷ We in camp received orders to join them late one afternoon. Under command of Second Lieut. Bates, we, our three guns, and equipment, were loaded on trains at Chattahoochee late one afternoon, and, arriving at Tallahassee early next morning, we unloaded our guns and equipment. We were ordered to rush to the Natural Bridge, fifteen miles southeast from Tallahassee. On arriving we found the line of battle already formed. Our three guns were placed to the right of Bruce's Light Artillery; Bates' two guns immediately in front of the opening of the Natural Bridge road; Hines' gun to our right, which was supported by one company of dismounted cavalry and new issue directly under the command of Brigadier General Miller, the commander of the

7. For an excellent account of the Battle of Natural Bridge, see Mark F. Boyd, "The Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy Near St. Marks, Florida, March 1865" (Florida Historical Quarterly, 1950, XXIX, 96-124.)

Confederate forces in this engagement. Very soon after our arrival our gun sergeant was ordered to load our guns, three in number, with double charges of twelve-pound canister shells, and to be in readiness for the Federal advance, for our pickets were beginning to come in sight. Soon the Federal cavalry were seen. As soon as our pickets could get out of the range of our guns we opened fire. Of course, the Federals, upon seeing our line of battle, wheeled their horses back without firing a gun. Capt. Simmon's cavalry company on our left charged after them. We heard some small-arm shots, and very soon some men came in sight with Capt. Simmons' body on a litter; said he had been shot in the charge. It was said afterwards that he had been shot in the back by his own men.

We were watchful waiters. On our extreme right down the river a company of dismounted cavalry and a battalion of new issue were formed in line. The Federal pickets on the opposite bank of the river opened fire upon our flag and bearer. This flag was shot from its staff twice and replaced twice. The line was ordered to fall back, all under command of Gen. William Miller.

Many amusing incidents occurred on the new issue line. The new issue boys were armed with old smooth, bore muskets, iron ramrod, shooting a ball and three buck shots. I was amused at four of these boys behind a small tree, the front one with one of these muskets along side of the tree, and the other three playing tag at his back. He fired the musket, which kicked him back, knocking those behind him down backward. All arose astonished; two of them ran off, and the other two stayed to reload the musket. They did not attempt to fire it again.

About that time the Federals advanced their line, and we were called into action. For a short time they made it hot for us with small-arm fire and a seacoast howitzer, a six-pounder with shells. At times I was ammunition carrier from limber to gun. If I had put my hat out (but I did not wear one) I could have caught a hatfull of bullets, but I managed to escape every one, for which I was then and have been ever since very thankful. We silenced the gun and after the Federal retreat found that one of our solid twelve-pounders had struck the axle of the gun carriage and thrown it bottom-side-up in the mud.

A sharpshooter in a tall cypress got the range of Lieut. Hines' gun and with a globe-sighted rifle fired point blank three shots.

One struck the axle; one struck the face of the gun; the third shattered the left arm of the gunner, George Griffin. Our gun sergeant with his glass had located this sharpshooter by the puffs of smoke from a large cypress tree about a quarter of a mile away in the river swamp. He trained our gun, loaded with a twelve-pound solid shot, about fifty feet from the ground. After the report, no more shots were fired. After the retreat of the Federals some of our men went into the swamp and found the top of the cypress. Our solid shot had passed through the sharpshooter's body, cutting it nearly in two. This proved what accurate gunners can do.

Some of our soldiers, native, knew of a foot-log below the Natural Bridge. The Federals had fallen back to the outside of the swamp on the road and had begun to throw up breastworks. About one hundred men were detailed under command of officers to dislodge the enemy. It was getting late in the afternoon when we heard an insistent roar of small arms across the swamp. We knew that our men had successfully crossed, but of the result of the firing we did not know. We had not long to wait, a courier from the commander came in and notified us that our men had come up in the rear of the Federal breastwork and after emptying their guns the Federal troops had fled in disorder, leaving their dead in our hands. We must make all haste in pursuit of the enemy. It was sunset then. On arriving at the breastwork where the dead lay, we saw about one-half mile in front of us the enemy's guns, glistening. It was said that our cavalry had cut off their retreat, and as a last resort they had formed a square in defense. As we drew nearer we saw this square dissolve, and the enemy went marching down the road. The cavalry commander said that he was too hard pressed and had to withdraw and let them go. All night we followed until about one o'clock, we bringing up the rear, until we reached Newport. The enemy did not halt even to relieve the pickets they had left there in the morning. We were exhausted from two nights and two days on the march - the train from Chattahoochee to Tallahassee, the unloading of guns, etc., a march of fifteen miles to Natural Bridge, the battle line and the enemy's fire all day, crossing the river at Natural Bridge, then until about one o'clock A.M. the pursuit of the enemy. They took the one picket on duty at Newport and hastened their retreat fif-

teen miles to their gun boats. We rushed into a hotel at Newport and soon fell asleep. About daylight I was awakened by a bustle in the room; concluded it was our men and time to be on the move again. To my surprise I saw Bluecoats going out of the open door and knew at once that we had been sleeping in the same room with the Federal Pickets. They, awakening, had discovered us. Fortunately, on our arrival our commanding officer had ordered pickets put on duty. The Federal Pickets did not know this and made a break to escape, but were fired upon by our picket. One was seriously wounded and surrendered with three others, who later proved to be deserters from one of our cavalry companies, Blocker's, then in our army and then with us. They were recognized by the men of their company. The colored sergeant had succeeded in getting across the picket line before he was seen running for his life by our cavalry. A detachment ordered after him chased him for ten miles. He outran the Florida Cavalry ponies, but was finally run into a marsh where he had to surrender. He was the tallest Louisiana mullato I ever saw, over six feet tall. He was sent to the rear, and that was the last I ever saw of him. The enemy had escaped. We were in complete possession of this entire expedition by the repulse of the Federal Army.

A military court martial was organized that same afternoon. These three Confederate deserters taken in Federal uniforms were tried, found guilty, and sentenced to be shot at sunrise next morning. This was the most harrowing execution of military Justice that I ever witnessed. At daylight next morning all of our army there present, infantry, cavalry, and artillery, was formed into a hollow square. The three prisoners, under guard and blindfolded, were led out in front. Stakes or posts were placed in the ground. The men, bound with stout cords, were tied to these posts. An officer distributed twenty-four rifles to a detailed detachment of twenty-four men from the army. Every other rifle was loaded with a full charge of bullets; the other twelve with blank shells. At the words "One, Two, Three, Fire!" they discharged their guns. The smoke cleared away. The man on the left crumpled, his head bowed limp in dead. The next had pitched up, and he and his post lay still on the ground. The third in his dying moment was full of curses against all men. This was the closing event of my military career. I do trust that no one who is near and dear to me will ever witness the experience.

On our return to Tallahassee we were informed of Gen. Lee's surrender at Appomattox Court House, Virginia. On arriving at our camp at Chattahoochee we found our captain gone. Our First Lieut. Rambo did not return when he learned at Tallahassee that Lee had surrendered. Lieut. Bates my commander, stopped at Quincy. Lieut. Hones was the only commissioned officer on hand. He told my mess mate and me that we could ride one of our horses to Tallahassee and there turn it in to the Federal forces occupying the capital. This I did. My mess mate, J. V. Baily, was from South Georgia. He therefore took my horse and the one he was riding to his farm there. It was years after before I again saw him, in Jacksonville, Florida. I had him sign my application to the state pension department for a pension.

I went from Tallahassee by train to Lake City, where my father was stationed at the Confederate tax in kind commissary department. I found that he and his superintendent had his teams all ready to turn over to the proper authority.

It was not many days before I received word from the then Federal Headquarters that I, with all Confederates, must appear there and sign a parole and oath of allegiance to the United States. My train entered the Lake City depot at the same time as the train from Tallahassee arrived, bearing white troops from Ohio with five provost guards. Almost at once the train from Jacksonville came in with one thousand colored troops, white officers, colored band playing and flags flying from every coach. As the train came to a stop, the negro soldiers began to swarm off but were ordered back. Several made an attempt to board the Tallahassee train over the white guard but were forced off, not before a rock or brick had been thrown at the white guard, one of whom was seriously hurt. They and their train pulled out and quiet was restored.

One coach was added to the train in which I was a passenger for Tallahassee. At every station from Lake City to Tallahassee the train was stopped and an announcement made through a megaphone to the negroes living on the plantations which lined the road that President Lincoln had declared them free and equal citizens with their white masters, and that as soon as possible the lands of their former owners would be divided into forty-acre tracts and given with a mule to the heads of all families.⁸

8. It is probable that the author confused rumors of 40 acres and a mule with the announcements of the end of slavery. Promises of land and

After an all day's experience of this harangue we arrived late in the evening at Tallahassee. As far as I know I am the only survivor of this occasion. Next morning I appeared before the proper officer, M. L. Stearns, afterwards Carpet-bag Governor of Florida, for four years. When Harrison Reed was appointed Governor,⁹ Stearns was appointed by the President of the United States Surveyor General of Florida.

Next day I took the return train for Lake City. This train, more than thirty-two cars long, was full of Confederate soldiers from the army of Tennessee, Johnston's army. Men were packed in coaches, in box cars with the sides knocked out, and on top. I took my chance on top. Before we reached the Suwannee River bridge a trainman stopped the train and told us we would have to get off the top of the cars, as the roof of the bridge was too low for us to remain up there. We all crowded inside until the bridge was crossed. Then the train was stopped, and we climbed up on top again. Late that afternoon we slowed down for Lake City station. The family of one of the returning soldiers lived quite near the railroad. They were sitting on the piazza fronting the track. The soldier, seeing them, did not wait for the train to stop but jumped off, fell under the train, and was crushed to death in their sight.

My father met me at the station with a team and drove me out to our temporary home, the Old Plantation in Columbia County, Florida. As it was about the middle of April, the crop had been planted. The slaves, notified of their freedom, entered into an agreement with my father to remain and make the crop for one-half the yield after harvesting.

My father had put the mules that he had in use as commissary man, in a high, fenced lot with stable buildings. One night he heard a disturbance among the mules. He went out but could see no cause. Hearing several horses going off down the road, he hail-

animals was not a policy of the federal government. Often unscrupulous individuals played on the desire of Negroes for land with such promises, and sold red, white, and blue stakes to the freedman for marking his grant.

9. Harrison Reed was elected governor of Florida in 1868. The only man appointed by the president was William Marvin. After he served as provisional governor in 1865, David Shelby Walker was elected as a conservative in the period of presidential reconstruction. After the congress took control of reconstruction, the Constitution of 1868 was written and accepted, and both white and Negro voters elected Reed, who was the first Republican governor of Florida.

ed, and a rider came up to him. He explained that his friends had caused the disturbance. They had come to run the mules and sell them, as they would soon be turned over to the Federal government. My father told them that he was under oath to deliver them to the government and that they could not have them. They rode off with the expressed purpose of coming back again. My father had locks put on the lot gates, and that night the gates were locked. He stationed me and one of the negro boys about my age upon the stable roof, which was flat, to guard the mules with loaded guns. If any attempt was made by any one to enter the lot, we were to fire at them or into the air. I do not know how long we remained awake, but we heard no one trying to get the mules.

When the crop was well made, my father wished to get things in shape at the old home, Buena Vista, on the St. Johns River. He selected me, my body servant, John Reid, and a negro man, Fortune Hill, to go down to prepare the building for corn, etc., to be housed. In due time the crop was gathered, and the teams began to bring in the grain, mostly corn, of which we had enough to last us two years.

Of my life at the old home during the eleven years of Carpet-bag rule and during the Reconstruction of the South, I have already written.¹⁰ My desire now is that my immediate family, children and grandchildren, shall be informed of my opinion of the direct cause of the Civil War, as it was called by most writers. Not so. It was a war which could have been averted.

The presidential election in 1860 resulted in the victory of Abraham Lincoln, the bitterest enemy of the South and of State's Rights, a right guaranteed to each state by the makers of our Constitution. Many of the South's noblest were then representatives of Congress. Every effort was made by them to hold a joint conference with the men then composing the power - Abraham Lincoln, President, Wm. H. Seward, Attorney General,¹¹ E. M. Stanton, Secretary of War - and settle there the differences that then existed. But what did this Abolitionist Cabinet do but order the Secretary of War to send an army and naval force to take and occupy one of the largest forts, of the South, Fort

10. The author's reminiscences of the reconstruction era have not been found by his descendants.

11. William H. Seward was secretary of state in Lincoln's cabinet.

Sumter, at the entrance to Charleston harbor. Did they occupy it? No. Of course they could demolish it - which they did. But never could they occupy it, for South Carolina and the South felt the indignity, and resisted this insult with much smaller forces and equipment to the last ditch. I think this move brought on the Secession¹² of the thirteen Southern States, which, with Jefferson Davis, President, were confederated at Montgomery, Alabama.

The first insult offered the South by our honorable President, Abraham Lincoln and endorsed by his cabinet was the Emancipation of our slaves. I say ours. Slavery was not a product of the South. We of the South, seeing the advantage of slavery in making a profit on our products, bought slaves from the *North* with good lawful money (mostly gold), paying millions of dollars into the northern coffers.¹³ Emancipation thus confiscated in one swoop millions of dollars in property for which the North had received cash. They then enlisted and payed a fifty-dollar bounty to this freed property, forming an army of thousands of well armed men to desecrate Southern property and to give them the spoils. Poor ignorant colored folks.

The second insult was the confiscation of all Southern property,¹⁴ especially the seizure of six years' cotton crops in storage in Southern warehouses, amounting to millions of bales. A tax of one dollar and fifty cents was exacted by the government. A tag was inserted in each bale before it could be shipped north on any transportation steamer. The writer has himself inserted hundreds of these tags which stole from the South millions of dollars of the only money product of the South. They repudiated our currency. It took years to grow any other product to get greenbacks with which to buy necessities. I often say, until I believe it that this confiscated cotton was the beginning of millionaires in this America. Manufactures of cotton goods bought this

12. The author is confused as to the events leading to secession and the attack on Fort Sumter.

13. This statement is obviously an exaggeration. Many Southerners have attempted to throw the blame for slavery on the North. The main responsibility must rest with the South.

14. Comparatively little property was confiscated. Although a tax was levied on cotton for a time, the South received comparative little punishment by confiscation or by imprisonment of leaders. In comparison with other revolutionary movements in other countries the punishment of Southerners was light.

cotton at their own price and sold the product at prices to make millions.

The writer has lived through this period. I sit and wonder when some one says bury the hatchet and let bygones be bygones. I wonder really how my South, my home and birthright, has attained the position we now occupy in this United States of America. Nothing but the indomitable will of a brainy people could attain it.

BOOK REVIEWS

Experiencia misionera en la Florida (siglos XVI y XVII). By P. G. J. Keegan and L. Tormo Sanz. Instituto Santo Toribio de Mogrovejo. Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Cientificas. Biblioteca "Misionalica Hispanica," Series B. Vol. VII. (Madrid, Talleres Graficos Jura, 1957. 404 pp.)

This was originally a doctoral dissertation written by a Maryknoll Father in Spain under the supervision of a Spanish professor, Tormo Sanz, an authority on mission history. Later the two combined their efforts to publish this book, a novel experience in cooperation between a doctoral candidate and his academic supervisor. The authors are not particularly concerned with describing a chronological development of the early history of Florida centered around such leading personalities as Ponce de Leon, Ayllon, Narvaez, De Soto, Luna and Menendez; rather, they present and evaluate the contributions of the early priests of Florida. Their narrative covers the period from the first friar that stepped upon the shores of Florida to the successful establishment of the Franciscans. Chronologically speaking, the book covers in detail the period of 1513 to the Guale revolt in 1597. Although the excellent bibliography at the front of the book includes items about the Apalachee missions and lists the many articles of Mark Boyd and others, it does not cover the seventeenth century. In fact, it does not go beyond the administration of the controversial Mendez Canzo and therefore the title is somewhat misleading. *Experiencia misionera en la Florida* is the history of Catholic penetration and colonization of Florida in the sixteenth century and as such it is a definitive work.

The book starts with an excellent bibliography that shows many modern Spanish sources that have yet failed to arrive in Florida libraries. Chapter one describes the Florida land, followed by an interesting sketch with new information about the native inhabitants. From then on a chronological approach is used, from the discovery by Ponce de Leon to Dominican efforts, to Jesuit missions which are described and analyzed in detail, to the establishment of the Franciscan missions in the Guale-St. Augustine area. The last three chapters were the most interesting to this reviewer as they analyzed the missionary policies of

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the several orders. The doctrine taught, methods used, and results obtained are the subject matters of these chapters.

The extensive bibliography reveals a vast amount of research. The authors have used all possible sources for this period, and even though they are often rare, most of them are available in printed form. Unpublished documents were also used, such as the valuable Munoz collection. They also relied heavily but judiciously on the unpublished, often cited and controversial poem, "La Florida," by Father Alonso Escobedo, written in the sixteenth century and several hundred folios long. Many serious scholars such as Fathers Pou y Marti, Antanasion Lopez, Fidel Lejarza, Ignacio Omavecherria, Maynard Geiger and Alexander Wyse have praised the poem's irrefutable historical value. The authors under review do not question the merits of the poem as probably the best source for sixteenth century Florida history, providing that it is used in conjunction with other sources. For example, no man, excepting the French Le Moyne, has provided such a good description of the Indians as Escobedo. Keegan and Tormo Sanz for the first time reproduce large and pertinent parts of the poem. The fact that it has not been published in its entirety is deplorable, but with the resurgent efforts of recent Franciscan historians to unearth Florida history, it is conceivable that soon "La Florida" will be printed.

In summary, *Experiencia misionera en la Florida* is a well balanced and highly interesting book. Father Keegan is not adverse to a thorough evaluation of Jesuit, Dominican, and Franciscan missionary efforts, comparing all three orders favorably and unfavorably. It is an open-minded work. Furthermore, the authors are the first to have made extensive but careful use of the Escobedo poem. It is a very good book.

CHARLES W. ARNADE

Florida State University

The Story of Southwestern Florida, By James W. Covington.
(New York, Lewis Historical Publishing Company, 1957.
2 vols. Maps, illustrations, index. \$48.50.)

This attractive edition consists of one volume of the history of southwestern Florida and one volume of "Family and Personal

History," compiled by the publishers. As has been noted in the reviews of similar editions, the personal histories are one of the few and valuable sources available for biographical material but their value lies mainly in the future and the reviewer need do nothing with them. The review below is of Dr. Covington's work.

This is the first inclusive history of the lower Gulf Coast and interior areas from Polk County to the eastern shores of Lake Okeechobee. The author has freely consulted and acknowledged the research and publications of earlier historians who did spade work in the counties and cities of the section. Nonetheless, Dr. Covington's research in newspaper files and archives, especially in Tampa, has been extensive. He also acknowledges his debt to the pioneer historian, D. B. McKay, to whom the volume is fittingly dedicated.

The description of the land and the sea in relation to the region is adequate and of the aborigines is accurate. The latter benefits from the many recent writings of archeologists and anthropologists who have visited southwestern Florida since 1940. The allocation of space to the Spanish and early American periods, though ample, adds little to existing accounts since the section remained largely a primeval wilderness and there is little history to compile for these years.

Dr. Covington's major contribution begins with the Armed Occupation Act. From 1842 to the present, the effects of research and publication are evident. The later chapters of the history are by far the most interesting, especially the use of the newspaper materials from the McKay columns of the *Tampa Tribune*. The concluding chapters on special subjects gather together information in one place that has been hitherto widely scattered. And the four appendices, with the lists of permits under the Armed Occupation Act and persons listed in the 1850 and 1870 censuses, will intrigue those persons who can trace their ancestries back to the early years.

The author has assiduously and carefully documented his research and writing with chapter notes. These notes will serve as an excellent springboard to any others who may be inspired to do further work in the region or any of its subdivisions. While there is no formal bibliography, the notes are sufficient for those who choose to seek more information on practically

any subject connected with the history of southwestern Florida.

The edition is well illustrated and manufactured, equal to the standards the publisher has maintained in the other sets of Florida histories brought out in previous years. Dr. Covington's work will be a worthy addition to the libraries of the subscribers and any others fortunate enough to obtain one of these sets.

J. E. DOVELL

University of Florida

Ante Bellum Alabama Town and Country. By Weymouth T. Jordan. Florida State University Studies, No. 27. (Tallahassee, Florida State University, 1957. viii, 172 pp. Bibliography. \$3.00.)

It is a far cry from Pickett to Jordan. The earlier sort of state history somehow, and generally, seems by now to make tolerably musty reading. All too often it manages to consist of the sort of pabulum that seems mostly composed of romance and politics, and paying disappointingly scant attention to the daily social and economic inner life of a people.

To serious students trained in the more modern disciplines, and indeed to the modern casual reader as well, Doctor Jordan's interesting and meaty vignettes of old Alabama days and ways will seem refreshing.

More sober than Baldwin's "*Flush Times of Alabama and Mississippi*," this little book, using the case method of presentation, affords a certain amount of insight into what was going on in a frontier area, one Southern to the core, yet unusually full of progressive and forward-looking citizens. It tells of men who successfully exploited the soil according to the manner of that day, and of other men who saw the need for and the opportunities offered in lush business and manufacturing fields.

Here and there, before the book is done are heard low strokes on the iron bell that was to ring in a new dispensation, where land and Negroes and cotton were to give ground to the soot and smoke of a modern money economy.

This interesting and closely documented verbal "lantern-show" presents life in Alabama from seven different facets. They

are closely related to the economic life of the state as it then existed, to the daily life and interests of some of its significant citizens, to shadows cast upon the screen by the problems of agriculture involved with slavery, and to those cast by the slowly but surely dawning new day of industrialism.

By virtue of both its age and of its direct and vital connection with the handling of the commercial side of a cotton economy, it is not remarkable that the reader is first taken to Mobile, growing and bustling, an indispensable adjunct to an expanding agricultural milieu.

From Mobile we move out into the land, where we view a highly successful planter, growing the staple that was to provide the shroud for the Old South.

But our planter certainly was successful. He died possessed of baronial acreage and of much good yellow gold. Died, too, before the storm could break over his head.

Intimately connected with the all-absorbing cotton regime are two chapters, the one revealing the all but universal beliefs of Southerners of that day as regards the physical and mental characteristics of Negroes, the other furnishing a flood of information on the activities and ideas of some of the outstanding contemporary proponents of agricultural improvements and reform. Especially does this chapter, entitled "The Crusade for Agricultural Reform," recall Noah B. Cloud and other men of similar interests, such as M. W. Phillips and Thomas Affleck.

To the reviewer, partly because the subject-matter evokes nostalgic memories, the collection of homely family recipes, along with the accounts of the old-time agricultural and county fairs, prove highly entertaining, as well as in the case of the family recipes throwing a spotlight on the slender and uncertain fund of knowledge of how to do things and how merely to keep alive. Little reliable information of such sort was available to the people of that generation, and especially to farmers living remote from towns.

The closing chapter turns its attention to the keen realization on the part of far-seeing Alabamans that the future should more and more be concerned with the exploitation of vast deposits of raw materials and with the development of an industrialized world.

One notes with surprise the extensive development in Alabama of manufactures, long years before the War, and with still more surprise is made aware of the fact that many "agricultural aid" plans, far from being peculiar to the New Deal were in Alabama and elsewhere in the South, advocated before 1860.

There is an extensive and comprehensive bibliography, and an adequate index. Typographical errors are few. The style and diction are both very good.

A map would have been a help to casual readers not conversant with the geography of the South and to others who may be strangers to Alabama and its subdistricts.

James D. Glunt

University of Florida

Lee Chronicle; Studies of the Early Generations of the Lees of Virginia. By Cazenove Gardner Lee, Jr. Compiled and edited by Dorothy Mills Parker. (New York, New York University Press, 1957. 411 pp. Illustrations, maps, genealogical tables, index. \$6.50.)

Cazenove Gardner Lee, Jr., proud of and enthusiastic over his ancestors, was editor of the *Magazine of the Society of the Lees of Virginia*, 1922-39. This book is made up of articles written by him, for that journal, during his editorship. The pieces chosen cover a variety of subjects, pedigrees, burial grounds, guided tours, and so on. However, the bulk of the space is devoted to stressing the importance of Richard Henry Lee and William Lee to the success of the American Revolution. As a result, it is not a chronicle, is lacking in continuity, and is repetitious.

The author's scholarship is not demonstrated in this work. For instance, the clinching proof offered to establish the antecedents of Colonel Richard Lee, the first of the Virginia Lees, consists "of a Bible record, copied in toto from an earlier Bible, the first sentence of which is quoted from a still older Bible, and which states that Colonel Richard Lee was 'son of Richard Lee of Nordley Regis in Shropshire.'" (p. 17) Such is hardly a first class source. Many documents are quoted and important statements are made without footnotes. The *Encyclopaedia Britannica* and *Appleton's Cyclopaedia* are used as sources. It is hard to

excuse errors such as "Under the Navigation Acts the colonies could trade only with English, in English ships" (p. 251), and, Ludwell Lee "was standing near the General when Cornwallis offered his sword to General Lafayette instead of George Washington, whereupon Lafayette bowed and pointed to Washington" (p. 283). Though the index is adequate, the bibliography is meager.

Antiquarians may find some joy in this book. It is of no great value to the serious student.

J. RYAN BEISER

University of Tampa

The South in Northern Eyes, 1831-1861. By Howard R. Floan. (Austin, University of Texas Press, 1958. xi, 198 pp. \$3.95.)

Dr. Floan's book, as its title only partially suggests, is an analysis of the attitudes toward the South expressed in the works of the major northern authors and in certain northern magazines during the three decades before the Civil War. The book has two major divisions. Part I deals with the principal New England literary men and magazines of the period; Part II with the New York group.

It should perhaps not surprise us that the writers of New England - that hotbed of the abolition movement - were almost to a man inimical toward the South. Whittier, for example, passed "from hatred of slavery to hatred of the Southerner," and Lowell, who despised the South, "held that a slaveholder, as slaveholder, could not be kind or generous." In this both writers were to some extent following the lead of the fanatic Garrison, of whom Dr. Floan says: "Garrison's hatred of slavery became hatred of the slaveholder, and the slaveholder became indistinguishable from the Southerner. Any Southerner, by virtue of his association with slavery, was guilty of all the crimes which Garrison associated with slavery, and, for that matter, with human nature itself."

In varying degrees Emerson, Thoreau, Longfellow, Holmes, and Hawthorne displayed an almost complete ignorance of the South and its people and problems, and were prone to extend

their condemnation of slavery to a blanket indictment of Southerners in general.

New England magazines, on the other hand - especially the *North American Review*, the *New England Magazine*, and the *Waverly Magazine* - were generally favorable in their treatment of the South and Southerners. These better class magazines were dismayed by the hate-mongering of abolitionists like Garrison and Phillips, and when they published articles about the South insisted upon objective, even sympathetic reporting.

In Part II, Dr. Floan gives particular consideration to Melville, Bryant, and Whitman. Perhaps because each of these men, in contrast to the New England writers, knew something of the South at first hand, their attitudes toward Southerners were generally friendly. The author suggests, too, that the close commercial relations between New York and the South may well have fostered a climate of better understanding.

The New York writers, of course, condemned slavery as an institution, but they tended, as do most modern analysts, to recognize it "less as the crime and more as the calamity of the South." Whitman shows up especially well in Floan's analysis, even though his "affection for the South placed conflicting emotional demands upon him." For Whitman hated slavery and hated, too, the aggressive slave power that, he felt, controlled the legislative bodies of the slave states and the nation.

Dr. Floan, Chairman of the Department of World Literature at Manhattan College, is described as a "Westerner who migrated to the East." He has evidently striven to maintain an objective, non-regional attitude toward his materials, and has largely succeeded in doing so. His book, which he has apparently developed from his doctoral dissertation at Columbia University, is perhaps not the final word on the subject. But within the limits he has set, it is an authoritative and well documented study which should be of interest to historians and to students of American literature.

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