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## Florida's Seed Corn: The History of the West Florida Seminary During the Civil War

by DAVID J. COLES

**M**ost students of the Civil War are familiar with the role the Virginia Military Institute (VMI) cadets played in the 1864 Battle of New Market. The young soldiers fought valiantly in that southern victory and suffered more than fifty casualties, including ten dead or mortally wounded. Cadets from the South Carolina Military Academy in Charleston also saw active service, as did those from the Georgia Military Institute and the University of Alabama. Though lesser known than these famous schools, Florida's Seminary West of the Suwannee was one of only a handful of such schools still operating at the war's close, and its cadets were perhaps the last to surrender of any Confederate military school. A company of West Florida Seminary cadets fought in the Battle of Natural Bridge in March 1865, later earning a battle streamer for combat service. Though the cadets did not play a critical role in this eleventh-hour Confederate victory, the mere participation in battle of such young combatants provided a sobering indication of the impending southern collapse. After the war the cadets served as powerful symbols of the Lost Cause. For decades Floridians celebrated the cadets' victory at Natural Bridge and exaggerated their efforts out of proportion to their actual service. White southerners needed heroes, and the young boys who helped save Tallahassee in March 1865 seemed obvious candidates.<sup>1</sup>

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1. James Lee Conrad, *The Young Lions: Confederate Cadets at War* (Mechanicsburg, Pa., 1997), is the best overview of the participation of southern cadets in Civil War military operations. See also Bruce Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy: Southern Military Schools and the Confederate Army," *Civil War History* 43 (December 1997), 310-31. For a history of the West Florida Seminary during the Civil War years, see William G. Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary* (Tallahassee, 1952), 1-29; David Coles and Robert Bruce Graetz, "The Garnet and Gray: West Florida Seminary in the Civil War," *Florida State* (April 1986), 2-4; and William R. Thompson "The Role of the Cadets of West Florida Seminary in the Battle of Natural Bridge," c. 1982, unpublished paper in possession of the author.

The existence of an institution such as the West Florida Seminary was not uncommon in the antebellum South. During this period, nearly one hundred military colleges, academies, and universities existed in the southern slave states, compared with just fifteen similar schools in the North. Not a single northern state established a state-sponsored military school, while most southern states boasted such institutions. The quality of these schools varied greatly. Some operated as true colleges, while others were the equivalent of today's secondary or even grade schools. According to one historian, "many antebellum schools calling themselves 'colleges' were in fact nothing more than glorified academies/high schools. Similarly, many of the antebellum academies and institutes, the period's equivalents of high schools, accepted students as young as twelve or as old as twenty."<sup>2</sup> The goal of these institutions was not to funnel graduated cadets into the regular army but to educate future leaders in the liberal arts, and particularly in science and engineering. Their teaching emphasis stood "upon sound moral/religious education . . . . The military aspect simply provided a system of discipline and instruction to further this goal."<sup>3</sup> The most respected southern schools operated in older states such as Virginia, but by the 1850s the residents of newer states like Florida became increasingly interested in establishing their own institutions. The origins of public higher education in Florida, and of today's Florida State University and University of Florida, date from 1851, when the state legislature authorized the establishment of "two Seminaries of Learning, one upon the east, [and] the other upon the west side of the Suwannee River."<sup>4</sup> Two years later the East Florida Seminary opened its doors in Ocala, while in December 1856, Tallahassee was selected by the legislature as the location of the

2. Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 325 n. 49. See also Conrad, *The Young Lions*, vii and passim.

3. Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 315. On the issue of southern culture and its martial nature, see John Hope Franklin, *The Militant South, 1800-1861* (Cambridge, 1956), and Bertram Wyatt-Brown, *Southern Honor: Ethics and Behavior in the Old South* (New York, 1982), passim.

4. *The Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida Passed at Its Fifth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, Nov. 25, 1850, and Ended Jan. 24, 1851* (Tallahassee, 1851), 97-101. For the beginnings of education in the capital city, see Bertram Groene, *Ante-Bellum Tallahassee* (Tallahassee, 1971), 131-37; and William G. Dodd, "Early Education in Tallahassee and the West Florida Seminary," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 27 (July-August 1948), 2-27, 157-80.

Seminary West of the Suwannee. In order to obtain the school, the city of Tallahassee promised to provide financial support, as well as a school building and lot.<sup>5</sup>

The institution prospered in the years immediately preceding the Civil War. It occupied a building on the present site of Florida State University's Westcott Administration Building, which had originally been built to house a city-supported school called the Florida Institute. The city erected the structure in 1854-55 to entice the legislature to choose Tallahassee as the location of the West Florida Seminary, and the Florida Institute held classes there from 1855-57. Funding came from the state's Seminary fund, which accrued through the sale of lands donated by the federal government, as well as from a \$2,000 annual stipend from the City of Tallahassee. A board of education administered the school's operation. Presbyterian minister Duncan McNeill Turner served as the board's first president, with D. W. Gwynn as secretary. Turner remained as president for only three months before resigning to become principal of the school, a position he held until 1860.<sup>6</sup>

During the 1856-57 academic year, seventy-six male students attended the Florida Institute and later the new West Florida Seminary. While no enrollment statistics are available for the 1857-58 school year, a major change took place on October 1, 1858, when the Tallahassee Female Academy merged with the Seminary. During this period female students were taught in a separate building and department known as the Female Institute. By midway through the 1858-59 year, attendance had risen to about 200 boys and girls, with both primary and secondary education offered. The school provided basic instruction in mathematics, reading, spell-

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5. *The Acts and Resolutions of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, Passed at its Eighth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 24, 1856* (Tallahassee, 1857), 28-29. Governor James Broome signed the relevant legislation on January 1, 1857, and the City of Tallahassee formally transferred the school property to the Seminary's Board of Education. Not everyone favored Tallahassee as the site for the school. Jackson County, which also hoped to house the school, opposed the selection.
  6. Martee Wills and Joan Perry Morris, *Seminole History: A Pictorial History of Florida State University* (Jacksonville, 1987), 37-39; Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 7-10, 109; [C. Thurston Chase], *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction of the State of Florida: Showing the Results of the First Three Months after the Opening of the Common Schools* (Tallahassee, 1870), 11-12; Mark F. Boyd, *The Battle of Natural Bridge* (Tallahassee, n.d.), 22-23. This pamphlet was originally published as "The Joint Operations of the Federal Army and Navy near Saint Marks, Florida, March 1865," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 29 (October 1950), 96-124.

ing, and writing for the younger students, while more advanced scholars studied algebra, English, Greek, Latin, mental and moral sciences, modern languages, natural science, physical geography, and physiology. David Walker, the state superintendent of schools, reported in late 1858 that the Seminary was “doing well.” He then noted “the awakening interest of our people in our common Schools and two State Seminaries, we may well hope that the time has almost arrived when all the children of Florida may and will be educated in her own Institutions.”<sup>7</sup>

The growing sectional crisis of the late 1850s led to increased interest in the South for the introduction of military instruction into the region’s schools. Even though the schools’ primary emphasis was to provide education for a civilian career, the military instruction received by the cadets could benefit the state militia in the event of a war with the North. In 1859, Principal Duncan Turner visited a number of military schools throughout the southern states and determined to add military training to the Seminary’s curriculum. Turner appointed twenty-seven-year-old James H. Lane as professor of mathematics and tactics for the 1859-60 school year. A top graduate of VMI in 1854, Lane later matriculated at the University of Virginia before returning to his alma mater as an instructor. That same year George M. Edgar, an 1856 VMI graduate, served as professor of natural science, while H.B. Craig of Washington College taught Greek.<sup>8</sup>

In addition to obtaining qualified instructors, uniforming and equipping the cadets also concerned Turner. After making the decision to begin military instruction, he met with Florida governor James Broome, who indicated that the state would assist in providing the cadets with weapons and equipment. In December 1857 the state quartermaster general had provided the “Mayor and Council of Tallahassee” with 100 flintlock muskets. Some of these weapons may have been issued to the cadets later. While the type or

7. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 7-10; Wills and Morris, *Seminole History*, 37-39; *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, September 3, 1859; Register’s Report, November 1, 1858, in Documents Accompanying the Governor’s Message, *A Journal of Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, at its Ninth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 22d. 1858* (Tallahassee, 1858), 16

8. Allardice, “West Points of the Confederacy,” 312-13; Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 12-13, 117-18. Biographical information from Archives Alumni Files, Virginia Military Institute, Lexington, Virginia (hereafter VMI).

style of uniform selected by Turner is not known, he did receive price quotes from a Baltimore manufacturer for dress uniforms of "blue broadcloth with gold lace and metal buttons," an undress uniform of "satinette," and a military cap. The total cost of the uniform came to almost \$20 per cadet.<sup>9</sup> Evidently, they had been fully outfitted by July 1860 when a Tallahassee newspaper noted that "a detachment of young cadets from the State Seminary, commanded by Capt. N[icholas] W[are] Eppes," took part in "a fine military display" in honor of Independence Day.<sup>10</sup>

Unfortunately, Duncan Turner did not remain at the West Florida Seminary long enough to see the success of his efforts. A new principal, Philip A. Montague, replaced him as head of the school for the 1860-61 academic year. Professors Lane and Craig quickly ran afoul of the new administrator, apparently in a disagreement over the teaching of younger boys in the preparatory department. The two teachers resigned early in the school year, forcing Montague to scramble for replacements. In December 1860, he finally secured the services of another VMI alumni, James Lucius Cross, to replace Lane as military instructor. After leaving Tallahassee, Lane taught briefly at the North Carolina Military Institute before joining the Confederate army. He eventually rose to the rank of brigadier general and commanded a brigade in the Army of Northern Virginia.<sup>11</sup>

A native of Frederick County, Virginia, and a classmate of George Edgar's at VMI, Cross had taught in several schools in his home state before coming to Tallahassee. He was one of several VMI graduates who held positions of authority at the West Florida Seminary during the first years of its operations and who strongly influenced the school's development. In addition to his teaching duties, Cross later served as principal for part of the 1861-62 school

9. Dodd, "Early Education in Tallahassee," 175; Quartermaster General's Report, November 23, 1859, in Documents Accompanying the Governor's Message, *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly of the State of Florida, at an Adjourned Session, Begun and held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 28<sup>th</sup>, 1859* (Tallahassee, 1859), 7.

10. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, July 7, 1860.

11. *Ibid.*; D. H. Hill Jr., *North Carolina*, in Clement A. Evans, ed., *Confederate Military History Extended Edition*, 19 vols. (1899; reprint, Wilmington, 1987-1989), vol. 5, 323-26; Ezra J. Warner, *Generals in Gray: Lives of the Confederate Commanders* (Baton Rouge, 1959), 172-73; Walter Clark, ed., *Histories of the Several Regiments and Battalions From North Carolina in the Civil War 1861-'65*, 5 vols. (1901; reprint, Wendell, NC, 1982), vol. 1, 69-133, vol. 2, 465-84

year following the resignation of Montague. At first, neither the Seminary's academic standards nor the Tallahassee climate pleased Cross. His wife, Bettie, who had accompanied her husband, wrote to her mother in March 1861: "Mr. Cross is getting along very well at school," she explained, "but says he never saw such lazy boys as in this place. He is still as well pleased."<sup>12</sup> Three months later Mrs. Cross informed her mother that classes would end on June 25, "and if nothing happens we will leave here that same evening . . . for home. . . . It is so warm here, I will be so glad to get some mountain air & plenty of ice."<sup>13</sup>

During its 1860-61 session the Florida legislature formalized the introduction of military training at the West Florida Seminary, passing Chapter 1,122, "An Act to Amend the Act of 1851, Providing For the Establishment of Two Seminaries of Learning." This legislation authorized the West Florida Seminary Board of Education to "organize the said Seminary upon a collegiate and military basis, and to make for the government of said Institution such rules and regulations as may be necessary to carry out the provisions of this act." It further authorized the granting of diplomas, though the first of these was not actually awarded until 1880.<sup>14</sup> In February 1861, shortly after the legislation's passage, the Seminary's Board of Education requested the school's faculty to "prepare a catalogue of Studies, Rules, Regulations &c. For the permanent organization of [the] Seminary upon a Collegiate and Military basis."<sup>15</sup>

Enrollment increased during the 1860-61 school year, with approximately 250 students receiving instruction. In the brief time since its formation, the West Florida Seminary had quickly established itself as perhaps the largest and most respected educational institution in the state. Like all southern institutions, however, the

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12. Bettie Cross to Mother, March 11, 1861, J. Lucius Cross Correspondence, 1861-1865, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, Florida State University, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter FSU); Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 14-15, 112.

13. Bettie Cross to Mother, June 17, 1861, Cross Correspondence. Sadly, Bettie Cross would never return to Tallahassee. She died of an unspecified illness in October 1861. See J. Lucius Cross to Francis Eppes, November 2, 1861, Cross Correspondence.

14. *The Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the General Assembly of Florida, at its Tenth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 26, 1860* (Tallahassee, 1861), 70.

15. Minutes, February 23, 1861, Minute Book of the Florida Institute, 1856-1899, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU.

school soon faced a major crisis, as civil war threatened to destroy the progress it had made.<sup>16</sup>

Florida seceded from the Union in January 1861 and joined the newly organized Confederate States of America the following month. The war had an enormous impact on the Seminary's operations. Most of the state's meager resources were directed toward the war effort with only secondary concern given to issues such as education. Shortly before secession the legislature raided the Seminary Fund to purchase arms and pay debts, and state funding remained unreliable for the rest of the war. The depreciation of Confederate currency became a problem as the conflict progressed. This forced the school's board of education, which during the war years was headed by President Francis Eppes, to increase tuition rates drastically. By the fall of 1864, tuition had risen to \$160 for secondary school students and \$120 for primary students, with the board reserving the right to raise tuition still more after the school's first session. Despite such increases, the board found it increasingly difficult to purchase supplies and books and to pay teachers' salaries. Additionally, with most adult males in the military, it became almost impossible to find qualified instructors and administrators. The war also affected enrollment, with the number of students who attended the school dropping from 250 students in 1860-61 to about fifty-eight in the 1864-65 academic year.<sup>17</sup>

The situation facing the Seminary's Board of Education in its efforts to keep the school open became critical in early 1862 when the Confederate government withdrew most of its troops from the state, necessitating the abandonment of Pensacola, Fernandina, and St. Augustine. For a time it appeared that Tallahassee itself might be threatened by Union forces. "In view of the recent disasters that have befallen our arms and the increased demand upon every man to engage in the service of his country," Principal Cross and his fellow Virginian, Professor Charles M. Gibbons, wrote to the board in February 1862, requesting that it "adopt some course" to enable them to join the army. They added, "in consideration of the financial condition of the School and imminent prospect of

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16. Chase, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 11-12.

17. *Ibid.*; Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary*, 15-29; Minutes, September 23, 1864, and passim, 1861-65, in Minute Book of the Florida Institute. Conrad, *The Young Lions*, 63-70, provides an overview of the problems of shortages facing military schools throughout the South.

meeting the enemy at our very doors at no distant period we would respectfully submit to the Board the propriety of suspending the operations of the School." The board accepted their resignations and received contract releases from two other faculty members. The board members then reluctantly concluded "that the exercises of the Seminary is suspended for the present." The Male Department subsequently closed for the remainder of the school year. Some boys, however, were able to continue their studies at the Female Academy, which continued to operate.<sup>18</sup>

"The year 1862-63 was a succession of perplexities for the board," wrote school historian William Dodd. No principal could be found to run the Male Department for the 1862-63 school year despite the board's strenuous efforts and their offering of the position to six different men. Eventually, the board engaged several military officers who were in Tallahassee on convalescent leave to conduct classes in the Male Department. The Female Department, meanwhile, continued to operate under the direction of a Mrs. Case. Fortunately, in the spring of 1863, President Eppes obtained the services of a Colonel Bannister, then living in Virginia, to serve as principal for the next school year. A separate inquiry came from a former teacher, Captain Valentine Mason Johnson, who was appointed to serve as Bannister's assistant. Under the direction of Bannister, Johnson, and Case, the school reopened on September 1, 1863. Tuition was \$15-25 per session, payable in advance.<sup>19</sup>

Captain Johnson ultimately emerged as the strongest force behind the school's continued operation. Born in Spotsylvania County, Virginia, in 1838, Johnson graduated near the bottom of his 1860 Virginia Military Institute class, ranking thirty-ninth of forty-one cadets. Following his matriculation, he came to Tallahassee, where he taught at the West Florida Seminary during the 1860-61 school year and served as a military aide to the Florida governor. After war broke out, Johnson returned to Virginia to raise a com-

18. Minutes, February 19, 21, 25, and March 3, 1862, in Minute Book of the Florida Institute; David W. Hartman and David Coles, comps., *Biographical Rosters of Florida's Confederate and Union Soldiers, 1861-1865*, 6 vols. (Wilmington, 1995), vol. 1, 140-41, vol. 4, 1476. Cross served in the Second Florida Infantry and later as a staff officer, rising to the rank of major. Gibbons enlisted in the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion. See also J. Lucius Cross to "My Dear Goff," February 25, 1862, Cross Correspondence, for details on his decision to enter military service.

19. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 20-22; Minutes, March-September 1863, Minute Book of the Florida Institute.

pany in the Thirtieth Virginia Infantry. The young officer received a furlough in early 1862 because of an illness in his family, and as a result he was dropped from his unit upon its reorganization. Johnson subsequently assembled a battery of artillery in southwest Virginia and participated in the Battle of Wytheville.<sup>20</sup> In 1863 Johnson's health failed, and he returned to Tallahassee to serve as assistant principal of the Male Department for the 1863-64 academic year. After Colonel Bannister's resignation in February 1864, Johnson was promoted to principal. He remained in Tallahassee until the war's close, working diligently to transform the school into a full-fledged military college.<sup>21</sup>

In late 1863, the Seminary's Board of Education sent a memorial to the state legislature, which they hoped would enable the school to operate for the balance of the war. The memorial requested that the school's official name be changed to "The Florida Collegiate and Military Institute" and that its teachers be commissioned into state service and exempted from Confederate conscription. A subsequent bill passed the state senate and house of representatives but was vetoed by Governor John Milton. The governor hoped to establish a military school at the state arsenal at Mount Vernon (now Chattahoochee); the West Florida Seminary's efforts interfered with his plans. "I cannot conceive of any benefit which the Institute could derive from a change of its name," Milton proclaimed in his stinging veto message, "and the change as proposed might invite future Legislation, expensive and useless to the State." He added, "I am unwilling and resolved not to commission a teacher or anyone else, to exempt such person from conscription, either as a Colonel, Major, Captain, or to any other military position. No man shall ever be authorized under a commission issued by me, to appear in a military uniform, except to fight for and defend the civil and political rights of the country; [and] certainly

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20. Biographical information from Archives Alumni Files, VMI; Robert K. Krick, *30<sup>th</sup> Virginia Infantry* (Lynchburg, Va., 1985), 107; W. A. Pratt, "Commander of Battle of Natural Bridge in Early Florida History Known by Local Citizen, W. A. Pratt," clipping from *Lake Worth Leader*, January 31, 1951, in Vertical File, Florida Collection, State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter SLF); V. M. Johnson, "Recollections of the Wytheville Raid," *Confederate Veteran* 17 (July 1909), 335-37; William A. Pratt, "V. M. Johnson," *Confederate Veteran* 18 (January 1910), 35.

21. Archives Alumni Files, VMI; Krick, *30th Virginia Infantry*, 107; Pratt, "Commander of Battle of Natural Bridge in Early Florida History Known by Local Citizen."

not to manage children in their course of education." The senate then voted to sustain the governor's veto by a vote of 13-1. Only Senator David P. Hogue of the Eighth District voted to override Milton's veto.<sup>22</sup>

Rebuffed by the governor, the Seminary's board attempted in April 1864 to contact Confederate president Jefferson Davis for an exemption from conscription of students up to age seventeen. No record exists as to whether Davis received or responded to their request. Until the end of the war the Seminary, which, despite Milton's veto, became commonly referred to as the Florida Military Institute, faced the prospect of losing faculty and students to conscription. In August 1864, board president Francis Eppes, apparently after meeting with Johnson and the governor, was asked to "obtain from the authorities in Richmond permission for youths under 18 years of age to pursue their studies . . . until such emergency shall occur as to require their services in the field." The board would assure "that such youths shall be armed and disciplined and held subject to any requisition for military duty." Again, there is no record of the Confederate government's response to the request.<sup>23</sup>

The conscription issue affected all southern military schools during the war. President Davis initially hoped to avoid using such young boys as soldiers. "In making soldiers of them we are grinding the seed corn," he declared in 1861. As the war progressed, military necessity forced the Confederacy to use cadets as soldiers.

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22. *Journal of the Proceedings of the Senate of the General Assembly, of the State of Florida, at the Twelfth Session, Begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee, on Monday, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1863* (Tallahassee, 1863), 197-98. In his 1863 message to the legislature, Milton stated "The conversion of the [Mount Vernon] Arsenal into a Military Academy has been, time and again, recommended." He added the property "should be made useful to the state; or, for a valuable consideration, should be transferred to the Confederate States, upon condition that a Military institute shall be established there." The standing committee of the state senate and house of representatives responded later in the session that "it is inexpedient at this session of the General Assembly to establish a military Academy at said place." *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the General Assembly of the State of Florida at its Twelfth Session, begun and Held at the Capitol, in the City of Tallahassee on Monday, November 16<sup>th</sup>, 1863* (Tallahassee, 1863), 32-33, 163-64.

23. Minutes, April 2 and August 23, 1864, Minute Book of the Florida Institute; Dodd, *History of West Florida Seminary*, 15-27. For an overview of the problem of southern schools retaining students and teachers during the war years, see Allardice, "West Points of the Confederacy," 325-30, and Conrad, *The Young Lions*, 29-90.

The superintendents of the University of Alabama and the Virginia Military Institute, among others, wrangled with the Confederate government over the conscription of older cadets. This became a larger issue in 1864 when the draft age was lowered to seventeen. State officials “found the whole attitude of the Confederate government toward the military colleges annoying and perplexing.” As only a few such schools were still in operation, their value in providing training for future officers and drill instructors, who upon graduation could serve important roles in the army, would seem far more important than in providing a few young soldiers under the Confederate conscription laws.<sup>24</sup>

While the debate over conscription continued, Captain Johnson traveled to Richmond in late 1864 or early 1865 to purchase new accouterments for the cadets. In August 1864 he informed the board of education of his desire to “secure additional arms and accouterments for the use of the school, uniforms for the Cadets, and, indeed, to do everything that is necessary to make this school a first class Military Academy, an honor to the Board, and the pride of the State.”<sup>25</sup> Despite the chronic shortages of essentials throughout the Confederacy, he managed to obtain at least some uniforms and equipment. In addition to their uniforms, the cadets were equipped with whatever weapons were available, perhaps .69 caliber smoothbore muskets, a type of weapon obsolete by the end of the war.<sup>26</sup>

As Johnson struggled to improve the quality of the Institute, the war moved closer to Tallahassee. Cadets began to perform military duties around the capital in early 1864. In February, when Middle Florida was threatened by a Federal advance from Jacksonville, a group of cadets assisted in the Confederate victory at the Battle of Olustee. “All troops, including Home Guards had been sent to Olustee,” recalled Cadet William A. Rawls, and “all boys big enough to be allowed to go joined them, and went as part of their

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24. Quoted in Conrad, *The Young Lions*, 157. See also pp. 51-53, 87-89, 152-56.

25. V. M. Johnson to Board of Education, August 7, 1864, in Minute Book of the Florida Institute.

26. *Catalogue of Uniforms: The Museum of the Confederacy* (Richmond, 1987), 8. One item of clothing, a uniform jacket worn by Charles L. Beard, survives today in the Museum of the Confederacy in Richmond, Virginia. The jacket was made in a shell pattern and is today a light brown color, faded from its original light gray. It is adorned with brass Louisiana state seal buttons and a carved bone badge in the shape of a heart, but without facings, piping, or similar insignia.

organization. Many of the Cadets went with them [including] Pros Demilly, Charley Pearce, perhaps Tom Myers, Herman Damon, and others.<sup>27</sup> Another participant was Cadet Captain John Wesley Wethington, a seventeen-year-old Jefferson County veteran who had already served two years in the Third Florida Infantry Regiment and the Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion and suffered a serious wound and capture.<sup>28</sup> Following Olustee, a number of northern prisoners were confined in Tallahassee. During the spring and summer of 1864 cadets guarded these captives and protected other locations in the town. William Rawls later recalled "that the Cadets were practically in the service of the Confederate States, and the State of Florida, for eighteen months, prior to the ending of the war. They did guard duty when there were no other troops available in Tallahassee, and guarded Federal prisoners in the military hospital, which is the Masonic building. I have walked post there, [as did] all other Cadets of the West Florida Seminary." In addition, the cadets guarded Union prisoners confined in the Baptist Church. "Afterward," Rawls continued, "they were called upon at any time they were needed to perform military duty."<sup>29</sup> Meanwhile, Captain Johnson trained the cadets in both military and academic pursuits. According to Rawls, Johnson "drilled them in military tactics five days in every week for eighteen months, and . . . taught

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27. William A. Rawls to the Leon County Board of County Commissioners, September 24, 1919, in Alice P. Damon Pension File A02195, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files, 1885-1954, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida (hereafter FSA).

28. John Wesley Wethington Confederate Pension File A07368, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files; Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, rolls 18 and 52, National Archives Microfilm Publication M251, National Archives, Washington, D. C. Wethington's military records are confusing. He stated in his pension application that in the fall of 1863, following his discharge from the Third Florida Infantry, he enlisted in Company C of the Fifth Florida Cavalry. The unit rosters, however, show only a John Q. Wethington in this company, and that individual was paroled in Tallahassee at the close of the war as a member of the Fifth Cavalry. John Wesley Wethington, meanwhile, was paroled at Tallahassee as a member of the cadets.

29. Alice P. Damon Confederate Pension File A02195. In *A Voice From Rebel Prisons: Giving an Account of Some of the Horrors of the Stockades at Andersonville, Milan, and Other Prisons. By a Returned Prisoner of War* (Boston, 1865), 6-7, a Union prisoner in Tallahassee described being guarded for part of his imprisonment "mostly by boys of twelve and fourteen years of age, and old men of sixty and seventy." See also David Coles, "Southern Hospitality: A Yankee Prisoner at Olustee, Tallahassee, and Andersonville," *Apalachee* 10 (1984-1990), 19-28.

them in the school room, and . . . knew every one of them better than our own mothers."<sup>30</sup>

The cadets most crucial test occurred in early 1865, when Tallahassee became directly threatened by Federal forces. At 9:00 p.m. on March 4, residents of the capital heard the whistle of an unannounced train on the St. Marks railroad, bringing word that a Union fleet had landed an invasion force on the coast at the St. Marks lighthouse. Brigadier General John Newton commanded the land portion of the joint army-navy expedition, which had originated at Union-occupied Key West. The Second and Ninety-ninth United States Colored Infantry Regiments, along with the Second Florida Union Cavalry, comprised the invading forces, while ships from the navy's East Gulf Blockading Squadron provided support. Although Newton later claimed that the primary goal of the expedition had been to capture the Confederate fort at St. Marks and to neutralize that location as a blockade running center, it seems likely that the capture of Tallahassee was also a possible objective.<sup>31</sup>

As Newton's forces moved northward, hoping to cross the St. Marks River at Newport and assault St. Marks from the rear, Confederate officials desperately gathered a force sufficient to delay the invaders. "The Militia were ordered out," wrote a correspondent of the Tallahassee *Floridian and Journal*, "and an unanimous and invincible response was made to the call. Every man and boy capable of bearing arms was at his post. Never, since the first commencement of the war, have the people exhibited a greater spirit."<sup>32</sup> The cadets comprised a portion of the troops called into service by Governor John Milton. Milton's decision was met with surprise and apprehension by many of the boys' families. Nevertheless, at noon on March 5, the cadet corps assembled at the school and marched to the state capitol, where they "were regularly en-

30. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 20, 1918.

31. United States War Department, *War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (hereafter ORA), 128 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1880-1901), ser. I, vol. 49, part 1, 57-70. The most detailed secondary accounts of the St. Marks Expedition and the Battle of Natural Bridge can be found in Robert Bruce Graetz, "Triumph Amid Defeat: The Confederate Victory at Natural Bridge, Florida, March 1865" (senior honors thesis, Florida State University, 1986) and David James Coles, "Far From Fields of Glory: Military Operations in Florida During the Civil War, 1864-1865." (Ph.D. diss., Florida State University, 1996), 315-71. Another valuable source is Boyd, *The Battle of Natural Bridge*, 1-21.

32. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.

listed and sworn into Confederate service.<sup>33</sup> Following this, Captain Johnson led his young charges to the Tallahassee train station. Tallahassee diarist Ellen Call Long, daughter of former territorial governor Richard Keith Call, remembered that the boys “shouldered their muskets like veterans, and followed with the confidence of inexperience, which is usually more zealous than wise; but sometimes the one is needed more than the other.”<sup>34</sup> Sue Archer, a student at the Seminary’s Female Department and a sister of one of the boys, described the emotional scene at the station:

Mothers and sisters went to the station to say good-bye to them. The little fellows were full of patriotism and seemed to feel no fear. One little boy barefooted and wearing the cadets’ uniform stood apart from the others, and was crying; because Captain Johnson refused to let him go, as he was so young, and also because he was the only son of a poor blind woman. Captain Johnson told him that good soldiers did not cry, and that when he grew older he should go into the war.<sup>35</sup>

It is impossible to determine precisely the number of cadets that participated in the campaign. Years later, Cadet Charles Beard remembered that sixty-five of the young soldiers had served. Future Florida governor Francis Fleming, who fought in the campaign, noted a similar number. Fragmentary official records, however, indicate that only thirty-four males were enrolled in the school during the 1864-65 academic year, and not all accompanied the train. Captain Johnson apparently screened the cadets at the train station, preventing the youngest from going. Additionally, officials detained a number of the boys in Tallahassee for various purposes. Leon Countian Susan Bradford Eppes later recalled with some exaggeration that “[n]ot many [cadets] went, because none were permitted to go without a written permit from their parents and those who went are so proud and those who did not go are so

33. G. L. Baltzell and C. L. Beard, “Statement of facts about the Corps of Cadets Florida Military Institute,” September 17, 1913, in George Lavan Baltzell Pension File A01592. Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

34. Ellen Call Long, *Florida Breezes; or, Florida, New and Old* (1883; reprint, Gainesville, 1962), 375.

35. Susan Archer, “Reminiscences of the Battle of Natural Bridge,” in M96-18, United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division Scrapbooks, 1900-1935, FSA. Archer’s account was later reprinted in *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 7, 1918.

chagrined. It is funny to hear them talk it over."<sup>36</sup> Another account refers to "the little boys of the school, too young to keep up on the march, [who] were left in Tallahassee to guard the fortifications and defend the city from attack. They were bitterly disappointed at being left, and some cried, thinking it hard they should have no part in the danger and glory of the day."<sup>37</sup> A reasonable estimate suggests that about twenty-five cadets were sent to help repel the invasion. This corresponds with Confederate veteran J. L. Blocker's recollection that between twenty and thirty cadets reinforced his unit during the campaign. Brigadier General William Miller, who commanded the Confederate forces in the campaign, later referred to "a company of cadets" as having participated in the fighting. The known ages of the young soldiers ranged from eleven to eighteen, with Franklin P. Damon, age eleven, and Henry Ware DeMilly, age twelve, the youngest cadets.<sup>38</sup>

After leaving Tallahassee, a train carried the cadets and other defenders south to Wakulla Station on the St. Marks Railroad. From there they marched the remaining six miles to the small village of Newport, where they joined forces with part of Lieutenant Colonel George Washington Scott's Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion and a small contingent of Confederate marines and militia. Scott's men had skirmished with the Federals the previous day, gradually falling back from the East River Bridge towards Newport. The Yankees hoped to cross the St. Marks River at the latter location, enabling them to move against St. Marks and perhaps Tallahassee.<sup>39</sup>

The cadets arrived at Newport late on the afternoon of March 5, marching past the few houses to a line of breastworks dug parallel to the river along its west bank, commanding the approaches to the

36. Susan Bradford Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years* (1926; reprint, Gainesville, 1968), 261-62; Charles Beard Reminiscences, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, Florida. Beard left the most detailed account of the cadets' service at Natural Bridge; *Tallahassee Weekly True Democrat*, April 13, 1906; Chase, *Report of the Superintendent of Public Instruction*, 11.

37. Typescript in Vertical File, Florida Collection, SLF.

38. William Miller, "The Battle of Natural Bridge," Records of the United Daughters of the Confederacy, Anna Jackson Chapter No.224, M76-131, FSA. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, October 10, 1918. See the appendix for the known birthdates of the cadets.

39. William Miller Reminiscences, and Report of George Washington Scott to Major W. G. Poole, March 10, 1865, both in George Washington Scott Papers, M87-22, FSA, Coles, "Far From Fields of Glory," 336-38; Graetz, "Triumph Amid Defeat," 32-43; W. A. Rawls, "The Battle of Natural Bridge," typescript in vertical file, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU.

only bridge. Scott's men had partially burned the span, but Union troops on the opposite bank still hoped to force their way across and a lively skirmish soon developed. Among the cadets at Newport and later at Natural Bridge was fifteen-year-old Charles L. Beard, who later wrote one of two surviving cadet accounts of the fighting. He recalled that the youngsters ran, two at a time, into the trenches as Union troops fired at them across the river. It was here that the cadets received their baptism of fire. Cadet John DuBose fell while entering the trenches and his comrades thought he had been shot, but they were relieved to discover that he had simply fallen in his haste to reach safety. Skirmishing between the two sides continued until darkness ended the fighting. The cadets remained in their trenches most of the night, while their commanders waited to see if the Federals would resume the action the next morning.<sup>40</sup>

General Newton, frustrated in his efforts to cross the St. Marks at Newport, learned from local guides of the existence of another crossing site upriver at the so-called Natural Bridge. There the St. Marks ran underground for a short distance, forming a perfect crossing point. Anticipating just such a move, Confederate General William Miller ordered Scott's Cavalry to Natural Bridge with orders to delay the Federals until reinforcements could arrive. At dawn the two forces clashed, with the Union troops unable to force their way across the bridge. Throughout the morning the adversaries skirmished and strengthened their positions, with the Federals making several additional attempts to storm the Rebel positions.<sup>41</sup>

The cadets, meanwhile, had remained at Newport until morning to guard against a renewed Union effort to cross the river at that location. They soon received orders to march to Natural Bridge to strengthen that position. Marching along the Old Plank Road, they heard the sound of cannon and musketry as the battle intensified. Upon reaching the site of a temporary field hospital about one mile from the battlefield, cadets Tod Archer and John Milton Jr. (the son of the Florida governor) were left to aid the wounded while the rest continued on. As they approached the field

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40. William Miller Reminiscences, and Report of George Washington Scott to Major W. G. Poole, March 10, 1865, both in Scott Papers; Charles Beard Reminiscences

41. ORA, ser. I, vol. 49, part 1, 57-70; George Washington Scott to Major W.G. Poole, March 10, 1865, and William Miller Reminiscences, both in Scott Papers; William Miller, "The Battle of Natural Bridge;" Graetz, "Triumph Amid Defeat," 46-60; Coles, "Far From Fields of Glory, 338-46; Boyd, *The Battle of Natural Bridge*, 7-11.

the boys saw the tops of pine trees blown off by Union artillery; they also passed the body of a Confederate casualty being carried to the rear. Long after the war, a heated controversy ensued in a local paper when an anonymous writer claimed the cadets had become frightened and refused to advance after seeing the dead soldier. As no other account of the campaign includes anything but praise for the cadets, the charges must be treated with skepticism.<sup>42</sup>

Upon reaching the battlefield the cadets were placed near the center of the main Confederate line, a giant crescent with fields of fire converging on the Natural Bridge crossing. Their position was near the guns of the Kilcrease Artillery, commanded at Natural Bridge by Captain Patrick Houston. The cadets "were placed just to the left of Houston's Battery as an artillery guard and told not to fire a gun unless there was a charge made on the battery," remembered Cadet Lieutenant Byrd Coles.<sup>43</sup> The boys immediately dug trenches to protect themselves from Union fire. Cadet Beard wrote that the boys "were lined up with the troops already there, & at once went to work throwing up some kind of a breastwork. We polished our bayonets beautifully in the soft sand, and soon had each man a hole and a small pile of dirt in front of it."<sup>44</sup> After digging their makeshift trenches, Coles explained, "we had nothing to do but sit there and wait. The battle was principally an artillery engagement and most of the enemy's shots were directed that way. We amused ourselves watching the bark fly from the pine trees and twigs fall from bushes around us, and shake the sand that rifle balls would knock on us, from our breastworks."<sup>45</sup> A few of the boys may have been more daring. According to one unsubstantiated postwar account, during the fighting "eight or ten adventurous spirits among the cadets joined the pickets. In a short time the enemy advanced in force and the Confederate pickets were driven in, the cadets giving ground slowly and firing as they retired."<sup>46</sup> Artilleryman James Dancy witnessed an "amusing incident" that may have involved these cadets, or a similar group of young soldiers from the First Florida Reserves:

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42. Archer, "Reminiscences;" *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 4, 1918; Charles Beard Reminiscences.

43. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 4, 1918.

44. Charles Beard Reminiscences.

45. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 4, 1918.

46. William Bauskett Papers, M81-6, FSA. Neither Charles Beard nor Byrd Coles mentions this incident.

[T]he 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.<sup>47</sup>

The Confederate forces stopped each of the Federal attempts to cross Natural Bridge, inflicting heavy losses on the attackers. The worst fighting occurred in front of the main Confederate line in a dense hammock that covered the crossing. "We were looking for our fun when the niggers came out of the woods," Beard remembered, referring to the black soldiers of the Second and Ninety-ninth United States Colored Troops, "but the gallant boys in front held them back, & so we failed to get a shot." Though the cadets were not heavily engaged, their position remained under Union artillery and musket fire. "Occasionally a load of cannister would come along and remind us of the gun the enemy had got from our outpost— Their aim was high and only leaves & limbs would rattle down upon us— We suffered no harm except in the way of anxiety."<sup>48</sup> Though the cadets were well protected by their breastworks, Byrd Coles believed, "no doubt many of the cadets would have been struck if our teachers had not watched us constantly and made us keep behind cover."<sup>49</sup> Indeed, a veteran Rebel officer, Captain Lee Butler, fell, wounded in the arm, while standing near the cadets, shortly after boasting that "the bullet was not moulded to strike him again."<sup>50</sup> Years later Captain Johnson, in describing the battle to an acquaintance, remembered that "[t]he cadets were gallant under fire, but inclined to be impetuous, and it was with difficulty that [he] restrained them from unnecessary risks."<sup>51</sup>

By late afternoon Confederate reinforcements had arrived on the field. They charged across the bridge, driving the Federals back

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47. James M. Dancy. "Reminiscences of the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 37 (July 1958), 82.

48. Charles Beard Reminiscences.

49. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 4, 1918.

50. Charles Beard Reminiscences.

51. Pratt, "Commander of Battle of Natural Bridge in Early Florida History Known by Local Citizen."

a short distance. At this point General Newton, realizing that Natural Bridge, like Newport, was too heavily defended to cross, ordered a retreat back to the St. Marks lighthouse and the protection of the Union fleet. As firing still echoed through the woods, the cadets received orders to return to Newport, to guard against another Union attempt to cross there. They found, however, that the Yankees had had enough. Instead of engaging in more deadly pursuits, the boys used their rations of corn pone as ammunition in a mock battle among themselves. Their active duty had come to an end.<sup>52</sup>

The Confederate victories at Newport and Natural Bridge proved complete. Southern casualties numbered three killed and twenty-three wounded (three mortally), while Union losses totaled 148. The cadets suffered no casualties. While Susan Archer later recalled that a young drummer boy, Dick Frazier, died in a fall from a train headed towards Newport, evidently this youngster was not a cadet. With the battle won, part of the cadet company returned immediately to Tallahassee. At Bel Air enthusiastic civilians stopped the train, and the somewhat embarrassed cadets found themselves greeted as returning heroes. They were crowned with wreaths of wild olives and serenaded by young girls who sang several new stanzas, composed for the occasion by Miss Mag Brown, of the song "Dixie":

The Young Cadets were the first to go  
 To meet and drive away the foe . . .  
 Look away! Look away! Look away for the land of Dixie!  
 They met the foe down at New Port.  
 And gave our men such good support,  
 Look away! &c.  
 They threw up breastworks with their hands.  
 Breastworks of logs, pine knots and sand;  
 Look away! Etc.  
 And fought against the combined powers  
 Of Yanks and Blacks and shrapnell [sic] showers  
 Look away! &c.<sup>53</sup>

52. Charles Beard Reminiscences; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, December 4, 1918.

53. Archer, "Reminiscences." In 1909, a Jacksonville woman, Estelle Oltrogge, wrote her own poem honoring the cadets, which reads in part: "For see: Before the rise of sun who hither comes ?/A corps of young West Florida Cadets; none more/Than sixteen years could boast, and some eleven were-/Mere children, who with little sisters lately played." Estelle T. Oltrogge, "Battle of Natural Bridge," *Confederate Veteran* 17 (January 1909), 21.

The other cadets remained at Newport for several days, where they guarded two Confederate deserters who had entered Federal service and who subsequently had been captured during the campaign. Confederate officials tried and executed these two unfortunates, an event witnessed by the cadets. The boys then escorted a group of about twenty-five Union prisoners back to Tallahassee. Charles Beard sheepishly noted the enthusiastic welcome given the boys: "Many were the brave & even desperate deeds performed by the cadets according to stories current in Tallahassee upon our return— but no cadet was sufficiently damaged to need more than a good square meal to render him fit for duty."<sup>54</sup> The *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal* reported: "The cadets from the Florida State Seminary were in the fight and behaved in a most gallant manner. Their praise is on the lips of all who took part in the fight."<sup>55</sup> Shortly after the battle a lavish ceremony was held in the house of representatives' chamber in the state capitol. There the cadets received a company flag, made by Mrs. Elizabeth Douglas, "for the girls of Tallahassee and Bel Air," and presented by Miss Mattie Ward. Cadet Hunter Pope received the banner in name of his comrades. Unfortunately, Sue Archer later wrote that "[n]othing has been heard of the flag; no one knows what had become of it. It may have been left at the college [at the war's close], and taken possession of [by Federal troops] when they entered our city."<sup>56</sup>

The Confederate victory at Natural Bridge might have lifted the spirits of Floridians, but it did nothing to alter the South's rapidly sinking military fortunes. Less than one month after Natural Bridge the Confederate lines around Petersburg, Virginia, were broken, forcing the evacuation of both Petersburg and Richmond. On April 9, 1865, General Robert E. Lee's Army of Northern Virginia surrendered at Appomattox Court House, and seventeen days later General Joseph E. Johnston capitulated in North Carolina with the remnants of the Army of Tennessee. The surrender of Confederate troops in Florida was included under the terms of Johnston's surrender. Consequently, Union Brigadier General Edward McCook occupied Tallahassee on May 10. Ellen Call Long re-

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54. Charles Beard Reminiscences; "Statement of facts about the Corps of cadets Florida Military Institute," George Lavan Baltzell Pension File A01592, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

55. *Tallahassee Floridian and Journal*, March 11, 1865.

56. Archer, "Reminiscences."

called that McCook “made a very modest entrance, respecting the humiliation of the people . . . [he] was very properly received by representative men of the place, and the courtesies due him were gracefully extended.”<sup>57</sup>

Along with a large volume of supplies, the Federals captured and paroled approximately 8,000 Confederate soldiers in the state. Included in that number were twenty-four cadets from the Florida Military Institute.<sup>58</sup> Apparently some of the boys simply returned home after the surrender before being formally paroled, because a number of cadets known to have served do not appear on the Florida surrender lists. “The West Florida Cadets were in actual service at the close of the war,” wrote William Rawls, “their guns were taken from them, and the school was closed by Gen. McCook.”<sup>59</sup> An examination of various sources finds a total of forty-one cadets for whom there is a relatively reliable record of service during the war, although not all of these individuals fought at Natural Bridge. Another twenty without further documentation appeared on a post-war list compiled by Sue Archer. Undoubtedly many on Archer’s list were from militia or home guard units, which in the last months of the war included teenage boys similar in age to the cadets. It appears possible that some younger militia or home guardsmen might have been unofficially attached to the cadets.<sup>60</sup>

The war’s end proved traumatic for the young West Florida Seminary. The board of education attempted to keep the school running through the end of the 1864-65 year. Captain Johnson had resigned due to ill health in April 1865, and a Professor Melton replaced him as superintendent. On May 3, 1865, with the Confederacy’s collapse imminent, the school’s treasurer was informed that he should “receive until further instructed no currency except Florida Treasury notes in payment of Tuition fees.”<sup>61</sup> Confederate script was no longer accepted. Upon their occupation of Tallahassee, Union troops occupied the school’s buildings for use as a bar-

57. Long, *Florida Breezes*, 381; James P. Jones and William Warren Rogers, “The Surrender of Tallahassee,” *Apalachee* 6 (1963-1967), 103-10.

58. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, M251, roll 104.

59. Alice P. Damon Pension File A02195, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

60. Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, M251, roll 104; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 7, 1918.

61. Minutes, May 3, 1865, Minute Book of the Florida Institute.

racks, remaining there some four months. "No great effort is needed," wrote school historian William Dodd, "to imagine the defacement and injury to the buildings, the broken window-panes, the removal or total destruction of the school furniture, and the utter and wanton ruin of the laboratory equipment."<sup>62</sup> By September, the Federal soldiers had "relinquished" control of the buildings, and the board "resolved that the school be reopened."<sup>63</sup> During the 1865-66 school year the Seminary enrolled 58 male and 27 female students, although the buildings were in a "scarcely habitable condition."<sup>64</sup>

The following year Major James Lucius Cross returned to the school as Superintendent and Professor of Mathematics and Tactics. It took years, however, for the Seminary to return to its pre-war status. Financial difficulties forced the school to close during the period 1868-69 and again from 1871-73. During this latter period Leon County operated the buildings as a public school. The West Florida Seminary continued in existence until 1901, when it became the Florida State College. Just four years later its coeducational status ended when the Buckman Act reorganized Florida higher education and the institution became the Florida Female College, renamed shortly thereafter the Florida State College for Women. The college returned to its coeducational mission after World War II, and in 1947 FSCW formally became The Florida State University.<sup>65</sup>

Despite these institutional changes, Tallahasseeans remembered the West Florida Seminary cadets' service during the Civil War. Beginning in 1885, the state of Florida granted pensions to ex-Confederates for Civil War service. Home guard units, including the cadets, became eligible two years later. Ultimately, sixteen former cadets applied for pensions, while several others endorsed the applications of their comrades. Tallahassee's local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy issued Southern Crosses

62. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 27.

63. Minutes, September 13, 1865, Minute Book of the Florida Institute.

64. Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 27. In December 1865, J. Lucius Cross, who had returned to Tallahassee, reported hopefully: "The legislature will do something for the State School at this place and it is quite probable I will resume my old place there." J. Lucius Cross to Sister, December 29, 1865, Cross Correspondence.

65. Wills and Morris, *Seminole History*, 39-52; Dodd, *History of the West Florida Seminary*, 112; see also Robin Jeanne Sellers, *Femina Perfecta: The Genesis of Florida State University* (Tallahassee, 1995)

of Honor to former cadets who applied for that award, and they received accolades as “The Youngest of the Young Who Wore the Gray.”<sup>66</sup>

Despite this general acclaim, a surprising controversy concerning the cadets arose in Tallahassee in 1918, more than fifty years after the battle and near the conclusion of an even larger conflict then raging in Europe. It began on October 5, when the *Tallahassee Daily Democrat* published an appeal by Cade E. Shackelford, which called for the purchase of the Natural Bridge battlefield by the state and the erection of a monument to the southern soldiers who fought there. Shackelford exaggerated the role of the cadets in the battle, stating that “The Confederate troops that so nobly and successfully defended the capital city of their state, was largely made up of boys in their teens, at the time attending school at the West Florida Seminary, the military school of the state at Tallahassee.”<sup>67</sup> One week later an anonymous writer known only as “An Old Confederate” wrote a scathing criticism of the cadets’ behavior at Natural Bridge: “We had not intended ever to tell what we know of the West Florida Cadets,” the writer contended, “but we believe in ‘giving honor where honor is due’ and the brave men who defended us at Natural Bridge shall not be defrauded on the pages of history for lack of courage on our part to speak the truth.” In fact, “The true tale of the cadets is a pitiful one.”<sup>68</sup> Upon marching to the battlefield, the Old Confederate continued, the cadets passed four men with a stretcher carrying the remains of the Second Florida Cavalry’s Captain Henry K. Simmons, who had been killed during the fighting. The writer claimed that the cadets had panicked at the gruesome sight:

It was a mistake to have taken these children into such a place; they trembled, they turned, their knees knocked together, some of them began to cry, and with one accord they broke ranks and ran. That had to be stopped— it

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66. See the cadet roster in the appendix for a listing of those cadets who received pensions; Mrs. H. T. Cook, *Records of All Crosses of Honor Bestowed by Florida Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* ([Tallahassee?], 1966-1968), n.p., contains names of the former cadets who received a UDC Cross of Honor. The phrase “The Youngest of the Young Who Wore the Gray” is inscribed on a monument on the Natural Bridge battlefield.

67. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, October 5, 1918.

68. *Ibid.*, October 12, 1918.

might create a panic and the day be lost; so some of the other officers came to Captain Johnson's assistance, and by coaxing and forcing got them into line again, and with a guard in the rear they went forward not, however, to a very exposed position. Captain Johnson was terribly mortified, and so were the cadets at first, but on their return home the little girls of Bel-Air met the train with laurel wreaths for each young hero (?) and by the time they reached Tallahassee and were welcomed by their anxious relatives they were ready to forget what had happened and believe themselves all the little girls had said they were.<sup>69</sup>

The Old Confederate added that "In after years Captain [Patrick] Houstoun and Captain [Robert] Gamble agreed that the most unpleasant duty they had ever been called upon to perform was the forcing of these boys to go forward. They should never have been put to the test, they were too young and untried." What infuriated the writer most was the fact that some cadets had received Crosses of Honor from the United Daughters of the Confederacy and subsequently pensions from the State of Florida. "Others have used [the Crosses] to gain admission to the U[nited] C[onfederate] V[eteran] Camps and at reunion and conventions they disport themselves like human jackdaws in their borrowed plumage and brag and boast in a manner that the modest old veterans of the '60s would never be guilty of." In conclusion, the Old Confederate argued against appropriating money to build a monument at Natural Bridge, particularly while the country was in the midst of a larger struggle. Instead, the writer urged, "buy Liberty bonds . . . give—give—give to your utmost limit, until the hun is forced to his knees."<sup>70</sup>

Incensed by the "Old Confederate's" attacks, defenders of the cadets quickly rose to refute the serious charges. On November 7, Sue Archer, sister of a cadet and member of the local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy (UDC), wrote a long article about the cadets' role in the campaign. It was based on an earlier

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69. *Ibid.*

70. *Ibid.* Two days earlier, Confederate veteran J. J. Blocker had also responded to Shackelford's article, correcting several errors. He did not, however, criticize the cadets, recounting instead their service at Newport and stating that all the Confederate soldiers, including "the boys from the college [did] our job." *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, October 10, 1918.

work that she had prepared for the UDC archives. Archer also breathlessly attacked the "Old Confederate" and demanded that the UDC investigate the incident to determine his identity:

It is hoped that the party who wrote the scurrilous [sic] and cowardly article about our boys will be manly enough to acknowledge his mistake, under his own name, as a true Confederate would never have been guilty of writing so vile an article. He evidently did not go near enough to the battlefield to smell gun powder, else the fumes would have paralyzed his vile throat or choked him to death, ere he had the opportunity at this late date to villify our sons and brothers who had "passed over the river to rest under the shade of the trees."<sup>71</sup>

Others rose to defend the cadets' honor. Local historian Caroline M. Brevard commented in her own letter to the editor: "Never in the study of formal report, the reading of reminiscences or letters, or in conversation with persons knowing the history of the battle, have I met with the charge of misconduct on the part of the cadets. On the contrary, Gen. Miller, Governor Fleming, (who served as did Colonel Daniel) and all other participants in the battle whom I have consulted commend the boys who in their first battle behaved like veterans."<sup>72</sup> The same issue contains a comment from Mary Damon, the sister of a cadet. "They were the bravest of the brave," she recalled, "and wild with enthusiasm to go into battle, where they fought with the greatest courage."<sup>73</sup>

Two former cadets eventually entered the controversy. On November 20, William Rawls contributed a lengthy article, which included a letter from Jonathan S. Beard, a postwar friend of General William Miller and son of a former Confederate staff officer. Beard commented that Miller "had always spoke[n] in glowing terms of the West Florida Cadets, saying that they conducted themselves with great gallantry and with [the] coolness of veterans." Beard added that other officers, including the R. H. Gamble mentioned by the Old Confederate, had similar opinions about the cadets. "I have never heard in all of the more than half a century which has

71. *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, November 7, 1918.

72. *Ibid.*, October 26, 1918.

73. *Ibid.*

elapsed since the battle of Natural Bridge heard the courage, coolness and veteran services of the West Florida cadets at Natural Bridge questioned by man or woman," Beard concluded. Rawls then added his own defense of the cadets. Interestingly, he volunteered that the cadets' services "did not end with the war." During Reconstruction, Rawls claimed, "I believe that every cadet" was a member of the Ku Klux Klan. He then named five surviving cadets, himself included, who had belonged to the racist organization. The Klan, he proclaimed, contributed to "splendid results— a restored south, and white supremacy."<sup>74</sup>

Finally, in early December, former Cadet N. Byrd Coles added his comments to the growing chorus. Coles related the cadets' service at Natural Bridge, stating that while the young soldiers had not played a major role in the fighting, "if 'Old Confederate' had been with us I believe he would have thought our position was somewhat exposed." He added that:

After the battle began General Miller came up and told Colonel Johnson that he had been up and down the line on a tour of inspection and concluded that he would rather "risk his carcass with these boys than any other of the troops on the field, and with Colonel Johnson's consent would make his headquarters behind our breastworks" which he did. Our general did not consider us "shaking cowards" then and often spoke of us afterwards as being a brave and manly set of boys.<sup>75</sup>

Coles also pointed out a major inconsistency in the story of the Old Confederate, who claimed that the cadets had initially become frightened after viewing the body of Captain Simmons. That officer had in fact been killed at Natural Bridge, but not until the latter stages of the fighting. By all accounts, the cadets had arrived on the field several hours earlier, long before Simmons' death. Coles stated that the cadets had not seen the fallen officer's body until the end of the battle, after they had been ordered to return to Newport by General Miller. "Some of the boys knew him personally, all of us by reputation," Coles recalled, "and there was a general expression of sympathy and regret, but no 'trembling and knee

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74. *Ibid.*, November 20, 1918.

75. *Ibid.*, December 4, 1918.

knocking.“ ’ With the battle already won, there seems little reason for the cadets to have panicked after seeing Simmons’ corpse.<sup>76</sup>

After several weeks the controversy left the headlines. While the identity of the “Old Confederate” was never publicly revealed, it quite possibly was Tallahassee author Susan Bradford Eppes. A typescript copy of the Old Confederate article exists in the James Tillinghast Archer Papers at Florida State University. It contains handwritten comments, apparently by Susan Archer, stating the article was “Written by Mrs. Sue Eppes.” “The aforesaid ‘*Old Confederate*’ hadn’t courage enough to write this under *her own name*,” Archer insisted. Eppes’ attack on the cadets “was brought about in *after years*. Caused from a case of *Spite*, or pique, which was a personal matter, [and] had nothing to do with the war.” Archer particularly condemned Eppes for not making her accusations “until Capt Houstoun & Capt Gamble were *dead*, & not here to refute these lies.”<sup>77</sup>

76. Ibid. Charles Beard does describe the cadets viewing Simmons’ body on their way to the battlefield, which is in agreement with the account of the Old Confederate (although he does not mention the cadets becoming frightened). It appears that Beard was mistaken, however, and that he may have confused Simmons with another Confederate soldier killed earlier in the fighting. Charles Beard *Reminiscences*.

77. Typescript located in James Tillinghast Archer Papers, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU. In her 1926 book, *Through Some Eventful Years*, Susan Bradford Eppes did not repeat these charges against the cadets, although she did downplay their service at Natural Bridge. Eppes recalled that a cadet, identified only as Charley, stated: “we stayed right behind General Miller and his staff all the time,’ ‘Why was that, Charley?’ I asked. ‘So we could protect him,’ was the proud answer. I did not dare to tell the dear little fellow that the commanding officer was supposed to occupy the safest position.” Eppes, *Through Some Eventful Years*, 262. A typescript in the Susan Bradford Eppes Collection, Special Collections, Robert Manning Strozier Library, FSU, is less critical than the “Old Confederate,” but states that, after viewing Simmons’ body, the cadets “faltered (poor little fellows) and how a few words from their battle scarred leader put fresh courage in their young hearts, how bravely they marched on mid the rattle of musketry and the roar of cannon.” Eppes almost certainly authored this document. The only other criticism of the cadets came from J. C. Smythe of Fernandina. In 1909, Smythe learned that George Baltzell had applied for a Confederate pension. Baltzell “was never enlisted and mustered into state or C.S. Army,” Smythe contended. Instead he “serv[ed] his time . . . in the Tallahassee High School.” Some of the cadets served at Natural Bridge, but “a goodly number of others had a good time in [the] Capitol now this man claims that. . . makes him a Confed. Vet. And entitles him to wear the Bronze cross.” J. C. Smythe to A. C. Croom, January 5, 1909, in George L. Baltzell Pension File A12247, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

The fervor with which white Tallahasseeans defended the cadets is a potent example of the Lost Cause sentiment of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The South may have lost the Civil War, but white southerners had fought valiantly to defend their way of life. Ultimately, as W. A. Rawls candidly admitted, white southerners had won the peace. Confederate veterans, including the cadets, had helped establish the Ku Klux Klan to end Reconstruction and hated Republican rule. Any criticism of the cadets represented an attack on the Lost Cause/Old South myth. Even if they had not played a major role in the war, the cadets had done their part in upholding the honor of the South. If the cadets had failed, then the Lost Cause view of the war—loyal Confederate soldiers, sacrificing civilians on the home front, and loyal, contented slaves—might also be questioned. In 1918 at least, Tallahasseeans were unwilling to accept that possibility.<sup>78</sup>

The Old Confederate controversy had at least increased interest in the neglected Natural Bridge battlefield. In 1919 a small monument was erected at the site, followed by a second in 1920. The following year the state legislature appropriated \$5,000 to establish a park and erect a larger monument at the site. The local chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy agreed to establish a committee to oversee construction of the park and monument. In 1922 the new monument was completed and the park dedicated. Former Cadet Byrd Coles was among those who attended the unveiling. The last known survivor among the cadets was D. Sheppard Shine, who died in Duval County in 1939. The widow of cadet William F. Quaile passed away in Tallahassee in 1969, making her the final survivor of that category. Today a number of descendants continue to live in Tallahassee and the surrounding region.<sup>79</sup>

A final commemoration of the cadets and the role of the West Florida Seminary in the Civil War came on March 6, 1957, on the

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78. For an overview of this subject, see Gaines M. Foster, *Ghosts of the Confederacy: Defeat, the Lost Cause, and the Emergence of the New South, 1865 to 1913* (New York, 1987).

79. Chapter 8433, in *General Acts and Resolutions Adopted by the Legislature of Florida at its Eighteenth Regular Session (April 15 to June 3, 1921) Under the Constitution of A. D. 1885* (Tallahassee, 1921), vol. 1, 142-43; *Tallahassee Daily Democrat*, January 21, 1919 [sic, 1920], May 8, 1922; D. Sheppard Shine (A10524) and William F. Quaile (A10567), Pension Files, Series 587, State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files.

ninety-second anniversary of Natural Bridge, when the Reserve Officers' Training Corps detachment at Florida State University received a citation and battle streamer from the State of Florida for its wartime service. The citation reads in part:

In grateful recognition of the valiant service performed by the cadets of the West Florida Seminary, lineal predecessor to the present Florida State University, who fought with distinction during the Battle of Natural Bridge, Florida, . . . there shall be caused to be affixed to the staffs of the flags which bear the seal of the University, a streamer which bears the words Natural Bridge 1865, which streamers shall be permanently and continuously attached to the staff of these flags, now and hereafter, to serve as an inspiration to the students of that institution.<sup>80</sup>

80. Citation from Florida Secretary of State R. A. Gray, March 6, 1957, displayed in ROTC Building, Florida State University, Tallahassee. In the 1990s the ROTC Building of the campus of Florida State University was renamed the Harpe-Johnson Building, in honor of Captain V.M. Johnson and of a twentieth-century Air Force ROTC graduate who rose to the rank of general.

APPENDIX

ROSTER OF WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY CADETS  
KEY

(1) Listed in Florida Miscellaneous Compiled Service Records (on Tallahassee 1865 surrender rolls). From Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations From the State of Florida, roll 104, National Archives Microfilm Publication, National Archives, Washington, D.C.

(2) Pension Applicant. From State Board of Pensions, Confederate Pension Files, 1885-1954, Series 587, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, Florida.

(3) Pension Endorser. Same as above.

(4) Archer List. Published in Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*, November 7, 1918.

(5) United Daughters of the Confederacy Cross of Honor Recipient. From Mrs. H. T. Cook, *Records of All Crosses of Honor Bestowed by Florida Division United Daughters of the Confederacy* (Tallahassee?, 1966-1968).

(6) United Daughters of the Confederacy, Florida Division, Membership Applications. From M91-4, Florida State Archives.

(7) Other (mentioned in postwar accounts written by or about the cadets, including the Charles Beard Reminiscences and the various articles published in the Tallahassee *Daily Democrat*).

1. William Harrison Anderson (2, 3). Born August 1, 1848, in Madison County, Florida. Married Alice L. Polk in Levy County, January 5, 1902. Died November 13, 1916, in Levy County. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A10451), which indicated that in 1864 he initially served in John L. Miller's Company of the Madison County Home Guard. In October 1864, he enrolled in the West Florida Seminary. Anderson testified that he "was under Gen. Wm. Miller at Newport and Natural Bridge Mch 5, 6 & 7th

1865, at other times relieving Regular Troops in guarding RR bridges, commissary depots in Madison, and guarding Federal prisoners." He added, "We were never paroled but disbanded & went home after surrender." Anderson later belonged to Stonewall Camp No. 1438, United Confederate Veterans. [Endorsed Charles Beard's pension application].

2. Tod Archer (4, 7). Brother of Susan Archer, who wrote a detailed account of the cadets' service. Mentioned in Charles Beard's Reminiscences.

3. Private George Lavan Baltzell (1, 3, 4). Born November 26, 1848, in Leon County. Married Louise Wilson on November 15, 1886. Died in Nassau County on January 17, 1914. Baltzell received a pension from the State of Florida (A01592 and A12247), indicating that he enlisted at Tallahassee (no date), and was discharged or paroled on May 10, 1865. He stated that he served "around Tallahassee and in the Battle of Natural Bridge," and that his service ended with the "Disbanding of the Cadet Corps & breaking up of the Institute." [Endorsed pension applications of Charles Beard and Herman Damon]

4. Charles Locke Beard (2, 3). Born August 3, 1849, in St. Johns County, the son of John and Maria Beard. Died in Tallahassee November 12, 1914. After the war Beard lived for a time in Fernandina and received a pension from the State of Florida (A08244), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 15, 1865. Beard added that "as a member of the Cadet Corps [I] did Guard duty at various times, over prisoners confined in Tallahassee. Was absent from Tallahassee for five days on the Expedition to New Port & Natural Bridge taking part in the battle at the Bridge & acting as one of the Escort that took the prisoners to Tallahassee . . ." In a pension endorsement Beard testified the cadets were assembled for drill daily and were never formally paroled. [Endorsed pension of Herman Damon and of Luther Tucker's widow]

5. Elijah J. Bryan (2). Born November 9, 1848, in Jackson County. Was living in Jackson County in 1908. Bryan received a pension from the State of Florida (A12277) in which he testified: "I

was a cadet in the Military School at Tallahassee Fla– Was ordered in to service under Capt Johnson and had active service at Natural Bridge, Fla. & New Port.” He added that the cadets “Never received a discharge, but were ordered back to school.”

6. Private W. W. Coker (1).

7. Second Lieutenant Nathan Byrd Coles (1, 2, 3, 4, 7). Born January 11, 1849. Married Eugenia Upshaw November 8, 1870. Received a pension from the State of Alabama for his service with the cadets, which indicated that he enlisted in Tallahassee in 1862 until “close of war (I think apl 1865).” Died at Clayton, Alabama on December 24, 1928. [Endorsed pension application of William A. Rawls]

8. Franklin P. Damon (2, 3). Born June 20, 1853, in Tallahassee. Married Alice Perry in Nassau County on April 16, 1885. Died December 31, 1917, or January 1, 1918, in Tallahassee. Damon’s widow received a pension from the State of Florida (A02195), indicating that he enlisted on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in May 1865. Damon’s wife testified that he served “with his company guarding prisoners, and doing other military duty for 17 months previous to enlistment, in the service of the Confederate States & the State of Florida.”

9. Herman F. Damon (2, 3, 4). Born December 28, 1847, in Leon County. Living in Leon County in 1909. Damon applied for a pension from the State of Florida (D13236), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee, no date, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 10, 1865. He testified: “I was in the Battle of Natural Bridge in command of Capt V. M. Johnson March 6th 1865 Captain of the Cadets of the Florida Military Institute.”

10. Henry Ware DeMilly (2). Born March 26, 1852, in Leon County. Married Kate Graham on December 22, 1889 in Pike County, Alabama. Died January 9, 1930, in Leon County. DeMilly received a pension from the State of Florida (A10096), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on January 1, 1864, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 13, 1865. He noted that he performed “Guard duty as cadet for state home service.”

WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY DURING THE CIVIL WAR 315

11. Sergeant Pros DeMilly (1, 4, 6). Born April 4, 1848, in Tallahassee. Married Emma Margaret Collins on June 4, 1879. Died in Tallahassee in 1905.

12. James B. Dickson (2, 3). Born January 27, 1850, in Jackson County. Married Mary Alice Edwards on November 30, 1927. Died between 1927-1929. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A10019), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 5, 1865 and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in 1865. Dickson testified that he "was present at the Battle of Natural Bridge, Fla. & saw active service therein." [Endorsed pension application of John Milton, Sr. and Elijah Bryan].

13. Sergeant John E. DuBose, Jr. (1, 4, 7).

14. Private Cornelius A. Fitt [also listed as Titt] (1).

15. Private T. P. Graham (1).

16. Private R. Lonnie Gunn (1, 4). 5'9", dark hair, hazel eyes, light complexion.

17. Sergeant Richard Hayward (1, 4).

18. Sergeant James S. Houstoun (1, 7). Charles Beard referred to Houstoun as first sergeant.

19. Private Jessie F. King (1, 4)

20. Private A. J. Lasseter (1).

21. Sergeant John P. McCall (1, 2). Born February 11, 1848. Living in Jefferson County in January 1899. Died July 16, 1901, and buried in Waukeenah Cemetery, Jefferson County. He applied for a pension from the State of Florida (D02074), which indicated that he enlisted in January 1865. His parole showed him as 5'6", dark hair, blue eyes, fair complexion.

22. Dan B. Meginniss/Maginnis (4, 5)

23. John Milton, Jr. [Listed as John Milton, Sr. in pension application] (2, 3, 4, 7). Born December 25, 1850, in Jackson County. Son of Florida Governor John Milton. Married Caroline F. Russ on December 16, 1874, in Jackson County. Died May 22, 1922, in Jackson County and buried in St. Lukes Cemetery, Marianna. Milton received a pension from the State of Florida (A02401), which indicated he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in 1865. Milton claimed to be "present at the Battle of Natural Bridge, Fla. and saw active service therein," and that at the close of the war he was "at home at Marianna, Fla." [Endorsed James D. Dickson's pension application]

24. Private Charlie T. Mims (1, 4).

25. Private [?] W. S. Murphey (1). 5'11", light hair, gray eyes, light complexion.

26. Second Lieutenant Thomas Perkins Myers (4, 5)

27. Private Egbert Nims (1, 2). Born May 6, 1847, in Leon County. Living in Colombia County in 1914. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A06539), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on March 4, 1865, and was discharged at Tallahassee. Nims testified that "on March 5th 1864 [sic] a detachment of Cadets went to a Station, New Port, to take charge of Federal Soldiers, captured at Natural bridge, and conveyed the prisoners to Tallahassee."

28. William Wightman Perkins (2, 3, 4, 5, 7) Born February 2, 1852 in Leon County. Died March 19, 1932. He received a pension from the State of Florida (A08478), which indicated that he enlisted in Tallahassee on March 5, 1865, and was discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in May 1865. Perkins stated he was "In the service of the Confederate States at Tallahassee for the last eighteen months of the Civil War. Guarded prisoners, who were wounded, and sent to Tallahassee for treatment, notably those who were confined in the present Masonic building in Tallahassee, then used as a hospital[.] Did other military duty at Tallahassee. My company was in battle of Natural Bridge although I was not in the battle, but was detailed for other duty." [Endorsed the pension applications of John Milton, Sr., D. Sheppard Shine, Egbert Nims, William F. Quaile, William A. Rawls and Henry DeMilly]

29. Private Charles Courtney Pierce/Pearce (1, 4). Born September 16, 1849. Died July 7, 1889, in Leon County.

30. Second Sergeant Thomas Augustus Polhill (4, 7).

31. Private J. Hunter Pope (1, 4). 5'7", light hair, gray eyes, dark complexion.

32. William Francis Quaile (2, 3, 5). Born January 17, 1850, in Leon County. Married Myrtle R. Quaile (second marriage) September 1, 1918, in Leon County. Died January 10, 1935, and buried in Old City Cemetery in Tallahassee. Quaile's widow died in Tallahassee in 1969. Quaile received a pension from the State of Florida (A10567), indicating that he enlisted in October of November 1863 and discharged or paroled at Tallahassee in April 1865. [Endorsed the pension applications of D. Sheppard Shine, Henry W DeMilly, and Egbert Nim]

33. First Lieutenant Arthur L. Randolph (1, 4, 7). Born 1847 or 1848, the son of J. H. and M. E. Randolph. Died July 31, 1884, in Leon County.

34. William Andrew Rawls (2, 3, 4, 7) Born August 26, 1851, in Leon County. Married Mary Maxwell Flagg on January 1, 1880. Died December 5, 1926, in Leon County. Rawls received a pension from the State of Florida (A02731), which indicated that he joined the cadet corps at Tallahassee in September 1863, entered Confederate service in September 1864, and was discharged or paroled on May 13, 1865. Rawls testified that the cadets "Performed military duty in Tallahassee; guarding federal prisoners who were captured at the battle of Olustee Fla., in Feb 1864- Was detailed for separate duty when my company was in the fighting at Newport and Natural Bridge- March 5th and 6th 1865." In a pension endorsement Rawls testified that the cadets "were never regularly enlisted,' and that their service consisted of "responding to all calls for military service in and around Tallahassee during the last two years of the civil war." He added "We were never paroled." [Endorsed pension applications of William Perkins, William F. Quaile, James B. Dickson, and for the widows of Franklin P. Damon and Luther Tucker]

35. D. Sheppard Shine (2). Born October 12, 1851, in Leon County. Married Caroline M. Eppes on October 30, 1882, in Or-

lando. Died October 12, 1939, in Duval County. After the war he received a pension from the State of Florida (A10524), which indicated that he enlisted at Tallahassee on January 1, 1864, and discharged or paroled at Tallahassee on May 13, 1865. Shine noted that he served "as guard, and attendant to wounded soldiers," and an endorser testified that Shine was "a nurse to wounded soldiers brought to Tallahassee from the Battle of Natural Bridge."

36. Pratt Thompson (4, 5)

37. Private Luther Tucker (1, 2, 4). Born October 19, 1848, in Wakulla County. Married Jerusia Vause on April 4, 1866, in Wakulla County. Died March 20, 1911, in Wakulla County and buried in Vause Branch Cemetery, Sopchoppy. After the war his widow received a pension from the State of Florida (A01597), indicating that Tucker enlisted at Tallahassee in 1863 or 1864

38. Private D. M. Walker (1). Born April 18, 1850, the son of George Keith and Mary Dorothea Walker. Died Leon County on June 21, 1871.

39. Sergeant George R. Ward (1, 4).

40. Private John Wesley Wethington (1, 2, 3, 4) Listed as Cadet Captain in several accounts. Born in Jefferson County on January 15, 1847. Enlisted in Company H, Third Florida Infantry Regiment in July 1861. Was wounded in the face and leg at Perryville, Kentucky, and was captured by Federal troops and imprisoned at Cairo, Illinois. Wethington was discharged and joined Captain Gwynn's Company, Fifth Florida Cavalry Battalion and fought at the Battle of Olustee. In his pension Wethington does not mention his service with the cadets at Natural Bridge. He was a member of the Patton Anderson Camp No. 59, United Confederate Veterans. [Endorsed the pension applications of William Perkins and of the widow of Franklin P. Damon]

41. Private John S. Winthrop (1, 7). Born March 31, 1848. Died February 11, 1920, in Leon County. His parole record lists him as 5'6", light hair, gray eyes, fair complexion.

The following individuals were listed as cadets in Sue Archer's postwar account. Their service, however, is not confirmed in pension or military records and should be considered tentative at best.

WEST FLORIDA SEMINARY DURING THE CIVIL WAR 319

During the latter stages of the war, many teenagers served in Confederate militia and home guard units, as well as in the First Florida Reserves. These young soldiers could have easily been mistaken for cadets.

J. W. Adams

Jack Baker

Eddie Blake

Curtis Brown

John Call

Charlie Donaldson

Charlie Dyke

Charlie Ellis

Dick Frazier [Archer claims that Frazier was a "little drummer boy, who was killed by falling from a car loaded with lumber on St. Marks Railroad."]

George Houstoun

Miles Johnson

Charlie Munnerylyn

Lucien H. Raines

Henry Randolph

Sam Tonge

Milton Tucker

Sam Wethington

In addition, Geo. Augustin Maxwell and S.A. Northington received Crosses of Honor from the United Daughters of the Confederacy for cadet service but do not appear in any other known rosters of cadets; John F. DeMilly and George Lewis are listed as cadets in a November 20, 1918, Tallahassee *Daily Democrat* article by W.A. Rawls, but they do not appear on other rosters; and Bob Ledsmith, W.W. Pearce, and Dick Saunders appear on a list of cadets published in the Tallahassee *Democrat* on February 24, 1963, but they do not appear on other rosters.