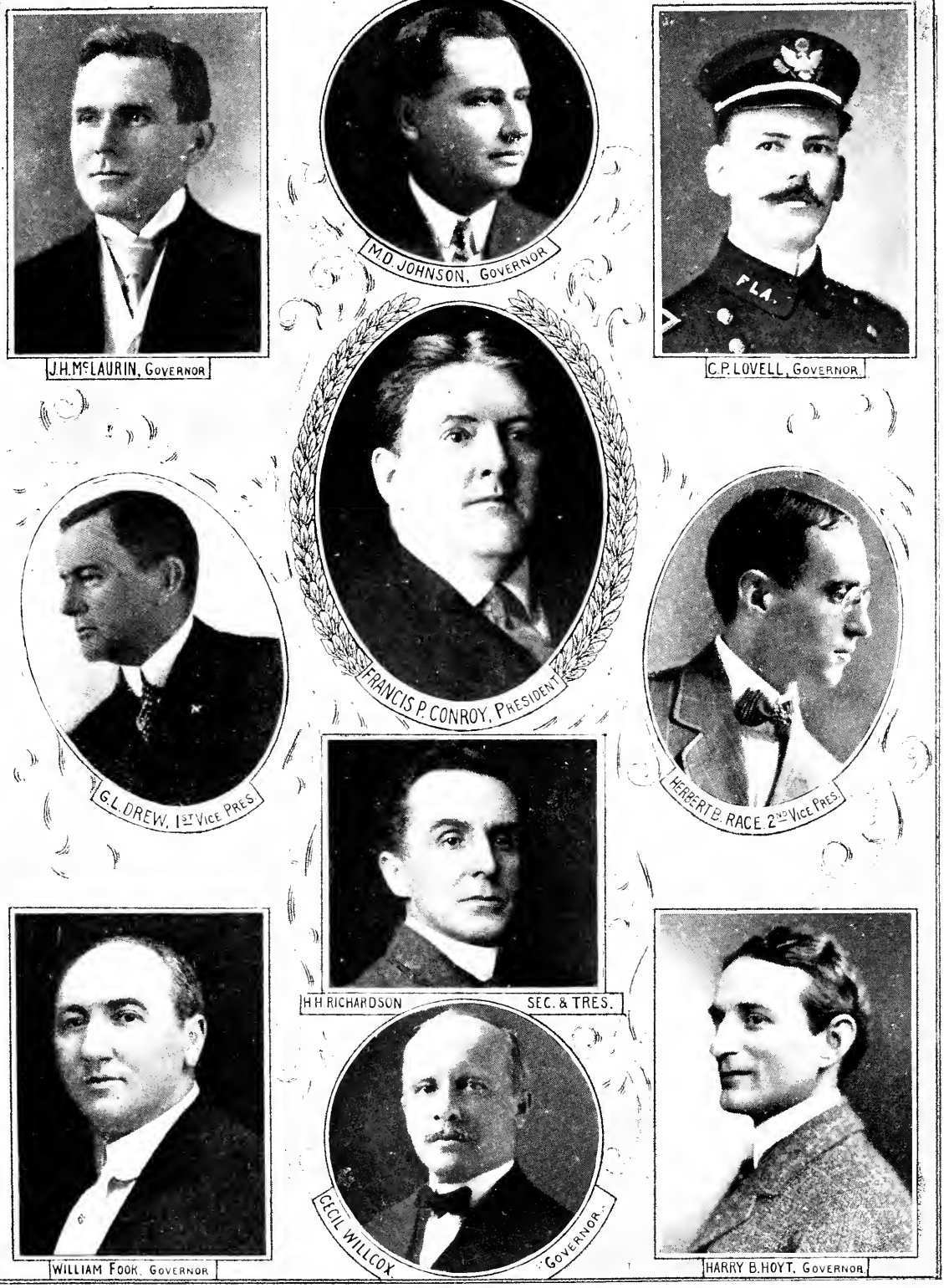
History of Early Jacksonville



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1911

At the meeting of the Board of Governors of the Jacksonville Board of Trade held this date the generous offer of the compiler of this work, Mr. Thomas Frederick Davis, to turn over the publication of and revenue from this work to this organization was unanimously accepted and a vote of thanks was tendered to him for his patriotic labors in the interest of the City of Jacksonville in the gathering together of its most interesting history.

FRANCIS P. CONROY,
President.

Attest:

H. H. RICHARDSON,
Secretary.

July 28th, 1911.

HISTORY OF EARLY JACKSONVILLE FLORIDA

BEING AN AUTHENTIC RECORD OF EVENTS FROM THE EARLIEST TIMES TO AND INCLUDING THE CIVIL WAR

BY

THOMAS FREDERICK DAVIS

JACKSONVILLE
THE H. & W. B. DREW COMPANY
1911

DEDICATED

TO THE MEMORY OF

MRS. SUSAN A. HARTRIDGE

(1829-1910)

ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF DANIEL MEMORIAL ORPHANAGE AND HOME FOR THE FRIENDLESS, AND TWENTY-SIX YEARS ITS PRESIDENT; ONE OF THE FOUNDERS OF ST. LUKE'S HOSPITAL, AND FOR MANY YEARS ACTIVELY ENGAGED IN THE WORK OF MAINTAINING THAT INSTITUTION; WHOSE RESIDENCE IN JACKSONVILLE OF FIFTY-SEVEN YEARS WAS CHARACTERIZED BY GIVING AID TO THE SUFFERING AND THE NEEDY; AND WHOSE INFLUENCE FOR GOOD IN THIS COMMUNITY WAS SUCH THAT IN RESPECT TO HER MEMORY THE CITY OF JACKSONVILLE CLOSED ITS DEPARTMENTS DURING THE HOUR OF HER FUNERAL, AND THE MAYOR, BY PROCLAMATION, REQUESTED THE BUSINESS HOUSES TO DO LIKEWISE.

THE AUTHOR.

FOREWORD.

In the preparation of this work every effort has been made to use only reliable, authentic data. References are given whenever possible, and where the reference work is thoroughly indexed, only the title is named. A considerable portion of the matter has never been published before, being the recollections of old citizens, to whom the thanks of the author, and others finding pleasure or profit in these pages, are due; and especially to Mrs. William M. Bostwick, who has given much data and most valuable assistance in the preparation of this book. Some years ago, it was the custom of several of the oldest residents to meet and talk over "early days." Many of these old timers have since passed away, but Mrs. Bostwick possesses notes made at the meetings, and much of this matter appears in this book.

The author is in no way connected with the sale of this book and receives no remuneration therefrom, he being content with the privilege of thus placing in permanent form what is believed to be an authentic history of our city during a period for which data are now scarce and becoming more difficult to obtain with the passing of every year.

THOMAS FREDERICK DAVIS.

Jacksonville, Fla., July, 1911.

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History of Early Jacksonville

CHAPTER I.

THE EARLY HISTORY OF THE LOWER ST. JOHNS.[1]

Authentic history of the lower St. Johns River begins with May 1st, 1562, when Jean Ribault* and his French Huguenot colonists, sailing along the coast of Florida, came to the mouth of a large river, which they named the River May, in commemoration of the day on which the discovery was made. Crossing the bar in one of his smaller boats, Ribault landed on the northern side of the river and exchanged friendly greetings with the natives that had assembled to meet the strange white men; but after giving the Indians a few presents, he crossed the river and on a knoll near the shore he erected a stone column bearing the arms of France. The French then returned to their vessels outside the bar and sailed away to the north, eventually establishing the unfortunate colony of Charles Fort, on the coast of what is now South Carolina.

FORT CAROLINE.

About two years later, in 1564, Rene de

*Some historians spell the name Ribaut.

Laudonniere, who was with Ribault on the former expedition, and who, with Ribault, had in the mean time gone back to France, returned to the River May. With him came another colony of Huguenots, these people preferring the unknown dangers of the new country to the religious persecutions of the old world. Laudonniere landed and was directed to the monument left by Ribault, around which the Indians had placed wreaths in token of friendship, and baskets of fruit and grain as a peace-offering to the new-comers. The Frenchmen went up the river a short distance to observe the country, then boarded their vessels and coasted as far as Amelia Island; but they decided to return to the River May and establish their colony on the southern bank, near a high bluff that they had previously examined. This was in June, 1564. The French at once began to fortify the place, by building a fort of logs and staves. It was in the form of a triangle and was of good size, since the colonists all lived within its walls. Soon after their arrival, a party of these Frenchmen sailed up the river twenty leagues, and it is safe to assume that these were the first white men to behold the site upon which Jacksonville now stands. There is a pleasing tradition that Ponce de Leon, in searching for the fabled "Fountain of Youth", camped for a while on the ground now occupied by South Jacksonville, but history does not record the incident with sufficient clearness to warrant its acceptance as fact.

The story of the colony at Fort Caroline is one filled with pathos and tragedy. In the beginning, the French enjoyed amicable relations with the Indians; from the red men they drew largely for their subsistence, themselves neglecting to make provision for the emergencies that were bound to come. As a result of this inactivity, misfortunes began to multiply, and, naturally, discouragement then entered the ranks of the little band. A serious mutiny followed. Laudonniere, while he lay ill with fever, was seized and imprisoned on a vessel in the river, when the conspirators boarded two other vessels and set out upon a free-booting expedition along the coast. One of these vessels, after an eventful voyage, eventually returned to Fort Caroline, where four of the leaders met with summary punishment at the hands of Laudonniere, being hanged upon gibbets at the mouth of the river.

After a while, the Indians refused to share further of their stores, partly because their own stock of provisions was running low, and partly from the fact that nothing was given in exchange, the French by this time having exhausted their supply of exchangeable articles. The colonists were on the verge of famine. Laudonniere was persuaded to seize the great Indian Olata-Utina, chief of the country, and hold him as ransom for supplies. This scheme resulted disastrously to the French, inasmuch as little benefit was derived from it, while the enmity of their Indian allies and friends

was incurred. Thoroughly disheartened, they decided at last to return to France. On August 4, 1565, Sir John Hawkins, returning from an expedition to the West Indies, unexpectedly appeared at the mouth of the River May. He visited Laudonniere, and seeing the plight of the Frenchmen, he supplied their immediate needs and sold them a vessel in which to make the voyage to France, taking in payment therefor a number of cannon from Fort Caroline. After the departure of the English, Laudonniere hurried his preparations for leaving Florida. When all was ready for the departure, Ribault, with seven vessels and more than 500 men, dropped anchor at the mouth of the river. Laudonniere was not aware that this expedition had been dispatched for his relief, and its arrival, near the end of August, 1565, caused him to change his plans.

CAPTURE OF FORT CAROLINE BY THE SPANISH.

News of the French colony in Florida had already reached Spain. The Spanish king claimed the country by right of discovery, and this settlement at Fort Caroline incensed him to no small degree. Consequently, he fitted out an expedition and placed it in command of Pedro Menendez de Aviles, with instructions to drive the French from the shores of Florida. It was a peculiar coincidence that Menendez reached Florida in the vicinity of the present St. Augustine on the same day that Ribault's relief expedition arrived at the

mouth of the River May, each unaware of the presence of the other. Menendez was not long, however, in learning from the Indians that Fort Caroline was not far away, and immediately he sent his vessels to reconnoiter. Several of Ribault's ships were at anchor outside the bar, but when the Frenchmen saw these strange vessels of war approaching, not knowing their intent, they slipped their cables and sailed away. And well for them that they did, as the Spaniards opened fire upon them and gave chase. After a pursuit lasting several hours, the chase was given up. A French ship followed the Spaniards at a distance, observed their landing, and then hastened to report the facts to Ribault. Ribault and Menendez made their plans simultaneously: the French sailed to attack the Spaniards, while the Spaniards marched to take Fort Caroline. Ribault's fleet encountered a tropical hurricane and was wrecked on the coast between Matanzas and Mosquito Inlet; yet the same fateful storm contributed to the success of Menendez. On account of the tempest, the vigilance at Fort Caroline had been temporarily relaxed, and the Spanish forces experienced little difficulty in entering the fort and surprising the garrison, most of which was yet asleep. The assault was made about dawn, and after a feeble resistance the fort was captured.

Concerning the massacre at Fort Caroline many historians claim that there was an indiscriminate slaughter of the French, regardless of sex and age

and only those persons who sought safety in flight, 60 in number, escaped the butchery of the Spaniards. Also, that Menendez caused his captives to be led out and hanged from the limbs of near-by trees. The garrison at Fort Caroline after the departure of Ribault consisted of 240 persons, mostly women and children.

The Spanish historians say that Menendez was not present at the fort when the massacre began, that he was in the rear collecting the stragglers of his force as they came up; but hearing the clamor, he came running to the fort. When he perceived that his soldiers gave no quarter, he shouted in a loud voice, "At the peril of your lives neither kill nor wound any woman, cripple, or child under fifteen years of age", by which it is claimed 70 persons were saved, the rest having already perished.

Likewise, there are two versions as to the correctness of the narrative regarding the hanging of the Huguenots. Some historians give it that Menendez erected on the spot a tablet bearing the inscription, "Not as Frenchmen, but as Lutherans". Others disclaim this altogether, and the question probably never will be settled to the satisfaction of all.

Menendez took possession of Fort Caroline, changed its name to San Mateo, and garrisoned it with 300 soldiers. With his remaining force of about 50 men he returned to St. Augustine.

Laudonniere and 25 of his followers that managed to escape from Fort Caroline, waded the saw-

grass marshes and after terrible hardships boarded two small vessels left by Ribault at the mouth of the River May. They hastily set sail for France. A perilous voyage carried one of these ships to the coast of France, while the other, with Laudonniere aboard, landed at a port in Wales. Laudonniere returned to France and made a full report of the massacre at Fort Caroline; but the news was received with stolid indifference at the French court, the anti-Huguenot party being then in power. Very little is known about the other survivors; most of them probably spent their lives among the Indians.

RETRIBUTION OF DOMINIC DE GOURGUES.

One Dominic de Gourgues, observing that this slaughter of his countrymen would likely go unavenged and believing that the honor of his country (France) demanded a retributive measure, took upon himself the responsibiltiy of equipping a private expedition against the Spaniards in Florida. In this enterprise he exhausted his own fortune and that of some of his friends; but at last he succeeded in procuring three vessels and 250 picked men. He sailed from France in August, 1567. After loitering and refitting in the West Indies, he sailed for Florida and arrived at Amelia Island in the spring of 1568. Menendez had erected two small forts at the mouth of the River May, now called the River San Mateo, after the capture of Fort Caroline, one on Batten Island and

one on the opposite side of the river. As De Gourgues sailed by these forts, their garrisons saluted him with their guns, supposing his vessels to be Spanish; the Frenchmen returned the salute to confirm the error. After enlisting the services of a large number of Indians, who, it appears, had turned against the Spaniards, De Gourgues and his allies crossed to Fort George Island at low tide, waded the intervening marsh, and fell upon the fort at Batten Island at day-break. When within 200 yards of the post they were discovered by the sentinel, who fired his culverin twice before he was killed. The garrison rushed out pell-mell, endeavoring to escape, but all perished on the spot, except fifteen; these were taken prisoners and reserved for another purpose. De Gourgues had ordered one of his vessels to come up the river at the proper time, to convey his men across. In this way he crossed over, his Indian allies swimming alongside in great numbers.

The garrison in the fort on the south side of the river made no attempt at resistance and fled ingloriously toward Fort San Mateo. Few of them made their escape, nearly all being slain by the Indians. De Gourgues marched as rapidly as possible toward Fort San Mateo, capturing on the way a reconnoitering party of 60 Spaniards. He deployed his force skillfully so that every avenue of escape was closed, and most of the garrison fell into the hands of the Indians and perished. The prisoners that had been captured were led out.

De Gourgues lectured them, reciting the circumstances under which his countrymen had been slain. They were then hanged as "Traitors, thieves, and murderers".

Having now avenged what he believed to be the wanton slaughter of his countrymen, De Gourgues embarked for France early in May, 1568. Menendez had gone to Spain and was there while these events were taking place in Florida, but he set sail for St. Augustine about the time De Gourgues sailed for France; somewhere on the broad Atlantic they passed each other, one sailing westward and the other sailing eastward. When Menendez arrived at St. Augustine and learned what had transpired during his absence his fury can be conjectured. De Gourgues landed on the coast of France in June. He immediately reported the success of his expedition, but he, too, was received coldly at the French court; in fact, it became necessary for him to seek safety in concealment. Later, however, he was appointed admiral in the French navy.

LOCATION OF FORT CAROLINE.

All traces of old Fort Caroline have long since disappeared, but its location seems certainly to have been at St. Johns bluff, on the south side of the river a few miles below Jacksonville. Its location was described precisely by Laudonniere and others of his time; and Buckingham Smith, who did a great deal toward clearing up the misty

early history of the Spaniards in Florida, after a careful study of the original archives in Spain, came to the conclusion that the fort was at St. Johns bluff. It was not on top of the bluff, but at its base, near the water's edge—a curious selection of a site for a fortification. In 1856, a handful of old Spanish coins cast prior to the year 1555, was found near the supposed site of Fort Caroline.

SUBSEQUENT EVENTS.

The Spaniards repaired and again garrisoned the forts on the St. Johns after the terrible retribution of De Gourgues, and although mutiny, desertion, pestilence, and famine followed one another at recurring intervals, these forts were maintained many years. Other posts were established also, among them one called San Nicholas (St. Nicholas), located near the present site of South Jacksonville. A long period elapsed, however, before history again takes up the record of events having a direct bearing upon this vicinity; yet during this period there were numerous forays toward or from St. Augustine and the Colonies, and there are good grounds for the belief that many war parties camped upon a high bluff that stood at the foot of the present Liberty, Washington, and Catherine Streets, before crossing the river for a dash upon St. Augustine, or, returning tarried here for rest, preparatory for the long march northward.

In 1763, this bluff was described as being very imposing, and timbered with live oak, palms, and wild orange; back from the river a short distance stood a small Indian village. At the foot of Liberty street there was a bold spring of clear, good water[2].

FORT ST. NICHOLAS.

The location of Fort St. Nicholas was about a mile east of the present South Jacksonville ferry, back from the river 250 or 300 yards. Around the fort was a moat, or excavation, 100 feet square, and surrounding this was a cantonment or settlement, together with offices, quarters, and barracks for the men. Mr. Hudnall acquired the land upon which the fort stood, even while a part of the old fort was still in existence, and he leveled the timbers for use on his farm. He built his house directly on the east side of the moat, and while excavating found many Spanish coins[4].

Toward the end of the Spanish rule, Fort St. Nicholas was maintained principally as a post to prevent smuggling.

THE ST. JOHNS RIVER.

The Indian name for the St. Johns River was "Illaka", corrupted into "Welaka" by the whites. Buckingham Smith asked an intelligent Indian what "Illaka" signified, and the reply was, "Distinct, unusual, different from any other", meaning, as nearly as could be interpreted, that the

river ran north[3]. The French called it the Riviere de Mai, or the River May. By the Spaniards it was first named San Mateo, in honor of the patron Saint Matthew, near whose day the capture of Fort Caroline took place; but later they changed it to the River San Juan, and from this name we derive the English St. Johns. John Bartram in his "Travels" speaks of it as the River St. Juan.

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CHAPTER II.

THE COW FORD.

The locality of Jacksonville was first known as the place where the Indians forded their cattle across the river, and was called by them "Wacca Pilatka", signifying the place where cows crossed or could swim over[1]. An Indian trail ran from this place westward across the sand hills to the Suwanee River, thence to Alapaha, Aucilla, Micasuki, and Tallahassee, towns of the Apalachees. The Spaniards called the ford at the St. Johns the "Pass of San Nicholas", but it was known to all English-speaking people as the "Cow Ford."[2]

THE KING'S ROAD.

The path made by the Indians' cattle and by the pack-ponies of the traders in the course of time grew into a trail, then into a beaten track as travel increased, and culminated finally in the King's Road, made during the English occupation of Florida, about 1765. The route of this road was from the St. Marys River, opposite Colerain, Ga., to the Cow Ford, thence to St. Augustine and New Smyrna[1]. It met the St. Johns River at the foot of what is now Liberty Street, and began again on the other side directly opposite. Nearly all travel between St. Augustine and the Colonies passed

over this highway, and therefore through the site of Jacksonville.

ENGLISH LAND GRANTS.

Soon after Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain, 1763, the Marquis of Hastings obtained a grant of 20,000 acres covering most of the land between Maxton's (now McGirt's) Creek and Trout Creek, embracing the present site of Jacksonville. About the same time the Marquis of Waterford obtained a grant, also of 20,000 acres, on the opposite side of the St. Johns, beginning at Pottsburg Creek[3].

Upon the recession of Florida to Spain, all the British grants reverted to the Spanish crown, but the British subjects that left the country were remunerated for their land[3]. To obtain grants from the Spanish government now the practice was for the applicant to set forth his desires in a memorial to the governor of the province, asking for lands corresponding to the number of his family and his slaves, the location desired being described in the memorial. To these applications the usual reply of the governor was, "Let the lands asked for be granted, without injury to a third person[5]". The fine estates left by the English on the St. Johns remained unoccupied for some time and became a prey to rapid decline[6], but the ease with which grants could now be obtained induced many new settlers to come to the St. Johns country.

In the spring of 1774, John Bartram, the botanist, visited the Cow Ford[4], and he mentions the existence of a public ferry here even at that early date. He bought a sailboat at an indigo plantation near the ferry, but he does not say from whom, nor on which side of the river the plantation was situated. There was a severe frost (freeze) in northern Florida during that winter, with snowfall, which the natives long afterward spoke of as "the extraordinary white rain".

JOHN H. MCINTOSH.

About the year 1790, one John H. McIntosh moved from Georgia into Florida and occupied lands on the north side of the St. Johns River near the Cow Ford. Here he was appointed to some office by the Spanish governor. McIntosh was a turbulent man, of a restless and reckless disposition, and in some way he aroused the suspicion of the Spaniards, with the result that he was arrested for intrigue in 1794 and sent to Havana, where he was confined in Morro Castle for a year.[1] There, perhaps, he worked out the plans that afterward made him a conspicuous figure in the country about the lower St. Johns.

After his release from prison, McIntosh returned to Florida with a band of adventurers, and attacked and destroyed the Spanish post at the Cow Ford (St. Nicholas), together with the "Boats of the Royal Domain" on the river. How near an international affair this came is not

recorded; but he and the Spaniards seem to have made an amicable settlement, since some years later he was granted lands in the vicinity of the Cow Ford, where he became engaged in executing large contracts for the exportation of lumber, and incidentally lived like a lord. In the Jacksonville Sun and Press of August 11, 1877, there was a signed article written by Rev. J. N. Glenn, who was sent to St. Augustine in 1823, as a Methodist missionary. He says: "General McIntosh told me once that he had two boat loads of sea-island cotton he had raised up the St. Johns River, which he wished to pass the Spanish post at the Cow Ford, without paying the Spanish duties. Accordingly, he approached the officer in command of the post on the subject. Just then the boats hove in sight, coming down the river. The commander put up his spy-glass and remarked, 'There is too much cotton to let it pass'. The General then handed him a doubloon. He put the coin to one eye and the spy-glass to the other, and said, 'Too much yet.' The General gave him another doubloon. He then put a doubloon to each eye and said, 'I see no cotton now' ".

This is the same McIntosh who afterward was one of the originators and the prime mover in the "Patriot" war in Florida. That his connection with this disturbance was the outgrowth of entanglements with Spanish laws in the execution of his lumber contracts, supplemented by a desire for further revenge for his imprisonment at

Havana, is a plausible surmise never presented before.

SPANISH LAND GRANTS.

Under date of January 3, 1791, Robert Pritchard obtained a grant from Governor Queseda, for 450 acres of land on the north side of the St. Johns, opposite Fort St. Nicholas. A regular survey was made, and Pritchard took possession immediately, erected buidings, and planted crops. He died a few years later, but his heirs, through their authorized agents, continued to cultivate the tract, until driven away by the troubles about 1812 (Patriot revolution). One of these agents was John Joseph Lain, who cultivated and lived on the land later granted to Mrs. Purnal Taylor, and afterward included in the plat of Jacksonville[5]. THIS WAS THE FIRST SETTLEMENT ON THE SITE OF JACKSONVILLE, OF WHICH THERE IS AUTHENTIC RECORD.

William Jones, on February 14, 1793, was granted 216 acres across the river near the present location of South Jacksonville, in fact, a part of that town stands on a portion of this tract. Jones was later accused of being a rebel against His Catholic Majesty, thereby forfeiting his rights to the premises. This tract was re-granted to William Hendricks, May 18, 1797[5].

In February, 1804, Isaac Hendricks received a concession embracing a triangular tract of 350 acres, described in 1823 as being bounded south

by McCoy Creek, east by lands granted to Hogans (the Taylor grant), and northwest by public lands. Hendricks built houses and cultivated this tract, and on September 28, 1816, he received title of absolute property to the same from Governor Coppinger. It seems that one John Jones, perhaps a kinsman of William Jones, claimed title to this tract, but his claim was set aside by the commission appointed by the United States Congress to examine titles in connection with Spanish grants in Florida[5].

That there was quite a number of bona fide settlers near the Cow Ford prior to the year 1800 is certain, regardless of the fact that this locality was then the stamping ground of criminals from the Colonies, slave catchers, ruffians, and banditti of every description, resulting in a state of unbounded rowdyism that continued more or less until the end of the "Patriot" rebellion, and in a modified form for many years afterward.

THE PATRIOT RAID IN FLORIDA.

At the outbreak of the war of 1812, between the United States and Great Britain, a band of persons calling themselves "Patriots" assembled at St. Marys, Ga., and marched into Florida, seeking to seize the country from Spain for the purpose of establishing a republican form of government. The country north of the St. Johns River was "annexed", and a paper government was organized. John H. McIntosh was chosen governor

and director-general. The "Patriots" and the United States fleet acting in concert, frightened the Spanish commander of Fernandina into surrendering the town. The articles of capitulation were signed by Don Jose Lopez, for Spain, and John H. McIntosh, in the name of the "Patriots". The next day the "Patriot" flag was hauled down and the United States forces took possession of the place and raised the United States flag over the fort. The "Patriots", reinforced by a detachment of United States regulars, now marched to capture St. Augustine. In this they were unsuccessful, as the Spanish governor put some guns on a schooner and shelled their camp, compelling them to fall back. Finding their force insufficient to take St. Augustine, the "Patriots" returned to the St. Johns River, and made the Cow Ford their rendezvous[6]. Here the "Patriot" and United States flags were unfurled side by side. The camp at the Cow Ford comprised 40 calvary, together with shifting bands of infantry and partisan rangers. These forces pillaged the surrounding plantations and destroyed an enormous amount of property, for much of which the United States government was later held responsible. This state of affairs continued until the United States forces were withdrawn in 1813[3]. Then the "Patriot" organization disbanded, and its members returned whence they came. After their departure, the plantations along the lower St. Johns presented a desolate appearance—houses burned and fields

overgrown with weeds. A few of the former settlers one by one returned, and in two or three years new settlers began to come.

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CHAPTER III.

PERMANENT SETTLEMENTS ON THE SITE OF JACKSONVILLE.

LEWIS ZACHARIAH HOGANS.*

During the "Patriot" troubles, a Spanish subject by the name of Purnal Taylor was killed in a skirmish with a scouting party of the "Patriot" army, in the inland passage to Fernandina. His widow, Mrs. Maria Taylor, petitioned the Spanish Government and was granted 200 acres of land on the north side of the St. Johns River, opposite Fort San Nicholas. Lewis Zachariah Hogans married Mrs. Taylor, and late in the year 1816, they moved across the river from the south side, where before then Mr. Hogans had been living, and settled upon the land that had been granted to Mrs. Taylor. Inasmuch as the houses that formerly stood on this site were all destroyed by the "Patriots", Mr. Hogans may be said to have built the first house in the future metropolis of Florida. His building stood partly in what is now Forsyth Street and partly north of it, immediately to the southwest and west of the Duval Hotel, northwest corner of Forsyth and Hogan Streets. He cleared up land and fenced it, and in the following

*The Hoganses signed their names with an "s" (Hogans) in the early days; but later the "s" was dropped, and now we have Hogan Street and Hogan's Creek.

spring, 1817, planted a crop from which he gathered in great abundance[1]. A copy of the Spanish grant made to Mrs. Taylor, in part, follows:[2]

(TRANSLATION)

Don Jose Coppinger, lieutenant colonel of the royal armies, civil and military governor pro tem., and chief of the royal finance in the city of St. Augustine, Florida, and its province:

Whereas by royal order of the 29th of March, 1815, his majesty has been pleased to approve the gifts and rewards proposed by my predecessor, the Brigadier Don Sebastian Kindelan, for the officers and soldiers both of the line as well as the militia of the said province, who contributed to the defense of the same at the time of the rebellion, being one of said rewards, the partition of lands in proportion to the number of family each individual may have, That Dona Maria Suarez, widow of Turnel* Taylor, having presented herself soliciting the quantity she, her deceased husband, children and slaves were entitled to, on account of the said husband being killed in the attack made by the enemy upon the river St. Johns during the insurrection in this province, as she has proved by certificate, then was granted by my decree on the 12th of the present month two hundred acres of land on the opposite side of the military post of St. Nicholas, on the river St. Johns, at the mouth of the creek known as McCoy's Creek, bounded on the west by the plantation of John Jones and on the other sides by vacant lands; all conform-

*Should be Purnal.

able to the regulation established by this government for the partition of lands and the number of persons and slaves her said family is composed of, as is set forth in the proceedings instituted by the above-mentioned Dona Maria Suarez, on file in the government notary's office.***

Given under my hand and seal and countersigned by the undersigned notary of the government and royal finance, in the city of St. Augustine, Florida, September 13, 1816.

JOSE COPPINGER.

By order of his Excellency,

JUAN DE ENTRALGO, etc., etc., etc.

In 1823, Zachariah Hogans, by his attorney, A. Bellamy, entered a claim for title to these 200 acres of land, the tract being described at that time as being bounded north by public land, south by the river St. Johns, west by lands formerly granted to John Jones, and east by lands granted to Maestre. Hogans's claim for title was confirmed April 26, 1824, by the commissioners appointed by the United States Congress to investigate Spanish grant titles[2]. I. D. Hart eventually got hold of all of the Taylor grant, except ten acres. In 1821, he bought 18 acres in the southeast section; on July 10, 1831, he acquired another portion; May 28, 1834, another; and April 15, 1836, still another portion[3], altogether amounting to about 190 acres.

JUAN MAESTRE.

Immediately following the grant to Mrs. Taylor, Juan Maestre, a "Skipper in the Boats of the Royal Domain", representing himself to be in straitened circumstances, petitioned on November 18, 1816, for "100 acres of vacant hammock lands on the north side of the river St. Johns, opposite the battery of St. Nicholas". On December 2, 1816, the governor of the province ordered that Maestre's petition be granted, which was done on December 13, 1816. He was granted only 50 acres, however, that being the amount he was able to locate under the Spanish law; but subsequent surveys increased it to about 80 acres[3]. This land was bounded east and north by Hogan's Creek, west by L. Z. Hogans's lands, and south by the river St. Johns. It was surveyed by G. T. F. Clarke, February 21, 1817[2]. Maestre took possession of his property in 1817, and built his house upon what is now the center of the northeast quarter of the square bounded by Forsyth, Liberty, Bay, and Market Streets. Large spreading live oaks stood around his dwelling. He cleared up a field and planted it. In the spring of 1818, the Carthagenians, or Venezuelan Patriots, as they are sometimes called, took possession of Fernandina. As soon as this became known in St. Augustine, the Spanish garrison at Fort St. Nicholas and the "Boats of the Royal Domain" on the St. Johns River were withdrawn to that

city. Maestre therefore abandoned his new home, leaving and losing his crop[1]. He never returned, and on June 21, 1820, he conveyed the tract to John Brady for $200. Brady conveyed it to John Bellamy January 27, 1823, after Jacksonville had been laid out and some lots had been sold. I. D. Hart gained jurisdiction over this tract July 26, 1826, but he did not get a title to it by conveyance from Bellamy until May 4, 1836. On December 18, 1836, for $1,100, Hart conveyed his right, title, and interest in the Maestre grant to William J. Mills, in trust for Mrs. Maria Doggett, wife of John L. Doggett[3].

EAST JACKSONVILLE.

Under date of March 18, 1817, Daniel Hogans obtained a concession from Governor Coppinger of 255 acres, situated on the north bank of the St. Johns River, nearly opposite the fort at St. Nicholas, and on the east of Hogan's Creek. Daniel Hogans conveyed this land to E. Hudnall November 11, 1818[2]. This tract comprised the present East Jacksonville.

RIVERSIDE.

On February 11, 1801, Philip Dell obtained a concession from Governor White of 800 acres adjoining McCoy's Creek, and embracing what is now known as Brooklyn and the most of old Riverside. For many years this property was known as Dell's Bluff. The Dell Bluff tract went into the

possession of John H. McIntosh January 11, 1805, and on October 4, 1823, McIntosh deeded it to Francis J. Ross. Ross gave Joseph B. Lancaster a quit claim deed to these 800 acres, December 6, 1833, the consideration mentioned being $2,000. Lancaster held it a little more than ten years, selling only six acres in the mean time, three of which were sold to Blanchard and Rider for a mill site at the mouth of McCoy's Creek. On May 1, 1844, he deeded the remainder back to Francis I. (J) Ross, the consideration mentioned being $2,500. Francis J. Ross then conveyed his interest to William B. Ross, under date of March 24, 1845. W. B. Ross sold to James Winter February 6, 1847. Mr. Winter died in possession of the property and his estate descended to his heirs. April 23, 1866, Uriah Bowden purchased an unstated number of acres from the commissioners of the Winter estate. Miles Price finally acquired the bulk of the Winter estate, and on June 8, 1868, he conveyed 500 acres to E. M. Cheney, in trust to be conveyed to John M. Forbes, for $10,000 in gold. The property was platted for Forbes into lots February 1, 1869, provision being made for a park of 14 acres, now Riverside park[4].

E. M. Cheney was editor of the *Florida Union* at Jacksonville when he negotiated the purchase for John M. Forbes, a Boston Millionaire. Mr. Cheney gave the name of "Riverside" to the subdivision, most of which was an old corn field at that time[5].

SPRINGFIELD.

During the latter part of the year 1820, John R. Hogans settled on lands north of Hogan's Creek, and under the Donation Act, received title to 640 acres. Hogans conveyed these 640 acres to W. G. Dawson July 24, 1823[z]; I. D. Hart, ex officio Administrator of W. G. Dawson, deceased, to John Warren, February 3, 1829; John Warren to Isaiah D. Hart, October 25, 1829; I. D. Hart to Thomas G. Saunders in 1846; Thomas G. Saunders and wife, to Adeline Jones, September 9, 1847. On August 4, 1849, Thomas W. Jones and wife, Adeline, sold 50 acres to E. A. DeCottes[6], for $50, or $1 an acre; this is now Hansontown. In 1867, 4 acres of the same tract, west of Hogan's Creek, were sold to Frank Franklin, a colored man, for $25 an acre; this is now called Franklintown. With these exceptions, the tract descended to Eliza Jones, now Mrs. W. M. Bostwick, and it was not subdivided until 1882[7].

Hogans's Donation comprised what is commonly called old Springfield. John Middleton bought it in 1847, for his daughter, Adeline Jones, for the insignificant sum of $450 in gold. About 1870, it was named Springfield, by C. L. Robinson, the name being suggested by the existence of a spring in an old field through which West Fourth Street would now pass[7].

TALLEYRAND.

An impression seems to be prevalent that Duke de Talleyrand, the famous Frenchman, came to this vicinity after the wars in Europe and settled at what is now known as the Old Talleyrand Place, and that Talleyrand Avenue and other places in the locality are named for him. This is not correct. The Duval County records show that Lewis Curtis on June 9, 1869, deeded 30 acres of land three and a half miles northeast of Jacksonville, the tract being then called Millwood, to Elizabeth Marquise de Talleyrand-Perigord, wife of Charles Maurice Camille Marquis de Talleyrand-Perigord. The consideration mentioned was $7,500. The Marquis was said to be a descendant of the Duke Talleyrand; his wife was an American, a New York lady. They spent several winters here and apparently lived a life of ease and luxury. He was very fond of fine horses and always drove about in elegant style. The Talleyrands sold their property January 28, 1873, to C. A. Lincoln, for $12,000.

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6 Florida Reports, Vol. XIV, p. 162.
7 Mrs. W. M. Bostwick.

CHAPTER IV.

THE FOUNDING OF JACKSONVILLE.*

THE FIRST HOTEL.

Messrs. L. Z. Hogans and Juan Maestre (known in English as Masters) were the first settlers in the immediate vicinity of the Cow Ford, on the north side of the St. Johns, after the "Patriot" troubles. A year or so afterward, John Brady came and occupied the house and land vacated by Maestre in 1818, probably under some sort of rental contract, as Maestre did not formally convey his land to Brady until June 21, 1820. Brady was generally spoken of as the third settler. He planted crops and started to run a ferry from the northern side of the river, for the accommodation of travelers. About this time Florida was brought into prominence by the agitation concerning its cession to the United States, and the tide of immigration had set in over the King's road to the St. Johns country. Brady's house came to be the lodging place for many of these pioneers. Travel in those days was almost all by horseback, and the constantly increasing number of guests made it necesasry for Brady to erect other buildings, and stables for the con-

*Some of these facts are taken from unsigned clippings from unidentified newspapers and magazines, therefore it is impossible to give references in every case, further than to say that these clippings are, or have been in the hands of the author, and that only such statements as bear the stamp of authenticity are used.

venience of those who wished to stop with him. His place was a kind of inn, although it is not mentioned that strong drink was kept there. This, then, was Jacksonville's first hotel. Mr. Hogans also entertained travelers, but his house was more an "open house" than a hotel.

FIRST STORE.

Among these early travelers were two men from Georgia, William G. Dawson and Stephen E. Buckles, who foresaw that some day a town would be built at this point. They decided to remain and open a store. They built a large log house near the King's road (south side of Adams Street, between Market and Newnan); brought a stock of goods down by sailing vessel from New York, and opened a mercantile establishment. This was the first store. Dawson & Buckles did a fine business, supplying the territory for miles around. People came long distances to trade here, and it was about as much as the proprietors could do to supply the demand for goods. At the same time Brady's boarding house was gaining a reputation, and was also giving its owner a neat income. These two places did a great deal toward drawing settlers to the Cow Ford[1].

ISAIAH DAVID HART.

Isaiah David Hart was one of these new-comers. He had been here before with the "Patriots", and was familiar with the surroundings; but it was not

until he learned how fast Messrs. Brady and Dawson & Buckles were making money that he decided to move from his plantation on the St. Marys River and settle at the Cow Ford[2]. The National Encyclopedia of American Biography says this was in 1821, which date is doubtless correct; but the statement made therein, that Ossian B. Hart, son of I. D. Hart, was born at Jacksonville, January 17, 1821, is without doubt incorrect. It does not seem probable that O. B. Hart was born in Jacksonville then, since it is common knowledge among the oldest residents here that the distinction of being the first white child born at Jacksonville belonged to Sarah Ann Hogans, daughter of L. Z. and Maria Hogans, born July 28, 1825. Sarah Ann Hogans married Uriah Bowden.

On the 12th day of May, 1821, I. D. Hart bought 18 acres of land from L. Z. Hogans, in the southeast corner of the Taylor grant, paying $72 for the 18 acres, it is said in cattle. He built a double log house just west of where the Church Club stands, south side of Forsyth Street, between Market and Newnan. He brought his household goods down the St. Marys River, through the inside passage, and up the St. Johns to the Cow Ford. His family and his live stock came across country. I. D. Hart was numbered all through the early years as the sixth settler on the site of Jacksonville, and his brother, Daniel C. Hart, who came with him as the seventh[1].

All along the river at that time from the ferry,

now the foot of Liberty Street, westward to Mr. Hogans's eastern fence, where Laura Street now is, was dense hammock through which no one ever passed. Eastward of the ferry, down to Catherine Street, was open pine land and a good, high bluff; and open pine land also extended from the ferry to Hogan's Creek, and westward north of Forsyth Street far beyond the present city limits. The King's road led up north from the river east of Mr. Brady's house, whence it turned northwestward leading by on the north of the store of Dawson & Buckles[1].

INCREASING TRAVEL.

Occasionally, Mr. Hogans and Mr. Brady had their houses so filled with guests that they could not accommodate all who came. When this was the case, Dawson & Buckles took into their store those who could not find lodging elsewhere. There was ample room above the store and when occasion required, they did not hesitate to cut open a bale of blankets for the use of these comers. This unselfish and generous conduct brought its reward; it was told everywhere and drew custom from far and near. They never failed, either, to sell the blankets; "They are not injured," said the purchasers, "by the use you put them to. I would put them to the same use in my house, if necessary, and would not consider them injured by it[1]". It soon became apparent that something had to be done to provide more accommodations for travel-

ers at the Cow Ford, so Messrs. Dawson & Buckles built a large frame house east of their store (southwest corner of Market and Adams Streets), for a boarding house. This was the first frame house built in Jacksonville. When it was completed, Mrs. Sarah Waterman, a widow then living at St. Johns bluff, came and kept it. She had three handsome grown daughters and one not grown and two younger sons. Joseph Andrews, brother-in-law of I. D. Hart, came not long afterward and built a frame house on what is now the south side of Adams Street, midway between Newnan and Ocean[1].

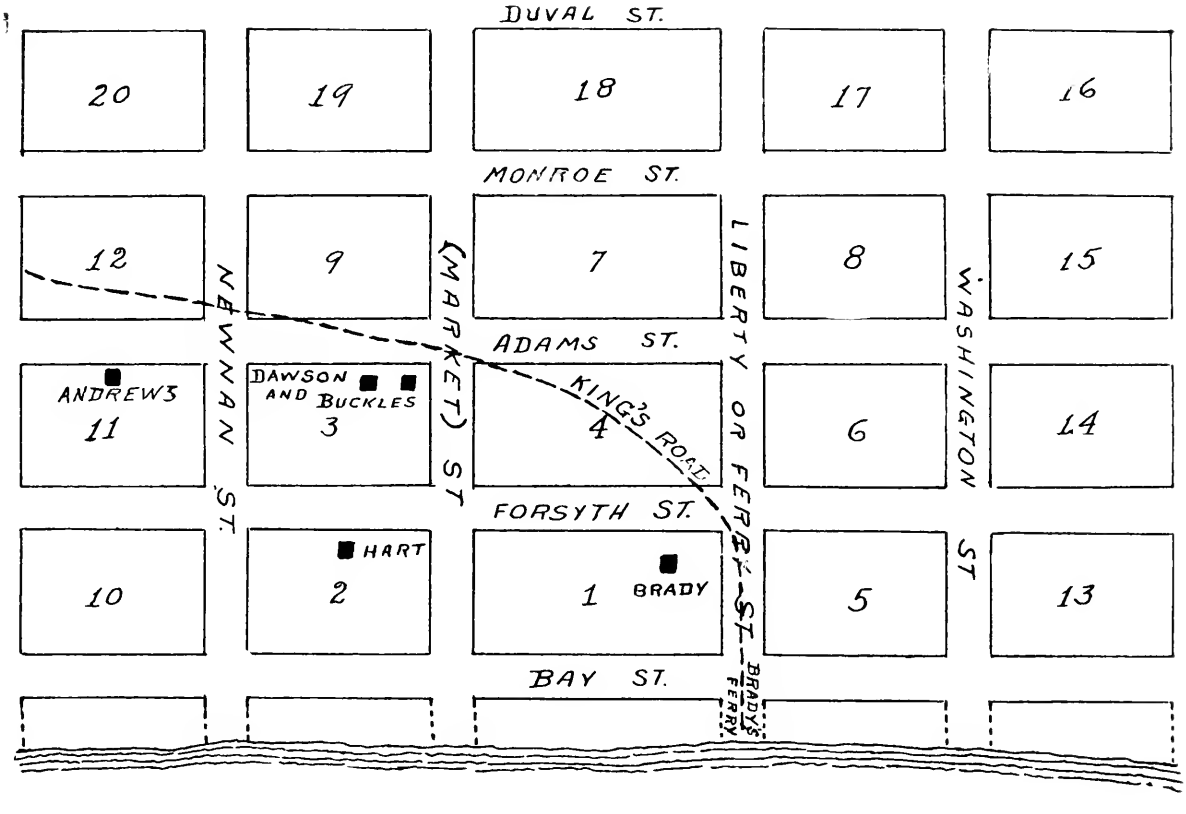
The actual change of flags took place at St. Augustine July 16, 1821, whereby East Florida formally passed into the possession of the United States. Then the Cow Ford became a busy place for a forest settlement. Travel increased wonderfully, and at times the houses here could not accommodate all those who wished to stop and view the country.

JACKSONVILLE LAID OUT.

I. D. Hart now conceived the idea of laying off a town site at the Cow Ford. He seems to have had some difficulty in convincing Messrs. L. Z. Hogans and John Brady of the feasibility of the plan; but, finally, they consented to donate a portion of their lands for streets. The town was laid off in June, 1822, under the supervision of three commissioners, residents of the neighborhood,

namely, Francis J. Ross, Benjamin Chaires, and John Bellamy. The site was surveyed by D. S. H. Miller, who formerly was connected with the Spanish post at St. Nicholas with the title of "Captain of the Rural Militia of the St. Johns River, District of St. Nicholas, and Deputy Surveyor." John W. Roberts acted as Clerk[3]. On the day the town was laid off a considerable dispute arose between Brady and Hart as to the dividing line between their lands. It was at last agreed between them that a tree, claimed by L. Z. Hogans to be a corner tree, standing on the river bank at the foot of the present Market Street, should be the starting point[4]. The survey began here and thence north a street was laid out eighty feet in width, the property owners on each side donating forty feet. This was Jacksonville's first street, and corresponded to the present Market Street, but it was not given that name. It is impossible to determine what name the commissioners gave to the first street.

It was decided that there should be six lots, each 105 feet square, in each block, two lots adjoining north and south, being 210 feet; and three lots east and west, 315 feet. The next street laid off was Bay Street, with a width of seventy feet. The first square designated and numbered was east of Market and north of Bay Street, and in compliment to Brady as the first settler present of the part now to be surveyed, it was designated Square No. 1. The next square surveyed was



Drawn by T. F. Davis, from description.

JACKSONVILLE AS ORIGINALLY SURVEYED IN 1822

across Market Street, west of No. 1, and it was designated No. 2. The square north of it was numbered 3, and east of that, 4. Brady's buildings, it was found when the survey was being made, would be in the street on the east of Square No. 1, if but three lots from west to east were in it. To avoid this difficulty, another tier of lots was added on the east side of Square No. 1, making this square eight lots, instead of six, which saved Mr. Brady from living in the middle of the street. Thus the range of blocks between Liberty and Market Streets is composed of eight lots[1].

The commissioners now surveyed Square No. 5, east of Square No. 1, the King's road leading north from the river being between. This they named Liberty Street, although it was often called Ferry Street, also. The square north of No. 5 was designated No. 6, north of that No. 8, west of that No. 7, and west of that No. 9. This was the surveyor's wrong marking and was never corrected on the original map[1].

From the survey of Square No. 9, the commissioners came back to Bay Street and ran off Square No. 10 west of No. 2; and north of No. 10, they ran 11 and 12, respectively. Again they came back to Bay Street, this time east of Washington Street, and laid off No. 13, east of No. 5, and north of No. 13, they surveyed Nos. 14, 15, and 16 in the order named. They then turned west and surveyed Nos. 17, 18, 19, and 20. Here they stayed their work and never resumed it[1].

STREETS NAMED.

The original survey comprised the squares between Catherine and Ocean Streets, and Duval Street and the River. The naming of Liberty and Washington Streets indicates the patriotism of the commissioners. Newnan Street received its name from Colonel Daniel Newnan, Inspector-General of Georgia, but who came here with the "Patriots" as a volunteer. Forsyth Street was named for General Forsyth, of Georgia; Adams Street, for John Quincy Adams, then Secretary of State in President Monroe's cabinet, and who was largely instrumental in bringing about the cession of Florida; Monroe Street, for President Monroe; and Duval Street, for Governor Duval, of Florida[3]. Three of Jacksonville's streets bear the names of I. D. Hart's children, namely, Laura, Julia, and Ocean—Ocean was formerly Ossian.

By unanimous agreement, the newly laid out town was called Jacksonville, in honor of General Andrew Jackson, the name being suggested by John Warren, who had served as a volunteer in General Jackson's army during the Indian troubles[2]. Some accounts have stated that General Jackson was present when the town was laid out; but the author has failed to find any authentic record of the General's ever having visited the Cow Ford, and certainly not in 1822.

MANY LOTS SOLD.

On the day Jacksonville was surveyed, a good

many lots were sold by both Brady and Hart. John Bellamy bought the northwest corner of Bay and Liberty Streets, and D. S. H. Miller, the surveyor, bought all the lots in Square No. 5. Miller afterward sold these lots out to different parties. Stephen J. Eubanks bought one of the south lots in Square No. 2, on Bay Street, including the margin to the river, for $12.00. Soon after the town was surveyed, Brady conveyed to Benjamin Chaires and Francis J. Ross, two of the commissioners, the lot at the northeast corner of Forsyth and Market Streets, where the armory now stands. Messrs Chaires and Ross immediately gave this lot to the county, for the purpose of erecting thereon the county court house. The deed from Brady was not recorded until October 10, 1840. The record of a deed in that day was regarded as useless, as it was a matter of public notoriety that the property claimed was sold and bought, and the title was therefore perfect, whether the deed was recorded or not[1].

John Warren built a large building of the best materials in the best manner at the northwest corner of Bay and Newnan Streets. The eastern end of the lower story was used as a store, and the western end for a time as a dwelling. The upper part was one large room, and was used as a court room until the court house was built, and also as a dance hall, and when occasion required for holding religious services[1].

An air of business-like activity now took hold of

the place. The sound of the axe and the crash of falling trees spoke plainly of the coming of other permanent residents. Prominent among these were William J. Mills, an Englishman from Amelia Island; William Bailey, of Georgia; and John L. Doggett, of Massachusetts.

THE FOUNDER OF JACKSONVILLE.

The distinction of being the founder of Jacksonville unquestionably belongs to Isaiah D. Hart, and he lived to see the town develop into a place of more than 2,000 people. At one time or another, he owned nearly all the land now known as old Jacksonville, and also the most of Hogans's Donation (Springfield). He outlived all the early settlers and died in 1861. He was buried in a vault on a plot of ground at the northeast corner of State and Laura Streets, and his resting place was marked with this queer inscription:

> When I am dead and in my grave,
> And these bones are all rotten;
> When this you see, remember me,
> That I may not be forgotten.

After the fire of May 3, 1901, his remains were removed to Evergreen Cemetery and the old vault in the city was destroyed.

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CHAPTER V.

ORGANIZATION OF LAW AND ORDER.

THE FIRST COURT.

Duval County was created August 12, 1822. On December 16, 1822, the first county court convened at Jacksonville for the transaction of county business. The Justices were Thomas Reynolds, William G. Dawson, Rigdon Brown, and Britton Knight. Thomas Reynolds was the presiding Justice, and George Gibbs was clerk of the court. It was a meeting similar to that of the present county commissioners, vested with like powers, and it met for a like purpose. They proceeded to lay off the county into road districts, apportion the work of building the roads, and did other business of importance. James Dell was the first sheriff of Duval County, but he moved to Alachua County after serving less than two years. Daniel C. Hart was appointed to fill the vacancy thus made. Hart was afterward appointed U. S. Deputy Marshal, and he held both positions to the time of his death in 1831. In 1824, county affairs were placed under the jurisdiction of three local Judges. The first incumbents under this law were John L. Doggett, F. Bethune, and John Houston, appointed December 30, 1824[1].

FIRST GRAND JURY.

The first regular court ever held here convened Monday, December 1, 1823. Hon. Joseph L. Smith was the Judge. Judge Smith was the father of General E. Kirby Smith, Confederate General. The first grand jury was impanelled December 2, 1823, and was composed of the following grand jurors: John Bellamy, Foreman; Stephen J. Eubanks, John Houston, Isaac Tucker, Charles Broward, Seymour Pickett, John Broward, John Price, James Dell, William Matthews, Cotton Rawls, A. G. Loper, Llewellyn Williams, Charles Seton, John D. Braddock, John C. Houston, Nathaniel Wilds, and Stephen Vanzant[1]. James Dell who served on this jury was probably a kinsman of the Sheriff, James Dell.

FIRST CIVIL CASE.

The first civil case called for trial was that of Ephraim Harrison vs. John D. Vaughan, and was disposed of as follows[2]:

> (In Case) This day came the parties aforesaid, by their attorneys and thereupon came a jury, to wit:—F. D. McDonnell, Lewis Christopher, Britton Knight, James Rouse, William Sparkman, John Higginbotham, David Turner, Matthew H. Philips, John G. Brown, John G. Rushing, William G. Dawson, and Lewis Thigpen, who were sworn well and truly to try the issue joined between the parties; and on motion of the plaintiff by his attorney, and

for reasons appearing satisfactory to the court, it is ordered that the jury be discharged from rendering a verdict herein, and that this cause be continued until the next term, upon the plaintiff paying all costs of the defendant herein expended.

The cause of this action is not stated.

FIRST LAWYER.

Abraham Bellamy was the first lawyer to settle in Jacksonville. He was the son of John Bellamy, one of the commissioners. He built an office near Mr. Brady's house, where he did business for all who came. Most of the early legal papers were drawn up by him[2].

PUBLIC BUILDINGS.

In October, 1823, the County of Duval made an agreement with John L. Doggett for the erection of a court house on the lot donated to the county by Messrs. Chaires and Ross. When the timbers were laid out and ready for framing, the people of the county voluntarily gathered and, under the direction of Seymour Pickett, raised them in two days. This was in the summer of 1825. The structure was 40 feet square, two stories high, with a basement 10 feet in height. It was first supported by large hewn timbers, built up in squares, but this arrangement was only a temporary one. Brick pillars of great size and strength were afterward built, and the building was correctly leveled and the timbers under it removed. The front was

to the south, facing Forsyth Street. A long, broad portico, supported also by brick pillars, was before the building, and broad steps led up from the ground on the east and the west. A large double door, perhaps 10 feet high, led in, and broad steps inside led up on the east and the west to the upper story. The windows were numerous and of great size, about 7 feet high and 4 feet wide. To these double shutters, made of white pine, were provided, and closed out the wind and rain, and also the light. They were afterward replaced by sash, when these could be obtained[2]. In 1834, the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida "authorized Joseph B. Lancaster, I. D. Hart, and William J. Mills to raise $6,000 by means of lotteries, to complete the court house at Jacksonville[1]." The building was sufficiently completed, however, in the winter of 1825-26 for use. This court house was known far and wide as the best constructed building in all this part of the country. It was burned by Federal troops, March 29, 1863.

The next public building erected after the court house was a jail; this was in 1827. Its location was on the southwest corner of Duval and Market Streets. Some years later the building was burned; then the county built a two-roomed brick jail in the court house yard[2]. This, too, was burned with the court house, in 1863.

FIRST MILLS.

Seymour Pickett built a water mill for Charles F. Sibbald at Six-mile Creek, in 1819. Sibbald probably owned the first steam saw mill anywhere in this vicinity. It was at Panama, and was in operation as early as 1829. There was also a brick kiln at Panama at that time.

JUDGE F. BETHUNE'S DIARY.[3]

Judge Bethune's diary covers the period 1829-1833, and contains daily entries, mostly in regard to the work on his "New Ross" plantation on the river four miles above Jacksonville. The pages are seared and yellowed from age, but the handwriting is nearly as clear as it was 80 years ago—a testimonial in favor of the oak-ball ink used then.

The Judge makes frequent mention of going to the steam mill at Panama, for lumber and bricks. He was building a sugar mill at his plantation, and the difficulties he experienced show the vicissitudes attending building operations in those early days. He hauled the material from Panama in the brig "Venus," a vessel belonging to the port of Jacksonville. He sent to St. Augustine for a carpenter, and on September 7, 1829, put his slaves and hired men (he owned some slaves, but frequently hired outside help) to cutting and hewing timber. After many delays, the mill was completed January 1, 1830, about three months after it was started. He hauled his cane to the mill and

began grinding, but on the 28th of January he noted, "The mill broke; sent Nero for Carlisle, the carpenter." On the 19th of February following repairs to the mill were completed and he began to grind cane again. These works could not have been very extensive.

The crops grown at Judge Bethune's plantation were, sugar cane, rice (he had a good deal of trouble with his rice crops on account of the birds, and he had to keep a man in the field all day to scare them away), guinea corn, arrow root, sweet and Irish potatoes, rye, and a varied assortment of vegetables, but no cotton. There was also a peach orchard and an orange grove.

On August 11th and 12th, 1831, was the note, "The sun had the appearance of the full moon for half an hour after sunrise; it had a bluish cast, and the light was that of the full moon"; and on the 14th, "Saw two large, black spots on the sun, which still looks like the full moon at sunrise and nearly an hour afterward."

When his slaves were sick, the Judge sent to St. Augustine or Jacksonville for a physician. The Jacksonville physician was a Doctor Hall, perhaps the first physician here. The method followed then seems to have been mostly "bleeding"; "Andrew sick; Dr. Hall came and bled him" is a characteristic note. The kind-heartedness of the master is indicated in the simple entry, "Dick and George making Peggy's coffin; buried the old and faithful servant in the evening."

FERRY ACROSS THE ST. JOHNS.

The public ferry across the St. Johns River at the Cow Ford in 1774, mentioned by Bartram, was no doubt operated from the south side. It has been persistently published by writers of newspaper articles, and there seems to be no reason to doubt it, that William Hendricks or Isaac Hendricks owned and operated a ferry from the south side as early as 1800. The ferryman could not have spent much time on the lookout for signals from the opposite shore and it would be interesting to know just how travelers on this side attracted the attention of the ferryman when they wished to cross the river. One writer has said that hours of gesticulating, riding up and down the bluff, and shooting off guns and pistols failed to attract his attention. When John Brady came in 1818, he was not long in coming to the conclusion that a ferry from the north side was absolutely necessary, and he therefore established one.

Soon after Florida came into the possession of the United States, the matter of a public ferry at Jacksonville was brought before the Legislative Council of the Territory and resulted in an act establishing the ferry, approved December 29, 1824[6].

Act 14, Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, approved February 2, 1838, provided that,

An act entitled "an act establishing a ferry over the St. Johns river at Jacksonville", approved December 29, 1824, be, and the same is hereby revived and continued in force until the year one thousand, eight hundred and forty-five.

Act 9, approved February 4, 1837, gave William Hendricks the monopoly of running a ferry from the south side of the river, as follows:

1. Be it enacted by the Governor and the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, That William Hendrick be and he is hereby authorized and vested with the right, and charged with the duty of keeping a ferry for the term of seven years across the St. Johns River on the south side, at the Cow Ford, opposite Jacksonville, in the County of Duval.

2. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the said William Hendrick to keep a sufficient number of boats and flats for the accommodation of passengers.

3. Be it further enacted, That it shall be unlawful for any other person or persons to establish or keep a ferry within two miles, except it be for his, her, or their own use, and not for the purpose of gathering or receiving toll.

4. Be it further enacted, That the rates of ferriage at said ferry shall be established from time to time by the county court of said county.

John L. Doggett owned the ferry from the north side of the river for a great many years. He was the first licensed ferryman, on this side of the river.

THE MAIL.

The mail in the early days was carried on horseback to St. Marys and back once a week, and to St. Augustine and back in the same length of time. It required ten days for the return trip to Tallahassee. When steam navigation became more or less regular between Charleston and Savannah and Jacksonville, the mail from the North came here by vessel, and this method was continued until the railroads began to operate. The road to the St. Marys was often in very bad condition, and during wet weather it was impassable for long distances. This caused great delays in the mails, so much so that the Territorial Legislature in 1839, sent a resolution to the delegate in Congress, asking for an appropriation of $5,000, for the purpose of repairing the road from Jacksonville to the St. Marys.[6]

Albert G. Philips was the first mail carrier between Jacksonville and Tallahassee. He studied the language of the Indians and could talk with them. He slept in the woods while en route and would often awake in the night and find Indian braves around his campfire. They would ask for coffee and tobacco, which would be given them; then Mr. Philips would go back to sleep, and when he woke up again they would be gone. They never molested him, and never took one thing from him; but, instead, frequently brought him dried venison and wild honey[4]. Another of the early mail carri-

ers was Green Bush, famous as a coon and squirrel hunter, and generally considered one of the best shots in the county[2].

The first post office was in a store. It was then moved to a room in the basement of the court house, where it remained for some time[2]. The postmaster served practically without compensation, and it became necessary to move the post office to a store again, in order to get any one to serve as postmaster, the store keeper being willing to distribute the mail in order to obtain the patronage of those that always collect at a town store when the keeper is also the postmaster. For years William Grothe was postmaster, jeweler, and watchmaker in a little 12x12 building that stood at the northeast corner of Forsyth and Newnan Streets[5].

THE INCORPORATION OF JACKSONVILLE.

People continued to come to this vicinity. Some settled in Jacksonville and others in the surrounding territory. The sons and relatives of wealthy men in the North and other people of many kinds came during the winter months. A few of these stayed and entered into business[2]. At last the town reached the stage when incorporation was desirable.

Jacksonville was incorporated by Act 70, of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, Session of 1832. In many respects the charter was a remarkable instrument, and is worthy of careful reading. It follows:

SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, That all the free white male inhabitants of the age of twenty one years and over, comprehended within a line commencing at a point on the South bank of the river St. Johns, opposite Hogan's creek, on the north side, running north half a mile up said creek, thence west one mile and a half to McCoy's creek, thence south to a point on the south side of the river St. Johns, opposite to McCoy's creek, thence east to the point of beginning; and their successors be, and are hereby declared to be a body politic and corporate, by the name and style of the Town of Jacksonville, with all the rights, liberties, privileges, powers, and authorities incident to and appertaining to a corporation, body politic, or a natural person; and by the said name and style may sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, hold, possess, and enjoy real estate and personal property; and dispose of and transfer the same, and so dispose of and manage the funds of said city, as shall be most beneficial to the interests thereof.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted that the government of said town, shall be vested in a person to be called a mayor, and four aldermen to compose a council for the management of the affairs of the town. The Mayor and aldermen shall be elected annually, on the first Monday of April, from among such of the qualified voters of said town hereby incorporated, as shall have resided within the limits thereof at least one month, and shall be housekeepers therein.

SEC. 3. Be it further enacted, That the said Council shall have the power and authority to pass

all laws and ordinances, that may be necessary and expedient for the good government of said town, and the preservation of the public morals; Provided, that they are not inconsistent with the constitution and laws of the United States, and the power hereby granted, Provided no law or ordinance in this respect, shall be inconsistent with any law of this Territory—They shall especially have power to regulate, improve, alter, and extend the streets, lanes, avenues, and public squares, and to open new streets, and to cause encroachments, obstructions, decayed buildings, and old ruins to be removed; making the parties injured by any improvement, a just compensation, and charging upon those benefited a reasonable assessment, to be ascertained in such manner, as shall be agreed upon by the parties, or by a jury of twelve men, to be organized in such manner, as, by ordinance, the said council may provide; They shall have power to prevent and abate nuisances, to order and compel the owners or occupants of lots, upon which pools of water are, or are likely to accumulate, to fill them up, to regulate and compel persons by ordinances or otherwise, to erect and keep in repair partition fences; and may pass all laws and ordinances that may be necessary to preserve the public health—They shall have authority to guard against the introduction of infectious or malignant diseases, and for this purpose, may prohibit or regulate the ingress, or approach of vessels into the waters within the limits of said corporation, and whenever necessary, may compel them under fixed and certain penalties to perform quarantine, and observe such other rules and regulations, as to the said Council may seem

proper by ordinance to establish. They may construct wharves, keys, and docks, and regulate wharfage, dockage, and mooring and anchoring vessels, erect bridges and ferries and establish the rates of ferriage and tolls; They may erect all necessary public buildings, and dispose of the same as the interests of the town may require; and make and sink wells, erect pumps, dry drains, and do and perform all such other act or acts, as shall seem necessary, and be best adapted to the improvement and general interests of the town, and pass all necessary laws to guard against fires, and to ensure the sweeping of chimneys; they may establish and regulate markets, and require all persons bringing fresh provisions into the town, to exhibit them for sale at proper market hours, establish and regulate the weight and assize of bread, the inspection of provisions and other produce, being the growth or manufacture of the Territory, that may be brought in said town for sale, or which may be sent from it; the gauging of liquors, the measuring or weighing of any articles of produce or merchandise, and the storing of gunpowder; and all naval and military stores, not the property of the United States. They shall have the power to tax auctioneers, and license and tax retailers of goods, and liquors, hawkers, pedlars, tavern and public boarding house keepers, hackney carriages, carts and drays; restrain lotteries, tippling houses, gaming houses, houses of ill fame, and theatrical or other public exhibitions, suppress riots and disorderly assemblies, and may provide for the punishment of all persons guilty of breaches of the peace, within the limits of said town, by fine and imprisonment; Provided the fine shall in

no case exceed five dollars and the imprisonment five days.

SEC. 4. Be it further enacted, That the said Town-council shall further have the power and authority to provide by tax, or otherwise, a fund for the support of the poor, the infirm, the diseased and insane; to establish public schools and provide for their maintenance, and to organize patrols, and provide for the punishment of negroes and persons of color.

SEC. 5. Be it further enacted, That the said Council shall have the power to assess, levy, and enforce the collection of all taxes, and other impositions, as may be necessary for the support of the government of said Town, and the improvements thereof—Provided, that no higher rate of tax shall be levied upon real estate than one half of one per cent on the assessed value thereof, to be determined by assessors chosen in such manner as said council may provide, and the said taxes to be collected by distress and sale, after default shall be made in the payment thereof, in the most convenient and least expensive way, as to the said mayor and aldermen shall be deemed expedient—and the said council shall have power further to provide for the trial of all offenses that may arise under the ordinance of said town, and shall enforce the collection of all fines and penalties that may arise as aforesaid, in such manner as said council by ordinance may provide.

SEC. 6. Be it further enacted, That it shall be the duty of the mayor to see that the ordinances of the town are faithfully executed, recommend for appointment all necessary town officers and report and cause their removal, whenever by negligence or mis-

conduct the interests of the town may require it—he shall preside at all meetings of the board, and propose such measures as he shall think important to the public interest, but shall only be entitled to a casting vote, and shall have power to convene the board whenever it may be deemed necessary—he shall have, possess, exercise and enjoy all the powers, duties and privileges and receive the same compensation as a justice of the peace.

SEC. 7. Be it further enacted, That the mayor and two aldermen shall form a quorum for the transaction of all business; they may compel the attendance of their absent members, under such pains and penalties as by the rules may be prescribed; judge of the qualification of members, and of the sufficiency, correctness, or regularity of election returns; settle their own rules of proceeding, and upon the recommendation of the mayor, appoint and remove all officers, and fix their compensation, and establish such fees as may or ought to be allowed for such services, as may be required of them—their meetings shall be public, and they shall cause a journal of their proceedings to be kept and regularly authenticated by the signatures of the mayor and clerk, which shall be kept open for the inspection of all who may be interested in the proceedings of said council: The ayes and noes upon any question, shall be entered upon their journals upon a call of any two members—they shall make public all their ordinances and resolutions, before they shall have force and efficacy, by posting written copies thereof in two or more public places in said town.

SEC. 8. Be it further enacted, That all white male

inhabitants of the age of twenty one years and over, who shall have resided within the said town, at least one month immediately preceding the day of election, shall be entitled to vote for mayor and aldermen, they being citizens of the United States—All votes shall be given by ballot.

SEC. 9. Be it further enacted, That the elections shall be conducted by three inspectors, to be appointed at least two weeks before the day of election, by the mayor; the said mayor shall also appoint the place of holding the said election, and give public notice thereof for the like period of time.

SEC. 10. Be it further enacted, That the said inspectors shall be judges of the qualifications of voters; and it shall be the duty of them, or any two of them, on the day appointed by law for holding the elections, to open the poll for the reception of votes, and to cause the names of voters to be recorded in a book to be kept for that purpose, which shall be deposited at the close of election amongst the archives of the corporation; the polls shall open at nine o'clock in the morning, and close at five o'clock in the afternoon, after which the inspectors shall proceed to count the votes, and declare the persons elected, as mayor and aldermen, and make out a written certificate thereof, at the foot of the poll list, and deliver a copy to the mayor elect, who, upon receipt thereof, shall signify his acceptance or refusal.

SEC. 11. Be it further enacted, That if the said mayor elect shall signify his acceptance of said office, the former mayor shall as soon as practicable, at any time within five days, assemble the board, and in their presence, administer to him the following oath:

"I, A. B. do solemnly swear, or affirm, that I will to the utmost of my power support, advance and defend the interests, peace and good order of the town of Jacksonville, and faithfully discharge the duties of mayor of said Town, during my continuance in office; and I do further swear, that I will support the Constitution of the United States"; and the Mayor elect, upon being thus qualified, shall then administer the like oath to the aldermen elect, and thereupon the duties of the former board shall cease.

SEC. 12. Be it further enacted, That if the Mayor elect, or any of the Aldermen, shall decline to accept the office to which he or they may have been elected, or if accepting any or either of them, shall not qualify, by taking the prescribed oaths, within five days, that then the Mayor in office, or any person exercising the duties thereof, shall by proclamation, direct an election to be held for supplying such seats in the board as may be vacant, giving at least one week's notice thereof, designating at the same time, the persons appointed to superintend and conduct said election.

SEC. 13. Be it further enacted, That if the office of Mayor, or any Alderman, shall at any time become vacant, by death, resignation, removal, or otherwise, it shall be the duty of the Mayor, or the person exercising the duties of mayor, agreeably to this act, in like manner as is provided in the preceding section, to order a new election to fill such vacancy or vacancies.

SEC. 14. Be it further enacted, That Isaiah D. Hart, John L. Doggett, and Henry H. Burritt, be and they, or any two of them, are hereby appointed inspectors to superintend the election for Mayor and

> Councilmen, on the first Monday in April, 1832: Provided, that nothing hereby enacted shall be construed to exclude the legislature of this Territory from the right to repeal, alter, or modify this act as it may deem proper.
>
> Passed Feb. 9, 1832.
>
> Approved Feb. 11, 1832.

An act of the legislature, approved February 10, 1835, made some unimportant changes in the charter; and Act 3, approved January 27, 1837, changed the boundaries of the town as follows:

> The boundary line of the incorporation of the Town of Jacksonville shall be extended agreeably to the following lines: Beginning at the mouth of McCoy's Creek on the St. Johns River, running thence up said creek to a point where John W. Richard's fence joined said creek, thence in a north course to the first branch north of the King's road leading to St. Marys, thence down said branch to Hogan's Creek, thence down said creek to the mouth where it empties into the St. Johns River, thence across said river to the south side, thence up the south side of the said river to Hendrick's Point, thence across St. Johns River to the mouth of McCoy's Creek aforesaid.

Act 44, approved March 2, 1840, repealed all acts and parts of acts then in force incorporating the town of Jacksonville, a new charter being granted subsequently.

Eight towns in Florida were incorporated prior

to the incorporation of Jacksonville, namely, St. Augustine, Pensacola, Fernandina, Key West, Quincy, Magnolia, Apalachicola, and Ochesee[6].

FIRST MAYOR.

The first election of town officials was held in accordance with Section 14, of the charter. William J. Mills was elected mayor, and he was, therefore, the first mayor of Jacksonville. Unfortunately, no record has been found from which a list of the early mayors could be obtained. These gentlemen served in that capacity before the civil war, but for what period is unknown: F. C. Barrett, Oliver Wood, Rodney Dorman, William Grothe. H. D. Holland was mayor 1852-53; Philip Fraser, 1855-56; F. I. Wheaton, 1856-57; H. H. Hoeg, 1861-62.

As a matter of interest, a complete list of the mayors of Jacksonville since the civil war is here given:

1865-66	H. H. Hoeg
1866-67	Holmes Steele
1867-68	John Clark
1868-69	Edward Hopkins
1869-70	Edward Hopkins
1870-71	Peter Jones
1871-72	Peter Jones
1872-73	Peter Jones
1873-74	J. C. Greeley
1874-75	Peter Jones
1875-76	Peter Jones

1876-77	Luther McConihe
1877-78	W. Stokes Boyd
1878-79	Luther McConihe
1879-80	Peter Jones
1880-81	J. Ramsey Dey
1881-82	M. A. Dzialynski
1882-83	M. A. Dzialynski
1883-84	W. McL. Dancy
1884-85	W. McL. Dancy
1885-86	M. C. Rice
1886-87	P. McQuaid
1887-88	J. Q. Burbridge
1888-89	C. B. Smith
1889-91*	P. McQuaid**
1891-93	H. Robinson**
1893-95	D. U. Fletcher
1895-97	Wm. M. Bostwick
1897-99	R. D. Knight
1899-01	J. E. T. Bowden
1901-03	D. U. Fletcher
1903-05	G. M. Nolan
1905-07	G. M. Nolan***
1907-09	W. H. Sebring
1909-11	W. S. Jordan
1911—	W. S. Jordan

*Term changed to two years.
**Appointed by the City Council under the provisions of House Bill No. 4, which was designed to rid the city of negro office holders.
***Died in office; unexpired term filled by W. H. Baker.

IMPORTANT MEASURES.

During the period between the incorporation of Jacksonville and the outbreak of the Seminole war in December, 1835, plans were laid for the establishment of some important enterprises, chief among which was the organization of a company to build a railroad from Jacksonville to Tallahassee, and later to extend it to some point on the Gulf coast. This was in 1834. The name of the railroad was to be the Florida Peninsular and Jacksonville Railroad, and the capital stock of the company was not to exceed $1,000,000. Among the directors were J. B. Lancaster, I. D. Hart, F. Bethune, W. G. Mills, and Stephen Eddy, of Jacksonville. The Bank of Jacksonville was incorporated February 14, 1835, with a capital of $75,000[4]. In 1835, the Jacksonville Courier sprang into existence. L. Currier & Co., of Boston were the publishers and the paper was ably edited by a Mr. Williams. Williams died that year and the office changed hands, being carried on by Thomas D. Dexter, and for a time by O. M. Dorman with a gentleman named Gregory as editor[5]. The largest of the mercantile houses was that of S. L. Burritt & Co. This firm brought to Jacksonville from Cuba the first cargo of sugar ever brought here and greatly overstocked the market in all this part of the country. This they obtained in exchange for lumber, barrelled fish, and other things. They continued to ship and bring back coffee, rum,

molasses, salt, cigars, fruit, etc[2]. And so the foundation of the present splendid wholesale trade was laid way back in the 30's, when the importation of goods was by means of sailing vessels only, a transportation that was slow and uncertain.

At that time Jacksonville was nothing more than a hamlet of 250 people, or less, far too small in itself to warrant the establishment of a bank and a newspaper or the building of a railroad; but scattered all around, both up and down the river, were the plantations of wealthy men, who transacted their commercial and legal business here, and it was their moral and financial support, as well as the progressiveness of the citizens of the town, that inspired these important measures.

THE GREAT FREEZE OF 1835.

February 8th, 1835, was the coldest day in the history of this section. A temperature of 8 degrees Fahrenheit, was observed here, and the extreme temperature was without doubt some lower. At Fort King, now Ocala, a temperature of 11 degrees was noted; immediately after the freeze the observer obtained a new thermometer which averaged two degrees lower than his old one, and therefore it is a reasonable deduction that the lowest temperature there on February 8th was 9 instead of 11 degrees. The St. Johns River at Jacksonville was frozen several rods from the shore and afforded the inhabitants a spectacle as new as it was distressing. Fruit trees were destroyed,

most of them roots and all; even some forest trees were killed by the extreme cold[1]. In the light of present knowledge concerning freezes in Florida, it may be safely stated that there were several days of extraordinarily cold weather, February 8th being the coldest.

For the purpose of comparison, there is here appended a table showing the days on which the temperature at Jacksonville fell to 20 degrees, Faht., or below[2], record complete since 1835:

Date	Degrees
1835, February 8	8
1845, December 21	20
1852, January 13	20
1857, January 19	16
1857, January 20	18
1868, December 25	20
1870, December 24	19
1880, December 30	19
1886, January 11	19
1886, January 12	15
1894, December 29	14
1895, February 8	14
1895, February 9	19
1899, February 13	10
1899, February 14	16
1900, February 18	18
1901, December 21	20
1905, January 26	17
1909, December 30	19

During the cold weather of January 13, 1852, snow fell all the forenoon, and when it ceased the ground was covered to the depth of half an inch. In 1899, on the night of February 12-13th, rain changed to sleet at 9:45 p. m. (12th), and this to snow at 10:15 p. m. Snow continued during the night, ceasing before sunrise of the 13th. That morning the ground was covered with snow to the depth of 2 inches, with a temperature of 10 degrees, and in sheltered places it remained unmelted for several days[7].

BIBLIOGRAPHY, CHAPTER V.

1 Memoirs of Florida, Fleming.
2 History of Florida, Webb.
3 From Judge Bethune's original diary.
4 Letter from Mrs. M. C. Powers, daughter of Albert G. Philips.
5 From an old newspaper clipping.
6 Acts of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida.
7 Records in possession of Weather Bureau.
8 Jacksonville Tri-Weekly Sun, February 19, 1876.

CHAPTER VI.

THE SEMINOLE WAR PERIOD.[1]

During the summer of 1835, it was known that the Indians were on the verge of outbreak, but every one thought the war would be of short duration and after a few skirmishes the Indians would be so badly punished they would be glad to emigrate to the West. A prolonged war was simply out of the question from the view-point of the whites. Planters went about their farm operations as usual and trade with the interior continued unabated. In the fall there were ominous mutterings of coming trouble, still the popular belief was that it would not last long. Short-time volunteers were called for to frighten the Indians into agreeing to emigrate. Several companies were raised in Nassau and Duval Counties. The names of Colonel Warren and Major Mills are mentioned in connection with these commands—probably John Warren and William J. Mills of the Jacksonville neighborhood.

The war opened December 29, 1835, when Osceola and twenty followers shot and killed General Wiley Thompson and others at Fort King, now Ocala, and Major Dade's command was massacred in Sumter County, near the present town of Bushnell, two separate events on the same day. The news of these disasters spread through

the country like wild-fire. People everywhere in the interior abandoned their homes and collected in the towns for protection. Many of them came to Black Creek and on to Jacksonville. Trade with the interior gradually ceased, and although it was expected that hostilities would be confined to the middle portion of the peninsula, the stoppage of trade with the interior, a large portion of which was handled through Jacksonville, was perceptibly felt in business circles here.

THE BLOCK HOUSE.

The Governor of Florida issued a proclamation to the people advising them to build block houses in every community, as a means of protection against the Indians. One was built in Jacksonville, probably in 1836, at the northeast corner of Ocean and Monroe Streets. This structure was one of the famous buildings here and is mentioned in nearly every account of the early town. It was a structure of logs—a large square room raised high above the ground on a pedestal-like base. It was entered through a door in the floor, by means of a ladder. In the event of attack, the ladder would be drawn up and the opening closed. Port-holes were provided on all sides, and also in the floor, through which to shoot. The object of the overhanging construction was to prevent its being set on fire, since in trying to fire the house an Indian could be shot from overhead. The block-house stood at what was then the frontier of the

town. All north and west of it was barren waste. Every rumor of Indians in this section caused the timid residents to seek its protection at dark. Sentries did guard duty at night and "many an amusing scene could they relate, caused by the electric imagination of the weak-nerved when it came their turn to go on post".[2] The Coy House was built on this site in the winter of 1851-52. During its fifteen years of existence the old block house served the community well, first as a fort and then as a place for holding religious services.

Jacksonville was a supply depot during the war, sub-commissary to the chief post at Middleburg. The government built a long one-story wooden building on the south side of Bay Street, between Main and Laura, near Laura, as a storage for supplies. This was popularly called the "government building". It was built high above the marsh—for that region was then nothing more than marsh land over which the tide frequently came—and along the Bay Street side a raised sidewalk furnished an entrance. This building stood for many years.

ATTACKS BY THE INDIANS.

In the summer of 1836, the Indians attacked and destroyed several plantations along the lower St. Johns, among them those of Colonel Hallowes and Mr. Travers. They also appeared here and there in Western Florida, between the Suwanee River and Tallahassee. The settlements in the

Black Creek country and on the east side of the St. Johns above Jacksonville had, many of them, been broken up, although a few planters who had been kind to the Seminoles, remained on their farms and were never molested.

On September 15, 1836, a band of Indians attacked the house of a Mr. Higginbotham seven miles west of Jacksonville, but they were driven off by members of the household, who barricaded themselves in the house and fired at the Indians with shot and ball. After the Indians left, Mr. Higginbotham rode post-haste to Jacksonville to give the alarm, and Major Hart and twelve men immediately went in pursuit. Major Hart's party found all well at the Higginbotham home and pushed on down the trail toward the Tallahassee road. When they reached the Johns farm they found the house a heap of smoking ruins in which were the charred remains of Mr. Johns. Several miles farther on, at Mr. Sparkman's, they found Mrs. Johns, severely wounded, but still alive. Mr. and Mrs. Johns were attacked at 10 o'clock in the forenoon, while they were in the yard of their home, and although Mr. Johns was shot through the chest, both he and his wife managed to reach the house and close the door. The Indians soon broke open the door and shot Mr. Johns dead. They dragged his wife to the door and told her to go, but at that moment an Indian shot her through the arm and neck. She fell through the doorway, but they dragged her back into the house and with

a large butcher knife fiendishly skinned all the hair off of her head. They then plundered the house and set fire to it. Mrs. Johns, though greatly weakened from loss of blood, managed to crawl out of the burning house after the Indians left. Fainting from weakness at frequent intervals, she at last reached a nearby swamp, got some water, and laid down to die. Here searchers found her at 2 p. m. They took her on a horse and conveyed her to a neighbor's, Mr. Sparkman's, several miles away. She was later removed to Jacksonville and placed in a comfortable boarding house, where medical attendance and humane attentions soon relieved her of much of her physical suffering and she finally recovered[3].

The year 1836 closed with the Indians holding their own everywhere. They overran the country, killing express riders, attacking wagon trains, and burning farm houses, and as a result no operations, except those of a military nature, were carried on in the country districts. The comparatively extensive trade that Jacksonville had enjoyed with the interior was entirely destroyed; the Courier ceased publication, and on account of the public unrest such enterprises as were contemplated were abandoned. Instead of being a small affair that would terminate with a display of force and a few volleys from the troops, the war wore on for seven years, furnishing the most wonderful example of Indian warfare in the history of the United States. As time went by, however, the

field of operations receded from this section and went farther and farther southward.

PANIC OF 1837 AND THE BANK OF JACKSONVILLE.

In 1830, there began an era of extravagant speculation and reckless enterprise in the United States. Population was increasing and production was increasing even faster than population. As the means of communication between producer and consumer were decidedly inadequate, a universal need was felt for transportation facilities that would insure quick delivery at moderate prices. The popular demand for railroad and canal construction became so great that conservatism and good judgment were swept aside. States, cities, and towns all over the country were drawn into the whirl of enthusiasm, and many of them made large bond issues to carry on the work of construction. Naturally business in all lines became inflated, and when such is the case a crisis is inevitable. An over production in the cotton crop of 1836 caused a drop in prices and hastened the panic that had its beginning in 1837. During the hard times that followed many of the States had to resort to extraordinary measures to pay the interest on their debts, and some, including Florida, actually repudiated their debts and refused to pay. The States had issued bonds in the aid of the construction of railroads and canals, and in the South especially subscribed to bank stock for the purchase of which they also issued bonds. Therefore,

many bank failures occurred when the crash came, culminating with the failure of the Bank of Pennsylvania in 1840, when every bank south of Philadelphia suspended payment. Florida had a better excuse for repudiating her debts than the other states, because she was not only caught in the money panic, but at the same time had been and was even then undergoing a disastrous war with the Seminole Indians.

The Bank of Jacksonville made a spectacular effort to weather the storm, by increasing its capital from $75,000 to $100,000. It sent a petition to the Legislative Council asking for permission to open its books for the subscription of stock, and this permission was granted by Act 19, approved February 12, 1837, as follows:

"That the books for receiving subscription of stock in said bank (Bank of Jacksonville) on giving thirty days previous notice thereof, shall be opened on or before the first of October next, in the town of Jacksonville, under the superintendence of William G. (J) Mills, James Dell, Joseph B. Lancaster, William Rider, John L. Doggett, and Hardy H. Philips; and said books shall be kept open for one year, unless said stock shall sooner be subscribed for." Assuming that the books were opened on October 1, 1837, it required but four months to raise the necessary $25,000, regardless of the hard times. An act, No. 10, approved on the 30th of January, 1838, provided:

SEC. 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, That the Directors of the Bank of Jacksonville be, and they are hereby authorized, whenever they shall deem it expedient, to increase the capital stock of said bank to one hundred thousand dollars: And the directors of said bank be, and they are hereby authorized to receive subscriptions for the increase of stock at the banking house of said corporation, or at such places, and at such times, and in such manner, as they, or a majority of them may direct.

SEC. 2. Be it further enacted, That no person but a stockholder, citizen of the United States, or of this Territory and a resident of this Territory, shall be a director of said bank.

SEC. 3. Be it further enacted, That the President and directors shall not be authorized at any time, to issue a greater amount of bills than twice the amount of capital stock actually paid in.

SEC. 4. Be it further enacted, That the notes of the bank shall be redeemable at the banking house, during banking hours on demand, in gold or silver, and that the said corporation shall never refuse, or suspend such payment on lawful demand being made; the bearer of any such bill, note, or obligation shall be entitled to recover interest at the rate of ten per centum per annum until they shall make payment, or tender payment thereof with interest as aforesaid.

It will be noted that Section 1 not only provided for the increase of capital to $100,000, the amount of which was then in hand, but at the same time

authorized the Bank of Jacksonville "at such times and in such manner" as the directors may elect, to further increase its capital stock. No subsequent record has been found, and a logical inference is, that it struggled along until 1840, and went out of existence together with the other banks with the failure of the Bank of Pennsylvania.

OSCEOLA NIKKANOOCHEE.

During the progress of the war our troops captured a little Indian boy on one of their trips to the interior. An Englishman by the name of Dr. Welsh, residing at Jacksonville, took a fancy to the boy and was allowed to care for him in his own family. It developed that this young Indian was a nephew of the great Osceola, his mother being a sister of the chief. Dr. Welsh later purchased an estate near the mouth of the St. Johns River, where he retired with his protege. He took great pains and pleasure in bringing up his charge in civilized ways, teaching him to read and write among other accomplishments. In 1840, the Doctor returned to England, taking young Osceola with him. In the following year he published a book relating to his adopted son, the preface of which stated the object, "To record all events relating to the life and capture of my protege with which I am acquainted in order that in the event of my death the manuscript might inform him of his origin and history and at the same time remind him of one who loved him with the fondness of a

father.'' An effort was made to trace little Osceola's history in London after 1842, but without successful results[4]. This Indian boy played with the white children in Jacksonville, joining with them in their childish games. Sometimes he would become very angry, because they teased him, and on one occasion he tried to stab a little girl in the foot, whereupon he was given a sound thrashing by her brother[6].

It has been said that Jacksonville's growth began with the Indian war, because people from the country districts moved here for protection. This is true to a limited extent and a few permanent residents no doubt did come in that way, but the real cause was directly traceable to the effects of the panic, together with the favorable representations of the country and climate made by the army officers that had been here in connection with the Indian war. The letters of J. P. Belknap[8], written from Mandarin, Florida, throw some light upon the conditions prevailing in this section about that time; the following are excerpts from these letters:*

Mandarin, March 13, 1839.

***But I must broach the all absorbing, all exciting theme—the mulberry. I thought when at New York I had made a good contract, but it has proved far otherwise, for I found much to my surprise that the

*Silk-worm propagation caused the mulberry rage referred to in these letters.

fever was raging higher here than at Hartford or New York, for not only had some of the mulberry planters returned from travelling at the North, but several Northern men had come here to buy mulberry and plant here to avail themselves of our climate; so instead of finding plenty of opportunities for buying cheap, as I had every reason to expect, I found only buyers riding through the country in search of it. This was a double disappointment, for in the first place I had formed a plan * * * to purchase up all the mulberry in my neighborhood as soon as I arrived and with my own take it to New York and make quite a speculation with it * * *. I have barely time to say that I have sold what I could spare and reserved enough to make a great number this season, but such was my fear that something might occur to reduce the price * * * that I sold them too soon and did not get more than half as much as I might soon after, for such is the rage for planting that they have risen to the enormous price of 3 cents an eye for cuttings. The Davenports have shipped a great quantity. One lot of trees at St. Augustine sold for $50,000.

Mandarin, July 10, 1840.

***The unaccountable or rather abominable circumstance of the war, keeping me out of the possession of my place and the total failure of the mulberry market, deprives me of all resources for the present. * * * Neither can I do anything at improving my orange grove without exposing myself to danger, for Indians are bolder than ever. They have dispersed themselves into small parties and prowl

about like wild beasts. They have committed murders near us upon the public roads that have been travelled in safety until this season and the prospect never has been darker than the present for its termination. There is no way to account for this state of things, but by the political condition of our country, being on the eve of a presidential election. * * *

(Near) Mandarin, Jan'y. 1, 1842.

***You will doubtless think I had some cause for melancholly reflections when I tell you that I was but little better than a guard for protection—the Indians came into the very neighborhood of Mandarin, murdered one family and plundered and burnt out three, and that I had just gotten settled at my place again after spending 2 or 3 months' time and some money. This is the third time I have been obliged to abandon my place and sacrifice time, money, and everything but my life. * * * In all former wars with the Indians they never were known to come into Mandarin settlement before. And during this war of more than six years they never have come nearer than Julington Creek (to my neighbor, Mott, adjoining me); therefore at this late period when this part of the country had been so long quiet the inhabitants of Mandarin thought no more of Indians than if there were none in the Territory, but now their fears are as great or greater than at any time since the war broke out. It had been long reported and was generally believed that the troops had gotten almost all the Indians out of the Territory and that the war would soon be terminated. But alas! we have just experienced another cruel disappointment

> and there is no more security or prospect for its termination than at its commencement.*** I have barely room to say that the creeping, skulking Indians never would have ventured into Mandarin settlement but that there are no troops within 100 miles (20 or 30 except) ; they were all taken south in pursuit of Sam Jones and his warriors. I hear that troops are on their way to be stationed near us for our protection. If so I may return to my place, for all that return to reoccupy their places are now furnished with provisions till the next crop season.***

Florida was open to great possibilities and development, and as there is something about border life that always lures, many people, desirable citizens and adventurers alike, wearied of the hard times in the North, sought this Territory for relief. The adventurers did not settle and left when peace was at last restored, but many good people stayed and a number settled in Jacksonville. Business increased with their coming and the town began a slow but permanent growth. Church membership increased, the period 1839-1840 being marked by the organization and incorporation of religious bodies here. During the last stages of the war, the zone of hostilities had moved so far from Jacksonville that the town returned to almost normal conditions, and despite the fact that attacks were occasionally made by roving bands of Indians near here, trade with nearby points was resumed and gradually extended into the interior.

Among those who came to Jacksonville from the North during the Indian war was a man who unselfishly gave his best efforts to the advancement of this town, and whose influence was a powerful factor in the progress of the place. This man was:

DR. ABEL SEYMOUR BALDWIN*.

Dr. A. S. Baldwin was born near Fulton, Oswego County, New York, March 19, 1811. He was adopted by an uncle living near Perryville, New York; had private tutors, and went to Cazanovia Seminary and later to Hobart College, Geneva, New York. Soon after completing his education, he went with a surveying party to Michigan as botanist. On his return from this trip, he decided to go South, in a government ship. He stopped at Charleston for a time, and then came on to Jacksonville. This was in 1839.

Dr. Baldwin was a very accomplished man, in whom were combined two qualities seldom met with together, namely, science and practicality. He was a botanist, and thoroughly understood plant growth and plant life. As a meteorologist, he stood high in the estimation of the officials of the Smithsonian Institution. In his prime, he was considered the best medical practitioner in East Florida. He played on several musical instruments, and his carving on wood and ivory was

*This biography was written by the author from reliable data; it is absolutely unbiased and without favoritism.

said to have been very fine. He was Senior Warden of St. John's Episcopal church for a great number of years. He was profoundly attached to Jacksonville, and his long and useful life was devoted to the advancement of the interests of this place. So far as known, his first public act was the setting out of the beautiful shade trees that lined our streets before the fire of 1901. He foresaw the necessity of obtaining deeper water at the bar, before Jacksonville could make any claim upon marine interests. A citizen committee sent him to Washington in 1852, to present his ideas to Congress, the result of which was an appropriation for improving the bar. Thus the first steps in harbor improvement were taken as a result of his efforts; and it was largely through his influence that the question of deeper water to the sea was kept alive after the war. He took the most prominent part in the Legislature fighting for the railroad for Jacksonville, as against the road from Fernandina to Cedar Keys projected by Senator Yulee. And finally, when a railroad for this place was assured, he was elected its first President. He entered the Confederate service and was appointed chief surgeon of the hospitals at Lake City.

Dr. Baldwin was an active man, but he never sought public office. With an unselfish interest in this town, there was no contemplated improvement that he was not prominently identified with. It has been repeatedly said that he did more for Jacksonville when the place needed a guiding and

helping hand, than any other man, and some day, when this becomes a "City of Retrospect," we may see a monument in one of our parks erected to the memory of Abel Seymour Baldwin, died December 10, 1898, in his 88th year.

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5 Mrs. M. C. Powers.
6 C. Drew, in Times-Union, Trade Edition, January, 1890.
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CHAPTER VII.

THE EARLY CHURCHES.

So far as known, religious services were first held in Jacksonville over the store built by John Warren at the northwest corner of Bay and Newnan Streets; this was prior to 1825, and the services were general rather than denominational. Services were held irregularly at one place and another, and occasionally at the court house, until the block house was built, when that seems to have become the place for general worship, except by the Episcopalians, who continued to use the court house. Early in the 40's the several denominations took steps to provide for themselves separate houses of worship. The first church building erected in the town was built by the Baptists, on the east side of the lot at the northeast corner of Duval and Newnan Streets, in 1840. The exact location of the building is occupied now by the Methodist parsonage.

METHODIST.

The Methodists seem to have been the pioneers in organized church work in Jacksonville. In 1823 or 1824, several missionaries were sent to East Florida with headquarters at St. Augustine, among them Rev. John Jerry. Jacksonville was on Mr. Jerry's circuit. "From St. Augustine to

the Cow Ford he traveled on horseback, carrying his change of clothing, books, lunch, and sack of corn to feed his horse[1]".

The following extracts taken from the diary of Rev. Isaac Boring[1] indicate that there was a regularly organized Methodist society in Jacksonville in 1829:

"Sunday, March 8, 1829. Preached at Jacksonville and dined with Mrs. Hart, and heard that some members of our church had been dancing."

"Sunday, April 19, 1829. Preached at Jacksonville, filling all the appointments of the week."

"Sunday, May 17, 1829. Preached at Jacksonville. For the first time I was allowed to preach in the court house. During divine services, a drunken man made so much noise that Mr. Hart very politely led him out of the house. After preaching I met the Society, filling all the appointments of the week."

Very little data are obtainable regarding the Methodist congregation from this time till 1840; but without doubt it held together, worshipping in different buildings until the block house was built. When the Baptists built their chapel at the northeast corner of Duval and Newnan Streets in 1840, the Methodists worshipped with them, but the two congregations holding services in the same building was not a satisfactory arrangement. The Methodists bought the property from the Baptists[3] in 1846 for the sum of $600[4].

The custom in that day was to separate the con-

gregation, the right hand side of the building being reserved for the women and the left for the men. The pulpit was raised and was several feet in length, with candle sticks on each end. The pastor sat behind the pulpit and was screened from the congregation. Old English pews having doors that could be locked were used; these doors were later removed. There were cross seats on each side of the pulpit, called "amen pews", because they were usually occupied by the faithful, prayerful members. Instrumental music was not permitted, as it was considered a sinful practice. Congregational singing was fervent and emotional, someone acting as leader pitching the tunes[4].

The congregation grew and became too large for the little chapel. There being space enough on the corner a larger building was erected about 1858, and was called St. Paul's. It was a wooden building and went safely through the war, being used until 1889, when it was sold to the Roman Catholics for $500, including pews, pulpit, and bell. It was moved away and used by the Catholics as a parish hall.

PROTESTANT EPISCOPAL.

Rev. Raymond A. Henderson, missionary at St. Augustine held the first service of the Episcopal church in Jacksonville April 12, 1829; in 1834, the Parish was organized, under the general act of the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida for the incorporation of religious bodies[5]. The Epis-

copal congregation was incorporated by Act 28, of the Legislative Council, approved February 23, 1839, which provided as follows:

> Be it enacted by the Governor and the Legislative Council of the territory of Florida, That William J. Mills, Samuel L. Burritt, and Robert Biglow, Wardens, and Harrison R. Blanchard and such others as were elected Vestrymen of the Episcopal Congregation at Jacksonville, and their successors in office, shall be, and they are hereby declared to be a body corporate, by the name and style of the Church Wardens and Vestrymen of St. John's Church at Jacksonville.***

The congregation now began to raise funds for the erection of a church edifice. The ladies of the church added materially to the building fund by means of a sewing society, over which Mrs. Thomas Douglas presided for a long time. Two lots on Duval Street were deeded to the Church by Mrs. Maria Doggett, September 17, 1842, as a donation from herself and her husband, Judge John L. Doggett, and these are the same lots on which St. John's Church stands today.[5] The other two lots, on Church Street, were purchased at a later date.

The corner stone of the church was laid Sunday, April 24th, 1842, by Rt. Rev. Christopher Edwards Gadsden, Bishop of South Carolina. The structure was soon up and services were held in it; but it was not entirely completed until 1851, when it

was consecrated by Rt. Rev. Stephen Elliott, Bishop of Georgia[5]. The building was burned by Federal troops March 29th, 1863.

In building the first church, every person who contributed a certain sum of money was given a deed to a pew in his own right, and the same was entailed to his heirs. The early choir was composed as follows: Dr. A. S. Baldwin, leader, base viol; J. W. Bryant, first flute; William Lancaster, second flute. The singers were, Mrs. A. M. Reed, who also played on a melodeon which a servant carried on his shoulders to the church for each service; Miss Eliza Lancaster, and Mrs. William Douglas. The communion service consisted of two small waiters and two silver cups—family silver loaned by Mrs. Susan L'Engle. A burial plot was provided in the church yard for members of the congregation, and the ashes of some of Jacksonville's early residents still occupy their original graves, although most of the bodies were removed many years ago to the old city cemetery on East Union Street[4].

Mr. Henderson continued to hold occasional services in Jacksonville until the summer of 1834; in the fall of that year he was succeeded by a regular rector, Rev. David Brown. Mr. Brown remained for more than ten years, he being succeeded in May, 1845, by Rev. John Freeman Young. Mr. Young was followed by Rev. Isaac Swart, in 1848, and Mr. Swart by Rev. W. D. Harlow in 1854. Rev. W. W. Bours became the

rector in 1855. Mr. Bours died of yellow fever in 1857. In the following year, Rev. S. L. Kerr (pronounced Carr) came. Mr. Kerr was followed in 1861, by Rev. H. H. Hewett. Mr. Hewett was a Northern man and he went away with the Federal squadron in 1862, and the parish remained vacant until after the war[2].

ROMAN CATHOLIC.[6]

The Roman Catholic Parish of Jacksonville was not established until 1857. Previously, the Roman Catholic residents of the town, few in number, received the ministrations of visiting priests from St. Augustine and Savannah. The names of some of these priests are preserved in the parish records of those cities. Worthy of note among them, for their zealous and arduous work, were Fathers Claude Rampon and Patrick Hackett, who resided at St. Augustine and visited Jacksonville at regular intervals from 1836 to 1843; and Fathers Benedict Madeore and Edmund Aubriel, who likewise resided at St. Augustine and visited Jacksonville from 1843 to 1858.

During the pioneer years, religious services were conducted at the home of some one of the church members. The first purchase by the church was the northwest corner of Duval and Newnan Streets from I. D. Hart (probably in 1848), the deed being made to Bishop Gartland, of Savannah, and the consideration mentioned being "one penny." The precise date of erection of

the first church, which was built through the efforts of Father Aubriel, is not known with certainty*. According to the testimony of living witnesses (Henry Clark and Mrs. William M. Bostwick) there was a church building at the northwest corner of Newnan and Duval Streets as early as 1851; here religious ceremonies were carried out with regularity and according to the established rules of the Church. It is an interesting fact to note that if the church was originally dedicated to the Immaculate Conception of Our Lady, as seems to have been the case, the time was several years before that dogma was defined as an article of Faith by Pope Pius IX, in 1854.

A beautiful painting of the Immaculate Conception, said to have been a gift from the French government, was placed behind the altar. This painting was saved from destruction, when the church was burned by Federal troops March 28, 1863; but its history is not traced further.[4]

In 1857, the former territory of East Florida, which had been included hitherto within the diocese of Savannah was constituted a separate ecclesiastical jurisdiction as Vicariate-Apostolic, with Bishop Verot in charge. The first resident pastor at Jacksonville was Rev. William Hamilton, who came from Savannah. He was a man of remarkable organizing and executive ability, at

*Well-founded tradition says the first Roman Catholic church in Jacksonville was built about 1848, at the northwest corner of Newnan and Duval Streets.

the same time possessing amiable and social qualities that endeared him to all, irrespective of creed. After establishing the Church at Jacksonville on a solid basis, he was transferred, in 1861, to a more important field of work in the diocese of Mobile, where he died in a few years. His successor in Jacksonville was Rev. M. Penough, who remained until 1864. After the civil war, Father Chambon and the Very Rev. Father Clavreal, the present vicar-general of the diocese, had charge of all the missions in Florida for several years, Jacksonville being their headquarters.

A description of the burning of the church March 28, 1863, will be found on page 182 of this book.

BAPTIST.

The Baptist denomination was established in Jacksonville in July, 1838, by Rev. James McDonald and Rev. Ryan Frier. Mr. Frier was the State Missionary at that time. There were six charter members, namely, Rev. James McDonald and wife, Elias G. Jaudon and wife, and two colored persons—Peggy, a slave of Elias G. Jaudon, and Bacchus, a slave of William Edwards. Rev. James McDonald was the first pastor, and Elias G. Jaudon the first deacon[3].

The congregation increased, and in 1840, purchased the northeast corner at Duval and Newnan Streets, where a small chapel was erected[8]. This was the first church building erected in Jackson-

ville. It was a small wooden structure, with a seating capacity for about 100 persons. It had a square tower-like steeple in which was a bell. In front was a small piazza; there was but one entrance door. The Baptists sold this property to the Methodists in 1846[1], and then bought a plot of ground two miles west of the court house (Myrtle Avenue, between Adams and Duval Streets), on which they erected a small brick church[3]. This building was partially wrecked during the civil war, as it was the scene of nearly all the fighting that occurred near Jacksonville. The little brick church had a war history. Pickets and out-posts were stationed there whenever Jacksonville was occupied by the Federal troops and near it the first blood of the war in this vicinity was shed. Sentinel-like, it witnessed scenes that have never found a place in print.

A few years after the little brick church was built, Elias G. Jaudon bought a piece of ground adjoining the church property and donated it to the church for a burial ground. Finding themselves too far from the center of the city, it was decided to make yet another change in location, and again Deacon Jaudon came to the assistance of the church, by buying and donating a lot on Church Street, between Julia and Hogan. Here a house of worship was erected, and dedicated February 23, 1861. Soon after this the civil war came on and disrupted the congregation. After the battle of Olustee, the building was taken pos-

session of by the Federal army and used as a hospital for wounded soldiers, and from this time until the close of the war it was used as a military hospital. The building was left in a deplorable condition, scarcely a pane of glass remaining in the windows and very little plastering on the walls.[3]

The cemetery that was attached to the "little brick church" still remains, and is the property of the First Baptist Church. After the war, there was a division in the membership of the Baptist Church, the whites buying out the interest of the colored members in the property, renaming their church Tabernacle, while the colored branch retained the original name, Bethel Baptist. Tabernacle was later changed to First Baptist.

Rev. James McDonald was pastor from 1838 to 1846. From 1846 to 1850, there were several unimportant short pastorates, in which the church seems to have been unfortunate in obtaining unworthy or incompetent men. In 1850, Rev. Joseph S. Baker became pastor and served four years, during which time the church and Sunday-School prospered. In 1859, Rev. E. W. Dennison was called. At this time the membership was 40 white and 250 colored[3].

PRESBYTERIAN.

The first record of the Presbyterian congregation at Jacksonville was an act by the Legislative

Council of the Territory (No. 51, approved March 2d, 1840), which, in part, was as follows:

> SECTION 1. Be it enacted by the Governor and Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida, That from and after the approval of this act, the Presbyterian congregation at Jacksonville, in East Florida, shall be incorporated and be a body politic, by the name and style of the Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville, and by that name shall be capable and liable in law to sue and be sued, plead and be impleaded, defend and be defended, and to have, hold, possess, and enjoy real and personal estate;***
>
> SECTION 2. Be it further enacted, That for the better government of said incorporation, O. Congar, O. M. Dorman, Harrison R. Blanchard, Stephen Eddy, and L. D. Miller, be, and they are hereby appointed Trustees of "The Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville", ***
>
> SEC. 3. Be it further enacted, That all the white members of said church shall be deemed qualified electors at any and every election for trustees of said church.***

It will be noted that Harrison R. Blanchard named here as a Trustee, was mentioned as a Vestryman of St. John's when the Episcopal Church was incorporated in 1839.

The following data were furnished by Rev. W. H. Dodge, who was pastor of the Newnan Street Presbyterian Church in this city for 26 years:

The Presbyterian Church in Jacksonville was organized by a committee from the Presbytery of

Florida, which belonged to the synod of South Carolina and Georgia. The first place of meeting for the Church was a small school house erected probably on the southeast corner of Ocean and Monroe Streets, and it is stated that Mr. Congar often conducted the services. The first church building was erected about 1857 or 1859, the money being obtained first through the earnest efforts of Miss Phoebe Swart, who gave the first $100 toward the fund and afterward purchased and gave to the church a lot on Duval Street near Laura, for a Manse. Rev. A. W. Sproull served the Church during 1857-8, and visited the Churches in Southern cities from which places he obtained much of the money collected. Rev. J. H. Myers, who preached at St. Augustine from 1835 to 1859, occasionally preached for the Jacksonville Church also. The Pastor at Jacksonville when the civil war began was Rev. James Little. He enlisted in the service of the Confederate army, and did not resume his pastorate after the war. After the war the Church had a checkered career for a few years. A number of ministerial brethren from the North occupied the pulpit and then arose a desire among the members of the Church who were originally Northern people to change the ecclesiastical relations of the Church and transfer it from the Presbytery of Florida of the Southern Assembly to that of Philadelphia of the Northern Assembly. The Southern element of the Church was opposed to this movement and when it prevailed nine

Southern members withdrew on March 16, 1867, elected new officers, and continued to exist as the original Church of Jacksonville. The church building and other property was held by the Northern members, but the little band of nine members soon increased to sixteen and on June 30, 1867, Rev. W. B. Telford preached to them in the building of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, then called St. Paul's. After worshipping for a few years in a hired hall, a lot was purchased at the southeast corner of Newnan and Monroe Streets, where a small frame building was erected. The two Churches remained separated until May, 1900 when there was a consolidation under the name of the Presbyterian Church of Jacksonville.

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CHAPTER VIII.

IN THE FORTIES.

With the ending of the Seminole war, and the recovery of the country from the hard times that had prevailed for five years, since 1837, Jacksonville began a steady growth in population. Columbus Drew, Sr., states that in 1842, the population was 450, and in 1847, it was 750, an increase in five years of 67 per cent. The United States Census Bureau made returns separately for Jacksonville beginning with 1850; the census of 1850 gave 1,045 inhabitants within the corporate limits. If the estimate of 450 in 1842 was accurate, then in eight years the town had increased 132 per cent in population. The following table shows the growth of Jacksonville, as told by figures:

1830	100*	
1840	350*	250 per cent gain.
1850	1,045	199 "
1860	2,018	93 "
1870	6,912	245 "
1880	7,650	11 "
1890**	17,201	125 "
1900	28,429	65 "
1910	57,699	103 "

*Estimated.
**Corporate limits extended in the mean time.

EARLY NEWSPAPERS.

The failure of the Courier left Jacksonville without a newspaper until about 1842, when G. M. Grovard, of Washington, D. C., came here and established the Tropical Plant. Soon afterward the Courier (no connection with the former paper of that name) was established, and about the time that Florida was admitted as a State (1845), the Florida News was removed from St. Augustine to Jacksonville. The News was Democratic in politics and held the political field until 1848, when a Whig paper, called the Republican was established, with Columbus Drew as editor for many years. The News and the Republican did the newspaper fighting of the State for their respective parties[1], and judging from the few copies that the Author has seen, the fighting was certainly of a sensational character.

The plants of both the News and the Republican were destroyed by fire in April, 1854, but in time the papers were re-established. Owners changed, however, and so did the names of the papers. The Republican became the St. Johns Mirror. Just before the war, the Southern Rights entered the journalistic field in Jacksonville, being for a time conducted by Messrs. Steele and Doggett[1].

THE GREAT STORM OF 1846.

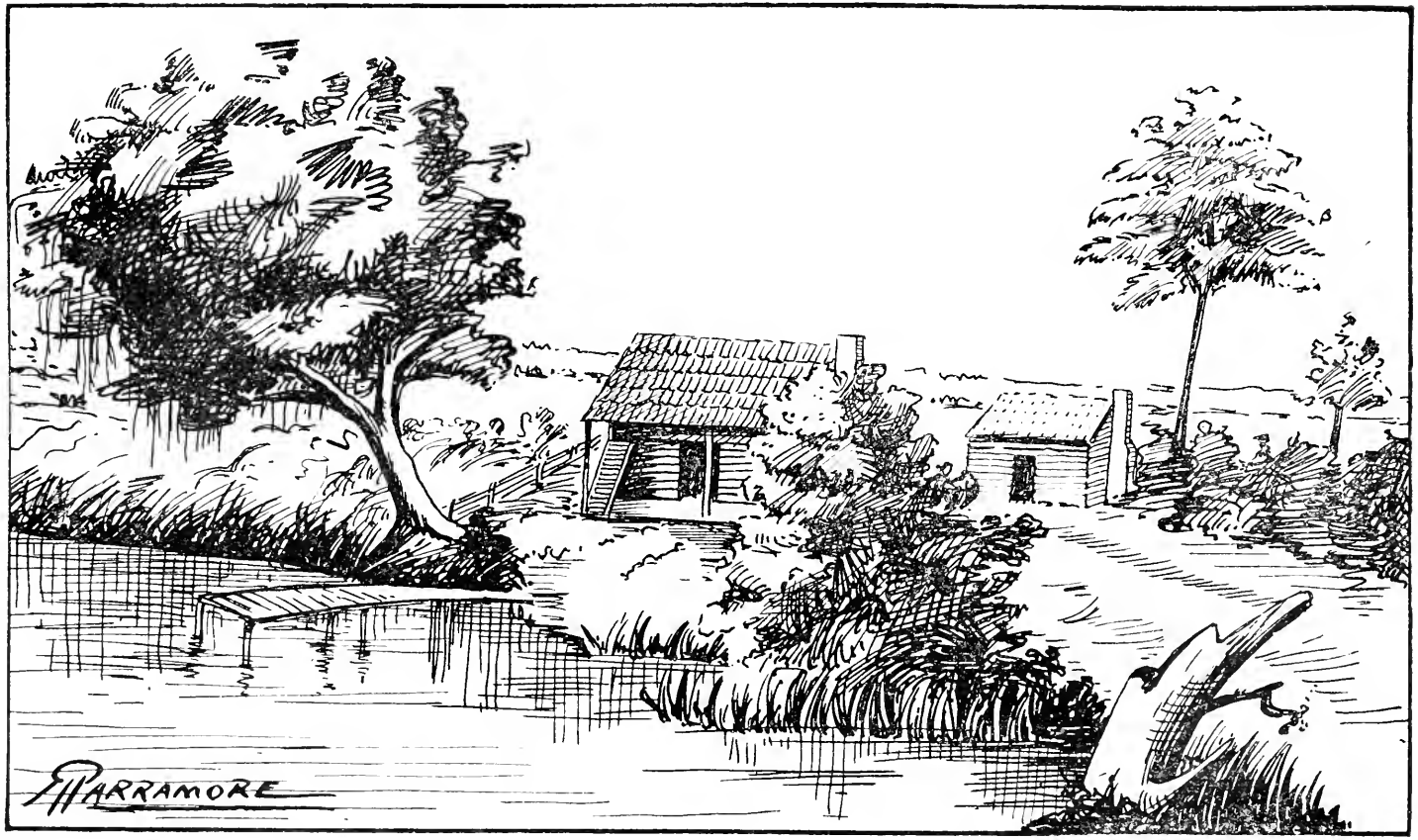
Several years ago there were still living in Jacksonville persons who remembered the great

gale of October 12, 1846, during which the brig "Virginia," owned by Captain Willey, dragged her anchors and was driven from Market Street into the foot of Ocean Street, her bow-sprit extending almost across Bay. The water from the river backed up nearly across Forsyth Street and was two feet deep in the stores on the north side of Bay. This disaster led to the bulkheading of the river front from Ocean to Pine (now Main). Hewn logs were placed one above the other and were fastened together by chains and an occasional staple. This was called a "buttment" and it proved effectual until wharves were built at that point[2].

LOCAL CONDITIONS IN THE EARLY FORTIES.

With an exception here and there, the dwellings were cheaply built one-story wooden structures. The stores were rough buildings with rude fittings. A slab wharf, small and rickety, answered for vessels. A small steamer made weekly trips to Savannah and a still smaller one ran once a week to and from Enterprise. There was not a wheeled vehicle in the town. Row boats took the place of carriages; otherwise, the people rode horse-back or walked[3].

Primitive as the appearance of the town was, there was yet a good trade and the merchants did comparatively a large business. A great deal of cotton was grown in those days on the plantations hereabout[4], and while Jacksonville could not then



From an old Newspaper Cut. Copied by Ray W. Parramore.

FOOT OF BRIDGE STREET, 1843, PRESENT SITE OF VIADUCT

boast of being an export point, nevertheless the money derived from the sale of this staple was brought here and spent at home.

Denied the advantages of rapid locomotion, with but one steamer arrival a week and only a weekly mail from the North, the residents of the town must have had little to excite their every-day lives. Therefore, we may safely assume that the community was shaken from center to circumference when one day a volley of shots resounded through the streets and when the smoke of the fusillade had cleared away, it was found that a citizen had been killed in one of the stores on Bay Street. Two prominent men were arrested for doing the shooting, and were taken to Tallahassee and confined in the jail there. There are residents living here now that remember hearing their fathers talk about this affair; how a lady visited one of the prisoners in jail at Tallahassee; but instead of leaving, she remained and out to liberty walked the prisoner, dressed in women's clothes. He escaped to Georgia, and neither of the men was ever brought to trial, and both in time came back to Jacksonville.

FIRST EPIDEMIC.

In 1849, there was an epidemic of disease in Jacksonville, called the broken-bone fever. It was so general that in many families every grown person would be in bed with it at the same time, leaving the administration of affairs to the children of

the household. Fortunately, the period of the disease was of short duration and no deaths occurred as a result of the visitation[2]. The exact nature of the sickness cannot be determined now; while the symptoms were those of the modern LaGrippe, the period of duration was too short for it to have been this disease.

Less has been published concerning the period 1840-1850 than of any other decade in Jacksonville's history, and it is, accordingly, the most difficult for which to obtain data. There were no setbacks of serious consequence, however, and the town's growth continued, while the way was paved for the establishment of the enormous lumber industry that followed in the early 50's, when the really rapid growth commenced.

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CHAPTER IX.

EARLY RIVER STEAMERS.

The first steamer to ply the waters of the St. Johns River was the George Washington, in 1830[1]. The Essayon carried troops and supplies up and down the river during the Seminole War[2], and steamers were running irregularly between the St. Johns and Savannah as early as 1839[3]. Along in the 40's, the Sarah Spaulding plied between Jacksonville and Lake Monroe. This was a high-pressure boat and she made a fearful noise while in operation. She was often used for nearby excursions on the river, and occasionally went to Fernandina by the inside route. Her accommodations comprised eight berths, four on each side, opening into the saloon, but provided with curtains that could be drawn as a means of separation[4]. Then the Thorn made her appearance on the river, running to Palatka.

The Darlington came in 1852 or 1853, and up to the time of the civil war was the regular boat between Jacksonville and Enterprise. The Darlington was perhaps the best known of the early river boats. She was built in South Carolina in 1849, and for a time ran up the Pedee River into Darlington District, hence her name[2]. During the war she was captured by the United States forces at the draw-bridge in Fernandina, in 1862, and

remained in their possession until the close of the war, being used most of the time as a transport vessel[5]. She began running on the river again after the war and continued in this service until she became the pioneer boat on the St. Johns. In 1857, the steamers Hattie Brock and William Barnett began running as up-river boats. The William Barnett met with disaster in about a year, when her boiler exploded, killing her captain and a number of other persons[2]. The Hattie Brock was captured far up the river by a Federal gunboat in 1864; she was confiscated, and sold in 1866, but after the war she ran on the river as one of the Brock Line.

THE SAVANNAH STEAMERS.

The Steamer General Clinch made trips to Savannah as early as 1842, and about 1845, a regular line between the St. Johns and Savannah was inaugurated. The pioneer vessels of this service were the Ocmulgee, St. Matthews, and William Gaston[2]. The William Gaston was taken off this run in 1854, and was then used as a river boat. She towed many rafts up and down the river, and it was a peculiarity of her captain, Charles Willey, as soon as he rounded Commodore's Point or Grassy Point, which was usually late in the night, to begin to sound his steam whistle and keep it blowing until he had reached his landing, to the great annoyance of midnight sleepers in Jacksonville[6].

In 1851, two new steamers were put on the Savannah run—the Welaka and the Magnolia. The Magnolia ran only a short time, when her boiler exploded while she was off St. Simon's Island, Ga., killing her captain, William T. McNelty. A few years later, the Welaka was wrecked on the St. Johns bar. These vessels were replaced by the Seminole and the St. Johns, both of which likewise met with disaster, each in turn being burned at her dock in Jacksonville. The hull of the St. Johns was raised and rebuilt, and she ran on the same route until 1862; after the war she ran under the name of Helen Getty[2].

The last of the early boats built for this line was the St. Marys, in 1857.[2] In February, 1864, the St. Marys, while loading with cotton, was blockaded in McGirt's Creek by the Federal gunboat Norwich, and to prevent capture, was sunk there by her crew[5]. She had escaped capture on a previous occasion by dodging into Trout Creek just as the United States gunboat that was looking for her came up the river. The St. Marys then came out, went down the river, and out to sea, bound for Nassau, N. P.[7] The St. Marys lay buried in McGirt's Creek until March, 1865, when she was raised, rebuilt[5], and eventually placed on her old run under the name of Nick King.

THE CHARLESTON STEAMERS.

In 1851, the Florida began running regularly between Palatka, Jacksonville, and Charleston.

Two years later the Carolina was put on, and in 1857, the Everglade, then the Cecile, and a short time before the war, the Gordon and the Calhoun. The Gordon became famous as the vessel on which the Confederate commissioners ran the blockade at Charleston and proceeded to Havana[2]. After the war, the steamer service to Charleston was resumed and continued until the New York-Charleston-Jacksonville Clyde service began, in 1886. The first steamer of the Clyde Line to arrive in Jacksonville was the Cherokee, on Thanksgiving Day, November 25, 1886, and the event was celebrated in an elaborate manner here.

NEW YORK STEAMERS.

In 1860, a party of Jacksonville people bought a steamer with the intention of starting a line between Jacksonville and New York. This vessel, the Flambeau, was bought in the North. She was put on the ways for repairs, but the war came on and the enterprise was abandoned, the stockholders losing what they had put into it[6]. A Federal gunboat by this name operated in Southern waters during the war[5] and it is not improbable that she was the same vessel that the Jacksonville people had bought in 1860.

In the fall of 1865, the D. H. Mount started running between Jacksonville and New York, but on her second voyage from New York she was lost, presumably off Hatteras on October 23, 1865. There were twenty-three persons on board bound

for Florida, among them some prominent Jacksonville people, including S. L. Burritt, Mrs. J. C. Greeley and son, and others. Nothing was ever heard of the Mount and all of her passengers perished[3].

In the early days, the steamers burned lightwood knots for fuel, and great volumes of dense black smoke were emitted from their stacks. Some idle person was generally on the lookout, and when the smoke of a steamer was seen, he would start the cry, "Steamboat, steamboat, coming round the point," when the inhabitants would collect at the wharf, to hear the latest news. The arrival of a steamer in those days was an event of much importance[4]. And later, we read, "Hundreds of people go to the wharves to see the steamboats off. High up from their stacks pile huge banks of dense black smoke. Strains of music fill the air, and all is hurry and bustle. Just as the minute hand of the clock reaches the hour of departure, they are off; the music grows fainter and fainter as it recedes, and the crowds return to the fashionable promenade on Bay Street, to assemble at the wharf again the next day." Captain H. D. DeGrove, for many years connected with the river traffic here, says:

"The real beginning of modern and active commerce upon the St. Johns dates from about 1876, when the steamer Hampton began the daily service between Jacksonville and Palatka. At that time there were no railroads south of Jackson-

ville, except a little piece of railroad running from Tocoi to St. Augustine. The tourist hotels were in the towns scattered along the banks of the St. Johns—Green Cove Springs, Palatka, Sanford, and Enterprise—and up-river boats stopped at those places to land tourists; during the winter months the passenger traffic was very heavy. About this period the orange groves set out after the war came into full bearing, affording a lucrative freight business for the various lines. The river fairly swarmed with steamers of every description, from the antiquated vessels to the then modern side-wheeler. But strangest of all were the Oklawaha River steamboats, built especially for navigation on that erratic stream. They had a small recess wheel built in the stern to protect it from snags, and it is probable that such craft were never used anywhere else in the world.

"There was great rivalry among the lines owning the fastest boats. Some of them had the same schedule, and several of the boats were so evenly matched that they would often make the final round-up from Palatka not more than fifteen minutes apart. These races were thoroughly enjoyed by the tourists, who would always enter into the spirit of the fun with a vim. The crews, too, sometimes became very much excited, and upon landing they would occasionally doff their coats and 'fight it out' right on the wharf, so great was their enthusiasm. The steamboats were met by the busmen from the various hotels,

calling 'St. James', 'Carleton', 'National', etc., familiar names to the old-timers of thirty years ago.

"Mile by mile the railroads were built and one by one the steamboats were taken off. Some were sold and went to other waters. Those of light draft were taken to the Indian River, then an almost unknown stream; but navigation on that river was never satisfactory, owing to its shallow depth and the large number of oyster banks. The railroad soon followed, to sound the death-knell of the steamers there. Not a few of the old steamers went to the 'marine graveyard,' i. e., laid up to rot."

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7 Dr. John C. L'Engle.
8 J. C. Greeley.

CHAPTER X.

JACKSONVILLE ABOUT 1850.*

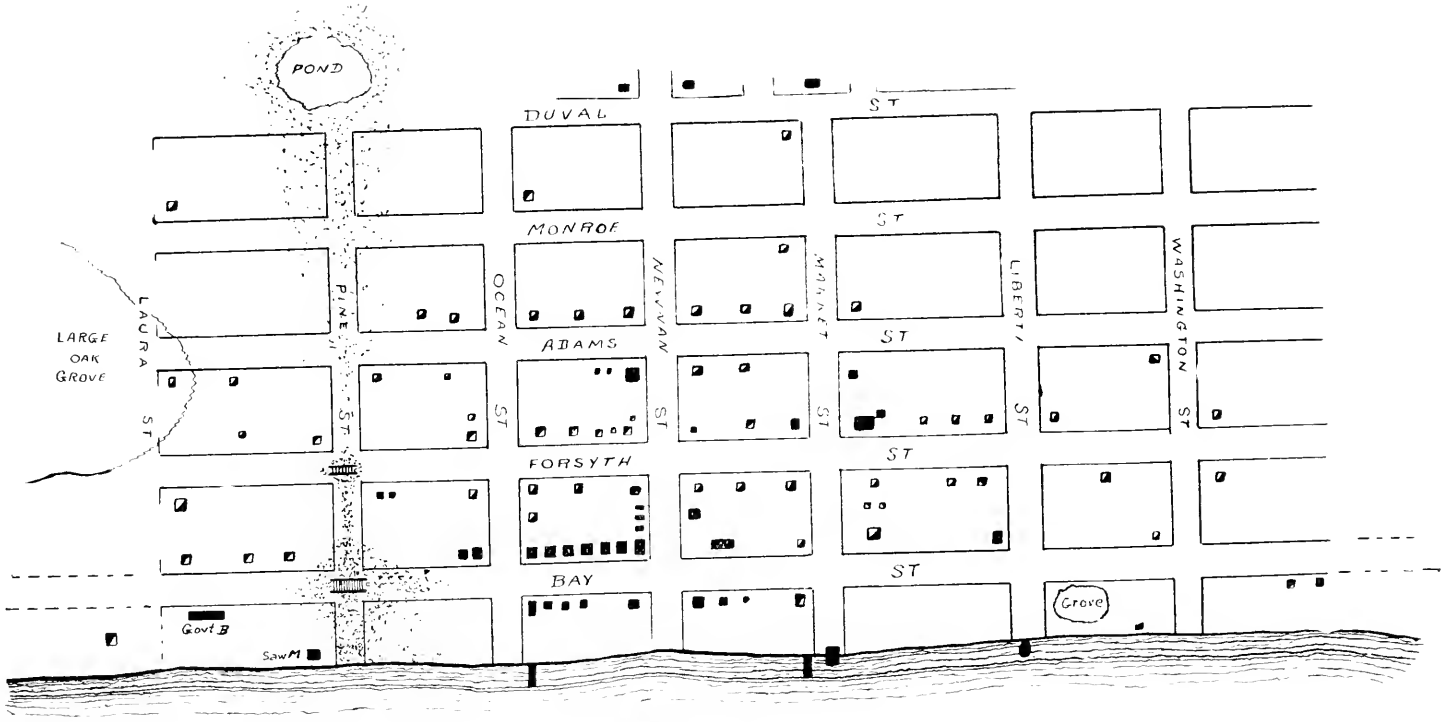
The built-up portion of the town was bounded by Washington Street on the east, Laura on the west, Duval on the north, and the river on the south.

BAY STREET, SOUTH SIDE.

There were no wharves or stores on the south side of Bay Street between Ocean and Laura, except a long one-story, wooden building near Laura, called the "government building," built by the United States government during the Seminole Indian war as a commissary for supplies. Just west of Pine (Main), on the river front stood a saw mill operated by Mr. J. B. Barbee. Fire destroyed it at an early date, consuming with it a human being, one of the sorrowful events of those early times.

Across Ocean Street on the south side of Bay, east, General Thomas Ledwith had a store and a wharf; he was succeeded by Alsop & Bours. Several other stores occupied this block, among them Gunby & Fernandez, later Fernandez & Bisbee, and later still Bisbee & Canova. East of this store was that of S. N. Williams, and near the

*Reminiscences of Mrs. W. M. Bostwick. (See Author's Preface.)



JACKSONVILLE ABOUT 1850

corner of Newnan was McRory's book store. The first brick building built in Jacksonville adjoined the Ledwith store and was occupied by C. D. Oak, jeweler and watchmaker; this was about 1850.

A building stood on the southeast corner of Newnan and Bay and was occupied from the earliest times, by different parties. Finegan & Belchasse are among the first recalled; later Dr. T. Hartridge. Next to this store was that of Bellows; then Santo. The United States mail was first delivered from this locality. Next to Santo was Morris Keil, a small store, tailoring done by husband and the store kept by the wife. Captain Charles Willey had a dwelling on the corner of Market, and a wharf from which he ran a line of sailing vessels to Charleston and another to Key West. These names are remembered in connection with this dwelling: Mrs. Libby, mother of Mrs. Willey; Frances Yale, daughter of Captain Willey. Afterward Columbus Drew, Sr., occupied this house and issued from here a Whig paper called the "Republican". At the foot of Market Street a fish market stood over the water. This was the first market in the town, and Market Street derives its name from this fact. Later a beef market was built over the water at the foot of Ocean Street; but the two were finally consolidated, the old market being then used as a town jail, popularly called "The Jug."

East of Market Street the entire block was vacant. At the foot of Liberty Street there was a

ferry, owned by Judge J. L. Doggett, and operated to connect with the road to St. Augustine. A garrison was kept at Fort San Marco at that time and cattle were forded at this ferry and driven to St. Augustine to furnish beef for the soldiers. Lighters conveyed passengers, vehicles, and freight across the river.

The block east of Liberty Street contained a fine grove of trees. Public, out-of-door functions, such as barbecues, Fourth of July celebrations, etc., were generally held here. There was only one small building on the block—a carpenter's shop near the water's edge.

East of Washington Street, the river bank was very much higher, affording a steep sand hill that the children of the neighborhood used as an amusement place, rolling and jumping in the soft, white sand. Beyond this hill E. A. DeCottes had a dwelling, and on the corner of Bay and Catherine, Stephen Vandergrift and family lived.

The next block was vacant, except a small machine shop near the middle of the block, where the Merrill-Stevens plant is now. There was nothing east of this to Hogan's Creek. Finegan's saw mill was on the river front on the east side of the creek, and his family resided there, including Constantia, Dora, and Martha Travis, daughters of Mrs. Finegan by a former marriage.

BAY STREET, NORTH SIDE.

On the north side of Bay Street, westward from

Hogan's Creek to Catherine Street was a corn field until the early 50's, when a grist mill was built near the creek. From Catherine to Washington was unoccupied until Tony Canova built a residence at the northeast corner of Washington.

At the northwest corner of Washington Street stood the Merrick House, famous as the "haunted house". Peculiar noises were often heard within, yet no ghosts appeared. Some of the less superstitious said there was an underground river at that point that caused the noises. All was vacant thence to Liberty Street until 1851 or 1852, when J. C. Hemming built a residence on the northeast corner of Liberty.

A store house stood on the northwest corner of Bay and Liberty Streets, used for storing freight awaiting ferriage across the river, and later as a school house. The Burritt homestead stood near the northeast corner of Bay and Market, and it was the most pretentious house in the town. There were large grounds, with stables, servants' quarters, and Mr. Burritt's law offices. The vacant lots on the river front, also Burritt property, abounding in shrubbery and shade trees, gave beautiful surroundings.

At the northwest corner of Bay and Market Streets, I. D. Hart owned a boarding house, which was kept successively by Mr. Hart, Mrs. Hatch, Mrs. Flotard, Mrs. Maxey, and Mrs. Taylor, the ownership passing to Mrs. Taylor's daughter, Mrs. Hedrick, in 1853. West of this building was

inclosed, but unoccupied—owned by Mrs. Philip Frazer, inherited from her first husband, Captain Zeb Willey. Dr. Byrne built two stores between this inclosure and the corner, probably in 1852.

Across Newnan Street, the entire block to Ocean was occupied by business houses. On the northwest corner of Newnan and Bay, names not remembered until occupied by Paul Canova. Next to the corner was the firm of Miller & Blackwood, wines and liquors; thence west in order were: Dr. Foreman, general merchandise, afterward Gunby; Barnard & Farrer, general store, later Moss & Ambler, later still, Ambler & Hoeg; Rosenthal, the first Hebrew merchant in town; Goff, tailor; and on the corner of Ocean, Mr. Cutter, afterward Morris Keil. The three last stores were owned by Thomas W. Jones.

On the northwest corner of Ocean and Bay Streets, A. M. Reed had a store—groceries and dry goods. West of this was Calvin Oak, gunsmith. From here to Pine Street was unoccupied, in fact Bay Street was almost impassable at this point. A pond of water north of Duval Street drained downward through Pine Street, making a quagmire at its lower end, over which bridges were built across Pine at Bay and at Forsyth Streets. An attempt was made to improve the approaches to the bridges by laying logs lengthways across the street; this "corduroy" construction was very rough.

Across Pine Street Dr. Baldwin owned two lots,

the corner being a garden very much in need of drainage. Dr. Baldwin's dwelling was on the next lot; also his office. West of that was a dwelling occupied successively by A. M. Reed, Walter Kipp, Mrs. Herbert, Captain L'Engle, George Powers, and finally by Judge Rodney Dorman. Cyrus Bisbee owned a dwelling on the northeast corner of Bay and Laura, where he lived many years. This was the western boundary of the town for a long time. Later Mr. Kipp built a residence on the northwest corner of Bay and Laura. Captain L'Engle then lived close to the river across from the Kipps.

Beyond Laura Street there was nothing more until a small creek was crossed where Julia Street is now. Mr. Boulter owned a mill and a dwelling on the west side of this creek; the mill was burned, and the dwelling was afterward occupied by Hal Sadler. Thence to McCoy's Creek everything was woods. A rude bridge crossed McCoy's Creek near the foot of the present Bridge Street, and to the west of this bridge, on the creek was a small house occupied by the Curry family. Across the creek was P. Moody's saw mill and dwelling, and beyond was the Lancaster place, called "Lancaster's Point". Then the plantation of Elias Jaudon, reaching to McGirt's Creek, and across the creek, now Ortega, was the Sadler plantation.

FORSYTH STREET, SOUTH SIDE.

At the southeast corner of Laura and Forsyth,

I. D. Hart lived in a large two-story house. Thence to Pine Street was vacant, until Dr. Foreman built on the corner of Pine.

The southeast corner of Pine and Forsyth was owned by the Douglas and Reed families. Stables occupied the corner, with a garden beyond, and a dwelling on the corner of Forsyth and Ocean, where A. M. Reed lived, then Thomas Douglas.

On the southeast corner of Forsyth and Ocean was a very old dwelling, known as the Mills house; it was occupied by different families, among others, Mrs. Bowman, and then J. W. Bryant. Between Forsyth and Bay, on Ocean Street, Thomas W. Jones and family lived on the east side of the street. Next to the Mills house, east on Forsyth, William Douglas lived as early as 1847, and afterward a Ross family. This yard was large and here, under a tent, a traveling daguerreotypist took some fine pictures, a few of which are still in existence, in perfect condition after sixty years or more. This was probably the first artist to come to Jacksonville. Captain Armstrong lived on the southwest corner of Forsyth and Newnan; he had no family. Between Forsyth and Bay on Newnan there were a few small shops. On the west side were: Captain John Middleton, small store; Dr. Rex, an office; and Henry Houston, colored barber shop. On the opposite side of the street was a large building used for offices.

On the southeast corner of Forsyth and Newnan, Judge J. C. Cooper lived. East of this was the

Zeb Willey property, known afterward as the Philip Frazer house. Dr. J. D. Mitchell bought here later. Then Mr. Harrison built on the southwest corner of Forsyth and Market, where the law exchange now stands.

Across Market Street were S. L. Burritt's office and grounds, occupying half the block. Judge J. L. Doggett owned the other, or east half of this block, on which were two houses. The Doggett residence was near the southwest corner of Forsyth and Liberty.

In the middle of the block between Liberty and Washington, the Watermans lived, afterward the Hickmans, and later Dr. Murdock. This was one of the oldest houses in the town. On the southeast corner of Forsyth and Washington was another old house in which Mr. Adams lived, afterward Mr. Gillett, and later the Mooneys. For a long time nothing but a corn field was east of here to Hogan's Creek.

FORSYTH STREET, NORTH SIDE.

On the north side of Forsyth Street, west from Hogan's Creek, there was nothing to Washington Street, until Felix Livingston built on the northeast corner of Washington about 1850.

At the northeast corner of Forsyth and Liberty Streets was a very old house of peculiar construction. The foundation was of stone, perhaps six feet high, and on top of this wall was a one-story wooden structure with a piazza on three sides.

Tradition said it was the abode of a sea captain, a buccaneer, who, being too old to follow the sea, amused himself with a spy-glass watching the river above and below. Dr. Theodore Hartridge built on this corner in 1853, at the same time building a smaller house on the northwest corner of Forsyth and Washington for his mother, Mrs. Hobby.

Across Liberty Street Mr. Barbee owned and lived many years. The next lot was owned by John Pons, where also lived his son-in-law, Jack Butler, a lively jovial Irishman so pleasantly remembered by many. A small house west of this was occupied by different ones, the first remembered being Mrs. Herbert, a school teacher. On the northeast corner of Forsyth and Market stood the court house, and in the court house yard, back from the Street, was the jail. The jail was inclosed by a high brick wall, on top of which was a barbette of broken glass.

Across Market Street, on the northwest corner, was, as now, the Clerk's Office. Next was the dwelling of Mrs. Maxey. On the northeast corner of Forsyth and Newnan was a small building used by William Grothe as a jewelry shop. The post office was in this building for a long time also.

Dr. H. D. Holland's residence was on the opposite corner, stables on the Forsyth Street side and his office on Newnan. A small house stood on the lot west of Dr. Holland's residence, where William Grothe lived, and next to this was a large two-story house occupied at different times by the

Barnards, Crabtrees, Gregorys, Allisons, Hearns, Suttons, and Crespos. On the corner was a dwelling house occupied successively by the Kipps, Flotards, Traceys, Hallidays, and Sandersons.

On the northwest corner of Forsyth and Ocean Mrs. Dewees lived in a large two-story house, and back of her, between Forsyth and Adams, her daughter, Mrs. Poinsett lived, afterward the Kipps, and later the Keils. There were no other houses on Forsyth to Pine Street.

On the northwest corner of Forsyth and Pine was a house occupied by the Donaldsons, later the Thebauts. A small house stood in the middle of the block back from the street, where Jane and Dick, servants of Mrs. Douglas lived. West of here was a fine grove of trees, where barbecues and celebrations of different kinds were sometimes held. Near the northwest corner of Forsyth and the present Hogan Streets was the site of the old Hogans house.

ADAMS STREET, SOUTH SIDE.

Thomas W. Jones built a two-story dwelling on the southeast corner of Adams and Laura in 1850. In 1851, Judge F. Bethune moved from his plantation a few miles up the river and bought this house for a residence. East of this, in the middle of the block, was a smaller house occupied by the Myers family. The southwest corner of Adams and Pine was vacant many years.

The Turknetts lived on the southeast corner of

Adams and Pine. A small house, used principally as a servants' house, stood on the next lot. There was nothing on the southwest corner until after the fire of 1854.

The southeast corner of Adams and Ocean was vacant a long time, the Crespos later building a boarding house at that point. Two houses owned by Mr. Crespo stood here; the first was burned. In the middle of the block were out-buildings used by the Buffington House, which occupied the southwest corner facing Newnan.

Across Newnan, Stephen Fernandez and family lived; afterward Dr. R. P. Daniel. Next was the dwelling of S. N. Williams. There was nothing on the southwest corner of Market for many years.

The Odd Fellows owned the southeast corner of Adams and Market, but the lodge building was on the inside of the lot facing Market. The lower story of this building was used as a school room, the upper story for the lodge. A favorite amusement of the children was listening for the footsteps and bleat of the goat said to live up-stairs, and used by the Odd Fellows for initiation purposes; also, inventing marvelous stories concerning the actions of this goat, the child telling the biggest story being considered the heroine of the day. The corner was inclosed and was used by the children as a play ground. Thence to the southwest corner of Adams and Washington was vacant; here Mr. Pons built at an early date. There was nothing east of this to Hogan's Creek.

ADAMS STREET, NORTH SIDE.

Returning west on Adams Street there was nothing between Hogan's Creek and the northeast corner of Market, where Mr. Fennimore lived. Mrs. Fennimore was the dressmaker for all the belles of that day.

Across Market were the Flemings; next Captain William Ross, and on the corner of Newnan was a boarding house.

On the northwest corner of Adams and Newnan were the Buffington House stables, afterward converted into a boarding house, called the California House. The weather-boarding on this building was placed up and down—an innovation at that day. Next, the Gibsons, man and wife, lived. An unfortunate mistake disrupted this family. A large boarding house in the town burned and Mr. Gibson was accused of setting it on fire. He was threatened with a coat of tar and feathers unless he left the town. He left and never returned. In later years it developed that a careless servant had placed hot ashes too near the building, causing it to catch on fire. Mr. Congar lived on the northeast corner of Ocean and Adams.

The Ledwiths lived across from the Congars, on the northwest corner, not quite on the corner, as that was a fine plum orchard. Next to the Ledwiths was a Spanish family by the name of Ximanes, whose income was derived from fishing,

and the sale of mocking birds to the northern tourists that came here during the winter. The corner of Pine was not occupied, as the land was low and damp.

MONROE STREET.

Columbus Drew, Sr., was really a pioneer when he built his house at the corner of Monroe and Laura in 1851. East of this there were no buildings to the northeast corner of Ocean, the site of the old block house. Here stood a large building used as a hotel, and conducted successively by Mrs. Coy, Creighton, and Mattair. In the opposite block, south side of Monroe Street, inside from the corner, the Presbyterians had a small meeting house, where weekly prayer meetings were held. Judge Lancaster resided on the southwest corner of Monroe and Market, afterwards the Hearns, Suttons, and Garnies.

DUVAL STREET.

The Episcopal church occupied its present site at the head of Market Street. One of the early residences was built at the southeast corner of Duval and Market, and was occupied at different times by J. W. Bryant, Judge Daniel, and others. There were two other churches on Duval Street, one near the northeast corner of Newnan, and the other across the street on the northwest corner. Back of this, north, were the homes of the free negroes, mostly west of Ocean Street. These negroes occupied land belonging to I. D. Hart; this quarter was called "Negro Hill".

CHAPTER XI.

1850-1855.

The first event of importance transpiring after the beginning of the half-century had in view the ultimate beautifying of the city, as it was early in 1850 that the fine oak trees which lined the streets of Jacksonville before the fire of May 3, 1901, were planted. An old negro, April Suarez, set them out under the direction of Dr. A. S. Baldwin and General Thomas Ledwith[1]. In later years these trees were the pride of the city and added wonderfully to its attractiveness.

In 1850, the first circular saw mill ever built in East Florida was erected at the mouth of Pottsburg Creek, and in the following year John Clark built the second circular saw mill, on East Bay Street, near Hogan's Creek. Mr. Clark then added a planing mill, the first in East Florida, and his first large order for planed lumber was for building the Judson House. About 1853-54, there were five or six saw mills at Jacksonville, and as many more in the immediate vicinity. The lumber industry was the principal one here then. A great quantity of live oak timber was exported annually, for use in the construction of vessels[2]. Considerable cotton was brought here for shipment, also, Jacksonville being the shipping point for quite a large territory tributary to the St.

Johns River. These industries put into circulation much money that naturally found its way into all lines of business. Nearly all the merchants were well-to-do, gauged by the standard of that early time. Business was conducted without rancor and with the utmost integrity. Salaries were not what would now be called large, but the cost of living comfortably was within the reach of all—a condition having an important bearing upon the community. Abject poverty was a state unknown, and seldom was a door locked or a window closed out of fear of petty thieving.[3]

CURFEW.

A marshal constituted the police force during the day, and at night two citizens were selected to serve as town watchmen, called the Patrol, corrupted "Pat-role". The duties of the Patrol were principally to arrest negroes found without passes on the streets after 9 p. m. The fire bell was rung promptly at 9 o'clock every night, to notify the negroes to go to their quarters, and if found out after that hour without a written pass, signed by their owners, granting them permission to stay out until a later hour, the hour being always designated, they were locked up for the night and the next morning were taken before the mayor for trial. The negroes corrupted patrol into "patteroller" and in mocking they would sing:[3]

Run, nigger, run, the patteroller'll ketch yer,
Run, nigger, run, 'tis almost day;
I run, an' I run, till I los' my way,
Then I run, an' I run, an' I run my bes',
Till I run my head in a hornet's nes'.

A citizen could be excused from patrol duty upon the payment of $2, but not twice in succession. Every citizen of age, except those specially exempt, such as clergymen, doctors, etc., was subject to this duty. Midnight usually found the patrol slumbering serenely in his home[3].

As punishment for those negroes who were convicted of serious offenses, the whipping post was now and then resorted to with good effect. At rare intervals, the Pillory and Stocks was successfully used for white thieves, and no offender thus punished was ever known to stay in this community afterward[4].

RELATION BETWEEN MASTER AND SERVANT.

The question of master and slave was seldom referred to. The master considered it his duty to protect those who served him, and the servant felt that he was accountable for his master's social position and other responsibilities. The slaves were treated with a consideration and trust without a parallel at this day. The children loved their colored "mammies," and the mammies felt that they were responsible for the obedience of the children, "manners" being held at a premium and duty the first consideration.

The relation between master and slave differed little from that prevailing in other portions of the South before the war—a sincere and confiding affection on one side, and on the other a kind and considerate regulation of the simple lives reposed in the white owner's care. When an entertainment was given by the colored people, it was not at all unusual for the mistress to lend her jewelry to her maid for the occasion, showing plainly the interest taken in the pleasure of the slaves; and in sickness they were provided for and given the best attention. There were, of course, exceptions in both cases[3].

This advertisement, appearing in the Florida News, a local newspaper, is interesting, indicating as it does one method of recovering runaway slaves:

TWENTY-FIVE DOLLARS REWARD.

RUNAWAY in November last my negro woman HANNAH. She is about 5 ft., 7 or 8 inches high, black, no front teeth and about 40 years of age. Hannah has a mother in Newnansville or Tallahassee known by the name of Mary Ann Sanchez, formerly the property of Roman Sanchez of Newnansville. The above reward will be given upon her being lodged in any jail where I can get her or upon being delivered to me at Palatka or Jacksonville.

Louis M.Coxetter.

Jacksonville, June 5, 1852.

The Tallahassee papers will please copy and send their bills to this office.

This same paper contained another item of interest, one that would indicate that the Town Council was composed of citizens serving for the best interest of the community:

PROCEEDINGS OF THE TOWN COUNCIL

Regular Meeting
Council Chamber, August 6, 1852.

Council Met:—Present, His Honor, Henry D. Holland, Intendant*; Messrs. Buffington, Cooper, and Canova, Councilmen.

Mr. Townsend, elected a Councilman to fill the vacancy created by the resignation of Wm. Alsop, appeared for the purpose of taking the oath of office, which was objected to by Councilman Buffington, on the ground of his not possessing the requisite qualifications for the performance of the duties of the office.***

Attest, F. C. BARRETT, Clerk.

TRANSPORTATION.

Railroads and the telegraph had not yet come to Jacksonville. Steam packets ran to Savannah and Charleston, and sailing vessels communicated with the more distant cities and the West Indies. It was almost as customary to talk about Hayti and Martinique then as it is about New York today[3].

Communication with the interior of the State was by means of a stage line to Tallahassee and

*Mayor.

intermediate points. It was a three days' trip, avoided as much as possible, except at court sessions and when the Legislature met. The Central Stage Line ran this advertisement in the Jacksonville paper during the summer of 1852:

CENTRAL STAGE LINE

From Jacksonville to Tallahassee Semi-Weekly.

The proprietor takes pleasure in announcing to the public that he has just placed upon the route a new and splendid FOUR HORSE COACH and that he is prepared to convey passengers through in the shortest possible time. He has relays of the best horses at different points, so that no more time is lost than is necessary for their change. The stage leaves Jacksonville every Sunday and Wednesday afternoon, immediately after the arrival of the steamers from Savannah and returns in time to connect with them on their return trips. These steamers connect with others at Savannah for Charleston and New York, thus affording the travelers from the North and others visiting Tallahassee or interior towns of Florida a speedy transit. A coach connects with this line to and from the White Sulphur Springs in Hamilton County.

FERNANDEZ, BISBEE & CO., Agents.

G. R. Fairbanks describes the stage trip as one of "ups and downs, jolts and bumps; roots lying on the surface, the impact with which would send the unprepared passenger up against the top, or with a painful jerk against the standards. The

weary drag during the long, dark nights, for the hacks kept on night and day, was an experience to be long remembered''. To modify these discomforts, a plank road was projected to Alligator (Lake City), eight miles of which was completed. The plank road began at the intersection of Bay and Newnan Streets, ran north to Monroe, thence to Laura, to Ashley, then west in the direction of ''Cracker Swamp,'' I. D. Hart's plantation. The road was hailed with delight by the citizens, as it furnished the only good drive anywhere near Jacksonville[5]. The people, always suiting some set expression to every innovation, started the slogan, ''Two-forty on a plank''[3]. When the railroad was assured, the plank road construction was abandoned, leaving the stockholders of the enterprise responsible for debts that brought forth many law suits[6].

SMALL-POX EPIDEMIC.

Jacksonville experienced an epidemic of small-pox during the summer of 1853. J. W. Bryant, one of the foremost lawyers in the town, contracted the disease at some place in Georgia, where he had gone on legal business. Upon his return, he was taken sick at the Buffington House, then the fashionable hotel of Jacksonville. Numerous friends visited him before the case was diagnosed as one of small-pox, and therefore the epidemic started among the best people. Those at the Buffington House were the first to take the disease,

and soon afterward sporadic cases began to develop until, finally, the epidemic became general among both white and colored. It was severe and a good many deaths resulted, while those who recovered were in many cases badly pitted[3].

LOCAL CONDITIONS IN THE EARLY FIFTIES.

It is said that some of the merchants were very fond of playing cards, and even during business hours would gather at some retreat for a quiet game. Should a customer appear, a sentinel placed on watch would report, "Mr. So-and-so, some body is going in your store", whereupon the game would be temporarily "called". Whenever children or servants were the purchasers, the store keeper usually gave them a small present, such as a sweet cracker or a piece of candy; this was called "coontra". It has been impossible to trace the derivation of this word, but the custom doubtless originated from the fact that the money divisions in those days were in fractions of a cent, and the small present was given, rather than to consider the fractions in carrying accounts. The silver dollar was the standard, but it was reckoned eight bits, instead of one hundred cents. There were half bits, 6¼; bits, 12½; two bits, 25 cents, and so on. If "coontra" was not given to the negroes it was always asked for by them, but the white children were forbidden by their parents to do so, as it was not considered "good manners".[3]

There were no soda fountains in those days, and it was seldom that ice could be obtained. Ice was brought here from the North in sailing vessels. Lemonade and tamarind water were the most popular "soft" drinks. The tamarind is a species of bean that grows in the West Indies, and from it a sticky substance exudes. The beans were put into a pitcher and hot water poured over them; this concoction was allowed to cool, when the drink was ready for use. It had a semi-acid taste, and was considered very healthful. Drinking water came from wells and cisterns. Rain water, when filtered through an earthern vessel called a "monkey", was considered a great luxury[3].

A whole lot on Bay Street, 105 feet frontage, could be bought for little more than what a front foot of the same property would sell for now. In the spring of 1846, Captain John L'Engle bought for $300 the square bounded on the north by Bay Street, east by Laura, west by Hogan, and south by the river. In August, 1877, William Astor bought the west 52½ feet of this block, running from Bay Street to the river, for $10,000, and the entire block, exclusive of the buildings, is now (1911) worth more than $600,000, the least valuable half lot of the block of three lots having recently sold for $100,000. In 1853, the northwest corner lot at Bay and Market Streets, including a two-story boarding house, was purchased for $2,500; and A. Judson Day, of Maine, bought half the block, west half, between Julia and Hogan

Streets from Forsyth through to the river for $3,000. A year or so later, the northeast corner of Bay and Ocean, where the Guaranty Trust and Savings Bank and other buildings now stand, was sold to Ambler & Hoeg for $3,000. Residence lots a few blocks back from Bay Street that would now bring way up in the thousands sold then for less than $100. Springfield was a wilderness and Riverside a corn field. Between Duval and Beaver Streets, west of Main, was a large pond where flocks of wild ducks congregated in the winter time and furnished good shooting for the sportsmen of Jacksonville. Northwest of Hemming Park, between Forsyth and Church, Clay and Jefferson Streets was a dense swamp, where in places the water stood several feet deep. LaVilla was an island, owing to the course of several small streams that have since been filled in[7].

For the purpose of furnishing water to fight fires with, public wells were dug at the intersection of certain streets. One was located at the intersection of Washington and Forsyth; another at the intersection of Forsyth and Newnan, and a third at Newnan and Adams Streets. Bay Street received its supply from the river. At the ringing of the fire bell, which hung from a tripod over the well at Newnan and Adams Streets, the citizens rushed out and formed into line to pass buckets of water from the nearest well to the burning building. Ladders were kept in rude sheds built on the side of the street near the wells. Usually

one man gave orders. Later, the town bought a sort of fire pump, a crude affair worked by handles on each side, negroes furnishing the motive power. The building material used in Jacksonville at that time was mostly pitch pine[3], very inflammable, and as there was no adequate way of controlling large fires, it was but a question of time when the town would suffer a general conflagration. It came on April 5, 1854.

THE GREAT FIRE OF 1854.

A description of this destructive fire was published on the following day in an "Extra" gotten out by the Florida Republican, a copy of which follows, except that in one or two instances proper names have been corrected[8]:

FLORIDA REPUBLICAN, EXTRA.
Jacksonville, Florida, April 6, 1854.

GREAT AND DISASTROUS CONFLAGRATION

Jacksonville in Ruins.

Seventy Houses Consumed.

Loss over $300,000.

Two printing offices destroyed.

Yesterday at 1 o'clock p. m., the alarm of fire was given in this town and in four hours afterwards all the business portion of the town was in ruins. The

fire originated in S. N. Williams' hay shed, on the wharf, communicated, as is supposed, by a spark from the Charleston steamer "Florida". It extended with astonishing rapidity in every direction, spreading first along the block of stores on the south side of Bay street, between Newnan and Ocean streets; thence communicating with the square opposite on the north which was all consumed; thence with the store of A. M. Reed and the Bank agency adjoining on the west side of Ocean street, which were both destroyed; thence with the square east of Newnan street and fronting on Bay, which contained the large and handsome block known as Byrne's building; nearly the whole square being consumed; at the same time with the buildings on Bay street east of the point at which the fire originated, and of Newnan street, which was at once swept away.

This was principally the course of and the area which has been devastated by the devouring element. The wind was blowing strongly at the time, and caused the course of the fire, at first, to be to the westward by which several private dwellings at the extreme west end of the town, and several stores, Moody's, Holmes's, and Fairbank's mills, and the new hotel of Messrs. Day, were set on fire, but extinguished before any material damage was sustained. Still, the intense heat from the first block was so great that that of itself ignited the squares on the opposite side, and on the east, and the immense amount of goods thrown from the stores along the whole of Bay street, formed from the same cause an immense conflagration of spirits, oil, paints, etc.

By this fire seventy buildings were entirely de-

stroyed. Of these, twenty-three were stores, of the following persons, viz: F. Waver & Co., provisions; C. D. Oak, and Wm. Grothe, jewelers; S. N. Williams, grocer; J. P. Sanderson, dry goods and provisions; Bloodgood & Bouse, do; H. Timanus, do; T. Hartridge, do; J. Mode, dry goods; James Hanham, grocer; Mr. Hernandez, tobacconist; C. DeWaal, auctioneer; L. Capella, fruit store; J. Santo, do; A. M. Reed, dry goods and provisions; M. Keil, do; A. B. Hussey, grocer; Mr. Moore, fruit store; J. L. Hogarth, tinner; Ambler & Hoeg, dry goods and provisions; J. L. Ripley, clothing; J. C. Brown, fruit store; L. B. Amerman, dry goods; T. McMillan, druggist; T. G. Myers, grocer; A. C. Acosta, fruit store; J. B. Howell, grocer; Joseph Hernandez, tailor; C. DeWaal, bakery; Geo. Flagg, jeweler; R. H. Darby, tailor; C. Poetting, boot and shoe maker.

The law offices of Geo. W. Call and G. W. Hawkins and the office of F. C. Barrett, Notary Public, etc., in the Byrne block, were also destroyed, a portion only of their legal and official documents being saved.

The office and warehouse of Mr. Joseph Finegan and the furniture store of L. M. Fulsom, destroyed. McRory's Insurance Agency, office in the Sammis Block, also went by the board, together with a portion of his papers. The Custom-house, Mr. McIntosh's Law office, Capt. Willey's residence, J. Hanham's store and residence, J. Mode's store and elegant residence, as also the law office of P. Frazer, Esq., we note among other buildings destroyed.

The two and only printing offices of the place—the Republican and the News, were consumed, the latter entirely, and but enough of the Republican material

has been gleaned from the harvest of the terrible Reaper to furnish this Extra! We shall order new type and a press however, by the mail for the north tomorrow morning, and hope to be "fully on our feet" again in the course of a month; and in the mean time shall endeavor to issue copies enough of our paper for our exchanges on a foolscap sheet, on an improvised press—our two iron hand presses being utterly wrecked. We therefore throw ourselves upon the indulgence of our advertising and reading patrons "for a little while," being determined not to desert the "burning ship"—being utterly opposed to any species of "ratting". As we are doing advertising for merchants in Charleston and Savannah, we request our contemporaries in those cities to note our situation.

The steamer "Florida" was lying at her wharf at the time of the fire, and drew off into the stream as it progressed; the "Seminole" from Savannah bringing the mail (the Gaston being taken off the line) had passed up the river. Every exertion was made by the citizens, firemen, and even the ladies, who were found here and there lending assistance, to arrest the fire, the negroes also laboring faithfully to do their utmost. But the fire became unmanageable, and as the intense heat extended itself, confusion and exhaustion rendered human exertion less efficient. A portion of the fire apparatus unfortunately fell into a situation which brought it in contact with the flames, and it was lost.

Upon the amount of property lost, it is estimated that one-half is insured, some in New York and New England offices, and some in Georgia. The two

printing offices were insured, our own for a little more than half its value. We lost all the printing paper, and a large quantity of letter, which we had on hand for jobbing. Our "set up" forms have run into a molten mass.

Mr. Andres Canova was severely burnt and is disabled, and Mr. J. C. Hemming was severely stunned and for some time hurt, but he is now better. We regret also that the family of Mr. Philip Frazer, who were ill, were forced to remove.

SCARLET FEVER EPIDEMIC.

This was a period of misfortune for Jacksonville, as a severe epidemic of scarlet fever raged in the town when the fire occurred. There were two versions as to how the fever started here. One is that the infection was introduced by means of a letter written by a lady while holding a baby sick with scarlet fever in her lap[3]. The other is that the nurse one day took little Ally Dell, daughter of Philip Dell, down to the boat yard and it is supposed that the child played with sailors from a vessel lying at the wharf and on which there was a case of scarlet fever. In a few days she was taken desperately ill. Mrs. Mary Turknett nursed this child and it died in her lap. This was in February, 1854. The attending physician diagnosed the case simply as one of fever, but when the little corpse was prepared for burial, scarlet fever symptoms were noticed in the peeling skin. Mrs. Turknett shrouded the body, at the time

wearing a black woolen skirt. When she returned to her home she hung the skirt up in a closet and did not wear it again for nearly a month. Then she wore it, and in a few days scarlet fever broke out in the family.

The disease spread through the town and the type was most malignant. Numbers of persons died, the Turknett family in particular being afflicted, five grown sons dying within a space of eight days, April 2 to 10, two of them on the same day and were buried from the same bier.

REAL SHOT-GUN QUARANTINE.

Thus twice had Jacksonville suffered from diseases introduced from outside sources, so when the yellow fever broke out in Savannah in the summer of 1854, the citizens determined to keep it from coming to this place at all hazards. The authorities prohibited the Savannah steamers stopping or even passing by on their way up the river, as it was thought that the yellow fever might be introduced in that way. Captain Nick King, of the Savannah steamer, carried the mail, and he laughed at the proclamation of the citizens prohibiting the passage of steamers by Jacksonville, and passed by heedless of the warning. A party of citizens then got an old condemned cannon, took it to the river bank at the foot of Catherine Street, and loaded it with a 32-pound shot. About dark the steamer hove in sight coming up the river, close in on the opposite side. When in

line with the pointed cannon, the gun was fired, the ball passing through the forward gang-way of the vessel. The gun was rapidly loaded again, this time with a 6-pound shot, and fired; the ball passed through the cabin, just grazing the neck of a negro who was in the act of lighting a lamp. When it is considered that the muzzle of the gun was kept in place and moved by a hand spike, this was marvelous shooting. The steamer made no more trips until the epidemic at Savannah was declared at an end', and the determination thus displayed by the citizens of Jacksonville in all probability prevented the introduction of the fever in that year.

REBUILDING THE TOWN.

The country at large went through a money panic in 1854. Its effects were felt quite perceptibly in the lumber industry here; but trade was maintained and there was not a failure in business. Amid all the recent set-backs, the people with wonderful energy and a profound faith in the future of Jacksonville set about rebuilding their stores, destroyed in the fire of April 5th. Better buildings were erected, and in many instances substantial brick structures occupied the sites of former wooden shanties. The Judson House was completed in the fall and opened for the accommodation of guests. This was the first really large hotel in Jacksonville.

THE JUDSON HOUSE.

A Judson Day, of Maine, came here and in 1853, decided to erect a first-class hotel. He bought the west half of the block between Hogan and Julia Streets, from Forsyth to the river from J. P. Sanderson for $3,000. He brought mechanics and builders down from Maine, gave the contract for lumber to a local mill, and set to work building the hotel. It was opened in November, 1854, and occupied the site of the present Everett Hotel. It was a wooden building, four stories high, and fronted 136 feet on Bay and 136 feet on Julia; there were 110 guest rooms, spacious parlors, and a dining room 80 feet in length. Broad piazzas ran along the sides. The hotel complete and ready for business cost $125,000. It was burned March 11, 1862, by a mob of men whose identity was never made known. The destruction of the Judson House left Jacksonville without a regular hotel until the St. James was opened on January 1, 1869.

From the earliest time, Jacksonville was what is called "a hotel town." Its fame as a health resort was not long in reaching all parts of the country; people came to spend the winter and accommodations had to be provided for them. John Brady, as we have seen, was the pioneer in the hotel business here. Then Dawson & Buckles entered the field, followed by Joseph Andrews, brother-in-law of I. D. Hart. I. D. Hart built a

large boarding house at the northwest corner of Bay and Market, and this remained a hotel site until the fire of May 3, 1901, the United States Hotel, formerly the Carleton, occupying that corner. Others, too, built houses for the purpose of keeping boarders, but it was not until some time in the 40's, that Jacksonville could boast of a regular hotel. It was erected at the southwest corner of Adams and Newnan Streets, facing Newnan, and was called Wood's Hotel, taking the name of its owner, Oliver Wood. The hotel changed hands in the early 50's, being bought by Samuel Buffington, when its name was changed to the Buffington House. The new owner improved the property and made additions, so that finally it was a house of nearly a hundred rooms. The Buffington House burned in 1859, and was never rebuilt. There were two other hotels here as early as 1852, much smaller than the Buffington, but they were classed as hotels then. They were the Crespo House, southeast corner of Adams and Ocean, and the Coy House, occupying the site of the old block house, northeast corner of Monroe and Ocean. The Crespo burned, but was rebuilt upon the same site. These hotels and the numerous boarding houses furnished accommodations for the tourists until the Judson House was built.

TRADE.

Local trade was maintained largely by furnishing supplies to the mills and loggers; but there

was also an extensive river and back country trade. The river trade was by means of cypress boats and dug-outs. The country trade came in the well-known country cart, sometimes from distances of 60, and occasionally 100 miles, bringing cotton, sugar, syrup, and exchanging for goods[4]. Trains of six-mule teams were maintained regularly between Alligator (Lake City) and Jasper and Jacksonville.

In 1855, the property valuation in Jacksonville was $450,000. The annual exportation of lumber was 25 million feet, but with the exception of the saw mills and stores, and Biggs's blacksmith shop and foundry, there were no very important industries here. There were few sidewalks and the streets were deep sand. Many of the dwellings were unplastered and some had no glass windows. There were a few pianos in the town, but no stoves, and of course none of the modern conveniences. In the winter time when it was cold, fires were kindled in front of the stores; here the men collected and cracked jokes and discussed the questions of the day. Milk was scarce and ice was scarcer. There was a small market house with one stall, open in the early morning. Fish were brought in boats to the shore near the market. The fishermen gave due notice of their arrival by ringing the market bell, when the people would rush down to purchase. Beef sold at 4 to 8 cents a pound and pork at 8 to 10 cents a pound. Vegetables were scarcely ever seen, except collards and sweet potatoes[4].

The only banking house in the town was an agency of the Bank of Charleston, A. M. Reed, agent. Afterward, the Bank of St. Johns was organized at Jacksonville, and at the close of 1860 was one of the two banks in the state doing business under the general banking law[10].

Not much attention was given to flower gardens and grass lawns; most of the residents cut the grass down to the sand to keep snakes from getting into the yards. One of the few places that had a grass lawn in the early days was that of General Thomas Ledwith, corner of Ocean and Adams Streets. It was Bermuda, and certainly looked refreshing in its sandy surroundings. There were very few orange trees in and around the yards, in fact the people gave little attention to them, as they were so thoroughly frozen out in 1835, that every one was disgusted[5].

The schooners that came here then were very small in comparison with those that come now. A cargo of 100,000 feet was considered tremendous. Vessels could not pass over St. Johns bar, even at high tide, drawing more than 10 feet. There were only two mails a week from the North, both by boat, one from Charleston and the other from Savannah[5].

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5 O. L. Keene in Jacksonville Metropolis, December 12, 1908.
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7 This data comes from various sources, all reliable.
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9 Mrs. George S. Wilson.
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CHAPTER XII.

1855-1860.

Two years after the eventful year 1854, found Jacksonville undergoing a steady improvement. Small steamers for the upper St. Johns, and tug boats for towing had been placed on the river. The railroad to western Florida was now assured. Most of the capital invested in these enterprises was subscribed by the citizens. The people were united, and everything that promised to advance the interests of the town was liberally advocated and pushed forward. Building, business, and valuation increased, and a general prosperity was evident everywhere. Travel came both from the State and abroad and school and church membership increased[1]. In the book entitled "History and Antiquities of St. Augustine", published in 1856, was an advertisement by the Jacksonville Board of Trade, of which Dr. Theodore Hartridge was President, setting forth the advantages of Jacksonville and inviting people to come here to live. That we had a Board of Trade prior to the civil war is not generally known; the organization was probably kept up until the beginning of the war.

On November 15, 1856, at 4:30 a. m., fire broke out in a block of wooden buildings on the south side of Bay Street between Pine (Main) and Laura, and was quite destructive. The volunteer firemen

had a difficult time confining the flames to the south side of Bay Street[2].

January 19 and 20, 1857, were the coldest days since the great freeze of 1835. Temperatures of 16 and 18 degrees, respectively, were noted from ordinary thermometers, and if self-registering instruments could have been used, a much lower temperature in all probability would have been recorded. Ice two inches in thickness formed on pools and along the margin of the St. Johns River. People could be seen sliding and trying to skate on the ice[2].

JACKSONVILLE LIGHT INFANTRY.

The Jacksonville Light Infantry was organized April 30, 1857, with the following members:[3]

Captain—Holmes Steele.

Lieutenants—F. C. Sollee, George Flagg, J. C. Buffington.

Sergeants—William Grothe, S. B. Flinn, William Houston, H. W. Fitch, A. W. DaCosta.

Corporals—T. R. Webb, S. Buffington, Jr., C. H. Collins, L. Warrock.

Privates—P. Brennan, W. E. Livingston, Watson Ashurst, Byron E. Oak, J. C. Houston, R. R. Rushing, William Caulk, S. Forbes Doggett, Frank Smith, D. P. Smith, L. I. Fleming, J. G. Butler, E. Aubert, W. Haddock, P. H. Talle, C. C. Aberle, W. A. DuPont, F. Depue, J. I. Winter, O. L. Keene, E. A. Oak, J. D. M. Shad, F. B. Papy, H. M. Moody, Aristides Doggett, J. Y. Wilson, A. A.

Ochus, F. G. Hirtler, W. W. Moore, J. Burkheim.

Soon after the organization, J. J. Daniel, T. E. Buckman, and others joined the company. The first street parade was held July 4, 1859, when the company marched to East Jacksonville about where Florida Avenue is now, and had target practice for two hours. The armory was then in a hall in a frame building that stood on the north side of Bay Street, between Hogan and Julia. O. L. Keene, one of the charter members, said: "We had handsome uniforms—coats of blue cloth with three rows of brass buttons down the front, high caps with pon-pons, pants of blue cloth, and white pants for warm weather. In May, 1860, the ladies of the town presented us with a silk flag, made by themselves, and we paraded the streets, as we felt very proud of our beautiful new flag."

The company served through the war as Company A., Third Florida Infantry, mostly with the Army of the Tennessee; it surrendered with General Johnston's army. At the surrender the company was disbanded. Afterwards, July 30, 1875, there was an attempt to reorganize it, but not a great deal of enthusiasm was manifested, and it was not until 1880, when a strikers' riot broke out at Clark's mill and the men were called out to put it down, that a thorough re-organization took place. The Jacksonville Light Infantry was re-organized September 20, 1880, with W. B. Young as captain[4].

YELLOW FEVER EPIDEMIC OF 1857.

In the early part of the summer of 1857, an epidemic of yellow fever raged at St. Marys, Ga., and from that place it was brought to Jacksonville in August, it was said later by Nathan Vaught. Mr. Vaught's house stood on a bluff just east of the intersection of Bay and Bridge Streets, and it was there that the epidemic started[6]. That locality was never considered very healthful; McCoy's Creek near-by was a dirty, stagnant stream, and much of the land in the vicinity was low, marsh land. The summer was described as hot and murky, with frequent rains and much decaying vegetable matter. It is a noted fact that three crops of weeds grew during the season, and some people tried to connect this unusual circumstance with the spread of the fever[5]. In these surroundings the disease gained a foot-hold. The McFalls lived near the Vaughts and soon took the fever; then it spread to the Currys living close by on the bank of McCoy's Creek. In the mean time some of the other residents, both men and ladies, hearing of the distress out there (that section was considered out of town then) went to nurse the sick[6]. In this way the contagion spread through the town. Most of the people left, and there was an entire suspension of business. But one store remained open—a drug store conducted by Dr. E. P. Webster. Dr. Webster kept his store open all during the epidemic and dispensed medicines gratuitously to those who did not have the means to pay[1].

During the period of the disease the streets were deserted and grew up in grass. The steamers did not stop here and the town was isolated from the rest of the world. Doctors and clergymen courageously remained and those of the residents that stayed ministered to and nursed the sick night and day and buried the dead. Clothing and food were freely dispensed to those in need. Never were a people more sympathetic and generous. Fortunately there came an early frost (on October 26th, and on November 20th the temperature fell to freezing). There were 127 deaths, a fearful death rate, when it is considered that not more than 600 people had the fever[4]. An idea of the malignity of the disease may be gained from the mortality in the Mott family, composed of twelve members, eleven of whom died, only the old grandmother surviving. The Turknett family, that had suffered so severely in the scarlet fever epidemic of 1854, lost two more members by yellow fever. Numbers of our best citizens met death upon the altar of brotherly love. The grave stones in the old city cemetery bear mute witness to the terrible visitation.

Some of the ignorant persons looked upon the spread of the disease with reverential fear and considered it a visitation of The Almighty[5]. Others thought it was due to the excavation being made for the railroad through wet and marshy land, thus exposing the freshly dug soil to the hot and sultry weather, thereby causing a malari-

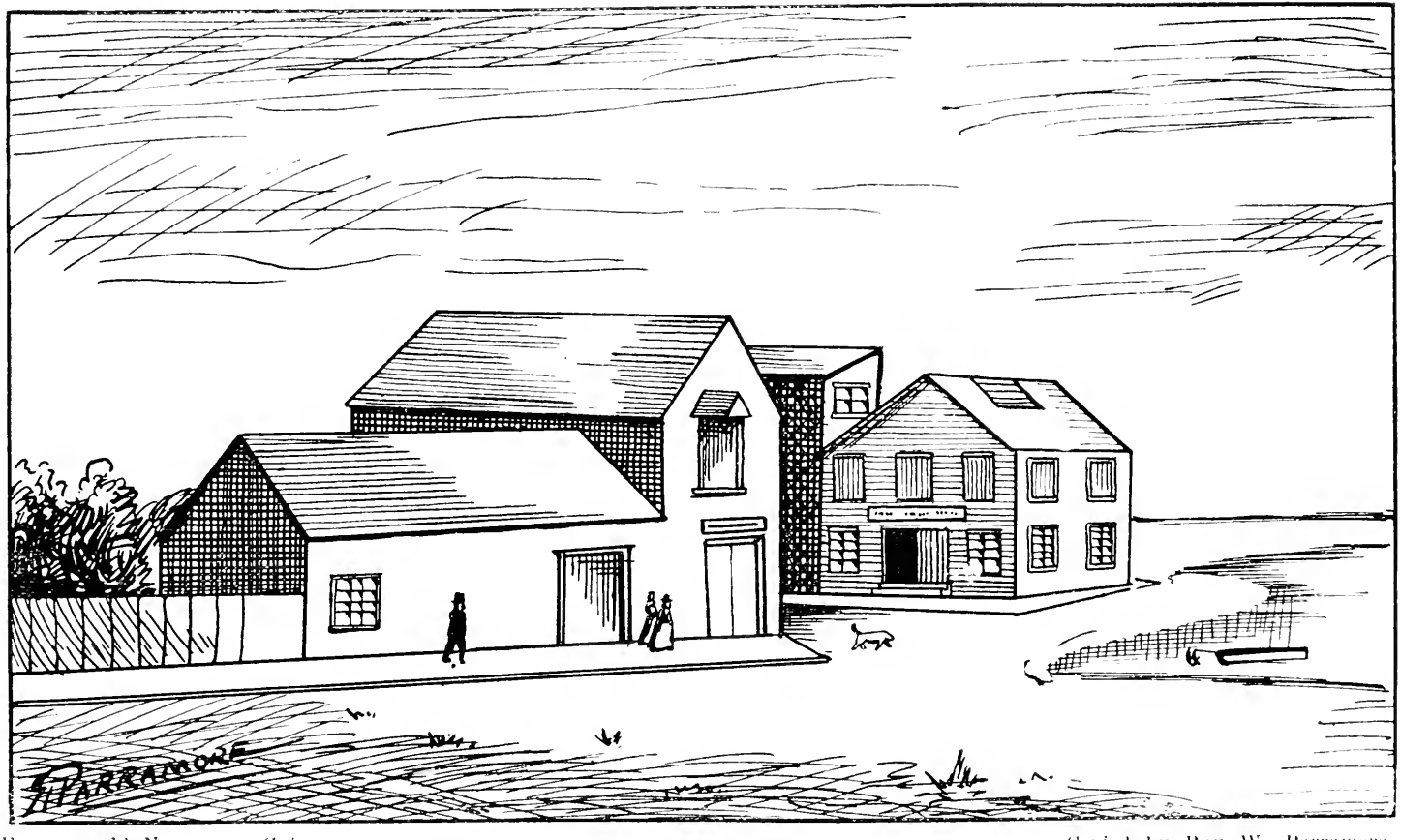
ous atmosphere. Still others advanced the idea that it might have originated at the old market, and cautioned the authorities to permit nothing that might be detrimental to the public health to exist there, especially in hot weather. But there was a pathetic feeling of dread and doubt common to all in regard to the proper treatment of the fever and the best method by which to combat its spread[1].

GENERAL TOWN IMPROVEMENTS.

With the cold weather, the residents began to return, and in the course of time the conditions that had existed before the epidemic were resumed. During the three following years, trade and commerce increased. The lumber industry had thoroughly recovered from the depression of 1857, and a succession of good crop years placed every thing upon the high-road of prosperity[1].

In 1858, there were built here a large barque, called the American Eagle, and a schooner, the Martha. The Martha was lost at sea in May, 1876. What became of the American Eagle is not known[3].

New wharves and business houses were built, as were residences of a better class than had previously existed. Streets were opened and extended, and there was a general improvement in walks and roads. The city was governed without paid officials, only the marshal receiving fees for his services, and taxation was not burdensome[1].



From an old Newspaper Cut. Copied by Ray W. Parramore.

CORNER OF BAY AND OCEAN STREETS IN 1842

GAS WORKS.

In 1859, the first gas works were built on East Bay Street, near Hogan's Creek. A Mr. Waterhouse, of New Jersey, was the originator and prime mover of the enterprise. The gas was made of resin, and fulfilled all the requirements of that day[4]. After the civil war, H. H. Hoeg conducted the gas works, the price of gas at that time being $8 a thousand. Out of this organization grew the present Jacksonville Gas Company.

FIRST TELEGRAPH.

The first telegraph line from Jacksonville was built in 1859, to Baldwin, where it connected with the Cuban line and with the North[1].

FIRST RAILROAD.

A book could be written on the subject of the early railroad projects in Florida; how a few progressive and far-seeing men labored with the Legislature, both Territorial and State, for the passage of railroad legislation; how laws were made, repealed, and made again; about the land grant inducements for railroad construction; how seemingly insurmountable obstacles were met with and overcome; and finally, when construction actually commenced, how slowly it progressed, inches on the map representing years of difficulty. All this collated and published would make fascinating reading.

In the 40's, a survey was made for a railroad from Jacksonville to Cedar Keys, and another from Jacksonville to the Suwanee River. With this matters were allowed to rest, and in the mean time powerful opposition developed with the organization of a company, of which David Levy Yulee was the acknowledged head, to build a railroad from Fernandina to Cedar Keys. Yulee successfully carried out his plans, and the road proposed from Jacksonville to Cedar Keys was abandoned[7]. The citizens of Jacksonville were not the kind to become discouraged, however, and in 1852, largely through the efforts of Dr. A. S. Baldwin, a company was organized to build a railroad from Jacksonville to Lake City, then called Alligator.[8]

JACKSONVILLE'S FIRST BONDS.

To carry on the work of building the railroad, the town was bonded in 1857, for $50,000. These were the first bonds issued by the town of Jacksonville. After the war many cities and towns in the South, finding it impossible to meet their obligations, sought to evade them by repudiation. This question came up in Jacksonville in connection with the railroad bonds of 1857, but the citizens, impoverished as they were, elected to carry the issue.

The name of the railroad was the Florida, Atlantic and Gulf Central. Grading began at this end of the line during the summer of 1857, and the road was completed to Alligator March 13, 1860.

On the 15th of that month, the railroad gave the people of Jacksonville an excursion to Alligator. The locomotive that pulled the train was called "Jacksonville". Many people took advantage of the opportunity, and some of them for the first time in their lives rode on a railroad train. The Lake City people gave them a barbecue and a good time in general. On the 21st of March, an excursion came here from Lake City. The visitors were hospitably welcomed with speeches, and a barbecue prepared in what was then a fine oak grove where the Barnett National Bank now stands, corner Forsyth and Laura Streets. A pleasing ceremony also took place at the Judson House, when Miss Louisa Holland, of Jacksonville, and Miss Ives, of Lake City, with pitchers mingled the waters of the St. Johns River with those of Lake DeSoto[9], near Lake City.

A railroad engine was a new thing to most of the people here, and when it first came to Jacksonville a large crowd assembled to examine its mechanism and to discuss its merits pro and con. The engineer, having a keen sense of humor, suddenly released the escape valve and pulled the whistle cord. Instantly there was a wild scramble, many believing that the engine was about to blow up. The incident caused much merriment and was discussed for quite a while afterward[6].

The civil war played havoc with the railroad. Sections of the track between Jacksonville and Baldwin were torn up and replaced, alternately,

by the Confederates and the Federals. Some of that old railroad iron found its way to the shipyards and was used in the construction of ironclads[1].

AURORA OF 1859.

On September 2, 1859, from midnight to 4 a. m., a fine auroral display was observed by the citizens of Jacksonville. At times it was very bright and red, occupying the northern heavens from northwest around to northeast and east. Streamers would be sent up from different points almost to the zenith, then fade away and flicker up again. At 3 a. m. the whole heavens shone with a brilliant red light, even the south was quite red. The more ignorant people were very much frightened, and many amusing incidents were told of how the negroes began to pray, thinking that the end of the world was at hand[2].

There appears to have been a period of special auroral frequency from 1870 to 1882. More or less pronounced auroral displays were observed in Jacksonville on September 24 and October 14 and 25, 1870; February 4, 1872; June 4, 1877; and on November 17, 1882, there was a well-marked display that attracted general attention.

JUST PRIOR TO THE WAR.

In the years 1850 to 1860, the town doubled its population; the census of 1860 gave more than 2,000 inhabitants. During 1860, there was no

cessation of business. Travel and the mails increased; likewise the telegraph business. Steamers and other vessels came and departed regularly. But with the mutterings of the coming trouble a nervous tension found its way into every occupation. The public mind drifted into political, rather than into commercial channels. Groups of men would collect on the streets and discuss the grave questions of the day. News of the attack on Fort Sumter at once suspended all business with the North and the mills, with one exception, closed down. Then the mails ceased coming, and the town began gradually to subside into inactivity[1], only soon to be drawn into the whirlpool of war.

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CHAPTER XIII.

LIFE IN JACKSONVILLE BEFORE THE WAR.*

A large percentage of the citizens were men of ability and fine education, some of them being specialists in their professional lines. Given to entertaining among themselves, and the "strangers within their gates", they formed a distinct set where culture and refinement were the dominant characteristics, thus creating a social condition that was morally healthful and uplifting. Cooking and serving were done entirely at home, by servants trained in the art for generations. Domestic service was then free from nomadic annoyance; therefore the ease and pleasures of entertaining were far greater than at the present day.

The chief amusements were dinner parties, cards, and dancing. Besides the old-fashioned square dances, reels, etc., graceful Spanish dances and gliding waltzes were indulged in. All danced, the matron as well as the maid; grandmothers could be seen dancing with their grandsons. No dance was ever given without the patronage of married people—this was a strict social requirement. Marcellini, an old Spanish negro, was the chief functionary at all the dances, as it was his

*A composite description, as given by prominent old residents.

"fiddle and bow" that furnished the music, the mention of which caused one lady to exclaim, "Sweet memories of happy days are revived with the thought of Marcellini and his dancing fiddle", while another says in verse:

I see him yet, his rolling eyes, his scanty woolen hair,
His swaying form, his conscious pride, his almost lordly air,
When all the white folks waiting stood, till he would draw his bow;

* * * *

And when he touched the familiar notes, the sober and the staid,
Just felt the music in their heels, when Marcellini played.

Picnics in the summer-time and oyster roasts in the winter were pleasures that all could partake of. Camping for several days on the river bank, called "marooning", was a popular pastime. A period of moonlight nights was generally selected for marooning, so that moonlight water parties might be an attendant feature. Music was on hand to be sure, and the soft, mellow notes of the guitar were certain to be heard out on the river as some youth sang the popular ballad of that day:

Lightly row, lightly row, as o'er the dancing waves we go;
Smoothly glide, smoothly glide, out on the silent tide.

Let the winds and waters be, mingled with our melody,
Lightly row, lightly row, for music's voice is low.
Gently with the sea-bird's note, let our dying music float,
Lightly row, l-i-g-h-t-l-y r-o-w.

There was serenading by groups of young men, who would visit the home of some popular person and with music and songs entertain the household for half an hour or so, those within in the mean time preparing refreshments for the serenaders. Frequently the presence of some "love-sick" person would be evinced by the notes of his guitar, as he stood singing softly outside the home of his "lady-love". More boisterous was the custom of charivari, or "shiveree," a hideous clamor of tin pans, horns, whistles, and other disagreeable noises, indulged in outside the home of a newly married widow or widower. The hilarious amusement always provoked anger on the part of the groom, but it would not cease until the participants were refreshed with cake and wine.

This lightness, vivacity, love of pleasure, marks clearly the impress of the Spanish character upon the community.

The English occupation also left some of its staunch, staid customs, such as strict attendance upon the church services; financial provision for the future; propriety the requirement of society's

inner circle; and a rigid obedience to set customs, a disregard of them being considered an evidence of ill-breeding.

All forms of affliction met with the profoundest sympathy. Notice of funerals was written on a sheet of letter paper through which a wide black ribbon was inserted, and taken from house to house by a servant, attendance being considered a mark of respect for the living, as well as for the dead. There were no trained nurses and it devolved upon some member of the family, usually the mother or oldest daughter, to perform such duties in case of sickness. When members of a household were unable to provide the necessary attention for its sick, neighbors volunteered. It was nothing out of the ordinary for those occupying the highest social position to nurse the lowly and humble night and day, or to shroud the dead. Sorrow and sickness obliterated the social boundary line and affliction became public property. No hearse and undertaker were in the town then, but Sam Reed, a venerable colored man, and his mule, John, performed the duties of burying the dead, in addition to doing all the draying for Jacksonville.

Public out-of-door functions, barbecues, patriotic celebrations, and the like were of frequent occurrence. Every town improvement, or the inauguration of anything that had as its object the public weal, met with immediate popular favor, and the occasion was usually made one of public celebration, with speech-making and a grand, good

time for all. Such a thing as a circus coming to town was sufficient to cause unbounded enthusiasm, and the songs and jokes could be heard on the streets long after its departure. "I bet my money on the bob-tail nag, somebody bet on the bay", was a circus echo that lingered a long time.

Another phase of life in Jacksonville before the war was a modified form of its border-day existence, for in connection with the liking for fun and frolic was also a liking for strong drink. The grog-shop center was at the northwest corner of Bay and Newnan Streets, then the business center of the town. Could the history of that locality in those days be written, the record would not be free from bar-room brawls, with now and then an altercation of a more serious character. These troubles were not confined to the turbulent element of the community, for often young men of the very best families would be implicated. Whether the wave of religious enthusiasm that swept over Jacksonville in the 50's was brought about by this state of wildness is not recorded, but it is a fact that protracted religious meetings were held day and night for weeks, when fervent prayers were offered for the salvation of the "sinful wine drinkers".

The reckless, romantic sort of life led by the young men was but a natural condition of those times; but they were gentlemen with it all. That species of ruffian that stands on the street corners and with impudent familiarity seeks to attract the

attention of girls and ladies was unknown before the war, for these tactics would then have brought a coat of tar and feathers. Men seldom spoke disparagingly of ladies, as to do so meant serious consequences. Personal bravery was a dominant characteristic, and an insult was sure to result in trouble. Cursing had not become so popular, and profanity was seldom heard. When the old people talk about those times forever gone, they make it plain that many of the corroding influences of modern life had no counterpart in the "happy days before the war".

In general, the people were kind-hearted, generous, and hospitable. They were happy and contented, with a profound fondness for recreation and pleasure; yet they were sympathetic and patient under affliction, and at all times were united in the interest of the town's improvement. The community was prosperous, and the citizens were possessed of a business judgment and sagacity that enabled them to overcome seemingly insurmountable obstacles, and to provide bountifully for the present, as well as to accumulate for the future.

CHAPTER XIV.

THE CIVIL WAR.

Florida seceded from the Union January 10, 1861, whereupon the Jacksonville Light Infantry, Captain Holmes Steele, offered its services to the Governor of Florida, and was the first company accepted by the State[1]. It was ordered to the mouth of the St. Johns River, to erect fortifications at that point. A detachment was sent to St. Augustine for four 32-pound guns at old Fort San Marco. These cannon were put on log carts and hauled to the beach below Mayport, to a high sand dune at the mouth of the "run", where they were placed in a fortification constructed by the company under the direction of Captain John L'Engle, a retired United States army officer. This fort was named Fort Steele, in honor of Captain Steele. The Jacksonville Light Infantry was ordered to Fort Steele in detachments until April, when all were ordered there[2].

The "long roll" was sounded but once at Fort Steele. One night the sentinel observed an object coming in that he thought was a launch from a Federal gunboat. He gave the alarm, and the company was hastily drawn up on the beach to repel the invader, but it proved to be a pile of brush floating in with the tide[2].

When the Jacksonville Light Infantry was mus-

tered into the Confederate service the following August, the post at the mouth of the river was abandoned.

The Second Florida Infantry was mustered into the Confederate service at Jacksonville, July 13, 1861. Among the companies comprising this regiment was the St. Johns Grays, of Duval County, commanded by Captain J. J. Daniel. This regiment with the First Florida Infantry filled the first call of the Confederate government from Florida. It left Jacksonville for Virginia by rail, July 15, 1861, and was accorded ovations at many places along the route, especially at Savannah and Petersburg. An authority says: "They were watched, as they departed, with a strange exaltation of soul, and the tears of affection were mingled with the proud anticipation of martial honors. Flowers were showered upon them by fair hands at many places on the way; banners waved, and the cheers of ardent patriotism helped assuage the pain of the recent farewell to home and kindred'"[1]. The Second Florida participated in most of the battles of the Army of Northern Virginia, fought bravely, and was frequently complimented by the generals of the army.

In response to a call for two additional regiments, the Third and the Fourth Florida Infantry were mustered in, the Third Florida, including the Jacksonville Light Infantry, Captain Holmes Steele, on August 10, 1861; ten companies comprised the regiment[1]. The Third Florida served

through the war, and fought with distinction, mostly with the Army of the Tennessee; it surrendered with General Joseph E. Johnston's army at the close of the war.

MAYOR'S PROCLAMATION.

Early in March, 1862, rumors reached Jacksonville that a Federal expedition, with a large number of troops, was about to embark for the occupation of this town. The mayor then published this proclamation, for the information of the citizens[3]:

TO THE CITIZENS OF JACKSONVILLE.

Fellow Citizens:

In the present trying crisis, much thought and anxious inquiry have been devoted by the City Council, the citizens, and several of our friends from the country, including Gen. S. R. Pyles and Staff, to ascertain and determine what, under all the circumstances, is best to be done, and will best promote the safety, comfort, and happiness of the people.

On yesterday evening, a portion of the City Council held an interview with Gen. Pyles and his Staff, and after full discussion and patient deliberation, it was unanimously determined that inasmuch as all the Confederate troops, arms, and munitions of war upon the St. Johns river and in East and South Florida generally are to be abandoned, it is useless to attempt a defense of the City of Jacksonville, and therefore upon the approach of the enemy it should be surrendered. This having been decided upon as the sound and proper course

to be pursued, Col. M. Whit Smith suggested that the Mayor should make it known to the citizens by proclamation and this suggestion being fully concurred in by all present,

I therefore, in conformity thereto, make known to you that all defenses will be immediately withdrawn from the city and the St. Johns river and no military force will be kept on duty, except for Police purposes, and such force will be supplied by details drawn from our citizens.

I advise and earnestly admonish our citizens to remain at their homes and pursue their usual avocations, and I call upon all good citizens to give their aid and counsel for the preservation of good order throughout the entire community. It is the opinion of our most experienced and intelligent citizens (and I think a correct one) that if the enemy meet with no resistance, private property will be respected, and unarmed citizens will be allowed to pursue their usual occupations. I trust, therefore, that our whole population will act with becoming prudence, and that no unnecessary provocation may be given that may furnish a reason for violence from any quarter; and if after we have offered no resistance and given no just provocation, violence should be committed, the whole blame will rest on the aggressors. Every citizen able to perform police duty is hereby required to hold himself in readiness to go on duty, upon receiving notice from the Chief of Police.

H. H. Hoeg,
Mayor.

March 7, 1862.

This proclamation not only did not produce the desired effect, but on the other hand greatly intensified the alarm. The residents were panic-stricken, and two or three days later, when news was received that Fernandina had been occupied by Federal troops, all the Southern sympathizers who could go away left Jacksonville. Business along all lines was entirely suspended. The one railroad out of the town was taxed to its utmost capacity, carrying refuges to Lake City and other points in the interior of Florida. Others left with their belongings in wagons, some of them, women and children, having no destination and guided and protected only by faithful servants. A recital of the hardships that many of these women and children suffered during the next few years would soften the most callous heart. Numbers of them found refuge with relatives or friends in the interior, but there were some who suffered terrible hardships and were subjected to all the horrors incident to war[4].

When the city offices were closed the city and county records were secretly buried for safe-keeping. After the war, when these records were exhumed, it was found that they were practically worthless because of illegibility due to decay[5].

FIRST FEDERAL OCCUPATION[6].

Four Federal gunboats, Seneca, Pembina, Ottawa, and Isaac Smith, and two transports of Commodore DuPont's squadron, crossed St. Johns

bar March 11, 1862, and anchored in the river. On the same day the Confederates came to Jacksonville, and under orders from the commander of the district, General Trapier, burned all the mills, except one (Scott's), and 4,000,000 feet of lumber. Mr. Scott saved his mill by raising the British flag over it. They also burned the foundry, and a gunboat on the ways. But this was not all. That night a mob of men composed of refugees from Fernandina and Jacksonville came in and from pure malignity fired the Judson House and two or three other buildings in the town[7].

The next day, March 12th, the Federal squadron came up the river and anchored off Jacksonville. The capitulation of the town is described by a resident, Frederick Lueders, in the Immigration Edition of the Industrial Record (Jacksonville) of July, 1907, as follows:

"One day (March 12th), as I was standing on the river bank at the foot of Laura Street, I saw four gunboats come steaming up the river and drop anchor off the foot of Pine (Main) Street. I was getting pretty well scared, when the thought flashed through my head, 'If they bombard Jacksonville, it will be nothing short of murder'. At that time I happened to have a stick in my hand, and noting the guns were turned toward Jacksonville, I took out my handkerchief, tied it to the stick, and waved it vigorously over my head. The commander of the fleet saw the peace signal and with his aides came ashore. Upon landing,

I told him the existing circumstances and begged him not to open fire upon the town. He said he would not, and for me to go on board. After I had explained that I was the only officer in the town (he was sheriff) he requested me to sign the surrender papers, which I did. He said his mission here was one of peace and that he hoped Florida would not suffer the havoc of war. Upon my return I found to my surprise that troops had been landed and pickets were out''.

It was six companies of the Fourth New Hampshire Regiment, under the command of Colonel T. J. Whipple, that Mr. Lueders found in possession of Jacksonville. The occupation was quietly performed on March 12th. The Confederate troops were encamped in the vicinity of Baldwin, but they were more or less disorganized and poorly equipped, and they made no attempt at contesting the landing of the Federal forces here.

The original plan of the Federal expedition was to occupy Jacksonville for only a few hours, for the purpose of reconnaissance; but the representations of the ''loyal'' residents of the town caused Colonel Whipple to abandon the idea of immediate evacuation. Pickets were stationed and the troops went into camp or were quartered in the vacant buildings. On March 19th, General T. W. Sherman* (U. S. A.), commander of the department, arrived. He came for the purpose of personally

*Do not confound with W. T. Sherman.

acquainting himself with the situation here, and in his report he stated that the act of Colonel Whipple in regularly occupying Jacksonville was a wise one.

In the mean time, the Confederate troops in the vicinity of Baldwin, under the command of Colonel W. S. Dilworth, were recruiting and otherwise preparing to resist any attempt of the Federals to march into the interior of the State.

PROCLAMATION OF THE LOYAL CITIZENS.

As soon as Jacksonville was thoroughly in the hands of the Union army, a meeting of the "Loyal Citizens of the United States", was held, at 10:30 a. m., March 20, 1862, C. L. Robinson, chairman; O. L. Keene, secretary; John S. Sammis, S. F. Halliday, John W. Price, Philip Frazer, and Paran Moody, being the committee appointed to draft resolutions to lay before said meeting. The following is a true copy of these resolutions*:

> We, the people of the city of Jacksonville and its vicinity, in the county of Duval, and the State of Florida, embraced within the territory and jurisdiction of the United States of America, do hereby set forth our declaration of rights and our solemn protest against the abrogation of the same by any pretended State or other authority.
>
> First. We hold that government is a contract, in which protection is the price of allegiance; that when

*War of the Rebellion—Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies, Series 1, Vol. VI, Page 251-252.

protection is denied, through weakness or design, allegiance is no longer due.

Second. We hold that an established form of government cannot be changed or abrogated except by the will of the people, intelligently and willingly expressed and fairly ratified.

Third. We hold that no State of the United States has any legal or constitutional right to separate itself from the government and jurisdiction of the United States.

Fourth. We hold that the act of the Convention of the State of Florida commonly known as the ordinance of secession, is void, being in direct conflict with the Constitution of the United States, in never having been submitted to the people for ratification.

Fifth. We hold that the State of Florida is an integral part of the United States, subject to the constitutional jurisdiction of the same, and we have reason to believe that thousands of her citizens would hail with joy the restoration of the Government, bringing deliverance from the terrors of unrestrained popular and military despotism. We solemnly protest against all the acts and ordinances of the Convention of the State of Florida, which were designed to deprive us of our rights as citizens of the United States. We protest against the despotism fostered by the State and other authorities claiming jurisdiction over us, which has denied us the rights most dear to freemen—freedom of speech and a free press. We protest against the exactions which have been imposed upon us—forced contributions of money, property, and labor; enlistments for military service procured by threats and

misrepresentations. We protest against the tyranny which demands of us as a measure of revolutionary policy abandonment of our homes and property and exposure of our wives and children to sickness, destitution, gaunt famine, innumerable and untold miseries and sorrows. We protest against that mad and barbarous policy which has punished us for remaining in our own homes by sending a brutal and unrestrained soldiery to pillage and burn our property, threaten and destroy our lives. We protest against the denunciation of the governor, who threatens to hang us because we do not tamely submit to such indignities and "lick the hand just raised to shed our blood." From such a despotism and from such dangers and indignities we have been released by the restoration of the Government of the United States, with the benign principles of the Constitution. The reign of terror is past. Law and order prevail in our midst.

It belongs now to the citizens of the State who hold to their allegiance to the United States to raise up a State government according to those provisions of the State which are not in conflict with or repugnant to the provisions of the United States:

Be it therefore resolved, That we adopt the foregoing protest and declaration of rights, and recommend that a convention of all loyal citizens be called forthwith, for the purpose of organizing a State government of the State of Florida.

Be it further resolved, That the chief of the military department of the United States be requested to retain at this place a sufficient force to

maintain order and protect the people in their persons and property.

PHILIP FRAZER, Chairman.

A true copy of the resolutions as passed at said meeting and adopted as their own act.

C. L. ROBINSON,
Chairman,
O. L. KEENE,
Secretary.

On the same day, General Sherman issued a proclamation to the "Loyal People of East Florida", confirming and commending the foregoing resolutions and stating that the troops of the United States "had come amongst you to protect loyal citizens and their property from further molestation by the creatures of a rebel and usurped authority, and to enable you to resuscitate a Government which they have ruthlessly endeavored to destroy", etc. Another meeting of the loyal citizens was held on the 24th of March and a committee of five was appointed to take steps toward obtaining the co-operation of other counties in the State in the effort to organize a state government under the jurisdiction of the United States. To this end a convention was called to meet at Jacksonville on April 10, 1862.

In the afternoon of March 24th, General H. G. Wright and the 97th Pennsylvania regiment arrived, General Wright assuming command of the troops in Jacksonville. The Confederates had by this time moved nearer the town and occupied

a position at McGirt's Creek, about 10 miles west in the direction of Baldwin. On the night of March 24th, a Federal picket of two men that had gone beyond the lines was captured, and at 3 a. m. March 25th, the Confederates attacked a picket at the old brick yard in West LaVilla, killing four and capturing three of them. Lieutenant Strange (C. S. A.) was mortally wounded here. This evidently was the first blood of the war spilled in this vicinity.

On the night of March 27th, a Federal picket fired upon a party approaching them in what they conceived a suspicious manner, and of the two in advance, one was killed and the other wounded. They proved to be a party of negroes that had escaped from their masters at Lake City. The next day, General Wright, hearing that the Confederates were contemplating an attack upon Jacksonville, sent to Fernandina for two sections of Hamilton's battery. Its arrival brought the Federal force in Jacksonville up to 1,400 men. No attack was made, however, and a few days later the evacuation of the town was ordered.

THE EVACUATION.

General Wright, in his official report, describes the evacuation as follows:

> On the 7th (April, 1862) preparations for withdrawing were begun by embarking the public stores, and on the 8th, at 12 noon, the troops were marched

> on board and the embarkation was completed by 2 p. m. the same day. Owing to the heavy wind which had sprung up during the morning, it was impossible to get all the transports clear of the wharf until near sunset—too late to move safely very far down the intricate channel of the river that night—and it was therefore determined to lay off the town until morning. This I was more willing to do, as it took from our movement all appearance of a hasty retreat. At 6 a. m. of the 9th, the transports, convoyed by the gunboats, proceeded down the river.

It is said that General Wright notified the Confederates of the intended evacuation and requested them to resume their occupation of the town, whereupon a detachment of the First Florida calvary rode in and stood on the wharf watching the gunboats sail away.

The evacuation of Jacksonville by the Federal forces was unfortunate for "loyal" citizens, the bona-fide ones as well as for those who, supposing the occupation would be permanent, sought to further their personal interests by disclaiming all connection with the Southern cause and remained within the Union lines. When it became known that the town was to be evacuated, the greatest excitement prevailed among the people; their principal desire now was to get out of Jacksonville, for fear of vengeance. The morning of April 8th was very hot. There was the greatest confusion, as the people hurriedly tried to get their goods, furniture, and valuables on board of

the transports[8]. They embarked with the Federal fleet and were carried to Fernandina and quartered in the vacant buildings there. Most of them had to rely on rations issued from the United States stores.

Just before the evacuation, General Wright was directed by the general commanding the department, T. W. Sherman, to issue the following notice:

HEADQUARTERS THIRD BRIGADE.

Jacksonville, Fla., April 7, 1862.

(NOTICE). In accordance with an order issued by the general commanding the Department of the South the troops will be withdrawn from this place, and I am directed by him to notify the people of Jacksonville that it is his intention to have all the aid and protection afforded the loyal inhabitants of the interior of Florida that is practicable for the security of their persons and property, and for the punishment of outrages, and that he holds all persons in that vicinity responsible for the preservation of order and quiet, being fully determined that any outrages upon persons or property contrary to the laws and usages of war shall be visited fourfold upon the inhabitants of disloyal or doubtful character nearest the scenes of any such wrongs, when the actual or known perpetrators cannot be discovered.

The undersigned trusts that inasmuch as the unoffending citizens of this place have been treated with the utmost forbearance by our forces, it will

not be necessary to carry out the intention in the last clause of the above notice.

H. G. WRIGHT,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

General Wright himself was a gentleman as well as a soldier. His correspondence with Colonel W. G. M. Davis (C. S. A.) indicates this, when he says:

The policy of removal from Jacksonville of such persons as may desire to leave our lines to join their families or to reside in the interior of the State will be continued and on application to these headquarters such permission will be granted as will carry them safely beyond our lines. We do not propose to wage war upon women and children, nor upon quiet unoffending citizens, but on the contrary have done all in our power for the protection of their persons and property. In announcing this policy I have to express the hope that it will be reciprocated by yourself in permitting the free return to Jacksonville of such persons as may desire to come back to their homes. I desire further to say that the forces under my command are instructed to carry on all operations according to the rules of civilized warfare, and that any outrages upon unarmed or unoffending citizens will be punished to the full extent of the law. From the representations made to me of your character as an officer and a gentleman, I am sure you will be governed by a similar spirit.

General Wright had been in Jacksonville before. It was he that made the survey of St. Johns bar in 1853, and advanced the idea of overcoming the difficulties by means of a single pier or jetty across the bar. We may assume that he knew many of our citizens personally, and when, as a war measure, he was in military control of the town, that property here did not suffer during his occupation.

The following is the report of Colonel W. S. Dilworth (C. S. A.) commanding the district of East and Middle Florida, dated April 15, 1862, regarding the operations of the Confederate troops in front of Jacksonville during the occupation of the town by the Federal forces:

> When the enemy first occupied Jacksonville and while all the Florida troops were retreating in confusion and disorder, I, as colonel of the Third Regiment Florida Volunteers, ordered a part of my regiment to advance in the direction of Jacksonville and take a position within ten miles of the city, with only 250 effective men. Soon I had eight companies of my regiment with me. After making a thorough reconnaissance of the city, I became convinced that I could not attack the city without heavy loss and could be driven out by the enemy's gunboats. I then determined to commence a system of annoyances, by attacking their pickets, foraging parties, etc. I made a successful attack on the picket near the city of Jacksonville, killing four and taking three prisoners, when I was ordered to take command of

> the district. Colonel Davis was then ordered to the command of the forces near Jacksonville, and has most successfully carried on the system which I commenced and which has resulted in their evacuation of the place. I have further to report that after the evacuation the enemy returned under a flag of truce and were permitted to land 52 negroes, which were taken in charge by the commander of the post.

Jacksonville was not regularly occupied afterward by Confederate troops, such an attempt being useless as long as the river remained open to the Federal gunboats. Confederate detachments occasionally came into town, however, just to see how things were getting along, but after a short time withdrew.

SECOND FEDERAL OCCUPATION.[9]

In the summer of 1862, batteries were erected by the Confederates on the St. Johns river below Jacksonville, at Yellow Bluff and St. Johns Bluff, on opposite sides of the river. For some time these batteries kept the Federal squadron, comprising the gunboats Paul Jones, Cimarron, Water Witch, Hale, Uncas, and Patroon, from coming up the river. The ineffectual effort of the gunboats to reduce these batteries, resulted in an expedition of four transports, carrying 1,573 men, which left Hilton Head, S. C., on September 30th, for the purpose of co-operating with the fleet. This expedition landed near Mayport Mills during the afternoon and evening of October 1st.

Colonel C. F. Hopkins, commanding the battery at St. Johns Bluff immediately requested reinforcements, and the garrison at Yellow Bluff crossed over to reinforce him, bringing his available force up to about 500 men. The next day the Federal forces, increased by men from the gunboats, began a movement by land against St. Johns Bluff, the fleet co-operating with the land forces. Late that afternoon, Colonel Hopkins had a conference with his officers, at which it was decided that his force was insufficient to hold the position. It was therefore quietly abandoned at 9 p. m., October 2d. All the guns and a considerable amount of ammunition fell into the hands of the Union forces. Colonel Hopkins was severely criticised by General Finegan for abandoning the post, but a court of inquiry later found that he acted with good judgment in giving up the position under the circumstances.

On October 3d, the Paul Jones steamed up to Jacksonville, for the purpose of destroying all boats and otherwise intercepting the passage of the Confederate troops across the river. In this it was unsuccessful and returned the next morning to join the fleet anchored off St. Johns Bluff.

On October 5th, Jacksonville was occupied the second time by the Federal army. A small Confederate force was stationed in the outskirts of the town, for the purpose of observation, but retired when the gunboat Cimarron opened a fire of

shell upon them. The landing of the troops was completed in the afternoon of the 5th, and the next morning the gunboats went in search of Confederate steamers which rumor said were secreted in the creeks up the river. The fleet returned on the 9th, with the steamer Governor Milton, captured in a creek near Enterprise in a disabled condition, her boilers being entirely worn out. Jacksonville was evacuated on the afternoon of the 9th, after an occupation of just four days.

General J. M. Brannan, commander of the Federal expedition, said in his report of October 13, 1862:

> On the 5th (October) I proceeded up the river as far as Jacksonville in the transport Ben DeFord, with 785 infantry. I observed a large quantity of corn and other crops on the banks of the river which it was at first my intention either to remove or destroy. This purpose I afterward abandoned as impracticable. Jacksonville I found to be nearly deserted, there being but a small portion of its inhabitants left—chiefly old men, women and children. From this town and neighborhood I bring with me several refugees and about 276 contrabands, including men, women and children.

The purpose of this expedition was not mentioned in the reports, but, evidently, it was to keep the St. Johns river open up to Jacksonville.

THIRD FEDERAL OCCUPATION.[9]

Jacksonville was occupied by Federal troops the third time March 10th, 1863, this time by negro troops commanded by white officers, namely, First Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers (negro), Colonel T. W. Higginson, and a portion of the Second Regiment of South Carolina Volunteers (negro), Colonel Montgomery. These troops were later reinforced by two white regiments, Eighth Maine and Sixth Connecticut.

On March 13th, General Finegan (C. S. A.), commanding near Jacksonville, issued the following proclamation:

HEADQUARTERS DISTRICT OF EAST FLORIDA.

Camp near Jacksonville, March 13, 1863.

I feel it my duty as brigadier-general commanding this district to inform the people of the district and of the State that our unscrupulous enemy has landed a large force of negroes, under command of white officers, at Jacksonville, under cover of gunboats. He is attempting to fortify the place so as to make it secure against attacks. The purpose of this movement is obvious and need not be mentioned in direct terms. It is sufficient to inspire the whole body of the people with a renewed and sterner purpose of resistance. I therefore call on such of the citizens as can possibly leave their homes to arm and organize themselves into companies without delay and report to me.***

JOS. FINEGAN,
Brigadier-General Commanding.

Whether General Finegan was correct in his supposition, hinted at in his proclamation, is answered in the report of General R. Saxton (U. S. A.), dated March 14, 1863, as follows:

> The object of this expedition was to occupy Jacksonville and make it the base of operations for the arming of negroes and securing in this way possession of the entire state of Florida. It gives me pleasure to report that so far the objects of the expedition have been fully accomplished. The town is completely in our possession and many prisoners. *** It is my belief that scarcely an incident in this war has caused a greater panic throughout the whole southern coast than this raid of the colored troops in Florida. The negroes are collecting at Jacksonville from all quarters.

Immediately upon landing the Federals began to erect fortifications as though for permanent occupation. To guard the terminus of the railroad where it entered the town, Colonel Higginson caused two forts to be erected, one on the right of the railroad, named Fort Montgomery, and one on the left, Fort Higginson. The gunboats, being provided with heavy guns of long range, commanded the country for several miles around. The Confederate troops, under General Finegan, were stationed a few miles west of Jacksonville. They consisted principally of cavalry, or mounted infantry, and were poorly provided with artillery.

Skirmishing began on the day following the

landing of the Federal troops, and continued more or less until Jacksonville was evacuated. General Finegan made no general attack upon the town, but confined his operations to a system somewhat similar to that followed during the first occupation—attacking outposts, pickets, foraging parties, etc. There was some loss of life on both sides. Surgeon Meredith (C. S. A.) was killed on March 11th.

On March 17th, Colonel McCormick (C. S. A.), by direction of General Finegan, notified Colonel Higginson to remove the women and children from Jacksonville within 24 hours, or that after that time they would remain in the town on his (Higginson's) responsibility. Colonel Higginson immediately ordered his wagons to convey all those who wished to leave to the brick yard church, where they were met under a flag of truce by a Confederate escort. Thus all the women and children, except a few families, were removed from Jacksonville and sent to Lake City.

March 22d and 23d two white regiments arrived, Eighth Maine, Colonel John D. Rust, and the Sixth Connecticut, Colonel John L. Chatfield. Colonel Rust being the ranking officer took command of the troops here.

Henceforth, skirmishing became more frequent and heavier. About this time, Lieutenant Thomas E. Buckman (C. S. A.) devised a plan that made him very celebrated. He mounted a rifled 64-pound cannon on a flat car, coupled on a locomo-

tive, and backed the gun down the track toward Jacksonville. A well directed fire from this gun caused consternation in the Federal camp. Up and down the track it went, driving back skirmishing parties of the enemy, at the same time drawing the concentrated fire of the gunboats and batteries. On one of these occasions a shell from this gun passed through a platoon of the Eighth Maine, killing two men instantly and wounding four others. Finally Colonel Rust sent out a strong force to destroy the railroad bridge about 3 miles from town, and tear up the track to prevent further damage from this railroad battery. Lieutenant Buckman and Private Francis Soule (Sollee) were commended in the highest terms for bravery and skill in serving this gun.

EVACUATION AND BURNING OF JACKSONVILLE.

The Federal troops were withdrawn from Jacksonville for the purpose of taking part in the operations against Charleston and Savannah. The evacuation was described by a correspondent of the New York Tribune, writing from Jacksonville, March 29, 1863. As much of what he says is verified by the official reports of both the Confederate and Union officers prepared afterward, it is believed that the conditions mentioned and which are not included in the reports, are likewise accurate. He said:

Before entering upon the details of this lamentable destruction of property, allow me to return to Hilton Head, which place I left last Thursday morning. At that time at an early hour, it was whispered around headquarters, although the utmost secrecy had been enjoined, that Jacksonville was to be evacuated by the soldiers of the National army, who had promised the loyal inhabitants protection and had assured them that the city would be held by our troops during the war. Desiring to visit this portion of the Department of the South before the grand expedition set sail, and also to witness the evacuation, I took passage on the steamer Boston and arrived here with the accompanying transports, the Convoy, the Delaware, the Cossack, and the Tillie, on Friday evening.

At Hilton Head much surprise, indeed much indignation had been expressed the moment it was made known that we were to abandon this important point; not perhaps so much because it was important, but because so many loyal people would be utterly ruined by the movement. Arriving at Jacksonville, I called upon the leading officers and found that they, too, could scarcely restrain their indignation. It is an outrage, it is villainous, it will injure our cause terribly, were the most frequent expressions. It was in vain that one tried to demonstrate that it was of the greatest importance at this moment that all the troops in this department should be concentrated for the grand conflict in Charleston or Savannah harbors. Either of these important cities taken, the whole state of Florida would be, as it were, flanked and the enemy compelled to abandon it instantly.

Jacksonville was occupied on the 10th of March by a negro brigade, under the command of Colonel Higginson. What they achieved, and how admirably, I have already written you, up to as late a date as the 25th instant. Before alluding to the events of today, it remains for me to fill up the interval from the 25th to the 29th. Ten days ago General Hunter, upon representations made to him, not by Colonel Higginson, but by several loyal men of much influence, long residents of Florida, decided to reinforce Colonel Higginson with two regiments of white infantry—the Eighth Maine, Colonel Rust, and the Sixth Connecticut, Colonel Chatfield. Colonel Rust, outranking Colonel Higginson, took command of all the forces in Jacksonville. Colonel Higginson had, by the severest labor his black troops could endure, so strengthened his position that he deemed himself sufficiently strong to hold Jacksonville against all the forces the rebel General Finegan could bring to bear against it.

The natural defenses of Jacksonville are very considerable. The only weak point was on the southwest, or in that portion of the city where the railroad enters it. To guard this point, Colonel Higginson erected two forts. To give range to the guns from these forts, a large forest of pine and oak trees had to be cut down and about fifty dwellings, mostly of an inferior class, destroyed. Fort Higginson not only commands the left of the railroad, but the approach on the South to Jacksonville, by the St. Johns River. All the work upon these forts was done by the black troops. I have seen about all the earthworks in Virginia, and do not hesitate to say that

these hastily constructed works compare very favorably with the best ever thrown up by the Army of the Potomac.

After Colonel Rust had taken command of the forces here he projected a reconnaissance of the enemy's stronghold, about ten miles distant in the direction of Tallahassee. In this little affair black and white troops marched together. Four companies of the Sixth Connecticut formed the right, six companies of the First South Carolina the center, and four companies of the Eighth Maine the left. About four miles out the enemy's pickets were reached, driven in, and the ground near where the rebel General Finegan's brigade was encamped was closely observed. At this distance a railroad bridge was destroyed, much track torn up, and other obstructions placed in the way of a rebel advance.

Having accomplished all he desired, Colonel Rust ordered a return, but just at that moment a platform car was seen coming down the road, with three pieces of artillery on board. At the instant it was observed a brisk fire from a 64-pound rifle gun and two 12-pound Howitzers was opened. One shot passed directly through a platoon of the Eighth Maine, killing two and wounding four. No other casualties occurred, although the long gun kept up a brisk fire on the return.***

I am now writing on the deck of the fine transport ship, Boston. From this upper deck the scene presented to the spectator is one of most fearful magnificence. On every side dense clouds of black smoke are seen. A fine south wind is blowing immense blazing cinders right into the heart of the city. The beauti-

ful Spanish moss, drooping so gracefully from the long avenues of splendid oaks has caught fire, and as far as the eye can reach, through these once pleasant streets, nothing but sheets of flame can be seen, running up with the rapidity of lightning to the tops of the trees and then darting off to the smallest branches. The whole city is being lapped up and devoured by this fiery blast*. One solitary woman, a horse tied to a fence between two fires, and a lean, half-starved dog are the only living inhabitants to be seen on the streets. Is this not war, vindictive, unrelenting war? Have we gotten up to the European standard?

Yesterday (March 28th) the beautiful little cottage used as the Catholic parsonage, together with the church, was fired by some of the soldiers, and in a short time burned to the ground. Before the flames had fairly reached the church, the soldiers had burst open the doors and commenced sacking it of everything of value. The organ was in a moment torn to strips, and almost every soldier who came out seemed to be celebrating the occasion by blowing through an organ pipe.

Today the same spectacle has been repeated upon a much grander scale. There must have been some understanding among the incendiaries with regard to the conflagration. At 8 o'clock the flames burst from several buildings in different parts of the city, and at a later hour still more were fired. The wind

*From his position on the river, this correspondent quite naturally obtained an exaggerated view of the fire. Fortunately, it was not as extensive as it appeared to him.

then rose to a stiff gale and the torch of the incendiary became unnecessary to increase the fire.

It gives me pleasure to report that the negro troops took no part whatever in the perpetration of this vandalism. They had nothing whatever to do with it, and were simply silent spectators of the silent but sad spectacle. The Sixth Connecticut charge it upon the Eighth Maine and the Eighth Maine hurl it back upon the Sixth Connecticut.

Six o'clock p. m. Mouth of the St. Johns—A fierce northeast storm is raging upon the ocean. Gunboats and transports are lying here in safety waiting until it abates. Again we are witnessing a conflagration. Some of the soldiers have gone ashore and found a fine steam saw mill at Mayport Mills, said to belong to a Union man in Maine. Much indignation is expressed on board. The white soldiers are again the criminals. The blacks have not been off the transports.

The official reports of the Federal officers do not deal extensively with the burning of Jacksonville. The author has talked with Union officers who came to Jacksonville soon after the war, and they said that there was a persistent rumor that the burning of the town came about in this way:

One of the white regiments was a Roman Catholic regiment, while the other was strongly Protestant. For reasons unknown, dislike and hatred existed between them to such an extent that vandals in the Protestant regiment set the Catholic church on fire, and in retaliation, the Epis-

copal church was burned by members of the Catholic regiment. From this other buildings caught, and the fire spread. The mania for burning was rampant in the town, and new centers were started by persons unknown.

From the best accounts, the fire does not seem to have been as extensive as one would suppose. About six blocks was the area burned over, destroying in the neighborhood of 25 buildings, including the Episcopal Church and the Court House. While reconnoitering from a position on the river, General Finegan saw that Jacksonville was on fire in several places and that the transports were being loaded with troops. He pushed on into the town, arriving just after the departure of the last gunboat, but in time to extinguish the fire in some valuable buildings.

FOURTH FEDERAL OCCUPATION.[10]

On January 13, 1864, President Lincoln wrote General Q. A. Gillmore (U. S. A.), commanding the Department of the South as follows: "I understand an effort is being made by some worthy gentlemen to reconstruct a loyal State government in Florida. I have given Mr. Hay a commission of major and sent him to you with some blank books and other blanks to aid in the reconstruction."

Elaborate plans were made, and an expedition of more than 20 vessels, gunboats and transports, carrying in the neighborhood of 7,000 troops,

under the command of General T. Seymour, left Hilton Head, S. C., for Jacksonville before daybreak, February 6, 1864. This expedition arrived at the mouth of the St. Johns River early on the morning of the next day, crossed the bar and proceeded up the river to Jacksonville. The transport Maple Leaf was the first vessel to reach the dock, and at 3:40 p. m. (7th) began landing troops. In a short time the other transports came up. There was a small Confederate picket, 20 men, in the town and they fired into the Hunter, one of the transports, and killed one man, but were immediately forced to retire by a cavalry company that had been hastily landed from the Maple Leaf. Later in the afternoon, the U. S. gunboat Norwich went up to McGirt's Creek to capture the St. Marys, a river steamer being loaded with cotton consigned to Nassau, N. P. Finding himself hemmed in, the commander of the St. Marys sank his vessel in McGirt's Creek, and two days later it fell into the hands of the Federals. There was considerable friction between the United States army and navy officials as to who should claim the prize, the army or the navy; the official reports do not indicate how the question was settled.

In his official report, General Gillmore states that the object of this expedition to Florida was:

1. To procure an outlet for cotton, lumber, timber, turpentine and other products of the state of Florida.

2. To cut off one of the sources of supplies for the Confederates.

3. To obtain recruits for his colored regiments.

4. To inaugurate measures for the speedy restoration of the state to her allegiance.

For the purpose of carrying out these plans, the bulk of the Union army set out on the afternoon and evening of February 8th, on the march westward to Baldwin and finally on to Lake City. This movement culminated on February 20th, in the famous battle of Olustee, or Ocean Pond, where General Seymour was defeated by the Confederates under Generals Colquitt and Finegan. Thus it seems that two clauses of General Gillmore's plans, namely 2d and 4th, were practically annulled in the very beginning, General Seymour having reported a day or so before that "I am convinced that what has been said of the desire of Florida to come back now is a delusion."

After its defeat at Olustee, the Union army returned to Jacksonville. The churches and some of the largest houses were used as temporary hospitals. The floors were strewn with hay and on this the wounded soldiers were placed in rows, white and black side by side, as they were brought in from the front[11].

Fortifications were erected to strengthen the town against attack, and soon the arrival of reinforcements brought General Seymour's army up to 12,000 men, splendidly equipped in every department. Among these troops were at least six negro regiments.

The Confederate forces on February 26th occupied a position on McGirt's Creek at a point where the wagon road and the railroad crossed the creek, ten or twelve miles west of Jacksonville. They were now under the command of General W. M. Gardner, who, outranking General Finegan, took command after the battle of Olustee. Breastworks and stockades were erected at McGirt's Creek, the post being named Camp Milton. Afterward, when the Confederates abandoned these works, the Union officers spoke of them as magnificently constructed fortifications, beautiful in detail. March 6th, General J. Patton Anderson assumed command of the Confederate army near Jacksonville. At that time it numbered about 8,000 men, some of them poorly equipped.

On March 1, 1864, General Henry (U. S. A.), with 500 cavalry and 2 pieces of artillery, left Jacksonville for the purpose of making a reconnaissance in the direction of Camp Milton. The movement developed into quite a skirmish at Cedar Creek,* six miles west of Jacksonville, lasting from 10 a. m. until 3 p. m. The Union loss was 1 killed, 4 wounded, and 5 prisoners. The Confederates lost Captain Winston Stevens, killed; other casualties not reported.

During March, Palatka was occupied by a strong force sent from Jacksonville, estimated by General Anderson at 1,500 men. St. Augustine and the

*There are several creeks near Jacksonville called Cedar Creek. The one here mentiond is a branch of McGirt's Creek.

eastern side of the St. Johns were also in possession of the Union army, together with the north side of the river below Jacksonville, with a battery at Yellow Bluff. There was constant and uninterrupted communication between these posts and the base at Jacksonville until the navigation of the St. Johns River was made extremely hazardous by the Confederates, who, on the night of March 30, 1864, placed 12 torpedoes, each containing 70 pounds of small-grain powder, in the river channel near Mandarin Point.

At 4 a. m., April 1st, the U. S. transport Maple Leaf, returning to Jacksonville from Palatka with the camp equipment of three regiments, struck one of these torpedoes and sank in seven minutes. The Confederates then boarded her and burned her to the water's edge. On April 16th, the Hunter, another U. S. transport, returning from Picolata with quartermaster stores, struck a torpedo and sank immediately, near the wreck of the Maple Leaf. One man was drowned. Again, on May 9th, the U. S. armed transport Harriet A. Weed, was destroyed at the same place by one of these torpedoes, with the loss of five men. Thus within 40 days three vessels were destroyed at this point, with 9 torpedoes still in the river. Not far from Mandarin Point, at a place called Horse Landing, Lieutenant Letford, of Captain Dickison's command, captured and burned the U. S. steamer Columbine, killing 25 and capturing 7 commissioned officers, 9 seamen, and 47 enlisted

negroes, himself sustaining no loss whatever.

On April 2, 1864, General Henry made another reconnaissance in the direction of Cedar Creek, and in the skirmishing that followed had 8 men wounded. The Confederate casualties were not given in the reports.

These forces, the greatest number mobilized in Florida during the war, remained facing each other until the middle of April, when heavy drafts were made on both the Federal and Confederate armies in this vicinity, for service in the armies of Sherman and Grant, Lee and Johnston. Beginning with the 8th of April and continuing thereafter until the middle of May, transports loaded with Federal troops left Jacksonville almost daily. The Union forces in this vicinity were finally reduced to about 2,500 or 3,000 men, largely negroes, the bulk of which occupied Jacksonville. Afterward, reinforcements came, but did not remain long. The Confederate troops began leaving April 14th, for assignment elsewhere, until only one regiment and two battalions of cavalry and three companies of artillery remained in East Florida. General Anderson then changed his headquarters to Lake City, leaving in front of Jacksonville the Second Florida Cavalry and four companies of the Fifth Battalion Florida Cavalry, to oppose the overwhelming force in the strongly fortified position at Jacksonville.

On the night of May 31-June 1, a force of 2,459 Federal troops left Jacksonville in two columns,

to attack Camp Milton. The small Confederate detachment occupying the post at that time was surprised and driven from Cedar Creek and Camp Milton back upon Baldwin. A portion of the works at Camp Milton was burned or otherwise destroyed, but the next day the Confederates advanced, skirmishing with the advance guard of the enemy, and reoccupied Camp Milton.

Overwhelmingly outnumbered, this remnant of Florida cavalry performed miracles. It met and defeated raiding parties, one of which was almost annihilated in the streets of Gainesville by Dickison and his men, aided by citizens of the town; attacked and captured outposts and pickets; threatened the Federal communications on the St. Johns River, and was nearly successful in the attempt to obstruct the navigation of the river below Jacksonville, in the vicinity of Yellow Bluff, by placing torpedoes and mines in the channel. That these harassing tactics came near causing the evacuation of Jacksonville by the Federal army is indicated in the following communication from Federal headquarters at Hilton Head to General William Birney, commanding at Jacksonville, dated July 16, 1864, to-wit:

> I am instructed by the major-general commanding to inform you that the number of troops now in your command is considerably greater than that section of the department demands in a military point of view. If you cannot properly guard the St.

> Johns River you must prepare to make St. Augustine your base, keeping Jacksonville and Picolata as advanced posts, if practicable. In case of immediate danger of the St. Johns River being rendered impracticable for navigation by reason of the enemy gaining possession of points along the banks or by reason of their planting a great number of torpedoes in the river, the communication from Jacksonville to St. Augustine must be by ferry across the river, which you must provide in season, and by land across the country.

All of this was in face of the fact that Jacksonville at that time was protected by inclosed works, redoubts and lunettes, connected by rifle pits and manned with eight batteries of the most improved artillery.

There was considerable skirmishing during the latter half of July in the neighborhood of Trout Creek, and near Baldwin and Camp Milton, which the Confederates again evacuated and reoccupied. By this time they had dwindled to 216 cavalry, 40 mounted infantry, and a battery of 4 guns. When a force comprising 3 negro regiments and 1 white regiment of infantry, 1 cavalry regiment, and 4 pieces of artillery was sent out from Jacksonville against Camp Milton, the remnant of Florida troops permanently evacuated that post; this was on July 26th, 1864. Insofar as armed opposition was concerned, this ended the war in the vicinity of Jacksonville, but occasional Federal raiding

parties continued to be sent down the State until the surrender in the spring of 1865.

In the mean time, the question of Florida's return to the Union was revived, although nothing ever came of it further than the calling of a convention by Unionists within the Union lines, to be held in Jacksonville in May, 1864, for the purpose of selecting delegates to the national convention soon to be held in Baltimore. Two delegates were appointed from St. Augustine, one from Fernandina, and three from Jacksonville. The Jacksonville delegation was: John W. Price, Paran Moody, and John S. Sammis[1]. It will be remembered that a convention somewhat similar to this one was called during the first Federal occupation, and that these men were of the committee that issued the drastic "declaration of rights" at that time.

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CHAPTER XV.

AFTER THE WAR.*

The news of General Lee's surrender quickly spread throughout the State. The different organizations of Confederates were disbanded and the members that had enlisted from Jacksonville and their families began to return. The railroad from Baldwin to this city had been torn up and from that point most of the returning citizens had to walk, ladies as well as men.

To those returning directly after the restoration of peace, Jacksonville presented a melancholy sight, as the desolating effects of the war were apparent on every side. The old ruins of burned buildings; neglected yards in which the weeds grew waist high; broken-down fences; the dingy appearance of once neatly painted dwellings, all were depressing to those who sought their former homes. But worst of all, many of the people found their property confiscated and sold, and in some cases purchased by their former neighbors and false friends. A few of those who had thus lost their homes soon bought them back, but the most of them did not have the means to do so. Many of the best and largest houses were occupied by United States officers or troops, and when the

*A composite description from published accounts by old citizens.

rightful owners applied for possession it was usually refused. So these people, who had enjoyed luxuries before the war, now set to work building rude cheap shelters for themselves and their families. Patiently they bore the taunts and sneers of their former slaves and servants. Strange as it may seem, it is nevertheless a fact that the negro women were the most insulting. Galling as the situation was, the people bore the burden patiently and bravely; to a people less brave the changed conditions would have produced a state of crushing lassitude.

Most of the stores and warehouses on Bay Street were occupied for army purposes by United States troops. There was but one store in the town besides the suttlers' stores occupying a few rude shanties on the north side of Bay Street. One small saw mill furnished all the lumber, at very high prices. For the first few months not much was done to revive former conditions, but in the fall improvements and repairing commenced and gradually a few of the old merchants brought in goods and opened stores.

The city was under military government. A provost marshal and guard in command handled all cases, civil and criminal. This system did not last long, however, and was replaced by a municipal government, with a new charter, and a mayor and council elected. In 1867, the military government was resumed, and General John T. Sprague was put in command with headquarters at Jack-

sonville. General Sprague was a gentleman with pleasant manners and of conservative views. Though invested with military power, he sought no opportunity to exercise it in a harsh or oppressive manner. He courteously received all callers and heard them patiently. General Sprague had been in Florida for several years thirty years before, during the Seminole war; he knew our people and did all in his power to aid them.

Most of the old residents by this time had returned and resumed business. New mills and wharves were erected and the river began to look like former times, with vessels coming and going. A continuous row of low wooden buildings was put up on the north side of Bay Street running west from Julia, and was occupied as stores and shops. When better stores were built, "Rotten Row," as it came to be called, was vacated by these merchants, and it then degenerated into a place where vice and crime originated and was for many years a menace to the community.

In 1868, under the new reconstruction law, elections were held, military rule ceased, and the city became civilian in all departments. Nearly every week prior to the election political meetings were held at the northwest corner of Laura and Forsyth, where a crowd, almost wholly negroes, assembled at the sound of fife and drum, and white and colored speakers spoke loudly and long. At the election the political managers made but one precinct and the voting continued until 10 o'clock at night.

Election day was one of confusion and riot. Under the new charter, the city officials received salaries and then began an increase in the city's expenses and taxes.

The military occupation of Jacksonville was continuous for four years after the close of the war. At first the troops were principally colored, having their posts and squads surrounding the town. Out near the old brick yard in West LaVilla was an earth fort garrisoned by a negro guard. These negroes were very zealous and pompous in challenging all comers that had to have passes, but their education was limited and an old Confederate pass or paper would after a wise scrutiny pass muster. There was a large garrison at the southwestern edge of Brooklyn, and companies of soldiers were also stationed in the city. Gradually, company after company of the colored troops was withdrawn, leaving principally white troops to patrol the city. The white soldiers were not only not disposed to annoy or irritate the Southern people, but in time seemed to have engendered a hatred for the "colored citizens" of the town. On the night of February 26, 1869,* the white troops divided into squads, under sergeants and corporals. They came into the town and made a determined war upon all negro men seen on the streets, and whenever one was seen, the command, "Halt, ready, aim, fire" was given. Within

*Date furnished by the U. S. War Department.

an hour the volleys could be heard all over the then small city. The frightened and fleeing negroes took refuge wherever possible.

The patrolling and shooting caused intense excitement. The troops seemed to enjoy it and said their cartridges were blanks and would not hurt the negroes. The streets during the remainder of the night and the next day were bare of "colored citizens". A negro was found dead on the side walk on West Bay Street, near the corner of Hogan, but the soldiers denied killing him. Sensational accounts were sent North and a great ado was made about the affair. Soon afterward, the military occupation of Jacksonville ceased for all time, the last of the United States troops being withdrawn April 6, 1869.*

THE END.

*Date furnished by the U. S. War Department.

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Grateful acknowledgment is made to those who assisted the author in one way or another, namely:

Ambler, D. G., Litchfield, Conn.
Ball, Willis M., Jacksonville, Fla.
Bostwick, W. M., Jacksonville, Fla.
Bostwick, Mrs. W. M., Jacksonville, Fla.
Brown, M. A., Jacksonville, Fla.
Carter, W. R., Jacksonville, Fla.
Davis, Horatio, Gainesville, Fla.
DeGrove, H. D., Jacksonville, Fla.
Dodge, Rev. W. H., Ocala, Fla.
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L'Engle, John C., Jacksonville, Fla.
Long, Miss Elizabeth V., Jacksonville, Fla.
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Powers, Mrs. M. C., Baltimore, Md.
Rinehart, C. D., Jacksonville, Fla.
Scarlett, Mrs. Elizabeth A., Jacksonville, Fla.
Shields, Rev. V. W., Jacksonville, Fla.
Utley, G. B., Chicago, Ill.
Veale, Father J., Jacksonville, Fla.
Weed, Rt. Rev. Edwin G., Jacksonville, Fla.
*Wells, Mrs. Jennie, Jacksonville, Fla.
Wilson, Mrs. George C., Jacksonville, Fla.

*Now deceased.