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THE *FLORIDA PENINSULAR'S* VIEW OF SLAVERY, 1855-1861

by R. Wade Wetherington

Black-white relations have long figured prominently in American society. Prior to 1865, slavery largely defined white attitudes toward blacks, especially in the South where the institution prevailed. Even in relatively isolated areas, such as south Florida, slavery was an everyday reality, as well as a topic of political discussion. In 1855, Hillsborough County had a population of 3,103, consisting of 2,261 whites, 746 slaves and 6 free blacks. These slaves, representing one-quarter of the population, accounted for a large percentage of Hillsborough County's wealth. In 1850 the county's slaves were valued at \$425,000, whereas buildings were assessed at \$97,000 and land at \$144,000. Although only about one-quarter of the county's farm operators owned any slaves, the institution of slavery undoubtedly colored the attitudes of all whites.¹ Nevertheless, the exact nature of slavery and white attitudes toward it are difficult to reconstruct. Other than census reports, one of the few surviving local sources is the *Florida Peninsular*, Tampa's hometown newspaper.

The *Florida Peninsular* was published weekly from 1855 until May 25, 1861, when it suspended publication because of the Civil War. The *Peninsular* was filled with national news reprinted from other sources, humorous anecdotes and stories, and advertisements. The national news and stories filled two pages of the newspaper, and the remaining two pages carried advertisements for products and services and classified advertisements much like today. The *Peninsular* contained very little local news. It did not cover local or state politics in any detail, and it omitted items taken for granted in newspapers today, such as births, deaths, and marriages. Most of the news was "boilerplate," supplied by a news association in Savannah, Georgia.²

During the years 1855-1861, the *Peninsular* contained numerous references to slavery. These provide an insight into white attitudes toward slavery and show the dominant relationship that existed between blacks and whites. In addition to the articles and other pieces regarding slavery in the *Peninsular*, the newspaper also printed occasional anecdotes about blacks and slavery.³ These articles, advertisements, and anecdotes all conveyed the fact that whites considered slaves inferior and held them in low esteem. It is apparent that the feelings of slaves were of no consequence. Slave families were separated, and groups of slaves who may have been related were sold and separated.⁴

Slaves had few if any rights. They were bought and sold and tracked as if they were cattle. As with other livestock, the proprietor of the female slave became the owner of her offspring, and as the owner of a horse might use force in breeding the horse to harness, so the master of a slave might coerce him into submission. A runaway slave was like a stray horse, to be seized, impounded, advertised, and reclaimed by his owner upon payment for services rendered and expenses incurred. A slave could not own property unless by sanction of his owner, nor could he make a contract without his master's approval. His mating was mere concubinage in law, and the rape of a female slave was not a crime, but a mere trespass upon the owner's property. A bill of sale for a slave guaranteed that he had no mental or physical defects. Slaves, either individually or in groups, were used as collateral for loans. When a slaveowner encountered bad economic



Field slaves working on a sugar plantation somewhere in the South.

Photograph from *The Slave Community* by John W. Blassingame.

times, a forced sale at public auction was often the result. Deaths of slaveowners also caused sales of slaves.⁵

The articles and advertisements related to slavery in the *Florida Peninsular* fall into a number of categories and can be separated as follows:

- A. Sales of slaves
- B. Renting of slaves
- C. Runaway slaves
- D. Slave crimes and punishment
- E. The defense of slavery.

A. SALES OF SLAVES

The advertisements in the *Peninsular* dealt frequently with the sale of slaves, either through a sale by the sheriff or through an estate sale. The reader can imagine the real-life drama that took place behind the advertisements. Because of the unique nature of the advertisements, what follows is a verbatim reproduction of most of them from the years 1855-60.

SHERIFF'S SALE

BY VIRTUE of a fi. fa. issued out of the Circuit Court for the Southern Circuit of the State of Florida. I have levied on and will expose to public sale, on the first Monday in May next, the following described property to wit: Dick, Van, Peter,

Robert, Horace, Male slaves, Mary, Nancy, Adeline, Eugenia Betsy, Females, levied on as the property of Wm. H. McDonald⁶, to satisfy an execution in favor of Littleton J. McDonald & John McPherson Berrien McDonald. Sale between the usual hours.

E. T. KENDRICK, Sheriff.⁷

Tampa, March 17, '55

April 7, 1855 (page 3, column 4)

ADMINISTRATOR'S SALE

BY VIRTUE of a decree from the Circuit Court of the Southern Circuit of Florida, sitting for Hernando County, I will sell at public outcry on the first Monday of October next, before the Court House door, at De Soto, eighty acres of land, belonging to the estate of Joshua Platt, deceased.

JOHN PLATT, Admr'.

April 14th 1855

At the same time and place I will also sell four negro slaves of the said deceased, to wit: Winny and her child, Simon, Ned and Tom. The terms of the above sales will be 15 months credit, bonds and approved security will be required of purchasers and deeds at purchaser's costs.

JOHN PLATT, Admr'.

April 14th 1855.

April 14, 1855 (page 2, column 6)

SHERIFF'S SALE

BY VIRTUE of Authority vested in me by Law, I have this day Levied on, and will offer for Sale, at public outcry, on the 1st Monday of February next, in front of the Court House Door in Tampa, Hillsborough County, the following property to-wit: Lot No. (4) four, of Lot No. (9) nine, in the Town of Tampa; also one negro girl named Adeline, about (13) thirteen years old, taken as the mortgaged Property of William D. Freeman & William H. McDonald, defendants, to satisfy an Execution issued from the Circuit Court of Hillsborough County, in favor of William W. Tucker, plaintiff.

HENRY PARKER, Sheriff⁸

Dec. 11th A.D. 1855

December 15, 1855 (page 2, column 5)

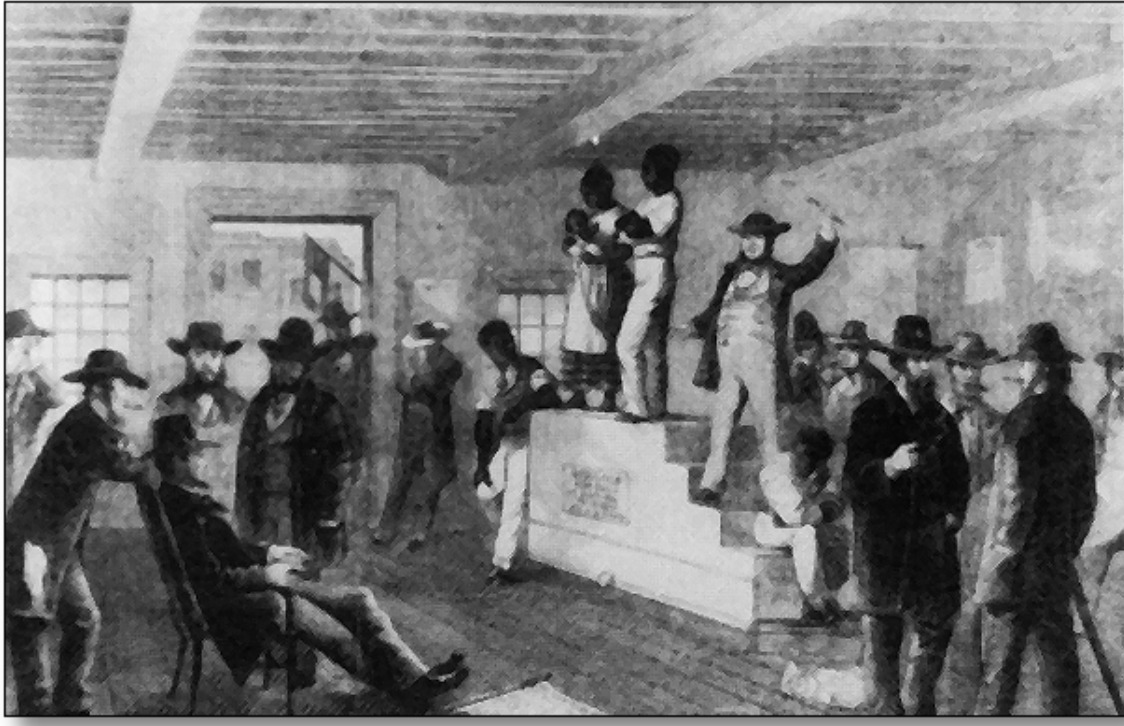
"NOTICE"

Will be sold to the highest bidder, before courthouse in Tampa, on 15th of November next, one negro woman age about 35 years, good house or field hand-also with her, a boy about 5 years old-very smart healthy child-will be sold together, as boy is her child. Estate of Alderman Carlton⁹ for benefit of heirs.

J.M. Hayman, Adm'r¹⁰

10/3/56

October 4, 1856 (page 2, column 6)



A slave family on the auction block.

Photograph from *The Slave Community* by John W. Blassingame.

PUBLIC SALE

I will sell at the old courthouse, in Hernando County, on the first Monday in January 1857, five negroes, to wit: two likely young men, one girl and two children; being the estate of Joshua Platt, late of Hernando County.

John Platt, Adm'r.

November 1, 1856 (page 3, column 3)

NOTICE

I WILL, in pursuance of an order of the Honorable Court of Probates of Hernando County and State of Florida, on the sixth day of April next, offer at public auction, in front of the courthouse, in the City of Tampa, a certain negro slave named Cudgjo, as the property of the estate of Hopkins M. Wilder, deceased, and William Wilder, of Hillsborough County and State aforesaid.

THOMAS M. WILDER, ADM'R

March 7, 1857

March 21, 1857 (page 3, column 2)

Notice Of Sale

I will offer, at public auction, on the 11th day of April, 1857, at the usual hours, at the County Cite of Manatee County, one negro man, Alfred. To be sold to satisfy demands against the Estate of James Hudson, late of said County, deceased.

WM. M. WHITAKER

Feb. 7, 1857

Sheriff & ex-officio Adm'r

April 25, 1857 (page 3, column 6)

BY VIRTUE OF AUTHORITY, vested in me by law, I have this day levied upon and will offer for sale, in front of the Court House door, in Tampa, on the first Monday (6th day) of December, next, the following property to wit: One negro man (slave) named John, levied upon as the property of John Mercer¹¹, to satisfy an execution in favor of Aaron Turner, Administrator of the estate of Moses Turner¹² deceased.

The said property was pointed out by Plaintiff Attorney.

WM. S. SPENCER, SH'FF¹³

Oct. 16th 1858

October 17, 1858 (page 3, column 4)

BY VIRTUE OF AUTHORITY vested in me by law, I have this day levied upon and will offer for sale, at public outcry, in front of the courthouse door, in Tampa, on the first Monday (6th day) in December next, the following property, to wit: A Negro woman (slave) named Charlotte taken as the property of Joshua Stafford¹⁴ to satisfy an execution in favor of James Stephens and others.

WM. S SPENCER,
Sheriff.

Oct. 16, 1858

October 17, 1858 (page 3, column 4)

SALE OF NEGROES

ON THE 17th day of February next, at Brooksville, Hernando County, I will sell three Negro Slaves belonging to the Estate of Rebecca Murden, dec'd. One Woman and child, and Boy. The terms of sale will be credit until the first day of January next with two approved securities bearing 8 per cent interest from date of sale.

A.B.MONDEN, Adm'r

Jan. 19th, 1859

January 22, 1859 (page 3, column 1)

NEGROES

For Sale!

THE SUBSCRIBER will offer for sale, at OCALA, Florida, on the 28th day of November, 1859, EIGHT LIKELY NEGROES, to wit: One Man, about twenty-eight years old; one Woman about thirty-two years old; one Woman, eighteen years old, and five Children, from six years old and under.

NEGROES
FOR SALE!
THE SUBSCRIBER will offer for sale, at
T. OCAHA, Florida, on the 28th DAY OF
NOVEMBER, 1859, EIGHT LIKELY NE-
GROES to wit: One Man, about twenty-eight
years old; one Woman, about thirty-two years
old; one Woman, eighteen years old, and five
Children, from six years old and under.
Terms—Cash.
ALLEN MUNDEN

Advertisement from the *Florida Peninsular*, November 19, 1859.

Terms - Cash.

ALLEN M. MUNDEN

November 19th, 1859

November 19, 1859 (page 3, column 1)

NEGRO FOR SALE

ON MONDAY, the 6th day of February next, I will offer for sale, at public auction, in front of the courthouse door, in the City of Tampa, a Negro man named William-aged about 35 years-the property of the late James Stephens, deceased.

Terms made known on day of sale.

ELLEN STEPHENS

Adm'x Estate James Stephens

January 7th, 1860

January 14, 1860 (page 3, column 2)

SHERIFF SALE

ON the first Monday in March, 1860, I will offer the following property for sale, to wit: One negro man named Sam, age about 45 years; and One negro woman, named Amy, age about 40 years. Levied upon as the property of Kennedy & Brown, and Thos. P. Kennedy,¹⁵ to satisfy an Execution in favor of E. T. Kendrick.

Wm. S. SPENCER, Sheriff

February 11, 1860

February 11, 1860 (page 3, column 1)

U.S. MARSHAL SALE

By virtue of a Fi. Fa., issued out of the United States District Court, Northern District of Florida, I have levied upon, and will offer for sale in front of the courthouse door in the City of Tampa, on the first Monday (7th day) of May next, the following property, to wit: One Negro woman named Charlotte, and twenty-three head of Cattle, (more or less) branded with a spur; levied upon as the property of Isaac J. Carter to satisfy an Execution in favor of Richard Gay.

N.B. Terms of sale, Cash - *in specie*.

E.E. BLACKBURN, U.S.M.

By W.S. SPENCER, Deputy.

March 24th, 1860

March 24, 1860 (page 2, column 6)



“A house servant.”

Photograph from *The Slave Community* by John W. Blassingame.

Sale of Negroes at Auction

Will be sold at public auction, in front of the court-house door in Tampa, on Monday, the 10th day of September, 1860, One NEGRO WOMAN, aged about 30 years-a good house-servant; also, one NEGRO BOY, aged about 16 years. Said

Negroes are valuable servants in any capacity; they will be sold for cash on the day specified.

JOHN J. McARTHUR
Lx'r Est. Jas. McLeod

Tampa Sept. 1st., 1860

Sept 1, 1860 (page 2, column 6)

B. RENTING OR HIRING OF SLAVES

The *Peninsular* also carried occasional advertisements for the renting or hiring of slaves:

Notice,

I HAVE two negro women to hire for the remainder of the year.

S. W. JOHN

Tampa Mar. 31 '55

April 7, 1855 (page 3, column 3)

NOTICE

Will offer at late residence of J.W. Brookbank, dec'd, on Whiting Street, in the town of Tampa, to rent for I year, the late residence aforesaid, consisting in 1 house and lot, to the highest bidder, also at same time and place, one negro man to lease for the same length of time.

Branch & Getting
Ex'rs Estate of J.W. Brookbank, dec'd.

12/29/55

December 29, 1855 (page 2, column 6)

FOR SALE

The Negro Woman AMY, commonly known as "Fat Amy." If not sold before the first day of Jan next, she will be for hire, for the yr 1861. Apply to the undersigned.

KENNEDY & DARLING¹⁶

Tampa Dec. 15, 1860

December 15, 1860 (page 3, column 3)

C. RUNAWAY SLAVES

The *Peninsular* carried many advertisements regarding runaway slaves. Often, runaway slaves would be caught and brought to the Tampa jail and held for their owner. If the owner did not claim them, they were sold. The slaveowner usually offered a reward for the recovery of his property.

The *Peninsular* advertisements indicate that slaves not uncommonly sought to escape. Still, the number of runaways appears small when compared to the total number of slaves in the Tampa Bay area. The small number of runaways may have been the result of limited options available to slaves who were not able to travel alone without passes; moreover, running away required abandonment of family, extreme danger, and the inability to make a living. Human drama and

tragedy are played out in the following advertisements, which represent most of the notices of runaways slaves, except for duplicates in successive issues of the Peninsular.

Notice

I have traded for the boy Smart that Dr. Jones sold to Mr. Galligo, any person taking him and delivering him to the undersigned or the Jailor of this county will be liberally rewarded as he is runaway at this time.

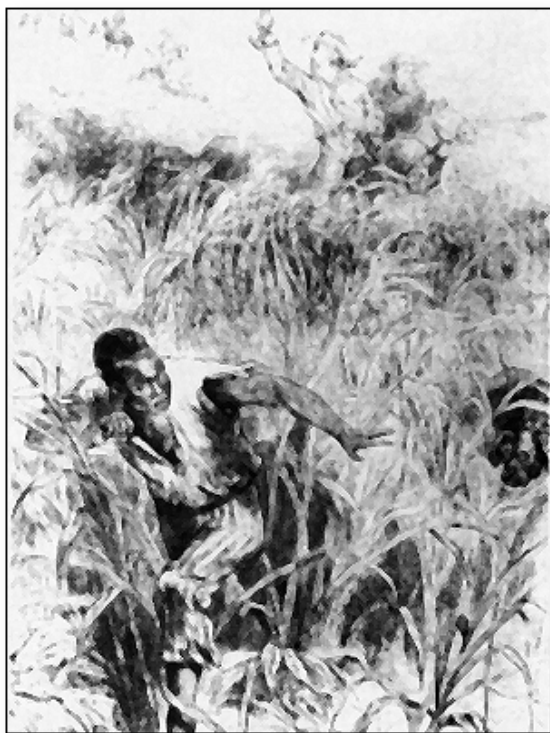
H.D. Kendrick¹⁷

August 18, 1855 (page 3, column 2)

Coroner's Notice

Was found, drowned on the 21st, ult, in the Withlacoochee, near Monroe's Ferry, colored man believed to be named Smart, complexion black, about five' six" in height, wide built, beard long on the chin, about 30 yrs of age, had a black thin coat, white drawers, shoes somewhat rundown, black wool hat, had with him a bundle containing clothing, such as pants, shirts, one thin coat, stock cravat, hatchet, pocket knife, two passes, from which it appears the boy was named Smart and had belonged to one John Gallagher¹⁸ of Ichepucksassa.¹⁹ Can claim prop and info.

Wm. M. Mein, J.P. ex officio cor



The pursuit of a runaway slave.

Photograph from *The Slave Community* by John W. Blassingame.

Hernando 8/15/55

October 13, 1855 (page 2, column 4)

Brought to Tampa Jail

On the 13th Jan., 1856, by Mr. C.G. Simmons, of Hillsborough Co., Fla., a Negro man who says his name is Bazzell and says he belongs to Mr. Fettis Bolin, near Palatka, Fla., and that he has been runaway about two months. Said boy is black, five' 7" high with full eyes – he is about 45 or 50 yrs of age, has on an old black wool hat, a pair of black cloth or cassimere pants, a home-spun cotton shirt, dyed, one of his upper front teeth a little decayed. Owner come forward – prove property – pay charges and take him away.

C.F. Fitchett, Jailor

February 2, 1856 (page 3, column 2)

\$150 Reward

Ran away from the subscriber in Leon County, on the 26th ult., three negro men, to-wit: LEWIS, aged 40, hair a little grey, six feet or upwards in height, high cheek bones, low forehead, clumsy in gait. NICHOLAS, aged 40 or upwards, 5 feet 10 or 11 inches high. TOM, aged about 30, low in stature, features long, light built. Tom and Lewis are not as black as Nicholas. They will either lurk in the vicinity of Tallahassee or endeavor to make their way to Manatee River or South Florida, where they formerly lived. I will give twenty-five dollars each for said Negroes if



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Advertisement from the *Florida Peninsular*,
November 7, 1857.

ken in the counties of Leon or Jefferson – thirty dollars each if taken in Madison, and fifty dollars each, if taken beyond the Suwannee, and delivered to me or secured in jail so that I can get them.

GEO. T. WARD

Tallahassee, Oct. 3, 1857

November 7, 1857 (page 3, column 3)

*Lodged in Jail
Brought to Tampa*

Jailed, on the 11th inst., a negro boy, who says his name is Tom, and that he belongs to Maj. Geo. T. Ward of Tallahassee. Said boy is about 30 years of age, and five feet eight or ten inches in height. The owner can secure property by paying charges & c.

WM. S. SPENCER, Jailor

Tampa, Dec. 12, 1857

December 12, 1857 (page 3, column 1)

\$50 Reward

The above reward will be paid for the apprehension of one negro man, to-wit; AMOS, a dark mulatto about 40 years of age, and about 5 feet 8 inches high. This negro has been run away and at large at Manatee and in that neighborhood for two years, and is well known in that settlement.

GEO. T. WARD

Tallahassee, Oct. 29, 1857

December 12, 1857 (page 3, column 3)

RUNAWAYS!!

RAN AWAY from the subscriber, on Tuesday, 29th December, 1857, two negro men, property of Mrs. Annie B. Lancaster, widow of the Hon. Joseph B. Lancaster²⁰, deceased to wit:

JACK, about 22 years of age, medium size, about 5 feet 6 inches high, dark copper color, quick spoken, and rather intelligent;

LEWIS, about 17 years of age, heavy set, about 5 feet 5 inches high, not so intelligent as Jack, and generally leaves his comrade to answer questions.

These boys were seen on the first of January this side the Withlacoochee Bridge; had no tickets, but said they were sent by a Mr. John to a Mr. Bell, near Ocala. It is supposed they are making their way to Savannah. The above negroes were sometime in September or October, '57, purchased by Mr. Montmolen in Savannah, Ga., for Mrs. Lancaster, and sent to me to hire as her Agent; they arrived on the 8th of Dec., and ran away as above. A liberal reward will be paid for their delivery to me or lodgement in jail.

J.T. MACBEE, Agent²¹

Tampa, Jan. 4th, 1858.

January 9, 1858 (page 2, column 6)

\$15 REWARD.

RANAWAY from the subscriber, on the 29th of December last his boy BEN - Said boy is 20 years old, black, stout built, about 5 feet 5 or 6 inches in height, of pleasing countenance when spoken to: when he left had on cotton canaburg pants, and an old dark colored coat with no sleeves, but, as he had other clothes it is probable he has changed his dress. The above reward of fifteen dollars, together with all reasonable expenses, will be paid to any person who will deliver said boy to me, at my residence in Sumter County, Florida, or safely lodge him in jail. Fifty dollars will be given for the detection and conviction of any white man who may have enticed said slave away, or in [any] way been the means of keeping him out of my employ.

R.L. COLVERT

Jan. 2, 1858

January 16, 1858 (page 2, column 6)

\$20 REWARD

Run away from my residence in Manatee, Fla., on the 6th inst., my boy Prince, aged about 26 years, about 5 foot 5 inches in height, very black, stout built, with broad shoulders - - supposed to be endeavoring to get to Columbus, Ga., where his wife recently went. - - The above reward will be paid to any person who will deliver him to me, or \$15 if lodged in any jail, where I can get him.

JOSIAH GATES

Manatee, April 20, 1858

April 24, 1858 (page 3, column 2)



Advertisement from the *Florida Peninsular*,
March 12, 1859.

COMMITTED TO JAIL

ON SATURDAY, 5th inst., a Negro man, who says his name is Moses, and that he belongs to Mr. Wm. B. Reynolds, who resides near Ocala, Fla., said negro is about 22 years of age, 5 feet, 2 or 3 inches high, weighs about 120 pounds, has 2 scars on his forehead (sic), and is coal-black. The owner can recover the above property on application and payment of fees.

WM. S. SPENCER, Jailor

Tampa, March 12, 1859

March 12, 1859 (page 2, column 6)

\$10 REWARD

RUNAWAY, from the subscriber, on the 29th day of March 1859, a negro man named CHARLES, about 22 years of age 4 feet, 4 or 5 inches high, weighs about 150 pounds, is coal black, and has a scar (done with a knife) above the small of his back.

The above reward will be paid for the delivery of said negro to me, or lodgment in any jail so that I may get him.

F.M. DURRANCE²²

Peas Creek, Fla., April 2, 1859.

April 23, 1859 (page 3, column 1)

BROUGHT TO JAIL

ON WEDNESDAY, the 6th instant, a negro man, who says his name is Jack, and that he belongs to the estate of Washington Gigger, late Micanopy, deceased. Said negro is about 50 years of age, 5 feet 5 or 6 inches high.

The owner can secure the above property by complying with requirements of the law in such cases.

WM. S. SPENCER
Sheriff, Hillsborough co.

Tampa, Fla., July 9, 1859

July 9, 1859 (page 3, column 2)

\$300 REWARD

THE ABOVE REWARD will be given for the apprehension and detention of one SAMUEL E. EDWARDS. Said Edwards is 6 feet in height, 40 years of age; the sight of one eye is gone; it having a white appearance; weighs about 175 pounds; loves to gamble, to loaf about a grocery and "talk big;" sandy hair and beard – rather heavy. – The said named Edwards, alias S.E. Shell, stole a negro from the undersigned, in Columbia County, Arkansas, on the 3d day of October, 1859. The negro has been recovered, but the thief thus far has battled pursuit. All information in regard to the thief should be directed to the subscriber at Falcon, Columbia County, Ark.

A.M. McCOLLUM

March 10th, 1860

March 17, 1860 (page 2, column 6)

Two negro boys, says the Mariana Patriot, were recently decoyed, from Gadsden Co., by some white scoundrel, who has made his escape. The Negroes have been recovered.

October 6, 1860 (page 2, column 2)

\$25 REWARD

My Boy, NIMROD, formerly owned by Dr. F. Branch, having runaway from my plantation on the Hillsborough River, I offer the above reward of twenty-five dollars to any person who will return him to me, or safely lodge him in jail and inform me of the fact, so that I may get him into my possession.

Nimrod is stout built, of low stature, having a downcast countenance, and a muttering way of speaking. He has a very large foot and hand for a person of his age, being about fifteen or sixteen years old. His color is that of a dark mulatto.

EDWARD JONES

Oct. 17, 1860

November 17, 1860 (page 3, column 1)

\$25 REWARD!!

The above Reward will be paid for the delivery of my Negro man, ALICK, who ran away the first of January. ALICK is about 25 years of age, slightly cooper-colored-about 6 feet high-very likely, has an intelligent look-is very quick spoken. He is one that would be classed as a No. 1 negro. He is supposed to be in the neighborhood of Tampa, in company with one of Mr. James Turner's boys.

The above reward will be paid for his delivery to me on Orange Lake, Marion County, or \$15 if confined in any Jail that I can get him.

JOHN M. PAYNE, M.D.

Flemington, P.O.,

Marion Co., Fla.

March 30th, 1861

May 11, 1861 (page 3, column 3)

\$50 REWARD

My Boy, NIMROD, formerly owned by Dr. F. Branch²³, having runaway from my plantation. FIFTY DOLLARS to any person who will return him, or safely lodge him in jail and inform me of the fact so that I may get him into my possession.

Nimrod is stout built; of low stature, having a downcast countenance, and a muttering way of speaking. He has a very large foot and hand for a person of his age, being about fifteen or sixteen years old. His color is that of a dark mulatto.

EDMUND JONES

Tampa, Nov. 17, 1860

May 26, 1861 (page 3, column 3)

D. SLAVE CRIMES AND PUNISHMENT

The *Florida Peninsular* printed many articles involving slaves committing heinous crimes, usually the murder of some white person. These articles probably played to the fears of whites that the enslaved would throw off their bonds and attack slaveowners. Interestingly, the only articles reporting whites killing blacks appeared when retribution was sought for the death of a white. However, these were not the only circumstances under which whites killed blacks. Rather,

the death of a black at the hands of a white was probably not considered either a crime or newsworthy.²⁴

The articles reproduced here include only those with some connection to Florida. Many articles appeared relating to slave crimes in other states.

HORRIBLE TRAGEDY!
A Man Murdered by his own Negro!!
The Murderer Escaped.

We are called upon this week to record one of the most heartrending tragedies that ever occurred in this State: On Tuesday night, the 30th ultimo, Mr. WILLIAM PEARCE, residing about five miles from this place whilst he was eating supper, told one of his negro men, who had been guilty of some misdemeanor, that so soon as he was through he would give him a flogging. Accordingly, when he got up from the table, he went out into the back yard and called the fellow out of the kitchen, and told him to come to him. Manifesting a great deal of submission, he obeyed; but so soon as he got within striking distance, drew an axe, which he had concealed and split in twain the head of his master – scattering the brains in every direction. We are not aware he survived a minute.

The negro instantly fled – and up to this time (noon Friday) has not been captured.

Mr. PEARCE was a good citizen, a kind husband, father, and master, and was beloved by all who knew him. His melancholy fate has cast a pall of gloom over our whole community.

The negro, beyond doubt, will be captured before many hours. If he is, although we admire submission to the course pointed out by the law of the land, in this case, so much of the brute has been manifested, we would be glad to see our citizens rise in mass, and avail themselves of Lynch Law – hang the rascal without court or jury. – *Madison Messenger*.

November 15, 1856 (page 2, column 3)

John Raybon, and the negro, Hall, sentenced by Judge Baker, were hung at Madison, on Friday the 12th instant.

December 20, 1856 (page 3, column 3)

Daring Attempt at Murder.

A most daring attempt was made in this place on Tuesday night last, by a negro, to take the life of one of our citizens, Mr. H.O. Bassett.

Mr. B. Had retired about 9 o'clock and was lying in bed, preparing to read before going to sleep, and hearing a noise of some one in the room, asked who it was. - On turning round, he discovered a negro man named Washington, belonging to Col. C.C. Young, of this place, standing at the bed, with an axe upraised, in the act of striking him. Mr. Bassett rolled out of bed in time to prevent the blow and grappled the negro. They scuffled for awhile and the boy finding that Mr. B. was

too strong for him let go the axe, and Mr. B. struck at him; the boy dodged the blow and the axe stuck in the floor, making a deep indentation. Hearing someone coming the boy escaped through one door, and Mr. B. started through another to head him, but could not find him. Returning, to his room, Mr. B. discovered the boy there, who escaped through the back door, to the yard. Some persons hearing the difficulty came to the assistance of Mr. B. and half an hour afterwards they walked out into the yard, thinking the negro may have secreted himself somewhere, when a pistol was fired from under the kitchen, the ball missing Mr. Bassett, but passing through the clothing of one of the party. The premises were then searched but without success. The negro was caught yesterday, near St. Andrews, having stolen a horse from Mr. Benj. Hollden, and brought to jail in this place. - *Mariana Patriot*.

September 18, 1858 (page 2, column 5)

Committed to Jail. - The examination of the negro man, Adam, on Saturday last, on the charge of murdering Luke Moore, resulted in his commitment to jail to await his trial at the October term of our Circuit Court. The evidence elicited on the examination was all circumstantial, but of such a nature as to leave but little room to doubt the guilt of the accused.

September 17, 1859 (page 2, column 1)

The Circuit Court, - for this County, held over during the present week.

In the case of the State vs. Adam, (a negro man) charged with murdering Like Moore, the Jury returned a verdict of guilty, after about two hours' deliberation. The trial was long and tedious - consuming several days. Greater ability was displayed by Messrs. Hart & Taylor, Att'ys for the defense, and also by the talented Solicitor, H.L. Mitchell, Esq'r.²⁵ The verdict gave general satisfaction.

October 29, 1859 (page 2, column 1)

Circuit Court,

For the county of Hillsborough, Hon. Thos. F. King, presiding, commenced its session on Monday, the 17th ult.

Four days of the 1st week were occupied in the trial of Adam, a mulatto slave, - the property of J.C. Green, - for the murder of Luke Moore. A large number of witnesses were examined, pro and con. He was found guilty. In connection with this murder, in a future number, we have a few remarks to make on the subject of negroes hiring their own time.

On Monday of the 2nd week, George M. Buckley was tried for the murder of his father-in-law, George W. Goodwin. - There were but few witnesses and the case was so patent, that it took but one day. - He was also found guilty.

On Monday of the third week, the Judge pronounced the sentence of Death on Adam, and on Tuesday of the same week, on to Buckley, both to be hanged on Friday, the 16th day of December next.

His Honor in the case of Buckley, before pronouncing the awful sentence of the Law, made a few preliminary remarks so feelingly and forcibly as to bring tears from many a hardy son of toil. In next week's issue we will lay before the public the substance of those remarks, and we trust they will produce a good effect on all – but more specially on such as habitually have no respect for the laws of either God or Man...

November 5, 1859 (page 2, column 2)

THE HANGING OF ADAM.

George M. Buckley, who it will be remembered, killed his father-in-law about a year ago was hanged at Tampa Bay on the 16th instant. A negro boy [Adam] belonging to a Mr. Green was also hung on the same day and on the same gallows. It seems that the boy was supposed to have been connected with the murder, but no proof of the fact was adduced, and notwithstanding a writ of error in his case had been issued by the Supreme Court and a certified copy of the same placed in the hands of the Sheriff of Hillsborough County, he was violently taken from his custody and hung by a mob. If all the facts in his case which have been related to us by true, this proceeding on the part of mob was an open violation of the law and deserves the condemnation of every law and order abiding citizen of the State. – *Jacksonville Republican*.

We propose making a few comments on the article taken from the *Jacksonville Republican*, of the 24th ult., concerning the hanging of Adam.

The first gross error, or willful misrepresentation, consists in this, that there was no supposition at all of Adam's having been connected with Buckley in the murder of Goodwin, for which murder Buckley was hung. Adam was tried, condemned and hung for the murder of Dr. Luke Moore. The two cases were entirely separate and distinct.

We are to infer the remarks of the Editor that his informant stated there as “no proof” of the murder, and that he was “hung by a mob.” We say that if there was ever a great array of circumstantial evidence upon which verdicts of guilty have been predicated, it has never been our lot to witness them; and we assert that, pending the four days the trial lasted, the jury exhibited a patience worthy of all praise. His Honor Judge King, in order to elicit the whole truth, gave (as we thought) ample scope in the examination of all the witnesses. For several years past we have witnessed Col. O.B. Hart's pleading at the Bar, and we think that, in the defense of Adam, he exhibited an industry in bringing forward testimony, a tact in the examination of the witnesses, and a zeal in his eloquent and pathetic appeal to the Jury, that, had it not been for “damning proof, strong as holy writ,” must have procured an acquittal. Moreover, the valuable assistance in the conducting of the case – particularly in the examination of the witnesses – by J.M. Taylor, Esq., was manifest to every spectator.

Now if the relator to the *Republican* related the facts as of his own knowledge, being a witness of the trial, we say he lied; and Webster defines a lie to be a false statement uttered to deceive. Had relator said no efforts were made to obtain a writ

of error for a penniless white man, but, for a quibble or an informality, a slave worth \$1500 could have another chance for his life by the “laws’ delay,” he doubtless would have spoken knowingly and, perhaps, feelingly. . .

And as Adam was tried by as honest a jury of twelve men, after as fair and patient a trial as was ever witnessed in a court of justice, and sentenced by an upright and impartial Judge, so, in pursuance thereof, he was hung! The relator says he was hung by a mob. Webster defined the word “mob,” “tumultuous crowd,” and “tumultuous” is defined “disorderly, turbulent, noisy, lawless.” If Webster is correct, relator lied, and we defy him to make his word good under his own signature. As well might “Verres return to Sicily,” as that same relator make tracks in the County of Hillsborough.²⁶

January 21, 1860 (page 2, column 1)

Doctor W.J. Keitt Brutally Murdered

On Sunday morning last, our community was thrown into a state of intense excitement by the announcement of the death of Dr. W.J. Keitt, one of the most talented citizens of Florida, and our Senator in the State Legislature. He had been living by himself, on his pleasant plantation, about 3 miles from Ocala, and had been in ill health for some time past. Early in the morning, one of his servants who had waited on him during his illness, came into town and stated that as he went into his master’s room to build a fire; he found him lying on the floor, dead. At first it was supposed that he had died suddenly, from an affliction of the heart; but, on visiting his house, his body was found bathed in blood, and his throat cut from ear to ear. An inquest was soon held, and it was found that he had been most brutally murdered by one or more of his own negroes. The most positive evidence was obtained against one of the negroes, and a disposition was manifested to hang him at once; but, with the view of obtaining proof against others who were supposed to be implicated, he was brought to jail with three others on whom suspicion rests.

The matter is undergoing further investigation, as we go to press, and we are therefore unable to give the result.

Dr. Keitt was a native of South Carolina, and a brother of HON. L.M. Keitt, the brilliant Senator of that State who has so nobly battled for the rights of the South in the halls of congress. The deceased moved to this State about six years ago, and had so identified himself with her interests as to rendered his death a public calamity. – *Ocala Companion*, 21st. Inst.

February 25, 1860 (page 2, column 3)

Mr. Matthew D. Griffin, an overseer, was brutally murdered by three negroes under his charge, near Madison, FLA., on the 4th inst. He was knocked from his horse by one of the negroes, with an axe, and then beat to death by the gang. They then took the body to Pine Lake, and after attaching to it a heavy weight sank it in fifteen feet water, where it was found a few days subsequent. One of the murders has made a full and free confession of the whole affair.

March 17, 1860 (page 2, column 1)

The Ocala *Companion* of the 20th inst., says: "In accordance with the decision of the Jury, in the case mentioned last week, Allen, one of the negroes sentenced, was hung on Wednesday last, after having made a full confession of his guilt. Israel's sentence was commuted to banishment from the State. The other negroes, John Zelius, and Melvina, received from 25 to 50 stripes a day, for ten consecutive days, Sundays excepted."

March 24, 1860 (page 2, column 1)

Broke Jail. - The six negroes, belonging to Maj. J.B. Watts, who were confined in the Madison (Fla.) jail, under sentence of death for the murder of their overseer, Mr. M.D. Griffin, made their escape on Monday night, the 16th ult.

May 5, 1860 (page 2, column 3)

Three negroes were hung at Madison on Friday the 4th, (in accordance with the sentence of the Court, recently held in that town,) for the murder of M.D. Griffin. The other three implicated remain in jail, awaiting the decision of our next Supreme Court.

May 26, 1860 (page 2, column 2)

"Murder Will Out"

We learned that citizens of Hernando County of Saturday last, hung *Hemp*, a slave belonging to the estate of Albert Clarke, for being the immediate cause of the death of his master. The negro confessed that he was promised \$200 by James Boyd (a step-son of the deceased) and Mrs. Clarke (decedent's wife) \$100, – as a compensation for taking the life of his master and that he committed the murder (as stated last week,) accordingly. Boyd and Mrs. Clarke are now in charge of the people, closely guarded; and it is to be hoped, evidence will be found sufficient to convict them by law as accessories; the conviction of their guilt, with the people, is already a fixed fact.

October 20, 1860 (page 2, column 4)

From Hernando we learn that the murder of Albert Clarke is undergoing a judicial investigation. We are not yet advised of its termination.

October 27, 1860 (page 2, column 1)

The investigation of the circumstances attending the recent murder of A. Clarke, in Hernando County, which terminated last week, resulted in the commitment of James Boyd, a step-son of the deceased.

November 3, 1860 (page 2, column 1)

E. THE DEFENSE OF SLAVERY

The national stories carried by the *Peninsular* offered a defense of slavery, even to the extent that some stories were couched in terms of the supposed benefits of slavery to blacks. Although it may be beyond proof, the editors of the *Peninsular* likely had a selection of national stories from which to choose, and they selected those which reflected the sentiment of Tampa's white populace, or were intended to shape that sentiment. The stories that follow are only a portion of those defending slavery that appeared in the *Peninsular*. Space constraints have required that many not be included. However, the articles reproduced here are representative of those published in the *Peninsular*. The newspaper did not publish any articles commending blacks or reporting positive news about blacks.

Voluntary Enslavement, – Elizabeth Blokley, a free girl of color, aged about 22 years, voluntarily went into slavery at the present term of the Abingdon Circuit Court. She was bought by Capt. Samuel Sinner, Sheriff of that county.

This is the first instance of this kind we have heard of, says the *Abingdon Democrat*, in this end of the State. The woman is very intelligent, and was fully aware that a kind master was better able to provide and care for her than she was herself. This is a nut for Yankee philosophy to crack.

November 7, 1857 (page 4, column 1)

Louisiana on the Slave Trade²⁷

The following bill relative to the purchase of slaves by the people of Louisiana, has been introduced into the Legislature of that State, and referred to the Committee on Federal Relations;

Whereas, The Federal Government has no power to prohibit the buying of negro slaves by the citizens of this State: and whereas, the right of the people of Louisiana to purchase slave property in any market, whether domestic or foreign, where negroes are sold, has never been alienated from her sovereignty, or granted to the control of the Federal Government;

Therefore be it enacted, &c., That any citizens or association of citizens of this State be and they are hereby authorized to purchase negro slaves from Cuba, Brazil, and Africa, and to bring the said slaves so purchased into this State; and to hold the same in full right and title, for their proper use, benefit and behoof; *provided*, said slaves are purchased and imported into this State, shall be subject to the same regulations and tariff for duties as other species of foreign property or imports.

February 26, 1859 (page 2, column 6)

Slave Trade – “We are not mealy-mouthed or sentimental in relation to the African slave trade, nor do we avow ourselves in favor of re-opening it. We believe, however, that the cause of philanthropy and Christianity would be best subserved by taking the black cannibals and savages from their native jungles and subjecting them to the elevating, humanizing and Christianizing influences of

Southern slavery; for no where on the surface of the globe has the African race so much improved as in the slaveholding commonwealth of the South. And by way of answer to Puritanic cavilers, we would ask them if the African slave trade between the States be wrong, is not the slave trade between the States wrong in itself, also! This is a question we have often thought deserved more serious consideration than has ever been bestowed upon it.” – *N. O. Crescent*

May 14, 1859 (page 3, column 1),

SLAVE TRADE AND PIRACY.

We copy the following sensible remarks on this subject from the *New Orleans Crescent*, every word of which we endorse. It states, in a concise manner, the position all conservative Southerners must occupy:

A correspondent of the *Galveston News*, writing from Artesian Springs, Mississippi, near which place there are sixteen Africans of one of the late importations, argues thus:

“There are some men in the South who buy Virginia slaves every year, and yet brand as a pirate one who buys an African. Now, does the *lex loci* make it moral or immoral – right or wrong? If no, the laws of Virginia and Africa are the same; both recognize the right to hold a slave and to sell him. A master, then in Virginia, has no more right to sell me a slave than the African owner. If the African owner has the right, the Virginia owner has it as well: and vice versa, if the Virginia owner has the right to sell me a slave, so has the African owner. Now we recognize the right to buy a slave from Virginia, why not from Africa? – Where is the piracy? – If it is not piracy there, is it piracy here?”

The view taken above is, in all essential respects, a correct one. It is a like logical and incontrovertible. It cannot be met by argument, overwhelmed by facts, or refuted by history. It states all the main features of the issue plainly and unmistakably, and demonstrates in a few words, that if the African slave trade is wrong, the slave-trade between the States is wrong also.

On this particular point the wholesale opponents of the African slave trade are not only putting themselves in the wrong, but they are imperilling the very institution of slavery – as known and conducted among us – itself; for if that institution cannot be defended on moral and Christian grounds the period of its existence only rests upon a thread which will be severed by the strong hand of power just as soon as the world can supply itself with a single product from other quarters.

We have never declared ourselves in favor of re-opening the African slave trade. With that important question many interests are intertwined; and we know that thousands, having no conscientious scruples on the subject, looking at it in a purely business light think it expedient and unwise. On this point there is a multitude of honest differences of opinion. But there is little or no difference when the matter is viewed with exclusive reference to its moral, Christian and philanthropic aspects.

The three million and a half of civilized, Christianized, happy and well cared for Africans in the Southern States, the product of whose labor, constitutes the

keystone of the commercial and financial ____ (illegible) of Christendom, bear witness to the good and wholesome fruits that have sprung from the much-abused slave trade. Had not their ancestors – slaves in Africa, slaves of ____ (illegible), barbarian, blood thirsty canibal masters – been purchased and brought to this country, they would now be the slaves of the most horrid system that exist anywhere on earth, instead of the happiest and best provided for class of laborers on the surface of the globe.

July 23, 1859 (page 2, column 6)

Free Negroes in the North.

The N Y Herald, of last Thursday, devotes a column to an inquiry into the constantly depressing condition of the ____ (illegible) pauperism, and winds up with the following: “The logical deduction from these facts is, that the Northern States will return to the enactment of the laws establishing negro slavery, and sell all the free negroes into family servitude. Humanity will demand this to preserve them from being reduced to a state of degradation terrible to contemplate, by the increasing competition of the white race. Policy will require it to save the community from the burden of hundreds of thousands of able-bodied paupers which can make no headway of themselves. The negro himself will ask it, in order that he may be restored to that consideration in society to which he is entitled as a man. They will then be absorbed into our families again as servants, mechanics and husbandmen, and will be relieved from that social ban which now attends them in consequence of their doubtful position and long lasting degradation.”

Startling as the prediction may appear, remarks the Macon Telegraph, it could find its practical fulfillment in many of the Northern towns without any change in their laws or customs. As paupers the negroes could be and probably are, annually sold to who ever will accept their services and maintain them at the lowest cost to the town: and the misfortune of the negroes in this case, would be a liability to a change of masters every year. – The Herald’s proposition for a permanent ownership is much more humane. – *Savannah News*.

August 6, 1859 (page 1, column 6)

CONCLUSION

The practices and attitudes depicted in the *Florida Peninsular* appear shocking today. Nevertheless, the people named in articles and advertisements and the people who published the newspaper included many of Tampa’s leading citizens. Regardless of how much we may wish to disassociate ourselves from Tampa of the 1850s or to disclaim that society, it provided the foundation for modern Tampa. Only by understanding the reality of black-white relations under slavery can we hope to comprehend its legacy.

¹ Gary R. Mormino and Anthony P. Pizzo, *Tampa, The Treasure City* (Tulsa: Continental Heritage Press, 1983), 60.

² The Spencer family was prominent in the Tampa community and active in the publication of the *Peninsular*. William Samuel Spencer and his wife, Emily Amanda Kendrick, had eight children, and three of their sons engaged

in newspaper publishing in Tampa. William James Spencer began working for the *Peninsular* in 1855, and in late 1858 at the age of nineteen, he purchased the *Peninsular*. He continued as publisher until the war caused suspension of publication. William, who enlisted in the Confederate Army immediately after suspending publication, was stricken with typhoid fever in Kentucky and died in 1862. His brothers, John Edward and Thomas K., resumed publication of the paper in April 1866. John died shortly thereafter, but Thomas continued as publisher until 1872 when he sold the newspaper. Four years later, in March 1876, Thomas founded the *Sunland Tribune*, and in March 1883 changed its name to the *Tampa Tribune*. Karl H. Grismer, *Tampa: a History of the City of Tampa and the Tampa Bay Region of Florida* (St. Petersburg, Florida: St. Petersburg Printing Company, 1950), 122:318.

³ A clear indication of how whites thought of blacks is contained in the anecdotes printed by the *Peninsular*. Told in stereotypical dialect, these stories were designed to demonstrate qualities that supposedly made blacks inferior. The following anecdotes are typical examples of racist humor found in the *Peninsula*.

“Sambo, you’s larned in de law; can you say, if de devil was to loose his tail, whar would he go to find another one?” “Why, to de grocery, ob course, you ignorant nigger – dat’s de only place I knows of whar dey re-tail bad spirits.” February 23, 1856 (page 4, column 2).

A negro was brought up before the Mayor of Philadelphia for stealing chickens. Theft conclusively proved.

“Well, Toby,” said his honor, “what have you got to say for yourself?”

“Nuffin by dis, boss. I was crazy as a bed bug when I stole dat pullet, coz I might hab stole the big rooster and neber done it. Dat shows ‘clusively to my mind dat I was laboring under de *delirum tremendus*.” September 11, 1858 (page 4, column 1).

⁴ See, for example, advertisements and in *Florida Peninsular*, April 7, 14, and December 15, 1855, November 1, 1856, January 22, and November 19, 1859, February 11, and September 1, 1860.

⁵ Ulrich B. Phillips, *Life and Labor in the Old South* (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1963), 162; Julia Floyd Smith, *Slavery and Plantation Growth, in Antebellum Florida, 1821-1860* (Gainesville, Florida: University of Florida Press, 1973).

⁶ William H. McDonald was born in 1822 in Georgia and died in Hillsborough County in 1870. He and his wife were the owners of five slaves in 1850. Julius J. Gordon, “Biographical Census of Hillsborough County, Florida, 1850” (Tampa 1989), 396.

⁷ Edward Tatnell Kendrick built the first watermill ever constructed in Hillsborough County, on Flint Creek, the outlet of Lake Thonotosassa. Later, he leased the mill and enlisted in the Mexican War. At the end of the war, he returned to Tampa and was elected sheriff of Hillsborough County. At the expiration of his term as sheriff, he enlisted in the Third Seminole War of the 1850's. Charles E. Harrison, *Genealogical Records of the Pioneers of Florida and Some Who Came After Them* (Tampa: E.W.B. Wiley, 1915), 103-08.

⁸ Henry Parker may well be a misnomer for John B. Parker who became guardian of Henry Parker of Columbia County, Florida, who was born May 24, 1842. John B. Parker was born in 1818 in North Carolina and applied for and obtained a land grant of 160 acres at Simmons Hammock settlement near Seffner in 1842. He became the sheriff of Hillsborough County in 1855 and moved to Manatee County in 1856. Gordon, “Biographical Census,” 466-69.

⁹ Alderman Carlton was born January 4, 1803, in North Carolina. He moved to Georgia in 1829 and then to Florida in 1843. He settled in Hillsborough County and under the Armed Occupation Act of 1842 received 160 acres of land. The United States Census of 1850 indicates that he was living in the Alafia settlement area. During the Third Seminole Indian War, Alderman Carlton enlisted as Second Lieutenant in the Florida Mounted Volunteers and was killed in action at the homestead of Willoughby Tillis on June 14, 1856. *Ibid.*, 75.

¹⁰ J.M. Hayman served as a deputy county clerk of Hillsborough County. *Ibid.*, 139-60.

¹¹ John W. Mercer was born in 1818 in Winchester, Virginia, and came to Florida in 1830. The 1860 Hillsborough County Census indicated that his wife Sara Mercer was a widow. *Ibid.*, 412.

¹² Moses Turner was born in 1782 in South Carolina. He married in Hillsborough County in 1846 and was the owner of two slaves in 1850. The relationship of Moses Turner and Aaron Turner is not clear. *Ibid.*, 603.

¹³ William Samuel Spencer the father of William James Spencer who became owner of the *Florida Peninsular*, was born May 23, 1811, in Savannah, Georgia. William Samuel Spencer and his wife had moved to Tampa in 1845 and raised eight children. Harrison, *Genealogical Records*, 36-38.

¹⁴ Joshua Stafford, Sr., was born in 1794 in Georgia, and he owned thirty-one slaves in 1850 in Hillsborough County, according to census records. Gordon, "Biographical Census," 557.

¹⁵ Thomas Pugh Kennedy was born December 12, 1812, in Philadelphia. He came to St. Augustine, Florida, in 1828 and spent the next twelve years in various parts of Florida. He finally settled in Tampa in 1840 and established the first trading post with the Indians in this area, as well as one at Charlotte Harbor. Mr. Kennedy became one of the wealthiest and most honored men in south Florida. At the time of his death in 1858, he was an extensive property holder throughout the state, particularly in Tampa and Hillsborough County. The first entry in the Clerk's Office in Hillsborough County was a deed from E.T. Kendrick and his wife to Thomas P. Kennedy recorded in March 1846. Harrison, *Genealogical Records*, 100-02.

¹⁶ Kennedy & Darling ran a forwarding and commission house at the corner of Tampa and Whiting Streets, opposite the United States garrison. Kennedy & Darling advertised that they would receive provisions from New Orleans by steamer and were prepared to "purchase, advance upon, or chip, cotton, hides, deer-skins, et cetera, upon liberal terms." Kennedy & Darling was a partnership of Thomas P. Kennedy (see footnote 15) and John Darling. The latter was born in 1808 in Vermont. He enlisted in the United States Army and arrived at Fort Brooke in Tampa about 1835 as ordinance sergeant. He was discharged in 1847 and became one of Tampa's leading businessmen. Ernest L. Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County of Florida* (Tampa: The Record Company, 1928), 37; Gordon, *Biographical Census*, 142-43.

¹⁷ Hardy D. Kendrick moved to Tampa with his mother, his three brothers, and his sister about 1840. William H. Kendrick, Hardy's brother, was one of the most widely known citizens of Florida. He served two terms in the Florida Senate, and the town of Kendrick in Marion County takes its name from him. Another brother, Edward T. Kendrick, served as Sheriff of Hillsborough County (see footnote 7).

¹⁸ John Gallagher was born August 1, 1821, in Dublin, Ireland, and died in December 1900. He was a farmer in the Cork, Florida, area where he owned a notable orange grove and had two slaves in 1862 valued at \$1,200.00. Gordon, "Biographical Census," 189.

¹⁹ Theodore Lesley, eminent Hillsborough County historian, once wrote: "A unique claim for distinction, that of never having its community, and later post office, name spelled in the same manner twice by map-makers and its own citizens alike, is credited to Ichepucklesassa, the farming area of central Hillsborough County, now known as the Plant City region." Quintilla Geer Bruton and David E. Bailey, Jr., *Plant City, Its Origin and History* (Valkyrie Press, 1977) 18-19.

²⁰ Judge Joseph B. Lancaster served as mayor of Tampa until his death in November 1856. Gordon, "Biographical Census," 147; Robinson, *History of Hillsborough County*.

²¹ J.T. Magbee undoubtedly refers to James T. Magby, who was born in 1820 in Georgia and came to Tampa in the late 1840s. He was a lawyer by profession, and in August 1868 Governor Harrison Reed appointed him judge of the Sixth Circuit Court. As a Republican official during Reconstruction, he often aroused public wrath by compelling white men to serve on the same juries with blacks. Judge Magby resigned his office in 1874 after impeachment proceedings were brought against him in the Florida Legislature. Gordon, "Biographical Census," 363.

²² Captain Francis M. Durrance commanded a company of Florida Mounted Volunteers during the Third Seminole Indian War between December 1855 and December 1857. *Ibid.*, 82.

²³ Dr. Franklin Branch was born in 1802 in Orwell, Vermont, and graduated from medical school in Vermont in 1825. He moved to Florida just prior to 1850 and settled at first in the Manatee district of Hillsborough County. He later moved to Tampa where he established a drugstore on the south side of Washington Street near Florida Avenue. He was also an ordained minister of the Methodist Church. The United States Census Slave Schedule for 1850 listed Branch as owning ten slaves. In 1861 he owed five slaves with a value of \$3,000. Ibid. 53.

²⁴ Occasionally, a state intervened to prosecute an overseer for killing or maiming a slave. Most of these cases, however, never reached the courts, as the owner dealt with the problem himself. Kenneth M. Stampp, "Southern Negro Slavery: 'To Make Them Stand in Fear,' " in Allen Weinstein and Frank Otto Gatell, eds., *American Negro Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1968), 80-82.

²⁵ Henry Laurens Mitchell was born in 1831 in Alabama. He moved to Tampa in 1854 and began practicing law. He later served as Governor of Florida from 1892 to 1897. Gordon, "Biographical Census," 419.

²⁶ The trial and execution of the slave Adam was unusual, because, of course, slaves were seen as valuable property. Slave owners, for the most part, handled the discipline of slaves privately. They devised a great variety of penalties, including demoting unfaithful domestics, foremen and drivers to field labor and denying passes to incorrigibles or excluding them from participating in Saturday night dances. Owners forced malingerers to work on Sundays and holidays and at night. Recalcitrant slaves were sold away from their families and friends. A few slaveowners built private jails on their farms, but the whip was the most common form of punishment. It became the emblem of the owner's authority. Nearly every owner used it, and few grown slaves escaped it entirely. Stampp, "Southern Negro Slavery," 80-82.

²⁷ A federal law prohibited the importation of slaves from other countries after 1807, but in the 1850s some Southerners called (unsuccessfully) for re-opening the international slave trade to permit the purchase of slaves from Africa and Latin America. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Anti-Bellum South* (New York: Random House, 1956), 251-56.