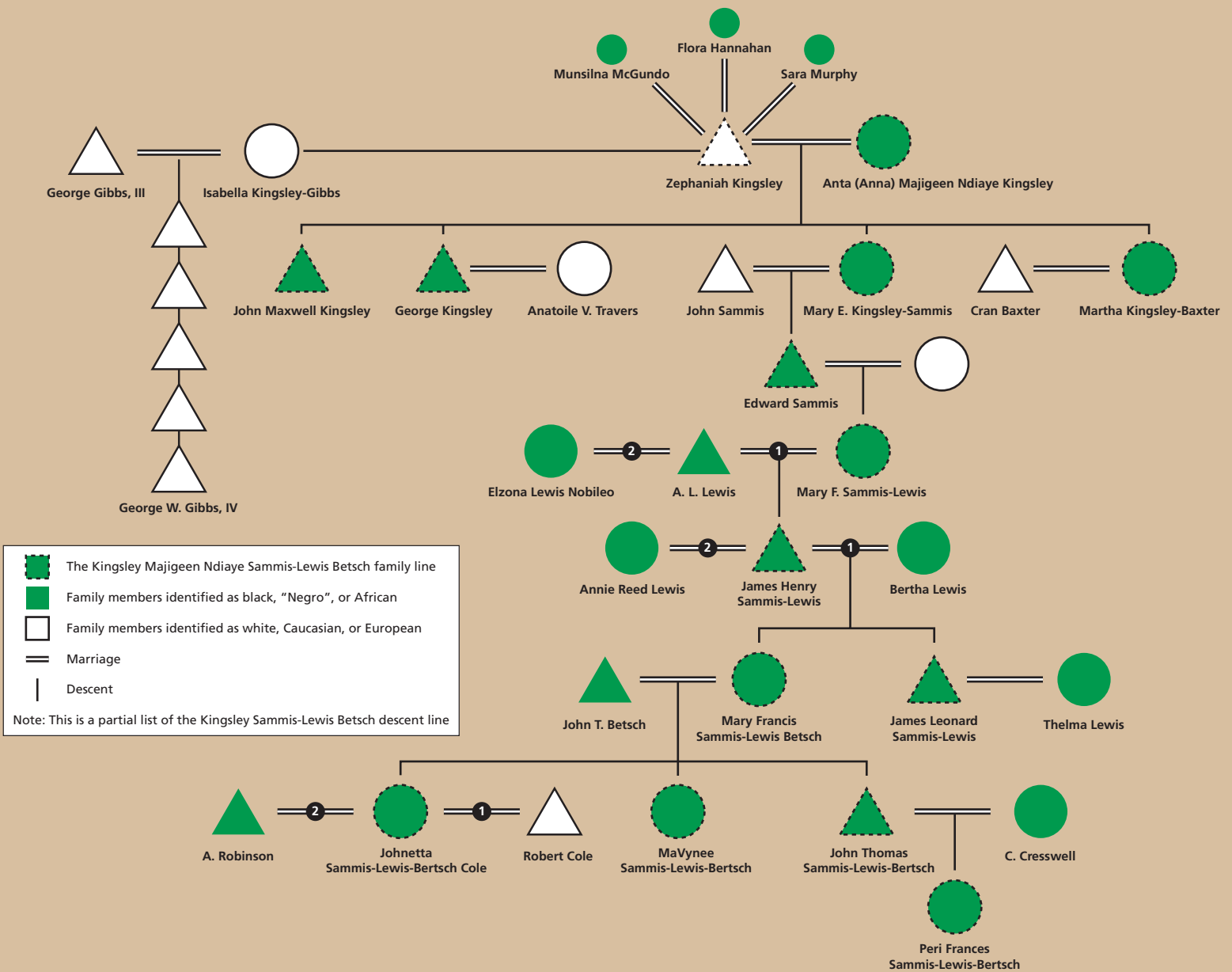




Kingsley Plantation Ethnohistorical Study



Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve

**Ethnohistorical Study of the
Kingsley Plantation
Community**

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About the cover: The front cover shows the Kingsley Sammis-Lewis Betsch descent chart.

This ethnohistorical study exists in two formats. A printed version is available for study at the park, at the Southeast Regional Office of the National Park Service, and at a variety of other repositories around the United States. For more widespread access, this ethnohistorical study also exists as a PDF through the web site of the National Park Service. Please visit www.nps.gov for more information.

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Foreword

When the 19th century ended, Jacksonville, Florida, was transformed from a sparsely populated seacoast town into a city. That transformation was made by families that had been enslaved, families that held slaves, and free people whose lives created a new city on Florida's "First Coast." Jacksonville today is a city with a rich tapestry of industry, tourism, service, and a naval installation as large as any in the United States. The transformation of the mouth of the St. Johns River and the marshlands of the sea islands of Georgia and Florida to a thriving metropolis is clearly seen in this study of the Kingsley Plantation. The Kingsley Plantation is important as a place where people lived and worked in Florida, as well as a place in Florida's history. As this report illustrates, the plantation alternated between Tumucua, Spanish, and later English control and was purchased in 1817 by an Englishman, Zephaniah Kingsley. The human landscape of the plantation on Fort George Island is an especially important feature of Jacksonville as it changed from a small town of less than a thousand people to a major industrial port. That history and the living history of contemporary conversations, narratives, and reflections is the theme of this report by Antoinette Jackson, the principal author of this report, and myself. Antoinette Jackson brings to this study the theoretical concepts developed in African Diaspora studies. She shows the interplay of enslaved and free people's lives throughout the history of the plantation and well into the 20th century. Rather than thinking of the plantation as a total institution that controlled all of the lives of people associated with it, Jackson takes a wider look at the community of people, African enslaved workers, free Africans and African Americans, Non-African Americans and how the larger community gave meaning to the plantation itself.

The community of the Kingsley Plantation is a stark and haunting story of the African Diaspora. Jackson points out that Kingsley was someone who was quite proud about his occupation as a slave trader and spoke quite directly about it even to anti-slavery interviewers in the 1840s. He was a person of complex paradoxes. While he was English, he also swore allegiance to South Carolina, Denmark, and Spain throughout his life. He was a slave owner who married Anta Majigeen Ndiaye, a woman from a Senegalese royal family. Kingsley purchased her in Cuba and brought her to Florida where both of them lived on the Kingsley Plantation. In 1837 Anta and Zephaniah Kingsley left Florida and settled in Haiti. Their descendants are multi-racial and multi-national, spreading throughout the United States, the Dominican Republic, and Haiti.

The Kingsley Plantation is today a National Park, a protected and celebrated place on the outskirts of the industrial Jacksonville north of the downtown. Huge naval ships slide out to the ocean from the nearby base; barges, container ships, and a few fishing boats ply the waters nearby. Kingsley plantation seems like an island in the midst of this world of noise, a sea filled with churning water and pollution, and industrial might. A few people local to the area still fish off the bridges that span the St. Johns River estuary and the rich, low land that was the key resource for the plantation. It is hard to imagine what the plantation was like when it was more central to the life and economy of Jacksonville. The lifeways of people around and in the plantation were a combination of working the water and the land. I have interviewed people in Gainesville, Florida, who grew up in the area. Their memories are of their grandparents catching shrimp, working plots of land, and trying to see how the impending urbanism of the 20th century could provide them with benefits that the 19th century did not have. Close to Kingsley plantation is American Beach, a thriving core of African American life for North Florida that independent film maker John Sayles portrayed in his quasi-documentary film, *Sunshine State* (2002).

The Kingsley Plantation forces us to rethink common images of plantations. The location, on the marshlands marked today by Jacksonville's busy port activities, is strikingly different than the plantations of popular books and media. Rice, cotton, and indigo were the early crops raised there, crops that owed their harvest success to the agricultural skills of Africans who worked on the land. Later, cotton and sugar cane were harvested there, and by the 1920s, the Plantation and surrounding land produced Florida oranges that

were shipped out on the new railroad that later became known as the “Orange Blossom Special.” The plantation challenges other stereotypes as well. Zephaniah Kingsley and his Senegalese wife Anta owned slaves, and their descendants and the descendants of the enslaved people on the plantation intermixed within the evolving Jacksonville of the 20th century.

The University of Florida anthropology department is honored to have been part of the recent story of Kingsley Plantation. In 1968, the distinguished archeologist, Dr. Charles Fairbanks, made archeological news when he excavated the slave quarters at Kingsley Plantation. Excavating outside of the “big houses” of plantations had simply not been done prior to Fairbanks’s work, and what he found in his excavations changed our view of the history of the 19th century. Fairbanks found the enslaved people supplemented their rations with many different kinds of animals and seafood, and even evidently had guns to hunt with. Fairbanks’s students, including Distinguished Curator of the Florida Museum of Natural History, Dr. Kathleen Deagan, learned from these excavations and then went on to excavate Fort Mose, the first African American fort in St. Augustine, as well as the colonial city of St. Augustine itself. In 1998, the Department of Anthropology again had an opportunity to learn from the lives of descendants of the Kingsley plantation when Dr. Anthony Paredes of the National Park Service developed a contract with the Department in order to video tape oral histories at the first Kingsley Heritage Day. These tapes are remarkable for the insights that people today have of the complex social and cultural history of Jacksonville and the Kingsley Plantation’s place in that history.

Antoinette Jackson and the colleagues who helped with the fieldwork for the project, Dr. Terry Weik and Ms. Katisha Greer, bring new light to the history of Jacksonville, the history of the plantation, and the African Diaspora. Antoinette and her colleagues are part of the African Diaspora themselves. Their perspectives, both as participants in this historical process and as anthropologists trained in careful scientific research, make this a much-needed document. Antoinette has brought enthusiasm and warmth to this ethnohistory, all the while keeping a critical and theoretically insightful point of view. Thanks to Antoinette for combining the study of kinship, place, and Diaspora through the lens of the Kingsley Plantation.

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Introduction

The history of the Kingsley Plantation is an interesting and complex combination of people, personalities, and agendas. Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr.'s life and business activities, for example, underscore the reality of the transatlantic slave trade in Florida. His multi-racial and multi-national family and their connections, associations, and relationships with people and communities on local and global levels provide important insight into issues of race, power, and place.

The goal of this ethnohistorical study of the Kingsley Plantation community, “The Legacy of Slavery at the Kingsley Plantation,” is to expand the scope of knowledge about the lifeways and socio-cultural patterns of persons primarily of African descent associated with the Kingsley Plantation. The study is especially enriched by oral history and interview testimony provided by Zephaniah Kingsley’s African, European, and Latino descendant family members and descendants of enslaved and free persons of color who worked at the Kingsley Plantation site. Emphasis is placed on analysis of the Kingsley community’s transition through time, from the antebellum period to the present—with a focus on the period immediately before Civil War and through the early 20th century.

Research was primarily conducted in the greater Jacksonville, Florida area. In addition, Amelia Island and St. Augustine, Florida served as key research sites. Archeological findings, land grants, and war claim information are used to show the Kingsley’s historical connection to northeast Florida. Probate records, U.S. Federal Census data (1850-1940), maps, photographs, and other archival materials are used to profile the connection between the Kingsley Plantation and the greater Jacksonville community and show the importance of the Kingsley Plantation community to Jacksonville’s transition to industrial and post-industrial development.

The reality of race and racial policies in Florida is captured in this report by chronicling the lives of Kingsley Plantation community descendants via oral history narratives and U.S. census records and reports. The subjective and variable nature of racial classification practices, for example, is captured in the instructions given to U.S. census enumerators at the turn of the century. At the census of 1910, enumerators were instructed to:

... indicate the color or race of each person enumerated, distinguishing blacks and mulattoes in the Negro population in accordance with the definition following:

For census purposes the term ‘black’ includes all persons who are evidently full-blooded Negroes, while the term ‘mulatto’ includes all other persons having some proportion or perceptible trace of Negro blood. [U.S. Bureau of Census 1918:207]

The lives of Kingsley Plantation descendants and residents of Jacksonville and surrounding cities associated with the plantation reflect the impact of racial politics on community organization and relationships.

This study is anchored by two time periods. On one end is Zephaniah Kingsley’s arrival in Florida (around 1803) through his purchase of various plantation sites, including what is now the Kingsley Plantation site. On the other end is the present where oral history and interview testimony conveyed by descendants and local area residents help to frame the plantation community beyond a geographic and physical place perspective. As a result, it will be seen how social relationships and interactions are integral components in the shaping of “place” (my place/your place) and in turn how relations to “place” are influenced by or influence how the past is viewed, understood, and experienced.

Methodology—Collecting and Organizing the Data

Places capture the complex emotional, behavioral, and moral relationships between people and their territory. They represent people, their actions, and their interactions and as such become malleable memorials for negotiating and renegotiating human relationships. [Kahn 1996:168]

In this report, both an ethnohistorical and an ethnographic research methodology are utilized. The ethnohistorical methodology incorporates anthropology's use of theory as a framework for organizing data and formulating analysis and the historic method for collecting, verifying, and organizing relevant material. The ethnographic methodology involves the direct collection of data from the field via observation or interactive participation with the subject(s) under analysis.

The concept of “space” and how it is experienced will be used as a framework for organizing data and formulating analysis of the Kingsley Plantation community. Most recently, Miriam Kahn's work on Tahiti (Kahn 2000) underscores the importance of incorporating expanded notions of space in anthropological applications. She describes place as a dynamic entity with many aspects, all of which must be analyzed and understood in order for a comprehensive representation of a chosen site or community (in her case, present day Tahiti) to be developed. Therefore, place viewed as an interactive experiencing of space, is part of every segment of community life both physical and social.

In the case of the Kingsley Plantation community for example, the National Park Service sponsored “Kingsley Plantation Annual Heritage Festival” can be viewed as a mediating space (a non-threatening social space or “safe” house) for members of the Kingsley family and others to share memories about or reconcile relationships with the plantation's past. And, it is the combination of the plantation as a physical place in the form of tangible and interactively accessible reminders (i.e., grave sites, housing remains, waterways) and a socially constructed space that helps keep it in the minds and memory of those who visit. Therefore, looking at the concept of space from different perspectives is one way to derive an expanded understanding of the Kingsley Plantation community.

Participant observation and key informant interviews for the purpose of collecting oral history were the primary means of obtaining ethnographic field data about the Kingsley Plantation community. Interviews were conducted primarily with persons of African descent—ranging in ages from 20 to 86 years old. Research was conducted at the Kingsley Plantation site and throughout the greater Jacksonville, Florida area, as well as in the communities of Lincolnton in St. Augustine and American Beach on Amelia Island.

Institutions dedicated primarily to serving patrons of African descent contain invaluable information on the history of African people, often on community specific levels. In Jacksonville, the following sources were consulted regarding the history of the local black community for this project: Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, Historic Mount Zion AME Church, LaVilla Museum, Clara White Mission and Eartha M.M. White Historical Museum and Mission, the Durkeville Historical Society, and private collections maintained by families in the community. In addition to community specific resources, archival data on the history of Africans in Florida was found in the following collections: the Black Archives Research Center and Museum at Florida A&M University in Tallahassee, the P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History at the University of Florida, the Library of Congress Memory Collection web site, and the Eartha M.M. White Collection at the University of North Florida (see Note 2 for a detailed listing of sources consulted).

Report Layout

This study of the Kingsley Plantation community raises and addresses several important questions: (a) How and to what degree have obstacles to free movement within local community spaces been dictated by slavery, racism, and the plantation experience in America? (b) How have Africans in America and their descendants strategically managed the transition from conditions imposed by the system of chattel slavery as practiced in the U.S. South and its legacy to life beyond? and, (c) How has life as experienced by Kingsley Plantation community descendants today been influenced by the plantation experience and memories of the past?

The report will be presented in five parts plus a conclusion: (1) The Kingsley Plantation Today—A Physical (and Social) Reminder; (2) Zephaniah

Kingsley and the Kingsley Plantation in Global Perspective; (3) The Kingsley Family in Florida Before the Civil War and into the Present; (4) Transition, Movement, and Memory: The Kingsley Plantation Community and Jacksonville's Growth and Development; and (5) Ethnographic Profiles of a Historic Resource Site—The Kingsley Plantation. The report begins with a presentation of the Kingsley Plantation place—the big house, the kitchen house, and the tabby slave quarters—intertwined with discussions and descriptions of the 1998 National Park Service sponsored “Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival.” The festival event and the Kingsley Plantation site provide a platform and a forum from which family and community relationships with the plantation's legacy can be explored. Chapter Two places the Kingsley Plantation within a historical context, using Zephaniah Kingsley's life as a focal point for analyzing the diasporic experiences of Africans in Florida. An overview of Zephaniah Kingsley's life is provided starting with his arrival in East Florida in 1803 until his death in 1843. Chapter Three provides an overview of Zephaniah Kingsley's family relationships and associations. Descendant

charts for Kingsley-Gibbs, Kingsley-McNeill, Kingsley-LeBron; Kingsley-Eliebo, Kingsley-Sammis and Kingsley-Baxter family lines are included. In addition, an ethnographic profile of the Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch family is featured. The primary focus of Chapter Four is transition, with a specific focus on the Kingsley Plantation community within the context of the greater Jacksonville, Florida, community's transition from slavery to segregation to Civil Rights and from an agrarian based economy to an industrial/post industrial centered economy. An ethnographic profile of the Bartley-King-Murrell-Williams family is highlighted. In Chapter Five, the Kingsley Plantation site is looked at from the plantation era and the recreation-and-development era of its history using ethnographic profiles of the Christopher family and the Daniels family to frame the story. The report is concluded in Chapter Six with a summation of the goals of the study and an overview of what was accomplished. Throughout the report, emphasis is placed on the plantation as a social space and the Kingsley Plantation community's connection to and interrelationship with the Jacksonville community as a whole.

Chapter One: The Kingsley Plantation Today—A Physical (and Social) Reminder

The Kingsley slave settlement consisted of thirty-two cabins arranged in a distinctive arc. Trees were planted in front of each house in this semicircular village, and wells reportedly were placed between every two cabins. The dwellings were well constructed with tabby. Cabins measured approximately sixteen by twenty feet or less and thus, even though their substantial mode of construction made them both fire and hurricane resistant, they were very cramped. Two slightly larger structures were located at the midpoint of the curving row of slave houses. These two-room houses, measuring close to twenty-five by nineteen feet, were reserved for the slave drivers—black foremen who supervised the daily operations of the plantation . . . Kingsley’s own residence, a building two stories tall with a wide veranda, stood about a thousand feet from the slave village. It was clearly the largest building on the plantation . . . [John Michael Vlach 1993:187-188]

The Kingsley Plantation site is located in the state of Florida east of the city of Jacksonville at the northern tip of Fort George Island at the Fort George inlet. It was originally home to the Timucua Indians (Milanich 1975). Control of the island alternated between the Spanish and the British before being purchased by Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr. in 1817 during the second Spanish Period of control (see Figure 1). Kingsley owned the plantation until 1839, when he sold it to his nephews Ralph King and Kingsley Beatty Gibbs. Today, the plantation is part of the National Park Service’s Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve (see Figure 2). The Preserve was created as part of a 1988 act—Public Law 100-249—to protect important ecological and cultural resources in northeast Florida (Stowell 1996).

The Kingsley Plantation community extends well beyond the physical boundaries of the Preserve. It includes greater Jacksonville and the surrounding areas from Fernandina (to the north) to St. Augustine (to the south) and all other places where Kingsley descendants and others associated with the plantation live today.

The physical space that forms the Kingsley Plantation site as it existed at the time of Kingsley’s ownership includes Zephaniah Kingsley’s “big” house, Anna Kingsley’s “kitchen” house, a barn, “slave” cabin remains, and approximately 720 acres of land and waterway access via the Fort George inlet (see Figure 3). These physical and geographic markers provide a view into the life of Zephaniah Kingsley, his extended family, and his enslaved African labor force. It is here that Kingsley’s descendants and others connected to or interested in the plantation gather for the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival—an annual event sponsored by the National Park Service. The festival attracts many first time visitors to the plantation site. Participants report that they attend in order to learn more about the plantation’s history, to remember and acknowledge those who lived and worked on the plantation, and meet other members of the Kingsley Plantation community.

In 1955, the State of Florida acquired the Kingsley Plantation and in 1967 initiated a project to restore the plantation to the Kingsley period (1817-43). In conjunction with this effort, the late Charles Fairbanks of the University of Florida received a grant from the Florida Park Service for excavations of the plantation “slave” cabins. These cabins provide a

Land of Timucua Indians	pre-European arrival
First Spanish Period	1565-1763
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1580's Spanish built a Mission on Fort George Island (San Juan del Puerto) • 1730's Fort George was constructed by Oglethorpe 	
British Period	1763-84
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Fort George Island plantation grew indigo, rice, and cotton 	
Second Spanish Period	1784-1821
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1791 Haitian Revolution begins • 1791 John McQueen granted Fort George island by Spanish Government...cotton & lumber major products; • 1800 Gabriel Prosser's Rebellion (VA) • 1804 Haiti declared Independent (Haitian revolution ends 1803) • 1804 John Houstoun McIntosh purchased Fort George Island ... grew sea island cotton, corn rice, sugar cane, and other plantation crops • 1811 St. John the Baptist Parish Rebellion (New Orleans) • 1812 Patriot Rebellion (FL) • 1812-1839 Zephaniah Kingsley occupies Fort George Island (in 1817 purchases the island); grew cotton, sugar cane, rice, and other food crops and experimented with citrus • 1818 First Seminole War 	
Florida becomes a U.S. Territory	1821
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1822 Denmark Vesey Revolt aborted (Charleston) • 1831 Nat Turner Revolt aborted (VA) • 1839-1853 Kingsley Beatty Gibbs owns Kingsley Plantation 	
Florida enters the Union	1845
Civil War and Reconstruction	1861-1877
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1869 John F. Rollins purchases Kingsley Plantation 	
Segregation/ 'Jim Crow' Period	1883-1964
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1869-1920s Rollins owns Kingsley Plantation; in 1880s-1890s he produced and marketed oranges as the last major agricultural production crop on Fort George Island; • 1895 Tourist industry begins to increase on island...Hotels/Resorts/Clubs/Golf Course/... • 1901 Jacksonville Fire • World War II • Korean Conflict • 1955 Kingsley Plantation acquired by the State Park Service 	
Civil Rights Period	1960-1968
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • 1964 Dr. Martin Luther King leads Civil Rights protests in St. Augustine, FL • 1965 Malcom-X assassinated • 1968 Archaeologist Charles Fairbanks excavates Kingsley site 	
Sources consulted: Landers (2000); Rivers (2000); Schafer (1996); Stowell (1996)	

FIGURE 1. Timeline of Kingsley Plantation.

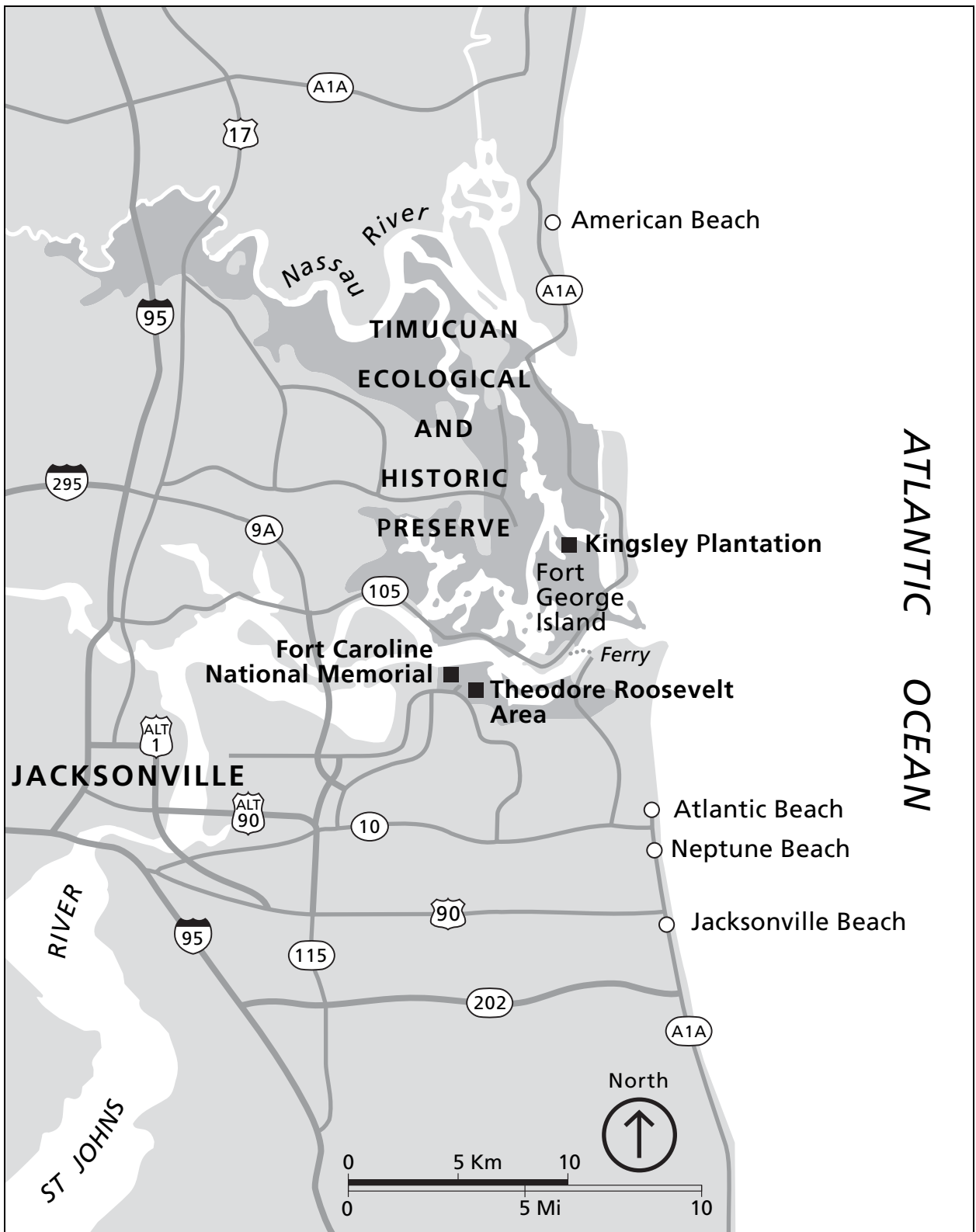


FIGURE 2. Map of Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve and surrounding area. NPS map

visually arresting reminder of the institution of slavery practiced in northeast Florida and throughout the U.S. South. Fairbanks’s goal was to discover more about African lifeways in America

through an examination of the material remains of plantations in the Old South located along the south Atlantic coast. Kathleen Deagan, Professor of Archaeology at the University of Florida and former

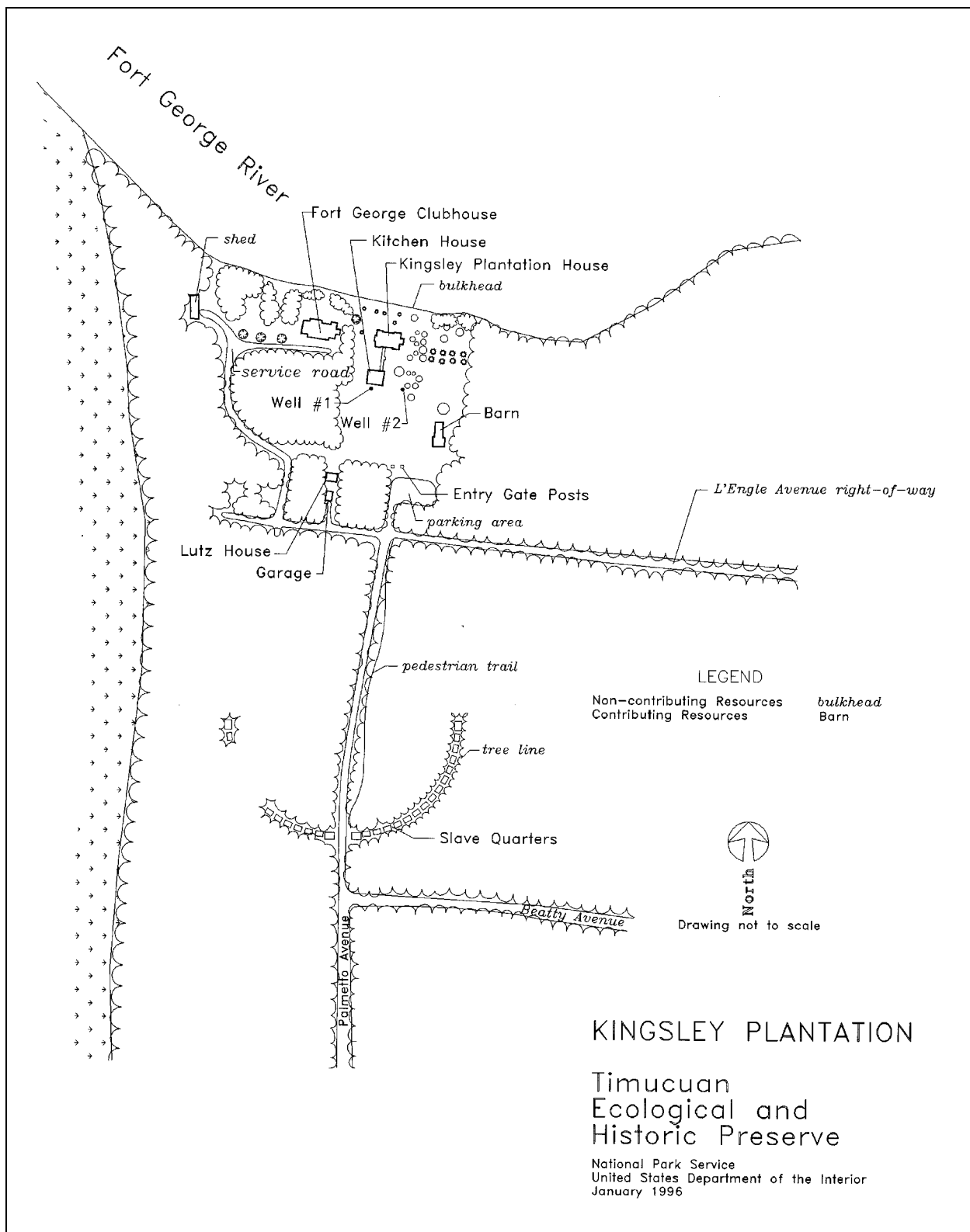


FIGURE 3. Sketch map of Kingsley Plantation, in the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. NPS map

student of Charles Fairbanks, says the "...excavation of Fairbanks has really started the whole history of African American archaeology in the country" (Deagan 2001). At the Kingsley site, he

excavated one "slave" house and part of another and was able to supply the State Park administration with details that they later used for site restoration.

The larger of the two cabins investigated (W-1) was considered to be the cabin of a foreman or driver (as opposed to a field hand cabin) and yielded the bulk of the artifacts on which Fairbanks's analysis of the Kingsley site have been based. Although Fairbanks's sample size was extremely small, he did discover an abundance of foodway remains at the Kingsley site. He found food procurement tools such as musket balls (for hunting) and cylindrical lead weights perhaps used for fishing. The food remains most abundantly found around the cabin well area were bones of fish, cattle, pigs, raccoons, and turtles, and shells of clams and oysters. Fairbanks found fragments of a cast iron skillet and pot, both of which had three legs indicating use in the fireplace. In addition, he found eating and cooking utensils made of iron such as spoons, forks, and table knives. In summarizing his 1968 excavation findings, Fairbanks concluded that the material culture that he did uncover proved that Africans supplemented their diet beyond provided rations and in some cases enslaved Africans did have access to firearms. Also, based on ceramic pieces recovered, he hypothesized that the period of occupation as a "slave" site indicated a community that existed during a time span perhaps at least as early as 1820 through at least 1850 (Fairbanks 1974).

Assessing the Kingsley Legacy Today

In 1806, a ship by the name of *Esther*, Captained by Henry Wright, acquired cargo in the Port of Havana, Cuba and set sail for South Carolina. Listed among the 'cargo,' per the order of Zephaniah Kingsley, were 'Tres Negras bozales piezas · trescientos p' (Three female Negroes freshly arrived from Africa at a price of 300 p each). The cargo was registered to Spencer Man of Charleston, South Carolina, a passenger onboard the ship along with Zephaniah Kingsley. However, enroute to its intended destination, the ship was detained in St. Augustine, Florida, where the cargo was unloaded and released to the possession of Zephaniah Kingsley. [East Florida Papers]

Critical analysis of Zephaniah Kingsley's life is central to the development of balanced portrayals of the diasporic experiences of enslaved Africans and their descendants and others involved in the slave trade business. For example, historian Daniel Schafer, who has done extensive research on Anna Kingsley, has concluded that Anna was probably one of the three Africans whom Zephaniah pur-

chased and transported onboard the "*Esther*" from Havana to St. Augustine in October 1806 (Schafer 1996, 2003). He proposes that Zephaniah took special interest in Anna (then age 13), claiming her as his "wife" soon after purchasing her. Historical accounts typically portray Zephaniah as a wealthy, well educated, high spirited, shrewd and determined businessman, politician, and gentleman and his relationship with Anna as a romance with strategic and lucrative business implications (Bennett 1989; Corse 1931; Schafer 1994).

In the narratives that follow, descendants of the Kingsley family (see Figure 4) provide varying perspectives on Zephaniah and Anna's life and critically assess their relationship to the Kingsley legacy today. For example, Peri Frances Betsch, an African-American identified, eighth generation descendant of Anna and Zephaniah (see Appendix-1c), shared the following ideas and feelings regarding the circumstances of her great grandmother's (Anna) arrival in Florida and the initial encounter between Anna and Zephaniah (Peri Frances Betsch 2001):

Sometimes it makes me laugh . . . But I don't think it was like some, 'I saw him across the crowded slave market, and he winked at me,' that's ludicrous. I can't buy into that. And also you got to think like I would imagine, these people looked crazy to her, like who are you? . . . I imagine some redheaded white guy with a beard, wearing funny woolen clothing, and she must have been like, 'You want me to do what?' I just can't picture it. But I really always wonder what was she thinking . . .

George W. Gibbs IV, a European-American identified Kingsley descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line (see Figure 5), expressed his thoughts about his great uncle's business operations in this way (George W. Gibbs 1998):

This was pure and simple a place for Zephaniah Kingsley to bring slaves in his ships to Fort George, and they tied up here and they disembarked here at Fort George, and they began the domestication, if you will, of the African slaves he had brought to America or to Florida for the purpose of training on this site and selling them, moving on and selling those slaves. This was all about slave trading. This was not about—this was not a tobacco plantation where Zephaniah sat up here in a straw hat and corn cob pipe and watched his crops grow and harvested them every year and made money.

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Kingsley Family

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1. Zephaniah Kingsley Sr.

sp: Isabella Johnstone

| -2. **Zephaniah Kingsley Jr.** (b.1765 d.1843)

| sp: **Anna (Anta Majigeen) Njaay** (b.1793 d.1870)

| | -3. George Kingsley (b.1807)

| | sp: Anatoile Francoise VaunTravers (m.1849)

| | -3. Martha Kingsley Baxter (b.1809)

| | sp: Cran (?Oran) Baxter

| | -3. Mary Elizabeth Kingsley (b.1811)

| | sp: John S. Sammis

| | | -4. Egbert Kingsley-Sammis

| | | -4. George Kingsley-Sammis

| | L-4. Edmund Kingsley-Sammis

| | sp: ? Lizzy

| L-3. John Maxwell Kingsley (b.1824)

-2. Mary Kingsley-Charlton (b.1764)

-2. Johnstone Kingsley (b.1767)

-2. George Kingsley (b.1768)

-2. Catherine Kingsley-Bardon (b.1770)

-2. Elizabeth Kingsley (b.1772)

-2. **Isabella Kingsley Gibbs** (b.1774)

sp: **George Gibbs III**

| -3. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs

| -3. Zephaniah C. Gibbs

| -3. George Couper Gibbs 2nd

| -3. Sophia M. Gibbs

| -3. Isabella M. Gibbs

| -3. George Kingsley Gibbs

| L-3. Isabella J. Gibbs

L-2. **Martha Kingsley McNeill** (b.1775 d.1852)

sp: **Daniel McNeill**

| -3. Charles James Kingsley McNeill

| -3. Anna Matilda Kingsley McNeill Whistler-2nd Wife (1808-1881)

| sp: Maj. George Washington Whistler

| | -4. James Abbot Kingsley-McNeill Whistler

| | -4. William Whistler

| | sp: Ida Florida Gibbs King (1st Wife)

| L-4. Charles Whistler

-3. Isabella Kingsley McNeill

sp: George Fairfax

| L-4. Adm. Fairfax

-3. Catherine Kingsley McNeill

sp: Dr. George Palmer

-3. Mary Kingsley McNeill

sp: Joseph Estabrook

L-3. Gen. William Gibbs Kingsley McNeill

sp: Maria Commons

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sp=spouse

source: Gibbs family memoirs (see Note 4)

FIGURE 4. Kingsley family descendants.

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Kingsley Gibbs Family Line

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1. George Gibbs III
 sp: Isabella Kingsley Gibbs (b.1774 d.1837)
 |-2. **George Couper Gibbs 2nd** (b.1822 d.1873)
 | sp: **Julia E. Williams** (2nd Wife) Elizabeth Elcan-1st Wife (1829-1896)
 | |-3. Elizabeth Elcan* Gibbs (b.1848)
 | | sp: John T. Dismukes
 | |-3. George William Gibbs (b.1853 d.1923)
 | | sp: Margaret Watkins Gibbs (b.1855 d.1935)
 | | |-4. George Couper Gibbs 2nd
 | | | sp: Leonora Warnock
 | | | |-5. Margaret Gibbs
 | | | | sp: ?? Worthington
 | | | |-6. Patsy Gibbs Worthington
 | | | | L-6. William Gibbs Worthington
 | | | |-5. **Harriet Gibbs Gardiner**
 | | | | sp: ?? Gardiner
 | | | | |-6. Phillip Gibbs Gardiner
 | | | | |-6. Stephen Gibbs Gardiner
 | | | | | L-6. Couper Gibbs Gardiner
 | | | L-5. William Gibbs
 | | | | sp: UNKNOWN
 | | | | |-6. Leonora Gibbs
 | | | | |-6. **William Tucker Gibbs**
 | | | | |-6. **Becky Gibbs**
 | | | | |-6. **Emily Gibbs**
 | | | | | L-6. Denny Gibbs
 | | |-4. George William Gibbs 2nd
 | | | sp: Kathleen M. Ingraham
 | | |-5. George W. Gibbs 3rd
 | | | sp: ??
 | | | |-6. **George W. Gibbs 4th**
 | | | | L-6. Robert Gibbs
 | | | | L-5. Maria Gibbs
 | | |-4. Elizabeth Lightfoot Coles Gibbs Weed
 | | | sp: Joseph Dunning Weed (m.1911)
 | | |-4. Margaret Watkins Gibbs Watt
 | | | sp: Rev. Albert W.J. Watt
 | | |-4. Tucker Carrington Gibbs (b.1889)
 | | | sp: Clarissa Anderson Dimick
 | | L-4. Rebecca Gibbs Moore (b.1881)
 | | | sp: Samuel Moore
 | |-3. Isabella Barksdale Gibbs (b.1857)
 | | sp: Charles Floyd Hopkins (b.1853 d.1948)
 | L-3. Robert Kingsley Gibbs (b.1869 d.1905)
 |-2. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs (b.1810 d.1859)
 | sp: Laura Matilda Williams (b.1820 d.1893)
 |-2. Sophia M. Gibbs
 |-2. Isabella M. Gibbs
 | sp: Ralph King
 |-2. Zephaniah C. Gibbs
 |-2. George Kingsley Gibbs
 L-2. Isabella J. Gibbs

=====

sp=spouse

source: Gibbs family memoirs (see Note 4)

FIGURE 5. Kingsley Gibbs family descendants.

His business was—he was in the slave trade business on this site.

In addition, Becky Gibbs, another European-American identified Kingsley descendant in the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line (see Figure 5), reflected upon her ancestral heritage and what it means to be not only a descendant of a slave owner in general but also to be a descendant specifically of one, Zephaniah Kingsley, who acknowledged spousal relationships and children fathered with African women. She articulated her feelings in the following passage (Becky Gibbs 1998):

... but I've also wondered about the dilemma of growing up in a white Southern family, having black ancestry; we're people of the nineties, so we—I look at this as really exciting, wonderful, it sort of opens the doors. But when you come from Jacksonville, a Southern town, and you grew up and were born in 1911, and you grew up in the South, it must be a big dilemma having ancestors that were not only slave owners, but they also married their slaves and had children.

And, Johnnetta Cole, an African American identified, seventh generation descendant of Anna and Zephaniah (see Appendix-1c), expressed her feelings about her great grandmother's life as an enslaved African woman, as a free woman of color and wealth, and as an eventual owner of enslaved Africans herself in this way (Johnnetta Betsch Cole 2001):

It is obviously a profoundly moving story. It's also a story, which in my view, has extraordinary complexity and contradictions. My great grandmother was not only a slave, she owned slaves. And, I would hope that for each of us as an African American, if there is any specificity to what is the general knowledge, that black people owned slaves, that we would have some contradictory feelings about that. Or better put, that one would not feel good about that. It's very, very hard for me to think of slavery as a benign, as a decent, as a wonderful system, no matter how it is constructed. And, as an anthropologist I went through my phase of cultural relativism. I'm done with that. I have no difficulty in saying that I think there are some, what I would want to describe as universal—not universally held values, but values that I wish could be held universally, and one of these is the total opposition to slavery. And, so to feel that my great grandmother had acquired the kind of wealth and the kind of prestige that would allow her to own slaves, I balance that with, 'she owned slaves!' On the other hand,

here was a woman of just extraordinary intelligence, ability. And, while I say that I am conscious that she was probably in no sense unique—we happened to have her story, but what we don't have are, I am convinced, countless stories of women of no less intelligence, no less ability, whose stuff is simply lost.

The Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival

Persons attending the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival each year overlay onto the physical plantation experience their own family and personal memories, as well as historical knowledge of the plantation. These festivals, especially the 1998 event combining festival and family reunion, have been and are rich grounds for interacting with people who have interest in and knowledge of Kingsley Plantation and the associated community and are willing to share it.

The Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival and Family Reunion held in 1998 brought together members of the Kingsley Plantation community family from as far away as the Dominican Republic and as close as St. Augustine and Jacksonville, Florida. Interviews of many of the reunion participants present were conducted by and video taped by University of Florida graduate students, per a request to document the event by the National Park Service's Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve office (see Note 3). The stories of the participants and their interactions and encounters with one another provide interesting insight into how issues of wealth, power, and privilege with respect to race and the legacy of slavery have been and are being experienced by descendants of the Kingsley Plantation community. For example, the history of the Kingsley family inheritance dispute was a topic of discussion for some descendants attending the festival. The dispute centered on a fight for control of Zephaniah Kingsley's estate upon his death in 1843 and was initiated by a lawsuit filed by European descendant family members, most notably Zephaniah's sister, Martha Kingsley-McNeill (May 1945). These families sued in order to revoke the terms of Kingsley's will and prevent Zephaniah's African descendant family members, primarily Anna and her children, from receiving their share of the estate as dictated by the terms of his will. The legal battle lasted several years before the original terms of the will were finally upheld and

Anna Kingsley and her family were allowed to claim their share of the estate. However, by that time, administration costs and legal fees had depleted much of the estate.

William Tucker Gibbs, a sixth generation European-American identified Kingsley descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line (see Figure 5) described his memory of the dispute in this way when interviewed at the festival in 1998 (William Tucker Gibbs 1998):

... And Kingsley was a strange guy who had a lot of money and owned a lot of land and that's ok. He had a lot of power, so they didn't mess with him. When he died, they certainly messed with Anna. I understand that she spent the last years of her life in court more than anywhere else—just trying to keep her property for her children and keep her money. And of course, a black woman—whether you are free or not—your patron—your husband died and he's the guy who's always protected you—you can have all the land, all the money you want, but the powers that be don't want a black woman—think about this—she was a black woman. Not even a black man. They wouldn't want a black man having this kind of power. Can you imagine how they felt about a black woman having all this money and all this land? Hell no [laughter]. So, it's fascinating. It really is.

Descendants Sandra LeBron and her son Manuel LeBron, from the Dominican Republic, when interviewed, stressed the unity of the family and a desire and willingness to personally forget negative aspects of the past and concentrate on establishing positive relationships in the present. Sandra and Manuel trace their connection to the Kingsley family through John Maxwell, a son of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley (see Appendix-1c), who established his home in Haiti—today part of the Dominican Republic (Sandra Lebron 1998). Manuel expressed his feelings about the inheritance dispute in this way (Manuel LeBron 1998):

Yeah, because, you know, the celebration was going on and like, I, for myself didn't have any, any, any, whatsoever, any, you know, feelings of regret or hate or anything like that—not at all... As I said, you know, it's delicate issues that you have to laugh them off because there's nothing else to do, and you know, it would be stupid to have any bad feelings because it's past. You just laugh it off and forget it completely.

Becky Gibbs describes her feelings about attending the festival and reunion and confronting the reality of her family's history as follows (Becky Gibbs 1998):

I imagine that for each one of us, the experience is much more than we are willing to reveal. I'm sure we all have questions and hesitations and fears, but the ones of us that came are obviously willing to confront whatever those hesitations or curiosities or whatever it was. It's very sad to know that there's certain parts of the family that won't even find out what it's about. That, to me is sad.

In general, however, when interviewed, Kingsley family descendants who attended the festival and reunion emphasized the significance of family connections made at the event. The Kingsley Plantation site and events such as the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival provide tangible and interactively accessible reminders of the past. In turn, narratives of Kingsley descendants help frame physical (material), mental, and social links between the past and the present. For example, Emily Gibbs, a sixth generation European-American identified Kingsley descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line (see Figure 5) shared the following about family relationships and connections she made at the 1998 festival (Emily Gibbs 1998):

We all come from a single family line and that's interesting too... Yeah, and, he [Manuel Lebron] is great. I love that—I say we are definitely cousins... I really enjoyed meeting MaVynne [a seventh generation descendant of Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley]. Yeah, she is fabulous, and she—just watching her yesterday—I immediately thought of Anna. I thought, oh my God, this woman who you can see—she has something inside of her that is just very strong and very—and it probably was one of my highlights.

And, Harriet Gibbs Gardiner, a fifth generation, European-American identified descendant of the Isabella Kingsley-Gibbs family line (see Figure 5), described herself, her festival experience, her memories of the past, and her connection to the Kingsley Plantation site in this way (Harriet Gardiner 1998):

Well, my name is Harriet Gardiner, and my maiden name was Harriet Gibbs, and so I am a descendant of the Kingsleys. Old Zephaniah Kingsley came over, I believe, from Bristol in the middle of the seventeen hundreds, I believe, and one of his sons was Zephaniah Kingsley and

then he had a daughter, Isabella, and a daughter, Martha. Of course, Zephaniah is the one who is so very famous and for whom this plantation is named. But my, I guess, great, great grandmother, Isabella, married George Gibbs, and from him do I get my name, my father and his family . . . We still have a number of cousins who are related the same way I am. I have just made friends with Marsha Phelps in the last couple of years. Now, she has written the book about American Beach, which I'm sure you are aware of, and Mrs. Betsch [MaVynee, a seventh generation descendant of Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley], who was up here, and we had never met each other until recently. And that's been a great pleasure, and we call each other cousin, and that's kind of fun. But there are others whom I hope to meet sometime—descendants of that Sammis family. I think I'll just have to do a little more studying . . . We used to do this with all children—when we'd come out here [to the Kingsley Plantation], we'd look around and then we would go and stand there where you can look across to the marsh and the trees beyond and we would think what it must have been like to see a slave ship coming in or maybe see that long boat rowed out and use your imagination. This is a wonderful place for

imagination because it's unspoiled and not a lot of buildings around, and so you can go back in history. So, that's something that I still like to do—stand out there and look at the marsh . . . I'm so happy that I hope this is the beginning of a coming together of the descendants of two families that have been separated for so long and really not because they're willful about it, but just because they haven't realized how much richness there is in this whole experience under this roof and in this locale. I've always loved Fort George Island and it's always had a special meaning right here, but now it's even more so.

In this chapter, Kingsley descendant narratives and the archeological findings of Fairbanks and later Karen Jo Walker (1988) help underscore links between the past and the present—critically profiling the reality of slavery and the plantation experience for both descendants of enslaved Africans and descendants of plantation owners. The Kingsley Plantation site provides an important physical and social place reminder of the legacy and complex reality of slavery in America.

Chapter Two: Zephaniah Kingsley and the Kingsley Plantation in Global Perspective

However, what proved to be most novel about the Atlantic trade was its scale . . . Over the course of four centuries it caused the greatest intercontinental migration in world history to that time, and it affected people and the history of their offspring on all lands bordering the Atlantic. [Donald R. Wright 1990:16-17]

Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr. was a wealthy planter, businessman, slave-trader, and “slave” owner. He was born in Bristol, England in 1765. His father was an English-Quaker and his mother was of Scottish descent. He lived a life of constant migration. In 1793, Kingsley took an “oath of naturalization” in Charleston, South Carolina. In 1798, he took an “oath of loyalty” to Denmark while employed as a ship captain on the island of St. Thomas, and then, in 1803, he took a third “oath of loyalty,” as a Spanish citizen of Saint Augustine, East Florida (Schafer 2000). Kingsley’s life and business activities underscore the reality of the transatlantic slave trade in America.

As a slave-trader, Zephaniah owned and captained ships, and was actively involved in the transport and enslavement of Africans (see map, Figure 6). Between 1802 and 1808, for example, Zephaniah Kingsley dispersed hundreds of enslaved Africans throughout the Americas and specifically imported Africans into Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina for his own plantation interests. A shipping document from the year 1802 lists Kingsley as the first captain of a ship called, “*Superior*,” which arrived at the Port of Havana with 250 Africans. These Africans were taken from unspecified regions in Africa, then sold into slavery in the Americas under the direction and discretion of Zephaniah Kingsley (Eltis 1999). In addition, the following entry pro-

vides an example of Kingsley’s introduction of Africans into a province in Florida:

Certified and sworn that Zephaniah Kingsley introduced into the province, 64 slaves; 21 of them in the sloop ‘*Laurel*’ from the port of San Tomas, 5/5/1804; 10 on 6/25 of the same year in the schooner ‘*Laurel*,’ alias the ‘*Juanita*,’ proceeding from Havana; 16 in the sloop ‘*El Jefe*,’ coming from Charleston, 7/15/1806; 3 in the schooner ‘*Esther*,’ coming from Havana, on 10/21/1806; and 10 in the schooner ‘*Industria*,’ coming from Georgia, 3/9/1808. [Spanish Land Grants 1941:21]

Zephaniah’s own reflection on the slave-trade business is captured in an interview conducted by Lydia Child in New York in 1842. He shared the following views with Lydia (Child 1844:155-156):

LC: Then you have been on the coast of Africa?

ZK: Yes, ma’am; I carried on the slave trade for several years.

LC: You announce that fact very coolly. Do you know that, In New England, men look upon a slave-trader with as much horror as they upon a pirate?

ZK: Yes; and I am glad of it. They will look upon a slaveholder just so, by and by. Slave trading was a very respectable business when I was young. The first merchants in England and America were engaged in it. Some people hide things which they think other people don’t like. I never conceal anything.

Although Kingsley’s actions were not unique, he was outspoken in espousing his views and advocating his way of life. He had a vested interest in

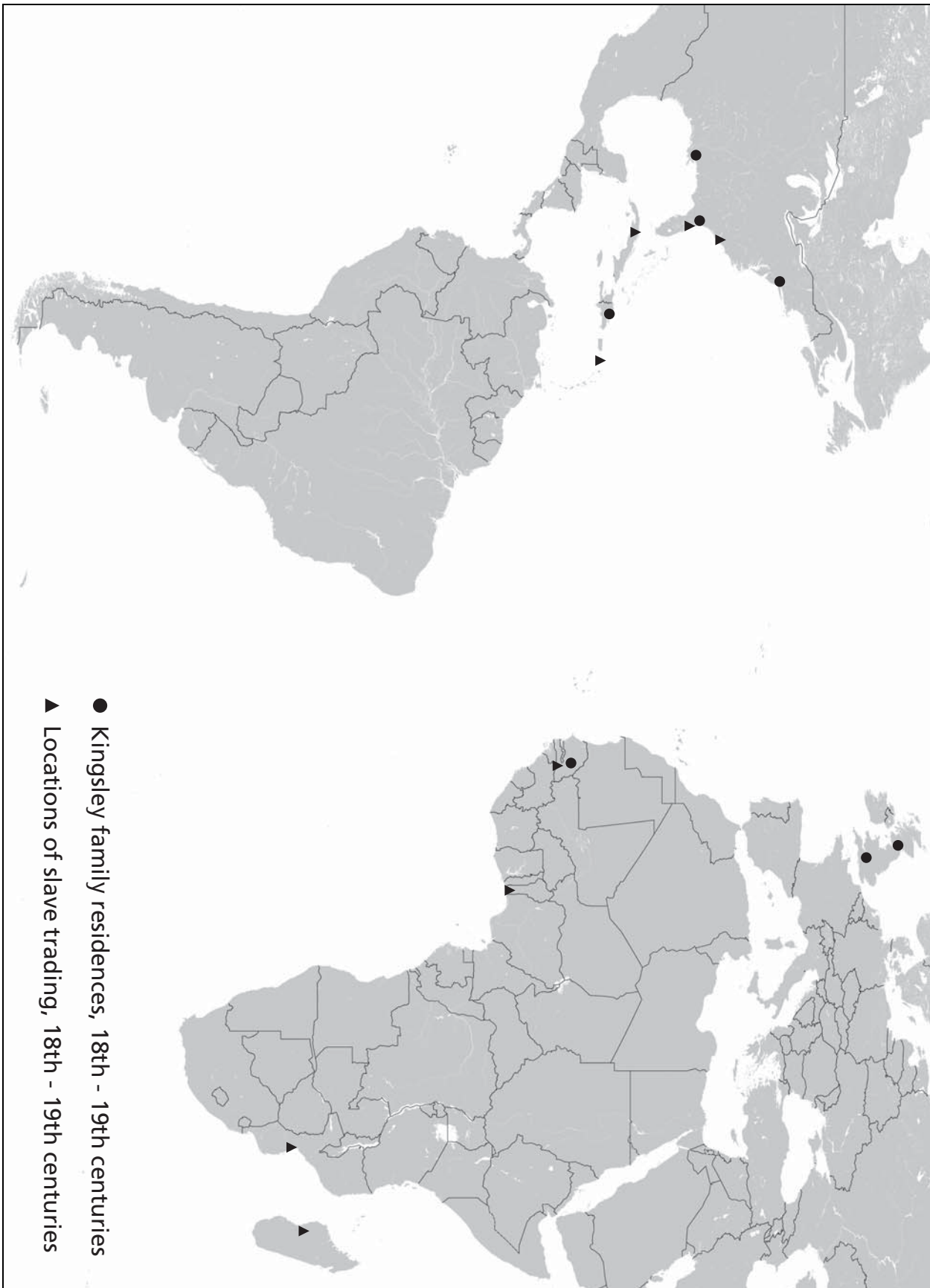


FIGURE 6. Zephaniah Kingsley family in global historical perspective. *NPS map*

maintaining slavery as a means of acquiring “colored” labor while at the same time, advocating for peaceful relations between whites and free “colored” populations as a means of control and protection against revolt. For example, in his “Address to the Legislative Council of Florida on the Subject of Its Colored Population” delivered in 1823, Zephaniah petitioned as follows:

A certain portion or extent of country situated on the Seaboard of the Southern States who’s climate is unfavorable to the health and production of white people, seems destined by nature to be cultivated and brought into production and into perfective value by the labor of colored people; of all this portion of territory, extending from the capes of Virginia, southerly to the cape of Florida on the Atlantic coast, and perhaps 100 miles back upon an average from the sea, Florida is by far the most valuable . . . In short consider that our personal safety, as well as the permanent condition of our slave property is immediately connected with, and depends upon our good policy in making it the interest of our free colored population to be attached to good order and have a friendly feeling towards the white population.
[Zephaniah Kingsley 1823]

There is an abundance of Kingsley myths and stories, and historians and other scholars have endeavored to sort through the wide variety of accounts of and contradictory aspects of Kingsley’s life. Their findings are part of the public record (Corse 1931; Glover 1970; May 1945; Schafer 1996; Stephens 1978). However, the aspect of Kingsley’s life that is most relevant to this study is that it is a focal point from which to illuminate the African diasporic experience of a specific community and a specific family. For the purposes of this study, the African diasporic experience is defined as all relationships and factors involved in the forced migration of, or the enslavement and dispersal of, African people during the period known as the transatlantic slave trade (15th-19th centuries). This dispersal primarily resulted in the exploitation of the labor, skill, and reproductive services of Africans on plantations in the Americas for commerce and profit.

The central theme of “the Zephaniah Kingsley story” is his acknowledged spousal relationship with Anta Majigeen Ndiaye, a West African woman described as being of royal lineage from the country of Senegal. Anta (or Anna Kingsley) is thought to be

one of three *bozales* (newly imported persons from Africa) whom he purchased and transported from Havana, Cuba to Florida in 1806 (Schafer 1996). Zephaniah openly acknowledged Anna as his wife and established a home with her at his plantations in East Florida (i.e., Laurel Grove and Kingsley Plantation) and later in Haiti. He had four children with her—George, Mary, Martha, and John (see Appendix-1c, Kingsley Descent Chart), which he acknowledged and provided for, as the terms of his 1843 will served to underscore. Anna Kingsley is also recorded as having owned enslaved Africans and many accounts of the Zephaniah story underscore this. In addition to Anna, Zephaniah Kingsley maintained relations with a number of other African women and acknowledged paternity for the children he fathered with them (Schafer 1996:138; Raney 1883:742-743).

Around 1837, Kingsley sold most of his Florida property and resettled his extended family in Haiti. Schafer writes that:

He sold most of his Florida properties and purchased several plantation tracts in the free black Republic of Haiti, where Anna Kingsley and her sons George and John Maxwell, along with other Kingsley co-wives and children and fifty slaves, settled in 1837. Kingsley urged two daughters who remained in Florida (both were married to prominent white men) to emigrate to ‘some land of liberty and equal rights, where the conditions of society are governed by some law less absurd than that of color.’ [Schafer 2000:113]

In the 1842 interview with Lydia Maria Child in New York, Zephaniah Kingsley discussed the settlement of Anna and family in Haiti. The discussion proceeded as follows (Child 1844:156-157):

ZK: . . . I have fixed her nicely in my Haitien [*sic*] colony. I wish you would go there. She would give you the best in the house. You *ought* to go, to see how happy the human race can be. It is a fine, rich valley, about thirty miles from Port Platte; heavily timbered with mahogany all round; well watered; flowers so beautiful; fruits in abundance, so delicious that you could not refrain from stopping to eat, till you could eat no more. My sons have laid out good roads, and built bridges and mills; the people are improving, and everything is prosperous. I am anxious to establish a good school there.

LC: . . . I have heard that you hold your laborers in a sort of qualified slavery; and some friends

of the coloured race have apprehensions that you may sell them again.

ZK: My labourers in Haiti are not slaves. They are a kind of indentured apprentices. I give them land, and they bind themselves to work for me. I have no power to take them away from that island; and you know very well that I could not sell them there.

Zephaniah Kingsley played a significant role in the intercontinental transport and movement of African and African descendant people during the period of the transatlantic slave trade. His business and family activities, when traced over time, provides a view into the life of specific Africans as they moved into and out of Florida and between Florida, Africa, and the Caribbean.

Chapter Three: Kingsley Descendants, Community Associations, and the Plantation Legacy

This is a profile of a Florida plantation owner's family and his descendants. The families of Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr. and Anta Majigeen Ndiaye (Anna Kingsley) and their descendants have had a significant impact on the history of northeast Florida. Their memories, stories, and experiences form connections between the past and present in interesting, challenging, and complex ways. A brief overview of the Kingsley-Gibbs and Kingsley-McNeill family lines of European descent and the Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis, Kingsley-Baxter, Kingsley-LeBron, and Kingsley-Eliebo family lines of African and European descent follows (see Appendix-1b). In addition, the chapter will conclude with an ethnographic profile of the Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch family—chosen because of their prominence within the Jacksonville community, accessibility of descendants for interviews, and the availability of archival data.

Kingsley Gibbs and Kingsley McNeill Families

Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr. had seven siblings—Mary, Johnstone, George, Catherine, Elizabeth, Isabella, and Martha (see Figure 7). His sister, Martha Kingsley, married Dr. Daniel McNeill and they had six children. Martha and Daniel's daughter, Anna Matilda McNeill, married Major George Whistler and they had three sons: Charles, who died in infancy; William, a famous throat specialist; and James, the famed artist.

Zephaniah's sister, Isabella Kingsley (1774-1837) married George Gibbs III and they had seven children (see Figure 7). One of their sons, Kingsley Beatty Gibbs owned the Kingsley Plantation from 1839-1853. Another son, George Couper Gibbs II, was a planter in St. Johns County. An excerpt from the 1860/1870 St. Johns County Florida census report lists George Couper Gibbs II and his wife Julia and several other Gibbs family members and their occupations (see Figure 8).

George Couper Gibbs II had four children. One of his children, Elizabeth Elcan Gibbs (see Figure 9), was interviewed in May 1939 in St. Augustine, Florida at the age of 90, as part of the Federal Writers' Oral History Project. Mrs. Elizabeth Elcan Gibbs Dismukes shared several interesting stories about the Kingsley-Gibbs family with interviewer Rose Shepherd (Shepherd 1939). For example, she offered the following comments when asked about a picture of "Whistler's Mother" (Anna Matilda Kingsley McNeill Whistler) that hung on the wall of her living room:

... Anna McNeill Whistler [she was the daughter of Zephaniah's sister, Martha Kingsley McNeill] was my father's first cousin, and she was a young woman when she married John Whistler. She used to come over to our home every day. I am the only person living today who knew her personally. This picture of her is nearly one hundred years old. [Shepherd 1939]

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Descendants of Zephaniah Kingsley Sr. and Isabella Johnstone

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- 1. Zephaniah Kingsley Sr.
sp: Isabella Johnstone
- |-2. **Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. (b.1765 d.1843)**
| sp: Anna (Anta Majigeen) Njaay (b.1793 d.1870)
- |-2. **Mary Kingsley- Charlton (b.1764)**
- |-2. **Johnstone Kingsley (b.1767)**
- |-2. **George Kingsley (b.1768)**
- |-2. **Catherine Kingsley- Bardon (b.1770)**
- |-2. **Elizabeth Kingsley (b.1772)**
- |-2. **Isabella Kingsley Gibbs (b.1774)**
| sp: George Gibbs III
- | |-3. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs
- | |-3. Zephaniah C. Gibbs
- | |-3. George Couper Gibbs 2nd
- | |-3. Sophia M. Gibbs
- | |-3. Isabella M. Gibbs
- | |-3. George Kingsley Gibbs
- | L-3. Isabella J. Gibbs
- |-2. **Martha Kingsley McNeill (b.1775 d.1852)**
sp: **Daniel McNeill**
- | |-3. Charles James Kingsley McNeill
- | |-3. Anna Matilda Kingsley McNeill Whistler(1808-1881)
 | sp: Maj. George Washington Whistler
- | |-4. James Abbot Kingsley-McNeill Whistler
- | |-4. William Whistler
- | L-4. Charles Whistler
- | |-3. Isabella Kingsley McNeill
 | sp: George Fairfax
- | |-3. Catherine Kingsley McNeill
 | sp: Dr. George Palmer
- | |-3. Mary Kingsley McNeill
 | sp: Joseph Estabrook
- | L-3. Gen. William Gibbs Kingsley McNeill
 | sp: Maria Commons

sp=spouse

source: Gibbs family memoirs (see Note 4)

FIGURE 7. Descendants of Zephaniah Kingsley Sr. and Isabella Johnstone.

She also described her family's connection to elite planter families in South Carolina as follows:

... Father's widowed sister, Aunt Sophia Couper [Sophia M. Gibbs, daughter of Isabella Kingsley Gibbs and George Gibbs III], married General Duncan Lamont Clinch, and as his fame increased she became very 'high-hat.' She had married a widower with a bushel of children, though. One of his daughters, Elizabeth, married Anderson Hayward, of Fort Sumter, South Carolina, and her son, D. Clinch Hayward, is a former governor of that State. His home is at Columbia, South Carolina. Clinch Hayward's grandfather was known as the wealthiest man in the state of South Carolina. He had three plantations, one in Georgia, and

two in South Carolina, and had 2,500 slaves. He had a book in which he kept a record of every negro he owned—when they were born, married, died, or if they were purchased from some other planter, the date and as much information as he could secure regarding their previous life. Clinch has the record book yet, it is one of his prized possessions. [Shepard 1939]

Most interesting was Elizabeth's recounting of her memory of an encounter with Anna Kingsley. Her observation gives both a rare first hand description of Anna as well as a general sense of the Gibbs' family relationship to Anna—albeit from the perspective of a then young girl remembered and shared over eighty years later:

ID	Abode#	Family#	Name	Age	Sex	Color	Occupation
1	151	151	Gibbs, George C.	38	Male	W	Planter
2	151	151	Gibbs, Julia	29	Female	W	
3	151	151	Gibbs, Elizabeth	12	Female	W	
4	151	151	Gibbs, Julia	9	Female	W	
5	151	151	Gibbs, George	6	Male	W	
6	151	151	Gibbs, Isabelle	3	Female	W	
7	393	393	Gibbs, Laura M.W.	39	Female	W	
8	393	393	Gibbs, Medo ? W.	15	Female	W	
9	393	393	Rosa L. Burroughs	18	Female	W	
10	393	393	Clara E. Burroughs	13	Female	W	
11	393	393	Joseph B. Burroughs	7	Male	W	
12	393	393	Rev. T. Williams	34	Male	W	O.L.Presb Cglyman
1870							
13	161	179	Gibbs, M.L.	45	Female	W	Keeping House
14	161	179	Burroughs, Rosa	25	Female	W	At home
15	161	179	Gibbs, Mary	23	Female	W	At home
16	161	179	Burroughs, Clara	20	Female	W	At home
17	161	179	Burroughs, Jossio B.	17	Male	W	At home
18	161	179	Burroughs, Julia L.	19	Female	W	At home
19			Samis, Mary	65	Female	B	Laundress
20			Samis, Mary	15	Female	B	At home
21			Samis, Sally	85	Female	B	Keeping House

source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

FIGURE 8. 1860 and 1870 US Census data from St. Johns County Florida.

... I remember her very distinctly. She was not black, and had the most beautiful features you ever saw. She was a most imposing and very handsome woman. Her smooth, light brown skin, her dark-eyes and wavy [*sic*] made her outstanding, and I would not keep my eyes away for admiration. She was quiet and moved with regal dignity—I have never seen anything like her, before or since. Her daughter was there also, and she was very light in color, but not as good-looking as her mother. I was six or seven years old at the time. I was Kingsley's niece. The next morning my aunt, Mrs. Gibbs, sent two servants for us with a horse and buggy, and we were carried over to Newcastle. My mother was furious that we had spent the night at Ma'm Anna's, but it could not be helped. [Shepard 1939]

Harriet Gibbs Gardiner, one of several family members interviewed at the 1998 Kingsley festival and reunion, provided a current perspective of her family's sentiments about Zephaniah and Anna in the following narrative (Harriet Gardiner 1998):

... Very frankly, at least my mother has said that when she was first married, people didn't talk about Zephaniah Kingsley. They spoke of him as if he was sort of a legend. There was something in the shadows—in the closet, maybe, about Zephaniah Kingsley. That interested her ... , I think my mother had a certain amount to do with the coming to light of Zephaniah's relationship with Anna. I'd like to think, although I may be contradicted, I'd like to think that it was perhaps my mother's broadmindedness that helped people realize this was a wonderful and interesting thing and that Zephaniah Kingsley did Anna the honor of marrying her. I mean, he, Zephaniah Kingsley, although he did something different, he wasn't shameful. He married this beautiful young girl and gave her responsibility, and they had children together, and a great deal of the development of north Florida has to do with the careful farming that was done by Kingsley and by Anna after Kingsley's death. So, that, I think is an interesting part of my connection. I've always been interested in Fort George Island, and I'm glad to say that there's been a lot more said about Kingsley, in a positive, way than there might have been two generations ago.

=====

Descendants of George Gibbs III and Isabella Kingsley

=====

- 1. George Gibbs III
 - sp: Isabella Kingsley Gibbs (b.1774 d.1837)
 - |-2. **George Couper Gibbs II (b.1822 d.1873)**
 - sp: Julia E. Williams(2nd Wife)/Elizabeth Elcan-1st Wife(1829-1896)
 - |-3. **Elizabeth Elcan* Gibbs (b.1848)**
 - sp: John T. Dismukes
 - |-3. **George William Gibbs (b.1853 d.1923)**
 - sp: Margaret Watkins Gibbs (b.1855 d.1935)
 - |-4. **George Couper Gibbs III (Circuit Judge 22 yrs Miami, FL)**
 - sp: Leonora Warnock
 - |-5. Margaret Gibbs
 - sp: ? Worthington
 - |-6. Patsy Gibbs Worthington
 - L-6. William Gibbs Worthington
 - |-5. **Harriet Gibbs Gardiner**
 - sp: ? Gardiner
 - |-6. Phillip Gibbs Gardiner
 - |-6. Stephen Gibbs Gardiner
 - L-6. Couper Gibbs Gardiner
 - L-5. William Gibbs
 - sp: ?
 - |-6. Leonora Gibbs
 - |-6. William Tucker Gibbs
 - |-6. Becky Gibbs
 - |-6. Emily Gibbs
 - L-6. Denny Gibbs
 - |-4. **George William Gibbs II(Gibbs Gas Engine & Shipbuilding Co.)**
 - sp: Kathleen M. Ingraham
 - |-5. George W. Gibbs 3rd
 - sp: ?
 - |-6. George W. Gibbs 4th
 - L-6. Robert Gibbs
 - L-5. Maria Gibbs
 - |-4. Elizabeth Lightfoot Coles Gibbs Weed
 - sp: Joseph Dunning Weed
 - |-4. Margaret Watkins Gibbs Watt
 - sp: Rev. Albert W.J. Watt
 - |-4. Tucker Carrington Gibbs (b.1889)
 - sp: Clarissa Anderson Dimick
 - L-4. Rebecca Gibbs Moore (b.1881)
 - sp: Samuel Moore)
 - |-3. Isabella Barksdale Gibbs (b.1857)
 - sp: Charles Floyd Hopkins (b.1853 d.1948)
 - L-3. Robert Kingsley Gibbs (b.1869 d.1905)
 - |-2. **Kingsley Beatty Gibbs (b.1810 d.1859)**
 - sp: Laura Matilda Williams (b.1820 d.1893)
 - |-2. **Sophia M. Gibbs**
 - |-2. Isabella M. Gibbs
 - sp: Ralph King
 - |-2. Zepahniah C. Gibbs
 - |-2. George Kingsley Gibbs
 - L-2. Isabella J. Gibbs

=====

sp=spouse

source: Duval County Florida Probate Records and Gibbs family memoirs (see Note 4)

FIGURE 9. Descendants of George Gibbs III and Isabella Kingsley.

Anna's Family

Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley had four children, George, John, Mary, and Martha (see Figure 10). Mary Kingsley Sammis and Martha Kingsley Baxter each married wealthy white men from the New England area and settled in the Jacksonville, Florida area. George Kingsley and his brother John Maxwell established households in the Dominican Republic, at that time known as Haiti.

Kingsley-LeBron and Kingsley-Eliebo

Anthropologist Dr. Martha Ellen Davis and historian Dr. Daniel Schafer have conducted research on the Kingsley family's Dominican Republic connections. The family migrated to the island country when it was under Haitian rule—1822-1844. At that time, Zephaniah Kingsley was pursuing business interests in Haiti and moved members of his family to live there. The information collected by Davis and Schafer help further expand the Kingsley family profile.

For example, Sandra and Manuel LeBron, Kingsley family members from Santo Domingo, traveled to Florida in 1998 to participate in the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival and family reunion. Sandra and Manuel trace their Kingsley kinship through John Maxwell, the son of Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley. When interviewed at the festival, they indicated that they had first become acquainted with Dr. Schafer and familiar with his Kingsley research interest during a visit to the Kingsley Plantation in the mid-1990s. Dr. Schafer has traveled to the Dominican Republic and other places collecting information on Anna Kingsley's family.

Dr. Martha Ellen Davis first became interested in Kingsley family history through Kingsley descendant Crucito Medina Kingsley-Eliebo, whom she met during the late 1970s while pursuing research in the area folklore and folk traditions in the Dominican Republic. Her collaboration with Crucito Medina Kingsley-Eliebo resulted in the collection of primary and secondary source material on Zephaniah Kingsley's family connections in the Dominican Republic. In an interview with Dr. Davis regarding her findings, she indicated that Crucito is a descendant of George Kingsley and his wife, Anatalia Vertraveur Kingsley (see Figure 10). George and Anatalia's daughter, Anatoile Kingsley, married Jacobo Eleibo, and members of the Kingsley-Eliebo family still reside in the Puerto Plata area of the

Dominican Republic and have lived there since the late 1830s (Martha Davis 2001).

Kingsley-Sammis and Kingsley-Baxter

The 1860 Duval County free population census lists Anna Kingsley and her daughters, Mary K. Sammis and Martha Baxter, and their families (see Figure 11). They were recorded by name as free persons of color at the time when the majority of persons of African descent in the U.S. population were listed in separate slave schedules and counted but not identified by name. In 1860, for example, Martha Baxter is listed in both the Duval County free population census and in the slave schedules. In the slave population schedules for Duval County she is listed as a slave owner.

The probate record of John S. Sammis, filed in 1884, shows Mary K. Sammis (Anna's daughter) as his widow and Edmund G. Sammis, George K. Sammis, and Egbert C. Sammis as his children (see Note 4). In his book, *Florida's Black Public Officials*, Canter Brown, Jr. lists Edmund G. Sammis as a mulatto farmer who was a Duval County justice of the peace in 1877-1885; Egbert C. Sammis as a mulatto farmer and member of the Florida senate in 1889; and George K. Sammis as a black man and 1867 Duval County voter registrar (1998:122).

The census is an excellent source of detailed information on US populations as captured from the firsthand perspective of enumerators charged with the task of "locating and listing everyone alive on the census day" (Thorndale 1987:xv). However, the census data recordings for Mary Sammis underscore the subjective nature of census enumerating as well as inconsistencies and inaccuracies in US census entries in general (Thorndale 1987). Mary K. Sammis is classified as a white female in the 1860 Duval County census, as a mulatto female in 1870, and again as a white female in the 1880 census, for example (see Appendix-2 census data).

Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch Family

The Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch family relationships provide an interesting and expansive portrait of the breadth and depth of the Kingsley Plantation community that extends beyond the physical boundaries of the Kingsley Plantation (see

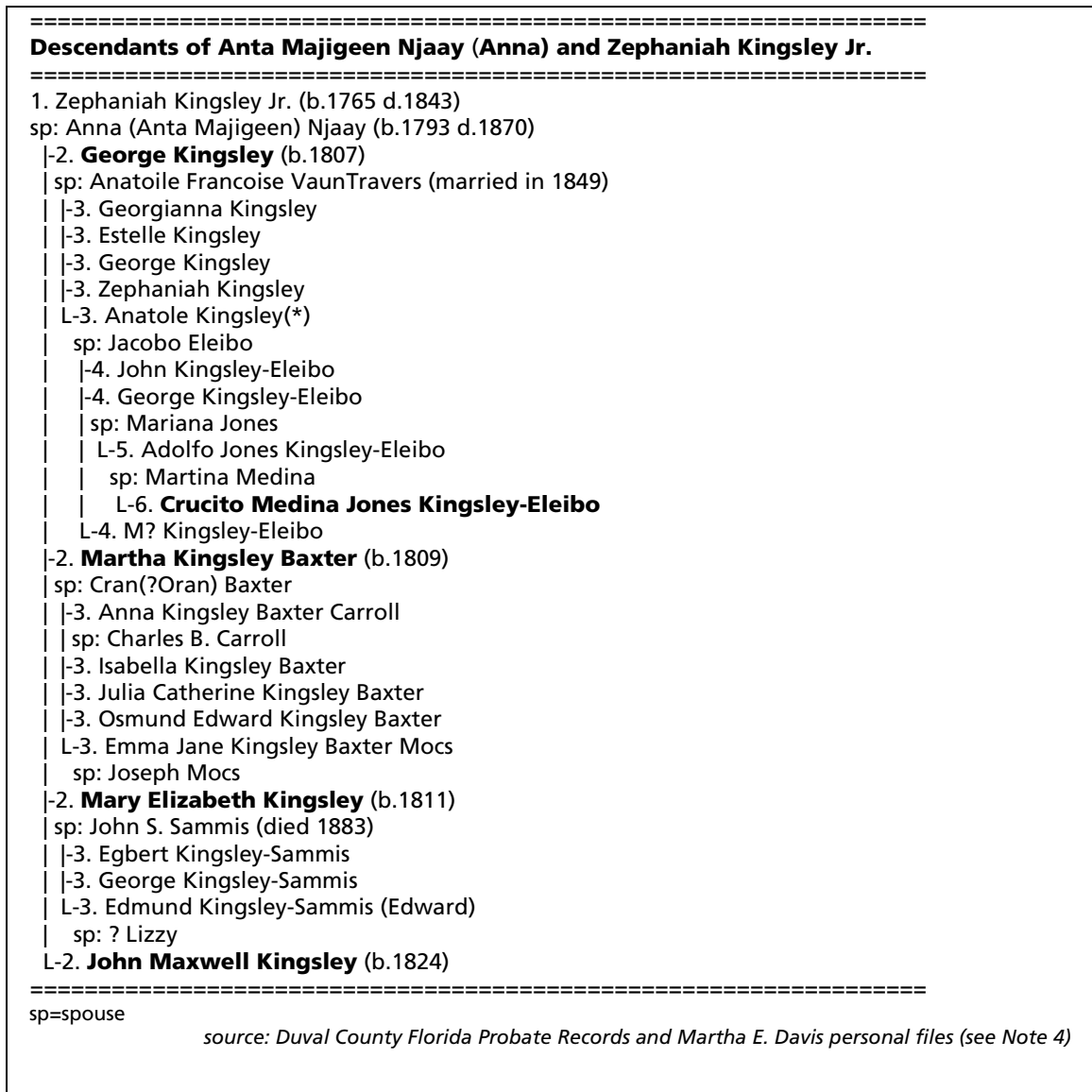


FIGURE 10. Descendants of Anta Majigeen Njaay (Anna) and Zephaniah Kingsley Jr.

Figure 12). The Kingsley family and the history of the Kingsley Plantation is embedded in the fabric of everyday life in Jacksonville and surrounding communities in northeast Florida—from Fernandina (to the north) to St. Augustine (to the south). The Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch family’s profile is a specific example of the geographic and social breadth of the Kingsley Plantation community.

In 1884, Abraham Lincoln Lewis married Mary F. Kingsley Sammis (see Figure 13), daughter of Edward G. Sammis (Edmund), a former Duval County justice of the peace and the great granddaughter of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley (Phelts

1997:28). The Abraham Lincoln (A.L.) Lewis and Mary Sammis Lewis union formed one of the most prominent dynasties of wealth, influence, and power in Florida’s African American community.

One of the founders, and later, one of the presidents of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company (the Afro), A.L. Lewis became one of the richest men in Florida during the 1920s until his death in 1947. He amassed large amounts of property in Jacksonville, and throughout Florida, and operated many successful business ventures. The thirty-six-acre Lincoln Golf and Country Club, which opened in 1929, is one example (Phelts 1997).

| ID | Abode# | Family# | Name | Age | Sex | Color | Occupation | Birth Pl |
|----|--------|---------|--------------------------|-----------|---------------|-----------|---------------|---------------|
| 31 | 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Alexander G. | 10 | Male | W | | FL |
| 32 | 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Clanfa? | 6 | Female | W | | FL |
| 33 | 390 | 388 | Christopher, Lewis | 68 | Male | W | Planter | FL |
| 34 | 390 | 388 | Christopher, James, L. | 36 | Male | W | | FL |
| 35 | 409 | 406 | Leasy?, Joseph | 35 | Male | W | Teamster | SC |
| 36 | | | | | | | | |
| 37 | 529 | 528 | Sammis, John S. | 50 | Male | W | Farmer | NY |
| 38 | 529 | 528 | Sammis, Mary K. | 45 | Female | W | | FL |
| 39 | 529 | 528 | Sammis, Martha K. | 20 | Female | W | | FL |
| 40 | 529 | 528 | Sammis, Egbert C. | 13 | Male | W | | FL |
| 41 | 529 | 528 | Sammis, Amelia B. | 11 | Female | W | | FL |
| 42 | 530 | 529 | Phillips, Alonzo | 20 | Male | Mu | | FL |
| 43 | 530 | 529 | Meliam? | 70 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 44 | 531 | 530 | Kingsley, Toby | 90 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 45 | 532 | 531 | Williams, Mary A. | 20 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 46 | 532 | 531 | Williams, Rebecca | 35 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 47 | 532 | 531 | Williams, Hannah | 6 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 48 | 532 | 531 | Williams, Holly | 2 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 49 | 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Maria | 46 | Female | B | | FL |
| 50 | 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Sarah | 14 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 51 | 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Dora | 6 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 52 | 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Rosalia | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 53 | 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Lindo? | 55 | Male | B | | FL |
| 54 | 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Sophia | 40 | Female | B | | FL |
| 55 | 534 | 533 | Kingsley, John | 5 | Male | B | | FL |
| 56 | 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Gaden? | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 57 | 535 | 534 | Abdallah | 60 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 58 | 535 | 534 | Bella | 60 | Female | B | | Africa |
| 59 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, John | 45 | Male | W | Bar Pilot | Norway |
| 60 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Ruth W. | 37 | Female | W | | FL |
| 61 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Lula | 19 | Female | W | | FL |
| 62 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Charles | 18 | Male | W | | FL |
| 63 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Mary M. | 10 | Female | W | | FL |
| 64 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Martha? | 8 | Female | W | | FL |
| 65 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Mary? | 6 | Female | W | | FL |
| 66 | 682 | 681 | Johnson, Edwin | 1/12 | Male | W | | FL |
| 67 | 696 | 695 | Baxter, Martha B. | 50 | Female | Mu | Farmer | FL |
| 68 | 696 | 695 | Charles B. Carroll | 48 | Male | W | | NY |
| 69 | 696 | 695 | Anna B. Carroll | 26 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 70 | 696 | 695 | Baxter, Isabella | 24 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 71 | 697 | 696 | Mocs, Joseph | 28 | Male | W | Music Tchr | Hungary |
| 72 | 697 | 696 | Mocs, Emma | 22 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 73 | 697 | 696 | Mocs, Osmond | 18 | Male | Mu | | FL |
| 74 | 697 | 696 | Mocs, Julia | 16 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 75 | 697 | 696 | Catherine Bullen | 35 | Female | W | Teacher | SC |
| 76 | 698 | 697 | Kingsley, Anna M. | 75 | Female | B | | Africa |
| 77 | 698 | 697 | Kingsley, Bella | 11 | Female | Mu | | St Domingo |

source: U.S. Bureau of the Census

FIGURE 11. 1860 US Census data from Duval County Florida.

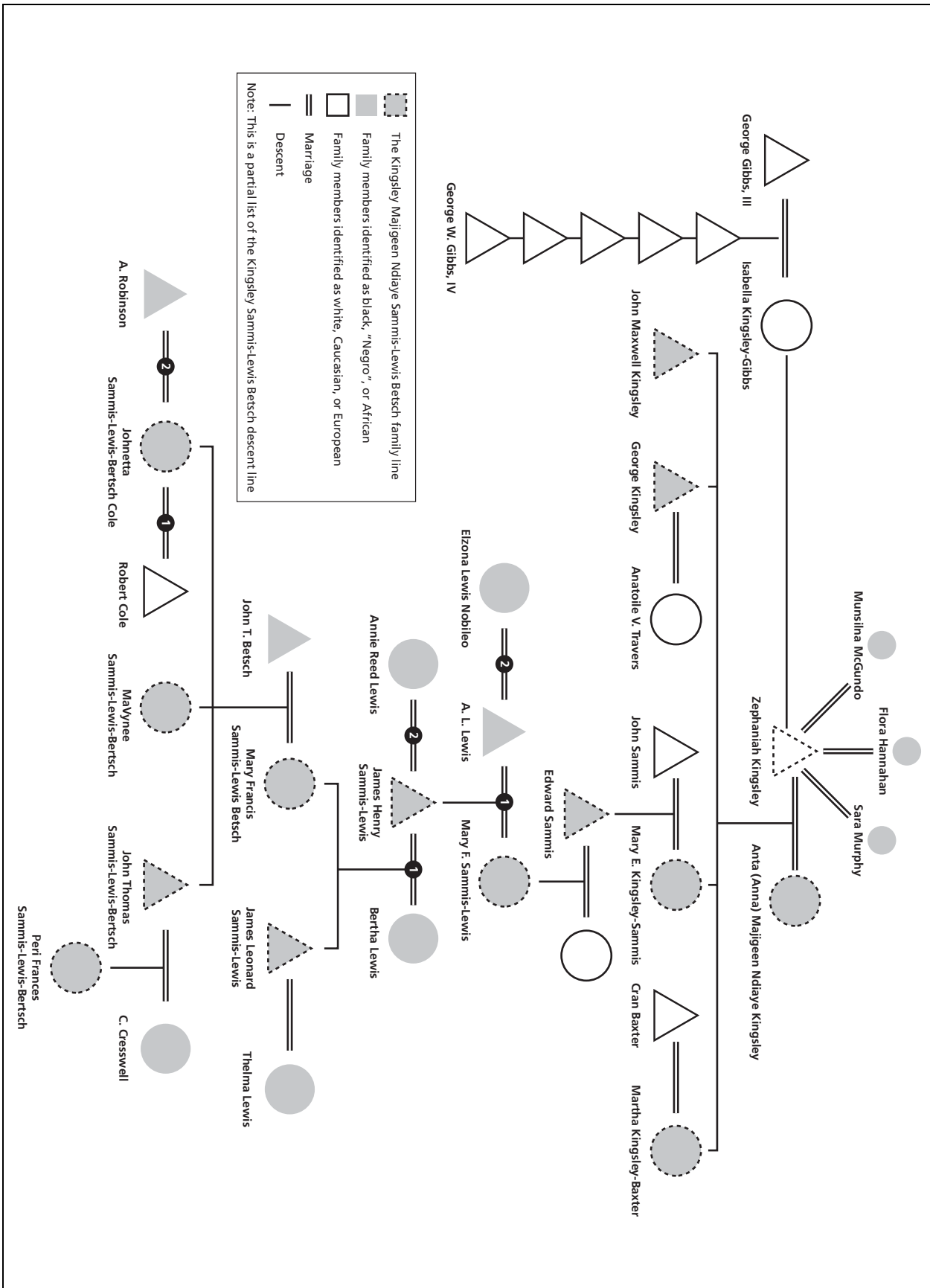


FIGURE 12. Kingsley Sammis-Lewis Betsch descent chart.

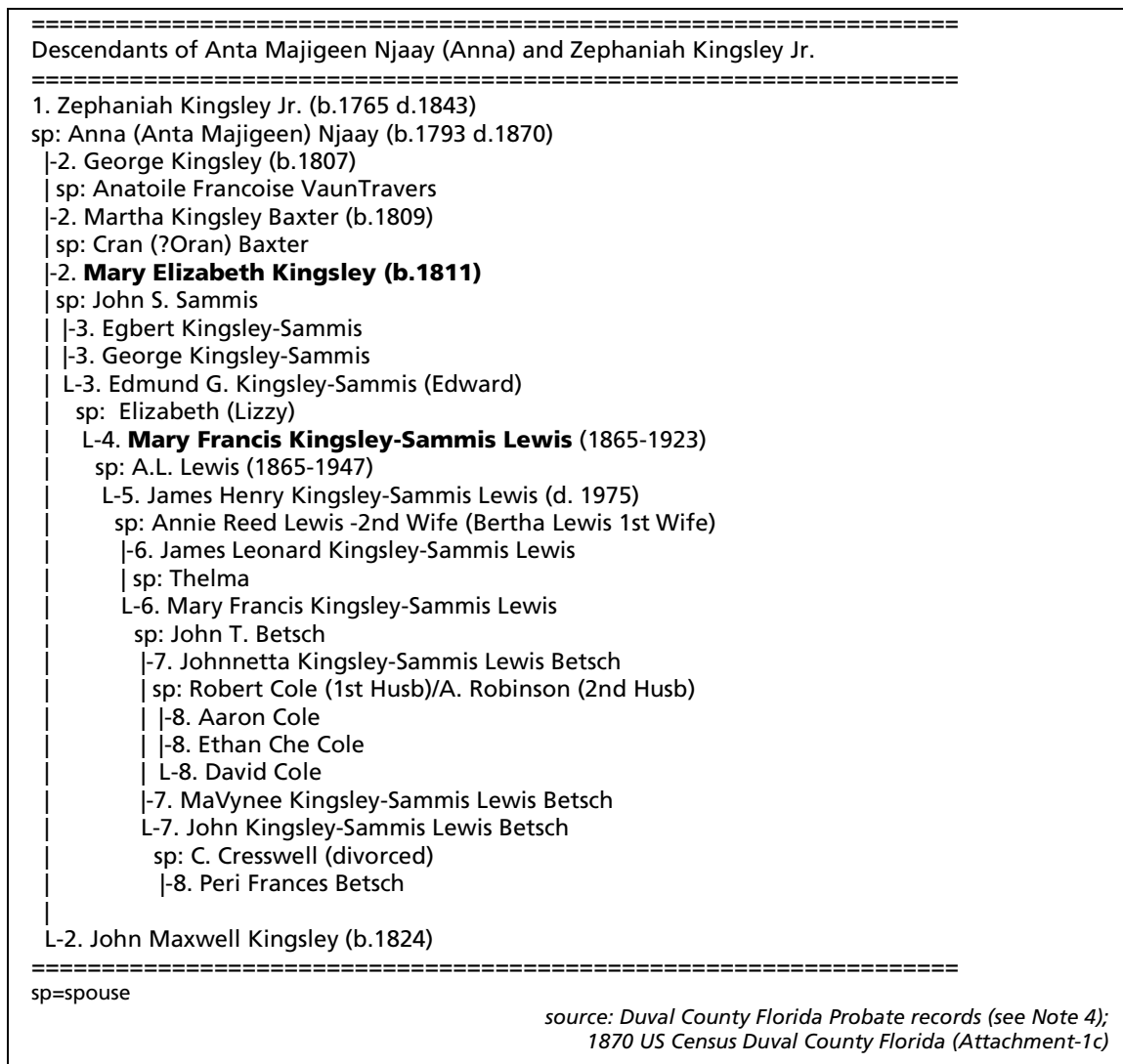


FIGURE 13. Descendants of Anta Majigeen Njaay (Anna) and Zephaniah Kingsley Jr.

Mary F. Sammis-Lewis was also very active in the Jacksonville community. Amongst her many civic, social, and business activities, she served on the Deaconess Board of her church, Bethel Baptist Institutional Church, for over twenty years. Mrs. Camilla Thompson, historian and archivist at Bethel Baptist, shared the following about A.L. Lewis and his wife, Mary Sammis-Lewis (Camilla Thompson 2001):

Yes, Mary Lewis was the wife of Mr. A.L. Lewis who was one of the founders and who was one of the presidents that perhaps was most well known to the current people today. And she was one of the Deaconesses of the church and very active, and so her husband, although he was a member of the Mount Olive AME church supported Bethel quite well because of the fact

that his wife was a member. And Mrs. Mary Lewis traces her ancestry back to Kingsley, of the Kingsley Plantation. She was a Sammis, and the Sammis are descendants of the Kingsleys.

Mary and A.L. Lewis had one son, James Henry Lewis who died 1975. He had two children—James Leonard Lewis and Mary Frances Lewis. The Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch legacy today is continued through Johnnetta Betsch-Cole, MaVynee Betsch, and, John Thomas Betsch, the children of, Mary Frances Lewis and her husband, John Thomas Betsch, Sr. (see Figure 13). Johnnetta Betsch-Cole described her parents' meeting in this way (Johnnetta Cole 2001):

... They came to Atlanta for an insurance meeting and working at Atlanta Life Insurance

Company was one John Thomas Betsch. And apparently that's when the sparks began to fly. So my mom and my dad met here in Atlanta, met at Atlanta Life Insurance Company. And just to show you how in Malcolm's [Malcom X] sense 'what goes around comes around,' when the Afro went bankrupt in 1987, the remains, if I can use that word, the remains of the Afro were bought by Atlanta Life. So it always had a kind of soothing effect on me over what was obviously a very sad circumstance.

Marsha Phelts, an African American resident of the Jacksonville community and author of the book, *An American Beach for African Americans* (1997), knew members of the Lewis-Betsch family personally. She shared the following community perspective of the family (Marsha Phelts 2001):

... they were people that we loved to watch and loved to read about, to hear about... They were extremely admired and respected. They were—the middle-class—credit Randolph with the middle-class in America because of what he did for the Pullman porters in terms of organizing the union and bringing their pay up—but in this little corner of Jacksonville, the Afro-American Life Insurance Company was certainly responsible for a big portion... If you had a middle-class status as being an executive for the Afro, there certainly was that to be enjoyed, and they mortgaged homes during a period that established places did not provide mortgages that very much. Established places did provide mortgages but they were harder to come by and so the Afro and the Lewis' made great contributions, they really did. And as I look at A.L. Lewis and his philosophy and his way of doing things... he just stretched his hands out and wherever you could be helped, wherever you had sense enough to be able to take advantage of these enterprises, then it was available to you because of his broad sense of bringing a community along. He was not rich by himself. It was a whole lot of people that benefited from his business acumen.

Kingsley Plantation Extended Community

The representation of the Kingsley Plantation as an extended community is one way to link the past and the present—showcasing Kingsley family associations and relationships that exist beyond physically, socially, politically, or legally demarcated plantation boundaries before and after the Civil War. Antoinette Jackson provides a detailed discussion of the concept of extended community in her study of the

Snee Farm Plantation community in Mount Pleasant, South Carolina (2001; 2003).

In her analysis of the Snee Farm plantation community, Jackson concluded that even though plantations were demarcated in various ways, such as by name or by plantation owners, "Africans generally made no significant distinction between plantations as their communities and relationships extended across plantation lines" (2001:17). As such, each name and picture shown in the "Kingsley Plantation Extended Community" chart (see Figure 14) represents a personal, social, or geographic connection to the Kingsley family or Kingsley Plantation which extends across demarcated plantation boundaries.

This ethnohistorical study in general and this ethnographic profile of the Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch family specifically provides a number of interesting and perhaps little known Kingsley family and community associations. For example, in 1886, African American Jacksonville community residents, Clara White—descendant of the Harrison-English-Drummond-Green families of Amelia Island in Nassau County— and her daughter, the prominent Jacksonville philanthropist, Eartha Mary Magdalene White, lived on the Kingsley plantation in what was formerly known as the Anna Kingsley Kitchen house (Bennett 1989; Phelts 1997; Schafer 1976). Clara did domestic work for John Rollins and family, owners of the plantation at that time. Eartha went on to become a trusted business advisor and friend of A.L. Lewis and the first female employee of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. She is credited with single-handedly saving the company's records at the time of the May 3, 1901, Jacksonville fire.

Eartha and Clara White were also members of Bethel Baptist Institutional Church. Camilla Thompson shared the following about Eartha and Clara White (Camilla Thompson 2001):

CT: Our [Bethel Baptist Church] connection with the Afro is that our past Reverend J. Milton Waldon, who was the fifth pastor, started with having a church burial fee for members. He wanted them to pay a small amount of money so they would have money for burial. And then he decided, no, rather than have it in the church, make it community wide so that African Americans would have insurance because the white companies were not insuring them. So, he

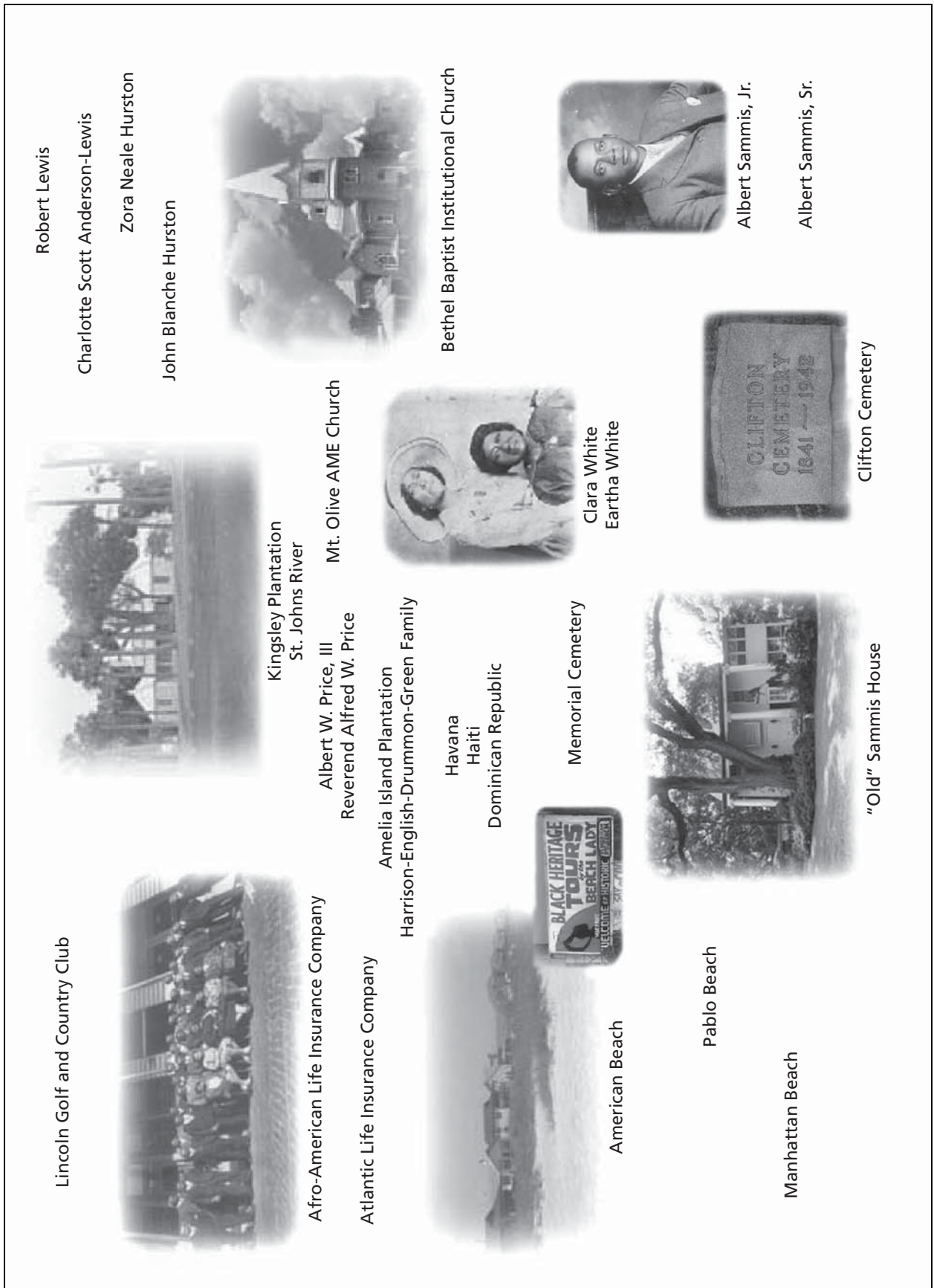


FIGURE 14. Kingsley Plantation extended community.

called together six other men, and the seven of them organized the Afro-American Life Insurance Company in January of 1901. And then it was chartered by the State of Florida in March of 1901 and burned in the great Jacksonville fire of May 1901. But, Miss Eartha M.M. White, our humanitarian at that time, was a clerk at the Afro, and she is credited with rushing in and grabbing up most of the records and saving the records so that the company was able to continue operation, although they were without their building because it had burned in the fire.

AJ: Was she [Eartha White] a member of this church?

CT: She was a member of this church, and her name is up on our rally list [listing of early contributors to the building fund of Bethel Baptist]—she and her mother both. I think her mother died in 1922, and her funeral was here. And Miss Eartha White died in 1974 and her funeral was here in this church.

Other persons connected with the Kingsley Plantation community and Sammis-Lewis-Betsch family line included Charlotte Scott Anderson-Lewis and Zora Neale Hurston. Charlotte Anderson, a prosperous and influential African American businesswoman in the Jacksonville community, was the second wife of A.L. Lewis's father, Robert. Zora is listed on the 1914 Bethel Baptist Institutional Church membership roll along with her brother, John C. Hurston, and his wife Blanche. In 1939, Zora married Albert W. Price III, in Nassau County. He was the grandson of Reverend Alfred W. Price, a founder and third president of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company. The marriage lasted less than a year, and Price's divorce lawyer was James Leonard (Sammis) Lewis (Gates 1996; Phelts 1997; Wall 1995).

In terms of geographic reach, the former home of John S. Sammis and his wife Mary Elizabeth Kingsley-Sammis still stands in the Clifton subdivision in the Arlington area of Jacksonville, Florida (Wood 1989). It is believed that Anna Kingsley, who died in 1870, lived out her final days in this home, which is known today as, "the old Sammis house." The Sammis family cemetery is also located in the Clifton subdivision and contains the graves of John Sammis and Anna Kingsley and her daughters, Martha and Mary, to name a few. However most of the cedar and cypress headstones that marked many of the burial spots no longer remain. Jean House

and Pat Castiglia (current owner of the old Sammis house), Clifton community residents interviewed for this study, indicated that the "Japonica Garden Circle," a local Women's club, currently maintains the site, located at the corner of Magnolia and Garrison streets, known as the "Clifton Cemetery" (Castiglia 2001; House 2001).

Finally, American Beach provides another geographic point of Kingsley Plantation community connection. A.L. Lewis and the Pension Bureau of the Afro-American Life Insurance Company decided to develop a total beach community for African Americans as a counter to racial segregation policies enforced in the deep South state of Florida. Prior to 1964, such racial segregation policies resulted in restricted or very limited access to beach recreation for people labeled as "Negro." Marsha Phelts explains the importance of American Beach to the African American community in this way (Marsha Phelts 2001):

My family is from Jacksonville, and so American Beach is an extended part of the Jacksonville community. It's just 30-40 minutes to an hour away from Jacksonville and this is where black people came during my growing up and my youth for the beach. This was the beach. Even though the coast is [in] Duval County has a beach coast, but that was not available in the 40s and in the 50s—only in 1964 were blacks able to go to the beaches, and all of the beaches were open to them. I was born in 1944, so I would have been 20 years old if it hadn't been an American Beach for me to come to. Because of this beach I have been coming to the beach my whole life.

Prior to the establishment of American Beach, African Americans in the Jacksonville area frequented Pablo Beach (now Jacksonville Beach), opened in 1884 to African Americans on Mondays only and Manhattan Beach located near Mayport—today occupied in part by the Mayport Naval Station (Phelts 1997).

A.L. Lewis and family as well as others in the African community owned homes on American Beach, and for many years this beach resort community on the Atlantic Ocean served as the hub of recreation and entertainment for African American families and civic and social organizations throughout the South. Johnnetta Cole describes her American Beach experiences in this way (Johnnetta Cole 2001):

I do remember the beach very, very well, the trips there, everything from playing in the sand dunes with my sister to jumping the waves. I remember the extraordinary presence of black folk having a good time on a Sunday, the buses rolling up, church after church. To go there now obviously is to see the absence of so much that was a spirit of life. And to go there now is just to be eternally grateful to my sister [MaVynee Betsch] for all that she does to, with almost inhuman hands, to stop the encroachment on that beach . . . And when the big Afro picnics would happen once a year, I have just gorgeous memories of my father making his own barbecue sauce and barbecuing there . . . It was in my view what community could really be about, that is folk caring for each other, sharing what they had, going beyond lines of biological kinship to feel a sense of shared values, and one must say also, to feel a sense of shared oppression. Because it was clear to everybody that while A.L. Lewis in his wisdom and with his wealth had made sure that that beach was available, not just for his family, not just for the Afro, I mean people now live in Virginia, in North Carolina who remember coming to that beach. But everybody knew that we were on that beach and could not be on the other beaches.

Remembering Anna Majigeen Ndiaye Today

Today in 2003, environmental activist and Amelia Island resident MaVynee Betsch, popularly known as, “the beach lady,” and her niece, Peri Frances Betsch, continue to work to keep Anna’s memory alive. MaVynee, great granddaughter of Anna Majigeen Ndiaye and Zephaniah Kingsley, often pays tribute to Anna by performing skits and

reciting poetry in her honor at the annual Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival sponsored by the National Park Service.

Peri Francis, an eighth-generation descendant of Anna, is on a personal mission to find out more about her family’s ancestral connection to Anna Majigeen Ndiaye. She says that she does not find those storybook romance portrayals of Anna’s arrival as an enslaved African woman and life as mistress to Zephaniah Kingsley very believable. In an interview with Peri Frances conducted in October 2001 she shared the following thoughts about Anna and the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival (Peri Frances Betsch interview 2001):

. . . But I really always wonder what was she thinking, and when the whole celebration [The Kingsley Heritage Festival] was going on and all these people were talking about her . . . Is she pleased? I’m sure she has gotta be more pleased than when there were all these stories of her wearing peacock feathers and fanning him and just some exotic bird or whatever . . . I don’t know if it is possible to ever really know her.

Peri journeyed to Senegal West Africa in the summer of 1998 in search of information about Anna’s life before she was brought to Florida. Fluent in Spanish and French, she interviewed Griots (local family and community historians) in Senegal who provided her with important information about the history of Anna’s lineage based on her family name—Majigeen Ndiaye. Peri plans to continue her quest for information about her great grandmother’s life in Africa as a personal tribute to her legacy.

Chapter Four: Transition, Movement, and Memory — The Kingsley Plantation Community and Jacksonville’s Growth and Development

And so I would say that what was most distinctive for me, growing up in Jacksonville was learning quite early, experientially, that no amount of wealth was going to counter racism. Yes, I was A.L. Lewis’s great granddaughter—that could soften in some sense, but it was not going to even it. So what that meant, just to give examples, would be that because we had access to cars it meant that we weren’t on the back of the bus so often, but if we had to take the bus we would go to the back. [Johnnetta Betsch Cole 2001]

The transition from agrarian to industrial communities and beyond, in the American South, is complicated by and intertwined with many factors, including the institution of slavery and its abolishment; the practice of institutionalized and socially demarcated segregation or “Jim Crow;” and the Civil Rights movement and integration. In the majority of cases in the South, the transition from agrarian based, plantation dominated agricultural community structures to industrial or post-industrial infrastructures involved the restructuring of the entire social order on which the community was built and the economy was based. Davis and the Gardners, in their case study of, “Old City” and “Old County” in “Deep South,” described this as a caste-class social order. They defined it as a system of behavior and control or as a social formation in which one group of people is deemed inferior to another (Davis and Gardner and Gardner 1941:9). Under this type of organization, all social structures

in the society operate to reinforce the caste system and therefore sanction subordination of a particular group. In the South, caste was ordered around race, with blacks placed in the lower caste.

In the case of the Kingsley Plantation community, the transition from plantation life up through the Civil War and beyond can be traced in terms of active relationships of place. Life for “negroes” in Florida, for example, until the passage of the Civil Rights bill in 1964—whether Kingsley plantation descendants or not, whether living on Fort George Island or elsewhere in the greater Jacksonville community or beyond—was in many ways one giant plantation experience. This could be seen in the form of strict codes and expectations of behavior (“black codes”), restrictions on mobility and access (“Jim Crow”), and escalated violence and control tactics (i.e., lynching, bombings, Ku Klux Klan [KKK] patrols). These actions were directed towards the entire socially defined racialized grouping of people labeled as “negroes”—regardless of class or status or place of origin (Aptheker 1951; Cutler 1905; Jackson 1967; Myrdal 1944; Patrick and Morris 1967:57, 78-81). The tensions associated with managing these geographic and social place barriers and restrictions were imbedded in Jacksonville’s transition.

Lynching statistics reported by state and race between 1822 and 1968 and archived by the

Tuskegee Institute ranked Florida sixth behind Mississippi, Georgia, Texas, Louisiana, and Alabama—with 257 documented cases of lynchings of blacks during that period (public murders of someone by a mob based on accusations of a crime carried out without proof or formal legal process). In “The Story of Lynch Hammock,” Allan Burns captures a community’s narrative about a lynching that took place in a small north Florida community in the 1920s and its tragic effects on both black and white residents of the community (Burns 1995). Zora Neale Hurston wrote about a riot and the lynching of a black man, July Perry, by an angry white mob that took place during the time of the 1920 Presidential elections in the town of Ocoee in central Florida (Bordelon 1999:146-150). An abbreviated version of Zora’s account of the incident, known as the Ocoee Riot, appears as an entry in the *Florida Guidebook*, published in 1939 by the Federal Writers’ Project of Florida (FWP 1939).

Walter Whetstone, an African American businessman and lifetime resident of Jacksonville, born in 1937, offers a personal account of the reality of the expanded plantation experience and social and geographic place tensions. He described the Ku Klux Klan’s physical presence and social reach and influence throughout the Jacksonville community in this way (Walter Whetstone 2001):

... They were marching down Florida Avenue, and that’s the way it was. This was like in the ‘40s [1940s] and ‘50s [1950s] ... The Ku Klux Klan would march. They would come down the Avenue [Florida Avenue]. I never forget that. I had one time the opportunity to see the grand dragon come down the Avenue and I got up under the house. The houses were built way up off the ground, almost so that you could walk under them, [and I] saw those guys coming. But you did not get in the way of the Ku Klux Klan because they would ... And they dominated the situation, and that’s the way it was at the time. And it was accepted. The police force and everybody else, either they were Klan men or they were soft toward the Klan men.

In addition, ordinances such as, Section 269, “Sale to White and Colored over the same counter forbidden,” issued in May 1887 at the time of the City of Jacksonville’s incorporation, further highlight the reality of racial segregation and discrimination policies and disfranchisement practices which were directed at blacks in the state of Florida (Odom 1911:106). These extensive patterns of violence and

discrimination directed towards persons identified as negro or colored by whites throughout Florida and throughout the South persisted before and after the Civil War, affecting industrial and post-industrial economic development.

The issues associated with transition from an agrarian based economy to an industrial base were therefore complicated and complex, as the economies of typical Southern agrarian based communities were structured primarily around securing, exploiting, or in some way, utilizing the labor of people classified as “colored” or “negro.” Communities—particularly those located in the states of Alabama, Louisiana, Georgia, Mississippi, Florida, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Virginia—whose economies were shaped by the demands of cotton, sugar cane, rice, tobacco, truck farming, or turpentine production depended, almost exclusively, on a stable, and steady pool of black workers. These workers performed a variety of functions—in both agrarian and industrial settings. In other words, the majority of the potential labor pool needed for a transition to industrialization belonged to the caste that the Southern system of social segregation sought to keep subordinated and fixed. As such, any comprehensive portrait and analysis of transition from an economic base dependent exclusively on agriculture and slave labor in the American South must be characterized within the context of this tension.

In some Southern cities and communities, the variety, scope, and urgency of industrial and post-industrial growth helped to create a demand for labor that challenged and sometimes overrode caste-class social limitations that typically characterized/plagued agricultural based economies. In such cases, communities responded to labor demands fueled by growth and development outside the agrarian sector and offered a wider range of employment opportunities in an increasingly more urban or industrialized setting. For example, people obtained employment as laborers in industrial enterprises, like packing companies, sugar mills, sawmills, lumber mills, and cigar factories, or, as service personnel in post-industrial businesses like banks, insurance companies, and hotels. In other cases, they participated indirectly in agrarian to industrial community transition by working as domestics, cooks, messenger boys, porters, or janitors, for example, for businesses,

business owners, and other professionals engaged in these industrial and post-industrial enterprises. Jacksonville, Florida's process of transition from an agrarian based economy and the Kingsley Plantation Community's role in this process provides an example.

Transition to Industrialization in Jacksonville: A Historical Overview

Prior to the beginning of the Civil War, Jacksonville was largely agrarian. The Kingsley Plantation, for example, remained actively engaged in agricultural production until the 1890s. Historian Daniel Stowell (1996) writes that from 1804 until around 1811, planter John Houston McIntosh lived on Fort George Island and planted sea island cotton as a commercial enterprise with a labor force of between 160 to 200 enslaved Africans. Zephaniah Kingsley then acquired the plantation in 1812, and although his primary business focus was slave trading as opposed to plantation management, he was considered an important and successful planter. Between 1812 and 1839, he planted sea island cotton and subsistence crops like sugar cane and rice and maintained orange groves with a labor force of 100-120 enslaved Africans (Stowell 1996). Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, Zephaniah's nephew, owned the Fort George Island plantation between 1839 and 1853 and produced cotton, corn, sugar cane, potatoes, peas and other subsistence crops with a workforce of around 54 enslaved Africans (Fretwell 1984).

The 1860 census reported that Jacksonville had 2,118 inhabitants, with 908 listed as slaves, and 87 as free blacks (U.S. Bureau of the Census 1860). In the state of Florida as a whole in 1860, the population of enslaved Africans was reported to be nearly 62,500, in comparison to a white population of just under 78,000 (US Bureau of Census 1918). At that time, there was small scale business activity in the railroad, brick, and lumber industries. Historian Thomas Frederick Davis reported that there were five or six sawmills in Jacksonville and about an equal number in surrounding areas in the years of 1853-54 (1911:117). In the town of Mayport, formerly known as Mayport Mill (Kingsley B. Gibbs owned and operated a saw mill in the area by that name), the main economy prior to the Civil War was boat and ship piloting and fishing (Floyd 1994; Fretwell 1984). After the war, the major industries in Florida were lumber (including turpentine pro-

duction and paper manufacture), trade, and tourism. Formerly enslaved men and women played significant roles in the growth of these industries. The Freedmen's Bureau was in large part created to deal with labor disputes between former enslavers and those newly freed. In an article published in 1960, Richardson describes the role of the Freedmen's Bureau in this way:

The Freedmen's Bureau did a great deal for the Negro laborer; however it aided not only the ex-slave, but also the planter, for the agents were as vigorous in forcing the Negroes to adhere to the terms of their contracts as they were in compelling the planters to keep their part of the bargain. In fact, if the planter broke a contract he was subject only to a civil suit, whereas the Negro was faced with strict vagrancy laws which existed for the express purpose of controlling him as a laborer. [Richardson 1960:174]

Jerrell Shofner, for example, discusses the importance of black workers to the lumber industry in the following narrative:

Despite the insecurity of their position at that time, great transformations had been made in the status of black laborers as well as the overall economy of Florida in the twelve years since the Civil War. Slaves had become freedmen and many of them had gone to work for wages in the timber industry. At the same time that industry had grown proportionately much larger in the Florida economy at the expense of plantation cotton agriculture. [1975:191]

The 1870 Census for Duval County, Florida contains the following distribution of occupations for persons listed as "M" (mulatto) or "B" (black): domestic servant, farm laborer, seamstress, keeping house, laborer, barber, carpenter, brickmason, fisherman, drayman, "works on steamboat," and "works in the lumber mill" (U.S. Bureau of Census 1870). The distribution of occupations for persons listed as "W" (white) included: pilot (boat), farmer, retail grocer, retail liquor dealer, barkeeper, keeps houses, railroad engineer, and carpenter. In Jacksonville, the lumber, trade, and tourism industries were concentrated in the eastern and central portions of the city resulting in a large number of black communities developing in these areas (see Figure 15). Blacks lived in these areas because of the close proximity to the sawmills, shipyards, and business and hotel districts. In fact, by 1887, eastern and central Jacksonville, LaVilla, Oakland, and Hans-

| Adobe# | Family# | Name | Age | Sex | Color | Occupation | BirthPI |
|--------|---------|----------------------|-----|--------|-------|----------------------|---------|
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Isaac | 45 | Male | B | Brickmason | SC |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Ca? | 35 | Female | B | | SC |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, William | 4 | Male | B | | SC |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Elizabeth | 1 | Female | B | | FL |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Edward | 18 | Male | B | Brickmason | SC |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Jackson | 48 | Male | B | Fisherman | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Harriet | 50 | Female | B | | NC |
| 622 | 529 | Long, James A.? | 21 | Male | B | Fisherman | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Louisa | 15 | Female | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, William | 13 | Male | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Edward | 12 | Male | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Frank | 10 | Male | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Anna M. | 5 | Female | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Adaline | 2 | Female | B | | FL |
| 977 | 856 | Lee, Elick | 45 | Male | B | City Policeman | NC |
| 977 | 856 | Lee, Emily | 50 | Female | B | | GA |
| 977 | 856 | Lee, Lucy | 23 | Female | B | | GA |
| 977 | 856 | Ba? William | 18 | Male | B | | GA |
| 978 | 857 | White, Lafayette | 35 | Male | B | Drayman | SC |
| 978 | 857 | White, Clara | 33 | Female | B | | FL |
| 978 | 857 | White, George W.B. | 8 | Male | B | | GA |
| 979 | 858 | Johnson, John | 21 | Male | B | Works on Steamboat | VA |
| 979 | 858 | Johnson, Precilla | 26? | Female | B | | MD |
| 979 | 858 | Johnson, Mary M. | 4 | Female | B | | FL |
| 979 | 858 | Anderson, Charles | 11 | Male | B | | FL |
| | | | | | | | |
| 95 | 86 | Cloud, Thomas | 27 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | SC |
| 95 | 86 | Janus, John | 26 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | SC |
| 95 | 86 | Daniels, Robert | 32 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | GA |
| 95 | 86 | Daniels, Eli | 42 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | GA |

source: U.S. Bureau of Census; see Appendix 2

FIGURE 15. 1870 US Census Report excerpt from Duval County Florida.

ontown would be predominantly black (Davis 1911:14).

The period between 1865 and 1890s was considered the steamboat era for Jacksonville. During this time, starting around 1870, citrus became a major commercial crop for Florida. The St. Johns River provided an excellent transportation option for moving products north. The Kingsley Plantation remained active in agricultural production until the 1890s when then owner, John F. Rollins, produced and marketed oranges (“The Fort George Orange”) as the island’s last major agricultural production crop (Stowell 1996:63). George Buker wrote about the citrus production in northeast Florida in this way:

In the 1870s citrus became a large commercial crop along the St. Johns, because the river provided a means of transportation in the days before the railroad. Many of the large orange groves had long wharfs jutting into the river to provide direct loading of the crop for shipment to the north. The smaller groves relied upon an old renovated steamer, the Orange Maid, which would steam up and down the St. Johns, picking up the bulk of the fruit. On board the ‘Maid’, packers would process and pack the fruit for transshipment at Jacksonville to large steamers headed north. [1992:76-77].

Zora Neale Hurston also researched and wrote about Florida’s citrus industry. For example, she talked about meeting John C. Hamilton during her travels and described him in this way, “John C. Hamilton is a streamlined young colored man,

known among his associates by the nickname “Seaboard” and reputed to be the “fastest orange picker in Florida” (Bordelon 1999:132). In describing the packing house, she wrote, “Women do all the packing. The fruit is sorted and graded into sizes by machinery, also sprayed mechanically with the vegetable coloring matter. All the women do is wrap the fruit and place it in the boxes” (Bordelon 1999:133).

The citrus industry in north Florida (as well as parts of Georgia and Alabama) however, was severely crippled and basically destroyed when a major temperature fluctuation or cold spell labeled, “The Great Freeze,” hit on December 30, 1894, resulting in the destruction of citrus groves as well as crop hanging on trees (Chapin 1914). This proved to be a serious financial disaster for Florida, and since that time, the citrus industry has remained concentrated almost exclusively in the southern portions of the state.

By the late 1880s, steamboats began to give way to railroads as the preferred form of transportation for tourists and business commerce. In Jacksonville, several railroad lines connected the city to various destinations throughout the state and points north. William D. Chipley, Henry B. Plant, and Henry M. Flagler established significant railroad holdings in Florida (Patrick and Morris 1967:66-71). For example, Flagler’s Florida East Coast Railroad connected Jacksonville with Miami, expanding the tourist industry and increasing job availability in hospitality (porters, maids, and cooks) and entertainment. In addition, the speed of railway transportation along with other industry improvements gave rise to the emergence of fishing as a major commercial industry in Florida. The following description of the industry was written in the *Florida Guide* (FWP 1939:89-90):

Pensacola, Apalachicola, Cape Canaveral, Fernandina, New Smyrna, and the mouth of the St. Johns River are centers of the shrimp-fishing-industry in Florida, and the waters of the State each year yield 20 percent of all shrimp caught in North America. At sunset the fishing craft, with nets drying at the masts, can be seen returning to port, trailed by thousands of screaming gulls feeding on shrimp heads that are cast overboard. Packing houses are busy long after dark, cleaning the catch and preparing it for iced shipment to all parts of the United States. Most of the cleaning is done by

Negro women who receive approximately 15¢ a bucket for their labor, and average from 10 to 15 buckets a day. An estimated 12,000 buckets are cleaned daily for shipping and canning purposes.

The 1910 US Census summary of negro occupations in Florida identified the major occupations of negro men in the state as: agriculture, general manufacture, saw and planing mills, forestry, steam railroad, turpentine distilleries, servants, and carpentry (U.S. Bureau of Census 1918). The major occupations of negro women were listed as follows: agriculture, laundresses, servants, and seamstresses (see Figure 16).

A 1920 census excerpt (see Figure 17) shows the range of occupations that persons in Jacksonville performed in support of the commercial industries of tourism, fishing, lumber, and turpentine production.

Laundry, for example, was a major business enterprise for black women in Florida after the Civil war and through the 1940s. These laundry enterprises were typically small, often solo operations, providing an integral but often overlooked service in support of Jacksonville’s industrial and post-industrial transition. A 1910 census summary lists “laundresses” (see Figure 16) as one of the primary occupations for negro women (U.S. Bureau of Census 1918). Black women in Jacksonville performed laundry services out of their homes and in the homes of people for whom they worked (see Figure 17). Census data reports for 1930 (U.S. Bureau of Census 1935) lists the primary occupations for negro men in the state of Florida as: agriculture, servants, saw and planing mill, general laborers, steam railroads, chauffeurs (truck and tractor drivers), and lumbermen. The primary occupations for women included: agriculture, servants, laundry operatives, waiters, and teachers (see Appendix-3b).

In 1930, the Clara White Mission, located on Ashley Street in Jacksonville, was established. It served as the residence of many black businesses and headquarters for black labor and political organizations (Bartley 2000:10-13). For example, in 1936 the WPA Federal Writers Program (FWP) Florida began hiring black writers and their offices were housed in the mission because segregation policy and practice, the norm throughout much of the South at that

| | USA | FL-male | FL-female |
|---|------------|----------------|------------------|
| Pop Total | 7,317,922 | 124,024 | 109,720 |
| Total Employed | 5,192,535 | 107,343 | 50,181 |
| Occupations | | | |
| Agriculture | | 47,953 | 18,330 |
| Forestry | | 3,626 | 9 |
| Animal Husbandry | | 769 | 10 |
| Carpentry | | 2,191 | |
| Deliverymen | | 868 | |
| Draymen, teamsters, expressmen | | 1,818 | |
| Dressmakers and seamstresses (outside of factory) | | | 1,995 |
| Janitors and sextons | | 977 | 17 |
| Keepers of Boarding/Lodging | | | 467 |
| Laborers/porters,helpers in stores | | 210 | |
| Laborers: | | | |
| General manufacture | | 8,471 | |
| Lumberyards | | 240 | |
| Saw&planning mills | | 6,567 | |
| Steam railroad | | 3,606 | |
| Turpentine distilleries | | 2,726 | |
| Laundresses (not in laundries) | | | 14,312 |
| Longshoremen, Stevedores | | 1,530 | |
| Midwives, nurses (not trained) | | | 711 |
| Operatives in laundries | | | 763 |
| Operatives: | | | |
| Cigar/tobacco Factories (semi-skilled) | | 1,488 | 690 |
| Porters (not in stores) | | 745 | |
| Servants | | 2,417 | 9,795 |
| Teachers, school | | 195 | 721 |
| Messenger, Office boy | | 252 | |
| Masons (brick and stone) | | 485 | |

source: US Bureau of the Census 1918

FIGURE 16. Negro Occupations in Florida in 1910.

time, discouraged or prohibited blacks and whites from sharing the same office space (Bordelon 1999). Today the Eartha M.M. White Historical Museum and Mission remains a community resource offering food and providing shelter to those in need as well as serving as a depository of archival data on Jacksonville's African American community.

The 1940s ushered in renewed challenges in terms of employment opportunities and access to resources for persons identified as black in Jacksonville and surrounding communities. Segregation policies and laws necessitated that blacks develop their own business enterprises, recreational facilities, educational programs, and social and political

organizations. By 1945, for example, there were 590 African American owned businesses in Jacksonville (Bartley 2000:10). They included businesses such as: barbershops, beer gardens, beauty parlors, billiard parlors, cafes, confectioneries, dry cleaners, grocers, barbecue stands, morticians, shoe makers, hotels, wood yards, tailor shops, garages and service stations (Southern Regional Council 1946:67-68). Persons interviewed for this study, for example, indicated that the following types of businesses were operated in Jacksonville by members of their family: insurance, real estate, waffle and sandwich shop, pool hall, fish market, laundry, wood yard, bank owner, and ice/wood/kerosene delivery (Cole 2001, Phelts 2001, Whetstone 2001).

| Family# | Name | Relation | Sex | Color | Age | Marital Status | Brthpl | Brthpl Father | Brthpl Mother | Occupation |
|---------|---------------------|-------------|-----|-------|-------|----------------|--------|---------------|---------------|-----------------------------|
| 139 | Morrell, Hason A. | head | M | W | 25 | Married | Maine | Canada | Ireland | Carpenter-shipyard |
| 139 | Morrell, Alma | wife | F | W | 24 | Married | FL | Maine | SC | none |
| 139 | Morrell, Hall B. | son | M | W | 3 | Sgl | FL | Maine | FL | none |
| 139 | Morrell, Willard F. | son | M | W | 6/12 | Sgl | FL | Maine | FL | none |
| 143 | Anderson, Jacob | head | M | W | 53 | Married | Norway | Norway | Norway | Sea captain-steam barge |
| 143 | Anderson, Aaiot | wife | F | W | 52 | Married | Norway | Norway | Norway | none |
| 143 | Anderson, John | son | M | W | 14 | Sgl | FL | Norway | Norway | none |
| 143 | Anderson, Oscar | son | M | W | 8 | Sgl | FL | Norway | Norway | none |
| 145 | Johnson, William | head | M | Mu | 41 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Sailor-merchant marine |
| 145 | Johnson, Kate | wife | F | Mu | 32 | Married | FL | FL | GA | Cigar maker-cigar factory |
| 145 | Johnson, Caritta | daughter | F | Mu | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 145 | Johnson, Gerald | son | M | Mu | 10 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 146 | Dorsey, Douglas | head | M | Mu | 63 | Married | FL | FL | FI | Farm operator |
| 146 | Dorsey, Millie | wife | F | B | 54 | Married | GA | FL | FL | Nurse-obstrical |
| 146 | Dorsey, Charles | son | M | Mu | 22 | Married | FL | FL | FI | Fisherman-river |
| 146 | Dorsey, Sadie | daugh-inlaw | F | Mu | 19 | Married | SC | SC | SC | none |
| 146 | Dorsey, Charles Jr. | grgranson | M | Mu | 4/12 | Sgl | FL | FI | SC | none |
| 148 | Simon, Thomas | head | M | B | 49 | Married | SC | SC | SC | Tapping sap-turpentine oper |
| 148 | Simon, Vermell | wife | F | B | 47 | Married | SC | SC | SC | Laundress-private family |
| 148 | Simon, William | son | M | B | 21 | Sgl | GA | SC | SC | Sap dipper-turpentine oper |
| 148 | Simon, Lucinda | daughter | F | B | 19 | Sgl | FL | SC | SC | Servant-private family |
| 148 | Simon, Edith | daughter | F | B | 18 | Sgl | FL | SC | SC | Laundress-private family |
| 148 | Simon, Eva | daughter | F | B | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 148 | Simon, Douglas | son | M | B | 13 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 148 | Simon, Harry | son | M | B | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 148 | Simon, Annie B. | daughter | F | B | 10 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 148 | Simon, Victoria | daughter | F | B | 8 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 148 | Simon, Louise B. | gdaughter | F | B | 11/12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 158 | Floyd, Israil | head | M | B | 43 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 158 | Floyd, Polly | wife | F | B | 39 | Married | FL | SC | FL | Laundress-at home |

source: U.S. Bureau of Census; see Appendix 2

FIGURE 17. Sample 1920 US Census data from Duval County Florida.

A study commissioned by the Council of Social Agencies and published in 1946 contained statistical data on Negro community life in Jacksonville in the 1940s in various sectors such as housing, education, employment, and quality of life. In the “Industry and Employment” sector for example, the commission reported the following:

The biggest Occupational Group in which Negroes were employed were: Domestic Service Workers (laundry, routine cleaning, maid, yardman, cook), Service Workers, and Laborers (farm and mining excluded in this discussion).

... The concentration of Negro industrial employment at present is found in the

shipyards, cigar making, lumber, and fertilizing plants. Cutbacks in various industries, particularly shipbuilding, are affecting the labor market, but the exact extent is not known.

... The biggest Professional fields for Negroes were: Teachers, Trained Nurses, Physicians, College Presidents, and Lawyers. [Southern Regional Council 1946:61-68]

Jacksonville’s transition from an agrarian centered economy to an industrial and service oriented one increased the demand for labor from a broad segment of the community’s population. Africans and their descendents from the Kingsley Plantation community and throughout northeast Florida, for example, were instrumental in this transition—a

transition which can be traced socially as well as economically. The following ethnographic profile of a Jacksonville family illustrates this.

The Bartley-King-Murrell-Williams Family Profile

And that's the way we would mostly spend our Saturdays and part of Sundays, going to see our Aunt Easter. [John W. Murrell 2001]

This ethnographic profile underscores one family's social, political, historical and economic interrelationship with the Kingsley Plantation community specifically and Jacksonville's transition in general. It is presented in three narrative segments from the perspective of the Bartley-King-Murrell-Williams family's relationship with Easter Bartley, a woman who spent the first fifty years of her life as an enslaved laborer of the Kingsley estate.

A picture of a woman identified as, "Easter, born on the Kingsley Plantation," appears in the book entitled, *Kingsley Plantation*, by Stowell and Tilford (1998) and is part of the archives of the National Park Service at the Kingsley Plantation site on Fort George Island. The name "Easter," sometimes spelled "Esther" or "Hester," appears in census and probate records starting as early as 1843. For example, a probate record dated September 25, 1843 show that an enslaved woman by the name of "Esther" was part of the estate of Zephaniah Kingsley (Duval County Probate Proceedings 1843). Listed as one of the children of Carpenter Bonafy and his wife Mary, Esther and her entire family of 10—her parents and her siblings: Beck, Scipio, Louis, June, George, Tema, and Sarah—were assigned a value of \$4,620 in the "Total Valuation of the Negroes" column for the Kingsley estate.

The name Esther also appears in Zephaniah Kingsley's March 1844 probate documentation (Duval County Probate Proceedings 1843). In this document, her name appears amongst the members of "the Carpenter Bonify, wife Mary family" in the "Schedule . . . Done and Dated at San Jose Plantation, St. Johns River"—a listing of "slave" families and their assigned valuation. The December 21, 1846 probate file of George Kingsley, son of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley, shows the name "Easter" along with other Bonify family members in an inventory listing of slaves of the estate (Probate Proceedings Duval County 1846). Additionally,

Easter is listed in the 1870 and 1880 US Census reports for Duval County as "Easter Lottery" and in the 1920 census report as "Hester Bartley" (see Appendix-2). The 1885 Florida State Census Index (1991) lists an Esther Bartley and George Bartley of Duval County (i.e., Bartley, Esther 781 DUV and Bartley, Geo 781 DUV).

The Bartley-King-Murrell Family

In the summer of 2001, interviews were conducted with several family members in the Jacksonville community with acknowledged kinship connections to Easter Bartley (see Figure 18). The Murrell family has a long history in the Jacksonville area. Interviews were conducted in the home of Mildred Murrell in the Spring Park community on the south side of the St. Johns River. Mildred Murrell, her daughter Evette Murrell, and her brother-in-law John Murrell shared some of their memories of Easter Bartley, the Kingsley Plantation, and life in Jacksonville.

John W. Murrell, age 86 at the time of the interview, was born in 1915. His parents were John Wesley Murrell and Minnie Dretha King Murrell (see Figure 19). His mother's "grandmamma" was Easter Bartley. John currently lives and works in Jacksonville and has resided in the Jacksonville area (i.e., Arlington and St. Nicholas) most of his life. He says that the Murrell family name has historically been spelled "M-O-rrell" as opposed to "M-U-rrell." However, the spelling of the family name was changed to avoid mail service mix-ups between his family and the Morrell family affiliated with the shipyard business.

When John was a young boy, he personally knew and spent time with his great grandmother, "Aunt Easter," whom he believes lived to be at least 115 years old. John used to visit with her in Arlington, where she lived with her daughter, Missy Adkins, and her son-in-law, Jim Adkins (see Figure 19). He shared the following memories of time spent with her (John W. Murrell 2001):

JM: Easter Bartley was her [his mother's] grandmamma, and, uh, we call her Aunt Easter. She was my great grandmamma, and when I . . . , she was 115 years old when I was 15. And before then when I was around 5 and 7 and 8 years old, I used to visit her every week.

AJ: Where was she living?

=====

Easter Bartley's Family-Descendants of Carpenter Bonify and wife Mary

=====

1. Carpenter Bonify

sp: Mary

- | -2. Beck
- | -2. Scipio
- | -2. Louis
- | -2. June
- | -2. George
- | -2. Tema
- | -2. Sarah

L-2. **Easter/Esther** (b.1825? d.1930?)

sp: Quash Lottery (b. 1806?) /George Bartley Jr.-2nd husb.

- | -3. Anna M. Lottery (b.1861)
- | -3. Ruth Lottery (b.1863)
- | -3. Sallie Lottery (b.1867)
- | -3. Antoinette Lottery (b.1870)

| sp: James Adkins

| | -4. Mabel

| | L-4. Beatrice Scott (Raised By Antoinette-birth mom's sister)

| | sp: Albert Johnson/ Clarence Scott, Sr.-2nd husb

| | L-5. Clarence Scott Jr. (b.1915)

| | sp: Veronica Scott (b.1920)

| | | -6. **Theresa Scott Taylor** (b.1934)

| | | -6. Gerry Scott

| | L-6. **Adewole Kule-Mele/Anthony Scott** (b.1942 d.1998)

| -3. Celina? Lottery (b.1869)

| -3. June Lottery (b.1876)

| -3. Adella Lottery (b.1877)

| -3. Arthur Lottery (b.1880)

L-3. Minnie D. King Murrell's mom: = ?Lottery-Bartley

sp: Ed King

| -4. Minnie D. King (b.1886 d.1985)

| sp: John Wesley Murrell

| | -5. Quincy Murrell (b.1917 d.1989)

| | sp: **Mildred**

| | | L-6. **Evette Murrell** (b.1962)

| | -5. **John W. Murrell** (b.1915)

| | -5. Rosa Murrell (b.1909)

| | -5. Minnie Payne Murrell

| | -5. Russell Murrell (b.1905)

| | L-5. Clark Murrell (b.1907)

| -4. Helen

| sp: Jesse Williams

| | -5. **Isiah Williams** (b. 1931) -raised by Helen (his birth mom's sister)

| -4. Rosa?

| -4. Julia

| -4. Annie

L-4. Tom Eddie

=====

sp=spouse

source: Duval County Florida Probate records; US Census Bureau
(1870;1880;1920); and family's oral history (see Appendix-4)

FIGURE 18. Easter Bartley's Family-Descendants of Carpenter Bonify and wife Mary.

| Family# | Name | Relation | Sex | Color | Age | Marital Status | Brthpl | Brthpl Father | Brthpl Mother | Occupation |
|---------|--------------------|------------|-----|-------|------|----------------|---------|---------------|---------------|----------------------------|
| 19 | McQueen, Percy | head | M | B | 47 | Married | FL | FL | SC | Farm Operator |
| 19 | McQueen, Gertrude | wife | F | B | 42 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Laundress-at home |
| 19 | McQueen, Eugene | son | M | B | 19 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Laborer-rosin mill |
| 19 | McQueen, Owen | son | M | B | 16 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Laborer-sawmill |
| 19 | McQueen, Freddie | son | M | B | 14 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Call boy-boarding house |
| 19 | McQueen, Godfrey | son | M | B | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 20 | Adkins, James | head | M | Mu | 50 | Married | GA | GA | GA | Farm Operator-chicken |
| 20 | Adkins, Antoinette | wife | F | B | 52 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 20 | Johnson, Mabel | gdaughter | F | Mu | 9 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 20 | Bartley, Hester | moth-inlaw | F | B | 95 | Widow | FL | Africa | FL | none |
| 37 | Atkins, Thomas J. | head | M | B | 36 | Married | GA | GA | GA | Laborer-shipyard |
| 37 | Atkins, Gussie C. | wife | F | B | 31 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Grocer-grocery |
| 50 | Braddy, David | head-1 | M | B | 21 | Married | GA | SC | SC | Minister-Holiness Church |
| 50 | Braddy, Lucile | wife | F | B | 18 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 51 | McQueen, Percy Jr. | head-2 | M | B | 19 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Dock hand - Ferry |
| 51 | McQueen, Mabel | wife | F | B | 19 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 51 | McQueen, James | son | M | B | 3/12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 51 | Pinkney, Sophie M. | moth-inlaw | F | B | 37 | Widow | FL | SC | FL | Minister-Holiness Church |
| 48 | Terry, Charlie | head | M | B | 44 | Married | AL | AL | AL | Handling logs-sawmill |
| 48 | Terry, Maggie | wife | F | B | 38 | Married | FL | NC | GA | Laundress-at home |
| 49 | Anderson, Sarah | head | F | B | 40 | Widow | FL | SC | GA | Laundress-private family |
| 55 | Murrell, John | Head | M | B | 46 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Sap gather-turpentine oper |
| 55 | Murrell, Minnie | wife | F | B | 32 | Married | FL | FI | FL | none |
| 55 | Murrell, Russel | son | M | B | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Errand boy-Justice galley |
| 55 | Murrell, Clark | son | M | B | 13 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Errand boy-Electrician |
| 55 | Murrell, Rosa M | daughter | F | B | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 55 | Murrell, John | son | M | B | 4 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 55 | Murrell, Quincy | son | M | B | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 138 | Morrell, Henry | head | M | W | 50 | Married | Canada | England | England | Carpenter-boat builder |
| 138 | Morrell, Mary E. | wife | F | W | 52 | Married | Ireland | Scotland | England | none |

source: U.S. Bureau of Census; see Appendix 2

FIGURE 19. 1920 US Census data from Duval County Florida.

JM: Living on the riverfront, down there with her other daughter, which was Missy Adkins and my mother [grandmother] was sisters. And Missy Atkins married Jim Adkins, which was a one-legged man, went and lost his leg somewhere but [was] in a wheelchair, homemade wheelchair, and he sold chicken dinners for the white people every weekend they'd come in there from Saturdays, Friday night, Saturdays or Saturday night, he lived on the river down there. And that's where they'd have them chicken dinners. Now Easter was still living, and I, we used to go out down there, and I'd go over there with her because she was very fond of children. I was the only boy child. And she would be sleeping in the chicken coop. Chickens on the roost here, and she sleeping in here, nice place, but it was in the chicken coop.

I went there many days, stayed there almost until dark, chickens go to roost . . . , the old white rooster looking at me . . . Many days, I'll never forget that, I'd go in there and sit with her while her daughter and her daughter, which was Mabel, fixin these dinners for these white people . . . And that's the way we would mostly spend our Saturdays and part of Sundays going to see our Aunt Easter.

Family accounts (oral history) and census records indicate that Easter was married twice. Her first husband was Quash Lottery and her second husband, whom she is said to have married late in her life, was George Bartley [see Appendix-2]. John had limited information about Easter's married life

but made the following connections (John W. Murrell 2001):

. . . But, I never know about her other life, but she was too old for all that. See ‘cause all of my life she was too old. She had a husband, had to be one of them Bartleys, because her name was Bartley, and my mama [grandmama] name was Bartley before she married a King. But King and them Bartleys is close kin.

Easter, born around 1825, and her family (parents, siblings, and children) spent a significant portion of their lives as enslaved laborers on the Kingsley estate. However, when asked, John communicated very few remembered stories of slavery times and Aunt Easter. He basically confirmed that Aunt Easter had been enslaved and that sometime after freedom came she moved off the plantation and eventually lived with one of her daughters in Arlington until she died sometime after 1930. John’s niece, Evette Murrell, and her mother, Mildred Murrell (see Figure 18), were able to provide more information about Easter’s life based on family stories they remembered hearing.

Evette, a great great granddaughter of Easter Bartley, grew up in Jacksonville. During the late 1960s and early 1970s, Evette used to visit with her grandmother, Minnie Dretha King Murrell, in her home in Arlington—a community where the Bartley, the McQueen, and the Murrell families still owned property when interviewed in 2001. She heard stories about Kingsley Plantation life from listening to her grandmother. One of the stories that her grandma Minnie shared with her was that she was a “slave” on the Kingsley Plantation until she was 13 years old. Evette and Mildred recall plantation stories that Minnie D. shared with them in the following narrative (Evette Murrell 2001):

EM: But it was when she was maybe 80-85 [years old], and she [grandma Minnie] was telling me about her mother who grew up on the Kingsley Plantation.

AJ: Who was her mother?

EM: I don’t remember the name, I was a little girl back then . . . Her mother was a Bartley . . . , and so the Bartley lady who was her mother, was a slave. And then grandmother was a slave up until she was aged 13.

AJ: Did she say they lived on the plantation?

EM: Yeah, in those huts.

In oral history discussions, when family members recount “slavery time” stories, they often make little distinction between living and working in a plantation setting after Emancipation (post 1865) and living and working in plantation settings prior to Emancipation when labor conditions and expectations remain similar. Therefore “slavery time” in these narratives covers a broad period of time and often means the period of actual enslavement as well as the period in which “slave-like” conditions persisted according to the person telling the story. For example, in the following discussion, Evette and Mildred Murrell recall some of the plantation laundry stories that Minnie D. told them. The discussion spans a period of time before and after the Civil War and shows the speakers’ understanding of “slavery time” (Mildred Murrell 2001):

AJ: So they did laundry on the riverbank?

EM: On the riverbank.

AJ: On the plantation, their job was the laundry?

EM: They would go down there and wash the clothes near the rocks and all, you know they would use that to help clean the clothes, and then they would carry it back in big things on their heads.

EM: . . . Well, the only thing she talked about was how they used to have to catch the boats up and down the river and go and work for the different . . . I guess the masters or whatever, and how they used to have to wash the clothes and carry them and all that kind of stuff, that’s basically all she talked about.

MM: . . . and those girls would take the boat and carry they laundry up the river to the others in those boats. And one person, like her grandmother, she would take the boat and go and deliver the clothes after they had laundered them.

Minnie married around the age of 16 (about 1902) and left the plantation. She then did sharecropping and moved around frequently for a time before settling with her family in the Arlington section of Jacksonville. Mildred Murrell explained it in this way (Mildred Murrell 2001):

Yeah. And some of the children were born in Palatka [Florida] . . . that way. So I don’t know

where John was born, it was different people that they sharecropped with, and they moved their families along, and they got tired of this when they were getting too many kids so that's why they went to Arlington and so they built their house there, raised their children there.

John Murrell's account of life in Jacksonville before the ferry service and through the 1930s in the following discussion provides insight into the socio-economic aspects of Jacksonville's transition from the perspective of an African American male. For example, John recalled that, prior to the establishment of ferry service (early 1920s), the Bartley family used to run a boat service, primarily picking up black people who worked for white families along the river and taking them into downtown Jacksonville. He remembered the service in this way (John W. Murrell 2001):

Bartley's used to run a boat from there . . . , We called it skip jack, skip-skip-skip-skip, he carried them people to Ocean Street, that's where all the black people would hang out—on Ocean Street, foot of Ocean Street. The fish markets and everything was there, and that's where he would carry 'um and they stopped by all them places there, where docks was out there . . . , and then he'd come along . . . and blow that whistle, and you'd catch that boat and go to Ocean Street, stay all day until that evening, and then you'd come back, and bring you back and carry you all the way from, uh, Hogan. That's where he, that's where the dock would turn around. That was the only transportation you had out there because it was horse and buggy at that day.

After the ferry was established, transportation from Arlington to Jacksonville entailed the following, according to John's experiences (John W. Murrell 2001):

. . . ferryboat, used to carry you from Arlington to the foot of Beaver Street. And you'd catch the streetcar, three or four blocks from the ferry landing on Parker Street, and that's the way you'd get to town, go down on 8th Street to Woolworth and H & W B Drew Company, and all that. And it used to be, uh, that Montgomery Ward had a store in there. And that's where they'd go shopping. And during this time I was about 7 or 8, 9 years old [ca. 1924].

John, who remembers working at the Solomon Sausage factory on Parker and Church in Jacksonville, is a WWII United States Navy veteran and a retired painter who has most recently taken up car-

penry. He currently spends his time assisting a friend on commercial carpentry jobs. In an interview he discussed some of the ways in which he and his family made money when he was a boy during the late 1920s and early 1930s. He told the following story about buying his first car (John W. Murrell 2001):

. . . when I'd got 12 or 13 [ca. 1927-28], I bought an old Model T truck from a man. I give him 6 dollars for her, and took it and cut it down to a racer to make transportation, and that's the way we . . . after then, we would get back and forth, we would go to Lone Star, Cosmo, Fulton, that's where you'd go to fish, fish, off them jetties down there.

He then described catching gophers (tortoise), picking huckleberries, and cultivating and harvesting fruits. He also farmed crops such as pears, grapes, peas, and corn. He would then transport (in his Model T) his product to town and sell it, primarily to white people, in the Jacksonville area. John provided the following details (John W. Murrell 2001):

And that's the only way you could make any money. Catch them gophers, sell 'um to them white people—they'd give you .50 cents for the big ones, .25 cents for the small ones. And that was the way we'd get our money. And, uh, old man Percy McQueen—that was my mother's cousin. He owned all that river front, clean back to where the road on the coast comes from the bridge [Mathews Bridge], he owned that, and he had nothing but a pear grove in there—pears, grapes and farm, that's what he would do, and we would go and pick 'em [huckleberries] and I would go over on Liberty and, uh, Wambolt and sell them to them white people out there, have them on my back, a water bucket full, .25 cents a quart, and they would say: 'Boy, bring me one.' And that's the way we made our money, selling them peas, corn, whatever he raised there, he would raise it and we would go sell it. I'd go sell it for him, and then on Saturdays my mother and all them women would get together and go down to Center Park and pick huckleberries . . . Them Hyslers, and the, uh, Higgenbothoms; and I would sell them huckleberries to them, and when they put .25 cents a quart and I bring that money back. All them womens meet in my mother's house and split their money, that was what they buy groceries with by the end of the week. And that was my job.

The following description of John's encounter with a Klan Grand Dragon highlights how the threat of

racial violence permeated the social fabric of everyday life in Jacksonville. John said that his family lived next door to the Klan Grand Dragon when he was growing up in the Arlington area of Jacksonville. He describes an encounter with the Grand Dragon in the year 1934 as follows (John W. Murrell 2001):

JM: And where we was living at in Arlington, we was living next to the Dragon.

MM: The Klan Dragon.

JM: That's right. Klu Klux Grand Dragon, and he had one child, and my Daddy had a bunch of 'um. But, me and that boy—he was my peer. And we got to fighting—I fight him once.

AJ: The Grand Dragon's son?

JM: Yeah, we didn't care. And he went and told his daddy. And on this Sunday, every Sunday we'd have stew beef and rice, and you know how you make a pot of stew beef—oh I had done ate a whole pot full. And when he told his Daddy, his Daddy come in the house, he, uh, knock on the door. Well we had hogs then, hogs, had cows, and pigs . . . I saw him coming to the door and I was in the back, I had just got through eatin'. And we had the swivel bucket [garbage bucket] sitting right in the back of the door, and I was pretty grown then—I think I was about 17, maybe 18, 19 years old—somewhere along in there. Yeah about 19. And he told his daddy, and I saw this white man coming to the door . . . And he, um, my Daddy said 'uhm,' he said: 'Where is Johnny?' And my daddy said: 'There he is back there.' We had about 5 or 6 children, my mama did and I was the oldest. And my Daddy said, 'Johnny, come here', he said, 'Mr. Abigail?' I think it was Abigail, 'said he want to see you.' He told me, he say, 'next time you mess with my boy I gonna take you out and whip your ass,' and I said, 'yes sir' and I went back and all that food I'd ate come up and went right in the swivel bucket.

MM: You scared of that man?

JM: Who? 'cause I know'd what he'll do. And that same boy—his boy—was the cause of me going in the Navy. He'd come back and every time he'd come back, he'd come back to me. He liked me. He told me, he said, 'John, why don't you go get in the Navy?'

The Murrell family's narrative provides a vivid portrait of Jacksonville's transition from plantation life to the present. The relationship between the past and present is best captured by Evett's summary of

the impact on her life today of visits with her grandmother Minnie D. (Evette Murrell 2001):

I thought it was very interesting and very important to know, and to really know and understand the plight of what people went through. It added some importance to where we were, what we at the time had as children, even though we were not well off, but we had a lot of things that a lot of children didn't have. And to see what she had, which I was surprised that she would even remember. You know it was shocking—remembering slavery and that she was a slave for her childhood. And back then that was considered childhood because they married so early, 15-16 years old, they were usually married by then. It was very interesting information, and to know that someone was living that experience, you heard about it in school, vaguely, but for someone to experience it and be able to talk about it and still have a good sense of being in America, to put it that way.

Bartley-Scott Family

Adewole O. Kule-Mele or Anthony Scott (now deceased) and his sister, Theresa Scott Taylor are great grandchildren (fifth generation) of Easter Bartley. Their stories provide a view into Easter Bartley's life from a "slavery time" perspective—showing the interrelationship between the past and the present with respect to descendants of the Kingsley Plantation Community.

Theresa said that the Scott family is connected to Easter Bartley through Clarence Scott, Sr., her paternal grandfather (see Figure 20). Clarence married Beatrice—a woman who was raised by Antoinette Adkins, the sister of her birth mother (personal communication 2001). Antoinette, or Missy Adkins, as she was sometimes called, was the wife of Jim Adkins, the chicken dinner man, and the daughter of Easter Bartley.

In a video taped interview done in 1998 at the Kingsley Plantation Heritage Festival, Kule-Mele, who was a well known and highly respected African drummer, teacher, and performer in the Jacksonville community, said that he had learned that his grandma Easter was "Aunt Easter" of the Kingsley Plantation at a lecture given by Professor Dan Schafer. He shared the following regarding his connection to Easter Bartley (Adewale Kule-Mele 1998):

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Descendants of Easter and Quash Lottery /George Bartley Jr.

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1. **Easter/Esther** (b.1825? d.1930?)
 sp: Quash Lottery (b. 1806?) /George Bartley Jr.(2nd husb)
 |-2. Anna M. Lottery (b.1861)
 |-2. Ruth Lottery (b.1863)
 |-2. Sallie Lottery (b.1867)
 |-2. Antoinette Lottery (b.1870)
 | sp: James Adkins
 | |-3. Mabel
 | | L-3. **Beatrice Scott** (Raised By Antoinette-birth mom's sister)
 | | sp: Albert Johnson/ Clarence Scott, Sr-2nd Husb
 | | L-4. Clarence Scott Jr. (b.1915)
 | | sp: Veronica Scott (b.1920)
 | | |-5. **Theresa Scott Taylor** (b.1934)
 | | |-5. Gerry Scott
 | | L-5. **Adewole Kule-Mele/Anthony Scott** (b.1942 d.1998)
 |-2. Celina? Lottery (b.1869)
 |-2. June Lottery (b.1876)
 |-2. Adella Lottery (b.1877)
 |-2. Arthur Lottery (b.1880)
 L-2. Minnie D. King Murrel's mom= ? Lottery-Bartley
 sp: Ed King
 |-3. Minnie D. King (b.1886 d.1985)
 | sp: John Wesley Murrell
 | |-4. Quincy Murrell (b.1917 d.1989)
 | | sp: Mildred
 | | L-5. Evette Murrell (b.1962)
 | |-4. John W. Murrell (b.1915)
 | |-4. Rosa Murrell (b.1909)
 | |-4. Minnie Payne Murrell
 | |-4. Russell Murrell (b.1905)
 | L-4. Clark Murrell (b.1907)
 |-3. Helen
 | sp: Jesse Williams
 | | |-5. Isiah Williams (b. 1931) -raised by Helen (his birth mom's sister)
 |-3. Rosa?
 |-3. Julia
 |-3. Annie
 L-3. Tom Eddie

sp=spouse

source: Duval County Florida Probate records; US Census Bureau (1870;1880;1920); and family's oral history (see Appendix-4)

FIGURE 20. Descendants of Easter and Quash Lottery /George Bartley Jr.

Grandma Esther was married to Quash Lottery—I'm the genealogy line from Quash Lottery. When he died, she married Mr. Bartley, George Bartley, and they are—what is the word—maybe prolific. A lot of them have their family booklet here [at the 1998 Kingsley Heritage Festival]. I was going to work from that—that these people exist. She didn't make children with George Bartley. No children. She was an elder when she married him.

Additionally, Kule-Mele said he remembered hearing the following stories about Easter Bartley from his family (Adewole Kule-Mele 1998):

That's why I'm here because Grandma Esther, as my grandmother called her, was a name around my house where I was raised on West Fifth Street, and they talked about Grandma Esther. She lived to be about 118 years old, and she came to be known at a point in time, around the '20s [1920s], as one of the two people who

survived slavery alive in Jacksonville, Florida at that time . . . They said that she could be seen walking these neighborhoods like a Lone Star, and over here on the up and down by the river. Arlington wasn't always as populous as it is—Black people used to live over here. They inherited this land . . . She was said to be a person who was very clever and did what she had to do when things were problematic. For instance, I'm not sure who the lady was that she was working for, or she may have been a slave for this lady, but when the Union army came this far south, the lady went away—probably Sammis or Gibbs, one of the two. But she went away to New Orleans and left Grandma Esther in charge of her house and her land and her property and her children. There was a time when the Union army was coming, marching down the road, and my Grandma Esther took the children, left the house, and went down the road a little ways from the house beneath her parasol, with the children, and they sat . . . , and watched the army come by. For whatever reason, they did not bother the property. They were burning houses and that sort of thing. Whatever Grandma Esther said to them or the image that she gave as a slave babysitting babies; they didn't bother her, them or the property.

The Scott's family stories about Easter show that she was an active and creative participant in defining her place and strategically positioning for a life beyond the plantation slavery experience. She is remembered as a woman who challenged racialized notions of place in her own way. In this way, her legacy serves as a link to the reality of plantation life and as a link to the future.

Bartley-King-Williams Family

Isiah Williams provides another perspective of Easter Bartley's life, legacy, and impact today. His narrative frames his connection with her and her connection to the Jacksonville community in social and political perspective. Isiah Williams is a Jacksonville resident, publisher of a local paper, the *Jacksonville Advocate*, and a great grandson of Easter Bartley. He admits that following his family connections can get confusing, but the history is interesting. Born in September 1931, he was raised by his birth mother's sister, Helen, and her husband Jesse Williams. Isiah's birth mother and her sister Helen were grandchildren of Easter Bartley (see Figure 21). Isiah spent the first 4 to 5 years of his life in Palatka, Florida, before his family moved to Fernandina, then Callahan, and finally to the Gator Bowl area of Jacksonville. He said that his mother

(Helen) and grandmother were very close to the Bartleys.

Upon being shown the picture of Aunt Easter that appears in Stowell and Tilford's book (1998), Isiah was candid in expressing his feelings of frustration about Easter's loss of much of her post Emancipation acquired property in questionable legal actions. He described a visit to the courthouse in which he learned about Easter's extensive property holdings and her extensive property losses (Isiah Williams 2001):

We went to the courthouse to look at, tried to discover some background information, and to my surprise we came across this particular book [a deed book probably], and we were going through it, and it was pages after pages after pages of Easter Bartley. But the thing was very interesting, but I was so angry. After hearing all of this in my life, my mother told me a great deal about Easter and in the Arlington cemetery there is her grave there, you know and we used to always go out and put flowers and things. But to see pages after pages of land that she owned is unbelievable. And the thing that is interesting to me, you know I have never been back there? Never, never . . . It was a regular textbook. And the thing was interesting to me because my mother had told me that all the lands she owned, and that she and a white man, a white man did a lot of the work for her, and what happened, he died, and his wife said that there was no interest in the land from the Easter Bartley side. So she lost a lot of land, but to see pages after pages where she did own land was the main thing to me.

Isiah served in the army during the Korean Conflict (1950-54), went to college in Florida (Edward Waters, Florida Memorial, and Florida A&M,) then moved to New York. He graduated from Brooklyn Law School and lived and worked in New York for about ten years. While there, this great grandson of Easter Bartley served as legal counsel for many members of the Black Panther Party in New York and was present the day Malcolm X was killed (in February 1965). Isiah shared the following memory of that day (Isiah Williams 2001):

I used to go to hear Malcolm all the time. The day that Malcolm got killed I was getting ready to go to hear a fellow who had been a member of the Communist Party at one of the churches . . . So I said 'wow, the time has almost passed,' so I said well the heck with it, I'll go along and listen to Malcolm. So when I got off the subway

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Descendants of Easter and Quash Lottery /George Bartley Jr.

=====

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 |-2. Ruth Lottery (b.1863)
 |-2. Sallie Lottery (b.1867)
 |-2. Antoinette Lottery (b.1870)
 | sp: James Adkins
 | |-3. Mabel
 | | L-3. Beatrice Scott (Raised By Antoinette-birth mother's sister)
 | | sp: Albert Johnson/ Clarence Scott, Sr-2nd Husb
 | | L-4. Clarence Scott Jr. (b.1915)
 | | sp: Veronica Scott (b.1920)
 | | |-5. Theresa Scott Taylor (b.1934)
 | | |-5. Gerry Scott
 | | L-5. Adewole Kule-Mele Scott (b.1942 d.1998)
 |-2. Celina? Lottery (b.1869)
 |-2. June Lottery (b.1876)
 |-2. Adella Lottery (b.1877)
 |-2. Arthur Lottery (b.1880)
 L-2. Minnie D. King Murrel's mother = ? Lottery-Bartley
 sp: Ed King
 |-3. Minnie D. King (b.1886 d.1985)
 | sp: John Wesley Murrell
 | |-4. Quincy Murrell (b.1917 d.1989)
 | | sp: Mildred
 | | | L-5. Evette Murrell (b.1962)
 | | |-4. John W. Murrell (b.1915)
 | | |-4. Rosa Murrell (b.1909)
 | | |-4. Minnie Payne Murrell
 | | |-4. Russell Murrell (b.1905)
 | | L-4. Clark Murrell (b.1907)
 |-3. **Helen**
 | sp: **Jesse Williams**
 | |-5. **Isiah Williams** (b. 1931) -raised by Helen (his birth mother's sister)
 |-3. Rosa?
 |-3. Julia
 |-3. Annie
 L-3. Tom Eddie

sp=spouse

source: Duval County Florida Probate records; US Census Bureau (1870;1880;1920); and family's oral history (see Appendix-4)

FIGURE 21. Descendants of Easter and Quash Lottery /George Bartley Jr.

(came up off the subway), I looked over to the ballroom, and there was about 30-40 people and they look like they were trying to pull somebody out of a car, out of a police car. And I rushed over there, 'cause I knew most of them, you know, and I said, what's going on, what ya'll doing here? And they said 'Malcolm is shot.' And I said shot? I say, where is he? He said he's inside so I rushed inside. But he was laying, he was up on stage. [Ike takes out a paper to draw the scene of the ballroom] Like this was the

ballroom and this was the street, and right here was the hospital, I mean this was closer than from here to that building there. And he was laying on the apron of the stage. And I said 'what are you all doing,' so I say, 'take him to the hospital.' So we all picked him up and ran him over to the hospital . . . But he was dead, he was dead.

In reality, the distance between Easter Bartley's life from slavery to emancipation and Isiah's life from

segregation to Civil Rights to the present is not long at all. Isiah's reaction when confronted with stories about Easter's life as a slave is reflected in the following passage:

Let me tell you something that happened when I first came back from New York [mid-1970s]. I went to visit my grandmother, and she was in bed at that particular time, she died around [the age of] 94-95, and I was talking to her, and we had a very good conversation going on, and in some kind of way it came around at this point, she was saying that one day she was working, that she was out in Riverside selling berries with Easter Bartley, and a white gentleman came up and he started talking, and he talked a long time, and then when the man left, Easter Bartley told her that that was the man who had been my slavemaster. And I was so angry when I heard

that, I walked out the room, I didn't have sense enough to ask what was his name or anything. It was just a waste. [Isiah Williams 2001]

Easter Bartley is more than a property entry in the Kingsley family estate book and more than a surviving picture in a National Park Service document. This historical overview of Jacksonville's transition from a plantation based, agrarian centered economy highlights active and ongoing relationships of place. The narratives about Easter Bartley, as shared by her descendants, connect the past and their present, revealing how Jacksonville's transition is intertwined with the social reality of the Kingsley Plantation experience, "slavery time," segregation, and issues of Civil Rights.

Chapter Five: Ethnographic Profiles of a Historic Resource Site — The Kingsley Plantation

The inhabitants of the preserve [Timucuan Ecological Preserve] during the Plantation era lived primarily in six areas: St. Johns Bluff, Pilot Town/Batton Island, Fort George Island, Cedar Point on Black Hammock Island, Talbot Island, and the Greenfield Peninsula. [Stowell 1996:63]

John F. Rollins purchased the Kingsley Plantation in 1869, moving his wife, Hannah, and children, including daughter Gertrude Rollins, into the Zephaniah Kingsley plantation house. Rollins continued large-scale agriculture on the island until the 1890s, commercially producing the “Fort George Orange” from orange groves on the island (Stowell 1996). Gertrude kept notes about her life growing up on the island, which later were compiled into a set of personal memoirs. Her writings provide a folk level view of life on Fort George Island and include some interesting and revealing observations about the African descendant population, many formerly enslaved, that remained living in some of the old plantation “slave” quarters and working in agricultural and domestic servant capacities on the island at that time. For example, in “Notes Concerning the Old Plantation on Fort George Island,” covering the period 1868-1869, Gertrude wrote:

The island was entirely cleared on the west side except for occasional wind-breaks . . . ; There were large fields on the north called the Sand Fields and larger fields on the east called Cotton Fields. All these fields were under cultivation up to, and during the Civil War. There were ditches and remains of corn hills all through the woods on the north end of the Island and about the ruins of San Juan showing that other portions of the Island had been under cultivation in some remote past . . . The Quarter Houses were intact and many negroes still lived in them. Andrew

Fielding who had possibly been a driver, was in charge of the place and lived with his wife and several children in the cabin on the extreme east of the semi-circle. Uncle Isaac Warfield with his wife Auntie Warfield and several children, Dilsey and Malinda were two of the girls, lived in the drivers cabin east of Palmetto Avenue and a man named Polite and his wife Charlotte and their family also lived on the east side. Uncle Jim probably lived on the west side in the large cabin next to Palmetto Ave., he afterward moved to the "Dingle" cabin on the extreme west of the semi-circle. Aunt Celie lived on the west side and also a woman named Belle. Many others remained in the cabins, most of them on the east side, but their names are forgotten . . . There were thirty-four cabins in the semi-circle and there was a fig tree in front of each cabin. There were several wells in front of the cabins; it was said that there was a well for each pair of cabins. There were small gardens back of the cabins. [Wilson n.d.:2-6]

Talbot Islands, Kingsley Plantation, and the Christopher Family

The Talbot Islands are part of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. Along with the Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island, the Talbot Islands played a significant role in the area’s history during what Stowell refers to as the “Plantation Life” era (Stowell 1996). Gertrude Rollins Wilson wrote the following about families (see Figure 22) that lived on Talbot and surrounding islands in her notes about Kingsley Plantation covering the period 1868-1869:

On the north end of Talbot Island the Lewis Christopher plantation was deserted except for negroes, Uncle Tom Christopher and his wife Aunt Katie and their children, George, Hannah,

| Name | Color | Sex | Age | Relation | Occupation | Brthpl | Brthpl father | BrthPI Mother |
|-------------------------|-------|--------|-------|----------|---------------|--------|---------------|---------------|
| Long, Emma | B | Female | 25 | wife | Keeping house | GA | GA? | GA? |
| Long, Cornelus | B | Male | 5 | son | | FL | FL | GA |
| Kingsley, Stephen | B | Male | 62 | | Laborer | FL | FL | FL? |
| Kingsley, Ellen | B | Female | 25 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL? |
| Kingsley, Hogarth | B | Female | 18 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL? |
| Kingsley, Henry | B | Male | 13 | son | Scholar | FL | FL | FL? |
| Rollins, John F. | W | Male | 47? | | US Land? | NH | MA | MA |
| Rollins, Annie B. | W | Female | 35 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Rollins, Paul E. | W | Male | 20 | son | Clerk US ? | FL | NH | FL |
| Rollins, Oliver | W | Male | 16 | son | | FL | NH | FL |
| Rollins, Gertrude | W | Female | 16 | daughter | | FL | NH | FL |
| Christopher, T.S. | B | Male | 48 | | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Catherine | Mu | Female | 49 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Albert | B | Male | 15 | son | Hotel waiter | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, S? | Mu | Male | 11 | son | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, John S. | Mu | Male | 24 | | Farm hand | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Thomas? W. | Mu | Male | 20 | | Cook | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, George | B | Male | 33 | | ? | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Fannie | B | Female | 23 | wife | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Emma? | B | Female | 23 | wife | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, E.G. | W | Male | 39 | | Farmer | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Louise | W | Female | 44 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Bath? | W | Female | 14 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Edna | W | Female | 17 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Jessie | W | Female | 4 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Mand? | W | Female | 10/12 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, J.L? | W | Male | 60 | | Farmer | FL | FL | SC |
| Christopher, Lizzie | Mu | Female | 54 | wife | | FL | Jaimaca? | FL |
| Chrisotpher, Anna | Mu | Female | 23 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Minnie? | Mu | Female | 15 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Lewis | Mu | Male | 13 | son | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Georgie | Mu | Female | 6 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, William | W | Male | 25 | | Farmer | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Mary | Mu | Female | 25 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Josephine | Mu | Female | 3 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Edwin | Mu | Male | 7 | son | | FL | FL | FL |
| Warfield, Isaac | B | Male | 60 | | Laborer | MD | MD | MD |
| Warfield, Dianna | B | Female | 45 | wife | Keeps house | | | |
| Warfield, Isaac Jr. | B | Male | 23? | son | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Jackson | B | Male | 21 | son | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Samuel | B | Male | 16 | son | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Malinda | B | Female | 13 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Charles | B | Male | 7 | son | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Cora | B | Female | 5 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Warfield, David? | B | Male | 2 | son | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Martin | B | Male | 34 | | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Angelina | B | Female | 24 | wife | Keeps house | | | |
| Broward, Jr? | Mu | Male | 11 | nephew | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Emma | B | Female | 30 | cousin | Keeps house | | | |
| Warfield, Florence | B | Female | 11 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Millie? | B | Female | 6 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Fred K? | B | Male | 4 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Ola | B | Female | 2/12 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Long, John? | B | Male | 98 | | Fishing | | | |
| Long, Joanna | B | Female | 49 | wife | Keeps house | | | |
| Long, Lizzie | B | Female | 16 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Long, Jesse | B | Male | 7 | son | At home | | | |

source: U.S. Bureau of Census; see Appendix 2

FIGURE 22. 1880 US Census excerpts from Duval County Florida.

called Tannie, Tom, John, Lewis, and Christopher, called Christopher Lewis, remained there and Aunt Betsey and her daughter, Georgia lived nearby. On the south end of Talbot the Houston plantation was extant and Mrs. Houston, always spoken of as "Lady Houston" or "Old Lady Houston" lived there . . . The Broward plantation remained at Cedar Point and a family of Grissoms lived either there or nearby and there were Grissom negroes who were related to the Christopher negroes, notably Maddie Girssom and her sister. [Wilson n.d.:3]

Some descendants of the Christopher family who lived on Talbot Island worked for the Rollins family at the Kingsley Plantation. In her memoirs, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," Gertrude Rollins Wilson made the following observations concerning the dispersal of some of the African descendant members of the Kingsley community (sometime just after 1883) when the Rollinses sold some of their property interest on the island to developers who then expanded the Fort George Hotel:

Many of the old Negroes remained at the "Homestead" as the plantation [Kingsley Plantation] was now called as house servants and fieldhands. Dilsey Warfield was sent north to be raised in the home of Mr. Edward Rollins [John F. Rollins' brother, a U.S. Senator in NH from 1877-1883] where she remained until grown when she returned to Jacksonville. George Christopher was taken by Dr. Sibel of Jacksonville and remained with him until his death. Tannie Christopher was taken by Mrs. Rollins at the Homestead and remained with her until Tannie married. Annie her sister was sent to the Missis Rollins at Rollinford N.H. and remained with them until she married. Other Negroes found employment either at the new house or at the hotel. [Wilson n.d.:15]

The 1870 Fort George Island Voting Precinct Residents' list, transcribed by Daniel W. Stowell (1996:D-58), contains the following Grissum family information: Annie Grissum (white female, age 31), Martha Grissum (white female, age 7), Ruth Grissum (white female, age 4), Mary Grissum (white female, age 1), and Ephraim Grissum (white male farmer, age 28). An excerpt from the 1880 Duval County Census (see Figure 22) lists several Christopher family and Gresham family members, including an E.G. Gresham (white male farmer, age 39).

In the fall of 2001, interviews with Mildred G. Christopher Johnson and Altamese E. Christopher Dorsey (Mildred's sister) and Inez Christopher Asque were conducted.

During one of the interviews, Mildred Christopher Johnson explained her understanding of the Grissum-Christopher connection. She said that Martha Grissum (who was white and called Mattie) was her maternal grandmother and that Mattie had lived in New Berlin with Mildred's family until she died in the Christopher family home. Mildred still lives in that home today. In addition, Mildred said that according to her family's genealogy, Mattie's (or Martha's) mother was known to be Anna. She also said that Abraham Ervin was her maternal grandfather (Johnson 2001). Therefore, according to Mildred's understanding, E.G. Grissum and his wife Annie (listed in the 1870 census) were her great grandparents.

The Christopher family's connection to Kingsley Plantation extends as far back as the 1800s. Christopher family members either worked on the Kingsley Plantation or owned and managed neighboring plantation homesteads. Today, many members of the Christopher family remain concentrated in the New Berlin area of Jacksonville and are quite proud of their family's legacy in north Florida.

The Christopher Family Profile

The Christophers were Kings in foreign countries, landowners and masters of slaves. They owned land in Jacksonville, Amelia Island, Big Talbot Island, Little Talbot Island, Christopher's Creek and Fernandina, Florida. Some married black women and had children as early as the 1800's. The Christophers are listed in the census as being white, black, and mulatto. Their races were changed to protect their families. In the State of Florida and throughout America, inter-marriages were not allowed in the 1700's and the 1800's but the Christophers married whom they pleased. [Alston, 1994:III]

This portrait of the Christopher family's connection to Fort George Island and the Kingsley Plantation community is based almost exclusively on information provided by Christopher family members Marion Christopher Alston, Mildred Christopher Johnson, and Anita James who conducted research between 1986 and 1994 in order to produce a family history album. They searched libraries, historical societies, national archives, census data, church

records, newspapers, and cemetery records for information on their family. The result was the production of a very informative document profiling the life of their family in north Florida—going back as far as the 1800s. The album entitled, “The Christopher’s and their Descendants,” was distributed to family members at the 1994 Christopher family reunion (Alston 1994). Marion Christopher Alston described her quest to document the history of her family in this way (Marion Christopher Alston 1998):

Well, [what] I hope to achieve [is] to have the Christophers’ history—true history put back in the history books and tell it the way it really was because in doing my research, I have gone through and have found lots of errors . . . So I would like to make sure that we could get it corrected, put it into the history books because our great grandfather was a well-known, respectable man. And I would like to do that. I would also like for my family members to know their family—who they are from—who they came from—who we are.

The Talbot Islands played a major role in the early settlement of the Christopher family and in the development of their family’s lifestyle. Noted fishermen, seamen, and farmers, the Christophers have lived along the St. Johns River and made a living from the river beginning with the arrival of the first Christophers, Spicer Christopher and his wife, Mary Greenwood Christopher, to Talbot Island in the late 1700s. Mildred provided the following explanation of the family genealogy (Mildred Christopher Johnson 2001):

. . . My father was Joseph A. Christopher Sr. He was born on Little Talbot Island, his foreparents landed in Maine, and two of the brothers came to Talbot Island, and he was born there in 1876, his mother was a black woman, his father was a white man, John Christopher. What happened, John’s two former wives were white and they had died and my grandmother took care of his kids and they later married and they had 9 kids, and my daddy was the third of the children that she had for him. Her name was Caroline Crockett . . . And my father, the Christophers were either known as farmers or as fishermen. My grandfather [John] is listed in the archives as a farmer. And my father and all of his siblings were fishermen, and owned big fishing boats, they fed and fished themselves.

The 1880 US Census report lists John, Caroline, and Joseph Christopher (see Appendix-2). Although John Christopher is identified as black in the 1880 census report, this probably means very little with respect to Mildred’s story since census enumerators, as previously discussed, used very broad guidelines in terms of determining racial classification.

Today, Mildred Christopher Johnson (born in 1926), her sister Altamese, and many of their relatives retain homes in the Jacksonville community of New Berlin, residing on Apollo Avenue (a street that borders the St. Johns River), on land that has been in their family for generations. Family records provide the following account of the Christopher property:

Most of the parcels in this area were previously and is still known as the Carrie Christopher Addition, who was the third wife of John Christopher. Before the advent of the Broward Bridge [around 1986], the New Berlin community remained intact as a close knit neighborhood of Christopher descendants. This bond was broken and many families were disbursed, and settled in other parts of Jacksonville. It is commonly felt that the bridge and the consequences thereof, contributed to the untimely demise of at least seven of our most prominent and elderly Christopher descendants. [Alston 1994:2]

In terms of religious activities in the community of New Berlin, the New Bethel AME church in New Berlin has served as the place of worship for many members of the Christopher family for over 120 years. According to Mildred, the church was started right after slavery ended and services were held in a tent. The first permanent structure that housed the church was torn down in 1986 because of the construction of the Dames Point Expressway system. The new church structure was rebuilt in 1987 in a different location from the original site but still within New Berlin (Alston 1994:1).

The Christophers contributed to the economic and social progress of the city of Jacksonville, especially with respect to the black community. During the period of segregation, or exclusion by whites of blacks from many public places and facilities throughout the city and throughout the state of Florida, Christopher-owned establishments provided a space for recreation and entertainment especially for black citizens of the community. Family records provide the following account:

The first Black fish camp and marina in North Florida was established in 1917, in New Berlin by Joseph A. Christopher. Later the fish camp became ‘Christophers’ Pier,’ a restaurant and night spot for Black residents, sponsoring annual Easter Monday, Labor Day and 4th of July boat races, ski shows, swimming contest and other aquatic activities. Before New Berlin was renamed, it was known as Yellow Bluff. [Alston 1994:1]

The Daniels Family and the Fort George Club

Even more obscure are the lives of the cooks, maids, chauffeurs, caddies, groundkeepers, and other servants who worked at the clubs. Undoubtedly, most of these servants were black, and they left little record of their contributions to the Recreational Development era of Fort George Island’s history. Only rarely do they receive mention in either club records or articles about the clubs. [Stowell 1996:101]

In Daniel Stowell’s historic resource study of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve, he speculated about the lives and history of the support staff—the cooks, maids, chauffeurs, groundkeepers—that worked at the recreational clubs and facilities on the island during what he calls the “Recreational and Development” era of Fort George Island (1996). To date, these stories have remained largely undocumented in public records and accounts of the island’s history.

In an interview and tour of Fort George Island with James Daniels, conducted specifically for this project by Marsha Phelts in December 2001, many interesting and rarely heard stories about Fort George Island and its inhabitants were revealed through James’s recounting of the everyday life experiences and memories of his family.

According to Stowell’s (1996) historical accounts, in 1876, John Stuart purchased land on the east side of Fort George Island and built a two-story vacation house, which he named “Nelmar” for his daughters, Eleanor and Marian. In 1899, Eleanor married Rear Admiral Victor Blue (1865-1928) of the U.S. Navy. Victor Blue was a hero in the Spanish-American War and founder of the Army and Navy Club, chartered in 1923, on Fort George Island. Eleanor and Victor moved into the Nelmar house, known today as the Stuart-Blue house, in 1919 (see Figure 23). Following her husband’s death, Eleanor continued to live in the Stuart-Blue house until World War II

(1941-1945). Then her son, Victor Blue Jr. (1914-1971), and his family began using the house as a summer home after the war.

James’ mother, Mrs. Johnnie Mae Daniels, was a cook, first for the Fort George Club, and later for Mrs. Marian Terry. Quoting his mother, James emphasized that she would be the first to tell you that she was, “a cook and nobody’s maid.” Concerning his connection to the Island, James shared the following (James Daniels 2001):

I’ve been coming to Fort George Island since I was four years old. That was 1948 . . . They had big parties at the clubs and the island catered to high rank military officials. The Fort George Club founded by Victor Blue is what brought my mother to work on the island . . . When my mother worked for the Club, she lived in a bungalow just north of the Kingsley Plantation house, it has been torn down for quite some time. During the school year I stayed at our home in Jacksonville with my daddy to go to school. We came out here on the weekends and in the summer. Kingsley Plantation was the playground of my childhood. My father and I stayed in Mrs. Terry’s cottage while she was in the city and when she came to the cottage we stayed in the garage apartment or mother-in-law’s apartment in back of her cottage.

James’ observations about Fort George Island, the Stuart-Blue house, and his family’s relations with the Blue family in the narrative that follows add a personal perspective to historical accounts of life on Fort George Island during the recreational era. James says (James Daniels 2001):

There were few houses on this island in the 1950s, just woods and mosquitoes. Victor Blue and his wife had a house as big as a hotel on this road [Fort George Road]. At times Mrs. Terry stayed with them even though she had a bungalow on the opposite side of the island near the Kingsley Plantation house. The house that Victor Blue owned was just a few hundred yards south of the Ribault Club. The Admiral’s house was called ‘Nelmar.’ It looks a lot today as it did then, but there was a screened veranda. There were three homes behind the Blue’s house for the caretakers. My Uncle (Mama’s brother) Burcher Odoms and his wife lived in this one [points to one of the three]. Mr. Blue was a nasty person to work for. Mrs. Terry was altogether different and most kind. We liked her. She sent me cards and birthday presents right up until she died in the late 1960s. I remember one summer day Mrs. Terry let me swim in the pool.

| Family# | Name | Relation | Sex | Color | Age | Marital status | Brthpl | Brthpl Father | Brthpl Mother | Occupation |
|---------|-------------------------|--------------|-----|-------|------|----------------|----------|---------------|---------------|------------------------|
| 158 | Floyd, James | son | M | B | 14 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Errand boy-grocery |
| 158 | Floyd, Joseph | son | M | B | 10 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 158 | Floyd, Sefora(?) | daughter | F | B | 6 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 158 | Floyd, Lestor | son | M | B | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 158 | Floyd, Israil | son | M | B | 3/12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 175 | Bartley, Logett(?) | head | M | B | 47 | Married | FL | SC | SC | Fisherman |
| 175 | Bartley, Nancy | wife | F | B | 37 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 175 | Bartley, Rosa | daughter | F | B | 24 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Cook-private family |
| 175 | Bartley, Ida | daughter | F | B | 17 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Cook-private family |
| 175 | Bartley, Mary | daughter | F | B | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 175 | Bartley, Dennis | son | M | B | 13 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 175 | Bartley, Martin | son | M | B | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 175 | Bartley, Lusie | daughter | F | B | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 198 | McQueen, Peter | head | M | B | 91 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 198 | McQueen, Laura | wife | F | B | 69 | Married | TN | TN | NC? | Servant-private family |
| 201 | McQueen, John | head | M | B | 95? | Sgl | FL | FL | TN | Farm Operator |
| 201 | Bentley, Minnie | housekeep | F | B | 27? | Widow | FL | FL | FL | Servant-private family |
| 01 | Christopher, William T. | head | M | Mu | 56 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 01 | Christopher, Minerva | wife | F | Mu | 50 | Married | FL | CT | FL | none |
| 01 | Christopher, Earl | son | M | Mu | 17 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 01 | Christopher, William | son | M | Mu | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 02 | Blue, Rear Adm Victor | head | M | W | 52 | Married | NC | NC | SC | Naval Officer |
| 02 | Stuart, Ellen | wife | F | W | 40 | Married | NJ | MI | OH | none |
| 02 | Stuart, John | son | M | W | 17 | Sgl | NY | NC | NJ | none |
| 02 | Blue, Victor Jr. | son | M | W | 6 | Sgl | Wash. | NC | NJ | none |
| 02 | Terry, Marion Stuart | sister-inlaw | F | W | 41 | Divorced | FL | MI | OH | none |
| 02 | Hinton, Margaret | nurse | F | W | 40 | Sgl | Scotland | Scotland | Scotland | Nurse |
| 03 | Terry, Emma | head | F | W | 70 | Widow | CT | CT | CT | none |
| 03 | Stollenwok?, Percy | son-inlaw | M | W | 60 | Married | AL | AL | AL | none |

source: U.S. Bureau of Census; see Appendix 2

FIGURE 23. 1920 US Census excerpts from Duval County Florida.

There were two pools over here, the pool house is still there, but over on that concrete pad to the north of the house was the other pool—that’s the one I swam in. But the next day after I went swimming, Victor Blue [Jr.] drained the water from the pool. He couldn’t keep Mrs. Terry from letting me get in the pool, but he could empty it and he did. He didn’t like black people. Period . . . Uncle Burcher and Mr. Blue had gotten in a dispute over money that Blue owed to my uncle. They went back and forth and still Uncle couldn’t resolve the issue—so I thought. My wife Thelma graduated from Florida A&M University in the summer of 1968 and we were coming home from graduation driving east on I-10 [the road that is today replaced by I-10]. In the opposite direction going west was Uncle Burcher in his green pick-up truck weighted down with Victor Blue’s tractor. Uncle resolved

the issue his way and took the tractor to his farm in Mississippi. Victor Blue didn’t owe him anymore.

As a young man growing up and playing on Fort George Island, James had many experiences and many memories of people and places on the island. For example, he remembers island local, Mr. Bean, and shared the following description (James Daniels 2001):

An interesting person that I came to know was a man named Mr. Bean. I remember seeing a picture of Mr. Bean with his Model T. Ford and a pair of scissors in his hand as he cut the ribbon for the opening of the Sisters Creek Bridge. He was the first person to cross the bridge in 1926. Mr. Bean’s house is no longer here but it was

just south of Palmetto Avenue before the Kingsley Plantation house. He had an orange grove and he was the inventor of the orange crate. Mr. Bean was very nice to me. I learned how to drive his tractor when I was eleven years old.

James shared the following memories of the Kingsley house grounds where he played as a youth in the 1950s and early 1960s (James Daniels 2001):

The Kingsley house was always locked, I never went in it in those days, but I played all around the house and peered in all of the windows. There was a main floor, a downstairs and an upstairs. I can't find the window that I looked in each time now because the basement has been covered over. It was not a frame basement back then. It was brick and when I came up to the house I'd always run around to the north side bay window, the windows to the basement were the same size as the windows above. I'd look in the north basement window and I saw shackles. Down there they had actual shackles that were intact and imbedded in the brick walls. There were two sets of steel shackles that held the wrists and the legs of slaves. My daddy told me

that this was where the slaves were taken to be beaten and that they were shackled to the walls. This was always a sadness to see the shackles. Through the years I'd look at the shackles right on through the 1960s. Then in 1974, I went to see the shackles, they weren't there.

The Florida Park Board purchased the Fort George Clubhouse and its immediate surroundings in 1955 and the Ribault Club in 1989. In October of 1991, the National Park Service took possession of the Kingsley Plantation complex.

This portrait of the Kingsley Plantation and Fort George Island as provided by the Christopher family, the Daniels family, and the other families profiled in this report, frame this historic resource site from a social perspective not typically expressed in plantation studies. In addition, these profiles help place the plantation within the context of the Jacksonville community today. This is an interesting and important contribution because it creates a bridge that may invite more Kingsley Plantation community connections to be made in the future.

Conclusion

While anthropological descriptions of place have remained relatively monological, places themselves are fertilized into being through a confluence of voices. Places are complex constructions of social histories, personal and interpersonal experiences, and selective memory. [Miriam Kahn 1996:167]

This ethnohistorical study of the Kingsley Plantation Community takes up where Daniel Stowell's *Timucuan Ecological Historic Preserve Historic Resource Study* (1996) concluded. It contains oral history interviews, ethnographic field data, maps, pictures, and other archival and historical data, which have been used to capture and preserve the memories, stories, and experiences of residents of the Jacksonville community, especially older people who are associated with or in some way connected to the Kingsley Plantation.

Theoretically, this analysis of diasporic experience has been based on ideas advanced by scholars such as Jacqueline Nassy Brown (1998), Elliot Skinner (1993), and Paul Gilroy (1987,1993) who have aggressively challenged the notion of universality based on a common diasporic memory, and have proposed other ways of looking at the diasporic experiences of Africans. Gilroy writes, for example:

The history of the black Atlantic since then, continually crisscrossed by the movements of black people—not only as commodities but engaged in various struggles towards emancipation, autonomy, and citizenship—provides a means to reexamine the problems of nationality, location, identity, and historical memory. [1993:16]

Gilroy uses the metaphor of ships as the joining or connecting medium of many diasporic experiences to convey his ideas. He is an advocate for discussions that allow the diversity of diasporic experience to be represented. In this way, the experiences of a captive African on a slave ship, an African American Pullman porter, a recreational

traveler with black skin, or Zephaniah Kingsley's extended African family, for example, can be explored and analyzed from a political or socio-cultural perspective (as opposed to exclusively biologically connecting factors).

Methodologically, ethnography has served as a useful tool for capturing the dynamic nature of the ongoing dialogue between the past and the present. The ethnographic vignettes presented represent the arrival of Africans in America, not only as cargo, chattel, and “slave” entries in ship docketts and plantation diaries and ledgers, but also as individuals, families, and communities. Profiles of four families associated with the Kingsley Plantation community—the Kingsley-Sammis-Lewis-Betsch, the Bartley-King-Murrell-Williams, the Christophers, and the Daniels families form the core of this report. Documenting the lives and experiences of these families expands the scope of knowledge about the lifeways and experiences of people associated with the Kingsley Plantation.

In this study, the Kingsley Plantation has been viewed as a community, as a dynamic array of social relationships and experiences between people that extends well beyond the geographic, physical, and institutional boundaries that typically frame discussions of plantation life. The community profiled includes greater Jacksonville and the surrounding areas from Fernandina (to the north) to St. Augustine (to the south) and all other places where Kingsley descendants and others associated with the plantation live today. This study organizes these Kingsley connections, associations, and relationships into profiles, building a collage of intertwined events, interrelationships, and dependencies to form a new portrait of the Kingsley Plantation—an extended community portrait. This portrayal and analysis of the Kingsley Plantation as an extended community reveals a dynamic set of previously unobserved relationships between people—shaped

by varying relations of place and varying connections to the past in the present. The result is the production of this very intricate and interestingly detailed study of race, place, and power—framed within the context of the Kingsley Plantation Community in Jacksonville, Florida before and after the Civil War.

Challenging Notions of Place — Next Steps

There is no single authoritative narrative of plantation experience. There are countless stories about families, communities, and the places they inhabit yet to be told. This study is one story and another step.

Notes

1. The WPA Federal Writers Program (FWP) Florida began hiring black writers in 1936. They included: Martin Richardson, J.M. Johnson, Alfred Farrell, Winston Rice, Rebecca Baker, Viola Muse, Rachel Austin, Pearl Randolph, Grace Thompson, Paul Diggs (hired in 1938), and Zora Neale Hurston (hired in 1938). In spite of her talent and skill as a Professional Writer and support and recommendations from FWP National Director, Henry Alsberg, Zora was hired as a field writer as opposed to editor. Florida's FWP director, Carita Doggett Corse, adhering to strict Jim Crow 'place' codes ignored Alsberg's suggestions. She did 'allow' Zora certain privileges as a field writer that were not extended to others of her status. However, she did not officially promote her to the position of editor although Zora's skills were often utilized in that capacity and the title of 'Negro' editor was often used when referring to Zora's position. *For a detailed discussion of the FWP Florida unit, see Pamela Bordelon's book, "Go Gator and Muddy Water: Writings by Zora Neale Hurston from the Federal Writer's Project". [Bordelon 1999]

2. Archive facilities:

- The Eartha M.M. White Historical Museum located in the Clara White Mission in Jacksonville, Florida.
- The Durkeeville Historical Society, Inc. (1260 W. 7th St., Jacksonville, Florida)
- Historic Mount Zion African Methodist Episcopal Church - Jacksonville, Florida
- Bethel Baptist Institutional Church - Jacksonville, Florida
- Jacksonville Historical Society (Library-Jacksonville University Campus, Jacksonville, Florida)
- Eartha M.M. White Collection, Special Collections (Thomas G. Carpenter Library, University of North Florida), Jacksonville, Florida

3. The following people participated in video taped interviews - conducted by University of Florida Graduate Students (Antonio de la Peña, Rachel Sandals, Edward Shaw, and Greg De Vries) for at the Kingsley Heritage Festival and Family Reunion on Fort George, Island, 10-11 October 1998: Adewale Kule-mele (of Jacksonville, FL), George Gibbs (of St. Augustine, FL), Harriet Gibbs Gardinar (of Jacksonville, FL), William Tucker Gibbs (of Miami FL), Emily Gibbs (of Miami,FL), Becky Gibbs (Miami, FL), Denny Gibbs (Miami, FL), Sandra Lebron and Manuel Lebron (Dominican Republic), Marion Christopher Alston (Jacksonville, FL), Elizabeth Kingsley Hull (McLean, VA), Steve McQueen Smith (Columbia, SC), and MaVynee Lewis Betsch (Amelia Island, FL). Their videotaped stories are on file at the National Park Service Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserves headquarters in Jacksonville, FL.

4. The Kingsley Family Genealogy Sources:

The Kingsley-Gibbs family memoirs compiled by Margaret Gibbs Watts entitled, "The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand 1337-1967", on file at the St. Augustine Historical Society in St. Augustine, Florida, is a valuable source of information on Kingsley family genealogy.

Probate Records on file at the Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, Florida:

- Martha B. Baxter, Probate Record No. 143 (May 14, 1870)
- Zephaniah Kingsley, Probate No. 1203 (September 25, 1843)
- Anna M. Kingsley, Probate Record No. 1210 (June 18, 1870)
- George Kingsley, Probate Record No. 1205 (December 21, 1846)
- Stephen Kingsley, Probate 1252 (June 19, 1897)
- John S. Sammis, Probate No. 1970 (February 26, 1884)
- Mary K. Sammis, Probate No. 2029 (April 25, 1895)

Appendices

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APPENDIX-1 Kingsley Family Descent Charts

Appendix-1b (part 1 of 2)

=====

Descendants of Zephaniah Kingsley Sr. and Isabella Johnstone

=====

1. Zephaniah Kingsley Sr.
sp: Isabella Johnstone
|-2. Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. (b.1765 d.1843)
| sp: Anna (Anta Majigeen) Njaay (b.1793 d.1870)
| |-3. George Kingsley (b.1807)
| | sp: Anatoile Francoise VaunTravers (m.1849)
| | |-4. Georgianna Kingsley
| | |-4. Estelle Kingsley
| | |-4. George Kingsley
| | |-4. Zephaniah Kingsley
| | L-4. Anatole Kingsley(*)
| | sp: Jacobo Eleibo
| | |-5. John Kingsley-Eleibo
| | |-5. George Kingsley-Eleibo
| | sp: Mariana Jones
| | | L-6. Adolfo Jones Kingsley-Eleibo
| | | sp: Martina Medina
| | | L-7. Crucito Medina Jones Kingsley-Eleibo
| | L-5. M? Kingsley-Eleibo
|-3. Martha Kingsley Baxter (b.1809)
| sp: Cran(?)Oran Baxter
| |-4. Anna Kingsley Baxter Carroll
| sp: Charles B. Carroll
| |-4. Isabella Kingsley Baxter
| |-4. Julia Catherine Kingsley Baxter
| |-4. Osmund Edward Kingsley Baxter
| L-4. Emma Jane Kingsley Baxter Mocs
| sp: Joseph Mocs
|-3. Mary Elizabeth Kingsley (b.1811)
| sp: John S. Sammis
| |-4. Egbert Kingsley-Sammis
| |-4. George Kingsley-Sammis
| L-4. Edmund Kingsley-Sammis
| sp: ? Lizzy
| L-5. Mary Francis Kingsley-Sammis Lewis (1st Wife)
| sp: A.L. Lewis
| L-6. James Henry Kingsley-Sammis Lewis
| sp: Annie Reed Lewis -2nd Wife/Bertha Lewis 1st Wife)
| |-7. James Leonard Kingsley-Sammis Lewis
| sp: Thelma
| L-7. Mary Francis Kingsley-Sammis Lewis
| sp: John T. Betsch

Appendix-1b (Part 2 of 2)

| | | -8. Johnnetta Kingsley-Sammis Lewis Betsch
| | | sp: Robert Cole (1st Husb)/A. Robinson-2nd Husb
| | | | -9. Aaron Cole
| | | | -9. Ethan Che Cole
| | | | L-9. David Cole
| | | -8. MaVynee Kingsley-Sammis Lewis Betsch
| | | L-8. John Kingsley-Sammis Lewis Betsch
| | | sp: C. Cresswell (1st Wife)/Div.
| | | | L-9. Peri Frances Betsch
| L-3. John Maxwell Kingsley (b.1824)
|-2. Mary Kingsley-Charlton (b.1764)
|-2. Johnstone Kingsley (b.1767)
|-2. George Kingsley (b.1768)
|-2. Catherine Kingsley-Bardon (b.1770)
|-2. Elizabeth Kingsley (b.1772)
|-2. Isabella Kingsley Gibbs (b.1774)
| sp: George Gibbs III
| |-3. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs
| |-3. Zephaniah C. Gibbs
| |-3. George Couper Gibbs II
| |-3. Sophia M. Gibbs
| |-3. Isabella M. Gibbs
| |-3. George Kingsley Gibbs
| L-3. Isabella J. Gibbs
L-2. Martha Kingsley McNeill (b.1775 d.1852)
sp: Daniel McNeill
|-3. Charles James Kingsley McNeill
|-3. Anna Matilda Kingsley McNeill Whistler-2nd Wife (b.1808 d.1881)
| sp: Maj. George Washington Whistler
| |-4. James Abbot Kingsley-McNeill Whistler
| |-4. William Whistler
| | sp: Ida Florida Gibbs King (1st Wife)
| L-4. Charles Whistler
|-3. Isabella Kingsley McNeill
| sp: George Fairfax
| L-4. Adm. Fairfax
|-3. Catherine Kingsley McNeill
| sp: Dr. George Palmer
|-3. Mary Kingsley McNeill
| sp: Joseph Estabrook
L-3. Gen. William Gibbs Kingsley McNeill
sp: Maria Commons

Source: Duval County Florida Probate Records and Gibbs family memoirs (see Note 4)

Appendix-1c

Descendants of Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. and Anna Kingsley

- 1. Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. (b.1765 d.1843)
 - sp: Anna (Anta Majigeen) Njaay (b.1793 d.1870)
 - 2. George Kingsley (b.1807)
 - sp: Anatoile Francoise VaunTravers (m.1849)
 - | -3. Georgianna Kingsley
 - | -3. Estelle Kingsley
 - | -3. George Kingsley
 - | -3. Zephaniah Kingsley
 - | L-3. Anatole Kingsley(*)
 - sp: Jacobo Eleibo
 - | -4. John Kingsley-Eleibo
 - | -4. George Kingsley-Eleibo
 - | sp: Mariana Jones
 - | L-5. Adolfo Jones Kingsley-Eleibo
 - | sp: Martina Medina
 - | L-6. Crucito Medina Jones Kingsley-Eleibo
 - | L-4. M? Kingsley-Eleibo
 - 2. Martha Kingsley Baxter (b.1809)
 - sp: Cran(?Oran) Baxter
 - | -3. Anna Kingsley Baxter Carroll
 - | sp: Charles B. Carroll
 - | -3. Isabella Kingsley Baxter
 - | -3. Julia Catherine Kingsley Baxter
 - | -3. Osmund Edward Kingsley Baxter
 - | L-3. Emma Jane Kingsley Baxter Mocs
 - sp: Joseph Mocs
 - 2. Mary Elizabeth Kingsley (b.1811)
 - sp: John S. Sammis
 - | -3. Egbert Kingsley-Sammis
 - | -3. George Kingsley-Sammis
 - | L-3. Edmund Kingsley-Sammis
 - sp: ? Lizzy
 - L-4. Mary Francis Kingsley-Sammis Lewis (1st Wife)
 - sp: A.L. Lewis
 - L-5. James Henry Kingsley-Sammis Lewis
 - sp: Annie Reed Lewis (2nd Wife/Bertha Lewis 1st Wife)
 - | -6. James Leonard Kingsley-Sammis Lewis
 - | sp: Thelma
 - L-6. Mary Francis Kingsley-Sammis Lewis
 - sp: John T. Betsch
 - | -7. Johnnetta Kingsley-Sammis Lewis Betsch
 - | sp: Robert Cole (1st Husb)/A. Robinson-(2nd Husb)
 - | | -8. Aaron Cole
 - | | -8. Ethan Che Cole
 - | | L-8. David Cole
 - | -7. MaVynee Kingsley-Sammis Lewis Betsch
- L-2. John Maxwell Kingsley (b.1824)

Source: Duval County Florida Probate Records; Martha E. Davis Personal files (see Note 4); Oral history accounts;

Appendix-1d (Part 1 of 2)

Descendants of George Gibbs III and Isabella Kingsley

1. George Gibbs III

sp: Isabella Kingsley Gibbs (b.1774 d.1837)

| -2. George Couper Gibbs II (b.1822 d.1873)

| | sp: Julia E. Williams (2nd Wife)/Elizabeth Elcan-1st Wife (b.1829 d.1896)

| | -3. Elizabeth Elcan* Gibbs (b.1848)

| | | sp: John T. Dismukes

| | -3. George William Gibbs (b.1853 d.1923)

| | | sp: Margaret Watkins Gibbs (b.1855 d.1935)

| | | -4. George Couper Gibbs II

| | | | sp: Leonora Warnock

| | | | -5. Margaret Gibbs

| | | | | sp: ?? Worthington

| | | | | -6. Patsy Gibbs Worthington

| | | | | L-6. William Gibbs Worthington

| | | | -5. Harriet Gibbs Gardiner

| | | | | sp: ?? Gardiner

| | | | | -6. Phillip Gibbs Gardiner

| | | | | -6. Stephen Gibbs Gardiner

| | | | | L-6. Couper Gibbs Gardiner

| | | L-5. William Gibbs

| | | | sp: UNKNOWN

| | | | -6. Leonora Gibbs

| | | | -6. William Tucker Gibbs

| | | | -6. Becky Gibbs

| | | | -6. Emily Gibbs

| | | | L-6. Denny Gibbs

| | -4. George William Gibbs 2nd

| | | sp: Kathleen M. Ingraham

| | | -5. George W. Gibbs 3rd

| | | | sp: ??

| | | | -6. George W. Gibbs 4th

| | | | L-6. Robert Gibbs

| | | L-5. Maria Gibbs

| | -4. Elizabeth Lightfoot Coles Gibbs Weed

| | | sp: Joseph Dunning Weed (m.1911)

| | | -5. Ned Gibbs Weed

| | | | sp: Frances Palmer

| | | | -6. Margaret Palmer Weed

| | | | L-6. Cynthia Palmer Weed

| | | -5. Margaret Gibbs Weed

| | | | sp: William Gioseffi

| | | -5. Julia Foster Gibbs Weed

| | | | sp: Lt. Commander Lorenzo Wilson Baldwin

| | | | -6. Elizabeth Gibbs Baldwin

| | | | -6. Martha Rose Baldwin

| | | | -6. Julia Ann Baldwin

| | | | L-6. James Gillespy Baldwin

| | | L-5. Lt. Joseph Dunning Weed Jr.

| | | | sp: Anne Topping

| | | | -6. Joseph Dunning Weed

| | | | -6. Donald Topping Weed

| | | | L-6. Edwin Gardner Weed

Appendix-1d (Part 2 of 2)

| | -4. Margaret Watkins Gibbs Watt
| | sp: Rev. Albert W.J. Watt
| | -4. Tucker Carrington Gibbs (b.1889)
| | sp: Clarissa Anderson Dimick
| | L-4. Rebecca Gibbs Moore (b.1881)
| | sp: Samuel Moore (m.1903)
| | -5. Samuel Gibbs Moore Jr.
| | sp: Chandonette Norris
| | | -6. Samuel Moore
| | | L-6. George Moore
| | -5. Kingsley Gibbs Moore
| | sp: Eleanor Baldwin
| | | -6. Joan Moore
| | | L-6. Kingsley B. Moore Jr.
| | -5. Henry C. Gibbs Moore
| | sp: Charlotte Terhune
| | | -6. Henry Moore
| | | -6. Richard Moore
| | | L-6. Edith Moore
| | L-5. Edward C. Gibbs Moore
| | sp: Helene Woolson
| | | -6. Edward C. Moore Jr.
| | | -6. Christopher Moore
| | | L-6. Margaret Moore
| | -3. Isabella Barksdale Gibbs (b.1857)
| | sp: Charles Floyd Hopkins (b.1853 d.1948)
| | L-3. Robert Kingsley Gibbs (b.1869 d.1905)
| -2. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs (b.1810 d.1859)
| sp: Laura Matilda Williams (b.1820 d.1893)
| -3. George Vernon Gibbs (b.1842 d.1858)
| L-3. Mary Williams Gibbs (b.1844)
| sp: William Arthur Smethurst (b.1834 d.1892)
| -2. Sophia M. Gibbs
| -2. Isabella M. Gibbs
| sp: Ralph King
| -2. Zephaniah C. Gibbs
| -2. George Kingsley Gibbs
| -2. Isabella J. Gibbs

Source: Duval County Florida Probate Records and Gibbs family memoirs (see Note 4)

Appendix 2
1860, 1870, 1880, and 1920 US Census Data Tables
 (Excerpts from US Census data records transcribed by Antoinette T. Jackson, Univ. of Florida)

1860 US Census Duval County Florida (Part 1 of 2)

| Adobe# | Fam | Name | Age | Sex | Colo | Occupation | BirthPI |
|--------|-----|--------------------------------|------|--------|------|-------------|---------|
| 140 | 153 | McQueen, Emma | 23 | Female | B | Servant | FL |
| 140 | 153 | McQueen, William H. | 13 | Male | B | | FL |
| 140 | 153 | McQueen, Leon? | 12 | Male | B | | FL |
| 140 | 153 | McQueen, Lizzie | 7 | Female | B | | FL |
| 140 | 153 | Ida Gualding? | 1 | Female | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, Mary | 45 | Female | B | Nurse | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, James | 50 | Male | B | Laborer | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, Henry | 23 | Male | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, B? | 20 | Male | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, Eleas? | 16 | Male | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, Emma | 14 | Female | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, Thomas | 11 | Male | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, Joseph | 8 | Male | B | | FL |
| 142 | 155 | Williams, James | 5 | Male | B | | FL |
| 148 | 161 | Doggett, Maria | 60 | Female | W | | MA |
| 148 | 161 | Doggett, John L. | 39 | Male | W | Laborer | MA |
| 148 | 161 | Doggett, FA | 24 | Male | W | Atty at Law | FL |
| 148 | 161 | Doggett, H. | 30 | Male | W | Atty at Law | FL |
| 148 | 161 | Doggett, Maria | 19 | Female | W | | FL |
| 371 | 369 | Bigelow, Eugene | 22 | Male | W | Farmer | FL |
| 378 | 376 | Christopher, William G. | 46 | Male | W | Planter | FL |
| 378 | 376 | Christopher, Lizzie W. | 23 | Female | W | | AL |
| 378 | 376 | Christopher, E? | 2 | Female | W | | FL |
| 378 | 376 | Infant not named | 1/12 | Female | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Robert | 63 | Male | W | Farmer | CT |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Elizabeth A. | 50 | Female | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Minerva | 24 | Female | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Annette | 17 | Female | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Luuis B. | 14 | Male | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Alexander G. | 10 | Male | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Clanfa? | 6 | Female | W | | FL |
| 390 | 388 | Christopher, Lewis | 68 | Male | W | Planter | FL |
| 390 | 388 | Christopher, James, L. | 36 | Male | W | | FL |
| 409 | 406 | Leasy?, Joseph | 35 | Male | W | Teamster | SC |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, John S. | 50 | Male | W | Farmer | NY |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Mary K. | 45 | Female | W | | FL |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Martha K. | 20 | Female | W | | FL |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Egbert C. | 13 | Male | W | | FL |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Amelia B. | 11 | Female | W | | FL |
| 530 | 529 | Phillips, Alonzo | 20 | Male | Mu | | FL |
| 530 | 529 | Meliam? | 70 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 531 | 530 | Kingsley, Toby | 90 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Mary A. | 20 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Rebecca | 35 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Hannah | 6 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Holly | 2 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Maria | 46 | Female | B | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Sarah | 14 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Dora | 6 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Rosalia | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Lindo? | 55 | Male | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Sophia | 40 | Female | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, John | 5 | Male | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Gaden? | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 535 | 534 | Abdallah | 60 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 535 | 534 | Bella | 60 | Female | B | | Africa |
| 682 | 681 | Johnson, John | 45 | Male | W | Bar Pilot | Norway |
| 682 | 681 | Johnson, Ruth W. | 37 | Female | W | | FL |

1860 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 2 of 2)

| Adobe# | Fam | Name | Age | Sex | Colo | Occupation | BirthPI |
|--------|-----|-------------------------------|-----|--------|------|------------|---------|
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Alexander G. | 10 | Male | W | | FL |
| 381 | 379 | Bigelow, Clanfa? | 6 | Female | W | | FL |
| 390 | 388 | Christopher, Lewis | 68 | Male | W | Planter | FL |
| 390 | 388 | Christopher, James, L. | 36 | Male | W | | FL |
| 409 | 406 | Leasy?, Joseph | 35 | Male | W | Teamster | SC |
| | | | | | | | |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, John S. | 50 | Male | W | Farmer | NY |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Mary K. | 45 | Female | W | | FL |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Martha K. | 20 | Female | W | | FL |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Egbert C. | 13 | Male | W | | FL |
| 529 | 528 | Sammis, Amelia B. | 11 | Female | W | | FL |
| 530 | 529 | Phillips, Alonzo | 20 | Male | Mu | | FL |
| 530 | 529 | Meliam? | 70 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 531 | 530 | Kingsley, Toby | 90 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Mary A. | 20 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Rebecca | 35 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Hannah | 6 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 532 | 531 | Williams, Holly | 2 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Maria | 46 | Female | B | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Sarah | 14 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Dora | 6 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 533 | 532 | Kingsley, Rosalia | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Lindo? | 55 | Male | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Sophia | 40 | Female | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, John | 5 | Male | B | | FL |
| 534 | 533 | Kingsley, Gaden? | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 535 | 534 | Abdallah | 60 | Male | B | | Africa |
| 535 | 534 | Bella | 60 | Female | B | | Africa |
| 682 | 681 | Johnson, John | 45 | Male | W | Bar Pilot | Norway |
| 682 | 681 | Johnson, Ruth W. | 37 | Female | W | | FL |

Key: Fam=family #; Colo=color; B=black; W=white; Mu=mulatto; BirthPI=birthplace

1860 US Census Data-Duval County Florida (transcribed by: A.T. Jackson)

1870 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 1 of 2)

| Adobe# | Fam | Name | Age | Sex | Colo | Occupation | BirthPI |
|--------|-----|-------------------------|-----|--------|------|----------------------|---------|
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Isaac | 45 | Male | B | Brickmason | SC |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Ca? | 35 | Female | B | | SC |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, William | 4 | Male | B | | SC |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Elizabeth | 1 | Female | B | | FL |
| 619 | 526 | Middleton, Edward | 18 | Male | B | Brickmason | SC |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Jackson | 48 | Male | B | Fisherman | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Harriet | 50 | Female | B | | NC |
| 622 | 529 | Long, James A.? | 21 | Male | B | Fisherman | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Louisa | 15 | Female | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, William | 13 | Male | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Edward | 12 | Male | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Frank | 10 | Male | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Anna M. | 5 | Female | B | | FL |
| 622 | 529 | Long, Adaline | 2 | Female | B | | FL |
| 977 | 856 | Lee, Elick | 45 | Male | B | City Policeman | NC |
| 977 | 856 | Lee, Emily | 50 | Female | B | | GA |
| 977 | 856 | Lee, Lucy | 23 | Female | B | | GA |
| 977 | 856 | Ba? William | 18 | Male | B | | GA |
| 978 | 857 | White, Lafayette | 35 | Male | B | Drayman | SC |
| 978 | 857 | White, Clara | 33 | Female | B | | FL |
| 978 | 857 | White, George W.B. | 8 | Male | B | | GA |
| 979 | 858 | Johnson, John | 21 | Male | B | Works on Steamboat | VA |
| 979 | 858 | Johnson, Precilla | 26? | Female | B | | MD |
| 979 | 858 | Johnson, Mary M. | 4 | Female | B | | FL |
| 979 | 858 | Anderson, Charles | 11 | Male | B | | FL |
| | | | | | | | |
| 95 | 86 | Cloud, Thomas | 27 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | SC |
| 95 | 86 | Janus, John | 26 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | SC |
| 95 | 86 | Daniels, Robert | 32 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | GA |
| 95 | 86 | Daniels, Eli | 42 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | GA |

1870 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 2 of 2)

| Adobe# | Fam | Name | Age | Sex | Colo | Occupation | BirthPl |
|--------|-----|---------------------------|------|--------|------|----------------------|---------|
| 95 | 86 | M?, William | 39 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | FL |
| 95 | 86 | Abraham, Richard | 31 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | AL |
| 95 | 86 | Roberts, Jermiah | 47 | Male | B | Works in Lumber Mill | GA |
| | | | | | | | |
| | 190 | Bartley, Henry | 25 | Male | B | Laborer | |
| | 190 | Bartley, Barbary? | 20 | Female | B | | |
| | 194 | Bartley, Frank | 25 | Male | B | Laborer | SC |
| | 194 | Bartley, Lucy | 23 | Female | B | | SC |
| | 194 | Bartley, Barbary | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| | 194 | Bartley, Wyatt | 1 | Male | B | | FL |
| 326 | 273 | Gibbs, Alexander | 100 | Male | B | Laborer | Africa |
| 326 | 273 | Gibbs, Affie? | 48 | Female | B | | |
| 326 | 273 | Gibbs, Sarah | 17 | Female | B | Domestic Servant | |
| 326 | 273 | Jackson, Patty | 60 | Female | B | | FL |
| 378 | 319 | Sammis, John | 65 | Male | W | Carpenter | NY |
| 378 | 319 | Sammis, Mary K. | 59 | Female | Mu | | FL |
| 378 | 319 | Sammis, Edward G. | 33 | Male | Mu | Retail Grocer | FL |
| 378 | 319 | Sammis, Elizabeth | 26 | Female | W | | England |
| 378 | 319 | Sammis, Mary M. | 8/12 | Female | W | | England |
| 378 | 319 | Koppell, Edward C. | 9 | Male | Mu | | FL |
| 378 | 319 | Jackson, George | 25 | Male | B | Domestic Servant | FL |
| 378 | 319 | Kingsley, Diana | 23 | Female | B | Domestic Servant | FL |
| 378 | 319 | Sammis, George D. | 15 | Male | B | Domestic Servant | |
| 383 | 324 | Napolian, Sippio * | 37 | Male | B | Laborer | FL |
| 383 | 324 | Napolian, Addie? | 35 | Female | B | | FL |
| 383 | 324 | Napolian, Lewis | 17 | Male | B | Laborer | FL |
| 383 | 324 | Napolian, Alonzo | 12 | Male | B | | FL |
| 383 | 324 | Napolian, Paul | 11 | Male | B | | FL |
| 383 | 324 | Napolian, Rachel | 2 | Female | B | | FL |
| 386 | 326 | Lottery, Quash | 64 | Male | B | Laborer | FL |

| | | | | | | | |
|-----|-----|----------------------------|-------|--------|---|---------------|----|
| 386 | 326 | Lottery, Easter | 35 | Female | B | | FL |
| 386 | 326 | Lottery, Anna M. | 9 | Female | B | | FL |
| 386 | 326 | Lottery, Ruth | 7 | Female | B | | FL |
| 386 | 326 | Lottery, Sallie | 3 | Female | B | | FL |
| 386 | 326 | Lottery, Antoinette | 10/12 | Female | B | | FL |
| 386 | 326 | Hagen, George | 13 | Male | B | | FL |
| 387 | 327 | Payne, Antoinette | 40 | Female | B | Keeping House | FL |
| 387 | 327 | Payne, John | 3 | Male | B | | FL |
| 387 | 327 | Hagan, Lucretia | 12 | Female | B | | FL |
| 387 | 327 | Hagan, Molina | 10 | Female | B | | FL |

Key: Fam=family #; Colo=color; B=black; W=white; Mu=mulatto; BirthPl=birthplace

*The family name "Napolian" above appears as "Napoleon" in the 1880 census
 1870 US Census Data-Duval County Florida (transcribed by: A.T. Jackson)

1880 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 1 of 3)

| Name | Colo | Sex | Age | Relation | Occupation | BirthPI | BirthPI-Fa | BirthPI-Mo |
|-----------------------------|------|--------|------|-----------|---------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Polite, John | B | Male | 35 | | Minister | GA | GA | GA |
| Polite, Charlotte | B | Female | 30 | wife | Keeping House | SC | SC | SC |
| Polite, John | B | Male | 19 | son | Laborer | FL | GA | SC |
| Bartley, Frank | B | Male | 34 | | Farmer | SC | VA | SC |
| Bartley, Lucy | B | Female | 28 | wife | Keeping House | SC | SC | SC |
| Bartley, Barbary | B | Female | 13 | daughter | At home | FL | SC | SC |
| Bartley, Wyatt | B | Male | 11 | son | At home | FL | SC | SC |
| Bartley, Dennis | B | Male | 9 | son | At home | FL | SC | SC |
| Bartley, Rosa | B | Female | 3 | daughter | At home | FL | SC | SC |
| Barley, George W. | W | M | 51 | | Store Keeper | MA | MA | MA |
| Bartley, Margaret R. | W | Female | 49 | wife | House Keeper | SC | VA | SC |
| McNeal, Charles | W | Male | 35 | | Farming | SC | SC | SC |
| McNeal, E.F. | W | Female | 28 | wife | Keeping House | FL | GA | FL |
| McNeal, Charles | W | Male | 28 | son | Laborer | FL | SC | FL |
| McNeal, Pearl | W | Female | 19 | daughter | At Home | FL | SC | FL |
| Sammis, John S. | W | Male | 73 | | Farmer | NY | NY | NY |
| Sammis, Mary K. | W | F | 65 | wife | Keeping House | FL | Scotland | Africa |
| Coppele, Edmund | Mu | Male | 19 | servant | At Home | FL | FL | Germany |
| Gaston, George | B | Male | 30 | laborer | Laborer | SC | SC | SC |
| Kingsley, Diana | B | Female | 29 | servant | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Fishburn, Elsie | B | Female | 11 | orphan | Boarding | SC | SC | SC |
| Fishburn, Sarah A. | B | Female | 9 | orphan | Boarding | SC | SC | FL |
| Fishburn, Sam | B | Male | 6 | orphan | Boarding | SC | SC | FL |
| Napper?, Sam | B | Male | 40 | laborer | Laborer | GA | GA | GA |
| Napoleon, Alonzo* | B | Male | 20 | laborer | Laborer | FL | FL | FL |
| Napoleon, Scipio | B | Male | 53 | | Laborer | GA | Africa | FL |
| Napoleon, Edith | B | Female | 40 | wife | Keeping House | GA | FL | FL |
| Napoleon, Alonzo | B | Male | 21 | son | At home | GA | GA | GA |
| Napoleon, Rachel | B | Female | 12 | daughter | At home | GA | GA | GA |
| Barnapart?, Napoleon | B | Male | 80 | | Laborer | Africa | Africa | Africa |
| Barnapart?, Phillis | B | Female | 50 | wife | At home | LA | LA | LA |
| Payne, Annette | B | Female | 50 | | Keeping house | FL | Africa | Africa |
| Payne, Medina? | B | Female | 7 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Payne, Gertie | B | Female | 3 | gdaughter | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, Easter | B | Female | 49 | | Keeping house | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, Ruth | B | Female | 13 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, Celina? | B | Female | 11 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, Annette | B | Female | 10 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, June | B | Male | 4 | son | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, Adella | B | Female | 3 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| Lottery, Arthur | B | Male | 8/12 | granson | At home | FL | FL | FL |
| McQueen, Peter | B | Male | 30 | | Laborer | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Ann E. | B | Female | 30 | | Keeping House | FL | FL | GA |
| Christopher, Isabel | B | Female | 13 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | GA |
| Higgenbottom, E. | W | Female | 45 | | Keeping House | FL | FL | FL |
| Higgenbottom, William | W | Male | 21 | | At Home | FL | FL | FL |
| Bartley, George Sr. | B | Male | 70 | | Laborer | VA | VA | VA |
| Bartley, Julia | B | Female | 49 | wife | Keeping house | SC | SC | SC |
| Bartley, George Jr. | B | Male | 36 | | Laborer | SC | SC | VA |
| Bartley, Derinda | B | Female | 50 | wife | Keeping House | SC | SC | VA |
| Bartley, Henry | B | Male | 39 | | Laborer | SC | SC | VA |
| Bartley, Barbary | B | Male | 30 | | Keeping House | FL | VA | VA |
| Bartley, Mary | B | Female | 8 | | At home | FL | SC | FL? |
| Bartley, Carrie | B | Female | 7 | | At home | FL | SC | FL? |
| Bartley, Alfred | B | Male | 6 | | At home | FL | SC | FL? |
| Bartley, Henry | B | Male | 4 | | At home | FL | SC | FL? |
| Bartley, Joshua | B | Male | 1 | | At home | FL | SC | FL? |
| Long, Frank | B | Male | 39 | | Carpenter | FL | FL | GA |

1880 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 2 of 3)

| Name | Colo | Sex | Age | Relation | Occupation | BirthPI | BirthPI-Fa | BirthPIMo |
|-------------------------------|------|--------|-------|----------|---------------|---------|------------|-----------|
| Long, Emma | B | Female | 25 | wife | Keeping house | GA | GA? | GA? |
| Long, Cornelus | B | Male | 5 | son | | FL | FL | GA |
| Kingsley, Stephen | B | Male | 62 | | Laborer | FL | FL | FL? |
| Kingsley, Ellen | B | Female | 25 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL? |
| Kingsley, Hogarth | B | Female | 18 | daughter | At home | FL | FL | FL? |
| Kingsley, Henry | B | Male | 13 | son | Scholar | FL | FL | FL? |
| Rollins, John F. | W | Male | 47? | | US Land? | NH | MA | MA |
| Rollins, Annie B. | W | Female | 35 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Rollins, Paul E. | W | Male | 20 | son | Clerk US ? | FL | NH | FL |
| Rollins, Oliver | W | Male | 16 | son | | FL | NH | FL |
| Rollins, Gertrude | W | Female | 16 | daughter | | FL | NH | FL |
| Christopher, T.S. | B | Male | 48 | | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Catherine | Mu | Female | 49 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Albert | B | Male | 15 | son | Hotel waiter | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, S? | Mu | Male | 11 | son | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, John S. | Mu | Male | 24 | | Farm hand | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Thomas? | Mu | Male | 20 | | Cook | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, George | B | Male | 33 | | ? | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Fannie | B | Female | 23 | wife | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Emma? | B | Female | 23 | wife | Servant | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, E.G. | W | Male | 39 | | Farmer | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Louise | W | Female | 44 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Bath? | W | Female | 14 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Edna | W | Female | 17 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Jessie | W | Female | 4 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Gresham, Mand? | W | Female | 10/12 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, J.L? | W | Male | 60 | | Farmer | FL | FL | SC |
| Christopher, Lizzie | Mu | Female | 54 | wife | | FL | Jaimaca? | FL |
| Chritopher, Anna | Mu | Female | 23 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Minnie? | Mu | Female | 15 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Lewis | Mu | Male | 13 | son | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Georgie | Mu | Female | 6 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, William | W | Male | 25 | | Farmer | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Mary | Mu | Female | 25 | wife | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Josephine | Mu | Female | 3 | daughter | | FL | FL | FL |
| Christopher, Edwin | Mu | Male | 7 | son | | FL | FL | FL |
| Warfield, Isaac | B | Male | 60 | | Laborer | MD | MD | MD |
| Warfield, Dianna | B | Female | 45 | wife | Keeps house | | | |
| Warfield, Isaac Jr. | B | Male | 23? | son | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Jackson | B | Male | 21 | son | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Samuel | B | Male | 16 | son | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Malinda | B | Female | 13 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Charles | B | Male | 7 | son | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Cora | B | Female | 5 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Warfield, David? | B | Male | 2 | son | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Martin | B | Male | 34 | | Laborer | | | |
| Warfield, Angelina | B | Female | 24 | wife | Keeps house | | | |
| Broward, Jr? | Mu | Male | 11 | nephew | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Emma | B | Female | 30 | cousin | Keeps house | | | |
| Warfield, Florence | B | Female | 11 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Millie? | B | Female | 6 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Fred K? | B | Male | 4 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Warfield, Ola | B | Female | 2/12 | cousin | At home | | | |
| Long, John? | B | Male | 98 | | Fishing | | | |
| Long, Joanna | B | Female | 49 | wife | Keeps house | | | |
| Long, Lizzie | B | Female | 16 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Long, Jesse | B | Male | 7 | son | At home | | | |

1880 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 3 of 3)

| Name | Colo | Sex | Age | Relation | Occupation | BirthPI | BirthPI-Fa | BirthPI-Mo |
|------------------------------|------|--------|-----|----------|---------------|---------|------------|------------|
| Long, Rora | B | Female | 3 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Harrison, Sarah | Mu | Female | 45 | | Farming | | | |
| Grisham, William | Mu | Male | 19 | son | Laborer | | | |
| Grisham, Madeline | Mu | Female | 17 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Grisham, Eliza | Mu | Female | 12 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Grisham, John | Mu | Male | 10 | son | At home | | | |
| Grisham, Harry | Mu | Male | 8 | son | At home | | | |
| Grisham, Christina | Mu | Female | 6 | daughter | At home | | | |
| Grisham, Edwin | Mu | Male | 3 | son | At home | | | |
| Hansontown-Duval Cty | | | | | | | | |
| Sammis, Albert | Mu | Male | 34 | | Constable | FL | MA | FL |
| Sammis, Kate | B | Female | 25? | wife | Keeping House | SC | SC | SC |
| Sammis, Albert | B | Male | 8 | son | | SC | FL | SC |
| Sammis, Anna | B | Female | 14 | daughter | At school | SC | FL | SC |
| Sammis, Kate | B | Female | 11 | daughter | At school | SC | FL | SC |
| Crocket, John | B | Male | 66 | father | Laborer | | | |
| Crocket, Sarah | B | Female | 50 | mother | | | | |
| Christopher, John | B | Male | 28 | | Laborer | | | |
| Christopher, Caroline | B | Female | 21 | wife | Keeping house | | | |
| Christopher, Rosa | B | Female | 5 | daughter | | | | |
| Christopher, George | B | Male | 3 | son | | | | |
| Christopher, Joseph | B | Male | 2 | son | | | | |

Key: Fam=family; Colo=color; B=black; W=white; Mu=mulatto; BirthPI=birthplace; BirthPI-Fa=birthplace father; BirthPI-Mo=birthplace mother; *the family name "Napoleon" appears as "Napolian" in the 1870 census
 1870 US Census Data-Duval County Florida (transcribed by: A.T. Jackson)

1920 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 1 of 3)

| Fam | Name | Relation | S | Colo | Age | MaritalS | Birthpl | BirthplF | BirthplMo | Occupation |
|-----|--------------------|------------|---|------|------|----------|---------|----------|-----------|----------------------------|
| 9 | McQueen, Percy | head | M | B | 47 | Married | FL | FL | SC | Farm Operator |
| 9 | McQueen, Gertrude | wife | F | B | 42 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Laundress-at home |
| 9 | McQueen, Eugene | son | M | B | 19 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Laborer-rosin mill |
| 9 | McQueen, Owen | son | M | B | 16 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Laborer-sawmill |
| 9 | McQueen, Freddie | son | M | B | 14 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Call boy-boarding house |
| 9 | McQueen, Godfrey | son | M | B | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Adkins, James | head | M | Mu | 50 | Married | GA | GA | GA | Farm Operator-chicken |
| 0 | Adkins, Antoinette | wife | F | B | 52 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Johnson, Mabel | gdaughter | F | Mu | 9 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Bartley, Hester | moth-inlaw | F | B | 95 | Widow | FL | Africa | FL | none |
| 7 | Atkins, Thomas J. | head | M | B | 36 | Married | GA | GA | GA | Laborer-shipyard |
| 7 | Atkins, Gussie C. | wife | F | B | 31 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Grocer-grocery |
| 0 | Braddy, David | head-1 | M | B | 21 | Married | GA | SC | SC | Minister-Holiness Church |
| 0 | Braddy, Lucile | wife | F | B | 18 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 1 | McQueen, Percy Jr. | head-2 | M | B | 19 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Dock hand - Ferry |
| 1 | McQueen, Mabel | wife | F | B | 19 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 1 | McQueen, James | son | M | B | 3/12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 1 | Pinkney, Sophie M. | moth-inlaw | F | B | 37 | Widow | FL | SC | FL | Minister-Holiness Church |
| 8 | Terry, Charlie | head | M | B | 44 | Married | AL | AL | AL | Handling logs-sawmill |
| 8 | Terry, Maggie | wife | F | B | 38 | Married | FL | NC | GA | Laundress-at home |
| 9 | Anderson, Sarah | head | F | B | 40 | Widow | FL | SC | GA | Laundress-private family |
| 5 | Murrell, John | Head | M | B | 46 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Sap gather-turpentine oper |
| 5 | Murrell, Minnie | wife | F | B | 32 | Married | FL | FI | FL | none |
| 5 | Murrell, Russel | son | M | B | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Errand boy-Justice galley |
| 5 | Murrell, Clark | son | M | B | 13 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Errand boy-Electrician |
| 5 | Murrell, Rosa M | daughter | F | B | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 5 | Murrell, John | son | M | B | 4 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 5 | Murrell, Quincy | son | M | B | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 38 | Murrell, Henry | head | M | W | 50 | Married | Cana | England | England | Carpenter-boat builder |
| 38 | Murrell, Mary E. | wife | F | W | 52 | Married | Irean | Scotland | England | none |

1920 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 2 of 3)

| <u>Fam</u> | <u>Name</u> | <u>Relation</u> | <u>S</u> | <u>Colo</u> | <u>Age</u> | <u>Marital</u> | <u>Birthp</u> | <u>BirthplFa</u> | <u>BirthplMo</u> | <u>Occupation</u> |
|------------|-------------------------|-----------------|----------|-------------|------------|----------------|---------------|------------------|------------------|-----------------------------|
| 39 | Morrell, Hason A. | head | M | W | 25 | Married | Maine | Canada | Ireland | Carpenter-shipyard |
| 39 | Morrell, Alma | wife | F | W | 24 | Married | FL | Maine | SC | none |
| 39 | Morrell, Hall B. | son | M | W | 3 | Sgl | FL | Maine | FL | none |
| 39 | Morrell, Willard F. | son | M | W | 6/12 | Sgl | FL | Maine | FL | none |
| 43 | Anderson, Jacob | head | M | W | 53 | Married | Norw | Norway | Norway | Sea captain-steam barge |
| 43 | Anderson, Aaiot | wife | F | W | 52 | Married | Norw | Norway | Norway | none |
| 43 | Anderson, John | son | M | W | 14 | Sgl | FL | Norway | Norway | none |
| 43 | Anderson, Oscar | son | M | W | 8 | Sgl | FL | Norway | Norway | none |
| 45 | Johnson, William | head | M | Mu | 41 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Sailor-merchant marine |
| 45 | Johnson, Kate | wife | F | Mu | 32 | Married | FL | FL | GA | Cigar maker-cigar factory |
| 45 | Johnson, Caritta | daughter | F | Mu | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 45 | Johnson, Gerald | son | M | Mu | 10 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 46 | Dorsey, Douglas | head | M | Mu | 63 | Married | FL | FL | FI | Farm operator |
| 46 | Dorsey, Millie | wife | F | B | 54 | Married | GA | FL | FL | Nurse-obstrical |
| 46 | Dorsey, Charles | son | M | Mu | 22 | Married | FL | FL | FI | Fisherman-river |
| 46 | Dorsey, Sadie | daugh- | F | Mu | 19 | Married | SC | SC | SC | none |
| 46 | Dorsey, Charles Jr. | grgranson | M | Mu | 4/12 | Sgl | FL | FI | SC | none |
| 48 | Simon, Thomas | head | M | B | 49 | Married | SC | SC | SC | Tapping sap-turpentine oper |
| 48 | Simon, Vermell | wife | F | B | 47 | Married | SC | SC | SC | Laundress-private family |
| 48 | Simon, William | son | M | B | 21 | Sgl | GA | SC | SC | Sap dipper-turpentine oper |
| 48 | Simon, Lucinda | daughter | F | B | 19 | Sgl | FL | SC | SC | Servant-private family |
| 48 | Simon, Edith | daughter | F | B | 18 | Sgl | FL | SC | SC | Laundress-private family |
| 48 | Simon, Eva | daughter | F | B | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Simon, Douglas | son | M | B | 13 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Simon, Harry | son | M | B | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Simon, Annie B. | daughter | F | B | 10 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Simon, Victoria | daughter | F | B | 8 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Simon, Louise B. | gdaughter | F | B | 11/1 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 58 | Floyd, Israil | head | M | B | 43 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 58 | Floyd, Polly | wife | F | B | 39 | Married | FL | SC | FL | Laundress-at home |
| 58 | Floyd, James | son | M | B | 14 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Errand boy-grocery |
| 58 | Floyd, Joseph | son | M | B | 10 | Sgl | FL | FL | FI | none |
| 58 | Floyd, Sefora(?) | daughter | F | B | 6 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 58 | Floyd, Lestor | son | M | B | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 58 | Floyd, Israil | son | M | B | 3/12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 75 | Bartley, Logett(?) | head | M | B | 47 | Married | FL | SC | SC | Fisherman |
| 75 | Bartley, Nancy | wife | F | B | 37 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 75 | Bartley, Rosa | daughter | F | B | 24 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Cook-private family |
| 75 | Bartley, Ida | daughter | F | B | 17 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Cook-private family |
| 75 | Bartley, Mary | daughter | F | B | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 75 | Bartley, Dennis | son | M | B | 13 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 75 | Bartley, Martin | son | M | B | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 75 | Bartley, Lusie | daughter | F | B | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 98 | McQueen, Peter | head | M | B | 91 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 98 | McQueen, Laura | wife | F | B | 69 | Married | TN | TN | NC? | Servant-private family |
| :01 | McQueen, John | head | M | B | 95? | Sgl | FL | FL | TN | Farm Operator |
| :01 | Bentley, Minnie | housekeep | F | B | 27? | Widow | FL | FL | FL | Servant-private family |
| 11 | Christopher, William T. | head | M | Mu | 56 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 11 | Christopher, Minerva | wife | F | Mu | 50 | Married | FL | CT | FL | none |
| 11 | Christopher, Earl | son | M | Mu | 17 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 11 | Christopher, William | son | M | Mu | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 12 | Blue, Rear Adm Victor | head | M | W | 52 | Married | NC | NC | SC | Naval Officer |
| 12 | Stuart, Ellen | wife | F | W | 40 | Married | NJ | MI | OH | none |
| 12 | Stuart, John | son | M | W | 17 | Sgl | NY | NC | NJ | none |
| 12 | Blue, Victor Jr. | son | M | W | 6 | Sgl | Wash | NC | NJ | none |
| 12 | Terry, Marion Stuart | sister- | F | W | 41 | Divorce | FL | MI | OH | none |
| 12 | Hinton, Margaret | nurse | F | W | 40 | Sgl | Scotl | Scotland | Scotland | Nurse |
| 13 | Terry, Emma | head | F | W | 70 | Widow | CT | CT | CT | none |
| 13 | Stollenwok?, Percy | son-inlaw | M | W | 60 | Married | AL | AL | AL | none |

1920 US Census Excerpt Duval County Florida (Part 3 of 3)

| Fam | Name | Relation | S | Colo | Age | Marital | Birthp | BirthpFa | BirthpMo | Occupation |
|-----|--------------------------|----------|---|------|------|---------|--------|----------|----------|--------------|
| 13 | Stollenwok?, Ellen Terry | daughter | F | W | 50 | Married | CT | CT | CT | none |
| 13 | Weber, Julian | servant | M | W | 39 | Sgl | Germ | German | Germany | Man servant |
| 7 | Christopher, Joseph | head | M | Mu | 41 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fishing |
| 7 | Christopher, Cornelia E. | wife | F | Mu | 35 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 7 | Christopher, Geroge W. | son | M | Mu | 12 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 7 | Christopher, Joseph A. | son | M | Mu | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 7 | Christopher, Stelario S. | son | M | Mu | 9 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 7 | Christopher, Nathaniel | son | M | Mu | 7 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 7 | Christopher, Marie | daughter | F | Mu | 5 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 7 | Christopher, | son | M | Mu | 3 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 12 | Williams, John | head | M | Mu | 60 | Widow | FL | FL | FL | Fireman? |
| 12 | Williams, George | son | M | Mu | 16 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 12 | Williams, Georgie | daughter | F | Mu | 16 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 12 | Williams, Carrie | daughter | F | Mu | 14 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 12 | Williams, Mary L. | daughter | F | Mu | 6 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 15 | Christopher, Roy | head | M | Mu | 30 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Cook on boat |
| 15 | Christopher, Reba T. | wife | F | Mu | 24 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 15 | Christopher, Reba B. | daughter | F | Mu | 7 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 15 | Christopher, Lula P. ? | daughter | F | Mu | 5 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 15 | Christopher, Amy J. | daughter | F | Mu | 11/1 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Davis, David | head | M | Mu | 31 | Married | FL | FL | SC | Fisherman |
| 0 | Davis, Nami, J. ? | wife | F | Mu | 23 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Davis, Hazel O. | daughter | F | Mu | 4 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Davis, David A. | son | M | Mu | 3 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Davis, Walter G. | son | M | Mu | 1 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Christopher, William | father- | M | Mu | 64 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 0 | Christopher, Mary M. | mother- | F | Mu | 64 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 0 | Richards, John H. | boarder | M | Mu | 30 | Sgl | FL | SC | FL | Fishing |
| 2 | Bartley, Frank | Head | M | Mu | 30 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Fisherman |
| 2 | Bartley, Ruth | wife | F | Mu | 31 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 47 | Higgenbotham, Henry | head | M | W | 46 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Farmer |
| 47 | Higgenbotham, Jessie | wife | F | W | 34 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 47 | Higgenbotham, Winston | son | M | W | 15 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 47 | Higgenbotham, Tena C. | daughter | F | W | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 47 | Burnez?, Georgia | adopted | F | W | 11 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Higgenbotham, Edward | head | M | W | 33 | Married | FL | FL | FL | Farmer |
| 48 | Higgenbotham, | wife | F | W | 34 | Married | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Higgenbotham, Eva | daughter | F | W | 6 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Higgenbotham, Mary | daughter | F | W | 4 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |
| 48 | Higgenbotham, Viola | daughter | F | W | 2 | Sgl | FL | FL | FL | none |

Key: Fam=family; Colo=color; B=black; W=white; Mu=mulatto; BirthPI=birthplace; BirthPI-Fa=birthplace father; BirthPI-Mo=birthplace mother

1870 US Census Data-Duval County Florida (transcribed by: A.T. Jackson)

1860-1870 US Census Excerpt St. Johns County Florida

| Abode# | Fam | Name | Age | Sex | Colo | Occupation | BirthPI | CensusYrLoc |
|--------|-----|----------------------|-----|--------|------|-------------------|---------|-------------|
| 151 | 151 | Gibbs, George C. | 38 | Male | W | Planter | SC | 1860- |
| 151 | 151 | Gibbs, Julia | 29 | Female | W | | GA | 1860- |
| 151 | 151 | Gibbs, Elizabeth | 12 | Female | W | | LA | 1860- |
| 151 | 151 | Gibbs, Julia | 9 | Female | W | | GA | 1860- |
| 151 | 151 | Gibbs, George | 6 | Male | W | | GA | 1860- |
| 151 | 151 | Gibbs, Isabelle | 3 | Female | W | | FL | 1860- |
| 393 | 393 | Gibbs, Laura M.W. | 39 | Female | W | | SC | 1860- |
| 393 | 393 | Gibbs, Medo ? W. | 15 | Female | W | | FL | 1860- |
| 393 | 393 | Rosa L. Burroughs | 18 | Female | W | | GA | 1860- |
| 393 | 393 | Clara E. Burroughs | 13 | Female | W | | GA | 1860- |
| 393 | 393 | Joseph B. Burroughs | 7 | Male | W | | GA | 1860- |
| 393 | 393 | Rev. T. Williams | 34 | Male | W | O.L.Presb Clgyman | GA | 1860- |
| 161 | 179 | Gibbs, M.L. | 45 | Female | W | Keeping House | SC | 1870- |
| 161 | 179 | Burroughs, Rosa | 25 | Female | W | At home | GA | 1870- |
| 161 | 179 | Gibbs, Mary | 23 | Female | W | At home | FL | 1870- |
| 161 | 179 | Burroughs, Clara | 20 | Female | W | At home | GA | 1870- |
| 161 | 179 | Burroughs, Jossio B. | 17 | Male | W | At home | GA | 1870- |
| 161 | 179 | Burroughs, Julia L. | 19 | Female | W | At home | GA | 1870- |
| | | Samis, Mary | 65 | Female | B | Laundress | FL | 1870- |
| | | Samis, Mary | 15 | Female | B | At home | FL | 1870- |
| | | Samis, Sally | 85 | Female | B | Keeping House | Africa | 1870- |
| | | Gibbs, Pricetta | 80 | Female | B | Keeping House | SC | 1870- |
| | | Gibbs, Jacob | 70 | Male | B | Laborer | SC | 1870- |
| | | Lawrence, Mary | 47 | Female | B | Laundress | SC | 1870- |
| | | Lawrence, Joe | 10 | Male | B | At home | FL | 1870- |
| | | Lawrence, Andrew | 8 | Male | B | At home | FL | 1870- |
| | | Lawrence, Tibby? | 11 | Male | B | At home | FL | 1870- |

Key: Fam=family #; Colo=color; B=black; W=white; Mu=mulatto;

Appendix 3

Negro Occupations Census Charts 1910 and 1930

Appendix-3a

| Negro Occupations in 1910 | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------------|
| | <u>USA</u> | <u>FL-male</u> | <u>FL-female</u> |
| Pop Total | 7,317,922 | 124,024 | 109,720 |
| Total Employed | 5,192,535 | 107,343 | 50,181 |
| Occupations | | | |
| Agriculture | 2,893,375 | 47,953 | 18,330 |
| Forestry | | 3,626 | 9 |
| Animal Husbandry | | 769 | 10 |
| Carpentry | | 2,191 | |
| Deliverymen | | 868 | |
| Draymen, teamsters, express men | | 1,818 | |
| Dressmakers and seamstresses (outside of factory) | | | 1,995 |
| Janitors and sextons | | 977 | 17 |
| Keepers of Boarding/Lodging | | | 467 |
| Laborers/porters, helpers in stores | | 210 | |
| Laborers: | | | |
| -General manufacture | | 8,471 | |
| -Lumberyards | | 240 | |
| -Saw & planing mills | | 6,567 | |
| -Steam railroad | | 3,606 | |
| -Turpentine distilleries | | 2,726 | |
| Laundresses (not in laundries) | | | 14,312 |
| Longshoremen, Stevedores | | 1,530 | |
| Midwives, nurses (not trained) | | | 711 |
| Operatives in laundries | | | 763 |
| Operatives: | | | |
| -Cigar/tobacco Factories (semi-skilled) | | 1,488 | 690 |
| Porters (not in stores) | | 745 | |
| Servants | | 2,417 | 9,795 |
| Teachers, school | | 195 | 721 |
| Messenger, Office boy | | 252 | |
| Masons (brick and stone) | | 485 | |
| Table 17: Negro Males 10 years of Age and Over, Occupations (p. 517) | | | |
| Table 18: Negro Females 10 years of Age and Over, Occupations (p. 521) | | | |

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (1918)

Appendix-3b

| Negro Occupations Florida (1930) | | | |
|--|------------|----------------|------------------|
| | <u>USA</u> | <u>FL-male</u> | <u>FL-female</u> |
| Negro Pop Total | | 172,729 | 173,208 |
| Total Employed | | | |
| All Occupations | | 141,051 | 77,040 |
| Agriculture | | 43,729 | 12,440 |
| -Farmers/owner/tenants | | 9,837 | 1,247 |
| -Farm laborers | | 33,752 | 11,193 |
| Carpentry | | 1,723 | |
| Chauffers (and truck and tractor drivers) | | 4,109 | |
| Clergymen | | 1,453 | |
| Dealers, retail | | 1,382 | 276 |
| Delivery men | | 1,163 | |
| Draymen | | 626 | |
| Fishermen and oystermen | | 929 | |
| Janitors and sextons | | 1,672 | |
| Laborers/Porters/Store helpers | | 2,538 | |
| Building construction, laborers, helpers | | 2,054 | |
| Laborers/Domestic and Personal | | 1,750 | |
| Laborers | | | |
| -General | | 8,688 | |
| -Public service | | 1,451 | |
| -Road and street | | 2,402 | |
| -Saw and planing mill | | 9,214 | |
| -Steam railroads | | 5,732 | |
| Laundry operatives | | | 2,140 |
| Longshoreman | | 1,882 | |
| Lumberman | | 4,078 | |
| Porters (not in stores) | | 2,204 | |
| Servants | | 31,325 | 6,344 |
| Teachers | | 1,829 | 501 |
| Waiters | | 539 | 1,613 |
| Table 23: " Negro Males and Females 10 Years Old and Over Gainfully Occupied by States:1930" (p. 304). | | | |

Source: U.S. Bureau of Census (1935)

Appendix 4

Aunt Easter Family Genealogy Charts

Appendix 4: Chart 1—Descendants of Carpenter Bonify and wife Mary

=====

1.Carpenter Bonify

sp: Mary

|-2. Beck

|-2. Scipio

|-2. Louis

|-2. June

|-2. George

|-2. Tema

|-2. Sarah

+2. **Easter/Esther** (b.1825? d.1930?)

sp: Quash Lottery (b. 1806?) /George Bartley Jr.-2nd husb.

|-3. Anna M. Lottery (b.1861)

|-3. Ruth Lottery (b.1863)

|-3. Sallie Lottery (b.1867)

|-3. Antoinette Lottery (b.1870)

| sp: James Adkins

| |-4. Mabel

| +4. Beatrice Scott (Raised By Antoinette-birth mom's sister)

| sp: Albert Johnson/ Clarence Scott, Sr-2nd husb

| +-5. Clarence Scott Jr. (b.1915)

| sp: Veronica Scott (b.1920)

| |-6. Theresa Scott Taylor (b.1934)

| |-6. Gerry Scott

| +6. Adewole Kule-Mele Scott (b.1942 d.1998)

|-3. Celina? Lottery (b.1869)

|-3. June Lottery (b.1876)

|-3. Adella Lottery (b.1877)

|-3. Arthur Lottery (b.1880)

+3. Minnie D. King Murrel's mom: = ?Lottery-Bartley

sp: Ed King

|-4. Minnie D. King (b.1886 d.1985)

| sp: John Wesley Murrell

|-5. Quincy Murrell (b.1917 d.1989)

| sp: **Mildred**

| | +-6. **Evette Murrell** (b.1962)

| |-5. **John W. Murrell** (b.1915)

| |-5. Rosa Murrell (b.1909)

| |-5. Minnie Payne Murrell

| |-5. Russell Murrell (b.1905)

| +5. Clark Murrell (b.1907)

|-4. Helen

| sp: Jesse Williams

| |-5. **Isiah Williams** (b. 1931) -raised by Helen (his birth mom's sister)

|-4. Rosa?

|-4. Julia

|-4. Annie

+4. Tom Eddie

=====

Key: sp=spouse

Sources: Duval County Florida Probate Records; U.S. Census Data (1870; 1880; 1920; and family's oral history

Appendix 4: Chart 2–Descendants of Easter and Quash Lottery/George Bartley, Jr.

=====

1.Carpenter Bonify

sp: Mary

| -2. Beck

| -2. Scipio

| -2. Louis

| -2. June

| -2. George

| -2. Tema

| -2. Sarah

L-2. **Easter/Esther** (b.1825? d.1930?)

sp: Quash Lottery (b. 1806?) /George Bartley Jr.-2nd husb.

| -3. Anna M. Lottery (b.1861)

| -3. Ruth Lottery (b.1863)

| -3. Sallie Lottery (b.1867)

| -3. Antoinette Lottery (b.1870)

| sp: James Adkins

| | -4. Mabel

| | L-4. Beatrice Scott (Raised By Antoinette-birth mom's sister)

| | sp: Albert Johnson/ Clarence Scott, Sr-2nd husb

| | | L-5. Clarence Scott Jr. (b.1915)

| | | sp: Veronica Scott (b.1920)

| | | | -6. Theresa Scott Taylor (b.1934)

| | | | -6. Gerry Scott

| | | | +6. Adewole Kule-Mele Scott (b.1942 d.1998)

| -3. Celina? Lottery (b.1869)

| -3. June Lottery (b.1876)

| -3. Adella Lottery (b.1877)

| -3. Arthur Lottery (b.1880)

L-3. Minnie D. King Murrel's mom: = ?Lottery-Bartley

sp: Ed King

| -4. Minnie D. King (b.1886 d.1985)

| sp: John Wesley Murrell

| | -5. Quincy Murrell (b.1917 d.1989)

| | sp: **Mildred**

| | | L-6. **Evette Murrell** (b.1962)

| | | -5. **John W. Murrell** (b.1915)

| | | -5. Rosa Murrell (b.1909)

| | | -5. Minnie Payne Murrell

| | | -5. Russell Murrell (b.1905)

| | | L-5. Clark Murrell (b.1907)

| -4. Helen

| sp: Jesse Williams

| | -5. **Isiah Williams** (b. 1931) -raised by Helen (his birth mom's sister)

| -4. Rosa?

| -4. Julia

| -4. Annie

L-4. Tom Eddie

=====

Key: sp=spouse

Sources: Duval County Florida Probate Records; U.S. Census Data (1870; 1880; 1920; and family's oral history)

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