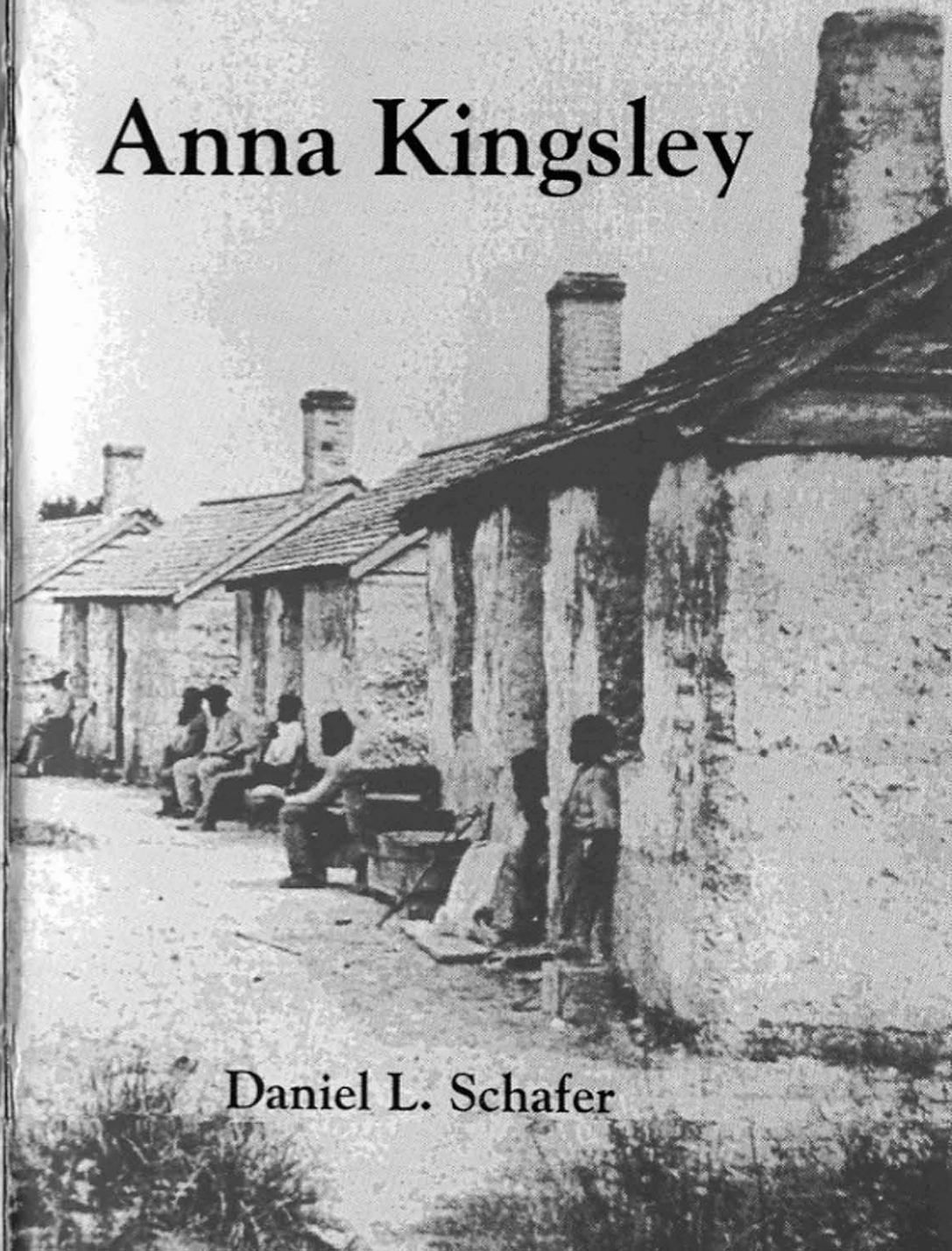
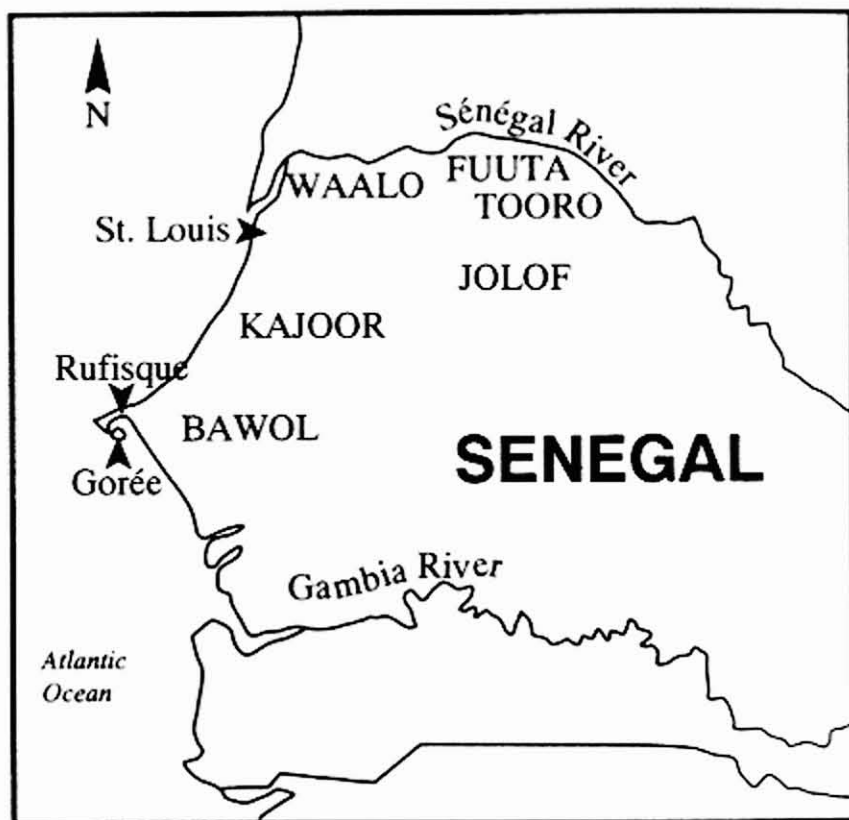


An African teenager captured in a terrifying slave raid in 1806, Anta Majigeen Ndiaye was sold in Cuba to a slave trader and Florida planter named Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr. By 1824, now living on the St. Johns River in northeast Florida, she was Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley, the wife of Zephaniah Kingsley and the mother of four children. She had been emancipated in 1811, only five years after being torn from her homeland, and soon became a landowner and the master of slaves of her own. Far from family in Senegal, Anna retained her African heritage under Spanish and American governments, then moved with sons and grandchildren to the free black nation of Haiti in 1837, when anti-free black prejudice in Florida became intolerable. In 1860 Anna returned to Florida. Hardly resettled, she was caught in the titanic struggle of America's Civil War and was forced to flee to the North for safety. When the fighting ended she came back to the St. Johns River to live her remaining years in peace, sheltered by the love of her family. She was in her seventies by then, ill and feeble, but all who knew her were aware that Anna Madgigine Jai had lived one of the most eventful lives in the history of northeast Florida.

Anna Kingsley



Daniel L. Schafer



Anna Kingsley

Daniel L. Schafer

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"Remains of Slave Quarters, Fort George Island, Florida."
Stereograph
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I

Senegal

For hours the horsemen rode through the countryside north of Kajoor into the dry and barren landscape of Jolof, Senegal. It was April 1806, temperatures were moderate and the roads still passable as the heavy seasonal rains had not yet disrupted travel in the area. The fierce-looking men with long braided hair and warrior apparel stopped occasionally to rest the horses and to fire their passion for battle with deep swigs of alcohol. The raiders hit Anta's village just before dawn.

Had the local villagers detected the horsemen, panic would have spread quickly, for these were the tyeddo warriors feared throughout the region, the royal slaves of Amari Ngoone Ndella, the King of Kajoor. Enslaved, owing allegiance only to Ndella, they were a standing army of professional soldiers trained to protect Kajoor and its ruler and to raid and plunder enemy villages and march the survivors to the coast to sell to European slave traders. In exchange, Ndella received cloth, liquor and luxury goods, and more importantly, the guns and powder, horses and armament necessary to resupply the war machine.

The mounted warriors approached Anta's home that day in the same manner they had converged on dozens of Jolof villages during the winter and spring of 1806. Conditions had been unsettled in Senegal since 1790, when religious wars broke out in the kingdom of Kajoor, one of four Wolof kingdoms to survive the legendary Jolof empire that ruled in Senegal for centuries.

Most Wolof people had converted to the religion of Islam long before 1790. The leaders of many villages were Muslim clerics. Pious farmers, fond of quiet family life in rural villages, forbidden to imbibe alcohol or engage in other sinful acts, the Wolof Muslims had grown resentful of the immorality of their ruling families.

Especially troublesome were the flamboyant tyeddo, whose attacks were supposed to be directed only at non-Wolof peoples. But when supplies of luxury goods or weapons ran low, rulers winked at raids on distant and unsuspecting Wolof villages.

In Kajoor, resentment led to nearly two decades of rebellion. As Ndella's repression worsened, thousands of Muslims fled south and west to form their own state at the Cape Vert peninsula, enclosing themselves in walled villages for protection against the *tyeddo* cavalymen. But Ndella's warriors pursued, spreading fighting and destruction beyond the borders of Kajoor to pit one Wolof state against another. Even non-Wolof states like Fouta Toro were engulfed in the regional warfare.

The *tyeddo* tortured and killed some of the male captives as lessons to the rebellious. The others were taken to the coastal town of Rufisque and sold to Europeans.

Had Anta been awake in the pre-dawn darkness she might have heard the horses stomping restlessly in the sand and scrub beyond the millet fields surrounding the housing compounds. But she slept until the sounds of charging horses and the terrifying shouts of the *tyeddo* burst into the dwelling houses in her family's compound. Her father was cut down as he resisted the intruders. Anta and her mother were seized as they ran from their house. Pushed roughly to a corner of the compound by armed guards, they were joined by Anta's half-brothers and half-sisters, children of her father's other two wives. Over the walls came sounds of resistance from neighboring compounds. Brothers of Anta's father and their wives and children were also captured and pushed into the center of the village with the other victims.

The soldiers searched the family compounds, pillaging objects of value and destroying anything impeding their progress. It was late morning before the looting ended and the captives were marched away. Behind them, the signs of violence were everywhere beneath the smoke rising from fires set by the looters. Bodies of men lay where they were shot by the intruders. This would be Anta's last memory of her home of thirteen years.

The captives were forced to march south and west toward Rufisque. The column grew longer as it progressed, joined by captives from the slave villages nearby. Anta's father and his brothers had owned numerous slaves. Some had worked as domestic servants in the family compound, pounding millet kernels to prepare the family meals, fetching water from the well, and performing other menial tasks. Most lived in detached agricultural villages and worked the fields of their owners.

Purchased at markets or captured in warfare, slaves of the Wolof were generally from the Bambara states or from other nations located to the east.

Anta had grown up in a highly stratified society of inherited classes of nobles, free farmers, and slaves.

Although it may not have been apparent to her captors as they traversed the sandy roads that day, Anta and her mother were both daughters of distinguished Wolof families. From her father, Anta inherited the *Ndiaye* name which descended from the legendary *Njaajaan Njaay*, the founder of the Jolof Empire. From her mother, she inherited the name *Majigeen*, a lineage which had also produced two *Burba Jolofs* (rulers).

Anta knew that she descended from two proud and noble families. For generations they had been free farmers who prized their independence and social standing, the owners of slaves and land and cattle. Each *Burba Jolof* had come from one of the hundreds of heads of family in either the *Ndiaye* or *Majigeen* lineage. Anta's sudden loss of freedom was both a painful and humiliating experience.

The route from Jolof to Rufisque led through Kajoor and numerous rural villages. The pace of the marchers grew slower in the monotonous and exhausting days that followed. Weakened by the meager rations of food and water, the marchers were unable to respond to the cruel "hurry-up" prods from their captors. Some died enroute, already weakened by prior sickness or by wounds received in the fighting. The warriors claimed dozens of the captives as their reward for fighting and left them in their home villages. They would either be incorporated as wives or become field laborers.

The column that entered Rufisque with Anta in its ranks brought looks of surprise from the traders and townspeople who crowded to watch the weary marchers pass by. This "coffle" had more females than males. Most slave convoys had two or three males for every female in its ranks, reflecting buyer preferences for strong workers in the Americas, as well as the African practice of incorporating women into the lineages of the warriors. Only during major wars between nations, or when severe famines threatened, did the convoys include substantial numbers of women.

It was even more rare to see Wolof—of whatever gender—enslaved and brought to the coast. Located near the European trading posts, the Wolof had expanded production of grains and other foodstuffs to sell to the ship captains. For decades they had raided and traded to obtain other Africans as laborers for their prospering enterprises.

But these were unusual times. Ndella's warriors had crushed Muslim rebels in Kajoor and exported large numbers of them. When the wars

widened beyond the boundaries of Kajoor, Ndella's soldiers brought unfortunate victims from Jolof, even Fulbe from Fuuta Toro, to the market at Rufisque. European posts at Goree and St. Louis filled with men and women captured in the battles. Anta and her family were the unfortunate victims of fate and war.

At Rufisque, Anta's "coffle" was taken to the central market where buyers walked among them, judging their strength and health. The buyers were from Goree, often the children or grandchildren of European fathers and Wolof mothers who worked as middle-men in the trade in human flesh. Powerless to do more than resent the way the men felt her body and looked into her mouth, Anta drew the attention of several buyers.

One merchant returned with the agent representing Ndella, who controlled all commerce at Rufisque. A price was agreed upon and Anta was led toward several other captives grouped on the side. Throughout the day other men and women were led away from the ongoing haggling and pushed toward Anta's group.

Late that afternoon Anta's group was placed in the long, narrow canoes used by the traders from Goree. The oarsmen pushed quickly into the harbor waters and rowed offshore, paddling west, skirting the shore enroute to a rocky island tucked under the tip of Cape Vert. As they drew near the island, Anta could see the snugly sheltered harbor on the shore facing the mainland.

It was a narrow island only a few hundred yards wide and less than a mile long with steep cliffs facing the open ocean. Up a slight incline from the shore where the canoes beached, Anta could see an imposing two-story building flanked by several long and narrow one-story structures. Anta was led toward one of the narrow buildings with a single door permitting access from the land side. While the door was open she could see a low-ceiling room with chains and manacles lining the dank walls. There were no windows. Once the door closed she could only grope in the darkness, waiting for her eyes to adjust.

Anta lost track of days and nights in the dark period that followed. Light came into the prison only when guards brought food and water or when the captives were led out to parade before European buyers. She was taken out only once. The bidding was spirited and quickly ended. She was led back into the darkness to wait until her new owner had purchased enough Africans to fill the cargo space of his ship.

Days later, Anta, a thirteen-year-old Muslim girl from Jolof, emerged from a hidden water-side door, shielding her eyes from the bright sunlight as she descended the hillside toward the long canoes tied at the wharf. Riding at anchor offshore was a European ship waiting to load its human cargo. Barrels of water and food, huge iron cooking pots and other items had already been packed in the crowded hold beneath the deck. Wooden half-bunks protruded from the sides, three feet below the decks. On these and on the planks below, Anta and her shipmates would be packed.

Anta boarded a Danish ship, the *Sally*, in May 1806. Crowded below the deck into the spaces beside her were nearly 150 men and women, boys and girls. She recognized some of them and was able to speak to them in her language, a source of comfort in the terror-filled days ahead.

No one recorded Anta Majigeen Ndiaye's thoughts when she was forced below deck sensing that she would never see her homeland again. Only a few weeks before she had been a teenage girl safe in the loving arms of family. When the anchor was hauled in and the sails raised to catch the easterly winds, Anta was carried away from everything that had given her comfort and identity, away from homeland and family, toward a new land and a new life.

II

Havana

In Cuba the demand for Africans was high in 1806. Huge sugar plantations had opened in the rural provinces following the collapse of exports from Haiti during the rebellion that drove European slaveowners from that island between 1789 and 1803. Profits were high and planters clamored for more and more African laborers. Other nations were moving toward abolition of the Atlantic slave trade, England in 1807 and the United States in 1808, but in Cuba the demand for Africans was insatiable. Ship captains knew the old Cuban saying—"sugar is made with blood"—was an expression of truth. With death rates in sugar production certain to continue high, the African traders were assured of a profitable market as long as sugar and slavery were inseparable in Cuba.

It was that promise of profit that brought Captain Gisolfso and the *Sally* to Havana in July 1806, flying the flag of Denmark. Gisolfso and the *Sally* had been in Havana several times before, but never with a cargo of more females than males. Normally, the ratio had been two males to every female. On this voyage the *Sally* carried 120 Africans, 99 of whom were women—better than an 80 percent ratio. Twenty-two of the females were young teenagers.

Prodded by the rough men who had been her guards for six weeks, Anta Majigeen Ndiaye moved slowly down the gangplank of the *Sally* and along the dock. Merchants at the waterfront had been watching the ship for days, aware that it was filled with "bozales," their word for new, or unacculturated, Africans.

Anta was weak and feverish, suffering from the effects of dehydration. She had been confined below deck with temperatures on some days ranging as high as 120 degrees, and limited to one pint of water a day. Most of Anta's shipmates suffered from dehydration. Others were hit by dysentery. The vomit and stench had been debilitating. Those who had died during the crossing were dumped into the ocean without ceremony. Relief came only during cooler days at sea and during brief exercise periods on deck.

Cuban doctors gave Anta and her shipmates a perfunctory medical inspection soon after the ship anchored and ordered a brief quarantine

period as precaution against epidemic diseases. During these immobile days crew members began preparing the Africans for sale. Fresh vegetables and fruits were added to their diets and they were bathed and their skin oiled and made shiny for the buyer inspections. Cuban planters were unlikely to pay high prices for "bozales" who appeared weak and unhealthy.

The market was the center of commerce for Spain's colonies in the Americas. Buyers crowded the Havana market looking for lumber and salt fish from New England, meats and grain from other American states, cloth and manufactured goods from England, and slaves from Africa. There were merchants from France and Norway, the Caribbean islands and South American nations. Ships departed daily loaded with sugar, rum, pork, and African slaves.

On the day that Anta reached the bustling Havana market, a merchant from Spanish East Florida was buying molasses and rum for resale in North America. A slave trader himself (he had sailed into Havana in 1802 with 250 Africans), and the owner of a plantation, Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr., could not help noticing the tall Wolof girl with shiny black skin among the hundreds of Africans for sale. Kingsley was the high bidder that day; he purchased the teenage beauty named Anta Majigeen Ndiaye.

Kingsley and his young Wolof slave remained in Havana for three months. He had other business to transact and had to await the return of his ship from the Danish West Indies. When the *Esther* returned in October with Captain Henry Wright at the helm, Kingsley had it loaded with merchant goods and some special items. The departure invoice listed four hogsheads of molasses, twenty eight half pipes and twelve whole pipes of rum, and "tres negras bozales" (three black African females). One of the "negras bozales" was Anta.

The *Esther* debarked October 10, 1806. Fourteen days later it anchored off St. Augustine, Florida. Kingsley and Wright rowed ashore to declare the contents of their cargo and to register three new residents of the province.

On October 25th, the *Esther* sailed north to the St. Johns River and turned inland. From the deck Anta could see miles of sandy beaches and huge expanses of marsh grasses, occasional fields of corn and cotton and plantation houses, but settlements were widely scattered. The most common sight was pine forest, with occasional oak hammocks and stretches of cypress and bay trees. There were no rocky outcroppings like she had seen off the Senegal coast, and only rarely were there hills.

The schooner came to anchor at Doctor's Lake, an inlet to the west of the St. Johns River forty miles from its mouth. Wright maneuvered the ship toward a wharf where black men waited to secure it to the pilings. Adjacent to the dock men were working on what appeared to be a ship like the one Anta arrived on, and beyond lay agricultural fields and trees like she had seen at Goree and Havana, with green leaves and orange fruits attached.

Once again, Anta walked down a ship's gangplank, this time to what Kingsley had told her would be her new home. Familiar with the Wolof language from his days in Africa purchasing slaves, Kingsley was able to communicate with Anta during their days together in Havana and aboard the *Esther*. When they reached the sandy soil beyond the wharf, Kingsley directed Anta beyond the wooden houses of the slave quarters, to the plantation dwelling house where they were to live, together. As Kingsley would later say, he and Anta had been married according to "her native African custom." Already, the young girl from Jolof was carrying Kingsley's child.

For the remaining thirty-seven years of his life, Kingsley would always refer to Anta as his wife. He would call her Anna and live openly with her and their mulatto children. She would call herself Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley, in recognition of her marital status, but also in memory of her mother and father and Africa.

III

Laurel Grove

Given the traumatic events of her thirteenth year, Anna Madgigine Jai had little choice but to mature rapidly in the months ahead. At the age that Wolof girls were only beginning to put aside the games and thoughts of childhood to learn the first lessons of womanhood from their mothers, Anna had been torn from parents and homeland and sold across the ocean as a slave. Still in her thirteenth year, she had become the wife of a white plantation owner in Florida. And she was pregnant.

In the months before the birth of her first child, Anna became the household manager at Laurel Grove, in charge of all activities related to life in the owner's housing complex. Eventually, she expanded that role to assume supervisory responsibilities for the health of the labor force, and managed the plantation on occasions when her husband was absent.

Anna's orientation to life at Laurel Grove was made easier by the ways in which it reminded her of Jolof. With the exception of her husband and occasional craftsmen hired to work at the shipyards on Doctor's Lake, nearly everyone was from Africa. African men even performed the skilled labor tasks at the carpentry and blacksmith shops. When Anna watched them at work she was reminded of the slaves her father had owned who wove cloth for her village in Senegal.

The more than 100 workers who lived in the rows of wooden houses in the slave quarters came from several West African nations and from East Africa in the vicinity of Zanzibar. Their languages and cultures were remarkably diverse and yet they worked and lived together and were creating a medium of communication and a creole culture.

Two of the field laborers, Jacob and Camilla, lived in the quarters with their son Jim. Jacob was from the Ibo nation of Nigeria, Camilla was a SuSu from Rio Pongo River on the Guinea Coast. Jim was born at Laurel Grove.

Jack and Tamassa were from East Africa, a nation Kingsley called "Zinguiara." Jack was one of the plantation carpenters. In 1812, he and

Tamassa were the parents of four children: Ben, M'toto, Molly and Rose, all born at Laurel Grove.

Kingsley's slave families were housed in separate quarters at Laurel Grove and at a nearby subdivision called Springfield. Dwelling houses, slave quarters, barns for cotton gins and bales of cotton and for horses and mules, poultry coops, cart houses, carpentry shops, mill houses, and corn and pea cribs were found at each location. The citrus grove had 760 Mandarin orange trees, surrounded by a picket fence and a 2,000 foot hedge of bearing orange trees.

Abraham Hannahan Kingsley was the general manager of all planting activities. He was a mulatto slave born in Charleston and reared in the household of Kingsley's father, a Quaker merchant in that city. Abraham had been deeded to Zephaniah, Jr., who brought him to East Florida in 1804. In consultation with trusted slave "drivers," Abraham assigned the daily work tasks and watched to see that they were completed.

An African named Peter was in charge at Springfield, and was second in command under Abraham. Kingsley called Peter a "mechanic and valuable manager" worth at least \$1,000 in 1812. The workers under Peter's direction produced 800 bushels of corn and 400 bushels of field peas in a year, in addition to caring for poultry, hogs and cattle. Peter was also in charge of the mill house.

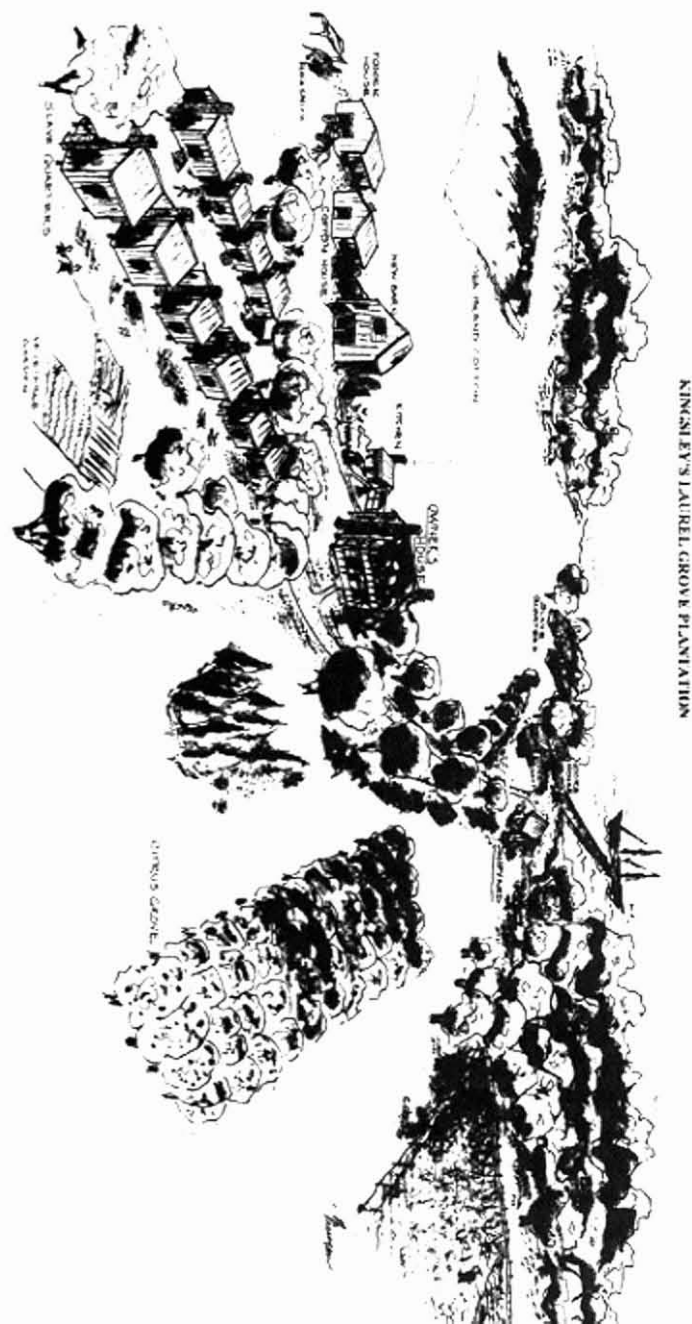
On the sandy soils nearby were 200 acres of cleared land planted in Sea Island cotton. Kingsley also maintained several large fields of potatoes, corn and beans to feed his workers throughout the year. Each slave family was assigned plots of land to plant their own corn and vegetable gardens.

Only a small portion of Laurel Grove had been cleared when Anna first toured the premises. Huge reserves of pine forests and wetlands were available for future expansion.

The size and complexity of her husband's operation surprised Anna when she first arrived in Florida. In addition to the planting activities and the shipyard and cotton gins, her husband kept a store stocked with tools and other items for trade with families and planters in the surrounding area. Kingsley's enterprise was far more elaborate than any of the slave villages Anna had seen in Jolof.

One of the African women transported with Anna from Goree to Havana on the *Sally*, and later from Havana to East Florida on the *Esther*, was also from Jolof. As "shipmates" in such a traumatic experience as the passage from Africa to Florida, Anna and Sophie Chidigine formed bonds

An artist's conception of Laurel Grove Plantation, 1812
Sketch by Nancy Freeman



that functioned as kinship ties in later years. The two Jolof women were able to talk about their homeland in the Wolof language they shared.

Sophie became the wife of Abraham Hannahan Kingsley, the plantation manager. The lives of Zephaniah and Abraham, Anna and Sophie, would remain intertwined for decades.

In the months after her arrival at Laurel Grove, Anna met other plantation owners who had African wives. John Fraser was married to Phenda, an African woman from the Rio Pongas River on the west coast of Africa. Fraser owned a "factory" on the Rio Pongas, a fortified holding pen for slaves purchased from convoys of Africans who reached the coast from paths deep in the interior of Guinea. Fraser then sent the Africans to slave markets in the Americas aboard his own ships. He also brought 370 Africans to cotton and rice plantations he owned in Florida. Fraser settled in East Florida after the United States outlawed importation of slaves in 1808. His wife and children remained in Africa.

Anna also met Molly Erwin, the African wife of James Erwin, who worked fifty slaves on his rice plantation on the St. Marys River. She later came to know the two wives and children of George Clarke, an important official with the Spanish government of East Florida. Francis Richard, Francisco Xavier Sanchez and several other men in Florida had black wives or mistresses and raised their interracial children in familial bonds.

Men like Kingsley, Clarke and Richard saw in Florida's climate, soil and waterways the opportunity to become rich planters. They were also major slave owners who believed that only through slavery could they obtain the workers necessary for their prosperity. Yet they felt race did not automatically and permanently consign persons to either slavery or freedom. According to Kingsley, "color ought not be the badge of degradation. The only distinction should be between slave and free, not between white and colored."

He justified enslaving Africans by claiming they were more suited to work in the heat of the Florida sun than their pale European counterparts. "Nature," he wrote, "has not fitted a white complexion for hard work in the sun, as it is evident that the darkness of complexion here is a measure of capacity for endurance of labor." In Kingsley's opinion, whites had two alternatives in Florida: either abandon the land or employ large numbers of black slaves.

Kingsley chose to employ black slaves, but with this choice came the possibility that his laborers might run away or violently reject their

bondage. He advocated humane treatment and encouraged slaves to live in family units and perpetuate their African customs. But more was needed to ensure the personal safety of the white patriarchs. Kingsley called for liberal manumission laws and policies which could convince "the free colored population to be attached to good order and have a friendly feeling towards the white population." Men like Abraham Hannahan who had talent and leadership ability should be freed and given personal and property rights and encouraged to join with white slaveowners. Together, they could control the much larger group of black laborers who created the riches that justified the overall system. Kingsley freed Hannahan in 1811.

The relationship between Anna and Zephaniah was open and familial and would continue so for nearly forty years. Kingsley always acknowledged Anna as his wife and praised her "truth, honor, integrity, moral conduct and good sense," but he continued to keep other slave mistresses who also gave birth to his children. Anna was the senior figure, carrying the authority of the recognized first wife in a polygamous household, a familiar circumstance in her African homeland but controversial in Florida. Reared in Africa in a polygamous family, Anna would have been familiar with co-wife relationships, tolerant of them, and cooperative with the other women.

White men and women who visited Laurel Grove were not always aware of the other women. Those who met Anna when she first arrived in Florida recognized her special relationship and concluded that she was a free woman. John M. Bowden testified in the 1830s that he had known Anna "from the time she first came into the country and she was always called and considered a free person of color."

And yet, Anna was legally a slave. Kingsley was thirty years her senior, engaged in a dangerous life as ship captain and slave plantation owner. Were his ship to go down during one of his Caribbean voyages, Anna would have appeared on a subsequent property inventory, and—since he had no relatives living in Florida—she would have been sold as a slave at public auction.

Kingsley once commented that he was unsure how his marriage to Anna would be considered under the law. They were married "in a foreign land," Kingsley said, where the ceremony was "celebrated and solemnized by her native African custom, altho' never celebrated according to the forms of Christian usage." But there was never any doubt about her status with Kingsley. He said late in life: "She has always been respected as my

wife and as such I acknowledge her, nor do I think that her truth, honor, integrity, moral conduct or good sense will lose in comparison with anyone."

Kingsley formally emancipated Anna on March 4, 1811. At age 18, Anna gained her freedom. On the manumission document Kingsley wrote:

"Let it be known that I...possessed as a slave a black woman called Anna, around eighteen years of age, bought as a bozal in the port of Havana from a slave cargo, who with the permission of the government was introduced here; the said black woman has given birth to three mulatto children: George, about 3 years 9 months, Martha, 20 months old; and Mary, one month old. And regarding the good qualities shown by the said black woman, the nicety and fidelity which she has shown me, and for other reasons, I have resolved to set her free...and the same to her three children."

IV

Mandarin

In March 1811, away from her homeland fewer than five years, Anna Kingsley became a free woman again. She had three children who shared her freedom, and she was only eighteen-years-old. Events in her life had moved with amazing rapidity.

After emancipation Anna remained at Laurel Grove as the wife of Zephaniah Kingsley and the manager of his household. Abraham Hannahan, who had been emancipated with Anna and her children, also continued in his old role as plantation manager. Given land at Laurel Grove, Hannahan built a home and barn and expanded his responsibilities by assuming some of the trading duties for Kingsley's store. During Abraham's travels on the St. Johns River selling goods to plantations and to Seminole Indians, Anna assumed more responsibilities at Laurel Grove. Kingsley later said her managerial abilities rivaled his own.

Having responsible management at Laurel Grove was of major significance because Kingsley was seldom in residence. For years he had relied on slaves to manage while he continued to captain schooners in the West Indies trade. During the years 1802-1817 he was the owner and captain of at least eight ships. He hired several other captains to keep his convoy in regular service to ports in Cuba, Puerto Rico, St. Thomas, and Jamaica in the West Indies, and to Savannah, Charleston, Wilmington, New York, and Fernandina. When Kingsley was commanding the ship, he sailed with an all black crew. Even his sailors were slaves.

By 1811 Kingsley was a rich man. He owned Drayton Island, a large plantation at Lake George on the St. Johns River, in addition to Laurel Grove. His Caribbean and Florida merchant operations were prospering. Given her husband's affluence, it is unlikely that lack of material comforts would have led Anna to make significant changes in her life. And yet, in 1812, she moved away from Laurel Grove.

Throughout her adult years Anna proved to be an independent and capable woman, concerned about business investments and actively involved in management of her family's financial affairs. Perhaps it was that independence that prompted her to strike out on her own. She would

continue her relationship with Zephaniah Kingsley in the years ahead, but in 1812 she moved across the St. Johns River and established a homestead of her own.

In Mandarin, on five acres granted to her by the Spanish government, Anna built a home and farm. The home was a substantial structure built of stone on the first floor and hewn logs on the second. The lower floor served as a store house for 600 bushels of corn in 1813, as well as for nails, spikes, chains, axes and other farming tools. Anna, George, Martha, and Mary lived in the comfortably furnished second story of the building. Outside were farm animals and cleared fields and a poultry yard praised by her neighbors as "the greatest in the county."

Also in the compound were houses for Anna's twelve slaves. Although a former slave, she had become the owner of human property soon after being emancipated. Anna's roots and conceptions of social relationships were formed in a society where slavery had been integral to the social fabric for centuries.

Anna's neighbors would not have thought it unusual that she owned slaves; they would have known other free persons of color who had become slave owners after being emancipated. Spanish law viewed slaves as persons created by God and endowed with a soul and a moral personality, the unfortunate victims of fate or war. They had rights under Spanish law which were enforced by the courts, including the sanctity of marriage and the right to be freed for meritorious acts. They were also permitted to work extra jobs to earn money to purchase their own freedom. The unfree status of Spanish slaves was neither preordained nor indelibly permanent.

Free blacks could be found working in St. Augustine as skilled craftsmen and wage laborers. Some were homeowners. Several free blacks owned farms and slaves outside St. Augustine. Over the years free black militia companies provided invaluable defense for the province. It was not unusual for the Spanish colonial government to recognize Anna Kingsley's freedom, nor to grant her land and permit her to own slaves.

If dignity and independence are words which describe Anna's character, then tragedy and perseverance characterize her life. While Anna supervised her slaves as they established a successful farmstead, an invasion of East Florida was being planned that would threaten all she had achieved, including her freedom.

Soon after Spain returned to its former East Florida colony in 1784, land hungry settlers in Georgia and South Carolina plotted with dissident Spanish subjects to foment rebellion and attach Florida to the United States. Beset by troubles at home and rebellions in its South American colonies, Spain was unable to effectively govern Florida. Without free colored militia forces and Seminole Indian allies, it is doubtful that Spanish rule could have survived the several insurrections that occurred in East Florida between 1784 and 1812.

In the same year that Anna established her Mandarin farmstead, another combination invasion/rebellion broke out, called by its leaders a "Patriot Rebellion." Instigated and financed covertly by the President of the United States, James Madison, and his Secretary of State, James Monroe, and supported by American soldiers and sailors who crossed East Florida's northern border as "advisors" to the insurgents, the Patriots took Fernandina and moved south quickly to control the St. Johns River and begin a siege outside St. Augustine's defense lines. In the early months of the insurrection, Anna's home was untouched by the Patriots.

Zephaniah was abducted in the first days of the invasion and held hostage until he signed a pledge of support for the rebels. Freed after signing, Kingsley returned to Laurel Grove and fortified a number of his buildings. What he had not anticipated was an attack by the Seminole Indians.

In July of 1812, Spanish Governor Sebastian Kindelan faced the possibility of surrender if food supplies could not be found for the St. Augustine population. He ordered his Seminole allies to attack the outlying settlements, assuming that many of the rebels would be forced to leave the siege lines to defend their homes and families. The strategy worked, although it devastated the previously thriving plantations. For Kingsley it meant the destruction of most of Laurel Grove and the loss of forty-one of his valuable Africans to the Seminole raiders.

The Patriots withdrew to Camp New Hope at Goodby's Creek on the St. Johns River. The move prompted U.S. forces to evacuate the province. Widespread looting and burning followed, as the Patriot affair turned into guerrilla warfare and border marauding.

Anna had far more to fear than the destruction of her property. She knew that if she and her family were captured by the marauders they would surely be taken to Georgia to be sold as slaves. Hundreds of slaves and free blacks had been captured and driven north in the previous months of fighting. To be captured and driven in a slave coffin again, this time with

her children sharing the fate of enslavement, was an unthinkable horror to Anna.

Anna kept close watch on the movements of the Spanish gunboats on the St. Johns River. In the event of an attack by the rebels, she and her family could either escape to the woods and swamps, a perilous venture given the ages of her children, or seek shelter on the Spanish gunboats.

That attack came in November 1813. It was led by Colonel Samuel Alexander, a notorious plunderer and slave catcher from Georgia. Crewmen on the Spanish gunboats on the river saw the rebels as they approached Anna's farm. When they were unable to stop their progress, the gunboat commander met with Anna in her poultry yard, surrounded by her children and twelve slaves. The meeting was brief. Anna had already chosen a course of action.

Anna and her slaves emptied the houses quickly, carrying the furnishings to a hiding spot in the woods nearby. She then sent her children with her slaves to a hiding spot in the woods by the shoreline.

Determined and courageous, Anna had decided she would deny Alexander and his men the opportunity to turn her home into a fortified blockhouse. Before joining her children, she lit a torch and burned her home and the cabins of her slaves. She then ran through the woods to find her family and safety aboard the gunboat.

The gunboat returned to its command post at San Nicolas, just downriver from the ferry crossing at Cowford. When Thomas Llorente, commander of San Nicolas, learned of Anna's heroic actions he wrote to his superiors in St. Augustine:

Anna M. Kingsley deserves any favor the governor can grant her. Rather than afford shelter and provisions to the enemies of His Majesty...[she] burned it all up and remained unsheltered from the weather; the royal order provides rewards for such services.

Anna would later receive a 305-acre land grant as compensation for her losses and for her heroic contribution to defense of the province.

Shortly after Anna arrived at San Nicolas, she was joined by Zephaniah Kingsley, whose remaining buildings at Laurel Grove were destroyed by the rebels in December. Anna and Zephaniah stayed at San Nicolas until January 1814, when their remaining property and slaves were rafted to Fernandina. They stayed in that town only until the outlying plantations were again secure from marauders. Their main home for the next twenty-three years would be Fort George Island, located near the entrance to the St. Johns River.

V

Fort George Island

Early in March 1814, Anna and Zephaniah Kingsley sailed from Fernandina to their new home at Fort George Island. Accompanied by their three children, George, Martha and Mary, and followed by a flotilla of rafts carrying slaves and plantation equipment, the Kingsley's travelled south via the inland waterway. From the deep water channels west of Amelia Island, Anna saw the ruins of plantation buildings left by the Patriots as they withdrew. At the southern tip of Amelia the vessels crossed Nassau Sound and continued down the inland waterway along the western shore of Big Talbot Island. Anna could see only two homesteads along the shore, one on the northern point overlooking Nassau Sound, and another just south of midpoint on the island. The citrus groves and buildings showed the revenge marks of the failed rebels.

As the ship approached the southern point of the island, the anxious children ran to the forward deck rail to look across the inlet that separated Talbot from Fort George Island. Vast fields of marshgrass extended into the waterway from both islands, touching the shorelines where deep green trees reached to the water's edge.

Looking ahead from the rail the children could see a large two-story white house with a long brick walkway leading to a wharf on Fort George Inlet. The observation deck on the rooftop captured their attention. Facing due east they could see the Atlantic Ocean, their view unimpeded by grasses or trees.

At the homesite the signs of violence were everywhere. Damage to the house was extensive—even the locks from the doors had been stolen. Wooden buildings that had once been home to more than 200 slaves stood only as charred ruins. With the exception of the owner's quarters, not a single building had been spared. The magnitude of the work ahead was sobering.

Hard scrubbing and repair by the carpenters brought the dwelling into a livable state before nightfall. Shelters for the slaves were begun immediately using building materials brought with the flotilla from Fernandina. Abraham Hannahan supervised the construction, his task made

more difficult by the loss of Jack and M'Sooma, two African carpenters abducted by Indian raiders during the 1812 fighting at Laurel Grove. Women gathered palmetto fronds to fashion African-style thatch roofs for temporary quarters.

Once the cabins were built, Kingsley sent his laborers into weed-filled fields to begin preparations for planting. Clearing and preparing the rows for corn, beans, potatoes and cotton lasted two months, followed by two weeks of planting. Delayed by the interlude at Fernandina, and short of hands after the 1812 attacks on Laurel Grove which claimed more than forty of Kingsley's Africans, planting activities were behind schedule for 1814.

Kingsley followed a "task" system of planting. Drivers assigned each laborer a task sufficient to occupy his time from dawn until mid-afternoon Monday through Friday, and until noon on Saturday. After completing the task, each slave was at liberty to work his or her own garden or to supplement the weekly provisions ration supplied by the owner by fishing or hunting.

The only break from the routine was the holiday Kingsley gave his slaves to permit them to plant corn and fresh vegetables in their personal garden plots. Early in October another day would be set aside to permit the workers to harvest their crops.

In the months and years ahead the Kingsley slaves restored Fort George Island's cotton and provisions fields to profitability, and added citrus groves and cane fields comparable to those they had tended at Laurel Grove. Life in the slave quarters continued to be family based with slaves permitted to work for themselves when their tasks were completed. Kingsley also permitted his laborers to purchase their freedom for one-half their evaluated price.

Anna Kingsley was a partner in the planting process. She checked the health of the workers daily, and filled in as manager during her husband's absences. She also directed the labors of her own slaves, who were quartered with the other workers at Fort George Island.

Anna watched her children grow up on this island. For George, nearly seven years old when the family arrived, there were young friends in the slave quarters to play with, horses to ride, fishing expeditions in the marshes and surf, and an entire island to hunt for small game.

George lived for more than two decades at Fort George Island. He learned from his father and the drivers how to manage plantations for

himself, and in 1831 became the owner of Kingsley Plantation. That same year he married Anatoile Francoise Vauntrauvers and began his own family on the island.

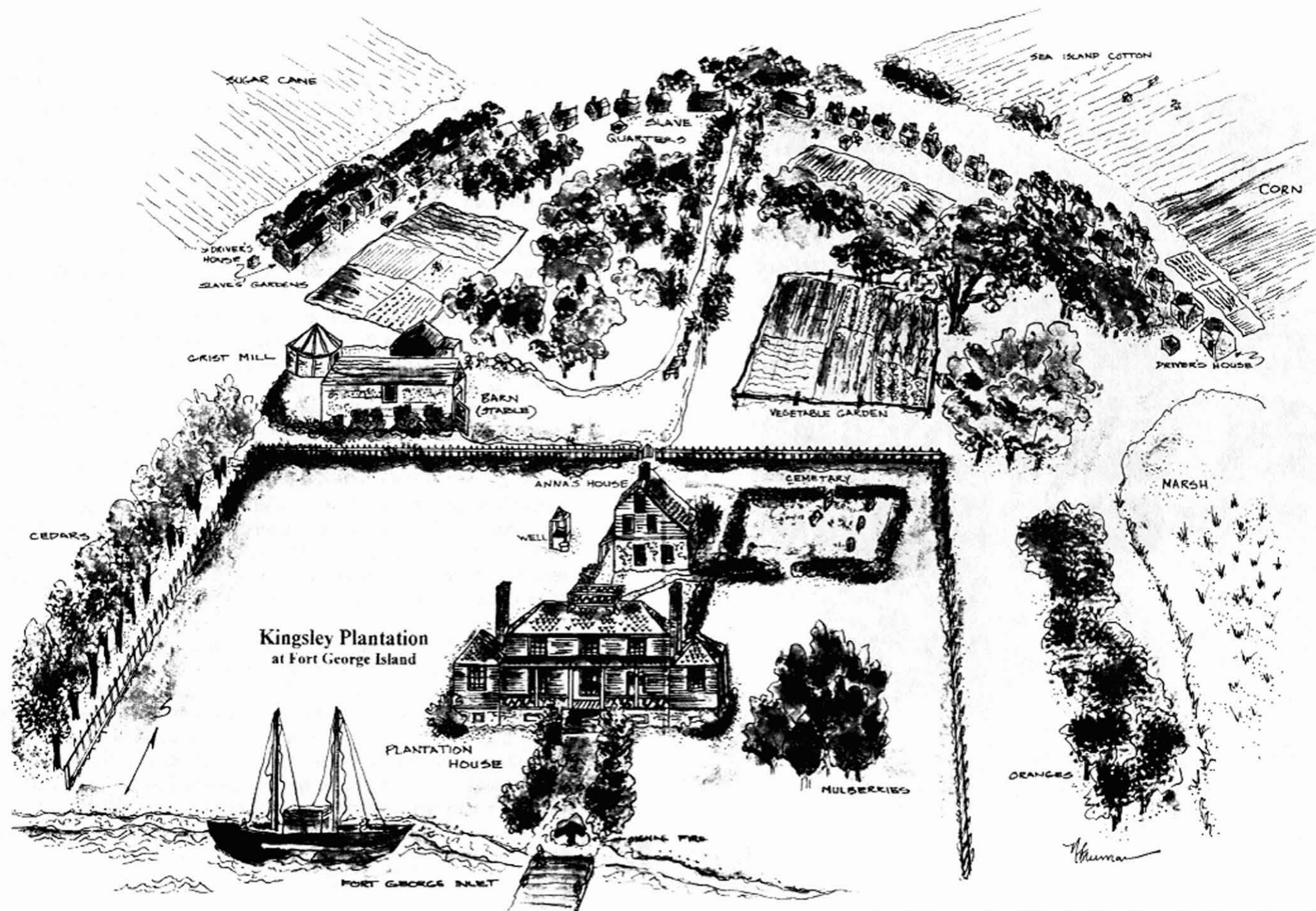
Martha and Mary delighted in trips to Mount Cornelia, the highest point on the island, where they played amidst brightly colored butterflies and wild flowers. From the hill the sisters watched ships approach the mouth of the St. Johns River, and at low-tide looked out on miles of white sandy beaches where numerous aquatic birds gathered. While playing on the hillside the girls identified the many different species of birds that frequented the island.

The huge mounds of oyster shells at the southern tip of the island fascinated the children. Discarded by the Timucuan Indians centuries before, the shell mounds covered areas as large as corn fields, some reaching forty feet high.

There were pony rides south from their dwelling over the dirt road and across the causeway to Pilot Town on neighboring Batten Island. Ships stopped at the wharf to leave mail and packages and occasional visitors, and to load plantation produce. From the wharf the channel pilots rowed out to meet the incoming ships and guide them safely across the sandbars which sometimes blocked entry to the St. Johns River.

Riding toward home the children would hear the rustle of palm fronds as they neared the slave quarters. Many years later, Mary would fondly remember helping her mother and several slaves plant the long rows of palm trees on each side of the road, trees that seemed to replant themselves and live forever. In addition to the beautiful way the palm trees graced the entrance to Kingsley Plantation, Mary loved the way the sound of the palm leaves in the wind always reminded her she was nearing home.

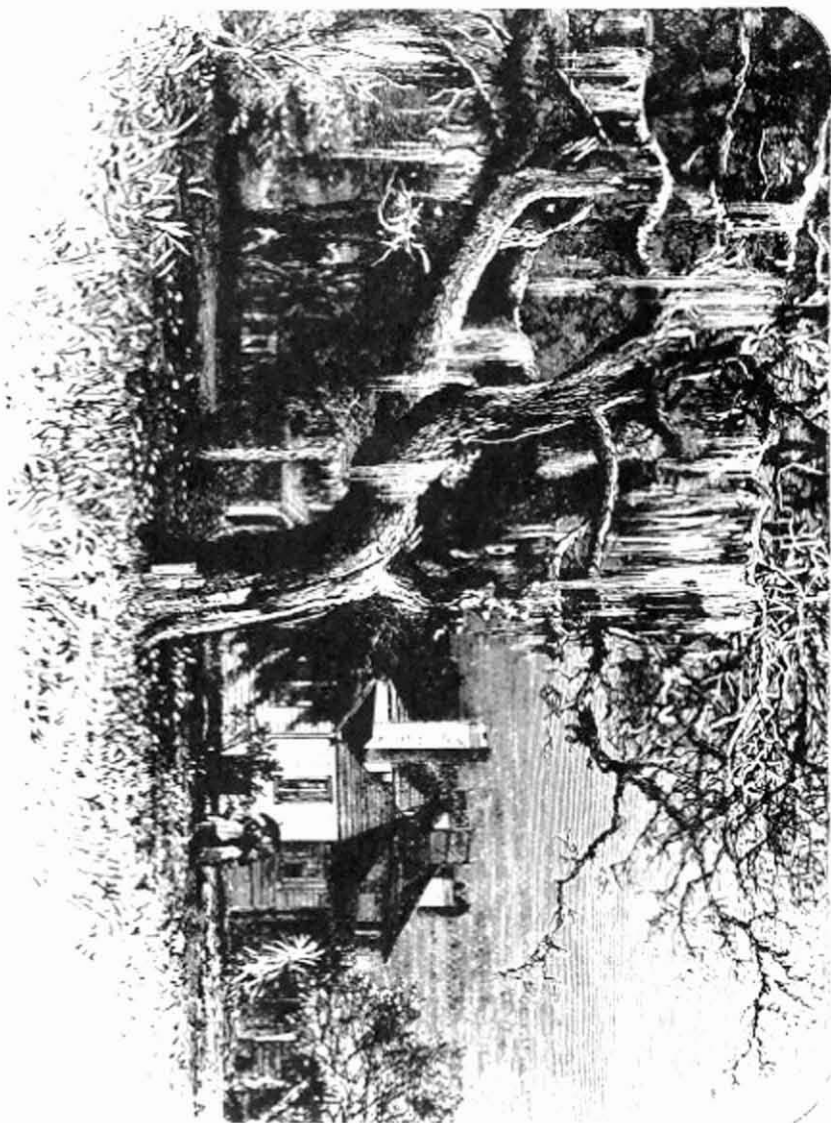
Under Kingsley management the plantation buildings expanded dramatically. Using oyster shells from the abundant mounds on the island, carpenters mixed equal parts shell, lime, sand and water to make a concrete-like material called tabby. Poured into wood-frame molds, the tabby hardened and became exterior walls. With wood beams and rafters attached to the top of the walls, and cedar shingle roofing, the tabby cabins became durable and comfortable quarters for the slaves. Constructed in a semi-circle with larger quarters for the drivers at each end, the cabins of the slave village faced north toward fig trees and wells and the corn and vegetable plots.



An artist's conception of Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island, 1830
Sketch by Nancy Freeman



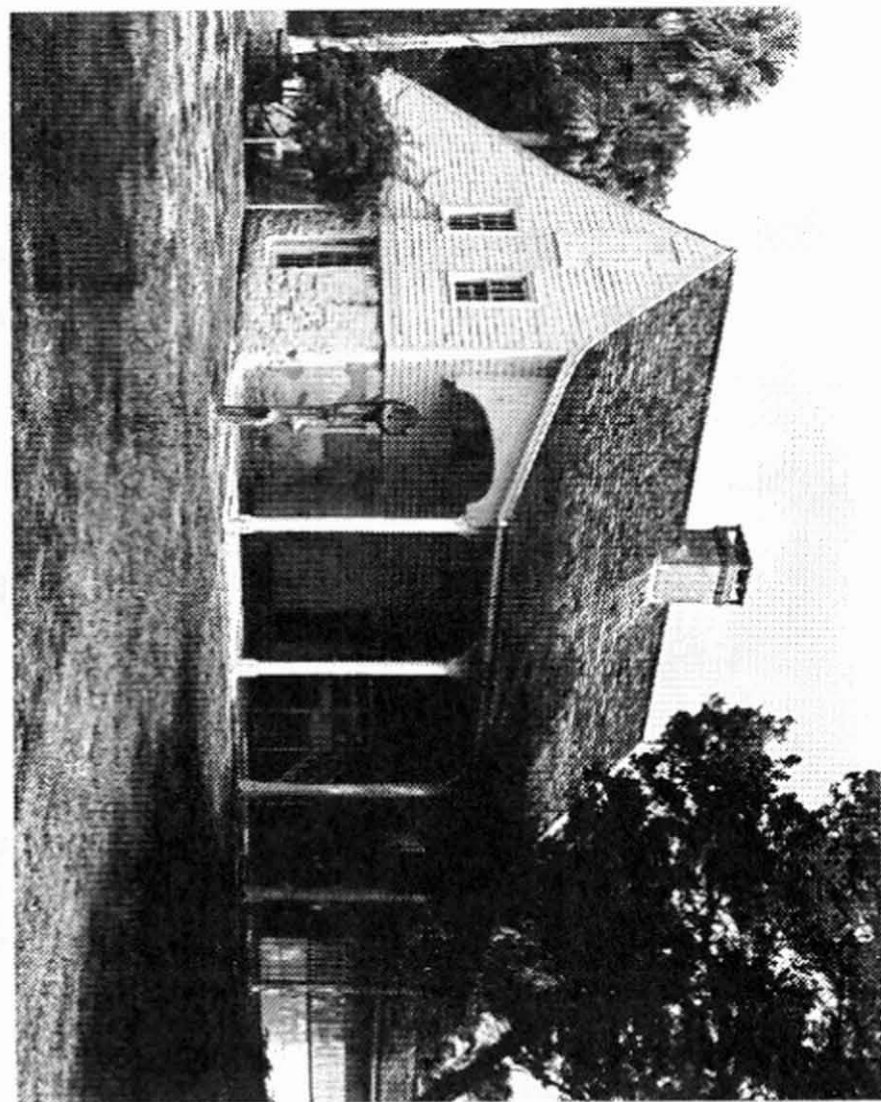
"View from Point Lookout, Fort George Island"
From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (November, 1878)



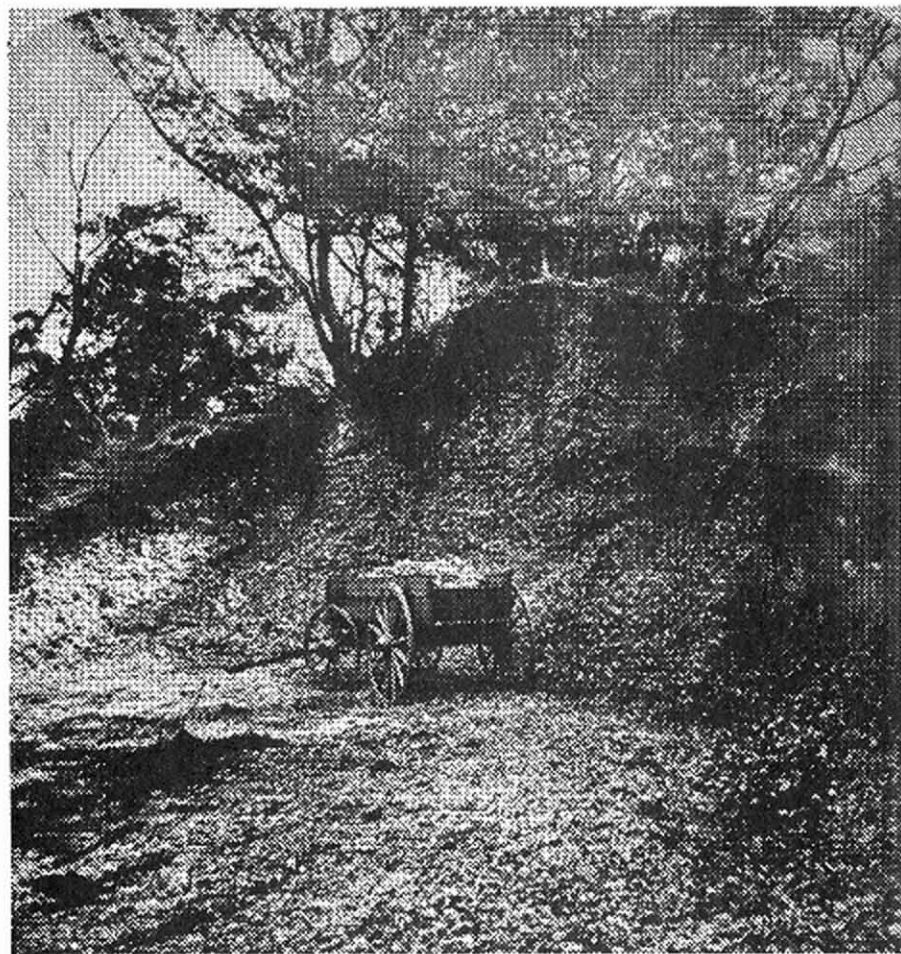
Zephaniah Kingsley's House, Fort George Island
From *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (November, 1878)



Avenue of Palms on Fort George Island, circa 1900
From *Victorian Florida*, Floyd and Marion Rinhart Collection



Anna Kingsley's House on Fort George Island
Photograph by Judy Davis



Shell Mound, Fort George Island
Florida State Archives

Farther north and close to the main house, a two-story tabby building was constructed to stable riding horses and work animals. Known for his fondness for "high-bred white chargers," Kingsley maintained a stable of quality horses.

Anna lived in a separate dwelling connected to Zephaniah's home by a walkway. Built of tabby bricks on the first floor and wood frame above, the "Anna House"—as it would be called for decades—provided the spatial separation for husband and wife that Anna expected based on her African experiences with polygamous families.

Plantation cooks prepared meals in the "Anna House," in the southern half of the first floor where a kitchen and large fireplace and hearth were located. The cooked food was carried to the basement warming kitchen of the main house.

Dinners were served in the "great room" on the first floor of the main house. The long rectangular room with fireplaces at each end and windows looking across an open porch to Fort George Inlet and Talbot Island was a grand setting for family gatherings.

Ten years after beginning life anew at Fort George Island, and thirteen years after the birth of Mary at Laurel Grove, the surprise arrival of a second son brought joy to the Kingsley family. John Maxwell Kingsley was born November 22, 1824. He lived the first thirteen years of his life at Fort George. It was an idyllic setting for a young boy, with citrus groves, agricultural fields, oyster mounds, paths lined by oak trees with Spanish moss draped over the limbs, brightly colored butterflies and wild flowers, and marshes and beaches to call home.

Anna was thirty-one when her fourth and last child was born. Zephaniah was nearly sixty. East Florida had been a Spanish colony when Anna and Zephaniah commenced planting at Fort George; it was a territory of the United States when John Maxwell was born. The change of flags brought stability and security that had been lacking under Spanish rule. Recognizing this, Zephaniah added several new estates to his plantation operations.

Zephaniah was optimistic that the economic future for the Kingsley in Florida was bright, but he also was alarmed by the new system of race relations imported by the Americans. In 1823 he served a term on the Territorial Council, an experience which convinced him that Florida was becoming unsafe for his children.

Kingsley had supported the relatively liberal race laws of Spain that encouraged owners to manumit their slaves and incorporate them into a three-caste society of whites, free people of color, and slaves. But the Americans arriving in the new U.S. territory in record numbers viewed all black people—slave and free alike—as members of an inferior race and unworthy of freedom. The new society would be composed of two-castes only; there would be free whites and enslaved blacks, with no place for free blacks.

Kingsley was a proud father. He wrote that “when conditions are favorable,” mixed-race children “are improved in shape, strength, and beauty.” His children were intelligent and well-educated, yet the new laws categorized them as uncivilized and strictly regulated their activities in fear they might inspire slave rebellions.

Kingsley urged the Territorial Council to pass laws encouraging emancipation. Make allies of free colored people, rather than enemies, he reasoned, and enlist their assistance in controlling the much larger numbers of slaves whose labor was coerced.

But the assembly barred free blacks from entering Florida, limited their rights to assemble, carry firearms, serve on juries, or testify against whites in court proceedings. Town councils taxed free blacks unfairly and empowered sheriffs to impress them for manual labor projects. They could be whipped for misdemeanors, subjected to curfews, even forced back into slavery to satisfy debts or fines.

Two laws affected the Kingsley family directly. The first prohibited inter-racial marriages and made children of mixed-race couples ineligible to inherit their parents’ estates. The second imposed severe penalties on white men found guilty of sexual liaisons with African American women.

In 1829 the assembly moved to curtail manumission by requiring owners to forfeit \$200 for each person emancipated, and to post a security bond as well. Within thirty days the freedman was required to permanently emigrate or be sold back into slavery. Had this law been in effect when Kingsley freed Anna in 1811, he would have been forced to send her and the children away.

The Kingsley family had immunity from some of the new laws, since they had been residents of Spanish Florida and were given special protections under the treaty of cession. But Kingsley could never be sure how the territorial courts would interpret the new laws, and John Maxwell was born after Florida was ceded to the United States.

Wealth and influence could shield the family for a few years, but the future was ominous. Kingsley added a codicil to his will warning his loved ones of the “illiberal and inequitable laws of this territory [which] will not afford to them and to their children that protection and justice [due] in every civilized society to every human being.” Keep a legally executed will at hand, he urged, until they could 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.”

Alarmed by the rising tide of racism in Florida, Kingsley acted to ensure the economic security of his family. Title to Fort George Island and two estates in Putnam and St. Johns County were deeded to George Kingsley and his wife Anatoile. The deed to Fort George provided that Anna “shall possess the use of her house and whatever ground she may desire to plant during her life.” It also stated that “Munsilna McGundo, with her daughter Fatimah shall possess the use of her house and four acres of land—also rations during life....”

Anna was also deeded an 1000-acre estate in St. Johns County. She still owned the 350-acre plot at Dunn’s Creek granted by the Spanish government to compensate for her losses in 1813.

Daughters Martha and Mary received deeds to plantations in the San Jose section of Duval County. At Goodby’s Creek Zephaniah situated Flora Hannahan Kingsley and her son Charles on a 440-acre farm. Flora, the daughter of Abraham Hannahan and Sophie Chidgigine, was another of Zephaniah’s former slaves who became a mistress and mother of his children.

Kingsley made provisions for his family before moving to White Oak Plantation on the St. Marys River in Nassau County. Nearly seventy by then, Kingsley put daily operations at White Oak in the hands of overseers while he resumed his maritime travels.

After voyages to New York and Washington to meet with prominent abolitionists, Kingsley rejoined his family. He brought news of a program initiated by the President of Haiti, Jean Pierre Boyer, to recruit free blacks from North America to restore the prosperity Haiti had known before the slave rebellion of 1789 to 1803. Kingsley knew of the rich agricultural lands in Haiti from a three-year residence there in the 1790s. As the only free black republic in the Western Hemisphere, Haiti beckoned as a sanctuary from the racial turmoil in Florida.

After extensive discussions, the Kingsley family decided to emigrate to the "Island of Liberty." Zephaniah would retain a residence in Florida to supervise the family economic empire.

Leaving Fort George Island in 1837 was painful for Anna Madgigine Jai. She had been there for nearly a quarter-century, longer than she had lived at any single location in her lifetime. She had watched George grow up at Kingsley Plantation, marry there, and become its owner. Her daughters grew from adolescents to mature women during their years at Fort George. Anna chaperoned when young men came to court her daughters and approved of their decisions to marry migrants from the northern states, both white men of Scot descent.

Martha married Oran Baxter, a ship builder and planter. Mary chose John S. Sammis, a planter, sawmill owner, and merchant. Both daughters married stable and prosperous citizens, members of the town's elite.

Anna also arranged the 1829 baptism of John Maxwell on Fort George Island. The former Muslim teenager had become a Catholic during her stay on the St. Johns River, probably converted by a Spanish priest during one of his annual visits to bring the sacraments to residents of the rural settlements. Zephaniah had converted to Catholicism from his parents' Quaker faith at some time prior to taking the oath of loyalty at St. Augustine in 1803.

It was an emotional farewell for Anna. She carried with her fond memories of family happiness, safety and peace. Isolated and secure, Fort George Island had been a place of refuge from the dangers of the Patriot era. But once again the outside world had intruded with threats to the freedom of her family.

At departure she bid farewell to Martha and Mary, who remained in Florida with their husbands. She knew Zephaniah would visit Haiti frequently, but she had no way of knowing if she would again see her daughters, or hold her grandchildren.

VI

Return to the St. Johns River

Zephaniah Kingsley's schooner, the *North Carolina*, sailed from the St. Johns River to Haiti's north shore several times between 1835 and 1837. After learning of Haitian President Boyer's decade-old campaign to revive the island's economy by recruiting free blacks from North America, Kingsley sailed to Haiti in 1835. He anchored at Cabaret Harbor on the north shore and explored the island on horseback. Seventy-years-old at the time, he crossed the mountains to meet with Boyer at the presidential palace.

The rebellion that ended three decades earlier had left people of African descent in freedom and in control of the island, but they had not been able to restore its former prosperity. The years of warfare and the turmoil which followed destroyed a thriving export economy. Few citizens remained who were experienced with plantation management and tropical agriculture.

Eventually, 6,000 free blacks from North America accepted Boyer's challenge, far fewer than he had hoped for. The Kingsleys were included in that number.

Zephaniah learned on his horseback journey that the soils were still rich, and he knew that his son George and many of the Africans who worked his Florida plantations had the agricultural skills Boyer was seeking. He purchased several tracts in what had been the Spanish part of the Island of Hispaniola before the rebellion. The principal site was on the north shore twenty-seven miles east of Puerto Plata. It encompassed Cabaret Harbor, where Kingsley had anchored the *North Carolina*.

In 1836, Zephaniah brought his eldest son and eight of his most experienced workers to begin the colony. The following year Anna and John Maxwell arrived. Eventually, nearly sixty persons arrived, including Flora Hannahan and Sarah Murphy and their families. The others were Kingsley slaves who were given freedom and land after nine years of labor. Profits at the end of each year were divided between the indentured laborers and the Kingsley family.

The estate was profitable. Inland from the beach and harbor, a coastal plain of rich soils supported sugar and cotton production, citrus groves, corn and vegetable gardens. Two creeks wound through the tract. Yasico River was a deep freshwater creek that flowed through heavily timbered mountain hillsides enclosing the coastal plain. Connecting streams reached into rich mahogany and cedar forests and provided the setting for a sawmill. Cabaret Creek fed a deep freshwater lake where George Kingsley located his settlement. Beyond the lake it meandered through orange groves, gardens, a Royal Palm and plantain walk, and meadows and cane fields before merging with the Yasico River and entering the ocean.

After Mayorasgo de Koka was established, Zephaniah wrote:

It is in a fine, rich valley, heavily timbered with mahogany all around; 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 son has laid out good roads, and built bridges and mills; the people are improving, and everything is prosperous.

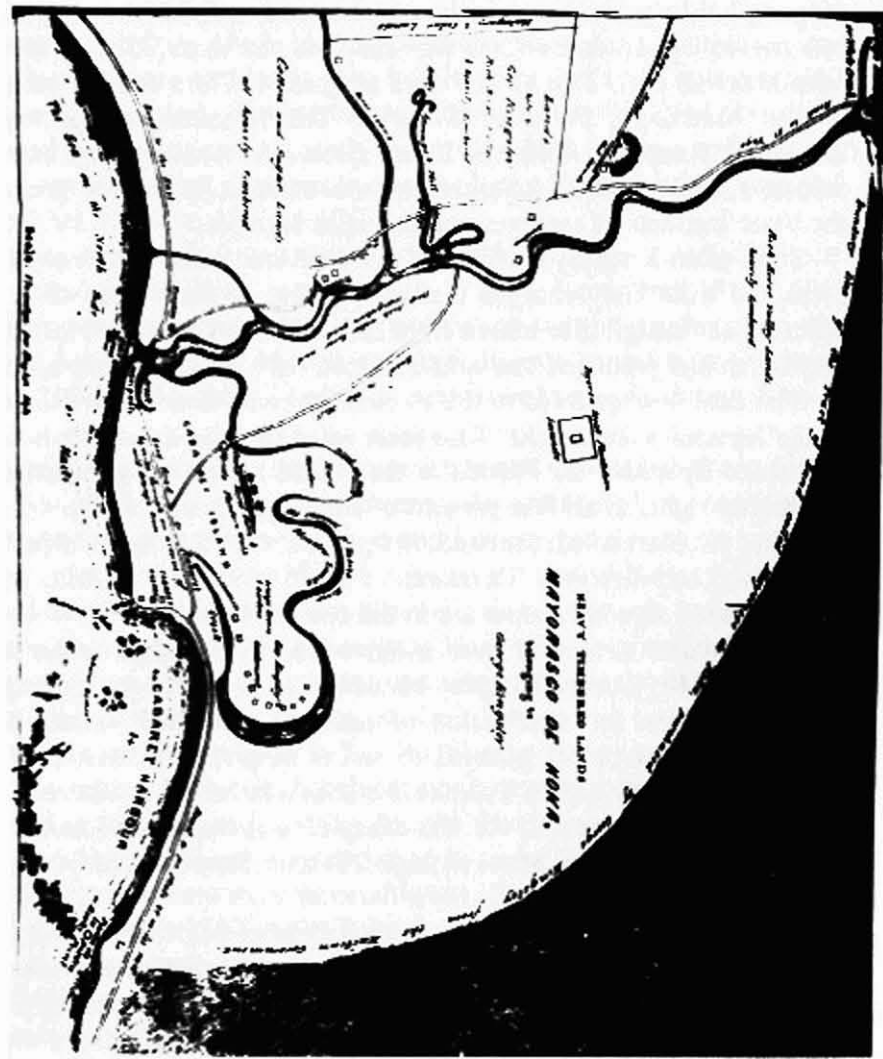
Anna lived in the settlement on Cabaret Creek. She also had a place at Cabaret Village that descendants many generations later would remember in legend as "spreading into the sea, a place where Anna could relax," wearing long cotton gowns and gold jewelry.

Cabaret became Anna's home for the next two decades. She lived in comfort from shares of the proceeds of Mayorasgo de Koka, supplemented with income from rentals of her slaves and lands in Florida. Her son-in-law, John S. Sammis, acted as her agent there.

Zephaniah was a frequent visitor to Cabaret. After selling Fort George Island to his nephew, Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, Zephaniah moved his residence and approximately eighty of his slaves to San Jose Plantation. Another nephew, Charles McNeill, was in charge at San Jose. White Oak Plantation in Nassau County was sold, and Kingsley's other estates were either rented or placed under overseers.

Kingsley departed on his last voyage to Cabaret in May of 1842. He visited Mayorasgo de Koka with Anna and John Maxwell, and George and Anatoile and their children, and spent additional days at Puerta Plata with Flora. Before he departed in early December, Flora gave birth to her fifth child, Roxanne Marguerite Kingsley.

The aging mariner died the following September at age 78. He was in New York when his life ended, preparing to sail to Haiti. A commercial vessel carried the news to Cabaret. Anna had lost her husband of 37 years.



Mayorasgo de Koka, Haiti
Map drawn by Zephaniah Kingsley

Fifty-years old at the time, living a prosperous and tranquil life in Haiti, she would soon make major changes.

Zephaniah Kingsley's will directed his executors to liquidate his property holdings and financial investments and to divide the net proceeds into twelve equal shares. Anna was assigned one share, George four and John Maxwell two. Two shares were assigned to Flora and her sons, and one to Micanopy, the son of Sarah. The remaining share went to Zephaniah's nephew, Kingsley Beatty Gibbs. In contemporary monetary values, Kingsley left an inheritance worth millions, enough to encourage the baser instincts of relatives not named as legatees.

Soon after Kingsley's will was read, several white relatives sued to break the will. They charged that the legatees in Haiti were of African descent and ineligible to inherit from their white father under Florida law. Zephaniah had predicted this would happen only months before his death.

The case was appealed to the Florida Supreme Court where the rights of the legatees were upheld. The court ruled that the Adams-Onís Treaty that ceded Spanish East Florida to the United States had guaranteed full citizenship rights to all free persons of color then in the colony.

After the court ruled, the executors proceeded to distribute the proceeds as Kingsley had directed. Thousands of dollars were paid to Anna and the others, whose signed receipts are in the court file today.

But disputes continued over assignments of individual assets in the estate. In 1846, George Kingsley sailed for Jacksonville to challenge the executor's plans for distribution of lands in the estate. Some of the properties the executors planned to sell at auction had been deeded to George in the early 1830s. Enroute, his ship was caught in a severe storm and George was drowned. He was thirty-nine at the time of death. With George's passing, John Maxwell, age 22, took control of Mayorsago de Koka.

Anna brought suit in 1846 to remove Charles McNeill as overseer of San Jose plantation. She accused him of mismanagement and asked the judge to remove him and rent out the land and slaves to enhance profits. The court ruled against Anna's motion, but there is little doubt that she was a tough-minded businesswoman. From Haiti she directed her attorneys and agents in legal and business affairs, and when necessary she travelled to Florida to represent herself directly.

In 1848 Anna returned to Duval County to visit family and to arrange the baptisms of three grandchildren, Martha Baxter's daughters, Emma

Jane and Julia Catherine, and son, Osmond Edward. She also consulted with Mary's husband, John Sammis, who continued as her agent in Florida. His loyal legal and familial assistance to all the Kingsleys in Haiti was steadfast.

Sometime before 1860, Anna Kingsley returned to Florida to re-establish permanent residency. She had lived in Haiti for twenty years, secure and prosperous. But she had lost Zephaniah in 1843 and George in 1846, and she sensed the approach of her own death. Now a frail woman nearing seventy, Anna returned to the St. Johns River that had been the focus of her life from 1806 to 1837.

Anna's reasons for returning are not entirely clear, especially since racial tensions had been increasing in Florida during the 1850s. Her daughters would certainly have apprised her of hostilities throughout the south as America moved beyond sectional dispute toward open warfare. But the "Island of Liberty" had also experienced tensions during Anna's residence. Haiti's black rulers were driven from the former Spanish part of the island, followed by an independence movement that drove Spain away. And the former prosperous times at Mayorsago de Koka had slipped as well, as timber resources declined and laborers left the estate.

She brought with her to Florida a young girl named Bella, the eleven-year-old daughter of her son John Maxwell. Family records in Dominican Republic have no listing of Bella as John Maxwell's daughter; descendants assume she was a child born outside his marriage. Whatever her origins, Bella's African-born grandmother cared for her.

Anna still owned property in Florida, along with an interest in her late husband's estate. With both her daughters living on the St. Johns River, she could expect help and security. Martha Baxter, a widow by then, was one of the five wealthiest persons living in Duval County in 1860. Mary and John Sammis were even more affluent.

Anna's home in 1860 was at Point St. Isabel on the east side of the St. Johns River where it made a sharp bend to the right and ran easterly toward the Atlantic Ocean. Point St. Isabel was owned by her daughter Martha, whom Anna appointed as attorney to act in trust for her. Martha shared her house with her daughter Anna B. Carroll and husband Charles B. Carroll, a white man from New York. Also living with Martha was daughter Isabella Baxter. Nearby, Anna Kingsley and Bella lived together in a separate dwelling.

Also living at Point St. Isabel was Joseph Moes, a music teacher born in Hungary. Moes was married to Emma Baxter, Martha's 22-year-old daughter. Living with Joseph and Emma were two other Baxter children, Osmond and Julia.

Approximately three miles south of Point St. Isabel was the home of Mary Sammis and her family, on a hillside near the merger of Pottsburg Creek and the St. Johns River. The Sammis estate had once encompassed 8,000 acres filled with live oak, cedar and pine. There was a saw mill, cotton gin and sugar mill, all water-powered, as well as a brickyard and a grits mill. About 700 acres had been cleared for Sea Island cotton, and in the nearby wetlands, dams and dikes had been erected to raise rice. The plantation had grazing land for herds of cattle and sheep, large vegetable and fruit gardens, figs, grapes and other fruits, a mineral spring and a large boathouse.

For Anna, there was security and comfort in this area. Nearby were her daughters and her grandchildren.

The area was also unique in northeast Florida. Between Martha and Mary lived eight free colored families—not counting relatives of the Kingsleys. There were nearly forty men, women and children living on small farms, many of them former slaves of Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley.

Anna had hardly resettled in Duval County when the state's leaders met in Tallahassee in January 1861 to secede from the Union. In April, Florida joined the Confederate States of America. Soon, Florida was thrown into the giant maelstrom of the American Civil War. Anna was forced to flee again.

In April 1862, following a brief occupation of Jacksonville by Union forces, Anna boarded a naval transport in the company of the Sammis family and was transported to safety at Hilton Head, South Carolina. From there they travelled to Philadelphia and New York. As strong Union supporters, Anna's family would have been in dire danger when Confederate forces re-occupied Jacksonville and the surrounding territory.

Late in 1862 John Sammis was appointed by the Treasury Department to a position in Union-occupied Fernandina, Florida. The family accompanied him to Fernandina. In 1865, after Union forces occupied Jacksonville permanently, the Sammis family—and Anna Kingsley—returned to Duval County. Anna was home again; she would not leave for the remainder of her life.

In 1870 Anna was 77 years old. She had endured and accomplished more by the age of 20 than most people experience in a lifetime. From her mother and father and the Majigeen and Ndiaye lineages that had once ruled Wolof states in Senegal, she inherited the dignity and determination that enabled her to survive captivity in Africa and enslavement in North America. She became a free woman and property owner in Spanish East Florida, survived the trauma of the Patriot Rebellion, and lived for nearly a quarter-century at Fort George Island before encountering racial hostility under the new American government. In 1837, she departed for the more congenial racial climate of Haiti and lived in peace and prosperity for more than two decades. After returning to Florida in 1860, she again encountered turmoil and war, and sought safety in flight.

Finally, in 1865, Anna returned to Duval County to pass the remaining years of her life in tranquility. At her daughter's estate on the St. Johns River, she could look back on the events of a remarkable life. There would be more sadness—the death of her daughter Martha in February 1870 would mar her final months—but she was surrounded and comforted by family. John Maxwell was still in control of the estate in Haiti, and Mary and John Sammis were still wealthy property owners in Duval County. There were now numerous grandchildren and great-grandchildren—one grandson, Egbert Sammis, was elected to the Florida State Senate in 1884.

Anta Majigeen Ndiaye, the Wolof teenager who became Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley in Florida, found security and contentment at the close of her life. She died in July 1870. It is believed that she spent her final months with her daughter Mary and was buried in an unmarked grave in the Sammis family cemetery behind the residence. Her presence is most acutely felt at the Anna House at Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island. The house still stands, as does the residence of Zephaniah Kingsley, and the stables and portions of the tabby slave cabins, maintained by the National Park Service.

ESSAY ON SOURCES

Presenting Anna Kingsley's story in narrative form required informed judgments where there are gaps in the historical record. Choosing Jolof as her homeland and sketching in the details of her enslavement are examples of instances in her life for which there are no specific records. But there is solid evidence of the Majigeen and Ndiaye lineages and their importance in Jolof. In recent years, scholars have added much to our understanding of the slave trade in Africa, enough to permit generalizations to supplement where the record of Anna's specific circumstances are minimal. There are other examples in the narrative where judgments were made, all based on the primary and secondary sources listed below.

Sources in English on slavery among the Wolof are Philip Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegal in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, 1975); Martin A. Klein, "Servitude among the Wolof and Sereer of Senegambia," in Igor Kopytoff and Suzanne Miers, editors, *Slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1977); C.C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, editors, *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Madison, 1983); James Searing, *West African Slavery and Atlantic Commerce: The Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860* (New York, 1993). Dr. Victoria Coifman, University of Minnesota, contributed information on Wolof names.

A seminal work on the Atlantic Slave Trade is Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison, 1969). See also Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis," *Journal of African History* 23:4 (1982), 473-501; David Richardson, "The Eighteenth-Century British Slave Trade: Estimates of its Volume and Distribution," *Research in Economic History* 12 (1988); David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1987). Mechanics of the trade are discussed in Roger Anstey and P.E.H. Hair, editors, *Liverpool, the African Slave Trade, and Abolition* (Chippenham, England: Historic Society of Lancashire and Cheshire, 1989); James Rawley, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1981); Herbert Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton, 1978), especially chapter 9, "The Cuban Slave Trade." Captain Gisolfso and the *Sally* comes from Philip D. Curtin, compiler, "computerized data on slave ships arriving at Havana, 1790-

1821," from AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, "legajo" 1835 (copy available on magnetic tape, University of Florida Libraries).

The Havana market and African imports are discussed in Hugh Thomas, *Cuba: The Pursuit of Freedom* (New York, 1971). More specific details are in David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge, MA, 1980); Kenneth F. Kiple, *Blacks in Colonial Cuba, 1774-1899* (Gainesville, FL, 1976). On slavery in Cuba, see Franklin Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, Wisconsin, 1970), and Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, Conn., 1988).

Documents in the East Florida Papers (EFP), Spanish archival materials for East Florida, 1784-1821, were vital for this study. Microfilm copies are at St. Augustine Historical Society (SAHS) and P.K. Yonge Library of Florida History (PKY), University of Florida. Kingsley's arrival in East Florida is recorded in Reel 163, Bundle 350U4; his shipping activities for 1804-1812 in R57 B140J11; R58 B142J11; R59 B144A12; R59 B145B12; R60 B146C12; R97 B230I18; R97 B231J18; R98 B233L18; R133 B299P7; R133 B300; and departure from Havana and arrival in St. Augustine in R97 B231J18 and R172 B231N21.

Emancipation documents mentioned above are in EFP R172 B376, and in St. Johns County Deed Books B and H. Dates of birth and baptism for John Maxwell Kingsley and the Baxter children are in St. Augustine Parish Records, microfilm reel 3, "Colored Baptisms, 1784-1885," copy at SAHS. For Francis Richard see R168 B365, May 24, 1821, and Duval Probate Files. John Fraser material is in EFP R165, Testamentary Proceedings; R145, Inventarios, no. 16; R168 B364 and R173 B385, Bruce L. Mouser, "Trade, Coasters, and Conflict in the Rio Pongo From 1790 to 1808," *Journal of African History* 14: January (1973), 45-64, and "Women Slavers of Guinea-Conakry," in Klein and Robertson, *Women and Slavery in Africa*. For James Irwin, see East Florida Claims (EFC hereafter) MC 31, File 52, SAHS.

Documentation for the 1813 destruction of Anna Kingsley's homestead is in EFP R62B149F12, and EFC MC 31, File 58. For Laurel Grove see R62 B144F12, and Record of the Circuit Court, Box 131, Folder 16, SAHS. Abraham Hannahan is Box 124, Folder 24.

Published work on Kingsley includes Philip S. May, "Zephaniah Kingsley, Nonconformist," *Florida Historical Society* 23 (January, 1945), 145-59; Charles Bennett, "Zephaniah Kingsley, Jr.," *Twelve on the St.*

Johns (Jacksonville, Fla., 1989), 89-113; Lydia Maria Child, *Letters from New York* (New York, 1843); Jean B. Stephens, "Zephaniah Kingsley and the Recaptured Africans," *El Escribano: The St. Augustine Journal of History* 15 (1978), 71-76.

Kingsley wrote *A Treatise on the Patriarchal or Cooperative System of Society as it Exists in Some Governments and Colonies in America, and in the United States, under the Name of Slavery, with its Necessity and Advantages* (Freeport, New York, 1971 reprint of an 1829 publication); "Address to the Legislative Council of Florida on the Subject of its Colored Population," (typescript, circa 1829, Florida State Park Service, Tallahassee); *The Rural Code of Haiti: Literally Translated from a Publication by the Government Press; Together with Letters from that Country concerning its Present Condition, by a Southern Planter* (Middletown, New Jersey, 1837).

Jane Landers, "Black Society in Spanish St. Augustine, 1784-1821," (unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Florida, 1988), is excellent on race relations in Spanish East Florida. Daniel L. Schafer, "'A class of people neither freemen nor slaves': From Spanish to American Race Relations in Florida, 1821-1861," *Journal of Social History* 26 (Spring, 1993), 587-609, examines changes brought by the United States. The Kingsley colony in Haiti is mentioned in Jose Augusto Puig Ortiz, *Emigracion de Libertos Norte Americanos a Puerto Plata en la Primera Mitad del Siglo XIX* (Dominican Republic: La Iglesia Metodista Wesleyana, 1978). For the busy travel schedule maintained by Kingsley in his later years, and for planting and other activities at Fort George Island see Jacqueline K. Fretwell, editor, *Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal of 1840-1843* (St. Augustine, 1984). Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1810-1815* (Athens, 1954), covers the Patriot Rebellion, but Francis P. Ferreira vs. U.S. Appellants, *Land Claims* (U.S. Congress: Senate Report, 1856-86), has crucial eye-witness testimony.

Land holdings can be traced in the Archibald Abstracts of Historical Property Records in the Duval County Courthouse; in Works Progress Administration, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida* (Tallahassee, 1942), Vol 4, Confirmed Claims, 6-37; in the Department of Natural Resources, Tallahassee, and in Deed Records: St. Johns, Putnam, Nassau and Volusia Counties. Photographs and an essay on the Sammis house are in Wayne W. Wood, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future* (Jacksonville, 1989). Duval County probate files for the Kingsleys include

Anna (1210), Zephaniah (1203), George (1205), Martha (143), Mary (2029), and Micanopy (1206). Gertrude Millar Wilson, whose father John Rollins bought Fort George Island after the Civil War, left valuable memoirs which describe the buildings in the late-nineteenth century. Copies are at the staff office, Kingsley Plantation. Also there are Julia B. Dodge, "An Island by the Sea," *Scribner's Magazine* (September, 1877), and Samuel G.W. Benjamin, "The Sea Islands," *Harpers New Monthly Magazine* (November, 1878).

United States Census data for 1830 through 1870 has invaluable information on the Kingsley family, as do marriage records of descendants of Kingsley in Dominican Republic. Relevant volumes of Clarence E. Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States: The Territory of Florida*, should be consulted, as should extant copies of the newspapers printed in St. Augustine and Jacksonville. For the years 1861-1865, see Richard A. Martin and Daniel L. Schafer, *Jacksonville's Ordeal by Fire: A Civil War History* (Jacksonville: Florida Publishing Company, 1984). Mention of Anna planting palm trees is in an interview of William F. Hawley, in WPA Papers at the Haydn Burns Library, Jacksonville.

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- Page 22-23 Nancy Freeman
- Page 24 *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (Nov., 1878)
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