

SOUTHERN JEWISH HISTORY

Journal of the Southern Jewish Historical Society

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2002

Volume 5

With the Index to Volumes 1 through 5



Southern Jewish History

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Southern Jewish History acknowledges with deep appreciation a grant from the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation and a grant for indexing the journal from the Gale Foundation of Beaumont, Texas.

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ISSN 1521-4206

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A Sugar Utopia on the Florida Frontier: Moses Elias Levy's Pilgrimage Plantation

by

Chris Monaco

With a philanthropy superior to the selfish views of a mere land speculator, he is devoting his labour, to the laudable object of converting an uncultivated wilderness . . . into fields of plenty.¹

— M. E. Levy's introduction to John C. Calhoun, 1822

On May 4, 1822, Moses Elias Levy arrived in St. Augustine on a schooner laden with Cuban sugarcane, "the first brought to the country," people declared. The cultivation of sugarcane, a minor crop during the Spanish and English periods, had dissipated to such an extent that many East Floridians believed that Levy, a prominent West Indies merchant-shipper, was responsible for its introduction.² Levy's status as an agricultural innovator was augmented by the "quantity of tropical fruits, roots, seeds" that he brought with him as well as his attempts to "cultivate the vine, the olive, and other products of the South of France."³ By the time of the cession of Florida to the United States the previous year, the ambitious newcomer had already established himself as one of the region's largest landowners.

Leading citizens not only applauded his sense of industry but noted Levy's humanitarian impulses as well. His ultimate goal was to form a communitarian settlement as a refuge for the persecuted Jews of Europe in the sparsely inhabited interior. However the few white inhabitants as well as the native Indians caused Levy some trepidation. "I have embarked myself . . . in a wild

country," he admitted to a friend, "peopled with wolves instead of men."⁴ Such apprehensions were not unwarranted. Levy's plantation on the Alachua frontier was eventually set fire during the onset of the Second Seminole War, a fate which also confronted numerous other East Florida planters who had followed Levy's lead in the manufacture of sugar.

Since his death in 1854 Moses Levy has been best remembered as the father of Senator David Levy Yulee, an important politician, sugar planter, and early railroad entrepreneur. By comparison, Moses Levy's legacy as a pioneer planter and utopian visionary has seldom been explored.⁵ After sustaining staggering losses during the Second Seminole War and unable to sell his considerable land holdings until the courts eventually validated his claims, Levy was impoverished during most of the 1840s. Since the region steadily became aligned with Deep South conservatism, his earlier colonization efforts, if remembered at all, were often treated with disdain.⁶ The antipathy of his prominent son coupled with the unease that most southerners felt toward any radical, communal scheme virtually assured relative obscurity after Levy passed from the scene. However newly uncovered records relating to Levy's colonization efforts reveal that a small group of Jews participated in his Alachua County sugar plantation, long thought devoid of Jewish settlers, as early as 1823.⁷ This finding distinguishes Pilgrimage Plantation, located a few miles from the north Florida town of Micanopy, as the earliest Jewish agricultural settlement in the United States. His venture also brought much-needed settlers into the interior and contributed to the founding of Micanopy, the first distinct United States town in Florida. Furthermore the recent identification of Levy's antislavery tract, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, written anonymously while on an extended stay in London in 1828, places this pioneer planter within the front ranks of social activists.⁸

Moses Levy has emerged as a progressive figure without parallel in territorial Florida. Of particular interest was his assumption that sugar profits would provide the economic foundation for Jewish communal settlements. Among the more than one hundred utopian enclaves that were founded in frontier

areas during the first half of the nineteenth century, there was a scarcity of Jewish settlements. In fact, Levy's Florida colony became the first Jewish venture.⁹ Most communitarian experiments were located in the North and adhered either to Protestant religious values or secular ideals; very few relied on slave-dependent agriculture.¹⁰ Levy, however, believed in the gradual rather than the immediate emancipation of slaves and was perfectly willing to utilize slave labor in the short term. His scheme was certainly far more accepting of chattel slavery than what would normally be expected from someone committed to an egalitarian standard. However his only experience as a planter was his previous ownership of sugar plantations in Cuba and Puerto Rico, and slave labor was universally judged to be indispensable in sugar production. Therefore his selection of the former Spanish province of East Florida, an extremely isolated region that provided a certain freedom for social experimentation during its early territorial years, becomes more understandable.

Levy's Background

Moses Levy's origins are as fascinating as his later accomplishments in Florida. Born in Morocco on July 10, 1782, Levy was first reared within the walls of the fortress-seaport of Mogador on the Atlantic coast.¹¹ He was the son of Jewish courtier and merchant, Eliahu Ha-Levi ibn Yuli. While not the vizier, as is often stated, Eliahu was clearly a man of wealth and influence. As was traditional in most Sephardic merchant families, young Levy acquired a proficiency in Spanish as well as Hebrew and Arabic.¹² In 1790 his privileged lifestyle ended abruptly after the death of the sultan precipitated a period of atrocities against the Jews. The family departed for the security of British Gibraltar where Moses Levy grew to young adulthood. The subsequent death of his father coincided with an encroaching yellow fever epidemic and compelled the remaining family members to seek a better life in the Danish West Indies. In 1800 Levy arrived at Charlotte Amalie, a major commercial port on the island of St. Thomas, and began employment in a lumber export firm. While on the island he discarded the Yuli surname.¹³

Levy considered his funds sufficiently adequate to start a family and in 1803 married Hannah Abendanone, a daughter of one of the prosperous merchants on the island. Shortly thereafter he established the mercantile firm of Levy & Benjamin, Brothers.¹⁴ Levy eventually moved to Puerto Rico and later to Cuba where a close friendship and business relationship with Superintendent Alejandro Ramírez facilitated lucrative contracts with the Spanish military.¹⁵ Through Ramírez's influence Levy was exempted from the laws of the Inquisition and was not only permitted residency, but soon acquired sugar estates on both Puerto Rico and Cuba as well. Levy amassed a considerable fortune and gained respect throughout the Caribbean and in South America, but a business career could not satisfy the deeply religious man. He grew increasingly uneasy with the rise of European antisemitism that surfaced after the Napoleonic Wars. Enmity toward Jews was most keenly felt in the German states and culminated in the infamous *Hep! Hep!* riots of 1819 in which, according to one contemporary, "[Jews were] murdered, their temples profaned and overthrown, their homes violated without exciting a single sympathetic glance."¹⁶ The hostilities also spread to Eastern Europe and the Baltic. In response Levy decided that an "asylum" should be founded "for our fellow creatures who are denied a place of Rest in Europe."¹⁷

While on a business trip to England and the European continent in 1816, Levy fell under the spell of several social and religious movements that were gaining favor among enlightened circles. Impressed by Israel Jacobson's innovative efforts to reform Judaism in the German states, Levy expressed a desire to meet with this lay leader with the intention of joining forces in America.¹⁸ While their meeting never materialized, evidently a result of Jacobson's declining health and Levy's hectic business schedule, Jacobson nevertheless became a major influence on Levy. While in England Levy also was exposed to the fervor of the antislavery crusade and, it appears, to the highly publicized activities and theories of Robert Owen, a successful textile mill owner turned utopian socialist. Owen envisioned a drastically re-ordered, egalitarian society composed of small cooperative villages based

"On the coast of Florida."

*As it may have appeared to Moses Elias Levy
when he arrived in 1821.*

(From the Collections of the Library of Congress.)

on agriculture. As a direct consequence of his journey, Levy attempted to merge the "true Spirit of our Holy and abused Religion" with "the liberal and enlightened Principles of the well educated portion of Society in the present times."¹⁹ Based on Levy's plan for his intended settlements, one can conclude that he was influenced by a variety of ideologies and constructed his own distinct synthesis, one that best suited his particular religious notions.²⁰

In the fall of 1816 Levy convinced Frederick Warburg, a member of the noted German Jewish banking family, of the necessity for founding colonies where long-suffering European Jews could find refuge. Then living in England, twenty-year-old Warburg agreed to become Levy's agent for enlisting potential settlers and eventually became a colonist himself. Satisfied that the United States offered the best prospects for such an endeavor, Levy visited the country in October 1818. While in Norfolk, twenty-eight-year-old Samuel Myers, a son of the prominent merchant, Moses

Myers, joined Levy's "Sacred Cause" and, as a demonstration of his commitment, assumed guardianship of Levy's young son David.²¹ During the next two years Myers acted as Levy's proxy and contacted leading members of the Jewish community while Levy completed his obligations in the West Indies. Levy's plan for establishing a "*Chenuch*," which Levy defined as a school for Jewish youth that would incorporate non-religious courses in its curriculum and would educate both boys and girls from the various states, achieved significant support.²² Mordecai Noah, journalist, playwright, and sheriff of New York City, was also attracted to Levy's idea of founding a Jewish refuge in America. Before Levy left for the Caribbean, he cautioned Myers to be circumspect about their more radical sentiments, especially their mutual antipathy toward orthodox Judaism. Levy decided that the Midwest held the most promise for the colony and school, and he instructed his Norfolk protégé to purchase former military lands on the Illinois frontier.²³ However the Panic of 1819, America's first economic depression, caused great misfortune, particularly for Moses Myers & Sons. Their subsequent bankruptcy resulted in the loss of the Illinois land.

The Move to Florida and Plantation Building

Undaunted, Levy took advantage of his situation in Cuba to purchase vast tracts of Florida land. On February 22, 1819, the United States had signed the Adams-Onís Treaty, a document that led to the acquisition of the Spanish colony. In 1820, Levy bought 52,900 acres from Don Fernando de la Maza Arredondo, a Havana business colleague with major assets in East Florida.²⁴ In the process Levy switched his colonization focus from the Midwest to Florida where he intended to settle as soon as the United States assumed jurisdiction. He regarded America as a country where "prejudices [have] less scope" and was especially optimistic about Florida's prospects.²⁵ This remote region, however, did little to inspire confidence among Jewish leadership. Philadelphia's Rebecca Gratz, a prominent Jewish philanthropist, remarked to a friend: "Me thinks I would place foreigners in a more interior position, both for their own security, and that of our borders in case

of war."²⁶ Florida was regarded as a dangerous location, populated by Indians and runaway slaves, and prone to malaria, yellow fever, and unhealthy "miasmas." In contrast, Levy, long accustomed to the tropics, saw Florida as a fertile and untapped resource. Regardless of his optimism he was willing to sacrifice his entire investment if the Jewish community insisted that the settlement-school be located in what they regarded as a "healthy and central part of the Union."²⁷ For reasons that remain unclear, enthusiasm for Levy's project waned and Samuel Myers, who once proclaimed that he would "not pause or tremble at the task," withdrew his participation.²⁸ Both Samuel and Moses Myers were in debt to Levy for \$10,000.²⁹ The loss of the Illinois lands, indebtedness, and personal bankruptcy presented Samuel Myers with a humiliating scenario. No longer could he afford philanthropic gestures and, as an honor-bound southerner, he also could not accept Levy's continued generosity. In 1821 Myers left Virginia to pursue a legal career in Pensacola, West Florida. Despite their misfortunes Levy remained on friendly terms with the Myers family. Moses Myers assumed David Levy's guardianship and the boy continued to reside at the family's Norfolk mansion. Disappointed on many fronts, Levy nevertheless proceeded on his own, determined to succeed without the support of the American Jewish community.

Levy was a thirty-nine-year-old, divorced father of four when he first arrived in Florida on July 25, 1821.³⁰ Levy and his wife had lived in discord for many years, the result of highly incompatible temperaments.³¹ Their divorce settlement left Hannah Levy in possession of the family home in St. Thomas as well as a substantial income. Before heading for Florida, Levy sent an agent on an expedition to the St. Johns River to report on the Arredondo land holdings.³² The agent's favorable assessment reinforced Levy's desire to abandon his career and to embark on his worthy scheme. Determined to do something genuinely "elevated" and disconnected from personal monetary gain, he set in motion his plan to form a Jewish refuge. While sharing the idealism of other backwoods utopians in the United States, he lacked the complete naiveté that doomed many similarly minded social experiments in

the North. His former sugar mills, or *ingenios*, were enterprises that required large financial outlays for slaves, land, buildings, and mechanical equipment as well as the services of experienced managers. Furthermore the underdeveloped character of Florida shared a certain similarity to other Spanish colonial outposts, regions which frequently served as havens for bandits. Armed with both practical experience and an altruistic spirit, Levy was particularly qualified for undertaking his formidable task.

Throughout 1822 Moses Levy launched a full-scale effort at establishing a plantation infrastructure. Still awaiting settlers he built a modest plantation and planted sugarcane at Matanzas, a 1,200 acre estate located at the intersection of Moses Creek and the Matanzas River, about ten miles south of St. Augustine. Much further to the south, in the region of present-day Astor, he established the four thousand acre Hope Hill plantation and ordered his manager to oversee construction of buildings near the west bank of the St. Johns River. He also acquired additional acreage and started yet another enterprise named Pilgrimage.³³ This property, located a few miles from the inland settlement of Micanopy in Alachua County, eventually became the focus of Levy's attention despite its considerable distance from any navigable waterway.³⁴ Situated between present-day Levy and Ledwith Lakes, the plantation had an adequate supply of fresh water and benefited from fertile soil.³⁵ Levy proceeded with the arduous task of creating a viable plantation, complete with various dwelling houses, a sugar mill, a sawmill, a blacksmith shop, and a forty-five mile road linking Pilgrimage to the uninhabited area of present-day Palatka. Palatka was strategically positioned along the St. Johns River and long-served as an entry point to the interior.³⁶ In February 1823 the first settlers arrived at the small hamlet of Micanopy.

Levy's rapid expansion and his heightened interest in the Alachua country caused him to reevaluate his priorities. In 1824 he sold his Matanzas estate to Achille Murat, a French émigré and nephew of Napoleon Bonaparte.³⁷ However the fate of Hope Hill was more problematic. While in Havana Levy had contracted with Antonio Rutan, an experienced plantation manager, to leave

*Military map (detail or original), showing the site of Levy's plantation, approximately three miles west of Micanopy, Florida.
(Map of Micanopy and Vicinity, 1835-1842, National Archives,
Cartographic Division, College Park, Maryland.)*

Cuba and become his Florida superintendent. In January 1822 with a start-up budget of \$20,000 Rutan oversaw initial construction at Hope Hill.³⁸ Two shipments of Cuban sugarcane and "sundry other articles" were brought to the plantation by schooner, and \$2,000 worth of "utensils for the manufactory of sugar" were delivered from Savannah.³⁹ Shortly thereafter Levy's original enthusiasm for his "fertile and happily situated" estate on the St. Johns River turned to bitter frustration.⁴⁰

Hope Hill was located directly opposite Volusia, the isolated residence of the Anglo-Spanish Indian trader, Horatio Dexter. Dexter was a literate man with gentlemanly airs who was quick to take offense and could be extremely vengeful. Levy's subsequent denunciation of the man as both an "assassin" and an "incendiary" appears to have been well-grounded.⁴¹ Dexter held deep

animosity toward many of the Arredondo grant proprietors and his waning influence in the Indian territory undoubtedly contributed to his rancor. Furthermore, the new acting governor awarded Levy a coveted license to trade with the Indians, and stores were established at both Hope Hill and Pilgrimage. Competition for the Indian trade probably aggravated tensions.⁴² While his exact motivations are unknown, Dexter, in conjunction with some Indian allies, planned to burn down the fledgling settlement of Micanopy in 1823, but Levy and others managed to dissuade the group.⁴³ Moreover a peculiar reference to Hope Hill, an "accident that has occurred to Mr. Rutan's houses," appears in Dexter's correspondence and suggests that he may have come under suspicion for foul play.⁴⁴ The circumstances must have been severe. Levy actually abandoned his Hope Hill operation in June 1822 because of "various and many unforeseen [troubles]." Thereafter Rutan's responsibilities were shifted to Pilgrimage, and farming implements and supplies were salvaged for use in the Alachua country.⁴⁵

As this episode illustrates, the appearance of wealthy and intrepid individuals like Moses Levy presented a challenge to the old order and, in the process, the dynamics of the frontier were altered. As a single individual Levy's efforts were significantly hampered. Fortunately the massive expense of forging self-sustaining settlements in inaccessible and dangerous locations was greatly eased by Levy's decision to join a business consortium headquartered in New York City.

Levy's Pilgrimage lands were part of the original Spanish Arredondo grant of 1817, which encompassed much of present-day Alachua County. After Florida was ceded to the United States, Fernando Arredondo sought investors in his Alachua holdings, which amounted to over 289,000 acres. When in 1822 Levy exchanged other property for a one-eighth share of this grant, he became one of four major proprietors who were obligated to fulfill the original Spanish stipulations, the foremost being the settlement of two hundred families within three years.⁴⁶ Such an endeavor would have been unlikely during the declining days of the Spanish empire, but the United States offered substantial advantages, including the presence of capitalists who

*Ledwith Prairie, formerly "Levy's Pond,"
as currently seen from the site of Pilgrimage Plantation.
With the assistance of the Jewish Museum of Florida and
Alachua County, efforts are underway to protect the tract
from development and to preserve it as a historic site.
(Photo courtesy of the Gainesville Sun, Gainesville, Florida.)*

were not adverse to high-risk undertakings. Levy's entry into the Arredondo partnership coincided with the formation of the Florida Association. This company was based in New York City, the residence of the largest investor, General Jasper Ward. Portions of the Arredondo grant were subdivided and sold to various persons in New York and New Jersey. The Florida Association assumed responsibility for colonization, and the newly established hamlet of Micanopy became the nucleus of the intended settlement. Levy took an active role, and on November 4, 1822, represented the Florida landholders' interests at a company meeting that he arranged at New York's Lewis Tavern.⁴⁷ In what was surely the earliest Florida development corporation, taxes were levied, town

lots divided, roads and mills planned, settlers recruited, and a generous allowance allocated for both a physician and a clergyman. Although Levy's main objective was Jewish colonization, he also had a vested interest in the town's success. Micanopy provided access to supplies, livestock, laborers, skilled carpenters, and a physician, all scarce commodities. Therefore it is significant that while Levy's initial efforts at sugar cultivation were short-lived, his Alachua plantation endured until the commencement of the Second Seminole War, a period of thirteen years.

After the Florida Association's Palatka road was completed in February 1823 the transportation of supplies and settlers proceeded more efficiently. Antonio Rutan originally supervised operations at Pilgrimage, but, exceedingly fearful of hostile Indians, he abruptly left the plantation and was replaced by Reuben Charles in fall 1823.⁴⁸ Charles was a Georgian who had settled in Florida several years earlier. According to William H. Simmons, physician, author, and chronicler of early territorial Florida, Levy's estate was rapidly undergoing transformation into a productive plantation as early as February 1822.⁴⁹ Simmons observed that most of the work was accomplished by slave labor and, of the thirty persons employed on the land that year, only eight or nine were white. It should be noted, however, that black laborers, in actuality Seminole "slaves," were often hired by Levy's agents in the early stages of the settlement and payment was in the form of Indian trade goods.⁵⁰ "There was a range of tenements," Simmons continued, "which would accommodate nearly all the persons there." In addition there were a corn house, a stable, and a blacksmith's shop as well as "a good crop of corn" that he judged sufficient for "the whole establishment for a year." Of Pilgrimage's 1,000 acres, 120 were immediately cleared for planting.⁵¹ By 1829, despite setbacks and long absences abroad, Levy expected "60 to 80 acres of excellent sugar cane" that would yield one ton of sugar per acre.⁵²

The Utopian Settlement

Among the first group of settlers who arrived in Micanopy under the auspices of the Florida Association of New York,

several were sponsored by Moses Levy, including Frederick Warburg,⁵³ the son of a prosperous banker from Altona, a Danish city adjacent to the German port of Hamburg.⁵⁴ From their initial meeting in London seven years earlier, Levy's colonization scheme held special appeal for Warburg. Apart from his participation previously noted, Warburg temporarily helped manage Pilgrimage.⁵⁵

In 1824 Warburg testified that the majority of the intended colonists, "forty to fifty" persons, remained in Europe because of the lack of housing and "other necessaries to render them comfortable."⁵⁶ However some had already arrived in America and waited only for the best opportunity to travel. Although documentation regarding their final destination is lacking, Warburg did acknowledge his success in establishing "five heads of families on Mr. Levy's settlement," all of whom received land and accommodations.⁵⁷ In addition Levy wrote that there were "Jewish families on farms near me." These newcomers represented a broad economic spectrum but none had previous agricultural experience. Their urban background proved to be a significant handicap. "It is not easy," Levy complained, "to transform old clothes men [street peddlers] or stock brokers into practical farmers."⁵⁸ Levy's eldest son, Elias, who recently left his studies at Harvard College, joined the other neophyte farmers at Pilgrimage. Levy's financial difficulties, a result of his Hope Hill troubles and the legal quandaries involving the original Spanish grants, hampered his ability to accommodate more colonists. Therefore the total number of families probably never exceeded Warburg's initial figure. Ultimately the broad discrepancy between Levy's vision for a vast refuge for European Jews and the actual low turnout caused him to regard the entire effort as a failure.⁵⁹ In actuality, although Levy was never cognizant of its significance, he managed to form the earliest Jewish communal settlement in the United States. Pilgrimage's status as a humanitarian refuge adds to its importance. Levy's philanthropic gesture was an innovative response to centuries of Old World repression.

The living arrangements at Pilgrimage reflected Levy's philosophical and religious standards. While Levy believed in the

divine origin of the Hebrew Bible, he rejected the Talmud and the authority of rabbis. Accordingly no plans were made to erect a traditional synagogue or to follow an orthodox lifestyle. In addition Levy's adherence to a communitarian standard required a middle-ground between what he regarded as the "Spartan" and the "civilized." The "considerate man," Levy asserted, should discard "imaginary wants" and "be content with simplicity & competence."⁶⁰ However unlike some utopians, such as the Shakers, Levy did not conceive that all colonists would share living quarters under one roof or hold property in common. While Pilgrimage had a very specific communal identity, each family had their own private accommodation and land.⁶¹

In distinct contrast to his affluent merchant friends elsewhere in the United States, Levy designed his Alachua dwellings to conform to what he considered a higher moral standard, one that shunned displays of luxury and privilege. Presumably the majority of settlers, certainly the former peddlers, did not share either Levy's or Warburg's wealthy background, so the simple accommodations were hardly a deprivation. Levy's own residence, however, offered an opportunity to implement an unpretentious lifestyle. Flanked by two corncribs, his two-story, wooden frame house had porches on both sides and a separate kitchen, and was of modest dimensions. While undoubtedly a dramatic step above the average log cabin in the Alachua country, it certainly did not constitute a mansion, as one historian has claimed.⁶² Nevertheless this six-room residence had eighteen windows and shutters, a gabled roof, two small hallways, and rose to a height of twenty feet. In comparison, Warburg's residence remains something of a mystery, although local Micanopy history eventually places him a few miles east of Pilgrimage on an estate near present Lake Wauburg.⁶³

The recent appearance of the Reuben Charles papers as well as a thorough examination of archival documents have provided vital details regarding Pilgrimage. However much remains obscure, including the day-to-day operations of Levy's sugar mill. The only plantation inventories that have survived date to 1824, a year that evidently predates mill operations. Documents do show,

however, that Levy made substantial investments in a wide array of agricultural equipment and residential supplies, and kept an adequate number of horses, beef cattle, oxen, and hogs, the later apparently raised for slave consumption since Levy, and presumably other Jews at Pilgrimage, abstained from pork.⁶⁴ Nothing has surfaced which can shed light on Levy's experiments in vine and olive culture, other than his employment of Hipolite Chateanneuf, a French emigrant who had extensive experience in these specialties.⁶⁵ Quite unexpectedly Levy was involved with Chief Micanopy's band of Seminoles, located sixty-four miles to the south in present-day Sumter County. Although some Indians, primarily Miccosukees, lived in the immediate area of Micanopy, the original Alachua Seminoles had long departed for a safer and more remote locale. The naming of the company town after Micanopy was an early effort to appease the chief and to acknowledge his original authority over the land and was not an indication of his actual presence in the town itself. Therefore the trading relationship that developed between Pilgrimage and the chief's distant band, particularly his "slave" town of Pelaklikaha or "Abrahams Old Town," is significant.⁶⁶ Pelaklikaha was under the leadership of Abraham, a former slave and an advisor to Micanopy who latter attained distinction during the Second Seminole War. As a result of this association, Levy acquired much-needed livestock and occasionally hired black Seminoles as laborers. Although technically regarded as slaves by their Indian masters, blacks were permitted a great deal of personal liberty and were not bound into forced labor.⁶⁷

The number of bona fide slaves at Pilgrimage fluctuated from a low of ten to a high of thirty-one, the total Levy held when he divested himself of all his slaves in 1839.⁶⁸ From an account in *Niles' Register*, the average number of slaves on three unidentified Alachua County sugar plantations in 1833 amounted to twenty-six, so Pilgrimage was certainly within the norm. While the identities of these planters are unknown, likely candidates include Colonel Duncan L. Clinch and Colonel John H. McIntosh, Jr., two prominent individuals who followed Levy's lead in establishing nearby sugar estates. The income generated by the average bond

servant in Alachua was rated at \$387. "A great deal more," the newspaper observed, "than the average product of free labor in the North." The largest of the plantations, with forty-seven slaves, produced 160 hogsheads of sugar, 14,000 gallons of molasses, 4,000 bushels of corn, and fodder, rice, beans, and peas valued at \$1,000.⁶⁹ Levy's operation probably had a similar range of crops, and its potential profit was high.

Quite distinct from all other Alachua planters, however, was Moses Levy's philosophical position vis-à-vis slavery. Freedom, Levy believed, should be given to the children of slaves at the age of twenty-one and only after they had completed both agricultural training and a basic education. In time, Levy concluded, technological advancements would enable non-slave-dependent agriculture to displace slavery. While a few southerners may have concluded that slave labor was inherently inefficient, Levy was motivated by a biblical standard of morality that was not concerned with classical economics or regional and state interests.⁷⁰ Although he did not adhere to immediate abolition and there is no indication that he actually implemented his plans, his ideas would certainly have been viewed as revolutionary in East Florida and could have placed his settlement in jeopardy. Irrational fears often led to the condemnation of any form of abolitionist sentiment.⁷¹ While Levy felt free to lecture and write on these issues while in England, he was careful to frame his opinions within acceptable limits when residing in slaveholding countries.

Restrained from enacting his ideas, Levy nevertheless deliberately attempted to keep slave families intact and to provide a humane environment.⁷² In Cuba he promoted basic Christian religious instruction among slaves as well as encouraged slave marriages. He probably did the same in Florida.⁷³ Levy believed that Christianity, at its best, upheld the spirit of divine revelation and would teach proper conduct and morality. While the practical advantages of marriages may be debated, it is noteworthy that abolitionists invoked the institution as one method of slave empowerment, of "righting the slave, restoring him to himself."⁷⁴ The impulse to retain the powerful bonds between husbands and wives, parents and children, and siblings was something that

Levy shared with very few slaveholders. "How can we expect that religion or civilization shall find its way among persons compelled to live as brutes?" he once asked a group of affluent slave owners in Cuba. When one considers that many Cuban planters believed that it was more cost effective to work slaves to death rather than to care for them and encourage reproduction, Levy's actions appear all the more benevolent.⁷⁵ Levy sincerely believed that it was "not only necessary to abandon the system of persecution and oppression hitherto pursued against the blacks, *but to turn that very system into an instrument of blessing.*"⁷⁶

When Levy foresaw a world without slavery, he placed sugar manufacture at its core. For recently liberated and educated blacks, Levy envisioned small, cooperative, agricultural settlements where each family, "independent of their principal occupation or pursuit," would raise between "one to five acres of sugar cane." Neighbors would unite in harvesting the cane for processing in communal sugar mills. According to Levy, "each shall be entitled to his portion of sugar which is to be assessed by competent judges amongst themselves, not with a saccharometer in the hand, but with the spirit of neighbourly consideration." He likened this "festive season" to the spirit of cooperation that existed during the "vintage season in wine countries."⁷⁷ In this sugar utopia individual profit would be secondary to mutual respect and cooperation. Instead of viewing workers as pawns to be exploited, Levy assumed that an enlightened, collective will would replace individual avarice and mammonism.⁷⁸

Moses Levy's agenda for his coreligionists revealed a similar desire for agrarian havens. Jews were God's chosen people and therefore they had to follow a life that was as close as possible to ancient Israel. According to Levy, centuries of oppression had created "the persecution of contempt."⁷⁹ "Barbary, Turkey, Poland, the wilds of Prussia," he once wrote, "[Jews] tried them all, and every where found an enemy in man."⁸⁰ Any possibility of returning to Israel, their ancient homeland, appeared closed, so the United States was "the only place that we can look for an asylum."⁸¹ Levy boldly rejected rabbinical teaching and emphasized the Hebrew Bible instead. He envisioned a time when Jews would

forsake the cities to participate in a communal, agrarian lifestyle. By becoming cultivators of the soil his brethren would again follow in the path of Abraham, Isaac, Jacob, and Moses. His original plan called for each settler to own "5 acres of land from which he can't depart" and each community would be limited to five hundred families. Levy was convinced that "Children belong to the Community & not to their Parents." In the educational realm, both Hebrew and English would be taught to children of both sexes. His proposed curriculum for boys included: "Mathematics, Geography, Astronomy, Botany, & Chemistry – the exercise of the field Tillage, the use of arms only for defence." Girls would engage in similar instruction, excluding farming and arms training, as well as "indispensably to know how to cook, sew, spin & wash." Music and "the other fine arts" would complete the girls' course of study.⁸² In Levy's view the "degenerated interpreters," or rabbis, had excluded women from full participation in religious affairs and placed "the man as sole agent & director" of the family. The subsequent loss of dignity and status relegated women to being "merely m[a]chines & conveniences."⁸³ Therefore he advocated a more egalitarian role for women. Other than the Bible and instructional texts, all books by classical and contemporary authors would be prohibited. Levy's reductionist theology regarded sin as "injuring God in His fellow creatures." The only acceptable penance was to engage in reform.

Privately Levy concluded that full and immediate revelation of his plans would let loose a "light . . . too strong to bear." Therefore he opted for "shewing it little by little as they do to the blind man when first they remove the cataract from the Eyes."⁸⁴ Levy's aversion to publicity makes any study of his activities especially difficult. Although he shared his most radical intentions with very few others, nonetheless news of the unconventional arrangements at Pilgrimage did reach public notice. In a particularly biting 1841 newspaper editorial, a result of David Levy's entry into national politics, Moses Levy was cast as "a man of eccentric ideas" whose earlier efforts to "establish colonies of 'Harmonites' upon utopian principles, in Alachua county" led to ruin.⁸⁵ Two decades earlier, however, Levy's character had been perceived quite favorably.

*St. Augustine town center (detail of panoramic), 1855.
 Public slave auctions were held in the plaza,
 most certainly a familiar site to Levy.
 (From the Collections of the Library of Congress.)*

His arrival was deemed an event of major importance to the region, and he maintained close and cordial relations with the St. Augustine gentry. Alexander Hamilton, Jr., the founding father's son and, in his own right, newly appointed U.S. attorney for East Florida, considered Levy a "gentleman of much respectability" and acted as his lawyer for a time.⁸⁶ Another New Yorker, Colonel James G. Forbes, U.S. marshal for Florida and mayor of St. Augustine, became an investor in the Florida Association, served with Levy on the company's "Florida Committee," and acted as Levy's agent during his absence.⁸⁷ Acting Governor William G. D. Worthington, recently arrived from Maryland, pronounced Levy "one of the most useful settlers in this Province" and allowed him the rare privilege of trading directly with the Indians.⁸⁸ Worthington was a strong advocate of Jewish civil liberties and took pride in his subsequent support of Maryland's so-called "Jew Bill," which fully enfranchised the state's Jewish residents, when he returned to his home state.⁸⁹

Social Activism in England

By the summer of 1824 it became painfully evident that Moses Levy's dream of the "regeneration" of his brethren was not going to materialize, at least not on the scale that he had intended. The low number of settlers thwarted his ability to execute the most important aspect of his "Sacred Cause," the founding of a Jewish homeland. Prevented from selling any of his Florida land until proper surveys were drawn and the validity of the Spanish grants confirmed, Levy left Pilgrimage for Europe and arrived in England in 1825.⁹⁰ He immediately appealed to leading members of the Jewish community for support and, while in London and Paris, mortgaged large portions of his nearly 100,000 acres of Florida land.⁹¹

Levy's transatlantic journey of 1825 coincided with the much-publicized efforts of Mordecai Noah to found a rival settlement in upstate New York. As mentioned previously, Noah supported Levy's initial plans for a Jewish settlement and school. In a few years he also became an investor in the Florida Association.⁹² After Levy's difficulties became apparent, Noah announced his intentions to found his own colony, called Ararat, on Grand Island, New York. Unlike Levy, however, Noah never shunned the limelight. His extensive publicity campaign, in which he arrogantly appointed himself "Judge of Israel," caused a torrent of criticism.⁹³ Noah's intemperate move not only resulted in the abandonment of his plan but hampered Levy's mission as well.

Moses Levy condemned Noah's scheme, but the debacle predisposed philanthropic Jews against any form of colonization. Rather than return immediately to Florida, however, Levy made an unprecedented move. Between 1827 and 1828 he embarked on a brief but notable career as a social activist in London. An accomplished orator and writer, he gave numerous public lectures, and published articles on provocative subjects such as antisemitism, Jewish-Christian relations, universal education, and the abolition of slavery. Liberal Protestants lavished praise on Levy and compared his "unbounded philanthropy" to the famed British abolitionist William Wilberforce.⁹⁴ Levy's *Plan for the Abolition*

"Old Clothes to Sell," c. 1820.

This caricature depicting the prejudicial views of England was typical of the negative stereotypes that fueled Levy's attempts to alleviate the sufferings of the Jews of Europe.

(Courtesy of the Jewish Studies Library, University College London.)

of *Slavery*, written anonymously in 1828, also received favorable notice.

Levy's pamphlet represented a synthesis between pragmatic gradualism and radical social experimentation. Convinced that the character of slaves had been corrupted by human bondage, Levy proposed that only the succeeding generation be granted freedom. A free, basic education for children figured prominently in his strategy. Additionally Levy theorized that intermarriage between whites and blacks would reduce racial conflict. Therefore he devised a scheme in which British convicts would be transported to the West Indies rather than New South Wales, not only for punishment but also for the ultimate goal of miscegenation. He assumed that other countries would inevitably follow Britain's example. The establishment of private agricultural companies comprised another vital component of his plan. These commercial-philanthropic enterprises would implement Levy's ideas as they engaged in the development of non-slave-dependent agriculture. Furthermore he proposed that a "United Association" of countries would stop the importation of African slaves through a network of specially designed sailing vessels. Universal emancipation would result in "50 or 100 years."⁹⁵

Shortly after its release a new antislavery society was formed in an effort to implement Levy's main tenets.⁹⁶ Although his racial strategy was held to be quite reasonable, his call for a supranational "United Association" was the only aspect of the plan not included in the organization's charter. The London *Literary Chronicle*, swayed by the author's reasoned exposition and his gradualist approach to abolition, recommended the tract "to the serious attention of the legislature and the public."⁹⁷ Such recognition was rare indeed for any outsider, let alone a Jewish citizen of Florida. While his pamphlet was published anonymously, Levy was well known in enlightened circles. English Jews lacked full rights of citizenship and were even barred from attending universities.⁹⁸ Therefore it was a distinct achievement when "Moses E. Levy of Florida," as he was sometimes known, attained notoriety in the metropolis and earned high praise from prominent evangelicals, an elite group that had long dominated the abolitionist

crusade. His pamphlet is now regarded as the earliest and most important antislavery publication by an American Jew.⁹⁹

While many English Jews did not wish to deviate from their self-image as "a harmless, unmeddling people" and criticized Levy for his "sanguine interference," Levy nevertheless played a significant role in the emergence of Jewish social activism.¹⁰⁰ In 1827 he led an unprecedented campaign in London against a Russian *ukase*, or edict, against the Jews. He advocated Sabbath schools, circulated biblical tracts, partook in open debates between Jews and Christians, and promoted organizations for women.¹⁰¹ Levy became the only Jewish voice during the British antislavery crusade, a period which was dominated by the evangelical movement of the Church of England and such dissenters as Methodists, Quakers, and Baptists. His activities were intended to reassert the moral tenets of Judaism and to refute the implicit and explicit notions of Christian reformers that only the New Testament offered a "religion of love."¹⁰² Some Jews, unaware of Levy's more radical sentiments, were extremely impressed with his actions. Rabbi Joseph Crooll, an instructor of Hebrew at Cambridge University, remarked in a London newspaper: "We have of late observed a man by the name of Moses Elias Levi [*sic*], who endeavors to bring in motion the Jews, that they might rise and shew themselves men; that they might find favour in the sight of God and men."¹⁰³ In the words of another admirer, Levy was determined to "exhibit Judaism in its true light, and to convince the world, that its tendency is not selfish or antisocial."¹⁰⁴

Return to Difficulties in Florida

Moses Levy gained considerable notice abroad, but he returned to the United States heavily in debt and still without the expected financial contributions from fellow Jews. In January 1829 he was at Pilgrimage once more, desperate to increase the plantation's yield of sugar and to turn it into a profitable enterprise.¹⁰⁵ The sugar mill had become Levy's last hope to avert economic catastrophe. His children's welfare also figured prominently during this time. While Levy was in London, his youngest son David abandoned his apprenticeship in Norfolk, Virginia, headed for his

mother's home in St. Thomas, and ultimately joined his brother Elias in Florida, all without his father's knowledge or permission.¹⁰⁶ Elias too caused considerable distress after he left Harvard without completing his degree, a "mad & disobedient act," Levy wrote, "[that] disqualified him for every situation by which he could earn a living."¹⁰⁷ Reared for most of their lives in either traditional boarding schools or in the homes of wealthy friends, Levy's sons had very little contact with their father. They certainly did not share his enthusiasm for unconventional and progressive causes, and, by young adulthood, they disassociated themselves from Judaism. After a short period, Elias and David left Pilgrimage to pursue independent paths.

There is little indication of the plantation's progress during the 1830s, other than the fact that Levy was doing sufficiently well to accept the mantle of social reform once more, albeit on a limited scale. He served on a legislative committee that sought to establish a seminary or institute of higher learning and played a role in founding the territory's first free public school in St. Augustine.¹⁰⁸ Whenever he deemed the cause appropriate, Levy was forthcoming in voicing his opinions, primarily as a contributor to the St. Augustine newspapers. In time, however, he became much less visible. Misfortunes continued and, despite an increase in the number of slaves, Levy insisted that the plantation never turned a profit until 1835 at which time "the war of the Indians took place."¹⁰⁹ In December 1835 Levy joined a long and tragic roster of planters whose fortunes collapsed during the Second Seminole War. On January 23, 1836, the Tallahassee *Floridian*, unaware of the plantation's visionary purpose and of Levy's role in helping to launch the sugar boom, reported the event as follows:

From the west we are informed by Mr. Rose, who left Micanopy on the 28th ult. that . . . The sugar works of Moses E. Levy, Esq. whose plantation is situated 2 miles N.W. of Micanopy were destroyed on the 23rd. Ult.

Mr. Rose, who was manufacturing sugar at Mr. Levy's plantation near Micanopy, arrived at this place on Saturday last. This gentleman gives the following account: "That on Wednesday,

the 23d. at 2 A.M. a cry of fire was heard and on getting up the flames were observed just rising, but by the time he could go out, the whole building was on fire; he directly rode to Micanopy for help. At the day dawn, many persons went to the plantation, but saw no Indians, but they traced 2 tracks from the sugar house, to an oak tree in the woods, near the place in a westerly direction, where the persons appeared to have rested, with the dent of a gun next to the footsteps."¹¹⁰

Away during the attack, Levy brought in appraisers who valued his losses at \$25,000.¹¹¹ Fortunately none of the residents or slaves was harmed. It has been estimated that more than one thousand slaves took advantage of the disruption in East Florida and fled for freedom.¹¹² The slaves at Pilgrimage, however, did not escape. Although the precise reasons are unknown, the plantation's humane environment was probably a leading factor. Levy and his plantation manager, Mr. Verhain, were thus spared from an even greater catastrophe. Verhain salvaged some equipment and transported it to Micanopy for safekeeping. Subsequently, the town was barricaded and turned into a fort, but Micanopy's fate also ended in calamity after the U.S. Army elected to abandon the area. On August 24, 1836, rather than allow anything of value to benefit the enemy, the settlement was burned to the ground, thus compounding Moses Levy's losses.¹¹³ After fourteen years of persistent struggle, nothing remained of his utopia other than vast tracks of land that he could not sell and from which settlers fled in terror.

Banking failures during the Panic of 1837 further reduced Levy's assets. Aside from a few years in New York City, Moses Levy resided in St. Augustine where he managed to survive on a paltry sum. Still one of the largest landowners in Florida, he was \$50,000 in debt and suffered bouts of depression.¹¹⁴ While his fortunes declined, his son David's political ambitions soared. Elected as Florida's sole delegate to Congress, he championed both statehood and the emerging railroad industry. As a U.S. senator and the leader of the state Democratic party, David Levy added the original family surname of "Yulee" and became one of the most powerful figures in antebellum Florida. Ironically, his forceful

pro-slavery and states rights advocacy was the antithesis of his father's communal egalitarianism. While David Yulee's stay at Pilgrimage apparently did nothing to alter his conservative views, the commercial potential of sugar manufacture became firmly inculcated. While a senator, Yulee promoted the sugar industry by exhibiting a sample of Florida cane "between ten and eleven feet long" inside the U.S. Capitol.¹¹⁵ Before and during the Civil War, Yulee's \$100,000 Margarita Plantation in Homosassa became an efficient steam-powered operation, capable of producing 185,000 pounds of sugar annually.¹¹⁶

Evaluation and Closure of a Remarkable Life

As a vigorous financial model, Pilgrimage pales in relation to Margarita. However the impetus behind each of these endeavors was so vastly different that it makes any such comparison especially difficult. According to social historians, such as Robert S. Fogarty, the importance of backwoods utopias, communities that existed largely on "the periphery of American history and society," should not be based solely on such conventional standards as size, profitability, or longevity.¹¹⁷ These measures, while perfectly appropriate elsewhere, do not incorporate the philosophical reasoning that motivated such high-risk ventures. For instance, other utopian experiments, like New York's Oneida Community, evolved into long-term, lucrative operations but were terribly flawed and oppressive in their treatment of members. Conversely Robert Owen's New Harmony settlement in Indiana lasted only a few years, but Owen's stature and influence as a humanitarian innovator were considerable. Therefore the intellectual concepts that formed the core of communities such as Pilgrimage as well as the effect these beliefs had on others also should be reckoned in any assessment and should be accorded major significance.¹¹⁸

Moses Levy's publication of *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery* as well as his other activities in England should not be judged in isolation from his Florida venture. After all, the very reason he was abroad was to assure the survival of Pilgrimage. Furthermore, as a result of Levy's decision to implement his "Sacred Cause" in Florida, other issues also appeared imminently feasible.

*Title page from the 1999 reprint edition of Moses Elias Levy's
A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery (London, 1828).
{Wacahoota Press, Micanopy, Florida.}*

Educational reform, abolitionism, a radical restructuring of Judaism, women's rights, and protests against antisemitism came to the forefront during Levy's Pilgrimage endeavor. After the plantation's destruction and the loss of his considerable fortune, however, Levy drew inward. He began to doubt the practicality of his convictions and suspected that human nature was incapable of fulfilling the dictates of the Bible. After a court ruling cleared Levy's land titles, a portion of his former wealth was finally restored in his later years, but this did little to diminish his profound disillusionment. His ambitions for utopian building were not rekindled, a stance that coincided with a general decline in the communitarian movement during the 1850s.¹¹⁹ Instead many radical reformers and progressives sought new and exotic beliefs, including spiritualism, mesmerism, phrenology, and water cures. Levy shared a similar fascination with these "sciences."¹²⁰ Ultimately, however, and despite his best efforts, there was still no Jewish nation and no Promised Land.

On September 7, 1854, Moses Levy died quietly while taking the water cure with a group of friends at the acclaimed White Sulphur Springs resort in Virginia (present West Virginia). Contrary to his fears he did not die alone and, according to one companion, Colonel John M. Hanson of St. Augustine, "the funeral was attended by a large number of persons."¹²¹ However neither Senator Yulee nor any other family member traveled to Virginia for the services. Unlike his more flamboyant contemporary, the controversial Mordecai Noah, prominent Jewish publications did not eulogize Levy or even note his demise. His reluctance to engage in personal publicity resulted in a degree of anonymity and he passed from the scene relatively unnoticed.¹²²

Despite Levy's own presumption of failure in regard to Pilgrimage, a more objective view reveals substantial accomplishments. Levy may be easily dismissed as a "Paradise Planter," to use a term coined by another nineteenth-century utopian, but not all of his notions lacked practical merit, particularly his importation of Cuban sugarcane.¹²³ At a time when "all agriculture in Florida was [considered] experimental," Levy's large expenditures in establishing his sugar operations were duly noted and

soon imitated.¹²⁴ Presumably his vine and olive venture did not meet expectations. Therefore Pilgrimage became a social and agricultural experiment in progress. In England sugar itself was stigmatized and boycotted by many abolitionists as being the unsavory product of brutal West Indian slave regimes. In the minds of these activists, sugar was literally made with blood and people who consumed this commodity became "partakers of other men's sins."¹²⁵ Therefore Levy's placement of sugar manufacture at the economic center of his utopian settlement was a rather revolutionary idea and certainly went against the prevailing mood among English abolitionists. In a broad sense the Pilgrimage community became the embodiment of Levy's peculiar social and religious notions. Based on the strength of his convictions and his powers of persuasion many of these ideas reached far beyond the confines of his operation on the East Florida frontier.

How Jewish settlers actually participated in Levy's plans is not fully understood, but the very existence of a Jewish communitarian settlement in the antebellum South contradicts most historical assumptions and certainly merits further note.¹²⁶ Levy's beliefs were anathema in a region where non-conformists and reformers were generally viewed with disdain and the perception of order rested upon a rigid social hierarchy.¹²⁷ Therefore Pilgrimage's existence can best be explained in terms of the atypical nature of early territorial Florida. Immense and under-populated, the former Spanish borderland was physically and culturally isolated from the rest of the South. Moreover there was an influx of new citizens from both north and south, as well as an exodus of Spanish inhabitants. In fact "Yankees" constituted a distinct and often contentious faction in East Florida and were often appointed to high office.¹²⁸ Overall the region still lacked a rigid plantation caste system, and after years of Catholic monopoly, residents began to experience a newfound sense of religious freedom.¹²⁹ Within this transitional milieu, Levy's dual status as a foreigner and Jewish visionary did not provoke a high degree of suspicion or hostility, as would be expected within more typical areas of the South. To the contrary, as we have seen, leading members of society actually aided his early efforts.

Levy's communal-utopian impulses also contradict traditional assumptions about Jews of the early nineteenth century. On this subject historian Jacob R. Marcus is especially adamant: "Jews were quite content to remain loyal to their own collective ethos and tradition. Gentile communitarianism, with its centrifugality, left them untouched. All Jewry constituted a 'community.'"¹³⁰ In Marcus's view Jews enacted their differences, even in the most extreme cases, merely by the formation of splinter congregations. He never imagined they would share in the same notions that compelled many Christians to join backwoods enclaves, at least not during this early period. Marcus may have ignored the liberality and idealism of some Jews, as well as underestimated the influence of Protestant culture, particularly the religious revivalism of the Second Great Awakening. As the case of Mordecai Noah illustrates, Levy was certainly not the only Jew who harbored utopian ambitions. The motivations of individual settlers may have been far more pragmatic; the allure of free land, transportation, and housing would have been powerful incentives to immigrants.

Remarkably, even after East Florida adopted cultural standards that were more typical of the Deep South, Levy was never completely shunned from society. Most would have regarded his ideas as eccentric, to say the least, and David Yulee's Whig opponents often publicly ridiculed the elder Levy for partisan advantage. In general, however, especially among the older inhabitants of St. Augustine, Levy was afforded a degree of respect and acceptance in the community. As one local newspaper editorialist noted: "Few of the settlers who came to Florida after the cession brought more wealth, talent, or energy with them and few have comported themselves more usefully or honorably in their general transactions."¹³¹ From the southern perspective, as long as Levy kept his radical ideas to himself, his days as a Paradise Planter could be overlooked, and, in time, mercifully forgotten.

NOTES

¹ P[eter] Pelham to John C. Calhoun, September 26, 1822, in W. Edwin Hemphill, ed., *Papers of John C. Calhoun*, VII (Columbia, SC., 1959–1986), 283.

² “Moses E. Levy,” [St. Augustine] *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, December 31, 1841.

³ *Ibid.* For a first-hand report concerning Levy’s supposed introduction of sugarcane see deposition of Bartolo Masters, November 16, 1841, in House Report 450, 27th Congress, 2nd session, 1842, 99.

⁴ M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (St. Augustine), September 29, 1823, Myers Papers, Jean Outland Chrysler Museum Library (hereafter cited as JOC), Norfolk, VA.

⁵ For a brief discussion of Levy’s utopianism see Jacob Rader Marcus, *United States Jewry 1776–1985*, I (Detroit, 1989–1993), 364–367.

⁶ “The Case of David Levy,” [St. Augustine] *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, December 3, 1841.

⁷ Levy’s correspondence, particularly M. E. Levy to Rachel [Levy Henriques], September 1, 1853, box 40, David Levy Yulee Papers (hereafter cited as Yulee Papers), P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL (hereafter cited as PKY) and the newly acquired Reuben Charles Papers at PKY which consist of documents from Pilgrimage Plantation and refute the accepted position that no Jewish settlers arrived at Levy’s settlement. For examples of this negative view see Joseph Gary Adler, “Moses Elias Levy and Attempts to Colonize Florida,” in Samuel Proctor and Louis Schmier, eds., *Jews of the South: Selected Essays from the Southern Jewish Historical Society*, (Macon, GA, 1984), 26; Malcolm H. Stern, “The 1820s: American Jewry Comes of Age,” in Jonathan D. Sarna, ed., *The American Jewish Experience*, 2nd ed., (New York, 1997), 36.

⁸ Chris Monaco, Introduction, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery, Consistently with the Interests of All Parties Concerned*, by Moses E. Levy (1828; reprint, Micanopy, FL, 1999), v–xxii.

⁹ In 1837 Moses Cohen founded Shalom, a short-lived agricultural colony located in Ulster County, New York. After the Civil War, among such efforts were the 1881 Sicily Island colony in Louisiana and Alliance farm, founded in 1882 in New Jersey, one of five Jewish agrarian colonies that operated in that state until 1920. See Pearl W. Bartelt, “American Jewish Agricultural Colonies,” in Donald E. Pitzer, ed., *America’s Communal Utopias*, (Chapel Hill, 1997), 352–362. Unfortunately Bartelt fails to consider the work of Jonathan Sarna and others and mistakenly concludes that M. M. Noah’s Ararat was the “first Jewish agricultural colony in the United States.” See Jonathan D. Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew: The Two Worlds of Mordecai Noah* (New York, 1981), 73–75. For further background on Alliance farm see Ellen Eisenberg, *Jewish Agricultural Colonies in New Jersey, 1882–1920* (Syracuse, 1995).

¹⁰ W. Fitzhugh Brundage, *A Socialist Utopia in the New South: The Ruskin Colonies in Tennessee and Georgia* (Urbana and Chicago, 1996), 6, 206, n. 29, n. 35; see also Arthur E. Bestor, Jr., “Patent Office Models of the Good Society: Some Relationships between Social Reform and Westward Expansion,” *American Historical Review* 58 (April 1953): 506–507.

¹¹ For Levy’s birth date see M. E. Levy to Mr. and Mrs. [David] Yulee, October 1, 1852, box 40, Yulee Papers, PKY.

¹² Levy to [Henriques], September 1, 1853, Yulee Papers, PKY.

¹³ Chris Monaco, Introduction, "A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery, Consistently with the Interests of All Parties Concerned," by Moses Elias Levy (London, 1828), *American Jewish Archives Journal* 51 (1999): 111. See also Leon Huhner, "Moses Elias Levy, An Early Florida Pioneer and the Father of Florida's First Senator," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 19 (April 1941): 320; David Corcos, *Studies in the History of the Jews of Morocco* (Jerusalem, 1976), 119.

¹⁴ His partner, Philip Benjamin, was the father of Judah P. Benjamin, United States Senator and Confederate Secretary of State. For Levy's partnership with both Philip and his brother Emanuel Benjamin see *St. Croix Gazette*, July 18, 1808, January 2, 1809. Philip eventually left the concern to work for his father in *St. Croix*. Their partnership did not last long and the company was dissolved a year later. See *ibid.*, June 1, 1810.

¹⁵ For a history of Levy's relationship with the Ramirez family see M. E. Levy, letter to the editor, [St. Augustine] *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, February 1, 1843, January 23, 1843.

¹⁶ "Philanthropy," letter to the editor, [Curacao] *De Curacaosche Courant*, November 27, 1819. See also *Encyclopaedia Judaica*, 1st ed., s.v. "Hep! Hep!"

¹⁷ M. E. Levy to Samuel Myers (Havana), March 1, 1820, Myers Papers, JOC.

¹⁸ Levy to Myers (New York), November 1, 1818, Myers Papers, Jacob Rader Marcus Center of the American Jewish Archives (hereafter cited as AJA), Cincinnati, OH.

¹⁹ Levy to Myers, March 1, 1820, JOC.

²⁰ For Levy's utopian plan see Levy to Myers, November 1, 1818, AJA.

²¹ Levy to Myers, August 6, 1819, JOC.

²² Monaco, Introduction, *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, xii.

²³ Levy to Myers (New York), October 30, 1818, AJA.

²⁴ "Item No. 3—Messrs. Hernandez & Cheavitean in account with Fernando M. Arredondo," August 3, 1820 (Havana), in H. Rept. 450, 135. Almost half of the purchase price of \$35,875 was bartered in the form of 15,000 pounds of copper kettles. Hernandez and Cheavitean (alternately spelled Cheaviteau) were Levy's agents in the transaction.

²⁵ M. E. Levy to Isaac L. Goldsmid, November 25, 1825, in Jacob Toury, "M. E. Levy's Plan for a Jewish Colony: 1825," in Lloyd P. Gartner, ed., *Michael, On the History of the Jews in the Diaspora*, (Tel-Aviv, 1975), 33.

²⁶ Rebecca Gratz to Mrs. Hoffman, c. 1820-1822, cited in Adler, "Moses Elias Levy and Attempts to Colonize Florida," 29.

²⁷ Monaco, Introduction, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, xii.

²⁸ M. E. Levy to Samuel Myers (New York), October 30, 1818, AJA.

²⁹ M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (Pilgrimage Plantation), January 2, 1829, JOC.

³⁰ "Marine News," [St. Augustine] *Florida Gazette*, July 28, 1821; deposition of J. R. Evertson, April 25, 1842, in H. Rept. 450, appendix, 3.

³¹ M. E. Levy and Hannah Levy, Divorce Petition, May 12, 1815, in J. O. Bro-Jorgensen to Mary MacRae (Copenhagen), January 15, 1950, box 1, Yulee Papers, PKY.

³² M. E. Levy to Samuel Myers (Havana), October 20, 1820, Myers Papers, JOC.

³³ The very name Pilgrimage was perfectly in keeping with the utopian mindset. By traveling from the mundane and imperfect world to a place of new beginnings pilgrims would partake in a sacred, inner-transformation. See Robert S. Fogarty, Introduction, "Paradise Planters," *Dictionary of American Communal and Utopian History* (Westport, CT, 1980), xix-xx.

³⁴ This location is in reference to present-day Alachua County. Originally the county extended from the Georgia border to far south of Tampa Bay.

³⁵ The area of Pilgrimage is located three miles west of the present town of Micanopy, Florida, between Levy and Ledwith Lakes. See Caroline Barr Watkins, *The Story of Historic Micanopy* (Gainesville, FL, 1976), 29; "Topographical survey of military section No. 7 by Lieutenant George C. Thomas" and "Map of Square No. 7--Micanopy and Vicinity by Captain G. I. Raines," 1835-1842, L. 247 Portfolio, Chief of Engineers Civil Works Map File, RG 77, Cartographic Division, National Archives, College Park, Maryland.

³⁶ For Levy's activities in Matanzas see deposition of J. M. Hernandez, September 1, 1841, H. Rept. 450, 136-137. Levy's Hope Hill and Pilgrimage plantations are discussed in Leon Huhner, "Moses Elias Levy, Florida Pioneer," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 19 (April 1941): 330-332. For specific reference to Palatka as the beginning of the road see Deposition of Moses E. Levy, July 22, 1844, folder 6, box 215, St. Johns Circuit Court Records, St. Augustine Historical Society Library, St. Augustine, FL (hereafter cited as SAHS); copy of a statement written by Julia Edwards, 1885, box 51, Manuscripts Collection, PKY.

³⁷ A. J. Hanna, *A Prince in their Midst: The Adventurous Life of Achille Murat on the American Frontier* (Norman, OK, 1946), 73, 86.

³⁸ M. E. Levy and A. A. Rutan, Exhibit A, Articles of Agreement, June 21, 1822, *Rutan v. Levy*, folder 35, box 155, St. Johns Circuit Court Records, SAHS; deposition of Harmon H. Holli[m]on, November 24, 1832, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," typescript, 33-34, PKY; Deposition of Charles Robion, November 15, 1841, H. Report 450, 95-96.

³⁹ Exhibit B, Hope Hill Establishment, 1822, *Rutan v. Levy*, SAHS.

⁴⁰ Levy quote from extract of a letter from Moses E. Levy to F. S. Warburg, August 6, 1821, in H. Report 450, 59.

⁴¹ *Horatio Dexter v. Moses Levy* [1824], folder 31, box 134, Civil Cases St. Johns County, SAHS.

⁴² For reference to Governor Worthington's award to Levy see W[illiam] G. D. Worthington to John C. Calhoun, March 9, 1822, in Hemphill, ed., *Papers of John C. Calhoun*, VII: 735. For the presence of trading stores at both establishments see Deposition of Francis P. Sanchez, October 28, 1823, *Rutan v. Levy*, folder 35, box 155, St. Johns Circuit Court Records, SAHS.

⁴³ Chris Monaco, "Fort Mitchell and the Settlement of the Alachua Country," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (Summer 2000): 24.

⁴⁴ Thomas Murphy to Horatio Dexter, April 25, 1822, in James David Glunt, "Plantation and Frontier Records of East and Middle Florida," (Ph.D. diss., University of Michigan, 1930), 122. The style and content of this letter suggest that Dexter rather than Murphy was the correspondent.

⁴⁵ Levy and Rutan, Articles of Agreement, SAHS.

⁴⁶ M. E. Levy, "To the Honourable the Commissioners appointed to ascertain Claims and Titles in East Florida," August 14, 1823, file A-28, box 2, series 990, RG 599, Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL (hereafter cited as FSA).

⁴⁷ For Levy's investment in the Arredondo Grant see Indenture between F. M. Arredondo, Sr., agent and attorney-in-fact for Arredondo & Son, and Moses E. Levy, January 1, 1822, in "Notes Re: Arredondo Family," [n.d.], typescript, 42-43, PKY. For Levy's participation in the company see "A meeting of the owners of lands in East Florida known by the

name of the Alachua tract, at Lewis tavern, New York," November 4, 1822, Florida Association of New York File, box 1, James Glunt Papers, PKY; Deposition of Moses E. Levy, July 22, 1844, folder 6, box 215, St. Johns Circuit Court Records, SAHS

⁴⁸ M. E. Levy and Reuben Charles, [letter of agreement], September 23, 1823, Reuben Charles Papers, PKY. For reference to Antonio Rutan's abandonment of his duties at Pilgrimage see Deposition of Alexander Hamilton, September 22, 1823, and Deposition of Francis P. Sanchez, September 20, 1823, *Rutan v. Levy*, SAHS.

⁴⁹ "Dr. William Simmons sworn, and examined by claimants attorney," [n.d.], in Walter Lowie, ed., *American State Papers: Documents, legislative and executive, of the Congress of the United States, in relation to the public lands, from the first session of the first Congress to the first session of the twenty-third Congress: March 4, 1789, to June 15, 1834*, III (Washington, DC, 1834), 728, cited by Joe Knetsch, "The Big Arredondo Grant: A Study in Confusion" (paper presented to the Micanopy Historical Society, September 13, 1991), 9, PKY.

⁵⁰ Reference to the practice of "paying Indian negroes" for their labor is made in the Deposition of William Canuet, October 21, 1823, *ibid.*

⁵¹ The total acreage of Pilgrimage is noted in Levy and Rutan, Articles of Agreement, *Rutan v. Levy*, SAHS. For the area cleared for planting c. 1823 see testimony of Hipolite Chateannuef, [n.d.], Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, FSA.

⁵² M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (Pilgrimage Plantation), January 2, 1829, JOC.

⁵³ Examination of Frederick S. Warburg, January 7, 1824, and F. S. Warburg, Amendment of Error in case of Moses E. Levy, [n.d.], Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, FSA.

⁵⁴ Dr. Klaus Richter, e-mail message to author (concerning "Frederik" Warburg), May 18, 2001. Richter cites information in *Stamm- und Nachfahrtafeln der Familie Warburg* (Hamburg, 1937). For further information regarding the family of Frederick Warburg, see Gertrud Wenzel, *Broken Star: The Warburgs of Altona, Their Life in Germany and Their Death in the Holocaust* (Smithtown, NY, 1981). Wenzel does not mention Frederick Warburg.

⁵⁵ F. Warburg, "List of Articles delivered to me on the Pilgrimage Plantation which is under my charge," [n.d.], Charles Papers, PKY. In "Moses Elias Levy and Attempts to Colonize Florida," (p. 20) Joseph Adler asserts that Warburg was an agent "for a group of Jewish and Christian settlers" but he does not give a source for this conclusion. Documents only confirm that Warburg acted as Levy's agent in procuring Jewish settlers.

⁵⁶ Examination of Frederick S. Warburg, January 7, 1824, Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, FSA.

⁵⁷ *Ibid.*

⁵⁸ Quotation from Levy to [Henriques], September 1, 1853, Yulee Papers, PKY. Certain likely names, such as Jacob Bradenburg and a Mr. Rose, have surfaced but it is still not possible to confirm if they were indeed part of the group of Jewish families. According to Levy's agent, Francis P. Sanchez, most of Levy's settlers arrived sometime after the initial group of February 1823. While the names of the first arrivals are well-known, the identities of subsequent settlers were seldom recorded; Deposition of Francisco P. Sanchez, October 2, 1824, Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, FSA.

⁵⁹ Levy to [Henriques], September 1, 1853, Yulee Papers, PKY.

⁶⁰ M. E. Levy to Samuel Myers, August 6, 1819, JOC.

⁶¹ Separate housing even extended to his son, Elias. See M. E. Levy to Reuben Charles, August 12, 1824, Charles Papers, PKY.

⁶² A few historians have mistakenly attributed a grand life style to Levy. For reference to Levy's Alachua "mansion" see Huhner, "Moses Elias Levy," 331. Levy's modest Matanzas house has been deemed "a magnificent home" in Bertram Wallace Korn, *Jews and Negro Slavery in the Old South, 1789-1865* (Elkins Park, PA, 1961), 14. For heretofore unknown documents relating to Levy's actual Pilgrimage home see M. E. Levy to Reuben Charles, April 26, 1824, July 30, 1824, and agreement between Mr. Moses Elias Levy, planter, and Mr. James Edwards, April 17, 1824, Reuben Charles Papers, PKY.

⁶³ Wauburg is a corruption of the original spelling. See Watkins, *The Story of Historic Miccanopy*, 86.

⁶⁴ While Levy may have avoided pork, he did not adhere to kosher dietary rules. For a list of livestock as well as an inventory of Pilgrimage see F. Warburg, "List of Articles delivered to me on the Pilgrimage Plantation which is under my charge," (c. 1824), and E[lias] Levy, "A List of articles found in the Store & delivered to Mr. Charles," October 1, 1824, Charles Papers, PKY.

⁶⁵ Testimony of Hipolite Chateannuef, [n.d.], Confirmed Spanish Land Grant Claims, FSA.

⁶⁶ M. E. Levy to Reuben Charles, July 30, 1824, Charles Papers, PKY. Pelaklikaha is also noted in Warburg, "List of Articles," PKY.

⁶⁷ Brent R. Weisman, "The Plantation System of the Florida Seminole Indians and Black Seminoles during the Colonial Era," in Jane G. Landers, ed., *Colonial Plantations and Economy in Florida*, (Gainesville, 2000), 142.

⁶⁸ Bill of Sale, Moses E. Levy, 4 December 1839, Deed Book N, 572-573, St. Johns County Records, St. Augustine, FL (copy in possession of the author). For Levy's reference to ten slaves at Pilgrimage see M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (Pilgrimage Plantation), January 2, 1829, JOC.

⁶⁹ "Sugar Planting," *Nile's Register*, June 15, 1833.

⁷⁰ This aspect of Levy's thinking is very much in evidence in M. E. Levy to Samuel Myers, 6 August 1819, JOC. Invoking a biblical economic standard was thoroughly in keeping with abolitionist thought. See James L. Huston, "Abolitionists, Political Economists, and Capitalism," *Journal of the Early Republic* 20 (Fall 2000): 488-489.

⁷¹ Larry Eugene Rivers, *Slavery in Florida: Territorial Days to Emancipation* (Gainesville, 2000), 225.

⁷² For Levy's specific request for "field negroes in families" see Levy to Myers, January 2, 1829, JOC.

⁷³ Levy, *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, 19-20.

⁷⁴ Quotation from Amy Dru Stanley, "The Right to Possess All the Faculties That God Has Given: Possessive Individualism, Slave Women, and Abolitionist Thought," in Karen Halttunen and Lewis Perry, eds., *Moral Problems in American Life*, (Ithaca, NY, 1998), 130, n. 15.

⁷⁵ Franklin F. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, 1970), 75-76.

⁷⁶ Levy, *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, 11.

⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, 27.

⁷⁸ Levy's views are very similar to evangelical thought. See Boyd Hilton, *The Age of Atonement: The Influence of Evangelicalism on Social and Economic Thought, 1795-1865* (Oxford, 1988), 120.

⁷⁹ M. E. Levy, letter to the editor, [London] *The World*, June 20, 1827.

⁸⁰ *Ibid.*, June 6, 1827.

⁸¹ Levy quotation from M. E. Levy to Samuel Myers, March 1, 1820 (Havana), Myers Papers, JOC. Additional reasons behind his American settlement can be found in M. E. Levy to Isaac L. Goldsmid, November 25, 1825, in Toury, "M. E. Levy's Plan for a Jewish Colony," 33.

⁸² Levy to Myers, November 1, 1818, AJA.

⁸³ Levy to Myers, June 8, 1819, JOC.

⁸⁴ Levy to Myers, November 1, 1818, AJA.

⁸⁵ "The Case of David Levy," [St. Augustine] *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, December 3, 1841. Apparently "Harmonite" was either a reference to Robert Owen's short-lived New Harmony experiment in Indiana or the original Harmony Society founded by the radical German pietist Johann Georg Rapp. Both adhered to a communitarian lifestyle, although Owen was a committed secularist. In any case, the intended usage of "Harmonite" was certainly one of derision.

⁸⁶ Alexander Hamilton to John C. Calhoun, July 20, 1822, in Hemphill, ed., *Papers of John C. Calhoun*, VII, 218. Hamilton's status as the son of Alexander Hamilton is not generally known among Florida historians. Regarding confirmation of Hamilton's lineage see Larry Hamilton Sr., e-mail message to author, (concerning Alexander Hamilton, Jr.) April 18, 2001. Larry Hamilton, president of the Hamilton National Genealogical Society, cites information held in the society's files.

⁸⁷ "A meeting of the owners of lands in East Florida," November 4, 1822, Glunt Papers, PKY. For Forbes's agent status see Huhner, "Moses Elias Levy," 326.

⁸⁸ W[illiam] G. D. Worthington to John C. Calhoun, March 9, 1822, in *Papers of John C. Calhoun*, VII, 735.

⁸⁹ "Speech of Col. J. W. D. Worthington, Delivered in the House of Delegates of Maryland, 1824, on the Jew Bill," in H. M. Brackenridge, *Speeches on the Jew Bill, in the House of delegates of Maryland, by H. M. Brackenridge, Col. W. G. D. Worthington, and John S. Tyson, Esquire. Together with an argument on the chancery powers, and an eulogy on Thomas Jefferson, and John Adams, &c.* (Philadelphia, 1829), 136; see also Marcus, *United States Jewry*, 500-505; Benjamin H. Hartogensis, "Unequal Religious Rights in Maryland Since 1776," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* 25 (1917), 93-107.

⁹⁰ Levy departed New York harbor on the ship "Crisis" on May 20, 1825. This vessel was bound for London. See M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (New York), May 19, 1825, Myers Papers, JOC.

⁹¹ Levy borrowed a total of 150,000 francs while living in Paris in 1826 and during the following year he mortgaged land to obtain an additional 2,110 pounds in London. See Agreement between Moses Elias Levy and Joseph Delevante, March 15, 1827, Deed Book A, Alachua County Ancient Records, Records Office, Alachua County Court House, Gainesville, FL.

⁹² For Noah's involvement in the Florida Association see, "A meeting of the owners of lands in East Florida," November 4, 1822, Glunt Papers, PKY.

⁹³ Sarna, *Jacksonian Jew*, 66.

⁹⁴ [London] *The World*, May 19 and July 9, 1828.

⁹⁵ Levy, *A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, 12-16

⁹⁶ "Abolition of Slavery," [London] *The World*, September 10, 1828.

⁹⁷ *Ibid.*, August 20, 1828.

⁹⁸ Mel Scult, *Millennial Expectations and Jewish Liberties: A Study of the Efforts to Convert the Jews in Britain, up to the Mid Nineteenth Century* (Leiden, 1978), 91, 129.

⁹⁹ Monaco, Introduction, "A Plan for the Abolition of Slavery," 109.

¹⁰⁰ Quotation from "A True Israelite," in "A Few Remarks. On a Letter which appeared in the World Newspaper of the Month of June, 1828, disclaiming a certain Petition to Parliament concerning the Jews," (c. 1828), De Sola Pamphlets 2, Special Collections, University College London.

¹⁰¹ [London] *The World*, August 6, 1828; Marcus, *United States Jewry*, 368.

¹⁰² Rev. D. Wilson, *Thoughts on British Colonial Slavery* (London, 1828), 1.

¹⁰³ [Joseph] Crooll, letter to the editor, [London] *The World*, July 2, 1828.

¹⁰⁴ *Ibid.*, Samuel Levy Keyzer, letter to the editor, July 30, 1828.

¹⁰⁵ M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (Pilgrimage Plantation), January 2, 1829, JOC.

¹⁰⁶ David Levy's abrupt departure from Norfolk has often been misrepresented; see Charles Wickliffe Yulee, *Senator Yulee of Florida: A Biographical Sketch* (Jacksonville, FL, 1909), 5. This account, which is full of fanciful errors, asserts that Moses Levy arbitrarily withdrew all support of his son, David. Letters from both father and son contradict this assumption. For a more accurate view see David Levy's farewell letter to his guardian Moses Myers; David Levy to Moses Myers (Norfolk), April 17, 1827, Myers Papers, JOC. For Moses Levy's reaction to David's departure see M. E. Levy to Moses Myers (London), July 26, 1827, *ibid.*

¹⁰⁷ M. E. Levy to Mr. [Jonathan Mendes] Dacosta, September 18, 1845, Yulee Papers, PKY.

¹⁰⁸ Samuel Proctor, "Pioneer Jewish Settlement in Florida; 1765–1900," in *Proceedings of the Conference on the Writing of Regional History in the South with Special Emphasis on Religious and Cultural Groups* (Miami Beach, 1956), 89.

¹⁰⁹ Levy to [Henriques], September 1, 1853, Yulee Papers, PKY. If the experience of both the McIntosh and Clinch plantations is any indication, the fertility of the soil at Pilgrimage may have been seriously depleted. Land at the former plantations was reported to have been "exhausted at the time they were abandoned," by the time of the Second Seminole War. See *DeBows Review* 4 (October 1847), 248.

¹¹⁰ As quoted by Dr. Joe Knetsch, "The Land Grants of Moses E. Levy and the Development of Central Florida: The Practical Side" (paper presented to the Micanopy Historical Society, January 10, 1998), 1, PKY.

¹¹¹ Levy to [Henriques], September 1, 1853, Yulee Papers, PKY.

¹¹² Rivers, *Slavery in Florida*, 148–149.

¹¹³ "Moses E. Levy," January 26, 1839, H. Report 236, 3rd Session, 25th Congress, facsimile in Watkins, *Story of Historic Micanopy*.

¹¹⁴ Monaco, Introduction, *Plan for the Abolition of Slavery*, xxi.

¹¹⁵ "Products of Florida—Sugar," *DeBows Review* 5 (April 1848), 367.

¹¹⁶ Robin L. Denson, Gary D. Ellis, and Russell Dorsey, *Yulee Sugar Mill Ruins: The Archaeological and Historical Study of the State Historic Site* (Crystal River, FL, 1997), 24.

For Yulee's valuation of Margarita see D. L. Yulee, memo, (c. 1865), box 30, Yulee Papers, PKY.

¹¹⁷ Quotation from Fogarty, "Paradise Planters," xv.

¹¹⁸ *Ibid.*, xiv–xv.

¹¹⁹ John L. Thomas, "Antislavery and Utopia," in Martin Duberman, ed., *The Antislavery Vanguard: New Essays on the Abolitionists*, (Princeton, NJ, 1965), 266–267.

¹²⁰ Levy's views on spiritualism, mesmerism, and phrenology are interspersed throughout "Notes of manuscript writings of M. E. Levy deceased," [n.d.], box 1, Yulee Papers, PKY. For a discussion of the role of spiritualism in the lives of nineteenth-century social activists see Nell Irvin Painter, *Sojourner Truth: A Life, A Symbol* (New York, 1996), 143–148.

¹²¹ Hanson quoted by David Yulee in D. L. Yulee to Rahma [Levy] DaCosta, October 11, 1854, box 3, Yulee Papers, PKY.

¹²² Noah's abortive plans for a Jewish colony garnered notice even after his death. See "A Funeral Panegyric," *Occident and American Jewish Advocate*, 9 (May 1851), 98.

¹²³ Fogarty, "Paradise Planters," xiv.

¹²⁴ Quotation from [St. Augustine] *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, December 31, 1841.

¹²⁵ "What Does Your Sugar Cost?" *A Cottage Conversation on the subject of British Negro Slavery* (Birmingham, Eng., 1828), 6.

¹²⁶ Brundage, *Socialist Utopia in the New South*, 14.

¹²⁷ Brian J. L. Berry, *America's Utopian Experiments: Communal Havens from Long-Wave Crises* (Hanover, NH, 1992), 6–9; David Hackett Fischer, *Albion's Seed: Four British Folkways in America* (New York, 1989), 855.

¹²⁸ Herbert J. Doherty, Jr., "Political Factions in Territorial Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (October 1949): 133.

¹²⁹ Daniel L. Schafer, "'A Class of People Neither Freemen nor Slaves': From Spanish to American Race Relations in Florida, 1821 to 1861," *Journal of Social History* 26 (Spring 1993): 587–602.

¹³⁰ Marcus, *United States Jewry*, 286.

¹³¹ [St. Augustine] *Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, December 10, 1841.