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# Canaveral National Seashore

## Historic Resource Study

September 2008

written by Susan Parker

edited by Robert W. Blythe



**Cultural Resources Division  
Southeast Regional Office  
National Park Service  
100 Alabama Street, SW  
Atlanta, Georgia 30303  
404.562.3117**

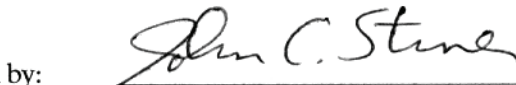
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212 S. Washington Street  
Titusville, FL 32796

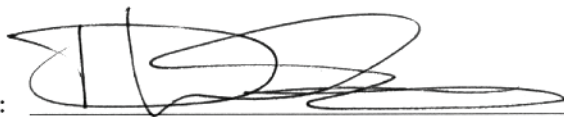
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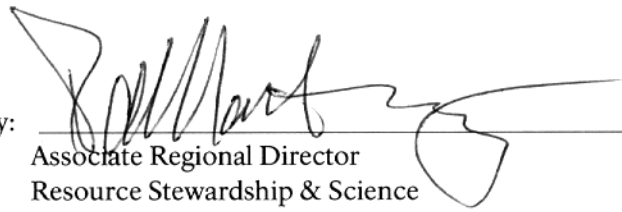
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# Canaveral National Seashore

## Historic Resource Study

Approved by:  9-11-08  
Acting Superintendent Date  
Canaveral National Seashore

Recommended by:  9/16/08  
Chief, Cultural Resources Date  
Southeast Regional Office

Recommended by:  9/22/08  
Associate Regional Director Date  
Resource Stewardship & Science  
Southeast Regional Office

Approved by:  9-22-08  
Regional Director Date  
Southeast Regional Office



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# Acknowledgements

This study is part of an ongoing effort by the NPS Southeast Regional Office's Cultural Resources Division to provide baseline historical documentation for the region's parks. Many people contributed to this study, but we wish to especially thank Dr. Daniel Schafer, Professor Emeritus and former Chair of the History Department, University of North Florida, who graciously provided a summary of his findings on the Elliott plantation for inclusion in this document. Much of the information has only recently been uncovered during his research in Great Britain, and his work played a major role in initiating an archeological investigation of the site. Information on the Kings Road extension from New Smyrna to the Elliott plantation was provided by Dot Moore of the Florida Anthropological Society and Roz Foster of the North Brevard Heritage Foundation. Roz Foster also helped document Clifton school, Haulover Canal, and the community of Allenhurst, and she is the source for several historic photographs. John "Kip" Hulvershorn deserves special mention for the task of sifting through many contacts, databases, files, and websites to track down the illustrations. Gary Luther and Harlan Hutchins of the Southeast Volusia Historical Society also supplied historic photos and were indispensable for their knowledge of local history.

Three members of the Seashore's staff should receive mention. Bruce Rosel provided detailed information on the renovation of the Seminole Rest buildings and Reid Miller, a former interpreter at the Seashore and now with the U.S. Forest Service, offered many constructive leads, comments, and little-known information, especially pertaining to the history of Eldora. Reid also reviewed the initial drafts and at his urging the document was revised to become more specific to the park area. His timely encouragement when the project became prolonged was especially helpful. Finally, John Stiner, the park's resource management specialist, was tireless in his commitment to the project and his willingness to respond to questions and requests for information. Without him, there would have been significant gaps and errors in the study.

Finally, Bob Blythe, former chief of the history branch of the Cultural Resources Division, kept the project moving, even after he left the National Park Service and moved to France, and added more park-specific information.





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# Chapter 1: Introduction

The 57,661 acres of Canaveral National Seashore (“the Seashore”) are located on the Atlantic coast of Florida approximately 25 miles south of Daytona Beach and a bit more than 50 miles east of Orlando. The Seashore has lands in both Brevard and Volusia Counties. The communities of Edgewater and New Smyrna Beach are just beyond the Seashore’s northern boundary, Oak Hill adjoins the Seashore on the northwest, and Titusville lies just west of the southern boundary. Along the eastern edge of the Seashore is a narrow ribbon of barrier island. Behind the island’s dunes, the estuary of Mosquito Lagoon washes the banks of the oceanfront island and of Merritt Island to the west, which is actually a peninsula extending south from Oak Hill and separated from the mainland by Indian River.

Canaveral National Seashore was authorized by the 93<sup>rd</sup> Congress in the Act of January 3, 1975 (P.L. 93-626). A general statement of the Seashore’s purpose is included in Section 1 of the Act:

That in order to preserve and protect the outstanding natural, scenic, scientific, ecologic, and historic values of certain lands, shoreline, and waters of the State of Florida and to provide for public outdoor recreation use and enjoyment of the same, there is hereby established the Canaveral National Seashore.

The Seashore evolved out of lands acquired by the Federal government for the purpose of housing the facilities for its aerospace program at Cape Canaveral. A belt of vacant lands around the facilities was needed for safety and security, so that today these lands are available for public recreation unless required by the aerospace program.

## Establishment of Canaveral National Seashore

Although the needs of the space program may have been the immediate spur in the creation of the Seashore, the national seashore initiative dates to the 1930s. As the NPS underwent substantial expansion after 1933, serious thought was given for the first time to setting aside undeveloped portions of the nation’s seashore as units of the National Park System, but prior to the country’s entry into World War II, only Cape Hatteras National Seashore had been authorized. The rapid commercial development of beach communities following the war prompted the NPS in 1954 to undertake another survey to identify “outstanding stretches” of relatively undeveloped coastline in the eastern United States. Some 126 areas were examined, with 16 identified as having the highest priority for acquisition by the government. The Mosquito Lagoon area that later became Canaveral National Seashore was among the 16. The report noted that the 24 miles of undeveloped beach, with vegetation approaching “the natural and primeval” were a rare commodity in Florida and that the area possessed great potential for recreation. Designation of the seashore did not occur, however, until after the vast expansion of the U.S. space program in the 1960s.<sup>1</sup>

Cape Canaveral had been a United States missile-testing site since 1950, and the National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) began operations at Cape Canaveral in 1958. As the space programs expanded, the government acquired tens of thousands of acres (see Chapter Six) around the cape, and a portion of this acreage was set aside as a national wildlife refuge in 1964. Following up on the recommendations of the 1955 NPS study, Florida

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1. National Park Service, *A Report on a Seashore Recreation Survey of the Atlantic and Gulf Coasts* (Washington, D.C.: Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1955), ii, 8-9, 171.

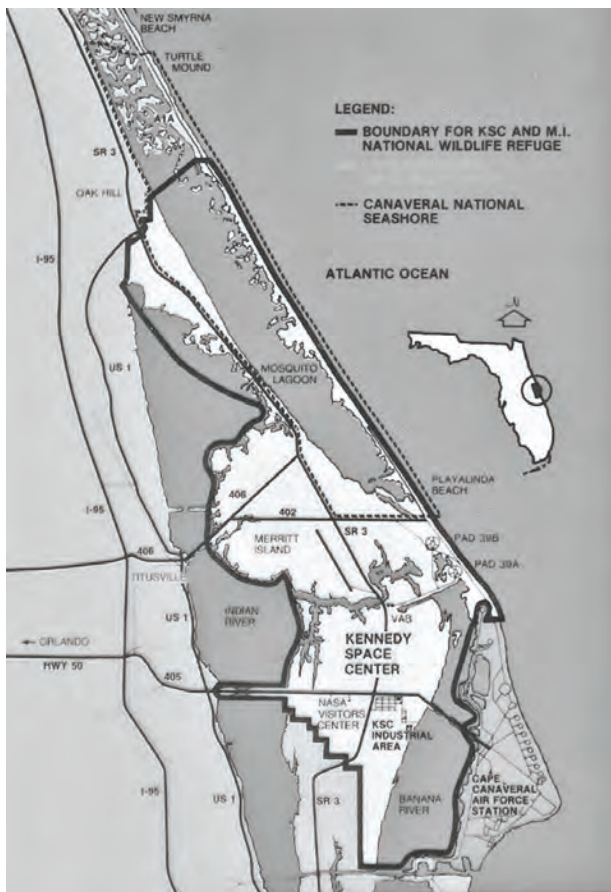


FIGURE 1. Map of Florida in vicinity of Canaveral National Seashore. (Courtesy of NASA, 1980, Photo No. 116-KSC-080PC-144)

politicians pushed for the creation of a national seashore. Discussion among the NPS, the Fish and Wildlife Service, and NASA ensued, and Congress ultimately established Canaveral National Seashore in 1975.<sup>2</sup>

## Physical Environment of the Seashore

Unlike many barrier islands, the barrier island dividing Mosquito Lagoon from the waters of the Atlantic Ocean has only a single dune ridge, averaging 12 feet in height. For the vast majority of its length, the dune is quite stable, backed by a dense growth of saw palmetto and several other species of

hardy shrubs and grasses. Mosquito Lagoon, extending along the backside of the Seashore's barrier island, is separated from the northern reaches of the Indian River by an isthmus; the Haul-over Canal allows boat traffic between the two bodies of water. Mosquito Lagoon and its many small islands account for two-thirds of the Seashore's acreage. The lagoon is one of the most diverse estuaries on the entire eastern seaboard and has been designated by the Environmental Protection Agency as an Estuary of National Significance. Mosquito Lagoon has also been declared an Outstanding Florida Water by the State of Florida. In the realm of superlatives, Canaveral National Seashore is home to more Federally protected species of plants and animals than any national park except Everglades, and it has the longest undeveloped stretch of oceanfront left along the east coast of Florida.

The barrier island system in the vicinity of Mosquito Lagoon is of relatively recent origin, having formed six to eight thousand years ago. Elevation of Merritt Island between the lagoon and Indian River ranges from 2 to 15 feet above sea level. Soils are sandy in composition. The major vegetation regimes within the Seashore are hammock,<sup>3</sup> pine flatwoods (west of the lagoon), scrub, palmetto prairie, and marsh. Many areas of swamp and marshland have been drained since 1900. Annual precipitation in the area averages 54 inches, and although the climate is subtropical, the area is subject to periodic droughts and occasional winter freezes.<sup>4</sup>

## Background History of the Area

Cape Canaveral and the central Florida coast were some of the first North American lands encountered by European explorers and invaders at the beginning of the sixteenth century. Spanish adventurers named the cape area *Cañaveral*, meaning canebrake. The area north of Cape Canaveral the Spanish called *Los Mosquitos* for the pesky, biting insect that still thrives in the area. For at least three-and-a-half centuries the area was known as Mos-

2. National Park Service, "A Study of Alternatives for Canaveral National Seashore," (n.d., unpublished mss), 1-5; Charlton W. Tebeau, *A History of Florida* (Coral Gables: University of Miami Press, 1971), 462.
3. Hammocks are areas of slightly higher elevation where trees can establish themselves in otherwise marshy areas.
4. Kathryn L. Davison and Susan P. Bratton, "The Vegetation History of Canaveral National Seashore, Florida" (Athens, Ga.: National Park Service Cooperative Unit, Institute of Ecology, University of Georgia, 1986), 7, 10-11.

quitos, referring to lands and waterways north of the Seashore around Daytona Beach and the Halifax River as well as those within the Seashore. The northern portions and sometimes more of what is now known as Mosquito Lagoon was for many years called the Hillsborough or Hillsboro River. Historically, the ocean inlet north of the Park was called Mosquito Inlet, but it is now known as Ponce de Leon Inlet.

Over 120 archeological sites have been recorded in the park, some dating as early as 2000-500 BCE (known in archeology as the Orange or Transitional period). Taking advantage of the Gulf Stream, discovered by Ponce de Leon in 1513, Spanish and other colonial powers sailed past the area on their return to Europe from the Americas between the sixteenth and eighteenth centuries. A pivotal encounter between the French and Spanish for control of Florida occurred in the vicinity of today's national seashore, and Spain and Britain were often at odds over Florida.

During the British period of control in Florida (1763-1783), English plantations were carved from the wilderness along the northern fringes of Mosquito Lagoon. Spanish land grants were awarded when the land reverted to Spanish control after 1783, but due to the remoteness of the area and, in the nineteenth century, conflict with the Seminole Indians, any development was temporary. It was not until after the Civil War that significant growth occurred in Florida, when the appropriate soil and good climate attracted citrus farmers and others, spawning communities such as Eldora, which lies within the park along the eastern shore of Mosquito Lagoon.

In the mid-twentieth century, the prominence of the U.S. aerospace program at Canaveral and the popularity of the program nationally led to the creation of many space-program related names in the region. The central Florida coast around Canaveral, for instance, became known as the Space Coast, and parts of U. S. Highway 1 were dubbed the Astronaut Trail.

## Scope and Purpose of the Historic Resource Study

This Historic Resource Study (HRS) is designed to provide a historic overview of the area encompassed by Canaveral National Seashore and to evaluate the Seashore's extant historic structures within several historic contexts. It synthesizes a variety of historical and archeological information and will assist Seashore personnel in site planning, resource management, and interpretation. As defined by NPS policy, the HRS is "the primary document used to identify and manage the historic resources in a park. It is the basis for understanding their significance and interrelationships, a point of departure for development of interpretive plans, and the framework within which additional research should be initiated."<sup>5</sup>

This study brings together information about events and persons that influenced the history of the Seashore area. Relying heavily on written resources, it does not overlook traditional oral information and lore, but seeks to verify or corroborate those sources where lore conflicts with general historic trends or with itself.

The HRS also evaluates the integrity, authenticity, associative values, and significance of individual historic structures.<sup>6</sup> One goal of this documentation and assessment is the preparation or updating of National Register of Historic Places nominations for all qualifying historic structures. To be listed in the National Register, a resource must possess significance and integrity that meet specified criteria, but historic resources may be significant at the local, state, or national levels. Each resource must also be clearly associated with and illustrative of a specific historical context, appropriate to this location. This study will identify and discuss the significance of resources owned by the National Park Service that are illustrative of the historic contexts articulated herein. The following historic resources are already listed in the National Register of Historic Places (NR):

- Old Haulover Canal (CANA 046, 8Br188), 1843, listed in 1978 (NR# 78000262)

5. *National Register Bulletin 28, Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation*, Director's Order No. 5 (Washington, D.C.: National Park Service, 1997).

6. The evaluation of prehistoric structures is beyond the scope of this study.

- Ross Hammock Site (CANA 035/Vo130, an extensive midden; CANA 039/8Vo131, two burial mounds; CANA 034/8Vo213, saltworks, c. 1860), listed in 1981 (NR# 81000083).
- Turtle Mound (CANA 006/ 8Vo109, shell mound, and CANA007/8Vo111, sand burial mound) 800-1400 CE, listed in 1978 (NR# 70000193).<sup>7</sup>
- Seminole Rest (CANA063/8Vo124, shell mound and two historic houses), listed in 1997 (NR# 97000231).
- Moulton-Wells House (Eldora State House), 1913, listed in 2001 (NR#01001247).

In addition, the Schultz House was nominated in 2002 under Criteria A (notable event) and C (architecture), but after several reviews, the SHPO recommended in 2006 that the Seashore resubmit the nomination under Criteria C only. The Seashore intends to do this in 2008.

## Historical Contexts and Themes

To make the evaluation and interpretation of historic resources more effective, the information about related historic properties is grouped into historic contexts. These contexts establish thematic, geographical, and chronological boundaries for specific aspects of the historical development of the area. Together, the historic contexts represent “a comprehensive summary of all aspects of the history of the area.”<sup>8</sup>

The area encompassed by Canaveral National Seashore has had a long and varied past. Cultural, economic, technological, and social developments as well as environmental changes have often overlapped the limits of the political and national eras. This study recognizes the broader patterns of development within the region by establishing five historic contexts that transcend traditional political periods, as follows:

- Chapter Two: Climatic Change, Rising Water Levels, and Prehistoric Human Occupation, 10,000 BCE to 1500 CE.
- Chapter Three: European Incursions and Euro-American Expansion, 1500 to 1820
- Chapter Four: Effects of Transportation Networks, 1820 to 1950
- Chapter Five: Population Influx After Wars, 1845 to 1950
- Chapter Six: The Aerospace Program, 1950 to 1975

These contexts link the history and extant historic structures of the Seashore. They also associate the Seashore’s resources with the broader interpretive themes recently established by the National Park Service.

Chapter Two, “Climatic Change, Rising Water Levels, and Prehistoric Human Occupation, 10,000 BCE to 1500 CE,” traces the environmental changes that facilitated or hampered human occupation of the area that became the Seashore and the human adaptation to continuing change. Water and water levels have so much shaped the activities in the Seashore that this chapter on the prehistoric period is included in order to set forth the long-term role of water resources. This chapter sets the stage for the inception of the historic period, which begins with the written documentation related to European exploration of the Americas. In the National Park Service’s thematic framework, this context is related to the themes “Peopling Places” and “Creating Social Institutions and Movements.”

Chapter Three, “European Incursions and Euro-American Expansion, 1500 to 1820,” traces the three centuries of the area’s status as a colony of European nations and its role within the imperial systems of Spain and Great Britain. Although on the periphery of their empires, the Seashore area was strategically located on the sailing route for transporting precious metals from the Americas to Europe—metals that undergirded European economies. Native Americans in the area of the Seashore quickly showed their shrewdness in adapting and capitalizing on European enmities and incorporating European-style manufactured goods in their daily activities. However, the overall effects of the

7. The listing is for the prehistoric features and does not include historical significance and activities.

8. *National Register Bulletin* 28, 209-10.

European influence were devastating. Exposure to new diseases, cultural upheaval, sporadic fighting and slave raiding eventually resulted in near-total elimination of the original native populations, here as elsewhere, in Florida.<sup>9</sup> European attempts to settle and develop the area were often frustrated by the destruction or checks brought about by international rivalries. In the National Park Service's thematic framework, this context is related to the themes "Peopling Places," "Creating Social Institutions and Movements," "Expressing Cultural Values," "Shaping the Political Landscape," and "The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community."

Chapter Four, "Effects of Transportation Networks, 1820 to 1950," examines the role of the Seashore's natural setting of shallow estuaries in changing modes of transportation. Sailboats and later small steamboats could use the waterways, but the introduction of and national dominance by rail and, later, motor vehicle travel did not mesh well with an area so dominated by waterways. Much of the Seashore area remained on the periphery of the transportation networks and thus on the periphery of economic development. However, the parts of the Seashore on the west side of Mosquito Lagoon, which lie adjacent or near to U. S. 1 and the Florida East Coast Railway, could readily take advantage of the newer rail and automobile networks. In the National Park Service's thematic framework, this context is related to the themes "Peopling Places," "Creating Social Institutions and Movements,"

"Developing the American Economy," and "Expressing Cultural Values."

Chapter Five, "Population Influx After Wars, 1845 to 1950," chronicles the population surges that followed several wars fought by the U.S. Government. These wars introduced soldiers from other regions to Florida, and with peace the former fighting men often returned to become Florida residents. In the National Park Service's thematic framework, this context is related to the themes "Peopling Places," "Creating Social Institutions and Movements, and Expressing Cultural Values," "Developing the American Economy," and "The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community."

Chapter Six, "The Aerospace Program, 1950 to 1975," chronicles the depopulation of the southern portion of the Seashore area to make way for the U.S. aerospace program and the subsequent development of the lands as recreational and environmental preserves. In the National Park Service's thematic framework, this context is related to the themes "Peopling Places," "Creating Social Institutions and Movements," "Expressing Cultural Values," "Developing the American Economy," "The Changing Role of the United States in the World Community," and "Transforming the Environment."

Chapter Seven of the HRS presents recommendations concerning historic resource preservation and interpretation for the consideration of Seashore managers.

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9. Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), xv.



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# Chapter Two: Climatic Change: Rising Water Levels and Prehistoric Human Occupation, ca. 12,000 BCE - ca. 1500 CE

During the 12,000 or more years of human occupation of Florida, humans, animals, and plants have adjusted to changing environmental conditions resulting from climatic fluctuations. As the environment changed, many areas experienced larger population levels. These people developed new survival and economic pursuits in response to their environment. The Seashore is located where even minimal change in the level of the sea drastically affects the corresponding character of the land, with variations in sea level producing changes in the mix of dry land, seashore, and tidal marsh. Human habitation and activities in and around the Seashore were and remain quite sensitive to any variations in water levels.<sup>10</sup> This brief treatment of the prehistory of the Seashore illustrates the important role of water and waterways in the Seashore and the close relationships of humans to the water resources—a relationship that continued in the historic period and to the present.

When humans first arrived in Florida about 12,000 years ago, the climate was drier and cooler than today. Vegetation reflected that climate and large herd animals inhabited the land. Because huge amounts of water were tied up in Ice Age glaciers, sea levels were 160 feet lower than today, and Florida's land mass was about twice its present size.

The site of today's beaches at Canaveral National Seashore may have been located on sites 40 to 50 miles inland during periods of lowest sea level. With water tables much lower, freshwater lay much farther below the surface than today and water was more scarce. Probably many of the sites occupied by humans during this Paleoindian Period (ca. 12,000 BCE to 7500 BCE) are today inundated because of the higher levels of the ocean, limiting our access to evidence of their activities. Most Paleoindian sites in Florida occur in regions of Tertiary limestone formation, where water holes existed. Humans and game animals were drawn to the same watering holes, making them attractive for hunting by humans as well. However, the Seashore does not lie within the general area believed to have been occupied by humans in the Paleoindian period, and the earliest firmly established aboriginal sites in the vicinity of Cape Canaveral are about 4,000 years old.<sup>11</sup>

Around 10,000 years ago, as the last Ice Age waned, the climate slowly became less arid and sea levels began to rise. Rising water levels diminished Florida's land mass, but also increased the surface water supply so human populations could be supported in previously uninhabitable areas. In the Archaic period, 7500 BCE – 500 BCE), humans

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10. Most of this section is condensed from Jerald T. Milanich, *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1994) and James J. Miller, *An Environmental History of Northeast Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1998), ch. 2, 3, 4. Miller's multidisciplinary history for northeast Florida (just to the north of the Seashore) contains analysis and insights that are applicable to the area covered by this study. Miller's work does not yet have counterparts for other regions of the state.

11. Davison and Bratton, "Vegetation History," 14-15.

**Table 1: Archeological Periods<sup>a</sup>**

<i>Cultural Period Time Frame</i>	<i>Cultural Traits</i>
PaleoIndian 12,000 - 7500 BCE	Migratory hunters and gatherers traveling between permanent and semi-permanent sources of potable water; Suwanee and Simpson projectile points; unifacial scrapers.
Early Archaic 7500 - 5000 BCE	Hunters and gatherers; less nomadic; increased utilization of coastal resources; Arredondo, Hamilton, and Kirk Serrated points; increase in population size and density; burials in wet environment cemeteries; fabric and cordage available.
Mount Taylor (Middle to Late Archaic) 5000 - 2000 BCE	First occupation of the St. Johns River valley as evidence by large freshwater shell middens; more evidence for coastal occupation; increased sedentism; shellfish becomes increasingly important in the diet; burials also occur within midden deposits; stemmed, broad bladed projectile points; Newnan point is most common.
Orange (Late Archaic) 2000 - 500 BCE	Appearance of ceramics; Orange series is fiber tempered and molded; plain ceramics early on by 1650 BCE; geometric designs and punctations decorate the vessels; towards the end of the period, sand becomes included as a ceramic tempering agent; increased occupation of the coastal lagoon; appears to be an increase in socio-political complexity and territorial range.
St. Johns I 500 BCE - 100 CE	Plain and incised varieties of St. Johns ceramics; ceramics coiled, not molded; ceramic paste contains sponge spicules; first use of burial mounds.
St. Johns Ia 100 - 500 CE	Village pottery was primarily plain; larger burial mounds, some containing log tombs; trade evidenced by exotic materials within the mounds; appearance of Dunns Creek Red ceramics.
St. Johns Ib 500 - 750 CE	Village pottery is plain; increased influence of Weeden Island populations; central pit burials within the mounds.
St. Johns IIa 750 - 1050 CE	St. Johns check stamped ceramics appear; increased use of burial mounds and burial patterns; mound burial for higher status individuals; pottery caches found in mounds; increase in size and number of villages.
St. Johns IIb 1050 - 1513 CE	Evidence of Mississippian influence; continued use of plain and check stamped ceramics; platform mounds make their appearance at some of the ceremonial complexes.
St. Johns IIc 1513 - 1565 CE	European artifacts occasionally found in burial mounds; disease beginning to decimate the aboriginal population; ceramic types still the same.

a. Table adapted from David M. Brewer and Elizabeth A. Horvath, *In Search of Lost Frenchmen* (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 2004).

changed from nomadic subsistence patterns to more settled coastal- and riverine-associated regimes. As Miller notes, “It would be difficult to imagine a better example of the close relationship among environment, technology and social organization than that offered by the comparison of Paleo Indian to succeeding Archaic lifeways.”<sup>12</sup> Changes in the environment rendered Paleoindian technology and exploitative strategies obsolete as the large herd animals of the earlier period died out with the changes in the environment. Camps established around water sources could now sustain larger populations, and humans could occupy sites for longer periods and perform activities that required longer occupation at a single site. Tools became more varied and plentiful as more sedentary ways allowed for special-use tools and a larger collection of tools

than could be handled in the more nomadic ways of the Paleoindian period. Around 7500 BCE, the technological adaptations to environmental change were sufficiently evident for archeologists to delineate a new culture, the early Archaic.<sup>13</sup> Windover Pond in Brevard County, only 15 miles from the Seashore, has yielded a treasure trove of information about early Archaic peoples that has altered previous interpretations of this period. Similar, as yet undiscovered, sites may exist within the Seashore itself.

Evidence for coastal populations beginning about 5,000 years ago is much more definitive. During the Late Archaic Period, beginning about 4,000 years ago, dramatic changes in the ecology of the area set the stage for significant technological, social, and settlement changes. For the east-central Florida coast, archeologists call the Late Archaic Period

12. Miller, *Environmental History*, 58.

13. Michael Gannon, ed., *The New History of Florida* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 3.



with its characteristic fiber-tempered pottery the Orange Period, a period when the firing of clay pottery was either invented in Florida or the technique was diffused there from coastal Georgia and South Carolina. At one time, archeologists believed that the earliest pottery manufacturing culture in Florida was the Orange Culture of the St. Johns region, but evidence from southwest Florida indicates fired pottery developed just as early in that region.<sup>14</sup>

Some shell mounds and middens (refuse heaps) still remain in locales along the Atlantic coast and the St. Johns River; many more, however, were demolished in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. With the arrival of an environment essentially the same as today, shellfish, fish, and other foods from bountiful freshwater and coastal wetlands supported increasingly larger human populations.

Wetland sites offered more easily acquired foods, notably mollusks and fish, as well as the opportunity for year-round habitation. By contrast, inland hunting sites were seasonal. Archeological evidence suggests that Late-Archaic residents established central base camps and smaller “outlying shellfish- and fish-processing sites near harvesting locations.”<sup>15</sup> Because sea levels are thought to be as much as five feet higher today, the shell middens available today for investigation probably were originally deposited on higher ground. Others are probably buried under salt marshes, which were formed as salt water encroached onto previously dry land.

Researchers postulate that Archaic people remained at a site until they overharvested the shellfish, which were abundant in shallow water and tidal marsh systems. When the immature shellfish remaining

were too small to be worth the harvesting effort, the humans relocated. This interpretation calls into question the notion that all early peoples consistently maintained a disciplined and respectful relationship with their environment.

Sedentation encouraged the development of distinct regional cultures. Archeologists generally accept that regional cultures began to develop about 2,500 years ago. Canaveral National Seashore lies at the fringe of the regions which have received the most scrutiny from archeologists, and thus its prehistoric past has been less fully elaborated than that of other areas. Debate continues about whether inhabitants moved between coastal and inland sites or whether there were two distinct groups.<sup>16</sup> Some archeologists suggest that the presence of larger sites along the upper (southern) St. Johns River basin suggests that these locations were central settlements and that individuals traveled to other sites to gather specific resources as needed.

Excavation of the Edgewater Landing sites, north of Seminole Rest and outside of the Seashore, suggests year-round coastal-zone occupation in conjunction with special-use camps. Edgewater Landing appears to have been a transitory site used for collecting oysters and clams. Excavations at Seminole Rest suggest that although its function was generally similar to Edgewater Landing, the occupation period was longer. The massive size of the mound suggests that this was a processing station rather than a temporarily occupied site focused on exploitation. The Seminole Rest site may be more representative of long-term generalized extractive camps or possibly residential base camps.<sup>17</sup> The Seminole Rest site is one of the few fairly intact St. Johns I (a regional culture) sites.<sup>18</sup> Some archeologists suggest that rising sea levels and increased

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14. Miller, *Environmental History*, 64. “The situation is muddled by the occasional use of the term “Transitional” to refer to the period from 1200 or 1000 BCE, said to be a time characterized by the use of fiber-tempered pottery and pottery tempered with a mixture of sand and fiber . . . [Shannon, Russo, and Ruhl] have pointed out, however, semi-fiber-tempered pottery may not be the chronological marker it was once thought to be.” Milanich, *Archaeology of Precolumbian Florida*, 88.

15. Michael Russo cited in Milanich, *Archaeology*, 89 and 90.

16. Milanich, *Archaeology*, 254.

17. Elizabeth A. Horvath, ed., “Final Report of the Archeological Investigations at the Seminole Rest Site” (Cana063/8Vo124) (Tallahassee: National Park Service, 1995), 140.

18. The St. Johns culture is one of a number of late-prehistoric cultures identified through the archeological record. Named for the Florida river around which it flourished, the culture emerged about 500 BCE and lasted until around 800 BCE. The St. Johns culture area saw the introduction of horticulture, but basic settlement and subsistence patterns continued to revolve around seasonal hunting and gathering but with horticultural village life for most of the year. The culture's shell mounds were typically low or truncated cones around a meter high, and the culture produced the first burial mounds in the region. See Elizabeth A. Horvath, Ashley A. Chapman, Duff B. Martin, and Robb McGowan, *Preliminary Report on the Archeological Investigations at the Seminole Rest Site* (CANA-063/8Vo124) Canaveral National Seashore Volusia County, Florida (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 1994), 25.

salinity of the water produced larger oyster populations. This food source then drew inhabitants to the general area of the Seashore. The period of most extensive population began about 1,200 years ago. These populations were possibly the ones that encountered exploring Europeans in the sixteenth century.

The coastal shell middens of Florida's Atlantic coast are among the largest shell middens in the United States. Perhaps the most extensive is Turtle Mound. The Ross Hammock Mounds site was occupied for 800 to 1,000 years, with occupation ending about 1,000 years ago. Analysis of the shell refuse at Ross Hammock has indicated a shift from the dominance of clams to oysters and back to clams, suggesting the influence of environmental changes in Mosquito Lagoon. Archeological investigations of the mounds indicate that by far the most intensive prehistoric human occupations occurred during the period beginning about 1,200 years ago. This was the period of the largest populations.

Evidence from human remains found at Ross Hammock indicates that the people were hunter-gatherers rather than agriculturalists since they showed few signs of malnutrition, tooth decay, or worn areas on the tibia that would indicate extensive squatting or heavy labor. There were also no signs of war or special burials to indicate differentiation of rank or a caste system. Arthritis of the elbow was common and may have been caused by frequent net casting.<sup>19</sup>

The Castle Windy site was occupied during this latter period, with evidence indicating a 350-year occupation beginning about 1,000 years ago. Investigators concluded that this site was occupied on a limited seasonal basis during the winter months.<sup>20</sup> Excavations at Castle Windy and at Green Mound, north of the Seashore on the Halifax River estuary, revealed a wide variety of fish, shore bird, and small animal remains, indicating the range of animals consumed by these native populations.

The regional cultures that sedentation produced are distinguished from one another primarily through analysis of pottery styles and decorative motifs. The

differences appear in ceramic designs and style, but according to James Miller "the degree to which they reflect more fundamental differences is not clear."<sup>21</sup>

During the regional culture period, ceremonial activities incorporated materials and practices found both locally and imported from afar. For example, burial mounds excavated at Ross Hammock revealed that the mounds were constructed of earth borrowed from pits beside the mounds. These burials contained pottery of a type found in north-central and peninsular Gulf Coast mounds of the same period. Archaeologists also found a small log tomb of a type found in Hopewellian tombs elsewhere in the Southeast. There were both single and multiple interments, all in flexed position.

Regional cultures continued to specialize and become more distinct. Archeologists generally terminate the "regional cultures" period with the arrival of Europeans and the changes brought about by their incursions.

## Associated Properties

Properties associated with this context are shell mounds and earthen burial mounds, all of which are of prehistoric origin. Old Haulover Canal approximates the route of an ancient portage between Mosquito Lagoon and Indian River, but prehistoric features there can no longer be identified.

### Seminole Rest

Seminole Rest consists of several prehistoric shell mounds dating from 2000 BCE to 1565 CE. Snyder's Mound, the largest mound at this site, is unique because few structures this large remain intact today. They are especially significant because 70% of the mounds in Volusia County have been destroyed, most to provide materials for road construction in the early twentieth century.

Snyder's Mound, which lies on the shore of Mosquito Lagoon, was a large quahog-clam processing center dating from about 600-1420 CE. It was used primarily between 700-1100 CE. It measures

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19. Deborah Pober "Demographics, Health and Sociopolitical Organization of Ross Hammock, Florida (8Vo131a)" (M.S. Thesis, University of Florida, 1996), 96-97, 82.

20. David M. Brewer, "An Archeological and Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment of Mosquito Lagoon at Canaveral National Seashore, Florida" (M.S. Thesis, Florida State University, 1991), 48-51.

21. Miller, *Environmental History*, 72.

approximately 740 feet from north to south and about 340 feet east to west and is approximately 13 feet high. Archeological testing recovered very few artifacts, which suggests that the mound was used seasonally for the gathering and processing of clams that were consumed elsewhere. Processing would have consisted of removing the shell and drying or smoking the clams. Over many seasons, the clamshells accumulated and resulted in the large mound. No evidence of burials in the mound has been found and none is expected, given the difficulty of excavation and the burial practices of the time.<sup>22</sup>

Fiddle Crab Mound is a much smaller shell-capped sand mound, purposefully constructed, approximately 15 feet in diameter, between River Road and the canal. It was probably a platform for a structure, although no archeological evidence of post molds that would have signified a structure has been found. A much larger range of artifacts was found with this mound than with Snyder Mound, which suggests that the site was occupied seasonally during the late winter and spring and that it may have been a seasonal base camp used by a family. A series of four small middens or refuse sites are also associated with Fiddle Crab Mound, which appears to have been constructed on an earlier midden. Radiocarbon dating indicates that Fiddle Crab Mound and associated middens date between 120-1040 CE.

Occupation of the site began even earlier, as indicated by the inclusion of a type of pottery known as Orange series. This pottery dates as early as 2000 BCE or as late as 500 BCE. Further study is required to learn more about the earliest period of site occupation.

## **Turtle Mound**

Turtle Mound was associated with the Surruque during the historic period and bore the name of that Native American group during the first Spanish era. Alvaro Mexía's 1605 description of the inland waterway suggests that the main village of the Surruque might have been located at Ross Hammock.

Turtle Mound is located on the barrier island near the north end of the Seashore. It is a conical mound

composed primarily of oyster shells deposited by the indigenous inhabitants of Florida. The mound almost straddles the narrow strip of land between the Atlantic Ocean and Mosquito Lagoon. The mound is approximately 30 feet high with 35-foot summits at the ends of a North-Northwest by South-Southeast axis. Today it is covered with vegetation, and a botanical survey of the mound by Stetson University in 1975 noted eight species of subtropical plants with Turtle Mound as their northernmost known location.<sup>23</sup> Several distinguished botanists, including André Michaux in 1788 and John Small of the New York Botanical Gardens in 1921, commented on the tropical nature of the plants on Turtle Mound.<sup>24</sup> Small, unaware of Michaux's visit 133 years earlier, speculated that his survey may have been "the first botanical excursion" to Turtle Mound.<sup>25</sup> It is intriguing to note that this unusual assemblage of plants is growing naturally on a human-made structure. Attempts to scale the mound in years past resulted in damage and erosion of the mound, but today a walkway permits access to the summit, which offers a commanding view of the lagoon, barrier island, and ocean.

## **Castle Windy**

Located on the shore of Mosquito Lagoon, Castle Windy is a roughly crescent-shaped shell midden or mound approximately 295 feet long by 120 feet wide, with a maximum height of 17 feet. Covered with mature vegetation, including trees and shrubs, the midden began to develop around 1200 CE and continued for another 300 years.

## **Ross Hammock Burial Mound 1**

This mound is approximately 20 feet high and 200 feet in diameter; it is an oval-shaped, earthen mound covered with mature vegetation.

## **Ross Hammock Burial Mound 2**

Located about 300 yards south of burial mound number one, this mound is also earthen and oval-shaped, with similar dimensions of 20 feet high and 200 feet in diameter at the base.

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22. Text describing Seminole Rest mounds is taken from the park's statement of the mound's significance at <[http://www.nps.gov/cana/upload/seminole\\_rest\\_significance.pdf](http://www.nps.gov/cana/upload/seminole_rest_significance.pdf)>

23. Eliane Norman, "An Analysis of the Vegetation at Turtle Mound," *Florida Scientist* 39 (1) 1976, 23.

24. Taylor and Norman, André Michaux in Florida, 70; John K. Small "Green Deserts and Dead Gardens", *Journal of the New York Botanical Gardens* 24, no.1 (1923):203.

25. Small, "Green Deserts and Dead Gardens", 202.

## **Max Hoeck Burial Mound**

The Max Hoeck Burial Mound is approximately 7 feet high and 45 feet in diameter at its base. It is composed of earth and covered with mature vegetation. There is a 3-to 4-foot-deep trench near the center of the mound, evidence of previous looting.

## **Bill's Hill Burial Mound**

This mound is oval shaped and approximately 75 feet in diameter at the base and 10 feet high. The material is earth and shell, and the mound is covered with mature vegetation.

## **National Register Eligibility**

The mounds at Seminole Rest are considered middens, not prehistoric structures, since there is no evidence of burial in or of structures on the

mounds. They are, therefore, categorized as archeological sites.

Turtle Mound is already listed on the National Register with a state-level of significance under Criterion D. The information contained in this historic context will serve as the basis for a review and, if necessary, revisions of the National Register listings. In addition, the Southeast Archeological Center initiated fieldwork in April 2008 to nominate the mound as a National Historic Landmark.

Robert Hellmann, of the Southeast Archeological Center, resurveyed all listed sites in 2005 and 2006, and found the Max Hoeck and the Bill's Hill burial mounds to be at least locally significant and eligible for the NR. Although they have been somewhat disturbed in the past, they are mostly intact and relatively rare.<sup>26</sup>

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26. E-mail communication, Robert Hellmann, SEAC archeologist to John Stiner 01/18/2008.

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# Chapter Three: European Incursions and Euro-American Expansion, 1500-1820

Cape Canaveral was one of the earliest sites on the North American continent to be recognized and depicted by exploring Europeans. Within ten years of Columbus's first voyage to the Americas in 1492, a feature that might well be Cape Canaveral appeared on maps. Cape Canaveral and Cabo Raso on Newfoundland are the two earliest identifiable place names on the Atlantic coast, their names unchanged since the first quarter of the sixteenth century, except for the brief period when Canaveral was known as Cape Kennedy.<sup>27</sup>

A nautical chart made by Alberto Cantino in 1502 for his Portuguese patron may be the earliest certain portrayal of Cape Canaveral. Historical cartographers have assigned three possibilities to a large unidentified land mass on the Cantino map. Some continue to think that it is a depiction of the Yucatan peninsula, others think it is the island of Cuba, but the most widely supported idea today is that it depicts Cape Canaveral with its now-familiar protrusion from the Florida peninsula. Soon after Christopher Columbus's 1492 landing on behalf of Spain on the western side of the Atlantic Ocean, other European nations attempted to claim title to lands in the "New World." As was the custom at the time, the Pope stepped into the fray and finally affirmed a secular agreement, the Treaty of Tordesillas, between Spain and Portugal in 1494, which divided the new lands between the two nations at a line 370 leagues west of the Cape Verde Islands.<sup>28</sup> Spanish explorers and adventurers set out to establish Spain's claims throughout the Americas.

Debate continues as to whether it was Cape Canaveral that Spain's Juan Ponce de León named "Cabo de los Corrientes"—Cape of Currents—when he reconnoitered the Atlantic coast in 1513, as claimed by Spain's official historian, Antonio de Herrera, in 1601. Any determination of the location where Ponce first landed also affects the identification of subsequently visited sites, for their locations are contingent upon knowing the site of the first landfall. Recent empirical investigations, which combined sixteenth-century documents with twentieth-century technology and an actual attempt



FIGURE 2. The Portuguese Alberto Cantino's map of 1502, with what is probably the earliest depiction of Florida at upper left. (Original at Bibliotheca Estense in Modena, Italy)

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27. W. P. Cumming, R. A. Skelton, and D. B. Quinn, *The Discovery of North America* (New York: American Heritage Press, 1971), 53, 56.

28. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Anglo-Spanish Rivalry in North America* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1971), 2-3.

to retrace the route under sail, place the site of Ponce's first landing just south of Cape Canaveral near Melbourne Beach and consequently conclude that the Cabo de Corrientes was at Lake Worth Inlet, about 150 miles south of the Seashore. On the other extreme, Jerald and Nara Milanich interpret the Freducci map drawn in 1514-1515 as indicating that Ponce initially landed north of the St. Johns River on a barrier island on the Georgia coast or on today's northeast Florida coast and that Cabo de Corrientes was at Lake Worth Inlet. Defending this contention, the Milaniches assert that sea charts of the time typically were "accurate for portrayals of coastal configurations but notorious for inaccurate latitudes." The Milaniches also suggest that the name Chantio that appears on the map "could be the village at Turtle mound," and that the mound's importance as a navigational marker could justify its appearance on the map.<sup>29</sup> If this very speculative interpretation is accurate, it probably marks the first appearance of the mound on maps and gives prominence to Turtle Mound as one of the earliest sites to be identified in North America.

The Gulf Stream, the current often called the Bahama Channel by colonial sailors, parallels the east coast of Florida as it moves north from the Florida Straits. Moving in a more easterly direction as it passes Nova Scotia, the current becomes part of the North Atlantic Drift which splits west of Ireland into two branches, with one current flowing north of the British Isles and another running to the south along the west coast of continental Europe. The strength and reliability of the Gulf Stream made the Florida peninsula and especially its Atlantic coast a territory that Spain could not afford to have fall into the possession of another nation. Spain's fleet (*carrera de Indias*) carried the wealth of the Americas to Spain, using the Gulf Stream as both its path and its propulsion. In the early years of the fleet, the main cargo was gold, a cargo that paid handsomely for the space that it occupied aboard ship. Gold was the chief stimulus for the creation of

the early fleet system even before the age of Spanish silver mines in Mexico.

The great age of the Spanish fleets followed the conquest of two, densely populated, silver-rich mainland areas, in Mexico and Peru, and the commencement of large-scale silver mining. This sea traffic reached its greatest volume in the 1550s and 1560s. "The Atlantic link between Spain and its American colonies was at once a major result of the expansion of Europe and a reinforcement of it. . . . The capacity and dependability of the fleets also stimulated new industries, trades and routes in America itself."<sup>30</sup> Europe-bound ships that had departed Panama, laden with products of South America and those ships leaving Vera Cruz with Mexican products, joined at Havana, Cuba, to form a single convoy sailing to Spain.

The discovery and development by the Spanish of silver lodes in Mexico was probably a factor in shifting the focus of exploration and settlement from Florida's east coast to its west coast, because of the latter's proximity to the silver lands. Beginning with Ponce de León's ill-fated attempt to settle in southwest Florida in 1521, expeditions targeted the west coast of the Florida peninsula, with the exception of Lucas Vázquez de Ayllón's unsuccessful venture on the Georgia coast in 1526.<sup>31</sup>

The Florida peninsula offered the last land-based assistance and protection before the fleets turned sharply eastward to cross the Atlantic Ocean. Evidencing Florida's strategic importance, Spain's King Philip II spent more on the defense of Florida between 1565 and 1575 than upon any other areas of the Spanish Indies.<sup>32</sup> Florida's role and importance in guarding the Gulf Stream persisted, and other nations, especially Great Britain, made many attempts to wrest control of the Bahama Channel from Spain and thus gain control of shipping and trade from the Caribbean. The "Mosquitos" inlet (today's Ponce de Leon Inlet) helped Spain protect

29. Ibid.; Douglas T. Peck, "Reconstruction and Analysis of the 1513 Discovery voyage of Juan Ponce de Leon," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 71 (1992): 146-47. Peck himself retraced Ponce's voyage using exploration-age documents and sailing technology as well as modern Loran C and related technology and maps. Peck asserts that the conditions described in Ponce's log and by his pilot "cannot be repeated [at] Cape Canaveral." Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 18-19. Jerald T. Milanich and Nara B. Milanich, "Revisiting the Freducci Map: A Description of Juan Ponce de Leon's 1513 Florida Voyage," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 74 (1996): 319-25, quotes on 324 and 325.

30. Murdo MacLeod, "Spain's Atlantic Trade, 1492-1720," in Leslie Bethell, ed., *Cambridge History of Latin America*, Vol. 1 (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 358-61, quotes at 386 and 367, respectively.

31. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 20-22.

32. Eugene Lyon, "The Visita of 1576 and the Change of Government in Spanish Florida," in Lyon, ed., *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés* (New York: Garland Press, Inc., 1995), 565.

Florida, because it served as a “back door” means of communication for the capital at St. Augustine. When direct communication with the sea was unavailable, the inner waterways and various outlets south of St. Augustine (many running through the Seashore) were available to Spanish authorities.<sup>33</sup>

## Contact-Period Native American Groups in the Seashore Area

The Spanish referred to the residents of the area on the south side of Ponce de Leon Inlet or near Turtle Mound as Surruque. At this time the chief, his village and villagers, and the location of the village often went by the same name. The Surruque Indians launched their canoes eastward from the foot of the mound. The Spanish referred to the shell mound as a *buhío*, the term for the natives’ circular buildings topped with rounded roofs, because the mound resembled a council house when viewed from the sea.<sup>34</sup> Ross Hammock (CANA039/ 8Vo131) may be the site of the proto-historic village of the Surruque and residence of the chief (*cacique*), as described by Alvaro Mexía in 1605 and then by Jonathan Dickinson almost a century later in 1696.

The northern part of the Seashore seems to have been a transitional zone or boundary area for Native American polities and languages at the inception of permanent European settlement in Florida. Surely the fact that many Florida tropical plants reach their northern limits at or near Turtle Mound influenced a division among cultures.<sup>35</sup> Contemporary correspondence is unclear and sometimes conflicting as to whether the Seashore land was under the control of the Timucua or the Ais and thus whether the Surruque were Timucua or Ais. Archeological evidence supports more strongly the Surruques’ affiliation with the Timucua, but linguistic evidence supports the Surruques’ affiliation with the Ais.<sup>36</sup> Additionally, the appearance of Europeans in the area

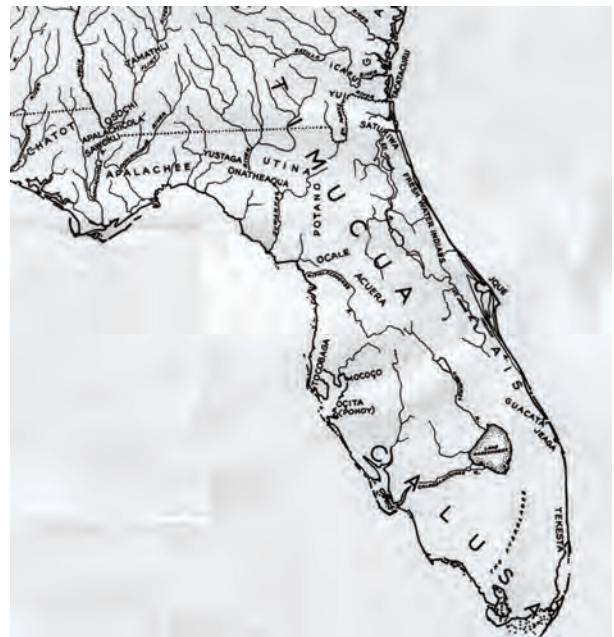


FIGURE 3. Detail from “Location of Indian tribes in the Southeast about the year 1650.” (From Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*.)

destabilized the pre-Contact political situation among the Native American groups. European settlers attempted to establish alliances with native groups for protection against other Europeans and against other Native American groups who might be actively hostile to the Europeans’ presence. Thus, at the very moment when Europeans were producing documents with information on the natives’ cultural affiliations, the very presence of the Europeans was changing those affiliations.

Disagreement and confusion over the affiliation of the Surruque may rest in part on later writers’ and researchers’ failure to grasp that the term Timucua indicated language, not political or cultural affiliation. Historian John Hann states that the Spanish made little use of the name Timucua before the 1590s. He asserts that the Spanish referred to the native peoples with more distinct tribal names rather than generically as Timucua.<sup>37</sup> Timucua

33. For example, years later, in 1740, Florida’s Governor Manuel Montiano asserted that controlling the Stream was the aim of Georgia’s founder James Oglethorpe. Letter Book of Governor Manuel de Montiano, November 11, 1737, Bundle 37, letter no. 2, East Florida Papers Manuscript Collection, Library of Congress (microfilm copies).
34. John H. Hann, *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), 3, 171. According to Mexía this was the residence of the *cacique* (chief). Irving A. Rouse, *Survey of Indian River Archeology*, Yale University Publications in Anthropology (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 55.
35. Walter Kingsley Taylor and Eliane M. Norman, *André Michaux in Florida: An Eighteenth-Century Botanical Journey* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2002), 103.
36. Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 3.
37. *Ibid.*, 16-17. There are several spellings of this group, among them: Timucuan, Timuquan, Tomoka.





FIGURE 4. "Athore shows Laudonnière the Marker Column Set up by Ribault," no. P106. (Paul Hulton, *The Work of Jacques Le Moyne De Morgues, A Huguenot Artist in France, Florida and England*. Vol. II (British Museum Publications Ltd. London: 1977) Plate 100)

speakers received the most attention and analysis by the colonizing Spanish, for it was the Timucua who resided near the first Spanish settlements in northeast Florida. Thus, the Timucua speakers were the native groups whom the Spanish most frequently encountered and had to deal with in order to survive and succeed. In that context, Spanish informants were concerned with communicating with the residents of the settlement area and concerned with the political relationships between the natives themselves and between the natives and the Spanish. Hann asserts that the boundary between the chiefdom of the Surruque and Ais chiefdoms probably lay somewhere between Turtle Mound and the Haulover. Some authority and influence of the powerful chief of the Calusa, who were centered in southwest Florida, apparently extended to the Ais and to today's Space Coast.<sup>38</sup>

The hegemony of the Calusa might have brought about the removal of the more valued items and of the people who washed ashore along Canaveral's coast or to the south. "Exotic" goods and humans, the best plunder, were re-located to the Calusa's seat of power on the southwest coast of Florida,

thus leaving little evidence of the fate of the shipwrecked on the Atlantic side of the peninsula. According to the shipwrecked Hernando de Escalante Fontaneda, who lived among the Calusa for 21 years, Mexican-made items were salvaged near Cape Canaveral by the Ais and then transferred to southwest Florida as tribute to the chief of the Calusa. Shipwreck victims might have been delivered to the chief as well, for it was reported that over 200 shipwrecked Spaniards had been brought to the Calusa by their subjects. Escalante Fontaneda stated that most were sacrificed at feasts and dances.<sup>39</sup>

After the establishment of a lasting Spanish settlement on the Atlantic coast at St. Augustine in 1565, Native Americans in the Cape area sometimes returned captured or shipwrecked persons to the Spanish in exchange for manufactured goods offered by the Spanish, most notably beads, colorful cloth, and sharp metal tools.<sup>40</sup> Iron tools and glass beads of European manufacture as well as native-made articles fashioned of European-transported metal were found at Fuller Mound A (8Br90) on the east shore of the Banana River (south of the Seashore). A copper pendant of rattlesnake design from Mound A indicated the retention of Southern Culture motifs. Likewise the Burns Mound sites (8Br85) at Kennedy Space Center yielded a pendant made from European silver, but of Indian manufacture. European-derived beads were also unearthed. Although beyond the boundary of Canaveral National Seashore, the sites are close enough to suggest that Native Americans within the Seashore might also have made their own decorative items from salvage and adorned themselves with European-made beads.<sup>41</sup> The possession by the Timucua of gold and silver items that they had acquired through trade with the Mayaca (a Native American group allied with the Ais) is an example of the value placed on and the role of salvaged goods in the relations among native groups. The Ais had probably acquired the metal items from shipwrecks along the coast. Thus shiny items fashioned by and for the Spanish in Peru and Mexico served as items

38. Ibid., 3, 171.

39. Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda, *Memoir of Hernando d'Escalante Fontaneda Respecting Florida*, Buckingham Smith, trans. (Miami, 1944, reprint), 18-21; Stephen Edward Reilly, "A Marriage of Expedience: The Calusa Indians and Their Relations with Pedro Menéndez de Avilés in Southwest Florida, 1566-1569," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 59 (1981):399-401.

40. Eugene Lyon, "Cultural Brokers in Sixteenth-Century Spanish Florida," in Lyon, ed. *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, Vol. 24. *Spanish Borderlands Sourcebooks* (New York: Garland Publishing Inc., 1995), 330.

41. Florida Master Site Files Br90 and Br85; Gordon K. Willey, "Burial Patterns in the Burns and Fuller Mounds, Cape Canaveral Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 7 (1954): 80-86.



of exchange, status, and advancement among the Florida natives even before the exchanging of salvage for manufactures with the Europeans was a factor.<sup>42</sup>

Soon after its discovery by Europeans, the Cape Canaveral area became infamous for shipwrecks. Crews and cargoes of hides, indigo, cochineal, and millions of Spanish coins and ingots sank near shore; some of the crews and freight washed up on the beach to be picked up by Native Americans. One of the earliest reported survivors in the Cape area was Pedro Bustinçuri, shipwrecked in 1546.<sup>43</sup> Contemporary documents frequently reported the killing of beached crews. Bustinçuri's young age probably saved his life; the Ais killed or deported some of his adult shipmates.<sup>44</sup> A page or cabin boy aboard ship, Bustinçuri was probably about 12 years old at the time of the disaster. His sojourn with the natives gave him the opportunity to learn their language. European landing parties—French and Spanish—would encounter Bustinçuri in 1565.

## Early European Settlement

In 1564, interaction between Natives Americans and Europeans changed from intermittent landings by the Europeans, whether intentional or accidental, to what became a permanent presence on the Florida peninsula. Already-existing international and religious collisions among Europeans played a critical role in the beginning of European settlement in Florida and the Southeast. Most of the early fighting and bloodshed between Europeans took place close to the French and Spanish settlements near the mouth of the St. Johns River and at the inlets immediately south of the St. Johns bar, but hostile activities also extended to the area of Cape Canaveral. In fact, hostile activities extended to

wherever Spanish soldier-settlers found their French counterparts.

## The French Attempt to Settle in Florida

The treaty signed in 1559 at Cateau-Cambrésis ended the 65-year struggle between France and Spain for control of Italy, but the negotiations did not resolve the vital issue of the rights of nations to settle in the Americas.<sup>45</sup> Spain insisted that the papal decisions gave her exclusive rights to North America; France asserted that unsettled areas were free for anyone to colonize.<sup>46</sup> Although Spain had dispatched many expeditions to the Southeast, none had resulted in a permanent presence. In fact, the Spanish crown was at the point of abandoning the idea of settling Florida (the geographical term that Spain applied to all its North American claims north of Mexico).<sup>47</sup> Meanwhile the presence of a weak monarch on France's throne encouraged dissension among the French nobility. Localized warfare broke out in France, often pitting the Catholic majority and the Protestant or Huguenot minority against each other. In February 1562 Protestant Admiral Gaspard de Coligny dispatched a settlement expedition into Spanish-claimed territory. The expedition first made landfall at the St. Johns River, but turned northward. By the end of April, the French Huguenots, led by Jean Ribault and René de Laudonnière, had planted their colony at Port Royal on Parris Island, South Carolina.<sup>48</sup> These might have been the first Europeans to arrive in today's United States seeking to escape religious persecution, but the small group of settlers left at Port Royal grew restless and abandoned the settlement in 1563. The next French settlement effort occurred farther south.

In May 1564, French settlers built Fort Caroline near the mouth of the St. Johns River. Several parties

42. Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 42.

43. Eugene Lyon, "The Captives of Florida," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (1971): 1-24. Documents in the Archives of the Indies, Seville. Spain: Report of Andrés de Eguino, 1565, Contaduría (Accountancy) section, Bundle 941, No. 1; Juan Gutiérrez Tello, 1566 March 24, Contaduría 249, nos. 123 and 124; Melchoir Sardo de Arana, 1581 October 30, Contaduría 941; Royal decree, 1568 March 11, Indiferente general 1967.

44. Juan Ortiz, left behind during Narvaez's exploration of the west coast of Florida in 1528, also had been spared because of his youth. Ortiz's native captors did not think he should be held responsible for the action of the adults, that he was "deserving of forgiveness because of his tender age. . . . he had committed no crime." Garcilaso de la Vega, *The Florida of the Inca*, John Grier Varner and Jeannette Johnson Varner, trans. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1951), 63.

45. The peace settlement ended the intermittent state of war which had existed since 1522 between the Valois dynasty of France and the Austrian and Spanish Hapsburgs.

46. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 40-41.

47. Ibid., chapter 2.

48. Ibid., 41; Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 21-22.



**FIGURE 5.** The French aiding Chief Outina in battle against his arch-enemy Potanou. (Photo reproduction from Theodor de Bry and Charles de la Roncière, *La Floride Française: Scènes de la vie Indiennes, peintes en 1564* [facsimile of the 1564 original (Paris, 1928)], Collection of Timucuan

of men who had set sail from Fort Caroline in December 1564 became small-time pirates. They raided the Cuban town of Baracoa for supplies and a ship and then crossed to Hispaniola and assaulted a Spanish ship at anchor. Another group from Fort Caroline also seized supplies as well as taking a prisoner.<sup>49</sup>

Some of the French raiders were ultimately captured by Spanish forces, and their interrogation by Spanish captors revealed the existence of the French colony to Spanish officials. At the end of March 1565, news of the French settlers (interlopers from the Spanish perspective) finally reached the king of Spain.<sup>50</sup> At the end of June 1565, Spaniard Pedro Menéndez de Avilés set sail from Spain with ten ships and a thousand men to counter the French and establish a colony on the southeast mainland. The Spanish considered the French to be intruders and usurpers in Spanish-claimed territory. France relied on its settlement activity and actual presence

to support its claims. On August 28, 1565, Jean Ribault arrived at Fort Caroline to re-provision desperate French colonists. When Pedro Menéndez's convoy appeared offshore a week later, Ribault suspended the off-loading of cargo and, against the advice of his officers, headed his boats toward the ocean to avoid being trapped in the river. After an initial challenge between the opposing naval forces, Ribault and his flagship, *Trinité*, stood out to sea. Menéndez headed south and on September 8 established St. Augustine, 40 miles south of the mouth of the St. Johns River.

Ribault, hoping to catch Menéndez off guard, steered his ships towards the Spanish encampment. Just as he arrived at the mouth of the harbor, a hurricane-strength storm hit, sweeping his helpless fleet to the south. Menéndez, realizing Ribault's situation, marched northward to Fort Caroline. On September 20, 1565, Spanish forces surprised and overcame the depleted French garrison at Fort Car-

49. The National Park Service undertook the reconstruction of Fort Caroline as Fort Caroline National Memorial in 1964 at a site thought to be near the French fort's original location.

50. Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 38-41.

oline. The Spanish renamed the captured fort San Mateo, honoring the saint on whose day it had been taken.<sup>51</sup>

While Menéndez and his men were securing the Fort Caroline site, Ribault's fleet was caught up in the hurricane, and one by one his four ships were sunk or driven ashore. Although the ship masters had attempted to make their way away from the shore and out to sea, strong winds caused the ships to lose sails, masts, and rudders. One by one the ships broke up in the heavy surf. Three of the heavier French ships were wrecked in the vicinity of Mosquito (Ponce de Leon) Inlet. The flagship *Trinité* grounded intact farther south not far from Cape Canaveral and most of its crew came ashore safely. One smaller craft outlasted the storm and headed for the Caribbean. It is possible that these wrecks lie within Seashore waters. The shipwrecked men gathered into two large parties for mutual defense against local Indian raiders. The northernmost group contained over 600 men from several ships, while the southernmost group held about 350 men, including Jean Ribault and other survivors of the *Trinité*.<sup>52</sup> After some discussion each began a long trek northward toward Fort Caroline.

Menéndez met the first group at Matanzas Inlet, approximately 15 miles south of St. Augustine, and killed most of them. The Spanish encountered the second group on October 12 at the same site. Many of the French surrendered, but refused to renounce their religious beliefs and were killed, including Jean Ribault. About 70 slipped away from the Spaniards. They retreated back down the coast to the shipwreck, whose timbers they used to build a makeshift fortification and begin construction of a boat. The Frenchmen surmounted their rough earthworks with cannon from the *Trinité*.<sup>53</sup>

Learning from native groups that there were yet more Frenchmen farther south, Menéndez decided to combine exploration with extermination. The Spanish reconnoitered the Florida coast and its

estuaries, looking for a good harbor where they could build a fort to protect the Bahama Channel. With 150 men on foot, Menéndez marched south along the beach, while three small craft, carrying one hundred of his men, sailed south for a rendezvous with the land forces.<sup>54</sup>

Menéndez and his party arrived at the makeshift French fort on November 1 (All Saints' Day) according to chronicler Gonzalo Solís de Merás. The French refugees fled to the woods upon the Spaniards' approach, but Menéndez offered to spare the Frenchmen's lives if they surrendered. The majority accepted; some 20 refused, preferring to take their chances among the natives, and slipped away. Menéndez destroyed the fort, burned the ship the French were building and buried the artillery, because the Spanish boats were too small to carry the cannon.<sup>55</sup> Menéndez estimated that he captured 70 to 80 French colonists; Solís de Merás (who was present) reported 150. Menéndez marshaled his men and the captives southward to the inlet at Ais (Sebastian Inlet) and left them in the care of a purportedly friendly *cacique*. Then Menéndez departed for Cuba with 50 of his own men and 20 French captives to acquire supplies for this detachment at Ais as well as for the main settlement at St. Augustine.<sup>56</sup>

Following the failure of Fort Caroline, the French would not attempt to settle the Atlantic coast again, but contented themselves with trading with the Native Americans in defiance of Spanish prohibitions. Not only had Ribault's sequence of misjudgments ended in disaster, but events within France itself were not favorable for attempting another settlement.<sup>57</sup> It would be more than 100 years before France planted another settlement in the Southeast when they founded Mobile, in present-day Alabama, in 1702.

Thus lands within the Seashore saw activities and struggles that comprised the earliest campaign between European nations to decide claims to territory and control of the North American mainland

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51. David M. Brewer and Elizabeth A. Horvath, *In Search of Lost Frenchmen*, (Tallahassee: Southeast Archeological Center, 2004), 37, 112-114, 124.  
52. Brewer and Horvath, *In Search of Lost Frenchmen*, 37.  
53. Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 126-30.  
54. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 40-49; Lyon, "Captives of Florida," 1-24.  
55. Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés*, Jeannette Thurber Connor, trans. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, reprint 1964), 126.  
56. Lyon, "Captives of Florida," 175.  
57. John T. McGrath, *The French in Early Florida: In the Eye of the Hurricane* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2000), 138.





**FIGURE 6.** Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-1574), founder of St. Augustine, who defeated the French at Fort Caroline in 1565. (Florida Memory, Florida Photographic Collection, State Archives of Florida at <<http://fpc.dos.state.fl.us/reference/rc00947.jpg>>)

and adjacent water routes. That the ocean currents off the coast of Florida could be protected by the Spanish allowed the delivery of precious metals to Spain. The effect of those ingots on the economy of Europe was a major factor in the path of European history and the development of the lands that would become the United States. The Armstrong site (CANA 72) may be the remains of a vessel from Ribault's fleet, salvaged to provide protection to the French. Evidence from the Armstrong site indicates that Europeans, who might have been survivors from Ribault's fleet, were living with natives and using a forge to re-work ships' spikes to make tools and ornaments.<sup>58</sup>

An earlier shipwreck victim, Pedro Bustinçuri, found himself caught up in the Spanish-French conflict on the Florida coast. The French refugees from Fort Caroline who landed in the vicinity of Cape

Canaveral in 1565 encountered Bustinçuri after his 20 years among the Ais and his marriage to the daughter of a chief. The French had already sent Bustinçuri to France before the arrival of Spanish forces at the Cape, and once in France, Bustinçuri subsequently escaped to Spain. Then the Spanish king sent Bustinçuri back to Florida to serve as a translator for Pedro Menéndez. The Spanish king also sent along swords, daggers, axes, scissors, and other gifts to offer to the Ais in hopes of maintaining their friendship. Bustinçuri later returned to Spain, where by 1571, he was rewarded with the post of Keeper of the Swans at one of the king's residences in Madrid as well as "back pay" for his years of captivity in Florida.<sup>59</sup>

In 1568, Dominique de Gourges arrived in Florida to avenge the French settlers killed by the Spanish. On Good Friday, de Gourges destroyed the small Spanish blockhouses on either side of the entrance to the St. Johns River, then moved against the Spanish at Fort San Mateo. The Spanish grossly overestimated the size of the French force and slipped out of the fort, leaving usable artillery and ammunition. The French took the fort without opposition, hung the Spaniards that they found and headed back to Europe with the fort's artillery as a bonus. A fire accidentally set by Indians celebrating the departure of the Spanish from the fortified site burned Fort San Mateo.<sup>60</sup>

## Spanish Missions and Native Americans

The security of the new Spanish settlements in Florida depended upon good relations with the Native Americans. Although most Europeans quickly learned that native groups were not alike, Eugene Lyon wrote, "To Menéndez, Indian relations were all of a piece." His plan for every group was to establish a benevolent overlordship, bring peace to warring groups, eradicate heresy and unbelief, and spread the Christian Catholic gospel among them.<sup>61</sup> Initially the Spanish had viewed Native Americans as potential slaves and raided the southeastern coast for laborers. The central Florida coast was spared from early slave raids because of the lack of suitable inlets for large ships. Indian slavery in the Americas had been prohibited prior to

58. Douglas R. Armstrong, *French Castaways at Old Cape Canaveral* (Palm Bay, Fla.: private printing, 1996), 59-62.

59. Lyon, "Captives of Florida."

60. Lyon, *Enterprise of Florida*, 199-200.

61. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 48.

permanent Spanish settlement in Florida by the Laws of Burgos of 1512 and the New Laws of 1542.<sup>62</sup> Variations and subtleties by the Spanish in demanding tribute labor from the Native Americans continued, but Indians were not considered to be personal property as were enslaved persons of African descent. This would not hold true later for the English and French colonies in North America. Indian slaves were captured and transported both to and from all of the English colonies from South Carolina to New England.<sup>63</sup> French Louisiana, too, counted Indian slaves among its residents.

The establishment of missions was a universal characteristic of lands claimed and colonized by Spain, beginning even before the New World ventures when the Canary Islands came under Iberian

hegemony in 1341.<sup>64</sup> (In Asia as well, Spanish and Portuguese friars established missions.) Missions were set up in Florida, as in other areas of the Americas. Pedro Menéndez transported members of the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) to preach and proselytize among Native Americans in the Southeast, but the Jesuits' presence was short lived. Martyrdom and a lack of exploitable resources discouraged Jesuit enthusiasm for the region. Members of a young and dynamic order, the Jesuits took no vow of poverty and were as concerned with the economic as the religious aspect of missionary activity, representative of Iberian society with its "interplay of worldly enterprise and religious purpose."<sup>65</sup>

With their emphasis on humility and mission work, it was the Franciscans, established in Italy in 1209,

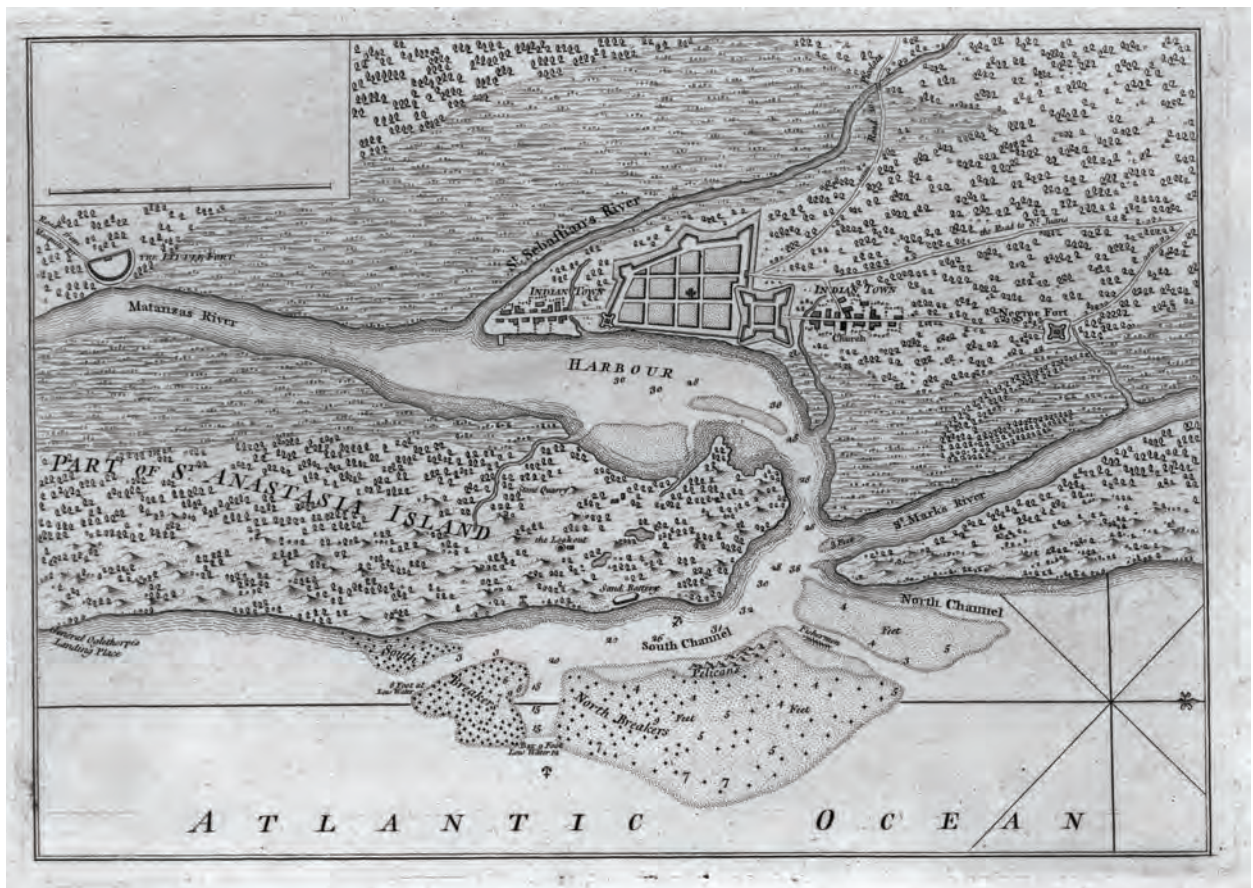


FIGURE 7. Plan of St. Augustine by Thomas Jeffreys, ca. 1762. (Library of Congress, G3934.S2 1762.J4 Vault)

62. Jerald T. Milanich, *Florida Indians and the Invasion from Europe* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1995), 110-112.
63. An exception was Georgia, which prohibited slavery from its establishment as a British colony in 1733 until 1753, when slavery became legal.
64. At this time the nation of Spain had not been consolidated from the several kingdoms of the Iberian Peninsula.
65. Leslie Bethell, ed., *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. I (Cambridge, England: Cambridge University Press, 1984), Vol. 1, quote at 511.



who scored the converts in Florida after their arrival there in 1573. Florida natives were spared some of Spain's most exploitative economic institutions because of close supervision by the Crown of the colony's affairs. A formal tribute was not introduced in Florida although informal tribute was established to a profound degree. Natives were required to provide food to soldiers passing through missions and, because of the lack of pack animals, to transport supplies for soldiers and friars, especially around St. Augustine.<sup>66</sup>

In Florida, the hierarchy of native officials remained largely intact in contrast to the missionary regimes established more than two centuries later in California. In Florida the friars went to the natives, setting up the missions in the existing Native American towns and villages and worked through the ruling families in those towns. In California in the second half of the eighteenth century, friars relocated Native Americans to the missions, which served as economic enterprises as well as religious centers. The California system was more disruptive of residential patterns and tribal governments.

In 1595, Florida's governor convinced the Ais and the chief (*cacique*) of Surruque to accept missionaries, to send laborers to the capital at St. Augustine, and to report the presence of any non-Spanish foreigners. The chief of Surruque accepted gifts to cement the agreement. Part of the reason for the determined pursuit by the Spanish of Native Americans' allegiance was to counter the increased presence after 1589 of French and English corsairs in Gulf Stream waters. In addition to the generalized threat to Spanish shipping, these privateers came ashore in Florida to trade for salvage that natives had retrieved from Spanish ships and to trade with the Ais for ambergris that washed up on the beaches near Cape Canaveral.<sup>67</sup>

Franciscan friars charged that the governor kept the *cacique* of the Surruque prisoner when the native leader visited St. Augustine, and that other important Indians, who had accompanied the chief, were fettered together to hinder their movement. The friars feared that these actions would dis-

courage other Surruques who might be considering conversion because they feared that conversion would mean leaving their natal towns. Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo visited among the natives in the Cape region during his sea voyage from Cuba to take office at St. Augustine. Visits had been friendly and the governor had expected the natives to welcome, rather than to kill, the Spaniard and his two interpreters who carried gifts to the coast Indians.

According to Father Baltasar López, writing in 1598, the governor retaliated against the Surruque, killing 70. Additional Surruques were captured and taken to St. Augustine and assigned as servants among the townspeople. King Philip III of Spain ordered their servitude terminated and forbade similar penalties in the future. Another friar, however, set forth the idea that the governor was justified in retaliating against the Ais, but that the warfare should not have extended to the Surruque. Such hostility by the Spaniards would endanger the lives of all shipwrecked victims who might wash ashore in the cape area and farther south, where most wrecks occurred.<sup>68</sup>

Spanish communiques make it clear that, at the beginning of the seventeenth century, the Seashore-area Indians had been exposed to Spanish life and culture in St. Augustine and had access to goods created in New Spain and Peru that they salvaged from shipwrecks. They also had access to items manufactured in Spain, especially cloth, acquired as gifts or barter with the Spanish in exchange for shipwreck salvage. We can only speculate how this contact with the Spaniards might have changed the lives of the native people.

Relations did not remain hostile. In May 1605, a high-ranking Surruque, referred to as Little Captain, traveled to St. Augustine in hopes of strengthening relations between his chief and the Spanish. He offered to send his own son to serve the governor and requested that the governor send a Spanish youth to the native village, typical of native diplomatic reciprocity which at times used humans as good-faith exchange. The Spanish boy could learn

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66. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 78-82.

67. Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: American Museum of Natural History, 1994), 64. Ambergris is a waxy substance that originates in the intestines of sperm whales and was used as a fixative in perfumes.

68. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573-1618)* (Washington, D.C.: Catholic University of America, 1937), 129-39.

the native language there, which Little Captain said was “very different from others.”<sup>69</sup>

Unofficial interaction also took place. In 1603, seven or eight African slaves escaped from St. Augustine and sought refuge among the Surruque. The Spanish sufficiently pressured the Surruque to return five of the runaways, but two or three of the escapees had moved on further south to live among the Ais and marry Ais women. The Spanish were concerned that the refugees in Ais would provide information to Spain’s European enemies whose ships might land along that part of the coast or, worse, might serve as guides for an enemy party attacking St. Augustine. The governor considered whether the Spanish should raid in Ais to retrieve the potential “traitors.”<sup>70</sup> These runaway slaves might have become acquainted with Surruque captives when the Surruque hostages were in St. Augustine five years earlier and acquired information from them about a potential destination or route, and possibly could converse with some of the natives of the Seashore area.

These early seventeenth-century flights of slaves from St. Augustine to the Surruque and to sites probably within the Seashore were among the earliest slave escapes to take place in today’s United States. The escape in 1603 took place eighty years before the first slave escapes from English South Carolina to Spanish Florida. The flights to Florida from Carolina have been recognized at Fort Mose National Historic Landmark at St. Augustine, the site of a village (1738-1740) whose population included African Americans who had escaped from bondage in Carolina.

The flight of slaves from Carolina was encouraged by Spain and Spain’s sanctuary policy for the runaways was very much a product of the international rivalry among Europeans in the Southeast. The slaves who ran from St. Augustine in 1603 no doubt made their decision based on personal, not interna-

tional, concerns. Yet even in the early 1600s, the Spanish viewed the flights in the context of international rivalry.

Enslaved Africans had arrived from Spain as part of Pedro Menéndez’s colonizing group in 1565. Additional slaves came to Florida over the years from the Caribbean, South America, and Mexico as well as Spain. In Florida’s early colonial years many of the male slaves in the colony were crown-claimed slaves rather than the servants of individuals. They did heavy labor, worked as sailors, and performed other tasks for the government, such as working in the military hospital. The records of marriages and births for the St. Augustine parish contain few entries for Africans around the time of the 1603 escape. The few entries that endure deal with slaves, not free blacks, and no place of birth was included in the records.<sup>71</sup>

Florida Governor Pedro de Ibarra wanted to assure the allegiance of or at the least curb defections among native groups along the coast south of St. Augustine. He feared that the natives aided and abetted the depredations of French and English pirates, and he was also fearful that escaped slaves from St. Augustine would encourage stronger reprisals than the Indians might carry out on their own against Spanish shipwreck victims.<sup>72</sup>

To improve the colony’s security, Governor Ibarra sought to improve his understanding of local geography and in 1605 sent Alvaro Mexía to explore the coast and natural inland waterway from St. Augustine to St. Lucie Inlet. A Christianized native interpreter accompanied Mexía, and his chart and accompanying description pointed out the impressive promontory of Turtle Mound.<sup>73</sup> It referred to Mosquito Lagoon as the Lake of Surruque and claimed that “the lake” was navigable for shallow-draught vessels. His report also is one of the main sources on the Ais. Some researchers believe that his map shows location of villages along the

69. Letter from Gov. Pedro de Ybarra to the Council of the Indies, St. Augustine, 1605 May 13, AGI 53-1-6/20, Susan R. Parker, trans., copy in Canaveral National Seashore research files.

70. Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 171; Report by Gov. Pedro de Ybarra, 1605 December 26, AGI 54-5-9/64, Susan R. Parker, trans., copy in Seashore research files.

71. Cathedral Parish Records, Diocese of St. Augustine, in diocesan offices at Jacksonville, Florida (microfilm copies). Historical research and analysis to date focus on the late 1600s, the 1700s, and early 1800s, after the establishment of a sanctuary policy to encourage runaways from British North American colonies to Spanish Florida. The first century of African slaves in Florida remains to be studied.

72. Hann, *History of the Timucua*, 170-72.

73. Alvaro de Mexía, Rutter for the Coast South to Ais, AGI SD 224, annotated translation published in Irving Rouse, *A Survey of Indian River Archeology* Yale University Publications in Anthropology. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1951), 265-74.

lagoon accurately enough to determine general locations even today.

Despite intentions, agreements, and a desire to convert and pacify all native groups, there is no clear evidence of missions in the immediate Cape area. There were missions to the Mayaca people, but evidence about mission location is inconclusive and conflicting. The peripheral and largely ill-defined position of the Mayaca makes the information in the Spanish records difficult to interpret. Sequential relocations by the native groups referred to as Mayaca might be a basis for the confusion. Locations for the Mayaca have been identified as Lake George, approximately 50 miles northwest of the Seashore's north boundary, or perhaps even farther south on the St. Johns River. However, a late-seventeenth-century source suggested that the Mayaca were in the Cape Canaveral area.

Pedro Menéndez encountered a deserted Mayaca village when he explored the St. Johns River in the summer of 1566.<sup>74</sup> Historian John Hann asserts that the Mayacas' identification with the Freshwater Timucua (based on testimony in 1602) might have been a geographical classification, a continuation of the riverine villages, assigned from the Spanish perspective rather than a reflection of native political affiliations.<sup>75</sup> Hann points out that there is no documentary or physical evidence of missions in the general area of Mosquito Lagoon. The presence of Christianized natives there might have resulted from visits by friars from the mission at Mayaca. Throughout Florida, missionary friars traveled from villages where there was a permanent mission (*doctrina*) to visit nearby towns on an itinerant basis. Alternatively, some members of the Mosquito-area groups of Native Americans might have received religious information and learned Spanish in St. Augustine.<sup>76</sup>

At its height between 1630 and 1650, the mission system in Spanish Florida stretched from the administrative center in St. Augustine northward almost to the Savannah River, westward to the Apalachicola

River, perhaps to the southwest as far as the Cove of the Withlacoochee River, southward to the Daytona Beach area, and along the rivers of central Florida for an undefined distance. By the mid-1650s, revolts and disease seemed to have brought about a downward turn in the success of the missions. A 1683 map by Alonso Solana shows a "village of heathen Indians" (*pueblo de infieles*) located at Turtle Mound. In 1696, Englishman Jonathan Dickinson heard about an uprising by the Jororos in the vicinity of Cape Canaveral during which a Franciscan friar and two of his native assistants were killed. John Hann states that Dickinson's comment on the killing of a friar at the Atoyquime mission "suggests that the Jororo missions were near Cape Canaveral." Three friars had vowed to convert the "Cape Indians" and were in the process of persuading the chief of a town to embrace Catholicism, when the chief's villagers rose up against the friar, the chief, and another native convert.<sup>77</sup>

Jonathan Dickinson's introduction to the Florida natives occurred when his party was shipwrecked near Jupiter Inlet in 1669. With his wife, child, and several shipmates, he trekked northward, passing through today's Canaveral National Seashore. After a respite in St. Augustine, they continued their journey, with a Spanish escort, to the English colony of South Carolina. Dickinson's subsequently published journal provides invaluable information and descriptions of the Native Americans of the Florida and Georgia coasts. His account along with that of Mexía is one of two main sources on the Ais and natives of the area.

The founding of an English colony in the Carolinas in 1670 ultimately had a devastating effect on the Spanish mission system in Florida. In 1702 and 1704, English invaders from the Carolina colony and their Creek Indian allies raided and destroyed missions on the sea islands north of St. Augustine and then around the Tallahassee area. They also captured many Spanish-allied mission Indians as slaves. Thereafter, the remaining missionized native population clustered around St. Augustine for pro-

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74. Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 58.

75. *Ibid.*, 163.

76. Hann, *Timucua Indians*, 171-72.

77. "Map of the Island of Florida submitted by Governor Marquez de la Cabrera, 1683" *Cartografía de Ultramar, Carpeta II: Estados Unidos y Canada* (Madrid: Impr. De Servicio de Geográfico del Ejército, 1949), Map no. 48; Luis R. Arana, "The Alonso Solana Map of Florida 1683," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (1964): 261; Gannon, ed., *New History*, 78-79; John H. Hann, ed. and trans., *Missions to the Calusa* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 30; Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 177; Evangeline Walker Andréws and Charles McLean Andréws, eds., *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal or, God's Protecting Providence*. (1699; reprint, Stuart, Fla.: Valentine Books, 1975), 58-60.



tection. During the first half of the eighteenth century, the extent of villages of missionized Indians around St. Augustine expanded and contracted in response to alternating periods of peace and hostility. A Spanish map of the lower Atlantic coast made about 1740 shows “Las Rosas de Ayamón,” about 16 miles south of St. Augustine, as Florida’s southernmost village. Its location was described as four leagues (12 to 16 miles) beyond St. Augustine, and thus well north of the Seashore.<sup>78</sup> The tiny remnant Native American population that had allied with the Spanish departed Florida for Cuba in 1763 and 1764 along with the Spanish citizenry when Great Britain received Florida at part of the peace treaty that ended the Seven Years War.

## Defending Spanish Florida

The Spanish crown expended funds for almost two-and-a-half centuries to retain Florida despite that colony’s limited production and minimal economic contributions to the Spanish empire. Although it had little of value to export, Florida was vital to the protection of the Gulf Stream and the shipping of

resources from the Americas to Spain. In 1672, Spain began construction on its ninth and last fort at the colonial capital of St. Augustine. The construction of the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine was made as a response to threats in and near Florida as well as being a part of a larger effort throughout the Spanish West Indies to improving defenses in response to threats to Spanish claims from other colonizing nations, especially from England. An English raid in 1668 on St. Augustine hastened Spain’s commitment to improve Florida’s defenses. The establishment of an English settlement at Charleston, South Carolina, in 1670 made it imperative to upgrade St. Augustine’s defenses. St. Augustine’s new masonry fortification, today’s Castillo de San Marcos National Monument, was built of locally available shell stone known as *coquina*. The initial phase of construction of the “castle” was completed in 1695, 23 years after ground breaking.<sup>79</sup> To guard the southern approaches to the capital, Fort Matanzas National Monument, about 12 miles south of St. Augustine at Matanzas Inlet, was constructed of *coquina*



FIGURE 8. View from northwest of Castillo de San Marcos (begun 1672), St. Augustine, Florida, in 1965. (Library of Congress, HABS, FLA,55-SAUG,1-13)

78. “Map of the Coast of Florida from Cape Canaveral . . . to Carolina . . .,” *Cartografía de Ultramar, Carpeta II: Estados Unidos y Canada*, c. 1742 (Madrid: Impr. De Servicio de Geográfico del Ejército, 1949), Map no. 50; Susan R. Parker, “The Second Century of Settlement in the Southeast” (Ph.D. diss.: University of Florida, 1999), chapter 2.
79. Luis Rafael Arana and Albert Manucy, *The Building of Castillo de San Marcos* (N.p.: Eastern National Park & Monument Association, 1977).

between 1740 and 1752 to replace an earlier wooden watchtower.

Coquina is composed of broken seashells cemented together by their own lime. Variations in geological pressure on the shells produce a range of hardness and usefulness for building material. Coquina appears intermittently along the Atlantic coast of Florida from St. Augustine southward and extends as far as Cuba. Coquina shell stone was quarried in the Seashore in the vicinity of the “Haulover,” where Native Americans and later travelers transferred their boats from Mosquito Lagoon and Indian River and where the stone is found quite close to the surface.<sup>80</sup> This provided a stable substrate for later creation of the Haulover canals discussed below. Within the Seashore, there are examples of the use of coquina for practical use, such as the coquina blocks used in construction of the so-called “Confederate saltworks” at Ross Hammock (which may actually date to an earlier period), and for decorative use, as in the first-floor fireplace at the State House at Eldora which displays a decorative facing of coquina.

Areas within and near the Seashore could be vital to the defense of the capital of Spanish Florida at St. Augustine. Mosquito Inlet was a potential “back door” from the Atlantic Ocean to the natural waterways to St. Augustine. The portion of the inland passage within the Seashore also provided a route for messengers. When attacks were feared or when enemy vessels appeared off the St. Augustine bar and attempted to blockade the town or intercept Spanish vessels, messengers were dispatched to Cuba in shallow-draft boats in attempts to deliver pleas for help to Havana. To ensure that the message arrived, the Spanish governor might send several different messenger parties, advising them to put out to sea at whatever point possible.

On May 25, 1740, when British expeditions from the colony of Georgia (founded in 1732) threatened an invasion as well as a blockade of the capital, Governor Manuel de Montiano dispatched “a Spaniard and three Indians” as messengers with the ambitious goal of reaching the Florida keys “by the inside coast channel, where it will be easy for the Indians to take the little canoe across the shoals.” From the keys

they were to make their way to Havana. The British were aware of the escape routes and had positioned boats off the bar of Matanzas and frigates off the bar of Mosquitos and in the channel off Cape Canaveral. On June 4, the surviving member of the unsuccessful canoe party, bearing three gunshot wounds, returned to St. Augustine. The survivor reported that the Spaniard had been killed by the Indians of Mayaca, and his two Indian companions had been slain at Hobe Sound, then called Jeaga or Gega.<sup>81</sup>

In a similar situation in 1812, St. Augustine was again under siege by invaders from Georgia, now citizens of the United States. Florida Governor Sebastián Kindelán wrote to his superior in Havana that “with total risk and with complete lack of confidence for the success of the endeavor, I am sending this correspondence to Your Excellency by the bearer, Jayme Martinelly, directing him to go through the interior to the Keys in a canoe. From there I hope he will succeed in getting passage to your island [Cuba].”<sup>82</sup>

While these sorts of endeavors left little evidence behind, it is very likely that these and many other undocumented voyages of this sort used the inland passage through the Seashore, perhaps putting to sea at some inlet of the Indian River if the Ponce de Leon inlet was under enemy surveillance.

## The Seminole

As the Florida peninsula became increasingly depopulated of indigenous peoples, Native Americans from areas in today’s Georgia and Alabama relocated to Florida in several waves for over a century. In 1716, 1717, and 1718, the Spanish successfully enticed into Florida some Lower Creeks from central Georgia, but little is known about the first half century of relocation into Florida. Anthropologist Brent Weisman illustrates the minimal information in his remark that with respect to the exact dates of Seminole colonization in Florida: “The period 1716-67 is as much as we can say.” Weisman and historian John Mahon divide early Seminole history into two periods. The “colonization period” featured the initial migrations of the

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80. P. A. Schmalzer, M. A. Hensley, and C.A. Dunlevy, “Background Characteristics of Soils of Kennedy Space Center, Merritt Island, Florida: Selected Elements and Physical Properties,” *Florida Scientist*, vol. 64 (2001), 161-190.

81. Montiano Letter Book, May 13, 15 and June 11, 1740, letter nos. 198, 200, 201.

82. Kindelán to Juan Ruiz de Apodaca, 1812 August 27, East Florida Papers, Bundle 31E3, document number 31.

Creek towns into Florida. The “enterprise period” saw an era of prosperity during British rule (1763-1784) and restored Spanish rule (1784-1821) prior to the cession of Florida to the United States.

During the colonization period, Creeks not only migrated into Florida, but also diminished their ties and identification with the Creek groups they left behind. There continues to be much diversity of opinion over the migrants’ original tribal affiliations, languages, and even their name(s). The term “Seminole” derives from a Muskogee term *simano-li*, which itself had been appropriated from the Spanish word *cimarrón*, with meanings of “wild” or “runaway.”<sup>83</sup> Spanish colonial officials took advantage of animosities between the Creek and the English colonists in the Southeast and among the Creek themselves to invite the disenfranchised groups to relocate to Florida. The Creek might have also been looking for areas with more fertile soil than their planting grounds in (present-day) Georgia could offer after years of maize and bean culture.<sup>84</sup>

While these migrating Creek were generally on friendly terms with the Spanish regime in Florida, there was little contact between the two. With little interaction, Seminoles remained for the most part outside the orbit of Spanish cultural influence. From the European perspective in the middle of the eighteenth century, these were Lower Creeks. From the native perspective, they were what they had always been, numerous bands with cultural and linguistic similarities, but not a political unit. In truth, factions, disagreements, and treachery among the native groups enhanced the Europeans’ positions in interchanges with the natives.<sup>85</sup>

By the time of the arrival of the British regime in Florida in 1763, these Native American migrants who had relocated from farther north were sufficiently separated from their earlier associations and previous homes and regrouped in Florida to be called “Seminole.” The Seminole were clustered in

the Alachua prairie near present-day Gainesville, at Miccosukee near Tallahassee, and to a lesser extent among the rolling uplands northeast of Tampa Bay.<sup>86</sup>

In November 1765, after two years of British rule, British officials and Seminole headmen signed a treaty wherein the Native Americans agreed that land for occupation by whites, and not natives, would include all the seacoast as far as the tide flowed, all the country east of the St. Johns River, and the country west of that river confined by a line beginning at the entrance of the Oklawaha River into the St. Johns, then north to the forks of Black Creek and then to the St. Mary’s River.<sup>87</sup> The Seminole groups had been alternately dealing with or resisting British traders and colonists for years. The British establishment of a separate territory, a sort of reservation, for natives in Florida was a change from the Spanish pattern of interaction via the missions, characterized by Native Americans laboring, worshipping, and marrying among the Spanish citizenry at outposts, ranches, and in the capital in St. Augustine.

## British Florida: Large Enterprise Grants and Small Homestead Grants

Great Britain emerged from the Seven Years War (1754-1763) as the world’s most powerful empire.<sup>88</sup> In contrast to the recently terminated second century of Spanish rule in Florida, the British did not have to concern themselves with hostilities and attacks from nearby enemy colonies; the entire Atlantic coast of North America was in British possession after 1763. With Florida, Great Britain acquired a colony that had been emptied of its inhabitants who were of European origin. In 1763 and 1764, all but a dozen Spanish Floridians had

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83. Harry A. Kersey, Jr., *The Seminole and Miccosukee Tribes: A Critical Bibliography* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1987), 1-2. Several scholars disagree with Kersey’s sequence of the evolution of the name.
84. James W. Covington, “Migration of the Seminoles into Florida, 1700-1820,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 46 (1968): 340-57.
85. J. Leitch Wright, Jr. *Creeks and Seminoles: The Destruction and Regeneration of the Muscogulge People* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1986), 4-5; John K. Mahon and Brent R. Weisman, “Florida’s Seminole and Miccosukee Peoples,” in *New History of Florida*, Gannon, ed., 186-87.
86. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 186.
87. Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, facsimile ed., 1964 [1943]), 21-23.
88. The Seven Years War is often called the French and Indian War when referring to engagements that took place on the North American continent. This war was known by other names in other areas of the world. The term Seven Years War encompasses the entire conflict.



sailed from either St. Augustine or Pensacola to other Spanish territory in the face of the arriving British regime. Most of the exiles went to Cuba; a few went to Campeche in today's Mexico. A few who remained from the Spanish period acted as real estate agents to try to sell the exiles' property in the towns to incoming British settlers. It was a buyer's market, and sales were sluggish at best.

With the Proclamation of 1763, British administrators split the former Spanish colony into East and West Florida by dividing it at the Apalachicola River and attempted to encourage settlement. The proclamation provided for township grants of up to 20,000 acres and for family grants that were apportioned according to family size. The grants were available to whites only. The remaining Native Americans and escaped Africans did not qualify as settler material

in the eyes of the British. Special terms were established to attract veterans of the recent war and Protestant inhabitants who might relocate from anywhere except the British Isles. After a three-year period, grants were to be revoked if adequate development had not occurred. But the reality of Florida made that time period far too short. Elaborate and ill-informed real estate and development schemes were hatched in the context of the exuberant mindset of British entrepreneurs, who felt themselves almost as invulnerable and unstoppable as the Empire itself seemed to be.<sup>89</sup>

Any orderly parceling of land grants necessarily relied on surveys, but the actual measuring often followed, rather than preceded, the land grants. In 1765, James Moncrief, a military engineer, made two versions of a map of East Florida, one in



FIGURE 9. A general map of the southern British colonies in America, comprehending North and South Carolina, Georgia, East and West Florida, with the neighboring Indian countries, from the modern surveys of Engineer de Brahm, Capt. Collet, Mouzon, & others, and from the large hydrographical survey of the coasts of East and West Florida, by Bernard Romans, 1776. (Library of Congress, G3870 1776.R6 Vault: Low 585)

89. Bernard Bailyn, *Voyagers to the West: A Passage in the Peopling of America on the Eve of the Revolution* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1986), 430-451.

Spanish and one in English, to depict claims from the former Spanish period. His maps delineated the Seashore as part of a grant belonging to the heirs of Joaquín de Florencia and called Santa Ana de Apaja. Moncrief also noted the “River Surruque.”<sup>90</sup>

William Gerard De Brahm, who had gained recognition in the British colony of Georgia for his engineering abilities, arrived in East Florida in 1765. His sketches, narrative, and surveys of Florida were transformed into giant maps in England. Turtle Mound always draws the attention of any visitor to the area, then as now. DeBrahm denominated it “the Rock” and referred to it as “Mount Belvedere called by the Indians and Spanish Serekee.”<sup>91</sup>

### Turnbull’s New Smyrna

By far the largest and what became the most notorious enterprise of British Florida was located a few miles north of the Seashore at New Smyrna. In June 1768, a Scottish physician, Dr. Andrew Turnbull, brought to his grant at Mosquito Inlet the 1,200 surviving colonists of the 1,400 who had sailed with him from Europe. Turnbull’s Greek wife was born in the Anatolian Smyrna, now part of Turkey, and he had traveled widely in the Mediterranean. Approximately half of the settlers were from the island of Minorca, off the east coast of Spain. Others were natives of Greece, Italy, and France. Turnbull chose Mediterranean workers, who came as indentured servants, based on the scientific theories of the day, which advocated finding an optimum match between the physical attributes of the workers, the environment to which the workers were accustomed, and the environment to which they were headed. The geoclimatological theories were also applied to matching Old World crops to the New World environment. Minorca had been in the grip of a famine, adding to its residents’ eagerness to emigrate.<sup>92</sup>

Turnbull intended to profit from an indigo plantation at a time when the dye was much in demand and production received special trade concessions from the British government. He had originally set out to transport 500 settlers, not 1,400. Turnbull’s drastically overextended enterprise met with dif-

ficult terrain and cultural misunderstandings in the Florida countryside. Prolonged indentures, the terms of which were not understood by many settlers, led to rebellions that marred the enterprise and undermined its success.

When Turnbull’s workers arrived in 1768, James Grant was governor of East Florida. He supported Turnbull’s endeavor by sending troops to New Smyrna to control rebellious workers in August 1768. Patrick Tonyn arrived in the capital of St. Augustine in March 1771 to succeed Grant as governor of East Florida, but Turnbull allied himself with a provincial faction in opposition to Tonyn, who denounced Turnbull and his colleagues as traitors. When Turnbull’s workers appealed to Governor Tonyn to intercede on their behalf, Tonyn canceled the indentures of Turnbull’s workers and offered the workers new home sites in St. Augustine. The workers departed the New Smyrna enterprise *en masse*.<sup>93</sup> Yet, the plantation’s original settlers and their descendants continued to pass through and attempt to develop lands near or within today’s Seashore boundaries for years to come.

Like Britain’s Caribbean colonies, the Floridas did not join the 13 North American colonies that would become the United States in rebelling against Great Britain in 1776. Nevertheless, prior to relocation of Turnbull’s workers to St. Augustine, Florida administrators had been concerned about the loyalty of the laborers at Turnbull’s plantation in light of their non-British backgrounds. The Mediterranean workers carried on clandestine communications with Spanish priests in Cuba, especially for the purpose of obtaining holy oils and water to use in Roman Catholic rites. And there was good basis for fears of spying and of attack against East Florida by the Spanish, who provided supplies to the American Revolutionaries and finally declared war on Great Britain in July 1779. Some workers who had been born on the island of Minorca joined the crews of enemy privateers—American or Spanish—which at times entered Mosquito Inlet.<sup>94</sup>

Just to the south of Turnbull’s New Smyrna plantation, in or near the current Seashore, four British

90. James Moncrief, Map of the Coast of East Florida, 1765, Ms. at Library of Congress.

91. *Plan of Part of the Coast of East-Florida*, original in Map collection, British Library, copy at St. Augustine Historical Society.

92. Taylor and Norman, *André Michaux in Florida*, 53-54.

93. Patricia C. Griffin, *Mullet on the Beach: The Minorcans of Florida, 1768-1788* (St. Augustine: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1990), 34, 92-94, 106.

94. J. Leitch Wright, Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville: University Presses of Florida, 1975), 57, 67. Minorca is one of the Balearic Islands off the east coast of Spain.

grants are known to have been made. The grantees were Robert Bisset, William Elliot, Clotworthy Upton, and William Faucitt. Knowledge of improvements made on these lands comes mainly from claims made to the British government by Bisset and by Clotworthy's heirs after Florida reverted to Spain in 1784. These investors had looked to the more traditional work force of African slaves rather than experimenting with indentured workers and geoclimatological theories as Turnbull did.<sup>95</sup>

## Mount Plenty

One property just west of today's Seashore boundary belonged to Robert Bissett. In 1768, Bissett received a 300-acre grant, which he called Mount Plenty. He stated that he did not settle it, however, until 1777, and the property was worked for a period of just two years. Bissett blamed the demise of the enterprise on the havoc caused in 1779 by a Spanish privateer that came through Mosquito Inlet and into the Hillsborough River (an old name for the waterway leading south from the inlet into Mosquito Lagoon) on which the plantation fronted and "broke it up." After the raid, Bissett abandoned the settlement.

Bissett claimed that his land included a wooden dwelling house measuring 20 by 30 feet and a good storehouse with a loft of dimensions of 26 by 18 feet. There were also a kitchen building which measured 16 by 18 feet, a hen house, and stable. A "town of good houses" was capable of accommodating 70 slaves. He claimed to have built three sets of indigo vats and cleared 143 acres. Bissett delighted in the "very fine sour orange grove," probably established from seeds spread by birds and other animals. This seems especially likely to be the case given Bissett's brief occupation of the property; a new grove could not have produced so quickly. Bissett extolled the abundance of fish, oysters, and green turtles and described the transportation potential of the waterway in terms of barrels of tar a barge could move along the estuary, which was "navigable for flats of 100 barrels tar burden." But the claims by relocated British subjects should be regarded as pre-

senting the sacrificed properties in the very best possible light because most claimants expected compensation for only a fraction of the losses claimed.<sup>96</sup> Although no remains of the Bissett plantation buildings have been found, the memory of the site has been preserved on modern-day maps which delineate "Bissitte Bay" just north of Oak Hill in Mosquito Lagoon.

## William Elliot Plantation

A few miles south of the Bissett grant<sup>97</sup> was the sugar works of William Elliott (sometime spelled Eloit), the southernmost plantation along the Atlantic coast during the British occupation of Florida. Bissett's claim noted that sugar was grown with "tolerable success" there. As described below, Elliott's sugar works were the first completed in East Florida during the British occupation. Ruins which lie just outside the park boundary in Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge may be remnants of this facility. Recently discovered historical documentation has placed the Elliott Plantation in this vicinity. The ruins are documented as site number 8Vo160 in the Florida Master Site File. Archeological testing in the summer of 2008 may be useful in confirming this theory. Indigo was also grown on the plantation at one point, as evidenced in a letter from Andréw Turnbull to Governor Grant dated August 1769 and stating that Ross (Elliott's manager) would produce 50 pounds of indigo per acre.<sup>98</sup>

The following information on William Elliott and his plantation was provided for this study by Dr. Daniel Schafer, Professor Emeritus and former Chair of the History Department, University of North Florida. It is shown here in its entirety:

William Elliott was a London merchant, the second son of Sir Gilbert Elliot, 3<sup>rd</sup> Baronet of Stobs, and Member of Parliament from Roxburghshire, Scotland. His elder brother, Sir John Elliot, became the 4<sup>th</sup> Baronet, and his youngest brother, George August Elliot, became a brigadier-general and Governor of Gibraltar during the "Great Siege" by Spanish and French

95. Davison and Bratton, "Vegetation History," 23.

96. Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774-1785* (Deland: The Florida State Historical Society, 1929) 2:250-59. The available descriptions of the properties within the Seashore are conserved among the claims made to the British government in hopes of receiving compensation for losses suffered by virtue of evacuating the Floridas when Great Britain agreed to cede the Floridas back to Spain at the end of the American Revolution.

97. Bissett had nine separate Florida properties totally 9,500 acres. One plantation of 1,000 acres that produced indigo was described as "2 miles back" from his property fronting the lagoon. Siebert, 2:250-59.

98. Unpublished mss., Dot Moore, FL Anthropological Society, January 27, 2008; copy in Canaveral National Seashore files.

forces, 1779-1783. In gratitude, Parliament named General Elliott a Knight of the Bath. He became Lord Heathfield, Baron Heathfield of Gibraltar, in 1787.

In June 1767, after receiving warrants from Parliament for grants of land in East Florida, William Elliott gave John Ross of Arnage in Aberdeenshire, Scotland orders to select and settle tracts of land in Florida. Ross was told to board the ship *Aurora* and travel to St. Augustine to seek Gov. James Grant's advice for locating 1,000 acres of land. Ross selected a tract on the Halifax River—then known as the Hillsborough River (aka Musquito River)—located eighty-five miles south of St. Augustine, and named it Stobs Farm in honor of the Elliott family land at Castle Stobs, near Hawick in Roxburghshire. Elliott would later acquire title to additional land, including a 1,200-acre tract to the west of Stobbs (the normal spelling in Florida), bounding west on the marshes of Indian River, and a 20,000-acre tract that was never developed, adjoining Dunn's Lake (now Crescent Lake) on the southeast.

Elliott told Ross to purchase enslaved Africans in Georgia for his labor force. He specified "seasoned people," Africans who had been in America long enough to acclimate to the diseases and language, and cautioned Ross to "buy as few as possible as they are apt to pine on a change of habitations." Expenditures for the work force were limited to £3,000 British Sterling. The slaves were to be put to work immediately "to erect a Negro lodgement" and "habitations for whites, with gardens [and] walks." By the end of 1768, habitations were completed, land was cleared, fenced, and planted with provisions crops and indigo. An agricultural village was thereby created at the point furthest south along the Atlantic Coast that plantations were developed during the two decades that Britain controlled East Florida. Five years later, the Kings Road would be completed between St. Augustine and its southern terminus: Stobbs Farm. This road extended north to the St. Marys River, linking Britain's East Florida and Georgia colonies.

Between 1766-1772, Stobbs Farm followed the predominant pattern at East Florida estates, striving for self-sufficiency in food production while seeking profits from the cultivation of indigo for export. Ross experienced some commercial success with the first crops at Stobbs, but a series of drought years caused profits to drop precipitously. Elliott complained often about the high cost of creating and maintaining the settlement, and in 1772 he

warned Ross that unless Stobbs Plantation began to show profits he would be replaced as overseer.

Ross had earlier recognized the limitations of the dry and sandy hammock lands along Florida's Atlantic coastal ridge and begun draining wetlands at Stobbs to create sugar fields, and possibly rice fields, while at the same time moving fresh water toward the coast through a canal network to irrigate the higher and drier hammock lands where indigo had been planted. The product of an enormous outlay of human labor by the enslaved Africans, the remains of an elaborate water management network of canals and causeways at Stobbs is still visible.

In 1771, Ross sent some of the slaves to an undeveloped 1,200-acre tract that adjoined to the west of Stobbs and extended all the way to the marshes of the Indian River, a distance of more than two miles from the shoreline of the Halifax River. This tract was even wetter than the terrain at Stobbs, and required a more elaborate network of canals. At the new tract, Ross constructed what William Elliott's legatee, Francis Augustus Elliot (possibly a nephew, William died in 1779), described as "a complete sugar works: one large mill house, one boiling and curing house and twenty-eight Negro houses." It was complete with rollers and crushing machinery, a firebox and chimney with boilers and kettles, and two 120-gallon stills for making rum. In addition, three dwellings were constructed for the white overseers, along with a kitchen and a wash house, structures for storing the sugar barrels prior to shipment, barns, stables, blacksmith and cooperage shops, all of which were necessary for operating a sugar plantation. Much of the stone and brick sugar works is still standing, although in ruin, and the miles of canals the laborers dug in 1771-1772 are still visible at the site. This sugar works was the first completed in East Florida during the British occupation; it is Florida's oldest standing sugar processing facility.

Lieutenant Frederick George Mulcaster, a royal engineer and the surveyor general of the province, visited with John Ross several times in 1772 and dutifully reported his observations to Governor James Grant, who was then in London. Twenty acres had been planted by January, Mulcaster wrote, and by June more than fifty acres of sugar cane looked healthy and green despite a bad beginning of the growing season. Mulcaster reported that it would be October before cane could be cut, prompting his continuing concern that cold weather and frost might harm the cane before the harvest could be

finished. Mulcaster thought the project was “very hazardous, however, he [Ross] is resolved to try and the mill is getting on as fast as the people can work it.” The mill frame was in place by June and it appeared to Mulcaster that the related costs would not be excessive. It was the cost of the “Negro gang” that Mulcaster judged to be the major expense.

“John Ross is busy making sugar,” Mulcaster reported on January 15, 1773, although at levels below production standards in the West Indies, with yields of less than a hogshead of sugar per acre. “Ross is taking great pains,” Mulcaster wrote. “I hear Mr. Elliott is displeased with him, but if Ross fails it will not be for want of application.” Six months later, Ross shipped “700 weight of sugar and a puncheon of rum” to England. One year later, Ross told Mulcaster that he was making “600 weight of sugar every week.” A combination of drought and early frost lessened the expected output in 1774, yet Ross was able to export approximately 10,000 pounds of sugar, despite the Elliott properties being hit by a severe storm that destroyed buildings, uprooted trees, and killed three horses. The estate also suffered a fire that burned a storage barn filled with the year’s harvest of corn and peas. The year of misfortune was capped in late December when a sloop belonging to Elliott, filled with a cargo of supplies, was lost at the entrance to Mosquito Inlet.

The disasters experienced in 1774 convinced Elliott to fire Ross and hire new managers. Startup costs for the sugar works, cash outlays for additional laborers, tools, buildings, and horses had been more than Elliott would tolerate. He later complained that his expenses for the period 1770 to 1775 exceeded £7,700 Sterling. Annual expenses decreased after completion of the sugar plantation, and income for some years was promising. In April 1778, Dr. Andréw Turnbull informed Elliott that 22,000 pounds of sugar in tierces<sup>99</sup> and a number of barrels of rum had arrived at his wharf at New Smyrna that would sell for more than £600 Sterling. Barrels of indigo dye valued at more than £200 Sterling also awaited shipment.

Turnbull also sent bad news: Indians had stolen four of Elliott’s horses.

A series of agents, including Alexander Gray, and overseers, notably Alexander Bissett, operated the Elliott properties after Ross’s departure. Cultivation of provisions, indigo and sugar continued at Stobbs, and at the 320 acres of cleared and fenced fields at the sugar plantation one and one-half mile to the west at the head of Indian River. All operations ceased in November 1779, however, following a devastating plunder by raiders from a Spanish privateer, following Spain’s declaration of war against Great Britain in June 1779. A claim for compensation filed after Britain returned East Florida to Spain listed losses of £660 Sterling when the Spanish raiders destroyed a sixty-acre cane field that was ready to harvest. The slaves were moved to a 500-acre plantation north of St. Augustine on Pablo River supervised by Alexander Bissett. In 1783, the slaves at Pablo prepared 370 barrels of turpentine that sold for £462 Sterling. When East Florida was returned to Spain under terms of the Treaty Paris in 1783, Bissett sent eighty-two slaves to Jamaica, where they sold for £2,282.

The buildings on Stobbs at Mosquito Lagoon and the Elliott sugar plantation on Indian River were abandoned, and the livestock and machinery sold at very low prices. Loyalist refugees from the colonies in rebellion against the Crown may have settled temporarily on the Elliott property after 1779, but documentation is incomplete. Alexander Bissett wrote in July 1783: “the three mills and the three worms with all the lead and copper [presumably referring to the two 120-gallon stills] are in Mr. Watson’s store in Town [St. Augustine]. All the rollers and bailors, as they were iron and very heavy is left at Stobbs....” Bissett planned to hire a vessel to retrieve the remaining machinery and sell it at St. Augustine.”<sup>100</sup>

Ross’s name continued to be associated with the area long after the plantation was gone. “Ross” was marked just above the head of Indian River in an 1837 map by J. Lee Williams.<sup>101</sup> The name survives today in Ross Hammock along the western shore of

99. An old English unit of wine casks containing about 159 liters.

100. Daniel L. Schafer, “William Elliott, Stobbs Farm at Mosquito Lagoon, and the Elliott Sugar Plantation at Indian River”, unpublished summary for CANA Historic Resource Study, May, 2008. Sources consulted for this essay: Letters from Frederick George Mulcaster to Governor James Grant, in the Macpherson-Grant papers, Ballinalloch Castle, Banffshire, Scotland (available on microfilm at the Library of Congress, Washington, DC); correspondence of Alexander Bissett, Francis Augustus Elliott, William Elliott, John Ross, Robert Payne, and Andréw Turnbull, in the Claim of Heirs of William Elliott, Treasury 77, The Papers of the East Florida Claims Commission, the British Archives, Kew, England; Daniel L. Schafer, “St. Augustine’s British Years, 1763-1784,” *El Escribano, The Journal of the St. Augustine Historical Society*, St. Augustine, FL, Vol. 38, 2001.

101. Taylor and Norman, *André Michaux in Florida*, 50.



Mosquito Lagoon. The road that joined Turnbull's New Smyrna with St. Augustine, which was known as King's Road, had an extension from New Smyrna to the southern settlements and Elliot's place. This southern pathway was constructed under contract by Robert Bissett for £1150 (about \$5,000).<sup>102</sup>

Bernard Romans, an assistant surveyor general described another "road," which he encountered as he reconnoitered and mapped East Florida (see Figure 8). Romans noted: "a road is cut to draw boats out of Musketo Lagoon into this, which is called *South-hillsborough* by *De Brahm* but commonly called *Indian River*; the savages call it *Aisa Hatcha*, i.e., *Deer River* . . . the Spanish call it *Reo d'ais*."<sup>103</sup> In 1773, Lt. Gov. John Moultrie suggested in a letter to Gov. James Grant cutting a canal across the "Boat Hawl over" to connect the lagoon and the river. This "road for boats" was probably the portage which was later improved to become Old Haulover Canal (8Br188).

## Bartram and Michaux

Surveyors and government officials were not the only persons to investigate the colony and report on its attributes. Naturalist William Bartram twice explored the southeastern portion of the North American continent with a special emphasis on describing and possibly discovering unknown beneficial plants. On his first visit to Florida in 1766-67, he accompanied his father John, also a well-known botanist, and remained behind for about a year, when his father returned home.<sup>104</sup> It may have been at this time that he visited the "South branch of the Mosquito river", as briefly referenced in his well-known journal describing his second journey to Florida in 1774 and 1775. Traveling by canoe in December, he navigated along the south part of the Mosquito River and commented upon the bears and deer, spotting 11 bears in the course of a single day. He "passed over a pretty high hill" with palm trees on its crest and surrounded by an orange grove. Even today wild orange trees can be found in the Seashore, reminders of past occupations. The hill was "washed on one side by the floods of the Mosquito river, and on the other side by the billows of the ocean."



FIGURE 10. Zebra heliconian or longwing butterfly. (CANA photo files, Christen Poole)

Bartram described the mound as "an entire heap of sea shells and estimated it to be about one hundred yards in diameter. Some sources speculate that this could be Turtle Mound. It was near this site that he first described the magnificent black and yellow zebra heliconian butterfly (*Heliconius charitonius*), which can still be seen today fluttering with ethereal grace among the shadows at the edges of hammocks. The map which accompanied the book describing his travels depicted wrecks along the Seashore's coast as well as its most renowned landmark, Turtle Mound. Like so many colonial map makers, Bartram chose Cape Canaveral as the southern limit for his map.<sup>105</sup>

Another renowned naturalist, Frenchman André Michaux, visited the Seashore to collect plants in 1788. Although less well known in America than William Bartram, Michaux gained international reputation. Encouraged by King Louis XVI's personal physician, Michaux studied with Bernard de Jussieu, at the time France's most renowned botanist. When Michaux arrived on this side of the Atlantic Ocean in November 1785, he was titled botanist to the king, giving him the prestige of a diplomat, but while Michaux was in North America, his royal patron was beheaded during the French Revolution. Michaux spent 11 years roaming North America identifying plants and collecting specimens. One important product of Michaux's travels throughout

102. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 68; Siebert 2: 251.

103. Bernard Romans, *A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida* (1775; reprint, Pelican Publications, 1961), 182.

104. Joseph Kastner, *A Species of Eternity* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, Inc., 1977), 81.

105. William Bartram, *Travels through North & South Carolina, Georgia East & West Florida* (1791, reprint, Mark Van Doren, ed., New York: Dover Publications, 1928, reprinted 1955), 21-23, map interleaved between 30 and 31.

North America was the posthumous publication in 1803 of his *Flora Boreali-Americana*. Michaux is noted for his activities in South Carolina, including the gardens and nursery that he established in Charleston, but his investigations in Florida are little known.<sup>106</sup>

For three months he traveled in Florida, identifying and gathering specimens on Florida's coastal islands south of St. Augustine and along the St. Johns River. Michaux arrived in St. Augustine on February 28, 1788. By March 24, Easter Monday, Michaux and his party had reached the remnants of New Smyrna, where they camped. Here he mentioned the abandoned orange groves and remnants of the failed Turnbull colony. Michaux stopped at "the ruins of a Plantation which had belonged to captain Besy [Bissett]" on March 26. The following day he paused to eat at the foot of Turtle Mound, which he called Mount Tucker, and "collected several shrubs and plants of the Tropics." That evening, he camped on the ruins of the Ross Place. Michaux, like Bernard Romans, misidentified the site as "Captain Roger's."

On the morning of March 28, Michaux and his party crossed a former sugar-cane field to the Indian River. Michaux noted seeing the Old Haulover, "the most narrow place between the Indian River and the Canal," the latter being today's Mosquito Lagoon. He found some previously unknown plant species in the woods along the Indian River, which encouraged him to push farther southward and endure the discomfort of trekking through saw palmettoes. Every night the party saw fires that the Indians made on the west bank of the Indian River, but avoided contact with them. On April 6 they turned back to St. Augustine and then headed to the St. Johns River for more collecting.<sup>107</sup>

## Land Grants and Disrupted Settlement in the Second Spanish Period

Spain's support of the American revolutionaries was re-paid at the peace talks in 1782 with the resto-

ration of the Floridas to the Spanish empire. This time it was the British who would evacuate, although a relatively sizable number of British subjects (perhaps as many as 500) decided to remain in East Florida. The majority chose to relocate to other parts of the British empire, since many of the immigrants had resided in Florida for only a short time. They had fled to Florida mostly from South Carolina and Georgia because their loyalty to Great Britain made them targets for their rebelling neighbors and Revolutionary occupation troops. East Florida's population ballooned to about 16,000 during the Revolution, but declined to 3,000 within two years of the retrocession to Spain. In July 1784, a Spanish governor once again took command of the Florida peninsula.<sup>108</sup>

Spanish policies generally continued land-grant procedures set up during Florida's British years. The offering of homestead grants to settlers occurred throughout Spain's American colonies, not just in Florida. Settlers migrating from the new United States headed to faraway locations such as today's Panama as well as to closer colonies in areas that are today part of the United States. After 1790, new immigrants as well as residents in Florida could acquire free land by establishing a farm or plantation for ten years. These homesteaders could acquire acreage apportioned by the number of household members: 100 acres for the head of household and 50 for additional members, including slaves. Petitioners had to build adequate structures and keep cattle to fulfill the grant requirements. At the completion of a ten-year occupation, the colony's governor could convert the grant to settle into full ownership. After 1815, patriotic service to Spain was added as a basis for grants.<sup>109</sup>

Lands located within today's Seashore boundary offered a nearby inlet for access to the ocean and also the ribbon of estuaries, which made settlement attractive in an era when travel and hauling by canoe and flatboat was much easier than over land. The importance of water travel was affirmed by the practice of granting tracts with the longer dimension running inland to maximize the number of settlers having access to waterways.

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106. Taylor and Norman, *André Michaux in Florida*, xi-xii; Loutrell W. Briggs, *Charleston Gardens* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1951), 14.

107. Taylor and Norman, *André Michaux in Florida*, xiii, 72-73, 105-07.

108. *Ibid.*, 59, 61.

109. Works Progress Administration, *Spanish Land Grants in Florida* (Tallahassee: State Library Board, 1941), 1:xx-xxv.

Upon the return of Florida, Spain largely adopted the practices established by the British in dealing with the Native Americans rather than repeating the missions and policies of the earlier Spanish period. A Scottish trading firm, Panton, Leslie and Company, was awarded a near monopoly on the Indian trade in the Spanish Floridas, and Native Americans mostly remained in their camps and villages.<sup>110</sup> But the Southeast was a region in flux after the American Revolution. Citizens of the new United States were pushing south and west into Native American lands. Dispossessed of territory, Great Britain still wanted to maintain a strong influence and trading hegemony in the southeast. Native Americans mixed and matched allegiances among all the foregoing nations as they attempted to survive as sovereign entities.

The desire by persons on both sides of the Florida-U.S. border to make the Floridas part of the United States brought disruption and destruction to Florida's rural settlements. But Florida had not remained calm even before the invasion from Georgia. Adventurer William Augustus Bowles intended to set up an independent Indian state of Muskogee in the Southeast with himself as its head. Bowles's father was a Scottish trader, his mother a Creek.<sup>111</sup> He negotiated both the Indian and British commercial worlds with ease. Bowles's State of Muskogee was contrived to cross international and tribal boundaries. Bowles had the sponsorship of British factions, who still wished to control trade in the Southeast in spite of Great Britain's cession of territory. Sailing from the British Bahamas in 1788, Bowles landed in East Florida at the Indian River but was unable to win over enough Native Americans. Bowles reappeared repeatedly in the Southeast, agitating Creeks and other tribes.

In 1800, Bowles and his followers captured the Spanish fort of San Marcos on the St. Marks River, south of today's Tallahassee. Allied with Bowles, Seminoles and/or Creeks raided East Florida plantations, discouraging rural ventures. Slaves were the usual booty—38 were taken from New Switzerland plantation west of St. Augustine and carried to Miccosukee, Bowles's headquarters near today's

Tallahassee. The raids spread fear and disruption far beyond the areas where they occurred. Animosity and rivalries among native factions fueled the raiding as did resentment that was aimed at whites. Settlers hesitated to risk their time developing properties as the risk of slave theft or escape in the countryside increased.

More than once, white expeditionary forces massed themselves along the Georgia border to invade East Florida with the intent of setting up an independent republic inspired by the French Revolution. The infant republic would then ask for annexation to the United States. Doubting the loyalty of recently arrived residents living near the border, Spanish Florida's Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada and his council of war in January 1794 ordered evacuation of lands between the St. Mary's and St. Johns rivers, destruction of buildings, and either harvesting or destruction of crops in the field. The Spanish officials' goal was to deprive invading forces of support and supplies. Evacuating settlers could either leave the colony or relocate within it. Some of the uprooted requested to resettle in the Mosquitoes region, but there is little follow-up documentation about their location or tenure near or on Seashore lands. After the summer of 1795, when the invasion finally did take place and the Georgians were routed from Florida, the governor permitted former residents of the evacuated area to return to the lands between the northern rivers and possibly to re-establish themselves at better locations which had been abandoned by homesteaders who had fled Florida.<sup>112</sup>

The 1802 Treaty of Amiens among England, France, Spain, and Holland brought a period of peace among European powers. One result was the end of British support for Bowles, whose activities were thus curtailed. Spanish forces then captured Bowles and imprisoned him in Havana, where he died in 1805.<sup>113</sup>

## Spanish Land Grants Around Canaveral

The diminishing of European rivalries in the Southeast and the end of Bowles's ventures

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110. Native Americans brought in hides and furs to company stores, where they received cloth, metal tools, guns, and ammunition.

111. Not to be confused with the noted Cherokee chieftain Duwa'li, who was called "Chief Bowles."

112. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 158; Spanish Land Grants, passim. Settlement that did not satisfy the homestead requirements usually left minimal or no documentation in the land claims.

113. Wright, *Creeks and Seminoles*, 148; Wright, *Anglo-Spanish*, Chapters 12 and 13.



promised a more peaceful environment. Spanish Florida residents were willing again to risk settlement in the countryside on free land. In 1803, Nicolasa Gómez petitioned for lands on the west side of Mosquito Lagoon at the Ross Place, still identifying the acreage with its British-era occupant. She claimed that she already owned six slaves to send there to work and intended to acquire more to labor on the land on Mosquito Lagoon. Her request described the desired grant as measuring a half mile both to the north and to the south of the chimney “presently standing on the plantation.” In 1817 an observer swore that “before the invasion of Indians” (probably in conjunction with the Patriot War in 1812, described below), that there had been a chimney and oven as well as buildings. Gómez was well acquainted with Florida. Her family had departed for Havana in 1763 upon the British takeover of Florida, and she returned to Florida to

re-claim family property in St. Augustine upon the colony’s retrocession to Spain. The Gómez grant appears to this day on topographic maps.<sup>114</sup>

Lewis Mattair likewise petitioned for and received lands on Mosquito Lagoon at “Ross” in 1801. Mattair had lived in Florida since at least 1787. He stated that he knew carpentry and sailing, but had been raised in the countryside and was happiest as a farmer. An 1809 survey of Mattair’s 300-acre settlement depicted an orange grove bordering the lagoon and a landing midway along the length of Mattair’s shoreline. A ditch (*zanja*) of some sort curved across the northeast quadrant of the grant. In 1822, Mattair sold his lands to Antelm Gay. The Oak Hill Quadrant, USGS topographic map, shows a line in the center of the Gay grant, which approximates the line of the ditch shown on the 1809 survey. The survey also showed an “*embarcadero*,” which may have served as a landing for Ross and

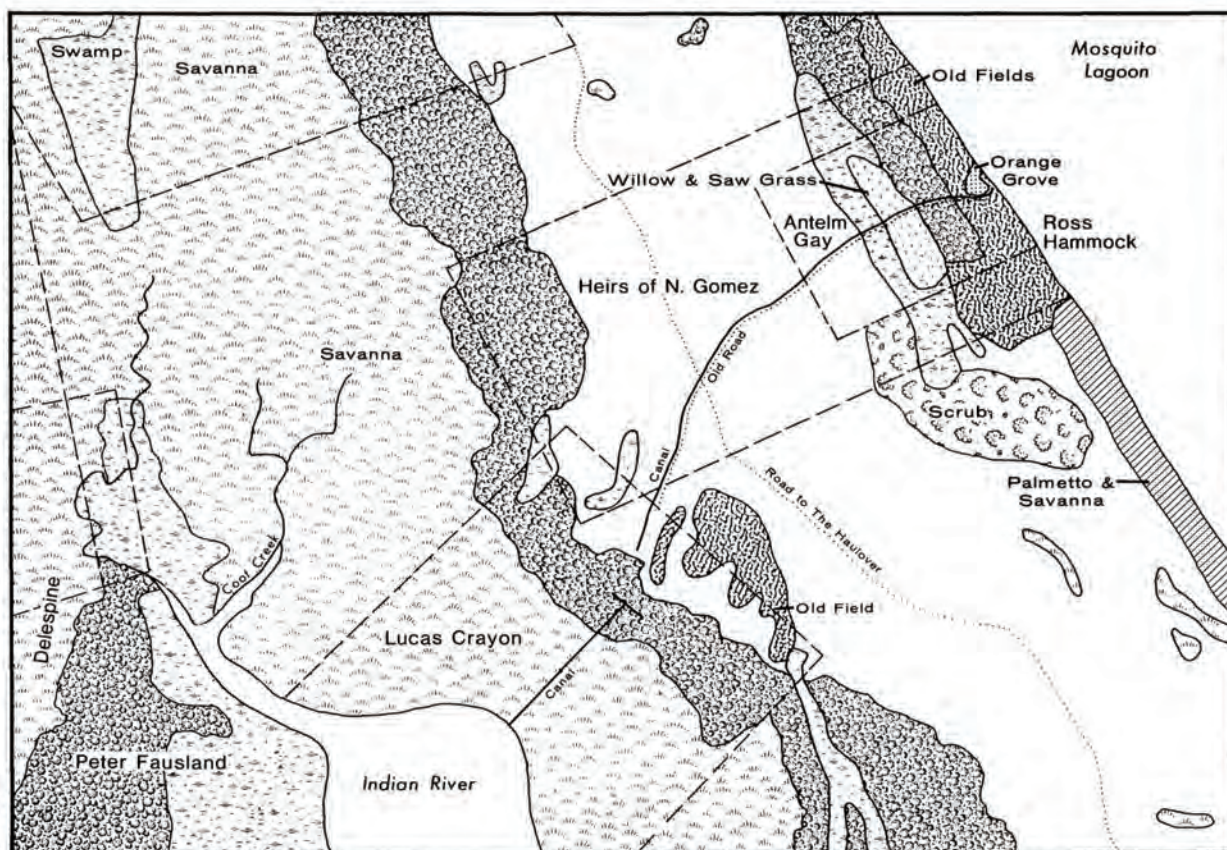


FIGURE 11. Land Grants, Township 19 South, Range 15 East. (Taken from Kathryn Davison and Susan P. Bratton. *The Vegetation History of Canaveral National Seashore, Florida*. CPSU Technical Report 22, (National Park Service, University of Georgia: Athens, 1986), Figure 5, 33. Primary source: 1852 General Land Office Plat of Township 19, South, Range 15 East. Bureau of State Lands, Tallahassee, Florida (Cultural Resource Management, Inc., 1978)

114. Confirmed Claim G12; Claim of Nicolasa Gómez, Claim No. 82, Town Lot Claims, both in Spanish Land Grants Manuscript Collection, Division of Historical Resources, Tallahassee, Florida (microfilm copies produced by Fla. Dept. of Agriculture.).

later occupants to load goods for transport to New Smyrna and beyond.<sup>115</sup>

Four decades later in 1850, D. H. Burr surveyed the Gay and Gómez grants for inclusion in the township maps compiled by the U.S. General Land Office. Burr's field notes referred to the "old chimney in the middle of the orange grove of the Gómez grant" as his point of beginning for his survey. His notes referred also to an "old house" in the same orange grove at a location at or near the chimney.<sup>116</sup> Information in the 1809 Spanish survey, the 1852 Township Map, the field notes for the above two grants, and the "Sketch Map of Ross Hammock" included in the Bullens' archeological report for Ross Hammock suggest that the foundations and hearth purported to be a Confederate Salt Works (see Chapter Four) may be remnants of a structure from an earlier period, such as the N. Gómez/Gay house, already standing in 1803.

The 1852 Township Map shows a road running southwesterly from Mosquito Lagoon at the midpoint of the Gay Grant's shoreline. The easterly terminus of the road corresponds to the location of the landing on the lagoon shown in the 1809 survey. At the road's western end, it joins the canal shown in the Lucas Creyon Grant (Section 42). The 1818 survey of the Creyon Grant called the road a "cart road (*camino carretero*)."<sup>117</sup> John Griffin and James Miller in 1978 noted sugar mill ruins at the Creyon Grant and superimposed the ruins' location onto the 1852 Township Map included in their report.<sup>117</sup>

There is some evidence of settlement on the east side of Mosquito Lagoon in this period. Contemporary with Nicolasa Gómez, Gertrudis Carillo, a

widow, petitioned in 1804 for land south of Turtle Mound and east of the Hillsborough River, about 16 miles south of Mosquitos (Ponce de Leon Inlet).<sup>118</sup> She claimed that she built a "turtle pond" and house on the land. William Ulmer also claimed to have settled on 200 acres south of Turtle Mound on the seashore "in front of the Bisep plantation," which belonged to John Tenant during the English period. Unlike the Gómez and Mattair endeavors, Carillo and Ulmer did not convince the U.S. Claims Commission that they had satisfied the homestead requirements. Their claims for recognition of grants made by the Spanish government were denied and the land became U.S. public lands. Denial of ownership, however, did not necessarily mean that the improvements were non-existent, but that some legalities had not been met.<sup>119</sup>

## The Patriots War

The invasion of Spanish East Florida by American filibustering forces in 1812 brought even more destruction than had occurred in 1794-95. Filibuster was a nineteenth-century term for someone engaged in fomenting insurrections in foreign countries, especially used for United States activities in Latin America. The invaders called themselves the Patriots, and adopted a plan resembling Bowles' earlier one of establishing an independent republic, which would soon ask for annexation to the United States. U.S. President James Madison originally supported and abetted the expeditionaries. Spanish policies and practices in East Florida had angered U.S. slaveholders. Runaway slaves found refuge among the Seminoles in Florida. U.S. slaveholders worried that the example of permitting blacks in Spanish Florida to carry firearms would inspire

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115. Spanish Land Grants, Confirmed Claim G12.

116. Field Notes for Sections 39 and 40, Township 19 South, Range 35 East, originals in General Land Office Township Plats and Field Survey Notes, Florida Department of Environmental Protection, Tallahassee; Ripley F. Bullen, Adelaide K. Bullen, and William J. Bryant, *Archaeological Investigations at the Ross Hammock Site, Florida* (1967), 3, 23-27. As the Gay grant surrounded the Gómez Grant, surveyor Burr used some of the same points of reference along Mosquito Lagoon for delineating both grants. The reference to the house appeared in the field notes for the Gay grant. The word "house" is difficult to discern, typical of field notes, which often contain misspellings, inserted remarks, and symbols. The surveyors were interested in establishing the boundaries of the sections within townships, not in recording features that did not pertain to establishing boundaries. Thus important features within a section were not usually included in the field notes. Features, such as buildings, fields, mills, and even sites of important events, sometimes were drawn onto the maps. But the absence of features from township maps should not be interpreted that such features did not exist nor should the location of features drawn inside sections be interpreted as precise.

117. Spanish Land Grants Conf. C88; James Miller and John Griffin, "Cultural Resource Assessment, Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge" (N.p.: n.p., 1978), 95-101, manuscript on file at NASA Kennedy Space Center.

118. At various periods, the northern section of Mosquito Lagoon, and occasionally the lagoon in its entirety, was known as the Hillsborough River.

119. Spanish Land Grants, Unconfirmed Claims D8 and U1. The U.S. Claims Commissions were established in territories acquired by the United States to scrutinize private lands claims dating from pre-American regimes. The Commissioners had to decide the validity of the claims based on the laws of the sovereign regimes under which the land was granted. Land claims deemed valid under the granting sovereign would be considered valid under U.S. ownership.

slaves in the U.S. to question the prohibition on weapons for blacks in the U.S. and perhaps embolden them to acquire weapons or even to rebel against their masters. Additionally, international rivalries in Europe were transferred to the Americas. In Europe, Great Britain had occupation troops in Spain as part of the war against Napoleon, and U.S. diplomats feared British attempts to seize Spanish Florida in the context of the hostilities. Thus, southern U.S. citizens asserted that the acquisition of East Florida would diminish the threat to the slave-holding society and bring democratic practices to an area living under monarchical strictures.<sup>120</sup>

Madison's opponents in the 1812 election year attacked the president's methods as duplicitous and treacherous.<sup>121</sup> Public disapproval in the U.S. of the Patriots' expedition caused Madison to withdraw official support, but the filibusters themselves did not withdraw. Seminoles and their African-American allies entered the conflict to protect their lands and their freedom as the expeditionaries ranged out beyond the areas of primarily white settlements. Seminoles feared that the end of the Spanish regime would make them vulnerable to removal from the Florida peninsula under U.S. rule. They struck out at whatever appeared to be a threat and also took advantage of the upheaval to seize blacks from Florida plantations and to destroy the existing white settlements. Free blacks feared enslavement or at least more restrictions under U.S. laws and practices.

Raids and burnings engulfed the Florida countryside as far south as Mosquitos and west to today's Gainesville area. Areas that had been rebuilt after the 1794-95 destruction were demolished anew. Settlers were unable to set out crops, and cattle herds were confiscated by the invaders, often to feed themselves. The Patriots remained in Florida until May 1814. The claims filed for compensation of losses after the Patriot War do not contain any claims pertaining to lands now part of the Seashore. The reference in Gómez's claim to damages by the Indians suggests that destruction spurred by the

American invasion did take place, but that it might well have been futile to file for compensation as only depredations committed by the American forces were eligible for compensation. Damages at the hands of Indians did not qualify.<sup>122</sup>

In spite of the disruptions in Florida, settlers continued to apply for land. Men who fought on behalf of Spain could apply for land grants as reward for their service by virtue of an 1815 royal order. These land concessions were called service grants. In 1817, Governor José Coppinger awarded William T. Hall 1,265 acres "lying between the Indian and Mosquitoes Rivers, called the Haulover."<sup>123</sup> Hall claimed that further "Indian disturbances" spurred by the invasion of Amelia Island (just south of the Georgia border) by expeditionary Gregor MacGregor in June 1817 prevented him (Hall) from settling the grant within the specified time and it expired.<sup>124</sup> The governor adjudged Hall's excuse valid and re-granted the land in 1819. Robert McHardy's 1818 survey delineating Hall's grant depicts "Haulover road" that crossed the narrow strip of land between Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon. The Claims Commission rejected the grant to Hall as it did with many other last-minute grants. The Commission held that many of Coppinger's grants made in 1819 and later were without basis and were made to place as much Spanish crown land as possible into private hands. This would reward loyal Spanish subjects, who could remain in Florida with land of their own or sell it to incoming residents. It would also lessen the amount of land that would pass from Spanish royal ownership to public ownership whenever the United States took over Florida upon final ratification of the treaty of cession.

In the spring of 1818, General Andréw Jackson crossed into Spanish West Florida, took several Seminole towns in the Tallahassee area and occupied Pensacola. The United States justified the invasion of foreign territory by claiming that the Seminoles within Florida had provoked the U.S. to protect itself. The troops shortly withdrew. This approximately three-month-long fracas became

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120. Rembert Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810-1815* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1954).

121. Many supported acquisition of Florida using straightforward activities, but not the "second-hand" manner set up by the Patriots' scheme.

122. Patriot War Claims Manuscript Collection, St. Augustine Historical Society; Gannon, ed. *New History*, 162-63.

123. Spanish Land Grants, Unconfirmed Grant H8.

124. Gregor MacGregor was one of many adventurers to raid and occupy Fernandina in the years following the Patriot War. The Native American groups often took advantage of these unsettled conditions to make their own threats or raids.



known as the First Seminole War. It was a major factor in the ultimate transfer of the Floridas to the United States.<sup>125</sup>

After lengthy negotiations, which were then followed by delays, the treaty between the United States and Spain to transfer East and West Florida to U.S. control was fully signed and affirmed in 1820. Spain itself was suffering from many problems, and financing a viable military presence in the Floridas was both too expensive and no longer needed. During the 1810s, most of Spain's American colonies had declared their independence. The products of the Indies no longer sailed along the Gulf Stream past Florida (and Cape Canaveral) to Spain's ports and markets. In the absence of other colonies, Florida no longer served a vital function in the Spanish empire. In July 1821, a Spanish flag was raised for the last time in Florida, more than three centuries after that banner first unfurled in the Florida sea breeze.

## Associated Properties

The associated properties for the European Incursions and Euro-American Expansion, 1500-1820, context are shell mounds and earthen burial mounds primarily associated with prehistoric activities and a portage that was later enlarged by the United States. No standing structures within the Seashore boundary have been positively identified with this context. The destructive events of the colonial and Seminole War periods bear the blame for the absence of standing structures more than any subsequent demolition or neglect.

However, the ruins of a sugar mill (8Vo160) located within the Creyon Grant lie within a few hundred yards of the Seashore in the Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge. Recent evidence confirms that this ruin was part of Elliott's property that extended from Mosquito Lagoon (within today's Seashore) to the Indian River. The mill was the first to be completed in East Florida during the British occupation and is Florida's oldest standing sugar-processing facility.<sup>126</sup>

The canal in Ross Hammock may date to the British or Second Spanish Period as well, and the ruins



**FIGURE 12.** Undated view of Turtle Mound, captioned "Turtle Mound, Composed entirely of Oyster Shells." (Royal Hubbell photographic collection)

which are purported to be a Confederate Salt Works may date to an earlier period, perhaps the Second Spanish Period Gómez/Gay/Mattair plantations. Finally, the portage noted by British surveyor Bernard Romans might well have been the forerunner and physical basis to Old Haulover Canal. Any physical evidence of the portage itself was destroyed when the canal was created.

## Turtle Mound

Although created during the prehistoric period, mounds within the park served a function in the historic periods. Mounds acted as guideposts for colonial travelers. It is reasonable to conjecture that Turtle Mound (8Vo109) served as a navigational marker for European vessels and no doubt for Native American boats at sea prior to the Europeans' arrival. Its presence on early maps is evidence of this. Vessels sailing between Cuba and Florida and up the North American coast could verify their location in relation to Mosquito (Ponce de Leon) Inlet by sighting Turtle Mound. These vessels carried supplies, military personnel, slaves, exports, and manufactured goods. Other ships came either to attack or reinforce Florida outposts. Thus Turtle Mound played a role in coastal shipping and international hostilities. Vessels bound for Europe that were blown off course could get their bearings as well when they sighted Turtle Mound.

125. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 189-92.

126. Schafer, "Stobbs Farm and Elliott Sugar Mill", 2.

## **Elliott Plantation (Sugar Mill Ruins and Stobbs Farm)**

What is possibly the original road from Stobbs Farm (Ross Hammock) to the sugar mill ruins can still be followed. The extensive network of canals and causeways dug to drain and irrigate the land are still visible. The sugar mill ruins consist of the remains of at least three cut stone and brick features.<sup>127</sup> The largest, 36 feet by 12 feet, served as the boiling room. A series of holes in the top possibly held five large 6 - 7 feet diameter pans which were used to boil down the juice extracted from sugar cane. Unlike later and larger nineteenth-century mills, the cane was ground utilizing animal power rather than steam. A platform was constructed along the side of the structure to aid in skimming and ladling the juice. The other smaller ruins may have been a distillery for rum and the base for a grinding mill. Additional information will be obtained during field testing in the summer of 2008.

## **Kings Road**

Completed about 1773, the Kings Road linked Britain's East Florida and Georgia colonies, extending from the St. Marys River to its southern terminus at Stobbs Farm or the Elliott plantation. An existing road trace leading into the trail from Ross Hammock to the sugar mill ruins may be part of the original route of this road.

## **William Bartram Markers (One and Two)**

In addition, two markers commemorate the work within and near the Seashore of naturalist William Bartram, who passed through the area in 1766-1767 as part of his journey through the southeastern United States. Both are located in the southern portion of the Seashore---one at Eddy Creek fishing pier and the other at Parking Area #12. The markers are 2-foot-by-3-foot metal tablets mounted on poles

with the seal of the National Association of Garden Clubs at the top.

## **National Register Eligibility**

Turtle Mound and Old Haulover Canal are already listed on the National Register. The information contained in this historic context will serve as the basis for a review and, if necessary, revisions of the National Register listings. As noted above, the Southeast Archeological Center initiated fieldwork in April, 2008 to nominate Turtle Mound as a National Historic Landmark.

The identification of Old Haulover Canal as a British-era portage is at this time inferential. If future archeological investigations reveal a British and a subsequent Spanish usage of the site, the National Register nomination should be revised accordingly.

The sugar mill ruins have been nominated for the National Register. Cooperative research by the Seashore, Refuge, NASA, NPS Southeast Archeological Center, and local historians is scheduled for August, 2008, to conduct a Phase 1 archeological survey of the site, including the Stobbs farm (Ross Hammock) portion of Elliott's holdings. Ross Hammock is already listed on the National Register, primarily for an extensive prehistoric shell midden and two burial mounds, although the purported Confederate Salt Works is included as a component.

Erected in the early 1980s, the two Bartram markers are not currently eligible for the National Register because of their age. It is, however, the policy of the National Park Service to manage all commemorative markers as cultural resources, and for this reason, the markers have been entered into the List of Classified Structures. The same would apply to the Old Haulover Canal marker erected in 2006.

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127. Miller and Griffin, "Cultural Resource Assessment, Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge", 102-107.



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# Chapter Four: Transportation Networks, 1820 to 1950

Not surprisingly, available modes of transportation in the Seashore area influenced economic activities based on the relative ease of bringing in supplies, technology, and skilled workers and shipping out agricultural and other products to markets. Transportation difficulties that limited economic development played a critical role in saving the area from the over-development that has engulfed almost all of the remainder of Florida's east coast. Many economic activities were dictated by the environment, but their level of viability and profitability were largely dependent on the available transportation modes. As the transportation situations influenced the economic activity more than vice versa, the following chapter will focus on economic activity, reflecting the cause and effect sequence.

The peopling of the area of the Seashore and the activities of its population very much reflected the changing transportation situations. Understanding the role of general transportation developments and the nature of the terrain is key to understanding change or at times the lack of substantial change within the Seashore. The Seashore's character was and still is largely defined by water and waterways. During the age of waterborne transportation, the shallow nature of the waterways limited the size of vessels that could use them. Overland travel on the mainland evolved from draft animals to the railroad to the personal automobile, but for many years, waterborne transportation continued to provide the final segment for goods and persons traveling from and to the barrier islands. As overland transportation technology became more important after the Civil War, much of the Seashore area remained isolated and usually on the periphery of major

economic activity. Extension of railroad lines into the Seashore by private corporations was not financially attractive, but ever-increasing use of the automobile after about 1920 made the Seashore area more accessible. Creating and improving roads became financially feasible when done under government sponsorship, as was the case from the 1920s onward.

## Florida as a United States Territory

The Spanish colonies of East and West Florida became a single United States territory in 1821.<sup>128</sup> With the arrival of U.S. law and control in Florida, white citizens were eager to acquire lands that were newly available under American hegemony. As in the rest of the nation, residents of the new Florida territory wanted transportation systems to facilitate the delivery to market of products from their newly acquired lands. Because of several presidential vetoes of national legislation to create a Federally funded transportation system, responsibility for creating and financing internal improvements devolved to the states. Florida, however, benefitted from its status as a territory, making it eligible for Federal funding of internal improvements. The responsibility for planning civil improvements fell to U.S. Army engineers. The improvements were carried out by the Army or contracted to the private sector.<sup>129</sup>

Florida's terrain and low elevations above sea level made waterborne transportation more useful than

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128. The years 1819 and 1820 are frequently cited as the dates of the acquisition of the Floridas. This variation results from the perspective of the writers, who might use the dates of military occupation, the date of the signing of the Adams-Onís treaty of cession by the United States or the date of the Spanish crown's affirmation of the treaty. However, in July 1821, the Spanish flag was officially retired and U.S. laws and institutions became the framework for society. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 164.

129. Virginia Bernhard et al., *Firsthand America: A History of the United States*, 3<sup>rd</sup> ed. (St. James, N.Y.: Brandywine Press, 1993), 240-43; Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 140-43.

overland methods because standing water plagued many of the overland transportation routes. Florida citizens thought that the creation of canals or improvements to the natural waterways (for example, through the dredging of channels in existing waterways) would be more beneficial than building roads, since the latter would be muddy or even impassable for much of the time.

Lack of adequate transportation was, however, not the only impediment to the use of the newly available lands. Seminole Indian groups occupied much of the desirable land. Mahon and Weisman assert that the Seminoles' economic success and prosperity were their undoing. The Seminoles had demonstrated how productive their lands could be. The policy of the United States was at first to restrict the Seminoles within a limited area, then later, to remove them altogether to western U.S. territories.

Removal would also end the threat to the institution of slavery posed by the Seminoles. For many years, the Seminoles had welcomed runaway slaves to their villages. The status of African-American runaways within Seminole communities varied over time and from place to place and remains the subject of debate.<sup>130</sup> The situation was fluid: at times runaways were welcomed as near equals, at others runaways were separated to tend farming enterprises of the Seminoles. Some of the runaways were sold to whites, perhaps having been stolen with that intent.<sup>131</sup> Under intense pressure from whites eager to capitalize on Florida's opportunities, 32 Seminole leaders in September 1832 signed the Treaty of Moultrie Creek in which they agreed to abandon 24 million acres in northern Florida and migrate to lands located south of the Withlacoochee River and north of the Peace River. The U.S. government agreed to subsidize the relocation with food, physical improvements, and schools. When sufficient food was not forthcoming and the Seminoles' new environment proved insufficiently productive, Seminoles began marauding beyond the reservation's boundary. The taking of whites' cattle became an especially inflammatory issue.<sup>132</sup>

Over time, Seminoles attempted to return to their former lands north of the Withlacoochee, which were now occupied by white farmers. Two more treaties were negotiated, providing for removal of

the Seminoles from the Florida peninsula to lands west of the Mississippi. The 1832 Treaty of Payne's Landing was subsequently denounced by Seminole leaders because some claimed that their signatures or marks were forgeries. The treaty provided for the Seminoles' inspection of targeted compensatory lands in the West. The Seminole leaders disapproved of the new location and objected to the political situation as well. The western lands were located among the Seminoles' long-standing Creek enemies. The treaty additionally provided that the Seminoles would be absorbed into the Creek Nation, a situation that was totally unacceptable to the Seminoles. Some commentators have placed blame for these misunderstandings on the interpreters who translated for U.S. officials and Seminoles during the negotiations in Florida.<sup>133</sup>

In the Treaty of Fort Gibson signed the following year, 1833, the Seminoles agreed to move to the Arkansas Territory. U.S. officials tried to speed up the removal that had been agreed to in the third and most recent treaty, while some Seminoles contended that the treaty gave them the right to remain on the reservation lands in Florida until 1843, when the 20-year period referenced in the 1823 Moultrie Creek agreement would terminate. These three treaties reflect the larger Indian removal policies and contemporary actions by the U.S. government. Historian John Mahon asserts that the Seminoles regarded the policies as unjust and had come not to expect justice. In the end, the Seminoles refused to abide by the documents and war was the result.<sup>134</sup>

In February 1835, a severe freeze in Florida devastated agriculture, damaging the sugar enterprises along the Halifax River and in the Mosquitos area and destroying citrus trees. The loss of profits and sustenance exacerbated existing tensions, and simultaneous attacks by Seminoles on white settlers at Christmas 1835 marked the beginning of concerted resistance. On Christmas Day, Seminoles destroyed plantations east of the St. Johns River in today's Volusia and Flagler Counties that were still recuperating from the previous winter's freeze. Three days later, Seminoles ambushed Major Francis Dade's troops near today's Bushnell, killing all but a handful of Dade's force of more than 100. The Second Seminole War had begun, although at

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130. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 192.

131. See St. Johns County Public Records, Deed Book A, pages 99-107, for such transactions. Upon Florida's acquisition by the United States, St. Johns County encompassed the entire Florida peninsula east of the Suwanee River.

132. Gannon ed., *New History of Florida*, 216-17; John K. Mahon, *History of the Second Seminole War, 1835-1842* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1967), 42-49.

133. Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 74-85.

134. *Ibid.*, 82-86, quote on p. 86.



FIGURE 13. Detail from map of Florida by Charles Vignoles, 1823. (University of Florida Map and Imagery Library)

the time the conflict was known as the “Florida War.”<sup>135</sup>

White settlers and farmers, including those in the Seashore area, took refuge in towns as the Seminoles burned houses and barns in outlying areas. Territorial Governor Richard K. Call activated the militia, and the U.S. Army also took the field. White volunteers from Tennessee, South Carolina, Georgia, Louisiana, and as far away as Missouri arrived to fight. The multiple fighting forces answered to no single commander, vied with each other for glory and pay, and created factionalism

and at times an almost fratricidal atmosphere among the Indian fighters. As in so many other wars before and after, the excitement and fun of the fight soon turned to the tedium of prolonged stays in dreary camps and the real prospect of injury or death. The volunteers found the Seminoles to be formidable fighters, not a day’s amusement.<sup>136</sup>

During the Seminole War, land records for the Seashore area, then part of Mosquito County, were taken to St. Augustine for safekeeping. When Florida first became an American territory in 1821, it was divided into two counties, with Escambia

135. Mahon, *Second Seminole War*, 102-13.

136. *Ibid.*, 137-38.

County encompassing part of northern Florida and the Panhandle while St. Johns County comprised the rest of the state, including the Seashore area. As the state was settled, other counties were formed including Mosquito County in 1824. Using the old Spanish name for that section of the coast, it extended from just south of St. Augustine nearly to Ft. Lauderdale, a frontier outpost established in 1838, and encompassed most of central Florida. In 1844, the southern half of the county was reorganized as Marion County, and the following year, the same year that Florida achieved statehood, Mosquito County was renamed Orange County, and the county seat was moved from Enterprise to Mellonville (now Sanford). In 1854, Volusia County, which encompasses the northern portion of the Seashore area, was created from that part of Orange County that lay east of the St. Johns River.<sup>137</sup>

Historian Charlton Tebeau pointed out that the Seminole war gave a healthy boost to steamboat traffic in Florida.<sup>138</sup> At one time during the conflict, forty steamboats were engaged in supplying the army or in removal of Native Americans. The waterways to accommodate the boats were improved and reliance upon the vessels increased.

The estuaries of the middle Atlantic coast of the Florida peninsula provided the basis for a natural route for waterborne traffic, but they did not present an unbroken water passage. Mosquito Lagoon and the Indian River were (and still are) separated by a narrow strip of land. A portage known as the Haulover provided the shortest land passage between the two bodies of water. Repeatedly, the U.S. military maintained the portage in some manner during conflicts, only to let its usefulness diminish by virtue of neglect in peaceful times.

During the Second Seminole War, the U.S. Army shipped quantities of supplies south up the St. Johns River and also south along the Mosquito Lagoon-Indian River route to support military activities. Because the Haulover portage was strategically important during the Seminole wars, a fortification

called Fort Ann was built in 1837 at its western terminus. At times, 800 to 1,000 troops were stationed on the narrow spit of land in order to carry supplies, which could then be forwarded to troops further inland. The endeavor to supply the U.S. Army occupied both the Navy and the Army. Army surgeon Jacob Rhett Motte provided an excellent account of the terrain, vegetation, animal life, and soldiers' activities during his stay at Fort Ann. Motte reported that the troops used Mackinaw boats, brought with them and having been constructed expressly for the navigation of the shallow lagoons. Motte also provides a description of how the troops celebrated Christmas with "gopher soup and whiskey toddy" as well as boisterous singing at Fort Ann. The fort was abandoned after the winter of 1837-1838.<sup>139</sup>

Given that the length of the portage at the Haulover was less than half a mile, the possibility of dredging a canal to facilitate water transport was obvious. First Lt. Jacob Blake surveyed the Haulover in 1843 at the orders of General William Worth, but Blake considered the continuation of the portage to be a waste of manpower, since the off loading, loading, and off loading again could be eliminated by a canal. A topographical engineer, Blake found that the distance between the two waters was only 725 yards and the highest point 8 ½ feet above the level of the water. To prevent his recommended canal from filling with sand, he suggested that 8-inch square, 12-foot-long piles be driven into the ground, spaced 12 feet apart. Two-inch planks should be riveted to these piles to strengthen the sides. He further suggested that the bottom be covered with 2-inch planks as well to control shifting sand. He believed that these precautions should make the canal passable at all times. Despite support for the project from Quartermaster General Thomas Jesup, who had his own experience of the portage as a field commander during the Florida War, the canal was not funded by the War Department.

The construction of the canal had to wait. When government land surveyor Henry Washington surveyed for section lines in 1844, he made no mention

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137. Jerrell H Shofner, *History of Brevard County* (Stuart, Fla.: Brevard Historical Commission, 1995), 1:60; Michael G. Schene, *Hopes, Dreams and Promises: History of Volusia County* (Daytona Beach: New-Journal Corp., 1976), 22, 59.

138. Charlton Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 142.

139. George E. Buker, *Sun, Sand, and Water: A History of the Jacksonville District U.S. Army Corps of Engineers, 1821-1975* (Fort Belvoir, Va.: U.S. Army Corps of Engineers; [Washington, D.C.: Superintendent of Documents, U.S. Government Printing Office, distributor, 1981]), 114-15. Letter from William J. Worth to Adjutant General, 1843, December 12, Clarence E. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory* (Washington, D. C., 1956-1962), 24: 804; Jacob Rhett Motte, *Journey Into the Wilderness: An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field During the Creek and Seminole Wars, 1836-1838*, James F. Sunderman, ed. (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1953), 153, 168. Motte reveals himself as quite a reader, referring in his account to "Sam Veller" [Weller], a character created by Charles Dickens only the year before in the serialized numbers of his first novel, *The Pickwick Papers*. A Mackinaw is a flat-bottomed boat with pointed prow and square stern much used on the upper Great Lakes.

of a canal at Haulover.<sup>140</sup> U.S. Army Lt. Horatio Wright oversaw the construction of a shallow canal across the Haulover in 1853 and 1854, according to an 1881 report by the Army Corps of Engineers. “The cut was limited to a bottom width of 8 feet and a depth of water of 2 feet, with vertical banks where coquina rock occurred, and with side slopes of 45 degrees in sand.”<sup>141</sup> Other sources, however, reported the construction of a canal 14 feet wide and 3 feet deep. This work was attributed to Dr. George E. Haws under a U.S. government contract using slave labor.<sup>142</sup> Whatever its dimensions, the canal, which was designed expressly to accommodate the Army’s small-boat operations, was completed just before the Third Seminole War, which began December 18, 1855, when Seminole warriors opened fire on a detachment of U.S. soldiers in the Everglades. The war was fought mostly in the Everglades, where the Seminoles who had evaded removal had retreated. On May 8, 1858, Colonel Gustavus Loomis declared the war at an end, each side having lost 40 men.<sup>143</sup> After the war’s end, Army engineers did not maintain the Haulover Canal, although the *Annual Report of the Chief Engineer*, 1882, described the canal as still being 8 feet wide at the bottom, 12 feet wide at the water’s surface, and 2 feet deep.

## The Civil War

In 1860, the area of the Seashore remained sparsely settled, with the state’s population remaining concentrated in northern Florida and a few Panhandle counties that were suitable for large-scale cotton production. On January 10, 1861, delegates to a special convention overwhelmingly approved Florida’s secession from the Union, and the state existed as an independent political entity for almost a month before joining the Confederate States of America.

During the war, Florida supplied much-needed corn, beef, pork, and salt (boiled down from sea water) to the Confederacy, and its long coastline provided many opportunities for ships to evade the Union blockade. Controlling the coast became an important Federal war goal, and Union forces captured many of Florida’s port towns and cities, which

limited imports needed by the army and state residents and also prevented the export of cotton, the South’s only viable source of foreign exchange. In March 1862, Federal forces occupied Jacksonville for the first time, gaining control of the entrance of the St. Johns River and preventing cargo from reaching locations along the river west of the Seashore area. Jacksonville itself was alternately in the hands of Union and Confederate forces during the war, but Union forces maintained control of the mouth of the St. Johns. Ships from the Union’s South Atlantic Blockading Squadron prowled the Indian River and Ponce Inlet areas, but the small boats of the residents could sometimes traverse shallow waters that barred larger vessels and escape with their cargo. In spite of the patrols, Ponce de Leon Inlet, or Mosquito Inlet, continued to offer attractive possibilities to the Confederates for bringing in goods. The proximity of the middle Florida coastal area (including the entrances to Mosquito Lagoon and the Indian River) to the British Bahamas enabled small boats to make the ocean journey, sometimes with no more than a single bale of cotton to be sold in the Bahamas in exchange for necessities. But the Union blockade of the Florida coast was increasingly effective after summer 1863 and eventually prevented almost all navigation.<sup>144</sup>

The blockade forced residents of the Confederacy to be increasingly self-sufficient since the entry of goods and the exporting of cotton, which had provided cash to purchase imported goods, was denied. Many residents were, of course, already mostly self-sufficient and the blockade affected their lives very little. The wealthier residents and Confederate armies, however, felt the losses imposed by the blockade, and it ultimately was a major factor in the destruction of Confederate morale.<sup>145</sup>

On March 21 and 22, 1863, the Union vessels *Henry Andréw* and *Penguin* passed through Mosquito Inlet to extend the blockade to the inland waterways. With a cutter and a whaleboat from the *Penguin*, about 21 men proceeded south on Mosquito Lagoon 15 to 18 miles. On the return, they were attacked and, according to official military correspondence, three Union men were killed. Among several tasks, one of their assignments had been to

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140. Field Notes for Section 29, Township 20 South, Range 36 East, Township Plats.

141. Lt. Col. Q. A. Gillmore, Report, December 3, 1881 in 47 Cong, 1<sup>st</sup> Session, Ex. Doc. 33, January 1882.

142. See Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 1: 62, 67 n.9, citing Hanna and Hanna, *Florida’s Golden Sands*, 246. Many works cite *Florida’s Golden Sands* as the source of information on the construction of the canal, but Hanna and Hanna offered no source citation for their statement.

143. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 200-1.

144. Buker, *Sun, Sand and Water*, 116.

145. John E. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1962).

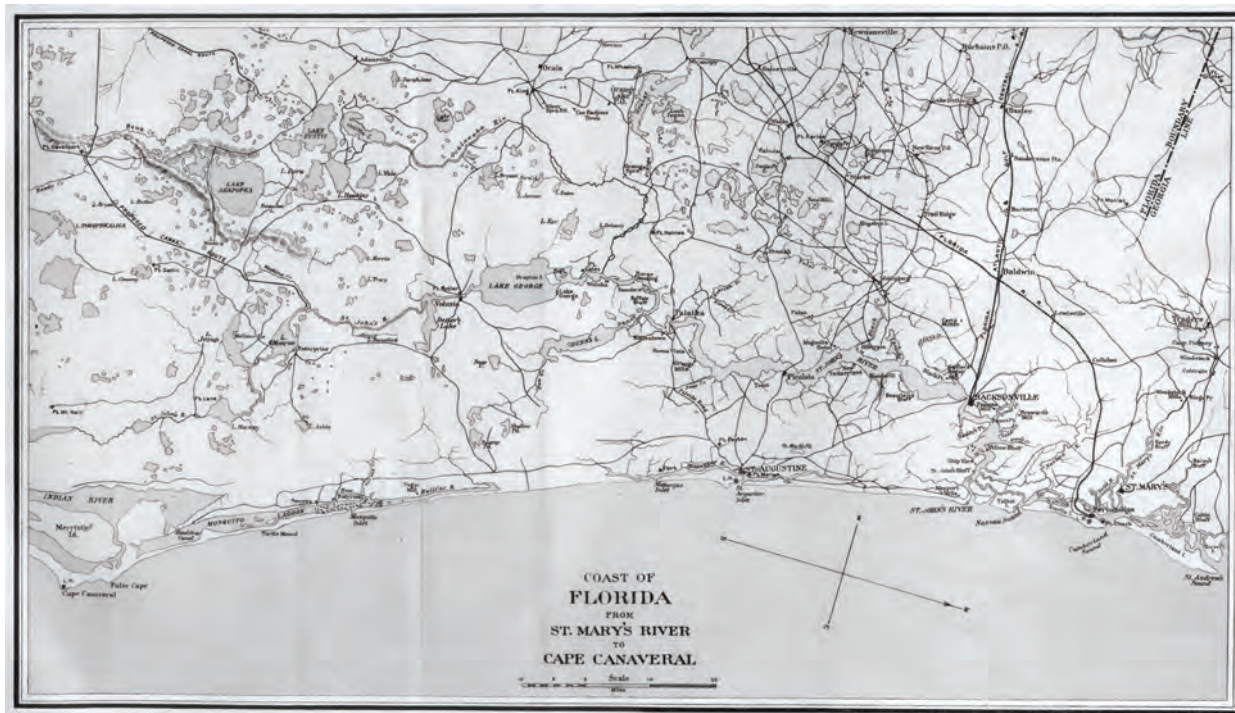


prevent the burning of live-oak logs, which had been abandoned in the area but was considered U.S. Government property. Confederate forces may have made some use of timber that had been left, and the Federals were concerned that the remaining timber, which could be of value to the Northern war effort, might be burned by the Confederates. The harvesting of live oaks in Florida for shipbuilding had begun in the British period, if not earlier (see discussion in Chapter Five below), and the U.S. Navy correspondence from the Civil War makes no mention of cut timber being found to the south of the inlet, within the boundary of today's Seashore.<sup>146</sup> However, it had been reported on March 4, 1863, that about 40,000 feet of timber was found on the north side of the inlet about 4 miles up the Halifax River. A month later, it was reported that a timber stockpile had been burned.<sup>147</sup>

During the Civil War, Florida and the rest of the South found that they had to find new sources for commodities that had been supplied by the North. This often meant producing the commodities themselves, but production of necessities during wartime

was made more difficult by the shortage of labor that resulted from so many men on military duty. Destruction in war zones made production even more difficult as Union blockaders not only attempted to prevent the arrival of goods, but also destroyed local resources. Union officials decided that eliminating the Confederacy's sources of salt, a necessity for food preservation in the days before refrigeration, would help to shorten the war.

Salt became a scarce and expensive commodity in the Confederacy, which promised profit and special treatment for anyone that could continue producing salt. In the Spring of 1862, the price of salt rose as much 700 percent, and as salt production became ever more vital to the war effort and to civilian survival, the Florida state government offered exemptions from military service to salt producers. Such exemptions were also available for cattle production, since the war effort throughout the South increasingly relied on beef from Florida after Confederate defeats along the Mississippi River in 1863 cut off the supply of cattle from west of the Mississippi.<sup>148</sup>



**FIGURE 14.** "Coast of Florida from St. Mary's River to Cape Canaveral," 1861-1862, Cape Canaveral is at lower left. (*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, Series I, Vol. 12, (Washington, D.C.: Government Printing Office, 1891).

146. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (hereafter *ORN*), Series I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1901), 12: 645-51.

147. *Ibid.* 655-56, 768-69, 783.

148. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 129; Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 240-44.



Because of its proximity to the ocean, the Seashore area had the potential to support salt production from sea water. Most of the historical studies of Civil War salt production in Florida have focused on the Gulf Coast—Cedar Key, St. Marks, Apalachicola—because that was the favored location for salt making, although at the beginning of the Civil War, salt-making was a minor and almost home-based industry. Florida's only commercial producer of sea-salt was in Key West, and it used a technology that was totally different from that adopted by nearly every other maker along the coasts of Florida.<sup>149</sup>

Florida's small, home-based seaside "plants" usually consisted of a large kettle with a capacity ranging from 60 to 100 gallons of water, set in a brick or clay furnace. They were usually located a few hundred feet inland, back from high tides and winds, where a shallow well was dug to produce a constant supply of salty water. Sometimes water was transported from holes near the waterline. The salty water was boiled until only a thick brine remained, taking care not to burn the salt on the bottom of the kettle, which would render the product unusable. The brine was then dipped up and placed on clean boards to dry and bleach, or sometimes the brine was poured into a barrel, and the water poured off the top after the salt had settled to the bottom. This method sometimes produced a poorly drained product that contained elevated amounts of magnesium and lime, making the salt too bitter for use. The best procedure was to let the brine boil, then cool under a steady but low fire. As the crystals formed they would fall to the bottom and the remaining briny water could be poured off. But this method, which reduced impurities, produced a great deal of smoke and at night provided light by which the Union blockaders could pinpoint the salt works.<sup>150</sup> Hauling the salt to a market was also a problem in many areas of Florida where marshy terrain and soggy roads slowed carts or made passage impossible, but the estuarine network within the Seashore area made waterborne transportation of bulky or heavy freight much easier and less costly than by overland means.

Local histories tell of the destruction of a salt works (probably near Oak Hill) by the party of men from the *Henry Andréw* and *Penguin*, but the letter of S. F.

Dupont, Flag Officer, Commanding, South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, written March 24, 1862, immediately after the Union sortie and purported destruction, does not mention the disabling of a salt works as an accomplishment of an assignment otherwise gone awry.<sup>151</sup>

Ruins located at Ross Hammock (CANA 034/8Vo213) have been described by some as a salt-works site destroyed by Union troops, although not all archeological investigators have agreed. Ross Hammock would have offered proximity to the raw resource, isolation for secretive production, and access to waterborne transportation. Ripley and Adelaide Bullen and William Bryant examined the site in 1967, clearing the foundations of the purported salt works and making a small surface collection. They noted that the basic construction was coquina and asserted that "the construction, associated artifacts, and location of this foundation all agree with the theory that it was an 1861-1865 salt evaporation plant." But the absence of detailed field notes regarding excavation trenches and test units leaves a void in the site's history as no such notes have been found at the Florida Museum of Natural History at the University of Florida.<sup>152</sup> Additionally, the necessarily *ad hoc* and furtive nature of wartime salt production left no written documentation of the location or even existence of a salt works at Ross Hammock. Local lore remains the major source of information, but if the ruins could be verified as a salt works, it would be a unique site because of the relative lack of such wartime salt-making sites along Florida's Atlantic coast. An archeological investigation by SEAC in August 2008 uncovered colonial period artifacts indicating that the ruins may date either to the British or the second Spanish periods in Florida.

Federal seizures of British and Confederate vessels continued throughout the war. Some occurred close to the Seashore area. For example, on February 25, 1864, the U. S. S. *Roebuck* seized the blockade-running British sloop *Two Brothers* in the Indian River. The British ship was carrying a cargo of salt, liquor, and nails. Two days later, the *Roebuck* seized the British blockade-running schooner *Nina* with a cargo of liquors and coffee at Indian River Inlet. The *Roebuck* also captured the schooner *Rebel* with a cargo of salt, liquor, and cotton at Indian River

149. Johns, *Florida During the Civil War*, 127; Dr. Joe Knetsch, "More than a Condiment: The Importance of Salt During the War Between the States," Paper presented to the Winnie Davis Chapter, United Daughters of the Confederacy, September 16, 1995. Typescript copy at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History.

150. Knetsch, "More Than a Condiment," using description provided by F. A. Rhodes.

151. *ORN*, 12: 645-46.

152. Bullen et al., *Archaeological Investigations at the Ross Hammock Site, Florida*, 23-25, quote on p. 25; David M. Brewer, "An Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Overview and Assessment of Mosquito Lagoon," 128.

(Sebastian) Inlet. On April 7, 1864, the U.S. Schooner *Beauregard* captured the English schooner *Spunky* off Cape Canaveral. The *Spunky* was en route to the Bahamas with a cargo of cotton. Previously, in August 1863, the *Beauregard* had been stationed at the Haulover Canal to prevent trafficking along the inland waterway.<sup>153</sup> As it had for centuries, the Haulover continued an important connecting function during the Civil War, now in the context of Confederate cargoes trying to evade the blockade. Both Confederate and Union forces used the Haulover to move goods and men.

The Civil War ended in April 1865, and in many areas of the former Confederacy, Union occupation troops already in place at war's end continued to be the *de facto* government or at least the guardians of civil order. First the President, then the United States Congress oversaw the administration of civil government in the defeated Confederacy. In 1867 Congress passed the Military Reconstruction Act. The act maintained military rule, ordered new state constitutional conventions, opened voting to black citizens and denied the vote to former Confederates who did not take a loyalty oath to the United States. The Republican Party briefly surged to dominance in the South. Republicans advocated a strong, centralized state government, and the 1868 Florida constitution reflected that centralization, making many formerly elective local offices, appointive by the governor.

In 1877, Reconstruction government ended when Federal troops were removed as part of a tacit agreement between North and South over the disputed presidential election of 1876. The civil rights of ex-rebels were now restored and former Confederates took over the legislature. A new state constitution was passed in 1885, weakening the state executive branch and returning decisions to the local electorate. Many of the local positions that became appointive under the 1868 constitution returned to elective status under the 1885 document. With the end of Reconstruction, Florida voters fell back into the pre-Civil War pattern of Democratic Party control.<sup>154</sup>

## Transportation and Public Lands

The new state government wanted to attract northern capital and realized that free land was

what state officials could offer. To encourage both canal and railroad development, the state offered huge amounts of acreage for each mile of canal dug or track laid.

Even after the Florida East Coast Railroad reached the area of the Seashore in the 1890s, waterborne transportation remained important. Sailing ships had used the waters of Mosquito Lagoon since the sixteenth century; increasingly in the middle nineteenth century, steamboats were used, especially for longer trips. Steamboats played an important role in developing trade and tourism in central Florida after the Civil War. Steamboat transportation in Florida grew during the Reconstruction era and enjoyed boom days from about 1875 to 1880. Unlike big ships, smaller steamboats could navigate beyond open waters into coastal lagoons, lakes, and rivers. Steam vessels served well in the shallow waters of Mosquito Lagoon, whose average water depth is 3 feet. Use of steam instead of sail greatly improved maneuverability in the narrow channels and did not require the deeper draft needed by sailing vessels to counterbalance the mast and sailcloth. Steamboats were able to transport goods more directly to and from interior regions that had been isolated by shallow water. Steamboats regularly used the ports of New Smyrna for travel to points north and Titusville, somewhat later, for trips to Melbourne and points south. Residents of the Seashore area itself often still used sailboats to reach New Smyrna or Titusville, or traveled overland to a steamboat landing on the St. Johns River.

The St. Johns River, sometimes almost blocked by a shifting sand bar at its mouth, was navigable by smaller steamboats. Now oranges grown in the central region could be shipped via the St. Johns River from the river's ports in central Florida, such as Sanford (Mellonville), to Jacksonville, and then to markets in the north.

Steamboat travel was also one of Florida's early tourist attractions. During the Civil War, news correspondents had gone beyond their primary function of reporting war stories to produce stories and pictures of locations in the South. Florida's healthful climate and seemingly exotic natural assets began to attract a handful of winter tourists. Physicians recommended visits to Florida, particularly for respiratory diseases. James E. Ingraham, who would become highly effective in administering the businesses of Florida railroad pioneers Henry Sanford and Henry Flagler, came to Florida in the 1870s

153. Naval History Division, comp., *Civil War Naval Chronology* (Washington, D. C: Department of Navy, 1971), *passim*.

154. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 249-68; Bernhard et al., *Firsthand America*, 462.

when he was thought to be in the final stages of consumption (tuberculosis). In 1882, he was described as enjoying "vigorous health" as a result of his move to Florida, and he lived on to help mold Florida for more than 40 years.<sup>155</sup>

Winter tourists took picturesque steamboat trips beginning in the late 1870s to small towns and resorts along the rivers and lagoons of today's Intra-coastal Waterway and along the St. Johns River and its tributaries. The truly adventurous among them enjoyed a combination of semi-tropical climate, beautiful vegetation, good hunting, and excellent fishing that no other state could offer. Excursions along the St. Johns River became known as "jungle cruises." Through words and engravings, potential tourists and armchair travelers learned about the lure of central Florida from late-nineteenth century popular magazines, particularly *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*. Publications, such as the pamphlet *A Tourist & Hunter's Guide to Indian River Country, 1889-1890*, extolled the area's recreational attractions and listed the places to stop. The *Guide* described Haulover as a "post office . . . located on an isthmus separating the Indian River from Mosquito Lagoon, about nine miles northeast of Titusville." Dr. James A. Henshall's *Camping and Cruising in Florida*, printed in Cincinnati in 1884, pointed out the connecting role of the Haulover Canal and mentioned the "celebrated Dummit's orange grove in that vicinity."<sup>156</sup> The numbers of tourists quickly affected the wildlife of the area. "The managers of the steamer-lines have recently issued strict orders forbidding any shooting from their steamers, a wise and timely regulation, for, by their insane shooting at everything, the tourists were driving all birds, alligators and animals from this portion of the river."<sup>157</sup>

Private enterprise moved into the Atlantic inland waterways with the state's charter in 1881 of the Florida Coast Line Canal & Transportation Co. The company's stated project was to create a 5-foot-deep, 50-foot-wide channel. The company received over a million acres for 268 miles of canal.<sup>158</sup> Yet seldom did the company meet the conditions of the charter, and private entrepreneurial activity delayed Federal oversight of the waterway. Once a section of canal was examined and accepted by the State, the company's maintenance was minimal.



FIGURE 15. View of Old Haulover Canal, 1891. (Homer Cato Collection)

The company attempted to improve the Haulover passage, which was 1000' long but only 18" deep and 12' wide. To accommodate dredges, work began in 1885 with clearing done by Italian laborers brought in by the company. After completing its work at Oak Hill, the steam dredge *Chester* moved to the Haulover. In 1886, it cleared the old canal and then moved on to Grant's Farm, 50 miles to the south near Sebastian Inlet to work on the channel to the east of that island. Complaints began almost immediately, and only two months after completion of the work, portions of the canal were already becoming impassable. The steamer *Clara* abandoned its trips on the river because of the growing sandbar. The *Titusville Star* stated that the company seemed to have already forgotten about the Haulover Canal and objected to the company's receiving the grant of land which was considered compensation for the canal work.<sup>159</sup> Failure to maintain the canal was a long tradition. The United States Coast Survey had already recommended a site about a half mile away from the old canal for a replacement, and Old Haulover Canal was replaced in 1888 by a new canal at Allenhurst, today's New Haulover Canal on the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway.<sup>160</sup>

The extension of the Florida East Coast (FEC) Railway proved to be formidable competition for the waterway and canal company, especially for long-distance, north-south travel. Interlocking directorates between the railroad and the canal company might have been as much to blame for the difficulties in opening and maintaining canals as any inherent characteristics of the modes of transpor-

155. George M. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists, Invalids, and Settlers* (New York: D. Appleton & Co., 1882), 160; "Rambler," *Guide to Florida* (New York: American News Co., 1873), 26.

156. James A. Henshall, *Camping and Cruising in Florida* (Cincinnati: R. Clarke & Co., 1884), 13-14.

157. Barbour, *Tourists, Invalids and Settlers*, 117.

158. Buker, *Sun, Sand and Water*, 116-17.

159. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 104-05.

160. Ibid. and p. 38.

tation or the geography. FEC owner Henry Flagler invested capital in the canal company, which was in competition with his railroad, but he only wanted access to the canal company's land grants. As a result, he had an incentive to keep the company from failure and receivership, but he had no interest in making the canal a success. Although the canal company remained fiscally viable, it would not be an important transportation alternative to Flagler's railroad.<sup>161</sup>

In the 1920s, the canal company finally was thrown into receivership. Its new owners turned a profit in 1925 during the height of the Florida land boom, but the collapse of the boom in 1926 brought economic collapse of the new canal company. The waterway again fell into receivership and the canal itself fell into disrepair yet again.<sup>162</sup> Florida residents in the Atlantic Coast area, led by Charles F. Burgman of Daytona Beach, pushed for the Federal government to take over the operation of the waterway. In January 1927, Congress passed the River and Harbor Act, which placed the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway under the jurisdiction of the Army Corps of Engineers. That same year the State of Florida created the Florida Inland Navigation District to issue bonds to acquire the right-of-way from the canal company, in preparation for turning private waterways over to the Federal government. In December 1929, the Corps of Engineers actually took possession of the waterway.<sup>163</sup>

By 1934, the Corps had straightened and relocated sections of the channel, some of which lies within today's Seashore. No longer did the route run through Shipyard Island and past Turtle Mound and the small community of Eldora (discussed below and in Chapter 5), but instead ran along the western shore of Mosquito Lagoon until the passage at New Haulover Canal.

## U. S. Life-Saving Service

Still not all vessels wanted to or could use the inland passage, and the coast near Cape Canaveral could be

a dangerous passage, especially for sailing vessels taking advantage of the Gulf Stream just off shore which often ran aground during storms. Massachusetts established its first "huts of refuge" in 1787, but not until 1848 did the Federal government appropriate funds to construct lifeboat stations, primarily along the northeastern portion of the East Coast, to assist shipwreck victims. However, facilities were few, far between, and often neglected and great loss of life was routine, especially during major storms. Calls for reform led to the creation of the United States Life-Saving Service in 1878. There were three categories of stations: life-saving stations manned periodically by full-time crews, life-boat stations situated near ports and equipped with heavy life boats, and houses of refuge located along the Florida and Gulf coasts.<sup>164</sup>

Houses of Refuge differed from the first two categories in that they were erected simply to provide shelter rather than active rescue. A Life-Saving Service report in 1881 stated "Florida differs in its condition from any other coast of the United States. Vessels driven ashore come so near the beach as to enable their crews to gain land by their own efforts. But those who gain the shore are then in danger of perishing by hunger and thirst, the coast being entirely desolate with hardly an inhabitant. Houses of Refuge are supplied with boats, provisions and restoratives, but not manned by crews: a keeper, however, resides in each throughout the year, who after every storm is required to make extended excursions along the coast, finding and succoring any persons that may have been cast ashore."<sup>165</sup>

Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge, which is no longer extant, was one of 10 such houses and life-saving stations built between 1875 and 1886 along Florida's east coast below St. Augustine, with the Mosquito lagoon facility opening in July 1886.<sup>166</sup> An 1884 Life-Saving Service manual spelled out specifications for construction of the Houses of Refuge in Florida, including a boat house and a privy.<sup>167</sup> The structures were solidly built to withstand violent weather, an early example of hurricane-proof construction. The sandy beach and Atlantic Ocean lay only a short distance to the east while Mosquito

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161. Edward N. Akin, "The Sly Foxes: Henry Flagler, George Miles and Florida's Public Domain," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 58 (July 1979).

162. The waterway route was often referred to as a canal.

163. Buker, *Sun, and Water*, 117-121.

164. Dr. Dennis L. Noble, "A Legacy: The United States Life-Saving Service," United States Coast Guard Department of Homeland Security, [http://www.uscg.mil/history/h\\_USLSS.html](http://www.uscg.mil/history/h_USLSS.html), 63.

165. CANA park files, "Text, Exhibit 2, House of Refuge: Lifesaving Service Report of 1881," 1.

166. CANA park files, "Houses of Refuge and Life-Saving Stations of Florida," 153. The Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge stood on the thin ribbon of barrier island where the pavement of the northern beach-side road ends at Parking Area #5.

167. CANA park files, "Specifications for House of Refuge and Boathouse on the Coast of Florida, Seventh U.S. Life-Saving District 1884," 1-4.





FIGURE 16. View of Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge, probably 1930s. (US Coast Guard photograph, <<http://www.uscg.mil/history/stations/MOSQUITO%20LAGOON.html>>)

Lagoon lay approximately 100 yards to the west. Included in the list of articles to outfit each new House of Refuge were 15 bunks for shipwreck victims, 6 spittoons, 4 barrels of salt beef, 4 casks of navy bread, 4 barrels of salt pork, 50 pounds of coffee, and 150 pounds of sugar.<sup>168</sup>

The Keeper, who lived in the house with his family, was responsible for maintaining a daily record of ships sighted, as well as recording surf conditions, wind speed, wind direction, temperature and barometric pressure four times a day. He also had to note if the house was “thoroughly clean” and in good repair.<sup>169</sup> All this information was written in an official journal (Form 1808) with a copy made and mailed to Washington once a week.<sup>170</sup> Journals for the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge, dating back to at least August 1893, are located at the National Archives.

The Keeper was not required to do regular beach patrol but was to be ready during inclement weather to aid any shipwreck victims that came ashore. He was trained in first aid, particularly resuscitation from drowning.<sup>171</sup>

Life of the keepers and their families was for the most part lonely and uneventful, rescues notwithstanding. The advent of steam ships, which were easier to control than sailing ships in bad weather, led to a reduction in shipwrecks, as did the advent of radio communications in the early 1900s. In addition, the extension of the Florida East Coast Railway enabled more goods to be shipped by rail rather than by sea, reducing coastal traffic and making keepers’ lives even more uneventful.<sup>172</sup>

Jacob Summerlin, member of a central Florida pioneer family, served as the first keeper of the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge from July 1886 until July 1890. The following July, Edwin S. Coutant began what would be 18 years of service. Coutant’s two daughters grew up and were courted by their future husbands at the House of Refuge. Harold, the youngest child, spent his entire youth at Mosquito Lagoon. He enjoyed photography and took fascinating pictures of the House of Refuge (both interior and exterior) and his family and guests. Large century plants (*Agave americana*) planted by one of the keepers often appear in his photographs.

168. CANA park files, official correspondence from Office of Superintendents of Construction U.S. Life-Saving Stations No. 24 State Street, New York, June 1, 1886, number 2320, 1, 2, and 8.

169. CANA park files, Form 1808 Journal for Mosquito Lagoon Station, December 31, 1893, 1.

170. CANA park files, Alan W. Shaw, “Houses of Refuge,” 1-2.

171. Ibid., 2.

172. Residents of the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge also served to assist stranded boaters in the Lagoon, fight fires, make weather observations, and maintain communications in a sparsely populated area.

Descendents of those plants can still be seen growing at the site today.<sup>173</sup>

Additional insight into life for the Keeper and his family at the Mosquito Lagoon station was provided by reminiscences of Mrs. Emma Midgett, wife of Captain William Jarvis Midgett, who served at the Mosquito Lagoon station from September 1926 until 1938. He was transferred from the Cape Hatteras, North Carolina, Life-Saving Station on the Outer Banks, where his father and a number of other relatives had long been employed by the Life-Saving Service. Among his relatives, seven were awarded the Gold Life Saving Medal, “the nation’s highest award for saving lives” while three others earned the Silver Life Saving Medal. Captain Midgett himself received commendation for several “outstanding deeds.” Even his wife’s father served in the U.S. Life Saving Service and her grandfather was stationed at the Hatteras lighthouse.<sup>174</sup>

During Captain Midgett’s tenure at Mosquito Lagoon, his youngest son, William Jarvis, Jr., was born; births at a House of Refuge were apparently “an event rare in the Coast Guard annals.” For six years, the four Midgett children took a boat three miles across the lagoon to attend school in Oak Hill. Later, the children drove seventeen miles each day to a school in New Smyrna Beach. At home, all family members helped out with the necessary tasks of running a House of Refuge. The children “were responsible for keeping the brass polished, boats bailed, [and] flower gardens weeded.” During leisure hours the children swam, fished and boated. They also invented more extraordinary means of entertainment such as racing gopher tortoises, watching sea turtles nest, and afterwards, “take a ride on their backs.”<sup>175</sup>

Midgett routinely responded to distress calls from boaters, particularly from Mosquito Lagoon. Fisherman in trouble “called or signaled the station for help at all hours of the day and night.” Midgett would take out his boat to meet them and aid in any way he could. He was also called to provide frequent assistance to people traveling the beach by

car. Many vehicles got stuck in the sand but, “Captain Midgett was able to save many cars before the ocean tides could claim them.” Midgett also fought occasional fires and worked with customs during Prohibition to apprehend rum runners attempting to come ashore on this lonely, isolated stretch of beach or transport their wares through Mosquito Lagoon. In one instance, a north-bound boat had run aground and upon offering assistance, Midgett, “realized the boat was loaded with whiskey [and] attempted to board and take the boat.” The crew denied him permission to board the vessel and began throwing bags of whiskey overboard. Midgett collected the bags as evidence, returned to the House of Refuge, and alerted the Custom Patrol. Eventually, the rum runners were captured, tried, and found guilty by Jacksonville, Florida’s Federal Court. A photograph of Midgett standing next to smashed liquor stills illustrates the fact that he “was personally responsible for destroying several liquor stills and instrumental in tipping the Custom Patrol about other still operations.”<sup>176</sup>

In 1915, the Life-Saving Service merged with the Revenue Cutter Service to form the United States Coast Guard, but the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge continued to function as before. The house was manned through World War I, and by World War II it had become a Life Boat Station. An observation tower was constructed to look for German submarines, which were sinking merchant marine vessels up and down the East Coast in the early years of the war. In 1945, the facility was decommissioned and sold, but was apparently abandoned and became a target for vandals.<sup>177</sup> Harold Cardwell, a local historian, recalls that the structure burned down between 1948-50.<sup>178</sup> According to a statement by F. Russell Galbreath, Constable for Southeast Volusia County for 34 years, the house was accidentally ignited by a stranded motorist and his family, who took refuge in the house and lit a smudge fire to drive away the voracious mosquitoes. They, like other motorists, were lured onto the deep sand road by a man named “Fred”, who developed a novel method of gaining revenue from tourists. He would steal Route A1A road signs and post them

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173. Sandra Henderson Thurlow, “Lonely Vigils: Houses of Refuge on Florida’s East Coast, 1876-1915,” *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 76 (1997): 152, 166, 170-72. Harold Coutant was interviewed in 1960 about his life at the House of Refuge; his tape-recorded interview and Coutant’s related photographs can be found at the Historical Society of Martin County, Stuart, Florida.

174. CANA park files, correspondence of Mrs. Emma Midgett donated by daughter Mary Midgett Hooper February 15, 1978, 5- 6.

175. *Ibid.*, 3-5.

176. *Ibid.*, 2-4.

177. See U.S. Coast Guard history of the station at <<http://www.uscg.mil/history/stations/MOSQUITOLAGOON.pdf>>. David M. Brewer, “An Archeological and Ethnohistorical Overview,” 85-86, stated that it was turned over to the Department of the Interior in 1945 and became a U.S. Coast and Geodetic Station in 1959, but that seems to be mistaken.

178. Personal communication, Harold Cardwell to John Stiner, 1/16/ 2008.



south of Eldora. Unwary travelers heading down the coast would venture down the trail and get stuck. After letting them contend with the insects for several hours, Fred would come along with his tow truck and pull them out for the “exorbitant” amount of \$100. Galbreath arrested Fred several times in unsuccessful attempts to curb this behavior.<sup>179</sup>

Of Florida’s 10 original Houses of Refuge, only one remains—Gilbert’s Bar House of Refuge on Hutchinson Island near Stuart, Florida, which is open to the public. A scale model of the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge has been constructed from blueprints and photographs and is on display at Canaveral National Seashore.

## Water and Rail Lines Converge

In the years after the Civil War, steamboats and steam-driven trains were linked as overland and water routes became connected to create integrated transportation systems. People and goods could make trips combining boat and train travel. Henry Sanford helped to pioneer this combination in central Florida in order to move products from the Florida interior to far-away markets. But it was Henry Flagler and Henry Plant who escalated the scale of the ventures. Plant and Flagler created water-rail systems to carry people and goods from Florida to the Caribbean, especially Cuba, as well as link them with the rest of the nation. The state’s rivers soon were crossed by railroad bridges and transportation by rail in many cases replaced transportation by steamboat along those rivers.<sup>180</sup>

Historically on the periphery of main overland transportation routes, residents in the vicinity of today’s Seashore combined water and land travel to reach their destinations and transport goods. Before Henry Flagler and Henry Plant consolidated central Florida’s many short lines, residents had to make their own arrangements for whatever combination of steamers and steam locomotives was needed to transport themselves and their products. Residents of Oak Hill, on the mainland, in 1887 expressed their anticipation of promised improved access to

the rest of the world via connection to the Seville and Halifax Railway or on ocean-going steamers via New Smyrna. At the same time, the route that residents had to use from Haulover alternated between water and overland methods. Travelers and goods took a sailboat from Haulover to Titusville (founded as Sand Point in 1867), then proceeded overland to a St. Johns River landing from which they went on by steamer to Palatka or Jacksonville. Allenhurst boasted that it could be reached by rail from Chicago to Jacksonville and Titusville, and by water from Jacksonville.<sup>181</sup>

As in other parts of the United States, Florida’s political and business leaders encouraged the extension of railroads. As an incentive to expand, for every mile of track laid south of Daytona, Henry Flagler’s railroad received 8,000 acres from public lands.<sup>182</sup>

The three Henrys brought improved, rapid rail transportation to central Florida. A former diplomat, Henry Sanford was the first of the three Henrys to arrive in Florida as an entrepreneur. Sanford was not a financial success, but his manager, James E. Ingraham, initiated the consolidation of many small lines within central Florida. Henry Flagler’s wealth from his long association with Standard Oil Company allowed him to build upon Sanford’s incipient consolidations and to hire Ingraham to oversee the process that Ingraham had started for Sanford. Henry Plant was the third railroad Henry. Plant focused his efforts on Florida’s west coast. Flagler combined railway lines and hotels and moved ever southward along Florida’s Atlantic Coast. Flagler’s Florida East Coast Railway reached as far as Daytona Beach in 1883. After pausing to build the lavish Ponce de Leon Hotel in St. Augustine, which opened in 1888, Flagler brought the rail line to New Smyrna in November 1892 and was serving the area of the Seashore by the following year. In 1886, Florida’s railroads had begun converting to standard gauge track in conformity with much of the nation, allowing cars to move readily from one railroad line to another.<sup>183</sup> By 1894, the Florida East Coast Railroad stretched all the way to Palm Beach. In the process, Indian River towns acquired good rail access for goods to go to distant markets and to

179. CANA park files, statement by F. Russell Galbreath concerning destruction of House of Refuge, undated, but probably around 1980.

180. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 283-87.

181. Wanton S. Webb, ed. *Webb’s Historical, Industrial and Biographical Florida*, Part I (New York: W. S. Webb & Co., 1885), 84, 109-110; Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 248.

182. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 284.

183. George W. Pettingill, Jr., *The Story of the Florida Railroads*, Bulletin No. 86 (Boston: Railway and Locomotive Historical Society, 1952), 46.



FIGURE 17. Brochure announcing completion of Florida East Coast Railway. (Reprinted from original by Conch Tour Train, Key West, FL)

bring visitors from distant locations. The Titusville newspaper reported that the new railroad had increased travel so much that hotels and boarding houses along the river had accommodations for only 70 percent of the travelers. The presence of the north-south rail line a mile west of the Seashore was a boon, but still no rail line reached across the water to the barrier islands.<sup>184</sup> For the little community of Eldora, isolated on the east side of Mosquito Lagoon, it meant decline. Rail travel was cheaper and faster and so took precedence over river voyages. As a result, water traffic passing Eldora dwindled year after year.

During the Spanish-American War in 1898, railroads carried many of the men and war supplies to Florida ports for transfer to ships headed for the battleground of Cuba. The U.S. government

financed improvements to Florida's harbors and rail systems to serve the war effort. The railroads retained the improvements at the war's end and were one of the major beneficiaries of the 1898 conflict, with significant additions to their facilities paid for largely by the War Department.<sup>185</sup>

## Automobiles and Highways

The advent of the inexpensive private automobile in the twentieth century revolutionized society in almost all areas. Local, state, and Federal agencies responded throughout the twentieth century to ever-increasing use of personal motor vehicles. Highways became wider and were paved to allow more and faster traffic.

At first, cyclists organized to advocate good roads, even before the introduction of the automobile, and "good roads" associations were formed throughout the nation. In 1915, the Florida State Road Department was created, and Federal legislation over the next several years made funds available to help states construct roads and bridges. Between 1923 and 1929, Florida entered its greatest road-building era to date. Route U.S.1 brought motorists into the state from the northeast and became the main highway bringing motorists near to Seashore lands. For 40 years during the golden age of motoring, U.S. 1 served as the East Coast's premier highway. In addition, the Dixie Highway provided a continuous route between Florida and the Midwest and in Florida often occupied the same roadbed as U.S. 1. For example, from New Smyrna to Titusville, U.S. 1, the Dixie Highway, and the Atlantic Coast Highway used the same roadbed.<sup>186</sup>

The Dixie Highway was one of several routes designated to improve point-to-point, personal-vehicle travel in the United States in the first quarter of the twentieth century. The advocacy for good roads by the League of American Wheelmen (bicyclists) had evolved into a Progressive-era campaign to improve roads in order to enhance the lives of rural dwellers.<sup>187</sup> The Good Roads Movement started out with the idea that hard-surfaced roads would help farmers get their produce to markets and at the same time enable the more isolated rural folk to travel to urban areas. This would relieve what were

184. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 1: 113.

185. Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 325-26.

186. *Official Automobile Blue Book, Highway Map of Florida*, (Chicago and New York: Automobile Blue Book Inc., 1925), copy at St. Augustine Historical Society.

187. Howard Lawrence Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie: Accessibility and Modernization in the South, 1885-1935*, (Knoxville: University of Tennessee Press, 1991), 12-15.

then believed to be negative aspects of isolation; country folk could avail themselves of the improvements to their lives which cities offered.

But farmers in the South did not become the advocates of “good roads” as envisioned. While they could see the benefits, the basic conservatism of the farmers did not agree with the idea of financing roads through indebtedness by local governments. It was businessmen instead who became the champions of improved roads and of route designations as conduits of traffic that would fuel economic development. Promoters also thought that good roads would increase leisure travel. Communities wanted to be beneficiaries of this predicted tourism bonanza.

An interstate north-south highway was proposed and initially dubbed the “Cotton Belt Route.” But at an organizational meeting in Chattanooga in April 1915, the name became “Dixie Highway” and a struggle among hundreds of communities to be on the route ensued.<sup>188</sup>

When the route was announced in 1916, “promoters then claimed that the route linked two of the most remote and culturally different places in the country: Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan, and Miami Beach, Florida.”<sup>189</sup> The Dixie Highway had evolved from an envisioned single north-south route into a complicated network with several legs, passing through 10 states. Members of the Dixie Road Association suggested that the existence of a good road would increase an area’s likelihood of being selected as part of the route. Thus the Dixie Highway attempted to incorporate existing viable roadways rather than attempt to improve or create roads after designating a route. The Dixie Highway Association published a promotional magazine, *Dixie Highway*, and marked the route with red and white sign bearing the letters “DH.”

In Florida, many roads were initially surfaced or even maintained by paving with shell from the once-numerous prehistoric shell mounds that had literally blanketed portions of the east coast north of Canaveral.<sup>190</sup> Few of the shell mounds remain today. County deed records contain the agreements by property owners selling rights to “mine” the shell on their land. The existence of the house atop



FIGURE 18. “Meeting Friends Along the Dixie Highway,” 1920s. (Florida Photographic Collection, at <<http://fpc.dos.state.fl.us/reference/rc12876.jpg>>).

Snyder Mound (Seminole Rest) protected that midden from the mining. Marion Porta Snyder, whose grandfather Wesley Snyder owned Seminole Rest, recalled that “When they were building the roads or railroads – they wanted to buy the shell. Granddaddy said he wouldn’t sell. He said it would spoil the beauty of the property; that’s why we have the elevation here.”<sup>191</sup>

Nels Nelson of the American Museum of Natural History examined a large mound located in Oak Hill being lost to mining in 1917, a quarter mile south of Seminole Rest. When he arrived only one-seventh of the original mound remained. Two steam shovels had been at work for four months filling nearly 2,000 railroad cars with shell destined for road paving. Even Turtle Mound and Castle Windy Mound on the barrier island part of the Seashore were partly destroyed for road fill.

D. W. Bailey’s 1924 description of driving down the east coast illustrates the widespread relocation of the shell. “From [New Smyrna] to Oak Hill there is a fair shell road, the fifteen miles of which can be negotiated with no trouble.” Three miles south of Oak Hill, one could again continue by “country shell road.” And so these “fair shell roads” alternated with sections of other paving material or sections along the coast road that were merely graded.<sup>192</sup> The community of New Smyrna touted the roads to attract outsiders, stating in a 1905 brochure that “no town in the state can boast of better kept streets and pavements, while New Smyrna has

188. Preston, *Dirt Roads to Dixie*, 53-55.

189. *Ibid.*, 58.

190. Jerald Milanich, *Florida’s Indians from Ancient Times to the Present* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1998).

191. Interview of Mrs. Jacqueline Snyder Stevens and Mrs. Marian Porta, August 27, 1992, by National Park Service personnel, typescript transcription at Seashore office.

192. Brewer, “Archaeological and Ethnohistorical Overview,” 91-92; letter from D. W. Bailey of Vero Beach to Frank J. Parker of Hastings, August 18, 1924, published in *The St. Augustine Evening Record*, August 21, 1924.





**FIGURE 19.** View of shell mound being destroyed for road-building materials at an unidentified location on the east coast of Florida in 1912. (Florida Memory Collection)

more mileage of shell road driveways than any other city on the Florida East Coast. This record is the pride of its populace.”<sup>193</sup>

After World War II, tourism interests wanted to limit the confusion over Florida’s east coast auto route, which often skirted the Atlantic Ocean. The ocean-side route incorporated several roads, both Federal and state, and several “highways” often used a single roadbed. In November 1946, the State Road Board decided on the name “A1A.”<sup>194</sup>

In 1948, State Representative Roy Roberts announced that a survey was underway for Road A1A that was planned to run along the Seashore’s barrier island. The combination of the proposed roadbed to extend A1A, a proposed deep water harbor at Cape Canaveral and the new state park at DeSoto Beach spurred some beach-front property owners to clear their land in 1948 in preparation for development. Although the highway had not materialized by 1957, the population boom generated by the U.S. space program at Cape Canaveral encouraged the New York-Florida Realty Company of Fort Lauderdale to purchase a tract with eight miles of ocean frontage north from Playalinda

Beach, at the south end of the Seashore. These and other nearby purchases brought new speculation about a highway along the ocean beach to connect Playalinda with New Smyrna Beach, just north of the Seashore. In a special election in 1959, voters approved the creation of a special road district authorized to issue bonds for the proposed road. Approval was acquired, although only five votes were cast, throwing some doubt on the viability of a road-funding proposal that aroused such feeble voter response. But it soon became moot with the expansion of the military reservation to accommodate the space program. Because of the need for a safety perimeter around the space program site, the proposed ocean-side road from Cape Canaveral to New Smyrna would not be built, fortuitously protecting the area from development.<sup>195</sup>

Fitting in with the name “confusion” that the State Road Board sought to alleviate were the road designations within the Seashore boundary. Based on the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey (USGS) quadrangle (quad) maps created around 1950, A1A hugged the dunes and led visitors to Turtle Mound and Moeller’s Camp at the edge of the east bank of Mosquito Lagoon immediately south of the mound. According to the quad maps, the pavement ended about 6 miles south of Turtle Mound, just north of George’s Slough. The maps indicated that a path ran from that point, not even of sufficient maintenance to be considered an “unimproved road.” Ann Towner’s 1979 “History of Eldora and the Surrounding Area” states that A1A was not paved until 1956, that “the basic shell road was put in from Eldora to the House of Refuge during World War II.” Seashore staff reported that the road was not paved past the Visitor Center until NPS put down soil cement to the last parking area and the Eldora loop in 1984.<sup>196</sup>

Thus for motorists in the middle of the twentieth century, A1A effectively dead-ended south of the old shell mound; road maps of the middle of the twentieth century certainly showed it as a “road to nowhere.”<sup>197</sup> Locals made money pulling stuck tourists out of the sand at the end of the road. Prior to the Seashore’s creation, adventurous locals would drive north or south on the “sand road” behind the dune (along Klondike Beach) and on the beach itself in stripped down cars called “skeeters.” It could be hazardous as evidenced by the remains

193. Robert H. Weeks, *New Smyrna, Volusia County “The Land of Flowers”* (History Facsimile Series East Florida, 1905) page 1

194. “Tourists’ Confusion Created Unique Label,” *Florida Times-Union* (Jacksonville), February 1, 1986.

195. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 2: 92, 96, 148-49.

196. Personal communication, Richard Ferry, North District Maintenance Supervisor to John Stiner, 2000.

197. Discrepancies in dates or existence of paving might arise from differing meanings for terms. Maps made in the first half of the twentieth century often considered any hard surfaced road (for example, “shell roads”) as paved.

of stranded skeeters that periodically become exposed with the shifting sands.

Although disconnected from the barrier island roadway, A1A reappears on the quad maps as part of State Road 3, to the west across Mosquito Lagoon, about a mile north of New Haulover Canal and continues until it intersects with State Road 402, then soon leaves the SR 402 roadbed heading south. State Road 402 led from Titusville to Playalinda Beach. From the terminus of State Road 402 at the Atlantic Ocean an unimproved road stretched north, this also becoming a mere path south of Klondike Beach in the middle of today's Seashore.<sup>198</sup> The middle 12 miles (Klondike Beach) of the Seashore's 24 miles of barrier island has been kept inaccessible by design and is only reached by foot, trail bike, or horseback. This is one of the very few stretches of beach remaining where a visitor can get some sense of what the state's coast looked like before Europeans arrived.<sup>199</sup>

Tourist camps and fish camps nestled along A1A on the west shore of the lagoon south of Oak Hill on the strip of land between Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon. Shiloh Camp was a mile or so south of the community of Shiloh. Another mile south of there was Beacon Camp. South of Old Haulover Canal were the structures of Ragin Fish Camp. Mosquito Lagoon was known for its schools of drum, flounder, Gulf fish, ladyfish, cavalle, besouga, croaker, channel bass (redfish), mullet, pigfish, sheepshead, sailor's choice, sea trout, spotted trout (weakfish), triple tail, and whiting.<sup>200</sup>

Contemporary road maps issued by and usually offered free by oil companies indicated the same situation for A1A as did the USGS maps. Many other road maps of the period show only some of the roads that were actually in existence. Frequently, secondary and lower-level roads did not appear on commercial road maps of the 1920s, 1930s, and 1940s. This lack of completeness was understandable because the early road maps were usually generated by firms who solicited and then featured paying subscribers or advertisers rather than being produced by state or county government agencies, which might be more interested in completeness.

Even when government agencies published the road maps, the locations of roads away from municipalities and into rural areas were often depicted with inconsistency or imprecision.

Another transportation-related feature within the Seashore was the "landing field" that is shown on the Mims 1949 Quad map. It was located on the east side of A1A (State Road 3) just north of Allenhurst and New Haulover Canal.

Ultimately the requirements of national security and the protection for aeronautical research after World War II brought about Federal-level control and restricted access to the roads in the Seashore. In June 1956, Congress passed the Interstate and Defense Highway System Act. The law provided for \$32 billion over a 13-year period to construct a 41,000-mile interstate highway system, featuring limited-access, high-speed expressways. This legislation recognized that trucks had become the preferred method of freight shipment and automobiles the most desired means of travel. The Interstate System would allow military vehicles to avoid delays caused by traffic congestion in towns.<sup>201</sup>

The Interstate System dramatically enhanced mobility in Florida. Interstate 95 on the east coast linked Miami and south Florida directly to the northeastern states. These highways boosted tourism to lofty new levels and opened many areas of the state to business and residential development. Conversely, communities that had thrived along the older main highways lost business as motorists flocked to the faster routes. U.S. 1 became a route between local communities with local traffic, and automobile service businesses, hostleries, and eating establishments along its route faced diminished business.

More than improved highway travel was instrumental in the surge in tourism in Florida. The spread of air-conditioning in the 1960s made tourism a year-round industry instead of a December-to-June business. Air-conditioning also made life more comfortable for year-round residence. "Florida's fantastic trajectory of population growth in the decades after 1950 would almost certainly have flat-

198. UCGS Quadrangle maps: Mims 1949, Oak Hill 1949, Wilson 1949, Aerial 1950, Pardon Island, 1952. These are the earliest "quad" maps of this area. Quad maps for most of Florida lying south of Gainesville were not produced until 1949 or a few years thereafter. Quad maps for the more northerly part of Florida were generated regularly, beginning around 1917.

199. National Park Service, *General Management Plan, Canaveral National Seashore* (Denver: National Park Service Denver Service Center, 1981).

200. USCG maps: Wilson Quad 1949, Oak Hill Quad 1949; William H. Greeg and Capt. John Gardner, *Where, When and How to Catch Fish on the East Coast of Florida* (Buffalo and New York: Matthews-Northrup Works, 1909), 188-89.

201. Bernhard, et al., *Firsthand America*, 856.

tened out without the introduction and widespread adoption of air-conditioning.”<sup>202</sup>

## Associated Properties

The associated properties for the Effects of Transportation Networks, 1820 to 1950, context are the two canals which join Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon and the Confederate Salt Works.

### Old Haulover Canal

The old portage that preceded the Old Haulover Canal is described in Chapter Three because of its inferred association with the British and Second Spanish colonial periods. The canal is also associated with the American period of Florida from 1821 to 1888, when it was replaced by the New Haulover Canal. Old Haulover received increased attention during wartimes. It served as a conduit for men and materiel during the Second Seminole War and was maintained to abet anticipated needs of small boats in the Third Seminole War. Old Haulover Canal also provided a passage for Civil War-era vessels sailing for the Union and the Confederacy and for personal vessels.

The remains of the canal run for about 2,000 feet between Mosquito Lagoon on the east and the Indian River on the west. The canal is bisected by State Road 3, with the eastern side in the jointly managed portion of the Seashore and the west side located in Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge. The eastern portion was apparently dredged in historic times; it is still connected to Mosquito Lagoon and contains water. It is approximately 30 feet wide and of unknown depth. In 2004, the Refuge cleared vegetation both north and south of the canal to restore native habitat. Isolated trees and scrubby vegetation grow along the banks, with a thicker stand of trees located along the north bank near Mosquito Lagoon. The section of canal west of State Road 3 is surrounded by mature hammock vegetation, which conceals it from the road. It is completely dry and is approximately 6 to 8 feet deep and 30 feet wide. It is on the western side that one experiences the feeling of discovering a hidden, untouched piece of Florida history. While some of the walls have fallen in, portions of the bank, particularly along the north side, retain their shape, with the underlying coquina rock clearly visible. In 2006, a State historical marker was erected at the New

Haulover Canal to commemorate the Old Haulover Portage and Canal and their importance to the early development of the area.

### New Haulover Canal

The present Haulover Canal is located near the Brevard-Volusia County line on Kennedy Parkway and on the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway. New Haulover Canal permits water traffic to cross between Mosquito Lagoon and the Indian River. The initial dredging and formation of this cut was made in 1888. The canal is maintained by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers with a perpetual easement for that purpose from the Florida Inland Navigational District. A bridge on State Road 3 crosses New Haulover Canal.

### Confederate Salt Works

The purported Confederate Salt Works is located inland from the Intracoastal Waterway on the west side of Mosquito Lagoon within Ross Hammock, on the extreme northwestern end of the prehistoric burial mound. The main walls are oriented north-south and east-west. Basic construction is coquina cemented with lime mortar made by burning shells. The remaining tops of the walls are 12 inches above the level of the hearth. The hearth is 6 inches higher than the surrounding floor. This floor extended some 8 feet in front and 15 feet south of the hearth. There is some debate about the actual identity of these ruins. (See Chapter Three.)

### National Register Eligibility

Because *Old Haulover Canal* is already listed on the National Register, the determinations made here form the basis for a review and, if necessary, revisions of the site's listing. Overgrowth along the canal obscures it. To restore its historic appearance, areas on either side of the canal would need to be cleared and opened to accommodate foot traffic as would have been necessary when it was in use.

*New Haulover Canal* continues to serve the function for which it was created more than 110 years ago, linking Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon. New Haulover Canal continues to serve as a vital link in connecting the natural coastal waterways of Florida and connecting to the rest of the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway. New Haulover Canal can claim local, state and national significance under Criterion A of the National Register of Historic Places for its association with events that have made a significant contribution to the broad patterns of our history in the areas of commerce, engineering, transportation

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202. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 429-35, quote on 435.



and maritime history. It also qualifies under Criterion C for its embodiment of distinctive characteristics of a type, period, or method of construction: dredging for canal construction, canal construction and maintenance and for environmental alterations created by the former two. However, since the new canal is under the jurisdiction of the Army Corps of Engineers, CANA will defer nomination to that agency.

Because the *Confederate Salt Works* was listed on the National Register in 1981, the determinations made here form the basis for a review and, if necessary, revisions of the site's listing. Local lore and legend form the evidence for the use of the site as a salt works. Conclusive documentary evidence to support the association of the remains at the site with salt production during the Civil War has not been found. Local histories attribute the destruction of the salt works to a party of men from the Union

boats *Henry Andréw* and *Penguin*, but that assertion is weakened because the Union Navy correspondence written immediately after this Union sortie and purported destruction did not mention the disabling of a salt works as an accomplishment of a mission otherwise gone awry and which needed some accomplishment to commend itself. Archeological investigations associated with the investigations of Ross Hammock's prehistoric resource revealed a hearth-like structure that could have served as a homemade salt works, but the absence of detailed field notes from the excavations leaves an evidential void. Although the site is already on the Register, the association with the historic events cited in the nomination is questionable. As stated in Chapter Three, the purported Confederate Salt Works may be the chimney associated with the Gomez/Gay House, which was built prior to 1803, or even an earlier structure associated with the British-period Elliott Plantation.



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# Chapter Five: Population Growth After Wars, 1845 to 1950

American wars have repeatedly brought population growth to Florida. Many of the military troops who came to Florida were impressed with the peninsula's advantages and either stayed or quickly returned after the conflicts. Wars also created news and publicity about Florida, which attracted new residents who had never been to Florida. The years following the Seminole and Civil Wars brought residents with agricultural pursuits in mind. Military activity during the Second World War and the Cold War were key to population growth in the area of the Seashore.

The Second Seminole War (1835-1842) opened new lands to white settlers as the great majority of the Seminoles were removed from their Florida homes to lands in the west. After the American Civil War (1861-1865), while many Americans headed to the lands west of the Mississippi River, new residents from the North and the Midwest arrived as well in Florida, seeking inexpensive land and economic opportunities. Also, some former Confederates relocated to central Florida to escape Reconstruction regimes and restrictions, which were more onerous in the more populated areas of the former Confederacy.<sup>203</sup>

World War II introduced Florida to soldiers from all over the United States. The year-round warm weather made Florida an ideal training area for enlistees, and the War Department built many installations in Florida and other southern states. Many veterans chose to make a permanent home in areas where they had first stayed in military barracks. After the war, the Cape Canaveral area and central Florida became the centerpiece of the United States' effort for space exploration. The Canaveral area became a leading example of the efforts the nation made during the Cold War to

maintain technological and military supremacy over the Soviet bloc. The expansion of military/aero-space installations and the previously mentioned widespread adoption of air conditioning were probably the two biggest factors in Florida's growth and development after 1941.

## Live Oak Harvesting

When Florida became an American territory, the stands of live-oak forests in the new territory, including those in today's Seashore lands, quickly attracted timber buyers. From colonial times, timber from live oak trees (*Quercus virginiana*) was in heavy demand for shipbuilding. Shipwrights were attracted to live oak's naturally curved branches and the wood's great tensile strength and resistance to rot—qualities that provided the ultimate combination for shipbuilding.<sup>204</sup> From 1776, the U.S. Navy had been acquiring live oak from areas within the United States. With the acquisition of Florida from Spain, the Navy gained access to a new source of the sought-after timber.

In March 1822, six months after the cession of Florida, U.S. Marshall James G. Forbes wrote to Acting Gov. W. G. D. Worthington that the Navy's timber contractors were cutting along the St. Johns and "Musquito" rivers "wherever they find it most convenient." In May 1822 Capt. John Elton on the U.S. Brig *Spark* off the Florida coast wrote to the Secretary of the Navy that he intended to proceed to the Mosquito River, where "three or four schooners [were] loaded with live oak, cut for the U.S." by agents who bought wood from property owners or from those who claimed to own lands granted during Spanish rule.<sup>205</sup>

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203. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 257.

204. Virginia Steele Wood, *Live Oaking: Southern Timber for Tall Ships* (Annapolis: Naval Institute Press, 1981), 4.

205. Carter, ed. *Territorial Papers*, 22: 376, 430.

Maintaining an adequate timber supply for building ships concerned the U.S. Navy. Already in 1826, a U.S. government agent reported that all live oak near the mouth of the St. Johns River had been removed. In 1833, a Federal act (4 STAT.646-647) required all custom collectors in the Territory of Florida to ascertain whether live oak timber cut in and departing Florida territory had been cut on private lands or upon public lands with the consent of the Navy Department. A Federal “Live Oak Commissioner” was appointed in August 1843. Hezekiah Thistle, “Agent for preservation of Live Oak and other timber upon Public Land in East Florida,” remarked upon the major perpetrators, Messrs. Palmer and Ferris. Their “oak laying upon the waters of ‘Mosquito’ and also that laying in the swamps” equaled 20- to 30,000 cubic feet. Thistle stated that probably over half had been cut from public land and he requested that a revenue cutter visit Mosquito Inlet and vicinity twice monthly.<sup>206</sup> Additionally, the Navy soon became concerned over sales and shipments of the timber cut in U.S. lands to foreign ship builders.<sup>207</sup>

Loggers often poached timber on public lands, while claiming to have taken the wood from privately claimed property. Thus, documentation of the timber-cutting activity often did not refer to specific sites or the sites, and activities were frequently described in after-the-fact suspicions.

The Swifts, shipbuilders in Massachusetts, came to Florida to harvest live oak as the forests became depleted in Georgia and South Carolina. Elijah Swift built the first shipyard and wharves in Falmouth, Massachusetts (on the site of the present Woods Hole Oceanographic Institute). In 1828, the Swifts launched their first whale ship made of live oak timber from that yard. According to family correspondence, the Swifts purchased several thousand acres between St. Augustine and Cape Canaveral. According to local Florida historian Ianthe Bond Hebel, the community of Oak Hill originally was known as Live Oak Hill, and Shipyard Island, near Turtle Mound, apparently got its name from the preliminary shaping of timbers that took place there prior to export of the timber to the North.<sup>208</sup>

Liveoaking brought humans into the area temporarily. According to Hebel, as many as 500 men came south each fall to work in the Swifts’ liveoaking camps and returned north in the spring. After the Seminole Wars ended, the camps became more or less permanent settlements. Hebel also claimed that old Florida residents recalled seeing remnants of a Swift-built dock and sunken barges, but these sites were north of the Seashore.<sup>209</sup>

Acquisition of land or confirmation of ownership of land was of primary importance to officials, residents, and settlers. The Armed Occupation Act of 1842 was enacted to reward those who fought against the Seminoles. The act aimed also to establish settlements that might serve to hold the line of white occupation. Officials doubted that some applicants for land under the 1842 act held sincere motives to settle. They suggested that some claimants were interested only in cutting or selling the live oak on their claims, not in establishing an actual settlement.

While new settlers made their claims on newly occupied land, claimants to lands received during Florida’s colonial regimes were also filing claims. Officials requested that surveys be made along the 25 miles of estuaries from Spruce Creek (in present-day Volusia County) south to establish which were public and which were private lands. Thistle fretted that the “choice timber on the Hillsborough river and Indian river” could not be reserved for Navy use until the land was surveyed.<sup>210</sup>

Elijah Swift “of the County of Barnstable of the Commonwealth of Massachusetts” ultimately bought land on the west bank of Indian River opposite the Haulover in 1850, after surveys had been completed and ownership of the land confirmed. The lands that Swift purchased were 4,000 acres in the Domingo Acosta Grant “in the neighborhood of Flounder Creek” (outside of the Seashore boundary) and 200 acres of lands that were part of an award to William Garvin as an 1817 service grant to reward military service during the Spanish era. The Swift deed was found in the public records of St. Johns County.<sup>211</sup> Swift’s 1850 transaction was recorded in 1858 (during the Third

206. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 713-14, 794-95.

207. *Ibid.*, 22:370, 375-76, 430-31.

208. Wood, *Live Oaking*, 76-78, 167 n., 16-18. “The Swifts and the Live Oak Trade: A Little Known Chapter in Florida’s History,” by Ianthe Bond Hebel (Daytona Beach, Fla.: typescript, 1950) contains interesting information on the Swifts’ activities. The report (a copy of which can be found in the Seashore’s files) is not footnoted and the source of much of Ms. Bond’s information is unclear.

209. Wood, *Live Oaking*, 78.

210. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 692.

211. Deed Book H, 141.

Seminole War), which suggests that Swift chose to safeguard his registration of this transaction at a county seat that was safe from potential destruction from upheavals between whites and Seminoles. Existing land records for Volusia County (the location of the majority of Seashore land) mostly date from 1866 with occasional legal instruments prior to that date. It is possible that the Swift private papers in Massachusetts might yield additional information on specific claims or purchases in the Seashore that are not in the public records in Florida.

The potential for profit from live oaking at the head of the Indian River was yet another reason set forth to justify the Federal government's improving and enlarging the Haulover. Hezekiah Thistle suggested that a wider, deeper passage—20 to 22 feet wide and 5 feet deep—would shorten the voyage for the timber, enable more of the journey to take place along calm estuaries, and raise the value of the land.<sup>212</sup>

The historic impact of live oaking in the Seashore was the altering of the environment by eliminating stands of trees. But timbering is an extractive activity, somewhat like mining, and while it may well alter an area, it rarely results in lasting development of an area. However, lands cleared by loggers might have made those lands more attractive to longer-term agricultural settlement. Already cleared lands allowed farmers and growers to make use more quickly of the land for market crops.

## Citrus

Florida's climate has long been a magnet for immigration. Florida offers a long-growing season; crops that cannot be grown in many parts of the United States thrive in sub-tropical Florida. Citrus is one of those crops closely associated with Florida.

Sixteenth-century Spanish settlers introduced citrus to the peninsula and seem to have taught Indians how to cultivate it. The Spanish planted mostly sour orange (*Citrus aurantium*), also known as Seville orange. Naturalists Bartram and Michaux and colonial-era settlers in the Seashore area mentioned citrus trees (see Chapter Four). Groves of citrus trees remained when the last colonial regime finally departed Florida in 1821.

The U.S. acquisition of Florida (1821) brought an extension of citrus groves, especially along the St. Johns River and its tributaries, with the river providing an initial transportation route to northern markets. The Seashore area offered similar waterborne routes for citrus transportation. As part of the United States, Florida growers could ship fruit to markets in areas to the north as domestic trade rather than as foreign foods as had been the case during Florida's Spanish years. The growth of coastal steam transport and travel, which followed Florida's cession to the United States during the territorial period, offered improved carriers.

Sweet oranges were much more valuable than sour oranges, which were used only in marmalade and other confections with added sugar. The rootstock of the sour trees, however, was more cold-hardy. Because all varieties of orange are easily interbred, the grafting (budding) of sweet oranges onto sour rootstock provided the best and most lucrative combination.

Historians of the citrus industry consider the Dummett Grove site at the Haulover in the Seashore as the location of the first such grafting in central Florida. E. H. Hart reported in 1877 (decades after the fact) that the first budding of sweet oranges on sour orange stock had taken place in 1830 in Dummett's Grove.<sup>213</sup> Zephaniah Kingsley had imported budded orange trees from Spain in 1824, which were subsequently planted at the Mays Grove at Orange Mills, a few miles north of Palatka on the St. Johns River. Buds from the Mays Grove supplied the Dummett Grove.<sup>214</sup> Other lore claims that Douglas Dummett made use of an old grove, which remained from trees planted about 1770 by British-era colonizer Andréw Turnbull in conjunction with Turnbull's ill-fated New Smyrna indigo enterprise. Still others claim that the orange trees were relicts of the first Spanish period. In 1964, Douglas Dummett was posthumously inducted into the Citrus Hall of Fame and recognized as "the father of Central Florida Citrus."<sup>215</sup>

Born in the West Indies in 1806, Douglas Dummett came with the rest of his family when his father, Colonel Thomas Dummett, arrived to become a planter on the Tomoka River, about 8 miles north of Ormond Beach. Dummett family lore holds that Douglas Dummett sold his first crop of oranges, consisting of 500 barrels, in 1828. With Douglas Dummett's marriage to the widowed Frances

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212. Carter, ed., *Territorial Papers*, 26: 697.

213. The spelling appears as both "Dummett" and "Dummitt" in many sources over many years.

214. Larry Jackson, *Citrus Growing in Florida* (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1991), 5, 6, 64.

215. *Titusville Star-Advocate*, March 24, 1965.

Sanchez Hunter in 1837, Douglas married into one of the oldest and most influential families in Florida. Frances's ancestors had been colonists in Spanish Florida at least as early as the 1600s. During the Second Seminole War, Douglas Dummett gained fame as an officer in the Mosquito Roarers, a militia unit made up of Mosquito County residents. The best known of the battles of the militia unit was their defeat at the hands of the Seminoles at Dunlawton Plantation in January 1836. Then, during the summer of 1836, Captain Dummett and a company of mounted volunteers made intermittent forays against the Seminoles south of St. Augustine. But they succeeded only in harassing the enemy. Douglas Dummett later served as a justice of the peace in Mosquito County and as collector of customs at New Smyrna. He died on March 27, 1873.<sup>216</sup>

During the second half of the decade of the 1830s, residents of Florida's east coast suffered prolonged and sequential personal and financial disruptions and setbacks. February 1835 brought a deadly freeze, with the temperature of 7 degrees Fahrenheit he reported at St. Augustine. The citrus trees themselves froze, not just the fruit. It is reported that Dummett's budded grove, however, survived the 1835 freeze, probably because of the moderating effect of the location between two bodies of water—Mosquito Lagoon and the Indian River. Generally, the surviving, but weakened, trees or newly replanted groves subsequently became infected with an insect pest known as long scale. Introduction of long scale in 1838 and its subsequent spread to all citrus groves in the state caused a serious decline in citrus growing between 1840 and 1870, after which the pest ceased to be a serious problem.

The beginning of the Second Seminole War at Christmas 1835 brought destruction to the agricultural enterprises south of St. Augustine. Residents of the farms, groves, and plantations fled to safety from raiding and fighting. Many of them went to St. Augustine. Beyond the local financial disasters brought about by wartime destruction, inability to work the land and frozen fruit groves, the national economy was enduring a depression. One of the "severest depressions in American history" occurred from 1839 through 1843, contemporaneous with the Second Seminole War in Florida.<sup>217</sup>

Later, the 1870s brought a big expansion of citrus production as growers realized the size of the potential market and possibility of satisfying it with Florida fruit and the coincidental disappearance of long scale. As discussed in Chapter Four, the development of three major rail systems out of many short lines provided more efficient transportation for the crop than the earlier water routes. More recently, beginning in the 1930s, the availability of good roads has enabled transportation by truck to open new markets and reduce hauling costs.<sup>218</sup>

Indian River citrus enjoys a special reputation. An 1890's account in Blackwood's *Edinburg Magazine* eloquently stated, "The Indian River orange is not to be mentioned in the same breath with ordinary oranges. It is a delicacy by itself, hitherto unknown in the world, and which Spain never attempts to rival." Cities along the Indian River capitalized on its fame during the 1920s when "the term Indian River had taken such a ring of unquestioned quality that cities 75 miles inland apparently decided they were seaports and the words Indian River appeared on orange crates going out of all parts of Florida." To curb such abuse, in 1941, an official Indian River Citrus Area was defined by Florida state law, which specifies that the name may be used only for fruit grown on land adjacent to the Indian River and lying totally within the area described by law, along the east coast within Brevard, Indian River, St. Lucie, Martin, Volusia, and Palm Beach Counties. Fruit grown in this area, especially grapefruit, has a recognized superiority on the market, as evidenced by demand and prices. Indian River fruit is accorded separate regulations. Fruit grown in all other sections of the state is designated as "interior fruit" for marketing purposes.<sup>219</sup>

Reminders of the presence of citrus pioneer Dummett and his family are the chimney and well in Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge. A visitor in 1869 noted a main house with a massive coquina rock fireplace at one end. Nearby was a well, and a smaller house, where Dummett's daughters lived. Griffin and Miller documented the chimney and well at the Dummett Homestead (8Br78) in 1978. The homestead is outside of the Seashore's boundary, being on the west side of Highway 3, but is within the shared Seashore/Refuge boundary. David Brewer observed "that as an historical

216. Alice Strickland, "The Dummett Family Saga," *Journal of the Halifax Historical Society* (Daytona Beach) 2 (1953?):1-11; Ianthe Bond Hebel, "The Dummetts of Northeast Florida," typescript (1968), copy in Dummett File, St. Augustine Historical Society. Michael G. Schene, *Hopes, Dreams and Promises: History of Volusia County* (Daytona Beach: New-Journal Corp., 1976), 42-45. After the war, Frances filed for divorce from Douglas Dummett in 1844.

217. Bernhard et al., *Firsthand America*, 282-84, quote on p. 283.

218. Jackson, *Citrus Growing in Florida*, 6.

219. John McPhee, *Oranges* (London: Heinemann Ltd, 1967), 102.



incident the archeological effects of the Dummett homestead certainly must occur with[in] the Seashore boundary as well.” Brewer also asserted that the building known as the summer house, on the other side of the peninsula in the lagoon on pilings “would have certainly have been inside the Seashore boundary.”<sup>220</sup>

## The Postwar Citrus Surge, Other Subtropical Crops, and the People to Grow Them

Following the Civil War, new residents moved into Florida. Prewar immigration had come mostly from southern states. Still a sparsely populated state, Florida continued to attract people from southern states, especially former Confederates seeking areas where Reconstruction governments had little or no real authority. The state also attracted new residents from the northern states, who, unlike most ex-Confederates, had capital to invest. War correspondents had familiarized northern and midwestern readers with southern regions. Migrants came in search of warmth, inexpensive land, and “climate cures,” much touted by medical professionals at the time.

A journey made in 1869 by John Milton Hawks illustrated how sparsely settled was the Seashore area immediately following the war. Although Volusia County’s population had increased by almost 50 percent between the 1860 and 1870 U.S. censuses, the entire county still claimed only 1,723 residents in 1870.<sup>221</sup>

Hawks stated that the only houses on the Hillsboro River between New Smyrna and the Haulover Canal were those of Captain Collier at Castle Windy, J. D. Mitchell at Oak Hill, William Williams (also known as Bill Scobie) a mile beyond Mitchell, Arad Sheldon yet another mile on, a shanty at Drawdy’s cornfield on the Alvarez Place (later Hawk’s Seashore) and Henry Sawyer’s place a half mile below Drawdy’s. Hawks stated that there were no wharves at that time, which made it necessary for passengers to remove shoes and stockings and roll up trousers in order to debark. He reported that the Haulover

Canal was marked by two stakes standing in the water half a mile from the shore. Although the travelers had no problem finding the canal, the entrance was so shallow that they had to unload the boat and drag it into the canal, where there was deeper water. They were able to “engage” lodging with an unnamed family, but had to leave their supplies in the boat about a quarter of a mile out in the water, away from the “lean and hungry dogs and hogs that roam along those shores.”<sup>222</sup>

The travelers had to use their own provisions for food although the boys of the family eventually showed up with enough ducks for all. The house had no floor and the woman of the house was spinning yarn on a large wheel and smoking a pipe when they arrived. A hen was tied in a corner of the room, accompanied by its chicks. The travelers slept on 6-foot-long boards placed on a table and protected by mosquito netting.<sup>223</sup>

The reminiscences of Nancy Jane Dixon, who moved from Kentucky and homesteaded on the Indian River in 1870, are another indicator of how remote and sparsely populated the area was in the decades following the Civil War. Arriving with her husband, Robert Dixon, who had been advised to move to Florida for his health, Nancy “saw nothing enticing, only the climate.” When she saw their first home “of round pine logs; one door, no shutter, no window; one end sawed off so as to permit a boat to be taken out,” her young daughter broke into tears. Soon, Sand Point (Titusville) got its first sawmill, and the Dixons built a larger house, but it had no ceiling and was not painted until about 1890. For many years, provisions that could not be home-grown were transported from Jacksonville, by way of New Smyrna.<sup>224</sup>

In later decades the Seashore area participated, although on a small scale, in the “boosterism” and the homesteading that was widespread throughout the nation and in Florida in the 1880s and 1890s. Florida’s political and business leaders saw that the state’s natural resources were the most desirable and profitable assets available to encourage investment of northern capital. Land and climate that could produce semitropical products lured growers. Abundant wildlife attracted sportsmen to spend their money in Florida. Fish, birds, and the

220. Griffin and Miller, *Mullet on the Beach*, 122-23; Brewer, “Archeological and Ethnohistorical Overview,” 79-81.

221. John Milton Hawks, *The East Coast of Florida: A Descriptive Narrative* (Lynn, Mass.: Lewis and Winship, 1887); “Population of Florida by Counties, 1830-1945,” 1945 Florida State Census, 10-11.

222. Hawks, *East Coast*, 23-24.

223. Hawks, *East Coast*, 25-27.

224. Letter of Mrs. Nancy Jane Dixon, March 24, 1896, included as Appendix A to James D. Mote, “Historic Resource Study Status Report, Canaveral National Seashore, Florida” (Denver: National Parks Service, Denver Service Center, 1977), 68-75.

exotic alligators, of which there seemed to be an endless supply at the time, lured sports-minded tourists. For example, Webb's *Guide* touted that Oak Hill's location on the Hillsboro River (Mosquito Lagoon), which held fine fish, was only five miles from the head of the Indian River, "where may be found some of the best black-bass fishing and alligator-shooting in this section." In the 1880s, there was "sufficient travel to support a \$4-per-day hotel" and Webb thought that the volume of travelers was bound to increase with the deepening and straightening of the channel of the "Coast Canal" (see Chapter Four).<sup>225</sup>

In the early 1880s, George Barbour wrote that "Florida is rapidly becoming a Northern colony." He credited the national bank panic of 1873 with spurring northern investors to choose a new kind of investment: agriculture in warm climates, especially orange growing. Northern "immigrants" (the nineteenth-century word for new residents) were flocking to central Florida, especially, rather than the more populous north Florida region.<sup>226</sup> Barbour also noted that the immigrants' attitudes toward profit and capital would set them apart from Florida natives for at least a generation and, therefore, the northern immigrants would tend to form their own social and spatial communities, at least until the natives became more like the newcomers. He pointed out that in Florida as elsewhere, "the old order of things passes away, giving place to the new."<sup>227</sup>

Guides, encyclopedias, directories, and pamphlets were published touting the promise of agricultural pursuits in Florida, especially citrus culture. The titles of the publications that promoted economic development attempted to relay a sense of honesty and earnestness, exemplified by Oliver Crosby's 1879 "Florida Facts Both Bright and Blue: A Guide Book to Intending Settlers, Tourists, and Investors from a Northerner's Standpoint—Plain Unvarnished Truth without 'Taffy'—No Advertisements or Puffs." The *Florida Star*, a local paper in New Smyrna Beach, encouraged northerners to buy or homestead land and "find the surest road to prosperity by coming to the mild, genial, and sunny south."<sup>228</sup> Northern newspapers such as *The Boston*

*Floridian* and *The Florida New Yorker* also touted Florida's development opportunities.<sup>229</sup> These sorts of publications usually contained advertisements by businesses in Florida and by businesses in northern cities. Northern advertisers frequently focused on travel routes via steamboat and later rail travel lines heading to Florida. Florida businesses frequently advertised agricultural tools.

As historian Jerrell Shofner observed in his history of Brevard County: "Although citrus would emerge as the paramount crop, the landowner with a small grove, a garden with one or more varieties of vegetables and perhaps some pineapple, sugar cane or guavas was more representative of his neighbors than one who specialized in any of these."<sup>230</sup> "Booster" literature of the 1880s listed orange culture as the most promising category in places such as Oak Hill and Eldora. The literature frequently listed bee-keeping, a complementary endeavor which produced honey from citrus blossoms while the bees carried pollen to fertilize the citrus flowers.

John Hawks claimed in his 1887 publication that within a five-mile radius of the Oak Hill post office there were 220 acres of orange groves of which about a quarter had borne fruit. At Oak Hill, citrus growing was supplemented to a large degree by the apiary business as well as by vegetable gardening for local sales or barter (truck farming). Together, Oak Hill and Eldora boasted between 500 and 600 bee colonies. Hawks claimed that Eldora had a number of "promising young groves." At Eldora, Major Carpenter, Mr. Nelson, and H. H. Shryock were engaged in apiaries. Messrs. King, Watson and "Sohman" (Lohman) had groves and gardens; the Eldora postmaster, Mr. Shryock, also had an orange grove, and there were several groves owned by non-residents. Other sources report the raising or processing of additional subtropical crops at Eldora, but the level of production remains uncertain. Among crops other than the much-reported citrus and honey were olives, indigo, Spanish moss for packing material, pecans, hearts of palm, palmetto berries for medicinal purposes, palms for decorative purposes and palmetto fiber for brushes. A little farther south, Haulover was considered adapted to

225. Webb, *Florida*, 109.

226. At this time, new residents from other parts of the United States were often referred to as "immigrants," while new residents from other nations were termed "foreigners." The term "immigration" did not carry the connotation of foreign birth as it often does today. The Florida Bureau of Immigration was charged with encouraging settlement and development of the state, not with overseeing foreign nationals.

227. Barbour, *Florida for Tourists*, 225, 229.

228. "Come South," *The Florida Star*, (New Smyrna Beach, November 1877) Vol. 1, No. 10, 10.

229. Josslyn Stiner, "Eldora: Ghost of Florida's Past," 2005, unpublished manuscript CANA files.

230. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 179.

orange, pineapple, banana, and lemon growing.<sup>231</sup> According to an 1877 article published in *The Florida Star*, one of Eldora's founders, Mr. Julian S. Watson had "pineapple plants—1500 in number—growing nicely."<sup>232</sup>

The harvesting and drying of saw palmetto berries for use in a patent medicine was a short-lived, but profitable, endeavor within the boundary of today's Seashore. Berries were picked on the barrier island as well as Merritt Island, then dried in the sun before being shipped out to be made into "San-metto," a tonic for lung and prostrate trouble that, like many patent medicines, was 20 percent or more alcohol. George Wilkinson pioneered this agriculture pursuit, having drying yards at Eldora until 1908, when he removed his operations to Hawk's Park (present-day Edgewater). Wilkinson continued to hire Eldora residents to pick berries along the beach.<sup>233</sup> Henry Playters Wilkinson recalled his aunts Nell and Emy having to work in the berry yard completely covered in long dresses and standing in sacks to protect themselves from the ever-present mosquitoes. Berry pickers also had to watch out for rattlesnakes and the occasional bear that became "intoxicated upon eating the sun-fermented berries."<sup>234</sup> Interestingly, the photographs displayed in the Eldora State House show African American berry pickers, although few accounts exist of the African American population in Eldora at this time. A lesser known product of the saw palmetto berry (which apparently failed to catch on) was Palmetto Drink, a blend of fruit and berry juice.<sup>235</sup>

## In-migration and Out-migration

As in so many human endeavors, it paid for Florida to advertise. Communities began to develop along the banks of the Seashore's waterways, evidenced by the creation of post offices. Post offices were established at Oak Hill in 1875, and at Eldora and



FIGURE 20. African American laborers gathering saw palmetto berries. (Photo courtesy of Gary Luther)

Haulover in 1882, and Shiloh in 1884.<sup>236</sup> Among the park's displays are the Eldora Post Office record book, which dates from April 1894 to March 1895, and a replica envelope with a two-cent stamp and Eldora, Florida, postmark dated 1894. Jerrell Shofner reports varying frequency of mail deliveries, usually by steamer, to the different post offices on the islands. Some received mail once a week, others twice a week, and some the luxury of delivery six days a week.<sup>237</sup> Postmasters of the era were usually locally important farmers and leaders. Prior to the 1890s, postal patrons in rural areas came to community post offices to collect their mail. Because a position as postmaster was a political position, appointees were expected to use their position to influence voters on behalf of their political benefactors. Before the beginning of rural free delivery (RFD) of the mail in the 1890s, postmasters enjoyed an audience that gathered within their own building whom they might regale or influence. Postmasters also influenced local political views by detaining delivery of the opposition's mail, although such interference was illegal.<sup>238</sup>

In 1886, W. P. Shryock was postmaster at Eldora; M. J. Walker held that position by 1889. In 1889, the

231. Elliott's, 29; Hawks, *East Coast*, 92-93; Webb, *Florida*, 109; Ann Towner, "The History of Eldora and Surrounding Area," 79-80, draft typescript at Canaveral National Seashore.

232. "Up the Hillsborough," *The Florida Star*, Nov. 1877, Vol. 1, No. 10, page number indecipherable.

233. Oral history interview with Henry Playters Wilkinson, of Edgewater, Florida, March 10, 1989, copy of transcript in Canaveral National Seashore files.

234. James D. Mote, *Historic Resource Study Status Report: Canaveral National Seashore* (Denver: Denver Service Center, Historic Preservation Division, National Park Service, United States Department of the Interior, 1977), 57.

235. Bo Poetner, *Old Town by the Sea: A Pictorial History of New Smyrna Beach* (Donning Company Publishers, 2002), 76.

236. Alford O. Bradbury and E. Story Hallock, *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices* (n.p.: The Florida Federation of Stamp Clubs, 1962).

237. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 1: 136-39.

238. Wayne E. Fuller, *The American Mail: Enlarger of the Common Life* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1972), 295-97.

Eldora post office was closed and merged with Oak Hill. Shiloh Post Office remained in service for over 70 years—from 1884 to 1955. In 1886, Shiloh's Postmaster George C. Kuhl, an orange grower with 10 acres of groves, oversaw the post office in a relative's general store, the only such store at Shiloh. Mails arrived on Monday, Wednesday, and Friday.<sup>239</sup>

In 1889, Haulover Post Office's name was changed to Clifton, then was merged with Shiloh in 1896. Haulover Post Office had been opened and closed several times, but in 1886 was favored with daily mail service.<sup>240</sup>

Charles H. Nauman, appointed postmaster at Haulover in 1886, probably typified the rural political appointee. Nauman, originally from Lancaster, Pennsylvania, could claim influential kin connections as nephew of long-time settler and major orange grower, Douglas Dummett. He was also executor of Dummett's estate. Nauman subsequently became a grove owner, news dealer, and a county leader.<sup>241</sup>

*The Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory* claimed that Eldora had a population of 40 in 1886, and boasted a public school with Miss M.O. Puckett as teacher. The directory listed oranges and honey as the principal shipments, but tangerines, lemons, grapefruit, indigo, olives, figs, pecans, and guavas were also grown in the area. In addition to crops, settlers harvested and exported local resources and game, such as salt, turtle meat, turtle eggs, and bear meat.<sup>242</sup> Orange growers planted from 2 to 8 acres, with Fred Lohman's 8 acres the largest enterprise. Lohman, J. H. King, and J. S. Watson listed themselves also as "vegetable and truck farmers." According to the *Gazetteer*, land at Eldora sold for approximately \$30 per acre, although *Elliott's Florida Encyclopedia*, published three years later in 1889, offered a more conservative price for Eldora land at \$5 to \$20 per acre.<sup>243</sup>

Just north of Haulover, Shiloh qualified as the northernmost settlement on Merritt Island, claiming 35 residents in 1886. It was so situated astride Brevard and Volusia Counties that its trade and social affairs were divided between the two. The *Florida State Gazetteer* considered oranges to be Shiloh's "principal export." Groves at Shiloh were larger than those at Eldora with D. F. Buky claiming the most land under cultivation at 12 acres. Shiloh also boasted a school teacher, W. F. Locky.<sup>244</sup>

Haulover's residents numbered 100 in 1886 with most groves planting 5 to 6 acres. Florida Fruit Company's 20 acres was by far the largest holding at Haulover. Pineapples were also a major export of Haulover. E. D. Seabrook was the schoolteacher.

Wanton Webb's subscription guide to Florida depicted mixed regional origins for the settlers in the Seashore. Webb's *Guide* reported that Eldora was first settled in 1877 by J. H. King of Georgia and J. S. Watson and others from St. Louis, Missouri.<sup>245</sup> Its population was small, but in the winter was "largely increased by tourists, etc." *Elliott's Florida Encyclopedia* put Eldora's population at 40 in 1889.<sup>246</sup> Webb reported that Oak Hill was started after the Civil War by "native Floridians" who were soon joined by arrivals from New England and New York. On the other hand, Webb's *Guide* declared that Haulover was a settlement with a pre-war character. According to the guide, the settlement had been started in 1852 by the late Captain D. Dummett and 35 years later, its 100 settlers "were mostly white and to the manor born," suggesting persons of wealthy or upper-class birth, although this could have been meant ironically.<sup>247</sup>

African Americans were among the successful growers. John Hawks claimed that "Sanchez and Campbell, colored men" had groves worth several thousand dollars each. Robert Sanchez, who oversaw and transported citrus from Dummett's Grove, married Louisa Dummett, Douglas

239. Bradbury and Hallock, *Florida Post Offices; Florida Gazetteer*, 408.

240. Bradbury and Hallock, *Florida Post Offices*; Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 136.

241. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 136; Strickland, "Dummett Family Saga," 12-13; John R. Richards, comp., *Florida State Gazetteer and Business Directory*, Vol. 1 (New York: The South Publishing Company, 1886), 184.

242. Poetner, 76.

243. *Florida State Gazetteer*, 136; *Elliott's Florida Encyclopedia* (Jacksonville: E. J. Elliott, 1889).

244. *Florida State Gazetteer*, 408-09.

245. Local lore compiled in 1979 by Ann Towner, a volunteer for the National Park Service, holds that the area of Eldora was part of the Caroline Elizabeth McHardy Spanish Land Grant. The claim for U.S. confirmation of the Spanish land title, however, does not mention the Eldora area and the 1818 Spanish surveys of the McHardy grant do not include Eldora. The claim states that the McHardy lands were bounded on the east by "marsh islands" (*isletas manglares*), not the Atlantic Ocean. Confirmed Claim M26, Spanish Land Grants manuscript collection, now at Bureau of Archives, Tallahassee. Other claims on behalf of C. E. McHardy and Robert McHardy, her husband were also consulted. Confirmed Claims M27, M28, Unconfirmed Claim L1.

246. *Elliott's*, 260.

247. Webb, ed., *Webb's Florida*, Part I, 84, 109-110.

Dummett's daughter by his common-law wife. Dummett had acknowledged Louisa and her siblings as his children. In 1873, upon Douglas Dummett's death, Louisa and her siblings inherited equally in their father's grove as directed in his will.<sup>248</sup> Perhaps Robert Sanchez or his parents had been former slaves or free blacks associated with Douglas Dummett before the Civil War. Dummett's divorced wife had been the widowed Frances Sanchez Hunter, and Frances might have brought Robert or his parents into the marriage as an asset. Hence, the "Sanchez" surname. This is, however, only reasonable conjecture based on common practices at the time; the documentation to clarify this speculation has not yet been found. African American Andréw Jackson, who had married Douglas Dummett's daughter Kate, was listed as an orange grower at Haulover. Like Campbell, Jackson had four acres of oranges. The Corps of Engineers' 1881 map showed the location of Campbell on Mosquito Lagoon just north of what is now New Haulover Canal, while A. Jackson's grove was located south of "Old" Haulover Canal on the Indian River. Jackson's land was depicted with grove "stippling" but Campbell's was not depicted as a grove. Campbell, Jackson, and Kate Dummett Jackson are buried in a small cemetery north of Haulover Canal.<sup>249</sup>

Butler Campbell, a former slave, had settled in the Seashore at Clifton near Haulover in 1872 and named his homestead Laughing Waters. Butler Campbell's tombstone in the Campbell Cemetery gives his birth date as October 26, 1848, which certainly suggests his birth into slavery. Campbell arrived in Florida from Columbia, South Carolina. He may have been one of about 500 families that were resettled in Florida by the Federal government. Officers of the United States Colored Troops stationed at Hilton Head South, Carolina, in the fall of 1865 organized The Florida Land and Lumber Company to start a colony made up of freedmen and those friendly to them near Port Orange near Mosquito Inlet. Most of the homesteaders were displeased with the light sandy soil and relocated.<sup>250</sup>

Butler Campbell's son, Arthur, has provided some insight into life in the small African American settlement of Clifton in the early decades of the twentieth century. Butler had been taught to read and write in South Carolina and eventually was able to purchase 80 acres near the Haulover from the U.S. government. Arthur described conditions in his childhood as "brutal" and remembered that "fried white bacon" and grits were the mainstays of the family diet.<sup>251</sup> He worked as a hunting and fishing guide, cut wood, and possibly was a laborer on the building of the new Haulover Canal. Later, he had some success as a truck farmer and citrus grower. Butler gave each of his sons 6 acres, and Arthur built himself a five-room house south of his father's place. Arthur remembered that most black people worked in the citrus groves or as domestics for white families. A preacher came one Sunday a month to hold services. Sometime early in the twentieth century, a one-room schoolhouse was built for the black children of the Clifton community with lumber brought over on a sailboat from Titusville. Later research has since shown the schoolhouse was actually built between 1890 and 1891.

The creation of the school illustrated the importance that Butler Campbell and his neighbor, Andréw Jackson, placed on education as a means for improving the lives of their children. Rules established by the Board of Public Instruction for Brevard County in 1883 dictated that, "any locality claiming a school must provide a public schoolhouse, must select at least one trustee, and secure a teacher holding a valid certificate."<sup>252</sup> A neighbor, Wade Holmes, donated a one-acre lot adjacent to the Campbell property for the building site. Documentation for the historical marker commemorating the Clifton School includes an 1896 hand-drawn map depicting the location of the lot on Wade Holmes' property and a Warranty deed transferring the lot to the Board of Public Instruction for Brevard County in 1905.<sup>253</sup> Holmes, Jackson, and Campbell built a one room, 12x16 structure of heart pine lumber.<sup>254</sup>

248. Excerpt of will of Douglas Dummett, quoted in Strickland, "Dummett Family Saga," 12.

249. Strickland, "Dummett Family Saga," 53; *Florida State Gazetteer*, 184; "Dummett" family file in Biographical files, St. Augustine Historical Society.

250. Shofner, *History of Brevard Country*, 136; Hawks, *East Coast*, 71-72; "Big Hurricane of 1926 Blew Oranges Off Trees," *Star Advocate*, February 23, 1983, (typescript in CANA research files); oral history interview with Arthur Campbell, conducted April 12, 1983, transcript on file at Canaveral National Seashore. Most African Americans in the Seashore at this time were likely to have been former slaves as the Emancipation Proclamation had been issued only a few years before, in 1863.

251. Oral history interview with Arthur Campbell.

252. *The Florida Star*, November 15, 1883, 1.

253. CANA park files, "Clifton Colored Schoolhouse Documentation," July 28, 2005, Exhibits 31 and 32.

254. Roz Foster, interviews with Campbell family descendents, 1996, 2001-2004.





**FIGURE 21.** View of Clifton School, around 1890.  
(Photograph courtesy of Bob Paty)

Nine students attended the school, five of Butler Campbell's children and four of Andréw Jackson's. Classes were held during the summer months so the students could help with the citrus groves and other crops during the winter months. Professor Mahaffey, also African American, was the teacher. Newspaper accounts on the annual closing exercises of the school in 1892 and 1893 offer a fascinating glimpse into the curriculum and quality of the education. Subjects consisted of reading, physiology, advanced hygiene, United States history, geography, familiar science, English and math. The students "showed thoroughness in all their studies which reflects great credit on Professor Mahaffey, their teacher."<sup>255</sup> Historian and retired journalist Weona Cleveland postulated that "Mahaffey must have been a man of astonishing culture and education to have handled such a wide range of studies required by these students."<sup>256</sup> She also mentions an article published in the *Florida Star* on August 18, 1893, extolling "this school, though small, it is one of the best in the country... The children are as orderly and well behaved as any children we ever met." That year, Latin was mentioned as a subject in which the students showed great proficiency. By 1910, most of the children were no longer of school age or had moved on to other schools seeking higher education.<sup>257</sup> The school certainly contributed to the surrounding community and made a difference in the lives of its students.

However, during the 1960's, the United States government confiscated North Merritt Island, forcing

island families to relocate elsewhere. The buildings left behind were either demolished or disassembled piece by piece, eradicating any evidence of habitation. The Clifton schoolhouse was overlooked or perhaps thought to be of such little value that weather and time would take its own toll and destroy the structure. Fortunately, it survived along with some of its contents, such as an old trunk filled with letters, postcards, receipts and other Campbell family items. While the trunk fell into the hands of private collectors, the school house itself was rediscovered by a group of historians, including the great granddaughter of Butler and Lucy Campbell, led by John Stiner of Canaveral National Seashore on January 29, 2004. Canaveral National Seashore worked with Brevard Historical Commission to salvage remaining portions of the Clifton Schoolhouse to utilize for educational and cultural resource purposes.

The communities of the Seashore did not increase much in population after initial settlement in the 1880s. R. L. Polk's 1907 *Florida Gazetteer* stated there were 50 residents at Shiloh with the Griffis and the Kuhl families (also listed in 1886) still in residence. Hattie Griffis was postmaster. Clifton at Haulover was attributed 50 residents—one half the population in 1886. Campbell and Jackson were still there growing fruit. The 1907 *Gazetteer* carried no listing for Eldora nor for Allenhurst (Allenhurst was not established as a post office until 1909). Church denominations within communities were listed in this publication, but no church listings appeared for communities that were once in the Seashore.<sup>258</sup>

Perhaps Shiloh and Clifton had become recognized population centers by virtue of their status as voting precincts. Shiloh and Clifton were the two communities included in Polk's 1907 listing and were the two contemporary voting precincts. Florida State Census figures, collected midway between Federal censuses, trace the population path of the Seashore by precinct. Shiloh precinct's population declined between 1925 and 1945. Shiloh's African American percentage of the population was halved between 1925 and 1945—from 21 percent in 1925 represented by 39 individuals to 16 percent in 1935 with 23 persons and down to 10 percent in 1945 with only 10 persons. In 1925, Shiloh claimed a total of 181 residents; in 1935, 141; and 97 in 1945.

Clifton precinct's population grew by 40 percent between 1925 and 1935, from 191 to 330, with all of

255. "Closing Exercises of the Clifton Colored School," *Indian River Advocate*, August 5, 1892, 7.

256. Weona Cleveland, "Clifton School Students Won Praise in 1893," *Florida Today*, March 3, 2004.

257. CANA park files, "Clifton Colored Schoolhouse Documentation," 1.

258. R. L. Polk Co., *Florida State Gazetteer* (Jacksonville: R. L. Polk Co., 1907).

the increase among the white population. In 1925, African Americans composed 25 percent of its population, but by 1935 that had fallen to 13 percent. Population fell among Clifton white residents in the next 10 years by almost 18 percent and fell 14 percent for African Americans. In 1945, Clifton claimed 238 residents, an increase of 25 percent over 1925. The actual numbers for African Americans were small: 44 in 1925; 43 in 1935; 36 in 1945.

Population within the Seashore declined from 1925 to 1945 while the population of Brevard and Volusia Counties soared during those years. Brevard County's population rose 63 percent between 1925 and 1945; Volusia's rose 69 percent.

The land policies and practices put in place by the United States Government during and after the Civil War encouraged settlement on public land. Although the Homestead Act of 1862 is usually associated with settlement of western lands in the United States, the homestead lands were available nationwide. Free land was offered to homesteaders if they occupied the land for five years, but an administrative fee to establish one's title had to be paid in cash. New Floridians indeed availed themselves of the policy, although the role of the homestead policy has usually been overlooked for Florida. The Homestead Act excluded those "who had borne arms against the United States or given aid and comfort to its enemies," thus foreclosing those who had fought for or assisted the Confederate States.

J. H. King acquired his property at Eldora using the homestead policy. Well-known residents of central Florida, whose families were already well-established in the area, also took advantage of the act, such as Jacob Summerlin, who also became the first keeper of the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge.<sup>259</sup> Other post-Civil War land policies were fashioned to abet and encourage recently emancipated slaves in land acquisition and discourage acquisition by former Confederates. Also, after the war, many residents in the former Confederate states experienced depleted financial situations by virtue of manumission of their enslaved workers, who had represented sizable capital investments as well as a labor source, and of wartime destruction and related diminished production. Thus it was cit-

izens of the northern states and, based on deeds, also of the midwestern states who had the funds to relocate and acquire lands as well as to acquire the items needed to make land productive. Wartime publicity about southern locations and Union soldiers' attraction to southern areas encouraged northern and midwestern residents to come to the South, some arriving for the first time, others returning to their southern military postings.

At the time that they were established, these communities within Seashore lands were more tied to waterborne transportation than overland routes. The communities were settled in the 1880s (except for the older, pre-Civil War Haulover settlement), before the extension of rail service to the mainland areas near the Seashore. Not until 1892 did rail service down the east coast of Florida reach as far south as New Smyrna.

Even after the railroad came, the last leg of the trip to the communities of the Seashore area was by water well into the early twentieth century. The main north-south water corridors were established early on, but they remained subject to adjustments. Between 1924 and 1934, changes to the water route made by the Army Corps of Engineers deprived Eldora of its location on the designated and maintained water route. The channel was relocated from the winding route near the barrier island's west bank, near Eldora, to the other side of Mosquito Lagoon, where it followed a new straightened course near the bank of the mainland. This action would contribute to the eventual decline of the Eldora community.

## Eldora

The lands that became the Eldora community remained U.S. public lands until the 1880s.<sup>260</sup> Lore and contemporary "booster" literature attributes the settlement of Eldora to settlers from Missouri and Georgia. The Georgia connection was Joseph H. King, who acquired 150 acres in 1884 in Section 34, Township 18, Range 35, by taking advantage of the Homestead Act.<sup>261</sup> Cash purchase of public lands was also possible. In January 1883, J. St. Cyr Watson of St. Louis Missouri, purchased 163 acres from the U.S. Government for \$186 in the area

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259. Lawrence M. Friedman, *A History of American Law* (New York: Simon & Schuster, 1985), 416. The acquisition of homestead land by King, who was from Georgia, and by Summerlin, who had procured cattle for the Confederacy, appears counter to the homestead policy.

260. Most earlier claims in the area from the colonial era were not allowed by the U.S. Land Claims Commission and reverted to the sovereign nation (United States). Thus lands might have been occupied and improved and at one time under private ownership, but in the 1880s were part of the public domain.

261. Deed Book V, page 177, Volusia County public records.

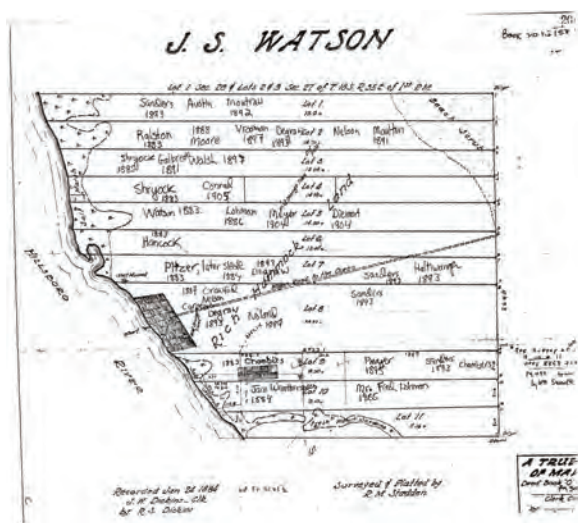


FIGURE 22. R.M. Stadden Survey of Eldora, as recorded Jan. 24, 1884. (Volusia County Deed Book "O" Page 301)

already known as Eldora.<sup>262</sup> Lore claims that the name was a combination of the names of the Ellen and Dora Pitzer. But other folklore claims that Watson and King first came to the area following rumors of buried treasure, and "Eldora" might be a shortened version of "Eldorado," a common Spanish term suggesting wealth, riches or treasure. Watson hired R. S. Stadden to survey and plat his new property into lots, all with frontage on the Hillsboro River (Mosquito Lagoon). Stadden's survey (recorded 1884) showed wild orange trees, a rectangular clearing fronting on the river and was bisected by a "wagon road to the ocean" leading from a wharf. A shell mound is shown near where the extant Mouton-Wells House (Eldora State House) would later be erected. The riverfront clearing was aligned with the shoreline rather than with the government survey lines.<sup>263</sup>

Watson's subsequent sales of his land created an enclave of owners or residents from St. Louis. Watson returned to St. Louis either to market or to complete pending sales of his new property to other St. Louis residents. During the summer and fall of 1883, Watson and his wife Luella were in St. Louis conveying lots to Frank R. Meyer, George N. Pitzer, John and Lucy B. Ralston, Ella Chambers, William P. Shryock, and Russell Hancock. The purchasers often reciprocated as witnesses to each other's

deeds. According to the deeds, the properties sold initially for approximately \$10 per acre.<sup>264</sup> Many of the lots purchased at the this time were titled to a wife, and very few were titled in joint names.

The relocation of settlers to Florida from the Midwest has been recognized in local histories, but this west-to-east movement has been little noted in the larger context of national migration and settlement. Focus on migration of settlers from the North with little attention to those coming from the Midwest might be attributed to reliance on booster literature, which was published in the North, focused on a northern market, and with little recognition or praise for settlers from other regions in the literature. For example, Tangerine (near today's Orlando) in present-day Orange County was settled by arrivals from Michigan and Illinois.<sup>265</sup> Quite often, a church congregation and its building served as focal point for settlement communities of Orange County. Land records, booster-era directories, and the collected lore, however, do not furnish references to a church at Eldora.

Some of the original purchasers soon sold their property at a substantial increase in price. Whether the price charged by Watson was a pre-development price to acquire seed money to make the initial purchase of public land from the Federal government, or whether there were subsequent improvements on the Eldora lands, either by clearing, planting, or building, was not revealed in the public records. Less than a year after taking title, George Pitzer sold his land in July 1884 to Henrietta Sleole for an average price of more than \$50 per acre—more than five times his purchase price.<sup>266</sup> The deeds did not specify improvements, if any. Perhaps the promise of an improved and engineered intracoastal waterway, which in the 1880s passed right by Eldora, enhanced the value of the property. Dredges worked on maintaining Old Haulover Canal and the channel to its east in 1885 and 1886. In 1888, New Haulover Canal was opened (see Chapter Four).<sup>267</sup>

By 1893, J. St. Cyr Watson, by then "unmarried," had moved to Titusville and sold his large lot 8, containing 38 acres, as well as Lot 1 to Mary A. S. DeGrauw of Jamaica, Queens, New York, wife of Aaron DeGraw. Henrietta Cole [Sleole?] and Laura Haltwanger sold Mary DeGraw the adjoining Lot

262. Deed Book L, page 615, Volusia County public records. The deed reads "J. St. Cyr Watson of Eldora."

263. Deed Book O, page 301, re-recorded in Map Book 20, page 153, Volusia County public records.

264. Deed Book L, page 698; Book N, page 401, 602, 660, 661; Book O, page 124, Volusia County public records.

265. William Fremont Blackman, *History of Orange County, Florida*, Vol. 1(1927; reprint Chuluota, Fla.: The Mickler House Publishers, 1973).

266. Deed Book R, page 556, Volusia County public records.

267. See Chapter 4.



7.<sup>268</sup> By this time, Florida was becoming a winter vacation destination for residents of northern states. Coronado Beach, New Smyrna Beach, and Ormond-by-the-Sea touted their hotels and weather to northern audiences. A 1905 brochure exalts New Smyrna as “the land of flowers, a sportsman paradise, the tourist’s Mecca, and the record town for the rod and the gun.”<sup>269</sup> Excursions to interesting and exotic sites were offered. Turtle Mound, just north of Eldora, was a spot of interest. Was it hyperbole in advertising or a typographical error when an 1890s tourist guide suggesting a day’s excursion to Turtle Mound gave its size as 300 feet in height and a mile in circumference?<sup>270</sup>

Eldora tradition maintains that the DeGraws used their property to winter in Florida. In the early twentieth century, William Warnock, the DeGraws’ nephew, inherited their Eldora property. Warnock and his wife annually hosted visitors from shortly after New Year’s Day to early April. The Warnocks kept a guest book which provides a fascinating glimpse into Eldora between 1908 and 1913.<sup>271</sup> The Warnocks and their guests stayed in a two-story, nine-room structure known as the “Home Place.” It is referred to as the main dwelling house in the Warnocks’ sales prospectus for the property and it later became known as the “Eldora House” or “Eldora Hotel.” The Home Place was of wood-framed construction, L-shaped in plan, and had a two-story, full façade front porch. The building stood 200 feet northeast of the existing Mouton-Wells (State) House and was demolished in 1992 after it had become a safety hazard.

Some of the Warnocks’ visitors came from northern states for extended visits, sometimes lasting the entire winter season. Others visited for a few days from nearby towns in Florida, such as Jacksonville or St. Augustine. Judge George C. Gibbs of Jacksonville “commuted” frequently to Eldora during the season. The Warnocks’ daughter Leonora had married Gibbs, and she often visited her parents with her daughter Margaret. Margaret was nicknamed “Eldora.” and first came to Eldora as an



FIGURE 23. “The Home Place” / Eldora Hotel, 1908 – 1913. (Drawing by Gary Spurock)

infant of two months.<sup>272</sup> Alice Smethhurst journeyed from St. Augustine, where her relative, Dr. Andréw Anderson, lived. Dr. Anderson was a close friend and business associate of Henry Flagler, head of the Florida East Coast Railway. Although river traffic passed within 200 yards of the Warnocks’ docks, most guests came to New Smyrna first by train, then headed south along the barrier island. The guest book mentions the route to New Smyrna “via Riverside trail, Turtle Mound and the beach.”<sup>273</sup> Alice Smethhurst was surprised by Eldora’s “remoteness and inaccessibility.”

The guest book contains praise for Eldora from visitors and notes about activities. Remarks about the enjoyment of the usually balmy weather and the peace at Eldora appear throughout the six years spanned by the book. *The Florida Star* called Florida “one of the most healthy spots on earth,” where many “invalids from the North are to be found in great numbers . . . many come to stay the ravages of disease, sometimes in vain but usually with benefit and very often with the most happy results.”<sup>274</sup> Guests at the Hotel evidently agreed with the article. On April 1, 1910, Margaret Eldora Gibbs recorded that her health had been greatly

268. Deed Book 18, page 502; Book 20, page 501; Book 21, page 155, Volusia County public records.

269. Robert H. Weeks, *New Smyrna, Volusia County, “The Land of Flowers,”* History Facsimile Series East Florida, 1905, 1.

270. *The Tourist Resorts of the Halifax and North Indian River Country* (Seabreeze, Fla.: Peninsular Publishing Co, 1891), 6.

271. Warnock Home Place (Eldora) Guest Book, 1908-1913, photocopy in Seashore files.

272. Her nickname appears in Eldora Guestbook, photocopy in Seashore files, Northern District. Judge Gibbs was the grandson of Col. George Couper Gibbs, who had been commandant of the Confederate post at Andersonville, Georgia, location of the infamous Civil War prison for Union captives. Margaret Gibbs Watt, comp., *The Gibbs Family of Long Ago and Near at Hand, 1377-1967* ([St. Augustine?: Paramount Press, 1967]). Margaret “Eldora” Gibbs Worthington grew up to become a professional and volunteer activist in Connecticut and Massachusetts on behalf of children and family issues, especially for families of men in prison. In 1977, Pres. Jimmy Carter presented her with a National Activist Award. Obituary of Margaret Gibbs Worthington, *Florida Times-Union*, January 6, 2002.

273. Guestbook, 30.

274. “The Health of Florida,” *The Florida Star*, March 1877, Vol. 1, No. 2, 1-2.



FIGURE 24. Eldora State House. (Photo by John Stiner, CANA Coll.)

improved by “the pure air, bright sunshine, and calm restfulness.”<sup>275</sup> William Warnock himself wrote “there is no reason why a sanatorium in this balmy region should not, in time, rival the institution at Battle Creek, Michigan.”<sup>276</sup> Eliza Willets wrote in 1908 of the “great pleasure to be once more in this land of peace and love and sunshine.” She considered Eldora good for physical and spiritual health since its “pure, balmy, life-giving air and wonderful sunshine,” heals the body and induces spiritual growth, “which seems so easy and so appropriate in the beautiful spot, where nature reigns supreme.”<sup>277</sup>

In addition to declaring Eldora’s health benefits, guests also used the guest book to discuss various recreational events. For hunters, the area’s surrounding hammocks and woodlands boasted a plethora of diverse game such as bear, deer, turkey, squirrels, quail, and snipe.<sup>278</sup> One visitor remarked on the similarity of cold baked “coon” to cold roast turkey.

Chester and Margaret Willets wrote of duck hunting, snipe shooting, digging for fiddler crabs, and catching sheepshead (fish) during their nine-day honeymoon at Eldora.<sup>279</sup> Nearby fishing camps located along Mosquito Lagoon, made popular due to the increased availability of outboard motors, provided excellent grounds for catching bass, trout,

blue fish, whiting, red snapper, sailor’s choice, pompano, oysters, clams, shrimp, and crabs.<sup>280</sup>

Also in the guest book are notes about the improvements to the property made by the Warnocks. When they left at the end of the 1909 season, the Warnocks reported “[a] new fence has been built around the home place; a packing house; a new boat-house and dock beside various repairs.” The following year brought a new cistern and a “semi-pergola” or arbor. The Northern backgrounds of many of the visitors showed in their exuberant celebration of the centennial of the birth of Abraham Lincoln in 1909. The annual observation of George Washington’s birthday always brought festive, patriotic decoration and crossed sectional lines. Church attendance is not mentioned among the visitors’ activities.

Copies of photographs in the Seashore files, taken during the early 1900s, show local families enjoying various recreational activities in the presence of their servants and caretakers. These domestic workers account for most of Eldora’s African American population at that time. An important and much appreciated member of the Eldora community was Axie, the cook who prepared meals for the Warnocks and their guests. Axie must have served the DeGraws as well as the Warnocks, because she is recorded as beginning her twenty-first season at Eldora in January 1914. An anonymous guest was moved on March 1, 1916, to pen the following tribute to her:

To Axie  
Axie, the clever, the real Southern cook,  
Needs never to get her skill from a book.  
But bread, pies and cakes  
She most surely bakes  
When placed on the table  
Sharp eyes are unable  
To find any scraps left by most ravenous guests.

Another essential member of the Eldora community and a local “celebrity” was Dolly the mule. Ann Towner’s history of Eldora describes the important role of Dolly as a draft animal as well as a provider of transportation from 1908 to 1915. Towner states that Dolly was “community property” and that residents made use of her, her tack, and a wagon

275. Guestbook, 55.

276. Warnock, “Detailed Description of Eldora, Florida, 829 Acres. Wm. A. Warnock, Owner.” Typescript in Canaveral National Seashore files, Northern District, (n.d.), 5.

277. Guestbook, 57.

278. Poetner, *Old Town by the Sea*, 81.

279. Chester and Margaret Willets, honeymoon reminiscences, attached to Eldora Guestbook, December 12-21, 1916; photocopy in Seashore files.

280. T.C. Wilder, “The Saga of Eldora: A Legacy Preserved by a Legacy,” Library of Congress Local Legacies Program submission report (New Smyrna Beach, FL 2000), 6; Weeks, *Land of Flowers*.

whenever they were needed. Lore states that Dolly was kept next to the post office although the dates for Dolly's tenure do not match the dates for when Eldora was an active post office. Dolly hauled lumber, "dredged" gardens, and provided sled rides on the dunes. Dolly's grave was the only burial reported to be located at Eldora. Her burial place was disturbed in the process of subsequent construction.<sup>281</sup> An entry in the Warnock guest book records Dolly's death on August 22, 1915. Mrs. Warnock described Dolly as "a true and loyal and faithful Eldoran. She deserves a golden bridle and a sweet green pasture."<sup>282</sup> Her tombstone rests in the Eldora Statehouse Museum. Standing five feet high, it reads simply, "Dolly, a faithful Eldoran 1908-1915."

When William Warnock advertised his holdings at Eldora for sale, he listed seven buildings on the property, including two boathouses with docks, lumber shed and a bathing house, fruit-packing house, barn, paint house and tool house, in addition to the main residence. There were two rainwater cisterns, windmill, and water tank. On the ocean was a bathhouse with observatory above. In addition to the main dwelling house and its out-buildings, there were a 6-room house and a 4-room house.

Lore assigns a construction date of 1893-1895 for the existing Mouton-Wells House or "State House," but inspections by historical architects suggest a construction date of 1915 to 1925. The house was constructed by Marion Moulton. Marion and her husband Julius had been among the original 1880s settlers at Eldora. She died in 1926, and the house was purchased from her heirs by Walter M. Wells, a successful businessman and public servant on the War Industries Board during World War I. Wells died in his Florida house on April 1, 1938. The name "State House" is attributed to its increasing use by Mr. Murray Sams, who was a state attorney and judge in Volusia County.<sup>283</sup>

Charles A. and Ruth Taylor owned land in the Eldora community and apparently hoped to take advantage of the 1920's real-estate boom in Florida. Fueled by speculators, the phenomenon began at Miami Beach, spread up the east and west coasts and infused central Florida. In February 1926 the



FIGURE 25. Schultz-Leeper House. (NPS, 2002)

boom reached its zenith then quickly fell. Few banking controls, speculative purchases with little cash down, construction delays resulting from overloaded transportation systems, and negative campaigns by northern banks were factors in the decline. Banks in Florida began to fail. Any possibility of recovery of the real-estate market and Florida economy was destroyed by the September 1926 hurricane, which leveled Miami Beach.<sup>284</sup> The economic depression in Florida preceded the more notorious 1929 nationwide and worldwide depressions by three years.

Just as the boom reached its height and quickly turned down, in February 1926, Charles and Ruth Taylor subdivided Lots 7 and 8 into 50' by 100' lots, excepting the irregular lots along the river. This was the Eldora Sportsmen Subdivision which consisted of 279 lots and seven streets. One lot was purchased by John Schultz of Volusia County in 1926 who built what is today called the Schultz House, one of the few if not the only house ever constructed in the subdivision. The building and associated garage stand in mute testimony of what the Eldora area would have become had not the depression hit.<sup>285</sup>

The Taylors' endeavor was ill-timed, but typical of the frenzy of the Florida real estate boom of the 1920s. They registered their plat during the downturn, which would become the end of the

281. Guestbook; Ann Towner, "The History of Eldora and Surrounding Area" (draft version) (Canaveral National Seashore, 1979), 111.

282. Guestbook, 105.

283. Towner, "History of Eldora," 33.

284. Gannon, ed., *New History of Florida*, 290-97.

285. Department of the Interior National Park Service, *National Register of Historic Places: The Schultz House, Volusia County, Florida*, nomination report, open-file, Canaveral National Seashore, 2002, Section 8.



Florida land boom. The Taylors' subdivision joined numerous subdivisions throughout Florida that lay platted but undeveloped for years to come.<sup>286</sup> In the late twentieth century, many of Florida's 1920s-era subdivisions were revived and developed, but not Eldora. By then, Eldora had become part of Canaveral National Seashore.

One other structure that no longer exists, although it stood until 2003, warrants mention. The Eldora Post Office/Packing Plant, also known as the Coble Place was made up of two buildings joined by a short connecting section. It stood approximately 75 yards north of the Mouton-Wells House. The buildings were joined about 1971, reportedly by the Summerlins, according to Towner's "History of Eldora". Before that, the two buildings were separated by three feet. According to Towner's "History," the northern portion was the post office, school and general store. Both sections had shed-roofed additions at the rear, and a 16-foot-wide shed-roofed screened porch joined the two sections across the front or northeast side.

If one of these buildings was, in fact, the Eldora post office, that would place the date of construction between 1886 and 1889. According to Bradbury and Hallock's *A Chronology of Florida Post Offices*, Eldora became a post office in 1886 and was relocated to Oak Hill in 1889. Towner's history states that the post office was re-opened in 1894 and that it was located in the original building at the time of the "great freeze," without giving the date of that particular freeze, leaving some room for debate. She probably refers to the freeze of 1894-95, although the 1886 freeze was also devastating. Although the building no longer exists, Richard Helman reported

in 1984 that the estimated date of construction was between 1871 and 1896.<sup>287</sup>

The second structure that is no longer present was the Leeper Guest House/Studio associated with the Schultz house. It was constructed between 1969 and 1971 by Doris Leeper, a well-known artist and environmental activist, whose sculpture hangs in the terminal of the Orlando International Airport. It was a wood-framed Modernist structure set on a concrete slab and comprised of three distinct rectangular masses constructed at different times. The building contained about 1,000 feet of floor area, aluminum awning windows, and wooden flush doors.

## Seminole Rest

A notable survivor from the development that occurred in the area of the Seashore in the late nineteenth century is the property known as Seminole Rest. It is the site of two historic houses built on a prehistoric Indian shell mound or midden, components of which date as early as the second millennium BCE.<sup>288</sup> In June 1866, a year after the end of the Civil War, John L. S. Lawd<sup>289</sup> of Boston sold to Jacob D. and Josephine Mitchell of Lycoming County, Pennsylvania, one lot and part of another in Range 35 East, property on the west side of Mosquito Lagoon that Laud had purchased from the U.S. Government in 1857. A few months later, J. D. Mitchell paid the State of Florida \$1.25 an acre for Government Lots 2, 3 and a fractional part of 4, Section 9, Township 19 South, Range 35 East. These



FIGURE 26. View of Seminole Rest, ca. 1911. (From *Memories of Oak Hill*, CANA)

286. Map Book 9, page 122, Volusia County public records; Tebeau, *History of Florida*, 383-88.

287. "Determination of Eligibility for the Eldora Historic District," 1984.

288. Horvath, *Final Report of the Archeological Investigations at the Seminole Rest Site*, 1.

289. This surname might be Lawd, Land, Laud, Loud, Lowd or something similar.

transactions were more instances of post-Civil War purchases by buyers from the north.<sup>290</sup>

In January 1875, Jacob D. and Josephine Mitchell sold the property to Margaret Rideout. Six years later, in December 1880, Rideout sold the property to Alex A. Berry of St. Louis for \$2,500. The transaction was witnessed by G. R. Pitzer, also from St. Louis. He along with others from St. Louis would soon purchase property at Eldora. In 1880, the Berrys mortgaged this property to Hatton Turner, who filed for foreclosure in 1887. The Berrys had an orange grove with some 900 trees that were at least eight years old, and their financial problems may have been a result of losses in the dreadful freeze of 1886.<sup>291</sup>

The Florida citrus industry had reached “boom proportions” by the middle of the 1870s, but a severe, four-day freeze struck the state January 9-13, 1886, and was a disaster for the Florida citrus industry. Although the Indian River area usually enjoyed warmer temperatures than many other citrus-producing areas, temperatures plunged so low that this area was damaged as well. Even much farther south, on the Manatee River, temperatures of 25 degrees and frozen river margins were reported.<sup>292</sup>

Hatton Turner purchased the Berrys’ property at auction at the Duval County Courthouse in May 1888. Turner claimed to be “of Jacksonville” at the time. An unusually descriptive deed described the property as containing “a 9-room dwelling, barns, outhouses, fronting on main lagoon, 15 feet elevation, all nicely fenced, cedar posts and smooth pickets,” all in addition to the 900-tree orange grove.

Various construction dates are attributed to the main house. Traditionally, the main house is thought to have been constructed by J. D. Mitchell in 1866, but a history of Oak Hill assigns a construction of 1911 and a newspaper reported a date of 1898, during the Turners’ ownership. However, a historic structure report that was completed by the Park Service in 2001 documents that the house was constructed prior to 1888.

The house’s location, atop the shell mound, is also an important siting characteristic. The 1888 foreclosure deed mentions the property’s relatively high elevation, an uncommon inclusion in the legal descriptions of the time. This exception implies the noteworthiness and desirability of the elevation of

the house in the low and flat Florida terrain. While the house itself is today considered intrusive upon the integrity of the prehistoric mound, the existence of the house may have prevented the mound from being destroyed by mining for road-paving materials or for use by the railroads, which was the fate of many other shell mounds. The construction of the house on the existing Native American mound underscores the fact that some habitation sites (on water, close to abundant seafood sources) have remained appealing through the millennia.

In 1892, the map of Tax Assessor’s Subdivision of old Government Lot 3 showed Hatton Turner as the owner of Lot 2, 3 and 10 of the subdivision. During Turnor’s ownership, it appears that several notable changes were made to the main house: the structure was moved southwest from its original location, a single-story kitchen with an underlying brick cistern was added, a bay window was installed in the living room, three dormers were added to the roof, and the attic was finished. It was probably during this period as well that significant modifications were made to the floor plan, reducing it from the nine rooms mentioned during the Berry occupancy to the seven that can be seen today.<sup>293</sup>

Interviews with local residents refer to Christopher Hatton Turner and his wife, Sarah Marie Talbot Carpenter Turner, as Lord and Lady Turner. The 1911 deeds in which the Turners conveyed the property to W. H. Snyder of Beaver Falls, Pennsylvania, contained no honorifics nor made any reference to nobility or peerage for the Turners; but by 1911, the Turners had apparently moved to Pantton Hall, Wragby, Lincolnshire in England. They signed the

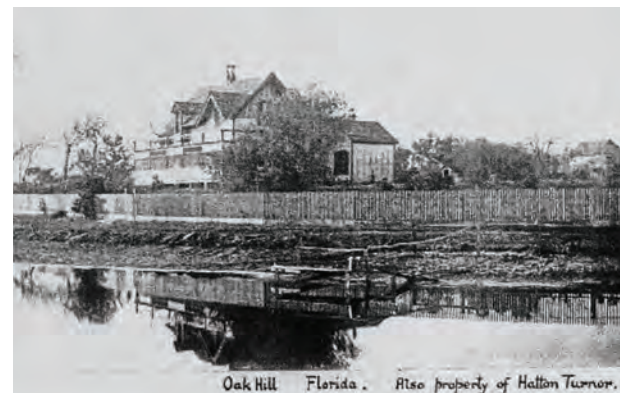


FIGURE 27. View of Caretaker’s House at Seminole Rest, ca. 1911. (CANA Collection)

290. Miscellaneous Book A, pages 330, 332, 328 and 329, Volusia County public records.

291. Deed Book G, page 247; Deed Book 7, page 298, Volusia County public records.

292. John A. Attaway, *A History of Florida Citrus Freezes* (Lake Alfred, Fla.: Florida Science Source, Inc., 1997), 22-27.

293. Seminole Rest Historic Structure Report, 52.

deeds in London and then sent the documents for verification to the U.S. Consulate-General.<sup>294</sup>

The house was already vacant when the Snyders purchased it. Snyder family members interviewed by National Park Service personnel in 1992 stated that they thought that “Lord Turner” had moved the lower part of the house to its present location from a site “down the river,” then added a second story. Examination of the foundation during completion of the Historic Structure Report revealed marks on the sills that confirm that at one point the house had been moved.<sup>295</sup> Wesley Snyder made only limited modifications to the house, mainly the addition of a wrap-around porch. After his death in 1928, a more ad hoc approach was taken and additional rooms were attached to both stories on the west side of the house.<sup>296</sup>

The Snyders spent alternating Christmases at the house and one year remained until the end of the school year, with their children attending school in New Smyrna. Jacqueline Snyder Stevens reported that the Snyders named the site Seminole Rest for no other reason than they simply liked the sound of the name. She also noted that her father, Wesley Snyder, appreciated the beauty of the site and refused to destroy the mound for road fill, although some of the northern portion of the mound was mined.<sup>297</sup> The property remained under the ownership of Snyder’s descendants until 1988, when The Nature Conservancy acquired the property for subsequent conveyance to the U.S. Government.<sup>298</sup>

The other house located on the Seminole Rest site, the so-called Caretaker’s House, is a unique story in itself. It too has been determined to have been constructed prior to 1888 and is a rare example of Carpenter Gothic architecture. Only 74 such structures are listed in the files of the Florida SHPO, with the vast majority occurring in cities rather than a rural setting like Oak Hill. The pattern was featured in publications, including an 1871 issue of Atwood’s *Country and Suburban Houses* and 1880 edition of *Specimen Book of 100 Architectural Designs*.<sup>299</sup> It is

possible that it was the “9-room dwelling” referred to in the deed when Turner purchased the property in 1888.<sup>300</sup> Originally a simple T-shaped structure with board and batten siding and wood shingles, Turner added a wrap-around porch on the east and south sides to adapt to Florida’s climate. This altered the original design and changed the overall lines of the structure from vertical to horizontal. During later Snyder family ownership, a number of alternations were made, including the addition of a shed, porch and bathroom.<sup>301</sup> These were removed during recent renovation of the structure by the National Park Service.

## Associated Properties

The associated properties for the Population Influx after Wars context are the structures and landscape features at the waterfront retreat of Eldora on the east bank of Mosquito Lagoon, which have construction dates ranging from as early as the 1890s to the mid-twentieth century, and two late-nineteenth-century buildings and associated landscape features at Seminole Rest, on the west side of Mosquito Lagoon.

### Eldora

**Mouton-Wells House (Eldora State House).** Facing west to Mosquito Lagoon, this house is open to the public and contains exhibits on the former community of Eldora and the House of Refuge. The house is 2½-story and wood-framed, 38 feet wide by 40 feet deep in a T-shaped plan.

The house is set on red-brick piers. In the recent restoration, the pier bricks were painted gray to mimic a missing stucco finish. Except on the west, the spaces between the piers are filled with diamond-pattern lattice. There is a single-shouldered chimney on the south elevation.

The main block of the house has a side-gabled gambrel roof with returns at the gable ends and fish-scale-patterned asphalt shingles. Shed-roofed

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294. Map Book 3, page 92; Deed Book 56, pages 189 and 249, Volusia County public records. By this time, the formulaic language, “Ten Dollars and other valuable considerations” has come into use as the “stated” purchase price rather than a specific amount as in earlier deeds. This practice continues today. A search of pertinent census records for Jacksonville did not disclose the name of Hatton Turner.

295. Ibid., 52.

296. Ibid., 56.

297. Interview of Mrs. Jacqueline Snyder Stevens and Mrs. Marian Porta, August 27, 1992, by National Park Service personnel, typescript transcription at Seashore office. Mrs. Porta stayed in the house in 1971 while her husband was on a tour of duty in Viet Nam.

298. Official Records Book 3102, pages 1396 and 1398, Volusia County public records.

299. Seminole Rest Historic Structure Report, 8, 177.

300. Ibid., 40.

301. Ibid., 76, 81.

dormers extend most of the width of the roof at the front and rear, and the roof is surmounted by a rectangular, side-gabled cupola. The wing to the rear (east) has a simple end-gabled roof featuring shed-roofed wall dormers on the north and south.

The house is clad in horizontal weatherboarding and features an open front porch that wraps around the south elevation of the main block. The porch has Tuscan columns, a modern square-picket balustrade, and a wooden handicapped ramp adjoining the porch on the south. The ceiling of the porch is beaded tongue-and-groove boards. There is a small, open porch at the east end of the rear wing.

Windows have 1/1 double-hung sash, except in the cupola where single-light sliding sash are used. The windows on the west and north sides are paired; elsewhere they are mostly single. The front door incorporates a single pane of glass above side-by-side panels and is flanked by single sidelights that extend about 60% of the height of the door with single panels below.

The interior walls are wallboard, painted white, with stained and varnished oak trim and oak flooring in uniform, 4" widths. Doors are five-panel, some varnished and some painted. Wood baseboards are fairly deep with a beveled top, and there is a narrow crown molding. The main room, at the southwest side of the first floor, has a fireplace of large coquina stone with beaded mortar joints. The stair hall is behind the main room and contains a short flight down to an outside door on the south and the stair to the second floor, which is in two flights, running north-south. Square newel posts and slender turned balusters are painted white. Treads and risers, rail and bun-shaped finials on the newel posts are stained and varnished oak.

A narrow stair in a closet leads to the attic from the second story. The attic rafters are exposed. A ladder-type stair, which has a newel post, balusters, and rail like those of the main staircase, leads to the cupola. The lower walls of the cupola's interior are clad in beaded tongue-and-groove boards.

*Pylon:* Northeast of the State House stands a concrete pylon 5 feet in height, with horizontal form marks visible in the concrete, and four metal bolts protruding. The bolts offer no indication of what surmounted the pylon.

*Cisterns:* The Eldora guest book for April 1, 1910, mentions the building of a new cistern, and Williams Warnock's sales tract mentions a cement cistern at the residence in the grove. The remains of three cisterns are located in the vicinity of the Mouton-Wells House. These and two other cisterns in the vicinity of the Eldora Hotel site were described in a condition assessment/proposal for repair completed by the NPS Historic Preservation Training Center (HPTC) in 2001. In it, the cisterns were assigned numbers to aid in identification.<sup>302</sup>

Cistern #1 is located along the paved walkway south of the house. Rectangular in shape, the cistern is constructed of stuccoed brick and measures 12 feet by 17 feet. The walls are about two feet above grade and it is uncovered. Carved in the concrete near the northeast corner is a date and name: "1915 Wm L Brown." The cistern walls were re-pointed by NPS conservators in 2001. CANA has erected a wayside exhibit by the cistern to interpret its function and importance as a fresh water source for people living on a barrier island.

The lower walls for two additional cisterns lie north of the Mouton-Wells House in a band of overgrown vegetation. Cistern #2 is located approximately 30 feet from the northwest corner of the house. The rectangular cistern measures about 17 feet by 14 and rises about a foot above grade. It was constructed with concrete tabby, painted or whitewashed. At present, it lacks a cover and is in an advanced state of ruin. HPTC recommends managing it as a ruin by removing vegetation, maintaining a clean perimeter, creating positive drainage away from the walls, and excluding visitor traffic.<sup>303</sup>

The tabby material used in the construction of Cistern #2 suggests that it predates Cistern #1. Residents probably relied first on locally available materials—whole or broken oyster shells, lime made from burning oyster shells, sand, and water—to make the tabby concrete. Later, the residents probably brought in brick for the south cistern and also the cistern at the now-demolished Eldora House (Eldora Hotel).

Cistern #3 lies about 30 feet from the northeast corner of the Mouton-Wells House and was constructed in the same manner as Cistern #2. It measures about 16 feet by 14 feet with walls rising about 3 feet above grade.

302. National Park Service, Scoping Trip Report, Proposal and Cost Estimate for Technical and Craft Assistance, for the Stabilization/Repair of Eldora Water Cisterns, Canaveral National Seashore.

303. *Ibid.*, 2.

A few citrus trees still grow in the woods east of the State House, a reminder of the groves that once thrived there.

**Cisterns Associated with Demolished Eldora House (Eldora Hotel).** The "1984 Determination of Eligibility for the Eldora Historic District" mentioned two cisterns associated with the Eldora House—one on the north, one on the south—but it only included a photograph of the Eldora House's north cistern. Like the State House's southern cistern, this water catchment was constructed of red brick, faced with concrete on both the inside and outside. The cistern is the only one to have retained its wooden upper walls and gabled roof, which were replaced in 2005 to help interpret how residents along the barrier island obtained fresh water. Great care was taken to match the structural elements of the original materials.

The ruins of another cistern associated with the Eldora House (Cistern #4) lie immediately northeast of the rear of the Eldora House site. Constructed with poured tabby with a cementitious parging, the cistern is rectangular, approximately 23 feet by 11 feet with the walls originally rising about a foot above grade. HPTC recommended managing it as a ruin.<sup>304</sup>

**Schultz-Leeper House.** This is a two-story, wood-framed bungalow set on brick and concrete piers was built as a single-family residence about 1926. It has a side-gabled roof, an incised full-width front porch, a small back porch, and three-bay, shed-roofed dormers at the front and back. Both porches were enclosed at one point, but the front porch has been restored, and the unusual round, tapered columns are once again visible. There is an external, brick chimney at the southern end of the house. The first floor, which contains approximately 865 square feet, has a living room, dining room, kitchen, and pantry. The second floor has two bedrooms and a bathroom, totaling about 655 square feet. The house was rehabilitated in 2002.

A contemporaneous garage is located east of the house and measures approximately 17½ feet by 31½ feet. It is also wood-framed with lapped siding on the exterior and tongue-and-groove boards sheathing the interior.

**Other buildings over 50 years old.** Two old structures were removed due to their deteriorated condition. The so-called Honey Shack, located on the "Wenzell property", was a small (517 square feet

of living space), one-story wood structure, estimated to be over 100 years old. Margaret Wenzel, Eldora's last permanent resident, lived in the building until the early 1990's. Born in Eldora in 1912, Ms. Wenzel spent her lifetime at Eldora except for a few years when she lived in New Smyrna Beach to attend school.

The Walsh House, which stood a few yards away, was a two-story, wood-framed structure set on wood and block piers, probably built in the 1890s. It, too, has been removed.

**Buildings less than 50 years old.** Several seasonal houses and mobile homes, built or installed primarily in the 1960s, were removed by the park as they became vacant. A few still remain. The Haynes Residence is a small house trailer with an added Florida room, a dock, and a small dock house. Mr. Haynes stated that the trailer was located on its site in 1956, with the Florida room added in 1968. The trailer and dock were rehabilitated in 2003 for use by Daytona Beach Community College and later for Seashore administrative purposes.

The Feller Residence is a wood-framed house with screened porch and attached garage built around 1975. It is currently being used as a research facility, with the garage converted into a laboratory.

## **Seminole Rest (at Snyder's Mound)**

**Seminole Rest Main House (IDLCS # 091894).** The main house is a two-story, wood-framed house set on brick piers and measuring 60 feet wide by 43 feet deep. The main block is rectangular, with a small one-room addition at the rear of the first floor. The end-gabled roof, which is covered with cypress shingles, has two shed-roofed dormers facing front and one at the rear. There is a brick ridge-line chimney (with a saw-toothed course just below the cap). The second floor is clad with fish-scale shingles, while the first floor has board-and-batten siding. A shed-roofed porch, screened on the north side, wraps around the first floor. Remnants of a designed landscape, including magnolia and citrus trees, are present. The house is yellow, the only color that Jacqueline Stevens recalls it being painted while the Snyder family owned it.<sup>305</sup>

### **Seminole Rest Caretaker's House (IDLCS #091895).**

The caretaker's house is a two-story, side-gabled, wood-framed house set on brick piers. Measuring 34 feet by 38 feet, it features a front-facing gabled projection (right) as well as a gabled dormer (left)

304. Ibid., 2-3.

305. Interview with Mrs. Jacqueline Snyder Stevens and Mrs. Marian Porta, August 27, 1992.

and a rear cross gable. The gable ends have deeply projecting eaves and decoratively sawn barge boards. The original wood-shingle roofing has been restored, and the asbestos siding was removed to show the original board-and-batten siding. The house has three bays across the façade at the first floor. A shallow projecting bay is present at the first floor on the southwest elevation. A shed-roofed porch, sheathed in siding to waist level, wraps around the front and southwest side. Fenestration is varied, with some 2/2 (horizontally arranged panes) and some 6/6. Foundations are brick piers.

Both the main house and caretaker's house have been rehabilitated from the ground up including removal of non-historic features; stabilization and addition of foundation support pier; replacement of damaged floor and roof-support timbers; reconstruction of the main house kitchen into an AV room; installation of new double-hung windows and doors (plus shutters on the main house); installation of complete HVAC, electrical (including new interior and exterior lighting), fire alarm and fire suppression systems (plus plumbing in the main house); addition of telephone and data-line service; complete replacement of porches on both houses; complete replacement of cypress wood shingle roofs for both houses; repainting exterior and interior surfaces with colors reflecting historical records; and sanding and resealing all interior wooden floors.<sup>306</sup>

To support the maintenance of the structures at Seminole Rest, a small maintenance garage was also constructed north east of the Caretaker House. An ADA-approved enclosed chair lift has been constructed on the northwest side of the main house to

provide accessibility.<sup>307</sup> A visitor contact station has been established on the first floor of the main house to interpret the St John's I period (500 BCE – 800 CE) shell midden on which the house sits and turn of the century era (1890 – 1920) in which the house was first constructed. The caretaker's house is being used as a first-aid station and office to support ranger and maintenance operations.

**Seminole Rest Cistern .** There are the remains of an apparent brick cistern between the main house and Caretaker's house. The roof and wooden side-walls that probably covered it are gone. The brick walls measure approximately six feet by six feet. It is not mentioned in the National Register nomination for Seminole Rest.

### **Registration Requirement/Criteria Considerations/Integrity**

The associated properties for the context of Population Influx after Wars have undergone recent scrutiny for listing on the National Register of Historic Places or are in the process of such an assessment. The structures at Seminole Rest were added to the National Register in 1997. The Eldora State House (Moulton-Wells House) and associated structures were entered in the National Register on November 21, 2001. Thus, the documentation for registration and criteria for listing meet current standards and these resources should need no additional assessment at this time. The Schultz House was nominated in 2002 under Criterion A (notable event) and C (architecture). After several reviews, the SHPO recommended in 2006 that the Seashore resubmit the nomination under Criterion C only.

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306. Personal communication. Bruce Rosel, CANA South District Maintenance Supervisor to John Stiner, October 16, 2007.

307. Ibid.





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# Chapter Six: The Aerospace Program, 1950 to 1975

World War II turned Florida into a giant military installation. Ranging from mega complexes to small facilities, 172 military installations dotted the state during the war, drawn in part by the state's mild climate which allowed year-round training. The largest facility was Camp Blanding at Starke, west of Jacksonville, which became Florida's "fourth largest city" during the war.<sup>308</sup> America's military expansion began in the late 1930s as Germany's rearmament and Japan's aggression in China caused increasing concern among U.S. leaders. The site for Banana River Naval Air Station, which was to become the nucleus of the Cape Canaveral aerospace development, was selected in June 1939. The Navy formally commissioned the station on October 1, 1940.<sup>309</sup>

During World War II, one of the tasks of the Banana River Station personnel was to patrol the Atlantic coast for possible German submarine activity. In the war's early years, German submarines roamed widely but the waters near the Florida coast were especially desirable hunting grounds. The configuration of Cape Canaveral is such that there is deep water very close to the shore, allowing ships to sail close to the beach and at the same time allowing sub commanders to sight their targets easily against the shoreline. With the increased demand for Texas oil needed to run the industrial factories in the northeast U.S., much of that necessary fuel was transported from the Gulf coast through the Florida straits and up the east coast to New Jersey. From the Banana River station one could at times see the war close hand as flames from American and other ships

torpedoed by German submarines lit the night sky over the Atlantic.<sup>310</sup>

Other naval air stations were built in Jacksonville, Daytona Beach, and Sanford. Naval Air Station Daytona constructed two practice targets on Mosquito Lagoon, within the present boundaries of the Seashore. These were bombing target "Tokyo," which was a ring of palmetto log pilings driven into the bottom of the lagoon, and strafing target "Nagoya," an airplane fuselage filled with concrete. Local residents have told of collecting spent shell cases at the strafing target and selling them for scrap. Both targets were abandoned by the Navy at war's end; archeological remains of both were still visible as late as 2007.<sup>311</sup> Remnants of the strafing target, a boulder size chunk of the concrete with attached bits of metal from the fuselage, is a landmark to local residents known as Target Rock. Numerous wildfires resulted from the bombing activity, with one fire in 1940 or 1941 burning the entire length of the future Seashore's barrier island from New Smyrna Beach to the Cape (Canaveral).<sup>312</sup>

With the defeat of Germany and Japan in 1945, the United States emerged from World War II with a new enemy—its former wartime ally, the Soviet Union. Each nation moved quickly to test and further develop technologies, such as jet aircraft and ballistic missiles, that had emerged as a result of the war. One of the major manifestations of the ideological and territorial contest between these two nations and their own allies was the race for preeminence in nuclear weapons and their delivery

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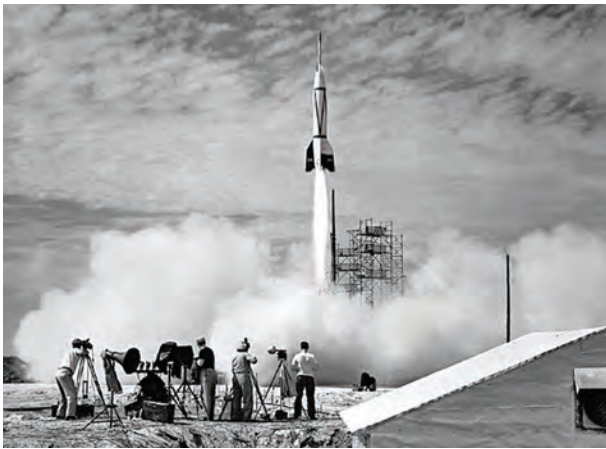
308. Gannon, ed., *History of Florida*, 323-24.

309. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 2:72; John H. Montgomery, "History of Naval Air Station Banana River, 1940 –1948," undated [1948?] typescript available at North Brevard Public Library.

310. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 2,82-84; interview with Edgar Burts, Orange County History Center, Orlando, Florida: World War II exhibit.

311. Memorandum, CANA Resource Management Specialist to File, February 15, 1995, copy available in Canaveral National Seashore files.

312. Davison and Bratton, *Vegetation History of Canaveral National Seashore*, 48.



**FIGURE 28.** Launch of the Bumper V-2, the first missile launched at Cape Canaveral, July 24, 1950. (NASA)

systems of unmanned rocket-powered missiles. Both superpowers sought the best strategic systems that could deliver an atomic bomb across the inter-continental distances that separated them.<sup>313</sup>

In the 1930s, German scientists Dr. Werhner von Braun, Dr. Kurt Debus, and their colleagues began development of the world's first ballistic missile capable of delivering explosive warheads to distant targets. This missile evolved into the V-2 rocket, some 3,000 of which the Germans launched at Great Britain in 1944. After the war, von Braun, Debus and a number of other German scientists were brought to the United States, in hopes of applying their knowledge to more peaceful projects. They fired a modified German V-2 rocket from the White Sands Proving Ground in New Mexico in April 1946, but with rockets falling dangerously close to Juarez, Mexico, the U.S. government began looking for a much larger proving ground that could accommodate continued experiments and provide for expansion as longer-range missiles were developed.<sup>314</sup>

## Land for the U.S. Space Program

In 1947, Cape Canaveral was chosen from four potential locations as the U.S.'s long-range missile-

launching facility. The Navy transferred Naval Air Station Banana River to the Air Force in 1948, and the following year it was officially established as a joint long-range proving ground (LRPG). Rivalries among the services proved unmanageable, and the LRPG was soon under the sole management of the Air Force.

Cape Canaveral seemed ideal for the missile site, jutting into the ocean as it did, since it allowed launches over water away from populated areas. Construction of the first missile launch pads began in 1950, and the first missile, a German V-2 rocket with an Army "WAC Corporal" rocket as the second stage, was launched from the Cape on July 24, 1950. The LRPG was renamed Patrick Air Force Base in August 1950, in recognition of Major General Mason M. Patrick (1863-1942), chief of the nation's Air Service during World War I.<sup>315</sup>

The initial development of the launch facilities at Cape Canaveral was primarily driven by military interests, but that began to change in the 1950s, especially after the Soviets' successful launch of the Sputnik I satellite in October 1957, beating the Americans into space. In 1961, President John Kennedy announced the goal of putting an American on the moon before the end of the decade. The powerful rockets that would be necessary created safety concerns due to lack of space at the Canaveral launch facility. The National Aeronautics and Space Administration (NASA) and the Air Force had to determine the best site for the launches, yet make recommendations and subsequent decisions before the specifics of the launch equipment itself were decided.<sup>316</sup> Cumberland Island in south Georgia offered some of the natural benefits of Cape Canaveral and the benefit of lower land prices. Remoteness offered advantage for safety, but that very remoteness caused problems in serving a population surge.

The area around Canaveral had barely kept up with facilities and services needed by Cape employees and their families, but the Cape already anchored the series of tracking stations stretching almost 6,000 miles that made up the Atlantic Missile Range. In addition, there was room for expansion of the space facilities onto agricultural Merritt Island. The Air Force concluded that the price of land near the

313. Roger E. Bilstein, *Orders of Magnitude: A History of the NACA and NASA, 1915-1990* (Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1989), 42-44.

314. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 2, 101.

315. Mark C. Cleary, *The 6555<sup>th</sup>: Missile and Space Launches Through 1970*, U.S. Air Force, 45<sup>th</sup> Space Wing History Office, 1991, on-line version consulted at <www.patrick.af.mil/heritage>, on August 31, 2006.

316. Charles D. Benson and William Barnaby Faherty, *Moonport: A History of Apollo Launch Facilities and Operations* (Washington, D.C.: National Aeronautics and Space Administration, 1978), 87.

cape was expensive but that the area of Titusville-Cocoa-Melbourne also had become a dynamic area in conjunction with the Cape's development. A report called the local population "missile-oriented" and asserted that the residents were accustomed to the idea of missile launches and unlikely to protest the dangers, which might be expected from people in other uninitiated areas.

On August 24, 1961, NASA Headquarters announced plans to acquire 324 square kilometers (about 88,000 acres) north and west of the Cape Canaveral launch area, largely on Merritt Island. One of Merritt Island's assets was a history of being relatively hurricane free, a special concern of the NASA Launch Operations Director, Dr. Kurt Debus.<sup>317</sup>

Interagency misunderstandings between the National Aeronautics and Space Administration, a Federal civilian agency, and the Air Force and Department of Defense over responsibilities at the facility were debated in committee meetings and in Congress. Air Force administrators generally saw the expansion of the launch activities as an expansion of their Air Force facility at the Cape, but the Air Force did not have the funds to purchase property on Merritt Island so NASA would have to do so. Events moved rapidly with NASA requesting the funds from Congress on September 1 and three weeks later asking the Army Corps of Engineers to supervise the land purchases.<sup>318</sup>

The Jacksonville District of the Corps opened a field office in Titusville. The target land was composed of 440 tracts with three-fourths of them in the possession of absentee owners, three-fifths of them outside of Florida. Included were several thousand acres of productive citrus groves, several small communities and some large-scale developments then in progress. Eminent-domain condemnation proceedings were begun against owners dissatisfied with government offers. The absentee owners of some larger parcels were able to negotiate better deals than those who were living on their land and needed to find other places to live.<sup>319</sup>

In February 1962 the Titusville *Star-Advocate* protested the "high-pressure tactics" used on some

property owners and urged the owners not to succumb. There were several protest meetings and a group of residents wrote President Kennedy that they were being mistreated. Many who were relocated for the project remained bitter. Arthur Campbell, who was relocated from Clifton, declined an invitation to visit in 1981, saying "sadly that he did not want to return." Others displaced by the space program related their continued bitterness over the taking of the land when interviewed by Kit Davison in 1984 and 1985. The Titusville newspaper remarked wistfully in 1983 that "today there is no trace of Allenhurst, Clifton or Shiloh," three communities obliterated for the space center.<sup>320</sup>

In 1964, after the Federal purchases, the Indian River Citrus League pondered purchasing the house at Dummett Grove known as Castle di Castellucio or Dummett Castle. The league cited the heritage of the grove itself as the pioneer in the Indian River Citrus industry, although the "castle" post-dated the Dummett family's ownership of the property and was built in 1881 by the purported Duke of Castellucio and his wife, an heiress to the Anheuser-Busch fortune. The original \$20,000 asking price had been reduced to \$1,200 by the time Brevard County became owner of the house, which had to be relocated from Merritt Island. The Titusville City Council assisted in the relocation, but the house proved too large to transport across the Titusville bridge and ultimately burned while a solution was being sought for the dilemma.<sup>321</sup>

The development of the Titan III rocket created additional concerns because of its great power and the toxicity of its fuels that brought about closing of several of the launch areas during testing along with the possibility of corrosion of other equipment and a flight pattern that would imperil other areas of the space center in the event of rocket failure. As a result, administrators looked to acquiring even more land on Merritt Island, north of Haulover Canal. While NASA and the Department of Defense jockeyed for ownership of new lands and the right to control the entire facility, some in Congress held that this was "national" land and that the agencies were territorially bickering. NASA's 1963 authorization included funds to purchase 60 square

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317. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 2:168. Arthur Campbell would probably have disagreed about "hurricane free." A long-time Clifton resident, he reported that the September 1926 hurricane lifted a house off its foundations and blew oranges off the trees. "Big Hurricane of 1926 Blew Oranges Off Trees," *Star Advocate*, February 23, 1983, copy in Canaveral National Seashore research files).

318. Benson and Faherty, *Moonport*, 80-101.

319. Shofner, *History of Brevard County*, 2:169.

320. "Big Hurricane of 1926 Blew Oranges Off Trees;" Kit Davison, interviews about fires, September 1984 - February 1985, typescript copies in Canaveral National Seashore research files.

321. *Titusville Star-Advocate*, June 6, June 28, August 10, 1964.

kilometers (about 16,000 acres) at the northern limits of the launch area.

Handling 12 square kilometers (more than 3,000 acres) of citrus trees became one of the most contentious issues of the land acquisition. Citrus growers on Merritt Island were willing to vacate dwellings and farm the groves *in absentia*, but wished to retain title to the land. They wanted to be able to return to their groves if NASA decided it did not need the property in the future. Citrus growers involved Florida Senator Spessard Holland to intervene when they got no satisfaction from NASA. This resulted in options to renew as well as longer leases than NASA had originally wished to give.

Between fall 1961 and spring 1964, the Corps of Engineers acquired the bulk of the land needed from approximately 1,500 property owners. There had been extensive negotiations and some litigation, which resulted in some bad feelings and the eventual expenditure of about \$72,000,000 before the land acquisition was complete.

The space agency finally took 340 square kilometers by purchase and negotiated with the State of Florida for the use of an additional 225 square kilometers of submerged land, much of which lay within Mosquito Lagoon. NASA invited Brevard County to maintain a public beach north of the launch facilities, which could be used when aerospace activities did not create a hazard. In 1963, NASA empowered the National Wildlife Service to administer those areas, about 230 square kilometers, not immediately involved with launch activities as the Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge. This wildlife belt formed a safety zone between the launch area and the population areas. A subsequent agreement in 1972 empowered the refuge to oversee citrus groves, lease fishing camps, and operate Playalinda Beach at the north end of the Cape and to cooperate with the Brevard County Mosquito District. Thus NASA maintained the ability to make use of the lands when deemed necessary and could terminate the agreement if the needs of the space program demanded.

The Apollo program placed severe strains on the larger Cape community. Social and economic resources were stretched thin and took a heavy toll on family life, as the divorce rates of the time indicate. But the teamwork between government agencies, industry and universities was remarkable,

and this cooperation is the “most impressive legacy of the Apollo launch program.”<sup>322</sup>

## Canaveral National Seashore

On January 3, 1975, Canaveral National Seashore was created by an act of Congress. The enabling legislation empowered the Secretary of the Interior to close lands to the public at the request of the administrator of NASA when necessary for space operations. Vehicular traffic on the Seashore’s beaches was prohibited except for administrative purposes.<sup>323</sup> A large segment of the Park (34,345 acres) was overlaid on land incorporated into Merritt Island National Wildlife Refuge in 1963. In this area, FWS continues to be responsible for natural resource management and NPS has assumed management of cultural resources. The NPS was given responsibility for visitor services along the beach. North of the NASA property, approximately 16,000 additional acres of state and county lands were donated to the Seashore, including the former 730-acre Apollo State Park (containing Turtle Mound and Castle Windy Midden). Finally, 813 acres of private lands were purchased to complete acquisition of property within the Seashore boundary. Owners were given the option to sell outright or to sign a lease for 25 years or for life. Eighteen owners decided to sign long-term leases, the last of which expired in 2005.<sup>324</sup> Most of the associated structures were removed, while a small number were retained for administrative purposes.

Local residents continued to display an interest in the lands that were now under Federal ownership. Many felt deprived of parts of their local historic heritage as lands were closed to the public, and the National Park Service may have been a legatee of the contentions bred by the original land acquisitions by the space agencies.

Congressman Bill Chappell sponsored Federal legislation in 1988 to purchase “Seminole Rest,” which was also known as Snyder Mound, and to expand the Seashore’s boundary to include the site which is on the west bank of Mosquito Lagoon at Oak Hill. Congress passed the boundary change, but the bill to appropriate the funds was derailed by Chappell’s defeat in that year’s general election. The Nature

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322. Benson and Faherty, *Moonport*, 529-30.

323. Public Law 93-626.

324. National Park Service, *General Management Plan*, 19; Stiner, 20.

Conservancy stepped in and, with its ability to acquire lands without the complexities involved in government authorizations and procedures, acquired the property in 1988. Two years later, they transferred the 25-acre site to the care of Canaveral National Seashore, giving the Seashore a new northern limit to its holdings on the west bank of the Lagoon.<sup>325</sup>

Another group interested in the Seashore, the Friends of Canaveral, incorporated in 1989 and campaigned successfully to receive historic preservation grants-in-aid funds from the State of Florida to stabilize the “State House” (Mouton-Wells House) at Eldora. The group then expanded its focus to include the “Eldora House” Hotel, but National Park Service professionals concluded that

the original building materials had so deteriorated that wholesale replacement of historic fabric would be required. Replacement on that scale would have resulted in a reconstructed, not a restored, building, and the Park Service declined to undertake the project.<sup>326</sup> The deteriorated Eldora House was razed in 1992.

## Associated Properties

There are no properties within the Seashore associated with the Aerospace Program, 1950 to 1975, context. Historic resources under NASA ownership have been listed on the National Register of Historic Places and made National Historic Landmarks.

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325. “Balancing Act: Canaveral Faces Its Future,” *The Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal*. August 10, 1997.

326. *The Daily Journal*, February 13, 1991.





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# Chapter Seven:

## Recommendations

The following recommendations are made with the intention of encouraging preservation and enhancing interpretation of historic and prehistoric sites located within Canaveral National Seashore. Recommendations are also made for the acquisition of additional documents or other evidence relating to the history of Canaveral National Seashore lands.

### Historic and Prehistoric Resources

#### Turtle Mound

The Nomination for the National Register of Historic Places for Turtle Mound should be expanded to include its historic role as a navigational marker and launching site for Native Americans even after the advent of permanent European settlements, and to include its recognition by Europeans as the “boundary” of cultural or linguistic Native American groups.

#### André Michaux Historical Marker

A historical marker should be placed in the Seashore to inform visitors of the travels of André Michaux through the Seashore area in late March and early April, 1788. Michaux was an internationally known botanist who collected plants in the Seashore as part of an 11-year trek through North America. Michaux has been credited with contributing the most to the beauty of the gardens in the area of Charleston, South Carolina. He visited the Seashore’s most noticeable sites, Turtle Mound and Old Haulover Canal. The marker text should relate to his journey through the area now making up the Seashore and his observations. Michaux commented on the saw palmettos growing in the Seashore, and their proliferation within the Seashore offers many sites where a marker could be located near a the type of specimens noted by Michaux.

#### Escaped Slave Route

The Seashore should erect a marker in a prominent place to interpret the likelihood that Seashore lands served as part of the escape route for enslaved persons fleeing bondage in Spanish St. Augustine circa 1603 to seek refuge among Native Americans. Much is made of the arrival of the first enslaved Africans in the Virginia colony in 1619, but slavery (as well as attempts to be free from it) was well established in Spanish Florida well before that date. This event may be among the earliest recorded slave escapes to occur in today’s United States.

Because the exact route taken by escaped slaves is not known at this time and might very well never be known with certainty, it is recommended that a prominent location for the marker would suffice for public awareness. It is also recommended that the Seashore work with the NPS Underground Railroad Network to Freedom initiative to promote awareness of the 1603 events in the area of the Seashore and explore modes of commemorating them and incorporating them into the initiative’s broader interpretive programs. Fort Mosé National Historic Landmark north of St. Augustine is already included on the Underground Railroad Travel Itinerary. The Seashore’s role as a haven for escaped slaves predates the 1738 establishment of Fort Mosé by 135 years. Long before Spanish Florida became a destination for slaves fleeing from British colonies farther north, more remote parts of Florida like the Seashore provided shelter for slaves of the Spanish.

#### Elliott Plantation and Sugar Mill Ruins

Exciting research by Dr. Daniel Shafer, formerly of the University of North Florida, in documents housed in the Royal Archives of London has revealed new information on the Elliott plantation. Recent field trips to the sugar mill ruin and Ross Hammock (eastern portion of the Elliott plantation) have revealed the remains of additional period

structures. Joint meetings have been held by the above parties, plus the Seashore, Refuge, NASA and NPS Southeast Archeological Center, to establish coordinated research priorities and funding strategies for more in-depth archeological work at the plantation and sugar mill ruins.

A Phase 1 archeological survey was conducted in August 2008 to confirm the time period of the ruins and delineate the boundary of the plantation site. Numerous artifacts dating to the colonial period were discovered at both the sugar mill ruins and Ross Hammock, and major features were mapped. More in-depth investigation is needed. The Seashore should continue to support, encourage, and facilitate these cooperative efforts.

## **Kings Road**

The Seashore is fortunate to have Dot Moore of the Florida Anthropological Society and Roz Foster of the North Brevard Heritage Foundation documenting the southernmost section of the Kings Road from New Smyrna to Elliott's plantation at Stobbs Farm (Ross Hammock). The Seashore should encourage efforts to add this portion of the roadway to the pending National Register of Historic Places nomination submitted in 2004 for other parts of the roadway in Volusia County.

## **Old Haulover Portage and Canal**

This site has served an important role as a portage between Mosquito Lagoon and Indian River since prehistoric times. Documents from the seventeenth and eighteenth century note the importance of the "haulover" to inland transportation and communication. In the early period following European contact, Haulover and Turtle Mound were the only two features in this area that were depicted on most maps. During the Indian Removal conflicts (1835-1842), the Haulover was also an important supply route for the U.S. Army. A historical marker was erected in 2007 to interpret the Haulover's strategic location and long use.

To the extent that it is consistent with protection of resources and visitor safety, the park should install interpretive waysides or other exhibits pointing out the historic role in waterborne transportation and the development of Florida in the latter part of the nineteenth century that was played by the canal built in 1854. The tree and vegetation canopy that now overhangs the canal should be cut back along at least a portion of the canal to more nearly resemble its appearance when in use. Additional clearing, again as consistent with FWS and NPS resource management goals, along the edges of the canal and

especially at each terminus would help focus interpretation on the Haulover's wartime supply role. Men, tents, and supplies had to be accommodated in the narrow isthmus between the Indian River and Mosquito Lagoon. Additionally, there would have been concerns for cleared vistas to prevent guerilla-style raiding practiced by the Seminole groups.

Water and waterways are a dominating feature of the Seashore and interpretation of this site would serve to point out the long-term use of a natural feature to accommodate the transportation route that naturally existed. The Haulover's long use by numerous cultures and national groups merits interpretation. The National Register nomination for Old Haulover should be revised to add information and to bring the nomination in line with current standards.

## **New Haulover Canal**

While Old Haulover Canal can claim an unknown number of centuries as a passage linking Mosquito Lagoon and the Indian River, New Haulover Canal is itself more than a century old, having been cut in 1888. Its creation as a modern engineered and maintained passage contributed to and continues to contribute to the viability of the inland waterway along Florida's east coast, through which it is linked to waterway systems far to the north. These waterway systems permitted vessels to travel inland and with safety to the southern tip of Florida and thus the southern tip of the United States mainland. Thus, New Haulover Canal can claim local, state, and national significance under Criteria A and C (see Chapter Four). New Haulover Canal should be considered for nomination to the National Register by the Army Corps of Engineers, the responsible Federal agency. The entire Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway is likely eligible for the National Register as a historic transportation corridor, but that recommendation is outside the scope of this study.

Not only does New Haulover Canal represent an important physical element in the Atlantic Intracoastal Waterway, it also serves as an example of the engineered environmental alterations of the late nineteenth century, especially in watery areas of Florida. The canal also represents the era of transportation improvements in Florida financed by northern capitalists, who received huge acreage of Florida lands as incentives to carry out the improvements. The practice of these sorts of land incentives by the Federal government and the state government in the period after the Civil War encouraged what evolved into integrated, nationwide transportation networks.

## Confederate Salt Works

The site purported to be the Confederate Salt Works should be investigated by historical architects to try to ascertain dates or date ranges for the period of initial construction and any later modifications to the hearth area. An archeological investigation should be performed in the area adjacent to the hearth for sub-surface evidence of a building associated with the hearth. Maps and written documentary evidence (see Chapter Three) suggest that this site might be associated with a colonial building. If such evidence is found, the site should be assessed for National Register potential as a remnant of a rural colonial building. Few such vestiges of the colonial period survive in Florida outside of St. Augustine. Archeological testing in August, 2008 by SEAC revealed British Colonial Period artifacts at both these sites. A more detailed report will be forthcoming.

## Eldora

The village of Eldora is an example of a settlement founded following the Civil War that continued in existence up to the establishment of the Seashore in the 1970s, albeit with changing uses. The first inhabitants, coming from the Midwest, grew citrus and other crops. The settlement evolved into a retreat for middle-class northerners and then became more of a second-home community for residents of nearby Florida cities and towns. Today, that same sequence of events—the transition from orange grove to residential real estate development—continues to take place in central Florida. Little today remains on the ground from Eldora's pre-1920 period. The Mouton-Wells House (Eldora State House), constructed as early as 1913, and subsidiary structures have been listed on the National Register with a period of significance extending from 1910 to 1938.

The Schultz (Leeper) residence dates from around 1926. Other existing structures in the Eldora community, including the former Fellers House, Haynes residence, and Heebner garage, date from the middle 1950s through the 1980s. However, the Eldora hammock, including the unpaved road trace leading to the Moulton-Wells House, house environs, and nearby cisterns offer a rare opportunity to catch the feeling of tranquil life along a Florida waterway before the era of rampant development. The Seashore should strive to preserve this atmosphere with limited development and intrusion. An assessment of the cultural landscape at the Moulton-Wells House is needed and recommended.

The site of the Eldora Hotel and associated cisterns represents the last decades of the nineteenth century, when visitors reached Eldora in carriages or by boat. The restored Mouton-Wells House represents the period of the 1920s and 1930s when the automobile allowed somewhat easier access to Eldora. Until the advent of air-conditioning, most of Florida's out-of-state tourists were winter tourists and tourism was a seasonal industry rather than the year-round enterprise of today.

## Seminole Rest

Both the Main House and Caretakers House have been extensively rehabilitated to resemble their historic appearance (circa 1911), as described in Chapter Five. The Caretaker's House is being used as a first aid station and office to support ranger and maintenance operations. A visitor contact station has been established on the first floor of the main house to interpret the St John's I period (500 BCE – 800 CE) shell midden and turn of the century life (1890 – 1920) along a Florida waterway, which the houses represent. Although they would seem to be unrelated, the stories of the houses and midden are intertwined as discussed below. Current displays are minimal; more extensive permanent displays are needed and have been applied for. The seashore plans to expand interpretation of the site, as funding permits.

Interpretation at Seminole Rest should seek to emphasize the importance of the Native American occupation, which after all created the mound's elevated position. This elevation later was a primary factor in making this a desirable spot for whites to build in the late nineteenth century. The 1888 foreclosure deed mentions the property's relatively high elevation, an uncommon inclusion in the legal descriptions of the time. The inclusion of this information implies the noteworthiness and desirability of the elevation of the house. In the low and flat Florida terrain, these once-numerous shell mounds offered higher elevation and thus a superior vantage point. While the house itself may be considered by some as intrusive upon the mound, the existence of the house preserved the mound from being dispersed around the countryside as paving for roads or for use by the railroads, as was the fate of so many other shell mounds. The continued desirability of this location, on the water and close to seafood resources, is worthy of consideration as an interpretive theme. In this way, continuity or commonality from the native occupation up through the acquisition of the property the NPS, rather than conflict between earlier and later uses, could be emphasized.

Four potentially eligible landscapes were identified in a 1997 Level 1 inventory by the Southeast Regional Office: Canaveral National Seashore, Seminole Rest, Eldora Historic District and Haulover Canal. An assessment of the cultural landscapes at these sites is needed and recommended.

## **Documentary Sources and Research**

### **Early Colonial Intercultural and Interracial Relationships and Activities Within the Seashore**

It is recommended that documents (for the most part written in Spanish) from the first Spanish period be read or perhaps re-read to search for information that might specifically concern possible residents, activities, or events that occurred within the boundary of today's Seashore during the early Spanish period. Historian John Hann refers specifically to Seashore-related events and persons in *A History of the Timucua Indians and Missions* (see Chapter Three of this report). The Seashore, however, is not the area of primary focus for Hann's study and he thus does not elaborate on the Seashore area.

Dr. Hann assesses the affiliations of the Seashore's early colonial-era residents in the context of political and linguistic affiliations that may not match affiliations based on physical (archeological) remnants. Further research into the pertinent documents might help to clarify this analytical dissonance. This HRS addresses the role of the Seashore area in the very early colonial relationships and interactions among Europeans, Native Americans, and Africans—among the earliest such interactions on territory that would ultimately become part of the United States. But it is beyond the scope of this study to perform a thorough search of sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Spanish documents relating to this topic. Microfilm copies of potentially informative documents are available in the United States and in Florida, although many of the original documents are conserved in Spain, Mexico, the Dominican Republic, and Cuba.

### **Elliott Plantation and Sugar Mill Ruins**

Dr. Daniel Shafer, formerly of the University of North Florida, has been gathering information on the Elliott and other British period plantations from

documents housed in the Royal Archives of London. These include over 100 pages of letters between Elliott and his overseers. Many of the documents have been damaged by water, treated and covered with plastic, which provides protection but makes them difficult to read. The National Park Service should work with Dr. Schafer, possibly helping to fund one or more trips to England and Scotland to continue this vital work. The Volusia County Historic Preservation Board has pledged \$2,500 towards a trip for Dr. Schafer this Fall.

### **Kings Road**

Construction of the Kings Road is referenced in eighteenth-century British documents. Nineteenth-century plat maps depict an old roadway or trail leading south from New Smyrna to Ross Hammock. These and additional sources should be assessed to confirm whether the existing trace within the Seashore is the original route. Significant information has already been gathered by Dot Moore of the Florida Anthropological Society.

### **Daily Life in the Seashore in Late Nineteenth and Early Twentieth Centuries**

The Park Service should acquire copies of the tape-recorded interview of Harold Coutant done in 1960 and Harold Coutant's photographs of daily life at the Mosquito Lagoon House of Refuge, if these sources are not already in possession of the Seashore. Coutant's family lived at the House of Refuge from 1891 to 1909. The photographs and tape-recorded interview are conserved at the Historical Society of Martin County in Stuart, Florida. The park should continue to search the National Archives and other institutions possessing information on Houses of Refuge and Life Saving Service to glean additional material on the Mosquito Lagoon station.

### **Documents Relating to Live-Oak Harvesting from the 1820s to the 1850s**

The Seashore should contact the keepers of the business or family records of the Swift family in the possession of Oliver S. Chute of Milton, Massachusetts, to inquire what records relevant to live oaking within the Seashore might be available. Virginia Steele Wood cites this family-business documentary source in her book *Live Oaking: Southern Timber for Tall Ships* on page 167.

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NPS D-65 September 2008

