Cultural Resources Report Entitled:

A Phase I Remote-Sensing Archaeological Survey of Four Temporary Material Transfer Pipeline Corridors off Flagler Beach, Flagler County, Florida



[Detail of ca. 1776 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 (Courtesy of Library of Congress)]

Volume 2: Historical Overview

Submitted to:

Olsen Associates, Inc. 2618 Herschel Street Jacksonville, Florida 32204

Submitted by:

Tidewater Atlantic Research, Inc. P. O. Box 2494 Washington, North Carolina 27889

Submittal Date:

15 December 2019

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A Phase I Remote-Sensing Archaeological Survey of Four Temporary Material Transfer Pipeline Corridors off Flagler Beach, Flagler County, Florida

FDHR 1A-32 Permit 1920.024

USACE Permit No.: SAJ-2019-02065; Flagler County (Local Project)

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Volume 2: Historical Overview

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Abstract

Olsen Associates, Inc. (OA) of Jacksonville, Florida is the project engineering firm representing Flagler County in its efforts to develop and permit an offshore borrow site in the Atlantic Ocean for beach nourishment material. In order to determine the proposed project's effects on potentially significant submerged cultural resources, OA contracted with Tidewater Atlantic Research of Washington, North Carolina to design a remote-sensing survey, obtain a 1A-32 permit from the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research, assess the data and prepare a submerged cultural resource assessment report. The survey was carried out using a differential global positioning system, high-resolution sidescan sonar and a cesium vapor magnetometer. Fieldwork was carried out on 18 October 2019. Arc Surveying and Mapping of Jacksonville, Florida provided a survey vessel and positioning equipment; while Sonographics of Fort Lauderdale, Florida provided and operated remote-sensing equipment. The investigation focused on four corridors where temporary material handling pipelines will be deployed to move sediment to locations in shallow water near Flagler Beach. Analysis of the magnetometer data identified a total of 12 magnetic anomalies. All of those anomalies are associated with small ferrous objects that can be reliably identified as debris. No sonar targets were identified during the survey. A 2010 comprehensive survey of the Flagler Beach project area determined that no terrestrial cultural resources will be impacted by beach nourishment activity. Based on assessment of the data, no submerged cultural resources will be impacted by deployment, operation, and removal of temporary pipelines in the four corridors. No additional investigation is recommended in conjunction with the project as proposed. The remote-sensing methodology, marine survey results, and associated data analysis and conclusions/recommendations were comprehensively treated in the Interim Technical Report (Volume 1) submitted to OA on 25 November 2019.

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Geological Setting of Flagler County

A 1977 Sea Grant Program investigation of Matanzas Inlet conducted for the Coastal and Oceanographic Engineering Laboratory (University of Florida at Gainesville) touched on the subject county's geological setting. Interestingly, the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers (USACE) earlier cutting-edge studies of potential beach nourishment sources was also mentioned. Geologists Mehti and Jones (1977:7) commented that

Underlying the east coast of Florida from Anastasia Island southward to the Palm Beach/Broward County line is the rock formation known as the Anastasia. This formation is composed of different segments formed during several events, in the Pleistocene, not just one period as was previously believed...Outcrops of this formation appear along the continental shelf and are often found in locations where canals have been dug or inlets cut along the east coast of Florida. There are several exposed, consolidated outcrops on the beaches in the Matanzas Inlet area, as well as exposed segments of the Anastasia along various parts of the Intracoastal Waterway. One outcrop occurs on the southeast point of Matanzas Inlet and a larger outcrop, striking in a northeasterly direction from the beach, occurs near Marineland... Core borings in the area indicate that the surficial sediments are composed primarily of a fine quartz sand with varying amounts of silt, clay and shell intermixed...In addition, offshore sedimentary characteristics were investigated between August 1966 and February 1967 by the U.S. Army Corps of Engineers. They used seismic reflection profiling and sediment cores to determine the availability of inner continental shelf sediments suitable for beach nourishment purposes.

Arthur's (1988:1) more recent study presented an authoritative overview of the jurisdiction's geology and mineral resources and largely reiterated White's (1970) view that Flagler County is "located within the Atlantic Coastal Lowlands physiographic zone". According to the former's sanctioned report to the Florida Geological Survey,

Four narrow, linear geomorphic provinces are located within the eastern third of Flagler County, all of which parallel the Atlantic coastline. These features include the Atlantic Coastal Ridge, the Atlantic Coastal Lagoons, the Atlantic Barrier Chain and the Atlantic Beach Ridges. During Pamlico sea-level stands, about 340,000 years ago...the shoreline known as the Atlantic Coastal Ridge was developed. Oscillating regression of the Pamlico seas produced linear coastal deposits which are components of the Atlantic Barrier Chain. The Atlantic Beach Ridges and Coastal Lagoons are products of Holocene shoreline sedimentation (Arthur 1988:2).

Prehistoric Background Synopsis

Human occupation of Florida began roughly 12,000 years ago. Evidence of Paleoindian inhabitants comes mainly from lithic debitage scatters and fluted and unfluted lanceolate projectile points. Recent excavations at Harney Flats in Hillsborough County suggest that Paleoindian groups spent part of the year in habitation sites located near freshwater sources such as sinkholes and springs (Carlson 2002:6). These sites provided ready access to fresh water, game and raw materials for tool production. An "extremely old" Flagler County site located at Bonn Terra Farm "is thought to be of the Paleo Indian Period" (U.S. Army Corps of Engineers [USACE] 1976:96). A 1932 study suggested an association with artifacts and extinct vertebrates (Neill

1953:170-171). A large burial mound lying northwest of Faver-Dykes State Park [just north of Flagler County boundary] "could indicate the former existence of a village area"; and therefore "Shell middens should be found along the south banks of Hominy Branch, Pellicer Creek, and Moultrie Creek" (USACE 1976:96).

The Archaic period (8000 – 500 B.C.) saw many changes as the forest switched from oak-hickory to the modern pine forests of today. Hunting and gathering still remained the primary subsistence mode, although fishing in the coastal region, and limited cultivation served as supplementary food sources. Very few Early Archaic sites have been found in northeastern Florida as sea stands were still lower than present levels. Sea levels began stabilizing by the Middle Archaic giving rise to an increase in the number and types of sites found. Projectile points from the period include Hardee, Sumter, Alachua, Putnam, and Newnan.

The Middle to Late Archaic periods are defined by larger populations and development of regional habitat-specific adaptations. Sites are comprised of seasonal base camps, short-term special use camps, residential sites and cemeteries. Evidence of extensive shell middens along the coast suggest some permanent settlement of the coast and indicate that estuarine resources were forming a larger part of the diet. Pottery first appeared during the Late Archaic. This "Orange Pottery" was fiber tempered; early forms were plain but other styles, including incised and punctuated, were also common. Early vessels were typically thick walled and hand-molded. By the end of the period, techniques were refined and thinner-walled, coiled pots were produced.

The Woodland period (500 B.C–A.D. 750) is distinguished by increased sedentism, the adoption of mound construction for burial, expansion of estuarine resource exploitation, increased agricultural production and a more stable environment from which to exploit natural resources. While plant resources became more important, there is little evidence of domestication during this time (Carlson 2002:8). The Woodland period is known as the St. Johns I period in northeastern Florida. The period is divided into three subperiods (I, Ia and Ib) based on style changes of the dominant ceramic type: St. Johns.

The Mississippi period (A.D. 750–1565) is known as the St. Johns II period in northeastern Florida. Like the preceding period, St. Johns II is subdivided into three subperiods (IIa, IIb and IIc) based on stylistic changes of St. Johns ceramics. The St. Johns II is more complex than the preceding period with an increase in village and mound sites. The period contains many of the classic Mississippian traits such as construction of large truncated mounds and the presence of Southern Cult burial paraphernalia in association with perceived elite burials (Carlson 2002:9). Burial mounds are often large in size and complex and contain exotic materials, worked copper and other ornamentation. Subsistence strategies still focused on marine resources though evidence suggests that plant cultivation was becoming a more important factor. The end of the period saw the introduction of European settlements and trade goods within the archaeological assemblage.

Sixteenth-Century Contact and Mapping of La Florida

Extant documents and tradition confirm that ... "the history of the territory of Flagler County evolved with the first Spanish occupation of Florida and the settlement of St. Augustine to the north" (USACE 1976:96). More specifically, European contact and subsequent coastal expeditions may have been related to the establishment of Franciscan missions, the quarrying of coquina, and the utilization of vast grazing tracts for cattle (USACE 1976:96). The seminal work *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine Florida* (Fairbanks 1881) was consulted with respect to regional maritime events (e.g., commercial, military, immigration) and for cultural and political events that compelled and/or influenced the former. Connor's (1927) *Jean Ribaut The Whole & True Discouerye of Terra Florida*, *A Facsimile Reprint of the London Edition of 1563* shed more light on the early French incursions into the region. A thorough overview of Flagler County's

sixteenth-century and seventeenth-century development [and beyond] is available for viewing through the Flagler County Historical Society (FCHS) website. As mentioned in Volume 1, several members graciously provided their assistance to the author.

Early extant maps "showing the name Florida" included the 1548 *Nueva Hispania Tabula Nova* (publishe Venice), the ca. 1550 *Novus Orbis*, drawn by Sebastian Münster, and *Tabula novarum insularum, quas Diversis drespectibus Occidentales & Indianas uocant* [1st Map of the continent of America in "true continental form"] also by Münster. Created ca. 1574 [published 1584] by Abraham Ortelius (b.1527, d. 1598), the chart entitled "*La Florida Auctore Hieron Chiaves*" revealed no discernable coastal features of the modern project area. In fact, the only land feature identified on the east coast of the peninsula is the promontory named "C. de Cañareal" [Canaveral] (Figure 1).



Figure 1. Ca. 1574 chart entitled La Florida Auctore Hieron Chiaves.

An unrelated Spanish map positioned with the Ortelius work depicted a Spanish vessel of the period. Per antiquity dealer Barry Lawrence Ruderman, this "seminal map of Florida" included in *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* represented the "First Separately Printed Map of Florida!". Painter Jacques Le Moyne de Morgues' work entitled *Floridae Americae provinciae recens & exactissima description...qui Laudōnierum*, altera Gallorum in eam prouinciam nauigatione comitat est, atque adhibitis aliquot militibus ob pericula, regionis illius interiora & maritima diligentissimè lustrauit, & exactissimè dimensus est, obseruata etiam singulorum fluminum inter se distantia, ut ipsemet redux Carolo IX. Galliarum regi, demonstrauit shows Port Royal, Fort Carolina, the Florida peninsula, Cuba, numerous rivers, cities, and other topographical entities (Figure 2). The gifted French painter accompanied Laudonnière in 1564 and his well-known drawing [later engraved by De Bry] depicted the historic landing of the French expedition. Vessels that were representative of those wrecking off East Florida some months later were also sketched by Laudonnière (Figure 3).



Figure 2. Le Moyne de Morgues map (Courtesy of Library of Congress [LOC]).



Figure 3. "The French arrive in Florida", attributed to Le Moyne de Morgues.

Based their interpretations of *extant* sixteenth-century sources, Lowery (1905:189-190) and many respected anthropologists, archaeologists, and historians suggest that on or about 28 September 1565,

Some Indians brought to the settlement the information that a number of Frenchmen had been cast ashore on an island six leagues [or four leagues per Avilés to Phillip II, 15 October 1565] from St. Augustine, where they were imprisoned by the river, which they could not cross. They proved to be the crews of two more of the French fleet which had left Fort Carolina September 10th. Failing to find the Spaniards at sea, [Jacques] Ribaut had not dared to land and attack St. Augustine, and so had resolved to return to Fort Caroline, when his vessels were caught in the storm before mentioned, the ships dispersed, and two of them wrecked along the shore between Matanzas and Mosquito Inlet. Part of the crews had been drowned in attempting to land, the Indians had captured fifty of them alive and had killed others, so that out of four hundred there remained only one hundred and forty. Following along the shore in the direction of Fort Carolina, the easiest and most natural course to pursue, the survivors had soon found their further advance barred by the inlet, and by the lagoon [la lagune] or 'river' to the west of them.

Some modern assessments of traditional records suggest that the massacre may have actually occurred in what is now modern Flagler County. Professor Patricia Griffin (2007:1) stated that "After examining the changing land forms as well as documentary evidence, the late John W. Griffin came to the tentative conclusion that the slaughter of the French troops by the Spanish forces in 1565 took place at Penon Inlet rather than Matanzas Inlet". The former was at that date "one half league (1.72616917 miles) of what became known as Matanzas (slaughters) Intel" (Griffin 2007:1).

Historical Overview

The ca. 1711 impressive three-part work entitled A compleat description of the province of Carolina in 3 parts: 1st, the improved part from the surveys of Maurice Mathews & Mr. John Love: 2ly, the west part by Capt. Tho. Nairn: 3ly, a chart of the coast from Virginia to Cape Florida confirmed the still largely unknown coastal region of Florida. The chart's relief was shown pictorially, while water depths were shown by soundings. Structures including the Castillo are clearly seen at St. Augustine.

In the detail presented, only Matanzas and "Moqueto" inlets and the Gulf of Florida are named and depicted along the Atlantic coast (Figure 4). A large section of the featured chart is prominently marked as being associated with Native American villages and where the "Carlina Indians" left their canoes and assembled prior to attacking "Florideans".

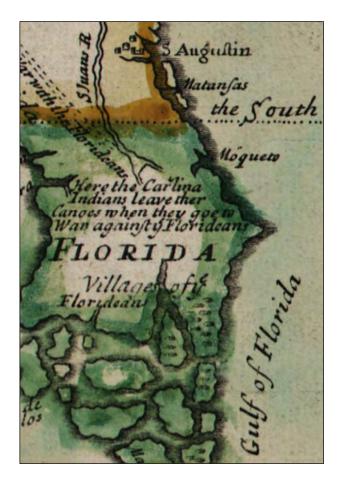


Figure 4. Detail of ca. 1711 ... "chart of the coast from Virginia to Cape Florida" (Courtesy of LOC).

Treaty of Picolata (18 November 1765)

On 18 November 1765, the historic *Treaty of Picolata* [village west of St. Augustine] was signed by Principals Seecoffee and Captain Aleck [or Alack] and 29 other standing chiefs. When the conference convened on 15 November, discussions centered around "friendship" with King George III (which would extend to his subjects), Indian trade, justice issues, and critical boundary/encroachment disputes (Fairbanks 1957:149-153). Ultimately two areas were ceded to the English Crown: "1). The coast as far as the tide flowed. [and] 2) An additional area containing approximately 2,000,000 acres described by metes and bound in Article 5 of the Treaty" (Fairbanks 1957:153). Charles Herron Fairbanks' (1957) *Ethnohistorical Report of the Florida Indians* provided an invaluable relevant timeline, robust bibliography, and modern orthographical references.

The respected professor of anthropology-archaeology prepared the study for the U.S. Department of Justice (and Indian Claims Commission) to support their respective positions in regard to *The Seminole Indians of the State of Florida, Petitioner, v. The United States of America, Defendant; Docket No. 73;* [And] *The Seminole Nation, Petitioner, v. The United States of America, Defendant; Docket No. 151* (Fairbanks 1957). Of course, *The Indian Boundary in the Southern Colonies, 1763-1775* (De Vorsey 1966) and *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Swanton [1946] 1977) proved equally important vis-à-vis aboriginal presence in the subject period.

Historic De Brahm Survey

William Gerard De Brahm illustrated the *Treaty of Picolata* demarcation line in his "Map of General Surveys of East Florida, performed from the year, 1766 to 1770" (Fairbanks 1957:153). Article 5 of the treaty ceded 129,280 "acres" which includes some "4/10" of modern [1957] Flagler County (Fairbanks 1957:154). The 1767 De Brahm chart marked the dark gray sand bottom along the modern study area and numerous soundings. Just beneath Matanzas Inlet, a historically elusive shifting inlet is shown (Figure 5). With respect to those two inlets, the august surveyor merely remarked that "The seventh and eight Inlets are Matance and Penion, as they are chiefly barred by the Effect of continuing easterly Gales, of course without a Channel, they consequently serve for nothing but Boats" (De Brahm quoted in: De Vorsey 1971:206).

A rare chart produced ca. 1769 (Figure 6) [obtained for the Flagler County Historical Society (FCHS) from the British Museum] depicted a clearly *open* "Penjon Inlet", multiple coastal soundings, "Surveyor General's Path", "Old Indian Path", "Mount Pleasant", "Spanish Fort", "Orange Grove", and Levit Blackbourne and John Grayhurst, Esq., tracts. The universal safe anchorage symbol dated 12 February 1765 lies to the east of the present-day Mala Compra Park in Flagler County (Ryan 2019a:6).

Born in Coblenz on 2 August 1718, William Gerard *von* Brahm [son of Royal Court musician Johann Phillip von Braham] ... "secured an excellent early education" and later ... "achieved the rank of captain engineer" during a "successful period of service in the Imperial Army of Charles VII" (De Vorsey 1980:718). However, after De Brahm "renounced his Roman Catholic faith ["modernized" his name] and resigned his army commission", he and his equally bright wife "found themselves nearly destitute in the troubled and fragmented Germany of the mid-eighteenth century" (De Vorsey 1980:718). Cadle (1991:39) described DeBrahm as

... a man of the scientific world, indifferent to political events excepts so far as they impinged upon his scientific endeavors. (He opposed the American Revolution, not on any grounds of policy but because it interrupted his research.). DeBrahm was an adept land surveyor but in addition showed great expertise as an engineer, botanist, astronomer, geographer, meteorologist, student of ocean currents, alchemist, and historian.

Innumerable scholarly works detail the historic Florida expeditions of De Brahm (and other surveyors) at length and many were consulted to ascertain if maritime references coincided with locations within the current study area. Without doubt, *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* edited by Louis De Vorsey, Jr. (1971)] and *The Atlantic Pilot* [Facsimile of De Brahm 1772 edition] (De Vorsey, ed., 1974); proved invaluable. Dr. De Vorsey's grasp of his complex eighteenth-century subject and the meticulous anecdotal information he elected to use that expound on DeBrahm's descriptions of the topography, the coastline, immigration, culture, agriculture, architecture, etc. were immensely helpful.

Other excellent sources for eighteenth-century and nineteenth-century documents included "Haldimand Collection" [Florida Papers] (Brymner 1886); The Manuscripts of the Earl of Dartmouth (Historical Manuscripts Commission [HMC], vol. II, 1895); Guide To The Materials For American History In Cuban Archives (Pérez 1907); Guide to the Manuscript Materials for the History of the United States to 1783, in the British Museum, in Minor London Archives, and in the Libraries of Oxford and Cambridge (Andrews and Davenport 1908); "Land Claims In East Florida" (American State Papers 1860:55-121); Documents Relating To The Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas (Whitaker 1931); The King's Road to Florida (Bockelman 1975); Setting a Colony Over a Bottle of Claret (Taylor 1984); Six Columns and Fort New

Smyrna (Bockelman 1985); A Concise Natural History of East and West Florida (Romans 1999 [ed. Braun]); The Search For Old King's Road, The First Route Into Florida (Ryan 2006), and The First Mapping of America, The General Survey of British North America (Johnson 2017), The manuscript "When you wish to exploit a place, you must first have a map of it" prepared for the Flagler County Historical Society (FCHS) serves as an excellent synopsis of the surveyor's travels through the subject county and raise intriguing questions. FCHS member and prolific author William P. Ryan (2019a:1) stated that

[De Brahm] arrived in St. Augustine in January of 1765, settled with his wife and established his staff of assistants and deputy surveyors. On February 11, 1765, he sailed from the harbor on a leased ship called Augustine Packet to begin a coastal survey of the area that would in a far future time become Flagler County Florida. On that day they make their first anchor drop in 51 feet of water. They were slightly south of the area now occupied by the Marineland Dolphin Park in Flagler County.



Figure 5. Detail of 1767 De Brahm chart (Presented by De Vorsey 1971).

Within five years of De Brahm's entry into the British province, an official "List of Grantees in East Florida" enumerated an astonishing number of acres granted from "23 May 1764 to 6 June 1770". In the report submitted to the Earl of Dartmouth, "2,757,000" acres were bestowed upon worthy subjects (HMC 1895:73). A letter originating from St. Augustine on 14 May 1771 congratulated "President John Moultrie" on the honour [sic] of his presiding over the province yet described the "Wretched condition of the country in general" (HMC 1895:78). Shipping of prized local fruit was identified in late October 1775 correspondence from storekeeper John Kenward to Lord Dartmouth. The former requested ... "acceptance of two barrels of St. Augustine oranges 'containing in both 1,000' shipped on board the Brigantine Betsey; also two nonpareils [confections], being the product of this province" (HMC 1895:335, 395).

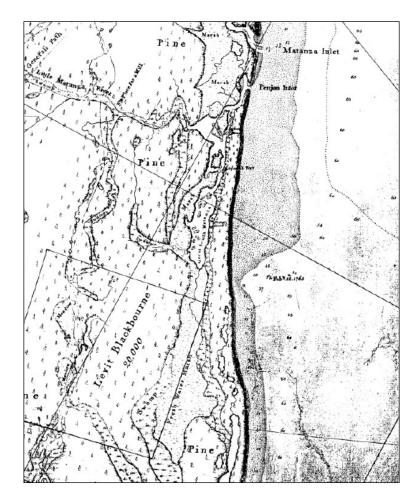


Figure 6. Detail of 1769 facsimile accessioned by The British Museum (Courtesy of William P. Ryan).

John Bartram and William Bartram Expeditions

Primary and secondary sources related to the John Bartram and William Bartram expeditions (1765-1766 and 1773-1778, respectively) were consulted that included; *A Description of East-Florida, With a Journal, Kept By John Bartram of Philadelphia, Botanist to His Majesty For The Floridas...* (Bartram 1767); *Memorials of John Bartram and Humphry Marshall* (Darlington 1849); *The Pursuit of Science In Revolutionary America 1735-1789* (Hindle 1956); *Bartram Heritage* (The Bartram Trail Conference 1979); *Travels Through North & South Carolina, Georgia, East & West Florida, the Cherokee County...* (Bartram 1996); and *The Natures of John and William Bartram* (Slaughter 1997),

Some 15 years after his father's historic Florida expedition, William Bartram set out from Savannah for East Florida in March 1774 (Harper 1998:37). A trained botanist in his own right, the younger Bartram trekked through parts of modern Flagler County and attempted to promote his own agricultural interests in the region. For those wishing to follow his eighteenth-century trail through Florida, the Bartram Trail Conference (1979:132, 149-150) suggested that devotees visit Fort Matanzas National Monument [standing at the time of Bartram's expedition], Washington Oaks-State Gardens, and Flagler Beach Recreation Area. Respected University of North Florida history professor Daniel Schafer (2010) commented that

Historians have relied upon the integrity of the information in William Bartram's *Travels* for centuries, often concluding from it that the British (the colonial power from 1763 to 1783) had not engaged in large-scale land development in Florida. However, the well-documented truth is that the St. Johns riverfront was not in a state of unspoiled nature in 1774; it was instead the scene of drained wetlands and ambitious agricultural developments including numerous successful farms and plantations. Unsuccessful settlements could also be found, William Bartram's own foundered venture among them. Evidence for the existence of these settlements can still be found in archives in the United Kingdom and in the family papers of the descendants of British East Florida settlers and absentee landowners.

The American Revolution and Early National Period

At the onset of "The American Revolution", the 1776 chart prepared for King George [and his subjects] entitled 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 provided contemporary investors, explorers, aristocrats and British military forces with a very reliable overview of the modern study area (Figure 7). "Penon Inlet, E. Fla." was identified in The American Revolution, 1775-1783: An Atlas of 18th Century Maps and Charts, Theatres of Operation, which attested to its depiction on contemporary charts (Naval History Division 1972:63)



Figure 7. Detail of ca. 1776 "A general map of the southern British colonies in America" ... that depicts transient "Penon" feature (Courtesy of LOC).

The Carte du theatre de la guerre presente en Amerique drawn by Louis Denis ca. 1779 included a reduced depiction of what realm "held" northeastern Floride. An embellishment provided a dramatic military scene in juxtaposition with a voluptuous aboriginal female surrounded by tropical plants and cacao [?] tree (Figure 8). On 15 February 1781 the "Order for Frederick George Mulcaster, Surveyor General, to measure 500 acres of land for Alexander Todd, on the head of Matanza River, adjoining Joseph Marrett's line, being part of 20,000 acres granted to Levett Blackbourn and formerly surveyed for Charles McCulloch" was signed and approved by Governor Patrick Tonyn. The subject Blackbourn tract appeared in the 1769 DeBrahm map in what is now modern Flagler County (Appendix A).



Figure 8. Detail of 1779 French map drawn by Denis (Courtesy of Norman B. Leventhal Map Collection, Boston Public Library [NBLMC]).

By late summer 1782, the last British surveyor general of Georgia (George McKenzie) migrated to St. Augustine to join other exiled Loyalists (Cadle 1991:61). One of his predecessors, Henry Yonge [30-year tenure], was banished from the colony in 1778. While making his escape to New Providence (Bahamas), Yonge and his son Philip were taken into St. Augustine by a British privateer. Incurring heavy debts in a futile attempt to recover his vessel, Yonge soon succumbed 'occasioned by his Affliction and Sufferings' (James Wright to Lord George Germain quoted in: Cadle 1991:60).

De Brahm, the "restless genius" surveyor, also resided in St. Augustine for a number of years after the conclusion of the war for American independence before ultimately moving to Philadelphia (d. 1799) (Cadle 1991:40). The geographical magnitude of "EAST FLORIDA" was presented on *An Accurate Map Of The United States Of America with Part of the Surrounding Provinces agreeable to the Treaty of Peace of 1783* (Figure 9) and privately commissioned work produced by 1790 (Figure 10). Labelled coastal features on the latter chart between St. Augustine and Mosquito Inlet are "Anastasia I.", "Matama R. and Inlet", "el Penon", "Ayamante", and "The four pine trees". Correspondence dated 1743, 1745, 1789 and 1796 describing those features and Engineers Ruiz and De la Rocque's surveys of Fort Matanzas, etc. are presented by the National Park Service (1980:19, 32, 62, 213).



Figure 9. Detail of "EAST FLORIDA" drawn on map associated with 1783 peace agreement.

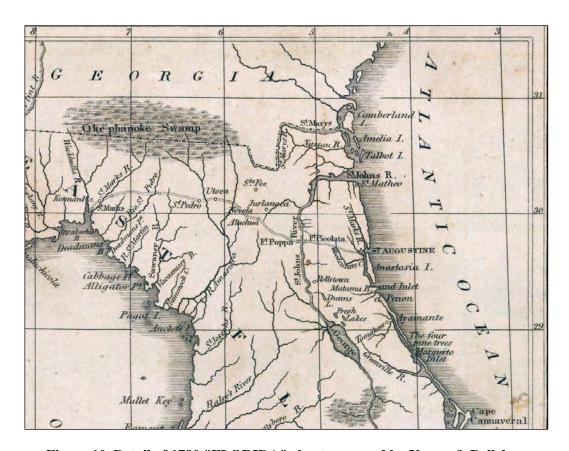


Figure 10. Detail of 1790 "FLORIDA" chart engraved by Young & Delleker.

On 27 October 1795, the *Treaty of Friendship*, *Limits*, and *Navigation Between Spain and The United States* was signed at San Lorenzo. The historic document was ratified by the United States in March 1796, and by Spain on 25 April 1796. Ratifications were exchanged on the latter date at Aranjuez; and the treaty was proclaimed on 2 August 1796 (Miller 1931:318). The essential diplomatic issues of the "Two Floridas" were specifically addressed in Articles II, III, and V that follow.

ART. II. To prevent all disputes on the subject of the boundaries which separate the territories of the two High contracting Parties, it is hereby declared and agreed as follows: to wit: The Southern boundary of the United States which divides their territory from the Spanish Colonies of East and West Florida, shall be designated by a line beginning on the River Mississipi at the Northermost part of the thirty first degree of latitude North of the Equator, which from thence shall be drawn due East to the middle of the River Apalachicola or Catahouche, thence along the middle thereof to its junction with the Flint, thence straight to the head of St Mary's River, and thence down the middle there of to the Atlantic Occean. And it is agreed that if there should be any troops, Garrisons or settlements of either Party in the territory of the other according to the above mentioned boundaries, they shall be withdrawn from the said territory within the term of six months after the ratification of this treaty or sooner if it be possible and that they shall be permitted to take with them all the goods and effects which they possess. ART. III. In order to carry the preceding Article into effect one Commissioner and one Surveyor shall be appointed by each of the contracting Parties who shall meet at the Natchez on the left side of The River Mississipi before the expiration of six months from the ratification of this convention, and they shall proceed to run and mark this boundary according to the stipulations of the said Article. They shall make Plats and keep journals of their proceedings which shall be considered as part of this convention, and shall have the same force as if they were inserted therein.(1) And if on any account it should be found necessary that the said Commissioners and Surveyors should be accompanied by Guards, they shall be furnished in equal proportions by the Commanding Officer of his Majesty's troops in the two Floridas, and the Commanding Officer of the troops of the United States in their Southwestern territory, who shall act by common consent and amicably, as well with respect to this point as to the furnishing of provisions and instruments and making every other arrangement which may be necessary or useful for the execution of this article. ART. V. The two High contracting Parties shall by all the means in their power maintain peace and harmony among the several Indian Nations who inhabit the country adjacent to the lines and Rivers which by the proceeding Articles form the boundaries of the two Floridas; and the teeter to obtain this effect both Parties oblige themselves expressly to restrain by force all hostilities on the part of the Indian Nations living within their boundaries: so that Spain will not uder her Indians to attack the Citizens of the United States, nor the Indians inhabiting their territory; nor will the United States permit these last mentioned Indians to commence hostilities against the Subjects of his Catholic Majesty, or his Indians in any manner whatever. And whereas several treaties (2) of Friendship exist between the two contracting Parties and the said Nations of Indians, it is hereby agreed that in future no treaty of alliance or other whatever (except treaties of Peace) shall be made by either Party with the Indians living within the boundary of the other; but both Parties will endeavour to make the advantages of the Indian trade common and mutualy beneficial to their respective Subjects and Citizens observing in all things the

most complete reciprocity: so that both Parties may obtain the advantages arising from a good understanding with the said Nations, without being subject to the expence which they have hitherto occasioned (Miller 1931:319-323).

The lion's share of the remainder dealt with general navigation matters, merchant shipping, customs' protocols, and the favored standing of the Mississippi River and Port of New Orleans. "[A]ll manner of dissensions and quarels" [sic] upon the high seas between citizens of the two countries and the activities of privateers were also addressed by the treaty. Article XVI was entirely devoted to illicit trading; which was a major economic and political concern for both governments. That noteworthy stipulation follows.

This liberty of navigation and commerce shall extend to all kinds of merchandises excepting those only which are distinguished by the name of contraband; and under this name of contraband or prohibited goods shall be comprehended arms, great guns, bombs, with the fusees, and other things belonging to them, cannon ball, gun powder, match, pikes, swords, lances, speards, halberds, mortars, petards, grenades, salpetre, muskets, musket ball bucklers, helmets, breast plates, coats of mail, and the like kind of arms proper for arming soldiers, musket rests, belts, horses with their furniture and all other warlike instruments whatever. These merchandises which follows shall not be reckoned among contraband or prohibited goods; that is to say, all sorts of cloths and all other manufactures woven of any wool, flax, silk, cotton, or any other materials whatever, all kinds of wearing aparel together with all species whereof they are used to be made, gold and silver as well coined as uncoined, tin, iron, latton, copper, brass, coals, as also wheat, barley, oats, and any other kind of corn and pulse: tobacco and likewise all manner of spices, salted and smoked fish, salted fish, cheese and butter, beer, oils, wines, sugars, and all sorts of salts, and in general all provisions which serve for the sustenance of life. Furthermore all kinds of cotton, hemp, flax, tar, pitch, ropes, cables, sails, sail cloths, anchors, and any parts of anchors, also ships masts, planks, wood of all kind, and all other things proper either for building or repairing ships, and all other goods whatever which have not been worked into the form of any instrument prepared for war by land or by sea, shad not be reputed contraband, much less such as have been already wrought and made up for any other use: all which shall be wholy reckoned among free goods, as likewise all other merchandises and things which are not comprehended and particularly mentioned in the foregoing enumeration of contraband goods: so that they may be transported and carried in the freest manner by the subjects of both parties, even to Places belonging to an Enemy, such towns or Places being only excepted as are at that time besieged, blocked up, or invested. And except the cases in which any Ship of war or Squadron shall in consequence of storms or other accidents at sea be under the necessity of taking the cargo of any trading Vessel or Vessels, in which case they may stop the said Vessel or Vessels and furnish themselves with necessaries, giving a receipt in order that the Power to whom the said ship of war belongs may pay for the articles so taken according to the price thereof at the Port to which they may appear to have been destined by the Ship's papers: and the two contracting Parties engage that the Vessels shall not be detained longer than may be absolutely necessary for their said Ships to supply themselves with necessaries: that they will immediately pay the value of the receipts: and indemnify the proprietor for all losses which he may have sustained in consequence of such transaction (Miller 1931:330-332).

Quasi-War Between the United States and France (1798-1801)

The subject conflict also called "The Undeclared War with France", the "Pirate Wars", and the "Half War", was an undeclared naval war between the United States and France lasting just three years. Occurring during the John Adams administration, this international discord thrust George Washington back into the spotlight, as it threatened the latter's championed policy of American neutrality into jeopardy (Mount Vernon Ladies' Association 2019). Per esteemed U.S. Navy captain Dudley W. Knox (Office of Naval Records and Library [ONRL] 1935:v)

The Quasi-Naval War with France, which extended over a period of nearly three years (1798-1801), had its origins in extensive and long continued depredations upon American shipping. After the sale in 1785 of the Frigate Alliance, the last survivor of the Revolutionary Navy our seaborne commerce had no naval protection whatever and was frequently interfered with by the armed ships of the Barbary Powers, Spain, England and France. The hostile actions of the former were kept within partial bounds for a number of years through diplomacy and tribute, while reliance upon diplomatic effort alone had to serve with the others. Early in 1794, upon the recommendation of President Washington, Congress passed an act for the construction of six frigates with a view to providing protection for American seaborne commerce...

On 25 May 1798, as supercargo Silas Webb anchored off Wilmington, North Carolina aboard the *Nonpareil* he described the shrewd guise under which the ship arrived sailing from Tortola on the 20th. On 24 May, his ship parted from its convoy and was captured by a French privateer lately from Guadeloupe. After bribing one "American" prize master "acquainted with navigation" to encourage his "very ignorant" associates to bear for St. Augustine, where Webb informed all that he was "perfectly acquainted with that coast". Further to Webb's plan, he informed his captors that "the French frequently carried their prizes there" (ONRL 1935:83). By 15 June 1798, U.S. Navy captain Thomas Truxton [one of six initial U.S. Navy commanders] was exiting Chesapeake Bay aboard the ship *Constellation* with its 300-man compliment. The respected former privateer [and favorite of George Washington] who served during the American Revolution astutely commented to Philadelphian merchant Charles Biddle that

War is Certain... I am directed to send in all French Cruizers Only, but should I meet a fat Merchantman, or a Neutral Covering French property, it will seem hard to let such pass.—Before this reaches you, I shall be on the Coast, and I hope soon to pay my respects to some of the piratical Junto Should a French Man Commanding one of those fall in my way I must consider him simply as a prisoner of War, but an *American* or *Englishman* otherwise. I find by some papers sent me from Baltimore, that the British have Actually left Port au Prince, and the Post's they held in that Neighbourhood—If this be True and it seems pretty strait—they should employ that Army in taking possession of the Florida's— I would secure to them an uninterrupted passage up the Mississsippi, and to us they would be better Neighbours than the French, who will otherwise oblige the Spaniards to put them in possession of those two Provinces (ONRL 1935:118).

Three months later, U.S. Secretary of State Timothy Pickering corresponded with Spanish ambassador to the United States Carlos Martinez de Yrujo [Irujo] regarding ... "an outrage committed at Savannah, in the burning of a small Spanish Schooner, of twelve tons, from St. Augustine" (ONRL 1935:444). According to Pickering, the "Governor of East Florida" conducted the inquiry in a "very honourable " way offering four hundred dollars "to be paid on the discovery and conviction of the Offenders" (ONRL 1935:444-445).

In April 1799, the brig *Fair Columbian* parted company with some 20 American sail "under the convoy of the *Delaware*, captain Decatur" due to a strong North wind tacked over to the Florida shore where the former was captured by the HBM frigate *Hinde* (ONRL 1936a:35). The British sloop-of-war *Swan* was also cruising off East Florida rendering assistance to the frigate in the capture of the American ship outbound from Havana. An extract from the logbook of U.S. brig *Pinckney* dated Thursday, 29 August 1799 reported that the brig was in the company of the So. Carlina and two unnamed schooners. At 4 AM, the vessels tacked to the north and encountered heavy showers of rain. By 7:30AM, "the florida Shor [was] in Sight Ahead Dis¹ About 7 or 8 Leges" (ONRL 1936b:135). The captain also remarked that one puncheon of water was consumed and that two seamen were ... "unfet for Duty by Sicknese" (ONRL 1936b:135).

The formidable U.S. frigate *Constellation* (Figure 11) was off Cape Florida on 13 March 1800 some six leagues distance. Earlier that day, the vessel released the brig *Mary* of Portland, Maine from its convoy as Captain Thomas Truxton surmised that the French were not likely cruising in the vicinity (ONRL 1937:304). The subject of East Florida merely arose just before Thanksgiving 1800 when Georgian contractor Phineas Miller contacted Secretary of the Navy Benjamin Stoddart about cutting timber there. Related letters revealed that the quality of "Live Oak" available at Amelia Island was deemed superior to most other sources (ONRL 1938:543-544).



Figure 11. "Action between U.S. Frigate Constellation and French Frigate Insurgente, 9 February 1799" (Courtesy of Naval History and Heritage Command).

Nineteenth-Century Historical Overview

At the turn of century, two momentous treaties were negotiated between the United States and Spain, and between the former and France. Each transformed the legal status of *La Florida* significantly, and in early 1811, the U.S. Congress passed legislation that further impacted America's new territorial acquisition.

By the treaty of Saint Ildefonso, made October 1, 1800, Spain had ceded Louisiana to France and France, by the treaty of Paris, signed April 30, 1803, had ceded it to the United States. Under this treaty the United States claimed the

countries between the Iberville and the Perdido. Spain contended that her cession to France comprehended only that territory which, at the time of the cession, was denominated Louisiana, consisting of the island of New Orleans, and the country which had been originally ceded to her by France west of the Mississippi. Congress passed a joint resolution, approved January 15, 1811, declaring that the United States, under the peculiar circumstances of the existing crisis, could not, without serious inquietude, see any part of this disputed territory pass into the hands of any foreign power; and that a due regard to their own safety compelled them to provide, under certain contingencies, for the temporary occupation of the disputed territory; they, at the same time, declaring that the territory should, in their hands, remain subject to future negotiation. An act of Congress, approved on the same day, authorized the President to take possession of and occupy all or any part of the territory lying east of the river Perdido and south of the State of Georgia and the Mississippi Territory, in case an arrangement had been, or should be, made with the local authority of the said territory, for delivering up the possession of the same, or any part thereof, to the United States, or in the event of an attempt to occupy the said territory, or any part thereof, by any foreign government.

Origins of *Good Retreat* Plantation

In July 1812, wealthy "Bahamian" planter John Russell arrived at St. Augustine aboard his schooner *Perseverance* [later known as *Barbarita*]; where he, his family, and slaves disembarked. This British Loyalist may have been "John Russell formerly a shipbuilder of St. Johns in East Florida[who had] moved all of his tools and equipment to the Bahamas in a brig of his own building, the *Live Oak*" (Peters 1962:238). "Having located a good place for careening boats on Hog Island, across the harbor from Nassau, [John Russell] established a shipyard" and by 1790 acquired the Bahamian shipyard of Loyalists William Begbie and Daniel Manson [of Hobcaw SC] (Peters 1962:238). In "The American Loyalists In The Bahama Islands", Peters (1962:226) explained that

The American Loyalists who moved to the Bahama Islands at the close of the American Revolution were from many places and many walks of life so that classification of them is not easy. Still, some patterns do emerge and suggest a prototype with the following characteristics: a man, either first or second generation from Scotland or England, Presbyterian or Anglican, well-educated, and 'bred to accounting'. He was living in the South at the time of the American Revolution, either as a merchant, the employee of a merchant, or as a slave-owning planter. When the war came he served in one of the volunteer provincial armies of the British, usually as an officer. During the war, when the Patriots proscribed him and confiscated his property, he moved to East Florida and then found he had to make a second move as Florida was returned to Spain in 1783.

Extant documents suggested that John Russell traded his valuable 58-ton, 54-foot vessel crafted of mahogany for approximately 4000 acres via a conveyance from the Spanish governor of East Florida. The tract initially called *Good Retreat* by Russell is now part of modern Flagler County (Works Progress Administration [WPA] 1938:3). Antonio Alvarez later testified to facts regarding the Russell transaction that are presented with other essential documents in the "Spanish Claims To Land In Florida" (American State Papers 1861:276-277).

Affidavits, memorials, petitions, and plats, etc. regarding the historic Russell acquisition [which became the historic Bulow sugar interest] and many other grants in what is now Flagler County were methodically discussed in "No. 474, Land Claims In East Florida" presented to the 19th Congress, 1st Session on 23 February 1826 (American State Papers 1834:400-500).

In an unrelated event, a European traveler visited Spanish St. Augustine during 1817, and largely praised the city's ancient architecture, cultural events and overall atmosphere. Intrigued by the assembly of Seminole he encountered, the unidentified Englishman commented that

'About thirty of the hunting warriors of the Seminoles, with their squaws, had arrived, for the purpose of selling the produce of the chase, consisting of bear, deer, tiger, and other skins, bears' grease, and other trifling articles. This savage race, once the lords of the ascendant, are the most formidable border enemies of the United States. This part had arrived, after a range of six months, for the purpose of sale and barter. After trafficking for their commodities, they were seen at various parts of the town, assembled in small groups seated upon their haunches, like monkeys, passing round their bottles of *aque dente* (the rum of Cuba), their repeated draughts upon which soon exhausted their contents' (Unknown quoted in: Fairbanks 1881:95).

While stationed at Savannah, Pennsylvania doctor William Baldwin (b. 1779, d. 1819) visited East Florida during late winter/early spring 1817. The U.S. Navy surgeon devoted ... "most of his time to botanical exploration" (Small 1921a:125n). After his death, a friend published [1843] several of his letters; some of which referenced modern relevant locales. A May 1817 letter mentioned eighteenth-century plantations and anthropological/archaeological discoveries on *Penon* Island. As Baldwin descended the "coastwise lagoons from St. Augustine" (Small 1924:67) he remarked in his journal that

'The evening proving squally, we were unable to recross Matanza river; and took up our abode for the night, in the ancient and venerable fabric erected by the old [Jesse] Fish, who was the original proprietor of the island Anastasia. He was a native of Flatbush, in the State of New York; and made improvements which have hardly been exceeded in any part of the Province. Here are the remains of perhaps the most celebrated Orange Grove in the world. Some trees still remain that are 30 feet in height-and still retain a portion of their golden fruit. But all is now in ruins. Two generations have passed away... Early in the evening we encamped on Penon (Rock Island), situated on the north shore of Matanza Inlet. This is a small barren Island; containing, however, a remarkable mound of oyster shells, full of bones of the aborigines, along with the domestic implements with which they were interred, -- as earthen vessels, hatchets, etc.... Here we spread our blankets under the canopy of a star spangled sky; and after a little persecution from the mosquitoes, reposed in peace. Our heads were defended by 'Spanish bayonets' (Yucca aloifolia)... [William Baldwin letter dated 15 May 1817 quoted in: Small 1924:67, 69]. Next morning, crossing the Inlet at the southern point of Penon Island, we ascended upper Matanza river, — which running south 10 or 12 miles close to the shore, originates by several heads in the swamps, a little westerly. Tracing the eastern branch, we landed early in the afternoon at the plantation of a Mr. Hernandez. Here, in a thin sandy hammock of small Live Oaks, Cabbage and Saw Palmettoes, I had the gratification to find the "Wild Sago," or Coontia, of the Seminoles,—and to assign it its place in the sexual system; Dioecia, Polyandria: natural order, Palmae. I have no books with me to refer to; but it is probably a new genus,—approaching very closely in habit to the

real Sago family (Cycas). At supper, I had the pleasure to eat the bread prepared from the large tuberous root of this plant. In the late times of difficulty many negroes [sic], and others, were prevented from perishing with hunger by having recourse to it; and the slaves on this plantation now save half their allowance, in consequence of using it. I have no hesitation in saying that it will be found among the most important of our Esculentia... "Bowlegs, the grandson of Bartram's 'Long Warrior,' says, that 'Coontia' signifies Bread plant' (William Baldwin letter dated 15 May 1817 quoted in: Small 1921a:125-126).

Baldwin's reference to "Penon" appeared to suggest that the shallow yet distinct inlet of the same name DeBrahm described some 50 years before had closed. In their study of Matanzas Inlet, Mehta and Jones (1977:15, 34) referenced a credible source who commented that "Peñon Inlet, which was said to have been just south of Summer Haven" had "occluded in the early 1800's". See also Hodge's (1907:421) *Handbook of American Indians North of Mexico* mention of possible settlement called "El Peñon"; and Arana's (1999:87, 91, 101) *Defenses and Defenders at St. Augustine* discussion of "Barreta or Barreton del Penon".

East Florida Surveyor-General George J. F. Clarke (1811-1821)

An "English colonial by birth", George J. F. Clarke (b. 1774, d. 1836) enjoyed an intimate relationship with the Spanish governors of Florida "from at least 1811 to 1821, and during this period held several important offices" including respected land surveyor and lieutenant governor (Hill 1943:197, 244). According to his biographer,

[Clarke] was interested in experimental agriculture, fruit growing, diet and health, archeology, and the treatment of Indians, on all of which he published his views. Furthermore he was one of the largest landowners in Florida and in his will disposed of more than 33,000 acres in addition to several houses and lots...He knew East Florida better than any other man of his time, for every survey of land between 1811 and 1821 was made under his supervision. Presumably he spoke Spanish fluently and he wrote it understandingly if not grammatically.... Some of the obscurity which hangs about Clarke is without doubt due to the fact that few Spanish records of the period of his importance are readily accessible and translated (Hill 1943:197-199).

In his discussions of regional agriculture, Clarke mentioned transporting a significant cargo of "Florida Sweet oranges" to New York aboard a large schooner. He also "describe[d] the careful manner in which Jesse Fish, Sr., owner of *El Vergel* on Anastasia Island before, during, and after the British régime, picked his oranges and shipped them safely as presents to his London friends" (Clarke quoted in: Hill 1943:240). On 16 August 1821, Clarke wrote Captain John R. Bell contrasting "Spain's and Britain's methods of dealing with the Indians and Indian lands", commenting that 'however this incorporating system [Spain's] may have been abused in practice... it must be allowed that it ultimately combined benevolence in its leading principles' (Clarke quoted in: *East Florida Herald* [St. Augustine] presented by: Hill 1943:237).

With respect to the modern study area, Clarke penned an interesting 1 July 1822 work submitted to the American Civilization Society about local Florida Indians. Per Hill (1943:243-244) "In parts I to III he describe[d] in detail the appearance of and excavations he had made in a 'mount' on Penon island", 'a smaller island dividing the entrances of the larger and smaller Matanza Rivers, and which appears to have been set apart as sacred to the dead'. Clarke explains that he had much of his information from Mary, an Indian woman whose tribal name meant 'Salt Water Indians,' and who died in 1802 at the age of 100'.

By late February 1819, another international accord was concluded between the United States and His Catholic Majesty of Spain; the *Treaty of Amity, Settlement, and Limits Between the United States of America and His Catholic Majesty*. Special considerations related to Florida, specifically St. Augustine and Pensacola, impacted all military, commercial, and private navigation along the modern study area and were stipulated in Articles VIII, IX, and XV (Thorpe 1909). At this date, all residents of Florida with the exception of Native Americans became legitimate U.S. citizens by the provisions of this historic treaty. However, the first Federal census for Florida was not enumerated until 1830. For earlier reliable population information, consult *Florida's First Families, Translated Abstracts of Pre-1821 Spanish Censuses* (Mills 1992).

Bulowville Sugar Plantation (1821-1836)

By 1820, the aforementioned repatriated John Russell had died leaving his *Good Retreat* tract relatively undeveloped. At this juncture, wealthy planter Charles Wilhelm Bulow (Figure 12) arrived in Florida from his Charleston home and acquired the Russell tract and upwards of three thousand more acres along Smith's Creek.



Figure 12. Image of Colonel Charles Wilhelm Bulow (Courtesy of State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory).

Bulow immediately commenced clearing sections of the heavily-wooded tracts, and cultivated non-indigenous crops of sugarcane, indigo, and cotton. Jahoda (1984:xv) suggested that the native Charlestonian

With wood and coquina (a soft limestone formed of shells) available on the property, he constructed a residence, slave quarters, and other essential outbuildings. But like [John] Russell, [Charles] Bulow died before he could see his plans to fruition. At his death in 1823, the property passed to his son and heir John Joachim Bulow. Since the younger Bulow was still a minor, however, trustees operated the estate until about 1828, when John Bulow completed his European education and returned to the United States to succeed his father as Master of Bulowville. Under John Bulow's management, the plantation developed into one of the largest and most profitable in the area. Although he

planted about 1,000 acres of cotton, 1,500 acres of sugarcane became the key to the plantation's operations. The plantation sugar mill may have been the largest in the Florida territory.... The mill complex [included] a crushing house, steam boiler, kettle room, wooden vats, curing room, and storage sheds. Transportation of the sugar and by-product molasses also required boat slips on Smith's or Bulow Creek, where flats or barges could load up for the eleven mile trip down to the Halifax River and on to Mosquito Inlet to make connections for shipment to distant markets. Other support structures typical of a working plantation included a barn, corn house, gin house, poultry house, cooperage, blacksmith shop, and fodder houses.

Charming and handsome, John Joachim Bulow "lived in grand style in the plantation's [two-story] Big House" that was constructed of coquina and encircled by piazzas (Jahoda 1984:xvi). According to most accounts, Bulow "maintained good relations with the Seminole Indians in the region and did not support the government's removal policy" (Jahoda 1984:xvi). This special relationship and his vocal aversion to President Andrew Jackson's policy of moving indigenous people to the west soon threatened his "life of privilege and favor". As the Second Seminole War escalated, Knetsch (2003) commented on the rapidly deteriorating regional scene as such.

In late December 1835, the almost daily reports from the frontier along the St. Johns River and along the eastern coast were getting grimmer by the hour. The old settlement at New Smyrna was reported burned, as were the plantations of Dunham, Herriot, Cruger, Williams, and the Andersons at Dunlawton. Indeed, almost the entire area of the Tomoka River was reported in the hands of the Native Americans and deserted by the whites. General Hernandez quickly called his officers together for a council of war to discuss the situation. They decided to send Major Benjamin Alexander Putnam and Company A of the St. Augustine Guards, Companies B and C of the mounted units, and Company D of the infantry quota down to the area to secure it from further depredations. A detachment of mounted volunteers under Mathew Solano was also sent to assist this operation. By December 18, 1835, Major Putnam and his force had reached General Hernandez's plantations of St. Joseph and Mala Compra [Flagler County].

Bulow unwillingly abandoned his palatial home, cutting-edge industrial complex, and plantation to Major Putnam and his "Mosquito Roarers" even going so far as to fire his cannon at the American forces. Putnam subsequently imprisoned Bulow on his own premises, "and the army built a small fort of palm logs and fortified the Big House and slave quarters with stacks of baled cotton" (Jahoda 1984:xvi). Bulowville was abandoned on 23 January 1836 by Putnam and his soldiers; and this group plus a number of settlers, and local slaves retreated to St. Augustine some 40 miles to the north. Seminoles allegedly razed the house and plantation's buildings before 5 January 1836 according to testimony from a Joseph Sanchez. In the immediate aftermath of this destruction, U.S. Army surgeon Jacob Rhett Motte wrote that

We turned down the broad avenue, once flanked by noble oaks whose scathed and blackened trunks and leafless limbs alone remained to attest their former magnificence. On either side were extensive fields, most luxuriant once with richest sugar crops but now presenting a scene in which the demon of desolation stalked with unchecked sway. On our left arose...the ruined arches and columns of the once stately sugar mill while before us lay a smouldering, ashy heap, the only vestige to show where once stood the hospitable mansion (as presented in: O'Sullivan 2012:9).

Jacob Rhett Motte's diary entitled *Journey into Wilderness*, *An Army Surgeon's Account of Life in Camp and Field during the Creek and Seminole Wars 1836-1838* should be consulted for several references to Bulow's ruined estate [including autumn 1836], other local plantations and settlers, and the contemporary conflict. The edited (Sunderman 1953) version of Motte's essential journal is presented in its entirety through the courtesy of the George A Smathers Libraries digital collection <ufc.ufl.edu>.

On 12 March 1836, *The Sunbury Gazette* (*TSG*, p. 3) of Pennsylvania reprinted a remarkable story first published in St. Augustine on 15 February entitled "*Indian Devastations*". <u>Just before Valentine Day</u>, "a dense smoke was seen in the south, in the direction of Bulowville".... "General Hernandez's houses at St. Josephs's were on fire" ... and that the estate of "Col. James Williams" and "Mr. Dupon's plantation of Buen Retiro" were also fired [allegedly] by large numbers of "Indians". The dramatic story commenced as such,

The whole of the country south of St. Augustine has been laid waste during the past week, and not a building of any value left standing. There is not a single house now remaining between this city and Cape Florida, a distance of 250 miles, all, all [sic] have been burnt to the ground (*TSG* 1836:3).

A sworn statement dated 1 April 1836 attributed to Bulow (then at St. Augustine) and relevant documents attested to the destruction of Bulowville (Appendix B). Disheartened, John Joachim Bulow soon thereafter died [sources suggest Paris or St. Augustine] as U.S. congressional documents referred to his death by March 1837. A 71-page petition entitled "Report No. 58, Joseph M. Hernandez" presented to the 28th Congress, 1 Session in January 1844 whereby the petitioner sought indemnification for "certain losses [e.g., Mala Compra] sustained by him in the years 1836 and 1837" should be consulted for relevant information. That petition included documents referencing the estate of John Bulow [his forced dispossession by American forces] and the mistreatment of other local landowners in what is now modern Flagler County (U.S. Congress 1844).

Wilson's (1945) article entitled "The Bulow Plantation, 1821-1835" is an excellent resource with robust bibliography. In *Sweet Cane; The Adventure of the Sugar Works of East Florida*, Wayne (2010:6) suggested that Bulow's site [and seven other local ventures] offered unique "geographic characteristics"; i.e., universal access to rivers, access to the King's Road, a mild climate, abundant rainfall, long-growing season, and very fertile soil [sand-humus mix]. With respect to the last critical attribute, the lack of eighteenth-century agriculture had not depleted the soils as was the case in South Carolina and Georgia. East Florida's immense tracts of virgin land offered planters [and/or investors] premium opportunities. If the labor shortage, Indian issue, and interference from American forces had not disrupted those schemes; inestimable success could have been achieved.

Numerous other scholarly publications shed light on the Bulow sugar concern; as well as relevant history concerning other planters, merchants, events, and culture of the region that is present-day coastal St. Johns, Flagler, and Volusia counties. O'Sullivan's (2012) "Out of the Land of Forgetfulness: Archaeological Investigations at Bulow Plantation (8FL), Flagler County, Florida" provided exceptional background information. A terrestrial laser scanning project of the "Bulow Plantation Ruins" conducted for the Florida Park Service provided critical information about the remnants of the historic structures and suggest through scientific calculations the dimensions of the eighteenth-century buildings (Collins and Doering 2009). University of Florida archaeological expeditions conducted intermittently between 2014 to 2018 concentrated on "two slave cabins" associated with Bulow's enterprise and the results of those ongoing studies present intriguing new data (Ryan 2019b).

Local Industry and The Lure of Nature

The prevalence of coquina found along the study area coastline; and its historical use for regional construction projects were discussed by a distinguished nineteenth-century geologist. In his 1825 article published by *The American Journal of Science and Arts*, James Pierce commented that

Extensive beds of shell rock, of a peculiar character, occupy the borders of the ocean in various places from the river St. Johns to Cape Florida. They are composed of unmineralized marine shells of species common to our coast, mostly small bivalves, whole and in minute division, connected by calcareous cement. I examined this rock on the isle of Anastasia opposite St. Augustine, where it extends for miles, rising 20 feet above the sea and unknown depth. It has been penetrated about 30 feet. In these quarries[,] horizontal strata of shell rock of sufficient thickness and solidity for good building stone alternate with narrow parallel beds of larger and mostly unbroken shell, but slightly connected. Hatchets are used in squaring the stone. Lime is made from the material, of a quality inferior to ordinary stone lime. The large Spanish fort [Fort Marion] and most of the public and private buildings of St. Augustine are constructed of this stone. The rock extends in places into the sea, with superincumbent beds of new shell of the same character (Pierce quoted by: Matson and Sanford 1913:155-156).

Due to numerous other first-person accounts regarding its dramatically wild physical landscape, exquisite flora and curious fauna, the seacoast of northeastern Florida was the subject of several organized nature studies during the early to mid-nineteenth century. In particular, American and European botanists and zoologists appeared to be fascinated by the region's exotic plants and unusual wildlife; especially birds and venomous serpents (Say 1818:263, 265; Figure 13; Appendix C:44).

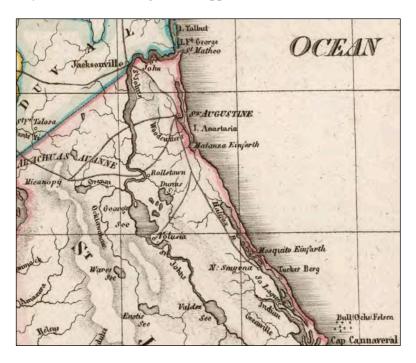


Figure 13. Detail of rare 1828 Weiland atlas entitled *Geographisch-statistiche und historische Charte von Florida* that [as a whole] identified the new U.S. territory's seven counties (Courtesy of NBLMC).

John James Audubon East Florida Expedition (1831-1832)

In October 1820, John James Audubon (b. 1785, Saint-Domingue) commenced his journey "to find and paint all the birds of North America", which culminated in the popular 1839 publication *The Birds of America* (Holcomb 2014:70). In the interim, the naturalist-ornithologist visited the famed Bulow sugar plantation on perhaps at least two occasions; mid-November 1831 and Christmas 1831 (Herrick 1917:15). At some juncture, Audubon produced the now famous sketch of the *Tell-tale Godwit* [or *Snipe*] that remarkably depicted Bulow's sugar manufacture (Figure 14). The ongoing construction of "some very extensive buildings" fashioned with "a concrete of shells" impressed the naturalist as did "his esteemed friend" Bulow's "immense" holdings, "large house", and the persistent service of delicious fare (See Appendix B). A brief excerpt of an "annexed" letter posted "*Bulowville*, *East Florida*, *Dec. 31*, *1831*" to the editor of *American Monthly Journal of Geology* follows.

Mr. J. J. Bulow, a rich planter, at whose home myself and party have been for a whole week under the most hospitable and welcome treatment that could possibly be expected, proposed three days since that we should proceed down the river in search of new or valuable birds, and accordingly the boats, six hand and 'three white men', with some provisions, put off with fair wind, and a pure sky. I say a pure sky, because not a cloud interrupted the rich blue of the heavens in this generally favored latitude (reprint of Audubon letter [1831] presented by: *The Connecticut Courant* 1832:41).



Figure 14. Audubon sketch illustrating Bulowville structures, ca. 1831 (Courtesy of Florida Department of Environmental Protection).

At some point in the journey, inclement weather [e.g. "from 30 to 89 degrees in 24 hours"], mud, insects and other environmental conditions appeared to dampen Audubon's spirits as he sailed aboard a "light bark" or "barque". Prior to finding their way back to Bulow's home, Audubon and his party encountered "a schooner from New York", passed several plantations, and eventually anchored at "live-oak landing". The naturalist elaborated on the local seacoast in this sardonic manner.

The sea beach of East Florida—have you ever seen it? If you have not, I advise you strongly never to pay a visit to it, under the circumstances that brought me and companions to it yesterday morning. We saw the ocean spread broad before our eyes, but it looked angry and ruffly, strewed with high, agitated waves, that came in quick succession towards the desolate, naked shore: not an object in view but the pure sky and agitated waters.... Pretty walking along the sea side beach of Florida in the month of December! with the wind at north-east, and we going in its very teeth, through sand, that sent our feet back six inches at every step of two feet that we made. Well, through this sand we all waded, for many a long mile, picking up, here and there, a shell that is no where else to be found, until we reached the landing place of J. J. Bulow. Now, my heart, cheer up once more, for the sake of my most kind host—troubled with rheumatic pains as he is. I assure you, I was glad to see him nearing his own comfortable roof; and as we saw the large house opening to view, across his immense plantation, I anticipated a good dinner with as much pleasure as I ever experienced (reprint of Audubon letter [1831] presented by: *The Connecticut Courant* 1832:43).

On 6 January 1832, Audubon "left the plantation of [his] friend John Bulow, accompanied by an amiable and accomplished Scotch gentleman, and engineer employed by the planters of those districts in erecting their sugar-house establishments.... mounted on horses of the Indian breed" (Audubon 1894:228). His objective at that date was to reconnoiter the region north of Bulow's holdings to the St. Johns. Over the course of his travels in East Florida from November 1831 to March 1832, the Frenchman paid close attention to its topography, strange plants, exotic wildlife; noting curiosities like natural springs, etc.

Audubon wrote about great flocks of barn swallows being "bewildered" by "the fogs of that latitude". In particular, he observed this phenomenon involving thousands of the species aboard frequent trips on a U.S. Navy vessel he intermittently called *Spark* or *Shark* stationed at St. Augustine. In this interval, the 198-ton, 86-foot schooner USN *Shark* was tasked to the Mediterranean cruising ground to intercept Barbary Pirates. It is more likely that the vessel Audubon sailed on was the *Spark*; purchased in 1831 *specifically* for the "Protection of Live Oak" along the "Atlantic coast of Florida" (U.S. Navy 1832:76; Audubon 1840:183-184, 186, 188; Audubon 1894:209-211).

By his own account, Audubon carried letters advising U.S. Navy captains to facilitate his Florida travels and his comfort. A credible source confirmed a facsimile "from the Secretary of the Navy... directing 'the officers commanding Revenue Cutters on the Charleston, Key West and Mobile Station' to assist Audubon'; and that this unique memorandum actually reached him "at Bulow's plantation... and his solicitous host at once packed Audubon and his men in a wagon and sent them to St. Augustine to take advantage of the order" (Audubon 1897b; Shuler 1995:84). This source suggested that the relationship between the schooner *Spark*'s captain, William P. Piercy, and Audubon was less than amicable and that the latter may overextended his privileges (Shuler 1995:84-85)

For more information about Audubon's travels in East Florida that include specific references to the current study area, consult *The Birds of America* (Audubon 1840); *The Life of John James Audubon, The Naturalist* (Audubon 1894); *Audubon and His Journals* (vol. I, 1897a; vol. II, 1897b); *Audubon The Naturalist, A History of His Life and Time* (Herrick 1917); *On the Road With John James Audubon* (Durant and Harwood 1980); *Had I Had Wings; The Friendship of Bachman and Audubon* (Shuler 1995); *John James Audubon, The Making Of An America* (Rhodes 2004); and *Lost Plantations of the South* (Matrana 2009).

John Lee Williams Expeditions (1823-1837)

Massachusetts native John Lee Williams moved to Pensacola during 1820 after a speculating venture in the western lands of the United States. Before migrating to St. Augustine by 1830, Williams practiced law, served as a justice of the peace, and "occasionally explored parts of Florida" (Thrapp 1988:1572). Two years later, Williams commenced duty as an assistant adjutant general in the 2nd Brigade (Florida militia) under the command of Joseph Hernandez. That association obviously placed Williams in the forefront of historic events playing out in the region that became modern Flagler County.

Published in 1837, his "widely circulated and authoritative" *The Territory of Florida: Or Sketches of the Topography, Civil and Natural History, of the Country, the Climate, and the Indian Tribes* described the nineteenth-century environment of the modern study area in great detail. Williams (1837:139) remarked that "In so great an extent of country, as Musquito, there must necessarily be a great diversity of soil and climate" but pointed out that the great plantations had "been laid waste" as a consequence of the recent Seminole conflict. However, he did reference "Mala Compra" in the present tense as such; ... "the seat of General Hernandez is situate at the head of the Matanzas Lagoon. It is an extensive cotton plantation" (Williams 1837:138).

Furthermore, he commented on forward-thinking drainage experiments in that "a company is formed to cut a canal through this savanna [13-miles expanse], from Mala Compra, at the head of Matanzas Lagoon, to Mr. Bulow's plantation, on Smith's Creek, a water of Halifax River" (Williams 1837:139, 146). With respect to the "plantation of the late Mr. Bulow", Williams (1837:139) stated that it "is one of the finest in Florida". The surveyor mentioned that schooners could easily enter Dunn's Lake in front of the former great plantation, Esperanzee, which had been carefully tended by its late proprietor "Mr. Joseph M. Sanches". Two separate sugar plantations, owned by a Colonel Williams of Maryland and Major Samuel Williams, were located north of Graham's Swamp.

Of the latter topographical feature, Williams (1837:139) related that, "Graham's Swamp is a narrow strip of land, that runs parallel with the coast, commencing at the head of the Matanzas Lagoon, and extending to the Tomoko River. It is scarcely over two miles in width, but the lands are of a superior quality". The surveyor noted that while live oak, oranges, and cotton were the principal contemporary exports of Mosquito County, he suggested that sugar could "supercede" cotton in the future. Lemons, limes, guavas, figs, and even grape cultivation had commenced there in some degree and local planters were taking advantage of the nutrient rich grazing land for livestock (Williams 1837:138).

Importantly, Williams (1837:139) contrasted the recent surge in population, the increase of property values, and agricultural improvements that had existed before the devastating recent Seminole War. However, he did observe "considerable settlement on Tomoko and Smith's Creeks, on the Halifax River, and at New Smyrna; [with] the balance of this county [being] unsettled" (Williams 1837:139). In regard to the subject settlement "that once contained 1800 inhabitants", Williams (1837:302) related that the "old town" was now owned by "Col. Andrews and Major Lytle" and would be resurveyed "as soon as the removal of the Seminoles [would] permit".

In his discussion of agriculture, Williams (1837:302) added that "All the lands for forty miles north and south of Smyrna, lying parallel with, and from two to three miles from the coast, are of an excellent quality. Near the shore they will produce good Cotton and fruits, but are too thin for sugar in their present state". Another specific remark describing the region, including the current study, follows.

There is little difference in either soil or productions from the St. Marys to Musquito. The sea coast is covered with palmettoes. Two or three miles from the sea shore, there is a strip, from one to four miles wide, covered with excellent land, bordering on the lagoons, that stretch parrallel [sic] with the shore. West of that are flat pine lands (Williams 1837:12).

Navigation generally associated with local commerce along the coast from St. Augustine to Mosquito Inlet was touched on by Williams (1837:53-54, 60, 138, 302) as he observed boats, sloops, and "large schooners". "Commerce", according to Williams (1837:115)

...like our manufactures, is in its infancy. A moderate coasting trade is all that Florida yet can boast. Dry goods are brought from New York, and provisions from New Orleans and Charleston. Our exports consist of live oak and cedar timber, cotton, bricks, pine lumber, staves, hides, horns, tallow, bees-wax, peltries and oranges. At St. Joseph's a line of packets has lately been established to run to Liverpool.

Two vessels reconnoitering near and along the study coastline in mid to late December 1837 were identified by the *Public Ledger* of Philadelphia on 8 January 1838; steamer *Ockmulgee* and schooner *Agnes*. The former was commanded by Captain Blankenship who was tasked with the unpleasant objective to transport "the Indian Chiefs" at St. Augustine to Castle Pinckney [Charleston]. In the case of the latter vessel, the Pennsylvania newspaper reported its shipwreck in this manner.

The schr. Agnes, Houston, went ashore on the north breaker of Mosquito Bar Dec. 20th. It is doubtful whether she can be got off. She had knocked off her false keel and lost both anchors, and lies at the mercy of the winds and waves (*Public Ledger*, Monday, 8 January 1838:2).

A rare map attributed to John Lee Williams (Figure 15) identified four relevant ca. 1837 developed sites; Mala Compra, St. Joseph, New Hartford, and Bulow. In the preface to his aforementioned work, Williams (1837:vi) referred to this up-to-date chart saying that

No improvement can ever be made in [George] Gauld's survey of the Florida Keys. An the Atlantic coast is generally correct. The whole face of the country east of the St. John's river is more particularly, and I trust more correctly exhibited on mine, than on any former map. Still perfect correctness cannot be expected, until the country is surveyed.



Figure 15. Detail of rare ca. 1837 map attributed to John Lee Williams (Courtesy of Barry Lawrence Ruderman Antique Maps [BLR).

A map produced by U.S. topographical engineers in 1839 depicted the prominent "Kings's Road" running along the entire coastline from the St. Marys River, past the Town of Smyrna, and to Lake Harney [near Fort Lane]. Three distinct square icons are depicted along the subject coastline lying between Grahams Swamp and the Tomoka River. "Dunbarton" appeared as the only town situated between Matanzas Inlet and "Musquito Bar". The faint red line represented the district delegated to the Seminoles by General Macomb in May 1839. Compiled under Brigadier General Zachary Taylor's order, and primarily based on surveys by U.S. Army officers, this exceedingly accurate work was entitled "*Map of the Seat of War In Florida*" (Figure 16). Within just seven years, the engineers drew another map of the still strategically critical U.S. territory that had since become the 27th state of the Union on 3 March 1845 (Figure 17).

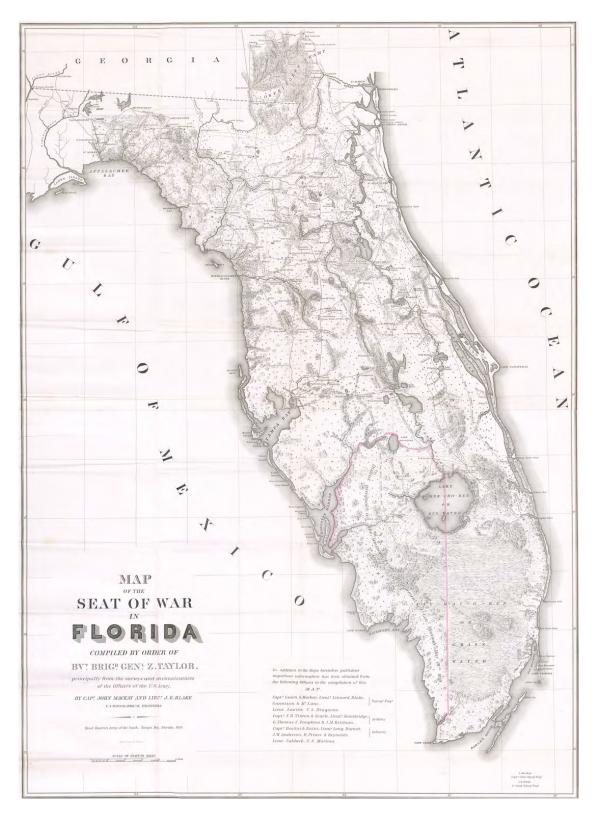


Figure 16. Ca. 1839 map produced by U.S. topographical engineers.



Figure 17, Detail of U.S. Bureau of Topographical Engineers entitled *The State of Florida*, ca. 1846 (Courtesy of NBLME).

Antebellum Period (1850-1860)

Produced by a prestigious German firm, the map entitled "Florida. Nach den besten Quellen bearbeitent 1850" shows no development along present-day FC but does illustrate the location of "Little Bar" (Figure 18). Published at Hildburghausen by Joseph Meyer, the chart does depict new settlement patterns in the interior (BLR n.d.b.). A chart produced by the U.S. Coast Survey ca. 1855 identified two relevant settlements located south of Matanzas Inlet; Dupont and Washington. The historic "Kings Road" is also illustrated running west of the shoreline from St. Augustine to Spruce Creek (Figure 19). Mehta and Jones (1977:15) commented that 1857 field notes prepared by "Gabriel W. Perpall" confirmed the existence of an inlet near the present-day location of Summer Haven suggesting an association with the sixteenth-century one known as Peñon.



Figure 18. Detail of Florida. Nach den besten Quellen bearbeitent 1850 (Courtesy BLR).

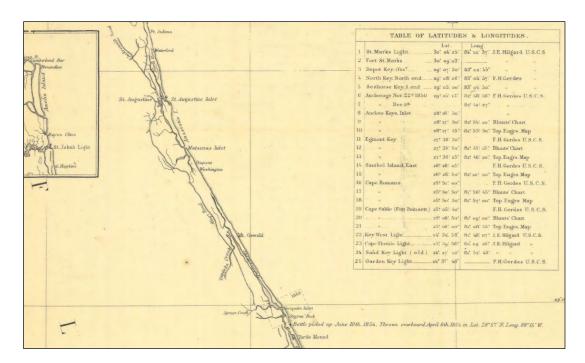


Figure 19. Detail of U.S. Coast Survey *Sketch F* produced ca. 1855 (Courtesy of U.S. Office of Coast Survey, Historical Map & Chart Collection [USCS]).

Prior to the advent of armed conflict, George Fairbanks [charter member of The Florida Historical Society] lived in ... "the always ancient and always interesting old Spanish city of SAN AGUSTIN DE FLORIDA"... for many years and produced his *History and Antiquities of St. Augustine*, *Florida* in 1858. Writing the preface to its third edition [1881], the author [then residing at Fernandina] contrasted St. Augustine's prewar and postwar atmosphere in this manner.

The city was then [1858] in its great lethargy— a peaceful, quaint and pleasant city by the sea, its life varying day by day but little more than the ebbing and flowing tides which washed its shores, or the mild seasons which imperceptibly glided into each other. The terrible civil war which so long convulsed our whole country scarcely disturbed the surface life of the old city, however much the hearts of its people went forth in war sympathy for their sons on distant battlefields, who had gone out in their youth and brightness—alas! so few to return. Their roster is inscribed on that memorial shaft which has been erected on the plaza to their memory by loving mothers, sisters and friends—perhaps the only visible object within its walls to recall that fierce and bloody struggle (Fairbanks 1881:xii).

American Civil War (April 1861-April 1865)

By 10 January 1861, when the State of Florida formally announced its secession from the Union the population was enumerated at only 140,000 citizens. In *Confederate Military History*, Evans (1899:161) remarked that

The Tenth regiment Florida infantry had its inception early in the spring of 1861, when the tocsin of war sounded throughout the land and the patriotic sons of Florida were called to arms in defense of the State. Capt. Charles F. Hopkins, who commanded the Marion artillery at St. Augustine, applied for and received a commission to raise a battalion of infantry, the first organized in the State.

By early August 1861, *The Third Florida* (infantry regiment) was organized primarily ... "under a call from President [Jefferson Finis] Davis for two additional regiments to assist in the defense of the Florida coast (Figure 20). It was composed of ten companies of the most prominent citizens from counties in south, east, middle and west Florida, some of them having formed part of the volunteer militia of the State before the war. Among them were the Jacksonville Light infantry, St. Augustine Blues and Jefferson Rifles....The two Jefferson companies, under the command of Captain D. B. Bird, were ordered during winter 1861/1862 to New Smyrna, "to protect the government stores which were brought into Halifax river from Nassau" (Evans 1899:43-44). The Second Florida (cavalry regiment) was raised in August 1862 and included St. John and Volusia citizens (Evans 1899:52).

The general plan of abandoning the coast involved other Florida points in addition to Pensacola. Fernandina was evacuated in March, 1862, and the well-constructed defenses abandoned. The town of St. Augustine was surrendered on March 11, 1862, to Commander Rodgers, of the flagship *Wabash*, and on the next day Jacksonville peacefully capitulated (Evans 1899: 41). By April 1863, and for ... "several months afterward", the Second Florida Cavalry "guarded all the country from St. Augustine to Smyrna". "This duty being too heavy" the command was reinforced by Company C [Capt. Wm. C. Chambers] who provided immeasurable assistance in order to protect the landing of supplies from [Confederate] blockade runners (Evans 1899:54).

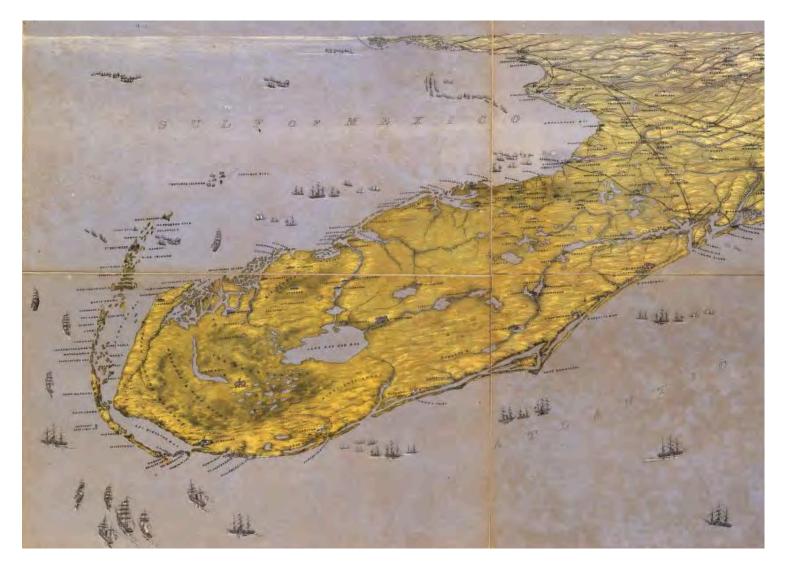


Figure 20. Detail of 1861 "Panorama of the Seat of War. Birds Eye View (from) Virginia (to) Florida" produced by John Bachmann (Courtesy of David Rumsey Map Collection).

According to military historian Hearn (2011:101), there were only nine battles fought in the State of Florida. Heavy Union losses at the Battle of Olustee on 20 February 1864 "prompted the War Department to question whether anything could be gained by further military involvement in eastern Florida"... (Hearn 2011:99; Figure 21). Subsequently, "only a few scattered skirmishes" were reported in the region. At the conclusion of the conflict, the death toll for Florida Confederates totaled 2,346. Of that aggregate, only 80 were identified as officers. An astonishing number of Florida Confederates died due to disease; specifically, 1,047 mortalities (Hearn 2011:100). Confederate and Union rosters, as well as widow pensions, identify several Florida soldiers serving during the Civil War with the Raulerson surname (Hartman and Coles 1995a; Hartman and Coles 1995b; Hartman and Coles 1995c). Some association with the contemporary local community *Raulerson* is assumed, which later became *Espanola*.



Figure 21. Detail of 1864 map entitled "Northern Part of Florida" produced by USCS (Courtesy of NBLMC).

On 1 April 1865, the despondent 57-year-old Florida governor and former lawyer ended his life with a firearm. Previously, Governor John Milton reportedly told his legislative body that "Death would be preferable to reunion". By early May 1865,

Edward M. McCook's Union division had arrived in Florida to re-establish Federal control of the state... On May 13th, Colonel George Washington Scott surrendered the last remaining Confederate troops in Florida and seven days later General McCook read Lincoln's Emancipation Proclamation during a ceremony in the state capitol at Tallahassee, ending slavery in Florida (Hearn 2011:101).

A survey of select volumes of *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navi*es (Series I, vols. 1-27 and Series II, vols. 1-3 [1894-1922]) presented by *Making of America*, Cornell University Library database http://collections.library.cornell.edu/moa/ was conducted for specific maritime events related to the study area. Likewise, select volumes of *The War of the Rebellion*, *A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Series I, 1-53; Series II, 1-8; Series III, 1-5; Series IV, 1-4 [1880-1901]) were reviewed with a view to investigate activities of quartermaster and/or transport vessels, etc. Searches generally focused on civilian, military and/or commercial navigation linked to St. Augustine, Matanzas and Mosquito [renamed Ponce de Leon, 1926] inlets and New Smyrna. Germane journals and monographs included in the MOA database were also reviewed.

Postbellum Growth of Lumber and Turpentine Industries

Deen (2009) provided an excellent synopsis of the origins of the subject industries (Figure 22) and also touched on the concurrent late-nineteenth-century development of local railroad infrastructure. Ca. 1880, Alva Alonzo Bunnell founded the current county seat of what is now FC. At its inception, the small hamlet was merely a sawmill site ... "but as the soil in the area proved to be especially fertile it became a great farming center" (Morris 2011). According to the *Daytona Beach News-Journal (DBN-J* 2016),

With the development of railroad lines in what would become Flagler County, a small settlement north of Bunnell, originally called Raulerson and now called Espanola, developed. In 1880, this little settlement about three miles north of Bunnell boasted three families but had no waterway, no paved roads, or railroad to attract anyone... With the coming of the railroad, new families came to settle and possibly to seek work. Because of the population here, on March 7, 1888, the U.S. Postal Service established a post office named Raulerson. On May 17, 1894, the post office's name was changed to Espanola. Around 1890, Espanola was a thriving community of about 100 people.



Figure 22. Ca. 1880 image of Florida turpentine factory (Courtesy of New York Public Library).

City of Vera Cruz Shipwreck (29/30 August 1880)

The fate of the *City of Vera Cruz* was widely reported in the aftermath of the steamer's dramatic 1880 shipwreck near the modern study area. On 4 September 1880, *The Portland Daily Press* published a very detailed account under these sensational headlines; "ANOTHER HORROR!, Supposed Loss of Steamer City of Vera Cruz. FLORIDA COAST THE SCENE OF THE DISASTER. THE CALAMITY CAUSED BY A GALE. Seventy-Nine Lives Probably Lost. SEVERAL BODIES WASHED ASHORE". The Maine newspaper largely reprinted excerpts from New York sources, which included the following accounts.

A Herald dispatch from St. Augustine, Fla., 2d inst., says there is very little doubt that the steamer City of Vera Cruz of the Mexican line, which sailed from New York, Aug. 25th for Havana and Vera Cruz, went down in the recent hurricane, which has already strewn our coast [Florida] with wrecks. Only the faintest hopes remain that any of the passengers survived. Portions of the mail carried by the ill-fated vessel were washed ashore yesterday some miles south of this city [St. Augustine]. One mail bag contained letters for Cuba and Mexico posted in Paris, France, Aug. 13th, and another lot was found with envelopes bearing post mark New York, Aug. 25th. On a closer examination several bills of lading of the City of Vera Cruz were discovered. On Saturday afternoon a large steamer, supposed to be the Vera Cruz passed the brig Carolina Eddy, then about sixty miles from the coast, off St. Augustine. This brig was soon struck by a hurricane and wrecked, drifting on the beach. Near the place where she was lost the letters were discovered. At the time the steamer was sighted she was headed south, the wind then blowing very hard and the gale rising. The City of Vera Cruz must have been struck by the hurricane and probably foundered on Saturday night or Sunday morning. Two sailing vessels, in addition, to the Eddy, have come ashore since the gale near here [St. Augustine].... [new sub-headline] 'The Lost Craft.' The City of Vera Cruz was a wooden vessel, 1874 tons register, built at Greenpoint, L. I. [Long Island NY], in 1874, by J. English, for Alexandre & Son line between this city [New York], Havana and Mexico. She was a screw vessel, 296 feet long, 37 feet beam and 26 [feet] deep, and had a draught of 19 feet of water. She had three decks, was brig rigged and her motive power consisted of two compound cylinder engines. The material of her timbers was white oak, chestnut and hackmatack. She had a propeller 15 feet 6 inches in diameter, with a pitch of 23 feet. Iron strips four inches wide and five-eighths of an inch in thickness, doubled and diagonally laid strengthened the vessel materially. She had accommodations for 100 passengers and was finely furnished. Mr. H. Alexandre said last night [2 September 1880] 'that the firm had no information of any accident to the City of Vera Cruz. There were rumors on the street in the afternoon, but no credence was placed in them. We considered her a staunch vessel, capable of weathering any storm. She was loaded lightly. The cargo consisted of potatoes, provisions and general merchandise, amounting in all to about \$50,000. Capt. Van Sice [sic] was in command, an expert seaman and one of the most careful men in the trade. The first officer, Capt. Horn, has also been a commander for years. A crew of fifty picked men were on the City of Vera Cruz. There is no manner in which I can account for the loss of the steamer unless she met with a collision during a fog. We have never lost a life on any of our steamers before' (The Portland Daily Press [TPDP] 4 September 1880:2).

Another telegraphic dispatch originating from St. Augustine on 3 September 1880 (and printed by *TPDP* 1880:2) advised concerned readers that

The beach north and south of St. Augustine light and as far south as Matanzas inlet is strewn with wrecked stuff, dry goods, provisions and every description of merchandise. The first evidence of wreck was discovered near the light house Tuesday and the following day the coast to the north and southwards revealed the story of the terrible disaster. Ten miles below Matanzas trunks and mail bags were found, the latter of which was marked with a tag 'Return to New York' was opened and found to contain letters... also bills of lading for goods per steamship Vera Cruz. Near the place where the mail bag and trunks [one bearing name 'Hernandez' confirmed as passenger] were found the bodies of three men, a woman and child were discovered and interred by the people in the neighborhood. All valuables and jewelry were taken from the bodies so that the remains could not be identified. All the wreckage shows that the steamer Vera Cruz [left] New York the 25th for Havana, went ashore on or foundered just off the Florida coast Monday night or Tuesday morning during the heavy storm and all on board perished.

By 8 September 1880, *The New York Sun* published a story about ... "the furious hurricane that caused almost unexampled damage in the Bermuda Islands on Aug. 29 and 30". Furthermore, the prominent paper stated that "It appears to have been the same revolving storm that caused the wreck of the steamship City of Vera Cruz off the Florida coast on Sunday, Aug. 29." (*The New York Sun* 1880:1). On the same day, *The Daily Gazette (TDG* 1880:3) of Wilmington, Delaware weighed in on that relevant shipwreck and others in "Wrecks on the Florida Coast. FIVE VESSELS STRANDED-EIGHT BODIES RECOVERED FROM THE VERA CRUZ". Relying on first-hand accounts collected in Jacksonville, Florida, *TDG* (1880:3) stated that

Underwriter Thos. S. Eells came from the wrecked steamer Vera Cruz to-day, bringing the gilded ball from the steamer's flagstaff, her ornamented trail board &c. Floating near the Vera Cruz was an unknown copper-bottomed brig of 500 tons, bottom side up. Over two hundred thousand dollars worth of property lies strewn over the beach. Only eight bodies have been recovered as yet. A lady, 40 years of age, wore three rings, one of them engraved 'S. S. to H. K.', March 23, 1870. One young woman wore a valuable diamond ring. These and other valuables are in possession of Mr. Justice Ralston, fifteen miles below Mosquito Inlet....All the dead excepting Gen. Torbert [confirmed passenger on City of Vera Cruz] are buried on the beach where they floated ashore. Mr. Eells sold the Caroline [or Carolina] Eddy just where she lay for \$110, and her cargo for \$425. He has instructions from insurers and owners to sell all that floats ashore at auction for the most he can get. Five hundred barrels of lard are in one pile, and every sort of furniture in another. Such survivors as are at New Berlin and New Smyrna have been too badly shaken to be removed. They are expected here [Jacksonville FL] by every boat that comes down.

Officials based at Jacksonville, Florida verified that the *Rosa Eppinger* of that port wrecked on 29 August 1880 ... "about sixteen miles above Cape Canaval" [sic]; also a victim of the horrific "cyclone". This schooner was owned by several Jacksonville parties and under the command of Capt. Joseph Bayless. At the time of its demise, the vessel "sailed from Cedar Keys, Fla., for New York, loaded with 240,000 feet of yellow pine" (*TDG* 8 September 1880:3). On the following day, *The Princeton Union* of Saint Paul, Minnesota (9 September 1880:1) related that of the ... "fifty-seven passengers... thirteen persons—mostly men—were saved" from the *City of Vera Cruz*.

On 7 January 1881, the *Chicago Daily Tribune* reported that the *City of Vera Cruz* foundered "off the Florida coast during a hurricane" under the headline; "In The Waves. A Year Memorable for Marine Disasters." Published as a reprint from the New York Tribune, the story commenced with this fact; "The record of marine disasters during the year 1880, especially of losses of steamships, is startling". The 3 August 1881 edition of *The Evening Star* merely commented that "The Vera Cruz was wreck off the Florida Coast"... in its discussion of steam vessel casualties for the Federal fiscal year. A map produced within three years of the destructive 1880 hurricane revealed a still undeveloped coastline of present-day Flagler County (Figure 23).

Some 45 years later, *The Flagler Tribune* (*TFT* 1925a) published a narrative in which a then Flagler Beach landowner shared with the Bunnell newspaper. Family lore suggested that the father of storyteller F. I. Mobbs purchased 160 acres ca. 1884 from "a man named Neill". The latter supposedly acquired the tract through the Homestead Act of 1879. An excerpt follows.

While engaged in the work of taking off the mahogany from the vessel [he thought to be the *Vera Cruz*], Neill discovered that there was additional cargo consisting of a considerable quantity of lard; and this he surreptitiously conveyed ashore on his account and hid in the hammock land. When the cargo which had been salvaged from the wreck was checked with the record of the original consignment it was discovered that in some mysterious manner the shipment of lard was missing. Investigators from Boston came down to look into the matter and after a careful search, located the missing lard in the cache where it had been hidden by Neill. The latter was then notified to leave the country [sic] at once, or he would be arrested and prosecuted. Thereupon Neill, who had previously commuted his homestead, sold the same to Mr. James Mobbs, of Sanford, Fla., for the munificent sum of \$350 in cash (*TFT* 1925a).

Extant documents seem to suggest that Neill possibly salvaged cargo from the *Carolina Eddy* [lard] and/or from the *Rosa Eppinger* [lumber]. The Mobb property as of 1925 included historic "Neill's Hammock" featuring a quarter of a mile of valuable oceanfront; situated "one mile north of the Coast Guard Station" (*TFT* 1925a).

In "Lonely Vigils: Houses of Refuge on Florida's East Coast", Thurlow (1997:152-153) remarked that

Between 1875 and 1886, ten houses of refuge and a life-saving station were built at intervals along Florida's east coast below St. Augustine. Their primary purpose was to aid shipwreck victims, but they provided strongholds in the wilderness as well. The stations, as they were called by the early settlers, joined four lighthouses to establish a governmental presence and framework to which pioneer development clung [152] ... Five of Florida's eventual ten houses of refuge were constructed in 1875; the remainder were built a decade later [153].

In 1884, a contract was initiated to construct the Bulow House of Refuge Station; by 1885 the station commenced operations. According to the U.S. Life-Saving Service Heritage Association (USLSHA n.d.), Francis W. Chandler designed the primary structure. In its annual report for the fiscal year ending 30 June 1886, the U.S. Life-Saving Service (USLSS) verified the coordinates for the "Smith's Creek/Bulow House of Refuge" as Latitude N. 29° 26′ 10", Longitude W. 81° 06′ 15"; "20 miles south of Matanzas Inlet". Thurlow (1997:172) confirmed that the first two keepers were William Wallace (July 1886-July 1900) followed by Edward A. Lapp (July 1901-July 1909).



Figure 23. Detail of G. W. and C. B. Colton's FLORIDA map published 1883 (Courtesy of NBLMC).

The beautiful lithograph entitled *View of the city of St. Augustine, Fla., the oldest town in the United States, Juan de Ponce de Leon Idd* [?] 1512 engraved by famous German-born Henry Wellge ca. 1885 depicted a vibrant maritime scene. Specifically, this significant composition revealed the numerous and diverse types of watercraft navigating along that port. Undoubtedly, many of these and similar vessels navigated along the entirety of St. Johns and Volusia counties (Figure 24).

During 1886, a lush 1500-acre tract located at the convergence of Pellicer and Moody Creeks and the Matanzas River was acquired by Henry Mason Cutting (b. 1860). The property included historic *Cherokee Grove*, which incorporated part of the Francis Pellicer Spanish land grant. According to Deen (n.d.), the New York native purchased adjoining tracts and selected a prime position for a large estate.

Henry [Cutting] was a wealthy New England sportsman and had William M. Wright, a noted St. Augustine and New York architect, draw up the plans. The house, a large hunting lodge facing the water, was completed in 1888. There was a spring fed swimming pool, stables and tennis courts where he brought his young bride, Angela, educated in France, for the winter months. They entertained lavishly many prominent families from New England and St. Augustine. However, they also met and knew the local people.... In October, 1892, Henry Cutting died on his boat, somewhere between St. Augustine and Cherokee Grove. His death has been attributed to several causes including appendicitis and an overdose of codeine. He left his estate to his 26 year-old wife Angela, and two infant children.

Married some years later but quickly divorced, Angela wedded for a third time to Boris Scherbatoff "an exiled Russian prince, twenty-fourth in line to a throne demolished by the Communist Revolution. After that she called herself Princess Angela" (McIver 2008:229). In the present day, "Princess Place Preserve is the crown jewel of Flagler County's preserves. The original lodge built by Henry Cutting still stands as Flagler County's oldest intact structure" (Flagler County Florida [FCF] 2019a).

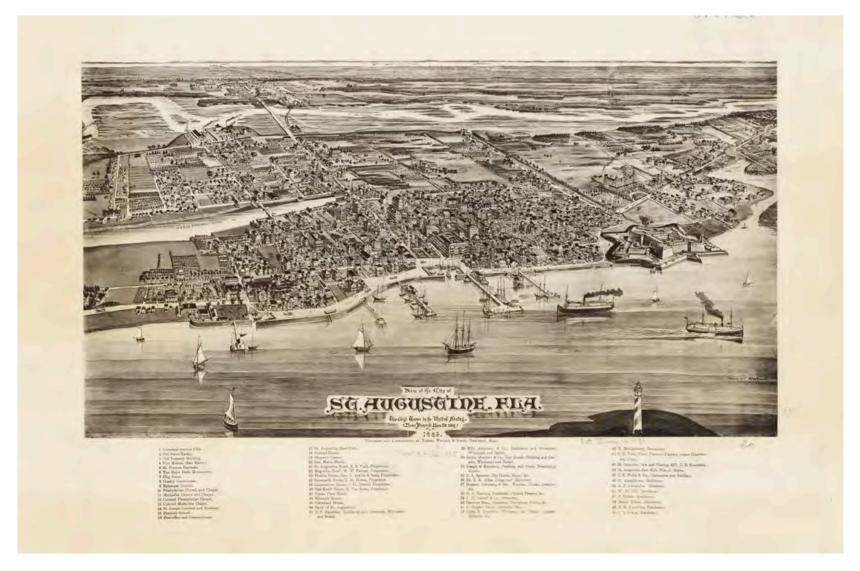


Figure 24. Ca. 1885 "View of the city of St. Augustine, Fla., the oldest town in the United States"... (Courtesy of NBLMC).

An 1890 map contracted by Associated Railway Land Department of Florida (ARLDF) showed contemporary development along the subject coastline. The work was produced under the direction of the "D.H. Elliott, General Land Agent, Sandford, Florida" (Figure 25). A key to explain the orange squares commented that

The principal Meridian and Base Line for the Land Survey of Florida intersect near Tallahassee. The rows of numbers along or parallel to the principal Meridian (running north and south) are called Numbers of Townships, and those along or parallel to the Base Line (running east and west) are called Numbers of Ranges. ...The Townships, which are 6 Miles square, are subdivided into 36 squares, called Sections, each containing one square Mile, or 640 Acres (ARLDF 1890),

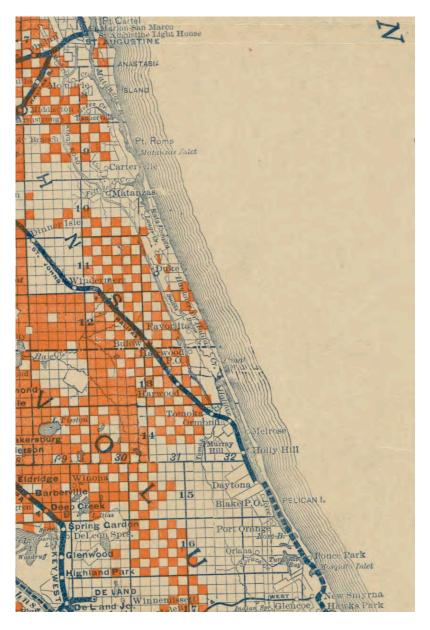


Figure 25. Detail of A New Sectional Map of Florida produced by ARLDF in 1890 (Courtesy of NBLMC).

A detail of the 1893 nautical chart entitled *St. Augustine to Halifax River*, *Florida* confirmed that the region comprising modern Flagler County was still largely undeveloped. U.S. coast survey engineers contemplated the consistently shallow character of the offshore environment and noted its fine gray sand (Figure 26).

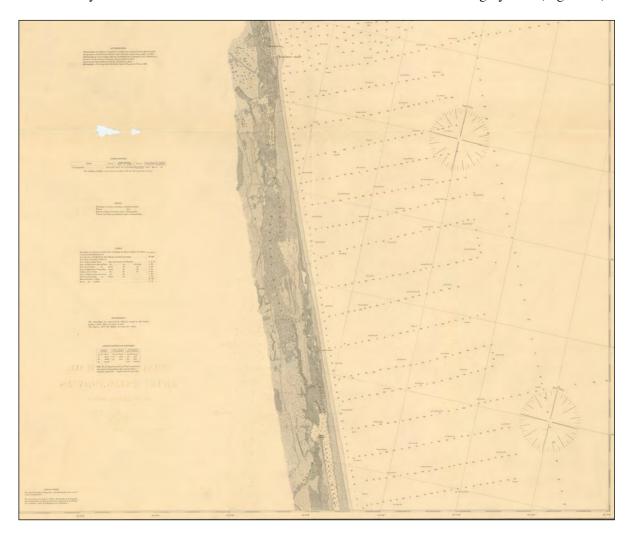


Figure 26. Detail of 1893 nautical chart entitled *St. Augustine to Halifax River, Florida* (Courtesy of U.S. Office of Coast Survey, Historical Map & Chart Collection).

Despite development shown on the previously presented 1890 state railway map, a Federal chart entitled "From Doboy Sound Southward To Jupiter Inlet" produced in 1898 confirmed that no navigational aids were installed along the subject coastline. "Coast Signal Stations" were flagged at St. Augustine and Mosquito Inlets. At this date, the Sixth Light House District embraced …"all aids to navigation on the seacoast, bays, sounds, harbors, rivers, and other tidal waters of North Carolina, South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida" (U.S. Light House Board 1898).

On 30 December 1892, the Smith Creek Station [now encompassed in the seventh district] assisted the crew of a "Small boat; no name" that had grounded on a "sunken snag" (USLSS 1894:104). On 29 March 1893, the *Nellie Parker* grounded two miles south of the same station. At this date, the 183-ton schooner was commanded by Master Barkhouse and was bound for Fernandina from Havana, Cuba. The vessel's homeport was registered as St. John, New Brunswick, Canada (USLSS 1894:220-221).

Twentieth-Century Historical Overview

A significant map produced in 1903 by the U.S. Post Office Department geo-referenced some present-day FC communities; namely, Crescent City, Omega, Espanola, Dupont, and Bulow. The official publication showed the locations of post offices "In Operation On The 1st of December, 1903" along with mail route distances. "A. von Haake, Topographer P.O. Dept" was credited with the creation of this map (U.S. Post Office Department [USPOD] 1903; Figure 27). Earlier that year, "Smith's Creek Station" located approximately 20 miles south of Matanzas Inlet was renamed "Bulow Station" (Singer 2020 [sic]:24).



Figure 27. Detail of 1903 Post Route Map Of The State Of Florida (Courtesy of NBLMC).

Contemporary tourists visiting the region frequently purchased interesting memorabilia to share with their families and friends. Ca. 1904, a postcard mailed to "Stella" remarked that the writer was visiting "Crescent City" (Figure 28). The photographic image depicted a desolate pine barrens scene in eastern Florida. A similar postcard from the same era remarked that "This is typical of Fla. & all about here for miles".



Figure 28. "Detroit Photographic Co." postcard mailed ca. 1904 (Courtesy NYPL).

Early Twentieth-Century Nature of the Coast

Shortly after the Florida Historical Society was established (1902), charter members published scholarly works resulting in the journal now known as *The Florida Historical Quarterly*. The premier "Origin of the Shell Mounds" touched on the early twentieth-century nature of then St. Johns and Volusia counties. Author and Florida Fish Commissioner J. Y. Detwiler (1908:16) commented that "Centuries ago the waterways of the East Coast of Florida were virtually of the same character as to-day, a system of lagoons forming, century after century, the ridges dividing the fresh water from the ocean at intervals, an inlet permitting the fresh water to enter the ocean".

A geological study conducted during 1912/1913 also related information about the coasts of St. Johns and Volusia counties, which predated the formation of Flagler County. For that reason, excerpts regarding general features of those jurisdictions follow.

St. John County is on the east coast, near the northern end of the State. It comprises a portion of the low coastal belt between the Atlantic Ocean and St. Johns River. The surface is flat and usually rises only a few feet above sea level, though locally it may have an altitude of nearly 50 feet. There are no large streams within the county, but some small creeks, a few miles long, drain the region near the coast. Swamps are numerous, especially during the rainy seasons. The coast is bordered by low bars separated from the mainland by shallow sounds...Many of the bars are covered with sand dunes, some of which are of considerable height [Matson and Sanford 1913:394-395]. Volusia County comprises a large area between the St. Johns River and the east coast. Near the coast the surface rises only a few feet above sea level, but farther west a sand ridge extends from Osteen to the northern boundary of the county between Lake George and Dunns Lake. The islands and bars of the coast are covered by dune sands, but they have a smooth, hard beach, which is unexcelled for carriages and automobiles. The mainland is bordered by an ancient beach ridge, which rises about 25 feet above sea level and extends for several miles parallel to the coast (Matson and Sanford 1913:416).

"Nautical experts" and U.S. topographical engineers collaborated to publish the authoritative *United States Coast Pilot* in 1913. A significant amount of data for the study was provided the Federal steamer *Hydrographer*'s scientists. Corrected to July 1913, the "Coast From St. Johns River to Cape Florida" was described as such.

From St. Johns River to Miami there is inland waterway, which parallels the coast and which is good for a draft of 4 feet...From St. Johns River to Cape Canaveral the coast trends south-southeast for 125 miles, and is broken by three unimportant inlets. The coast shows an almost continuous range of sand hills backed by woods...The depths along this stretch of coast are irregular. Except off St. Johns River and St. Augustine and Mosquito Inlets, 5 to 7 fathoms can be taken as close as 1 mile and 3 fathoms as close as 3/8 to the beach until approaching Cape Canaveral (U.S. Coast and Geodetic Survey [USCGS] 1913:113).

Local Society and Industry (1913)

On Friday, 7 November 1913, the *St. Johns Tribune (SJT)* [located at Bunnell] published several stories that touched on local issues and more importantly; contemporary industries and infrastructure development. The diverse collection of articles included references to "shelling the county road south to the Volusia county line"; the completion of ... "the big canals on the Moody road between Bunnell and Ocean City"; lucrative Irish potato cultivation ventures; the burgeoning industry to cut and deliver "cross ties" to the Flagler railway system; and the construction of a new bridge over Deep Creek (*SJT* 1913:1).

Prominent citizens mentioned in different stories included: County Commissioner I. I. Moody, Dr. L. A. Carter [who had just replaced his horse and buggy with "an auto"; W. H. Cochran; C. F. Hoover [valuable orange grove owner]; J. E. Pellicer [fine stand of banana trees]; Edward Pellicer; railroad inspector G. A. Cain; R. C. McCraven [engineer of Melton Lumber Co.]; Frank W. Nix and F. E. Bugbee [Bunnell Potato & Supply Co.]; Grady McCollum of Tennessee [new position at Johnson Lumber & Supply Co.]; Ed Johnson [principal of Johnson Lumber & Supply Co.] Mrs. L. R. Bell [Earnest Workers ladies group]; Fred R. Kaiser [Bunnell Meat & Ice Company]; J. B. Boaz [newspaper editor] (*SJT* 1913:1, 3-4).

Tax assessments levied by the Town of Bunnell [St. Johns County] for the year ending 1 October 1913 revealed interesting details. At that date, the community's taxable property was valued at \$180,000. The editor of the *SJT* (1913:1) suggested that as the taxable properties of the Flagler railroad, telegraph and *telephone* interests "cross[ed] the town almost diagonally, a neat little sum" would be collected by the municipality. Furthermore, an occupational tax levied on ... "merchants, druggists, physicians, real estate men, naval store operators, draymen, [and] liverymen" would boost the town's revenue.

Promotion of Bunnell and Environs

Page seven of the 7 November 1913 issue of *SJT* featured a large advertisement entitled "Some Reason Why You should locate at BUNNELL rather than elsewhere" (Figure 29). A careful look at the professional marketing tool provides important contemporary information about the study area. In addition to the obvious Chicago, Illinois connection to this Florida town through the Bunnell Development Company, the subject issue (p. 1) identified numerous newcomers and <u>part-time residents</u> hailing from Canada and the states of Kansas, Missouri, Nebraska, Tennessee, and Vermont.

Within two years, the Town of Espanola [formerly known as Raulerson] also

... experienced a boom when Dixie Highway (U.S. 1) was built through the town. Tourism became another important segment of the economy, with campgrounds being established for overnight tourists or, as they were often called, "tin can tourists." One camp was called "Live and Let Live." [Figure 30] Another was "Hoosier's Inn." The Old Brick Road turns north and extends for a distance of 11 miles between State Road 204 and Espanola. The northern two miles of the road are in St. Johns County, while the remaining portion is in Flagler County. The road was part of the Dixie Highway, which stretched from Sault Sainte Marie, Michigan south to Miami Beach. The road was composed of a packed shell foundation topped with a nine-foot wide brick roadbed and four-inch wide concrete curbs, flanked by three-foot wide shell shoulders for a total width of 15 feet. The road construction was part of a 66-mile project completed in 1916 by St. Johns County (Sisco Deen quoted in: *DBN-J* 2016),

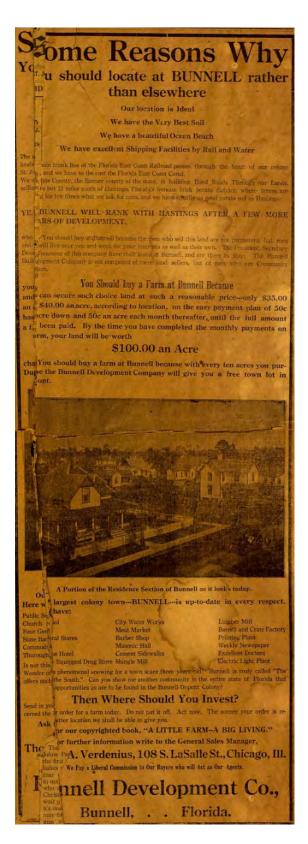


Figure 29. Bunnell Development Co. advertisement, 7 November 1913 (Presented by and through the courtesy of University of Florida, George A. Smathers Libraries [UF-GASL).



Figure 30. Ca. 1916 image of rustic camp located in Espanola (Courtesy of FCHS).

Origin of Flagler Beach Settlement (1915)

Tradition relates that long-standing citizen George Moody was largely responsible for the selection of the moniker "Flagler Beach" in lieu of "Ocean City Beach" as the small seaside hamlet developed. According to the author of *Florida Place Names*, *Alachua to Zolfo Springs*,

A settlement on the mainland side of the Intracoastal Waterway was earlier known as Ocean City, and was granted a post office under that name in 1915. But as more families built homes along the oceanfront, a post office was needed there. The name Ocean City Beach was first suggested, but the Post Office Department disapproved it because of its length and its similarity to others. Robert Tolan, real estate broker and promoter, who had been corresponding with the post office authorities, consulted George Moody, homesteader of the section, who said he would like it named Flagler Beach in honor of the late Henry Flagler, who had been a friend of his brother, I. I. Moody. Between Flagler Beach and Summer Haven stood the Spanish mission of San José (Morris 2011).

Another important local event occurred during 1915. As the U.S. Revenue Marine Service dissolved and the U.S. Coast Guard (USCG) was officially established that year, the Smith Creek/Bulow House of Refuge was recommissioned as "U.S. Coast Guard Station No. 202" (Thurlow and Dring 2016). Archival and genealogical records, historical photographs, and transcriptions accessioned by the FCHS should be consulted for nineteenth-century to twentieth-century commercial, industrial, and societal information. As related in Volume I, the assistance extended to the authors by Sisco Deen, William Ryan, and Edward Siakowicz is deeply appreciated. See also *Inventory of the County Archives of Florida* [Flagler County] (WPA 1938); History of Flagler County (Clegg 1976); Unto this land. A History of the St. Johns Park area of Flagler County, Florida and the pioneer settlers and their descendants (Holland 1987); and First Families of Flagler (Holland 1995).

The Great War Period (April 1917 to November 1918)

On 8 October 1916, "the day after leaving Newport [Rhode Island], the [German] *U-53* captured and sunk" five foreign vessels; two of which were attacked within U.S. waters. In the case of the British flagged *Stephano* that steamer carried American passengers (ONRL] 1920:22). The United States finally entered the war after Germany resumed U-boat surprise attacks and largely due to the outrageous but unsuccessful attempt to lure Mexico into an alliance with the latter. On 4 February 1918, U.S. the Office of Naval Operations convened "a special board to formulate a plan of defense in home waters" (ONRL 1920:143). A careful review of *German Submarine Activities on the Atlantic Coast of the United States and Canada* (ONRL 1920) revealed no evidence of activity along the current study area coastline.

Creation of Flagler County (1 July 1917)

On 4 April 1917, *The Miami Metropolis* (*TMM* 1917a) commented that "A dispatch today from Tallahassee tells of the arrival in the state capital of a delegation seeking to have created a new county out of Volusia and St. Johns counties, the new political division to be known as Flagler county". Fortuitously, this edition related that Florida's "East Coast Roads" were improving steadily; and that a "good" stretch linked Daytona to Jacksonville (*TMM* April 1917b).

During its sixteenth regular session (April 3 to June 1, 1917), the Legislature of Florida (1917:277-284) created the County of Flagler. The statutory citation follows for Chapter 7399-(No. 141). "AN ACT Providing for the Creation of Flagler County, in the State of Florida, and for the Organization and Government Thereof" was approved by the Legislature of Florida (1917:277-284) on 28 April 1917. At its inception, the approximate area [overall county] totaled 309,760 (Florida Division of Agriculture and Immigration 1928:8).

Within one year of its founding, Flagler County became the subject of a comprehensive soil survey carried out by the U.S. Bureau of Soils for the U.S. Department of Agriculture (USDA). Field inspectors led by W. Edward Hearn arrived in the new jurisdiction during 1918 to examine its topographical features, elevations, and soils. Hearn's data was assessed by Arthur Taylor (1922:5) who later commented that

Flagler County lies in the northeastern part of Florida, about 50 miles southeast of Jacksonville. The Atlantic Ocean forms its eastern boundary and Crescent Lake a part of its western boundary. The county has an area of 491 square miles, or 314,240 acres. The county may be separated into two main topographic divisions, the low-ridge region along the coast, and the flatwoods proper comprising the remainder of its area. The low-ridge region is in the northeastern part of the county, bordering the coast, and comprises a zone 3 to 5 miles wide, made up of low, narrow ridges, which in many cases are remnants of old beaches, extend in a northwest-southeast direction, parallel with the coast line. Immediately along the coast and separated from the mainland by the Florida East Coast Canal is the barrier island, which ranges from a few hundred yards to 1 mile in width. It consists mainly of a number of low, parallel, dunelike ridges with intervening troughs, but in places the surface is almost flat and more or less dotted with poorly drained basins.

New York botanist John K. Small (1921b:195) escaped frigid weather during December 1919 to look for Floridian ... "Palms and wild-pepper plants". After the methodical expedition (with fellow botanists) ended he alluded to traveling along the coast of newly established FC.

Mention of a few makers of the early Florida trails may be of interest-among others, prehistoric aborigines; Seminole Indians; adventures, as de Soto and de Leon; buccaneers, as Black Caesar and Gilbert; shipwrecked refugees, as Dickenson and associates; naturalists, as the Bartrams and Baldwin; land improvement agents, as Turnbull and Perrine; Indian hunters, as Canova and Taylor. Their activities have added greatly to the fascination of subsequent exploration. Four different historic trails served us in accomplishing the major portions of our field work: *First*, the old trail along the eastern coast, from Saint Augustine southward. Parts of this, or what they developed into, date back several centuries. Of late, this trail has been transformed into the southern part of the Dixie Highway (Small 1921b:196).

During early winter of the following year, Small and company once again set out for Florida's verdant living laboratory. His December 1920 field journal published by *Journal of the New York Botanical Garden* was aptly titled "Land of the Question Mark". Small (1924:69) commented specifically on the vegetation some 15 to 20 miles north of modern Daytona and how the landscape dramatically changed as the "travelable highway turns away from the coastal region".

Northwestern Shipwreck (22 March 1920)

An erroneous report published in April 1920 by a very reliable marine journal remarked that "NORTHWESTERN—This steamship, a vessel of 1,700 tons net, foundered recently near Matanzas Inlet, Cuba, with the loss of one man and the serious injury of another. The Northwestern was bound from Charleston, S.C., to Havana at the time with a cargo of coal" (Shipping 1920:104). As a point of fact, the steamer wrecked off Matanzas Inlet, *Florida* on 22 March 1920 (*TFT* 1920). That critical location error serves to demonstrate the complexities of documenting shipwreck sites well into the twentieth century even with regard to the most accurate clearinghouse of international shipping news.

The Boston Globe (1920:6) alerted its readers about the Florida shipwreck on Wednesday, 24 March with this brief article; DAYTONA, Fla., March 23—The steamer Northwestern, 1635 tons, foundered last night near Matanzas Inlet with the loss of one man and the serious injury of another, according to Capt. P. E. Jenassen [sic], who brought the injured sailor to a hospital here. The Northwestern was bound from Charleston to Havana with coal". An expanded version of the casualty, featured on *The Tampa Tribune*'s frontpage (1920:1) commented that

The Northwestern sprung a leak when she encountered heavy weather Sunday afternoon. The leaks increased and Capt. Jensen headed the vessel nearer the coast in case it should become necessary to beach it. By Monday noon, the water had risen in the engine room so as to flood the condenser and clog the pump suction pipes, leaving the vessel helpless and in this condition it drifted upon the beach. After all but Capt. Jensen and five of his crew had made their way to shore, an attempt was made to pull the ship through the breakers, but the line parted. [Arthur] Venes was one of those to remain, and as he jumped from the vessel his foot was caught between some wreckage and crushed nearly to a pulp. Supporting himself on the roof of a deck house, he swam the mile and a half to shore, where his shipmates made a litter for him. He and Capt. Jensen were picked up by the Seagull and brought to Daytona. The rest of the crew started for Jacksonville on their way back to Charleston. The body of [Melville] Ludwigson [or Ludwigsen] was not recovered....The twenty-seven survivors of the wrecked steamer Northwestern... reached [Bunnell on 23 March] on a lighter from Ocean City. They later boarded a train bound for Charleston.

Postwar County Demographics

According to the 1920 census, the county's population was composed of 2,444 permanent citizens. Classified entirely as "rural", the enumerator confirmed that residents were "very irregularly distributed" across expansive uninhabited areas. In his assessment, Taylor (1922:7) remarked that

Settlement is densest...between the Dean Road, Codyville, and Lake Diston. There are many farms along the Brick Road between Espanola and Ocean City and in the vicinity of Korona and Favoretta and between St. Johns Park and Big Cypress Swamp... Bunnell, the county seat and largest town, is situated near the center of the county, on the Florida East Coast Railroad and the Dupont & Florida Central Railroad, Roy, New Dinner Island, Neoga, Espanola, Korona, and Favoretta are other sipping points on the Florida East Coast Railroad. St. Johns Park, in the extreme western part of the county, is provided with both railroad and water transportation. Atlantic City is both a summer and winter resort. Relay is a small 'turpentine' town in the southern part of the county. Codyville is a shipping point on the Dupont & Florida Central Railroad... A brick wagon road (Dixie Highway) enters the northern part of Flagler County and extends southeast to Bunnell and thence east to Ocean City. The John Anderson Highway, in the eastern part of the county, and the road connecting Bunnell and St. Johns Park have hard surfaces of shell or limestone, and there are a number of other roads that are graded. Settlement and turpentine roads extend into most sections of the county, with the exception of the large swamp areas.

The contemporary *United States Official Postal Guide* identified eight Flagler County offices (or "stations") for citizens to send or collect mail; Bunnell, Dupont, Espanola, Favoretta, Korona, Ocean City, Saint Johns Park, and Shell Bluff (USPOD 1921:235-236, 238-240, 739). Rural routes "emanated" from the county seat post office (Bunnell) and from Espanola (USPOD 1921:739). In volume one of *History of Florida*, *Past and Present*, Cutler (1923:613) described the six-year-old_entity with this brief passage.

Flagler is one of Florida's infant counties, dating from June 2, 1917. It has an area of only 484 square miles and a population in 1920 of 2,442. Lying between Crescent Lake, in the St. Johns River system, and the Atlantic Coast, and largely undeveloped, it has attractions for tourists and sportsmen who are seeking quiet pleasures. The little town of Bunnell is the county seat. With the completion of the Bimini drainage project and opening of more than 50,000 acres of land in that region, Bunnell should grow and flourish. It is nearly in the center of the county on the Florida East Coast Line, which runs diagonally through its territory from the northwest corner to the coast. Along the Atlantic, Flagler County has continuous water communication north and south through the system known as the Florida Coast Line Canal.

Mysterious Rumrunner Shipwreck Event (November 1925)

The Flagler Tribune advised its inquiring readers on Thursday, 3 December 1925 that ... "a three-masted schooner, said to be bound from London to Cuba"... wrecked some five miles north of Flagler Beach. Local intelligence suggested that the ill-fated vessel carried some "2,500 cases of liquor and other cargo" (TFT 1925b). Another source related that the shipwreck grounded "three miles south of Flagler Beach" (Singer 2020:420). Prior to breaking up, the illicit "rum runner" was allegedly foundering "about one and one-half

miles out at sea" (*TFT* 1925b). Some witnesses remarked that the crew originally consisted of "eight Negroes and one white man"; some of which were trapped on the wreck for a couple of days (*TFT* 1925b). An update was published by the Bunnell paper on the following Thursday. That brief story follows in entirety.

Escape Atlantic Storm Only To Land In Jail...Following the wrecking of a liquor laden schooner off Flagler Beach during the recent storm, three of the crew who managed to get safely ashore were brought before A. W. Chadwick, Jr., U. S. Commissioner for this district [St. Augustine]. Mr. Chadwick, finding they were British subjects, turned them over to the British consul at Jacksonville. The remainder of the crew, who were Negroes, were drowned. The schooner was said to be laden with \$28,000 worth of liquor which sunk with the boat (*TFT* 1925c).

In 1927, the *Inside Route Pilot, New York to Key West* merely commented on the study area with this sentence; "Flagler Beach, a beach resort, can be seen to the eastward" [of drawbridge, 6.5 miles north of Halifax River]. St. Augustine was described as ... "a popular winter resort for tourists and yachtsmen". Daytona and New Smyrna were also described as winter resorts. In the case of Daytona, the authority advised navigators that a "number of pilots with thorough knowledge of the waterway, north and south" were available there (USCGS 1927:85, 87-89).

As of 1 January 1929, the U.S. Bureau of Navigation (1929:109, 289, 302, 417, 787) confirmed that several vessels were owned by St. Augustine residents who elected to homeport in New Smyrna, Holly Hill, or Daytona Beach. Some or all could have regularly coasted along Flagler County in the course of leisure or commercial activities. Subject watercraft engaged in regional fishing were owned by William Cone and Annie Damgaard. Subject registered yachts were owned by Robert W. Orrell, James H. Baker, and F.H. Denton. Orrell's yacht utilized an impressive 250 HP motor. Alton Kenney operated his vessel to transport passengers, while John C. Chord was engaged in transporting freight.

During the same period, Edward Lee (of Jacksonville) homeported his vessel at New Smyrna (USBN 1929:417). In the conduct of their business ventures, passengers were generally carried by two St. Augustine vessel owners; Mario Company and Frank M. Howe (USBN 1929:465). Joe Fazio and Frank Uhlein of St. Augustine operated their motor vessels in the coastal fishing industry and may have navigated along the FC coastline (USBN 1929:467).

Schooner *Tamarco* Shipwreck (21 September 1929)

On 24 March 1929, the Tampa Sunday Tribune (TST 1929a:4) reported that

Lumber and phosphate exports from Tampa last week were the heaviest in more than two years. A total of 2,889,517 feet of lumber was loaded on three vessels, and 13 ships loaded approximately 40,000 tons of phosphate. The lumber volume was 1,000,000 feet less than shipped during the whole of March last year. The largest cargo of lumber ever to leave Tampa 2,097,571 feet, went out on the British freighter Arundale for Buenos Aires. Other shipments were on the steamship Mar Blanco, for Valenica [sic], Spain, 351,000 feet, and on the schooner Tamarco, for Mayaguez, Porto Rico, 441,000 feet.

Just weeks before the devastating historic Wall Street Crash of October 1929, the aforementioned four-masted *Tamarco* wrecked off the coast of Flagler Beach (*TFT* 1929a; *TFT* 1929b; Figure 31). Despite their own harrowing ordeal, the schooner's captain alerted the U.S. Coast Guard of another possible marine casualty farther offshore. The front-page report published by *The Miami News* (1929:1) follows in its entirety.

SAVANNAH, Ga., Sept. 21—United States coast guard boats were ordered today to make a thorough search of the Atlantic ocean off the coast of Florida for an unidentified vessel reported in distress. A report of the stricken vessel was made by the crew of the schooner Tamarco which went aground near the Bulow coast guard station, Flagler Beach, near St. Augustine, and relayed to coast guard headquarters here. Lieut. Commander S. Klinger of the local coast guard office made public the message he received from the Bulow station: 'Schooner Tamarco wrecked on beach 1½ miles from the Bulow station. Crew on shore. Ship total wreck. Crew made statement that Merchant & Miners steamship 200 miles east of Jacksonville with deckload shifting Thursday. Ship in distress.' Commander Klinger, after a check with the Merchants & Miners Co., said there was obviously some error in the report, but he ordered all coast guard vessels in southern waters to search for the stricken ship. The crew of the Tamarco consisted of six negroes [sic] and a white [sic] man. One of the negroes [sic] was drowned.

Conversely, a report made earlier that day by the schooner's Tampa Marine Company agent Steve Hayer indicated that *Tamarco* ... "would complete her trip to the West Indies [as] St. Augustine [had] assured him no damage had been done to the ship" (*The Tampa Daily Times* 1929:1). However, a competing local news outlet issued this update on 22 September filed under the headline "Tampa Schooner Pounds to Pieces On Flagler Beach".

ST. AUGUSTINE, Sept. 21.—(A.P.)—The lumber freighter Tamarco carrying 435,000 feet of lumber from Jacksonville to St. Vincent, West Indies, pounded to pieces at Flagler Beach, near here, today. The vessel, owned by the Tampa Marine company, went ashore early today after becoming waterlogged in a heavy sea. With one exception, the crew of six was saved. Ed Brown, negro seaman, was drowned as he attempted to climb aboard a life boat. All the crew, with the exception of the supercargo, were negroes, including the captain, Arnold Connolly. Coast guardsmen of the St. Augustine station stood by for a time believing they would be able to pull the Tamarco off the beach when the sea calmed, but it was later found that the hull had been broken in two. Connolly ordered the crew to boats when he found that the Tamarco, drawing 18 feet of water, would be beached by high seas. Randolph Hyer, the supercargo and brother of Steve Hyer, head of the owning company, was brought with the crew to St. Augustine, where minor injuries suffered in launching and landing life boats were treated. The crew later left for Jacksonville. It was reported that salvage work would be started immediately. Report by the captain of the Tamarco that he had seen another vessel in distress off the east Florida coast had not been substantiated tonight (TDT 1929b:5).

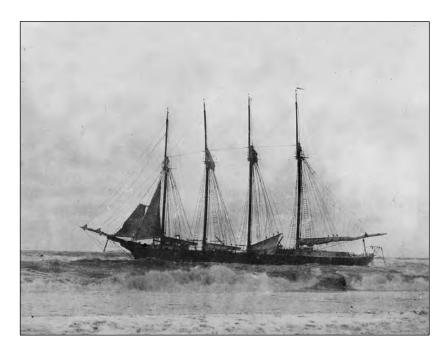


Figure 31. Image of *Tarmarco* off Flagler Beach (Courtesy of FCHS).

Curiously, *The Sunday Star* [weekend edition of *The Evening Star*] of Washington, DC erroneously captioned a grainy photograph (Figure 32) of the marine casualty as such; "The end of another good ship. The four-masted schooner Tamarco breaking up in the surf after grounding off Daytona Beach, Calif. All but one of her crew were saved". The 6 October 1929 issue presented this rare image in its eclectic "Gravure Section"; which included photographs of the steamer *Highland Pride* shipwreck (Vigo, Spain), scene from a Hollywood comedy revue, Winston Churchill, Queen Wilhelmina of Holland, Gloria Swanson, and other then famous *or infamous* celebrities.



Figure 32. Rare photograph of *Tamarco* shipwreck scene (Courtesy of LOC).

In late December 1931, USCG Station No. 202 provided "overnight dockage for the presidential yacht *Sequoia*" (Thurlow and Dring 2016; Figure 33). Station commander C. D. Toler rendezvoused with President Hoover and First Lady Lou Hoover aboard their yacht (and three escort vessels) guiding the small flotilla to the subject station (Thurlow and Dring 2016; Figure 34). A humorous event at the onset of the journey down the ICW [Florida East Coast Canal] in which Hoover attempted to navigate the "circuitous waterway" presented by Hailey (2013:97) follows.

Near the headwaters of the Matanzas River, where the natural channel becomes an artificial cut, the waterway originally took an almost ninety-degree turn to the east in what was known as Fox Cut. According to local stories, as the Sequoia negotiated this turn's coquina shores, President Hoover yelled 'somebody straighten this damn thing out' as he was thrown from his captain's chair. By 1933, the Corps of Engineers created a second canal that provided a smoother turn and a wider channel. This alternative route at Fox Cut created an island that was built up with spoil from the dredging operations.



Figure 33. Photograph of yacht *Sequoia* taken on "December 26, 1932" [?] off Fernandina, Florida (Courtesy of State Archives of Florida, Florida Memory).



Figure 34. Ca. 1934 image of USCG Station No. 202 (Courtesy of National Archives and Records Administration [NARA]).

A 1932 map produced by the U.S. Department of the Interior identified FC place names; i.e., Dinner Island, Roy, Bunnell, Korona, Espanola, Flagler Beach, Dupont, Codyville, Favoretta, Saint Johns Park, Andalusia, and Crescent Lake. In the same year, a Federal chart [left panel] entitled *St. Augustine to Titusville* illustrated the study area's coastline and verified the position of a shipwreck (Figure 35).

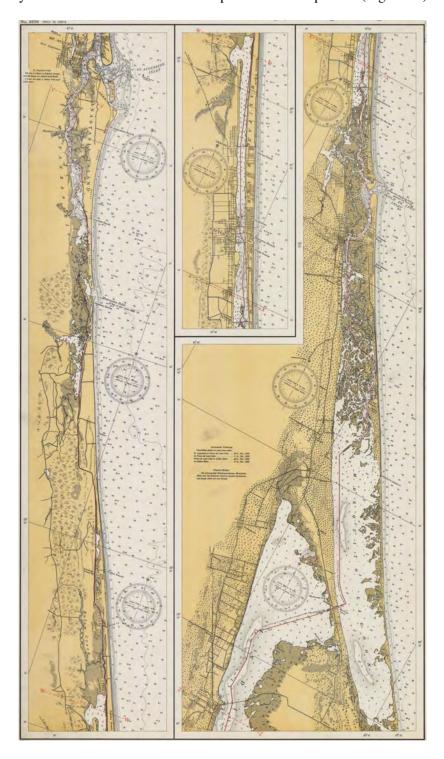


Figure 35. Detail of 1932 chart St. Augustine to Titusville (Courtesy USCS, HMCC).

An Orlando newspaper published a flattering feature about the subject county in June 1935; mentioning local agriculture, natural resources, demographics, and "Flagler Beach". Presented under the headline "Wild, Natural Beauty Flagler's Attraction," *The Sunday Sentinel-Star* (16 June 1935:16) editor remarked that

One of the four counties in the new fifth district 'kissed and consoled' by the great Atlantic ocean is Flagler county lying south of St. Johns county and north of Volusia county, bounded on the west by Putnam count and the valley of the St. Johns river. It is wild and picturesque; it is developed only in spots. Flagler county contains only 309,360 acres of land, suitable for grazing and farming, turpentine and lumber, and has only 3,172 persons scarcely equal to Winter Park's population.... Irish potatoes—the lowly but lifegiving spud—abound in Flagler county, the annual crop being 243,155 bushels valued at more than \$1 per bushel. Cabbage is also king in this little principality of rich soil—28,075 crates being marketed annually with 2,500 crates of beans, 44,311 bushels of corn, a large amount of sweet 'taters, hay and peas, giving the county an annual field and truck crop valued at nearly \$2,000,000.... The main city and county seat is Bunnell, an enterprising little community which boasts good stores, a newspaper, bank and several industries. Bunnell is on a main highway, and is penetrated by the Florida East Coast railroad. There was a large increase in population during the five year period, 1930 to 1935 indicating that the county is being populated by new citizens and investors... Just off the coast of Flagler county there is a strong Sulphur spring which boils and boils at the surface of the ocean-The ocean boulevard coursing through the town of Flagler is of appealing interest to motorists... In addition to Bunnell there are thriving towns and communities such as Dupont, Flagler Beach, Korona, Roy, Yelvington and Espanola....Clay beds good for the manufacture of tile and brick are found in many places. There is a fine grade of sand available for commercial purposes.— Coquina deposits are found in many places.—Flagler county is rich in game—a regular sportsmen's paradise, everything ranging from deer to foxes. Also fish— Flagler Beach on the broad Atlantic is growing in popularity.

Sioux Shipwreck (20 November 1937)

Just before Thanksgiving 1937, the eight-ton *Sioux* burned off Flagler Beach with no loss of life. At the time of the marine mishap on 20 November, the small gas screw was manned by only two seamen. According to two relevant U.S. Bureau of Marine Inspection and Navigation (USBMIN 1937:286; USBMIN 1938:513) entries, the *Sioux* was built during 1913 at Dames Point, Florida. That Federal authority verified the motor boat's official hull number as #211594. Dimensions for the boat were registered as 35' (length), 10.3 (breadth), and 3.6 (depth) with gross tonnage of eight and net tonnage of only five (USBMIN 1937:286).

The 1937 owner on record, A. C. Taylor of Jacksonville, possibly still owned *Sioux* at the time of its demise off Flagler Beach. Engaged in the towing service, the small craft was formerly registered as the *William Pitt* (USBMIN 1937:286). A review of the *Merchant Vessels of the United States* edition for documented American watercraft as of 30 June 1938 confirmed that the *Sioux* was no longer registered (USBMIN 1939).

Florida East Coast Railway Promotion

Prior to the commencement of World War II, the Florida East Coast Railway (FECR) ["Flagler System"] published a colorful brochure touting the salubrious and enchanting environment of Florida's Atlantic shoreline. Naturally, the marketing tool suggested that travelers utilize the fast and modern trains owned by FECR. The ca. 1937 advertisement commented that

The Florida East Coast Railway directly and completely serves the entire East Coast of Florida, a beautiful residential and resort ocean shore, extending from Jacksonville on the north to Miami on the south. Following a direct course down the coast, its main line is 60 miles shorter between Jacksonville and Miami. Furthermore it is the only double track railway through the state...Behind cinderfree oil-burning locomotives, over a smooth-riding roadbed, in modern coach or Pullman equipment, you will find the trip along this fascinating shore interesting and comfortable (FECR 193[?]:1).

The pamphlet described only one attraction in Flagler County, which at the time was highly promoted but was still being modified by its proprietors and creative futurists. FECR (193[?]:11) confirmed that "MARINELAND: Some 18 miles south of St. Augustine, on the ocean shore boulevard, an unusual new development is taking shape, known as Marine Studios. This is to consist of huge marine tanks in which large gamefish will be displayed, a yacht basin, cabanas and other tourist accommodations".

Marine Studios, "The World's First Oceanarium" (Est. June 1938)

An unrelated contemporary guide appealing to bus passengers and/or motorists called *Highway Traveler* (1937:28) urged "Wandering world citizens" to "tie up their pleasure craft in the [Marine Studios] yacht basin". The writer also mentioned that the "whole project" was "nearly surrounded by water"; specifically, "St. John's Inlet bounds the aquaria on the north; on the south, Penjon Inlet performs the same duty; and it is rimmed on the east by the great Atlantic". Published by Greyhound bus lines corporation, the magazine commented that "Marine Village on the ocean's edge can accommodate many guests in its 15 modern bedrooms with connecting baths, electricity and central heating. Up-to-the-minute Marineland Tavern caters to the discriminating appetites of scientists".... (*Highway Traveler* 1937:38).

This remarkable scientific endeavor was jointly conceptualized by American Museum of Natural History trustee William Douglas Burden (son of wealthy NY industrialist and direct descendant of Commodore Cornelius Vanderbilt) and Count Ilia Tolstoy (grandson of esteemed Russian writer Leo Tolstoy). According to a respected local historian and native son of the study county (Deen and Flagler County Historical Society 2017:86),

Marineland, originally called Marine Studios [Figure 36], was opened as a marine biology filming studio and tourist attraction on June 23, 1938. About 30,000 attended the opening ceremonies in northeast Flagler County to hear such speakers as then US senator Claude Pepper hail the studio's opening. The facility, located next to the Atlantic Ocean 14 miles north of Flagler Beach, featured two saltwater tanks [Figure 37; Figure 38] containing fish and other marine creatures living in conditions approximating those of their natural surroundings.



Figure 36. Aerial image of Marine Studios [now Marineland] (Courtesy of FCHS).



Figure 37. 1939 photograph of "Fashion model underwater in dolphin tank, Marineland, Florida" similar to one published in October 1939 issue of *Vogue* (Courtesy of LOC).



Figure 38. Diver performing maintenance in one of oceanarium's two tanks (Courtesy of FCHS).

For additional information about the development of Marineland; "Roundup At Sea" (Maloney 1946 [In: Colliers, 14 September 1946 edition); Window in the Sea (Hill 1956); Man and Dolphin (Lilly 1961); Marineland of Florida 1938-1988 (Marine Studios 1988); The Book Lover's Guide To Florida (McCarthy [ed], 1992), and Reel Nature, America's Romance with Wildlife on Film (Mitman 2009) should be consulted.

World War II To Postwar Period (1939-1949)

A map prepared in 1936 by the Florida State Road Department (in cooperation with the U.S. Department of Agriculture) served as the basis for Flagler County's 1940 federal enumeration. During that interval the county seat of Bunnell reported 1,110 residents. Other communities were identified as Dinner Island, Roy, Neoga, Andalusia, Potatoville, Flagler Beach, Espanola, Dupont, Deanville, Relay, Korona, and Favorita. The subject map marked numerous locations of sawmills, turpentine stills, terrestrial and marine infrastructure sites, factories, and other points of interest (U.S. Department of Commerce [USDC] 1940a).

Sixteen population schedules for county-wide citizens claiming residency as of 1 April 1940 revealed a very diverse demographic with respect to place of birth; including Poland (USDC 1940b). Population schedules for this reporting period identified three individuals residing at the U.S. Coast Guard Station at Flagler Beach; William V. Lewark, Maria M. Lewark (wife), and 26-year-old "Lodger" William D. "Melson". All three were born in North Carolina; "Melson" previously served as a Virginia surfman for the USCG (USDC 1940c).

Flagler County Wartime Society

"Flagler Beach" and "Flagler Beach Township" residents [1 April 1940] listed occupations as such; skidder man (Log Camp), cableman (Log Camp), truck driver ("City Dept."), time keeper (WPA project), seamstress, plasterer, postmaster, brick mason's helper (WPS Board Walk Project), gardener, fisherman, carpenter, owner-operator of lunchroom, handyman (Private Estate), caretaker, farmer, surveyor, hotel manager, grocery store salesman, laborer, prison guard (Flagler County), stonemason (WPA Board Walk Project), carpenter (WPA Board Walk Project), handy man (Marine Studios), block cutter, innkeeper, logger, owner-attendant of filling station, pier manager (Concession from City), painter, truck driver (Naval Stores), truck driver (School Bus), seaman (Shipping), city marshal, bridge tender, "sand hogging", cement mixer, auto mechanic, civil engineer (Public Works Administration [org. 1933, ceased 1943), supervisor (WPA project), and dockmaster (Private Dock).

The mayor of Flagler Beach was identified as Norman E. Carter (Pennsylvania born). Two gardeners specified employment at "Private Estates". New Yorker Owen D. Young *simply* identified himself as "Chairman, Board of Directors, General Electric Company". Young [founder of RCA and important WWI diplomat] was then married to designer Louise Powis Clark who purchased Washington Oaks [Bella Vista] in 1936. Prior to 1923, this property was largely owned by descendants of General Hernandez. Bella Vista was first acquired by the St. Augustine native circa 1818.

Enumerated residents ("Flagler Beach" and "Flagler Beach Township") listed these varied U.S. birthplaces; Alabama, California, Connecticut, Florida, Georgia, Illinois, Indiana, Kansas, Kentucky, Louisiana, Maine, Maryland, Massachusetts, Minnesota, Mississippi, Missouri, Montana, Nebraska, New Hampshire, New Jersey, New York, North Carolina, Ohio, Pennsylvania, South Carolina, South Dakota, Tennessee, Utah, Vermont, West Virginia, and Wisconsin. Foreign born residents were identified as Severin B. Svendsen (Norway); seamstress Josephine Banfford [sic] (French Canada); 48-year-old Agatha Runk (Lithuania), and 69-year-old Pier Manager Frank Owens (Scotland) (USDC 1940d; USDC 1940e). "Secretaries, housewives, waitress, women from all over central Florida" contributed to the war effort. A 1942 image of the "fairer sex" taken at a Daytona Beach vocational school demonstrated the abrupt [and sometimes welcome] change in industrial tasks performed by women (Figure 39). Mandatory rationing of commodities e.g. gas, flour, and sugar was accepted by most Americans including *young children* (Figure 40; Figure 41).



Figure 39. April 1942 training of unprecedented female work force at "Daytona Beach" (Courtesy of NARA).



Figure 40. Queueing up for mandatory rationing (Courtesy of NARA).



Figure 41. February 1943 image of "eager school boy" using "War Ration Book Two" (Courtesy of NARA).

German Unterseeboot Campaign

"The U-Boat offensive didn't take the U.S. Navy by surprise" according to military historian Offley (2019a), who suggested that

Early on, the British were providing navy officials in Washington with explicit, detailed intelligence on the location and movement of not only the initial force of five U-boats but also the nearly two dozen more that made up the second wave of attackers. British code-breakers had penetrated the U-boat force's encrypted communications earlier in 1941 and, with the help of a robust network of radio direction finding stations across the North Atlantic, were able to triangulate the location of each U-boat at sea as it transmitted high-frequency Morse code messages.

In "Germany brought WWII to the Florida coast in 1942", Offley (2019b) further commented that

A month after Pearl Harbor, Admiral Karl Dönitz had unleashed a fierce assault on shipping along the East Coast. During the six-month offensive, his U-boats sank 225 merchant vessels totaling more than 1.25 million gross registered tons along the Atlantic littoral [Figure 42]. More than 4,600 merchant sailors, naval personnel and civilians perished, while Germany lost just eight U-boats and 332 crewmen. As the East Coast defenses [including Florida] finally began to strengthen toward the end of April [1942], ... Dönitz decided that it was now time to take his war against shipping into the Gulf of Mexico. In a conference with German dictator Adolf Hitler in early May, the U-boat Force commander-inchief reiterated the simple strategy he had opted since the outbreak of war: 'Submarine warfare is war against enemy merchant shipping,' Dönitz said. 'Therefore, we must sink ships wherever the greatest number of them can be sunk at lowest cost to us, i.e. where we lose the least number of submarines.'... 'Every tanker we sink not only means one tanker less for carrying oil, but also represents a direct setback to America's shipbuilding program,' Dönitz told the Führer. 'Therefore, it seems to me that the destruction of these American oil supply vessels is of greatest importance to us.'

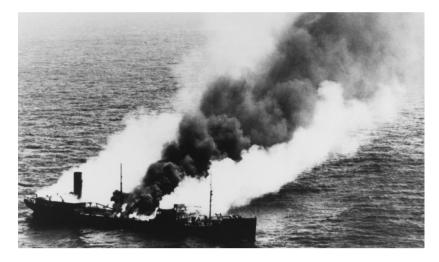


Figure 42. Tanker destroyed by German U-Boat off Atlantic coast (Courtesy NARA).

Admiral Dönitz effectively turned his attention to the Gulf, however, submarine attacks on the Atlantic Coast would not end for some 90 days. On 21 May 1942, *TFT* reported that a "lifeboat, supposedly from some torpedoed ship, was cast up on the beach north of Flagler Beach". Witnesses at the scene related that the small watercraft "was partly submerged there being many holes in the boat which may have been made by machine gun bullets" (*TFT* 1942).

"The last skirmish in the U-boat offensive" began "after sunset on July 11, 1942," when according to Offley 2019a) "lookouts perched atop the narrow bridge of U-576 caught the distant silhouette of a group of merchant ships off to the west in the direction of Cape Hatteras, North Carolina. Capt. Hans-Dieter Heinicke, the commander of U-576, quietly ordered his 44-man crew to battle stations. Heinicke began to trail the northbound Convoy KN118, sailing from Key West, Florida, to Norfolk, Virginia. He ordered his senior radioman to send an encrypted message announcing the sighting to the U-boat force headquarters (Befeblisheber der Unterseeboote, or BdU) in Paris.

Wartime Aerial Photographic Mission

An aerial image (Figure 43) taken during 1940 shows the shoreline in the vicinity of where present-day Gamble Rogers Memorial State Park is located. Per Thurlow and Dring (2016), the U.S. Army Signal Corps constructed barracks "at the site of US Coast Guard Station No. 202" during World II. "Nathaniel Duke, assigned to the Signal Corps' local radar unit in 1943, said '35 to 40 men lived at the site in wooden barracks built near the shoreline' (Duke quoted in: Thurlow and Dring 2016).



Figure 43. 1940 aerial image of Flagler Beach shoreline (Courtesy of NARA).

The Agricultural Adjustment Administration (on behalf of U.S. Department of Agriculture) carried out an extensive aerial photographic project capturing the entirety of FC [Scale 1:20000]. C.S. Robinson Aerial Surveys of Ithaca, New York conducted the subject series of flights that concluded in late February 1943. Three indexes were completed during the reconnaissance flyovers and cutting-edge photo collages were created. Owing to the ongoing global conflict, distribution of the imagery was restricted. With respect to the county's strategic coastline, numerous negatives were classified as "Confidential"; specifically "CYU-2C-78-80, 112-115" and "3C-16-19, 39-41, [and] 52-54" (Agricultural Adjustment Administration 1943; Figure 44; Figure 45). Wartime imagery of the subject county is available at several Federal depositories.

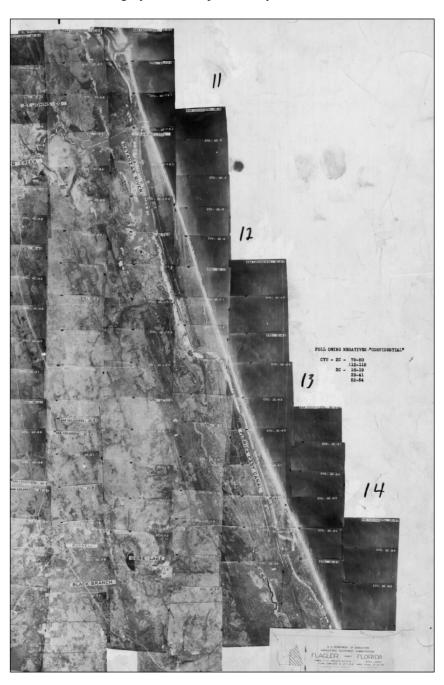


Figure 44. Detail of "FLA-43-02" (Courtesy of GASL-UFDC),



Figure 45. Detail of "FLA-43-03" (Courtesy of GASL-UFDC)

Flagler County Military Heroes

Several FC native sons heroically defended their country during the international conflict; some making the ultimate sacrifice. At the onset of the conflict, CPO Bandmaster James Brazier Booe was killed aboard the USS *Oklahoma* on 7 December at Pearl Harbor (Deen n.d.). The *World War II Honor List of Dead and Missing, State of Florida* identified five individuals [U.S. Army and Army Air] hailing from Flagler County. Sergeant Harold E. Crane, First Lieutenant Joy Monroe Deen, and Private Julian F. Durrance [Belgian Bulge] were "killed in action", while Staff Sergeant William H. Lee and Private First-Class Versie L. Mitchell [Burma] died in line-of-duty deaths outside of combat (USWD 1946:8).

Respected local historian Sisco Deen (n.d.) verified that Private First-Class Willie Wilson, Private Tommy Buckner [Italy], and Private Bob Ringleben [Germany] were killed during the conflict. U.S. Marine Corpsmen who died on active duty included Howard Bankston [Peleliu Island] and Corporal Lawrence Pringle [Saipan]. U.S. Navy servicemen included Torpedoman Marion Gordon McCraney [Guadalcanal] and AMM Michael Louis Trad [aircrash off Key West]. On 8 March 1945, *The Flagler Tribune* reported Lieutenant Deen's death; the grandson of J. E. Deen and Mrs. C. E. Sisco of Bunnell. An excerpt follows.

'The report received from the German government through the International Red Cross contained only the fact that he died on July 19, 1944. Since it gives the date of his death as the same date he was previously reported missing in action, it has been officially recorded on the records of the War Department that he was killed in action on that date xxx'. ...In a letter to Mrs. Deen, Secretary of War, Henry L. Simpson said 'You will shortly receive the Purple Heart Medal, which has been posthumously awarded by directions of the President to your husband xxx it is sent as a tangible expression of the Country's gratitude for his gallantry and devotion xxx'. The official notification of Lt. Deen's [Figure 46], death stated that he was lost 'over France.' He was a bomber pilot and it is believed he was flying a B-26 at the time of his death (*TFT* 1945).

A French source memorialized the events associated with Deen's death while flying a bombing mission that originated from Andrews Field, Essex, United Kingdom on 19 July 1944. The impressive honorary digital record for First Lieutenant Joy Monroe Deen can be viewed at *Mémoire & Database* http://www.database-memoire.eu/. Through the courtesy of his nephew, USAF Captain Sisco Deen, the information was recently corrected and updated.

Writing for a Daytona newspaper in summer 2015, a reporter interviewed numerous East Florida WWII veterans to mark the 70th anniversary of the conclusion of the global conflict. Relevant excerpts from his article follow.

It's no stretch to say the soldiers who defeated the Axis powers of Germany, Japan and Italy shaped the world we live in today and ensured that our freedoms remain. It's still frightening to imagine what the world would be like if German dictator Adolf Hitler and his cohorts hadn't been defeated.... How many soldiers from Volusia and Flagler counties died during World War II? Coming up with an exact figure is a challenge. A good starting point is 'Fallen Heroes of World War II, Daytona Beach Area,' an excellent book of profiles of area soldiers who died during the war that was published in 2011...three sources [Lang and two NARA documents] show that 137 soldiers from Volusia and Flagler counties died serving their country during World War II. That's a staggering sacrifice of human life, especially considering the area's population at that time. In 1940, just 56,718 people lived in Volusia and Flagler counties (Rice 2015).

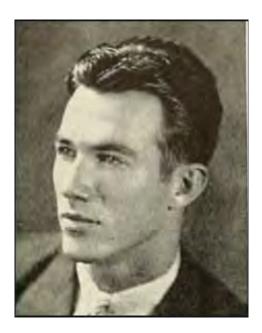


Figure 46. Undated photograph of First Lieutenant Joy Monroe Deen.

Postwar Maritime Activities and Notable Events

Former U.S. Navy vessels that transferred to civilian owners associated with nearby St. Johns and Volusia counties during the postwar era included the 56-ton Patrol Torpedo 704 (b. 1945, Annapolis) renamed *Mistress*; 176-ton Landing Craft 639 (b. 1943, North Tonawanda NY); and 110-foot steel motor yacht *Aide-De-Camp* (ex-*Colleen*, b. 1922, Neponset MA). By 1944, *Aide-De-Camp* was owned by Harvard College and was used to conduct cutting-edge underwater sound research. In May 1945, the yacht was chartered by the U.S. Navy and used off Fort Lauderdale to conduct military sound investigations. Title to the vessel was transferred to the U.S. Navy in June 1948. By 1950, *Aide-De-Camp* was registered to Fred Bowman of Deland; but homeported at St. Augustine (Williams 2013:45, 93, 227).

Updated by January 1946, the revised FSRD map enumerated Bunnell's population at 1030 and Flagler Beach's at 133. Robust development is shown along the county's extreme northeast coast; namely, Marineland's sprawling complex (USDC 1950; Figure 47). An aviation accident involving a U.S. Navy Douglas R4d-5 (DC-3) occurred at Flagler Beach on Sunday, 26 May 1946. At the time of the disaster, the military transport was flying to Miami on an unspecified mission (Flight Safety Foundation 1996-2019). A subsequent report associated with contemporary "Air Safety" issues submitted to the U.S. Senate commented that

Flight 010326 departed Jacksonville at 2107, May 1946. About 2120 the port engine exploded. Proper emergency measures were initiated, and the plane headed for the shore line for a crash landing. The left wing became so heavy that an involuntary turn was made. The aircraft descended to a blind crash landing. The fuselage separated at the main cargo door, and the plane burst into flames. The pilot, copilot, and orderly were uninjured. One passenger was thrown clear of the wreckage and received a fractured clavicle. The other four passengers were killed. The cause of the fire and crash was mechanical failure of the fuel line leading to the port engine (U.S. Senate 1947:108).



Figure 47. Detail of January 1946 map of Flagler County (Courtesy of NARA).

Further up the coast, Marine Studios scientists were resuming activities after a four-year hiatus. A writer for popular *Colliers* magazine [September 1946 edition] commented that

I have just witnessed a roundup at sea ten miles off St. Augustine, Florida. Lassos were thrown not over the heads of sea horses, but the tails of spotted porpoises. In those same blue-green waters I watched 12-foot tiger and hammerhead sharks harpooned with shafts carrying hypodermic needles, and saw a pygmy sperm whale driven into shallow water and captured. These sharks and porpoises and the whale, along with hundreds of other saltwater fish and reptiles, were being captured alive to restock the huge oceanside tanks at Marine Studios. Those tanks were emptied in June, 1942, when scientists and employees went to war and gasoline rationing stopped visitors. At that time the incorporated Town of Marineland had 26 voting citizens and 50,000 fish. Now the voters are back, but the scaly population has not yet reached its prewar peak. Ever since the tanks were reopened...collectors, including professional fishermen, divers, scientist and at least one writer with a fishpole have been working the coast of Florida from Jacksonville down to the Tortugas and around Caribbean reefs and inlets (Maloney 1946:14).

During the postwar period, the Florida State Board of Conservation (FSBC 1949) published a concise study of the fishing industry. At that time, state officials concluded that "Commercial fishermen in 39 of Florida's 67 counties" caught and sold "59 different species of food fish each year" (FSBC 1949:4). In looking at a particular year, FSBC (1949:4) remarked that

During 1947 they marketed 73,315,254 pounds of food fish. They also marketed 38,515,271 pounds of non-food fish, 124,922 gallons of shell fish, and 21,034,088 pounds of crabs, crayfish, shrimp, and other miscellaneous seafoods. That's a total of 132,864,613 pounds of marketable seafood within one year.

Surprisingly, the conservation board found that marketing returns for Flagler County during 1948 for "the production of crabs, crayfish, shrimp, and other miscellaneous seafoods" totaled only "390 pounds" as compared to adjoining St. Johns and Volusia counties; 2,965,881 and 6,771,815, respectively (FSBC 1949:11; Figure 48). One obvious explanation for the sharp difference in returns was obviously related to the absence of a navigable inlet in FC; in practical terms, fishermen taking catches along the study county certainly may have identified finfish and/or shellfish with the inlets that they exited/entered. Without doubt, numerous coastwise vessels navigated along the coastline of Flagler County in commercial and recreational watercraft (Figure 49.



Figure 48. "Florida fishermen hauling in a seine", ca. 1949 (FSBC 1949:4).

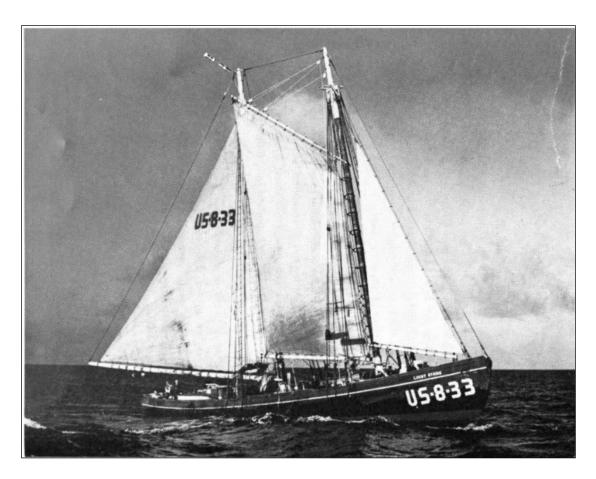


Figure 49. "Florida snapper schooner under full sail", ca. 1949 (FSBC 1949:i).

Early Modern Period Historical Overview (1950-1979)

By the conclusion of "Federal Fiscal Year 1951", dredging projects related to the ICW within Flagler County contracted by the USACE were completed (Hailey 2013:97). By 1965, the overall work connecting Jacksonville and Fort Pierce was completed with respect to the controlling depth and channel width dimensions established in 1944. The January 1952 USCGS chart entitled *Matanzas Inlet to Mosquito Lagoon* and a detail of a 1952 Soil Conservation Service (SCS) aerial image of southeastern FC verify the contemporary condition of the study area (Figure 50; Figure 51).

With respect to the nautical chart, the scale was measured at 1:40,000. With respect to the aerial image, Ryall Engineering Company of Denver, Colorado completed its flyover surveys by late December 1952. For this particular contract, No. ASC-962, 12 sheets at a scale of 1:20,000 were produced. Other aerial images of the study area including a collection for 1965 and later dates are available for viewing through the UFDC.

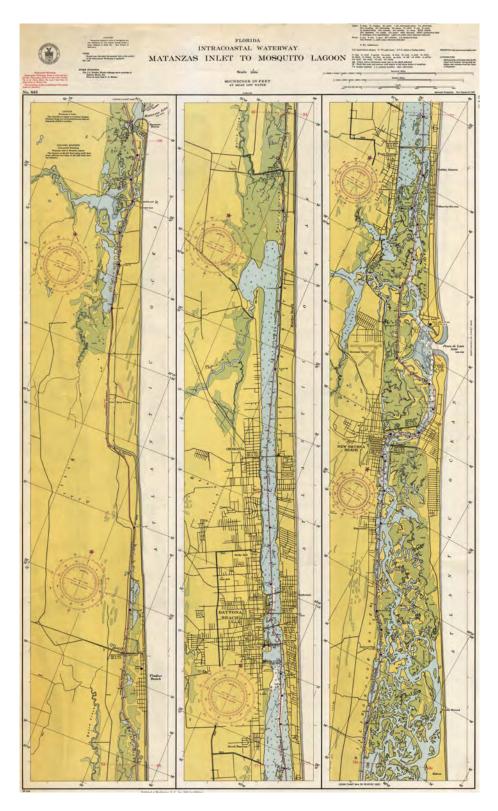


Figure 50. January 1952 Federal chart entitled *Matanzas Inlet to Mosquito Lagoon* (Courtesy of U.S. Office of Coast Survey).



Figure 51. Detail of 1952 SCS aerial image of southeastern FC (Courtesy of GASL-UFDC).

In its September 1956 edition, *The Aircraft Flash*, *Official G.O.C. Magazine* (*TAF* 1956a:2) commented that

Because he does his work as a matter of duty, the military many, whether officer or airman, is seldom credited for his contributions to the nation's defense. This is especially true during peacetime, when the general public loses the enthusiasm it feels for the armed forces in war...While there is a tendency to regard all things military as a drag on the economy, the fact is that in these dull times military personnel do some of their greatest work

One month later, the U.S. Air Force publication identified several new air defense observation posts including one at Flagler Beach. The brief writeup mentioned the contemporary population of the coastal community and widespread support of the project, as follows.

Supervisor Bill Buteux provided the spark for a new GOC tower at Flagler Beach which incorporates the best features of many towers visited before the plans were drawn. Much of the material and labor was donated, and Flagler County furnished the necessary cash. This post, in a town of fewer than 850 people, has been in continuous operation since February 1. Dedicatory exercises for the new tower were held on August 23, with Mayor Roy L. McNab, and active volunteer, master of ceremonies. Speakers were Dr. Reginald Giles, deputy Marion County Civil Defense director, and Maj. Robert L. Lovelace, Florida GOC coordinator (*TAF* 1956b:8).

In 1969, ITT Community Development Corporation (ICDC) acquired extensive rural property in the county. ICDCs "original master plan indicate[d] ultimate development in the 93,000 acre tract of 200,000 dwelling units which would be achieved during the second decade of the next century" (USACE 1976:5). An environmental impact statement prepared in 1976 commented that 208 dwellings had been constructed in the initial project footprint. Its contemporary [1976] environment was described in this manner.

The site is located in an area of primarily undeveloped woodlands and wetlands until the late 1960s. The area was used for limited farming and timbering operations. Only in the remote swamps does virgin timber remain. Mosquito control ditches, a few county and logging roads, Florida East Coast Railroad, and the Lehigh Portland Cement Plant, which is no longer in operation, comprised the major recent alterations by man in the area (USACE 1976:5).

The Palm Coast Historical Society & Museum (2019) described the 1970 marketing pitch and subsequent development of Palm Coast with this remark,

In a February 1970 report to the Flagler Chamber, Dr. [Norman] Young projected the completion of a sales/model center, a golf course, and homes for the residents by the end of the year. The grand opening of newly named Palm Coast occurred on October 29, 1970. The first public building erected, the Welcome Center, served as the hub for sales activities and was surrounded by pleasant walkways leading to a dozen model homes. The 64-foot high observation tower provided panoramic views of the surrounding woods, lakes, streams, Intracoastal Waterway (ICW), and Atlantic Ocean. It presided over a golf course, model homes, canals, and early home construction that was to become the 'core area' of Palm Coast.

Some three years later, the Whitney Laboratory for Marine Bioscience was founded to study ... "fundamental problems in biology" and to apply "knowledge to issues of human health, natural resources, and the environment" (University of Florida n.d.). By late spring 1975, the *United States Coast Pilot* noted that distinctive complex and briefly described the study area in this manner; "Flagler Beach is 26.5 miles southward of St. Augustine Light. The hotel and ocean pier are good landmarks. The T-shaped pier extending offshore is 650 feet long and 20 feet wide" (USDC 1975:161).

In 1976, a "nonprofit public-interest research organization" that studied "the impact of business on society" published a three-volume series entitle *Promised Lands*. Volume two commented that Long and Pellicer Creeks were recognized as important salt-marsh sanctuaries teeming with fish and animals. The saltmarsh prairies associated with Pellicer Creek in particular offered "unsurpassed vistas" (Allan, Kuder, and Oakes 1976:257). The authors also remarked that "Flagler County, whose economy is based on potato farming and turpentine production, has only two towns of any size: Bunnell and Flagler Beach" (Allan, Kuder, and Oakes 1976:248).

At that date, the Florida East Coast Railroad was the only coastal train service [north-south] between Jacksonville and West Palm Beach. Three freight trains operated on the line with no service for passengers. A private spur line connected with the aforementioned track north of Bunnell, which was laid by the Lehigh Portland Cement Company (USACE 1976:88).

A May 1977 report prepared for the State University System Sea Grant program was one of a series funded to "yield an improved understanding of the overall effect of each [Florida] inlet on the economics, recreation, water quality and shoreline stability of the surrounding area" (Mehti and Jones 1977:iv). Gainesville's Coastal and Oceanographic Engineering Laboratory researchers remarked that while inlets provide access to inland waterbodies, serve as cleansing agents, and provide rejuvenation of bay waters; they

...also [unfortunately] contribute significantly to the serious beach erosion problem prevalent along most of Florida's shoreline. The complexities of the hydraulic and sediment transport mechanics in the vicinity of inlets present a formidable challenge to engineers and scientists. These factors, along with the interesting historical role that inlets have played in the early development of Florida have resulted in considerable documentation pertaining to the major inlets of the State (Mehti and Jones 1977:iv).

The subject May 1977 study focused on Matanzas Inlet, which at publication, was the "last unimproved inlet on the east of coast of Florida" and was unsuitable "for navigation purposes except by small craft" (Mehti and Jones 1977:1).

Historic Storm Advice (1830-1976)

A 1976 study analyzed significant storms which impacted the county to that date; and commented that

Since 1885, only one storm of full hurricane force has hit the St. Augustine area and that was Hurricane Dora on September 9, 1964... Since 1830, a storm of hurricane intensity [16 events] has passed within 150 miles of Flagler Beach on an average of once every three years...The chances of hurricane force winds in this area in any given year are estimated [1976] at about one in forty... Northeast storms tend to be more damaging than hurricanes in this section of the state... These storms usually occur during fall or winter and are caused by a stationary high pressure front situated north of a low pressure front... Overcast skies and intermittent rain associated with 'northeasters' may persist for 2-3 days...Strong northeast winds accompanying these storms usually account for most damage. These winds may cause unusually high tides and waves, resulting in severe beach erosion and dune recession... Severe northeast storms occurred in this area during 1925, 1932, 1956 and 1962 (USACE 1976:84, 87).

Twenty-First-Century Development

As of 2010, the U.S. Census reported Flagler County's overall population at 96,696. In 2018, one unofficial site estimated its permanent population at 112,067. In the present day, these municipalities; Beverly Beach, Bunnell, Flagler Beach, Marineland, and Palm Coast have collectively "incorporated about 48 percent of the land within Flagler County" (FCF 2019).

In the interim, Mala Compra Plantation received two prestigious awards; 1) "an international recognition from the Society for Historic Archaeology, singled out the county for promoting historical archaeology"; and 2) the Florida Trust for Historic Preservation "rewarded the county's Outstanding Achievement in the Field of Historic Landscape/Archaeology" (Visit Florida.com n.d.).

Seventy-three public access points allow residents and tourists to reach the county's 18.1 miles of sandy beaches. Five "Great Florida Birding & Wildlife Trails" provide "vital habitats for many varieties of birds including the bald eagle" (FEDP 2019b). In *Boardwalks and Long Walks*: *Rediscovering Florida*, Holcomb (2014:103-104) recommends 15 exceptional county parks/natural sites that present unique opportunities for nature enthusiasts of all ages.

Beverly Beach Camptown currently offers RV enthusiasts a unique opportunity to camp along its 1500-foot oceanfront resort facility. Atlantic right whales migrate to the offshore waters of Flagler County from December to March, and the Town of Beverly Beach "maintains an observation base location on one of its public beach access points to help gather information and sightings on this endangered species" (FDEP 2019b).

Due to its... "natural, unspoiled beauty", the 19-plus miles of "uncrowded cinnamon colored sand with plenty of room for sports, fishing or just relaxing in the sun" make the "low-key and laid-back" atmosphere of Flagler Beach a favorite for national and international tourists (Flagler County Florida 2019). However, countless Floridians visit and enjoy its hospitality. Fishing remains a very popular pastime for locals and tourists. The attention-grabbing headline, "Fishing Report: Amazing kingfish catch continues at Flagler Pier", greeted *Daytona Beach News-Journal* readers in late August 2019 (Kelly 2019). A photograph showing two young broadly smiling anglers and their "39-pound kingfish caught off Flagler Beach Pier" accompanied the headline.

According to an affiliated correspondent, "Fishermen report[ed] 11 kings nabbed in one day...[which brought] the yearly total to 112" (Kelly 2019). Geared toward sporting folk of all ages and genders, locals and tourists; the "SURF, PIERS" posting remarked that

Anglers fishing off the Flagler Beach Pier extended the record catch of king mackerel last week. On Aug. 23 anglers caught 11 of the big, deep-water fish. Since the first king was hooked on April 29, there have been 112 bagged at the end of the pier. The old record for kingfish caught during a calendar year was 74. Meanwhile, Gene Lytwyn at The Fishin' Hole said the surf and ocean piers stayed pretty steady this week. 'Whiting, blues and pompano have kept sure anglers busy,' he said. 'Add a few flounder, redfish and Spanish mackerel and you've got the ocean pier activity' (Kelly 2019).

In its official website dedicated to the subject county, the FDEP (2019b) remarked that

Flagler County is well-known for its coquina beaches and quaint beach community atmosphere. Flagler County is a beach destination for vacationers who are trying to avoid a large metropolitan area. Flagler Beach maintains a historic downtown with a farmer's market and a variety of appealing small, independently owned restaurants.

Hurricane Chronology (2000-2019)

During the subject contemporary period, three major tropical hurricanes impacted Flagler County; Charley, Matthew, and Irma. With respect to the first storm event, a study entitled *Snowbirds and Senior Living Developments: An Analysis of Vulnerability Associated with Hurricane Charley* commented that "On Friday, August 13, 2004, Hurricane Charley made landfall as a category 4 storm at Cayo Costa, a barrier island west of Cape Florida, in the southwestern part of the state. Less than eight hours later, Hurricane Charley moved offshore near Daytona Beach on the northeast coast of Florida" (Montz and Tobin n.d.:2).

Hurricane Charley (9 August 2004–14 August 2004)

Montz and Tobin (n.d.:2) also related that Hurricane Charley forced the evacuation of some two million Floridians, killed at least nine individuals, and resulted in "insured" damages of at least \$6.755 billion. East coast counties included in the subject analysis included Flagler, Volusia, and Brevard. According to National Hurricane Center (NHC) scientists,

Hurricane Charley strengthened rapidly just before striking the southwestern coast of Florida as a Category 4 hurricane on the Saffir-Simpson Hurricane Scale. Charley was the strongest hurricane to hit the United States since Andrew in 1992 and, although small in size, it caused catastrophic wind damage in Charlotte County, Florida. Serious damage occurred well inland over the Florida peninsula [Figure 52] (Pasch, Brown and Blake 2011:1, 18).

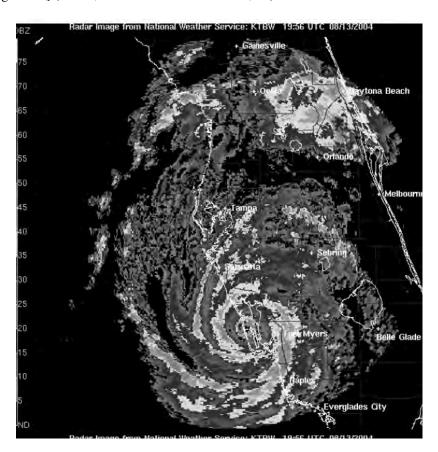


Figure 52. Cropped radar image of Hurricane Charley on the date "Hurricane Watch" issued for "Flagler Beach FL"... (Courtesy of NHC).

Hurricane Matthew (28 September 2016–10 October 2016)

In its study entitled "Hurricane Matthew After-Action Report", Flagler County Board of County Commissioners (FCBCC 2017:3) related that "Matthew is believed to be the most powerful hurricanes [sic] to impact Flagler County since 1893". With respect to the Category Five hurricane and its immediate impact, FCBCC (2017:5) commented that

During the early morning of October 7, 2016, squalls from Hurricane Matthew begin to effect [sic] all of Flagler County. Matthew's eyewall brushed Flagler County's coastline as a Category 3 storm. There were sustained winds of up to 73 mph in coastal areas; with wind gusts of over 86 mph. The sustained tropical storm force winds lasted for approximately six hours....The hurricane produced unprecedented storm tides of up to 7 feet, that together with wind produced wave heights of 17 to 20 feet that ravaged the beaches [Figure 53] and our entire coastline dunes system. The powerful waves from the tides flooded entire communities and inland fresh water ponds and canals, damaged and destroyed homes, and caused parts of A1A to collapse and crumble into the Atlantic Ocean [Figure 54]Overall, the storm caused widespread power outages affecting thousands of Florida Power & Light customers. Nearly 60,000 electric customers lost power immediately following Hurricane Matthew, many of whom experienced extended outages for up to six days following the storm.



Figure 53. Extensive beach erosion and structural damage (FCBCC 2017).



Figure 54. AIA damage sustained during Hurricane Matthew (FCBCC 2017).

Hurricane Irma (30 August-11 September 2017)

According to the FDEP (2018:16), "The northeastern and central coastal counties with the greatest structural damages due to Hurricane Irma were St. Johns, Flagler (Figure 55), Volusia and Brevard. Dwellings and other coastal structures within these counties were left highly vulnerable following the impact of Hurricane Matthew in October 2016". At least 78 structures in FC suffered major damage, which included private homes, condos, hotels, etc. Coastal structures, i.e., "seawalls, revetments, sills, groins, [and] jetties" were not included in that total (FDEP 2018:17). Significant coastal armoring damage affecting St. Johns, Flagler, and Volusia counties totaled 3,730 feet. Of that aggregate, 160 feet of damage occurred in FC (FDEP 2018:17, 30).



Figure 55. "Dune breach by storm surge of Irma, Washington Oaks State Park"... (FDEP 2018).

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Appendix A

a Plantation or Tract of Land, containing for himselved Herry collicated or him from the South Lin Stant of Land, containing for free for the South Lin Stant of Land By His Extellering Mathield Sanger Cognities Governor and Commander in Chief in and over His Majefly's TOU are hereby directed and required to measure, or cause to be admeain East-Floring. Observing his Majefly's Instructions in laying out the same, and taking the utmost Care you can, that the same has not been heretofore run out on any Warrant or Patent, but be vacant Land; and return a Plat thereof, certified by you, into the Secretary's Office, within fix Months from this Date. To Treslent From Moderator Esq; Surveyor-General. Day of Maharany and Anno Domini 1781 Given under my Eland and Seal, this Jeffeerth SECRETARY'S OFFICE, Certified by EAST-FLORIDA. faid Province. Drond Grade Den

Appendix B

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JANUARY 22, 1839. Submitted, and ordered to be printed.



Mr. HUBBARD, from the Committee of Claims, made the following

REPORT:

[To accompany Senate bill No. 231.]

It appears that John J. Bulow, jr., was the owner of the plantation of Bulowville, in Florida; that his plantation was a very valuable one; that it was taken possession of by the troops, fortified and occupied as a military post, and that expeditions were fitted out from it against the Indians, and that it was finally taken possession of and destroyed by the Indians. The evidence presented in this case is, viz:

1st. A statement of the property destroyed and taken, showing the value

of each article, made and sworn to by Mr. Bulow.

2d. The affidavit of Francis Pellicer, that he has been for several years Mr. Bulow's overseer; that he is well acquainted with every transaction that has taken place on the plantation, and is conversant with the quantity, and value, and cost, of every thing thereon, and that he believes the account

rendered by Mr. Bulow is correct and just.

3d. The affidavit of Joseph Hunter, William H. Williams, and David R. Dunham, planters and inhabitants of the same county in which Mr. Bulow's plantation was situated, that they possess full knowledge of the extent, improvements, and resources of Mr. Bulow's plantation, which was laid waste and destroyed by the hostile Indians; and that they believe Mr. Bulow's statement of his lossess sustained by the depredations of the hostile Indians to be correct.

4th. The certificate of Benjamin A. Putnam, the major commanding the detachments of the 2d regiment 2d brigade of Florida militia, that he occupied with the troops under his command, as a military post, the plantation of Mr. Bulow, fortified it, and that several expeditions were fitted out from it against the Indians, particularly the one which resulted in the

action at Danlawton, on the 18th January, 1836.

5th. The certificate of Joseph N. Hernandez, the brigadier general commanding the 2d brigade of Florida militia, that Major Benjamin A. Putnam, while in command of the several detechments of the 2d regiment of militia in the service of the United States, occupied and fortified the plantation of Mr. Bulow, as a military post, and that several expeditions were fitted out from it against the Indians at war with the United States, with his approbation and consent.

The plantation and buildings being occupied by the troops in the service of the United States as a military post, and destroyed by the hostile In-

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dians, brings this case clearly within the principles and precedents acknowledged and established in the case of the inhabitants of the Niagara frontier, during the late war with Great Britain, and in various other cases.

The committee, therefore, have come to the conclusion, that the claimant ought to receive the actual value of the buildings occupied by the American troops and destroyed by the hostile Indians at the time of their occupation, as the committee fully believe that such destruction was occasioned by their occupation as aforesaid; but the committee are by no means satisfied that the estimated value of the buildings thus destroyed is correct. They have, therefore, reported a bill authorizing the Secretary of the Treasury to ascertain the true value of the buildings, and to make payment accordingly.

I do hereby certify, that on the reoccupation of the country south of St. Augustine, in the Territory of Florida, by the army under General Scott, it was discovered that the Indians did not destroy all property, indicriminately, as it was at first believed they had done; that, on the plants tions which they visited, where there were some buildings used as place of defence, and others which were not used for that purpose, they de stroyed those which were occupied for purposes of defence, and left the others standing. I do not know an instance in which they did not destroy buildings which were fortified, but I know a great many in which they did not destroy those which were not fortified; that I believe all the principal buildings at Mr. Bulow's plantation were occupied for military parposes; that the troops went from Bulowville to Dunlawton, the plantation of the Andersons, for the purpose of removing a quantity of corn from the place, and prevent its falling into the hands of the Indians, when they were met by a very superior force, said to be nearly four to one, and, the an engagement of upwards of an hour, were compelled to retire to their boats, and, with nearly one-half of their force disabled, to retreat to their head-quarters at Bulowville, and from thence to St. Joseph; that I believe, and have no doubt, but that the same Indians who defeated the troops & Dunlawton, on disposing of their wounded, and being reinforced, followed them to Bulowville, and from thence to St. Joseph, from which post the troops had already been withdrawn, as no assistance could be sent to them, and the Indian force was known to be increasing every day; that I cannot say positively on what day the buildings at Bulowville were do stroyed, but I know it was not after the 8th of February, 1836; that it the sugar plantation of Mr. Samuel H. Williams, which is situated my about four miles from Dunlawton, and on the same river, the Indians del not destroy the buildings for sugar works, (where the best defence could be made,) when they first overruin the country; the place had not the been occupied by the military; but when the country was re-company those buildings were fortified by the troops under General Eusus, and on their being withdrawn from this place the Indians destroyed them. Dupont's plantation, with a number of buildings upon it, and the mills and buildings of Messrs. Hulet and Flotard, the one about four and the cha about eight miles from St. Joseph, and one or two other places near the same plantation, not having been used for military purposes, ware found uninjured at this time; that at my places the buildings for my sogar work

were fortified, and the Indians destroyed those buildings when they got possession, and left those standing which had not been fortified. The troops again occupied my plantations, St. Joseph and Mala Compra, fortified other buildings, and again abandoned the places, and the Indians then destroyed those buildings which had been used as places of defence and those contiguous to them, and left the others, a part of which, as I believe, are standing at this day.

JOSEPH M. HERNANDEZ, Brig. Gen. Commanding E. F. M.

County of Washington.

Sworn to before me, in due form of law, this 14th day of January, A. D. 1839.

S. BURCH, J. P.

WAR DEPARTMENT, Office Indian Affairs, December 16, 1837.

Sin: In answer to your letter of the 15th instant, I have the honor to state that Messrs. L. T. Pease, J. M. Smith, and Thomas Gibson, were appointed commissioners to examine claims for depredations by Creek and Seminole Indians in Georgia, Alabama, and Florida, in April last, under the second section of the act of March 3d, 1837. A report has been received of the investigations in Georgia and Alabama. The commissioners did not enter upon their duties in Florida, in consequence, as is understood, of the existing hostilities, which they believed would have prevented the successful prosecution of them. There will, of course, be no report of the examination in that Territory, during the present session.

Very respectfully, your most obedient servant, C. A. HARRIS, Commissioner.

Hon. H. Hubbard, Senate U. S.

To the honorable the Senate and House of Representatives of the United States of America in Congress assembled::

This petition respectfully showeth: That John J. Bulow, jr. has been a sufferer to a great extent by the wars in Florida; that his house, his crops, &c. have been burnt and destroyed by the Seminole Indians. That his house was occupied as a military post, picketed and garrisoned. Your petitioner has understood that, whatever may be the result of the general application of the citizens of Florida to be paid for their losses, Congress has never refused to pay for property destroyed by the enemy, if the property so destroyed was occupied by the troops or the militia of the United States as a military position. To prove the fact that it was so occupied, and to ascertain the amount of damage, your petitioner begs to refer to the accompanying certificates of the major and the general in command, and to the affidavits of respectable gentlemen whose names are thereto attached. He understands that the justice of claims like this has often been admitted,

and the principle and precedent acknowledged and established in the case of the inhabitants of the Niagara frontier, during the late war with Great Britain. He therefore prays Congress to take the case into consideration. and pass a law for the settlement of the claim.

W. G. BUCKNOR, Executor.

Stat	tement of the losses sustained by John J. Bulow, jr. in the de-
st	ruction, by fire, depredation, and plundering, of the plantation of Bu.
· lo	poville, belonging to him, situated at Tomoka, Mosquito county, East
F	Vorida, by the hostile Seminole Indians, in the month of January, 1836.

Florida, by the hostile Seminole Indians, in the month of Janua	<i>try</i> , 1836.
1. A large two story dwelling-house	\$5,000
2. Corn-house, barn, poultry-house, and other out buildings	2,000
3. Two large cotton-houses, one gin house, stables, two fodder	-,
houses, blacksmith shop, &c	4,500
4. Forty negro houses, all framed, board floors, and shingled	- 2,500
5. Stone sugar works, 119 by 93 feet, viz: boiling-house, two	-,000
curing houses, steam engine house, and a large framed saw	
mill, all complete	- 30,000
6. A large stable 100 feet long, cooperage and store house	- 75 0
7. Household and kitchen furniture	- 3,000
8. Negro furniture, &c	- 250
9. Carpenter's and blacksmith's tools, plantation implements, &cc	2,000
10. Provisions and stores, negro clothing, cotton bagging, &c.	1,000
11. Corn, (about 2,000 bushels,) fodder, &c.	2,500
12. Harness, five ox carts, and two wagons, &c	- 250
13. Boats, flats, &c. with sails, oars, and furniture -	250
14. Twenty-two bales of packed cotton, ready for shipping,	
7,700 lbs., worth on the plantation thirty-five cents	2,695
15. 53,000 lbs. of stone cotton, equal to 18,000 lbs of clean,	_,,
at thirty-five cents	6,390
16. Eight yoke of oxen, at \$60	490
· · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · · ·	
·	63,475
The crop of the present year, at the lowest estimate, would have	,
amounted to	20,000
•	
	83,475
<u>.</u>	
TOUN I DITE OF	UV T.

JOHN J. BULOW, JR.

ST. AUGUSTINE, April 1, 1836.

I, John J. Bulow, jr., solemnly swear, that the foregoing account and estimate of losses sustained by me, and caused by the destruction of my plantation at Bulowville, Mosquito county, by the hostile Indians, in the month of January last, is correct and just. JOHN J. BULOW, JR.

Sworn to before me, at St. Augustine, St. Johns county, Florida, this 2 day of April, A. D. 1836.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS, histice of the Peace Digitized by Google

I, Francis Pellicer, solemnly swear, that I have been for several years last past the overseer of Mr. J. J. Bulow, jr.'s plantation, Bulowville, at Tomoka, Mosquito county, East Florida. That I am well acquainted with every transaction that has taken place on the plantation, and am conversant with the quantity, value, and cost of every thing thereon; and that I conscientiously believe that the foregoing account signed by Mr. J. J. Bulow, jr. is correct and just, and that the estimate of the value of the crop of the present year is if any thing underrated.

FRANCIS PELLICER.

Sworn to before me, at St. Augustine, St. Johns county, Florida, this 2d day of April, A. D. 1836.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS, .

Justice of the Peace.

Personally came before George L. Phillips, a notary public, in and for the county of St. Johns, Territory of Florida, John J. Bulow, jr. and Francis Pellicer, the individuals who executed the above instruments, who severally acknowledged that they placed their signatures for the purposes therein mentioned.

In witness whereof, I have placed my hand and seal this 2d day of [L. s.] April, A. D. 1836.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS, Notary Public.

We, the subscribers, Joseph Hunter, William H. Williams, and David R. Dunham, planters and inhabitants of Mosquito county, Territory of Florida, hereby certify, that we are acquainted with Mr. John J. Bulow, jr., the owner of the plantation of Bulowville, Tomoka, Mosquito county, which plantation was laid waste and destroyed by the hostile Indians in the month of January last. That we possess full knowledge of the extent, improvements, and resources of the place; and that, to the best of our knowledge and belief, the annexed account and estimate of the losses sustained by Mr. Bulow, by the depredations of the said Indians, is correct.

JOSEPH HUNTER, W. H. WILLIAMS, DAVID R. DUNHAM.

Sworn to before me, at St. Augustine, St. Johns county, Florida, this 2d day of April, A. D. 1836.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS,

Justice of the Peace.

TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, St. Augustine, April 2, 1836.

I certify that while in command of the detachments of the 2d regiment, 2d brigade, of Florida militia, in the service of the United States, at the southward of St. Augustine, for the protection of the country against the hostile incursions of the Seminole Indians, I occupied, as a military post, the plantation of Bulowville, at Tomoka, Mosquito county, belonging to Mr. J. J. Bulow, jr., with the troops under my command, from the 28th

of December, 1835, to the 23d of January, 1836. The station of Bulow-ville was fortified, and several expeditions were fitted out from that post, particularly the one which resulted in the action with the Indians at Dunlawton, on the 18th of January, 1836.

BENJAMIN A. PUTNAM,
Maj. com'g detachments.

TERRITORY OF FLORIDA, St. Augustine, April 2, 1836.

I certify that Major Benjamin A. Putnam, of the 2d regiment, 2d brigade, Florida militia, while in command of the several detachments of the regiment, in the service of the United States, at the southward of St. Augustine, occupied and fortified the plantation of Mr. J. J. Bulow, jr., as a military post, and that several expeditions were fitted out from that position against the Seminole Indians, at war with the United States, with my approbation and consent. Given at the request of J. J. Bulow, jr., Esq.

JOSEPH N. HERNANDEZ, Brig. Gen. Com'g 2d Brigade Florida Militia.

Office House of Representatives, U.S., December 20, 1836.

I certify, the papers copied on the six preceding pages, are true copies from the originals, now filed in this office, in support of the petition of J. J. Bulow, jr.

S. BURCH, Chief Clerk.

DISTRICT OF EAST FLORIDA:

I, the undersigned, Thomas Douglass, United States attorney for the district aforesaid, do hereby certify that I was personally acquainted with Joseph Hunter, (who is now deceased,) one of the persons whose name is signed to the annexed copy of an appraisement of the estate of John J. Bulow, jr., in his lifetime, and that he was a very intelligent and respectable planter; that I am also personally acquainted with William H. Williams and David R. Dunham, the other two appraisers; that Mr. Williams is a respectable and intelligent planter; that Mr. Dunham is a respectable and intelligent man, and judge of the county court of Mosquito county, in which the estate of the late John J. Bulow, jr. is situated; that all three of the gentlemen above named as appraisers, must, from having resided in the same county, have been well acquainted with the quality and value of the estate above mentioned; and that, from my knowledge of them, I believe they would not have made an unfair or extravagant valuation of said estate. That besides, I have exhibited the same appraisement to several other intelligent and disinterested gentlemen, who were well acquainted with said estate, and duly qualified to judge of, and decide upon its value, all of whom consider the said appraisement a just and fair one. Of the last item. \$20,000, "for the crop of the present year," (1836,) they did not pretend to judge farther than to say, that they believed, with good management. more than that sum might have been made from it. Never having seen

the estate myself, I cannot certify to its value, from my own personal knowledge.

Given under my hand, at St. Augustine, this 1st day of March, A. D.

1837.

THOMAS DOUGLASS.

New York, January 10, 1837.

I hereby certify that I was one of the number composing Major Putnam's command while in occupation of John J. Bulow, junior's, plantation, in East Florida, during the months of December and January, in the year one thousand eight hundred and thirty-six. I also certify, that the said plantation was fortified by us, a fort being built, and the buildings barricaded and otherwise strengthened; that there were many expeditions sent out from this station against the Indians, especially the one to Dunlawton. on the 18th of January; that, after the return of the troops from that battle, one-half of them being wounded, and the number of the Indians in the neighborhood being more numerous than was at first supposed, it was determined by Major Putnam and his officers to abandon the post forthwith, which was accordingly done on the night of the 26th of January, 1836. It cannot be precisely ascertained how soon after the plantation was burned, as none but an armed body of men could venture in the neighborhood; but it was generally supposed to have been destroyed immediately after its evacuation by the troops. I will further certify, that I was with Colonel Bresbane's regiment of Carolina militia, when they re-occupied the fort at Mr. Bulow's plantation, some weeks after, being the first party of whites that marched into that part of the country after its abandonment by Major Putnam. I found every building destroyed; not a vestige of any kind of property or stock remaining; all had either been carried off or destroyed by the Indians.

J. GEORGE ANDERSON.

The written statement sworn to before me, this eleventh day of January, A. D. 1837.

PHILIP S. CROOK,

Notary Public for the city and county of New York.

Mr. Anderson is a highly respectable man, and entitled to credit.

JOSEPH M. WHITE.

City of St. Augustine, County of St. Johns, Territory of Florida.

Personally came before me, Hon. Elias B. Gould, judge of the county court of St. Johns county, East Florida, George L. Phillips, who, being first duly sworn, says that, on the breaking out of the war with the Seminole Indians, he was captain of a rifle company of volunteers; but that, on the 31st December, 1835, he was appointed on the brigadier general's staff, and was captain of his escort, which consisted of gentlemen volunteers,

residents and transient persons residing in this city; that he accompanied the General (Brigadier General J. M. Hernandez, commanding the eastern district) whenever he went to visit the stations south; and that, on the la January, 1836, the General, with his staff and escort, left St. Augustine, and arrived at St. Josephs the evening of the same day, which was then occupied as a military post by company D of the 2d regiment Florida militia, and commanded by Captain Keeys. The next day they proceeded to Rosetta, and to Bulowville, having fell in with companies B and C mounted men, on the road, who had been sent from Bulowville on a scouting party; that the whole returned under deponent's command to Bulov ville, the estate of the late J. J. Bulow, jr., which was the head quarter of the forces south. Here they found company A, and Solana's troop, under the command of Major B. A. Putnam; that General Hernandez, with all his staff and escort, consisting of 22 persons, quartered at Bulowville; that almost every building and many of the negro houses were occupied by the troops; that deponent accompanied General J. M. Hernandez on excursions after the Indians, daily, both by land and water, until the 6th instant, and returned each night to Bulowville; that while at Bulowville, deponent, at companied by the late J. J. Bulow, jr., visited every building on the plant tion; that he examined them, and was rather surprised to see every thing in such high order; and further states, that it appeared that no expense had been spared to make the buildings strong and durable; they were all built of the best materials, and much superior to any he had seen in this portion of the country; that when the affidavit was made to the appraisement of the buildings, before him, as a magistrate, in 1836, he remarked that he considered the appraisement much under the actual value of the buildings; that when at Bulowville he saw a great many bales of cotton piled up round the dwelling house and quarters, to form a breastwork for the protection of the station; and that he also saw an immense quantity of cotton, ginned and not ginned, in the cotton house; the sugar-house, and mill, and buildings, were in the highest state of repair, and the works in the highest order; that, to his own knowledge, all the flats, boats, wagons, teams, &cwere daily employed in the service, having been impressed by Major B.1. Putnam, and also by General Hernandez; that deponent left Bulowville a the 7th January, 1836; and that, on the 23d instant, the General and his staff, with the escort, again went south, and remained at St. Josephs until the 28th instant, on which day the south was abandoned. A short time at ter, large fires were discovered in the direction of Bulowville, and deponent verily believes the Indians had then set fire and destroyed Bulowville.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS.

Sworn to before me, this 6th day of June, 1837.

E. B. GOULD,

Judge County Court St. Johns county

Personally came before me, George L. Phillips, a justice of the peace, duly authorized, commissioned, and sworn, Douglass Dummett, captain of the company B, mounted men, of the 2d regiment, 2d brigade, Florids militia, who, being duly sworn, deposes and saith: That on the breaking out of the war with the Seminole Indians, in the latter part of the year 1835, he received orders from Colonel J. S. Sanchez, commanding the 2d regiment, to embody his company at Tomoka, and to protect, as far a his command permitted him, the plantations on the Halifax and at Tomos

rivers; that he co-operated with Captain J. Williams, of company C, mounted men, and was under the command of Major B. A. Putnam, of the 2d regiment Florida militia; that during the time the troops were south, preventing, as far as possible, the depredations of the hostile Indians, he occasionally had to quarter at Bulowville, the estate of the late John J. Bulow, being the head-quarters of the forces; that a fort was built, and the place fortified, the materials for the building of which were all obtained on the estate; that a great many bales of cotton were taken from the cotton house to make a breastwork round the house in which the troops or a part of them were quartered; that expeditions both by land and water were sent out from the station of Bulowville against the Indians; that after the battle of Dunlawton, at which this deponent was present, the troops returned to Bulowville, and the dwelling house on the said estate of J. J. Bulow, ir. was converted into a hospital; and, it having been ascertained that at the battle the Indian forces engaged against amounted to four times the number of the troops, and from intelligence received, that they were also very numerous in the neighborhood of head-quarters, it was deemed advisable and necessary to abandon the post at Bulowville, and occupy St. Josephs. further swears, that, to the best of his belief and recollection, the post at Bulowville was abandoned on or about the 23d day of January, 1836; that it was not ascertained when the Indians took possession and destroyed the property, but it is supposed to have taken place but a very short time after its abandonment, as large fires were seen in that direction.

D. DUMMETT.

Taken, sworn to, and subscribed before me, at St. Augustine, East Florida, this 3d day of June, A. D. 1837.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS,

Justice of the Peace.

City of St. Augustine,
County of St. Johns, Territory of Florida,

Personally came before me, George L. Phillips, esquire, a justice of the peace, duly authorized, commissioned, and sworn, in and for the county aforesaid, Benjamin A. Putnam, major of the St. Augustine Guards, belonging to the 2d regiment 2d brigade Florida militia, who, being sworn, deposes and says: That on the breaking out of the war with the Seminole Indians the latter end of the year 1835, he received orders from Brigadier General Joseph M. Hernandez, commanding 2d brigade of Florida militia, through Colonel Joseph S. Sanchez, the commandant of the 2d regiment, to proceed with his company to Tomoka, and take post at Rosetta; also, to command companies B and C, who were at that time mounted men at Mataugus and Tomoka, and Solana's troop, and company D, of infantry, all belonging to the 2d regiment of 2d brigade Florida militia; that, in obedience to these orders, he took his station at Rosetta, the plantation of the late Marquis de Fougueres; but on the night of the 28th December, 1835, he left Rosetta, and took up a position at Bulowville, the estate of the late John J. Bulow, jr., being a more advantageous position, and occupied it as head-quarters of the forces south of St. Augustine, until the 23d of January, 1836; that the buildings thus occupied were the dwelling house, sugar house, saw mill, house and buildings attached to the sugar house; also, the store house as a depot for provision, the corn house, two kitchens,

and all the stables, and occasionally the other buildings, having at times a force at the station which required much accommodation; that several expeditions were fitted out from this station, by land and by water, against the Indians, particularly the one which resulted in the action at Dunlawton, on the 18th of January, 1836; that after that buttle, the dwelling house was converted into a hospital for the accommodation of the wounded. short time after that, deponent had to quit the station at Bulowville, as be had been wounded in the action with the Indians at Dunlawton; that during the time he was at Bulowville, he took the cotton bales belonging to the estate of the late J. J. Bulow, jr., to form a breastwork round the quarters; a fort also was built in front of the dwelling house for the protection of the place, the materials to build which were all furnished from the estate; that deponent ascertained that the numbers of the Indians in the neighborhood exceeded his command greatly; that, at the battle of Dunlawton, the enemy exceeded his command in number four-fold; that, or giving information of the movements of the enemy to General Hernandez he ordered him to abandon the station at Bulowville, and occupy another at St. Josephs, about eleven miles distant, and that it was abundoued accordingly on the night of the 23d January, 1836; that soon after the abandonment, the Indians took possession of the place, and destroyed every thing: the exact time when the Indians took possession cannot be ascertained, as no one remained, and none but a strong armed force would venture in the neighborhood, but large fires were seen in that direction a short time after the troops left the south. Deponent verily believes that the destruction of this place was, in a great measure, owing to its having been occupied as a military post for the forces sent against the Indians. ponent further states that it was impracticable for him to impress into the service, at the time he commanded at Bulowville, other property than that which belonged to the estate of J. J. Bulow, jr.; that the distance from St. Augustine was about forty miles, and it was deemed inexpedient w hazard the lives of individuals in sending them to St. Augustine. ponent further states that, in the lifetime of the late J. J. Bulow, jr., he constantly shipped the produce of his plantation on board of vessels lying at Mosquito, by sending it in flats; that, at the time deponent was at Bulowville, it was impracticable to do so, as that portion of the country was in the hands of the Indians, and no vessel would venture to come there; and that it was impracticable to transport it by land, owing to the state of the country, and the whole of his teams, horses, and mules, being employed in the service at that time.

BENJ. A. PUTNAM.
Major com'g troops at Bulowille.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 5th day of June, A. D. 1837. GEO. L. PHILLIPS,

Justice of the Peace.

CITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE,
County of St. Johns, Territory of Florida,

Personally appeared before me, George L. Phillips, a justice of the pease duly authorized, commissioned, and sworn, in and for said county, France Pellicer, who, being first duly sworn, says that he was overseer of Mr. La J. Bulow, jr.'s plantation, Bulowville, at Tomoka, Mosquito county, Florat

and had all the buildings, negroes, boats, flats, and stock under his immediate control; that he was there when the war commenced with the Seminole Indians, in the latter part of the year 1835; that the troops under the command of Major Benj. A. Putnam, of the 2d regiment Florida militia, consisting of companies A and D infantry, and B and C mounted meu, also, Lieutenant Solana's troop, stationed at Bulowville, which was made the head quarters of the forces south of St. Augustine about the 28th of December, 1835; that the said troops occupied the dwelling-house, storehouse, sugar-house, saw-mill, two kitchens, stables, corn-house, and some of the negro houses; that the whole of the buildings on the said plantation were in the best condition and repair, and built of the best articles, and at a great expense; that the sugar-house and buildings attached to it were of stone, and the negro houses (forty-six in number) were framed houses, shingled and floored; that the buildings thus occupied were of the following dimensions, viz: The dwelling-house 21 stories, 62 feet by 42 feet, with a piazza all round, saw-mill house 60 by 20 feet, and two stories high, sugar-house and buildings attached to it 116 feet by 89 feet and 12 feet high, corn house 36 by 25 feet, store-houses 20 by 30 feet, kitchens 20 by 20 feet, each, stable 25 by 30 feet, the negro houses 12 by 16 feet; that Major B. A. Putnam impressed into the service, for the purpose of transporting his troops to different places on the Halifax river and to Mosquito in search of the Indians, one large flat, 52 by 16 feet, of the value of \$300, one flat 20 by 10 feet, value \$80, a large canoe \$150, a small canoe \$70, and a green skiff value \$75: the latter was taken by the Indians at the battle of Dunlawton. Deponent further states that the said Major B. A. Putnam impressed into the service, for the purpose of conveying troops, provisions, and baggage and ammunition to and from St. Josephs and Bulowville, and for removing the wounded to St. Josephs, to be carried to St. Augustine, two wagons, with 4 horses each, three ox-teams, with 6 voke of oxen each, all of which he believes fell into the hands of the Indians on St. Josephs being abandoned by the troops. Deponent further states that about 8 or 10 head of cattle, he believes, were killed, belonging to the said estate, for the use of the troops; that he further believes that the hire of the flats, boats, canoes, negroes, wagons, and teams, horses, and cattle, were paid for; also, the cattle killed for the use of the troops, and the corn and fodder used for the horses of the mounted men, but that the flats, boats, canocs, wagons, and teams, horses, and cattle, were never returned to the said estate, but, as he believes, were taken and destroyed by the In-Deponent further states that there was a quantity of cotton on the estate, which was taken by the troops to form a breastwork. further says that there was, on the said estate, a gin-house 42 feet by 42 feet, a cotton-house 40 by 40 feet, small gin house 10 by 20 feet, two stories high, engine-house 14 by 25 feet, one and a half story high, fowl-house 20 by 30 feet, a blacksmith's shop 16 by 20 feet; and deponent states that the Indians got possession of four prime negroes, named George, July, Scipio, and Abraham; and that, during the life-time of the said J. J. Bulow, jr., and after the troops returned to St. Augustine, an appraisement was made by persons well acquainted with all the estate and the buildings thereon; that deponent was at the building of the houses, &c., mentioned in the appraisement, and considers, if any thing, that the appraisement fell short of the real value. Deponent further states that, shortly after the troops abandoned the south, the whole of the buildings on the said plantation were destroyed, as large fires were seen in that direction. Deponent further states that every article for transportation on the estate, both for land and water conveyance, was impressed into the service; and that all the cotton that was packed in bales was taken to make a breastwork around the house.

FRANCIS PELLICER.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 7th day of June, A. D. 1837.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS,

Justice of the Pence.

Assistant Adjutant General's Office, St. Augustine, January 26, 1836.

SIR: The commanding general directs that on your arrival at Bulors plantation, the head-quarters of Major B. A. Putnam, you will take measures to have the wounded officers and men brought to this place immediately, provided their situation will admit of it, and the attending surger shall deem it proper that they should be removed. And you will furnish a strong escort for their protection.

By order.

JNO. DRYSDALE.
Assistant Adjutant General.

To Colonel J. S. SANCHEZ, Commanding 2d regiment F. M.

I, Geo. L. Phillips, a notary public, duly authorized, commissioned, assworn, in and for the county of St. Johns, East Florida, do certify that the above is a true and faithful copy of the general order issued by the Assistant Adjutant General Jno. Drysdale, to Colonel J. S. Sanchez, commanding the 2d regiment of 2d brigade Florida militia, and taken from the original order.

Given under my hand and seal of office, this 5th day of June, A. D. 1837 [L. s.] and at St. Augustine, in East Florida.

GEO. L. PHILLIPS,

Notary Public.

St. Augustine, E. F., June 7, 1837.

I do certify that George L. Phillips is a notary public, duly authorized. commissioned, and sworn, in and for the county of St. Johns, East Florida. and that his proceedings in all cases as a notary are entitled to full faith and credit.

ROBERT RAYMOND STEID,
Judge Supreme Court, District East Florida.

CITY OF ST. AUGUSTINE,
County of St. Johns, Territory of Florida.

Personally came before me, George L. Phillips, a justice of the peace and for said county, duly authorized, commissioned, and sworn, Joseph: Sanchez, colonel of the second regiment, second brigade, Florida mili who, being duly sworn, deposes and saith: That a portion of his regime viz: the St. Augustine Guards, being company A, also companies B ari mounted men, and a troop of horse under command of Lieutenant Marisolana, occupied the post at Bulowville, the plantation of the late Lieutenant with the said of the late Lieutenant Marisolana, occupied the post at Bulowville, the plantation of the late

Rulow, jr., at Tomoka, the first for a period of five weeks, and the last only occasionally; that it was made the head quarters of the forces south of Matanzas ; and that the above forces were commanded by Major B. A. Putnam, of the St. Augustine Guards; and that the said force had to retreat from Rosetta, on the Tomoka, to Bulowville, on account of the numerous hostile Indians, and afterwards from Bulowville to St. Augustine. after the troops retreated from Bulowville, the Indians destroyed all the buildings and crops, and either destroyed or carried off every thing that was either catable or moveable. That the exact time when this property was destroyed cannot be stated, as no one could remain to see its destruction, but it is believed to have been immediately after its abandonment by the troops; that when deponent was in command of a part of his battalion of volunteers, mustered into the service of the United States in November, 1836, he, in compliance with orders from Colonel Crane, of the United States service, then in command of Fort Marion, visited all the plantations on the Tomoka, and on the Matanzas; that during the time he was on this excursion, viz: from the 31st December, 1836, to the 5th January, 1837, he went to Bulowville, and found all the buildings destroyed but the fort, which had been erected on the commencement of the year 1836, by our troops, for the protection of the place, which was still standing. Deponent further states that the orders for taking up these stations on the commencement of hostilities with the Indians emanated from Brigadier General Joseph M. Hermandez, at that time in command of all the forces in the eastern district.

Deponent further states that, from the written reports received occasionally from Major Putnam, bales of cotton, the property of the late John J. Bulow, jr., were used as a breastwork, to fortify the dwelling-house and quarters; that several expeditions were sent out from this Bulowville, both by land and water; one resulted in the battle of Dunlawton.

JOSEPH S. SANCHEZ,

Colonel second regiment, second brigade, Florida militia.

Subscribed and sworn to before me, this 5th day of June, 1837.

GEORGE L. PHILLIPS,

Justice of the Peace.

Head Quarters forces east of the St. Johns, St. Augustine, September 29, 1837.

I hereby certify that the plantation and fort at Bulowville, Tomoka, has been occupied during a portion of the latter part of this month, as a military station, by a detachment of United States troops and East Florida volunteers, under the command of Brigadier General Joseph M. Hernandez.

K. B. GIBBS,
Assistant Adjutant General, and Brigade Major.

HEAD QUARTERS FORCES EAST OF THE ST. Johns, St. Augustine, November 10, 1837.

I hereby certify that the plantation at Bulowville, Tomoka, has been occupied during a portion of the month of October last as a military station at the fort there, by a detachment of United States troops and East Florida volunteers, under the command of Brigadier General Joseph M. Hernandez. JOHN DRYSDALE.

Assistant Adjutant General, and Brigade Major.

IN SENATE OF THE UNITED STATES.

JANUARY 22, 1839.
Submitted; and offered to be printed.

Mr. Tipton made the following div. Tipton made the following divided by the REPORT:

[To accompany Senate bill No. 232.]

The Committee of Claims, to which was referred the petition of General Joseph M. Hernandez, have had the same under consideration, and report:

That the petitioner is the owner of two valuable and extensive plantations in the eastern district of the Territory of Florida. That, at the commencement of the Seminole war, they were both in a high and prosperous state of improvement and cultivation; the one a sugar plantation, called St. Josephs, and the other a cotton plantation, called Mala Compra, situated about three miles from the first. On the cotton plantation was the man-sion-house of the proprietor, and on each of them, respectively, all such costly and extensive structures, buildings, and machinery, as were suitable and proper to their successful cultivation. In the early stages of the Seminole war, in the winter of 1835 and 1836, and in the spring of the latter year, both these plantations were taken military possession of by the troops of the United States, and the houses occupied and fortified as military posts and places of defence; and, during the course of that winter and spring, both the places were, as occasion and exigency required, occupied, evacuated, and reoccupied by various detachments and bodies of troops, until the Indians, availing themselves of their temporary evacuation, burned all the buildings of any consequence or value on the sugar plantation, and, on the other plantation, the cotton-house that had been more particularly prepared and used as a place of desence. Much valuable property was burnt up in these houses.

During the period of the occupation of these plantations by the troops of the United States, there were stored upon them large quantities of corn, hay, sugar cane, &c., all the property of the petitioner, and they were also well stocked with cattle. These means of subsistence and comfort were, to a great amount in value, taken possession of by the troops, or for their use, and were actually used and consumed by them. By these causes—by their military occupation—by that destructive license which is its too general attendant, and, finally, by the Indian warfare and its ravages, both these plantations have been literally desolated and made waste. The slaves that cultivated them, eighty in number, were driven off by the Indians, three of the most valuable of them captured, and most of them have since been a burden instead of a profit to their owner.

The committee forbear to go into the multiplied circumstances that make up and aggravate this case, or to protract this report by a recapitulation of the evidence that has been exhibited to them. The brief and general statement which they have made is abundantly supported by testimony, and will be sufficient to enable the Senate to determine whether, and to what

extent, the petitioner is entitled to legislative relief.

The committee is of opinion that the petitioner is entitled to full compensation for all his property used and consumed by the troops of the United States, and for any damage done by them during their occupation of his plantations; and, furthermore, in consequence of that occupation, that the United States are bound to compensate him for the value of the houses, &c., that were burnt by the Indians, and also to pay him a just compensation for the use of his houses and premises while in the occupation of their troops.

Appendix C



SUPPLEMENT TO THE CONNECTICUT COURANT.

VOL. III.

MAY 15, 1832.

NO. 6.

From the Boston Literary Magazine.

THE DESERTED INDIAN VILLAGE.

Through the deep forest's aich of green
There peal'd no hunter's shout—
And lingering 'neath his leafy screen,
The browsing deer fook'd out.
You roofless cabins to the blast
Return'd a bollow moan,
And the lean fox his vile repast
Made on their threshold stone.

Why do those oar's resign their strife? Yon blackening boats decay? What hand hath check'd the tide of life That made this vale so gay?— I spake,—yet nothing answer'd me Save the swoll'n torrent's roar, And the damp reeds that heavily Sigh'd on their sedgy shore.

Till sudden from a cave remote
A hermit Indian sped,—
Majestic, though long years had wrote
Their history on his head:—
'Who for the Red Man's vanish'd race
Inquires with fruitless care?
The storm hath hurl'd them from their place,
They fade in empty air.

There rest our sires—a mighty band—Yon mounds protect their clay;
How wise to seek the Spirit's land
Before the evil day!
Deep voices of my glorious sires,
I hear your midnight sigh,
And see your spears with fitful fires
Flash in the northern sky.

But on your sons the White Man's eye Hath baleful poison shed;
Far from their native earth they fly,
Far from their honor'd dead:
No warrior leads the battle van;
And, stricken by the blast,
I dwell, a solitory man—
Of all my tribe, the last.

'Their corn upon yon prairie grew;
And, countless o'er its tide,
The river felt their light cauoe
With arrowy switness glide.
The voice of merry childhood rang
From glen and forest high,
And at those doors the mother sang
Her plaintive lullaby.

'I saw them with unutter'd pain
To the far west pass by—
Chief, sire and babe—a lengthen'd train;
They left me here to die.
But mouldering 'mid our fathers' dust
These fleshless bones shall bleach:'
He ceased—for sorrow's rising gust
()'erwhelm'd the power of speech.

I saw the hoary mourner how
As toward his cave he drew,
And o'er my Country's broken vow
I grieved in silence too.
Remembering that our God is just,
I trembled for her fate,
Who, trampling on a nation's trust,
Thus left it desolate,
L. II. S.
Hartford, April, 1832.

A NATURALIST'S EXCURSION IN FLORIDA.
The entertaining letter annexed, is from Mr. Audubon to the Editor of the American Monthly Journal of Geology, &c. published at Philadelphia.

Bulowville, East Florida, Dec. 31, 1831. My. Dear F.-I have just returned from an expedition down the Halifax river, about 40 miles from this place, and 80 south of St. Augustine. I feel confident, that an account of it will be interesting to you; and I therefore set to.—Mr. J. J. Bulow, a rich planter, at whose house myself and party have been a whole week, under the most hespitable and welcome treatment that could possibly be expected, proposed, three days since, that we should proceed down the river, in search of new or valuable birds; and accordingly, the boat, six hands, and "three white men," with some provisions, put off, with a fair wind, and a pure sky. I say a pure sky, because not a cloud interrupted the rich blue of the heavens in this generalty favored latitude. We meandered down a creek for about eleven milesthe water nearly torpid yet clear—the shore lined with thousands of acres covered by fall grapes, marshes, and high-palm trees; rendering the shore quite novel to my anxious eye. Some birds were shot, and secured so as to be brought back, in order to undergo the skinning operation. Before long we entered the Halifax river, an inland arm of the sea, measuring in breadth from a quarter to nearly a mile. The breeze was keen from the north-east, and our light bark leaped over the waves gaily onward, toward the spot which we all auxiously anticipated to reach ere night came on. We did so, passing sev-eral plantations on the western bank, and at last reaching a schooner from New York, anchored at what is here called a live-oak tanding. Kindly received by the master and his men, we spent the night very agreeably, and as comfortably as circumstances would permit. At sun-rise the next morning, I and four negro servants proceeded in search of birds and adventures. The fact is, that I was anxious to kill some 25 brown Pelicans,

new drawing of an adult male bird, and to preserve the dresses of the others. I proceeded along a narrow shallow bay, where the fish were truly abundant. Would you believe it, if I was to say, that the fish nearly obstructed our head way? believe it, or believe it not, so it was; the water was filled with them, large and small. I shot some rare birds, and putting along the shore, passed a point, when lo! I came in sight of several hundred pelicans perched on the branches of mangrove trees, scated in comfortable harmony, as near each other as the strength of the boughs would allow. I ordered to back water gently; the hands backed water. I waded to the shore under cover of the rushes along it, saw the pelicans fast asleep, examined their countenances and deportment well and leisurely, and after all, levelled, fired my piece, and dropped two of the finest specimens I ever saw. I really believe I would have shot one hundred of these reverend sirs, had not a mistake taken place in the reloading of my gun. A mistake, however, did take place, and to my utmost disappointment, I saw each pelican, old and young, leave his perch and take to wing; soaring off, well pleased; I dare say, at making so good an escape from so dangerous a foe.

The birds were all gone, and soaring high in the pure atmosphere; but the fish were as abundant as ever. I ordered the net to be thrown overboard; and in a few minutes, we caught as many as we wanted—fine fish too, bass and row mullets. The porpoises were as busy as ourselves, and devoured them at a great rate.

The tide now began to leave us; and you must know, that in this part of our country, the tide goes down not a-pace, but in a hurry; so much so, indeed, that notwithstanding our rowing before it, we were, on several occasions, obliged to leap into the briny stream, and push the boat over oyster banks sharp as razors.

After shooting some more birds, and pulling our boat through many a difficult channel, we reached the schooner again; and as the birds, generally speaking, appeared wild and few-(you must be aware that I call birds few when I shoot less than one hundred per day)—tny generous host proposed to re-turn towards home again. Preparations were accordingly made, and we left the schooner, with tile and wind in our teeth, and with the prospect of a severe cold night. Our hands pulled well, and our barque was as light as our hearts. All went on merrily until dark night came on. The wind freshening, the cold augmenting, the provisions diminishing, the waters lowering, all-all depreciating except our enterprising dispositions. We found ourselves fast in the mud

(Pelicanus fuscus) to enable me to make a labout 300 yards from a marshy shore, without the least hope of being able to raise a fire, for no trees except palm trees were near, and the grand diable himself could not burn one of them. Our minds were soon made up to do—what? Why, to roll ourselves in our cloaks, and to lay down, the best way we could, at the bottom of our light and beautiful barque. What a night! to sleep was impossible; the cold increased with the breeze, and every moment seemed an hour, from the time we stretched ourselves down until the first glimpse of the morn: but the morn came, clear as ever morn was, and the north-easter as cold as ever wind blew in this latitude. All hands half dead, and masters as nearly exhausted as the hands-stiffened with cold, light clothed, and but slight hope of our nearing any shore; our only resort was, to leap into the mire, waist deep, and to push the barque to a point, some five or six hundred yards, where a few scrubby trees scemed to have grown, to save our lives on this occasion. "Push, boys, push! Push for your lives!" cry the generous Burlow, and the poor Audubon-"All hands push!" Aye, and well might we push: the mire was up to our breasts, our limbs becoming stiffened, and almost useless, at every step we took. progress was as slowly performed as if we had been clogged with heavy chains. It took us two and a half hours to reach the point, where the few trees of which I have spoken were; but we did get there.

We landed!! and well it was that we did;

for, on reaching the magin of the marsh, two of the negroes fell down in the mud, as senseless as torpidity ever rendered an alligator or a snake; and had we, the white men, not been there, they certainly would have died. We had them carried into the little grove, to which, I believe, all of us owe our lives. I struck a fire in a crack; and, in five minutes, I saw, with indiscribable pleasure, the bright, warming blaze of a log pile in the centre of our shivering party. We wrapped the negroes in their blankets-boiled some water, and soon had some tea-made them swallow it, and with care revived them into animation. May God preserve you from being ever in the condition of our party at this juncture; scarcely a man able to stand, and the cold wind blowing as keenly as ever. Our men, however, gradually revived—the trees, one after another, fell under the hatchet, and increased our fire-and in two hours I had the pleasure to see cheerful faces again. got warm again, and tolerably gay, although the prospect was far from being pleasant: no road to go home, or to any habitation; confined in a large salt marsh, with rushes head high, and miry; no provisions left, and fifteen miles from the house of our host.

Not a moment was to be lost; for I foresaw that the next night would prove much

Mis Triny & Transcor 12 - 24 - 1924

colder still. The boat was manned once t more, and off through the mud we moved, to double the point, and enter the creek, of which I have spoken, with a hope, that in it we should find water enough to float her. It did happen so, and as we once more saw our barque afloat, our spirits rose-and rose to such a pitch, that we in fun set fire to the whole marsh: crack, crack, crack! went the reeds with a rapid blaze. We saw the marsh rabbits, &c. scampering from the fire by thousands, as we pulled our oars.

Our pleasure at being affoat did not last The north-easter had well nigh emptied the creek of all its usual quantum of water; and to wade and push our boat over many a shallow, was again our resort, with intent to make a landing, from whence we

could gain the sea beach.

We did effect a landing at last. The boat was abandoned—the game fastened to the backs of the negroes-the guns re-loaded, and on we proceeded through the marsh first, then through the tangled palmitoes and scrubby sturdy live oaks, until we reached the sea beach.

The sea beach of East Florida-have you ever seen it? If you have not, I advise you strongly never to pay a visit to it, under the circumstances that brought me and my companions to it yesterday morning. We saw the ocean spread broad before our eyes, but it looked angry and ruffly, strewed with high, agitated waves, that came in quick succession towards the desolate, naked shore: not an object in view but the pure sky and agitated waters. We took up our line of march in a poor plight, believe me. The Poles, on laying down their arms, could not have felt more done up than we did at this moment. Pretty walking along the sea side beach of Florida in the month of December! with the wind at north-east, and we going in its very teeth, through sand, that sent our feet back six inches at every step of two feet that we made. Well, through this sand we all wuded, for many a long mile, picking up, here and there, a shell that is no where else to be found, until we reached the landing place of J. J. Bulow. Now, my heart, cheer up once more, for the sake of my most kind host—troubled with rheumatic pains as he is. I assure you, I was glad to see him nearing his own comfortable roof; and as we saw the large house opening to view, across his immense planta-tion, I anticipated a good dinner with as much pleasure as I ever experienced.

All hands returned alive: refreshments and good care have made us all well again, unless it be the stiffness occasioned in my left leg, by nearly six weeks of daily wading through swamps and salt marshes, or scrambling through the vilest thickets of scrubby

for our sins; thickets that can only be matched in the cantos of your favorite Dante.

To give you an account of the little I have

seen of East Florida, would fill a volume, and therefore I will not atttempt it just now; but I will draw a slight sketch of a part of it.
The land, if land it can be called, is gen-

erally so very sandy that nothing can be raised upon it. The swamps are the only spots ed upon it. The swamps are the only spots that afford a air chance for cultivation: the swamps, then, are positively the only places where plantations are to be found.— These plantations are even few in number: along the coast from St. Augustine to Cape Carnaveral, there are about a dozen. These, with the exception of two or three, are yet young plantations. General Hernandez', young plantations. General Hernandez', J. J. Bulow's, and Mr. Durham's, are the strongest, and perhaps the best. Sugar cane will prosper, and doubtless do well: but the labor necessary to produce a good crop, is great! great!! Between the swamps of which I now speak, and which are found along the margin lying west of the sea inlet, that divides the main land from the Atlantic, to the river St. John of the interior of the peninsula nothing exists but barren pine lands of poor timber, and immense savanuas, mostly overflowed, and all unfit for cultivation. That growth, which in any oth-er country is called underwood, scarcely exists; the land being covered with low pal-nitoes, or very low, thickly branched dwarf oaks, almost impenetrable to man. The climate is of a most unsettled nature, at least at this season. The thermometer has made leaps from 30 to 89 degrees in 24 hours; cold, warm, sandy, muddy, watery—all these varieties may be felt and seen in one day's travelling.

I am extremely disappointed in this portion of the Floridas, and would not advise any one to visit it; because he may have read the flowery accounts of preceding travellers. The climate is much more unsteady than in Louisiana, in the same latitude, or any where along the Mexican gulf to the Sabine river, which is our boundary line. Game and fish, it is true, are abundant; but the body of valuable tiliable land is too small to enable the peninsula ever to become a rich state.

I have seen nothing deserving your attention in a geological point of view, except quarries of stones which are a concrete of shells, excellent for building, and laying immediately under the surface of the sand, which every where seems to predominate. This concrete is curious in itself, and my friend, Bulow, who is now erecting some very extensive buildings for a sugar house, has given me specimens, which I will forward to you, showing the different grades or ages of their formation. The fragments are cut out live oaks and palmitoes, that appear to have of the quarries with the common wood axe, heen created for no purpose but to punish us and fashioned with the same instrument for buildings. You, of course, will readily make out, that the water found in the neighborhood of all concretes, is hard or calcareous, being filtered through a kind of natural shell lime.

I have done but little, I am sorry to say, in ny way. Birds are certainly not abundant here at this season; and I can readily account for this deficiency in the land birds; it is for the want of mast—mast, so abundant, in almost every portion of our country. But the water birds, notwithstanding all the fishes in every river, creek, or even puddie, that I have seen, are scarce beyond belief. It is true, a man may see hundreds of pelicans, and thousands of herons; but take these from the list, and water birds will be found very rare. I will see what spring will do, and then write more fully on this my ever devoted subject.

If I did not believe the day to be gone by, when it was necessary to defend my snake stories, I could send you very curious accounts of the habits of those reptiles; and I should do it, if it were not that I might be thought to enjoy-too much-that triumph which the feeble hostility of three or four selfish individuals has forced upon me. receive so many acts of real friendship and disinterested kindness, that, I thank God, there is no room left in my heart to cherish unkind feelings towards any one. Indeed, I am not now so much surprised at the incredulity of persons who do not leave cities, for I occasionally hear of things which even stagger me, who am so often a denizen of woods and swamps. What do you think of rattlesnakes taking to the water, and swim-ming across inlets and rivers? I have not seen this, but I believe it; since the most respectable individuals assure me they have frequently been eye-witnesses of this feat. I can conceive of inducements which reptiles may have for traversing sheets of water to gain distant dry land, especially in a country much intersected by streams, and subject to inundations, which compel them to be often in the water. In such countries, it is not an uncommon occurrence to find snakes affoat, and at great distances from the shore.* This appears, no doubt, surprising to those who live where there is almost nothing but dry land; still they ought to be good natured and believe what others have seen. It has now been made notorious, that numerous respectable individuals, whom duty, or the love of adventure, have led into the wilds of

our country, have often seen snakes—and the rattlesnake too—in trees; the good people, therefore, who pass their lives in stores and counting houses, ought not to contradict these facts, because they do not meet with rattlesnakes, hissing and snapping at them from the paper mulberries, as they go home to their dinners. They should remember that they ought to go farther than that daily distance, if they wish to see any thing extraordinary.

And now, my dear F., adieu. In my next, I hope to give you some account of the St. John's river, and of the interior of the peninsula of East Florida, to the exploring of which I mean to devote some time.

Very faithfully your's,

JOHN JAMES AUDUBON.

From the Schoharie Republican. BALL'S CAVE.

This interesting cavern has of late received some attention, as well for its novelty and extent as for the variety and elegance of mineralogical specimens with which it has enriched the cabinets of the learned and curious. A cavity in the earth, in the form of an inverted hollow cone, of about twelve feet descent, reaching to an irregular perpendicular fissure in a stratum of lime, rock, of about ten feet in length and six feet in breadth, on the land of Mr. Ball, situated about four miles and a half northeast of the Court House, had attracted the notice of the owner of the land, but no attempts had been made to explore the regions connected with this upper world by this aperture until the month of September last, when a party of gentlemen from this village, consisting of John Gebhard, Esq. who has been successfully engaged in collecting a cabinet of minerals, accompanied by Mr. Hubbard and Mr. Branch, made arrangements to examine the extent of this subterranean opening for the purpose of ascertaining whether it concealed in its hidden recesses any minerals which either for their rarity or elegance, might be rendered a valuable acquisition to their cabinets. Upon arriving at the place, and after having cleared away with considerable labor, the logs and rubbish which had been thrown in for the purpose of closing the aperture, Mr. Hubbard first made preparation to try the somewhat perilous descent. As the rock on either side presented a uniform perpendicular surface, with the exception of a few slight projections, the des-cent could only be effected by fastening a rope around his body and letting him down suspended at its extremity. In this manner he decended a distance of seventy-five feet, where the perpendicular descent was interrupted and inclined to the south down a rocky and precipitous declivity. In this po-

[•] Snakes have frequently been met with in England, crossing broad straits. In the Mag. of Nat. History for Sept 1831, is an account, by Mr. Bakewell, of snakes swimming across the Menai, more than two miles broad, to the Isle of Anglesea, where they deposit their eggs on the low grounds. When swimming they produce an oscillatory motion of the head and neck.—En.