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TIMUCUAN
ECOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVE

HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY



U.S. DEPARTMENT OF THE INTERIOR • NATIONAL PARK SERVICE • SOUTHEAST FIELD AREA



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**TIMUCUAN
ECOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVE
HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY**

October 1996

Daniel W. Stowell

National Park Service
Southeast Field Area
Atlanta, Georgia

Color Scans

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Foreword

We are pleased to add this volume to our growing library of published Historic Resource Studies for park units in the Southeast Field Area. This study was the product of a cooperative agreement with the University of Florida and reflects the labors of the principal investigator, Dr. Daniel W. Stowell. The University's Department of Landscape Architecture prepared the historical base maps that accompany the report, and Bob Blythe formatted the study for publication. We hope that the study will be a useful tool for park management and others interested in the history and significance of the Preserve's many cultural resources.

Kirk A. Cordell
Assistant Director, Cultural Resources
National Park Service Southeast Field Area
October 1996

Acknowledgments

Many people have contributed to making the research and writing of this Historic Resources Study both rewarding and enjoyable. I would like to thank the National Park Service staff at Kingsley Plantation— especially Kathy Tilford, Brian Peters, and Roger Clark—for making each of my visits fruitful and fun. Several other National Park Service personnel, both in Jacksonville and Atlanta, aided immensely in the completion of this study. Thanks to Superintendent Suzanne Lewis, Chief Ranger Craig Sheldon, and Ranger Paul Ghioto of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve for their assistance. In the Atlanta office, credit goes to Karen Rehm for getting this project going and to Bob Blythe for seeing it to its completion as well as for the careful reading he gave the draft. Maureen Carroll and Jill Hanson from the Atlanta office provided valuable assistance in measuring and describing many of the buildings included in this report. I also appreciate the assistance of volunteer John Tilford in solving several measurement questions regarding the slave cabin arc.

Many individuals have contributed information from their own knowledge of the history of the area included in the Timucuan Preserve. I appreciate the information provided to me by Dena Snodgrass, Terence Webb, Jerald Milanich, and Daniel Schafer. Several other individuals shared primary source materials or information from their own experiences in the area. Thank you to William E. Arnold Jr., Ernest and Betty Houseman, Harriet Gardiner, R. Del Delumyea, Michael Hughes, Rhydon Dennette Jr., Dennis and Madeline Reed, James Crooks, and Chris Oakey.

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Associate Dean David Colburn of the College of Liberal Arts and Sciences and the History Department graciously extended his support to make it possible for me to undertake this study. Thanks also to Eldon Turner and Dave Tegeder of the History Department at the University of Florida and Jane Landers of Vanderbilt University for encouragement, and to office manager Kimberly Yocum for handling the grant paperwork with efficiency.

I must thank my sons Samuel and Joseph for forgiving my absences, providing necessary distractions, and helping me to keep it all in perspective. To my wife Miriam goes the greatest thanks for her patience and love and for delivering to me another wonderful distraction, our daughter Rachel, born as this study seemingly neared completion.

Daniel W. Stowell

CHAPTER ONE: INTRODUCTION

On February 16, 1988, President Ronald Reagan signed Public Law 100-249, creating the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. The act was designed to “preserve certain wetlands and historic and prehistoric sites in the St. Johns River Valley, Florida.” In addition to the protection of important ecological resources, the legislation also protected an array of cultural resources associated with the rich history of this portion of northeast Florida. The “sites of significant historical interest” specified in the act were:

- (1) Spanish sixteenth century forts San Gabriel and San Estaban.
- (2) Spanish eighteenth century fort Dos Hermanas.
- (3) English eighteenth century forts at Saint Johns Bluff and Fort George Island.
- (4) Spanish sixteenth and seventeenth century mission San Juan del Puerto.
- (5) Site of the American Revolutionary War battle of Thomas Creek
- (6) The Zephaniah Kingsley plantation, with its eighteenth and nineteenth century buildings.
- (7) The Spanish American War fortification on Saint Johns Bluff.
- (8) The Confederate fort known as Yellow Bluff Fort State Historic Site.

The act also provided for acquisition and preservation of additional properties of ecological or historic interest. In addition, the legislation amended a 1950 act that had provided for the “acquisition, investigation, and preservation” of lands associated with the sixteenth-century French settlement of Fort de la Caroline on Saint Johns Bluff. The Fort Caroline National Memorial was to serve as the “principal interpretive center and administrative facility for the ecological, historic, and prehistoric resources” of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. Both the 1950 and the 1988 acts were authored by Congressman Charles E. Bennett (b. 1910), who served as the area’s representative in Congress from 1949 to 1992 and authored several books about the region’s rich history.¹

¹“An Act Authorizing the Secretary of the Interior to Preserve Certain Wetlands and Historic and Prehistoric Sites in the St. Johns River Valley, Florida, and for Other Purposes,” 102 Stat. 13 (1988); “An Act to Provide for the Acquisition, Investigation, and Preservation of Lands to Commemorate the Historic Fort Caroline Settlement, Saint Johns Bluff, Florida,” 64 Stat. 897 (1950).

DESCRIPTION OF THE TIMUCUAN ECOLOGICAL AND HISTORIC PRESERVE

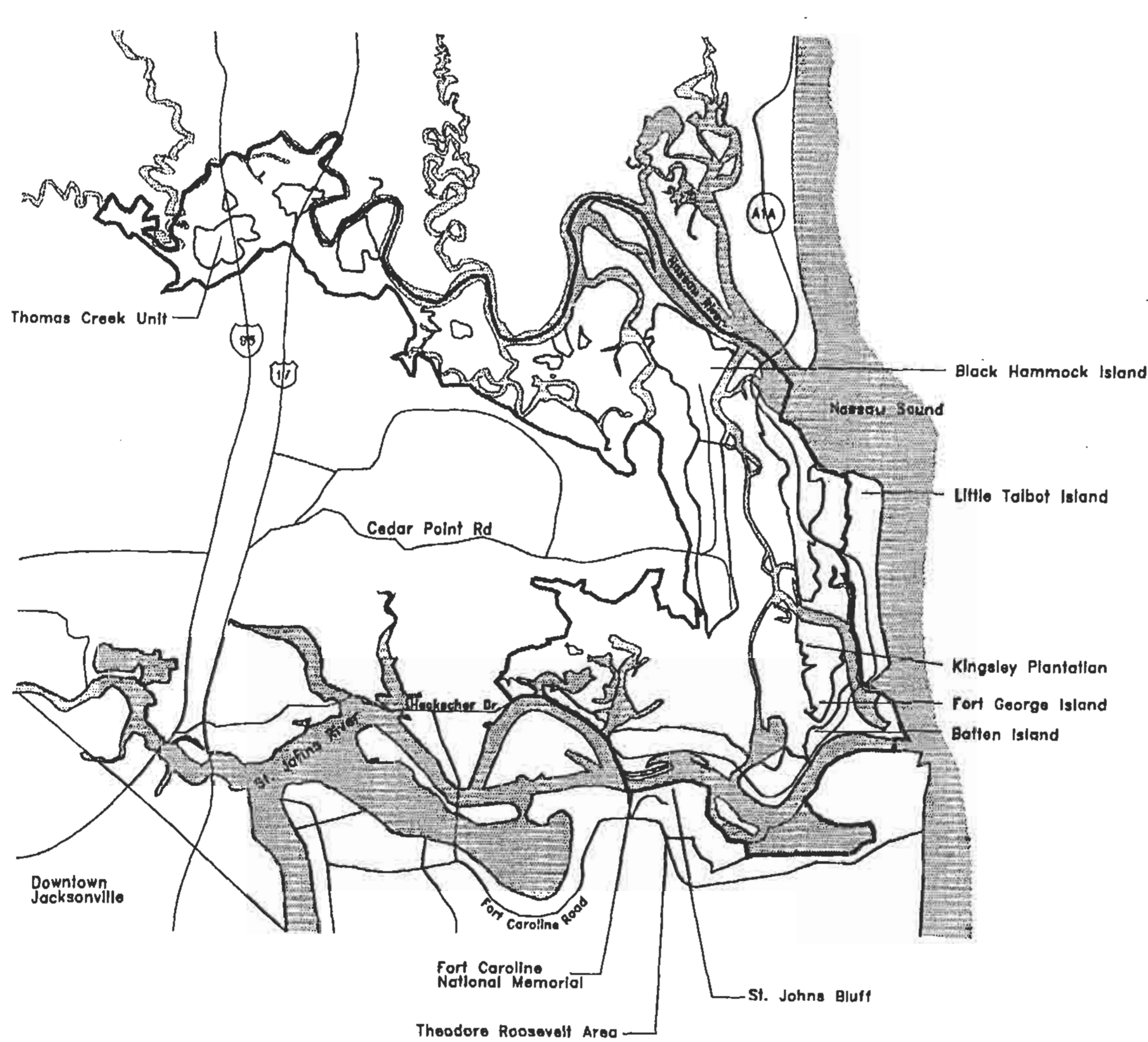
The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve is located in Duval County in the northeastern corner of the State of Florida on the Atlantic coast. The Preserve consists of 46,000 acres, 75 percent of which are inland waterways and wetlands that form an estuarine system of salt marsh, coastal hammock, and marine and brackish waters. The rest of the Preserve is composed largely of sea and marsh islands. The Preserve is bounded on the east by Little Talbot Island and the Atlantic Ocean and on the north by the Nassau River. The southern boundary is formed principally by the St. Johns River,² although a portion of the Preserve is located on the southern bank of the river in the area of St. Johns Bluff. The western border of the Preserve is irregular, generally following the western and southern edges of marshland extending from the St. Johns River to the Nassau River. Three small areas within the larger boundaries of the Preserve, which have been heavily developed for residential and other uses, are excluded from the Preserve: Pearson Island, Fanning Island, and the northern end of Black Hammock Island.

The Preserve contains at least 200 archeological sites that provide physical evidence of some 6,000 years of human occupation.³ In addition to the archeological sites, the Timucuan Preserve also encompasses a variety of historic buildings and structures. Prominent among them are the Kingsley Plantation complex, the Fort George Club complex, and the Ribault Club complex, all on Fort George Island; the Spanish-American War fortification on St. Johns Bluff; and the Yellow Bluff Fort near Dames Point. In addition to the historic resources, the reconstructed model of Fort de la Caroline at the foot of St. Johns Bluff and the Ribault Column atop St. Johns Bluff commemorate the sixteenth-century French settlement within the Preserve's boundaries.

Currently, the National Park Service owns approximately 6,000 acres within the Preserve. The State of Florida owns a considerable portion of land within the Preserve including most of Fort George Island, much of Big Talbot Island, and the Yellow Bluff Fort site. The City of Jacksonville also owns some property within the Preserve boundaries. Most of the property within the Preserve is owned by private corporations and individuals.

²The St. Johns River has been known by several names. Native Americans referred to it as "Welaka," River of Lakes. A sixteenth-century Spaniard (perhaps Juan Bono Quexo) named it the "Rio de Corrientes," River of Currents. French Huguenot Jean Ribault in 1562 christened it the "Riviere de Mai," River of May. After the Spanish drove the French out of Florida in 1565, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés gave the river the name "Rio de San Mateo," River of Saint Matthew. This name was used until the mid-eighteenth century, when the prominence of San Juan del Puerto led the Spanish to begin to refer to the river as San Juan. During the British period (1763-1783), the name was anglicized to St. John's. When Florida became an American territory, the apostrophe was dropped from the name and the river became the St. Johns River. Herbert M. Corse, "Names of the St. Johns River," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 21 (October 1942), 127-34; Dena Snodgrass, "A River of Many Names," *Jacksonville Historical Society, Papers* 5 (1969), 1-4.

³For an inventory and evaluation of some archeological sites in selected areas of the Preserve, see Michael Russo, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report" (Gainesville, FL: Florida Museum of Natural History, 1993). This report was not comprehensive: much of the Preserve area was not considered, and no submerged areas were surveyed.



LEGEND

-  Open Water
-  Preserve Boundary



North

Drawing not to scale

FIGURE 1

Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve

National Park Service
United States Department of the Interior
January 1996

SCOPE AND PURPOSE OF THE HISTORIC RESOURCE STUDY

The Historic Resource Study (HRS) is designed to provide a historic overview of the area encompassed by the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve and to evaluate the Preserve's historic structures within several historic contexts. It synthesizes a variety of historical and archeological information for park personnel, and assists them in site planning, resource management, and interpretation. The Historic Resource Study is "the primary document used to identify and manage the historic resources in a park. It is the basis for understanding their significance and interrelationships, a point of departure for development of interpretive plans, the framework within which additional research should be initiated."⁴

The Historic Resource Study also evaluates the integrity, authenticity, associative values, and significance of individual resources. One goal of this documentation and assessment is the preparation or updating of National Register nominations for all qualifying resources. To obtain listing on the National Register of Historic Places, a resource must be significant and have integrity according to the National Register criteria. Historic resources may be significant at the local, state, or national levels. Each resource must also be clearly associated with and illustrative of a specific historic context, appropriate to its location. This study will identify and discuss the significance of resources owned by the National Park Service that contribute to the various historic contexts. It will also make preliminary evaluations of other resources within the bounds of the Preserve owned by the State of Florida, private corporations, or private individuals. The following historic resources are already listed on the National Register of Historic Places:

Name	Site Number(s)	Date of Construction	Level of Significance	Date of Listing / Documentation
Fort de la Caroline Reconstruction	FOCA1	1964	State	October 15, 1966 / December 12, 1977
Spanish Camp Pond	FOCA1	1565	State	October 15, 1966 / December 12, 1977
Ribault Column	FOCA1	1924, relocated 1957	Local	October 15, 1966 / December 12, 1977
St. Johns Bluff Confederate Earthworks	FOCA1	1862	State	October 15, 1966 / December 12, 1977
Kingsley Plantation ⁵	TIMU95	c. 1798-1831	State	September 29, 1970
Yellow Bluff Fort	TIMU96	1862	State	September 29, 1970
San Juan del Puerto	8Du53, TIMU97	c. 1587-1702	State	March 25, 1986

⁴*National Register Bulletin 28: Secretary of the Interior's Standards and Guidelines for Archeology and Historic Preservation, Release No. 4 (Washington, DC: 1994), 25-26, 120-21.*

⁵The Kingsley Plantation listing included the Kingsley Plantation House, the Kitchen House, the Barn, Wells No. 1 and No. 2, and Slave Cabins E1 to E16 and W1 to W7. The listing did not include Slave Cabins W15 and W16, the Mill (SE of the Barn), the Crypts, or Palmetto Avenue.

HISTORIC OVERVIEW

Over the past four centuries, the people who lived on the land now known as the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve were profoundly affected by political and military events both locally and thousands of miles away. On several occasions, these events brought changes that were neither initiated nor welcomed by the residents of what is now northeastern Florida. For some these changes from one government to another brought ruin; for others, the same changes brought opportunity. The destruction of Fort de la Caroline in 1565 brought ruin or death to French Huguenot settlers, but presented an opportunity to Spanish Franciscan friars. The transfer of La Florida from Spanish to British ownership in 1763 spelled the end of Franciscan missionary efforts but opened new opportunities for British planters and land speculators. The defeat of the Confederacy in 1865 brought ruin to white Confederates but liberty and opportunity to black southerners.

For thousands of years prior to the arrival of European and African settlers, Native Americans had lived in the southeastern portion of North America. The Saturiwa tribe who lived in the lower St. Johns River Valley near the mouth of the river was a part of a larger group of linguistically related tribes whom Europeans came to refer to as the Timucua.⁶ They lived in large villages and engaged in extensive agriculture, fishing, and hunting. By the time the first Europeans arrived in the sixteenth century, the Timucua also had well-developed social and political systems, though they were frequently at war with other tribes.

Although earlier explorers probably sighted the Florida Peninsula, Juan Ponce de León first claimed what he christened La Florida for Spain in 1513. Other Spanish explorers, including Hernando de Soto and Pánfilo de Narváez, explored the peninsula in the next decades, but the French were the first to establish a settlement there. In May 1562, Jean Ribault discovered what he dubbed the Rivière de Mai (River of May, later the St. Johns River). In 1564 Ribault's lieutenant René de Laudonnière led a small expedition of French Huguenots who constructed Fort de la Caroline on the banks of the St. Johns River.

Disturbed by this threat to Spanish claims, King Philip II of Spain sent Pedro Menéndez de Avilés to drive the French out of the area. Successfully destroying the French settlement in 1565,

⁶The Timucua were a group of Native American tribes in northern Florida and southern Georgia united by a shared language. In the mid-sixteenth century, there were perhaps as many as 200,000 Timucua-speaking Indians in the region. Never united ethnically or politically, they even warred with each other. However, they were unified by their common language, though with at least nine different dialects. Their language was also quite distinct from neighboring tribes who spoke Muskogean languages. This linguistic identity prompted the French and Spanish to consider them one people. When the French established Fort de la Caroline on the St. Johns River in 1564, they established relations with a tribe of Timucua speakers led by Chief Saturiwa. The Saturiwa tribe referred to their enemies, another Timucua-speaking tribe led by Chief Utina, as "Thimogona" or "Tymangoua." The French adopted the term to refer to the Utina, and the Spanish applied the term more broadly to the entire linguistic group. Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucuas* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), preface and chapter 2. See also Kathleen A. Deagan, "Cultures in Transition: Fusion and Assimilation among the Eastern Timucua," in Jerald Milanich and Samuel Proctor, eds., *Tacachale: Essays on the Indians of Florida and Southeastern Georgia during the Historic Period* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1978), 89-119.

Menéndez also established the town of St. Augustine at the site of an Indian village. St. Augustine would serve as the administrative center of Florida for the next two centuries. The period from 1565 to 1763 is referred to as the First Spanish Period. Through the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, Spanish settlement was limited primarily to St. Augustine, except for the efforts of a small group of Franciscan missionaries who evangelized among the Native American population. In the eighteenth century, English colonists to the north threatened Florida, most effectively in the 1740s when Georgians under James Oglethorpe forced the Spanish south of the St. Mary's River and threatened St. Augustine.

In 1762 Spain entered the Seven Years War between Britain and France near the end of the conflict. British forces soon captured the important Spanish port of Havana. In the peace negotiations that ended the war, Spain, forced to choose between Havana and Florida, ceded Florida to Great Britain. In the 1763 Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years War, Florida was officially transferred to British ownership. A British governor

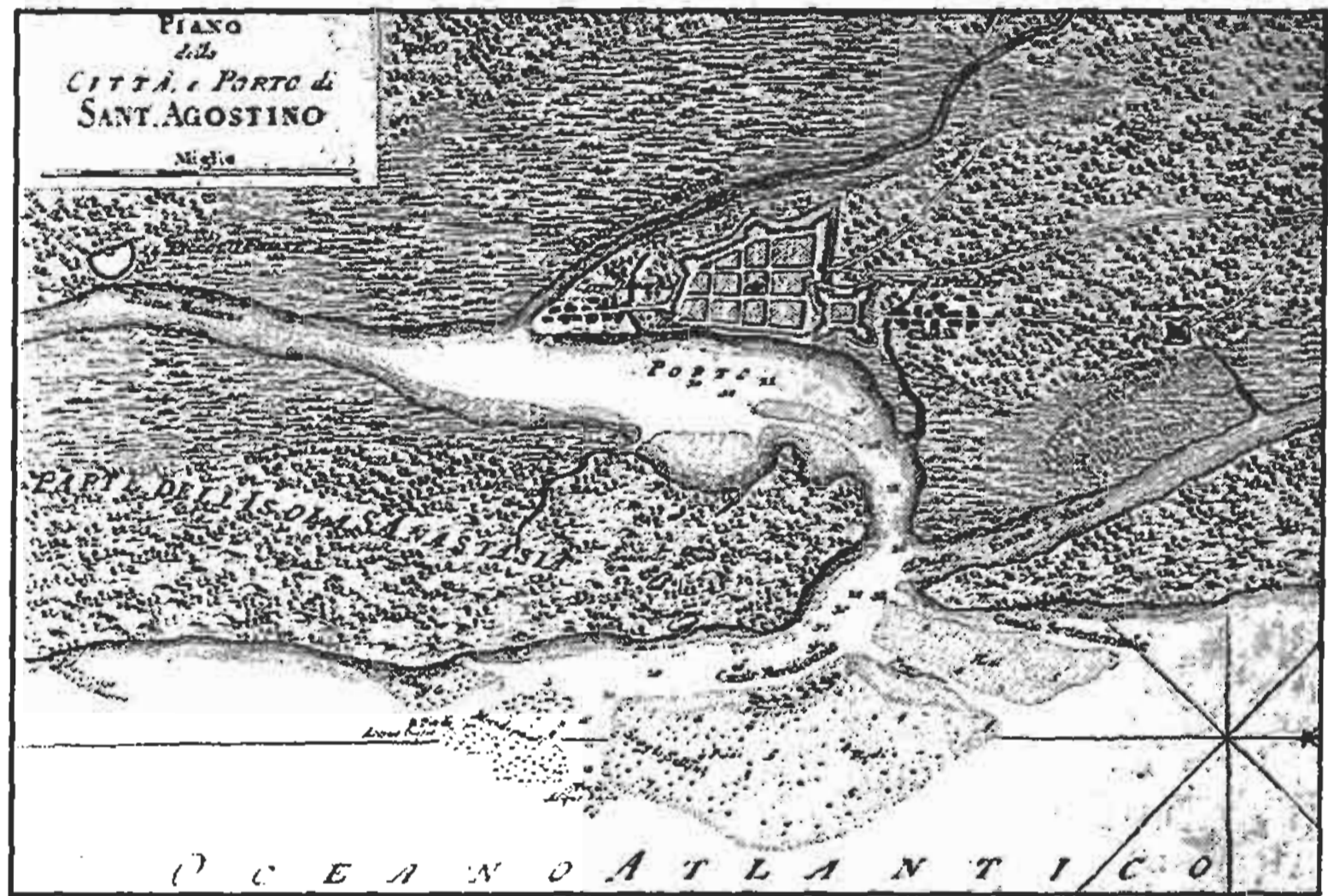


Figure 2. Plan of St. Augustine, 1660.

took possession of the colony in October 1764, and virtually all of the Spanish subjects left. The British divided Florida into two provinces separated by the Apalachicola River: East Florida with its capital in St. Augustine and West Florida with its capital in Pensacola. This transfer of power initiated the British Period of Florida's colonial history.

Two decades later, the Treaty of Paris that ended the American Revolution in 1783 brought with it another change of flags in Florida. Spain would once again rule the peninsula, though it would retain the designations of East and West Florida established by the British. The formal transfer of power occurred in St. Augustine on July 12, 1784, but British governor Patrick Tonyn and other officials remained into 1785. In contrast to the Spanish evacuation of 1763, in which virtually all Spaniards left Florida, a considerable minority of British subjects remained in the province, especially in the area between the St. Mary's and the St. Johns Rivers in northeast Florida. Spanish control, in what is referred to as the Second Spanish Period, continued well into the nineteenth century.

During the Second Spanish Period, the provinces existed uneasily beside the expansionist ideals of the young United States. American settlers tried unsuccessfully in the Patriots' Rebellion of 1811-1814 to wrest East Florida from Spanish possession and transfer it to the

United States. During and after the War of 1812, General Andrew Jackson ignored the boundaries of West Florida to capture Pensacola, which served as a British base, and to conduct punitive raids against Seminole Indians in the Floridas.

Spain and the United States in 1819 signed the Adams-Onís Treaty, which restored diplomatic relations between the nations. In the treaty Spain ceded the Floridas to the United States in return for American assumption of \$5 million in claims by American citizens against Spain. After some delays on the part of the Spanish, the United States took possession of and reunited the Floridas in 1821. The Territorial Period of Florida's history (1821-1845) was marked by the influx of American settlers and the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). On March 3, 1845, Florida became the twenty-seventh state in the United States.

Florida remained in the Union for only sixteen years before the growing slavery controversy led Florida out of the Union and into the Confederacy in 1861. After four years of warfare, the authority of the United States was reasserted in 1865, and Florida was readmitted to the Union in 1868. From the British period until well into the twentieth century, agriculture was Florida's primary economic activity. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, plantations with slave laborers produced indigo and cotton. Late in the nineteenth century, citrus products became a vital part of the state's agricultural production.

In the closing decades of the nineteenth century, the state sold millions of acres to real estate promoters. Because of its mild winter climate and other natural resources, Florida began to draw wealthy northern visitors as a vacation area, an economic activity that has continued on a larger and larger scale to the present day.

HISTORICAL CONTEXTS AND THEMES

To make the evaluation and interpretation of historic resources more effective, the Historic Resource Study groups information about related historic properties into historic contexts. These units establish thematic, geographical, and chronological boundaries for specific aspects of the historical development of an area. Together, the historic contexts represent "a comprehensive summary of all aspects of the history of the area."⁷

The area encompassed by the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve has had a long and varied history. Cultural, economic, and social developments have often overlapped the political eras established by the lowering of one flag and the raising of another. This study recognizes the broader patterns of development within the region by establishing four historic contexts that transcend political periodization. These contexts comprise the next four chapters of the study:

Chapter Two: Colonial Settlement, 1564-1763

Chapter Three: Plantation Agriculture, 1763-1895

Chapter Four: Recreational Development/Government Ownership, 1874-1996

Chapter Five: Military Conflict and Defenses, 1564-1898

⁷*National Register Bulletin 28: Secretary of the Interior's Standards*, 209-10.

These contexts effectively link the history and the extant historic resources of the Preserve. They also associate the Preserve's resources with the broader themes recently established by the National Park Service.

Chapter Two, "Colonial Settlement, 1564-1763," examines the early efforts of the Spanish to settle the area after destroying the tiny French settlement at Fort de la Caroline. The primary agents of settlement throughout the period were a small group of Franciscan friars who evangelized among the Native American inhabitants of the area. This context is related to the following themes in the National Park Service's thematic framework: Peopling Places, Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, and the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

Chapter Three, "Plantation Agriculture, 1763-1895," spans the British and Second Spanish Periods, the territorial period and early statehood, the Civil War and Reconstruction, and a portion of the New South era. During most of this period, slavery and plantation agriculture dominated life in the region. Even after the demise of the "peculiar institution" in the area in 1863-1865, blacks as freedpeople continued to till the soil in much of the area of the Preserve. This context contains elements from many themes, including Peopling Places, Expressing Cultural Values, Shaping the Political Landscape, Developing the American Economy, and the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

Chapter Four, "Recreational Development/Government Ownership, 1874-1996," reflects the development on Fort George Island in particular of a resort area for the wealthy of the North and of Jacksonville. After repeated attempts to develop the island failed, the State of Florida and later the United States Government through the National Park Service acquired much of the property on Fort George Island. This context relates to the themes of Peopling Places, Creating Social Institutions and Movements, Expressing Cultural Values, and Transforming the Environment.

Chapter Five, "Military Conflict and Defenses, 1564-1898," chronicles the centuries of conflict among Native American, French, Spanish, English, American, Confederate, and Union forces for control of the region, especially the St. Johns River. Each of these groups erected various forts, earthworks, and batteries to defend the region against assault by their enemies. This context relates to the themes of Peopling Places, Shaping the Political Landscape, and the Changing Role of the United States in the World Community.

Chapters Two, Three, and Five encompass all of the cultural resources enumerated in the legislation that created the Preserve, while Chapter Four examines another set of resources within the Preserve and establishes the foundation for a subsequent Park Administrative History.

HISTORICAL BASE MAPS

The University of Florida Department of Landscape Architecture prepared the Historical Base Maps and the map of the Preserve included in this study. The four Historical Base Maps (Appendix B) show existing conditions as well as the locations of extant historic structures and their relationship to other, nonhistoric features. Because of the concentration of historic

structures at Kingsley Plantation, on Fort George Island, and on St. Johns Bluff, individual base maps of these areas were prepared. The fourth base map depicts the historic structures located elsewhere within the Preserve. The map of the Preserve (Figure 1) shows the Preserve's boundary, nearby bodies of water, and major area highways. USGS topographic quadrangle maps and National Park Service maps prepared by the Denver Service Center for the Preserve's General Management Plan served as the basis for the maps included in this study. The historical base maps do not attempt to depict a historic scene or identify nonextant historic structures.

CHAPTER TWO: COLONIAL SETTLEMENT, 1564–1763

In 1513, explorer Juan Ponce de León (c. 1460–1521) claimed La Florida for Spain. The name La Florida would come to encompass not only the peninsula of Florida but the entire continent that lay to the north and west. Although Spain first laid claim to the area encompassing the Timucuan Preserve, the first European settlement within the Preserve's boundaries was established by French Huguenot explorers and settlers when they erected Fort de la Caroline in 1564.

Troubled by this political and religious challenge (the Spanish viewed the Huguenots as Protestant "heretics"), King Philip II (1527–1598) of Spain dispatched the Captain-General of the Indies Fleet, Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519–1574), to destroy Fort de la Caroline and reassert Spanish control over the area. The King conferred upon Menéndez the title of Adelantado de la Florida, or governor of the province of Florida. Menéndez's mission had missionary as well as military goals. King Philip II declared that "as we have in mind the good of the salvation of those [Indian] souls, we have decided to give the order to send religious persons to instruct the said Indians, and those people who are Christians and our subjects, so that they may live among and talk to the natives that may inhabit those lands and provinces of Florida, and so that [the Indians] by association and conversation with them, might more easily be



Figure 3. Pedro Menéndez de Avilés.

taught our Holy Catholic Faith and be led to good practices and customs and to perfect behavior." Early in September 1565, Menéndez and his force of soldiers, artisans, farmers, and four secular priests reached an Indian village named Seloy on the coast of Florida. Renaming the site St. Augustine, Menéndez established there the first permanent European settlement in what is now the United States. Later in the month, Menéndez and his troops marched overland to Fort de la Caroline and defeated the French occupants, ending the French attempt to settle La Florida.

For the next two centuries Spain would maintain a military, religious, and cultural presence in Florida.⁸

In October 1565 Menéndez requested that the Society of Jesus (Jesuits) send additional missionaries to the Native Americans in Florida. Nearly a year later the first Jesuits arrived in La Florida. One of their number, Father Pedro Martínez, became the first La Florida martyr when he was attacked and killed by Indians. Having missed the harbor of St. Augustine, Martínez and others went ashore to obtain directions from the Indians. They found a village on San Juan Island (perhaps Fort George Island) and asked for fish and directions. Forty Indians attacked Martínez and his companions; they strangled Martínez underwater and then clubbed him to death. Martínez's martyrdom inspired a large number of Jesuits to volunteer for missionary work in La Florida. A group of eleven volunteers arrived in La Florida in 1568 and established a system for evangelizing its Native American population. By 1572, however, the Jesuit order had abandoned the field of La Florida. Their frustration is evident in a letter sent by Father Juan Rogel in 1570; unless the migratory Indians settled in one place, Rogel complained, missionaries "will have no more fruit than we in our four years among them, which is none at all, nor even a hope, nor the semblance of it."⁹

In a second attempt to introduce Catholicism to the Native Americans of La Florida, Menéndez arranged for the Order of Friars Minor (Franciscans) to aid the secular diocesan priests in the work of evangelization. The first Franciscan arrived in 1573, but not until two decades later did the Order make a substantial commitment to missionary labor in Florida. Although Franciscans traditionally begged for their support, King Philip II decreed that the local governor should provide each friar with three *reales* per day, as well as clothing, medicine, and the necessary articles required for Mass. The King also supported the missions themselves and provided transportation for the Franciscans. A group of thirteen Franciscan missionaries arrived in St. Augustine in 1587. These missionaries moved into the surrounding countryside, establishing missions in various Indian towns—San Sebastian, San Antonio, San Pedro, and San

⁸Michael V. Gannon, *The Cross in the Sand: The Early Catholic Church in Florida, 1513–1870* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1965), 20–28. On Menéndez, see Gonzalo Solís de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General of Florida*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Connor (Deland, FL: Florida State Historical Society, 1923); Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest of 1565–1568* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1976); and Albert C. Manucy, *Florida's Menéndez: Pedro Menéndez de Avilés, Captain General of the Ocean Sea* (St. Augustine, FL: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1965; Sarasota, FL: Pineapple Press, 1992).

Secular, or diocesan, priests were supported directly by the Spanish government. Their primary responsibility was to care for the spiritual needs of Spanish settlers, though they did conduct some missionary work among the Timucua.

⁹Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 29, 32–34; Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana: Spain's Support System for the Presidio and Mission Provinces of Florida* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1994), 40.

Juan del Puerto. Within five years most of the priests had, like the Jesuits before them, become discouraged and given up the effort.¹⁰

Despite the setbacks, the Order of Friars Minor made a new commitment in September 1595 when a new group of Franciscans arrived. They distributed themselves in a series of Indian towns along the Atlantic Coast from St. Augustine northward to St. Catherines Island in present-day Georgia. From St. Augustine northward to the St. Mary's River were five missions to the Timucuan Indians; farther north on the sea islands of modern Georgia, the Franciscans had four missions among the Guale Indians.¹¹



Figure 4. Spanish majolica plate fragment recovered from the site of San Juan del Puerto.

The Franciscan efforts in La Florida were organized into a series of missions called *doctrinas*. At each a resident friar, or *doctrinero*, taught Christian doctrine to the Native Americans. At various distances from the *doctrina*, the Franciscans established smaller mission stations called *visitas*, which the resident friar visited on Sundays and holy days. Each *doctrina* had several *visitas* associated with it. The entire group of friars formed a *custodia*, which was ruled by a *custodio*, who was one of their number. As

more friars came and joined the missionary force, the work expanded and was elevated to the status of *provincia*, governed by a provincial. The Franciscan work in Florida and Cuba became a province in 1612 under the name of Santa Elena de la Florida.¹²

The *doctrina* of San Juan del Puerto was one of the longest surviving of the Florida missions. Established at a Timucuan village on Fort George Island at the mouth of the St. Johns River in c. 1587, San Juan del Puerto had by 1602 *visitas* in the following nine locations:

- Vera Cruz, one-half league distant.
- Arratobo, two and a half leagues distant.
- Niojo, five leagues distant.
- Potaya, four leagues distant.
- San Matheo, two leagues distant.

¹⁰Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 36–39; Maynard Geiger, *The Franciscan Conquest of Florida (1573–1618)* (Washington, DC: Catholic University of America, 1937), 55; Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *The Martyrs of Florida (1513–1616)*, ed. and trans. M. J. Geiger (New York: Joseph F. Wagner, Inc., 1936), 42–43, 57.

¹¹Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 39; Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 63–64.

¹²Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 39; Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 25–29, 45.

San Pablo, one and a half leagues distant.

Hicacharico, one league distant.

Chinisca, one and a half leagues distant.

Carabay, one-fourth of a league distant.

The surrounding Timucuan village of San Juan del Puerto, like other Timucuan, Guale, and Apalachee villages, was ruled by a *cacique*, or chief. In 1603 the village was ruled by a *cacica*, a female chief, named María; in that year Governor Canzo settled a dispute between María and several of her subordinate chiefs. A year later, Cacica María and her chiefs expressed to Governor Ybarra their satisfaction with Father Pareja and the Spaniards. In 1606 Bishop Juan de las Cabezas Altamirano confirmed Cacica María during his episcopal visitation to San Juan del Puerto. In 1629 the village still had a *cacica*, though it is uncertain whether she was Cacica María. In 1655, Clemente Bernal was *cacique* of San Juan del Puerto, and at his death in 1665, Bernal was “principal *cacique* of San Juan del Puerto, and of all Mocama [the surrounding province].” Bernal was succeeded by Cacica Juana Menéndez of the more northerly mission of Santa Maria, who relocated to San Juan del Puerto. Thirteen years later, Juana renounced her position in favor of her niece and heir, Merenciana, who became *cacica* of the town in 1678. Merenciana was principal *cacica* as late as 1681, but by 1685, her husband Juan Luis was principal *cacique* of San Juan del Puerto. In 1695 *Cacique* Andrés governed San Juan del Puerto, but by 1701 *Cacique* Don Lorenzo de Santiago had replaced him as chief.¹³

Although many Native Americans embraced the religion of the Franciscans, some became outraged at demands that they reform their cultural practices. In September 1597, Fray Pedro de Corpa, a Franciscan missionary to the Guale Indians at Tolomato in modern Georgia, insisted that Juanillo, the son of a Guale chief, abandon the practice of polygamy. Juanillo refused, and Corpa transferred Juanillo’s right to succeed his father as chief to another heir as a disciplinary measure. Juanillo killed and beheaded Father Corpa and displayed his head on a lance. In the next few days, Guale rebels killed four other Franciscans and threatened the entire missionary effort north of the St. Mary’s River. Governor Gonzalo Méndez de Canzo suppressed the rebellion but advised some of Christian Guale Indians to move south to the region of San Juan del Puerto, which they agreed to do.¹⁴

¹³Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 143–44, 163, 172, 198; Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 145, 165, 178; Maynard Geiger, *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans in Spanish Florida and Cuba (1528–1841)* (Paterson, NJ: St. Anthony Guild Press, 1940), 121; John E. Worth, *The Struggle for the Georgia Coast: An Eighteenth-Century Spanish Retrospective on Guale and Mocama* (New York: Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History, 1995), 51, 70, 126; John H. Hann, “Twilight of the Mocamo and Guale Aborigines as Portrayed in the 1695 Spanish Visitation,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 66 (July 1987): 11. *Cacique* Lorenzo’s town of Santa Cruz y San Buenaventura de Guadalquini had merged with San Juan del Puerto between 1695 and 1697.

¹⁴Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 40–42; Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 88–115.

Despite the martyrdom of their compatriots to the north, the Franciscans closer to St. Augustine remained optimistic. In 1602 Fray Francisco Pareja had 500 Christians within the area served by the doctrina at San Juan del Puerto. Four years later Bishop Altamirano confirmed 482 Indians at San Juan del Puerto including Cacica María and five of her subordinate caciques and cacicas from surrounding visitas. In 1602 Fray Pedro Bermejo served 200 Christian adults and children near St. Augustine, and Fray Baltazar López had 384 baptized converts at his mission on Cumberland Island. Within a few years after Juanillo's rebellion, the Christian Guale returned to Georgia and the missions were reestablished.¹⁵

In spite of the successes with their Timucuan and Guale communicants, the Franciscan missionaries were nearly undermined by their own sovereign. In 1607 King Philip III (1578–1621) recommended to Governor Pedro de Ybarra that he abandon St. Augustine and the mission system and transfer the missionaries and any converts who wished to leave to the island of Española (Hispaniola). Ybarra, with the support of the Franciscans, strongly opposed the King's plan. Fathers Francisco Pareja and Alonso de Peñaranda protested to the King that the 6,000 Christian Indians would not leave their native land and the missionaries could not abandon them. The King reluctantly agreed. Between 1612 and 1615, another forty-three Franciscans joined their brothers in Florida, and the system extended to the Apalachee Indians to the west as far as present-day Tallahassee.¹⁶

Among the most prominent of the Franciscan missionaries in the early seventeenth century was Father Francisco Pareja (d. c. 1627). Born at Auñón, Spain, Pareja came to Florida in 1595 in the group led by Father Juan de Silva. While in Florida, Pareja spent most of his time at the doctrina of San Juan del Puerto on Fort George Island. During his thirty-three years among the Timucua, Pareja served first as unofficial and later as official spokesman for the Franciscans, especially in their relationship with the royal governors. From 1609 until 1612, he served as the custodio of the friars in Florida, and in 1616 he was elected as the provincial of the Province of Santa Elena de la Florida. In 1616 he eloquently described both the poverty and the commitment of the Franciscan friars, of whom he was the eldest at the time. While the government officials in Florida seemed to think that soldiers were necessary and priests were of no use, Pareja declared "we are the ones who bear the burden and heats, and we are the ones who are subduing and conquering the land."¹⁷

¹⁵Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 42–43.

¹⁶Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 49–51; Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 69.

¹⁷Maynard Geiger, *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans*, 85; Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *The Martyrs of Florida*, 107–08, 131–32. See also Atanasio López, *Relación Histórica de la Florida, escrita en el Siglo XVII* (Madrid, Spain: 1931, 1933), 2:25–28, 33–34, 41–44; and Francisco Pareja to the Spanish Crown, St. Augustine, 8 March 1599, Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain, 54-5-20/6 (photocopy in the Stetson Collection, P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL). The Timucua Indians among whom Father Pareja lived at San Juan del Puerto spoke the Mocama dialect. See Footnote 22.

When Fray Luis Gerónimo de Oré visited Florida in 1616, he lauded Pareja as “a man of great sanctity and of incredible zeal for the salvation of souls, as his works and writings which he has composed and has had printed in the language of the Indians, give testimony.” Although in the beginning, “the Indians offered him many affronts,” he overcame their hostility “through the power of his example” and changed them “from wolves to sheep.” Even at Pareja’s “advanced age,” Oré found the “very holy man” to be active and “most worthy of this election” to provincial.¹⁸

Pareja’s primary importance, however, stems from his scholarship as a linguist. Between 1612 and 1627, Pareja published several religious works written in both Timucua and Spanish for the use of missionaries and their converts. These publications included three catechisms, one confession, a “brief exposition of Christian doctrine,” and a grammar. Pareja also apparently wrote at least two religious tracts and compiled a dictionary, none of which have survived. The titles of his surviving works are: *Catecismo, en Lengua Castellana, y Timuquana. En el qual se contiene lo que se les puede enseñar a los adultos que an de ser baptizados.* (1612); *Catecismo. y Breve Exposicion de la Doctrina Christiana. Muy util y necessaria, asi para los Españoles, como para los Naturales, en Lengua Castellana, y Timuquana, en modo de preguntas, y respuestas.* (1612); *Confessionario En lengua Castellana, y Timuquana Con algunos consejos para animar al penitente.* (1613); *Arte y pronunciacion en Lengua Timuquana, y Castellana* (1614); and *Catecismo, y Examen para los que Comulgan, En lengua Castellana, y Timuquana.* (1627). These volumes are the earliest extant texts in any North American Indian language.¹⁹

After his visit to Florida in 1616, Oré noted that Pareja had “dedicated himself to the ministry of teaching the Indians.” His publications were useful “not only to those of his own mission and district, but to all in that province and language of Timucua in which he is skilled for he has



Figure 5. Title page of Pareja's catechism in Spanish and Timucuan, published in Mexico in 1612.

¹⁸Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *Martyrs of Florida*, 69.

¹⁹Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario: A Documentary Source for Timucuan Ethnography* (Tallahassee, FL: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, 1972), 15–20.

worked among them for more than twenty years." Pareja's works were so successful with the Timucua that "with ease many Indian men and women have learned to read in less than six months, and they write letters to one another in their own language." Pareja's ability to write several works in the native language of the Timucuan Indians while serving as a missionary under primitive conditions testifies both to his abilities as a scholar and his devotion as a missionary. A certification, written in May 1626, by a fellow missionary that appears in the introduction to the 1627 edition of Pareja's *Cathecismo y Examen Para Los Que Comulgan* is the last extant record indicating that Pareja was alive and at work in Florida.²⁰

Pareja died during the early years of what has been dubbed the "Golden Age"²¹ of the Florida missions. During the middle decades of the seventeenth century, Franciscan friars expanded their missionary efforts among the Timucua and westward among the Apalachee Indians. During the 1630s and 1640s, approximately forty-three priests labored in as many doctrinas across the northern end of the peninsula and up the Atlantic coast from St. Augustine to St. Catherine's Island. By the mid-seventeenth century, Spanish missionary efforts along the Georgia and northeast Florida coast were organized in the mission provinces of Guale and Mocama. The Spanish had six mission towns in the Province of Guale, from the Ogeechee River on the north to the Altamaha River on the south. The Province of Mocama included four mission towns between St. Simons Island on the north to the St. Johns River on the south. San Juan del Puerto was the southernmost Mocama mission.²²

In 1655 the Franciscans reported 26,000 Christianized Indians in thirty-eight doctrinas served by seventy friars. The missionary work was hampered in 1647 and again in 1656 when Native Americans rebelled against harsh treatment by Spanish military and political leaders. The cacique of San Juan del Puerto was involved in the latter uprising. In both revolts the friars condemned the Spanish secular authorities for their treatment of the Indians. The Franciscans' stand

²⁰Luis Gerónimo de Oré, *The Martyrs of Florida*, 103; Jerald T. Milanich and William C. Sturtevant, *Francisco Pareja's 1613 Confessionario*, 15.

²¹Maynard Geiger dated the start of the "Golden Age" to 1632 "when the conversion of the Apalache was commenced"; its "high water-mark" was the visitation of Bishop Calderón in 1674. Michael V. Gannon dates the beginning of the Golden Age from 1606 in the aftermath of Bishop Juan de la Cabezas Altamirano's visitation, but agrees that its zenith was Bishop Calderón's visitation in 1674, after which it abruptly ended. Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 267; Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 49-67.

²²The Spanish applied the Native American term "Mocama" to the "salt-water" Timucua, those who spoke the Mocama dialect of Timucua. Other dialect groups of Timucua (including the "Agua Dulce," or "fresh-water" Timucua) who lived in the interior of northern Florida formed the Province of Timucua. By 1685 the Province of Guale was depopulated, and the inhabitants of both provinces had clustered in five towns between the St. Johns and St. Mary's Rivers. John E. Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 9-13; John H. Hann, "Twilight of the Mocamo and Guale Aborigines," 4-5.

enhanced their status among the Native American converts, and their evangelistic activities continued.²³

The zenith of the Golden Age of the Florida missions came in 1674 and 1675 when Gabriel Díaz Vara Calderón, the Bishop of Santiago de Cuba, visited Florida. During his visit Bishop Calderón inspected every one of the thirty-six missions and confirmed a total of 13,152 Indians. In August 1675 Governor Pablo de Hita Salazar reported to the King that “about thirty persons” lived at San Juan del Puerto, where Fray Diego Bravo (b. c. 1629) was the missionary. Early in 1680 Fray Martín de Bohorques was stationed at San Juan del Puerto.²⁴

Although the number of Franciscans at work in Florida increased after Bishop Calderón’s visitation, apathy and lethargy seem to have marked the Franciscan efforts in Florida during the last quarter of the seventeenth century. Meanwhile, the English settlers in the Carolinas to the north had become increasingly active. Along with their allies among the Creek Indians, the English began assaulting the northernmost missions in 1680. The missions also suffered from attacks by pirates. In 1683 English and French ships under the leadership of the French pirate Grammont raided the granaries of the doctrinas at San Juan del Puerto and San Felipe and destroyed sacred images. The pirates also stole four bells from San Juan del Puerto, where Francisco de la Cruz was the friar. At San Felipe, where Domingo Santos was the friar, the pirates stole two bells. Moving closer to their Spanish protectors, the Christianized Guale and Mocama along the Georgia coast moved southward in 1684 to five mission towns at Santa María, San Juan del Puerto, and Santa Cruz. This move culminated a southward migration that had begun in the 1660s. During these turbulent decades, San Juan del Puerto was the only mission to remain in its original location on Fort George Island. By 1690, Fray Martin de Molina was in charge of San Juan del Puerto and Pedro Chirino was his assistant.²⁵

In 1696 a Jamaican-born Quaker merchant named Jonathan Dickinson (1663–1722) was shipwrecked on the Florida coast in a voyage from Jamaica to Philadelphia. Suffering from exposure and rough treatment by Indians, Dickinson and the other passengers and crew of the ship finally made their way to St. Augustine. After recuperating as Governor Laureano de Torres y Ayala’s guests, Dickinson, along with his wife, child, and several slaves, passed through many of the Franciscan missions on his way northward to his original destination of Philadelphia. In

²³Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 54–59; John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States*, Smithsonian Bureau of American Ethnology, Bulletin 137 (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1946), 179.

²⁴Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 61–66; Maynard Geiger, *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans*, 129; John E. Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 95, 97.

²⁵Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 68–73; Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 162–66; Maynard Geiger, *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans*, 42, 76; John E. Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 42–47. The bells were probably made of iron and could be melted and recast as cannon. These bells apparently were not recast but were taken to Charles Town, where they were later seen by a Spanish spy or envoy. Amy Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 163–65.

1699 Dickinson published an account of the voyage, which includes a brief description of San Juan del Puerto. Dickinson's party reached the St. Johns River on December 1, 1696: "Here we waited for canoes to come for us to carry us about two miles to a town called St. Wans, an Indian town, being on an island." When they reached the island, they "went through a kirt of wood into the Indian plantations for a mile. In the middle of this island is the town of St. Wans, a large town and many people. They have a friar and a worshipping house: the people are very industrious, having plenty of hogs and fowls and large crops of corn, as we could tell by their corn-houses." The party was treated hospitably: "The Indians brought us victuals as at the last town, and we lay in their war-house, which was larger than that at the other town." On the following morning, "the Indians brought us victuals for breakfast, and the friar gave my wife some loaves of bread made of Indian corn, which was somewhat extraordinary: also a parcel of fowls." About 10:00 a.m. the party "left St. Wans, walking about a mile to the sound where were canoes and Indians ready to transport us to the next town."²⁶

In the first years of the eighteenth century, the Spanish mission system was threatened by the outbreak in Europe of the War of Spanish Succession, known in North America as Queen Anne's War. In this struggle, King Louis XIV of France sought to place his grandson on the vacant throne of Spain; England and other European nations feared a united Spain and France and opposed the plan. The Governor of the English colony of Carolina, James Moore, feared that an allied force from Spanish Florida and French Louisiana would destroy Carolina. Spanish St. Augustine was the logical base for such an allied invasion and Moore determined to strike first. In the autumn of 1702, Moore gathered an army of British soldiers and Creek warriors and sailed southward. At Santa María Island (Amelia Island), Moore split his forces into two groups. The first, under his command, sailed on to St. Augustine. The second, under the command of Colonel Robert Daniel, landed on Santa María Island and marched overland to St. Augustine.²⁷

As they moved southward, Daniel's forces destroyed several Indian villages and doctrinas. Captain Francisco Fuentes de Galarza, the provincial lieutenant of Guale and Mocama, lived at a mission village on Santa María Island. When advised of the English invasion, Captain Fuentes and two friars, Manuel de Uriza (b. c. 1660) and Domingo Santos (b. c. 1649), rang the church bells and attempted to rally the Indians to meet the attack. Instead the Indians fled. Fuentes and the friars took the church ornaments and fled south to San Juan del Puerto, escaping just before the English invaders arrived and set fire to the mission and village. At San Juan del Puerto, Fuentes sent word to the governor of the invasion. Governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Zerda considered San Juan del Puerto "the key to the province of Guale" and sent Captain Joseph de Horruytiner and twenty soldiers to reinforce Fuentes de Galarza's command. The reinforcements,

²⁶Evangeline Walker Andrews and Charles McLean Andrews, eds., *Jonathan Dickinson's Journal, or God's Protecting Providence. Being the Narrative of a Journey from Port Royal in Jamaica to Philadelphia between August 23, 1696 and April 1, 1697* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1945), 88–89.

²⁷Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1959), 1–15.

however, arrived too late. Before they arrived, the English on November 5 defeated the twenty soldiers at the San Juan del Puerto stockade, taking some of them prisoner. The invaders also destroyed the mission and the town. Captain Fuentes and the friars escaped with the church ornaments, but all were later captured by the English and sent to Charleston as prisoners. On November 9 some of those who had fled San Juan del Puerto arrived in St. Augustine, reporting that they had “left in a violent rush because the enemy had burst in with blood and fire, completely leveling the village.” From San Juan del Puerto Captain Daniel’s force crossed the St. Johns River unopposed.²⁸

When Daniel reached St. Augustine, the Carolinians and their Creek allies burned St. Augustine and besieged the Castillo de San Marcos, which had been completed in 1696. The siege continued for two months until a Spanish relief fleet from Havana threatened to entrap the English force. The unsuccessful invaders returned to Carolina. They took with them as captives three friars and several hundred Indians; the Franciscans were held as prisoners for three years. In the following year, they attacked the Apalachee missions in central and western Florida. More attacks by the English followed, and by 1706 the Franciscan mission system was destroyed. In 1711 the remaining Timucua from San Juan del Puerto lived in a camp within “a pistol shot” of the protective guns of St. Augustine. By 1717 even this remnant of San Juan del Puerto had disappeared, its members merged with other Timucua speakers into new settlements.²⁹

Franciscan efforts in Florida from 1706 to 1763 were wracked by internal divisions, crippled by a lack of support, hindered by a shortage of missionaries, and threatened by English colonists and their Indian allies. The Franciscan work came officially to an end when Spain traded Florida for Havana in the Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years’ War in 1763. When the British took control of Florida, virtually all of the Spanish left the province, most bound for Cuba. Leaving with them were between eighty and ninety Indians in seventeen families. Among their

²⁸Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine*, 15–22, 36; Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 74–76; Army Turner Bushnell, *Situado and Sabana*, 190–94; Maynard Geiger, *Biographical Dictionary of the Franciscans*, 106, 112. The size of San Juan del Puerto in 1702 is uncertain, but Governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda reported in 1701 that the village had slightly fewer than 200 inhabitants. Joseph de Zúñiga y Cerda to the King, 22 June 1701, St. Augustine, Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo 840/17, Jeannette Thurber Connor Papers, Library of Congress, reel 5, cited in John H. Hann, “Summary Guide to Spanish Florida Missions and Visitas With Churches in the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries,” *The Americas* 46 (April 1990): 436–37.

²⁹Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine*, 37–61; John H. Hann, “St. Augustine’s Fallout from the Yamasee War,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 68 (October 1989): 182–83.

Hann notes that a 1728 listing of settlements included the “village of Timuqua” that may have been the heir to San Juan del Puerto. This village moved closer to St. Augustine, but “it had very few Indians because, in being loyal to the Spaniards, they died in defense of them, and thus came to remain no more than fifteen men, eight women, and some children.” After another withdrawal to “about a cannon’s shot” from St. Augustine, a plague reduced the village to “a cacique and two Indians.” Bullones to king, 5 October 1728, quoted in John H. Hann, “St. Augustine’s Fallout from the Yamasee War,” 183–84.

The town of San Juan del Puerto reappears in a 1736 list of Spanish provinces and their associated mission towns, but the document appears to be summarizing past and present towns, rather than reflecting the contemporary state of Spanish missionary efforts. John E. Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 183.

number were no more than a dozen Timucua, all that survived of the once-numerous Timucuan people.³⁰

The Spanish withdrawal marked not only the end of Catholic missionary efforts among the Native American population of La Florida, but also a fundamental transformation in the settlement of the area. During much of the First Spanish Period, as it came to be termed, most of the Spaniards lived in St. Augustine. Virtually the only Europeans who lived away from the protection of a Spanish military presence were the Franciscan missionaries who labored among the Timucua, the Guale, and the Apalachee. British control brought a revolution in land ownership, as the new governor James Grant encouraged settlers to come to Florida by distributing large grants of land to Protestant families who would move to the province. He also provided even larger tracts to absentee owners in England. This new land policy established the foundations for a new economic and social system and ushered in the era of Plantation Agriculture.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

The site of San Juan del Puerto is the only positively identified archeological resource within the bounds of the Timucuan Preserve associated with the Colonial Settlement historic context. Several of the early-seventeenth-century visitas associated with the doctrina of San Juan del Puerto were undoubtedly located within the Preserve, but their locations have not been identified archeologically. In the southward migration of Mocama and Guale Indians in the late seventeenth century, the Mocama mission of San Buenaventura de Guadalquini relocated to the mainland approximately one league to the west of San Juan del Puerto. There the town was renamed Santa Cruz y San Buenaventura de Guadalquini, perhaps because it occupied a site once named Santa Cruz. This site may be located at Cedar Point (8Du81), but the limited archeological testing conducted there has not confirmed the location.³¹

When Governor James Moore's forces destroyed both San Juan del Puerto and Santa Cruz y San Buenaventura de Guadalquini in 1702, the Guale and Mocama residents of the area between the St. Mary's and St. Johns Rivers retreated just south of the St. Johns River to Piribiriba on the Greenfield peninsula. From there they fled to St. Augustine and into the Castillo de San Marcos. After the English lifted the siege of the fort and returned to Carolina, the Indians gradually returned to towns away from St. Augustine, including Piribiriba. Excavations on the Greenfield peninsula in 1988 identified five sites (8Du5541, 8Du5542, 8Du5543, 8Du5544, 8Du5545) that may represent the archeological remains of the Spanish Fort Piribiriba and its associated Timucua/Mocama and Guale villages. More archeological and historic research is

³⁰For the decimation of the Timucuan population, see Jerald T. Milanich, *The Timucuas* (Cambridge, MA: Blackwell Publishers, 1996), especially chapter 8.

³¹John E. Worth, *Struggle for the Georgia Coast*, 45, 198; Michael Russo, *The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report* (Gainesville, FL: Florida Museum of Natural History, 1993), 41.

necessary to establish whether these sites are the locations of this early-eighteenth-century Spanish and Native American settlement.³²

All of the other sites from this time period (San Gabriel, San Estaban, Fort Piribiriba, and Fort St. George) are primarily military in nature and are examined in Context D: Military Conflict and Defenses.

Physical Characteristics³³

The site of San Juan del Puerto (8Du53) is located on the western side of Fort George Island and extends northward from San Juan Creek to a modern mosquito control ditch on both sides of Palmetto Avenue. The site measures approximately 1400 feet from east to west and 700 feet north to south. The area is covered with planted pine trees and dense underbrush, with the exception of Palmetto Avenue, which runs north and south through the site.³⁴

As Spain began to conquer and settle portions of the Americas, King Philip II issued in 1573 "The Royal Ordinances Concerning the Laying Out of Towns." The 148 regulations that made up the Royal Ordinances formed an idealized system for establishing settlements. Although this system represented the ideal, local environmental conditions often dictated variations. Within the boundaries established by the site, however, Spanish settlers attempted to apply the spatial template to their settlements. If San Juan del Puerto resembled other missions of the period, it would have included an *iglesia* (church), a *convento* (convent or friary), and a *cocina* (kitchen). The church was separated from the convent and kitchen by a rectangular central plaza, and the long axis of the church was oriented forty-five degrees west of magnetic north. The central mission complex was spatially separated from the Native American *pueblo* (village), which surrounded it.³⁵

When naturalist John Bartram visited Fort George Island in 1766, he observed the vestiges of the extensive Spanish mission settlement: "'Tis very demonstrable that the Spaniards had a fine settlement here, as there still remain their cedar posts on each side their fine straight avenues,

³²Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine*, 14–22; Charles W. Arnade, "Piribiriba on the Salamatoto: A Spanish Fort on the St. Johns River," Jacksonville Historical Society, *Papers* 4 (1960): 67–84; Robert E. Johnson, "An Archeological and Historical Survey of the Greenfield Plantation Tract, Duval County, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: unpublished report, 1988), 33–48.

³³A more detailed physical description appears in Appendix A.

³⁴For discussion of the boundaries of the mission site, see Martin F. Dickinson and Lucy B. Wayne, "Archaeological Testing of the San Juan del Puerto Mission Site (8Du53), Fort George Island, Florida" (Gainesville, FL: Water and Air Research, 1985), Figures 1-2 and 4-1; Michael Russo, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report," 44–46, 122.

³⁵David Hurst Thomas, *St. Catherines: An Island in Time* (Atlanta: Georgia Humanities Council, 1988), 53–59.

pieces of hewn live-oaks, and great trees girdled round to kill them, which are now very sound, though above 60 years since they were cut."³⁶

The mission buildings were probably constructed using the wattle-and-daub technique using materials available nearby. Pine tree trunks served as a frame. Between these supports, small wooden timbers were set vertically and then reinforced with marsh cane interwoven horizontally between the uprights and tied together with leather thongs. A mixture of marsh mud, sand, and plant fibers was then daubed onto the wooden wattlework and allowed to dry. The interior walls were whitewashed, and a palmetto thatch roof was added.³⁷

Associative Characteristics/Significance

The site of San Juan del Puerto has regional significance under Criteria A, B, and D. It is important under Criterion A for its association with Spanish missionary efforts among the Native American population. The mission system of which San Juan del Puerto was an important part represented a significant interchange of culture and belief systems. The various missions were also centers of economic and social activity between the Spaniards and the Native Americans. The mission site is significant under Criterion B for its association with Fray Francisco Pareja, a distinguished Franciscan missionary who translated a series of religious works into the Timucuan language while serving at San Juan del Puerto. The mission area is significant under Criterion D for its information potential as an archeological site. Prior investigation there has revealed information about the Timucuan and Guale people, the Spanish missionaries, and their interaction in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.³⁸

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS/INTEGRITY

Because San Juan del Puerto is already listed on the National Register, the determinations made here form the basis for a review and, if necessary, revision of the site's listing. The historical archeological site of San Juan del Puerto clearly possesses the location aspect of

³⁶Entry of 11 February 1766, John Bartram, *Diary of a Journey Through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, From July 1, 1765, to April 10, 1766*, annotated by Francis Harper (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 48, 76.

³⁷Michael V. Gannon, *Cross in the Sand*, 39–40; Maynard Geiger, *Franciscan Conquest of Florida*, 28–29. For more detail on wattle-and-daub construction, see Mark F. Boyd, Hale G. Smith, and John W. Griffin, *Here They Once Stood: The Tragic End of the Apalachee Missions* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1951), 115–16.

³⁸For a discussion of early (1955–1967) excavations of the site, see John W. Griffin, "Preliminary Report on the Site of the Mission of San Juan del Puerto, Fort George Island, Florida," in Jacksonville Historical Society, *Papers* 4 (1960): 63–66; and Judith Angley McMurray, "The Definition of the Ceramic Complex at San Juan del Puerto" (M. A. thesis, University of Florida, 1973), 21–44. See also Barry D. Hart and Charles H. Fairbanks, "Archaeological Survey of Fort George Island" (Report prepared for Fairfield Communities, Inc., 1985), 29–38; and Martin F. Dickinson and Lucy B. Wayne, "Archaeological Testing of the San Juan del Puerto Mission Site," 1-1 to 6-3.

integrity, but no standing buildings or identifiable structures remain. The absence of structures is not a problem for the site's eligibility under Criterion D. Despite the cultivation of the area during much of the nineteenth century and periodic looting, a 1985 study concluded that "there are significant intact archaeological remains." National Register guidelines indicate that "for properties eligible under Criterion D, including archaeological and standing structures studied for their information potential, less attention is given to their overall condition, than if they were being considered under Criteria A, B, or C."³⁹

The condition of the site does bring into question San Juan del Puerto's eligibility under Criteria A and B, however, and requires a closer look at the other aspects of integrity. Although the site does not include any buildings or structures, the design aspect of integrity "also applies to the layout of towns, villages, plantations, etc. For a historical archeological site, integrity of design generally refers to the patterning of structures, buildings, or discrete activity areas relative to one another. Archeological investigations using soil resistivity tests have already revealed the probable location of structures at the site (oriented approximately sixty degrees from magnetic north).⁴⁰ Artifact patterning also helps to convey a sense of the site's design. Therefore, the site has some integrity of design. The setting and feeling aspects of integrity are diminished but not destroyed by the absence of structures and by the presence of planted pines. However, the site retains its rural character. The historical archeological site does not have integrity of materials or workmanship. Integrity of association is very important for Criteria A and B. The association between this site and the Spanish mission system and Spanish–Native American cultural interaction is direct and strong.⁴¹

The association between this site and the scholarship of Francisco Pareja is more problematic. Judith Angley McMurray argued in 1973 that the archeological evidence indicated occupation by Guale Indians: "The evidence, both documentary and archeological, indicates that the materials recovered from Du53 were those of an essentially Guale mission which had been moved to a former Timucuan area. The sites of the Timucuan mission(s) of San Juan del Puerto have yet to be unearthed but with the ceramic assemblage consisting of mostly San Marcos pottery, it does not appear that there were many Timucua at Du53." If this interpretation were

³⁹Martin F. Dickinson and Lucy B. Wayne, "Archaeological Testing of the San Juan del Puerto Mission Site," 6-3; *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, DC: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991), 46.

⁴⁰Martin F. Dickinson and Lucy B. Wayne, "Archaeological Testing of the San Juan del Puerto Mission Site," 5-8-5-10. It should be noted, however, that Dickinson and Wayne disagree with an earlier study by Jones concerning the location of the mission complex (church, *convento*, kitchen, cemetery) within the site. See William M. Jones, "A Report on the Site of San Juan del Puerto, A Spanish Mission, Fort George Island, Duval County, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL, n.p., 1967), 16–17.

⁴¹Jan Townsend, John H. Sprinkle Jr., and John Knoerl, *National Register Bulletin 36: Guidelines for Evaluating and Registering Historical Archeological Sites and Districts* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, 1993), 17–21.

correct, the association of the site with Pareja's work among the Timucua would be greatly diminished. However, later archeological work by Martin F. Dickinson and Lucy B. Wayne suggested other interpretations of the site. In 1985 Dickinson and Wayne presented three alternative hypotheses to explain the dominance of San Marcos ceramics: (1) the site was not the Timucuan period mission, though they believed it "unlikely that the Spaniards would have moved the mission, particularly as the church was described as ornate"; (2) the Spaniards found it difficult to keep the Timucua in residence at the mission, while the Guale had fled from Georgia and "may have been more willing to stay at one location; or (3) the Timucua utilized "the large number of plain or other non-San Marcos ceramics," and since the area around San Juan del Puerto was a transitional zone between ceramic traditions, "St. Johns ceramics [associated with the Timucua] were a minority ware for Timucuan sites in this area." More archeological investigation is necessary to determine which of these alternatives best describes the site. Based on current knowledge, however, the San Juan del Puerto historical archeological site has sufficient integrity for continued listing on the National Register under Criteria A and B in addition to its significance under Criterion D.⁴²

ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

San Juan del Puerto (c. 1587–1702), contributing as an archeological site.

⁴² Judith Angley McMurray, "The Definition of the Ceramic Complex at San Juan del Puerto," 70–71.

CHAPTER THREE: PLANTATION AGRICULTURE, 1763–1895

Agricultural production for the world market was the primary economic activity of British and Spanish colonies in North America during the latter half of the eighteenth century and of the American South throughout the nineteenth century. Plantation agriculture within the boundaries of the Timucuan Preserve began during the British period of Florida's colonial history. It continued with modifications in labor and product until near the close of the nineteenth century.

When in 1762 Spain entered the Seven Years War between Great Britain and France, the future of its colonial possessions became part of the contest. The British had already taken Canada from France in 1761 and determined to keep it in the peace that followed. Soon after Spain entered the war, British forces captured Havana. In order to redeem the port, Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain in 1763 through the Treaty of Paris that ended the Seven Years War. In October 1764, after Spanish subjects and the few remaining Timucua had departed, East Florida's Royal Governor James Grant proclaimed that large land grants were available to the heads of Protestant families who would move to the province. He also gave large tracts of land to absentee owners in England. This land policy established the plantation system that dominated the economic and social history of the Preserve area for the next century under British, Spanish, and American governments.⁴³

One of the first to take advantage of the new system was Richard Hazard, who settled on Fort George Island. The Island of Fort St. George was "laid out unto" Hazard on June 5, 1765. When naturalist John Bartram and his son William visited Fort George Island on February 10, 1766, Hazard had already settled there. Hazard was, in Bartram's estimation, "a good kind of a man, and one of the best planters in Florida." Bartram described Fort George as a "large rich island, great part of which is surrounded with marsh, which on one side is very extensive." Bartram remained at Hazard's overnight and through the following day, since he was unable to travel on the river because of high winds. Bartram "walked all over the island," observing the improvements Hazard had made.⁴⁴

⁴³Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763–1784* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964), 5, 50–72. For more on large land grants to absentee owners, see George C. Rogers Jr., "The East Florida Society of London, 1766–1767," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 54 (April 1976): 479–96.

⁴⁴Plat map of Island Fort St. George, 10 July 1787, Great Britain, Treasury Papers, 77/8/5, Public Record Office, London, England. I am indebted to Daniel Schafer for this reference.

Bartram's observations on the island continue in the entry of 11 February 1766: He viewed "the curiosities, both natural and artificial, of the Indians and Spaniards; of the former were several middling tumulus's or sepulchres

It is likely that Hazard produced indigo and that he owned slaves, though the details of his ownership of Fort George Island are unclear. In 1771, when William Gerard De Brahm prepared his "General Survey of the Southern District of North America," he included a list of East Florida's inhabitants from 1763 to 1771. Richard Hazard Sr., a planter, is listed as having left the province, though Richard Hazard Jr., likewise a planter, remained. De Brahm also noted that there were approximately 900 African Americans and only 288 white people in the province, exclusive of the 1,400 indentured servants at New Smyrna. In 1774, William Bartram made a second journey through the area. In his account of the journey written years later, Bartram noted that the soil of the sea islands "appears to be particularly favourable to the culture of indigo and cotton, and there are on them some few large plantations for the cultivation and manufacture of those valuable articles. The cotton is planted only by the poorer class of people, just enough for their family consumption." During the period when East Florida was a British province (1763–1783), larger planters produced indigo as a cash crop for the market, while they grew little or no cotton. Smaller farmers grew some cotton for family needs, but not as a cash crop.⁴⁵

One of the larger planters in the province was Patrick Tonyn, who replaced James Grant as governor in 1774. The Privy Council had granted Tonyn 20,000 acres in East Florida in 1768, but he did not go to the province until he arrived as its governor in April 1774. Over the next nine years, Tonyn acquired several thousand more acres in East Florida, including the 1,000 acres of Great Fort George Island, which had originally been granted to Richard Hazard, and the thirty-eight and a half acres of "little Fort George and Ditch Pond." When the British returned East and West Florida to the Spanish in 1783, Tonyn claimed payment for property worth £9,057, including £750 for Great Fort George Island.⁴⁶

of the Florida Indians, with numerous heaps of oyster shells, which one may reasonably suppose were many hundred years in collecting by as many thousands of Indians, also variety of old broken Indian pots. 'Tis very demonstrable that the Spaniards had a fine settlement here, as there still remain their cedar posts on each side their fine straight avenues, pieces of hewn live-oaks, and great trees girdled round to kill them, which are now very sound, though above 60 years since they were cut. This rich island, though it appears sandy on the surface, yet hath a clay bottom, above which in some places there is a dark-coloured strata of indurated sand-rock." Entries of 10 and 11 February 1766, John Bartram, *Diary of a Journey Through the Carolinas, Georgia, and Florida, From July 1, 1765, to April 10, 1766*, annotated by Francis Harper (Philadelphia: American Philosophical Society, 1942), 48, 76.

⁴⁵Louis De Vorsey Jr., ed., *De Brahm's Report of the General Survey in the Southern District of North America* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1971), 182, 186; Francis Harper, ed. and annot., *The Travels of William Bartram* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1958), 43; William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785: The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto Edited with an Accompanying Narrative*, 2 vols. (Deland, FL: Florida State Historical Society, 1929), 1:67–68.

⁴⁶Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 61, 83: "Tonyn Plantation," Great Britain, Treasury Papers, 77/17, Public Record Office. I am indebted to Daniel Schafer for the latter reference. For Tonyn's cruelty toward his slaves, see Daniel L. Schafer, "'Yellow Silk Ferret Tied Round Their Wrists': African Americans in British East Florida, 1763–1784," in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995), 91–93. Although Tonyn officially replaced Grant as governor in 1774, Grant had left the province in 1771. In Grant's absence, Lt. Gov. James Moultrie served as governor.

By the early 1770s the province of East Florida had perhaps 3,000 inhabitants, exclusive of the Native American population, a small increase in population over the Spanish population of the early 1760s. Nearly a third of these settlers were black, most of them slaves. Events in the British colonies to the north, however, quickly increased the population. A small number of refugees who remained loyal to the British government fled the thirteen rebellious colonies to the north and came to East Florida from 1775 to 1782. After General Charles Cornwallis surrendered at Yorktown in October 1781, British commander Sir Guy Carleton decided to withdraw the British garrisons from both Charleston and Savannah. Loyalists in those cities fled in the summer and autumn of 1782, many of them going to East Florida. Estimates of the number of refugees entering East Florida are as high as 5,090 whites and 8,285 blacks. This influx of population effectively quadrupled the population of East Florida.⁴⁷

One of the primary beneficiaries of the new immigrants was the small settlement of St. Johns Bluff.⁴⁸ Early in the 1770s the British established a small military post on a bluff on the south side of the river approximately six miles above the mouth of the St. Johns.⁴⁹ By 1781, the settlement had grown sporadically into a small village. In that year, the new General Assembly of British East Florida ordered that its addresses be posted in public places in St. Augustine and St. Johns Bluff. The bluff was originally called Hester's Bluff for William Hester, who owned the tract of 200 acres during most of the 1770s. Hester sold a lot to a settler as early as 1771, and in 1778 or 1779 conveyed the remainder of the land to Thomas Williamson.⁵⁰

Williamson divided the property into town lots with a frontage of 75 feet and a depth of 120 feet. The first homes built there were small log houses, but the arrival of the refugees from Savannah and Charleston in 1782 led to the rapid construction of many frame houses. The loyalist immigrants tripled the population of St. Johns Bluff to 1,500 residents or more. The town soon included some three hundred houses, two taverns, a public house, a livery stable, a dry good shop, a storehouse, a shop selling plantation tools, and a small free masons' lodge. The town had the services of Dr. Hugh Rose, "a practitioner of Physick," who arrived from Charleston at the end of 1782. The residents of St. Johns Bluff also had occasional visits from the Reverend James Seymour, a missionary under the auspices of the Society for the Propagation

⁴⁷Charles Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 64, 136–37; William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:130–31.

⁴⁸The town is occasionally referred to as St. Johns Town, though more often as the town of St. Johns Bluff. This report follows William Henry Siebert's usage of St. Johns Bluff as the more accurate name. See William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:117.

⁴⁹A small detachment of soldiers was stationed at St. Johns Bluff as early as the autumn of 1775. Charles L. Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 108.

⁵⁰Charles Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 108, 126, 128; William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:45–46, 93, 117, 2:103–04; Dena Snodgrass, "Two Claims to Fame," *Jacksonville Historical Society, Papers* 5 (1969): 13–15.

of the Gospel, who had fled Georgia. Seymour, the only Protestant clergyman in East Florida, performed dozens of baptisms, marriages, and funerals throughout the province. By May 1783, the town of St. Johns Bluff showed promise of becoming “a place of some consequence,” according to Lieutenant Colonel Archibald McArthur. Passing through the province in 1784, traveler Johann David Schoepf observed that, “Besides St. Augustin, St. John’s is perhaps the only place in East Florida deserving the name of town.” Larger ships could reach St. Johns Bluff than could anchor at St. Augustine because of the greater depth of water over the bar at the mouth of the St. Johns. St. Johns Bluff was also situated downriver from many of the best plantations in the province, which produced naval stores and lumber for export. The town was positioned to become a center for this trade.⁵¹

The bright prospects for the town of St. Johns Bluff, however, were destroyed by diplomatic accommodations made thousands of miles away. In late 1782 and early 1783, peace negotiations among Great Britain, France, and Spain led to the cession by Great Britain of East and West Florida to Spain. Word of this exchange reached East Florida in April 1783, and the result was chaos. Feeling betrayed and uncertain where to go, British subjects in East Florida spent an uncertain summer and autumn before final official word arrived in December 1783. During the evacuation period of two years and five months, nearly 10,000 British subjects and their black slaves left East Florida. Over 3,000 went to the Bahama Islands; another 3,000 returned to the United States, encouraged by relaxed proscriptions against loyalists in South Carolina and Georgia; most of the rest went to Nova Scotia, the West Indies, or Europe.⁵²

In St. Johns Bluff, Thomas Williamson could no longer sell any of the 198 remaining town lots, and he had not received payment for others that he had sold. Williamson took down his own house and shipped it to Jamaica. Most of the other residents likewise took their possessions and often their houses and left for the Bahama Islands, the West Indies, or the new American states. Shortly after he arrived to take charge of East Florida, the new Spanish governor, Vicente Manuel Zéspedes y Velasco, stationed a small detachment of troops at St. Johns Bluff.⁵³

Two days after he took office in July 1784, Zéspedes ordered “a comprehensive census of the inhabitants . . . with indication of their intentions, families, slaves, occupation, and estates.” Census takers found forty-two families still at St. Johns Bluff, but thirty-two of these families declared their intention to leave the colony and requested Spanish protection until they could do

⁵¹ William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:117–19, 177, 2:105–09, 135; Johann David Schoepf, *Travels in the Confederation, 1783–1784*, trans. and ed. by Alfred J. Morrison, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: William J. Campbell, 1911), 1:236; Charles Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 138.

⁵² Charles Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 140–44; William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:208–10.

⁵³ William Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:161, 177, 2:11, 267.

so. Seven families remained undecided or did not declare their intention, and only three families wished to become Spanish subjects.⁵⁴

At Cedar Point on what is now known as Black Hammock Island, Zéspedes's census takers found three farming families living in two dwellings. One of their number, Joseph Mills, owned four slaves, and all three families expressed their desire to leave East Florida. Only one family lived on Fort George Island, that of William Harris with his wife and four children. Harris was a farmer from Georgia, and he too planned to leave the colony. Seven families lived on Talbot Island, all farmers, except the carpenter Stephen Touchstone and Spicer Christopher, who preferred the title of planter. Touchstone and Christopher declared their intention to leave, though Christopher later changed his mind and remained in the colony. Robert Whitmore of North Carolina planned to become a Spanish subject, but the other four families were undecided about their plans. A total of seventeen white persons lived on Talbot Island, and four households owned a total of eleven slaves. By 1789 only William Hendricks and Spicer Christopher, with their families and slaves, remained on Talbot Island. Hendricks had four slaves, six horses, and thirty pigs; Christopher also had slaves, eleven horses, and some pigs.⁵⁵

Spicer Christopher (c. 1754–1811), a native of Maryland, may have been one of the Loyalist settlers who arrived in the early 1780s. Christopher was married to Mary Greenwood, a native of Georgia, and they had eight children, all of whom were baptized on Talbot Island between 1790 and 1799 by Catholic priests from St. Augustine. Christopher received several grants of land on Talbot Island from Spanish authorities: 92 acres in 1792, 600 acres in 1795, and 100 acres in 1808. Christopher died on July 10, 1811, and left his wife one-half of his livestock and twenty-nine slaves. In a later division of the estate, the Christophers' son Lewis received the northern half of Talbot Island and their youngest daughter Elizabeth (1797–1824) received the southern half. Lewis and Elizabeth Christopher were to pay their sisters, Martha and Charlotte, \$3,000 each as their portion of the estate.⁵⁶

In 1811 Elizabeth Christopher married John Carrol Houston Jr. (1789–1856) in St. Augustine. It is not clear when Houston, a native of South Carolina, came to East Florida, but he was officially received as an inhabitant by Governor Kindelan in May 1813 at Fernandina. In the Spanish census of 1814, he is listed as inhabiting Talbot Island with his wife and eleven

⁵⁴Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes to Bernardo de Gálvez, 16 July 1784, in Joseph Byrne Lockey, *East Florida, 1783–1785: A File of Documents Assembled, and Many of Them Translated* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1949), 231; Census Returns, bundle 323A, roll 148, East Florida Papers, Library of Congress (microfilm copy at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL).

⁵⁵East Florida Papers, Census Returns, Reel 148, Bundle 323A; Pablo Catafal, *Relacion que acredite el numero de Familias que han prestado juramento de Fidelidad a Su Majestad . . .*, 10 December 1789, East Florida Papers, Reel 46, Bundle 120C10, Document 1789-273. Damage to the latter document has obscured how many slaves and pigs Christopher owned in 1789.

⁵⁶William M. Jones, "A Report on Big Talbot Island, Duval County, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: William M. Jones, 1988), 16–17.

slaves. By 1816 his labor force had grown to a white servant and twenty-six slaves. The Houstons had three children before Elizabeth died in 1824. Later, Houston married Mary Braddock and they had at least six children. John Houston died on January 1, 1856, and Mary Houston died on April 14, 1877.⁵⁷

Despite the massive exodus of British subjects between 1783 and 1785, the majority of settlers in the northern rural region of East Florida during the Second Spanish Period were American or British (with a few settlers from other northern European countries). Unlike those British subjects who chose to leave rather than live under Spanish rule, these settlers remained on their farms. Together with the new settlers who responded to the 1790 royal order inviting them to immigrate to East Florida, they provided continuity of language, culture, and society from the British Period through the Second Spanish Period to the American Territorial Period.⁵⁸

Among those immigrants encouraged by the new Spanish policy were William Fitzpatrick, Robert C. Maxey, John McQueen, and Zephaniah Kingsley. William Fitzpatrick was born in Georgia in the 1750s or 1760s and came to East Florida before 1794. In that year, he conducted a spy mission for the Spanish government into Georgia to learn about the French threat gathering there. In 1795, Fitzpatrick petitioned Governor Quesada for land at Punta de Sabinas (Cedar Point) near that of his brother-in-law, John Thorpe. Quesada granted the land on November 12, 1795, and for reasons that are unclear, the land was re-granted to him on January 18, 1808, by Governor White. In 1808, Fitzpatrick, his wife Susanna Boswood Fitzpatrick, their six children, and fifteen slaves lived at Cedar Point. Fitzpatrick joined the Patriots' Rebellion in 1812; during the uprising, he lost his crops and two of his male slaves. He was pardoned for his role in the rebellion, but over the next decade, Fitzpatrick's economic fortunes continued to decline. In April 1824, he was forced to mortgage his property. The following year, the property was sold at a sheriff's sale. Sometime between July 1825 and June 1826, William Fitzpatrick died. In June 1826, Susanna Fitzpatrick was allowed to buy back the property for \$160. Shortly thereafter, the Fitzpatrick children began to sell their portion of their father's land. In 1850, John Broward, the owner of a large tract of land nearby, bought the

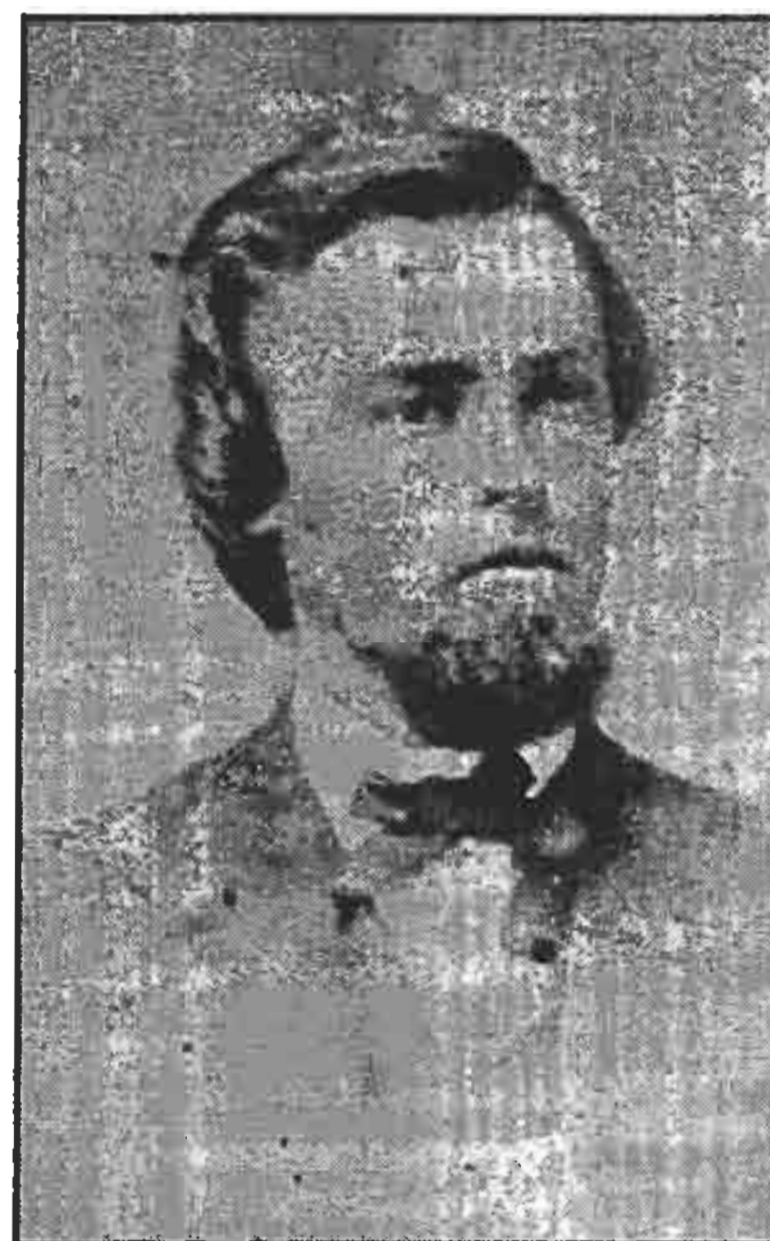


Figure 6. John Carrol Houston Jr.

⁵⁷William M. Jones, "A Report on Big Talbot Island," 18–19. *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, vol. 3, *Confirmed Claims, D-J* (Tallahassee, FL: State Library Board, 1941), 270–73.

⁵⁸Susan R. Parker, "Men Without God or King: Rural Settlers of East Florida, 1784–1790," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 69 (October 1990): 135–55.

interest of two of Fitzpatrick's daughters in the estate. In the 1850s, Broward settled at Cedar Point.⁵⁹

Robert Clark Maxey came to East Florida sometime prior to 1791. In that year he and his wife occupied a house on Punta del Cano de San Pablo or San Pablo Point, on the present Greenfield Peninsula. By 1794, Maxey was an officer in the militia. In 1804 Governor Enrique White granted Maxey a title to thirty caballerias of land on Greenfield Peninsula, where Maxey lived with his family and fourteen slaves. That same year, Maxey sold the property to John McQueen, who, two months later, sold it to George Taylor. The property changed hands several more times over the next two decades. Samuel Calvert sold the property in 1849 to Sarah M. Vaught, who sold it in 1853 to Milton Haynes. The Haynes family occupied "Greenfield Farms" through most of the Civil War, but Union troops burned the estate when they discovered that Confederate soldiers had occupied the house.⁶⁰

John McQueen (1751–1807), was born in Philadelphia and reared in Charleston, South Carolina. During the American Revolution, McQueen served in the South Carolina Navy and acted as a courier for George Washington to the Marquis de Lafayette. In 1784, McQueen bought a small plantation near Savannah and became a resident of Georgia. He first visited East Florida later that year, shortly after Governor Zéspedes had assumed control of the colony for Spain.⁶¹

⁵⁹Carlos Howard to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 4 March 1794, East Florida Papers, Reel 49, Bundle 125H10, Document 1794-227; (Governor of Fla.) to Carlos Howard, 6 March 1794, East Florida Papers, Reel 49, Bundle 125H10, Document 1794-237; William Fitzpatrick before Judge William Ashley, 12 July 1813, East Florida Papers, Reel 42, Bundle 110F9, Document 1813-11; (Governor of Fla.) to Thomas Pinckney, 20 July 1813, East Florida Papers, Reel 42, Bundle 110F9, Document 1813-14; *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, 3:119–20; Congress, Senate, *Report of the Secretary of the Treasury and the Attorney General . . . on the petition of Kingsley B. Gibbs, executor of Zephaniah Kingsley*, Executive Document No. 82, 33rd Cong., 1st sess., 1854, 32–33; Dena Snodgrass, "Cedar Point Revisited," Jacksonville Historical Society, *Papers* 5 (1969): 29–36; Transaction nos. 33 (21 April 1824), 50 (6 July 1825), 133 (28 June 1826), 134 (5 February 1828), 328 (14 November 1850), and 329 (14 November 1850), Archibald Transcript Books, Official Records, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL.

Governor Quesada was not pleased with Fitzpatrick's performance in 1794 because Fitzpatrick spoke openly in St. Augustine of his mission to Georgia. (Governor of Fla.) to Carlos Howard, 8 March 1794, East Florida Papers, Reel 49, Bundle 125H10, Document 1794-240.

⁶⁰(Governor of Fla.) to Santos Rodriguez, 28 June 1791, East Florida Papers, Reel 46, Bundle 121D10, Document 1791-110; (Governor of Fla.) to John McQueen, 29 March 1794, East Florida Papers, Reel 49, Bundle 125H10, Document 1794-338; Robert E. Johnson, "An Archeological and Historical Survey of the Greenfield Plantation Tract, Duval County, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: unpublished report, 1988), 23–26.

⁶¹Helen Hornbeck Tanner, *Zéspedes In East Florida, 1784–1790* (Coral Gables, FL: University of Miami Press, 1963), 54; Walter Charlton Hartridge, ed., *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family, Written from Spanish East Florida, 1791–1807* (Columbia, SC: Bostick and Thornley, Inc., 1943), xxi–xxv, 3–5. McQueen bore a letter of introduction from Governor John Houston of Georgia that described McQueen as "a Gentleman in all respects, entitled to every Mark of Attention and Favor the subjects of His Catholic Majesty may be pleased to shew him." John Houston to Vicente Manuel de Zéspedes, 29 November 1784, East Florida Papers, Reel 41, Bundle 108D9, Document 1784-7.

Soon after arriving in Georgia, McQueen began to speculate heavily in land. He purchased half of Cumberland Island, a tract on the Savannah River below Augusta, and three other islands on the Georgia coast. McQueen spent a part of the time from late 1785 to early 1788 in Europe, where he was entertained by American Minister to France Thomas Jefferson and his old acquaintance, the Marquis de Lafayette. In 1786, he sold 70 slaves, 7,250 acres of land, and three mills with all accessories for 236,400 French livres to Jean Baptiste Vigoureux Duplessis, a French brigadier general. Unfortunately for McQueen, Duplessis annulled the sale a year later because he was “desirous to return to France for the recovery of his health being reduced by severe sickness.” In 1789, McQueen agreed to sell Sapelo and the neighboring sea islands to another Frenchman, François-Marie Loys Dumoussay de la Vauve, for £10,000. Dumoussay failed to pay, and McQueen secured a writ of attachment on the property. By this time, McQueen had become delinquent in paying his taxes in several Georgia counties. He mortgaged his Savannah plantation in 1788, and by 1791 was deeply in debt. Early in that year, McQueen fled Georgia with his only transportable property—over 300 slaves. His wife, Anne McQueen, and their children did not accompany him, “as she was unwilling that her children should grow up in what was then a Roman Catholic country.” She remained in Savannah, though she and the children frequently visited McQueen in East Florida.⁶²

McQueen quickly gained the friendship of prominent Spanish officials in St. Augustine, including the new Spanish Governor Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, who had replaced Zéspedes in July 1790. On June 22, 1791, McQueen was baptized into the Roman Catholic Church and took the name Don Juan Reyna. A few days later, Governor Quesada wrote that McQueen was “one of the first to enter this province after issuance of the Royal Order of Permission, and the most valued up to now.” Quesada hoped that McQueen would be “emulated by many others of the same class for he is, among them, the finest example.” In October 1791, Spanish authorities called on McQueen to lead an expedition against the British privateer William Augustus Bowles who caused considerable alarm by inciting the Indians of West Florida to revolt against Spanish rule. Despite McQueen’s failure to capture, or even encounter, Bowles, Quesada granted him Fort George Island as a reward on November 21, 1791. The island was surveyed to McQueen on April 27, 1792, by Pedro Marrot and Samuel Eastlake.⁶³

⁶²Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, xxvii; Papers regarding Duplessis sale, Box 39, Walter Hartridge Collection, Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, GA; “Unfinished Memoirs of Margaret Mackay Elliot,” typescript transcription, Mackay Papers, Hartridge Collection, Georgia Historical Society; Pass for “Madama Mac Queen” with her family and slaves, from the St. Johns River to the State of Georgia, 9 September 1795, signed by Spanish Governor Quesada, Mackay-McQueen Family Papers, Box 6, Colonial Dames of America, Georgia Society, Historical Collections, Georgia Historical Society; Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Luis de las Casas, 26 June 1791, East Florida Papers, Reel 8, Bundle 23J2, p. 122.

⁶³Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Luis de las Casas, 26 June 1791, Reel 8, Bundle 23J2, p. 122; Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, xxviii–xxix, 81; John H. McIntosh, Confirmed Claims, Papers of the U.S. Commissioners for Ascertaining Claims and Titles to Lands in East Florida, ca. 1763–1821, Florida Department of the Interior, Tallahassee, FL (microfilm copy available at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History). Hereafter cited as Spanish Land Grant Papers.

The leadership of East Florida welcomed McQueen because of his influential connections and because he brought with him a large labor force of slaves, who would be put to work in developing the economy of the Spanish colony. By 1793, McQueen had 229 slaves on his plantations, and was generally recognized as a leader among the English-speaking population along the St. Johns and St. Mary's rivers. In July 1795 Governor Quesada confessed to Captain-General Luis de las Casas that he had difficulty knowing whom "to trust among all the foreign residents," with the exceptions of Andrew Atkinson, John McQueen, and John Leslie. "These three," Quesada reported, "demonstrate and have demonstrated every day, without uncertain proof their fidelity to the King and their desires to be subjects in his service."⁶⁴

In November 1801, Governor Enrique White appointed McQueen as judge of the Banks of the St. Johns and St. Mary's Rivers. Because McQueen had honorably and zealously carried out his charges as Captain of Militia, White found him "competent for those of greater confidence." McQueen's numerous responsibilities as judge included suppressing raffles; apprehending deserters, vagrants, and runaway slaves; preventing unlicensed vendors from selling products; investigating crimes; making arrests; settling minor boundary disputes; preventing illegal exports; conducting inventories of the deceased; resolving minor lawsuits; keeping clear roads; and maintaining an accurate census of the inhabitants of Banks of the St. Mary's and St. Johns Rivers. The citizens of the area were to "obey his orders, commands and nominations as if they were made by us."⁶⁵

After receiving Fort George Island, McQueen had his slaves begin to cut the timber from the island, which was cut at his saw mill and sold in St. Augustine. As late as 1802, John McQueen owned the only saw mill on the St. Johns River. By 1793 McQueen and Andrew Atkinson had built houses on the island. Spanish military authorities dismantled Atkinson's house in June 1793 and used it to augment the San Vicente Ferrer battery at St. Johns Bluff. In July 1794 Spanish soldiers set afire McQueen's house on Fort George Island to prevent French-inspired revolutionaries from seizing and using it. In the summer of 1795, McQueen moved his wife and children from his saw mill to "a camp on Fort George Isld." where his children "received great benefit from bathing in the Sea." Early in 1798 McQueen had another house built at the north end of the island. In a letter to his sister Eliza, McQueen's son John wrote: "The House at the North end will be in the course of a month a very comfortable habitation, & in any other country

⁶⁴East Florida Papers, Census Returns, Reel 148, Bundle 323A; Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada to Luis de las Casas, 20 July 1795, East Florida Paper, Reel 10, Bundle 26M2, pp. 24–25.

⁶⁵Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 57–58; McQueen's Instructions as Judge, 13 November 1801, East Florida Papers, Reel 83, Bundle 197B16, Document 1801-27.

a handsome situation.” The younger McQueen urged his sister to come to see it and added, “there are a great number of Fruit Trees of different kinds planted out.”⁶⁶

Documentary evidence provides only a few glimpses of the lives of McQueen’s slaves. Some of the most difficult and disruptive aspects of their lives were his decisions to move from one place to another. While some experienced only sorrow in these changes, others may have found opportunity. In 1792, Nansy, one of McQueen’s slaves, sued McQueen for selling her husband, her two children, and herself to Bartolomé Benitez y Galvez, the Intendant of East Florida. Nansy claimed that she and her family were free. Although they declared their freedom to the Marquis de Chappedelaine, who purchased Sapelo Island from McQueen, McQueen had brought them to East Florida as slaves and sold them to Benitez y Galvez. McQueen insisted that when the British evacuated Charleston in 1782, they sent 120 slaves (including Nansy and her husband) out of the British garrison to be returned to their owners. McQueen kept these slaves on his plantation until their masters could come and claim them; for this service, McQueen declared, he received Nansy and her husband as payment. In 1798, another of McQueen’s slaves, Clorinda, petitioned the governor that she be sold rather than be forced out of St. Augustine where her husband lived.⁶⁷

In 1801, McQueen described the effects of an epidemic of whooping cough on his slaves and others in East Florida: “every Young person in Florida is laid up with the whooping cough all my Young Negroes have it to a violent degree—Mrs. Atkinson and all her Children are down with that troublesome complaint.” One of his slaves, “Negers Wife Sofy,” had fallen “dead in an appoplectic fit.” McQueen’s letters also reveal the paternalistic relationship that existed between him and his slaves. In 1804 he wrote that although he was forced to sell his plantations, he hoped “yet to leave my poor Negroes to my family,” both for his family’s and the slaves’ sake. In 1801, his older slaves often asked him when he had last heard from his daughter. This affection for McQueen’s family among his slaves continued for years after his death. In 1836 when McQueen’s grandson John Mackay was in St. Augustine, he found three of McQueen’s former slaves. One of them, Old Harry, was free, and the other two, Old Andrew and his wife Wilbee, belonged to Mr. Arno, “who treats them well.” They “made numerous inquiries after Miss Sallie,

⁶⁶Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, xxx, 30, 44; Enrique White to Marques de Someruelos, 23 November 1802, East Florida Papers, Reel 11, Bundle 28B3, Document 607, p. 102; Pedro Marrot to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 27 June 1793, East Florida Papers, Reel 48, Bundle 123F10, Document 1793-258; Carlos Howard to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 16 April 1794, East Florida Papers, Reel 50, Bundle 126S10, Document 1794-419; (Governor of Fla.) to Carlos Howard, 19 April 1794, East Florida Papers, Reel 50, Bundle 126S10, Document 1794-445; John McQueen to Juan Nepomuceno de Quesada, 27 July 1795, East Florida Papers, Reel 52, Bundle 129L10, Document 1795-502.

⁶⁷John McQueen to Governor of Florida, 11 August 1792, East Florida Papers, Reel 47, Bundle 122E10, Document 1792-282; Slave Nansy sues John McQueen, 19 September 1792, East Florida Papers, Reel 151, Bundle 330R6, Document 1792-19; Slave Clorinda to Governor of Florida, 4 October 1798, East Florida Papers, Reel 79, Bundle 187E15, Document 1798-118. Nansy’s suit was not settled until April 1799.

Eliza, and Marguerita, and after the old negroes at home” and “expressed great affection and a desire to go back to their relations near Savannah.”⁶⁸

By 1799 McQueen was planting cotton on Fort George Island. In May of that year, he wrote to his daughter that despite the lack of rain, “my Crop of Cotton looks well as can be expected full as good as Cowpers, Spaldings & Butlers. My Corn being in taste suffers most for want of rain.” Two months later, he “found the Musquitoes so troublesome at Fort George that I was under the necessity of coming to Town,” where he was living with Father Michael O’Reilly, the Catholic *vicario* of St. Augustine. In 1800 McQueen built a water-powered gin to clean his cotton. In a letter to his daughter in January 1801, he described his crop and the gin: “My Crop of Cotton turned out but short and I have lost so much time in putting up a Water Gin to clean it that I have not yet gined a thousand weight of Cotton—it is now finished but not able to work until we get rain to fill my dams—I am however busily employed and have things so fixed and forward that I expect this Year to make a heavy Crop.”⁶⁹

In November 1802 McQueen’s sawmill on the St. Johns River had been destroyed by the river’s “considerable tides which they had been experimenting with since the start of this month.” Nor did his crops improve dramatically, and by late 1803, McQueen found “that my Crop turns out like the Georgia Crops the last year very indifferent.” He “turned off” his overseer Hollingsworth,⁷⁰ who “attended more to his own interest than to my affairs.” The Fort George Island plantation under Hollingsworth, “a worthless idle fellow,” produced “but 30,000 wt. of Cotton in the Seed not a pound of which has been ginned out.” By early 1804 McQueen was heavily burdened by debts totaling £60,000. His son John McQueen Jr. and son-in-law Robert Mackay⁷¹ met with his creditors in Savannah and suggested that McQueen return to Savannah with his slaves. The slaves would be put immediately to work raising a crop of rice at a plantation on the Savannah River and later sold to pay off the creditors. Instead of returning to

⁶⁸Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 56, 63; John Mackay to Eliza Mackay, 9 April 1836, typescript transcription, Mackay-McQueen Family Papers, Colonial Dames of America, Georgia Society, Historical Collections, Georgia Historical Society.

⁶⁹Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 52–54, 56. On May 13, 1798, Andrew Atkinson, writing from Fort George Island, requested permission to go to Georgia “to observe their method in the Culture of Cotton.” Atkinson and his family seem to have been living on the southern end of Fort George Island in 1798, though Atkinson had a plantation and slaves on Amelia Island. John McQueen Jr. wrote to his sister in March 1798: “your Father is in good health & so are most of the people: Mrs. A & family are at the South end of this Island, all wineing [sic] as usual.” Andrew Atkinson to Enrique White, 13 May 1798, East Florida Papers, Reel 54, Bundle 133C11, Document 1798-69; Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 44–45.

⁷⁰Hollingsworth was probably William Hollingsworth, brother of Timothy Hollingsworth, another East Florida planter. Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 62n.

⁷¹Robert Mackay married Eliza Ann McQueen on 30 January 1800 at McQueen’s wife’s plantation near Savannah.

Georgia to sell his slaves, McQueen sold his Fort George Island and San Juan Nepomuceno plantations to a Georgia planter named John Houstoun McIntosh on March 13, 1804.⁷²

Fort George Island's new owner, John Houstoun McIntosh (1773–1836), married Eliza Bayard, a member of a prominent New York family, in 1792. They established their home at a plantation called "The Refuge" near Woodbine, Georgia. In 1804 the McIntoshes began living



Figure 7. John Houstoun McIntosh and Eliza Bayard McIntosh.

and planting on Fort George Island with a labor force of two hundred slaves. To pay some of his debts, McQueen left the cotton he had grown in 1803 with McIntosh to be ginned. McQueen also rented to McIntosh "the Working Negroes here for 120 doll^r the head" until January 1, 1805. In addition to his two plantations in East Florida and two more in Georgia, McIntosh operated a successful timber business along the St. Mary's River. By 1811 McIntosh had eight or ten white men and between sixty and seventy male slaves cutting and hauling timber along the St. Mary's River to fulfill a contract of delivering 300,000 feet of timber per month to Liverpool, England. At the San Juan Nepomuceno plantation, which McIntosh had renamed Ortega, he had a labor force of forty slaves, mostly women, who were raising cotton. At his main plantation on Fort George Island, McIntosh had 160 to 170 slaves, of whom seventy to eighty were workers, again mostly women, raising cotton. The Fort George Island plantation was supervised in

⁷²Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 59–62, 65; Enrique White to Marques de Someruelos, 23 November 1802, East Florida Papers, Reel 11, Bundle 28B3, Document 607, p. 102.

McIntosh's absence by John G. Rushing, McIntosh's overseer. Slaves there cultivated between three and four hundred acres of Sea Island cotton and provisions.⁷³

In the summer of 1811, John Houstoun McIntosh became involved in the effort by the rural residents of East Florida to seize the colony and turn it over to the United States for annexation. In return the Patriots expected generous grants of land in East Florida from the new government. The resulting Patriots' Rebellion kept the area between the St. Mary's River and St. Augustine in turmoil for the next four years. Former Georgia Governor George Mathews, acting under vague directions from President James Madison, met with McIntosh in the summer of 1811 and began to develop a plan for wresting East Florida from Spanish rule.⁷⁴

In March 1812 Patriot forces quickly captured all of the region between the St. Mary's and the St. Johns Rivers, except Amelia Island, where the Spanish had a garrison at Fernandina. The "Patriots of East Florida" listed their grievances against Spain and declared their independence. McIntosh was chosen commissioner to offer the territory to the United States. McIntosh demanded the surrender of the tiny Spanish garrison at Fernandina, and after two days of refusal, the Spanish commander complied. With their conquest north of the St. Johns complete, the Patriots offered the area to the United States through Mathews. Mathews accepted and ordered American troops to occupy Fernandina. The Patriots then turned their attention to capturing St. Augustine. Although they advanced to St. Augustine, the military maneuvers settled into stalemate. In June, Congress debated whether to authorize President Madison to send an American force to occupy East and West Florida. The bill failed, and American troops were withdrawn, though the Patriots remained.⁷⁵

On July 10, 1812, Patriot delegates met at Zephaniah Kingsley's Laurel Grove Plantation to write a constitution and elect McIntosh "Director of the Territory of East Florida." Those who signed the preamble declaring their reasons for revolt included John Houstoun McIntosh, Timothy Hollingsworth, Zephaniah Kingsley, and John C. Houston. Many of these planters later insisted that they were forced to sign in order to be allowed to return to their plantations. The Patriots requested American recognition, but neither President Madison nor the governor of Georgia would grant it. Further hindering the Patriot cause, the Spanish convinced the Seminoles to attack the Patriots. The Seminoles effectively drove the Patriots north and broke their siege of St. Augustine. In the realm of international diplomacy surrounding the War of 1812, the United States, Great Britain, and Spain all became interested in the Floridas, but when Congress refused to authorize the invasion of East Florida, President Madison ended American

⁷³Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 62–63, 66–67; *East Florida Claims: Case of John H. McIntosh* (n.p., n.d.), 2, 10.

⁷⁴Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco: Rampant Rebels on the Georgia-Florida Border, 1810–1815* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1954), 56–57; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, FL: Old Hickory's Town, Inc., 1985), 100–01.

⁷⁵Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 83–143; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 101–2.

involvement in the Floridas on March 7, 1813. John Houstoun McIntosh fled to Georgia where he began to press his claim against the United States government for damages resulting from the failed Patriots' Rebellion.⁷⁶

Many of the Patriots, however, determined to fight on. By early 1814, McIntosh had been replaced as director by Buckner Harris, a Georgian long associated with the Patriots. Harris and other Patriots continued raids along the St. Johns and St. Mary's Rivers, while McIntosh made a final plea to Secretary of State James Monroe for support. The Patriots' attempt to overthrow Spanish rule in East Florida came to a virtual end in May 1814 when black and Indian scouts killed Buckner Harris.⁷⁷

Unable to return to East Florida, McIntosh rented his lands to Zephaniah Kingsley in 1814, 1815, and 1816. On January 27, 1817, McIntosh, through his agent George J. F. Clarke, sold Fort George Island to Kingsley for \$7,000.⁷⁸ Zephaniah Kingsley Jr. (1765–1843) was born in England to Zephaniah Kingsley Sr. and Isabella Johnstone Kingsley. In the 1770s the Kingsley family moved to Charleston, South Carolina, where Kingsley grew into a young man. The older Zephaniah Kingsley remained loyal to the British during the American Revolution, and when the British evacuated Charleston, he and his family fled to New Brunswick in Canada.⁷⁹

Zephaniah Kingsley first came to Spanish East Florida in 1803. Over the next four years, Kingsley imported into East Florida at least 64 slaves. He petitioned Governor Enrique White for land based on the Royal Order of 1790 which invited foreign settlers to come to East Florida. The immigrants would be granted land under this order according to a "head right" system. Heads of household would receive 100 acres for themselves, 50 acres for each free or slave adult, and 25 acres for each free or slave child between the ages of 8 and 16. According to Kingsley's later testimony, however, White refused to grant him land, saying that land grants were only for poor settlers. Kingsley "became tired and not having anywhere to employ his slaves resolved to acquire land with his money." On November 26, 1803, he purchased four contiguous plantations (2,600 acres) on the west side of the St. Johns River for \$5,300 from Rebecca Pengree, the widow of William Pengree. The Pengrees had been in East Florida during the

⁷⁶Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 179–268; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 102–06; *East Florida Claims: Case of John H. McIntosh*, 1; Congress, Senate, *United States, Appellants, vs. Francis P. Ferreira, Administrator of Francis Pass, Deceased*, Miscellaneous Document No. 55, 36th Cong., 1st sess., 1860, 23.

⁷⁷Rembert W. Patrick, *Florida Fiasco*, 268–83.

⁷⁸*Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, vol. 4, *Confirmed Claims, K-R*, 22–25.

⁷⁹Terence H. E. Webb, "Zephaniah Kingsley" (Jacksonville, FL: Terence H. E. Webb, 1991), 1–2, 6–7.

British ownership and returned in 1787 with 48 slaves. After her husband died in the 1790s, Rebecca Pengree faced many difficulties in managing the plantations and in satisfying creditors.⁸⁰

In the last decade of the eighteenth century and first decade of the nineteenth, when “slave trading was very respectable business,” Kingsley had profited from this trade. He sailed to the coast of Africa and throughout the Caribbean engaged in the selling of human chattels. While in Havana, Cuba, Kingsley purchased Anta Majigeen Ndiaye and took her to his East Florida plantation. Kingsley and Anna (as Kingsley called her) were married “in a foreign land” according to African custom, and the marriage was never “celebrated according to the forms of Christian usage.” On March 4, 1811, Kingsley freed Anna and their three children, George, Martha, and Mary. Kingsley also had at least two other slave women with whom he had children, but Anna was the only one to whom he referred as his wife. During Kingsley’s frequent absences on business, Anna Kingsley managed his plantations, “as well as I could myself,” Kingsley later reflected.⁸¹

Over the next several years, Kingsley acquired more slaves by purchase. By 1811, Kingsley owned four plantation complexes: Laurel Grove, Springfield, Conesfield, and Drayton Island. He also owned approximately one hundred slaves, most of whom were young adult men; “the proportion of old persons and infants was unusually small” in Kingsley’s slave population, according to several witnesses. He was planting about two hundred acres of cotton and one hundred and fifty acres of provisions. He also owned nine acres of orange groves containing

⁸⁰*Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, 4:8–11, 20–21; Confirmed Claim K 13 (Zephaniah Kingsley), Spanish Land Grant Papers. Quotation taken from Malcolm Gray, trans., “Spanish Documents Pertaining to Zephaniah Kingsley and His Claim to Lands Based on the Number of Slaves He Introduced in Florida,” 4. It is unclear whether Kingsley imported 64 or 74 slaves to East Florida. On January 25, 1814, “Zephaniah Kingsley tells the governor that he has brought 74 negroes to devote to agriculture and not to the importation of edibles, as many have done.” In the original document, this number is clearly “setenta y quatro” [74]. The same record, however, later mentions “sesenta y quatro” [64] slaves and gives information on their arrival. Kingsley introduced 25 slaves in the sloop ‘Laurel’ from the port of San Tomas on 5 May 1804; 10 on 25 June 1804 in the schooner ‘Laurel,’ *alias* the ‘Juanita,’ from Havana; 16 in the sloop ‘El Peje’ [The Fish], coming from Charleston, on 15 July 1806; 3 in the schooner ‘Esther,’ coming from Havana, on 21 October 1806; and 10 in the schooner ‘Industria,’ coming from Georgia, on 9 March 1808.” Perhaps Kingsley brought 10 slaves with him when he came to East Florida in 1803. Together with himself as head of the “family,” the 74 slaves entitled him to 3,800 acres of land. He later received 3,300 acres from Governor Sebastian Kindelan y Oregon in January 1814. In November 1803 Kingsley requested permission to bring 10 slaves from Carolina for his “Monte de Laureles” plantation. The 16 slaves arriving from Charleston aboard ‘El Peje’ in 1806 were *bozales*, or African-born slaves, originally from Mozambique. Zephaniah Kingsley to Governor of Fla., 25 November 1803, East Florida Papers, Reel 80, Bundle 190H15, Document 1803-123; Inspection of Negroes of the new resident Zephaniah Kingsley, 15 July 1806, East Florida Papers, Reel 114, Bundle 270, Document 1806-1.

⁸¹L. Maria Child, *Letters from New York* (New York: Charles S. Francis and Company, 1843), 144; Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Kingsley* (St. Augustine, FL: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1994), 6–7, 13–14. Kingsley’s other slaves whom he acknowledged as mothers of his children were Sarah Murphy Kingsley and Flora H. Kingsley. Sarah Kingsley had one son by Zephaniah Kingsley named Micanopy; Flora H. Kingsley had as many as five of Kingsley’s children: Charles, Rosana, James, William, and Osceola. Terence H. E. Webb, “Zephaniah Kingsley,” 45–47; Will of Zephaniah Kingsley, Probate Record for Zephaniah Kingsley, #1203, Probate Department, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL.

approximately 700 trees. The Patriot Rebellion devastated Kingsley's agricultural operations as it did every other planter's along the St. Johns and St. Mary's Rivers. Kingsley's Laurel Grove plantation was attacked in July 1812 by Seminole Indians who burned all of the outbuildings, killed two slaves, and captured forty-one other slaves, whom Kingsley never recovered. When planter John Fraser died in 1813, Kingsley served as co-executor of his estate and purchased half of Fraser's force of 316 slaves.⁸²

In March 1814, Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley, their three children, along with his slaves and her slaves moved to Fort George Island, which Kingsley had begun to rent from the exiled leader of the Patriots, John Houstoun McIntosh. During the Patriots' Rebellion, invaders ransacked the Fort George Island plantation: "They burnt every building except the dwelling house, and they stripped the dwelling house to the extent of taking all the locks from the doors." They stole five or six boats from the plantation and "sixty foot cotton gins" that McIntosh had on the island to prepare his cotton for market.⁸³

Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley's slaves began repairing the damages to the plantations and preparing for planting the fields that had lain fallow in 1813. Over the next two decades, Fort George Island would serve as Kingsley's primary plantation. At various times between 1803 and his death in 1843, Kingsley owned 32,044 acres of land in East Florida. Of these, 16,000 acres were encompassed in a sawmill grant. Since 1793, Spanish governors had provided sawmill grants (usually five leagues square, 16,000 acres) to settlers who agreed to erect a saw mill upon the property. The remaining 16,044 acres of Kingsley's holdings included head right grants of 3,300 acres from the Spanish in 1815–1816 and 12,744 acres that he purchased from a variety of individuals between 1803 and 1836.⁸⁴

Kingsley's slaves on Fort George Island raised primarily Sea Island cotton and provisions. Kingsley may also have grown oranges on Fort George Island as he had at Laurel Grove. The slaves lived in a complex of thirty-two tabby slave cabins arranged in a semicircular arc. Kingsley encouraged the formation of families among his slaves, and they lived in the cabins in family units.⁸⁵

⁸²*East Florida Claims: Case of Zephaniah Kingsley* (N.p., n.d.), 1–4; Terence H. E. Webb, "Zephaniah Kingsley," 43. Kingsley also rented slaves. In April 1828 Kingsley hired 36 African slaves, who had been shipwrecked on the Florida Reef on their way to Cuba, for \$2 a month and provisioning. Such rentals from other slaveowners augmented Kingsley's own work force. Jean B. Stephens, "Zephaniah Kingsley and the Recaptured Africans," *El Escribano: The St. Augustine Journal of History* 15 (1978): 71–76.

⁸³Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Kingsley*, 19; *East Florida Claims: Case of John H. McIntosh*, 5. By 1812, Anna Kingsley owned 12 slaves of her own. Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Kingsley*, 16.

⁸⁴*East Florida Claims: Case of John H. McIntosh*, 6, 9; Terence H. E. Webb, "Zephaniah Kingsley," 14–16, 68–72; *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, 1:xxvi–xxvii.

⁸⁵Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Kingsley*, 20.

Kingsley also made effective use of the “task system” of labor organization. The task system emerged in the eighteenth century among rice plantations in low-country areas of the South. The task system was marked by “a sharp division between the master’s ‘time’ and the slave’s ‘time.’” When the slave completed his or her required task for the day, the remainder of the day could be devoted to producing goods for consumption or the market. In contrast, the gang system of labor organization—widely utilized on tobacco and sugar plantations and later on cotton plantations—involved the organization of slaves into gangs who worked the entire day for the master under the close supervision of a driver or overseer. In the late eighteenth century, the task system was extended into the cultivation of sea island cotton. Unlike rice, cotton requires close attention throughout cultivation, but many lowcountry planters retained the task system, and by the 1820s the tasking requirements of all sea island cotton operations were well established. Kingsley’s slaves likely raised crops of their own, and they would also have taken advantage of the abundance of fish and wildlife on Fort George Island.⁸⁶

After Florida became an American territory in 1821, the influx of Americans brought profound changes in race relations. In March 1823, President James Monroe appointed Zephaniah Kingsley and a dozen other men in whose “Integrity and Abilities” he reposed “special Trust and Confidence” to serve a one-year term on the Legislative Council of the Territory of Florida. Kingsley urged that body to pass laws encouraging emancipation. Instead, the territorial legislature later in the 1820s restricted the activities of Florida’s free blacks, prohibited interracial marriages, prohibited mulatto children from inheriting their parents’ estates, made manumission more difficult, and forced freed slaves to emigrate. Kingsley opposed but could not prevent the strengthening of racial barriers between free and slave.⁸⁷

Kingsley was best known outside of northeast Florida for his advocacy of a three-tiered organization of society in which free blacks would play a pivotal role in supporting and perpetuating the institution of slavery. Kingsley’s experiences as a slave trader, a slaveowner, a citizen of Spanish East Florida and the American territory of Florida, and as the husband of a black wife and father of mulatto children shaped his attitudes toward other races and toward slavery as an institution. His ideas found expression in an “Address to the Legislative Council of Florida on the Subject of Its Colored Population by Z. Kingsley, A Planter of That Territory” and in a pamphlet entitled *A Treatise on the Patriarchal or Cooperative System of Society as It*

⁸⁶Daily tasking requirements associated with sea island cotton cultivation in the 1820s were: listing—¼ acre; bedding—¼ acre; hoeing—½ acre; picking—90–100 lbs.; assorting—30–50 lbs.; ginning—20–30 lbs.; and moting—30–50 lbs. These criteria remained generally stable throughout the balance of the antebellum era. Philip D. Morgan, “Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880,” *William and Mary Quarterly* 39 (October 1982): 563–99.

⁸⁷James Monroe, “Commission of Members of the Legislative Council,” 3 March 1823, in Clarence Edwin Carter, ed., *The Territorial Papers of the United States*, Volume 22, *The Territory of Florida, 1821–1824* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1956), 640–41; Daniel L. Schafer, “‘A class of people neither freemen nor slaves’: From Spanish to American Race Relations in Florida, 1821–1861,” *Journal of Social History* 26 (Spring 1993), 591–94.

Exists in Some Governments, and Colonies in America, and in the United States, Under the Name of Slavery, With Its Necessity and Advantages, published in four editions between 1828 and 1834.⁸⁸

In his speech before the Legislative Council, Kingsley declared that white people could not provide the necessary agricultural labor force in Florida because their “health sinks under the toils of agriculture in the sun.” The labor force must consist of black slaves because the free black population was not numerous enough to provide the necessary labor. Kingsley identified three classes or castes in Florida: white people, free people of color (African and mulatto), and slaves (mostly black). He argued that in order to keep black slaves in subordination, free people of color must be brought into alliance with the white people through ties of interest. He insisted that allowing free blacks to own slave and real property and to participate in the affairs of the territory (with the exception of holding office) would bind free people of color to the ruling white class through common interest. Two policies were necessary for the maintenance of order in Florida: “to treat our slave with justice, prudence and moderation” and “to have the free coloured population interested in preserving peace and good order among the slaves and being firmly attached to the side of the whites by having the same interest.”⁸⁹

⁸⁸Zephaniah Kingsley, “Address to the Legislative Council of Florida on the Subject of Its Colored Population by Z. Kingsley, A Planter of That Territory,” manuscript in State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, FL; Zephaniah Kingsley, *A Treatise on the Patriarchal or Cooperative System of Society as It Exists in Some Governments, and Colonies in America, and in the United States, Under the Name of Slavery, With Its Necessity and Advantages*, 1st–4th eds. (n.p., 1828, 1829, 1833, 1834; 2nd ed. reprint, Freeport, NY: Books for Libraries Press, 1971); Larry E. Tise, *Proslavery: A History of the Defense of Slavery in America, 1701–1840* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 387–88.

The manuscript copy of Kingsley’s “Address to the Legislative Council” bears no date. Daniel L. Schafer has estimated 1829, but internal and external evidence indicates that the address was prepared in 1823 when Kingsley was a member of the Legislative Council. Kingsley’s comment that he had been a planter in Florida “for these last 20 years” supports an 1823 date for the address. In the 1828 edition of the *Treatise*, Kingsley wrote that he had “lived by planting in Florida for the last twenty-five years.” Kingsley first settled in Florida in 1803. Furthermore, several of the examples Kingsley used in the “Address” appear in the notes to the *Treatise*.

The *Treatise* appeared in four editions: 1828, 1829, 1833, and 1834. The title pages of all four editions list the author simply as “An Inhabitant of Florida.” In the first three editions, however, the preface dedicates the book to “the people of Florida, and to political economists throughout the Southern States,” and is signed “most respectfully their humble servant, Z. Kingsley.” In the fourth edition, the dedication and closing remain, but the preface is signed simply “A Slave Holder.” Nothing in the fourth edition suggests why Kingsley removed his name from the work.

The most substantial difference among the editions is the addition in the third and fourth editions of a five-page appendix. The appendix addressed the aftermath of the Nat Turner uprising in Virginia. The alarm and fear created by the massacre “operated with extreme cruelty and injustice against all the colored people, by confounding the innocent with the guilty.” This reaction worked against the slave holding interest by enlisting the sympathy of the world for the slaves against their tyrannical masters. Reiterating his theme of cooperation between whites and free blacks, Kingsley urged the repeal of “the most oppressive parts of the laws now in force.” *Treatise*, 3rd ed., 12, 16.

⁸⁹Zephaniah Kingsley, “Address to the Legislative Council of Florida on the Subject of Its Colored Population.”

Kingsley's *Treatise* is designed to demonstrate that the "slave or Patriarchal System of Society . . . which constitutes the bond of social compact of the Southern seaboard of the United States, is better adapted for strength, durability and independence, than any other state of society hitherto adopted." Kingsley appeals to the history of Brazil for evidence that free people of color would unite with whites in time of war to protect their society and the institution of slavery. Slaves remained loyal because they were treated humanely and justly in Brazil, but "the grand chain of security" which held the slaves in subordination was "the free people of color, whose persons, properties and rights are protected by law." They are identified with the white class by interest and with the black slaves by descent. The free people of color with these relationships form a connection that "perfectly cements" the three classes in Brazil together. Kingsley also appeals to the history of other colonies and to that of Haiti to support his case. Kingsley extols the virtues of black slaves "under a just and prudent system of management." They were "safe, permanent, productive and growing property, and easily governed . . . sober, discreet, honest and obliging, are less troublesome, and possess a much better moral character than the ordinary class of corrupted whites of similar condition." In contrast to the policies of other slave-holding governments, that of the United States forces free people of color to ally with slaves against the whites through prejudice and "impolitic," "unjust," and "unnatural" laws.⁹⁰

In response to the increasing racism evident in territorial Florida, Kingsley began to distribute his properties to his children. On July 20, 1831, he sold the Fort George Plantation to his son George, who that same year married Anatoile Vauntravers. George and Anatoile Kingsley sold the plantation back to Zephaniah Kingsley on August 22, 1836, shortly before they left for Haiti in October 1836. The elder Kingsley had begun a colony for some of his family and slaves in Haiti in response to President Jean Pierre Boyer's plea for free blacks to come to Haiti. In 1837 Anna Kingsley and her youngest son John Maxwell Kingsley (born at Fort George in 1824) moved to Haiti. More free blacks and slaves followed, including Kingsley's other wives, Flora and Sarah. Kingsley promised his slaves their freedom and land after they labored for nine years in Haiti. Although Kingsley transported some of his slaves to Haiti and set them on the road to freedom, others remained in Florida. Kingsley insisted that his Florida plantations were essential to provide the capital for his fledgling colony in Haiti. In an interview with abolitionist Lydia Maria Child in New York a year before his death, Kingsley mused that "the best that we can do in this world is to balance evils judiciously." Those slaves sent to Haiti had a new opportunity for freedom, but the eighty-seven slaves left in Florida when Kingsley died faced a lifetime of bondage.⁹¹

⁹⁰Zephaniah Kingsley, *A Treatise on the Patriarchal or Cooperative System of Society*, 4–10.

⁹¹Transaction nos. 405 (20 July 1831), 876 (22 August 1836), and 877 (23 August 1836), Archibald Transcript Books; Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Kingsley*, 30–34; L. Maria Child, *Letters from New York*, 145; Probate Record for Zephaniah Kingsley. For information on Child, see Carolyn L. Karcher, *The First Woman of the Republic: A Cultural Biography of Lydia Maria Child* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995).

In 1839 two of Zephaniah Kingsley's nephews, Ralph King and Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, purchased Fort George Island from him for \$34,000. The transaction also included forty of Kingsley's slaves. On the same day, King and Gibbs assigned a mortgage of \$20,000 on the island to Zephaniah Kingsley. Kingsley Beatty Gibbs, the son of Kingsley's sister Isabella and her husband George Gibbs, was born in New York in 1810 and came to Florida with his family shortly after it became an American Territory in 1821. In 1828 he became a Deputy Clerk of the Superior Court in St. Augustine. In 1833 he married Ana Eduarda Teresa Hernandez, but she died three years later. Also in 1833, Gibbs was appointed Clerk of the Superior Court in St. Augustine. Gibbs served as a captain and later a major in the Florida militia during the Seminole War. Now twenty-eight and a widower, he would become a planter while he continued his work as a clerk.⁹²



Figure 8. Charles J. McNeill, Kingsley's nephew and overseer.

Ralph King, who had married Kingsley B. Gibbs's sister, Isabella, seven years earlier, joined Gibbs in the plantation venture. The Kings lived on a plantation near Savannah, Georgia. Charles J. McNeill, Gibbs's first cousin, served as an overseer for the plantation as he had for their uncle Zephaniah Kingsley. McNeill remained as overseer until November 1841, when he left to work for Kingsley as overseer of his San José plantation. Thereafter, Gibbs served as his own overseer for a time, though by 1846, he once again had an overseer. In the spring of 1842, Gibbs became sole owner of Fort George Island by paying \$7,000 to his partner, King, who had moved to New Orleans, Louisiana. A month later, Gibbs paid Zephaniah Kingsley \$9,000, and Kingsley released the mortgage that he held on Fort George Island and took back 28 of the slaves.⁹³

In July 1843 in Jacksonville, Kingsley signed his will, which divided his estate among his wife Anna, his children, and his nephews Kingsley B. Gibbs, George Couper Gibbs, and Charles J. McNeill. He appointed his son George Kingsley, Kingsley B. Gibbs, and Benjamin A. Putnam as guardians of his minor children and nominated the same men as the executors of his estate.

⁹²Transaction nos. 536 and 541 (11 March 1839), Archibald Transcript Books; introduction and entry for 30 April 1841 in Jacqueline K. Fretwell, ed., *Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal of 1840–1843* (St. Augustine, FL: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1984), 3–4, 21. This work originally appeared as Jacqueline K. Fretwell, ed., "Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal of 1840–1843," *El Escribano* 21 (1984): 53–88. Page references are from the pamphlet reprint. Gibbs later wrote that he paid \$7,000 in cash for the lands and the slaves. King probably paid an additional \$7,000, and Kingsley held the mortgage for the remaining \$20,000.

⁹³Entries for 3 November 1841 and 27 May 1842 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 24, 28; Transaction nos. 768 (29 April 1842) and 878 (24 May 1842), Archibald Transcript Books: "Abstract of Title to Portion of Fort George Island," 10–13, typescript in Building and Grounds, Fort George Island Folder, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL. The slaves that were reclaimed by Kingsley did not go to his plantation until September. Entries for 19 and 28 September 1842 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 30.

“Should I leave any Slaves,” Kingsley wrote, “I earnestly recommend to my Executors not separate the families by selling them individually without their consent, if to be avoided.” Furthermore, Kingsley authorized his executors to “allow to any of my slaves the privilege of purchasing their freedom at one half the price of their valuation, on consideration of their migrating to Hayti, if they cannot be allowed to stay as free in this Territory.” Kingsley died on September 13, 1843, in New York. On March 13, 1844, appraisers prepared an inventory of Kingsley’s personal property and assigned values to each item. His personal property was worth \$32,080, of which nearly \$30,000 was property in slaves. The inventory included the following list of slaves, arranged in family groups:

Man	Woman	Children	Value
José	Penda	Mira, Nacebo, Mary, William	\$1,998
Carpenter Bill	Hannah	Frank, Lavinia, Alonzo, Marianne, Bill.	\$3,605
Carpenter Bonify	Mary	Beck, Scipio, Louis, Esther, George, Tena, June, Sarah	\$4,620
Lindo	Sophey	Labo, George, Philip	\$1,800
Jenoma	Jenny	Mike, Augustus	\$1,100
	Betty	Patty, Jenny	\$849
	Qualla	Letitia, Victorine	\$636
Horse Bill	Yamba	Bolivar	\$750
Abdalla	Bella	Paul, Amie	\$1,248
Tamba	Conta	Monroe, Jeffrey, Thomas	\$1,425
Prince	Julia Anne		\$1,100
Sam	Elsey		\$1,100
Jim	Becca		\$1,100
Hannibal	Peggy	Eliza, Nancy	\$1,500
Andrew	Nanny	Jacob, Silvia, * [Adam] ⁹⁴	\$1,500
	Tamasa	Rose, Jack, David	\$948

⁹⁴A subsequent inventory includes a child, Adam, in this family group, who is presumed to be the infant represented by the asterisk in this inventory.

Brutus	Nancy	Chloe, Joe	\$1,100
Toby	Patty		\$200
C. Dick	Comba		\$300
Romeo			\$650
David			\$550
Dick			\$650
	Betsy	Celeste, John, Emma	\$1,100
	Old Rose		\$150
			\$29,979

Most of these eighty-five slaves may have lived on Fort George Island before 1839. It is probable that among their number are the forty that Gibbs and King purchased along with the island in 1839. This group would have remained on Fort George Island until the spring of 1842 when Kingsley took all of his remaining slaves to his San José plantation and released the mortgage he held on the Fort George Island plantation.⁹⁵

During the same year that he and King purchased Fort George Island, Gibbs announced his candidacy for the territorial legislature, to which he was elected in October. He also continued to serve as Clerk of the Superior Court. These occupations allowed Gibbs little time to attend to the management of his plantation. In January 1841, however, Gibbs determined "to change my life and make my residence at Fort Geo." For "young men reared at the South, there is great fascination in the name of Planter. And now my whole course of life is to go thro' a revolution." He resigned his position as clerk, and on January 14, 1841, married Laura M. Williams in Savannah. Mr. and Mrs. Gibbs, along with his father and sister Sophia, landed safely at their "Island home" on January 17.⁹⁶

Despite his desire to make his residence at Fort George Island, Gibbs was often away on business trips to Jacksonville, St. Augustine, or even New York. Gibbs's absence, however, did not often leave his wife Laura alone. On February 24, 1842, Laura gave birth to George Vernon Gibbs at her family's home in White Bluff, just outside of Savannah. In 1844 Mary Williams Gibbs was born, and in 1848 Laura Gibbs had another son named John Millen Gibbs, who died as an infant. On a few occasions Laura Gibbs and her children spent time with her mother and

⁹⁵Will of Zephaniah Kingsley, 20 July 1843, Casefile for Kingsley v. Broward et al., 19 Florida 722 (1883), Florida State Archives, Tallahassee, FL; Probate Record for Zephaniah Kingsley (1843), #1203, Probate Department, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL.

⁹⁶Entries for 1, 5, 14, 17 January 1841 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 19.

sisters in Savannah. More commonly, extended family members came to the Gibbs household. Throughout the 1840s, members of both their families made prolonged visits to the island.⁹⁷ Other whites were also present. Charles McNeill remained as overseer until November 1841. In the summer of 1846, Gibbs had an overseer “of much experience and ability,” and in 1850 an overseer named W. H. Fitzpatrick lived there. In 1841, 1842, and 1850, and perhaps in the intervening years, John L. Williams served as the plantation’s carpenter. In 1850 engineer Edward J. Johnson, ship builder John Bell, inspector Hardie H. Philips, pilot John Daniels, and Mary Wallis were all members of the Gibbs household when the census taker arrived.⁹⁸

The Gibbses also had considerable interaction with their neighbors on Talbot and Batton Islands. Gibbs wrote in May 1841: “I have very good neighbors in the family of Mr. Houston at Talbot Isld. we frequently visit each other, and his advice as to planting, as well as in cases of sickness, is kindly given and valuable.” In 1850 the Houston’s son Sam, who was also their overseer, entertained George Gibbs and his cousin Williams Burroughs by taking them to hunt deer at Cedar Point.⁹⁹

Relations were strained at times, however, between the neighbors. In July 1840, another of the Houstons’ sons hurt two of Gibbs’s slaves, London and Demo, “passing thro’ the Island drunk & beating them.” When Laura Gibbs, her brother Edwin, her sister Julia, and their cousin Mary began a series of prayer meetings and established a school on Batton Island, everyone was supportive, “save Mrs. Houston, of no enviable fame, and even she, poor woman, may not deserve all [that] is said of her.” Mrs. Houston’s younger children attended the school, and one of her married daughters asked Laura Gibbs to “learn her to read.” Laura was appalled: “What must that Mother feel to have allowed her children thus to grow up when she herself had an

⁹⁷Occasionally, Fort George Island was “favored with a visit” from Zephaniah Kingsley from 1839 to 1843. Gibbs’s father George, his brother Couper, and his sisters Sophia and Isabella were also frequent visitors to the island. Sophia even married on the island in 1846. Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 15–34 passim. From 1842 to 1850, Laura Williams Gibbs’s mother, sisters, and brothers also visited the island and remained for weeks or months at a time. Entries for 19 June and 27 October 1842 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 28, 30; George Williams to Rosa Burroughs, 11 July 1846, Mary Williams to Rosa Burroughs, 27 September 1849, Mary to cousin Rosa Burroughs, 1 August 1850, Josephine Burroughs Taylor Papers, in the private possession of Ernest and Betty Houseman, Orlando, FL.

⁹⁸Entries for 1 February 1841 and 1 January 1842 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 20, 25; Laura Gibbs to Rosa Burroughs, 11 July 1846, Taylor Papers; St. Johns Bar District, Duval County, Florida, Seventh Census of the United States, 1850, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

⁹⁹Entry for 31 May 1841 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 21; Williams Burroughs to Benjamin Burroughs, 10 September 1850, Taylor Papers.

education? I wonder not that she is now ashamed to have them expose their ignorance, her shameful neglect.”¹⁰⁰

The Gibbs family also had frequent interaction with their neighbors to the south, on Batton Island. On March 20, 1849, the United States issued a land patent to Kingsley B. Gibbs for 49.6 acres on Batton Island. Over the next four years, Gibbs conveyed land on Batton Island to four bar pilots: John Johnson, Charles Brown, William Lamé, and James Latimer. Charles Brown from Prussia, William Lamé¹⁰¹ from France, and James Latimer (1818–1866) from England, with their families, all lived in the area in 1850.¹⁰² John Johnson (1812–1884), a Norwegian who had changed his name from Knud Sørensen Bie, had immigrated to Florida in the 1830s.¹⁰³ The pilots owned little land, and only Latimer was a slaveowner, with four slaves. Their livelihood came from piloting vessels safely over the bar of sand that formed where the St. Johns River met the Atlantic Ocean. Over the next several decades, the settlement where they lived on Batton Island became known as Pilot Town. The pilots and their families purchased most of their foodstuffs from neighbors and supplemented it with whatever they might grow in their gardens. Since Gibbs’s plantation grew considerable amounts of corn, it is likely that the pilots bought corn and other produce, as well as wood for fuel, from Gibbs.¹⁰⁴

In the summer and fall of 1850, the relationship had important religious and cultural implications as well. Laura Gibbs’s brother, Edwin T. Williams (1826–1866), was visiting Fort George Island on a break from Princeton Seminary. A letter written on the first of August, 1850, described “the effect of dear Ed’s quiet efforts to do good.” Since he arrived, he had been

¹⁰⁰Entry for 11 July 1840 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 16; Laura Gibbs to Rosa Burroughs, 12 August 1850, Taylor Papers.

¹⁰¹William Lamé’s name is also spelled Lama, La Mee, and Le Mee in various primary and secondary sources. I have adopted the form present in the land records and in the correspondence of Laura W. Gibbs. It is possible, perhaps even likely, that Lamé’s children changed the spelling of the name to La Mee.

¹⁰²Transaction nos. 8650 (20 March 1849) and 2817 (16 April 1860), Archibald Transcript Books: Duval County, Florida, 1850 Census. In 1864, Brown and Lamé told Union census takers that they had settled in the area in 1835. Pilots had been living on the south side of the St. Johns in the settlement of Hazard, later Mayport Mills, since the 1820s. 1864 Census of Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Surrounding Areas, Department of the South (RG 393), National Archives [Copy at Jacksonville Public Libraries, Main Library, Genealogy Room, Jacksonville, Florida]; Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Florida* (St. Augustine, FL: Record Company, 1928), 106–107.

¹⁰³For more information on John Johnson (Knud Sørensen Bie), see Johan A. Wikander, “From Grimstad in Norway to Florida in the 1830s: Knud Sørensen Bie (1812–1884),” published in Norwegian in 1975, English translation by the author in the private possession of Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., Jacksonville, FL.

¹⁰⁴It is certain that Gibbs’s successor, Charles R. Thomson, sold corn to the pilots. In 1856 and 1857, John H. Thomson, the administrator of Charles R. Thomson’s estate in Florida, sold wood and corn to all four bar pilots. Probate Record for Charles R. Thompson (November 1855), #2085-D, Probate Department, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL.

“lecturing on Sabbath, to a congregation, of near, if not over a hundred, black and white.” According to Mary, “the Pilots all love Ed, and manifest a deep interest, one from whom formerly was heard nothing but oaths, (Mr. Lama) Ed thinks a Christian. Mr. & Mrs. Johnson are deeply serious, beside many others.” For the last two nights, prayer meetings had been held at the “large room of Batton Island house,” that night they were to meet at the Gibbises, and the following night they would meet on Talbot Island. Later, meetings were also held at Gibbs’s mill on the south side of the St. Johns.¹⁰⁵

Ed Williams established a Presbyterian Sabbath school that thirty children joined, and several adults wanted instruction as well. Laura Gibbs did not believe that “there is a field any where in which E. could execute a wider sphere of influence and good than where he now is. All here love and respect him, many listen to him with deep and serious attention and already several times has the crie come up to him, Mr. Williams will you not stay and labor with us.” She suspected that “when the Romish priest hears how his people are listening to the religion of the Bible, he will make them do a more weighty penance than ever. They nearly all come and listen with deep interest and send their children to the Sunday school.” One resident, however, did not appreciate the efforts of the Presbyterians in their midst. Mrs. Antonia Lamé, the wife of pilot William Lamé, “positively refused” to listen to Laura Gibbs read from an evangelical book entitled *The Colporteur and the Roman Catholic*. Laura Gibbs’s cousin Mary described Antonia Lamé as “truly a bigoted catholic,” who sent back her daughter’s Sunday school books. Thirty-four-year-old William Lamé, however, responded very differently. A Roman Catholic, Lamé often discussed religious matters with Edwin Williams, and the Presbyterian missionaries believed that he was a convert. When Laura Gibbs began teaching a class of adults, she described William Lamé as “so anxious to learn.” Lamé, she reported, “says he wishes to read his bible and would give everything to learn to read.”¹⁰⁶

The lives of the black slaves that inhabited the Gibbs plantation are difficult to reconstruct from the historical record. Occasional references to them in “white” sources give a few details about their lives, but these same sources reveal the dehumanizing aspects of the institution of slavery. In 1840 Kingsley B. Gibbs owned fifty slaves, forty of whom he had acquired along with Fort George Island from his uncle in 1839. Twenty-seven of the slaves were men or boys, and the remaining twenty-three were women and girls. Twenty of the slaves were under the age of

¹⁰⁵Mary to Rosa Burroughs, 1 August 1850, Taylor Papers.

¹⁰⁶Laura Gibbs to Rosa Burroughs, 12 August 1850, Mary to Rosa Burroughs, 23 September 1850, Taylor Papers. Lamé’s attitude toward literacy and religion is strikingly similar to that of freedpeople after the Civil War. Leon F. Litwack, *Been in the Storm So Long: The Aftermath of Slavery* (New York: Knopf, 1979), 474; Janet Duitsman Cornelius, *“When I Can Read My Title Clear”: Literacy, Slavery, and Religion in the Antebellum South* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1991).

ten.¹⁰⁷ In 1842 Kingsley required Gibbs to return twenty-eight of the slaves he had purchased in order to settle the mortgage. By 1850, however, Gibbs owned fifty-four slaves. Twenty-nine were men and boys, and twenty-five were women and girls. Twenty-five were under the age of ten. Although the census does not list the names of slaves, it does list their sex, age, and color. Gibbs heightened this dehumanization by arbitrarily assigning to all young boys the age of seven and all young girls the age of eight. Older slaves were assigned ages in ten-year increments: 15, 25, 35, 45, and 55. While Gibbs may not have known the exact ages of older slaves whom he had purchased, the slaves themselves may have known. Gibbs would certainly have known the approximate ages of his twenty-five slaves under the age of ten.¹⁰⁸ In the early 1840s he recorded at least some slave births in his plantation journal. On June 21, 1841, for example, Gibbs noted: "Malena's boy Alick born to day." In the midst of discussions of crops and the weather, Gibbs reported that "Phebe had a son night before last, and it died today" and later that "Fannys child died yesterday."¹⁰⁹

Like many slaveholders, Kingsley and Laura Gibbs had ambivalent attitudes toward their bondpeople. Buying and selling them as property, they also recognized their slaves' humanity. Small details reveal this central tension in the institution of slavery at work in the Gibbs household. Gibbs casually mentions the death of slaves in his plantation journal. In May 1841, for example, Gibbs learned that "negro boy Sandy fell in the river today and was drowned." The following day's entry simply stated: "Hunting for the body of Sandy, which, as I returned today, I found on Talbot Beach and had it buried." In addition to these permanent losses, Gibbs also noted lost productivity as in his journal entry for September 30, 1841: "I have averaged about 3 negroes sick every day this month." Like other slaveowners, the Gibbises also separated family members. In the margins of a letter her sister Julia wrote to their sister Rosa Burroughs, Laura Gibbs wrote: "Keep Lucy just as long as you wish her. I do not need her. Her Mother sends her much love, and wishes her to be a good and faithful girl."¹¹⁰

The relationship between the Gibbises and their slaves also exhibited signs of paternalistic benevolence within the context of bondage. During the Christmas season, for example, Gibbs gave his slaves beef and a double allowance of corn and salt, so they could feed their "holliday visitors." They also had fewer tasks from Christmas day until the end of the year, or as Gibbs

¹⁰⁷Duval County, Florida, Sixth Census of the United States, 1840, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

¹⁰⁸Duval County, Florida, 1850 Census. That it was Gibbs's and not the census taker's decision to record ages in this manner is clear from the more precise ages recorded for slaves on neighboring plantations.

¹⁰⁹Entries for 21 June 1841, 25 October 1841, and 22 November 1841, in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 22, 24.

¹¹⁰Entries for 9, 10 May 1841 and 30 September 1841, in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 21, 23; Julia Gibbs to Rosa Burroughs, 1851?, Taylor Papers.

described it, “of course no work for anybody.” In 1850 when Laura Gibbs and her family began a series of religious services, slaves as well as whites attended. They also began separate Sabbath schools for white and slave children, in which they were taught hymns and instructed in the Presbyterian catechism. Laura Gibbs’s cousin Mary described “the colored school” as “quite an interesting one, and increasing in numbers.” The Gibbises’ attitude toward the spirituality of their slaves contrasted sharply with that of Zephaniah Kingsley, who believed that ministers undermined slavery by making slaves “unhappy and discontented with their condition in life.”¹¹¹

The work lives of slaves on the Gibbs plantation followed the cycles of agricultural production—planting in the late winter and spring, hoeing and replanting in the spring and summer, harvesting and processing in the fall, and preparing the land again in the winter. Gibbs organized the work according to the task system, prevalent on Sea Island plantations. Slaves were given a task for the day, and when that task was completed, they could use the remainder of the day to work on their own crops, fish, or engage in other activities within the boundaries of the slave system. Additionally, Gibbs gave “the people,” as he referred to his slaves, “one day in the spring to plant and one day in the fall to reap.” The foodstuffs acquired from these sources supplemented the diet provided by Gibbs.¹¹²

The principal crops on Fort George Island were sea island cotton and corn. The Gibbs slaves also planted and harvested sugar cane, potatoes, and peas, along with other garden vegetables. Residents of the island also enjoyed grapes, watermelons, figs, oranges, and peaches. During the early 1840s between 162 and 190 acres were under cultivation on the island. The quality of the crops varied widely from year to year. In 1840 eighty acres of cotton yielded 39,000 pounds, while the next year 100 acres of cotton produced only 25,000 pounds, or slightly over half of the yield per acre in 1840. Corn production fell as well though not as sharply. In 1846 George Williams, Laura Gibbs’s brother, wrote to his sister that “a more beautiful field of cotton than his [Gibbs’s] I have never put eyes upon.” Laura Gibbs agreed: “King’s crop is very promising, in fact I never saw a field so beautiful.” Revealing the uncertainty of nineteenth-century agriculture, she added, “if nothing prevents, King may make up for the last lost years crop [sic].”¹¹³

Gibbs was both the largest landowner and the largest slaveholder in the St. Johns District of Duval County, Florida, in 1850. His ownership of 54 slaves placed him in the upper 3 percent

¹¹¹Entries for 25 December 1840 and 25 December 1841, in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 19, 25; Mary to cousin Rosa Williams Burroughs, 1 August 1850 and 23 September 1850, Taylor Papers; Kingsley, *Treatise on the Patriarchal or Co-operative System of Society*, 14–15.

¹¹²Entry for 5 October 1841 in Fretwell, ed., *Gibbs and His Journal*, 23.

¹¹³George Williams to Rosa Burroughs, 11 July 1846, Laura Gibbs to Rosa Burroughs, 15 July 1846, Taylor Papers.

of slaveholders in the South.¹¹⁴ However, this status did not make him financially independent. When Gibbs established a steam-powered sawmill on the south bank of the St. Johns River near its mouth, which he dubbed Mayport Mill, he may have overextended his credit. On July 9, 1850, Laura Gibbs wrote to her sister that the “Mill is finished, waiting the arrival of the machinery, which from the great length of time at sea since it was shipped or a portion of it such as the Boilers, I should have said, King fears it must be lost. I hope not however, for it would retard him so much, and his expenses are heavy.” In September 1850 Laura Gibbs’s cousin Mary wrote that “Coz. King left this morning for Jacksonville, to be gone a few days; his hopes seem to have revived of late, by the final arrival of the machinery for his mill, and he hopes to get it in motion in four or five weeks. His expenses are very great, and I trust that it will soon be bringing in something, as now all is paid out.” Gibbs apparently funded his mill by a \$5,530 mortgage on Fort George Island to John A. C. Gray, which was due in August 1851. The mortgage was settled in January 1852 by a new mortgage of \$6,000 on the island plantation. In April 1853, Gibbs paid off the mortgage, but in August 1853 he once again mortgaged Fort George Island for \$6,000 to David L. Palmer, a neighboring planter who also engaged in the lumbering business on the St. Johns River. Finally, on the last day of 1853, Gibbs sold Fort George, Batton, Big Sister, Little Sister, and Fanning Islands to John Lewis for \$12,500, including the assumption of his \$6,000 mortgage to David L. Palmer.¹¹⁵

John Lewis owned Fort George Island and the neighboring islands for less than six months. In June 1854 Lewis sold the property to Charles R. Thomson¹¹⁶ of Orangeburg District, South Carolina, for \$12,500. Charles R. Thomson (1794–1855) was a member of a prominent South Carolina family with roots deep in its colonial past. He served as State Senator from St. Matthew’s Parish from 1842 to 1846. In 1850 Thomson owned 227 slaves and held another 135 slaves from the estate of his older brother William Sabb Thomson. He also owned land valued at \$14,400. Even by South Carolina standards, Thomson owned a large number of slaves and was among the top 1 percent of slaveholders in the South. It is uncertain whether Thomson ever lived on Fort George Island, but he did send more than fifty of his slaves to the island to cultivate it. He also may have begun the construction of the tabby building on the southern tip of Fort George Island. Thomson died at the age of 61 in the fall of 1855 without a will. On October 27,

¹¹⁴Duval County, Florida, 1850 Census; James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: Knopf, 1982), 248.

¹¹⁵Transaction nos. 1577 (30 January 1852), 1617 (9 January 1852), 1618 (30 January 1852), 1786 (26 April 1853), 1853 (17 August 1853), 1906 (26 April 1853), 1923 (31 December 1853), and 1924 (31 December 1853), Archibald Transcript Books; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory’s Town*, 136. Gibbs called his mill Mayport Mill “because Laudonniere called the place the River of May.” Patricia Clark, “A Tale to Tell from Paradise Itself: George Bancroft’s Letters from Florida, March 1855,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 48 (January 1970): 276.

¹¹⁶Official sources such as land and probate records frequently spell this name “Thompson,” but the name is properly spelled “Thomson.” The latter will be used in the text; the former will be retained in notes when referring to sources using that spelling.

his son John H. Thomson, a physician, and two pilots from Batton Island, John Johnson and James Latimer, were named executors of his estate in Duval County.¹¹⁷

When their owner died, slaves immediately became more important in official records. While census records listed only their sex, color, and approximate age, probate records list names—and values. Johnson and Latimer were commissioned by the Judge of the Probate Court to assemble an inventory of all of Thomson's personal property in Duval County. When they presented their list at the end of 1855, sixty slaves were living on Fort George Island. The following list gives the name and value of each slave, along with the heir to whom the slaves were delivered in February 1858. All of Thomson's heirs lived in South Carolina. Small children were listed and valued together with their mothers.

	Slave's Name	Value	New Owner
1	Mark	\$1,200	Margaret E. Taber
2	Sally	\$1,000	Margaret E. Taber
3	and child Carolina		Margaret E. Taber
4	Paul	\$1,000	Charles R. Thomson
5	Cato	\$1,000	John H. Thomson
6	Juno	\$1,100	John H. Thomson
7	and child Rachael		John H. Thomson
8	Mary Ann	\$250	John H. Thomson
9	Linda	\$200	Charlotte L. Thomson
10	Dal [Dol]	\$850	Charlotte L. Thomson
11	Hetty	\$750	Charlotte L. Thomson
12	Caty [Celia]	\$700	Charlotte L. Thomson
13	Hector	\$500	Charlotte L. Thomson
14	Daniel	\$1,000	James S. Thomson
15	Peggy	\$1,000	James S. Thomson
16	and child Daniel		James S. Thomson
17	Molly	\$500	Thomas S. Thomson
18	Job	\$900	Thomas S. Thomson
19	Old Charlotte	\$250	Margaret E. Taber
20	Old Caleb	\$500	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
21	Tenah (Tener)	\$650	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
22	and child [Ft.] George		Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson

¹¹⁷A. S. Salley Jr., "Col. Moses Thomson and Some of His Descendants," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 3 (January 1902): 111–12; Orangeburg District, South Carolina, 1850 Census; Thompson Probate Record, Duval County, Florida.

23	Dick	\$1,000	John H. Thomson
24	Caleb	\$1,000	Elizabeth C. Thomson
25	Nancy	\$600	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
26	Daphne	\$450	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
27	Abram	\$400	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
28	Bachus	\$350	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
29	Penelope	\$250	Benjamin S. Rhett, adm. est. Paul S. Thomson
30	Billy	\$500	Ellen S. Thomson
31	June	\$900	Ellen S. Thomson
32	Ellen	\$400	Ellen S. Thomson
33	Mirah	\$600	Ellen S. Thomson
34	Frederick	\$1,000	Margaret E. Taber
35	Alice	\$1,000	Margaret E. Taber
36	and child November		Margaret E. Taber
37	Elcy	\$250	Margaret E. Taber
38	Jimmy	\$1,000	William R. Thomson
39	Miley	\$1,000	William R. Thomson
40	and child Peter		William R. Thomson
41	Joe	\$700	Thomas S. Thomson
42	Hagar	\$400	Thomas S. Thomson
43	Tim [Tom]	\$1,000	Ellen S. Thomson
44	Nancy	\$1,000	Ellen S. Thomson
45	and child Katy		Ellen S. Thomson
46	Maria	\$400	Ellen S. Thomson
47	Delia	\$800	Ellen S. Thomson
48	Rolla	\$400	Ellen S. Thomson
49	Violet	\$400	Ellen S. Thomson
50	Gabriel	\$250	Ellen S. Thomson
51	Felex [Felix]	\$1,000	Charles R. Thomson
52	Dinah	\$1,000	Charles R. Thomson
53	and child Penny		Charles R. Thomson
54	Mary	\$250	Charles R. Thomson
55	Sherry	\$1,000	John H. Thomson
56	Charlotte	\$800	John H. Thomson
57	and child March		John H. Thomson
58	Peter	\$600	John H. Thomson

59	Old Lany	\$250	John H. Thomson
60	Old Ben	\$25	Thomas S. Thomson
	Total Value:	\$34,325	

Listed immediately after the slaves on the inventory are Thomson's mules, likewise enumerated by name and value.¹¹⁸ Ellen S. Thomson was Charles R. Thomson's widow, and all of the other heirs were his children. Benjamin S. Rhett was the administrator of Thomson's son Paul's estate and the father of Paul's wife Charlotte R. Thomson.¹¹⁹ These sixty slaves, who had lived and worked together for at least four years, were divided and sent to different owners in South Carolina; any slaves that Thomson had in South Carolina would likewise have been divided among the ten heirs.

The slaves on Fort George Island were not immediately dispersed, however. For more than two years, the slaves remained and raised crops of cotton and corn. The probate court appointed John H. Thomson as administrator of his father's estate in Duval County and required him to make annual reports regarding the disposition of his father's property. John H. Thomson's reports for those two years, 1856 and 1857, contained in the probate records, shed additional light on life on Fort George Island in the mid-nineteenth century.

John H. Thomson paid J. A. Breeden \$500 in full payment of his overseer's wages on January 4, 1856. No other payment to an overseer is listed. Thomson may have resided at Fort George Island, but it is unlikely that he did so because some transactions were performed by an agent. Thomson bought supplies for the plantation from the firm of Fraser and Thomson in Charleston. In November 1855 he ordered from them 39 pair of "Plantation shoes" at \$1.15 per pair. Two months later, he placed the following order for clothing for the slaves at the plantation:

For 206½ Yds Bro Kersey @ 24¢	\$49.56
For 79¼ Yds S S Kersey @ 23¢	\$18.23
For 39 Yds Bro Kersey @ 23¢	\$8.97
For 3 Gro. Buttons @ 37½¢	\$1.12
For 3 lbs Thread @ 75¢	\$2.25
For 1½ Doz Hdkfs @ 1.75	\$2.63
For 1 4/12 Doz Hats @ 4.50	\$6.00
For Freight, drayage & wharfage	<u>\$1.43</u> \$90.19

¹¹⁸"List of Personal Property Belonging to Charles R. Thompson," Thompson Probate Record, Duval County, Florida.

¹¹⁹Orangeburg District, South Carolina, 1850 Census; Charleston District, South Carolina, Eighth Census of the United States, 1860, Records of the Bureau of the Census, Record Group 29, National Archives, Washington, DC.

From the same firm between November 1855 and July 1856, Thomson also purchased a corn sheller, tar, rope, blankets, chisels, locks, nails, medicine, sugar, and salt.¹²⁰

Not only did Thomson buy his supplies from the firm of Fraser and Thomson, he also sold his cotton to them. In the first three months of 1856, Thomson sold 23 bags of sea island cotton to the firm for a net sale of \$1,587.22. In July he sold another four bags for a net price of \$309.25. In November 1856 and January 1857 he sold twenty bales for \$2538.74. In May 1857 Thomson sold another three bales for \$211.44. These bales were the last sold under Thomson's administration of his father's estate. Although most of the slaves worked on the plantation producing sea island cotton and corn, Thomson did hire out some of his slaves to Parsons and Hoeg, who ran a mill at May Port, and to a Captain Littlefield.¹²¹

While growing crops on the Fort George Island plantation with his father's slaves, John H. Thomson was actively trying to sell the property. He advertised the property in both the *Florida Weekly Republican* in Jacksonville and the *Charleston Mercury* in South Carolina. The plantation was advertised in virtually every issue of the *Florida Weekly Republican* from July 1856 to March 1857. The same advertisement appeared in several issues of the *Charleston Mercury* in October 1856. Thomson declared in the sale notice that the island "has been well and favorably known for many years, and a detailed description is therefore unnecessary." The principal island, Fort George, had "upwards of 1060 acres of high land, of which 400 acres are in a state of cultivation." The soil produced "excellent crops of Cotton and Provisions" and was also "well adapted" for growing sugar. The structures were described as "a comfortable Dwelling House, with all necessary outbuildings, and quarters for 60 Negroes."¹²²

When Thomson's efforts to sell the property failed, he requested permission from David L. Palmer, who held a mortgage of \$6,000 on the property and slaves, to allow him to remove and distribute the slaves among Charles R. Thomson's heirs. Palmer gave his permission in January 1858, and Thomson delivered the slaves to the various heirs in South Carolina on February 21, 1858. The plantation lay idle in 1858 and 1859. Meanwhile, Charles R. Thomson's daughter Charlotte married Charles H. Barnwell on May 10, 1859. On April 16, 1860, Charles H. Barnwell purchased 1,100 acres encompassing Fort George, Batton, Big Sister, Little Sister, and Fanning Islands for \$6,280 from his deceased father-in-law's estate. In March 1860 John H. Thomson sold the remaining personal property at auction and satisfied the mortgage on the

¹²⁰Sales receipts, Thompson Probate Record, Duval County, Florida. Kersey was a coarse ribbed woolen cloth. The medicines included quinine (to combat fever and malaria), paregoric (to relieve pain), calomel (purgative and fungicide), laudanum (a derivative of opium to relieve pain), and Dover's powder (powder of ipecac and opium compounded with lactose used to induce perspiration and alleviate pain).

¹²¹Income and expense statements, 1855-1860, Thompson Probate Record, Duval County, Florida.

¹²²This advertisement appeared in virtually every issue of the *Florida Weekly Republican* (Jacksonville) from 30 July 1856 to 18 March 1857. See also *Charleston Mercury*, 17, 22, 24, 27, 29, 31 October 1856.

property by paying David L. Palmer \$7,691.91 in principal and interest. On July 23, 1860, Thomson was released as executor, “the estate having been fully administered.”¹²³

In the spring of 1860, Charles H. Barnwell, his wife Charlotte, their infant daughter Eleanor Thomson Barnwell, and twenty slaves moved from South Carolina to Fort George Island. Eight days later, Barnwell assigned to his older brother Bower W. Barnwell a mortgage of \$4,360 on the first three islands, and sold him Little Sister and Fanning Islands for \$100. Charles Heyward Barnwell was born in 1837, the fifteenth child of William Wigg Barnwell and his wife Sarah. William Barnwell died in 1856, and Sarah Barnwell died two years later. When Charles and Charlotte Barnwell moved to Fort George Island, most of their slaves were probably obtained through inheritance from their parents’ estates. Among the slaves accompanying the Barnwells to Florida were probably those five whom Charlotte Barnwell had inherited two years earlier from her father’s estate: Linda, Dal [Dol], Hetty, Caty [Celia], and Hector. Perhaps Charles Barnwell had inherited most of the others from his father’s estate.

When Florida withdrew from the Union in January 1861, the Barnwells had produced only one crop on their island plantation. In the first year of the war, however, the coast of northeast Florida saw little activity beyond the erection of weak Confederate defenses on Amelia and Talbot Islands and at Mayport Mills on the south bank of the St. Johns. In March 1862 Federal soldiers captured Fernandina and St. Augustine and landed at Mayport Mills. Before the end of the war, the area of the Preserve would be the scene of one major battle and months of entrenchment, occupation, and skirmishing.

Barnwell remained out of Confederate service until the end of 1863; on December 24, he joined Company D of the 5th Battalion, Florida Cavalry, as a private for the duration of the war. On February 2, 1864, Barnwell was transferred from a hospital detail to the Medical Purveyor’s Office in Quincy, Florida. On May 10, 1865, Barnwell became a prisoner of war when Confederate Major General Sam Jones surrendered to Federal Brigadier General E. M. McCook at Tallahassee, Florida. Five days later, Barnwell was paroled and allowed to return home after swearing that “I will not bear arms against the United States of America.”¹²⁴

What happened to Barnwell’s family and slaves during the latter half of the Civil War is uncertain. Barnwell would undoubtedly have moved his family and property away from their vulnerable location on Fort George Island when he entered Confederate service. Perhaps he sent his family and slaves back to South Carolina either to his or his wife’s family. Other slaves within

¹²³Permission slip, promissory note, Thompson Probate Record, Duval County, Florida; A. S. Salley Jr., “Barnwell of South Carolina,” *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine* 2 (1901):71; Transaction nos. 2817 (16 April 1860), 2824 (24 April 1860), 2825 (24 April 1860), and 2831 (19 March 1860), Archibald Transcript Books.

¹²⁴“C. H. Barnwell,” Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers Who Served in Organizations from Florida, National Archives; Special Orders No. 22/1, Brigadier General William Gardner, Orders Received from Florida Subcommands, 1861–1865, Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida, War Department Collection of Confederate Records (RG 109), National Archives.

the Preserve area were more fortunate. During the four separate Union occupations of Jacksonville and the surrounding area, “freedom became as close as the St. Johns River” for northeast Florida’s slaves. More than one thousand slaves and free blacks from northeast Florida joined the 1st, 2nd, and 3rd South Carolina Volunteers, which were later mustered into regular service as the 33rd, 34th, and 21st regiments of U. S. Colored Troops. As the “self-thefts” by slaves continued, slaveowners began to move their slave property toward the interior of the state, away from the St. Johns River and Union forces. Despite masters’ attempts to retain control over their property, blacks in northeastern Florida continued to flee to freedom. By 1864, when a Union commander ordered a census of the area, thirty-nine slaves from the Grissom, Christopher, and Houston plantations on Talbot Island had escaped to Union lines. These “contraband” of war ranged in age from two to eighty years old.¹²⁵

The war also disrupted the lives of the bar pilots living on Batton Island. Whatever their political sympathies, at least two of the pilots were working for the Union navy by 1864. William Lamé was a pilot for the U.S. Steamer *Hale*, and Charles Brown also served as a pilot. Furthermore, both men and their families had taken the oath of allegiance to the United States government.¹²⁶

In November 1865, with the war at an end and his slave property gone, Charles Barnwell sold a half interest in Fort George and Big Sister Islands to his brother Bower Barnwell for \$500. Six months later, the Barnwell brothers sold Fort George Island to northern investor George W. Beach, and Beach assigned to the Barnwells a mortgage of \$6,000. In December 1866 Beach sold a half interest in the island to Abner C. Keeney, a prominent engineer in Brooklyn, New York. Beach and Keeney entered into a copartnership on the same day, and the island became part of the property of the firm of Beach and Keeney.¹²⁷

¹²⁵Daniel L. Schafer, “Freedom Was as Close as the River: African Americans and the Civil War in Northeast Florida,” in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995), 157; 1864 Census of Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Surrounding Areas, Department of the South, RG 393, National Archives, Washington, DC (copy at Jacksonville Public Libraries, Main Library, Genealogy Room, Jacksonville, FL). See also Ira Berlin, et al., eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861–1867*, ser. 1, vol. 1, *The Destruction of Slavery* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 103–56. If the column heading “Came into Department” is understood as the date that the slaves fled their masters and reached the safety of Union lines, then the thirty-nine Talbot Island freedpeople listed in the census emancipated themselves in small groups (2–5 people) between November 1861 and February 1864.

¹²⁶1864 Census of Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Surrounding Areas, Department of the South.

¹²⁷Transaction nos. 3077 (15 November 1865), 3198 and 3326 (5 April 1866), and 3391 and 3392 (5 December 1866), Archibald Transcript Books. George W. Beach is identified in Gold’s *History of Duval County, Florida* as “owner of the famous ‘Catskill Mountain House’ in New York. In his notebook, John F. Rollins lists Beach as living in Wilkes-Barre, Pennsylvania. Abner C. Keeney (1826–1884) studied engineering and helped construct several railroads in the 1850s. In 1856 he went to Brooklyn and met William C. Kingsley, who made Keeney his partner. During the Civil War, Keeney was in Washington, helping to supply the Union armies. In 1864 he returned to Brooklyn and in partnership with Kingsley built sewers and reservoirs for Brooklyn. Kingsley and Keeney’s major achievement was the financing and construction in the early 1880s of the Brooklyn Bridge, which cost \$15 million.

From 1866 to 1869, the only inhabitants of Fort George Island appear to have been freedpeople who farmed small plots of land. In July 1868 the Freedmen's Bureau issued rations to Lou Wallace, his wife and four children, and to William Bradley, his wife and two children. Each family was cultivating 10 acres of land. Apparently unaware of the land transaction of 1866, either the freedpeople or Bureau officials described the land as belonging to "Mr. Barnwell." In December 1868, John F. Rollins visited Fort George Island in his search for property in northeast Florida. There he "found the colored man ([Andrew] Fielding) who took us over the plantation." Three weeks later before returning to New Hampshire, Rollins left \$20 with a local man "for Andrew Fielding to plant cane on Fort George." Andrew Fielding and his wife Charlotte were still living and working on Fort George Island in 1870, as was William Bradley, though Bradley's wife and children were not listed among those living on the island.¹²⁸

Beach and Keeney were the first in a series of northern investors lured by the warm weather and the investment potential of Fort George Island. By 1869 Keeney had apparently withdrawn from the partnership, and Beach was unable to pay the mortgage held by Charles and Bower Barnwell. The Barnwells brought suit against Beach, and Sheriff Samuel N. Williams sold Fort George Island on March 1, 1869, to John F. Rollins and his partner Richard H. Ayer for \$5,500.¹²⁹

Born in New Hampshire in 1835, John Rollins as a young man had worked in a drug store in Concord, New Hampshire, owned by his older brother, Edward Rollins. In 1856, he married Hannah Breck Peters from Peoria, Illinois. Because of ill health and his experience as a druggist, Rollins dispensed medicine for the Union Army during the Civil War. His ill health led him after the war to look for a new home in the South, and he visited Charleston and Savannah in 1866. In November 1868, he again left New Hampshire seeking a home along the southeastern coast. This time he visited Jacksonville and purchased Fort George Island. Rollins made plans for growing oranges even before purchasing the island, and after he settled there in 1869, he planted

Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Florida*, 173; Notebook of John F. Rollins, 1868–1869, 18, photocopy of handwritten transcription in Kingsley Plantation files; "Abner Keeney," *The National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1898), 1:266.

¹²⁸Register of Freedmen Issued Rations, June–July 1868, Series 614: Jacksonville, FL, Subassistant Commissioner, Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Florida, 1865–1868, Department of War, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, RG 105, National Archives; Entries for 17 December 1868 and 9 January 1869, Rollins Notebook, 8, 11; Duval County, Florida, Ninth Census of the United States, 1870, Records of the Bureau of the Census, RG 29, National Archives.

¹²⁹Transaction no. 4637 (1 March 1869), Archibald Transcript Books. On 28 December 1868, Rollins noted in his diary that "it will be hard to get letter as it is under mortgage and has to be sold which can't be done till next Dec." This restriction was overcome since Rollins and Ayer bought the island two months later. Entry for 28 December 1868, Rollins Notebook, 9–10. Richard H. Ayer lived in Concord, New Hampshire.

approximately 100 acres of orange trees. He also planted sugar cane, corn, sweet potatoes, and oats.¹³⁰



Figure 9. John F. Rollins (1835-1905) purchased Fort George Island in 1869.



Figure 10. Hannah Breck Peters Rollins (1841-1906), wife of John F. Rollins.

Like many other northern and southern landowners in the postwar South, Rollins “found it hard to manage the freed slaves.” His daughter later recalled that to solve his labor problems, Rollins “imported some Swedes but the venture was not a success as all they wanted was passage to America.” W. G. Crosby, a northern visitor, observed in 1873 that Rollins provided his black laborers with “a house, free of rent, as much ground as he chooses to cultivate for a garden, four pounds of pork, twelve of hominy, and a pint of salt, per week; or their equivalent in value in any other food they may prefer.” Crosby observed that the black laborers “pay but little attention to their garden spots.” He did not know what wages Rollins paid, but learned that “twelve dollars per month is the usual rate.” Four years later, Julia Dodge reported that when Rollins bought the island in 1869, he had “supplied work, help and protection for the two or three scores of colored inhabitants.”¹³¹

Despite his efforts, labor problems and the immaturity of the orange trees prevented Rollins from supporting his family through agricultural production. From 1874 to the 1890s, Rollins made a variety of efforts to draw northern visitors to Fort George Island, either to visit the Fort George Hotel or to purchase one of the tracts available on the island for a winter retreat. Rollins therefore embodied both the end of the Plantation Agriculture era and the beginning of the

¹³⁰Entry for 25 November 1868, Rollins Notebook, 2; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson,” (1952), 1–3, typescript transcription in Kingsley Plantation files.

¹³¹Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson,” (1952), 2; W. G. Crosby, *Journal* (Belfast, ME), 1873; Julia B. Dodge, “An Island of the Sea,” *Scribner’s Magazine* 14 (September 1877): 654. The experiment with Swedish laborers occurred sometime between 1869 and 1872.

Recreational Development/Government Ownership era. The last period of large-scale agricultural production on Fort George Island occurred in the 1880s and 1890s when the orange trees, which Rollins and others had planted, matured into full production. The “Fort George Orange” became “well known and for many years brought especially good prices.” The island also produced grapes that were marketed commercially. The severe freezes of the winter of 1894–1895 destroyed virtually all of the citrus trees in the area and brought an end to agricultural production for the market on Fort George Island.¹³²

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

The inhabitants of the preserve during the Plantation Life era lived primarily in six areas: St. Johns Bluff, Pilot Town/Batton Island, Fort George Island, Cedar Point on Black Hammock Island, Talbot Island, and the Greenfield Peninsula. The settlement on St. Johns Bluff was established during the 1770s around a military post the British had erected there. By 1781 St. Johns Bluff was a small village, but the influx of Loyalist refugees from the United States in 1782 made St. Johns Bluff a town second only to St. Augustine. When the British withdrew, however, much of the town was dismantled, and few people lived there during the Second Spanish Period.

The settlement of Pilot Town began in 1847 when Kingsley B. Gibbs began selling lots on Batton Island to the pilots who guided vessels over the bar at the mouth of the St. Johns River. Over the next several decades a small group of pilots and their families lived in Pilot Town. The only extant structures associated with Pilot Town’s early development are the Lamé House and the Falana/Wilson House. Both were the homes of bar pilots.

The other areas of settlement were plantation complexes during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Some ruins survive at both the Fitzpatrick/Broward plantation at Cedar Point on Black Hammock Island and the Houston plantation on the south end of Talbot Island. Apparently nothing remains of the Christopher plantation on the north end of Talbot Island, and the site may have been eroded by the Nassau River. Likewise, no structures remain of the plantations on the Greenfield Peninsula. Several historic structures have survived on the Fort George Island plantation including the plantation house, the kitchen house, a barn, two wells, the remains of twenty-five slave cabins, the ruins of two mills, two crypts, and an unfinished tabby house at the south end of the island. The plantation also includes the Avenue of the Palms or Palmetto Avenue, which runs the length of the island and is lined with sabal palm trees from the slave cabin arc southward for six-tenths of a mile.

¹³²Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Memoirs,” 3; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Fort George During 1869 and Afterward,” 11; Grape Boxes, Archives, Talbot Islands State Park Headquarters, Fort George Island; Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County*, 190–91.

Physical Characteristics¹³³

There are no extant structures associated with the town of St. Johns Bluff. Archeological investigations would likely yield important information about the eighteenth-century settlement, but many houses have been built in the area, making much of the site inaccessible to such studies. Field research at St. Johns Bluff in the mid-1960s revealed the archeological remains of the St. Johns Bluff Work Camp, operating sometime between 1775 and 1785, that produced turpentine or tar for export.¹³⁴

The historic location of Pilot Town on Batton Island is now a residential and commercial area bisected by Heckscher Drive. The Lamé House is a two-story wooden building on a brick pier foundation, located on the north side of Heckscher Drive built circa 1851–1853 by bar pilot William Lamé. The southeast-facing front has a screen-enclosed porch on the first floor and a shed roof dormer with three windows on the second floor. Wooden pegs and handmade nails were used in the construction of the house. It was purchased later by Henry Fozzard, who was a bar pilot, the vice president of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward's Jacksonville Towing and Wrecking Company, and Broward's brother-in-law. The Falana-Wilson House is a two-story, front gable house with an L-shaped floor plan, located on the north side of Heckscher Drive. The house is wood frame construction with lapped weatherboard siding. The southeast-facing front has a one-story enclosed porch addition, and the windows on the second story have double-hung, metal-sash windows. It was built circa 1882 by James Falana Jr., a bar pilot since 1875 and Lamé's son-in-law. The house was purchased in 1909 by pilot Charles H. Wilson, and was owned by the Wilson family for nearly fifty years.¹³⁵

The site of the Fitzpatrick and Broward Plantations at Cedar Point on Black Hammock Island consists primarily of three tabby brick ruins, which are probably the remains of the Broward plantation house and outbuildings, built between 1830 and 1860, most likely in the 1850s. Ruin A has two wings that met only at one corner, one measuring 18' x 28' and the other measuring 14' x 28'. The two-story northeastern wing had a large fireplace on the southern wall. The single-story southwestern wing, probably constructed later, had an inside chimney designed for cast iron stoves. Ceramics recovered from the site had a mean date of 1832, and excavations also produced a large number of cut nails, in use after 1830. Ruin B, located sixty-five feet north of Ruin A, measures 17' x 30', and was likely an outbuilding of some sort. The walls of Ruins A

¹³³More detailed physical descriptions appear in Appendix A.

¹³⁴William M. Jones, "A Late Eighteenth Century Work Camp, St. Johns Bluff, Duval County, Florida," *Florida Anthropologist* 26 (December 1973): 129–42.

¹³⁵Wayne W. Wood, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future* (Jacksonville, FL: University of North Florida Press, 1989), 321.

and B were constructed of large 4" x 5" x 10" tabby bricks. Ruin C, located 350 feet farther north was constructed of poured tabby rather than with tabby bricks.¹³⁶

Seventy-five feet west of Ruins A and B is Site D, which contains the archeological remains of what may have been the Fitzpatrick house. The structure was probably constructed of wood with a tabby floor. This site contained ceramics with a mean date of 1804 and a large number of wrought iron nails, which date to the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. This evidence suggests that the building that stood on Site D was constructed during Fitzpatrick's ownership (1795–1820s).¹³⁷

The Houston Plantation site on the south end of Talbot Island consists of the ruins of five buildings or structures. The largest of these is a 32' x 16' tabby ruin with the first story of all four walls standing. The ruin faces west and has a rectangular plan with a center door and no windows. A central hall separates two larger rooms with raised openings in both walls immediately inside the door. The ruin may have been a storage facility, which would explain the absence of windows on the exterior walls and doors to the interior rooms. The other significant ruin remaining on the site is a 7' x 11' sugar evaporator made of stone and concrete. The evaporator was used to thicken the juice extracted from sugar cane into a syrup. Three other brick, tabby, and stone ruins or rubble piles are on the site.¹³⁸



Figure 11. Ruins of Houston Plantation, Talbot Island.

¹³⁶William M. Jones, "A Report on the Cedar Point Ruins, Black Hammock Island, Duval County, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: William M. Jones, 1985), 1–2, 13–14. Jones's report designated the tabby ruins Structures A, B, and C, and the possible location of Fitzpatrick's house Site D. This study adheres to Jones's alphabetical assignment, but uses the more appropriate category of ruin. "If a building has lost its basic structural elements, it is usually considered a 'ruin' and is categorized as a site." *National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 4

¹³⁷William M. Jones, "A Report on the Cedar Point Ruins, Black Hammock Island," 10, 13–14

¹³⁸The standing building may have been built in the post-Civil War era. According to Guy W. Sackett Sr. of Batton Island, this structure was built by Samuel Houston after the Civil War and is not a part of the original plantation. Samuel Houston was John C. Houston's oldest child by his first wife, Elizabeth. He lived on Talbot Island in 1870 with his stepmother Mary Houston and his half-brother Edward Houston. William M. Jones, "A Report on Big Talbot

Also on Talbot Island is the Talbot Island Cemetery, a burial ground for both white and black residents of the island from the 1820s to the 1970s. The cemetery consisted of one acre as a family burial lot for the Houston and related families and another one-acre parcel described in 1882 as a burial lot for “negroes then belonging to said estate, and now by their descendants.” The Houston family portion of the lot includes the graves of John Carrol Houston Jr. (1789–1856), his wife Elizabeth Susanna Christopher Houston (1797–1824), and other members of the Houston family. The cemetery also contains the graves of members of the Johnson and Latimer families from Pilot Town on Batton Island.¹³⁹

The Greenfield Peninsula may contain the archeological remains of more than one plantation house. The Greenfield Plantation site (8Du78) is located on the extreme northern end of the peninsula. An archeological investigation there in 1960 uncovered bits of English colonial pottery and hand wrought nails, indicating that the site was occupied during the British period. Perhaps,

Island,” 6; Duval County, Florida, 1870 Census.

¹³⁹*Elizabeth S. Richardson, et al. vs. John Johnson and Ruth Johnson*, Circuit Court, Fourth Judicial Circuit of Florida, Duval County, In Chancery, 10 April 1882.

Elizabeth Susanna Christopher Houston’s grave is thought to be the oldest marked grave in Duval County. The most recent grave in the cemetery is that of a person who died in 1979. Some half dozen people have been buried in the cemetery since 1950. Another headstone in the cemetery reads:

Beneath this Tablet
is deposited the remains of
Martha Christopher Johnson
daughter of
John & Mary C. Houston
Born July 8, 1829
Became the wife of John Johnson
July 29, 1849
Died August 18, 1850
Aged 21 years, 1 month & 10 days

The silver cord was loosed and
the Idol Wife, and Young Mother was
called hence, having, but for a few
days, enjoyed a Mother’s Love.

A Devoted Husband has caused this Stone
to be placed as a last tribute of affection
to one so dearly and deservedly loved.

Unfortunately, vandals have removed this marker from the grave on which it lay. Only the red brick border of the grave remains.

late in the antebellum era, another plantation house was constructed in the east-central portion of the peninsula. This plantation was burned during the Civil War.¹⁴⁰

The Kingsley Plantation on the northwestern corner of Fort George Island is both the most significant and best preserved of the plantation sites. The Plantation House is a two-story wooden structure on a tabby and coquina foundation, which faces the Fort George Inlet on the north. The building has four one-story pavilion rooms on each corner with an additional room between the corner rooms on the east and west (added by John Rollins¹⁴¹) and with porches between the corner rooms on the north and south. The interior of the house has been restored and serves as a visitor center.

The construction date for the main plantation house has been the subject of considerable speculation. In March 1798 John McQueen Jr. wrote to his sister from Fort George Island that “the House at the North end will be in the course of a month a very comfortable habitation, & in any other country a handsome situation.” Some investigators have interpreted this letter to refer to the Kitchen House, but it seems unlikely that the Kitchen House



Figure 12. Kingsley Plantation House.

would have been considered “handsome” in another country, such as the United States, where the younger McQueens would have been familiar with the homes in and around Savannah.

¹⁴⁰Robert E. Johnson, “An Archeological and Historical Survey of the Greenfield Plantation Tract,” 24–26. Hank Drane, “They Looked for a Fort and Found a Plantation,” *Florida Times-Union*, 9 October 1960, 76. One of the most remarkable archeological discoveries from the site was that of a log water pump, recovered in 1960. See William M. Jones, “A Second Spanish Period Log Water Pump, Duval County, Florida,” *Florida Anthropologist* 30 (September 1977): 110–20.

¹⁴¹Rollins added the rooms on the eastern and western ends, c. 1877–78. Julia Dodge described the house in her article, which appeared in *Scribner’s Magazine* in September 1877, as “formed of one large quadrangle and four smaller squares touching the main building only at the corners, the rooms connecting by means of piazzas which fill in the four spaces. Samuel G. W. Benjamin in his article on the “Sea Islands,” which appeared in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1878, noted that “recently other rooms have been built between the angles,” and one of the illustrations in the article closely resembles the photograph in Figure 15. Julia B. Dodge, “An Island of the Sea,” 658. Samuel G. W. Benjamin, “The Sea Islands,” *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* (1878). In the 1880s, Rollins divided the central room, moved the stairs inside, and replaced the large folding doors in the hall with walnut doors. Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Fort George During 1869 and Afterward,” 16.

Evidence from letters written by McQueen also suggest a larger dwelling than the Kitchen House. On February 13, 1802, McQueen wrote Governor Henry White that he was sheltering several of his neighbors' families who feared Indian attacks: "My house is now filled with women and children - We were twenty six at breakfast today at my table" Without further evidence, the date of construction for the buildings on the Kingsley Plantation cannot be established with certainty. Given the available evidence, however, it seems likely that McQueen had the Plantation House built in 1797 and 1798.¹⁴²



Figure 13. Kitchen House.

To the south of the Plantation House and oriented perpendicular to it is the Kitchen House, a two-story wooden and tabby structure with a shingle-covered side gable roof. The two buildings are connected by a sixty-five-foot covered walkway added by Rollins between 1869 and 1877. When Rollins purchased the property in 1869, only a "tabby pavement . . . bordered by oleanders, crepe myrtle, and orange trees" connected the

two buildings. The southern end of the first floor contained a kitchen with a large fireplace and hearth where meals were prepared. Local tradition long held that this building was the home of Anna Madgigine Jai Kingsley during Kingsley's ownership of the plantation. This building may have been built by Kingsley to provide Anna Kingsley with the spacial separation she expected from her experience with polygamous families. Further support for the idea that Kingsley had the Kitchen House built is the testimony that during the Patriots' Rebellion, "every building except the dwelling house" on McIntosh's Fort George Island plantation was burned. It seems probable, then, that the Kitchen House was built or perhaps rebuilt by Kingsley between 1814 and 1831. In the latter year, Kingsley sold the plantation to his son George with the stipulation that "Anna Madgigine Kingsley mother of George Kingsley shall possess the use of her house and whatever ground she may desire to plant, during her life." At least one of the rooms (probably on the second floor) was used by Kingsley B. Gibbs as an office. During John F. Rollins's ownership, the northern room on the second floor was used as a plantation office, and

¹⁴²John McQueen to Henry White, 13 February 1802, bundle 137G11, roll 56, East Florida Papers; quoted in Dena Elizabeth Snodgrass, "Documents Relating to the Buildings on Fort George Island, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: Dena Snodgrass, 1985), 10; Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 30.

the southern room was inhabited by the white foreman. The Rollinses used the northern room of the first floor as a dining room and the southern rooms for a kitchen and laundry.¹⁴³



Figure 14. From left: carriage house, older tabby brick portion of barn, and later nineteenth-century addition.



Figure 15. Barn, 1992.

One hundred and fifty feet southeast of the Plantation House is a barn built in two sections with a “T”-shaped floor plan. The northern half, oriented along a north-south axis, was built of tabby brick and constructed first. Archeological investigations revealed that the “fine poured tabby foundation rested on red brick placed as headers in the wall instead of, as could be expected, on a tabby footer.” The southern half of the barn was constructed of poured tabby and added later, though how much later is still undetermined. If the testimony regarding the destruction of McIntosh’s plantation is accurate, then both portions of this structure were built after 1813. The northern half at least was probably erected during Kingsley’s ownership, although both may have been constructed by 1822 when Vignoles made his map. Between 1870 and 1878, John F. Rollins erected a two-story wooden structure just to the north of the barn to be used as a carriage house. As Figure 17 indicates, the carriage house was still in use during the period of the Fort George Club in the late 1920s and 1930s. By 1955 when the State of Florida acquired the property, the carriage house had been razed.¹⁴⁴

¹⁴³Daniel L. Schafer, *Anna Kingsley*, 29; *East Florida Claims: Case of John H. McIntosh*, 5; Transaction no. 405 (20 July 1831), Archibald Transcripts; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Fort George During 1869 and Afterward,” 10. Kingsley B. Gibbs’s brother-in-law, George Williams, wrote in a letter that “I have retired to this the most retired room for writing, King’s office. . . . As I left the dwelling house on my way hither. . . .” George Williams to Rosa Burroughs, 11 July 1846, Taylor Papers.

¹⁴⁴Carl McMurray, “Report on Archeological Investigations at the Proposed Kingsley Plantation Garden (Phase I)” (Tallahassee, FL: Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, 1982); Carl McMurray, “Report on Archeological Investigations at the Kingsley Plantation Garden (Phase II),” (Tallahassee, FL: Bureau of Historic Preservation, 1983), 2–4; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Fort George During 1869 and Afterward,” 10. The Sidney map of 1878 shows both the barn and the carriage house. J. C. Sidney and A. M. Sidney, *Map of Fort George Island, Florida* (Philadelphia, PA: 1878).

Two wells have also survived: Well Number 1 is located approximately five feet south of the Kitchen House and is four feet in diameter, Well Number 2 is located approximately ninety feet east of the Kitchen House, is four and a half feet in diameter, and has a trough attached to it. Both wells are made of brick covered with stucco. At least one was in use in the 1870s and 1880s "by all the whites and negroes of the neighborhood." Sometime in the mid-1880s, "a windmill was erected with an octagon shaped tank house three stories high. The supply of water from the old well was so plentiful at that time that not only was there ample water for the houses but the fountains were placed on the lawn and connections made for watering the garden and lawns."¹⁴⁵

The most prominent of the plantation structures are the ruins of twenty-five slave cabins, arranged in a semicircular arc with the open end facing northward toward the Plantation House. The arc originally contained thirty-two cabins, sixteen on each side of the northern extension of Palmetto Avenue, which bisects the arc. The cabins had either one or two rooms with a door in the center front and a fireplace and chimney on one end. The two cabins on either side of Palmetto Avenue in the center of the arc and the cabin at each end of the arc were larger than the remaining cabins. Oral tradition maintains that these four cabins housed black slave drivers and their families, though there is no direct evidence that Kingsley or later owners employed slave drivers at this plantation.

The cabins have been assigned a letter and number combination based on their location and sequence relative to Palmetto Avenue. Those cabins east of the road are numbered E1 through E16 beginning with the larger cabin nearest Palmetto Avenue. Those cabins west of the road are numbered W1 through W7 and W15 and W16, again beginning with the cabin

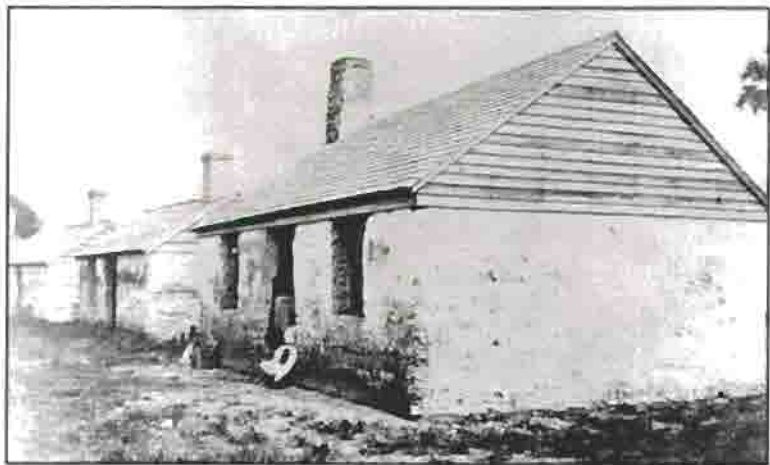


Figure 16. Tabby cabins at Kingsley Plantation circa 1900.

nearest Palmetto Avenue. The gap in the existing ruins was created when John F. Rollins used the tabby slabs from several of the ruined cabins to build a dock and boathouse. The two cabin ruins in the trees to the west are very likely Cabins W15 and W16. Rough measurements indicate that the gap is of the same size as the area occupied by Cabins E8 through E14 on the east side. Furthermore, the distance between Cabins W15 and W16 is identical to that between Cabins E15

¹⁴⁵Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Notes Concerning the Old Plantation on Fort George Island," 5; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," 16.

and E16. Cabin W16 is wider than the smaller cabins, but is not deeper, unlike Cabins W1, E1, and E16, which are both wider and deeper. Wells were located approximately fifteen feet in front of and between Cabins E1 and E2 and also in front of and between Cabins W1 and W2. Several other wells existed in front of the cabins, and “it was said that there was a well for each pair of cabins.”¹⁴⁶

The slave cabins are constructed of tabby, a mixture of roughly equal parts of oyster shell, lime, sand, and water. Tabby was used for a variety of building types in coastal areas of Florida, Georgia, and South Carolina from circa 1700 until the end of the nineteenth century. The construction of these cabins differs from other tabby structures built in the nineteenth century.



Figure 17. Restored Cabin E1.



Figure 18. Tabby walls of slave cabin.

Georgia planter Thomas Spalding described the typical procedure in an influential article in the *Southern Agriculturist* in 1830. According to this method, tabby walls were constructed using a wooden form approximately one foot in height held together with small pegs and surrounding the entire structure. The form was set in place, and the tabby mixture would be poured into the mold and allowed to harden. When the tabby dried, the form would be raised and another layer

¹⁴⁶Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Fort George During 1869 and Afterward,” *typescript reminiscences*, 10, copy in the Kingsley Plantation files; Charles H. Fairbanks, “The Kingsley Slave Cabins in Duval County, Florida, 1968,” in Stanley South, ed., *The Conference on Historic Site Archaeology Papers* 7 (1972): 66; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Notes Concerning the Old Plantation,” 6.

Rough measurements made in August 1995 indicated that the distance from Cabins E1 to E7, inclusive, was 218'; the distance from Cabins W1 to W7, inclusive, was 222'. The distance from Cabins E8 to E16, inclusive, was 310'. All of these measurements were made around the arc along the front of the ruins. The distance from the northeast corner of Cabin E7 to the southwest corner of Cabin E15, in a straight line, was 233'. The distance from the northwest corner of Cabin W7 to where the southeast corner of Cabin W15 should have been located (if its width were consistent with that of other cabins), in a straight line, was 234'. The similarity of these measurements is striking and indicates a practical mirror identity of organization between the eastern and western halves of the arc. Furthermore, the similarity substantiates the thesis that the two ruins to the west are those of Cabins W15 and W16. The variance in distances falls easily within the margin of error caused by the undergrowth between Cabins W7 and W15 and by the rough nature of the measurements.

poured on top of the original. This process would be repeated until the wall reached the desired height. In contrast, the walls of the Kingsley cabins appear to have been constructed by erecting a wooden form up to the eaves-line that was held together by large rectangular pegs. Successive batches of tabby were poured into the mold. When the tabby hardened, the form was removed. The relatively smooth walls were roughened by random chopping with a narrow hatchet. Finally, a smooth, fine plaster was applied over this roughened surface.¹⁴⁷

These well-constructed tabby cabins provided a relatively comfortable habitation for their slave occupants. This fact should not be interpreted as indicating the benign nature of slavery, however. These quarters, decent and organized by family units, were designed primarily as bribes to prevent flight and to induce slaves to provide their labor more willingly. As Kingsley reported in his *Treatise*, he found this type of subtle inducement useful on his plantations: "I never interfered with their connubial concerns, nor domestic affairs, but let them regulate these after their own manner." Kingsley also "encouraged as much as possible dancing, merriment, and dress, for which Saturday afternoon and night, and Sunday morning were dedicated; and, after allowance, their time was usually employed in hoeing their corn, and getting a supply of fish for the week. Both men and women were very industrious." Kingsley very clearly understood the economic advantages to himself of this approach: "They were perfectly honest, and obedient, and . . . they hardly ever failed in doing their work well." Adequate housing was crucial for a productive and profitable labor force.¹⁴⁸

The date of construction for the slave cabins is problematic. They certainly existed on the plantation in September 1841 when Kingsley B. Gibbs had some of his slaves splitting clapboards for the carpenter, John L. Williams, because Gibbs wanted to "get some of the negro houses recovered." The testimony in McIntosh's claim for damages during the Patriots' Rebellion would indicate that whatever housing he had for his slaves



Figure 19. View across slave cabin arc, c. 1870s. In left foreground are ruins of Cabins W6 and W5; the two intact cabins in background to right of tree are Cabins E16 and E15.

¹⁴⁷Janet Bigbee Gritzner, "Tabby in the Coastal Southeast: The Culture History of an American Building Material" (Ph.D. dissertation, Louisiana State University, 1978), 9, 26; Thomas Spalding, "On the Mode of Construction of Tabby Buildings, and the Propriety of Improving Our Plantations in a Permanent Manner," *The Southern Agriculturalist* (December 1830): 617-21; Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Kingsley Slave Cabins," 67-68.

¹⁴⁸John Michael Vlach, "Not Mansions . . . But Good Enough: Slave Quarters as Bi-Cultural Expression," in Ted Ownby, ed., *Black and White Cultural Interaction in the Antebellum South* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 1993), 93; Zephaniah Kingsley, *A Treatise on the Patriarchal, or Cooperative System of Society*, 14.

was destroyed. Charles Vignoles drew a map of the lower St. Johns in 1822, which included structures along the river. The detail of his map in Figure 19 shows structures that were probably the Plantation House, the Kitchen House, and the Barn. No arc of slave cabins appears, a feature that would seemingly have drawn Vignoles's attention. Where then did Kingsley house his slaves? Other than the three buildings clustered near the northwestern corner of the island, the only other structures shown on the island by Vignoles were the two on the northeastern corner. Perhaps his slaves lived in these two buildings, though they seem far removed geographically from the watchful eye of the master. Vignoles's map must be interpreted carefully, but it seems unlikely that his keen eye would have missed or failed to record such an unusual configuration of slave dwellings. From these sources, the best estimate for the construction of the slave cabins appears to be between 1822 and perhaps the early 1830s, leaving enough time for the roofs to need repair in 1841.¹⁴⁹

The spatial organization of the cabins is also distinctive. The semi-circular arc demonstrates a concern for symmetry and order by the designer. Their position astride Palmetto Avenue approximately one thousand feet from the Plantation House put the slaves near enough to the Plantation House to be monitored but far enough away to be spatially segregated from the master's family and his guests. Perhaps, as some researchers have suggested, the curving pattern with windows and doors only on the front and rear may have provided "the most privacy for adjacent homes." Alternatively, this organization along with the relative proximity to the Plantation House may have provided the master with the best opportunity to observe and control his slaves.¹⁵⁰

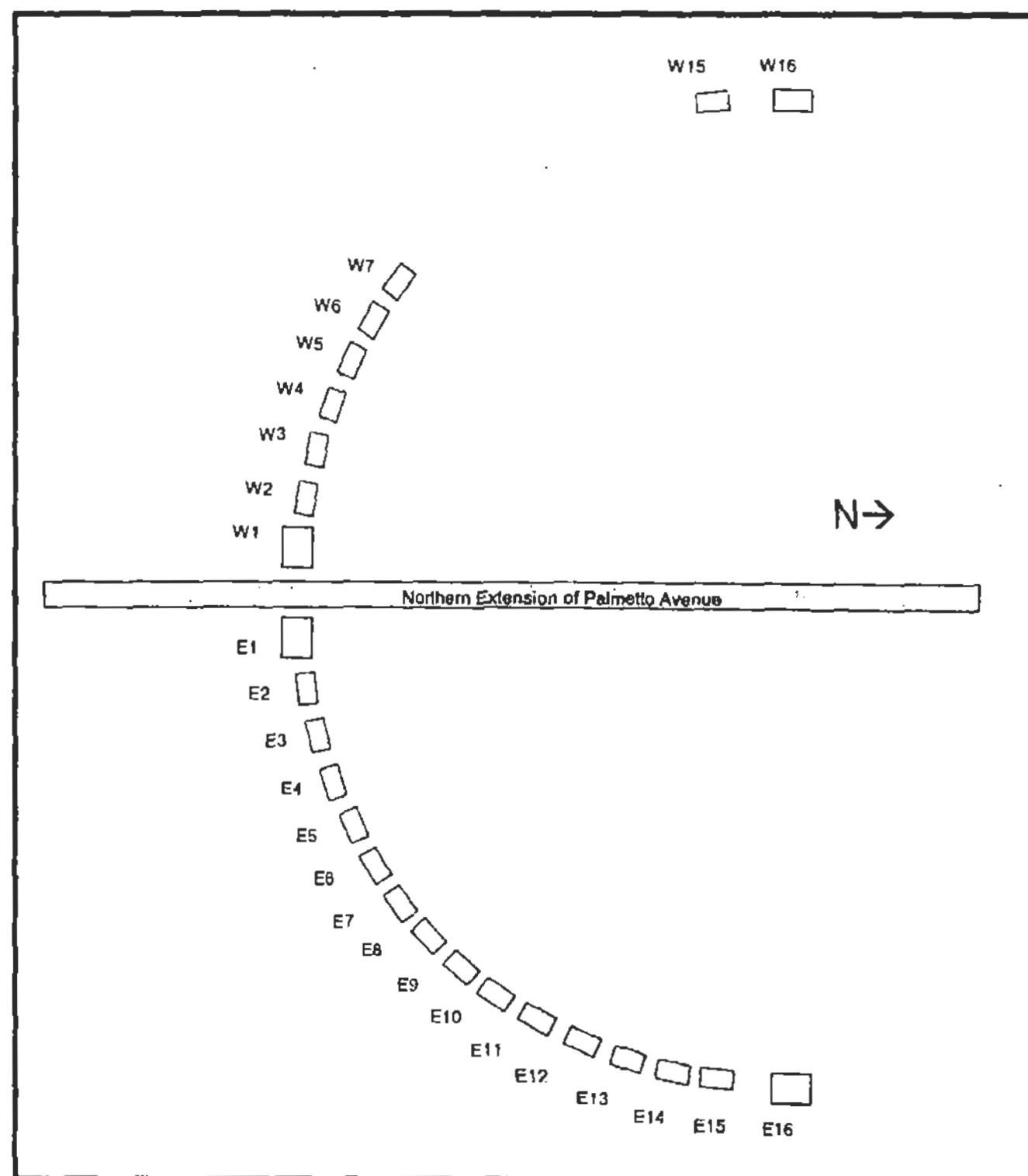


Figure 20. Diagram of slave cabin arc (not to scale).

¹⁴⁹Entry for 29 September 1841 in Jacqueline K. Fretwell, *Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal*, 23.

¹⁵⁰Charles H. Fairbanks, "The Kingsley Slave Cabins," 66; Karen Jo Walker, "Kingsley and His Slaves: Anthropological Interpretation and Evaluation" (M.A. thesis, University of Florida, 1988), 114; Terence H. E. Webb, "Zephaniah Kingsley," 40. John Michael Vlach argues that carefully arranged cabins spaced at regular intervals presented "a regimented appearance intended to remind slaves of the strict rules of conduct that their masters sought to establish," though slaves did not always heed "the unvoiced architectural directives of discipline and inferiority." John Michael Vlach, "Not Mansions . . . But Good Enough," 92.

The cabins were inhabited by slaves through the Civil War and by freedpeople in the 1860s and 1870s. Charles R. Thomson's force of sixty slaves probably occupied all of the buildings in the 1850s, but it is unlikely that Charles H. Barnwell's twenty slaves would have occupied more than half of the cabins in 1860. When John F. Rollins visited the property in the winter of 1868–1869, he noted that Andrew Fielding was the caretaker of the property; Fielding and his wife Charlotte lived in one of the cabins. Hannah Rollins later remembered that when she and her sons arrived in the spring of 1869, nine black families with “a swarm of children” lived in the cabins. In 1877, Julia B. Dodge reported that “except a few still used, all are unroofed and in a state of greater or lesser ruin.” Gertrude Rollins Wilson, remembering in the 1950s, wrote that the Fieldings lived “in the cabin on the extreme east of the semi-circle [E16].” Isaac Warfield, with his wife and several children, lived “in the drivers cabin east of palmetto avenue [E1],” and the Polite family also lived on the east side. Jim Long “probably lived on the west side in the large cabin next to Palmetto Avenue [W1], but he “afterward moved to the ‘Dingle’ cabin on the extreme west of the semi-circle [W16].” Wilson also recalled, “Aunt Celie lived on the west side and also a woman named Belle. Many others remained in the cabins, most of them on the east side, but their names are forgotten.” Some of the cabins were occupied through the 1870s and probably into the 1880s, though it is evident that the roofs of many had rotted away and only the shells remained as early as the 1870s. Late in the nineteenth century, at least one of the cabins (W1) was converted into a shelter for animals by removing the rear door and the western half of the rear wall and erecting a fence to the rear of the cabin. Other cabins may likewise have served a function other than human shelter at some point in their history, although it seems likely that through the 1850s most of the cabins were used as slave quarters.¹⁵¹

The ruins of two mills exist on the island, though their exact purpose remains unclear. A circular tabby pad southeast of the barn marks the spot of one that was referred to as the “Grist Mill.”¹⁵² Further south on the island is the site of what has been described as a sugar mill or cotton gin. The site as excavated in 1965 consisted of a “partially decayed tabby platform approximately 20 inches thick and roughly 13 by 7 feet in diameter,” lying at the edge of the slough marsh. A large number of scattered bricks lay nearby. North of the platform is a large ditch, approximately six feet four inches deep and thirteen feet wide at the top, which runs from the slough marsh to the largest freshwater pond on the island. Ninety feet from the slough the

¹⁵¹Notebook of John F. Rollins; Hannah B. Rollins, “Ft. George Island,” transcription by Gertrude Rollins Wilson, Kingsley Plantation Vertical File, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL; Julia B. Dodge, “An Island by the Sea,” 659; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Notes Concerning the Old Plantation,” 3; photograph of Cabin W1 in Kingsley Plantation Archives.

¹⁵²Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Notes Concerning the Old Plantation,” 1. L. Scott Nidy concluded that the circular shape of the foundation, as well as the distance from water, would seem to indicate that the mill was wind driven rather than water powered. He seemingly discounts the possibility that the mill may have been animal driven. L. Scott Nidy, “An Archaeological and Historical Survey of the Rheinhold Property on Fort George Island, Duval County, Florida” (Tallahassee, FL: Division of Archives, History, and Records Management, Bureau of Historic Sites and Properties, Miscellaneous Project Report Series, No. 12, 1974), 12.

ditch is dammed or filled. Near this dam lies a circular earthwork, approximately thirty feet in diameter, with a depression in the center. Excavations in the center of this earthwork unearthed several metal gears and over sixty metal blades. They may have been part of a machine that sliced sugar cane.¹⁵³

McQueen, McIntosh, Kingsley, and Gibbs all had facilities for the ginning of cotton on Fort George Island. In 1800 McQueen erected “a Water Gin to clean” his cotton crop. It took so long to erect, however, that by January 20, 1801, he had “not yet gined out a thousand weight of Cotton.” The gin was “finished but not able to work until we get rain to fill my dams.” When McQueen sold Fort George Island to McIntosh in the spring of 1804, he left his 1803 cotton crop “to be gined out by McIntosh and lodged with him to pay my debt to Mein Mackay & Co.” A decade later among the property destroyed or removed from McIntosh’s plantations were “sixty foot cotton gins.” From November to January in the winters of 1840–41, 1841–42, and 1842–43, Kingsley B. Gibbs’s slaves sorted, ginned, and packed cotton. On November 11, 1842, Gibbs recorded in his journal, “all busy in the Gin house.”¹⁵⁴

These planters also raised provisions for their households and slaves, which may support the existence of a grist mill. At least Kingsley B. Gibbs also grew and processed sugar cane. On November 3, 1841, Gibbs recorded that his slaves were “fixing Sugar Mill.” Five days later, he reported “all the men cutting down Cane and preparing to grind.” On the 12th of November, Gibbs “began to make Syrup with seven men.” At the end of the month, the slaves were still “very busy” picking and sorting cotton and “hauling cane and making Syrup.” On December 3, the slaves were “grinding and boiling Cane,” but a heavy squall from the southeast forced them to stop. Eight acres of sugar cane planted early in 1841 had yielded six hundred pounds of sugar and 260 gallons of syrup. Whether these two sites served as sugar or grist mills or as cotton gins (or successively for several purposes) remains a matter of speculation without further documentary or archeological evidence.¹⁵⁵

Southward from the center of the slave cabin arc, Palmetto Avenue is bordered by rows of sabal palm trees for six-tenths of a mile to an inlet from the marshes on the west side of the island. Julia Dodge described the Avenue in 1877 for an article in *Scribner’s Magazine*: through the fields beyond the cabins “curves a magnificent avenue of palms, the boast of the island and

¹⁵³Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Notes Concerning the Old Plantation,” 1, describes the mill near the center of the island as a “grist mill.” Lynn S. Nidy, “An Archaeological and Historical Survey of the Rheinhold Property,” 11; Barry D. Hart and Charles H. Fairbanks, “Archaeological Survey of Fort George Island” (Jacksonville, FL: Hart and Fairbanks, 1982), 39–41.

¹⁵⁴John McQueen to Eliza Anne Mackay, 20 January 1801, and John McQueen to Robert Mackay, 6 May 1804, in Walter Charlton Hartridge, *The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family*, 56, 66–67; *East Florida Claims: Case of John H. McIntosh*, 5; Entries for 1 November 1840, 14 January 1841, 4, 7, 8 January 1842, 21 November 1842, in Jacqueline K. Fretwell, *Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal*, 18–19, 25–26, 31.

¹⁵⁵Entries for 3, 8, 12, 30 November, and 3 December 1841, in Jacqueline K. Fretwell, *Kingsley Beatty Gibbs and His Journal*, 24–25.

unequaled upon the continent. For more than a thousand feet the two rows of stately trunks lift their round tops fifty or sixty feet in the air." Dodge wrote that an eighty-year-old neighbor remembered the trees from her "earliest childhood." In the 1880s Mary Sammis, Zephaniah and Anna Kingsley's daughter, told William F. Hawley of "helping to set out" the palm trees along



Figure 21. Palmetto Avenue, date unknown.

Palmetto Avenue. Both Dodge's witness's memory and Hawley's memory of Sammis's memories must be interpreted with caution, but it seems likely that a portion of Palmetto Avenue was planted at least as early as Kingsley's ownership of the island (1817–1839) for them to achieve the size that Dodge described in 1877. Gertrude Rollins Wilson, born on Fort George Island in 1872, remembered that in her earliest memories, "Palmetto Avenue reached from the quarters to the first 'branch' or small stream, it was plainly unfinished as the planting was incomplete at either end." Additional trees were planted in the 1870s or 1880s to extend the rows already established.¹⁵⁶

¹⁵⁶Julia B. Dodge, "An Island by the Sea," 659; Rose Shepherd, interview with William F. Hawley, 24 June 1940, typescript, Jacksonville Libraries, Main Library, Jacksonville, FL, 3; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Notes Concerning the Old Plantation," 6; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," 17.

Dodge reported in her 1877 article on Fort George Island some of the folklore that she heard regarding the origin of Palmetto Avenue: "The avenue is said to have been planted under the direction of an overseer during the absence of his master, and was to have extended across the island. But the planter returned, and was so enraged at the 'waste' of time and labor that the unlucky overseer was discharged upon the spot." Later, this folklore was attached to the Kingsley folklore and Anna Kingsley became the directing force behind the overseer's actions, and Kingsley became the enraged owner. No documentary evidence supports this story, except Hawley's memory of Mary Sammis's memory of helping to plant the original trees while she lived on the island. The remainder of the story remains unsubstantiated folklore.

When Palmetto Avenue was extended is somewhat unclear. Julia B. Dodge wrote in 1877 that "the present occupants . . . are now extending the avenue according to the original plan." The "original plan," according to Dodge, would have been to complete the Avenue "across" (down the length of?) the island. Gertrude Rollins Wilson remembered that sometime around the formation of a second hotel company in 1886, "a fence was placed around the Homestead and three gates erected which were locked occasionally to maintain rights over the avenues." Palmetto Avenue was "completed from the quarters to the Southern gate of the Homestead soon after the gate was erected at that point." The accounts may not necessarily be contradictory if the planting process took place over a long period, beginning in the late 1870s and ending in the 1880s. If Dodge's estimate of the Avenue's length of "more than one thousand feet" was relatively accurate, the current extent of palm trees makes the Avenue approximately three times as long as it was before 1877.

Elsewhere on Fort George Island are two other structures whose origins remain obscure. In the forest on the north end of the island lie two crypts constructed of clay and tabby bricks. Gertrude Rollins Wilson recalled that about 1880 “an elderly man [named McIntosh] and his daughter came to the island in search of the graves of two of their relatives. They brought with them two marble tablets ready to put in place.” John F. Rollins had buried the headstones in the cemetery that had been established west of the Plantation and Kitchen Houses and could not show them the exact graves of their relatives. The two visitors had read of the two crypts in the woods and wanted to put the tablets upon them. Rollins conceded and allowed them to place the tablets and erect a wire fence around the crypts. Rollins later regretted his decision to allow them to place the tablets on the



Figure 22. Crypts on Fort George Island, 1886.

crypts of what he believed to be British soldiers or officers from the eighteenth century. Other interpreters believe that the tablets are accurate, and that the crypts contained the remains of Mary McIntosh, the young daughter of John H. and Eliza McIntosh, and Anne Bayard Houston, the sister of Eliza McIntosh, both of whom died in 1808. After the tablets were placed on the crypts, visitors “flocked to see them and soon they were broken up in search of buried treasures.”¹⁵⁷

¹⁵⁷Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Notes,” 19; Dena Elizabeth Snodgrass, “Fort George Island,” in Jacksonville Historical Society, *Papers* 5 (1969): 81; William M. Jones, “The Fort George Island Crypts, Duval County, Florida” (Jacksonville, FL: William M. Jones, 1992), 9–10; Terence H. E. Webb, *Fort George Island Visitor’s Guide*, 3d ed. (Jacksonville, FL: Privately printed, 1990), site 17.

Mr. McIntosh and his daughter probably learned of the crypts from either Julia Dodge’s brief description in the September 1877 issue of *Scribner’s Magazine* or Samuel G. W. Benjamin’s description and illustration in *Harper’s New Monthly Magazine* in 1878. Benjamin repeated a legend that the crypts were those of “Mr. Mackintosh (one of the former planters) and his wife.”

Gertrude Rollins Wilson remembered that she and her brothers periodically gathered and returned the bones that had been removed from the crypts. The younger Rollinses “as little as we knew about the matter were sure they were too big to be those of women.” Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson,” 25.

In contrast, William M. Jones argues that the smaller crypt “was designed to accept the remains of either a very small adult or a child.” Jones believes that the similarity in building material with other structures on the plantation (the house foundation and the barn), the memorial nature of the crypts, and the difference in size of the two crypts indicate that they were erected by a wealthy planter to hold the remains of an adult and a child, most likely Ann Bayard Houston and Mary McIntosh. William M. Jones, “The Fort George Island Crypts,” 4, 6, 10.

The tablets that were placed on the crypts have the following inscriptions:

The other problematic structure is the Thomson Tabby House at the southern tip of Fort George Island. This 45' x 30' house ruin is constructed of tabby with 8' high walls. The one-story building contains two large rooms with a large fireplace on the interior wall dividing the rooms. Also remaining are the foundations of front and back porches. This building has been called the Munsilna McGundo House, based on a reference in Zephaniah Kingsley's transfer of the island to



Figure 23. Thomson Tabby House.

his son George in 1831. One of the conditions of the sale was that "Munsilna McGundo & her daughter Fatima shall possess the use of her house & 4 acres of land—also rations—during life." The idea that the Thomson Tabby House was the home of Munsilna McGundo may have begun in 1926 when Mrs. James Latimer requested a title search for Fort George Island, and this reference was rediscovered. Nothing in the deed, however, links the tabby building at the southern end of Fort George Island to McGundo. Furthermore, the 1853 map of the entrance to the St. Johns River does not show a building at the southern tip of the island.¹⁵⁸

In 1877 Julia Dodge learned from local folklore that the house was "begun long ago by one of the planters for the home of his married daughter, but the work was interrupted by his sudden and violent death, and never completed." Terence Webb in 1986 correctly deduced that the only planter who died while he owned Fort George Island was Charles R. Thomson, though he mistakenly identified Thomson as Charles R. Thompson from Lumpkin County, Georgia. Charles R. Thomson from Orangeburg District, South Carolina, purchased Fort George Island in June 1854 and died in the fall of 1855 in South Carolina. It is unclear whether Thomson ever moved

<p>Mary Daughter of John Houstoun & Eliza Bayard McIntosh Died 1808</p>	<p>Mrs. Ann Bayard Houstoun Daughter of Nicholas Bayard of New York Sister of Mrs. Eliza Bayard McIntosh Died 1808</p>
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¹⁵⁸Transaction no. 405 (20 July 1831), Archibald Transcript Books; Title and Trust Company of Florida, "Abstract of Title," 11 February 1926, copy in Kingsley Plantation Files.

Further complicating the origin of the tabby house is Samuel G. W. Benjamin's assertion in 1878 that on the south end of Fort George Island, "Kingsley built himself a house of some size, which is now in ruins, there lived Flora, his black mistress." Samuel G. W. Benjamin, "The Sea Islands," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* (1878).

to Fort George Island, but when he died, sixty of his slaves lived there. The building was constructed according to the Spalding Method with successive regular layers of tabby poured into short molds held together by small, round pegs, which suggests a later construction date than the tabby cabins. The fireplace was not lined with brick, indicating that the building was never finished. The combination of evidence from folklore, the 1853 map, and the method of construction supports the assumption that the building was begun in 1854 or 1855 and never finished.¹⁵⁹

Associative Characteristics/Significance

The St. Johns Bluff Work Camp site possesses local significance under Criterion D for its association with the British settlement of the St. Johns Bluff area during the 1770s and 1780s. The site has already yielded information about British extractive activity in the area, and has the potential to provide more information.

The Lamé and Falana/Wilson Houses in Pilot Town are locally significant under Criterion A because of their association with the historical development of Pilot Town on Batton Island and with the profession of river and bar navigation. Pilot Town was the residence of several bar pilots from the 1850s through the 1890s, and these buildings are the only remaining resources associated with this vocation and its practitioners.

The Fitzpatrick Plantation site at Cedar Point on Black Hammock Island and the Greenfield Plantation site on Greenfield Peninsula are locally significant under Criterion D. These sites have the potential to yield important archeological information about the operation of plantations in this area of Florida.

The Broward Plantation at Cedar Point is locally significant under Criteria A and D. The Broward Plantation is associated with the growth and development of plantation agriculture and slavery in northeastern Florida. It is part of a group of plantations that shaped the economic and social life of the area through the first two-thirds of the nineteenth century. The site also has the potential to yield information about the varied methods of tabby construction and archeological information about plantation life.

The Houston Plantation and the Talbot Island Cemetery are locally significant under Criteria A and D. Like the Fitzpatrick and Broward Plantations, the Houston Plantation represents the dominant method of agricultural production in the early and mid-nineteenth century. The

¹⁵⁹Julia B. Dodge, "An Island by the Sea," 659; Terence H. E. Webb, *The Haunted House on Fort George Island* (Jacksonville, FL: Privately printed, 1986), 2, 4.

An earlier construction date is possible. The "Spalding Method" is in some ways a revival of an eighteenth-century Spanish method of building houses, described by John Bartram in 1766. Tabby was especially popular in St. Augustine, where in 1764, 41 percent of the houses were made of tabby, while 36 percent were constructed of stone, and the remaining 23 percent were built of wood. The widespread use of tabby for building houses largely ended when the British took control of East Florida in 1763. Archeological investigations of the Thomson Tabby House would likely produce evidence to date the construction more precisely. See Albert C. Manucy, *The Houses of St. Augustine* (St. Augustine, FL: St. Augustine Historical Society, 1962), 46, 68.

plantation site has the potential to yield archeological information regarding plantation life in northeast Florida. The Talbot Island Cemetery was the burial ground for members of both master and slave families. It was an integral part of the cultural landscape of nineteenth-century Talbot Island planters and their slaves. It has yielded some historical information and has the potential to answer questions regarding burial practices.

The Kingsley Plantation complex on Fort George Island includes the Plantation House, the Kitchen House, the Barn, two Wells, twenty-five Slave Cabins, two Mill sites, Palmetto Avenue, the Crypts, and the Thomson Tabby House. Considered as a district, the complex is nationally significant under Criteria A, B, C, and D, and has state significance under Criterion B. Individual buildings are also significant under combinations of these criteria. The Plantation is significant under Criterion A as a rare example of a substantially intact Sea Island plantation complex. Although some of the outbuildings are gone, the survival of the Plantation House, Kitchen House, Barn, Slave Cabins, Palmetto Avenue, and several other resources evoke a strong sense of the Plantation Agriculture era. It is nationally significant under Criterion B as the home of Zephaniah Kingsley, who achieved some national prominence as a proslavery theorist with the publication of his *Treatise on the Patriarchal or Cooperative System of Society as It Exists in Some Governments, and Colonies in America, and in the United States, Under the Name of Slavery, With Its Necessity and Advantages*, which was published in four editions between 1828 and 1834.¹⁶⁰ The plantation achieves statewide significance under Criterion B as the home successively of John McQueen and John Houstoun McIntosh. McQueen served as an important link between the Spanish rulers of East Florida and the Anglo-American rural settlers along the St. Mary's and St. Johns Rivers. McIntosh played a significant role in the unsuccessful Patriots' Rebellion of 1811–1814 that sought to wrest East Florida from Spain and attach it to the United States. The district is nationally significant under Criterion C for the distinctive design of the cultural landscape. Especially important are the location and configuration of the slave cabins and Palmetto Avenue. The district is nationally significant under Criterion D for the architectural and archeological information that it can yield. Limited archeological investigations have already yielded important information regarding plantation life, and further field study has the potential to produce more evidence of importance in the study of Sea Island agriculture and slave life.

Several buildings or sites within the Kingsley Plantation district also have individual significance. The Plantation House is nationally significant under Criterion B as the home of Zephaniah Kingsley. To be significant under Criterion B, the building must be “associated with a person's productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance.” Kingsley lived in this house from 1814 to 1831, when he deeded the island to his son George. Kingsley's treatise was first published in 1828 and three more editions were published over the

¹⁶⁰That the *Treatise* enjoyed national circulation is evidenced by abolitionist Lydia Maria Child's statement in 1842 that she had read it “some six or eight years ago.” L. Maria Child, *Letters from New York*, 141.

next six years. Kingsley lived on Fort George Island when he wrote the treatise and when the first two editions were published.¹⁶¹

The Plantation House is also nationally significant under Criterion C for its unusual architectural style. The four corner pavilions on the house are the most distinctive features. The Mulberry Plantation House near Charleston, South Carolina, built in 1714, has a similar design, although that house is larger and constructed of brick. Several Jamaican and other West Indian great houses from the eighteenth century also feature a hipped-roof central block with lower corner pavilions connected by a gallery. These houses, in turn, bear similarities in design to British gentry houses of the seventeenth century.¹⁶²

The Kitchen House and Barn are significant under Criteria A, B, C, and D. They are integral parts of the complex associated with plantation life in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries and with the life of Zephaniah Kingsley. Both buildings are partially constructed of tabby brick and are significant for their design and construction features. Both buildings are also likely to yield more information about plantation life through architectural and archeological study.

The Slave Cabins are nationally significant under Criteria A, B, C and D. Together they present a rare, well-preserved collection of “slave quarters,” constructed of tabby and associated with the life of Zephaniah Kingsley. The slave cabin group will undoubtedly yield more historic information through archeological and architectural investigation.¹⁶³

The two Mill sites located on Fort George Island are locally significant under Criteria A and D. They are associated with the processing of agricultural products during the nineteenth century. The sites have provided some historical information, and further archeological investigation is likely to produce more useful information about the construction and operation of these mills.

¹⁶¹*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation* (Washington, DC: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1991), 15.

¹⁶²Other similar houses are the Exeter Plantation House in Berkeley, South Carolina (c. 1720s), the Kent House in Alexandria, Louisiana (c. 1800), and several houses on the French island of Mauritius in the Indian Ocean (c. 1710s, 1720s). Harold Kalman to Brian Peters, 4 January 1993, Harold Kalman to Brian Peters, 21 April 1993, letters on file at Kingsley Plantation; E. Mercer, “The Houses of the Gentry,” *Past and Present* 5 (May 1954), 11–32; Samuel Gaillard Stoney, *Plantations of the South Carolina Low Country*, 2d ed. (Charleston, SC: Carolina Art Commission, 1939), 50–51, 53–54.

¹⁶³Archeological investigation must be conducted with a thorough understanding of the historical record as well. Charles H. Fairbanks seems to have been led to improper conclusions by his discovery of musket parts at Cabin W1 during his 1968 excavation. He found parts of flintlock muskets, gun flints, and evidence of the casting of bullets. Because he wrongly believed that “Kingsley Plantation had been largely deserted in 1845,” Fairbanks concluded that slaves had been allowed to keep guns during Kingsley’s ownership. However, several of the slave cabins, including Cabin W1, were inhabited for at least a decade after the Civil War ended and probably into the 1880s, perhaps into the 1890s. The freedpeople who lived there after 1865 may well have accounted for the gun parts found in the excavation. Charles H. Fairbanks, “The Kingsley Slave Cabins,” 62–93; Charles H. Fairbanks and Sue A. Mullins-Moore, “How Did Slaves Live?” *Early Man* (Summer 1980): 2–6 (quotation on 4).

Palmetto Avenue is locally significant under Criterion A as a biotic cultural resource component of the plantation. Biotic cultural resources are “communities of plants and animals associated with human settlement and land use in historic districts.” Because these biotic resources are “products of land use and management,” they are classified as cultural resources to distinguish them from native vegetation and wildlife, which are natural resources. The sabal palm trees were planted along a portion of the historic road leading from the southern end of the island during Kingsley’s ownership (c. 1817–1839), and the planting was later extended by John F. Rollins (c. 1870s–1880s).¹⁶⁴

The Crypts are locally significant under Criterion D. They have limited potential to yield information regarding plantation life and burial practices during the nineteenth century. Should they be determined to be the graves either of members of the McIntosh family or of earlier settlers, they would also be significant under Criterion A.

The Thomson Tabby House is locally significant under Criteria A, C, and D. It is associated with the settlement of the region as a part of the larger Kingsley Plantation. It is one of few surviving tabby structures, and provides an example of the Spalding Method of tabby construction. The building is also likely to yield important information regarding tabby architecture.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS/INTEGRITY

The St. Johns Bluff Work Camp site has integrity of location only. There are no standing structures. The Work Camp is significant under Criterion D for its information potential as an archeological site. Its lack of the other attributes of integrity does not, however, negate its significance. National Register guidelines indicate that “for properties eligible under Criterion D, including archeological and standing structures studied for their information potential, less attention is given to their overall condition, than if they were being considered under Criteria A, B, or C.”¹⁶⁵

The Lamé House has integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship. The integrity of setting, feeling, and association have been compromised by the industrial and commercial development between the house and the St. Johns River, from which its owners drew his livelihood. Modern additions and replacements have severely compromised the design, materials, and workmanship integrity of the Falana/Wilson House. Although the building is associated with the historic development of Pilot Town, its lack of integrity probably makes it ineligible for National Register listing.

¹⁶⁴Ian J. W. Firth, *Biotic Cultural Resources: Management Considerations for Historic Districts in the National Park System, Southeast Region* (Atlanta, GA: U.S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, Southeast Regional Office, 1985), 1.

¹⁶⁵*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 46.

The Fitzpatrick Plantation site and the Greenfield Plantation site possess only the location aspect of integrity. The Fitzpatrick Plantation ruins now consist of a tabby floor with no standing structures. The Greenfield Plantation site has no extant above-ground resources. Both plantation sites are significant under Criterion D for their information potential as archeological sites. Like the St. Johns Bluff Work Camp site, they are contributing resources as archeological sites.

The Broward Plantation site with its tabby ruins has integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association. The integrity of setting and feeling have been diminished by the encroachment of native vegetation.

The Houston Plantation site contains the ruins of a tabby building and a sugar evaporator, and small heaps of tabby and brick. The site possesses integrity of location, and limited integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Overgrowth of vegetation has reduced the integrity of setting and feeling.

The Talbot Island Cemetery has integrity of location, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association. The cemetery's integrity of design has deteriorated because the location of the slave/black portion of the cemetery is no longer visible or marked. A wire fence erected in the mid-twentieth century demarcates only the "white" portion of the cemetery. A chain-link fence encompasses two and a half acres around the cemetery, but it is sufficiently distant from the grave sites to have no adverse effect on setting and feeling. The integrity of materials is impaired by the absence of many grave markers and the presence of three recently erected headstones for Confederate soldiers that are not associated with particular graves. Cemeteries are not ordinarily eligible for listing on the National Register. However, Criteria Consideration D stipulates that cemeteries can be eligible if "they have achieved historic significance for their relative great age in a particular geographic or cultural context." Because the Talbot Island Cemetery contains the oldest marked grave in Duval County, it qualifies under this consideration.¹⁶⁶

The Kingsley Plantation district encompasses the entirety of Fort George Island. From 1791 to 1874, the plantation consisted of the entire island and was bought and sold as a unit. Portions of the Kingsley Plantation were entered on the National Register of Historic Places on September 29, 1970. This listing included the Plantation House, Kitchen House, Barn, the Wells, and most of the Slave Cabins. It did not include Slave Cabins W15 and W16, Palmetto Avenue as a biotic cultural resource, the Mills, the Thomson Tabby House, or the Crypts.

The Plantation House, Kitchen House, Barn, and Wells have integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The Slave Cabins have integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and association. The feeling aspect of integrity is attenuated by the varied conditions of some of the cabin ruins and by the release of surrounding land to native vegetation.

The Mills have integrity of location. The design, setting, workmanship, feeling, and association aspects of integrity have been weakened by neglect and the growth of vegetation.

¹⁶⁶Ibid., 35.

The materials aspect of the Mill site east of Palmetto Avenue has been disturbed by the removal of metal blades and gears in archeological investigation.

Palmetto Avenue has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling and association as a biotic cultural resource. Demarcating a historic roadway that remains in use, the rows of palm trees retain much of their historic character. Their integrity of setting is somewhat hampered by the proximity of other large trees.

The Crypts have integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship. Vandalism has compromised their integrity of feeling, and the uncertainty concerning their origin lessens, though does not destroy, the association aspect of integrity. A grave is not generally eligible unless it is the burial place of "a historical figure of outstanding importance." Criteria Consideration C states that a grave may be eligible under Criterion D if "it contains important information on research." Because the Crypts have the potential to provide information and because they probably date to 1808 or earlier, they satisfy the requirements of Criteria Consideration C.¹⁶⁷

The Thomson Tabby House has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The probability that the house was never completed increases its integrity of design and materials. Uncertainty regarding the date of construction complicates the feeling and association aspects of integrity, but the building is clearly associated with the Plantation Life context as broadly defined.

ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

St. Johns Bluff Work Camp (c. 1770), contributing as an archeological site.

Lamé House (c. 1851–53)

Fitzpatrick Plantation site (c. 1795), contributing as an archeological site.

Greenfield Plantation site (c. 1763–1783), contributing as an archeological site.

Broward Plantation site (c. 1850)

Houston Plantation site (c. 1813)

Talbot Island Cemetery (1820s–1880s)

Kingsley Plantation District:

Plantation House (c. 1798)

Kitchen House (c. 1814–1821)

Barn (c. 1814–1821)

Wells No. 1 and No. 2

Slave Cabins E1-E16, W1-W7, W15-W16 (c. 1822–1831)

Mill (SE of Barn)

Mill (E of Palmetto Avenue)

Palmetto Avenue (c. 1814–1839, extended c. 1877–1886)

¹⁶⁷Ibid., 33.

Crypts A and B (c. 1808)

Thomson Tabby House (c. 1854–1855)

NONELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Falana/Wilson House (c. 1882)

Stuart-Blue House, “Nelmar” (c. 1877)

Hall-Chappelle House (corner room, c. 1875–1877; central hall, c. 1890s)

St. George’s Episcopal Church (1882)

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House (c. 1878)

Kingsley Plantation House (c. 1798)

Fort George Clubhouse (1938)

Lutz House and Garage (1926)

Borgmeyer-Bibber House, “Red Top” (c. 1928)

Entry Gate Posts (c. 1923–1935)

Ribault Clubhouse (1928)

Ribault Club Lodge (1929)

Ribault Club Golf Course (c. 1927, expanded, 1968)

Ribault Club Caddy House (c. 1928)

Neff House (c. 1927–1932)

Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House (c. 1927–1932)

Hemenway-Barnett-Knauer House (c. 1927–1932)

Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Garage (1940)

Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Lodge (1941)

All other structures on Fort George Island fewer than fifty years old.

CHAPTER FOUR: RECREATIONAL DEVELOPMENT/ GOVERNMENT OWNERSHIP, 1874–1996¹⁶⁸

As the era of Plantation Agriculture receded in importance in the area of the Timucuan Preserve, entrepreneurs extolled the natural beauties and warm climate of the area. Fort George Island formed the center of recreational development, though other areas of the preserve benefitted from the increased economic activity associated with the seasonal visitors to Fort George Island. Blacks and whites from other areas of the preserve found opportunities to provide goods and services to the wealthy tourists. From the 1870s to the 1980s, successive groups of promoters have attempted with varying degrees of failure to convert Fort George Island into a weekend sanctuary for Jacksonville's elite residents and a vacation resort for northern elites seeking refuge from harsh winters.

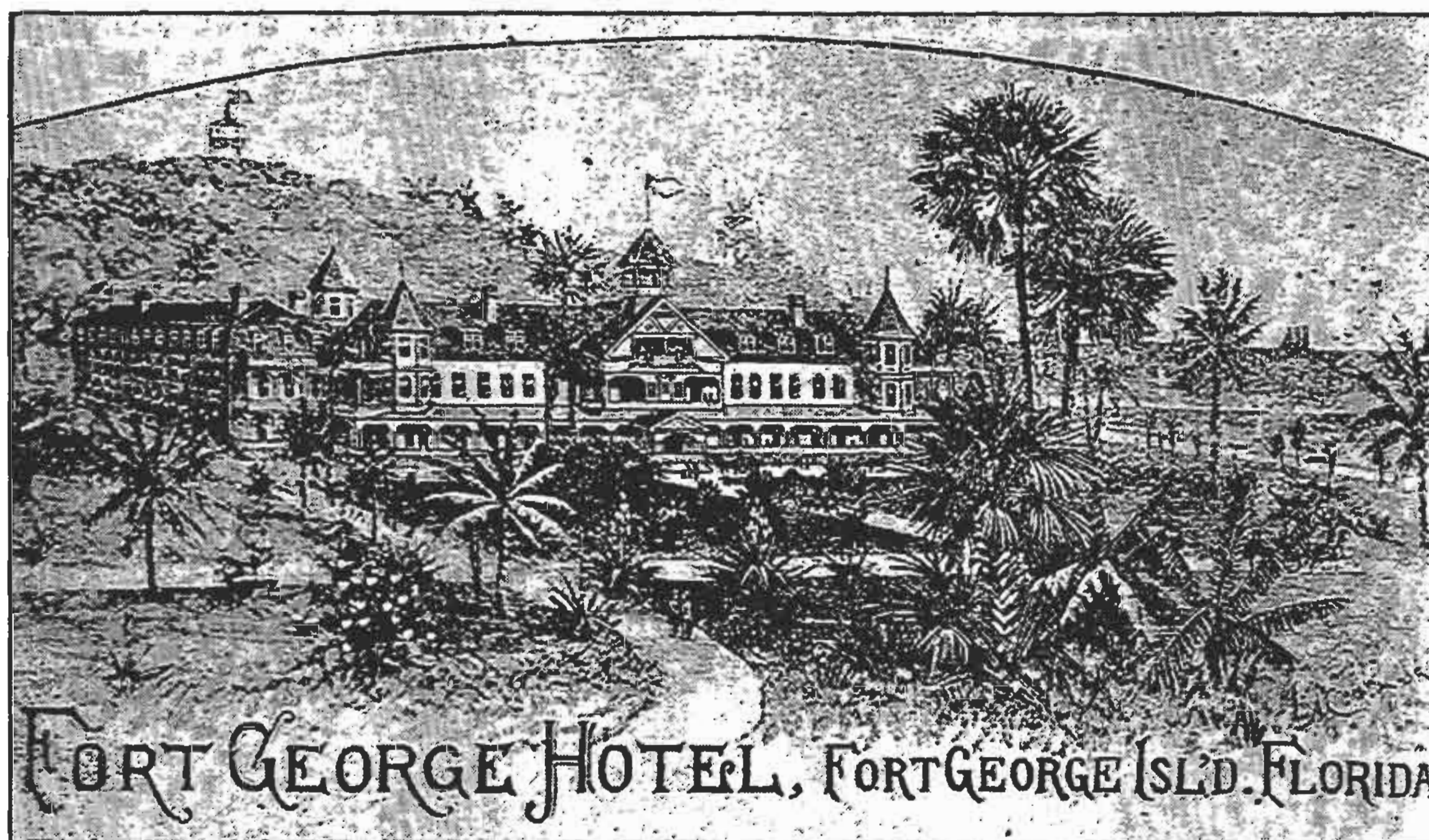


Figure 24. Fort George Hotel, as enlarged in 1887. Original portion is at left below the observation tower on Mt. Cornelia.

¹⁶⁸This chapter carries the story of recreational development and government ownership into the 1990s, but no resources built after 1941 are considered eligible under this historic context.

Recreational development within the boundaries of the Preserve began when John F. Rollins and Richard H. Ayer, who had bought Fort George Island in 1869, began to sell lots on the island to wealthy northerners. In 1873 the southern portion of the island was surveyed into eight lots. Rollins and Ayer sold the first lot in 1874 to Emily L. L. Parker, the wife of Martin E. Parker. Over the next three years, Rollins and various partners¹⁶⁹ sold lots to eight other individuals or family groups.¹⁷⁰

Among the other purchasers was Sarah L. Cooper, the wife of Lt. Philip Henry Cooper (1844–1912), a graduate of the United States Naval Academy and a rising young naval officer. Sarah Cooper was the daughter of General David Stuart (1816–1868) and had married Cooper in 1871. Sarah Cooper's brother John Stuart (d. 1901) also purchased property on Fort George Island. Robert S. Turner, a cousin of John Stuart and Sarah Cooper, also bought property. The Stuarts, Coopers, and Turners all built houses on the east side of the island along Edgewood Avenue. Mrs. Hannah Rollins's step-nephew, Francis E. Weston, purchased a lot and built a

¹⁶⁹Rollins's partners included Richard H. Ayer (1869–1875), William F. Porter (1875–1877), and George R. Hall (1875–1877).

¹⁷⁰The following sales of Fort George Island property occurred between 1874 and 1877:

Date	Grantor	Grantee	Office Number
16 April 1874	John F. Rollins & Richard H. Ayer	Emily L. L. Parker wf. of Martin E. Parker	10321
29 June 1874	John F. Rollins & Richard H. Ayer	Robert S. Turner	8429
8 March 1875	John F. Rollins & wf. Hannah B.	William F. Porter	8642
8 March 1875	John F. Rollins & wf. Hannah B.	George R. Hall	8673
8 March 1875	John F. Rollins & wf. Hannah B.	Francis E. Weston	8689
22 January 1876	John F. Rollins, William F. Porter, & George R. Hall	Eliza M. Fletcher, Anne B. Fletcher, & Ellen A. Fletcher	9184
14 June 1876	John F. Rollins, William F. Porter, & George R. Hall	Sarah L. wf. of P. H. Cooper	10539
8 August 1876	William F. Porter, John F. Rollins, & George R. Hall	John Stuart	9506
8 January 1877	John F. Rollins, William F. Porter, & George R. Hall	John Stewart [sic]	9655
13 April 1877	William F. Porter, John F. Rollins, & George R. Hall	John Stuart	9748

Together, these individuals purchased approximately 170 acres on Fort George Island between 1874 and 1877. Archibald Transcript Books, Official Records, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL.

small house. George Fletcher built a small house farther north on the east side of the island, and his sisters Ellen and Annie lived there with him.¹⁷¹

Rollins's partners, Dr. George R. Hall and William F. Porter, also purchased lots on the island. Hall began building a house on Edgewood Avenue that was reputedly to have been a replica of the Kingsley Plantation House, though he had built only one corner room. Porter never built on his land. In 1869 Hall had purchased and built a house on seventy acres of land north of Jacksonville on the banks of the St. Johns River. Over the next few years, he "made the estate into a show place." There he built a fourteen-room house with "broad verandas, wide halls, high ceilings, large French windows, and open fire places." He also erected "servants quarters and stables for half a dozen horses." The grounds included "a labyrinth of carriage roads and bridle paths," a fifteen-acre orange grove, and various exotic shrubs and plants. Hall, described as a botanist, a horticulturist, and a world traveler, sold that property in 1883, and apparently resumed his travels.¹⁷²

Although the new landowners built their houses on the east side of Fort George Island along Edgewood Avenue, most also "bought lots on Palmetto Avenue and built quarters houses for their servants." As in the Plantation Agriculture era, wealthy whites and their black servants lived in spatially distinct areas. In contrast to the earlier period, however, black servants lived farther away from their white employers. New labor relationships and land use patterns were responsible for this transformation. The paternalistic master-slave relationship was replaced by the employer-servant relationship, and the need to use most of the land for agricultural production had disappeared.¹⁷³

In 1875 Rollins and his partners constructed the two-and-one-half-story Fort George Hotel with accommodations for sixty guests on the east side of the island (see Figure 25). According to an advertisement in the *Tri-Weekly Florida Sun* early in 1876, the hotel combined "both seashore and inland attractions unsurpassed in this country." Its "appointments," under the direction of Manager D. W. Rantlet, were "first-class in every particular." Avenues already completed on the island provided ten-mile drives "over hard roads." A beautiful, four-mile-long beach lay "but a three minutes walk from the house." The island's promoters constructed a three-story observation tower atop Mt. Cornelia, which provided visitors with a "magnificent view of both sea and land." By January 1876 the hotel was "open to the public 'at popular prices.'"

¹⁷¹Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files, 13–14; "Philip Henry Cooper," *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1937), 16:235.

¹⁷²Richard A. Martin, *The City Makers* (Jacksonville, FL: Convention Press, Inc., 1972), 177.

¹⁷³Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," 13. The 1878 map shows that the Stuarts, Coopers, Parkers, and George R. Hall all owned lots on the west side of Palmetto Avenue. The Cooper and Stuart lots seem to have been devoted to groves, most likely orange groves. J. C. Sidney and A. M. Sidney, *Map of Fort George Island, Florida* (Philadelphia, PA: 1878).

Steamers from Charleston and Savannah stopped there as did a daily steamer from Jacksonville.¹⁷⁴

Northern travelers were drawn to Fort George Island by promotional articles in periodicals. In the September 1877 issue of *Scribner's Magazine*, Julia E. Dodge described the idyllic beauty and historical intrigue of "An Island by the Sea." Samuel G. W. Benjamin described for readers of *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* in November 1878 the view as he entered Fort George Island as "one of the most enchanting in the United States." Each article was accompanied by a half dozen illustrations. Thomas Moran (1837–1926), one of the principal illustrators for *Scribner's* and already an established landscape painter, created the illustrations for Dodge's article. Moran arrived in February 1877 and spent a month sketching on or near Fort George Island. After returning to his studio in Newark, New Jersey, Moran produced at least five paintings derived from his sketching on Fort George Island and the northeast coast of Florida.¹⁷⁵

In December 1877 the Fort George Island Association was organized to attract visitors to the hotel and sell more lots on the island. In 1878 J. C. Sidney, Secretary of the Association, and A. M. Sidney surveyed Fort George Island. They divided the northeastern quarter of the island into approximately five hundred lots. The Sidneys also surveyed and platted into 286 lots the "Outer Beach," a sandy peninsula lying east of Fort George Island which extended along the Atlantic coast from the midpoint of Fort George Island to the mouth of the St. Johns River. Another hotel, the Beach House, was constructed on the "Outer Beach," facing the St. Johns River east of Pilot Town. Two docks were erected, one at Pilot Town and the other in front of the Beach House. A steamer, the *Water Lily*, made daily trips between Jacksonville and Fort George Island. The entrepreneurs' grand plans for the sale of hundreds of lots, however, never became a reality. The recession of the late 1870s along with occasional epidemics of yellow fever

¹⁷⁴*Tri-Weekly Florida Sun* (Jacksonville, FL), 29 January 1876. The advertisement appeared periodically through 18 April 1876.

¹⁷⁵Julia B. Dodge, "An Island of the Sea," *Scribner's Magazine* 14 (September 1877): 652–61; Samuel G. W. Benjamin, *Harper's New Monthly Magazine* 57 (November 1878): 839–61; Elliott James Mackle, Jr., "The Eden of the South: Florida's Image in American Travel Literature and Painting, 1865–1900," (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1977), 145–55.

Moran's paintings of Fort George Island and its surroundings include: *Fort George Island, Coast of Florida* (1878), Cleveland Museum of Art, Hinman B. Hurlbut Collection; *Fort George Island, Florida* (1878), National Museum of American Art, Smithsonian Institution; *The Coast of Florida Near the Mouth of the St. Johns River* (1879), Nan and Roy Farrington Jones: *Bringing Home the Cattle, Coast of Florida* (1879), Albright-Knox Art Gallery, Buffalo, NY; and *Fort George Island* (1880), Sam and Roberta Vickers. E. Michael Whittington, "Thomas Moran," *Florida Visionaries: 1870–1930* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1989), 48–53; Thurman Wilkins, *Thomas Moran: Artist of the Mountains* (Norman, OK: University of Oklahoma Press, 1966), 108–19.

restricted the flow of northern visitors. Failing to draw sufficient numbers of guests and crippled financially, “the two hotels remained closed for several years.”¹⁷⁶

As early as 1875, Rollins was apparently in financial trouble. In March of that year, he sold the 217 acres that he owned on the northern end of Fort George Island to his older brother Edward H. Rollins (1825–1889). Edward Rollins also purchased the unsold portions of the island from the faltering Fort George Island Association in August 1879. Rollins was an influential, three-term United States representative from New Hampshire during the Civil War. From 1868 until 1876, he held prominent positions in the leadership of the Union Pacific Railroad. In 1876 he was elected to the United States Senate and served from 1877 to 1883. Shortly after failing to gain re-election to the Senate, Edward Rollins sold his interest in Fort George Island. He sold the northern end of the island including the Rollins “Homestead” (Kingsley Plantation) to Charles Holmes, and he sold the rest of his property on the island to Jonathan C. Greeley and Charles Holmes.¹⁷⁷

In 1885 the Fort George Island Company was formed in Boston, perhaps through the influence of Edward H. Rollins. This organization assumed the mortgage held by the Rollins family and purchased about 650 acres of land on the island including a part of the Outer Beach, with the agreement that “no drinking saloon or public bar to be ever allowed on the island.” The officers and stockholders of the company were drawn from the New York and New England elite, with a sprinkling of Jacksonville’s elite. President Andrew Washburn and Treasurer O. S. Marden were from Boston, and Auditor Nicholas Ball was from Block Island, Rhode Island. The organization expanded the Fort George Hotel by building additions to the older structure. The old hotel formed the south wing in the U-shaped new hotel and provided dining and office areas. The new hotel, advertised as “one of the finest hotels in Florida,” boasted steam heat, gas

¹⁷⁶Transaction no. 10212 (14 December 1877), Archibald Transcript Books; *Fort George Island Association* (Jacksonville, FL: Sun and Press Job Rooms, 1878), copy in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL; *Fort George, Florida* (Jacksonville, FL: Sun and Press Job Rooms, 1878), copy in Building and Grounds, Fort George Island, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College; *Fort George Island, Florida* (Jacksonville, FL: Sun and Press Print, c. 1878), copy in Building and Grounds, Fort George Island, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “Fort George During 1869 and Afterward,” 12, 14.

In 1877 and 1878, a mechanic, a plasterer, and a plumber and gas fitter each executed liens on various properties of the Fort George Island Association in payment for services. The tangled financial difficulties of the Fort George Island Association and those of its successor, the Fort George Island Company, can be traced in “Abstract of Title to Portion of Fort George Island,” 55–64, 86–91, typescript in Building and Grounds, Fort George Island Folder, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL.

¹⁷⁷Transaction nos. 8943 (31 March 1875), 18199 (1 August 1883), 18200 (1 August 1883), Archibald Transcript Books; “Edward Henry Rollins,” *Appleton’s Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1888), 5:312–13; “Edward Henry Rollins,” *Dictionary of American Biography* (New York: Charles Scribner’s Sons, 1935), vol. 8, pt. 2, p. 120; “Edward Henry Rollins,” *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1897), 7:512. For Rollins’ political career, see James O. Lyford, *Life of Edward H. Rollins: A Political Biography* (Boston, MA: D. Estes and Company, 1906). A collection of Rollins’s papers is in Edward Henry Rollins Papers, 1859–83, New Hampshire Historical Society, Concord, NH.

lighting, open fireplaces, and electric bells. The Fort George Island Company offered one thousand "magnificent cottage and villa sites" on the island for sale. The "new and fast" steamer, *Kate Spencer*, made two round trips daily between Jacksonville and Fort George Island, taking only two hours to make the voyage. The steamer left Hartridge's wharf, near the city market, at 10 a.m. and 6 p.m. daily except Saturdays. According to the promotional literature, the island had "fifty varieties of native semi-tropical trees" and the "only Perfume Laboratory (perfume from native flowers) in America." In addition, the island had 20,000,000 bushels of oyster shells, "enough to make a shell road extending from Boston to Fort George."¹⁷⁸

Many prominent Americans visited the Fort George Hotel in the years between 1875 and 1887. Among them were statesman and minister to Great Britain Charles Francis Adams; novelist Harriet Beecher Stowe; diplomat to Japan Townsend Harris; and financier William Astor. The hotel register also bore the names of several United States Senators and Representatives, as well as a variety of other political, military, and business leaders. Most of the visitors came from New York, Boston, and Philadelphia, though other areas of New England and portions of the Midwest were represented as well.¹⁷⁹

During this early period of recreational development, the first group of property owners devoted considerable money and effort to the erection of a church on the island. Both Hannah Rollins and the various branches of the Stuart family were devout Episcopalians. Before the church was built, Hannah Rollins "held a service of morning prayer after breakfast every morning to which all the colored servants were expected to attend." The Rollinses intended to assist Bishop John Freeman Young (1820–1885), the Bishop of the



Figure 25. St. George's Episcopal Church, built in 1882.

Diocese of Florida, in his efforts to establish mission churches along the St. Johns River. Young preached at Fort George Island in February 1875 and began efforts to establish a mission there. On April 9, 1877, William F. Porter and George R. Hall executed a deed for the southern half

¹⁷⁸Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," 15; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson" (1952), 7–8, typescript transcript in Kingsley Plantation files; "Abstract of Title to Portion of Fort George Island," 97; *A Winter at Fort George, Florida* (Boston: Frank Wood, 1887), 26, 28; advertisement in the *Florida Times-Union*, various issues including 13 January, 20 February, and 16 May 1886. The 13 January 1886 advertisement lists Manager O. S. Marden as "of Ocean View, Block Island."

¹⁷⁹*A Winter at Fort George, Florida*, 31.

of block 32, near the hotel at the corner of Oak Avenue and Kingsley Street, to trustees John F. Rollins, Charles Holmes, and Francis E. Weston, “in trust to erect thereon a Church Building for use of [the] Protestant Episcopal Church of America.” A friend of the Rollinses donated \$1,000 for the erection of a church building later in 1877. By 1878, the Fort George Island Association was boldly proclaiming that “a church is planned, and the greater part of the money necessary being already paid in, the building will be commenced at once.” The Diocese of Florida likewise reported that “in both Hibernia and Fort George Island, preparations were being made for building churches.”¹⁸⁰

Plans for building a church revived in 1881 when Ellen Eliza Ward donated \$1,500 to the Diocese for construction. That year, Bishop Young reported that he had received the money and that the building would be constructed “as soon as the builder shall have completed a contract he is now engaged on.” Ward was the mother of William and Robert Stuart and the aunt of John Stuart, Robert S. Turner, Eliza B. Turner, and Sarah L. Cooper, all of whom lived on Fort George Island. The six cousins were all grandchildren of Robert Stuart (1785–1843), who made a fortune as one of John Jacob Astor’s partners in the American Fur Company. In March 1882 Bishop Young visited Fort George Island to discuss the construction of the church on the southern end of the island on the property of Maxwell and Louise McIntyre. When the bishop returned in February of 1883, the church was completed and under the care of the Rev. C. A. Rand, who was spending the winter in Florida. Ellen Eliza Ward also bequeathed in her will a \$10,000 endowment for the church, which the church received when she died in 1894.¹⁸¹

The construction of the church, however, caused bitter divisions among the residents of Fort George Island. When the Rollinses returned in the autumn of 1882, Hannah Rollins was “astonished to see a chapel already built” on a different lot than the one she had donated near the hotel. She was “deeply hurt, grieved,” and “very angry.” Rollins refused to go to the church, and Bishop Young held morning services in the dining room of the Rollinses’ home. The island’s white population was divided: the Stuarts, the Coopers, their friends, and several Pilot Town families supported the little church, but the “hotel people,” the McIntyres, Dr. Hall, the Parkers, Frank Weston, and the Fletchers sympathized with Hannah Rollins. After Bishop Young died in 1885, Bishop Edwin G. Weed (1847–1924) succeeded him and attempted to heal the rift on Fort George Island. Hannah Rollins remained adamant, however, and refused to go to St. George’s.

¹⁸⁰Gertrude Rollins Wilson, “The Story of the Long Church Built on Fort George Island as Witnessed by Gertrude R. Wilson,” typescript in Kingsley Plantation files, 1; Transaction nos. 9728 and 9729 (9 April 1877), Archibald Transcript Books; Terence H. E. Webb, *Saint George’s Episcopal Church* (Fort George Island, FL: Privately printed, 1986); *Fort George Island Association*, 18; *Annual Council Reports of the Diocese of Florida* (1877).

¹⁸¹Terence H. E. Webb, *Saint George’s Episcopal Church*; Joseph D. Cushman Jr., *A Goodly Heritage: The Episcopal Church in Florida, 1821–1892* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1965), 131. In 1883, Maxwell and Louise McIntyre sold their property on Fort George Island to Archibald and Caroline McIntyre. The latter gave one-third acre of their land, on which the church had been built, to the Protestant Episcopal Church in the Diocese of Florida. Transaction nos. 16894 (19 February 1883) and 18782 (5 March 1883), Archibald Transcript Books.

For years, Bishop Weed or the resident minister would come to the Rollinses' home and hold a communion service with morning prayer for both the Rollins family and their servants. Years later, after Ellen Eliza Ward died and her sons had left the island, Bishop Weed convinced Hannah Rollins to attend services at St. George's, but "she never took an active part in the church affairs." After Hannah Rollins died in 1906, her daughter Gertrude Rollins Wilson donated a stained glass window to the church in her memory.¹⁸²

Unfortunately for the Fort George Island Company and its stockholders, the newly expanded hotel was completely destroyed by fire during the summer of 1888, while the manager was away. A broken stove in the quarters of Tom Christopher, the black caretaker of the hotel, caused the fire. The insurance on the building had been allowed to lapse, and since the company had expended its available funds, the hotel was not rebuilt.¹⁸³

In 1890, Jonathan C. Greeley and Charles Holmes mortgaged the hotel property and other unsold portions of Fort George Island to Joseph Chadwick of Boston, who had been a stockholder in the Fort George Island Company. In 1904 Chadwick foreclosed and another Boston investor, Frank Wood, purchased the property for the Florida Realty and Investment Company for court costs. From 1888 to 1923 Fort George Island remained a winter home for several elite northern families, but it was not generally promoted as a resort area.

The Rollins "Homestead," as the Kingsley Plantation was called, had returned to the Rollins family in 1884 through the efforts of long-time family friend Charles Holmes. After Hannah Rollins died in 1906, "none of the family wanted to remain." Gertrude Rollins Wilson (1872–1956) and her husband Millar Wilson (1860–1938) "bought out the interests of my brother and Jack," her nephew. Gertrude Rollins Wilson "undertook to run the plantation, planting crops, raising colts and calves, and chicken." However, she soon learned that "Millar would never make a farmer." Wilson, born and reared in Scotland, had been a chemist in Pennsylvania and Connecticut until 1901, when he retired at the age of forty-one "because of ill-health and a desire to travel." Soon after he settled on Fort George Island, Wilson bought a small boat and later exchanged it for a forty-four-foot cruiser, in which the couple took many trips. But as Gertrude Rollins Wilson simply observed, "one cannot run a farm from a boat."¹⁸⁴

¹⁸²Terence H. E. Webb, *Saint George's Episcopal Church*; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "The Story of the Long Church Built on Fort George Island," 1–2; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 12–13.

¹⁸³Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," 15; Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 8.

¹⁸⁴Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 20; "Millar Wilson Dies; Funeral to Be Private," *Florida Times-Union*, 25 June 1938. For the land transactions that gave the Wilsons control of the Rollins Homestead, see deed from Onslow P. Rollins to Gertrude R. Wilson and Jack H. Rollins, dated 30 August 1906; deed from Jack H. Rollins and Gertrude R. Wilson to John Millar Wilson, dated 20 April 1907; and deed from Jack H. Rollins to J. Millar Wilson, dated 30 April 1908; all in Building and Grounds, Fort George Island, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL.

In 1923 Rear Admiral Victor Blue (1865–1928) founded the Army and Navy Club on Fort George Island and revived recreational development there. Blue had become familiar with the island through his acquaintance with the Stuart family. On October 17, 1899, Lt. Blue married



Figure 26. Rear Admiral Victor Blue, founder of the Army and Navy Country Club.

Eleanor Foote Stuart of Morristown, New Jersey, the daughter of John Stuart. Eleanor Blue had spent many winters at “Nelmar,” the Stuarts’ home on Fort George Island. “Nelmar” had been named for Eleanor (“Nellie”) and her sister Marion. Admiral Blue had graduated from the United States Naval Academy at Annapolis in 1887 and spent the next thirty-two years on active duty in the navy. During the Spanish-American War, Blue performed extraordinary service by going ashore on the Cuban coast to reconnoiter the location and strength of the enemy fleet in the harbor of Santiago. For this “extraordinary heroism,” Blue was advanced five numbers in rank in 1901. He also received the Distinguished Service Medal in World War I. In 1919 he retired because of a disease contracted in the line of duty as captain of the battleship *Texas* in the North Sea. The Blues moved to John Stuart’s winter home on Fort George Island in December 1919.¹⁸⁵

As a member of the Army and Navy Club of Washington, the New York Yacht Club, and several other clubs, Victor Blue sought both to replicate the club life on Fort George Island and to promote his real estate endeavors by organizing the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida. The Army and Navy Club and later the Ribault Club were attempts to combine the luxury of sea island resorts like the Jekyll Island Club, four islands to the north, with the climate of Florida’s resorts to the south.¹⁸⁶

On 13 December 1921, the Fort George Club, Inc., was chartered to “conduct and operate a club for the social and financial enjoyment and benefit of its stockholders and members.” The

¹⁸⁵“Victor Blue,” *National Cyclopaedia of American Biography* (New York: James T. White and Company, 1916), 15:128–29; Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Florida* (St. Augustine, FL: The Record Company, 1928), 629–30.

¹⁸⁶The parallels between the history of the Jekyll Island Club (1886–1942) and the hotels and clubs on Fort George Island are striking. Jekyll Island had an antebellum sea island cotton plantation, complete with tabby ruins, an Episcopal chapel built by club members, and a club of wealthy northern capitalists; the club faltered and closed in the 1940s. The similarities should not, however, overshadow the differences, as Fort George Island never drew the extremely wealthy clientele that formed the membership of the Jekyll Island Club. See William Barton McCash and June Hall McCash, *The Jekyll Island Club: Southern Haven for America’s Millionaires* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989).

club could “buy, sell, lease, own, mortgage, pledge, operate and otherwise deal in . . . golf course, club houses, hotels, cottages, houses and buildings of every description, polo grounds, yacht basins, aviation fields, swimming pools, tennis courts, athletic fields and the like.” Officers included President Victor Blue, Vice President Richard P. Daniel, and secretary and treasurer Joseph R. Dunn. Richard P. Daniel (1880–1968) was a native of Jacksonville and began a law practice there in 1902. By the 1920s he was a prominent attorney and civic leader in Jacksonville. The fate of this corporation is unclear, but it seems to have been superseded by the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida in 1923. The earlier organization’s charter reveals that Blue and others had formulated a plan for such a club by 1921.¹⁸⁷

On January 27, 1923, the Fort George Corporation was granted a state charter to “promote, foster, and assist financially or otherwise the organization of a club on Fort George Island.” The officers of the Fort George Corporation were President Victor Blue, Vice President John L. Clem, and Secretary and Treasurer Horatio N. Parker. Directors included these three men and Edward M. L’Engle and W. B. Rogers. In 1923 the Fort George Corporation purchased 208 acres including the Rollins “Homestead” (Kingsley Plantation) on Fort George Island from Gertrude Rollins Wilson, the daughter of John F. Rollins. By September 1923, Victor Blue requested that the Duval County commissioners construct a road from Cedar Point to Fort George Island to connect the new club to Jacksonville. The admiral reported that the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida had already been organized with members from the District of Columbia and fifteen states, and “the club house will be opened next winter.” Blue assured the commissioners that “most of the club members who have winter residences on the island will be owners of automobiles.” Therefore, with “no thought of pecuniary gain to any individual,” the club members hoped that the road would be built and would benefit both themselves and the county.¹⁸⁸

The Army and Navy Country Club of Florida was chartered as a not-for-profit corporation in 1923. The Club leased for \$1 per year from the for-profit Fort George Corporation fifty-eight acres on Fort George Island encompassing the Kingsley Plantation buildings and the surrounding area. An early prospectus of the Club and the Fort George Corporation declared that members would be accepted for an initiation fee of \$5, together with a loan to the club of \$100 for regular

¹⁸⁷*Florida Times-Union* (Jacksonville), 21 December 1921, 5; Pleasant Daniel Gold, *History of Duval County, Florida*, 254.

¹⁸⁸*Florida Times-Union*, 5 February 1923, 5; *Florida Times-Union*, 16 September 1923, 15. Blue’s plan for the roadway linking Fort George Island to Jacksonville was quite ambitious. “Fort George Island is twelve miles, as the crow flies, from Jacksonville. A high marsh, much of it above water mark, separates the island from Cedar Point on the mainland north of the St. Johns River. There are required about six and one-half miles of road to connect Cedar Point with good roads leading into Jacksonville. A causeway, one and one-half miles long, with a draw bridge over the inland water route similar to the one on the Pablo Beach Road, will connect the island with Cedar Point. The construction of this road will prove of great value to Jacksonville and Duval County by assisting the club movement in establishing a community of Northern interests on Fort George Island.” *Florida Times-Union*, 16 September 1923, 15.

members or \$1000 for life members. The club would be limited to 250 members. Plans called for "a central club house, as well as an annex with sleeping accommodations." The Kingsley Plantation House, "which is to be fitted out as a central club house will be used temporarily during the coming winter for the accommodation of members who wish to visit Florida." The Plantation House served for several years as the clubhouse, although the prospectus called for the annex to be completed by January 1, 1925. Meanwhile, the Fort George Corporation, which had purchased 208 acres of land on the island for \$20,000 and had leased fifty-eight of those acres to the Army and Navy Country Club, had the responsibility for selling the remaining 150 acres that had been divided into lots.¹⁸⁹

The founding members of the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida were mostly army and naval officers, many of them retired. Of the forty-six founding members of the Club, thirty-seven were men. Of these, thirteen were retired naval officers, two were retired army officers, seven were active naval officers, and one was an active army officer. The remaining fourteen included four doctors, a few business leaders, and at least one attorney.¹⁹⁰

In 1926 the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida became the Fort George Club under a new charter; membership in the old club served as an initiation fee into the new club. The new clubhouse for the Fort George Club was built in 1927. It was designed by Theodore E. Blake of the architectural firm of Carrère and Hastings in New York City. Blake, also a member of the club, had "very generously given his services in the matter." Blake designed a two-story building made of a tabby-like mixture of oyster shell and cement. The roof was to be covered with "fire-proofed hand split cypress shingles." The new building would provide accommodations for up to twenty-six persons. The old clubhouse, the Kingsley Plantation House, could accommodate an additional twelve guests if necessary. Also, "various near-by bungalows generally available for the use of guests will provide additional quarters for about fifteen persons." Some club members by 1926 or 1927 had "already started to build their own cottages." Several other members of the club had "expressed their intention of building bungalows for occupancy which will have a tendency to free more of the living quarters for casual guests." During the life of the Fort George Club, at least six houses or bungalows were erected either by the club or by individual members.¹⁹¹

¹⁸⁹*Prospectus of the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida and of the Fort George Corporation, Fort George, Florida* (n.p., c. 1923).

¹⁹⁰*Ibid.*

¹⁹¹C. L. Bean to Mr. Robert D. Fisher, 30 September 1941, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; "Fort George Club, 6% Sinking Fund Gold Bonds due January 1, 1933" (c. 1927), photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files. Evidence for the date of construction comes from two sources:

The Treasurer's Report for the year ending 31 December 1928 noted that "At the beginning of the period we were faced with considerable constructive costs to meet." "Annual Report of the Fort George Club. Minutes of Annual Meeting, January 5th, 1929," photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files.

The later reminiscences of a club member (perhaps Mrs. Victor Blue), who wrote that "I was away in 1926 and

As the Fort George Club became an established resort, another club opened on the eastern side of the island on the site of the old Fort George Hotel of the 1870s and 1880s. The Ribault Club¹⁹² was designed to be “an exclusive playground that will bring together many of the most wealthy, socially prominent and economically capable men in the United States.” The founders hoped the club would draw southern guests during the summer and northern visitors during the winter months. Like the Army and Navy Country Club, the Ribault Club was backed by a for-profit corporation, the Ribault Inn Club, Inc., that had purchased approximately 635 acres on Fort George Island from the Florida Realty and Investment Company in 1927. The Ribault Inn Club, Inc., donated 125 acres to the Ribault Club for the construction of “an 18-hole golf course, tennis courts, polo field, bathing pavilion, Main Lodge and Cottage Sites.” The corporation expected to sell the remaining property as “a highly restricted residential and tourist suburb.”¹⁹³

In an initial prospectus for the Ribault Club, an invitation committee composed of physician Dr. Edward M. L’Engle, lumber company president Marc L. Fleishel, banker Don M. Barnett (b. 1912), real estate developer James R. Stockton, and insurance agent Milton E. Bacon (b. 1884), all from Jacksonville, cited the success of the Fort George Club, which had “grown and prospered notwithstanding the inaccessibility and complete isolation of Fort George Island up to the present time.” Victor Blue provided encouragement for the new venture in a March 1927 letter to Stevens Heckscher, a Philadelphia attorney and one of the founders of the Ribault Club. Blue reflected that “my proposition [the Army and Navy Club] was only a small one compared to that of the Ribault. Considering the Ribault as an investment only, there is nothing equal to it anywhere. It is like finding money.” The Fort George Club succeeded without a road connecting Fort George Island to Jacksonville, but by the summer of 1927, Bay Shore Boulevard linked the two. Blue exclaimed that with the highway completed, “how much more successful should the Ribault undertaking be!” He estimated that “those who go into the Ribault as participating members will get back at least 5 to 1, and that within a few years.” The prospectus

returned to the Island in 1927 just as the first Club house was dedicated. Not long after this Admiral Blue died.” Blue died on 22 January 1928. Unsigned to Mrs. Evans, Fort George, FL, 18 December 1958, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files.

¹⁹²The names and spellings of this club vary, even in the promotional literature and on the letterhead of the club itself. Apparently, the club began as the Ribault Inn Club, but in 1928 became the Ribault Club. In 1933 the organization became the Jean Ribaut Club. The term and spelling “Ribault Club” will be used consistently in the text, though the notes and direct quotations will reflect the usages of the sources.

The Ribault Inn Club was originally to be located at Dame’s Point, farther up the St. Johns River toward Jacksonville. Invitation for Jacksonville Mayor John T. Alsop to become a free, lifetime member of the Ribault Inn Club, c. 1923, Fort George Island vertical file, Jacksonville Historical Society Collection, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL.

¹⁹³“Society’s Newest Winter Playground,” *Jacksonville Journal*, clipping in Kingsley Plantation files; “Prospectus of Ribault Inn Club, Incorporated” (c. 1927), in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr., Jacksonville, FL.

proclaimed that the membership opportunity provided “unusual recreational advantages for yourself and your family” and “unquestioned financial profits.”¹⁹⁴

The Ribault Clubhouse was built during 1928, and the formal opening took place on December 1, with a buffet supper and a dance in the lounge “to music furnished by a five-piece orchestra.” The charge for rooms was \$10 to \$12 per day per person for members in 1930; guests paid an additional \$2 per day. The southern wing included “special quarters” for “a limited number of maids and chauffeurs,” at a charge of \$5 per day.¹⁹⁵

To meet an increasing demand for accommodations, a syndicate of club members financed the construction of the lodge in 1929. Situated a few hundred feet north of the clubhouse overlooking the yacht basin, the wood-frame lodge contained a living room and twelve bedrooms, each with a private bath. Members staying at the lodge also paid \$10 to \$12 per day per person in 1930. They received their meals with the other visitors in the dining room of the clubhouse. By comparison, the Fort George Club charged members from \$7 to \$9 per day per person in the 1930–1931 season. Guests at the Fort George Club paid 20 percent more than members.¹⁹⁶

An early roster of the Ribault Club’s membership showed eighty-nine members from Philadelphia, sixty-five from Jacksonville, twenty-two from New York, nine from Pittsburgh, nine from Wilmington, Delaware, three from Boston, three from Fort George Island, and a few from other locations. Prominent among the Ribault Club’s members were W. D. Baldwin (b. 1856), chairman of the board of the Otis Elevator Company, New York; Donaldson Brown (b. 1885), vice president of the General Motors Company, New York; Alfred I. du Pont (1864–1935), capitalist, Wilmington; Lamot du Pont (1880–1952), president of the E. I. du Pont de Nemours Company, Wilmington; F. Abbot Goodhue (b. 1883), president of the Bank of Manhattan; Stevens Heckscher, attorney, Philadelphia; Frederick Jordan, official of Brill and Company, street car manufacturers, Philadelphia; A. Atwater Kent (1873–1949), radio manufacturer, Philadelphia; Robert McLean (b. 1891), publisher of the *Evening Bulletin*, Philadelphia; and Nettleton Neff, capitalist, Chicago.¹⁹⁷

¹⁹⁴“The Ribault Inn Club, Inc.,” in private possession of William Arnold Jr.; Victor Blue to Stevens Heckscher, 30 March 1927, copy in private possession of William Arnold Jr.; “Prospectus of the Ribault Inn Club Incorporated.”

¹⁹⁵Helen Wilcox, “Formal Opening of Clubhouse on Fort George Island Draws Society and Industry Leaders,” *Sunday Times-Union*, 2 December 1928; “Ribault Club, Season 1930–31,” pamphlet in Kingsley Plantation files.

¹⁹⁶“Ribault Club, Season 1930–31,” pamphlet in Kingsley Plantation files; “Fort George Club, Season of 1930–1931,” photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files.

¹⁹⁷“Membership Roster, April 1, 1928,” in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; Robert Talley, “Winter Eden Rises on Old Slave Site,” *Washington Post*, 10 February 1935; *Who’s Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1928), 15:220, 881, 1197. For more information on the du Ponts, see Joseph Frazier Wall, *Alfred I. du Pont: The Man and His Family* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1990), esp. 465–507.

A March 1930 roster of Ribault Club stockholders included 111 from Philadelphia, sixty-three from

Some of the Jacksonville and Fort George Island elite belonged to both the Ribault and the Fort George Clubs, including Victor Blue, Richard P. Daniel, Percy J. Stollenwerck, Millar Wilson, and Edward M. L'Engle. L'Engle was a founding member of both clubs, the first president of the Ribault Club, and a second vice president of the Fort George Club. In February 1927, organizers of the Ribault Club announced plans to "amalgamate" the two clubs. Plans for the union were to be "completed at a later meeting of the executive committees of both organizations," but the merger never occurred. The relationship between the clubs remained cordial, however. While the Fort George Clubhouse burned in 1936, members and employees of the Ribault Club helped recover some of the furnishings. The Fort George Club later voted "that the gratitude of the Club be extended to members of the Jean Ribault Club, to Mr. Rhydon Dennett and employees of that Club who so materially assisted in salvaging many articles of value from the Club House during the fire." In January 1942, when the Ribault Club faced financial difficulties and a late opening, the Fort George Club offered its facilities "to any members or their guests of the Jean Ribaut Club who might wish to visit the Island before the formal opening of their Club."¹⁹⁸

Less visible than the wealthy members and guests, but still vital to the success of the clubs were the managers, caretakers, and servants. The managers and caretakers were white, while most of the servants were black. Jairus A. Moore, a retired army colonel, served as the Army and Navy Club's first resident manager. Late in the 1920s, the club employed as resident manager Mrs. Clay Brown, who "has successfully managed a noted summer hotel at Biddeford Pool, Maine, for the last twenty years." In addition, Mrs. Brown would "bring her trained servants with her." In 1930 the club hired J. R. Hooke as the resident manager. In 1931 Earl Cossaboom, who "comes from Nova Scotia where he has been managing a hotel and cottage colony successfully for several years," replaced Hooke as resident manager. By 1935 women had assumed the role of resident manager; in that year, Mrs. Helen Montgomery served as club manager. In 1940 Miss Estelle Dezenremel, "whose successful management in the past has been very gratifying to members and guests," would again serve as resident manager. The following year, Miss Helen Crocker, "a southern lady" with "wide experience as a dietician and in the management of important establishments," became the resident manager. The records of resident managers for the Ribault Club are less complete, but Mrs. Emma C. Munoz served as resident manager from 1934 to 1941. Rhydon C. Dennette (1897-1986) also served as the caretaker of the Ribault Club

Jacksonville, forty-nine from New York, fifteen from Boston, thirteen from Pittsburgh, six from Wilmington, six from Fort George Island, two from Chicago, and fourteen from other locations. "Ribault Club, Season 1930-31," pamphlet in Kingsley Plantation files.

¹⁹⁸"Ribault Inn Club Plans to be Ready Within Sixty Days," *Florida Times-Union*, 16 February 1927; F. B. Bassett to Albert Gerhardt, 5 January 1937, in the private possession of Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., Jacksonville, FL; Acting Secretary of the Fort George Club to Oswald Chew, 6 January 1942, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files.

property from 1928 until the 1940s. Dennette and his family lived in the Ribault Clubhouse during the summers when the club was closed.¹⁹⁹

Even more obscure are the lives of the cooks, maids, chauffeurs, caddies, groundskeepers, and other servants who worked at the clubs. Undoubtedly, most of these servants were black, and they left little record of their contributions to the Recreational Development era of Fort George Island's history. Only rarely do they receive mention in either club records or articles about the clubs. However, a few glimpses of their lives are available in various records. Captain Morgan of the United States Navy, a member of the Fort George Club, purchased "Red Top" (the Borgmeyer-Bibber House) from Mrs. Lilla D. Borgmeyer in 1929 or 1930. In 1930 he paid Rufus, a black laborer, \$2.25 per day for spading. In January 1931 he opened "Red Top" with Ida and Rufus, who scrubbed the house, and again in January 1932 "Rufus scrubbed [the] lower porch" of "Red Top." During the 1934-1935 season, a reporter noted about the Fort George Club's members, "every comfort will be theirs . . . for Mrs. Helen Montgomery, the club manager, and her staff of white-coated Negro servants will see to that." Reminiscent of the Fort George Hotel fire of 1888, some Fort George Club members attributed the clubhouse fire of 1936 to "the carelessness of Morris," a black caretaker. Rufus and Morris were still employed by the club in 1940, when Theodore E. Blake wrote to Charles L. Bean to "give my remembrances to Morris and Rufus." In November 1940 club officials assured visitors that "their needs will be taken care of by our old group of well-trained servants." Visitors who brought their cars could expect to find garage space and accommodations for their chauffeurs: "the rates for white chauffeurs will be \$25 per week or \$4 per day; rates for colored chauffeurs somewhat lower." In January 1941 Bean complained to a club member, "labor is very difficult to get down here. . . . Rufus seems to be the only creature around and he has taken Morris's place and is fully occupied." Four months later Bean reported, "Rufus has his hands full at the Club with Lawrence's help most of the time and no one seems to want to work after hours." At the Ribault Club, five black people—Cochran, his wife Maybelle, Bozie, Bob, and Sam—maintained the golf course and club grounds.²⁰⁰

¹⁹⁹"Prospectus of the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida and of the Fort George Corporation"; Invitation to join Fort George Club, c. 1928-1929, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; "Fort George Club, Season of 1931-1932"; Robert Talley, "Winter Eden Rises on Old Slave Site," *Washington Post*, 10 February 1935; "To the Members of the Fort George Club," 15 November 1940, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; "To the Members of the Fort George Club," 15 November 1941, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; W. E. Arnold to the Members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 30 October 1935; E. M. L'Engle to Rydon Dannett [sic], 10 December 1928, in the private possession of Rhydon C. Dennette Jr. For information on Rhydon C. Dennette, see Interview with Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., 8 September 1989, 1-9, transcription in Kingsley Plantation files. See also Oswald Chew to the Members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 31 December 1941, in which Chew wrote, "It seemed probable that if the Club was not able to open this winter, it might never be able to open again. Unless Dennett, or someone else, can be retained to protect the property when it is closed, undoubtedly the Club Houses will be broken into and ransacked."

²⁰⁰"Journal of Captain Morgan, U.S.N.," photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Robert Talley, "Winter Eden Rises on Old Slave Site," *Washington Post*, 10 February 1935; Unsigned to Mrs. Evans, 18 December 1958, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Theodore E. Blake to Charles L. Bean, 9 July 1940, photocopy in Kingsley

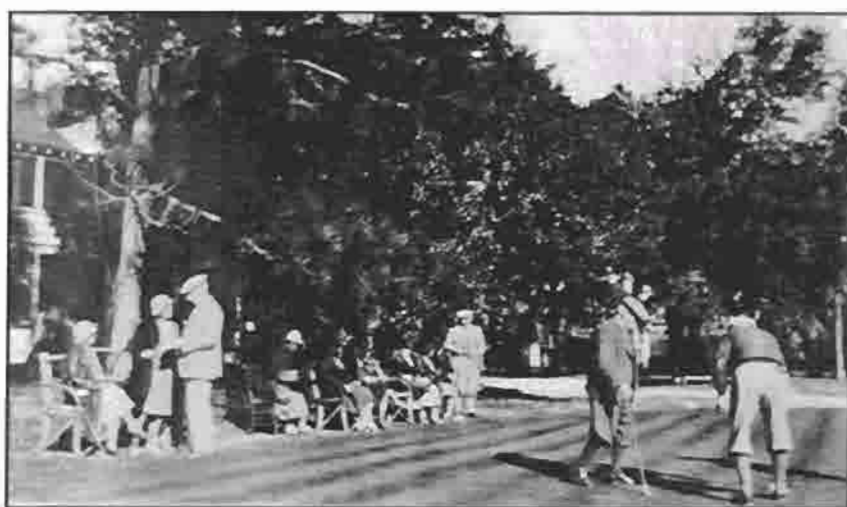


Figure 27. Golfers putting on the lawn of the Fort George Club, c. 1935.

Life for members and guests at the Fort George and Ribault Clubs revolved around outdoor leisure activities. The Army and Navy/Fort George Club declared that "motor boating for the inland waters will be encouraged as a motor sport" since the club stood "at the gateway to more than a thousand miles of smooth inland waters." The Ribault Club boasted a nine-hole golf course that had been "literally carved out of the tropical virgin forest." Just behind the clubhouse were two clay tennis courts, "always in excellent condition." The nearby yacht basin provided shelter for yachts, and the beach on Little Talbot Island had proven "very popular for picnics and bathing." Fishing immediately around the island and at sea could yield sea bass, sea trout, sheepshead, pompano, red snapper, whiting, mullet, and others. The waters around Fort George Island also included diamondback terrapin and oysters. In addition to opportunities for fishing, "flights of ducks during the winter months afford good shooting around the Island, and within a distance of 4 or 5 miles there is good quail shooting." A later brochure boasted of additional facilities: "a bowling green, putting green, canoeing, still water and surf bathing, fishing and crabbing, and walks through the bird sanctuary, where over eighty species have been seen, some of them rare."²⁰¹

Plantation files; "To the Members of the Fort George Club," 15 November 1940, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Charles Bean to Mr. R. Greef, 2 January 1941, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Charles Bean to Mr. R. Greef, 3 May 1941, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Interview with Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., 8 September 1989, 2, transcription in Kingsley Plantation files.

In 1931 Carita Doggett Corse noted with more romanticism than accuracy that "a golf course now climbs Mount Cornelia and the caddies who follow the players are, many of them, descendants of the slaves who came in Kingsley's ships from the Congo." Carita Doggett Corse, *The Key to the Golden Islands* (Chapel Hill, NC: University of North Carolina Press, 1931), 138.

²⁰¹"Prospectus of the Army and Navy Country Club of Florida and of the Fort George Corporation"; "Ribault Club, Season 1930-31"; "The Ribault Inn Club, Inc.," typescript in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr. See also "Jacksonville's Newest Pleasure Resort," *Florida Times-Union*, 31 January 1929.

Some visitors to the Ribault Club dubbed it "as congenial as a large house party." Promoters quickly adopted the phrase for use in promotional literature: "Comment has frequently been made that the Ribaut Club is like a 'large house party.'" "Everyone who has visited the Club," the brochure asserted, "is impressed with the hospitality and the absence of usual Club formalities." In 1930 Boston stockbroker James Jackson wrote to W. E. Arnold (1898-1971), the secretary of the Ribault Club, enclosing a check for \$1,250 for a life membership in the club. Jackson had "a perfectly delightful time" during his two weeks at the club, and he hoped "everything will be done to keep the Club small and simple." "That," he continued, "will mean its continued value as far as I am concerned. On account of the informality the place has attracted me; in fact it is the only spot in Florida yet of any interest to me."²⁰²

Generally the season for both clubs began in late fall and continued into early spring. The 1930-1931 season began for the Ribault Club "on or about October 15th, 1930," and the club offered special rates for the months of October, November, and December. The Fort George Club began its 1930-1931 season on December 15 and intended to remain open until April 1, 1931 "or later." As the clubs faced declining numbers of guests, the club season became proportionately smaller. By 1935 the Ribault Club was opening on December 14. Ribault Club President Oswald Chew informed club members on December 31, 1941, that "the Club will not be opened until about the tenth of February unless reservations are sufficient to justify an earlier opening. It has remained open in former years until about the middle of April, but will be closed this year as soon as it becomes clear it will not pay to remain open any longer." Chew later reported to the members that "a number of important economies have been instituted this year, such as . . . opening the club in February instead of in January as in previous years."²⁰³

The Fort George Club was hampered in its operations when in March 1936 the clubhouse burned. A fire apparently started in the furnace room of the club early on the morning of March 1. Although the entire wooden second story was destroyed, the first floor walls remained. Much of the furniture was also salvaged. After the fire guests were housed in the club's annex, the Kingsley Plantation House, which had "always been preserved for the sake of its association with the past and for use as overflow quarters when the new structure was filled." The clubhouse was insured, and the club collected \$32,247.63 on the building. Because the tabby cement walls of

²⁰²W. E. Arnold to the members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 30 October 1935, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; "Jean Ribaut Club," brochure, c. 1936-1940, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; Jesse Jackson to W. E. Arnold, 14 April 1930, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.

²⁰³"Ribault Club, Season 1930-31"; "Fort George Club, Season of 1930-1931," in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; W. E. Arnold to the members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 30 October 1935; Oswald Chew to the Members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 31 December 1941, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; Report of Oswald Chew, c. 1942, 2, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr. See also "Fort George Club, Season of 1931-1932," photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files. Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., whose father was caretaker of the Ribault Club, recalled "The earliest that I ever remember it opening one time they tried it in November. . . . the latest I seen it was the first two weeks in May." Interview with Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., 8 September 1989, 6, transcription in Kingsley Plantation files.

the first story remained standing and in good condition, "contractors agreed to restore the building, with some improved changes, for \$24,000." By April 1938 the restoration was underway, and club officials predicted it "will be ready for occupancy before the Winter season opens." The architects for the restoration were Theodore E. Blake of New York, who had designed the original clubhouse, and Everett T. Meeks of New Haven, Connecticut, both members of the Fort George Club.²⁰⁴

More serious difficulties faced both clubs, however. Although both the Fort George and the Ribault Clubs remained active after the stock market crash of 1929, the deepening depression in the 1930s hindered their growth as did the uncertainties and new commitments associated with world war in the 1940s. The 1920s land boom in Florida was a distant memory, and resorts further south on the Atlantic coast and others on the Gulf coast beckoned northern elites.²⁰⁵

The Fort George Club began to feel financial pressures by the mid-1930s. Although club operations generally showed a net profit, the club incurred a loss through the accumulation of bond interest that it was unable to pay. On January 1, 1933, the bonds that the club used to finance the construction of the clubhouse became due. The club could not meet these obligations, however. During the mid-1930s the club had small net operating gains or losses, but it was unable to pay any interest on its bonds. During the 1935-1936 fiscal year, for example, the club posted a net gain of \$4.21 during the guest season, but year-round operating expenses and bond interest losses produced a total annual loss of \$4,135.68. After the clubhouse burned in 1936, the club voted to use the insurance money to rebuild the clubhouse and to exchange the 6 percent sinking fund bonds for new 5 percent, thirty-year bonds.²⁰⁶

By 1947 the membership of the Fort George Club "had become so reduced in numbers by resignations and largely by deaths that it was evident that the Club could no longer operate with so few contributing members." The club opened itself to the public during the 1947-1948 season "with success," but "members objected to it because it hurt Club life." At a meeting in New York in 1948 the members voted "with regret to suspend operation." They authorized Mrs. William Alexander Evans, whose husband had been president of the club from Victor Blue's death in 1928 until his own death in 1938, to dispose of the club property. Mrs. Evans in turn appointed

²⁰⁴"Rebuilding Plans Considered for Clubhouse on Fort George," *Florida Times-Union*, 8 March 1936; Unsigned to Mrs. Evans, 18 December 1958, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; "Fort George Club, Tentative Balance Sheet, November 30, 1936," photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; "New Fort George Clubhouse is Now Under Construction," *Florida Times-Union*, 17 April 1938.

²⁰⁵Rhydon C. Dennette Jr. attributed the Ribault Club's failure to the depression and a generational change in tastes: "by the time it was built, the Depression came along, the banks failed and then the younger people, they discovered -- uh -- south of here. There wasn't enough excitement, I guess, for them." Interview with Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., 8 September 1989, 6, transcription in Kingsley Plantation files.

²⁰⁶"Resolutions re Fort George Club Mortgage," c. 1937, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; "Fort George Club, Tentative Balance Sheet, November 30, 1936," photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Unsigned to Mrs. Evans, 18 December 1958, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files.

T. M. Kirbo of Jacksonville as sales agent. Kirbo and his associates contacted resorts and clubs in the North and the South, convalescent homes, nursing homes, and individuals about purchasing the property. Although "they created a great deal of interest," they were unable to sell the property and "gave up the job at the end of their allotted year." By 1950 the club had dwindled to fifteen members, and some of the club property was sold. The clubhouse and surrounding eight acres remained unsold. The State Park Board became interested in the site for its historic value during the early 1950s. Initially, however, the state legislature rejected the club's price of \$45,000. Kirbo again attempted to sell the property in 1954 and interested the St. Regis Paper Company in the property as a weekend resort for their employees. The company's offer of \$37,000, however, did not meet the club's indebtedness and was rejected. In 1955 the Governor and Cabinet ordered the Park Board to purchase the Fort George Clubhouse and immediate surroundings for \$45,000. The National Park Service took possession of the Kingsley Plantation complex on October 1, 1991.²⁰⁷

As the Fort George Club was faltering, the Ribault Club likewise faced declining membership and dwindling revenues. In 1935 Secretary W. E. Arnold reported to the club members that the Ribault Club had made a real profit of \$3,777 from the clubhouse operations during the 1934-1935 season. Although during the "lean years" the club accumulated debts of \$9,300, continued use by members and their friends could liquidate the debt within a few years and "we will soon be on the road to prosperity." Apparently the next seasons did not match the 1934-1935 season, for in February 1938 N. Penrose Hallowell, a member from New York, wrote W. E. Arnold: "I am distressed over the lack of support the members are giving the Club by not visiting it. The answer from many of them is that when they go South they want to be sure of warmer weather than sometimes occurs at the Ribaut. This year many of them have told me they cannot go on account of finances." Arnold was clearly discouraged, as Hallowell wrote, "I cannot blame you for not wanting to shoulder forever the exacting job of Secretary of the Club but I certainly hope that you will hang on for another year or two until we see if we cannot get straightened out." Hallowell admitted that "I certainly do not want to attach myself to a dead horse," but he had "a distinct feeling that we can make the critter live."²⁰⁸

²⁰⁷Unsigned to Mrs. Evans, 18 December 1958, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files: "Fort George Club's Lands Will Be Sold," *Florida Times-Union*, 16 September 1950. The 1955 purchase included the Kingsley Plantation House, Kitchen House, and Barn, but did not include the slave cabin arc. These structures were purchased separately in 1966, with the exception of Cabins W15 and W16. The National Park Service purchased Cabins W15 and W16 and other neighboring properties subsequent to its acquisition of the Kingsley Plantation site in 1991. James C. Craig, "New Park Recalls Age of Colonizers," *Florida Times-Union*, 27 February 1955; Dena Snodgrass, "The Masters of Fort George Island," *Florida Times-Union*, 27 March 1966.

²⁰⁸W. E. Arnold to the members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 30 October 1935, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; N. Penrose Hallowell to W. E. Arnold, 15 February 1938, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr. Operations of the Ribault Clubhouse generally showed a yearly profit in excess of \$3,000, but in three years it dropped to considerably less; in 1933 it was as little as \$326. Report of Oswald Chew, President, c. 1942, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.

The critter lived, but it did not thrive. By the fall of 1941, the Ribault Club lacked money in its treasury for wages and expenses associated with opening the club. A handful of members pledged the necessary \$2,000, and the club opened in February 1942 with the understanding that it would close “as soon as it becomes clear it will not pay to remain open any longer.” In a letter to members in December 1941, President Oswald Chew declared that “it will be necessary to decide at the annual meeting which comes at the end of February just what should be done with regard to the future of the Club.” At the annual meeting, Chew made clear how serious the situation had become. Although the clubhouse showed a profit each year, grounds maintenance eliminated the profit. In the 1940-1941 season, for example, the clubhouse profit of \$3,113 plus dues of \$2,800, when combined with grounds maintenance costs of \$6,262, yielded a deficit of \$349 for the year. “This of course, does not include taxes \$1,000, interest on notes and bonds, depreciation and other expenses.” Faced with a debt that was growing by approximately \$2,000 per year, the Ribault Club had to make difficult decisions. Chew determined to introduce “a number of important economies,” but maintained that the club must raise dues from \$25 to \$50 per year. Even if the club were disbanded, Chew insisted, “this is no time to sell the club property.” Although “efforts have been made to find a buyer, . . . no buyer was found at any price.” Despite the bleak outlook, Chew urged the members not to “take a pessimistic attitude.” Over \$300,000 had been expended on the club, and if it were sold, it should bring at least \$100,000. Chew believed that “styles and fashions change in regard to clubs and localities.” In the future, he mused, “more people will lose interest in the ultra-fashionable and extra-expensive clubs and resorts in Florida and in other of the Southern States and will seek places where a worth while atmosphere of select, but not snobbish companionship exists, where one can have company or seclusion, where no intrusion exists, and where one can do what one pleases in ones own sweet way. Such a place the Ribaut Club is and always has been.”²⁰⁹

Changes in “styles and fashions” did not favor the Ribault Club, and in 1946 the property was sold to the Fort George Land Company, a partnership of Jacksonville men including Walter McRae, Henry Miller, and Charles Griner. In 1954 the Fort George Investment Company purchased the property; two years later, Paul E. Reinhold purchased the interests of his partners Walter McRae and E. White. In 1963 Reinhold bought additional land from Rollins College and in 1968 expanded the golf course from nine to eighteen holes. In the 1970s Reinhold attempted several times to get much of the island rezoned to permit high-density development of the island. Unsuccessful in his efforts, Reinhold in 1985 sold the Ribault Club properties and golf course to Fairfield Communities, who likewise attempted to develop the island commercially. Foiled by those concerned over Fort George Island’s ecological and historic integrity, Fairfield Communities sold its properties to the State of Florida in 1989. The City of Jacksonville leased the golf course from the state and operated it until September 1991.²¹⁰

²⁰⁹Oswald Chew to the Members of the Jean Ribaut Club, 31 December 1941, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.; Report of Oswald Chew, President, c. 1942, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr.

²¹⁰Terence H. E. Webb, *Fort George Island Visitor’s Guide*, 3rd ed. (Jacksonville, FL: Privately printed, 1990).

Although Gertrude Rollins Wilson sold the property she owned at the northern end of Fort George Island to the Fort George Corporation in 1923, she became the owner of two tracts on the south end of the island. The first had been the property of her cousin Francis Weston and the other had been the property of another cousin, Sadie Butler Burleigh. After living on her property for some time, Burleigh returned to New Hampshire. During her absence of many years, the house burned. When she returned to examine the property, she deeded it to Gertrude Rollins Wilson. In 1939 Wilson deeded the adjoining Weston and Burleigh tracts to Rollins College of Winter Park, Florida. The 150-acre tract became the John F. Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary. In 1940, Gertrude Rollins Wilson and her attendant, Charles Morris Jr., built a "garage with the two stalls and two rooms for workmen." In 1941, Wilson, Morris, Morris's father, and several black workmen constructed a lodge for the use of students and faculty from Rollins College. During the 1940s students and faculty from Rollins College used the Sanctuary for scientific expeditions. The college employed "a colored man living on the back ten acres. He has his house for life, his only duty being to walk over the place once a week. He is one of the few old people left from plantation days." Charles Morris Jr., the "warden," also went to the Sanctuary "several times a week with one or more colored men as needed for the work." In 1950 Rollins College transferred the property to the State Board of Parks and Historic Memorials, with the provision that the land remain a bird and wildlife sanctuary.²¹¹

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

The properties associated with the Recreational Development/Government Ownership Era are clustered in five areas. The first area on the eastern side of Fort George Island includes three buildings associated with the nineteenth-century recreational development of the island. This group includes the Stuart-Blue House, the Hall-Chappelle House, and St. George's Episcopal Church. The second area is Batton Island, the site of the Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House, which is peripherally related to the nineteenth-century recreational development of the area. The third area on the northwestern corner of Fort George Island contains buildings and structures associated with the Army and Navy Country Club and Fort George Club. This area includes the Kingsley Plantation House, the Fort George Clubhouse, the Lutz House and garage, the masonry entry gate, and the Borgmeyer-Bibber House. The fourth area is on the eastern side of Fort George Island and includes buildings connected with the Ribault Club development. The Ribault Clubhouse, the Ribault Lodge, the Golf Course, the Neff-Merrill House, the Hemenway-Barnett-

²¹¹Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 12, 22-24; Deed from Gertrude Rollins Wilson to Rollins College, 21 March 1939, copy in Building and Grounds, Fort George Island, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL; Unsigned to Norman D. Harris, 26 March 1947, Fort George Island vertical file, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College; "State to Get Title Soon to Bird Refuge," *Florida Times-Union*, 20 April 1950, 17, 36; "Bird Refuge Accepted by Gov. Warren," *Florida Times-Union*, 8 May 1950, 15, 21.

Knauer House, and the Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House are all associated with the Ribault Club. The fifth area is the Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary on the southern end of Fort George Island and includes the Sanctuary Lodge and garage.

Physical Characteristics²¹²

Only two houses and a church remain from the late-nineteenth-century resort development that centered around the Fort George Hotel. In August 1876 John Stuart purchased a lot of approximately 9.5 acres on the east side of the island along Edgewood Avenue. Probably in the next year, Stuart had a house built on his lot. The two-story wooden Stuart-Blue House faces east toward the ocean. It was constructed on concrete and/or brick piers and features a rectangular floor plan. The front of the house



Figure 28. Stuart-Blue House.

has a single-story porch that extends the length of the house. In the rear is a two-story addition, creating an ell extension. John Stuart dubbed the house “Nelmar,” for his daughters Eleanor (“Nellie”) and Marion. Rear Admiral Victor Blue of the United States Navy married Eleanor Stuart, and the Blues moved into the house in 1919 when Blue retired from active duty. After Victor Blue’s death in 1928, Eleanor Blue continued to live in the house until World War II. After the war Victor Blue Jr. (1914-1971) and his family used the house as a summer home. The house is currently rented as a private residence.

A few hundred feet south of the Stuart-Blue House is the Blue Pool House. This structure, which encloses an indoor swimming pool, was constructed in the 1960s by Victor Blue Jr. to complement the use of the Stuart-Blue House as a summer home.

Farther south of the Stuart-Blue House along Edgewood Avenue is the Hall-Chappelle House, formerly the home of Dr. George R. Hall. The main portion of the house is a one-story, side-gabled structure with a central hall (irregular plan). Attached to the central hall on the southwest is an 18'-square corner room. In March 1875 Hall, a botanist, purchased a fifteen-acre lot on the east side of Fort George Island. Three days later, he became one of John F. Rollins’s partners and was involved in the first Fort George Hotel venture. In the summer of 1875, 1876 or 1877, while the Rollinses were away in the North, Hall commissioned George Fletcher, the architect of the hotel, to construct on his lot a duplicate of the “Homestead,” the Kingsley Plantation House. When the Rollinses returned, “one room was completed with the little castle on top.” An outraged Hannah Rollins insisted that the building be stopped, and “no more of the

²¹²More detailed physical descriptions appear in Appendix A.

house was ever built" until Hall sold the property. Prior to his death in 1901, Michael Slattery erected the central hall and attached it to the corner room. In 1900 Charles H. Wilson, a Norwegian seaman, purchased the house; Wilson sold it in 1909 when he purchased the Falana/Wilson House in Pilot Town on Batton Island. During the club era, Louise S. Manning owned the house, and Leo and Doris Chappelle purchased the house from the Manning family. It is currently a private residence.²¹³

Just southwest of the Hall-Chappelle House is the Leo Chappelle House. The building is a 73' x 48', one-story, wood frame, side-gabled, three-part bungalow. The central portion of this building was constructed in the 1930s as a home for Louise S. Manning's house servants. Several additions have been made to the house, most recently in the 1990s.

St. George's Episcopal Church was organized in 1877 to serve the spiritual needs of northern visitors and homeowners on Fort George Island as well as their neighbors in the surrounding area. Built in 1882, the 29' x 49' wood frame, Carpenter Gothic church is oriented north and south with an entrance on the east side toward the northern end. The church features a steeply pitched gabled roof and pointed-arch leaded windows. The siding consists of board and batten with triangulated battens and a beveled apron. A gabled bell tower is set astride the gable on the north end. The stained-glass windows are stenciled with geometric and floral patterns pieced together with lead soldering. The central panel of the front chancel window depicts St. George. The church is still an active mission church of the Episcopal Church.

To the west of the church is the Marion Terry Fellowship Hall. This wood frame building was constructed in 1993 for the use of the congregation of St. George's Episcopal Church.

The Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House on Batton Island is not related to the late-nineteenth-century resort development on Fort George Island, but it does reflect the increasing use of this area for recreational or resort purposes. The two-story, square plan house has a two-tier veranda and various Victorian and Italianate details. Built around 1878 for Jonathan N. Gilbert, a New York dentist, the house has a third-story cupola for Gilbert's son George, who was a bar pilot. Napoleon Bonaparte Broward (1857-1910) purchased the house in 1897 as a summer home. Broward already owned "a fashionable home in Springfield," a suburb of Jacksonville, but that house was demolished in 1981. This house is the only extant building associated with Broward's productive life. At the time Broward purchased the house, he was Sheriff of Duval County, a member of the Jacksonville City Council, and a smuggler who supported Cuban rebels in their civil war against the Spanish colonial government. In 1901 Broward was elected to the Florida House of Representatives and in 1905, he became Governor of Florida. After running unsuccessfully for the United States Senate in 1908 while still governor, Broward was elected to the Senate in 1910, but died before assuming office. The Broward

²¹³Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 9; Terence H. E. Webb, *Fort George Island Visitor's Guide*; Wayne W. Wood, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage: Landmarks for the Future* (Jacksonville, FL: University of North Florida Press, 1989), 321.

House was listed on the National Register of Historic Places on December 27, 1972. Broward's descendants continue to own the house and rent it as a private residence.²¹⁴

Several buildings on the northwestern corner of Fort George Island were built by members of the Army and Navy Country and Fort George Clubs in the 1920s and 1930s. The Kingsley Plantation House was utilized as the clubhouse from the club's formation in 1923 until a new clubhouse could be constructed in 1927. During the period when the club owned the Kingsley Plantation House, the windows on the eastern sides of the eastern corner rooms were replaced with bay windows, perhaps in an effort to match the bay window on the room added by John F. Rollins between the two eastern corner rooms.

The original Fort George Clubhouse was constructed in 1927 according to plans drawn by New York architect and club member Theodore E. Blake. The two-story building, located approximately one hundred feet west of the Kingsley Plantation House, was constructed of a tabby-like mix of cement and oyster shells, and boasted a roof covered with fire-proofed cypress shingles. Unfortunately for the club, fire consumed the first clubhouse on March 1, 1936. By 1938 the clubhouse had been rebuilt on the old foundation, using the same general design with some improvements. The clubhouse continued to serve the Fort George Club until the organization disbanded in 1948. When the State of Florida purchased the property in 1955, state park rangers used the building for on-site housing. The National Park Service currently uses the clubhouse for offices, a ranger residence, and accommodations for volunteers and guests.

The Lutz House and the Borgmeyer-Bibber House²¹⁵ are both associated with the Fort George Club. The Lutz House is located south of the Kitchen House, just north of a roadway that was L'Engle Avenue and now serves as an access road to the Fort George Clubhouse and maintenance area. Built in 1926, the one-story, wood frame house measures 32' x 24', and has a roof covered with sheet metal and walls covered with cedar shingles. It is oriented east and west, with an entrance on the north. To the south of the house is an associated two-story, wood frame garage with a metal sheet roof and shingled walls. The house is now the private residence of Nancy Lutz, who purchased the house and lot in 1969. The National Park Service removed four other dilapidated cottages or bungalows and two associated garages in 1993. One of these

²¹⁴Wayne W. Wood, *Jacksonville's Architectural Heritage*, 322, 387. For more on Broward, see Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1950; reprint, Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993). For more on Broward's primary residence, built in 1895 on Church Street in Jacksonville, see Hank Drane, "Once-Grand Home of Former State Governor is Condemned," *Florida Times-Union*, 29 April 1981, B-1.

²¹⁵These buildings have been referred to as houses, cottages, and bungalows. This report will follow previous conventions and refer to the four buildings removed by the National Park Service in 1993 as bungalows and the other two buildings as houses. Club members themselves referred to at least some of the buildings as "bungalows," although none of the buildings seem to fit the definition of a bungalow as "a one-storied house with a low-pitched roof." One of the definitions of cottage—"a small house for vacation use"—seems to describe the original use of these buildings more accurately, though the Lutz and Borgmeyer-Bibber Houses are currently occupied as primary residences.

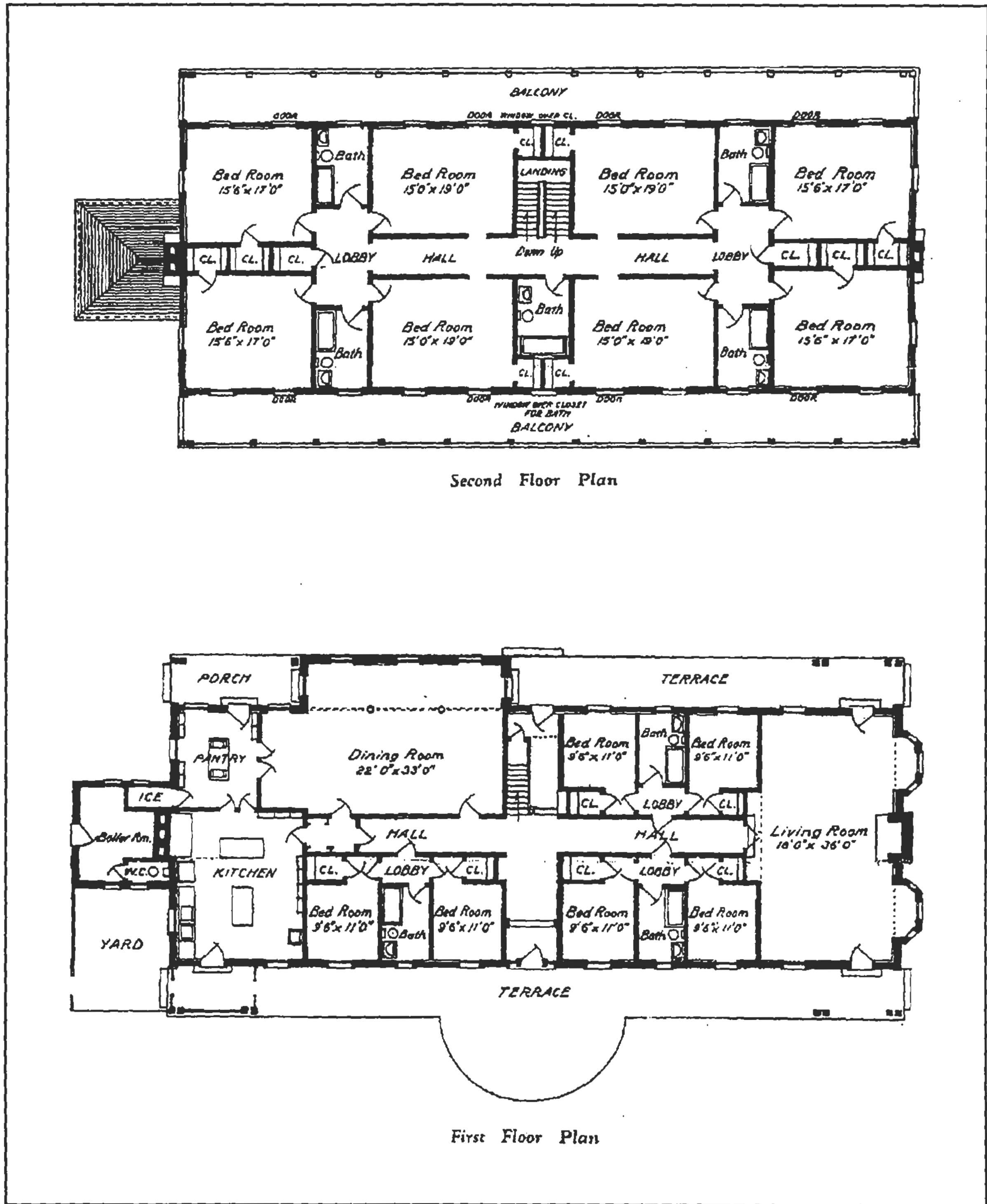


Figure 29. Floor plans of original Fort George Clubhouse, constructed in 1927 and burned in 1936. The clubhouse was rebuilt following the same general plans and reopened in 1938.

buildings was located south of the Lutz House on the south side of L'Engle Avenue. The other three were located along L'Engle Avenue to the west of the Lutz House.²¹⁶

The Borgmeyer-Bibber House is located on the south side of what was historically known as Beatty Avenue (now Fort George Road East). Built in 1927 or 1928 for Fort George Club member Mrs. Lilla D. Borgmeyer, the house was labeled "Red Top." The one-and-one-half story building measures 59' x 50', and has an L-shaped floor plan. Mrs. Borgmeyer sold the property in 1929 or 1930 to Captain Morgan of the United States Navy. Morgan used the house as a winter home at least through 1932. By 1940 Mr. R. Greef of New York owned "Red Top"; he still owned the house in mid-1941, but it is uncertain when he sold the property. The building is now a private residence owned by the Bibber family.²¹⁷

The six bungalows and houses were constructed either by individual members of the Fort George Club or by the club itself, c. 1926-1928. Charles L. Bean wrote to Mrs. Lilla D. Borgmeyer of New York, the owner of the Borgmeyer-Bibber House, in May 1928 that there was no news to report "except that we have completed the light line and all the bungalows have now the luxury of electric lights." This statement indicates the presence of at least three bungalows at that time, in addition to the Borgmeyer-Bibber House. Since the club began to decline by the mid-1930s, construction later than 1935 seems unlikely. When the owners were not using the dwellings, they were rented to other guests of the club.²¹⁸

The only other objects associated with the Fort George Club are a pair of entry gate posts. Constructed of a tabby-like mixture of concrete and oyster shell, the columns measure 2'4" square, six feet tall, and are approximately twenty feet apart. The posts mark the historic entrance to the Fort George Club property near the intersection of L'Engle Avenue and Admiral Blue Road (the northern extension of Palmetto Avenue).²¹⁹

²¹⁶Official Records, vol. 3062, p. 461, Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL. Lutz purchased the property from Victor Blue, Vivian Blue, and the estates of Marion S. Terry and Ellen S. Bassett, all former members of the Fort George Club. Victor Blue was Admiral Blue's son and Terry was the sister of his wife.

²¹⁷Mrs. L. D. Borgmeyer to C. L. Bean, 7 May 1928, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; C. L. Bean to Mrs. L. D. Borgmeyer, 12 May 1928, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Journal of Captain Morgan, U.S.N., 1930-1932, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; R. Greef to Charles Bean, 27 December 1940, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Charles Bean to Captain Greef, 2 January 1941, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files; Charles Bean to Mr. Greef, 3 May 1941, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files. On February 27, 1929, Mrs. L. D. Borgmeyer gave "a dinner of nine covers" in honor of her house guests, Mr. and Mrs. George Howe of Greenwich, Connecticut, and Mr. R. D. Smith of New York. "Social Notes from Fort George Club," *Florida Times-Union*, 2 March 1929.

²¹⁸C. L. Bean to Mrs. L. D. Borgmeyer, 12 May 1928, photocopy in Kingsley Plantation files.

²¹⁹During the Rollins era, the northern extension of Palmetto Avenue, from just south of the center of the slave cabin arc to the Kingsley Plantation House, was referred to as Home Avenue. Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward," 10.

The Ribault Club complex and associated houses are situated on the eastern side of Fort George Island toward the northern end. The Ribault Club complex includes three buildings and a golf course. To the north of the club are three houses constructed during the 1920s or 1930s by Ribault Club members. The Ribault Club itself is a large, H-shaped brick and frame clubhouse that measures approximately 248' x 195'. The Colonial Revival/Classical Revival building is oriented north and south and faces east toward the marsh that separates Fort George Island from Little Talbot Island.

The clubhouse, designed by New York architect Maurice Fatio, was built in 1928 at a cost of \$100,000. Mellen C. Greeley (1880-1981) of Jacksonville served as the supervising architect during the construction of the substantial brick and wood building. It contained fourteen bedrooms, four of which had private baths and ten of which had baths between each two rooms.²²⁰

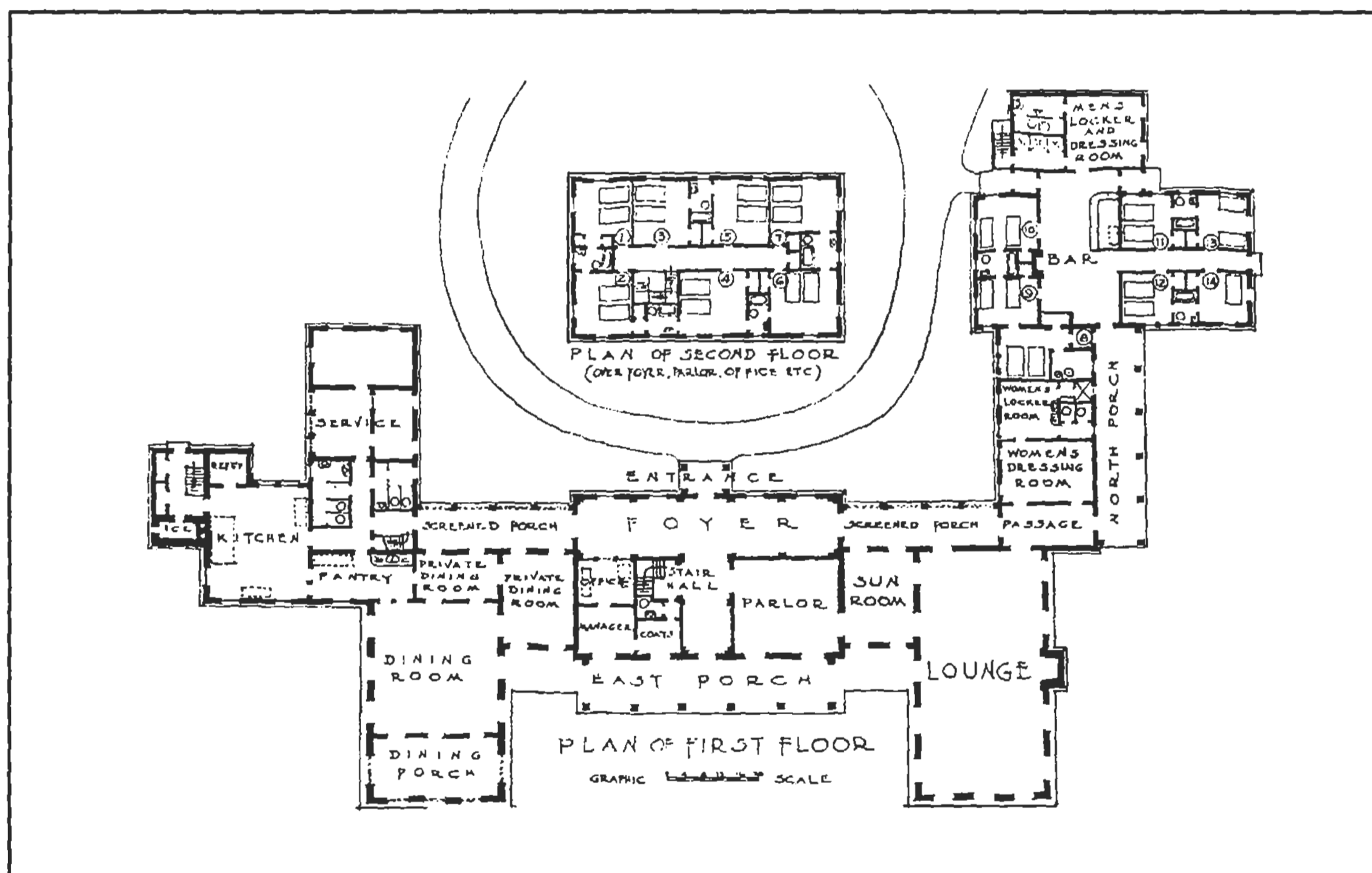


Figure 30. Floor plans of Ribault Clubhouse, built in 1928.

To meet an increased demand for accommodations, the Ribault Club constructed the Ribault Club Lodge a few hundred feet northeast of the main clubhouse in 1929. The wood frame,

²²⁰Helen Wilcox, "Formal Opening of Clubhouse on Fort George Island Draws Society and Industry Leaders," *Sunday Times-Union*, 2 December 1928 [This article includes a description of the decor in the entrance hall, club room, lounge, and dining room of the Ribault Club]; "Ribault Club, Season 1930-31," pamphlet in Kingsley Plantation files.

modest Colonial Revival building overlooks the yacht basin to the north. It contained a living room and twelve bedrooms, each with a private bath. The southeastern portion of the Lodge was destroyed by fire in 1956 and was never rebuilt.²²¹

To the west of the Ribault Club, across Edgewood Avenue (now Fort George Road), is the Ribault Club Caddy House. Built in c. 1928, the building was the dwelling for a time of the resident professional Bobby Matthews and was later used to store grass seed, fertilizer, and arsenic (used to control rodents on the golf course).

Even prior to the construction of the clubhouse, the Ribault Club built a nine-hole golf course on Fort George Island. The twenty-five acres of fairways began to the southwest of the clubhouse; from there, the course stretched westward into the interior of the island and then northward. The course turned eastward over Mount Cornelia and ended back at the Ribault Club. In 1968 Paul Reinhold, the owner of the former Ribault Club properties, completed the expansion of the course from nine to eighteen holes.²²² From 1989 to 1991 the City of Jacksonville leased the course from the State of Florida and operated it. Current plans call for the release of most of the fairways to native vegetation characteristic of marine hammock. All of the Ribault Club complex buildings and the golf course are now owned by the State of Florida and are part of the Talbot Islands State Park.²²³

Three other buildings have survived that are associated with the Ribault Club. The Neff House, the Hemenway-Barnett-Knauer House, and the Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House were all constructed as private residences by members of the Ribault Club. The Neff House, located northwest of the Ribault Clubhouse atop Mount Cornelia, is a one-and-one-half story Tudor revival house. The 87' x 60' building faces west and is composed of a three-story center turret flanked by two wings. The north wing and turret are original, and the south wing includes a garage added to the front of the original wing. The house was built for Nettleton Neff, a Chicago capitalist, although he apparently died before construction was completed. Neff's heirs sold the house to Kenneth Merrill. The State of Florida park system now owns the building and uses it for park offices.

The Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House is located just north of the Ribault Clubhouse along Ribault Road overlooking the yacht basin to the southeast. The 73' x 20' Tudor revival house is

²²¹"Ribault Club, Season 1930-31," pamphlet in Kingsley Plantation files.

²²²The expansion of the golf course in 1968 added forty-two additional acres of fairways, for a total of sixty-seven acres. Ed Rodgers was the resident golf professional at the Fort George Island Golf and Yacht Club from 1966 to 1969. Ken Hutchins became resident professional in 1969. "First Tourney is Scheduled at Ft. George," *Florida Times-Union*, 4 September 1969, A-22.

²²³A 1994 Florida Park Service report addendum concluded that "virtually the entire course should be allowed to revert to its original natural state." One of the management objectives for the golf course was "on all of the fairways allow natural biotic communities to become reestablished through natural processes." Department of Environmental Protection, Division of Recreation and Parks, "Fort George Island State Cultural Site Unit Management Plan," Addendum 8 (Unpublished report, 1990, addendum, 1994), A8-11.

constructed of tabby. The main block of the house is a two-story, end-gable structure with a rectangular plan and a one-story wing on the north end. The house was built in the 1920s or 1930s for Ribault Club member Oswald Chew of Philadelphia. Chew (b. 1880) was a lawyer, a "publicist," and the editor of *The Critic* during the mid-1930s. He was also president of the Ribault Club during the early 1940s. Later the Dyrenforth family purchased the house, which passed into the possession of their daughter and son-in-law, the Gays.²²⁴

The Hemenway-Barnett-Knauer House is located on the east side of Ribault Road to the north of the Ribault Clubhouse, overlooking the Fort George River. The 128' wide, one-and-one-half story house incorporates Tudor revival design features. The walls have a recent stucco finish with some exposed brick trim around the doors and windows. The attached three-car garage is a more recent construction and is made of concrete block. An enclosed side entrance porch is also a later addition, and the house also has a relatively recent asphalt shingle roof. The house was erected by Augustus Hemenway Jr., a member of the Ribault Club from Boston, in c. 1927-1935. Don M. Barnett purchased the house in 1941; it later passed to the Knauers, the Barnetts' daughter and son-in-law.²²⁵

The final group of buildings are those associated with the Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary. In 1939 Gertrude Rollins Wilson donated approximately 150 acres on the south end of Fort George Island to Rollins College. The land became the John F. Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary in honor of her father. Two log buildings are located on preserve land, just west of Edgewood Avenue toward the southern end of Fort George Island. The garage is a small, 33' x 22' x 15.5', rectangular, side-gabled structure. It was constructed using round logs, laid with an informal saddle notch and chinked with cement. In her unpublished "Memoirs," Wilson recalled that "as soon as they [Rollins College] accepted it I set to work to develop the place." Wilson became ill, delaying construction, but the garage was completed late in 1940. Charles Morris Jr., who had been Millar Wilson's personal attendant, was described as Wilson's "only helper." Together, they "built the garage with the two stalls and two rooms for workmen." The building was made of "logs cut on the place and all we bought was roofing."²²⁶

The other building associated with the preserve is the Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Lodge. Located just southeast of the garage, the lodge is oriented east and west and faces south. The log cabin lodge measures 66' x 16' x 14.5' and is constructed of sawn half-logs nailed in place and abutted at the ends to replicate notching with a shed extension on the rear. Wilson

²²⁴"Oswald Chew," *Who's Who in America* (Chicago: A. N. Marquis Company, 1936), 19:534.

²²⁵Augustus Hemenway noted in a letter in late 1941 that "I have sold my property, with the furnishings and so on, to Mr. Barnett who will probably want to have delivery soon." A. Hemenway to Rhydon Dennett, 16 December 1941, in the private possession of Rhydon C. Dennette Jr.

²²⁶Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 22; Gertrude R. Wilson to Dr. Hamilton Holt, President of Rollins College, 2 November 1940, Donors, Gertrude Wilson, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College.

noted that after the construction of the garage, "I soon became ambitious and thought of building a lodge where the students from the college could come up and learn about our sanctuary." With the assistance of Charles Holmes and his father, as well as several black laborers, Wilson began construction of the lodge early in 1941: "All our logs for the Lodge were cut on the place and we bought little in town except nails, hinges and tools." When the lodge was nearing completion, Wilson traveled to North Carolina to purchase maple furniture for the lodge. Wilson was "obliged to use kerosene stoves and lamps for I was disappointed by the Electric Co. very heavy estimate for giving us electric lights." In 1950 Rollins College sold the preserve to the Florida Board of Parks and Historic Memorials for \$1. The Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Lodge is currently used as a dwelling for state park personnel.²²⁷

Associative Characteristics/Significance

The Stuart-Blue House is locally significant under Criteria A and B. The house was associated with the recreational development of Fort George Island in the 1870s and 1880s and with the club developments during the 1920s and 1930s. The Stuart-Blue House was also the home of Admiral Victor Blue, the founder and first president of the Army and Navy Country Club. The Blues were also members of the Ribault Club.

The Hall-Chappelle House is locally significant under Criterion A for its association with the recreational development of Fort George Island both during the 1870s-1880s and the 1920s-1930s. The dwelling was the home of George R. Hall during the earlier era. It was the home during the latter era of Louise S. Manning, a founding member of the Army and Navy Country Club.

St. George's Episcopal Church is locally significant under Criteria A and C. The church is associated with the recreational development of Fort George Island during the 1870s and 1880s when it was a place of worship for both homeowners and visitors. It is also a well-preserved example of Carpenter Gothic architecture. The nearby Marion S. Terry Fellowship Hall is of recent construction and is not associated with the church's period of significance.

The Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House is locally significant under Criteria A and C, and possesses statewide significance under Criterion B. The building was originally constructed in c. 1878 as a vacation home for Jonathan N. Gilbert, a New York dentist. It was one of a number of homes, such as the Stuart-Blue and Hall-Chappelle Houses, built as part of the recreational development of the area in the 1870s and 1880s. The dwelling exhibits a number of Victorian

²²⁷Gertrude Rollins Wilson, "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson," 22-23; Gertrude R. Wilson to Dr. Alfred J. Hanna, 24 November 1940, Donors, Gertrude Wilson, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College; "Rollins 'Invades' Beautiful Jungle Tract Donated by Mrs. Millar Wilson," *Orlando Morning Sentinel*, 2 December 1940 [this article mistakenly refers to the presence of both a cabin and a garage; the garage was built, but the cabin was in the planning stage]; "Bird Refuge Accepted by Gov. Warren," *Florida Times-Union*, 8 May 1950, 15, 21. For a description of the building's interior when the Sanctuary was owned by Rollins College, see Unsigned to Norman D. Harris, 26 March 1947, Fort George Island vertical file, Department of College Archives and Special Collections, Olin Library, Rollins College.

(lacy brackets and filigreed balustrades) and Italianate (square form, balanced symmetry, and cupola) design elements. The house has statewide significance under Criterion B as the home of Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, the nineteenth Governor of Florida (1905-1909). According to National Register guidelines a building must be “associated with a person’s productive life, reflecting the time period when he or she achieved significance” to achieve significance under Criterion B. Broward purchased this house as a summer home in 1897 and owned it until his death in 1910. His primary residence in Jacksonville was demolished in 1981; therefore, the Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House is the only extant structure associated with Broward’s productive life, when he achieved statewide and even brief national prominence.²²⁸

The buildings and structures associated with the Army and Navy Country Club and the Fort George Club on the northwestern corner of Fort George Island are locally significant under Criterion A for their representation of club life on the island from the 1920s to the 1940s. The Kingsley Plantation House served as a clubhouse for the Army and Navy Country Club and the Fort George Club from 1923 to 1927. The Fort George Clubhouse was a retreat for several prominent army and navy officers, business leaders, and industrialists. The Lutz House and associated garage were constructed as a vacation home either by a club member or by the club itself. The Borgmeyer-Bibber House was constructed as a winter cottage for Mrs. Lilla D. Borgmeyer and later served the same function for other Fort George Club members. The Entry Gate Posts mark the historic entrance to the Fort George Club grounds. The Kingsley Plantation Maintenance Shed was constructed during the period when the property was a state park and is not associated with the site’s period of historic significance. Likewise, the Kingsley Plantation Pump House is a recent construction by the National Park Service and is not associated with the era of club development.

The six buildings and the golf course associated with the Ribault Club are locally significant under Criterion A for their portrayal of club life on Fort George Island in the second quarter of the twentieth century. The Ribault Clubhouse and Ribault Club Lodge served as the primary locus of club activity and lodging. The nearby Golf Course and Ribault Club Caddy House represent one of the primary attractions of the club. The Neff House, the Hemenway-Barnett-Knauer House, and the Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House were all built by club members to serve as winter homes during the club season. These three houses are also locally significant under Criterion C as examples of Tudor Revival architecture. The Neff House is the best example among the three of the Tudor Revival style, which was popular in the first third of the twentieth century.

The Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Lodge and Garage are locally significant under Criterion A for their association with the ecological preserve established in 1938. The Sanctuary and these buildings express the Rollins family’s interest in botany and wildlife preservation. The

²²⁸*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 15.

Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary represents an early commitment to the ideals of the Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve as a whole.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS/INTEGRITY

The Stuart-Blue House has integrity of location, design, setting, feeling, and association. The house remains nestled in trees, overlooking the marsh and facing the ocean. Some modern additions/replacements lessen the integrity of materials and workmanship, but these changes appear to be proportionately minor.

The Hall-Chappelle House has integrity of location, setting, and association. The two-part building was constructed during different periods. The corner room constructed for Dr. George R. Hall in the 1870s has integrity of materials and workmanship when considered separately. The design of the corner room has been adversely affected by the presence of additions in the rear (west) and by the presence of the main hall. The central hall erected by Michael Slattery in the 1890s has integrity of design, materials and workmanship. Considered as a building associated with the club era in the 1920s and 1930s, the house has integrity of location, setting, feeling, and association. Although it was constructed in two stages during the nineteenth century, the Hall-Chappelle House retains much of its integrity from the second period of its significance.

St. George's Episcopal Church has integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association. The presence of the Marion S. Terry Fellowship Hall and a modern house nearby hamper slightly the setting and feeling aspects of integrity. Ordinarily, "properties owned by religious institutions or used for religious purposes . . . shall not be considered eligible for the National Register." However, according to Criteria Consideration A, "a religious property is eligible if it derives its primary significance from architectural or artistic distinction or historical importance." St. George's Episcopal Church is eligible because it is an excellent example of Carpenter Gothic architecture and because it is associated with the recreational development of Fort George Island in the 1870s and 1880s.²²⁹

The Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House has integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association. The building's integrity of setting and feeling have been reduced by commercial and industrial development on Batton Island and by the presence of a principal highway.

The Kingsley Plantation House has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, and workmanship from the period in which it served as a clubhouse. The House's integrity of feeling and association with this historical era is weaker because it is not readily apparent that the building was a clubhouse. The aspects of feeling and association are much stronger with the plantation agriculture era.

²²⁹*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation, 25-27.*

The Fort George Clubhouse has integrity of location, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Renovations to the interior have altered the building's design, but they have only somewhat weakened the design aspect of integrity.

The Lutz House and Garage have integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship. The setting and feeling aspects of integrity have been diminished by the extensive vegetative screening that surrounds the buildings.

The Borgmeyer-Bibber House has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, and feeling. The association aspect of integrity is hampered by the building's distance from the Fort George Club property. A casual observer would not necessarily associate the Borgmeyer-Bibber House with the historical development of the Fort George Club.

The Entry Gate Posts have integrity of location, design, materials, and workmanship. Their integrity of setting and feeling is lessened by uncertainty regarding whether they were originally along a fence or hedge line. The Entry Gate Posts lack a strong integrity of association because they are not clearly identified with the twentieth-century recreational development of the site.

The Ribault Clubhouse has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The building clearly evokes the era of club development on Fort George Island.

The Ribault Club Lodge possesses only the location aspect of integrity. The design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association aspects of integrity have been severely weakened or destroyed by the deterioration of the building and by the encroachment of native vegetation. Therefore, the building lacks sufficient integrity for eligibility.

The Ribault Club Golf Course retains integrity of location, materials, and workmanship. The setting and feeling aspects of integrity are rapidly diminishing because the course has been released to native vegetation. The construction of nine additional holes in the 1960s, interspersed among the original nine, has compromised the design element of integrity. The course's association with the club era of the 1920s and 1930s is less apparent because of its continued use and expansion since the Ribault Club ceased operations in the 1940s. Overall, the course lacks sufficient integrity to be a contributing resource.

The Ribault Club Caddy House has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Its location near the golf course and clubhouse link it visually with the Ribault Club and the club era.

The Neff House has integrity of location, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The design has been altered slightly by the addition of a garage on the south wing.

The Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. Its Tudor Revival architectural style and location link it to the Ribault Club development of 1927-1946.

The Hemenway-Barnett-Knauer House has integrity of location, setting, and association. However, the design, materials, workmanship, and feeling aspects of integrity have been compromised by renovations to the building. Overall, the house lacks sufficient integrity to qualify as a contributing resource.

The Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Garage and Lodge have integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The buildings, located within the boundaries of the preserve now owned by the State of Florida retain their character as sites for the study of surrounding plant and animal life.

ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Stuart-Blue House, "Nelmar" (c. 1877)
Hall-Chappelle House (corner room, c. 1875-1877; central hall, c. 1890s)
St. George's Episcopal Church (1882)
Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House (c. 1878)
Kingsley Plantation House (c. 1798)
Fort George Clubhouse (1938)
Lutz House and Garage (1926)
Borgmeyer-Bibber House, "Red Top" (c. 1928)
Entry Gate Posts (c. 1923-1935)
Ribault Clubhouse (1928)
Ribault Club Caddy House (c. 1928)
Neff House (c. 1927-1932)
Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House (c. 1927-1932)
Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Garage (1940)
Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Lodge (1941)

NON-ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Blue Pool House (c. 1960s)
Leo Chappelle House, (c. 1930s, additions, c. 1980s-1990s)
St. George's Episcopal Church-Marion Terry Fellowship Hall (1994)
Kingsley Plantation Maintenance Shed (c. 1970s)
Kingsley Plantation Pump House (1994)
Ribault Club Lodge (1929)
Ribault Club Golf Course (c. 1928, expanded 1968)
Hemenway-Barnett-Knauer House (c. 1927-1932)

CHAPTER FIVE: MILITARY CONFLICT AND DEFENSES, 1562-1898

For millennia mankind has utilized the earth's waters for transportation. When Europeans began exploring and settling the New World, they, like the Native American inhabitants, used waterways as avenues of travel. Settlements formed first around harbors and along the rivers of North and South America. Watercraft of all types transported people and products into and away from these communities. When conflicts erupted, rivers and streams served as defensive barriers and offensive pathways.

For centuries Native Americans and Europeans have recognized the strategic military and economic value of the St. Johns River. The river provides a vital route into the interior of eastern Florida for a variety of purposes. Known to Europeans since early in the sixteenth century, the St. Johns River has served as a source of food; a pathway for explorers; a highway for transporting people, agricultural products, and manufactured goods; a defensive barrier against overland attacks; and an invasion route for offensive operations.

The first military use of the St. Johns River coincided with the first European settlement in the area. On February 18, 1562, the French explorer Jean Ribault (c. 1520-1565), sponsored by the Huguenot leader Gaspard de Châtillon, comte de Coligny (1519-1572), sailed his small fleet with approximately 150 men to the New World searching for a place to establish a Protestant refuge. Ribault entered the St. Johns River on May 1, 1562. Landing on the south bank, Ribault "had a stone column with the arms of France carved on it placed on a little hillock of sandy land in that river not very far from its mouth." Ribault crossed the river to Fort George Island where he met a group of Timucua led by King Alimacani.²³⁰ After exchanging gifts with the Indians, Ribault's group recrossed to the south side of the river where they met another group of Timucua led by King Saturiwa.²³¹ Ribault left the St. Johns within a few days and sailed northward to present-day South Carolina, where he left a small group to construct a fort at Port Royal, which they dubbed Charlesfort. When Ribault returned to France in July 1562, he found the nation divided by a religious war between Protestant Huguenots and Catholics. Ribault went

²³⁰Also referred to as Paracousi (King) Allicamany. The decision to translate "Paracousi" as King follows Laudonnière's usage of the term *roy*. Although their kingdoms were very small, Laudonnière chose to call them kings instead of any other title. See Sarah Lawson, trans., and W. John Faupel, ed. and annot., *A Foothold in Florida: Eyewitness Account of Four Voyages Made by the French to That Region and Their Attempt at Colonisation, 1562-1568* (East Grinstead, West Sussex, England: Antique Atlas Publications, 1992), x.

²³¹Also referred to as Paracousi Satouriona.

to England, where he published *The Whole and True Discoverie of Terra Florida* in 1563 to arouse support from the English for colonizing the area. Although Queen Elizabeth was initially interested, Anglo-French relations soured and Ribaut, suspected of spying, was imprisoned.²³²



Figure 31. Timucuan Chief Atore shows René de Laudonnière the column erected by Ribault, from a 1591 engraving by Theodore de Bry.

When the religious conflict in France subsided in 1563, King Charles IX (1550-1574), who was briefly under the influence of Coligny, prepared a second voyage to relieve the small outpost of Frenchmen at Charlesfort. Shortly before the relief expedition commenced, however, a handful of men from Charlesfort reached France after killing their commander and enduring a horrible trans-Atlantic voyage. Despite the failure of Charlesfort, the second expedition proceeded. Ribault, imprisoned in England after failing to gain Queen

Elizabeth's support for his plans in the New World, could not command. Instead, René Goulaine de Laudonnière (c. 1529-c. 1582), Ribault's lieutenant on the first voyage, led the second expedition.

Leaving France on April 22, 1564, Laudonnière's fleet of three ships and about 300 colonists arrived on June 25 at the mouth of the St. Johns. Among their number was the artist Jacques le Moyne (c. 1533-1588), who made sketches of the Indians and their way of life. Greeted by Saturiwa, Laudonnière was invited to see the stone column that Ribault had ordered erected on their first voyage. Laudonnière "found it surrounded by laurel wreaths and at the foot of it there were a great many little baskets of maize. . . . They kissed it on their arrival with great reverence." Hoping to win the favor of Saturiwa, the French agreed to help him fight his enemies, the Utina. First, however, the French began their search for a place to settle farther north on the coast. Despite the presence of better sites farther north, Laudonnière determined that the friendly Indians along the St. Johns River offered the best opportunity for establishing a successful colony.²³³

²³²Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, iii-iv, 17; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, FL: Old Hickory's Town, Inc., 1985), 36-37; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline: History and Documents* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964), 13-15.

²³³Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 50; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 17-19; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 37-38.

In 1591, three years after le Moyne's death, Theodore de Bry published Latin and German versions of le

Returning to the St. Johns, Laudonnière's party began construction of Fort de la Caroline, named for King Charles IX. Laudonnière described the fort as "built in a triangular shape":

The west side, which was the landward one, was bounded by a little ditch and built with turfs making a parapet nine feet high. The other side, which was toward the river, was bounded by a timber palisade made with gabions. On the south side there was a kind of bastion, inside which I had a supply shed built. The whole thing was built of stakes and sand, except for about two or three feet of turf, of which the parapets were made. I had had a large area eighteen paces square made in the middle. In the centre of that, facing the southern side, I had a guardhouse built, and a house on the other, northern, side. I built it a bit too high, for not long afterwards the wind blew it down, and that experience taught me that nothing should be built with upper floors in this land because of the high winds to which it is subject.

The side which closed my courtyard, which I made fine and spacious, reached to the supply shed. On the other side toward the river was my house, around which there were covered galleries. The main door of my dwelling opened onto the middle of the large square, and the other toward the river. I had an oven built at some distance from the fort to avoid the risk of fire, since the houses were covered with palm leaves, which burn quickly once fire takes hold of them so that it is very difficult to put it out.²³⁴

While the fort was under construction, Sauriwa requested that Laudonnière fulfill his promise to fight the Utina. Laudonnière said that he was not prepared to fight, so Sauriwa and his warriors went to war alone. Victorious, Sauriwa returned to his camp with twenty-four prisoners. The French requested that Sauriwa give them two of the prisoners, but he refused. Laudonnière forcibly took all of the prisoners and sent them back to their villages, hoping to unite the Sauriwa and Utina tribes against other Indians.²³⁵

Relations with the Native Americans of the area worsened, and the French food supplies dwindled. Furthermore, some of the soldiers at Fort de la Caroline mutinied and imprisoned Laudonnière for two weeks on a ship anchored in the river. After preparing boats, the mutineers left the settlement in December 1564 to conduct raids among the Spanish colonies. Early in 1565, the food supplies began to run dangerously low. In desperation, Laudonnière took King Utina hostage, demanding that his subjects ransom him with food supplies. Other kings including Sauriwa urged Laudonnière to execute Utina, but he eventually returned the king in exchange for promises of provisions. By the spring of 1565, Laudonnière had determined to return to

Moyne's narrative of his experiences in Florida, complete with forty-two engravings influenced to a greater or lesser degree by le Moyne's paintings, sketches, and descriptions. For a discussion of these engravings, see Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 150-78.

²³⁴Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 60-62.

²³⁵Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 68-73; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 38-39; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 18-20.

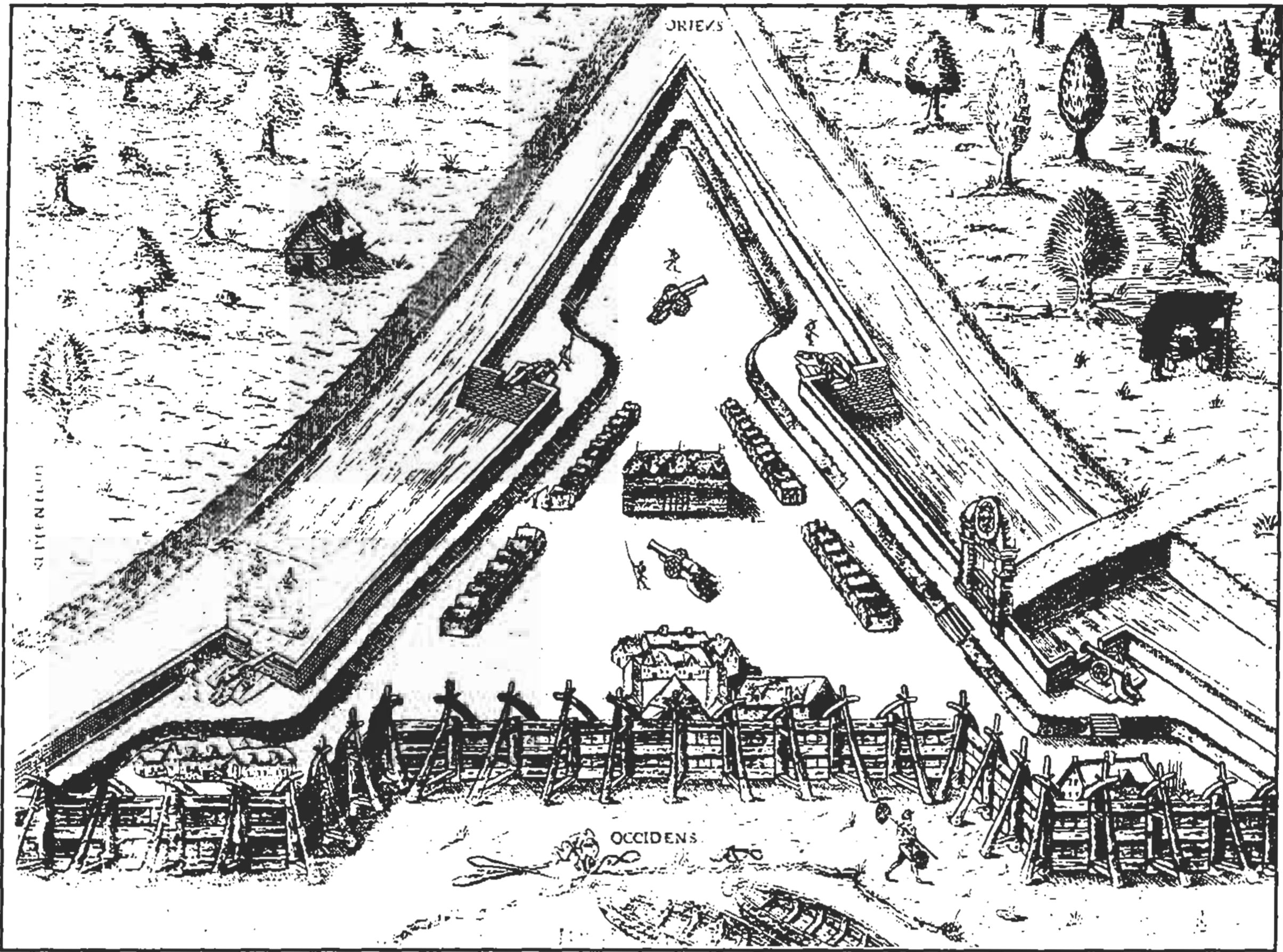


Figure 32. Theodore de Bry's 1591 engraving of Fort de la Caroline, which was published to illustrate Jacques le Moyne's account of the French settlement.

France and began constructing boats for the voyage. Subsisting on roots and whatever game they could kill, the French settlers at Fort de la Caroline soon bordered on starvation. By early June, the corn along the river began to ripen, and the French were able to seize some of it from the Indians' fields.²³⁶

On August 3, 1565, the English explorer John Hawkins arrived at Fort de la Caroline in search of fresh water. Although Hawkins offered to return the colonists to France, Laudonnière was suspicious and declined the offer. Hawkins traded one of his ships for French artillery, iron shot, and gunpowder. He also provided the colonists with foodstuffs, candle wax, and shoes. Laudonnière later wrote that the French "received as many courtesies from the General as it is possible to receive from any man alive." On August 28, 1565, as the colonists were preparing to leave, a relief expedition of four ships led by Jean Ribault arrived. The settlement finally

²³⁶Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 81-87, 108-13; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 41-42; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 30-34.

received the supplies it needed to continue, and Admiral Coligny requested that Laudonnière return to France to report on Florida.²³⁷

On the same day that Ribault arrived with supplies to sustain the Fort de la Caroline settlement, a Spanish fleet under Pedro Menéndez de Avilés (1519-1574) arrived in Florida with a commission to destroy it. Eight days later, Menéndez's fleet appeared at the mouth of the St. Johns and anchored landward of Ribault's ships. Menéndez informed the captains of the French vessels, including Jacques Ribault, Jean Ribault's son, that they were in Spanish territory. On the following day, the Spanish tried to board the French ships, but the French sailed northward outpacing their pursuers. Menéndez sailed southward along the coast to St. Augustine Inlet and founded St. Augustine on September 8, 1565.²³⁸

Learning that the Spanish were establishing a settlement, Ribault made plans to attack and destroy it. He left Laudonnière in charge of Fort de la Caroline and sailed for St. Augustine on September 10. Ribault arrived off St. Augustine on the following day, but he turned south to cut off the Spanish supply ship *San Pelayo* bound for Hispaniola. As they sailed south, a storm struck, wrecking three of the French ships near Mosquito Inlet and driving the flagship *Trinité* aground near Cape Canaveral. While the main French force was wrecked along the coast south of St. Augustine, Menéndez seized the opportunity for an assault on Fort de la Caroline. Led by Timucua and a French mutineer, the Spanish forces under Menéndez marched overland for four days in stormy weather. Near sunset on the fourth day, September 19, Menéndez and a small group of soldiers reconnoitered the area around the fort. Fearing they would be discovered, "it seemed to him expedient to draw nearer into a pine grove." Menéndez and his forces "approached to less than a quarter of a league from the fort, where he decided to spend that night in a very bad and swampy place."²³⁹

On the morning of September 20, 1565, the Spanish attacked and quickly overwhelmed the small, unprepared garrison at the fort. Laudonnière and a few others escaped to the river, where French sailors from the remaining ships rescued them; on September 25, they sailed for France.

²³⁷Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 118-25.

²³⁸Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 127-28; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 42; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 35.

²³⁹Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 137-38; Gonzalo Solis de Merás, *Pedro Menéndez de Avilés: Adelantado, Governor and Captain-General of Florida*, trans. Jeannette Thurber Connor (Deland, FL: Florida State Historical Society, 1923), 95. This description of a "pine grove" in a "very bad and swampy place" less than a quarter of a league (three-quarters of a mile) from Fort de la Caroline led T. Frederick Davis to conclude in 1925 that the "Spanish Pond" and adjacent pine grove atop St. Johns Bluff was the site where the Spanish camped on the night before they attacked the French at Fort de la Caroline. National Park Service historian Albert C. Manucy tacitly endorsed this conclusion in his 1940 Historic Site Survey of Fort de la Caroline. The boundaries of the Fort Caroline National Memorial were drawn in 1950 so as to encompass the Spanish Pond area. T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, FL: Florida Historical Society, 1925; reprint, Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1964), 13; Albert C. Manucy, "Historic Site Survey: Fort Caroline, Florida" (Unpublished Report, 1940), 7-8.

The triumphant Spanish hanged all of the captured Frenchmen at Fort de la Caroline, sparing only women and children.²⁴⁰

At the end of September, Menéndez learned that hundreds of French sailors were stranded south of St. Augustine. Arriving at the southern tip of Anastasia Island, Menéndez informed the French on the south side of the inlet that it was his duty to wage “a war of fire and blood” against all Huguenots and to carry on that war “with all possible cruelty.” The French pointed out that France and Spain were at peace and hoped for mercy from Menéndez. The 140 Frenchmen were ferried across the inlet in boatloads of ten each. The Spanish killed all but sixteen of the Frenchmen. On October 10, Ribault and another group of 350 Frenchmen arrived at the inlet. Menéndez insisted upon their surrender, but 200 Frenchmen refused to do so and returned to the south. Ribault and 150 others surrendered on October 12. When they arrived on the north side of the inlet, they too were slaughtered. This bloody episode gave the inlet its name: Matanzas, Spanish for “slaughter.”²⁴¹

The French were horrified to learn of the fate of the Fort Caroline settlement. Dominique de Gourgues (c. 1530-1593), a French captain and a Catholic, was particularly outraged and determined to “repair the honour of his nation.” Using his own resources, Gourgues outfitted three ships and set sail for Florida on August 22, 1567, with 150 soldiers and eighty sailors. He reached the St. Johns River in April 1568, but continued sailing northward to the St. Marys River. There he found Saturiwa and other Timucuan kings, who were disgruntled about their treatment by the Spanish. Gourgues learned that the Spanish had repaired the French fort and dubbed it Fort San Mateo. They had also erected smaller forts on opposite sides of the river, near its mouth.²⁴²

²⁴⁰James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 42-43; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 35-41.

Sources estimate that the garrison remaining at Fort Caroline ranged in size from 150 to 240, including women and children. Eugene Lyon, “Captives of Florida,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 50 (July 1971): 8-9; Eugene Lyon, “Forts Caroline and San Mateo—Vulnerable Outposts” (unpublished report for Fort Caroline National Memorial and Eastern National Park and Monument Association, 1982), 6, 23-25; Eugene Lyon, *The Enterprise of Florida—Pedro Menéndez de Avilés and the Spanish Conquest, 1565-1568* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1974), 119-20.

²⁴¹James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 42-43; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 41-43.

²⁴²Ch. de la Roncière, *La Floride Française: Scènes de la Vie Indienne, Peintes en 1564* (Paris: Les Editions Nationales, 1928), unpublished translation by Jean Chastain, 1990, in Fort Caroline National Memorial files, Jacksonville, FL, 2-3; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 44. For Spanish activities at Fort San Mateo between 1565 and 1568, see Albert Manucy, “Historic Site Survey: Fort Caroline, Florida” (Fort Marion National Monument, FL: unpublished report, 1940), 38-43; and Eugene Lyon, “Forts Caroline and San Mateo—Vulnerable Outposts,” 25-58.

Originally, the two forts or blockhouses near the mouth of the St. Johns River were “named for neighboring tribes Fort Alicamani and Satourioua but were given baptismal names of St. Gabriel and St. Esteban.” Ch. de la Roncière, *La Floride Française*, unpublished translation, 3.

On April 24, 1568, the French and their Timucuan allies marched overland to destroy San Gabriel, the fort on the north bank of the St. Johns. They quickly overran San Gabriel, killing forty-five Spaniards and capturing fifteen. Aware of the conflict on the north side, the Spanish at San Estaban on the south side of the river began to fire at the French. Gourgues and eighty of his men crossed the river and deployed themselves to the west of San Estaban, believing the Spanish would try to retreat toward Fort San Mateo. The Timucua, eager to fight the Spanish, swam across the river to attack. The Spanish retreated toward the waiting Frenchmen; caught between the two forces, dozens more Spaniards perished.²⁴³

On April 27 as the French and their Timucuan allies began to advance on Fort San Mateo, which was defended by 260 Spaniards, cannon fire interrupted their progress. Gourgues ordered his men up St. Johns Bluff to avoid the fire. As the French maneuvered before dawn the next morning to launch an assault, sixty Spanish soldiers came out of the fort to attack the French. Caught in a crossfire between parts of the French force, they were all killed. This result inspired panic within the fort, and many Spaniards fled into the woods where the Timucua met and killed them. Gourgues took the fort and reminded the Spanish prisoners of the slaughter of the Huguenots three years earlier. He ordered the prisoners to be hanged from the same trees where the Huguenots died. When the Spanish captured Fort de la Caroline and hanged a number of Frenchmen, Menéndez purportedly had a sign placed on their bodies which read, "I do not do this because they are Frenchmen, but because they are Lutherans." In response, Gourgues wrote on a wooden tablet, "I do not do this because they are Spaniards, nor because they are infidels, but because they are traitors, thieves, and murderers." To prevent the continued use of the forts by the Spanish, Gourgues persuaded the Indians to destroy all three of them. On May 3, 1568, he sailed for France, where he was received as a hero. However, because King Philip II of Spain (1527-1598) offered a large reward for his head, Gourgues went into hiding for a few years.²⁴⁴

For the next century and a half, Spain retained undisputed control over Florida. However, the establishment of British colonies to the north on the mainland of North America would eventually lead to clashes between the two colonial empires. The first major challenge to Spanish rule came in 1702 when Governor James Moore of South Carolina led an expeditionary force against St. Augustine. A contingent of soldiers under Colonel Robert Daniel marched from

²⁴³Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 141-43; Ch. de la Roncière, *La Florida Française*, unpublished translation, 6-8; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 45; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 48-49. Spanish accounts of the attacks on San Gabriel and San Estaban differ from the account presented here from French sources. Spanish sources report thirty soldiers at San Gabriel, only five of whom escaped, and thirty-two soldiers at San Estaban, most of whom deserted to St. Augustine after the attack on San Gabriel. See Eugene Lyon, "Forts Caroline and San Mateo—Vulnerable Outposts," 54-55.

²⁴⁴Sarah Lawson and W. John Faupel, *A Foothold in Florida*, 143-45; Ch. de la Roncière, *La Florida Française*, unpublished translation, 8-12; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 45; Charles E. Bennett, *Laudonniere and Fort Caroline*, 48-49.

Amelia Island southward to St. Augustine. Along the way, Daniel's forces destroyed several Spanish missions including San Juan del Puerto. After crossing the St. Johns River, they overran the village of Piribiriba on the south side of the river and marched on to St. Augustine. When the British forces arrived at St. Augustine, they burned the town and besieged the Castillo de San Marcos, the major Spanish stronghold in Florida. The siege, however, was unsuccessful, and the British withdrew and returned to South Carolina.²⁴⁵

In the wake of Moore's assault, Spanish Governor Joseph de Zúñiga y Zerda constructed a fort at the Indian village of Piribiriba on the south side of the St. Johns River, between Cano de San Pablo (Pablo Creek) and Cano de Escara (Greenfield Creek). Built early in 1703, Fort Piribiriba was apparently constructed to guard the northern frontier of the St. Johns River against English encroachment. By mid-1703 the fort with four bastions boasted three storehouses and a detachment of thirty infantrymen. A contemporary map shows two doctrinas established by Spanish missionaries in the surrounding village, presumably one doctrina each for the Ibaja (Guale) and Chilugue (Timucua) Indians who had sought refuge there under Spanish protection. For unknown reasons, Governor Zúñiga ordered the destruction of Fort Piribiriba at some time between June 1705 and the end of Zúñiga's term as governor in the spring of 1706.²⁴⁶

For the next thirty years, South Carolinians and their Creek allies conducted raids in Florida north of St. Augustine. When General James Oglethorpe established the Colony of Georgia in 1733, tensions between the Spanish and their British neighbors to the north increased. Although diplomatic negotiations had established the Altamaha River as the boundary between Georgia and Florida, Oglethorpe claimed the territory between the Altamaha and St. Johns Rivers as well. In March 1736 Oglethorpe and his Creek allies sailed down the Inland Passage to the St. Johns River, giving the various islands new English names. Santa Maria Island became Amelia Island in memory of Princess Amelia. The next island was named for the Lord High Chancellor of England, Talbot. The final island before they reached the St. Johns River was named in honor of St. George. At the St. Johns River, Oglethorpe and his Indian allies surveyed the Spanish outposts. The southernmost point of St. George Island was called Point St. George, "the farthest part of the dominions of His Majesty on the seacoast in North America." There, Oglethorpe erected Fort St. George and garrisoned it with a force of Germans, Americans, and Englishmen. Ostensibly, this force was to "maintain tranquility between the two crowns" by preventing Creek depredations upon the Spanish.²⁴⁷

²⁴⁵Charles W. Arnade, *The Siege of St. Augustine in 1702* (Gainesville, FL: University of Florida Press, 1959), 14-36; Charles W. Arnade, "Piribiriba on the Salamototo," Jacksonville Historical Society, *Papers* 4 (1960): 69-70.

²⁴⁶Charles W. Arnade, "Piribiriba on the Salamototo," 67-75.

²⁴⁷An Anonymous Letter, 12 April 1736, in Mills Lane, *General Oglethorpe's Georgia: Colonial Letters, 1733-1743* (Savannah, GA: Beehive Press, 1977), 1:260-62; James Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle, 17 April 1736, in *ibid.*, 1:263-65; Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land: A Sketch of the Anglo-Spanish*

It soon became evident that Oglethorpe had other motives for erecting Fort St. George than merely preventing his Creek allies from attacking the Spanish. In May 1736 the soldiers at Fort St. George mutinied and began returning to Georgia. Oglethorpe met them on their way northward and convinced them to return. When he finally arrived at Fort St. George, Oglethorpe was pleased to learn that Captain Hermsdorff was fortifying his position. Just as war appeared imminent, Oglethorpe signed a treaty of neutrality with Governor Francisco del Moral Sanchez of Florida. Oglethorpe agreed to withdraw from Fort St. George and leave the boundary dispute to the diplomats. Merely a delaying tactic, the treaty gave the time necessary to raise funds and soldiers to invade Florida. Parliament supported his efforts and made him commander-in-chief of all British forces in Georgia and the Carolinas. Sanchez's superiors were outraged at his decision to sign the treaty with Oglethorpe and removed him from office, replacing him with Governor Manuel de Montiano. Over the next three years, both the Spanish and the British prepared for war on the Georgia-Florida frontier.²⁴⁸

In January 1740 Oglethorpe led an invasion force of British soldiers and Creek Indians down the Inland Passage and up the St. Johns River to attack Fort Picolata and Fort St. Francis de Pupa, twin forts on either side of the St. Johns River west of St. Augustine. The allied force captured the forts after a brief contest with the Spanish defenders. Before proceeding farther, Oglethorpe had to raise an army large enough to lay siege to the Castillo de San Marcos. In May 1740, Oglethorpe returned to Florida, and by the 20th of the month, the first portion of the British force had arrived at Fort St. George. They crossed the St. Johns River and besieged Fort San Diego, which soon surrendered. By June, Oglethorpe had reached St. Augustine and besieged the Castillo de San Marcos. The siege was a miserable failure. The captains of the British blockading vessels informed Oglethorpe that they would not remain past the beginning of hurricane season in mid-July. A day before the naval deadline, Oglethorpe lifted the siege and marched back to Fort St. George, where a part of his force remained until August. By the fall of 1740, Oglethorpe's invasion had come to an end.²⁴⁹

After the failure of Oglethorpe's force to take St. Augustine in 1740 and the similar failure of a brief Spanish invasion of Georgia in 1742, the frontier between Georgia and Florida

Contest for the Georgia Country (New York: Russell and Russell, 1925), 72-73; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 54.

²⁴⁸James Oglethorpe to the Trustees, 18 May 1736, in Mills Lane, ed., *General Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 1:265-68; Phinizy Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977), 100-03; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 55-59.

²⁴⁹James Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle, 22 January 1740, in Mills Lane, *General Oglethorpe's Georgia*, 2:441-44; James Oglethorpe to William Stephens, 2 February 1740, in *ibid.*, 2:451-54; James Oglethorpe to the Duke of Newcastle, 14 May 1740, in *ibid.*, 2:459-60; Captain Norbury to Walter Hayter, 30 June 1740, in *ibid.*, 2:462-63; James Oglethorpe to the Trustees, 19 July 1740, in *ibid.*, 2:463-65; Phinizy Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America*, 107-15; Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land*, 86-88; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 59-61.

remained quiet for two decades. The Seven Years' War, which erupted in Europe in 1756, spread into North America as the French and Indian War. Although no battles were fought in Florida, the colony would face dramatic change because of the war. Spain entered the conflict late in the war as an ally of France, and the British almost immediately seized the valuable Spanish port of Havana. To redeem Havana from the British in the Peace of Paris, Spain ceded Florida to Great Britain.²⁵⁰

From 1763 to 1776 Great Britain possessed all of the eastern seaboard of North America from the tip of Florida to Nova Scotia. The border conflicts that had rendered the land between St. Augustine and Charleston "debatable" for decades were conspicuously absent. However, when thirteen American colonies revolted against Britain in 1776 and East Florida did not, the northern portion of East Florida from St. Augustine to the St. Mary's River once again became contested ground. Late in 1775 Georgia rebels had begun the conflict by conducting raids for cattle against loyalist plantations across the St. Mary's River in East Florida. Both sides began erecting fortifications for the conflict they knew was coming. The British erected Fort Tonyn at Mill's Ferry, where the King's Road crossed the St. Mary's River. This fort became the main British stronghold along the far northern frontier. The principal defense of St. Augustine itself was the old Spanish Castillo de San Marcos, which the British had renamed Fort St. Marks. The Americans likewise repaired forts and fortified the town of Sunbury against expected British attack.²⁵¹

East Florida Governor Patrick Tonyn (1725-1804) authorized Thomas Brown (1750-1825) to raise a regiment of mounted Rangers over whom Brown would serve as lieutenant colonel. Brown had lived near Augusta, Georgia, in 1775, but his loyalty to British King George III made him an inviting target for rebels in the area. They seized him, and he was "tar'd and feathered," "scorched with hot Irons, and some of his toes were burned off." Most of the Rangers were refugee loyalists from Georgia and South Carolina. The East Florida Rangers would supplement the force of professional British soldiers garrisoned in St. Augustine at Fort St. Marks. Troops there included portions of the Fourteenth, the Sixteenth, and the Sixtieth Regiments under the command of Colonel Augustine Prevost (1723-1786). The British were also supported by several groups of Seminole Indians as well as some of the Creek Indians.²⁵²

²⁵⁰Phinizy Spalding, *Oglethorpe in America*, 130-43; Herbert E. Bolton and Mary Ross, *The Debatable Land*, 107-08.

²⁵¹Martha Condray Searcy, *The Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution, 1776-1778* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1985), 21, 37. For a discussion of why East Florida remained loyal to the British crown instead of joining the thirteen American colonies, see J. Leitch Wright, "British East Florida: Loyalist Bastion," in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Florida: The Impact of the American Revolution* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1978), 1-10.

²⁵²Tonyn to Germain, 7 January 1777, London: Public Record Office (PRO), Colonial Office (CO), Series 5, Volume 557, quoted in James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town: An Illustrated History of Jacksonville* (Jacksonville, FL: Old Hickory's Town, Inc., 1985), 70; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the*

Throughout the summer and fall of 1776, East Florida loyalists and Georgia rebels conducted raids and counter-raids across the St. Mary's, stealing cattle and slaves. In August 1776, the Americans invaded East Florida by sea and "broke up most if not all the plantations between the St. Marys and the St. Johns." By mid-August, the St. Johns River became the British line of defense. No one could cross the St. Johns without written permission from the governor, and no boats could be left on the north or west bank of the river after sunset. At the same time, General Charles Lee arrived in Savannah with several hundred troops to invade East Florida. Urged southward by the Georgia Council of Safety, Lee's expedition was underequipped and rent by dissension. Fortunately for Lee, he was recalled to the North before the expedition had gone far, and Robert Howe took charge of the Continental troops in Georgia.²⁵³

In East Florida Tonyn organized a militia force and ordered into provincial service Captain John Mowbray and his sloop *Rebecca*. By the middle of September, however, the rebel invasion of East Florida had collapsed. The troops suffered severely from sickness, and South Carolina recalled her men. The Georgians retreated quietly beyond the St. Mary's River to await another opportunity to challenge the British claim to East Florida. The British in East Florida went on the offensive, stationing a frigate at the mouth of the Savannah River. A small party of Rangers and Indians ventured as far north as the Satilla River, where Lieutenant Colonel William McIntosh's troops attacked them. Since there were few troops fit for duty in Georgia, McIntosh determined that the Altamaha River would be the rebels' line of defense.²⁵⁴

During the winter of 1776-1777, the British made considerable strides in diplomacy with their Native American allies, who conducted a few raids into Georgia. The British were divided in their own ranks, however. Neither Governor Tonyn and the East Florida Rangers, whom he had organized and paid, nor Colonel Augustine Prevost and the British regulars wanted to submit to the authority of the other. Further complicating the military command was the anomalous position of Indian Superintendent John Stuart, who was not a military officer though he could field several thousand warriors for the British. In February 1777, facing a food shortage in St. Augustine, Tonyn sent Rangers and Indians on a cattle-hunting expedition in Georgia. Reluctantly, Colonel Prevost dispatched a small group of regulars from the garrison. This combined force of just over 200 men successfully captured and burned Fort McIntosh on the

American Revolution, 20-21, 28-29, 38-39; Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1943), 110; Edward J. Cashin, *The King's Ranger: Thomas Brown and the American Revolution on the Southern Frontier* (Athens, GA: University of Georgia Press, 1989), 26-28.

²⁵³Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 39-56; J. Leitch Wright Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1975), 37-39. Wright's study largely replaces Burton Barrs, *East Florida in the American Revolution* (Jacksonville, FL: Cooper Press, 1949).

²⁵⁴Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida, 1774 to 1785: The Most Important Documents Pertaining Thereto Edited with an Accompanying Narrative* (Deland, FL: Florida State Historical Society, 1929), 1:43-44; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 56-68.

Satilla River, but were turned back by American resistance at the Altamaha River. The British force retreated to St. Augustine with 2,000 head of cattle.²⁵⁵

Despite the weakness of American forces in Georgia, President Button Gwinnett determined to invade East Florida. Gwinnett had recently been elected President of the Georgia Council of Safety and commander-in-chief of the state's armed forces upon the death of Archibald Bulloch. On March 25, 1777, Gwinnett requested assistance from General Lachlan McIntosh (1727-1806), the commander of Continental troops in the state, despite having recently jailed McIntosh's brother George on charges of treason. Gwinnett and General McIntosh argued about who should lead the expedition until the Council of Safety recalled both men and gave the command to the ranking Continental Colonel, Samuel Elbert (1740-1788).²⁵⁶

The Georgians invaded East Florida both by land and by sea. Colonel Elbert and approximately 400 Continental soldiers left Sunbury in a small flotilla. Meanwhile, Colonel John Baker and a group of Georgia Light Horse and mounted militia proceeded overland. The two forces were to rendezvous at Sawpit Bluff, on the north end of what is now Black Hammock Island, on May 12, 1777. Rivers swollen by spring floods hindered Baker's force, but they managed to reach Sawpit Bluff on May 12. The waterborne force, however, did not reach the northern end of Amelia Island until May 18.²⁵⁷

When Colonel Baker and his horsemen arrived at Sawpit Bluff, they began to scout the surrounding territory. Indians led by the Black Creek Factor stole approximately forty of Baker's horses on the night of May 14-15, but the next morning Baker's men found their horses mired in a swamp four miles away. Baker successfully avoided an ambush by the Indians, and the Georgians killed one or two of the Chiaha Indians. The rebels scalped and mutilated the slain Indian(s). On May 16 Baker moved his camp northward and inland to Thomas Creek, a tributary of the Nassau River, but the British discovered his force and planned an attack. The entire British force numbered approximately 200, while the Georgia force consisted of 150 to 180 horsemen.²⁵⁸

About 10:00 a.m. on May 17, 1777, the Americans were ambushed as they broke camp. Colonel Thomas Brown with his East Florida Rangers and their Indian allies fired into the Georgians at a range of fifty yards. Twenty or thirty Georgians fled immediately. The rest of Baker's men dismounted to attack the Rangers, but were "warmly received" by the Rangers and

²⁵⁵Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 82-88; J. Leitch Wright Jr., *Florida in the American Revolution*, 41-42. For an examination of Native American contributions to the forces of both sides, see James H. O'Donnell III, *Southern Indians in the American Revolution* (Knoxville, TN: University of Tennessee Press, 1973).

²⁵⁶Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 88-90.

²⁵⁷Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 92-93.

²⁵⁸Brown to Tonyn, 18 May 1777, CO 5/557, transcribed in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution* (Bailey's Crossroads, VA: Blair, Inc., 1970), 13; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 94-95.

Indians in their front and on their flanks. After a five-minute skirmish, the Americans were forced to retreat into Major James Mark Prevost's advancing force of 100 British regulars. The Americans, "with the utmost consternation," fled into the swamps with the regulars "keeping up a hot fire during their retreat." Three Americans were killed immediately, nine others were wounded, and thirty-one were taken prisoner. Others who were wounded died in the woods. Indians killed an undetermined number of the prisoners in revenge for the death of the young Chiaha Indian killed by the Americans two days earlier. According to Tonyn's later report, only forty-two members of Baker's force managed to recross the Satilla River. The British troops were too exhausted by the heat and too ill-shod (many of them were barefoot in the battle) to pursue the fleeing Americans.²⁵⁹

Some of Baker's men reached Elbert on May 19 and reported the defeat of the Georgia Light Horse and militia. Governor Tonyn had intended to strike the American invasion force both by land and by sea, with the sloop *Rebecca* leading several British vessels into the St. Mary's River. However, the *Rebecca* and the *Hawke* were forced to sea by a storm, and on May 25 they

²⁵⁹Tonyn to Germain, No. 40, 18 June 1777, CO 5/557, transcribed in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 16; Prevost to Howe, 14 June 1777, Headquarters Papers, No. 584, quoted in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 23; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 95; Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 120-21; Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:46.

There are three accounts of the Battle of Thomas Creek by British participants. The commander of the East Florida Rangers, Colonel Thomas Brown, reported the battle in a communication to Governor Tonyn: Brown to Tonyn, 18 May 1777, CO 5/557, quoted in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 13, 15. The officer commanding the British regulars, Major James Mark Prevost, wrote to his brother General Augustine Prevost about the battle: Prevost to Prevost, 18 May 1777 (extract), CO 5/94. Captain Patrick Murray of the British regulars later wrote his memoirs and described the battle: "Memoir of Patrick Murray" in Lewis Butler and Stewart Hare, *The Annals of the King's Royal Rifle Corps*, Volume I: *The Royal Americans* (London: Smith, Elder and Co., 1913), 302-03.

Later reports are also useful for understanding the course of the battle. Governor Tonyn reported the battle to Lord Germain: Tonyn to Germain, No. 40, 18 June 1777, CO 5/557, transcribed in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 16-17. General Prevost reported the battle to General William Howe: Prevost to Howe, 14 June 1777, Headquarters Papers, No. 584, quoted in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 23. The former royal governor of Georgia, Sir James Wright also described the battle: Memorandum from Sir James Wright, n.d., [endorsed "Received August 1777"], Allen D. Chandler et al., eds., *The Colonial Records of Georgia*, vol. 38, pt. 2, 124.

The American perspective is supplied by Elbert to McIntosh, 25 May 1777, in Lilla Mills Hawes, ed., *The Papers of Lachlan McIntosh, 1774-1779*, Volume 12, Georgia Historical Society Collections (Savannah, GA: Georgia Historical Society, 1957), 64-65; Samuel Elbert, *Order Book of Samuel Elbert, Colonel and Brigadier General in the Continental Army, October, 1776, to November, 1778*, Volume 5, Part 2, Georgia Historical Society Collections (Savannah, GA: Georgia Historical Society, 1902), 20-28; and Hugh M'Call, *The History of Georgia, Containing Brief Sketches of the Most Remarkable Events Up to the Present Day (1784)*, 2 vols. (Savannah, GA: Seymour and Williams, 1811-16), 341-42.

The most conspicuous difference among the accounts is the number and fate of the Americans taken prisoner. Colonel Brown said that ten Americans had deserted, but the Indians killed three and drove the other seven into the swamp. Captain Murray recalled that forty Americans were captured, but that the Black Creek Factor killed all but sixteen of them, who were saved by Major Prevost's intervention. Georgians who reached Colonel Samuel Elbert's forces related that eight Americans were taken prisoner, but the Indians had killed five of them.

engaged an American brigantine. Although initially successful, the *Rebecca* was crippled when a shot from the brigantine “carried away her topmast and rent the mainsail.” The *Hawke* was also damaged considerably, and the two ships limped back to St. Augustine. Before they could be repaired, the American force had an opportunity to retreat. After making efforts to move the American flotilla into the inland passageway, Elbert decided to return to the Satilla on May 26. Only a few weeks after it had begun, the second American invasion of East Florida was over.²⁶⁰

In May 1777, the British fortified Hester’s Bluff, as they referred to St. Johns Bluff, with cannon in anticipation of the American invasion and placed two warships at the mouth of the St. Johns River. The placement of this battery may have been the first effort by the British to fortify St. Johns Bluff. Throughout the rest of 1777, both British and American commanders tried to strengthen their alliances with various Creek factions. Small raiding continued along the border between the St. Mary’s and the Altamaha Rivers, now bereft of settlers and cattle. The East Florida Rangers had been active from their base at Fort Tonym, capturing and burning Fort Howe on the Altamaha in March 1778. Earlier in 1778 the Georgia Assembly had begun preparations for the annual invasion of East Florida. Although General Robert Howe advised against the action, the assembly insisted and he began to organize the offensive.²⁶¹

The American offensive began in April 1778 when Continental troops under Colonel Samuel Elbert marched to the site of the destroyed Fort Howe on the Altamaha River. From there they marched to Darien and sailed to Frederica where they captured two British ships, including the *Rebecca*. Returning to Fort Howe, they awaited the arrival of General Howe and reinforcements. Howe arrived early in May and likewise awaited the reinforcements. By mid-June the American forces were under way; on June 28, Georgia and South Carolina Continentals crossed the St. Mary’s River into East Florida near Fort Tonym. The East Florida Rangers burned Fort Tonym and retreated only a short distance into Cabbage Swamp. Fourteen miles south of Fort Tonym, a detachment of British regulars and South Carolina loyalist militia under the command of Major James Mark Prevost had erected a small redoubt of logs that guarded the bridge over Alligator Creek, a tributary of the Nassau River. Farther southeast, Lieutenant Colonel Lewis V. Fuser fortified St. Johns Bluff against the American invasion.²⁶²

On June 30, 1778, Colonel Brown’s East Florida Rangers and some allied Indians were marching to rejoin the main British force at Alligator Creek Bridge when they were surprised by General James Screven and more than 100 mounted Georgia militia. The Georgia militia chased

²⁶⁰Tonym to Germain, No. 40, 18 June 1777, CO 5/557, transcribed in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 16-17; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 95-96.

²⁶¹Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:45-46; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 126-30.

²⁶²Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 134-43; Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:58.

the retreating Rangers through the outposts of the British regulars. Initially the British regulars believed all of the men were Rangers, but when they discovered their mistake, they fired on the Americans. Colonel Elijah Clarke (d. 1799) led an attack on the British flank but was wounded through the thigh and barely escaped. When the Rangers formed on the Americans' flank, the Georgia militia withdrew, leaving thirteen dead and several wounded. The British suffered one dead and several wounded. The Battle of Alligator Creek Bridge marked the conclusion of the last American offensive into East Florida.²⁶³

On July 1 Major Prevost moved his British forces south from Alligator Creek to Six Mile Creek. The Americans, however, were immobilized by their lack of food, sickness in the ranks, and division among the officers. General Robert Howe commanding the Continental troops, Governor John Houston commanding the Georgia militia, Colonel Andrew Williamson commanding the South Carolina militia, and Commodore Oliver Bowen commanding the naval forces could not agree on whether to pursue the British. Howe and Bowen favored retreat, Houston demanded an attack on St. Augustine, and Williamson favored an expedition to, but not over, the St. Johns River. Hopelessly divided, the Americans began marching out of East Florida on July 14.²⁶⁴

By the fall of 1778 the British had determined to adopt a defensive policy in the northern colonies and an offensive strategy in the South. Central to their goals was the capture of Savannah and Charleston. In November a force of several thousand British regulars sailed southward from New York bound for Savannah. Simultaneously, General Augustine Prevost with his regulars, the South Carolina loyalists, and the East Florida Rangers marched northward from St. Augustine toward Savannah. On December 29, 1778, the British force from New York marched around Savannah's defenses and entered the city almost unopposed. Many of the city's defenders fled, but the Americans lost more than half of their force to death and capture. On

²⁶³Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:58-59; Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 122; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 144-45.

Like the Battle of Thomas Creek, the Battle of Alligator Creek Bridge has been reported in several accounts. Colonel Thomas Brown reported to Tonym, and Captain Alexander Shaw transmitted Major Prevost's account to Tonym: Brown to Tonym, 30 June 1778, and Shaw to Tonym, 1 July 1778, CO 5/558, transcribed in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 33-35. Patrick Murray reported the battle in his memoirs: "Memoir of Patrick Murray," in Lewis Butler, *Royal Americans*, 305.

Governor Tonym later reported the conflict to John Stuart: Tonym to Stuart, 3 July 1778, CO 5/558, transcribed in Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 35-36; and Prevost reported it to General Henry Clinton: Prevost to Clinton, 11 July 1778, Headquarters Papers, No. 1262.

Once again, Hugh M'Call provides the American perspective: Hugh M'Call, *History of Georgia*, 358-59. The accounts diverge primarily on the number of Americans involved. Shaw reported that Major Prevost believed that about 900 rebels attacked him. M'Call wrote that 300 Georgia militia attacked the British.

²⁶⁴Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 145-47.

January 17, 1779, Prevost arrived in Savannah, and the conflict between Georgia and Florida ended with the British occupation of Georgia's capital city.²⁶⁵

For the remainder of the American Revolution, East Florida was safe from military invasion, though a civilian invasion of loyalists occurred when the British evacuated Savannah and Charleston in 1782. A small force of British regulars remained at St. Johns Bluff until Spanish authorities took over in 1785. During the peace negotiations in Paris, Spain demanded the return of her Florida colony. The Spanish had taken West Florida from the British during the Revolution, and they expected to regain East Florida as well. In the Treaty of Paris that ended the Revolution, the British reluctantly returned the Floridas to Spain.

A small force of British regulars remained at St. Johns Bluff. In May 1780, a total of thirty-six soldiers had been stationed at St. Johns Bluff, Mosquito Inlet, Matanzas Inlet, and "the lookout house." In 1785, the new Spanish governor ordered his subordinates to occupy the house at St. Johns Bluff used by the British detachment when they left it.²⁶⁶

When the Spanish returned to East Florida in 1784, both old and new problems faced them. Americans to the north continued to covet the territory, especially that area lying between the St. Mary's and the St. Johns Rivers. Furthermore, in contrast to the virtually complete Spanish exodus of 1763, many English settlers remained in the rural portions of East Florida when the Spanish authorities returned. The Second Spanish Period (1783-1821) was marked by a series of attempts by a variety of groups to wrest the area from Spanish control.

The first Spanish governor, Vicente Manuel Zéspedes y Velasco, had to deal immediately with a group of banditti, former British militiamen and soldiers who rebelled and became a gang of outlaws. Led by Daniel McGirtt, they began raiding plantations along the St. Johns River. Zéspedes had McGirtt arrested early in 1785 and sent to prison in Cuba. The inhabitants of the St. Johns River thanked Zéspedes for his "Providential Care of our Lives and Property." The banditti, they wrote, "Had our Lives and Property Ynstantly at their mercy, which Rendered our Abode unsafe and Precarious." Throughout the rest of his tenure, Governor Zéspedes had to deal with other bands of criminals and the threat of Indian raids.²⁶⁷

In 1793 border troubles with Georgia centered around a Georgia militia company that entered East Florida in search of stolen cattle and East Floridians who rebelled against Spain and proclaimed loyalty to the United States. In 1794 a group of men claiming to represent the French Republic tried to raise an army in Georgia to invade East Florida. Despite Georgia Governor

²⁶⁵J. Leitch Wright, *Florida in the American Revolution*, 58-59; Martha Condray Searcy, *Georgia-Florida Contest in the American Revolution*, 159-68.

²⁶⁶Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province*, 108; Governor of Florida to Pablo Catafal, 6 June, 20 June, 3 July 1785, East Florida Papers, Reel 44, Bundle 118A10, Documents 1785-2, 1785-41, 1785-46.

²⁶⁷The Inhabitants of the St. Johns River to Zéspedes, 25 January 1785, East Florida Papers, Bundle 40, microfilm at P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, Gainesville, FL, quoted in James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 80.

George Mathews's efforts to the contrary, French agents managed to create an army under the command of General Elijah Clarke. They erected forts on the north side of the St. Mary's River, but the Spanish destroyed them. In July 1795, French revolutionaries under Richard Lang advanced down the King's Road to the St. Johns and captured Fort San Nicolas on the south side of the river. The rebels held the fort for only a short while before Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard and his troops recaptured it. Later the French rebels captured Amelia Island and held it briefly, but the Georgia militia and Spanish forces effectively destroyed the French revolutionary threat. Although the French threat had been quelled, East Florida remained prey to bandits of a variety of nationalities and to Indian attacks. From 1800 to 1802 William Augustus Bowles led a group of Indians in war against Spanish rule.²⁶⁸

In response to the unrest along the northern border and the St. Johns River, a succession of Spanish governors sought to establish a stronger military presence. In 1789 Governor Juan de Quesada sent military engineer Mariano de la Rocque to study "the condition of the batteries, buildings and headquarters, as well as making an estimate of the cost of necessary repairs, in order to preserve, strengthen and make comfortable for the troops in this place now and in time of war." La Rocque advised that a watch tower be constructed three miles from the mouth of the river. He also suggested that a series of batteries be erected: one at the mouth of the river, another at the mouth of San Pablo Creek, a third atop St. Johns bluff, large enough to accommodate 150 officials and soldiers, and a fourth at San Nicolas where the King's Road crossed the river.²⁶⁹

Spanish officials took much of la Rocque's advice. In 1793, they constructed the Quesada Battery at the mouth of the St. Johns River on the southern shore. In 1794 a hurricane blew away the parapets and weakened the structure of the Quesada Battery. The chief military engineer of the province, Pedro Díaz Berrío, inspected the battery and recommended that the Quesada Battery be moved a mile and a half to the east where it could command the bar of the river. Berrío also recommended the construction of a battery at St. Johns Bluff where Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Howard was stationed. He would call the new battery San Vicente Ferrer, and it "could be used to prevent ships that crossed the St. Johns Bar—or small boats that came down the Inland Passage—from going farther up river." Berrío also recommended the erection of a

²⁶⁸James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 88-96. For more on the French rebels, see Charles E. Bennett, *Florida's "French" Revolution, 1793-1795* (Gainesville, FL: University Presses of Florida, 1981) and Richard K. Murdoch, *The Georgia-Florida Frontier, 1793-1796: Spanish Reaction to French Intrigue and American Designs* (Berkeley, CA: University of California Press, 1951).

²⁶⁹La Rocque to Quesada, 31 July 1789, Bundle 170, Document 13, East Florida Papers, quoted in James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 86.

second battery on the eastern bank of the mouth of Two Sisters Creek as a partner to the Dos Hermanas Battery on the western bank.²⁷⁰

The final major armed challenge to Spanish authority in East Florida was the Patriot Rebellion of 1811 to 1814. Halfheartedly supported by the United States government, the Patriots wrought havoc between the St. Mary's and the St. Johns Rivers, briefly holding some territory and luring or forcing area planters into alliance with them. Another brief outbreak of hostilities occurred in the summer of 1817 when General Sir Gregor MacGregor captured Amelia Island in the name of three South American revolutionary governments. The Spanish withdrew in fear from the St. Johns into St. Augustine. With his army dwindling from disease and desertion, MacGregor resigned and left Amelia Island in September. Thereafter, the island became a haven for privateers until American troops occupied the island in December.²⁷¹

Spanish inability to control either pirates or Seminole Indians led the United States to invade East and West Florida to destroy Seminole strongholds. In March 1818 General Andrew Jackson entered West Florida to attack Seminole Indians who had been raiding in Georgia. The Spanish Ambassador Luis de Onís protested vigorously against Jackson's actions, but a Congressional investigation vindicated Jackson. On February 22, 1819, the United States and Spain signed the Adams-Onís Treaty, which transferred East and West Florida to the United States in return for the pledge of the American government to pay more than \$5 million to its citizens for damages done by the Spanish. The United States Senate ratified the treaty immediately, but the Spanish delayed until October 1820. Americans took possession of the Floridas in 1821.

After Florida became an American territory in 1821 and northeast Florida was no longer contested ground, military defenses along the St. Johns receded in importance. Between 1821 and 1861, however, the economic importance of the St. Johns river grew. The river provided transportation for the agricultural goods produced by the growing population along its banks all the way from Palatka to the Atlantic. When the Civil War erupted in 1861, both Union and Confederate military leaders recognized the strategic value of the St. Johns. The same river route that took agricultural products to wider markets also afforded an invader ready access to the plantations and farms that provided the Confederacy with provisions.²⁷²

On January 10, 1861, a secession convention in Tallahassee declared Florida an independent nation. On April 17, Florida joined the Confederate States of America. In northeast Florida Confederates prepared defenses along the coast, erecting fortifications on Amelia Island, Talbot Island, and at St. Johns Bluff. At the mouth of the St. Johns River near Mayport Mills, they

²⁷⁰Berrio to Quesada, 10 December 1794, Bundle 171, Document 185, East Florida Papers, quoted in James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 90-91.

²⁷¹James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 110-13.

²⁷²Florida's role as a critical source of food and provisions for the Confederate army, especially after the fall of Vicksburg in 1863, is the subject of Robert A. Taylor, *Rebel Storehouse: Florida in the Confederate Economy* (University, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1995).

constructed Fort Steele out of palmetto logs. By early 1862 the Confederates realized the weakness of their far-flung posts, and reconcentrated their forces on the St. Johns River. Union soldiers quickly captured both Fernandina and St. Augustine early in March, and on March 11, they arrived at Mayport Mills. During the night the small Confederate force at St. Johns Bluff withdrew to Jacksonville and destroyed mills and supplies. Although the Federals planned only a reconnaissance of the area the next day, the presence and appeal of Unionists in Jacksonville led to their occupation of the town to protect the Unionists from the Confederates. The occupation lasted less than a month. Union soldiers left on April 9, 1862, taking with them many Unionists and former slaves (now considered "contrabands" of war) whom they escorted to Fernandina. Confederate troops immediately reoccupied the town.²⁷³

Although the Confederates once again controlled Jacksonville, Federal gunboats controlled the St. Johns River. To "relieve the valley of the Saint John's from the marauding incursions of the enemy," Brigadier General Joseph Finegan, the Confederate commander in East Florida, issued orders to build batteries at Yellow Bluff and St. Johns Bluff. In September 1862 Finegan ordered a detachment of Captain R. H. Gamble's light artillery with two twelve-pounder rifled guns, two eight-inch howitzers, and two thirty-two-pounder rifled guns, and a portion of the Milton Artillery to man St. Johns Bluff, under the command of Captain Joseph L. Dunham of the Milton Artillery. On September 7, the six guns were loaded on flat boats at Jacksonville and towed across the river by the steamer *Governor Milton*. During the night of September 9, the guns were placed in position in the hastily erected fortifications, but a runaway slave notified the men aboard the Federal gunboat *Patroon* that the Confederates had occupied the bluff. On the morning of September 11, the St. Johns Bluff batteries dueled with Federal gunboats *Uncas* and *Patroon* for four hours. Although the *Uncas* was crippled, no one aboard was injured. At the Confederate batteries, one soldier was killed and eight others wounded, though the batteries themselves remained undamaged.²⁷⁴

After the exchange on September 11, General Finegan sent four more pieces of artillery to the bluff from Jacksonville, including two more eight-inch howitzers and two eight-inch columbiads. This supplement brought the number of guns on the bluff to ten, housed in a main battery and several auxiliary batteries on the bluff. On September 17, a Union flotilla of five gunboats under the command of Commander Charles Steedman opened a barrage on the St.

²⁷³*The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1880-1901), ser. 1, 6:239; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion* (Washington, DC: Government Printing Office, 1894-1922), ser. 1, 13:393; Samuel Proctor, "Jacksonville During the Civil War," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 41 (April 1963): 343-51.

²⁷⁴*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 14:120-22; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, ser. 1, 13:324-26; Edwin C. Bearss, "Military Operations on the St. Johns, September-October 1862," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 42 (January 1964): 232-37; T. Frederick Davis, "Engagements at St. Johns Bluff, St. Johns River, Florida, September-October 1862," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (October 1936): 77-79.

Johns Bluff Confederate positions. The gunboats *Paul Jones*, *Cimarron*, *E. B. Hale*, *Uncas*, and *Patroon* engaged the Confederates for five hours. Again, the crew of the gunboats suffered no casualties while the Confederates lost two killed and three wounded. Confederate Captain Winston Stephens later noted that “the batteries received no injury during the firing, but the shell & shot fell like hail.”²⁷⁵

Convinced that the Federals would attempt a combined land and river attack, General Finegan placed the force at St. Johns Bluff under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Charles F. Hopkins and sent Captain Dunham to fortify Yellow Bluff, five miles upriver on the opposite side. Finegan’s suspicions were correct, as the Federals decided to assault the bluff position by land and water. On September 30 and October 1, the transports *Boston*, *Ben DeFord*, *Cosmopolitan*, and *Neptune* conveyed the 47th Regiment Pennsylvania Volunteers, the 7th Regiment Connecticut Volunteers, part of the 1st Connecticut Light Battery, and a detachment of the 1st Massachusetts Cavalry to the St. Johns River. The force of 1,573 men was under the command of Brigadier General J. M. Brannan. Soon after the arrival of the force, the gunboats *Cimarron*, *Water Witch*, and *Uncas* steamed up the river to engage the Confederate batteries. After an hour and a half, the gunboats withdrew to cover the landing of the Federal troops at Mayport Mills. The troops landed at Mayport Mills, but Brannan changed his mind and had them reboard the transports and land at Buckhorn Creek, closer to the Confederate position at St. Johns Bluff. During the morning of October 2, the Union soldiers landed and advanced to Mt. Pleasant Creek landing where they camped, about two or three miles from the St. Johns Bluff batteries.²⁷⁶

During the night of October 1-2, Colonel Hopkins, the Confederate commander at St. Johns Bluff, requested reinforcements; Captain Dunham’s battery of the Milton Light Artillery and 110 dismounted cavalry from Yellow Bluff joined the forces at St. Johns Bluff. Hopkins’s men numbered no more than 600, and his scouts had inflated the size of the Federal force to 3,000 men. Faced with the prospect of defending the bluff against a superior force, Hopkins decided to retreat. During the night of October 2, the Confederates abandoned their batteries, taking with them only a small amount of ammunition. On the morning of October 3, the Federal artillery joined the troops at Mt. Pleasant Creek. The gunboats moved upriver to engage the batteries, but when they received no reply, a shore party landed and found the bluff abandoned. General

²⁷⁵*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, ser. 1, 13:329-31; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 14:122; Edwin C. Bearss, “Military Operations on the St. Johns,” 237-40; T. Frederick Davis, “Engagements at St. Johns Bluff,” 79-81; Winston Stephens to Octavia Stephens, 21 September 1862, in Ellen E. Hodges and Stephen Kerber, eds., “Rogues and Black Hearted Scamps: Civil War Letters of Winston and Octavia Stephens, 1862-1863,” *Florida Historical Quarterly* 57 (July 1978): 63-64.

²⁷⁶*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 14:127-30; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies*, ser. 1, 13:336-37, 341-43, 346, 355-58, 362-65 (illustration of Confederate batteries on St. Johns Bluff on 365), 370; Edwin C. Bearss, “Military Operations on the St. Johns,” 244-47, (April 1964): 331-36; T. Frederick Davis, “Engagements at St. Johns Bluff,” 81-82.

Brannan described the Confederate position "as one of great strength, and possessing a heavy and effective armament, with a good supply of ammunition." The earthworks were "most skillfully and carefully constructed," and most of the guns were mounted "on a complete traverse circle." A "small party of determined men," Brannan concluded, "could have maintained this position for a considerable time against even a larger force than was at my disposal." The Federals removed eight guns from the position and sent them to Hilton Head; they also destroyed the magazines and razed the works.²⁷⁷

The abandonment of the St. Johns Bluff position opened the way for the second Federal occupation of Jacksonville on October 5, 1862. Captain Valentine Chamberlain of the 7th Connecticut Volunteers described the nearly deserted town: "Grass and weeds grow rank and tall in the principal streets. Houses with blinds closed attest the absence of inmates. Stores with shelves but no goods. Churches deserted and gloomy. Depot, but no cars." A few blacks and women were in the town, but almost all of the men were away in the Confederate Army. On October 9, 1862, the Federals once again abandoned Jacksonville, again with Unionist refugees and contrabands.²⁷⁸

In March 1863 Federal gunboats were ordered to reconnoiter the St. Johns River from the coast to Jacksonville. On March 10, 1,400 black troops under the command of white officers arrived and began building fortifications in the town. The primary purpose of the third occupation was to gather slaves who would take arms against their former masters. Outraged, the Confederates engaged the Union troops in several skirmishes. On March 29, 1863, the Federal troops withdrew from Jacksonville and returned to South Carolina.²⁷⁹

In February 1864 Union troops made their most determined effort in East Florida. Several regiments of the Federal Army, including the 54th and 55th Massachusetts (Colored), the 3rd, 8th, and 34th United States Colored Troops (USCT), arrived at Jacksonville on February 7, 8,

²⁷⁷*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 14:130, 387; Edwin C. Bearss, "Military Operations on the St. Johns," 336-40; T. Frederick Davis, "Engagements at St. Johns Bluff," 83-84. Two field pieces had been removed by the Confederates prior to the engagement and sent across the river, probably to Yellow Bluff.

Confederate General Finegan agreed with Union General Brannan that the St. Johns Bluff position was defensible and believed Lieutenant Colonel Hopkins's decision to evacuate was "a gross military blunder, that may require investigation." In response, Hopkins demanded that a court of inquiry review his decision. The court of inquiry found that the evacuation was "positively necessary" and that Hopkins was "wholly justifiable in the course he pursued in abandoning the batteries on the Saint John's." *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 14:138-43.

²⁷⁸*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 14:387; Samuel Proctor, "Jacksonville During the Civil War," 351-52; "A Letter of Captain V. Chamberlain, 7th Connecticut Volunteers," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 15 (October 1936): 93.

²⁷⁹James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 144; Thomas W. Higginson, "Up the St. Johns River," *Atlantic Monthly* (September 1865): 311-25; Thomas Wentworth Higginson, *Army Life in a Black Regiment* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, and Co., 1870), 97-129; Daniel L. Schafer, "Freedom Was as Close as the River: African-Americans and the Civil War in Northeast Florida," in David R. Colburn and Jane L. Landers, eds., *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1995), 157-84.

and 9 under the command of Brigadier General Truman A. Seymour. The force of 5,500 men quickly pushed toward the interior to cut off the supply of Florida beef to the already poorly supplied Confederate armies to the north. To meet the invading force, General Finegan assembled reinforcements and on February 13 stationed his 5,200 men near Olustee Station on Ocean Pond, just east of Lake City.²⁸⁰

On February 20, advancing Union troops encountered pickets west of Sanderson. As the pickets retreated to the main body of Confederate forces, the 7th Connecticut and 7th New Hampshire engaged the Confederates. General Finegan committed the remainder of his troops, and the 7th New Hampshire, low on ammunition, began to retreat. As they did, Confederates began an extremely heavy fire and the 7th New Hampshire broke and ran, leaving the inexperienced 8th USCT to bear the full force of Confederate fire. They retreated into uncommitted Federal troops, and the Federal lines were broken. A bold stand by the 7th Connecticut and Barton's Brigade prevented the Union army from being routed, but the Confederates did capture six pieces of artillery and a large quantity of ammunition. The battle ended when Seymour ordered his army to retreat toward Sanderson. The Battle of Olustee, the only significant Civil War conflict in Florida, was one of the few Confederate victories in 1864. Nearly 20 percent of the 11,000 men engaged were casualties. The Confederates lost 946 (ninety-three killed, 847 wounded, six missing), while the Federals lost 1,861 (203 killed, 1,152 wounded, 506 missing).²⁸¹

The 55th Massachusetts reached the Union Army in time to cover its retreat from the loss at Olustee. When the battered regiments returned to Jacksonville on February 22, they hastily began to erect earthworks in anticipation of a Confederate attack. Union troops established a line of breastworks around the city, which was reinforced by seven batteries along the line. Meanwhile, Confederate forces erected a line of breastworks astride McGirt's Creek, twelve miles west of Jacksonville.²⁸²

Federal forces also fortified the St. Johns River from Jacksonville to the Atlantic, including the Dame's Point peninsula referred to as Yellow Bluff. Orders from the headquarters of the Department of the South at Hilton Head, South Carolina, stipulated that a fieldwork at Yellow

²⁸⁰William H. Nulty, *Confederate Florida: The Road to Olustee* (Tuscaloosa, AL: University of Alabama Press, 1990), 76-123; Robert A. Taylor, *Rebel Storehouse*, 145-51; Samuel Proctor, "Jacksonville During the Civil War," 353-54.

For general analyses of the black military experience, see Dudley Taylor Cornish, *The Sable Arm: Black Troops in the Union Army, 1861-1865* (New York: Longmans, Green, 1956, reprint, Lawrence, KS: University Press of Kansas, 1987); Ira Berlin, Joseph P. Reidy, and Leslie S. Rowland, eds., *Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867, Series II: The Black Military Experience* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); and Joseph T. Glatthaar, *Forged in Battle: The Civil War Alliance of Black Soldiers and White Officers* (New York: Free Press, 1990).

²⁸¹William H. Nulty, *Confederate Florida*, 124-69; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 147.

²⁸²William H. Nulty, *Confederate Florida*, 170-202.

Bluff should be constructed immediately to protect communications on the river. At 11 a.m. on February 28th, Companies B and J of the 55th Massachusetts Regiment under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Charles B. Fox boarded the steamer *Charles Houghton* for Yellow Bluff. A sergeant, two corporals, and three privates from the 1st New York Volunteer Engineers and Assistant Surgeon Burt Wilder

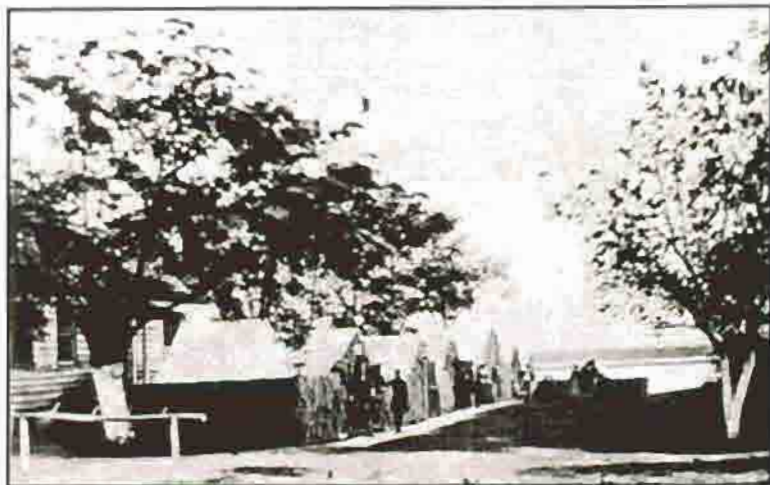


Figure 33. Federal encampment at Yellow Bluff Fort, c. 1864-1865.

of the 55th Massachusetts accompanied them. The force of 163 enlisted men and eight officers arrived at Yellow Bluff at 12:30 p.m. On March 1, Company K of the 55th Massachusetts under Captain Charles C. Soule arrived, adding eighty-five more enlisted men and one officer to the force at Yellow Bluff. The next day a corporal and four enlisted men from the New York Volunteers arrived with orders to build a signal station, which they began on March 3. On March 11, Second Lieutenant Alphonso Marsh reported for duty with Company C of the 55th Massachusetts (seventy-four enlisted men and one officer). Second Lieutenants Thomas E. Webber and Charles Wehl and nine men of the Signal Corps came to Yellow Bluff on March 15 to man the new signal tower. Throughout the month of March, the men of the 55th Massachusetts strengthened existing earthworks and built new ones amid "the almost impenetrable jungle that now covers" the peninsula. By March 24, the post was labeled "effective," and all ships operating on the St. Johns were ordered to anchor only at Yellow Bluff between Jacksonville and the Atlantic. At the end of March, Yellow Bluff was home to 346 enlisted men and ten officers.²⁸³

In mid-April 1864, the 55th Massachusetts returned to South Carolina. Companies B, C, J, and K left Yellow Bluff on April 17 aboard the steamer *Neptune*. Two days later they arrived at Folly Island, South Carolina, and joined the rest of the regiment already there. The 8th Regiment of United States Colored Troops (USCT) took over duties at Yellow Bluff, arriving on April 17. One week later, an officer and thirty men were assigned to St. Johns Bluff. General John P. Hatch, commanding the District of Florida, established the post at St. Johns Bluff in response to rumors that Confederates would attempt to place torpedoes in the St. Johns River near the

²⁸³Lieutenant Colonel Charles B. Fox, "Post Return of troops stationed at Yellow Bluff, Fla. commanded by Lieut. Col. Chas B. Fox, 55th Mass. Vols. for the month of March, 1864," Returns from U. S. Military Posts, 1800-1916 (M617), National Archives, Washington, DC; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 35(1):496-97, 35(2):18-19, 28.

bluff. By the first of May, eight companies (thirty-seven officers and 641 men) of the 8th USCT were present at Yellow Bluff.²⁸⁴

During April and May 1864, many of the troops stationed in Jacksonville were reassigned to South Carolina. By the end of May only a few thousand troops remained in Jacksonville; on July 26, the last troops left Jacksonville. During May, June, and July of 1864, several companies of the 8th USCT occupied Yellow Bluff Fort. Sometime in late July the last company of the 8th USCT departed Yellow Bluff for service in the siege of Petersburg, Virginia. They were replaced by Company D of the 3rd USCT. In September 1864, two companies of the 34th USCT reinforced the Yellow Bluff Fort, but in March 1865, only Company D of the 3rd USCT remained, with two officers and sixty-seven enlisted men. By May 1865 Company D had been moved to Micanopy, Florida, where they were mustered out of service in June.²⁸⁵

With the end of the Civil War and the abandonment of the area by United States occupation forces, the Preserve area remained peaceful for thirty years. War with Spain in 1898, however, brought renewed emphasis on protecting the St. Johns River from invading enemies. Early in 1898 Jacksonville residents anxiously implored the United States government to provide for the defense of their town.

Following the start of the Cuban Revolution in 1895, Jacksonville citizens had actively aided the rebels attempting to overthrow Spanish rule. The United States government pledged to remain neutral and attempted to restrain its citizens. In Jacksonville Americans began a series of filibustering expeditions to transport men and matériel to Cuba to support the rebels. The former sheriff of Duval County, Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, his brother Montcalm, and George DeCottes owned the new seagoing tug, the *Three Friends*, and Broward became deeply involved in supporting the Cuban rebels. In March 1896 Broward made his first expedition to Cuba. Broward made at least two other trips during the summer of 1896, and when he returned on July 13, he was greeted as a hero by the people of Jacksonville.²⁸⁶

Newspaper reporters found that the American public was eager for stories about the Cuban Revolution, and the filibustering expeditions afforded them prime opportunities to obtain

²⁸⁴Captain R. C. Bailey, "Return of the Post of Yellow Bluff, Fla. (Capt. R. C. Bailey, Comdg.) for the month of April, 1864," M617, National Archives, Washington, DC; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 35(2):44. The rumor about torpedoes proved at least partially true; in early July, Union gunboats retrieved five torpedoes from the river near St. Johns Bluff. *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 35(2):171.

²⁸⁵Samuel Proctor, "Jacksonville During the Civil War," 355; Records of the 3rd and 8th USCT, Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations (M594), National Archives, Washington, DC; *Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 35(2):266; Norman E. Feil II, "Military History of Yellow Bluff During the Civil War," 19-20.

²⁸⁶George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport* (Columbia, SC: University of South Carolina Press, 1992), 101-06; Samuel Proctor, *Napoleon Bonaparte Broward: Florida's Fighting Democrat* (Gainesville, FL: University Press of Florida, 1993), 96-120.

information. Several reporters, including novelist Stephen Crane, accompanied various filibustering missions and through their stories made heroes of the American captains and crews. Two other Jacksonville tugs, the *Commodore* and the *Dauntless*, were also active in support of the Cuban rebels. Along with the *Bermuda* and the *Three Friends*, they were known as the "Cuban fleet." Of seventy-one filibustering expeditions organized between 1895 and 1898, only twenty-seven managed to land men and matériel in Cuba. Nearly half of these successful missions originated in Jacksonville and were accomplished by the *Three Friends*, the *Commodore*, and the *Dauntless*.²⁸⁷

On February 15, 1898, the USS *Maine*, which had been sent to Cuba to protect American interests, exploded in the port of Havana, killing 260 sailors. Americans clamored for war with Spain, but coastal areas were also fearful. Secretary of War Russell A. Alger wrote later that "the calls upon the department for immediate rescue from the advancing Spanish fleet were pathetic in their urgency. Telegrams, letters, and statesmen representing the imperiled localities poured into the War Department. They wanted guns everywhere; mines in all the rivers and harbors on the map." Jacksonville was no exception, and local residents were especially fearful that the Spanish would strike first at their city because of its support for the Cuban revolutionaries. Older citizens also remembered how the town had been occupied by Federal troops four times during the Civil War.²⁸⁸

On February 20, five days after the *Maine* sank, Florida Governor William D. Bloxham instructed the Jacksonville Naval Militia to "make a reconnaissance of the Atlantic coast as far as practicable with a view to locating proper sites for signal stations and to secure such other data as may be obtained and be of value from a military standpoint." Lieutenant Alexander R. Merrill of the Naval Militia began his survey at once. Late in March, a group of Jacksonville citizens sent ex-Congressman Charles M. Cooper and W. W. Cummer to Washington, D.C., to convey to authorities the need to defend the city. After a meeting with Secretary of War Alger and Brigadier General John M. Wilson, Chief of Engineers, the commissioners telegraphed Jacksonville on April 2 that they had "orders for guns and mines—immediately from the Secretary of War."²⁸⁹

²⁸⁷George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport*, 102-16; Charles H. Brown, *The Correspondents' War: Journalists in the Spanish-American War* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1967), 63-76; T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville, Florida, and Vicinity, 1513 to 1924* (St. Augustine, FL: Florida Historical Society, 1925), 205-08; Elbert J. Benton, *International Law and Diplomacy of the Spanish-American War* (Gloucester, MA: Peter Smith, 1968), 43-45.

For more on the *Dauntless*, see Richard V. Rickenbach, "Filibustering with the *Dauntless*," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 28 (April 1950): 231-53.

²⁸⁸Russell A. Alger, *The Spanish-American War* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1901), 38.

²⁸⁹T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 208-09; George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport*, 118-20.

General Wilson contacted Lieutenant Colonel William H. H. Benyaurd, the district engineer, and instructed him to cooperate with Jacksonville citizens "in reference to torpedo defense; select a site for four modern siege guns." Before consulting with Benyaurd, the citizens of Jacksonville settled on St. Johns Bluff, eighteen miles downriver from the city, as the site for the battery of guns. Benyaurd agreed with the decision and hired John M. Cook of Spartanburg, South Carolina, to superintend the construction of a temporary battery on St. Johns Bluff. Work began on April 11, 1898, when Cook's workers began to clear away the underbrush on the bluff. Benyaurd also made arrangements for the erection of a landing wharf and a railroad track from the boat landing to the bluff, operated by a stationary engine to haul material to the top. On April 20 Benyaurd instructed Cook to double the work shifts because "the work must be pushed to completion at earliest possible date." Common laborers on the project received \$1.36 per day.²⁹⁰



Figure 34. Spanish-American War Battery, St. Johns Bluff.

On April 22 the guns for the bluff arrived from New York: two five-inch breech-loading rifles and two seven-inch breech-loading howitzers. The battery was not complete, however, and the guns waited on a railroad siding. When the temporary battery neared completion, the guns were transported downriver on a barge and mounted. They remained at the bluff only a short while, before Benyaurd

received orders to ship them to Tampa for use by the American Expeditionary Force preparing to invade Cuba. The guns were sent away on May 18 and were replaced by four obsolete twelve-pounder field guns from Jacksonville. Even before the completion of the temporary battery, General Wilson issued orders on April 27 to build a permanent emplacement on St. Johns Bluff for two eight-inch breech-loading rifles. The new guns would be 1,200 feet farther southeast along the bluff facing St. Johns Creek.²⁹¹

While the battery on St. Johns Bluff was under construction, other activities were underway to defend Jacksonville and the St. Johns River. In mid-April Colonel Benyaurd was shocked to learn that Jacksonville citizens had failed to act on their promise to place a minefield in the St.

²⁹⁰George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport*, 120-22; Benyaurd to Cook, 20 April 1898, RG 77, Entry 1163, Box 1, National Archives, quoted in George E. Buker, "Spanish-American War Fortifications, St. Johns Bluff, Florida" (Jacksonville, FL: report prepared for Fort Caroline National Memorial, 1989), 16.

²⁹¹George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport*, 122-23.

John's River. Benyaurd immediately made preparations for the mining of the river. The mines were placed in the river in July and remained there until September when they were exploded to clear the channel. Also in April, Lieutenant Merrill of the Naval Militia received orders to construct a signal tower atop Mt. Cornelia on Fort George Island and at other points along the coast.²⁹²

Jacksonville itself had become the location of an army camp on May 22, with the arrival of two regiments. On June 4, General Fitzhugh Lee designated Jacksonville as the headquarters of the Seventh Army Corps and dubbed the camp "Cuba Libre." Between May and December 1898, Camp Cuba Libre was home to thousands of soldiers from sixteen different states, as many as 29,000 at one time. Early in July, an epidemic of typhoid fever broke out in the camp and killed dozens of men before it ceased.²⁹³

The United States officially declared war on Spain on April 25, 1898. Six days later, on May 1, Commodore George Dewey led a United States squadron into the harbor of Manila in the Philippine Islands and thoroughly defeated the Spanish fleet there. Before the defenses of Jacksonville could be completed, any threat posed by the Spanish in the Atlantic was eliminated when Commodore W. S. Schley found and trapped the Spanish fleet in the harbor of Santiago de Cuba on May 28. Rear Admiral W. I. Sampson took command of the blockading fleet on June 1; when the Spanish fleet tried to escape on July 3, American warships destroyed it. Hostilities ended with an assault on Manila on August 13, and a peace treaty was signed in Paris on December 10, 1898. Under the terms of the treaty, Cuba became quasi-independent though virtually an American protectorate, and the United States received Puerto Rico, Guam, and the Philippine Islands (the latter for a payment of \$20 million). In Jacksonville Napoleon Bonaparte Broward was vindicated; in 1905 he became Florida's governor and in 1910, a United States senator.

Despite the end of hostilities, the construction of the permanent gun emplacement on St. Johns Bluff continued. In September builders rented a rock crusher to supply crushed stones for the structure. Ships carried the stone downriver to the bluff. In November, contractor John Cook insisted that he needed more money to complete the construction, but Colonel Benyaurd replied that because the war was over, he could not increase the funding for the project. Cook had to reduce the planned height of the concrete pit and did not install the heavy metal doors included in the plans. In January 1899 the two eight-inch, breech-loading rifles, each weighing 32,840 pounds, were mounted. The guns were capable of firing a 300-pound projectile that could penetrate ten inches of steel at a distance of 3,500 yards. Because the conflict was over, the guns were never fired and troops were never stationed at the emplacement, although Colonel

²⁹²George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport*, 121-22.

²⁹³T. Frederick Davis, *History of Jacksonville*, 210-13.

Benyaurd had requested in April that a company of soldiers be stationed there to protect the installation against enemy small boat parties.²⁹⁴

With the end of the Spanish-American War, the threat of invasion and the need for defense virtually ceased along the St. Johns River.²⁹⁵ Developments in weapons technology during the twentieth century have changed the nature of warfare, rendering the St. Johns River far less important in terms of military strategy. It is now neither a barrier nor a pathway for military operations. However, the Mayport Naval Station, established at the mouth of the St. Johns River in 1942, bears continued testimony to the use of the earth's waterways in warfare.

ASSOCIATED PROPERTIES

Most of the properties associated with this historic context are military fortifications of some type. The exceptions are the site of a military encampment (Spanish Camp Pond), the site of a battle (Thomas Creek), and two commemorative objects (Ribault Column and United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument). Most of the fortifications are defensive in nature, designed to prevent the enemy from using the St. Johns River or the Inland Passage as an invasion route. Fort St. George, in contrast, was used as a staging area for offensive operations, and Yellow Bluff Fort served a similar function for Union troops after the Confederates abandoned it.

Half of the properties associated with this historic context were located on or around St. Johns Bluff. The face of the bluff has suffered considerable erosion since the French first settled there in 1564. In 1794 the Spanish commander at San Vicente Ferrer reported to the governor that the bluff had suffered further erosion. Shortly after the Civil War, Jeffries Wyman noted in his examination of shell mounds on the St. Johns River that "the base of the bluff is washed by a swift current at every tide, so that it is constantly undermined, and is rapidly disappearing. Earthworks thrown up on top during the rebellion [Civil War] have already begun to fall." In 1876 A. S. Baldwin wrote in his study of the St. Johns bar that "during the occupation of Florida by the British, I have been informed by the residents that they saw a fleet of large square rigged vessels, many of them drawing seventeen feet, lying at anchor off the town of St. Johns . . . which town and a long distance of the bluff itself, have for many years been washed away." The

²⁹⁴George E. Buker, *Jacksonville: Riverport-Seaport*, 125-26; Benyaurd to Wilson, 20 April 1898, RG 77, Entry 1163, Box 1, National Archives, quoted in George E. Buker, "Spanish-American War Fortifications," 16-17.

On 28 September 1899, the Quartermaster for the Department of the Gulf in Atlanta advised Captain Charles H. McKinstry, who had replaced Benyaurd, that the weapons would be removed from the bluff. E. Winchenback of Jacksonville was employed to remove the weapons. The four twelve-pounders were sent to the Augusta Arsenal in Georgia, and the two eight-inch guns were sent to Fort McRae, near Pensacola, Florida. McKinstry to Sperry, 28 September 1899, McKinstry to Commanding Officer, Augusta Arsenal, 28 September 1899, McKinstry to Captain C. A. F. Flagler, Montgomery, AL, 28 September 1899, all in RG 77, Entry 1164, Box 1a, National Archives, cited in George E. Buker, "Spanish-American War Fortifications," 34.

²⁹⁵During World War II, a German U-boat entered the St. Johns River and at least one ship was sunk off Jacksonville Beach. See Michael V. Gannon, *Operation Drumbeat: The Dramatic True Story of Germany's First U-boat Attacks Along the American Coast in World War II* (New York: Harper & Row, 1990), 359.

deepening of the St. Johns River channel and the construction of jetties at its mouth late in the nineteenth century led to a stronger current that scoured the southern bank and undercut the northwestern face of the bluff, perhaps by as much as 425 feet between 1856 and 1967. Furthermore, the channel of St. Johns Creek has migrated to the west, undercutting the northeast face of the bluff. Among the sites apparently destroyed by this erosion of the bluff are Fort de la Caroline, St. Johns Bluff English Fortifications, San Vicente Ferrer, and St. Johns Bluff Confederate Fort.²⁹⁶

Physical Characteristics²⁹⁷

The reconstructed model of Fort de la Caroline is located on the south bank of the St. Johns River at the foot of St. Johns Bluff. Constructed in 1964, the fort is triangular in shape with two sides measuring 200 feet each and the third side measuring 300 feet. Each point of the triangle is modified to form a protective bastion for gun emplacements. The shorter southeastern and southwestern walls are constructed of earth over crushed cinder blocks, while the northern wall is composed of wooden planks reinforced by diagonally crossed timbers. Along the upper surface of the earth walls are tabby concrete block walls 4' high and 3' thick. A moat, which is fifteen feet wide and five feet deep, borders the earthwork walls on the outside. Inside the fort are two reproduction cannon displayed in the bastions, although up to four cannon can be displayed within the fort.

The "Spanish Camp" Pond is located on the southern side of St. Johns Bluff, southeast of the Fort de la Caroline model. The marshy pond is surrounded by pine trees.

The Ribault Column is located on St. Johns Bluff overlooking the St. Johns River and the mouth of St. Johns Creek, approximately one-half mile east of the Fort Caroline Visitor Center. This object is a six-sided concrete shaft, measuring eleven feet in height. The



Figure 35. Ribault Column replica.

²⁹⁶Governor of Florida to Carlos Howard, 3 January 1795, East Florida Papers, Reel 51, Bundle 128K10, Document 1795-9; Jeffries Wyman, "On the Fresh-Water Shell-Heaps of the St. Johns River, East Florida," *American Naturalist* 2 (October 1868): 461; A. S. Baldwin, "The St. Johns Bar," *Semi Tropical* 2 (June 1876): 321; Richard E. Johnson, "Archeological Testing of the Ribault Monument Area on St. Johns Bluff, Fort Caroline National Memorial, Florida" (Tallahassee, FL: Southeast Archeological Center, unpublished report, 1983), 27-30.

²⁹⁷More detailed physical descriptions appear in Appendix A.

column is a replica of the one erected by Jean Ribault in 1562 at the mouth of the St. Johns River, and features three metal shields of a French design.

The precise locations of San Gabriel and San Estaban remain unknown. The two forts were constructed by the Spanish after the fall of Fort de la Caroline at the mouth of the St. Johns River. San Gabriel, located on the northern shore, was attacked first by the force under Gourgues in 1568. After subduing this fort, the French and their Timucuan allies assaulted San Estaban on the south side of the river. Possible locations for San Gabriel include Haulover Island, Batten Island, and the southern end of Fort George Island. No archeological evidence of these two forts has been found.²⁹⁸

The precise location of Fort Piribiriba is unknown. Archeological research in 1988 uncovered a set of adjacent sites on the Greenfield peninsula that may be the site of Fort Piribiriba and its associated Timucuan and Guale villages. Site Number 6 (8Du5542) is a shell midden that may represent “the cultural remains of the Georgia coastal Guale Indians who lived, apparently in a culturally and physically distinct group, during the Spanish military occupation of the Greenfield peninsula.” Site Number 7 (8Du5543) contains scattered midden deposits and may be related to the activities of Guale Indians, as indicated by the high frequency of San Marcos wares, during the Spanish occupation of the area. Site Number 8 (8Du5544), in the extreme northwest corner of the Greenfield peninsula, is marked by high frequencies of grog-tempered wares and the presence of human burial remains. Grog-tempered ceramics suggest that the area may have been inhabited by Timucuan Indians during the Spanish mission period. Site Number 9 (8Du5545) is located on the northern end of the Greenfield peninsula and contains the most extensive archeological deposits on the peninsula. Eighteenth-century European materials were recovered in the northeastern portion of Site Number 9, which “may represent, if Spanish, either the general area of Fort Piribiriba, or one of the Spanish mission buildings.” Archeological investigation of the peninsula concluded that, “while not yet positively identified, it is probable that the site of the Spanish Fort Piribiriba is located within the boundaries of Site # 9” and that the area in the northeastern part of that site “represents the most probable location of the fort thus far.” Further archeological investigation will be necessary to determine more conclusively whether Site Number 9 includes the archeological remains of Fort Piribiriba.²⁹⁹

The site of Fort St. George remains unknown. Early speculation pointed to the high dunes north of Mount Cornelia on Fort George Island, where L. Scott Nidy reported three large pits that may have been gun emplacements. A 1991 metal detector survey of the area produced no artifacts from the eighteenth century. Other scholars have suggested that the historic descriptions

²⁹⁸Michael Russo, “The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report,” 123-26.

²⁹⁹Robert E. Johnson, “An Archeological and Historical Survey of the Greenfield Plantation Tract,” 35-48. Archeological confirmation of the location of Fort Piribiriba may be complicated by two historic factors. First, the fort was apparently occupied by the Spanish for only two or three years. Second, Spanish military occupants may have used more San Marcos wares, normally associated with the Guale Indians, for cooking and eating than Spanish wares such as majolica.

of the fort's location point to Mile Point on Fanning Island. They argue that in the 1730s, St. George Island consisted of what are now three islands: Fort George Island, Batton Island, and Fanning Island. The fort was located on the southern tip of St. George Island, which is now Fanning Island. Fanning Island is one of the excluded areas within the boundaries of the Preserve because of extensive development on the island. No artifacts have been recovered from either site to establish the fort's location.³⁰⁰

The site of the Battle of Thomas Creek is a matter of considerable speculation. Charles E. Bennett wrote in 1969 that the battle took place "near Thomas Creek, somewhat south of where it empties into Nassau River. On today's map this is west of and adjacent to Interstate Highway 95, where it crosses the Nassau River." Bennett based his conclusion on General Prevost's testimony that if the British had had horses, few of the Americans "could have escaped, having a deep river to pass after they were defeated." Bennett argues that "this deep river could only have been the Nassau; and this firmly fixes the location of the battle as stated in the text." In contrast, James Robertson Ward and Dena Snodgrass have suggested that the battle occurred much farther to the west near the King's Road and the headwaters of Thomas Creek. Everett W. Caudle finds the latter location more probable for two reasons. First, "the ease with which the Rangers located Baker and his troops and the speed in which the Regulars were able to arrive at the scene suggests a location somewhat close to the Kings Road." Second, Patrick Murray recalled that the Georgians were encamped at Thomas's Swamp, a description more applicable to the creek's headwaters than its junction with the Nassau River. If the latter theory is correct, the battlefield lies outside the boundaries of the Preserve.³⁰¹

Each of these theories on the location of the battle is problematic, primarily because of the limited and imprecise nature of the various contemporary accounts. Perhaps General Prevost was referring to the St. Mary's River when he described the "deep river" that retreating Americans would have to cross. It is also possible that the Rangers were able to scout rapidly this territory with which they were familiar and that the British regulars had been approaching toward the American camp for some time before the Rangers and Indians began firing. Furthermore, it is

³⁰⁰Michael Russo, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report," 122; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 54.

³⁰¹Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the American Revolution*, 10, 74; James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 75; Everett W. Caudle, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: An Historical Analysis and Interpretation" (Gainesville, FL: Florida Museum of Natural History, 1993), 25-26, 52-53.

Bennett noted at the end of his study of the "southernmost battlefields of the revolution" that "it seems proper in 1969 that we plan a wilderness type park at the most southerly battlefield of the Revolution, Thomas Creek—commemorating there all of the southern frontier fighting of the war and preserving the wildlife and beautiful subtropical hammock land of this area." Twenty years later, the area Bennett believed to be the site of the Battle of Thomas Creek became a part of the newly formed Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve. Charles E. Bennett, *Southernmost Battlefields of the Revolution*, 45.

J. Leitch Wright argues that Bennett's "thesis that the skirmish at Thomas Creek was the southernmost battle of the Revolution is to be questioned on several counts," though he does not enumerate them. J. Leitch Wright, *Florida During the American Revolution*, 176.

difficult to assess how the landscape around Thomas Creek appeared 220 years ago and which areas would have been considered swamp.

The search for the Thomas Creek battle site is complicated not only by the vague descriptions in the documentary record, but also by the likelihood that there are few physical remains of the conflict to be recovered archeologically. Colonel Baker's force of 150-180 horsemen had camped at the site for only one night when they were attacked by the East Florida Rangers and their Indian allies. A substantial number of Baker's men fled immediately without firing, and the rest made only a brief stand. The entire battle was over in only a few minutes and involved no more than 400 men on both sides. Without the discovery of more documentary information, the location of the battle site will probably remain unknown.³⁰²

The nature of British fortifications on St. Johns Bluff during the 1770s and 1780s is unclear. The British established a battery at the bluff in May 1777 as a defensive measure against the American invasion already underway. In June of the following year, Lieutenant Colonel Lewis V. Fuser fortified St. Johns Bluff to defend against American forces who had already invaded East Florida. Documentary evidence does not indicate the extent of the fortifications erected in either 1777 or 1778. Although a small detachment of British regulars remained there until 1785, Spanish sources suggest that the troops occupied a house at St. Johns Bluff when the Spanish took control of the area. If British fortifications survived in 1785, they may have become the basis for the Spanish post of San Vicente Ferrer.³⁰³

The precise locations of Dos Hermanas and San Vicente Ferrer remain unknown, although documentary evidence gives some sense of their general location. Engineer Pedro Díaz Berrio described "two elevations named Dos Hermanas," located a mile from where Sisters Creek meets the St. Johns River. On the west elevation, the Spanish built a battery, "very advantageously situated." Berrio noted that "well-directed fire from Dos Hermanas Battery would completely block passage" through the inland waterway. Even if ships made it past cannon fire from the battery, "they would not be as lucky in regard to the musketry fire, because the creek channel at the foot of that post resembles a defile." As an "added precaution," Berrio recommended the establishment of an additional battery on the east elevation, but there is no evidence that this second battery was constructed.³⁰⁴

The two elevations of Dos Hermanas are probably those now known as Sister Island and Shell Island north of the St. Johns River. The Dos Hermanas Battery was probably located on

³⁰²Michael Russo conducted a metal detector and walk-over survey in 1991 of an area along Seton Creek just west of Interstate 95, the site identified by Charles E. Bennett. The search yielded no artifacts from the battle. Michael Russo, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report," 126.

³⁰³Wilbur Henry Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, 1:45-46, 58; Carlton A. Landry, "St. John's Bluff during the Period of English Rule, 1763-1783" (Jacksonville, FL: Unpublished paper, 1976), 7-8.

³⁰⁴Berrio to Quesada, 10 December 1794, Bundle 171, Document 185, East Florida Papers, quoted in Everett W. Caudle, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: An Historical Analysis and Interpretation," 31-32, 53.

Sister Island, the westernmost of the two islands. Archeological research on Sister Island uncovered the remains of two prehistoric sites and a late-nineteenth-century shell processing plant. Investigation uncovered the ruins of a brick structure on a tabby foundation, which may be the remnants of a shell processing plant operated by Walter Stowe in the area in the 1880s or 1890s. In his operations, Stowe may have removed much of the shell that formed the elevations on Sister and Shell Islands. Dredging of the intracoastal waterway and the depositing of spoil along its banks further complicates archeological attempts to locate the battery. A survey of the area in 1991 concluded that "it is doubtful that any *in situ* remains exist."³⁰⁵

The San Vicente Ferrer Battery was located atop St. Johns Bluff, perhaps on the site of the earlier English fort. In December 1794 Spanish Engineer Berrio recommended that a battery be established at St. Johns Bluff where soldiers under Lieutenant Colonel Howard were already stationed. He proposed to name the battery San Vicente Ferrer. The San Vicente Ferrer Battery, like the St. Johns Bluff English Fort, was likely washed away by the eroding action of the St. Johns River on St. Johns Bluff.³⁰⁶

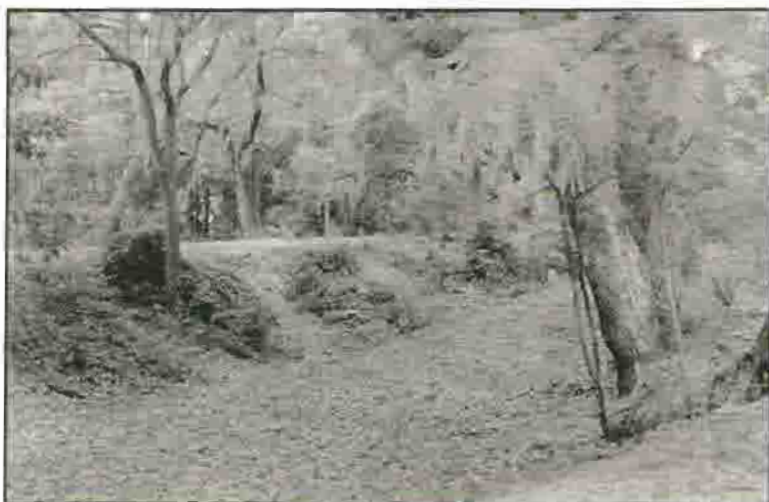


Figure 36. Earthworks at Yellow Bluff Fort.

Yellow Bluff Fort is located on the Yellow Bluff peninsula near the small village of New Berlin on the north side of the St. Johns River. According to Union reports on March 7, 1862, a Confederate battery "has been commenced at Dame's Point."³⁰⁷ The earthworks fort is roughly T-shaped and covers approximately 1.25 acres.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument is located on the eastern side of Yellow Bluff Fort. It is a four-foot-high granite rectangle on a two-part granite base. The monument has an affixed commemorative plaque and is topped by a cannon ball.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument is

The Temporary Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement is located on St. Johns Bluff overlooking the mouth of the St. Johns Creek. The earthworks are an irregularly shaped feature

³⁰⁵Michael Russo, "The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve: Phase III Final Report," 110, 126, 132-33.

³⁰⁶Berrio to Quesada, 10 December 1794, Bundle 171, Document 185, East Florida Papers, quoted in James Robertson Ward, *Old Hickory's Town*, 90.

³⁰⁷*Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, ser. 1, 6:239.

along the eastern face of the bluff. The northwestern half of the earthworks is under the Ribault Column platform. The other half extends approximately 100' southeast of the Ribault Column and consists of two distinguishable earthen mounds, extending about 10' above ground and forming a modified "U" shape. This feature probably represents the southeastern flank of the gun emplacement. Several studies of the area and the National Register nomination forms for Fort Caroline National Memorial have incorrectly identified this feature as the remains of the Confederate earthworks constructed in 1862 atop St. Johns Bluff.³⁰⁸

The Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement is located approximately three-fourths of a mile east of the Fort de la Caroline model atop St. Johns Bluff overlooking St. Johns Creek. The site provided a commanding view of the St. Johns River to the northeast. The irregularly shaped concrete structure measures 142' x 100' and is constructed of a 1½" granite concrete aggregate over a 3' foundation of tabby. The bombproof magazine on the west side is reinforced with 3" steel I-beams. The gun platforms are accessed by a narrow passageway through the magazine area. The platforms are two semicircular-shaped slabs on which the 8" rifles were mounted. The site is densely covered with trees and the view of the river is obscured.³⁰⁹

Associative Characteristics/Significance

The Fort de la Caroline model has future potential to possess statewide significance as a reconstructed property under Criterion A. The model is associated with the short-lived French settlement near the site in 1564-1565. However, much of the model is based on conjecture, and it is not executed on the original site, which has been washed away by the St. Johns River. Although it provides visitors with a better understanding of the cultural associations for which Fort Caroline National Memorial was established, the model is not now significant. After the year 2014, the Reconstruction may be eligible as a commemorative property for its association (along with the Ribault Column) with twentieth-century efforts to memorialize French settlement in North America.

The Spanish Camp Pond has for decades been considered the campsite of the Spanish prior to their attack on the French at Fort de la Caroline on September 20, 1565. However, the association remains conjectural given the vague nature of the Spanish description of the site and the topographical changes wrought in the area over four centuries. If the Spanish Camp Pond were the site of the Spanish encampment, it would be quite important as a staging area for the brief but important battle that drove the French from Florida. However, it is unlikely that archeological evidence will be found of such a brief encampment.³¹⁰

³⁰⁸Richard E. Johnson, "Archeological Testing of the Ribault Monument Area on St. Johns Bluff," 23-24, 30.

³⁰⁹For a narrative on the ownership of the property after the guns were removed in 1899, see George E. Buker, "Spanish-American War Fortifications," 41-44.

³¹⁰Patrick W. Andrus, *National Register Bulletin 40: Guidelines of Identifying, Evaluating, and Registering America's Historic Battlefields* (Washington, DC: U. S. Department of the Interior, National Park Service, 1992), 8.

The Ribault Column is locally significant as a commemorative property under Criterion A for its memorialization of the French settlement at Fort de la Caroline. Its significance is considered in conjunction with this context, "Military Conflict and Defenses," because the placement of the original column in 1562 was a political act that brought military confrontation. In erecting the column, Ribault claimed the area for France in defiance of earlier Spanish claims. When French settlers returned and established a settlement two years later, the Spanish reasserted their claims through warfare. The Daughters of the American Revolution erected the replica column on May 1, 1924, to commemorate the "first landing of Protestants on American Soil." Their efforts became part of the larger commemoration of the three-hundredth anniversary of the arrival of Huguenot settlers in North America. The United States Postal Service issued a five-cent stamp featuring the Ribault Column in 1924 as part of a "Huguenot-Walloon Tercentary Issue," and the United States Mint issued a commemorative silver coin. The commemorative column was originally located at the mouth of the St. Johns River on the southern side. The expansion of the Mayport Naval Station in 1941 necessitated the removal of the monument, and it was relocated twice. Neither location proved satisfactory, and in July 1958, the column was moved to its current location on St. Johns Bluff within the boundaries of the newly established Fort Caroline National Memorial.³¹¹

The forts San Gabriel and San Estaban are associated with the reassertion of Spanish power over Florida in the 1560s. Although destroyed by Gourgues in 1568, they were briefly monuments to Spain's commitment to retaining Florida.

Fort St. George is associated with English efforts to acquire Florida for the British. As an outpost it served as concrete evidence of British claims to all of the territory north of the St. Johns River. Fort St. George also functioned as a staging area for Oglethorpe's unsuccessful assault on St. Augustine in 1740.

The St. Johns Bluff English Fortifications and the site of the Battle of Thomas Creek are associated with the repeated efforts of American revolutionaries to force the British army and loyalists out of East Florida in the 1770s. The Battle of Thomas Creek effectively halted the second of three annual invasions of East Florida by the Americans.

The San Vicente Ferrer and Dos Hermanas posts are associated with Spanish efforts to restore order to the northern frontier of East Florida in the 1780s and 1790s. The two fortifications also provided defenses against any American attempts to overthrow Spanish rule by military force.

The Yellow Bluff Fort is locally significant under Criterion A for its association with Confederate attempts to defend the St. Johns River and Jacksonville against Union invasion. Yellow Bluff Fort also served as a fortification for Federal soldiers during their occupations of Jacksonville. It possesses statewide significance under Criterion A as one of the few surviving posts manned by African-American soldiers. The fort may be nationally significant as one of the

³¹¹Mrs. G. Fildes Tresher, "Florida Dedicates the Ribault Monument," *Daughters of the American Revolution Magazine* 93 (February 1959): 99-101, 158.

few surviving structures in the nation from the Civil War associated with African-American troops who served in the Union Army. Further comparative research is necessary to determine the rarity of this resource and the appropriate level of its significance.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument is associated with mid-twentieth century commemorations of the Confederacy's fighting men.

The two Spanish-American War Gun Emplacements are locally significant under Criteria A and C. They are important under Criterion A for their association with defensive efforts in the Jacksonville area during the Spanish-American War. The permanent, concrete structure is significant under Criterion C as a substantially intact example of late-nineteenth-century coastal gun emplacements.

REGISTRATION REQUIREMENTS/CRITERIA CONSIDERATIONS/INTEGRITY

Several sites associated with this context have not been located, and their integrity as historical archeological sites cannot be evaluated. Therefore, they do not qualify as contributing resources nor can they be listed on the National Register. These sites include Fort de la Caroline, San Gabriel, San Estaban, Fort Piribiriba, Fort St. George, St. Johns Bluff English Fort, the Thomas Creek Battle Site, Dos Hermanas, San Vicente Ferrer, and St. Johns Bluff Confederate Fort. If their locations are discovered archeologically, they may be eligible as contributing resources under this context.

To be National Register eligible, the Fort de la Caroline model must meet Criteria Consideration E: Reconstructed Properties. A reconstructed property is eligible when "it is accurately executed in a suitable environment and presented in a dignified manner as part of a restoration master plan and when no other building or structure with the same associations has survived." All three requirements must be met. In response to Congressman Charles E. Bennett's suggestion of a reconstruction of Fort Caroline, National Park Service interpretive planner Albert Manucy prepared a report in 1960 on "the feasibility of reconstructing Fort Caroline." Manucy concluded that "such reconstruction would be almost entirely conjectural, since the only source containing significant structural details is the Le Moyne picture of the fort. Reliable dimensions are not available." Manucy suggested the construction of "a large-scale conjectural model, to be displayed in the pavillion at the Visitor Center, and within view of the lost site of the fort." Despite Manucy's warnings and recommendations, a speculative reconstruction of Fort de la Caroline was erected in 1964. The reconstruction is not on its original location, which has been washed away by the St. Johns River. Because it fails to meet the standards of Criteria Consideration E, the Fort de la Caroline Reconstruction is not eligible for listing on the National Register.³¹²

³¹²*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 37; Albert C. Manucy, "How Did Fort Caroline Look?: A Report on the Feasibility of Reconstructing Fort Caroline" (report prepared for the National Park Service, 1960), summary, 24, 29.

It is also important to note that the reconstruction in 1964 did not even follow Manucy's speculative

The Ribault Column has integrity of design, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. The location and setting aspects of integrity have been disturbed by the relocation of the object. The Ribault Column satisfies the requirements of Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties. The column is a replica of Ribault's column, based on a painting attributed to Jacqueline Moyne. It was first erected in 1924, but was removed to St. Johns Bluff in 1958. Through its design, age, and symbolic value, the Ribault Column has attained its own historical significance as a monument that memorializes early French settlers. The Ribault Column's status under Criteria Consideration B: Moved Properties is more complex. Because it is commemorative in nature, its period of significance dates to the generation when it was initially erected. A generation later, the object was moved up the St. Johns River to St. Johns Bluff. Under Criteria Consideration B, a moved property that is significant under Criterion A must be "the surviving property most importantly associated with a particular historic event." It must also "still have an orientation, setting, and general environment that are comparable to those of the historic location and that are compatible with the property's significance." It is still located on the southern bank of the St. Johns River, and it is the property most associated with the commemoration of French settlement during the twentieth century.³¹³

The Yellow Bluff Fort has integrity of location, setting, materials, workmanship, and association. The design and feeling elements of integrity have weakened due to erosion, native vegetation, and vandalism. The general plan of the original fortification is still discernable.

The United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument at Yellow Bluff Fort has integrity of location, design, setting, materials, workmanship, feeling, and association. However, it is not eligible for listing on the National Register. Under the guidelines of Criteria Consideration F: Commemorative Properties, a commemorative property must be a significant cultural expression at the date of their creation. Under the guidelines of Criteria Consideration G: Properties That Have Achieved Significance Within the Last Fifty Years, a property less than fifty years old must be of exceptional importance to qualify for listing on the National Register. The United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument is neither an exceptionally significant cultural expression in its own right nor is it of exceptional importance.

The Temporary Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement has integrity of location, setting, and materials. Erosion and the construction of the Ribault Column platform have destroyed the gun emplacement's integrity of design, workmanship, feeling, and association. The resource lacks overall integrity and is neither a contributing resource to this context nor a property eligible for National Register listing.

description of the fort. Manucy, for example, suggested that the landward walls of the fort measured 360' each and that the riverfront wall measured 510'. The walls of the reconstructed fort measure 200' and 300' respectively. Furthermore, the reconstructed fort features none of the interior structures identified by Manucy from the historic documents.

³¹³*National Register Bulletin 15: How to Apply the National Register Criteria for Evaluation*, 30, 39.

The permanent, concrete Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement has integrity of location, design, materials, workmanship, and association. The setting and feeling aspects of integrity are attenuated by the proximity of private residences and the vegetation that obscures a view of the river, but these problems are not substantial enough to defeat eligibility.

ELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Yellow Bluff Fort (1862)

Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement (concrete) (1898-1899)

Ribault Column (1924; relocated, 1958), contributing as a commemorative property.

NONELIGIBLE PROPERTIES/NON-CONTRIBUTING RESOURCES

Spanish Camp Pond

Temporary Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement (earthworks) (1898)

United Daughters of the Confederacy Monument (1951)

Fort de la Caroline Model (1964)

UNLOCATED RESOURCES

San Gabriel (c. 1566-1568)

San Estaban (c. 1566-1568)

Fort Piribiriba (1703)

Fort St. George (1736)

Thomas Creek Battle Site (1777)

St. Johns Bluff English Fortifications (1777-1778)

San Vicente Ferrer (c. 1787)

Dos Hermanas (c. 1790)

St. Johns Bluff Confederate Fort (1862)

CHAPTER SIX: RESEARCH RECOMMENDATIONS

LIBRARY/ARCHIVES

The Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve should make a concerted effort to expand its library and archives. It would, perhaps, be best to have the collection housed at two separate locations: part at Fort Caroline and part at Kingsley Plantation. Fort Caroline should house materials related to Context D of this Historic Resource Study, which focuses on Military Conflict and Defenses within the Preserve area. Kingsley Plantation would logically house materials related to Context B, Plantation Agriculture. Materials related to Contexts A and C could be housed at either location. Most of the historic resources associated with these two contexts are located on Fort George Island, which might indicate Kingsley Plantation as the appropriate location if space were available.

Wherever housed, the archives would serve as a repository for original materials donated to the Preserve. The library would house copies of primary source materials and secondary works relating to the history of the Preserve area. The materials made available from the collections at both Fort Caroline and the Kingsley Plantation made the creation of this study much simpler, but more materials can and should be gathered. The files assembled for this study will supplement the collections already gathered. The secondary sources in the bibliography of this report might serve as a basis for expanding the libraries at the two locations. When assembled, these resources would assist Preserve staff in the interpretation of the cultural resources of the Preserve. They would also facilitate future research by concentrating in one place the primary sources utilized in previous research and interpretation.

ORAL HISTORY INTERVIEWS/DOCUMENT COLLECTION

Although the interpretation of the Recreational Development Era on Fort George Island is not now a priority, important historical materials related to this era are disappearing. The most obvious are the buildings and structures outlined in this study. Less obvious, perhaps, are the memories of some of the older residents of the Jacksonville community, who remember this era

when they were children. Oral history interviews with these individuals would preserve their important memories of much of the history of the era for future analysis and interpretation.³¹⁴

Also important is an effort to acquire copies or originals of many materials relating to this period held in private hands. This report has benefitted enormously from the collections held by William E. Arnold Jr. and Rhydon C. Dennette Jr. Also particularly valuable were materials regarding the Fort George Club provided by a visitor to the Kingsley Plantation. Many people do not consider business letters and advertisements particularly important, but often these sources have provided vital information about one of the clubs. Both Mr. Arnold and Mr. Dennette have stated that they have more material that they were unable to locate for this study. These primary materials should be copied and filed for future use. Mr. Arnold also has a considerable archive that chronicles the efforts to halt the development of Fort George Island in the 1980s. Although that episode lay outside the scope of this Historic Resource Study, it is a very important part of the history of Fort George Island and would play a key role in any administrative history of the Preserve.

³¹⁴Obvious candidates for interviews include Rhydon C. Dennette Jr. and Frances Zimnaruk, whose father was caretaker of the Ribault Club and who grew up on Fort George Island; William E. Arnold Jr., whose father was treasurer for the Ribault Club; and Charles H. Morris Jr., who helped Gertrude Rollins Wilson build the Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Cabin and Garage.

ANNOTATED BIBLIOGRAPHY

MANUSCRIPT COLLECTIONS

William E. Arnold Jr. Collection, in private possession of William E. Arnold Jr., Jacksonville, FL

This collection includes a variety of source material on the Ribault Club, of which William E. Arnold Sr. was the treasurer for many years. Items include promotional literature, membership rosters, correspondence, and a "Prospectus of the Ribault Inn Club, Incorporated." c. 1927.

Rhydon C. Dennette Collection, in private possession of Rhydon C. Dennette Jr., Jacksonville, FL

This collection includes primary materials on the Ribault Club, of which Rhydon C. Dennette Sr. was the caretaker for most of its life as an organization. Items include correspondence, promotional literature, and photographs.

Duval County Courthouse, Jacksonville, FL

Official Records

Archibald Transcript Books.

Several volumes of abbreviated land transaction entries made by a Jacksonville title company prior to the fire that destroyed the courthouse in 1901. These volumes provide virtually the only record of land transactions in Duval County from 1821-1900.

Probate Department

Probate Record for Zephaniah Kingsley (1843), #1203

Probate Record for John Lewis (February 1855), #1275-D

Probate Record for Charles R. Thompson (November 1855), #2085-D

These probate records provide valuable information regarding the contents of planters' households when they died. All three men owned Fort George Island during the nineteenth century, but only Thomson died while he owned the plantation.

Georgia Department of Archives and History, Atlanta, GA

Buckner Harris Papers

These papers include half a dozen letters from Harris, a leader in the Patriots' Rebellion, to Governor David B. Mitchell of Georgia asking for assistance.

McIntosh File

Although this file was cited by Rembert Patrick in Florida Fiasco, the staff of the Georgia Department of Archives and History was unable to locate it after several attempts.

Georgia Historical Society, Savannah, GA

Walter C. Hartridge Collection (Collection 1349)

Box 4, Folder 41—transcripts of 33 letters, all printed in The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family.

Box 4, Folder 42—Hartridge's notes regarding McQueen's lands in Florida; notes from Spanish Land Grants papers, American State Papers, etc.

Box 4, Folder 54—typescript "Unfinished Memoirs of Margaret Mackay Elliott"; Elliott was granddaughter of John McQueen, daughter of Eliza Anne McQueen Mackay; typescript "Elizabeth Mackay Screven and the Robert Mackay Letters," detailing ownership of John McQueen letters during 19th and 20th centuries. Got copies.

Box 39, Folder 571—legal documents involving the sale of 70 slaves, 7,250 acres of land, and three mills with all accessories for the price of 236,400 French livres by John McQueen to Jean Baptiste Vigoureux Duplessis, dated 24 March 1786. DuPlessis was a French Brigadier General. Sale was annulled on 6 March 1787, because Duplessis "is desirous to return to France for the recovery of his health being reduced by severe sickness."

Oversized folder 27—Copies from the William L. Clements Library, Ann Arbor, Michigan: 7 letters to, from, and about McQueen from the William Henry Littleton Papers, the Nathanael Greene Papers, and the Anthony Wayne Papers, dated 1758, 1782, 1785, and 1788. Relate to military matters in Georgia, primarily. The 1758 letter relates to fur trade, Indian affairs. Would have to get copies from Clements Library.

M.H. and D.B. Floyd Papers (Collection 1308)

*Box 38, Folder 468—Discussion of a book entitled: *Abrégé De L' Histoire Et De La Morale De L' Ancien Testament* (Paris, 1785). On the fly leaf facing the title page is written "McQueen du 18 Mai 1788" The Floyds gave this book to Walter Hartridge.*

Written quotation from "John McQueen in a letter (undated) to his daughter Eliza."

Box 60, Folder 769—Photocopy and translation of "Funeral Possession of Don Juan McQueen," an extract from original manuscript in Library of Congress, Manuscript Division, East Florida Collection, Testamentary Proceedings, Box 309, Q13, 1807-1810 (Oct. 12-Feb. 13) Florida, No. 2, Oct. 12-Feb. 13, 1807.

Wayne-Stites-Anderson Papers (Collection 846)

Box 12, Folder 277—Financial obligation of John and Alexander McQueen to Charles Atkins and Plowden Weston of Charleston, 1790.

Box 17, Folder 436—Obligation of John H. McIntosh, "Province of East Florida" to Captain Thomas Vincent of Charleston, South Carolina, for \$3,800 for an initial loan of \$1,900. Dated 17 April 1811, signed by McIntosh.

Note of Thomas Vincent v. John H. McIntosh, original debt of \$1,900 plus \$539.59 for interest from 1 January 1812 to 18 July 1815. Other costs bring total to \$2,501.81.

Note signed by Thomas Vincent declaring that he received \$2,000 on 17 February 1814 in "full payment and consideration of John H. McIntosh's bond in my favor, dated at Fernandina, Amelia Island in East Florida the 17 April 1811."

Order from John Marshall, Chief Justice of the United States Supreme Court, to the Marshal of the District of Georgia, 6th Circuit Court, to give Thomas Vincent \$1,900 from the "goods and chattels, lands and tenements," of John H. McIntosh, and also \$17.80 for his "damages, costs and charges" for "the detention of said debt, whereof the said John H. is convicted, as appears of Record." Dated 21 February 1817.

Colonial Dames of America, Georgia Society, Historical Collections—Mackay-McQueen Family

Box 6, Folder 59—Correspondence between John McQueen's wife and his daughter Eliza Ann McQueen, that is not included in Walter C. Hartridge, The Letters of Don Juan McQueen to His Family. Also a pass issued by Governor Quesada for John McQueen's wife and family from the St. Johns River to the State of Georgia, 1795.

Box 7, Folder 60, 61—various papers relating to the estate of John McQueen; nothing on Fort George Island, as he had sold it three years before his death.

Jacksonville Libraries, Main Library, Jacksonville, FL

Shepherd, Rose. Interview with William F. Hawley, 24 June 1940. Typescript.

Jacksonville Historical Society Collection, Jacksonville University, Jacksonville, FL

Fort George Island Vertical File

Invitation for Life Membership in Ribault Inn Club, c. 1923.

Kingsley Plantation, Fort George Island, Jacksonville, FL

The files at Kingsley Plantation included photocopies of a variety of materials related to the history of the plantation and of Fort George Island. Many came from the files kept by the plantation staff when the State of Florida owned the property. Others have come as gifts from visitors. Few original materials are in the Kingsley Plantation's collections and they are housed separately as an archive.

Fort George Club Papers. Photocopies.

Interview with Rhydon C. Denette Jr., 8 September 1989. Typescript transcription.

Interview with Rhydon C. Denette Sr., 1983. Typescript transcription.

"Ribault Club, Season 1930-1931."

Rollins, John F. Notebook, 1868-1869. Handwritten transcription by Dena Snodgrass, photocopy.

Wilson, Gertrude Rollins. "Fort George During 1869 and Afterward." Typescript, photocopy.

_____. "Memoirs of Mrs. Millar Wilson." Typescript transcription by Dena Snodgrass, 1952, photocopy.

_____. "Notes Concerning the Old Plantation on Fort George Island." Typescript, photocopy.

_____. "The Story of the Long Church Built on Fort George Island as Witnessed by Gertrude R. Wilson." Typescript, photocopy.

National Archives, Washington, DC

M253: Consolidated Index to Compiled Service Records of Confederate Soldiers

M594: Compiled Records Showing Service of Military Units in Volunteer Union Organizations

M617: Returns from U. S. Military Posts, 1800-1916

RG 29, Records of the Bureau of the Census (widely available on microfilm)

Sixth Census of the United States, 1840

Seventh Census of the United States, 1850

Eighth Census of the United States, 1860

Ninth Census of the United States, 1870

RG 77, Records of the Office of Chief of Engineers

RG 105, Department of War, Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands
Records of the Assistant Commissioner for the State of Florida

RG 109, War Department Collection of Confederate Records
Department of South Carolina, Georgia, and Florida

RG 393, Department of the South

1864 Census of Fernandina, Jacksonville, St. Augustine and Surrounding Areas (copy at Jacksonville Public Libraries, Main Library, Genealogy Room, Jacksonville, FL)

Olin Library, Rollins College, Winter Park, FL (Department of College Archives and Special Collections)

Building and Grounds, Fort George Island

Abstract of Title to Portion of Fort George Island, July 21, 1888

Includes deeds, mortgages, liens, tax sale certificates, and judgments of record. Addendum covers years 1889-1901.

Pamphlets published in the 1870s about Fort George Island: *Fort George, Florida* (1878) and *Fort George Island, Florida* (c. 1878).

A collection of deeds relating to Gertrude R. Wilson's ownership of Fort George Island properties early in the twentieth century.

Donors, Gertrude Wilson

Includes correspondence between Gertrude Rollins Wilson and Hamilton Holt and Alfred J. Hanna, president and professor, respectively, at Rollins College.

Fort George Island Vertical File

Includes correspondence regarding the John F. Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary.

Kingsley Plantation Vertical File

Rollins, Hannah B.? "Ft. George Island." Handwritten transcription by Gertrude Rollins Wilson.

St. Johns County Courthouse, St. Augustine, FL

Probate Department

Probate Record for Kingsley B. Gibbs (1859)—contains only letters testamentary, no will

Probate Record for Laura W. Gibbs (1893)

State Library of Florida, Tallahassee, FL

Kingsley, Zephaniah. "Address to the Legislative Council of Florida on the Subject of Its Colored Population by Z. Kingsley, A Planter of That Territory." Manuscript, c. 1823.

Zephaniah Kingsley file. Kingsley B. Gibbs, "Inventory of the personal property & effects of the late Zeph. Kingsley dec'd, that has come to hands or control of his Executors."

Josephine Burroughs Taylor Papers. In private possession of Ernest and Betty Houseman, Orlando, FL.

This collection consists primarily of letters by Laura Williams Gibbs, Julia Williams, and Mary Williams to Rosa Williams Burroughs. They reveal interesting details about life at the plantation on Fort George Island between 1846 and 1851.

P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida, Gainesville, FL

East Florida Papers (microfilm; originals in Library of Congress, Washington, DC)

Consists largely of documents from the Second Spanish Period in Florida's history. It contains some 120,000 items totaling approximately 250,000 pages. A calendar of 55,000 cards divided into 100 sections has been prepared at the University of Florida.

Of the 100 sections, Bruce Chappell, who compiled the calendar, suggested that the following twenty-six sections were likely to contain useful information. A bibliography of relevant documents from these sections appears in Appendix C.

Section	Title
1	<i>Letters from the Captain-General, 1784-1821</i>
2	<i>Letters to the Captain-General, 1784-1821</i>
21	<i>To the Viceroy and other Authorities in Mexico, 1784-1818</i>
22	<i>Letters from the Viceroy and other Authorities in Mexico, 1785-1818</i>
23	<i>To and from the Department of the Navy, 1784-1820</i>
26	<i>Letters to and from Spanish Ministers and Consuls in the United States, 1785-1821</i>
27	<i>Letters to and from the United States, 1784-1821</i>
28	<i>Papers of the Revolution in East Florida, 1812-1813</i>

<i>Section</i>	<i>Title</i>
32	<i>Correspondence between the Governor and Civil, Financial and Military Subordinates on the St. Johns and St. Marys Rivers, Matanzas, and other East Florida Posts, 1784-1820</i>
42	<i>Plans and Papers on Public Buildings, Fortifications and Defense, 1779-1815</i>
43	<i>Letters to and from the Governor and the Military Officer Commissioned as Land Judge and the Surveyors, 1791-1816</i>
44	<i>Memorials, 1784-1821</i>
45	<i>Papers on Various Subjects, 1783-1821</i>
58	<i>Miscellaneous Civil and Criminal Proceedings, 1784-1819</i>
61	<i>Proceedings of the Juntas de Guerra (Councils of War), 1790-1820, and various documents, 1771-1817</i>
62	<i>Proclamations and Edicts, 1786-1821</i>
63	<i>Public Contracts, 1788-1820</i>
64	<i>Records of Court Martials, 1785-1821</i>
65	<i>Records of Criminal Proceedings, 1785-1821</i>
68	<i>Memorials and Concessions, 1785-1821</i>
71	<i>Records of Testamentary and Probate Proceedings, 1756-1821</i>
77	<i>Records of Civil Proceedings, 1785-1821</i>
86	<i>Proceedings Concerning Various Property Titles and Transactions and Other Documents, 1784-1803</i>
88	<i>Escrituras (Notarized Legal Instruments), 1784-1821</i>
89	<i>Miscellaneous Papers, 1784-1858</i>
92	<i>Selected Papers, 1784-1820</i>

Papers of the U. S. Commissioners for Ascertaining Claims and Titles to Lands in East Florida, ca. 1763-1821 [Spanish Land Grant Papers] (microfilm; originals in Florida Department of the Interior, Tallahassee, FL)

These records were originally part of the East Florida Papers, but were removed to assist American officials in confirming Spanish land grants after Florida became an American territory in 1821.

Dena Elizabeth Snodgrass Papers

Contains notes and photographs from Snodgrass's research on a considerable variety of topics related to the history of the Jacksonville area.

Stetson Collection (microfilm)

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APPENDIX A: DESCRIPTIONS OF HISTORIC RESOURCES

The following entries provide the name, the site number(s), the date of construction, the owner (whether Federal government, State government, or Private), and a detailed architectural description for each of the contributing historic resources identified in this study.

Borgmeyer-Bibber House, "Red Top," c. 1928 (Private): This building is a 59' x 50' one-and-one-half story house with hipped roof and L-shape floor plan. The north-facing front has recessed central block and projecting square corners. A shed roof extends over the recessed front porch. The central block has three bays with a door on the west end. Windows are casement type with ten lights each. The front porch has square wood support beams and wood framing from previous screening. A shed roof dormer in the main roof over the porch has three square windows of four lights each. Square corners have casement windows in groups of four on east and two on west. One interior brick chimney is located on the west end of house. An ell with a wood deck is on the rear (western end). The house is currently painted red, but historic photos show white paint.

Napoleon Bonaparte Broward House, c. 1878 (Private): This building is a 40' x 57' two-story, square plan, hipped roof house with third story cupola and two-tier veranda. Victorian and Italianate details include sawn wood brackets on eaves, filigree brackets on porch supports, and cut-out baluster railing. The south-facing front has five bays with a center door on the first and second stories. Windows are 2/2 double-hung sash with board and batten shutters. First-story porch projects farther than second story with a flat roof; the porch has been enclosed with screening. Other materials include weatherboard walls, brick pier foundation and tin roof. A one-story shed roof addition, extending the full width of the house, has been made to the rear. The windows on the sides and in the rear are 6/6 double-hung sash. The house has two interior brick chimneys.

Broward Plantation site (8Du82, TIMU29), c. 1850 (Federal): Three tabby ruins compose the principal part of this site near Cedar Point on the southern tip of Black Hammock Island. Ruin A has two wings that met only at one corner, one measuring 18' x 28' and the other measuring 14' x 28'. The northeastern wing has a two-story (approximately 22' high) northern wall with a window opening on the second story and a visible stair line on the first story. The tabby on the outside of the northern wall is covered with stucco, which is scored to give the appearance of cut stone. It also had a large fireplace on the southern wall. The western wall is badly deteriorated. The single-story southwestern wing, probably constructed later, had an inside chimney designed for cast iron stoves. Ceramics recovered from the site had a mean date of 1832, and excavations also produced a large number of cut nails, in use after 1830. Ruin B, located sixty-five feet north of Ruin A, measures 17' x 30', and was likely an outbuilding of some sort. The walls of Ruins A and B were constructed of large 4" x 5" x 10" tabby bricks. Ruin C, located 350 feet farther north, was constructed of poured tabby rather than with tabby bricks.

Chew-Dyrenforth-Gay House, c. 1927-1935 (Private): This building is a 73' x 20' Tudor revival house constructed of tabby. The main block of the house is two-story,

end-gable, rectangular plan with a one-story wing on the north end. The main block has a reverse saltbox roofline. The west-facing front features a front-gabled projecting bay with steeply pitched roof; the roof slope extends on the side to create a porch roof over the main entry. Three gabled window dormers with 6/6 double-hung sash windows are in the second floor roof. The walls are exposed tabby with the gables in-filled with weatherboard. The wood panel doors and massive wood timber heads on the casement windows are examples of Tudor revival details. The south end of the house has an exterior brick and tabby chimney. An interior brick chimney is located at the junction of the main block and wing. The one-story wing on the north has a projecting one-car garage with wood panel door and front gable.

Entry Gate Posts, c. 1923-1935 (Federal): This structure consists of two tabby columns located near the intersection of L'Engle Avenue and Admiral Blue Road (the northern extension of Palmetto Avenue) south of the Kingsley Plantation House on Fort George Island. During the club era, they marked the entrance to the Fort George Club. The tabby columns measure 2'4" square, and are approximately 20' apart on an east-west axis.

Fitzpatrick Plantation site (8Du3158, TIMU110), c. 1795 (Federal): This site overlaps the Broward Plantation site to a considerable extent. Located near Cedar Point on the southern tip of Black Hammock Island, the Fitzpatrick Plantation site is approximately 75' west of the Broward Plantation ruins amidst a group of trees. Limited archeological testing produced a preponderance of wrought iron nails, which date to the late eighteenth century, and ceramics with a mean ceramic date of 1804. William Fitzpatrick owned a plantation at Cedar Point from 1795 until his death in 1825 or 1826. This site is likely a part of Fitzpatrick's plantation, perhaps the main dwelling house.

Fort George Clubhouse, 1938 (Federal): The former clubhouse, located 100' west of the Kingsley Plantation House, is a two-story, rectangular plan building with a hipped roof running on an east-west axis and one-story projections at each end. The main rectangular body measures 87' x 38'. The first story and gable projections are of tabby concrete construction, and the second story has a lapped wood siding exterior. The roof covering is synthetic.

The east and west ends of the building have one-story, end-gable projections. The west end has an exterior brick chimney placed between two three-sided bays. Each bay has a center, 8-light door with a 3-light transom and 4/4 double-hung, wood sash windows on either side. The north and south sides of the projection have 8-light, single French doors with 3-light transoms. The north side also has a 6/6 double-hung wood sash window with wood shutters featuring a cut-out seahorse motif. The south side has one 6/6 double-hung wood sash window.

Each side of the east end projection's roof has end gable dormers with coupled, casement type windows with 3 lights each. The east end projection has two additions, on its north and east sides. On the north is a one-story, front-gable addition with a lapped wood siding exterior, one 6/6 double-hung wood sash window, and a coupled, lattice-covered window. A

one-story flat roof addition is on the east end. The flat roof addition has a 4-light-over-wood-panel door and a single 6-light, fixed sash window on the north, a boarded over door on the east, and two 6-light, fixed sash windows on the south. The south side of the east projection itself has a single, 8-light French door in the center flanked by 6/6 double-hung wood sash windows. A brick exterior chimney rises from the flat roof addition at the gable projection and is flanked by symmetrically placed fanlight windows and 6/6 double-hung, wood sash windows.

The north-facing front of the main block has seven bays on each story, placed asymmetrically. The first story has a center door flanked by two 6/6 double-hung wood sash windows with seahorse motif shutters, a wood panel door at the east end, seahorse motif shuttered window on the west end, and two coupled casement windows. The second story has five 6/6 double-hung wood sash windows and two coupled casement windows.

The main block's south side has five asymmetrically placed bays on the first story. The east end has a 4-light-over-wood-panel door with 3-light transom and an adjacent single 2-light fixed sash window. The westernmost window is a 6/6 double-hung wood sash with wood seahorse motif shutters. Two smaller windows are between this window and the door. The second story has a projecting shed-roof porch enclosed with screen. The porch has chamfered wood supports and an exterior wood staircase on the west end. The south side also has a front-gable projection adjacent to the porch on the east end. The projection has three coupled casement-type windows with 4 lights in each window and a 3-light transom over each. An oculus window with decorative wood framing is in the gable over the windows.

The roof on the west end of the main body is pyramidal hipped with shed-roof dormers on the north and south sides. The dormers have coupled windows covered by wood louver shutters. The roof on the east end of the clubhouse is hipped with an end gablet.

The clubhouse was significantly altered c. 1955. Changes to the clubhouse included replacement of a door with a window on the north side, removal of columns from the rear porch, addition of exterior stairs, addition of a second-story porch, and the installation of metal window awnings. Interior changes included the introduction of modern heating and ventilation systems.

Greenfield Plantation site (8Du78), 1763-1790 (Private): This site on the northern tip of the Greenfield Peninsula, contains no standing ruins. Archeological investigation in 1960 revealed artifacts from what is believed to be a British-Period plantation and/or the plantation of Robert C. Maxey from the Second Spanish Period. Numerous ceramics and hand wrought nails were recovered from the site. Maxey owned the property from at least 1791 until 1804 when he sold it to John McQueen.

Hall-Chappelle House, corner room, c. 1875-1877; central hall, c. 1890s (Private): The building is a two-part, late nineteenth-century house composed of a 55' x 48', one-story, side-gabled, central hall (irregular plan) dwelling with an 18' square, pyramidal roof, "corner room" built earlier than the central hall portion. The square room has weatherboard siding

with a beaded edge, a wide, plain sill and entablature, and a boxed cornice. Windows are mixed 2/2 and 6/6 double-hung wood sash. Pyramidal roof has a raised seam, likely a replacement. A single shoulder brick chimney is located on the west elevation and has corbeling on the stack. Brick appears soft and has been repointed. The interior has built-in corner cabinet and large pantry; a large hearth with wood mantel, sawn with chamfered pilasters is likely original. Interior trim is plain with half-round trim and molded picture trim. The floor is not visible. The main central hall portion of the house has a half-wrap screened porch, with a hipped roof, a shed dormer and an interior end brick chimney with a corbeled stack. The front facade has 15 light glass doors and may have replaced windows. The siding is lapped, or beveled, German siding, and the dormer has cedar shingles and a new metal roof. The house is raised on molded concrete blocks and front stoop is composed of molded concrete blocks and poured steps. The front porch has square posts with molded flared capitals set beneath a wide entablature. The house has two small side-gabled extensions on the southeast and the northwest elevations that have similar siding and are below the eave line of the main house. The front extension has a shed-roofed enclosure. The rear of the central hall has an enclosed shed porch attached to the square room. The square room also has several additions on the west elevation.

Houston Plantation site (8Du90, TIMU31), c. 1813 (Private): The site on the southern end of Talbot Island consists of the ruins of five structures. The largest of these is a 32' x 16' tabby building with the first story of all four walls standing. The ruin faces west and has a rectangular plan with a center door and no windows. A central hall separates two larger rooms with raised openings in both walls immediately inside the door. The structure may have been a storage facility, which would explain the absence of windows on the exterior walls and doors to the interior rooms. Lines on the tabby indicate the use of wood planks in construction. The walls do not show holes from wood braces used in other types of tabby construction. The other significant ruin remaining on the site is a 7' x 11' sugar evaporator made of stone and concrete. An approximately 3' chimney ruin is on the southern end of the evaporator and the foundation and remains of a rectangular wall that would have surrounded the fire box are extant. Three other brick, tabby, and stone ruins or rubble piles are on the site.

Kingsley Plantation District (Fort George Island):

Barn, c. 1814-1821 (Federal): This building is located 200 feet southeast of the Kingsley Plantation House on the northwestern corner of Fort George Island. It consists of two sections, which form a "T" shape. The longer, narrower north end, oriented north-south, measures 39' x 20'. The roof is a shingle-covered gable, which runs the length of this wing. The north gable end of the of the building is covered with lapped weatherboard and is fitted with a wooden door. The walls are composed of tabby bricks measuring 2.75" x 4" x 8". They are coated with lime stucco scored to simulate ashlar masonry. There is a 6/6 double-hung sash window in the north wall measuring 3' x 4.5'. On the east wall of this wing is a doorway measuring 5' x 7.5'. The two-story south wing of the barn measures 23' x 33.5'.

The roof is a shingle-covered gable roof, which runs perpendicular to the roof of the north wing. The gable ends are covered with clapboards, and each has a 6/6 double-hung sash window in the center. The walls are of poured tabby concrete, which was poured in sections about 12" high and 5' long. There is a 6/6 double-hung sash window on the east wall, just south of the center and directly under the gabled end. A large doorway measuring 8.5' wide by 7' high is located in the west wall. The east wall contains another doorway measuring 5.5' wide by 8' high. There is a small door just below the roof-wall juncture on the south wall. The barn has undergone numerous modifications during its existence. One owner, perhaps John F. Rollins, altered the door and window configurations.

Crypts A and B (8Du149, TIMU55), c. 1808 (State): The two crypts near the northeastern corner of Fort George Island are arranged along a northwest-southeast axis. The crypts are 33.5" apart. The northwestern crypt, Crypt A, is taller but smaller than the other. Its external dimensions are 6'6" in length by 3'9" in width, and it stands 4'3" tall. The interior measurements are 5'2" long and 2'5" wide. The crypt walls are constructed of two courses of tabby bricks, rising 10" above the ground and extending 24" underground. The roof is also constructed of two courses of tabby brick at a pitch of ten degrees. The southeastern crypt, Crypt B, is shorter but larger than Crypt A. Its exterior measures 8'8" long and 4'11" wide. It stands 3' tall. The interior dimensions are 7'3" in length and 3'6" in width. The walls are built of two courses of tabby bricks, extending 17" above the ground and extending 24" underground. The roof is made of one course of tabby bricks at a pitch of fifty degrees. The tabby bricks used in the construction of the crypts "compared favorably" in size with some of those in the Barn walls. Similar bricks were also located in the foundation walls of the Kingsley Plantation House.

The marble tablets associated with the crypts have been removed and are stored in the Talbot Islands State Park office in the Neff House on Fort George Island. The two tablets, made of "Alabama White Marble," vary in size and weight. That of Mary McIntosh, associated with Crypt A, measures 17.25" x 8.25" x 2" and weighs thirty pounds. The tablet for Ann Bayard Houstoun, associated with Crypt B, measures 20.75" x 8" x 2" and weighs thirty-five pounds.

Kitchen House, c. 1814-1821 (Federal): This building is located sixty-five feet south of the Kingsley Plantation House on Fort George Island. The Kitchen House, measuring 38'1" wide (north-south) x 20'2" deep (east-west), is a side-gabled, two story building constructed of wood and tabby. The porch projects to the east from the house and measures 11'4" deep and 38'6" wide. The floor of the porch is tabby, as is that of the interior first floor. However, the floors in all of the rooms, except that in the southwestern room, have been covered with pine flooring. There are four rooms on the first floor, but the second floor has only two rooms. There is a central chimney of red brick and fire boxes of the same material. The ground floor of the building is constructed primarily of tabby bricks that are 3-4" wide and 7-8" long, laid in a common bond pattern. Immediately over the brick is lime stucco and some later Portland cement with concrete. There is some tabby concrete infill in portions of

the south and west walls. The east side of the first floor is marked by two door openings, served by wood plank doors, and two 9/6 double-hung sash windows. These are protected by the east porch which runs the length of the structure and is covered with shingles. The second story of the house is of frame construction with the walls covered in novelty board (dropped or beveled) siding added probably in the 1880s or 1890s. The original siding would probably have been standard lapped weatherboard. The second story exterior walls are punctuated by three 6/6 double-hung sash windows on the east side and two 6/6 double-hung sashes on the north and south sides. The window located on the north side, just 3' under the crest of the roof in the center of the wall, is a fixed 6-pane window. A wooden door is located on the south side two feet from the roof peak. A recess in the east side provides access to both upstairs rooms which are approached via a stairway also on the east side.

During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, John F. Rollins connected the roof of the house to the roof of the Kitchen House porch on the east side. Modern electrical and ventilation systems were added either by the Fort George Club or the Florida park service.

The Kitchen House is attached to the Kingsley Plantation House by a covered walkway that is approximately 65' long and 8' wide. The walkway is oriented north and south between the east side of the Kitchen House and the rear (south) of the main dwelling. It is protected by a shingle-covered, cross gabled roof, which is connected to the main roof. A small arched entryway with bench seat is located on the east side of the walkway. The walkway has a tabby floor, and the walls are covered with lattice in part and with wooden planks in part. John F. Rollins added the walkway, probably during the 1870s or 1880s.

Mill (8Du77, TIMU25), E of Palmetto Avenue (State): This site is located approximately 400' east of Palmetto Avenue on Fort George Island. It is situated near the eastern edge of Lot 495 (plat maps of 1878 and 1887) along the slough marsh. The site as excavated in 1965 consisted of a partially decayed tabby platform approximately 20" thick and roughly 13' x 7' in diameter, lying at the edge of the slough marsh. A large number of scattered bricks lie nearby to the west. North of the platform is a large ditch, approximately 6'4" deep and 13' wide at the top, which runs from the slough marsh to the largest freshwater pond on the island. The ditch is dammed or filled at a distance of 90' from the slough. An old road, built c. 1930, crosses the ditch at the site of the fill. Near this dam lies a circular earthwork, approximately thirty feet in diameter, with a depression in the center. Excavations in the center of this earthwork unearthed several metal gears and over sixty metal blades.

Mill, SE of Barn (Federal): This site is located southeast of the barn at the Kingsley Plantation on Fort George Island. The ruin consists of a circular tabby pad, which was referred to as the "Grist Mill" in the late nineteenth century. No archeological investigation has been conducted on the site.

Palmetto Avenue, c. 1814-1839, extended c. 1877-1886 (County, State): An approximately 0.6 mile section of Palmetto Avenue running south from the Kingsley Plantation slave cabins that retains the remaining Avenue of Palms allee. Palmetto Avenue is

the north-south road on the western side of Fort George Island. The sabal palm trees mark the route of a portion of this historic road from approximately the second quarter of the nineteenth century. During the 1870s or 1880s, John Rollins expanded the palm alley. There is no historical evidence that it extended any farther northward than the center of the slave cabin arc nor southward beyond the marsh that marks its current extent.

Plantation House, c. 1798 (Federal): This building is a two-story wood frame house set on a full basement. The house is located a few hundred yards east of the northwestern corner of Fort George Island and overlooks the Fort George Inlet to the north. It measures 76' x 52' and is oriented east and west. The formal entrance is on the north side facing the inlet. The main body of the house is a rectangular block, with a one-story piazza or veranda on the north and south sides. There are four one-story pavilion rooms, one on each of the four corners of the central hall. They are connected on the east and the west by one-story rooms and on the north and south by the piazzas. The pavilions give the house a castle-like appearance, and are suggestive as well of Palladian-inspired dwellings of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, such as the Mulberry Plantation in South Carolina. The shingle-covered, hipped roof has a lookout platform at its peak. Each of the two porches has a shed roof, and the pavilions have pyramidal roofs, all of which are shingle-covered. The two one-story rooms have shingle-covered, side-gabled roofs. There is an interior chimney on the eastern part of the house and an exterior brick one on the southwest pavilion. There are three 6/6 double-hung sash windows on the north and south walls and one 6/6 sash window on the east and west walls of the second story. The first and second stories are sided with novelty board dating to the late-nineteenth century. This siding probably replaced earlier lapped weatherboard and may have been introduced during Rollins's ownership. The north side has a glazed wooden door and two 2/2 sash windows. The south side has two glazed wooden doors and two 2/2 sash windows. Each of the pavilions has a five-panelled wooden door that opens onto the porches. The northeast and southeast pavilions have one 6/6 sash window facing north and south respectively and a bay window with four 2/2 pattern sash windows on the east side. The south side has two 9/6 sash windows and a panelled wood door. The west side also has two 9/6 sash windows. The porch roof is supported by chamfered posts and the porch has balustrades with turned balusters. There are half-round metal gutters on the porch roofs and on the pavilion roofs. The northwest and southwest pavilions have one 6/6 sash window on the north and south, respectively. The southwest room has a 6/6 sash window on its west side. The east room between the northeast and southeast pavilions has four 2/2 bay windows, and the west room between the northwest and southwest pavilions has two 6/6 sash windows. All first floor doors and the sashes, other than the bay units, have wood entablatures. The visible portion of the basement walls is constructed of a combination of coquina blocks, tabby bricks, and clay bricks with a stucco covering. There are four vents on the north and south walls and two on the west wall.

The second floor of the house is divided into two rooms of equal width, the one on the east side being approximately twice as long as that on the west. The interior has flush board

wall pine cladding, each board about 8-10" wide. The plain baseboards are 8" high. The doors are four-panelled, in a classic cross pattern. The hallways have chair rails at the window level. The first floor of the dwelling has a total of eight rooms. The walls are finished in plaster, and the floors are made of pine and oak planks in tongue and groove joints. The door and window surrounds are plain, and the baseboards are 6" high with quarter-round molding. The wooden doors are four-panelled. A brick fireplace is located in the dining room. The basement has twelve spaces. The floor is earth with the exception some tabby concrete covered with wood two-by-fours.

Several documented alterations have occurred to the building. John F. Rollins added rooms on the eastern and western sides between the corner rooms in 1877-1878. Rollins also removed the chimneys from at least three of the pavilion rooms and from the west side of the house. He also reconfigured the second story interior space into three rooms. The Army and Navy Country Club/Fort George Club installed an electrical system and probably added the bay windows to the eastern windows of the northeastern and southeastern pavilions. The Florida park service carried out a restoration program that included replacing deteriorated brickwork and stucco on the southwest corner of the house, shoring up load-bearing brick walls, repairing other masonry walls and finishes, replacing sections of baseboards and wood flooring, and replacing damaged windows. Either the club or the park service placed or replaced a chimney on the southwestern corner room. The park service also installed a ventilation system in the house.

Slave Cabins, c. 1822-1831 (Federal): These ruins are located approximately 1000' south of the Kingsley Plantation House on Fort George Island. They are arranged in a semi-circular arc with the open end facing north. The arc probably contained a total of thirty-two cabins originally, although the ruins of only twenty-five survive. The arc is bisected north and south, by the northern extension of Palmetto Avenue, known as "Home Avenue" in the late nineteenth century. For reference purposes, the ruins have been assigned an alphanumeric designation based on their spatial relationship to this roadway. Those east of the avenue have been assigned the labels E1 through E16, with E1 being the cabin closest to Palmetto Avenue. Those west of the avenue are referred to as W1 through W7 and W15 and W16. Cabins W8 through W14 were probably removed by John F. Rollins in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. The eastern half of the arc measures approximately 550' around the arc from Cabin E1 to Cabin E16. The distance between most adjoining cabins is approximately 12', although the spaces between Cabins W15 and W16 and between Cabins E15 and E16 measure 26'. The cabins were constructed of tabby poured into molds that extended the full height of the walls. All appear originally to have had a single chimney and fireplace, wooden shingle roofs, and doors on the center front. The number of rooms and windows, and the presence of a rear doorway varied from cabin to cabin. Most of the remaining walls measure 6.5" thick. The specific measurements for the ruins are:

Cabin Ruin	Dimensions	Wall Height	No. of Rooms	Rear Door	Retrofit Fireplace	Windows: Front/Rear	Notes
E16	25' x 19'	4'	2	Yes	No	1/1	
E15	20' x 13'	7'	2	No	Yes	1/0	
E14	20' x 13'	7'	2	No	Yes	1/0	
E13	20' x 13'	7'	2	No	Yes	1/0	
E12	20' x 13'	7'	2	No	Yes	1/0	
E11	20' x 13'	7'	2	Yes	No	1/1	Rear window small and low; rear door has tabby header
E10	20' x 13'	3'	2	Yes?			
E9	20' x 13'	3'	2	No	No		
E8	20' x 13'	7'	2	No	Yes	1/0	
E7	20' x 13'	7'	2	Yes	Yes	1/0	
E6	20' x 13'	7'	2	Yes	Yes	1/0	
E5	20' x 13'	3'	2	No	No		
E4	20' x 13'	7'	1	Yes	No	1/0	
E3	20' x 13'	7'	1	No	No	1/1	Rear window converted to door; reconverted to window
E2	20' x 13'	7'	1	No	No	1/1	Rear window converted to door
E1	25' x 19'	7'	2	Yes	No	2/2	Reconstructed with shingle roof, wooden doors and windows
W1	25' x 19'	7'	2		No	1/1	Half of rear wall missing
W2	20' x 13'	3'	2	Yes	No		
W3	20' x 13'	3'	2	Yes	Yes		
W4	20' x 13'	7'	1	No	Yes	1/0	
W5	20' x 13'	3'	1	Yes	No		
W6	20' x 13'	1'-2'	2	Yes	Yes		

Cabin Ruin	Dimensions	Wall Height	No. of Rooms	Rear Door	Retrofit Fireplace	Windows: Front/Rear	Notes
W7	20' x 13'	3'	2	Yes	Yes		
W15		3'					Only northeast corner remains
W16	25' x 13'	4'			No	1/?	One half of front wall and entire rear wall gone

Notes: Cabin Ruin column gives the alphanumeric ruin designation; Dimensions are the width by depth of the ruin; Wall Height is the current (1995) height of remaining walls; No. of Rooms records the number of rooms in the ruin; Rear Door indicates the presence of a rear doorway; Retrofit Fireplace refers to the presence of a fireplace constructed entirely of red brick within the ruin, which was added at a period after construction to substitute for the original tabby brick fireplace that was lined with red bricks [This feature may indicate a longer occupation period]; Windows: Front/Rear denotes the number of observable windows in the front and rear of the cabin ruins; Notes documents any unusual features of individual ruins, either in construction or present condition. A blank cell indicates that the information could not be ascertained because of the present condition of the ruin.

Thomson Tabby House (8Du379, TIMU101), c. 1854-1855 (State): These tabby house ruins on the southern tip of Fort George Island measure 45' x 30'. The original building's massing is unknown. The ruins are one-story with two large rooms and front and back porch foundation remaining. The south-facing front features a porch that extends the length of the house and three door or window openings. East and west sides have one window opening each. North side features three window or door openings and a smaller porch. A large fireplace was located on the interior wall dividing the two rooms. The walls are approximately 8' high. The house was built on a prehistoric shell midden.

Wells No. 1 and No. 2 (Federal): Well No. 1 is located five feet south of the Kingsley Plantation Kitchen House on Fort George Island. It extends 2' above grade and measures 4' in diameter. It is constructed of brick covered with stucco, and is covered with a wooden lid, probably a replacement of an original feature. Well No. 2 is located ninety feet east of the Kitchen House. It likewise extends 2' above grade. It measures 4'3" in diameter at the top and 4'7" in diameter at the grade level. The well is made of brick with a stucco finish and wooden top. A brick trough, which measures 3'3" x 1'8" and stands 1'6" above grade, extends from the east side of Well No. 2.

Lamé House, c. 1851-53 (Private): This building is a two-story, side gable roof house on a brick pier foundation, located along Heckscher Drive on Batton Island. The house is wood frame construction with weatherboard siding and a tin roof. The southeast-facing front has a screen-enclosed porch on the first floor and a shed roof dorm with three windows on the second floor. The original porch treatment is unknown, but the lower portion has been sided with weatherboards in recent years. Original windows in the house are 2/2 double-hung wood sash. The roof has exposed wooden brackets.

Lutz House and Garage, 1926 (Private): This building is a 32' x 24' single-story, side-gabled house. The building is oriented east and west, and the main entrance is on the north. The building's roof is covered with sheet metal. An exterior brick chimney breaks the roofline a few feet from the peak on the west wall. Rafter tails of the roof are exposed, and the walls are clad in cedar shingles. The windows are 6/1 double-hung sash windows. The front entrance is protected by a small gabled porch, supported by square posts, which are joined to the walls by wood railings. A 15-light glazed entry door provides access to the interior. The property is painted and well-maintained, though the site is slightly overgrown.

The Lutz House Garage is a two-story building with a side-gabled sheet metal roof. The walls are clad with shingles, and the gable ends also have scalloped wooden shingles. The second floor is accessible via an exterior stairway that leads to a landing protected by a gabled porch roof. The second-story windows are 2/2 and 1/1 patterned sashes with simple pediments. The ground floor has two large wooden doors opening to the garage on the south side.

Neff House, c. 1927-1935 (State): The building is a 87' x 60' one-and-one-half story Tudor revival house with west-facing front and three story center turret flanked by two wings. The north wing and turret are original, while the south wing includes a garage added to front of original wing. The north wing has gable roof with pent end and brick walls with decorative half-timbering. The center turret has a conical roof with a brick chimney located behind the turret. The center door in turret on the first and second floors is flanked by six light windows. The second floor of the turret has an iron rail balcony at the door. Wood frame, tripartite windows with six lights are over tripartite windows with eight lights on the original wing. A louvered eyebrow dormer is located in the roof of the north wing. Massive wood beam lintels are over the doors and the windows. The original section of the southern wing is visible from rear and has the same style of windows and decorative half-timbering on the second story. The garage addition has brick walls on the first story with half-timbering on the second story, paired 6/6 double-hung sash windows on the second floor, and boarded-up windows on the first floor. There is an organic shaped swimming pool on the north end of the house.

Ribault Club Caddy House, c. 1928 (State): This building is a 30' x 30' wood frame, hip-roofed, caddy house/storage shed. The main building is L-shaped with a hipped roof, two-bay facade, flared weatherboard siding, and is raised on molded concrete piers. The windows are 6/6 double-hung wood sash. The front entry is protected by a shed roof extension supported by rude braces. Rear ell is not enclosed but serves as covered storage. On the west, a shed-roof enclosure extends from the principal roof and served as vehicle storage. The building is marked as toxic material storage (likely fertilizer) and is now abandoned.

Ribault Club Golf Course, c. 1927, expanded, 1968 (State): This structure is an eighteen-hole golf course on the northern end of Fort George Island. It was originally constructed as a nine-hole course by the Ribault Club, but was expanded during the 1960s

into a full eighteen-hole course. The fairways traverse much of the northeastern quarter of the island and portions of the northwestern quarter. A portion of the course extends over the southern portion of Mount Cornelia. Both the nine- and eighteen-hole courses were designed to begin and end in the vicinity of the Ribault Clubhouse on the eastern edge of the island.

Ribault Clubhouse, 1928 (State): This building is a huge (roughly 248' x 195'), H-shaped brick and frame clubhouse, oriented north-south. It is composed of a three part design: a brick rectangular main mass, and two substantial brick and wood frame wings connected to the main structure by one-story hyphens. There are also several wood frame additions. The main mass consists of a 5-bay rectangular, two-story brick Colonial Revival/Classical Revival building with two interior end chimneys, a central pedimented, ornamental gable and an abbreviated portico over the front entry. The front door has fanlight and paneled door set in a surround with fluted pilasters and a round arch. The portico has wide molded entablature, hipped roof, square posts and pilasters and modest cornice details. First story windows are 12/12 double-hung wood sash with flat brick arches, brick lintels, and green shutters. Side-gabled roof has a boxed cornice, molded trim, abbreviated returns and ox-eye gable vents. The rear extension on the main mass has brick pillars and a glassed-in portico under a shed roof. Two wings are attached to the main building by hyphens to form an H-shape plan. The wings extend slightly in front and are prominent in rear. In the rear, the wings are rectangular brick, one-story buildings with front-gabled asphalt-shingle roof, molded cornice, with ox-eye vents in each gable end. Fenestration in rear is boarded up but fanlights are visible under rounded arch voussoirs and likely contain double-hung sash windows. Openings are boarded up against vandals. Additional extensions, perpendicular to original wings, create U-shaped court and disrupt the symmetry of the facade. These extensions consist of gabled frame rectangular masses with weatherboard siding and 6/6 double-hung wood sash windows. The south extension has window dormers on steeply pitched roof and may be an earlier alteration than the north extension. Landscaped setting consists of palms and oaks overlooking marsh on east. Main building has relatively good roof, and windows are boarded against vandals. The additions could be removed without any injury to the original clubhouse design. The north elevation has some vines, which should be removed. Several trees, mainly cedars on the north, should be trimmed to prevent damage to the additions.

Ribault Column (FOCA1), 1924, relocated, 1958 (Federal): This object is a six-sided concrete shaft. Originally placed near the mouth of the St. Johns River on the current site of the Mayport Naval Station, the column was moved within the boundaries of the Fort Caroline National Memorial in 1958. The column is 11' high and rests on a six-sided, 1' high concrete base. The column has three metal shields incorporating French design motifs attached to it. On one is the inscription: "This is a replica of the marker placed on or near this spot by Jean Ribault May First 1562 in taking possession of Florida for France." The monument is situated on a circular concrete platform approximately 25' in diameter. The platform is

accessible by a gradually sloping concrete ramp, fitted with metal handrails. Both the platform and the sloping concrete ramp date to 1958 and are not part of the historic object.

Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Garage, 1940 (State): This building is a small, 33' x 22' x 15.5', rectangular, side-gabled garage located northwest of the lodge and in more dilapidated condition. This building uses round logs, laid with an informal saddle notch and chinked with cement. The main (south) elevation has two cutaway porches on the east and west and a board and batten wall with four fixed windows between the cutaways. The concrete foundation is poured and raised approximately 3'. On the south elevation, the concrete pad is sloped as though it provided access for vehicles next to the batten wall.

Rollins Bird and Plant Sanctuary Lodge, 1941 (State): The lodge building is a 66' x 16' x 14.5', seven-bay, three-part, side-gabled, faux log cabin. It has a poured, raised (approximately 2') concrete foundation, sawn, half-logs nailed in place and abutted at the ends to replicate notching, and a shed extension on the rear (north) elevation. The cabin has small, three-part, aluminum windows and a large exterior brick chimney (altered) on the north elevation. Logs are painted brown and the cabin appears to have a new asphalt shingle roof.

St. George's Episcopal Church, 1882 (Private): The building is a 29' x 49', wood frame, Carpenter Gothic church with an asphalt shingle, steeply pitched gabled roof, and pointed arch leaded windows in plain wood surrounds. The siding consists of board and batten with triangulated battens and a beveled apron. The church is founded on brick piers in-filled with wood lattice. The entrance faces east with the building oriented north-south. The entrance has been reconfigured with an earthen ramp built to accommodate handicap use. Entrance doors are hooded by a steeply pitched gable with sawn rafters and braces. The double doors are narrow three panel doors that together form a pointed arch; door panels consist of beaded board. A gabled bell tower sits astride the gable on the north end with decorative fretwork and chamfered posts. Exposed roof rafters are widely spaced and have decoratively sawn (S-shaped) ends. A shed roof extension is located on the southwest corner and serves as the altar entrance. The interior is rectangular in plan with a high vaulted interior space with cross-braced truss system and false timbering. Windows are composed of colored glass stenciled with geometric and floral patterns pieced together with lead soldering. The front chancel window has a triptych composition with central panel depicting St. George. The rear "Trinity" window grouping has a center hexagonal window flanked by pointed arch windows also of colored glass with lead muntins. The interior woodwork appears to be pine with commercial beaded board.

St. Johns Bluff Earthworks (FOCA1), 1862 (Federal): This structure is located on a bluff overlooking the mouth of the St. Johns Creek at the St. Johns River. It is approximately 100' southeast of the Ribault Column. The remnants of the earthworks fort consist of two distinguishable earthen mounds, extending about 10' above ground and forming a modified "U" shape. The structure measures approximately 140' wide by 40' deep. The walls are

covered with small trees and shrubs, and a narrow, one-lane dirt road has been cut through the center of the earthwork.

St. Johns Bluff Work Camp (8Du106 and 8Du107, TIMU120), c. 1775 (Private):

These two sites are located southeast of St. Johns Bluff. Archeological investigation in the 1960s indicated that 8Du106 was the location of a work camp associated with the British occupation of the area from 1763 to 1783. Artifacts from the site suggested that the site was occupied by a group of men, perhaps engaged in extracting turpentine and tar from the nearby forests. At 8Du107, 700' north of 8Du106, archeological investigation revealed a 26'-square tabby floor with eleven decayed posts still buried around the outer edge.

San Juan del Puerto (8Du53, TIMU97), c. 1587-1702 (State): This historical archeological site is located on the western side of Fort George Island and extends northward from San Juan Creek to a modern mosquito control ditch on both sides of Palmetto Avenue. The site measures approximately 1400' east to west, and approximately 700' north to south. The area is covered with a dense growth of trees and underbrush, with the exception of Palmetto Avenue, which runs north and south through the area. Archeological investigation has uncovered a number of aboriginal and Spanish artifacts from the site. Some archeologists speculate that the mission complex was located in the northwest portion of the core area, with the aboriginal village surrounding the mission complex on the east, south, and west. Other archeologists believe the mission lay in the south central portion of the site, with aboriginal settlement primarily to the northwest and west.

Spanish-American War Gun Emplacement, 1898-99 (Private): This structure is an impressive, irregularly shaped concrete gun emplacement, located on a bluff overlooking St. Johns Creek on the south side of the St. Johns River. The battery 142' x 100' at its longest and widest. It is constructed of granite concrete aggregate, 1.5" thick over a 3' foundation of tabby. The bombproof magazine, located on the west side, is reinforced with 3" steel I-beams. The magazine was protected by metal doors, which have subsequently been removed. The gun platforms are accessed by a narrow passageway through the magazine area. The platforms are two semicircular-shaped slabs on which the 8" breech-loading rifles were mounted. The magazine interior measures approximately 12' x 16' and has 4'-thick walls. Originally the site had six other buildings used for storage and dwellings. These buildings were all demolished by 1900. The site is densely covered with trees and shrubs, and the view of the water is obscured.

Stuart-Blue House, "Nelmar," c. 1877 (Private): This building is a 60' x 50' two-story, hipped-roof house with rectangular floor plan. The east-facing front has five bays and a one-story, hipped-roof porch extending the full length of the house. Porch supports are concrete block with wood shingle arches above and foundation is concrete and/or brick pier. The house has a double front door with arched glass windows over wood panels. The entry also features fan and side lights. A 30' x 35' two-story addition on the rear creates an ell extension. The first floor walls are weatherboard and the second-story walls are wood shingle (cypress). The house has two interior chimneys with double octagonal chimney pots

and one exterior brick chimney on the north end. 6/1, double-hung sash windows dominate with some 2/2, double-hung sash windows. Second story features include louvered casement arched windows on both corners of the front that are modern additions. Rafters are exposed on the eaves of the roof. Lattice in-fills the concrete/brick piers of the foundation.

Talbot Island Cemetery (8Du1549, TIMU98), 1820s-1880s (Private): This site on the south end of Talbot Island includes perhaps a one-half-acre burial ground, enclosed by a metal fence. The site is within a larger area of perhaps 2.5 acres enclosed by a chain-link fence. Approximately thirty gravestones mark the graves of persons who have died between 1824 and 1979. Vandalism has deprived the cemetery of many gravestones. Near the center of the currently maintained area is a brick vault, approximately 1' in height. The stone which lay on top of this grave has been removed by vandals. The cemetery also includes three memorial markers for Confederate soldiers believed to be buried somewhere within the bounds of the burial ground. The portion of the cemetery used by slaves and their descendants into the 1880s is neither maintained nor identifiable.



Yellow Bluff Fort (8Du123, TIMU96), 1862 (State): This structure is located on the Yellow Bluff peninsula near the small village of New Berlin on the north side of the St. Johns River. The distance from the fort to the river is approximately 1,200' on the east, 2,800' on the south, and 3,000' on the west. The earthworks fort is roughly "T"-shaped and covers approximately 1.25 acres. The earthworks are overgrown with oaks, mimosas, and shrubs. The Florida park service has placed several picnic tables and five anachronistic English cannon on the site.

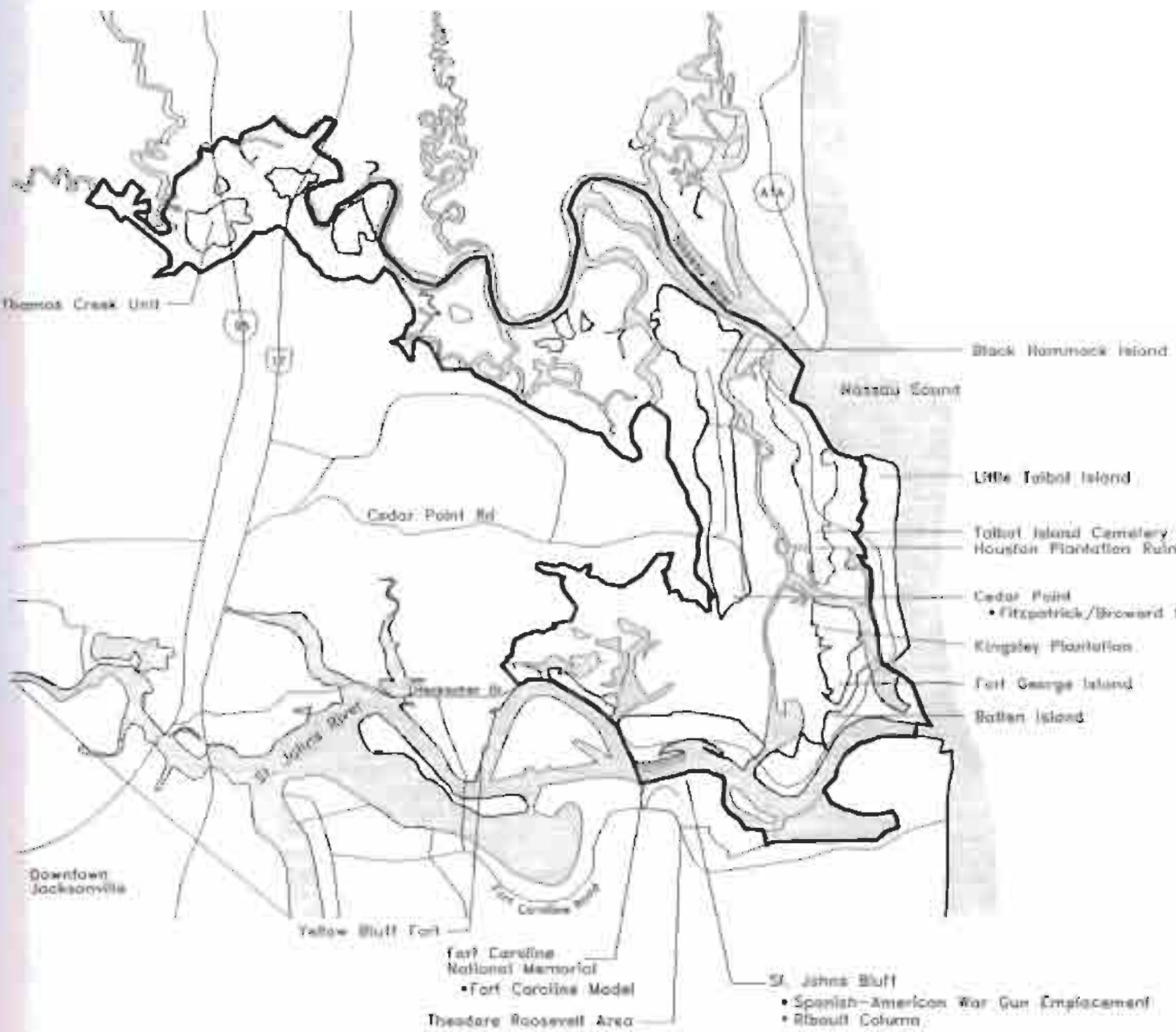


APPENDIX B: HISTORICAL BASE MAPS



LEGEND

-  Open Water
-  Preserve Boundary



North

Drawing not to scale

PRESERVE

Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve

National Park Service
 United States Department of the Interior
 January 1996

St Johns River

Fort Caroline
National Memorial

visitor
center

Ribault
Column

Fort Caroline
model

St. Johns Bluff

St. Johns
Creek

Spanish
Pond

Spanish-American
War Gun
Emplacement

LEGEND

Non-contributing Resources
Contributing Resources

pond
Ribault Column



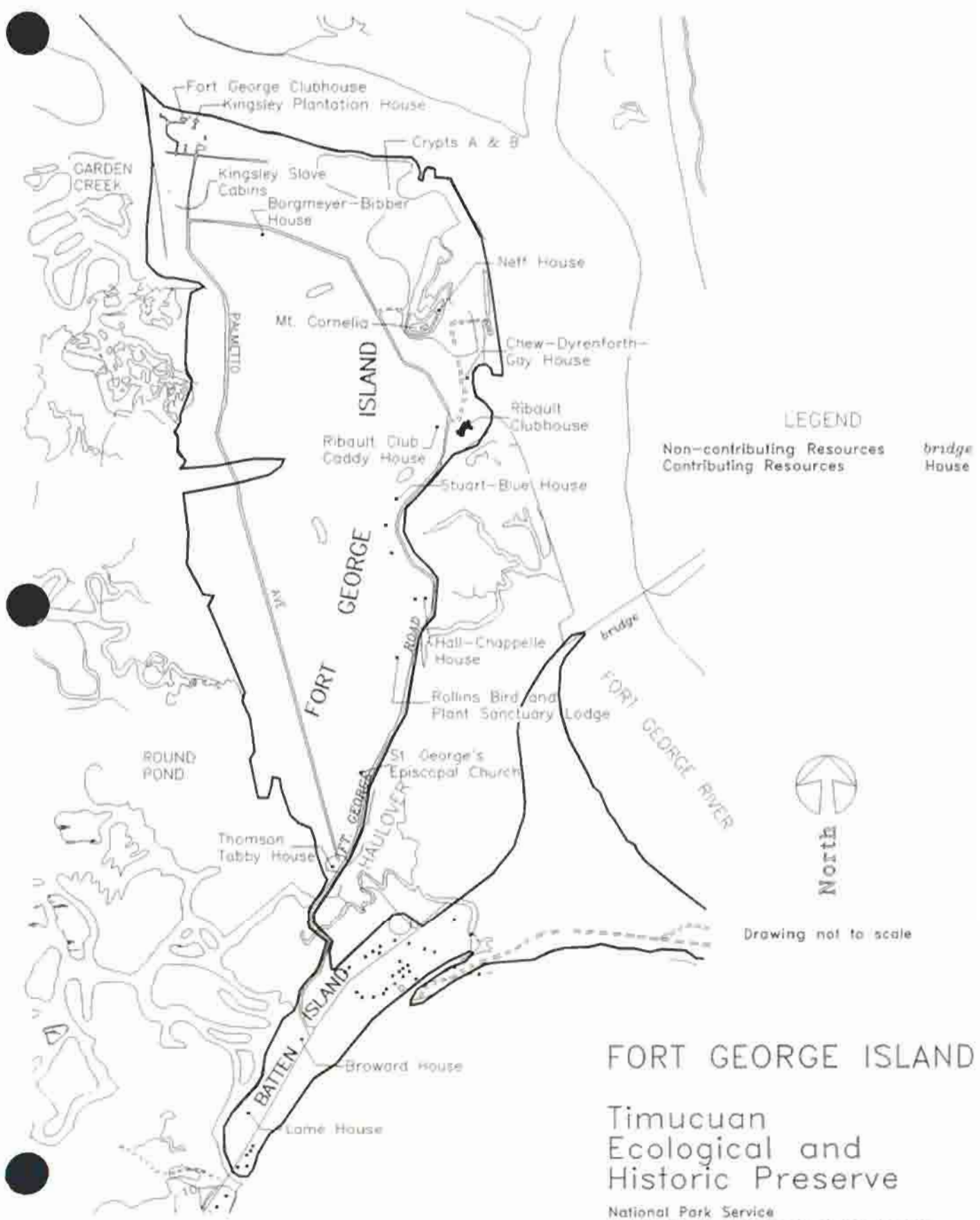
North

Drawing not to scale

ST. JOHNS BLUFF

Timucuan Ecological and Historic Preserve

National Park Service
United States Department of the Interior
January 1996



LEGEND

Non-contributing Resources *bridge*
 Contributing Resources *House*



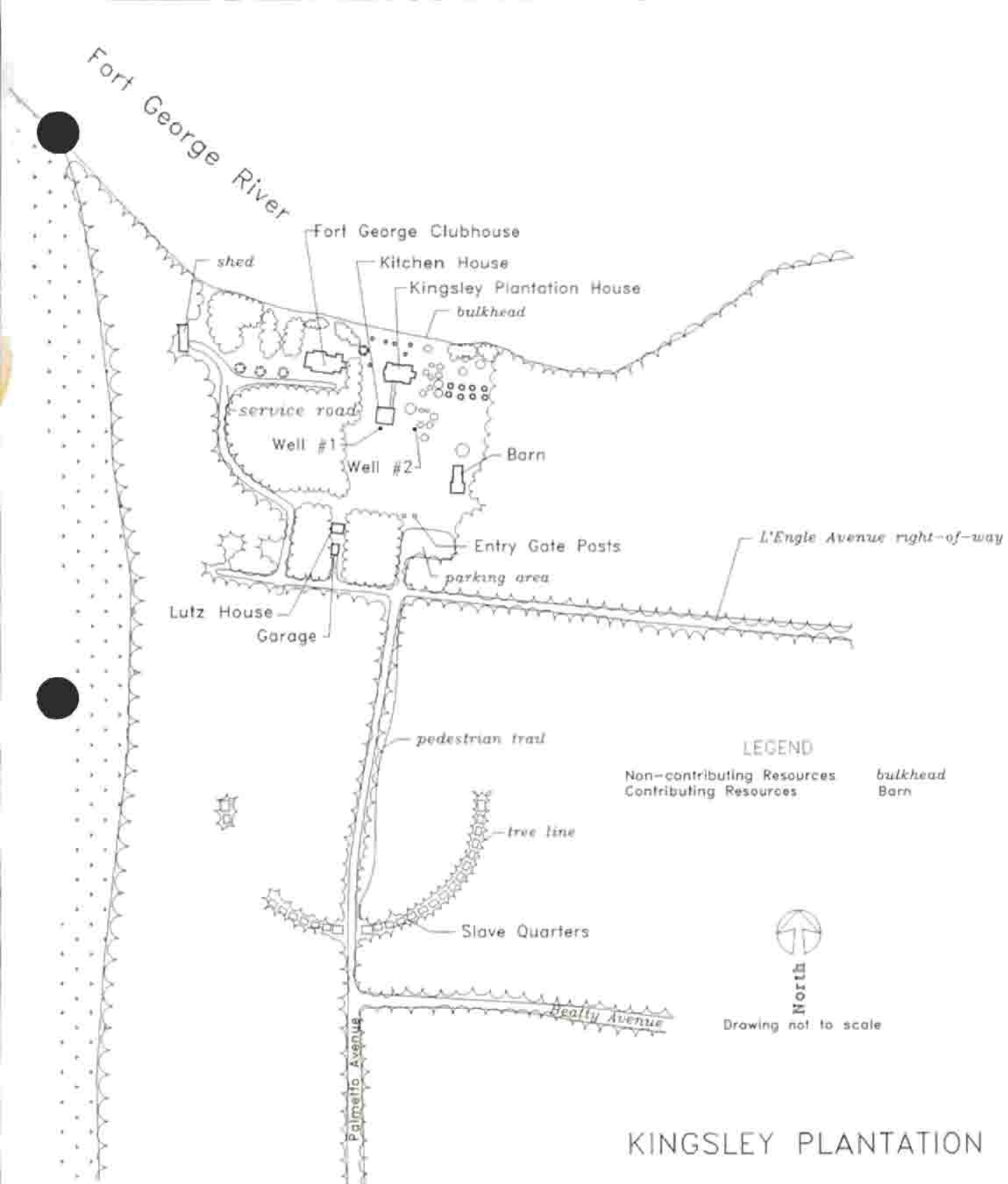
North

Drawing not to scale

FORT GEORGE ISLAND

Timucuan
 Ecological and
 Historic Preserve

National Park Service
 United States Department of the Interior
 January 1996



LEGEND

Non-contributing Resources bulkhead
 Contributing Resources Barn



North

Drawing not to scale

KINGSLEY PLANTATION

Timucuan
 Ecological and
 Historic Preserve

National Park Service
 United States Department of the Interior
 January 1996