

Hopes, Dreams, and Promises

A History of Volusia County, Florida

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Louise Benson
Heritage '76 Chairman of the
Volusia County Bicentennial Committee

Contents

Preface

Chapter

I. Background	1
II. England in the Floridas	5
III. Spain Regains the Floridas	12
IV. Public Affairs in Mosquito County	18
V. Communication and Transportation	23
VI. The Sugarcane Kingdom	30
VII. Indian Mischief in Mosquito County	39
VIII. A New Name, Old Dreams	50
IX. A Noble Cause	64
X. Everyone Is Poor Here Now	72
XI. Prospects Is an Immense Word in This Country	85
XII. The Birthplace of Speed	109
XIII. The World's Most Famous Beach	115
XIV. Volusia County in the Twentieth Century	119
Conclusion	128

Appendix

I. Territorial Representatives of Mosquito County	131
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tional government to remove the Seminoles from Florida.⁴¹ The government however decided to settle the Indians on a reservation in the interior of the territory. This solution satisfied no one. The Seminoles were bitter over being forced on to the reservation and continually complained about the poor soil and the lack of game.⁴² Whites in Mosquito, on their part, claimed that the Seminoles frequently stole their slaves, cattle, and other personal property and demanded that the government remove the red men from the peninsula.⁴³ Relations between the two races became increasingly more acrimonious and hostilities finally erupted in 1836. This conflict, usually called the Second Seminole War, will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

With the Seminoles rampaging throughout the county, residents sought the dubious safety of St. Augustine. Some decided to wait for the termination of the war in cities outside of the territory. Under these conditions local government was extremely difficult. During one election there were only three qualified voters. They also had to supervise the election and certify the results.⁴⁴ In 1840, the census taker reported that only military personnel were living in the county.⁴⁵

As the war drew to a close in 1842 a few people began to filter into Mosquito County. At the same time the territorial legislature began to discuss the possibility of changing the county name to honor the recently deceased war hero Leigh Read. The enabling legislation was introduced by William H. Williams, and this act probably contributed greatly to his political demise. The opinion of most East Floridians was expressed best by the St. Augustine newspaper: "The ancient and time-honored name of this county will, probably, be changed by our sapient Legislature to 'Leigh Read.' We opine, however, that the old name will stick and hang, and most likely will be hereafter known as 'Mosquito Read,' in contradistinction to 'Elephant Reid,' county."⁴⁶ The bill was never voted upon but many people thought that it had passed and began using the new name.⁴⁷ Confusion over the proper name was not eliminated until Orange County was created in 1845.

In 1842, Mosquito County's public records were returned by the clerk of St. Johns County.⁴⁸ The following year the territorial legislature allowed citizens to levy a land tax. The money raised was to be used for the construction of a courthouse, clerk's office, jail, and other needed public facilities.⁴⁹ Construction was to take place at the newly designated county site Enterprise.⁵⁰ Before the necessary funds could be obtained however the new state assembly decided to locate the county seat at Mellonville, situated on the west side of Lake Monroe, and at the same time changed the county name to Orange.⁵¹ Public affairs in Orange and Volusia counties will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Chapter V

Communication and Transportation

The government began providing postal service in Florida just a year after the area became an American possession. An early route brought mail across the peninsula from St. Marks to the St. Johns River. There it was transported down river to Picolata and finally carried on to St. Augustine.¹ As the territorial population increased, more routes were established, and by the 1840s there were nearly 3,000 miles of post roads scattered throughout the territory.²

Routes were opened south of St. Augustine in the thirties. Biweekly mail service was authorized in Mosquito County at this time, and Bartholomew Pons was given \$400 to carry the mail from St. Augustine to New Smyrna. He also delivered mail to the planters living along the Halifax and Tomoka Rivers.³ Post offices were opened at the same time on the plantations of Douglas Dummett of Tomoka and David R. Dunham of New Smyrna, both of whom were the postmasters of their respective communities. The Indian war forced postal officials to terminate service in the county by the late 1830s.⁴ Regular mail delivery was resumed in the forties.

In 1845, a post office was opened at Enterprise, and a postmaster, Ora Carpenter, appointed.⁵ A year later the facility was transferred across Lake Monroe to the newly settled town of Mellonville (formerly Fort Mellon).⁶ The tremendous growth of Enterprise soon resulted in another post office being established there. Ora Carpenter was given his old job but was dismissed shortly thereafter. He was succeeded by Ulm Campbell who held the office for several years. Virgil R. Dupont, John F. Pegues, and Richard N. Jeffreys, among others, served for short periods during the fifties.⁷ Several miles down the river, the rapidly maturing village of Volusia opened a post office in the early fifties. It was closed, reopened, and closed again—all in the space of about four years.⁸

On the other side of the county New Smyrna was given permission to open a facility in the middle forties. One of the new immigrants, John Sheldon, petitioned successfully for the position of postmaster. After two years he was removed, and Thomas Stamps took his job.⁹ Near the southern boundary of the county was the new community of Sand Point (formerly Ft. Ann), which was later expanded by Henry Titus. In 1859, a post office was established there, and Shubel G. Luffman appointed postmaster. Residents were disappointed a few months later when postal officials decided to close the facility.¹⁰

During the forties and fifties mail was usually transported by a shallow-draft steamboat up the St. Johns River from Palatka to Enterprise. Along the way stops were made at Welaka, Fort Gates, Volusia, and Hawkinsville.¹¹ Competitive bidding was used to determine the eventual contractor. Jacob Brock se-

cured the St. Johns route in the middle fifties, using his steamboat *Darlington* to deliver the mail.¹² John Sheldon contracted to being the mail from Enterprise to New Smyrna on a weekly basis. He also competed for the New Smyrna to Indian River route but his bid was too high and the contract was awarded to William F. Russell.¹³

Indian paths, remnants of colonial highways, and local trails were the only roads present when Florida was acquired by the United States. Territorial leaders realized that a network of good roads would have to be constructed before settlers could be attracted to the peninsula. And they felt that such work should be completed by the federal government. Officials in the War Department had their own reasons for advocating the building of roads. So they joined civilian leaders in advocating a network of highways in Florida and both helped to convince Congress to appropriate the necessary funds.¹⁴

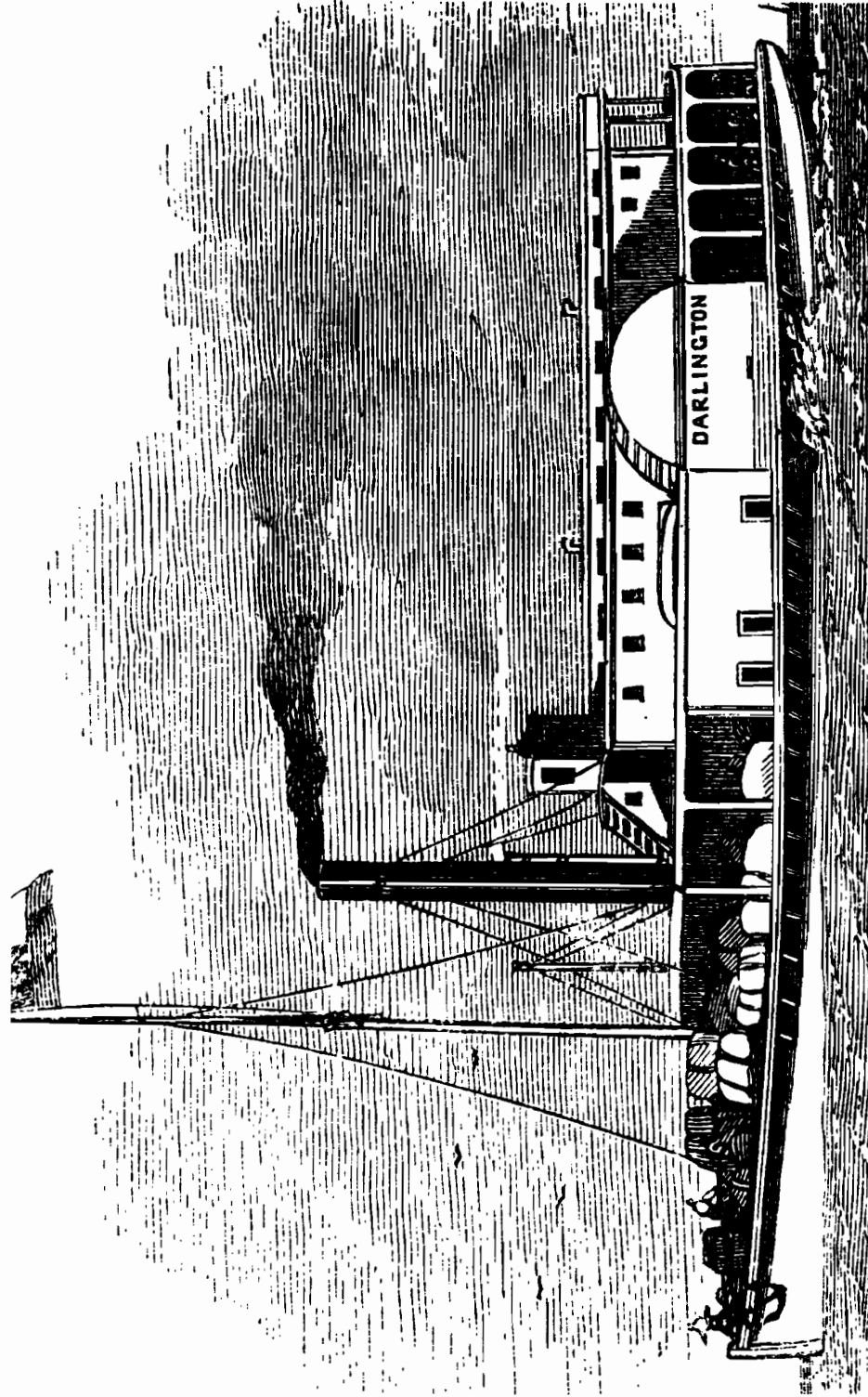
One of the first roads was built across the peninsula, and upon completion in 1826 provided a needed link between Pensacola and St. Augustine.¹⁵ Routes were constructed north from these two points toward the emerging towns of Georgia and Alabama. Other roads were built to connect Pensacola and St. Augustine with cities in the territory. A major artery was opened by the military in 1825 between Cantonment Brooke—on Tampa Bay—and Fort King (near present-day Ocala). It was extended from the latter point to Black Creek—on the lower St. Johns River—the following year.¹⁶

County residents were particularly interested in the revival of the King's Road, which had been built by the British in the eighteenth century. The Spanish had allowed the road to fall into disrepair and much of it had been reclaimed by the surrounding forest. The people of Mosquito wanted the road improved and then extended to Georgia.¹⁷ They were supported by other East Floridians, who repeatedly presented the idea to the federal government.¹⁸ Congress finally decided the work was necessary, approving the project in 1827 and appropriating \$13,000 over the next five years.¹⁹

Lieutenant Harvey Brown began work on the road in the spring of 1827, and by the following November, had opened it all the way to the Tomoka River. His successor, Lieutenant John L'Engle, finally extended the road on to New Smyrna in 1831.²⁰ County residents celebrated the event. Their euphoria was soon dispelled when they discovered that the government had not built a bridge across the Tomoka River. They were further outraged by the refusal of officials in Washington to remedy the situation. They often discussed the problem, especially when they were waiting in the hot sun for the ferry to appear.²¹ They also tried to get the government to repair other King's Road bridges that had been destroyed by the Seminoles in 1834. But before any action could be taken the Indians had initiated hostilities and driven everyone out of the county.²²

Several roads were opened by the military in Mosquito County during the Second Seminole War (1835-1842). The steamboat landing at Volusia became an important transfer point during the war and several roads were built from this incipient community. One of them intersected with the King's Road south of St. Augustine. Another was constructed westward and finally joined the Fort King Military Trail. Contemporaries called it the General Eustis Road. The Gadsden Trail connected the Lake Winder area and Fort Butler (situated opposite Volusia). And at least two roads were built from Fort Mellon (near Lake Monroe) to New Smyrna.²³

After the war yeoman farmers settled in the county soon known as Orange



Owned by Jacob Brock, the *Darlington* was one of the first steamers to ply the upper St. Johns regularly. From Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper*, March 1862.

and later designated Volusia. They used the highways built by the military whenever possible, but these were insufficient to meet the needs of an expanding population. Expansion of this embryonic system would have to be financed by the county.²⁴ Yet the small population probably could not maintain existing roads.²⁵ So new immigrants usually decided to settle near navigable rivers. Road construction thus had even less appeal; correspondingly, people were extremely interested in water transportation.

Until the development of a railway system—which did not occur in Florida until some years after the Civil War—vessels, both sail and steam-powered, were used to transport nearly all the commodities produced in the peninsula or the goods supplied by merchants in other southern cities.²⁶ Most people also preferred to utilize this mode of conveyance.

There were several navigable waterways in East Florida. The slowly meandering St. Johns was probably the principal artery in the section, but considerable commerce was transported on the Matanzas, Halifax, and Indian Rivers. Various schemes were advanced during the late twenties and early thirties to connect these rivers and thus facilitate the flow of goods.

An early venture involved the construction of a canal from the St. Johns River to the harbor at St. Augustine. John Bulow, George Anderson, and Thomas Dummett, among others, formed the Indian River Navigation Company for this purpose, and secured the necessary charter from the legislature in 1828. They were authorized to sell stock in order to raise the necessary funds.²⁷ Additional support was expected from the federal government and when it was not forthcoming the project was abandoned. The project was revived in 1833 when the St. Johns and St. Augustine Canal Company was organized and capitalized at \$50,000. But the company failed to generate the necessary interest and this effort languished like its predecessor.²⁸

Agitation for the building of a canal between the Matanzas and Halifax Rivers arose at the same time. In the late 1820s, some ingenious citizens proposed using the estimated surplus from the construction of the King's Road for this purpose. The government apparently felt differently and any additional funds were used on other projects.²⁹ Interest in the project remained high, and by 1831 a company had been organized to carry out the necessary work. David R. Dunham, Douglas Dummett, Daniel S. Griswold and several wealthy people from St. Augustine were the corporation officers of the newly formed company, called the Planters and Citizens Canal Company. The charter permitted them to sell up to \$10,000 worth of stock, and once the work had been completed, they could assess and collect tolls. The federal government granted them ninety-foot sections of land on each side of the proposed canal, but even with this incentive the venture never progressed beyond the talking point.³⁰

Another project that stirred considerable interest was the joining of the Halifax and Indian Rivers, separated by a narrow spit of land called the Haulover. Lieutenant Jacob E. Blake, a topographical engineer, surveyed the area in 1843 and stated that a canal could be constructed by the government for about \$4,000. The Florida commander, Brigadier General William J. Worth, was in favor of the project and proposed that his troops perform the required labor. Before he could secure the necessary orders from the adjutant general, though, most of his command had been transferred elsewhere. The government did appropriate nearly \$6,500 during the forties and fifties, but the army never seemed to be willing to commit any men to the project.³¹

The people of Mosquito County were particularly interested in the build-

ing of a lighthouse at Mosquito Inlet. Vessels had to safely navigate through a narrow passage and cross a relatively shallow bar before reaching the harbor at New Smyrna. Mariners did not consider this passage to be particularly dangerous, but even an occasional wreck caused everyone great concern.³² Numerous petitions from county residents and pressure from Joseph M. White, territorial delegate, probably convinced Congress that the lighthouse was needed.

The lower house approved an \$11,000 appropriations bill in 1833, but it did not reach the Senate before Congress adjourned.³³ The bill was introduced again in 1834 and this time was passed by both houses.³⁴ The lighthouse and an adjacent dwelling house were constructed by Winslow Lewis, already a famous designer of marine structures, at a cost of \$7,494. The proposed lighthouse was to be of hard brick, tower round—the foundation to be laid as deep as necessary to make the whole fabric secure. The height of the tower to be forty-five feet from the surface of the ground—the diameter of the base twenty-two feet, and that of the top ten-and-a-half feet—the walls to be three feet six inches thick at the bottom, graduated to two feet at the top, laid in good lime mortar, plastered on the outside with Roman cement, and whitewashed twice over. The floor of the lighthouse to be paved with brick—circular stairs connected with a centre post to be carried up from the floor to within six feet of the deck of the lantern. The stairs to be made from two inch plank, eight inch rise; to be three windows and a door in the tower; the door to be six feet high and three-and-a-half feet wide, made of inch boards, double and cross nailed, with strong hinges, lock, and latch; the windows to have strong frames, and sashes to contain twelve lights, 8 by 10 glass. An arch to be turned at the top of the tower, on which is laid a soap stone deck, twelve feet diameter, four inches thick; the joints to be filled with lead; a scuttle in the deck to pass into the lantern, 18 inches by twenty-four inches; the scuttle and rabbets to be covered with copper; an iron ladder to reach from the top of the stairs to the entrance of the scuttle . . . ; on the top of the tower a wrought iron lantern of an octagon form, to be of sufficient diameter to admit an iron sash in each octagon, to contain twenty-one lights, 12 by 11, to be glazed with the first quality of glass of double thickness, from the Boston Manufactory, except the lower tier, which is to be filled with copper; a sliding ventilator to be in one of the copper panes of each octagon; the rabbets of the sashes to be not less than five eighths of an inch deep; the octagon post to be two inches square, and to run four feet into the walls of the tower and secured with anchors; the top of the lantern to be a dome, formed by sixteen iron ratters, concentrating in an iron hoop, six inches wide and nine inches diameter, covered with copper, 32 ounces to the square foot, the cooper to come down and rivet on the pieces that form the top of the sash; on the top of the dome to be a traversing ventilator, twelve inches diameter and fifteen inches high, on which to be a vane secured. . . . Around the lantern to be an iron ballustrade with two railings. . . .³⁵

Lewis finished the structure in the spring of 1835. The seemingly ever-present William H. Williams was then appointed the "lighthouse keeper," receiving an annual salary of \$450. Residents eagerly awaited the first lighting, and celebrations to mark the event were probably planned throughout the county. As the people of Mosquito later learned from John Rodman, collector of customs at St. Augustine, the delay had resulted from the failure of the government to send needed lamp oil. And before the oil ever arrived, a gale severely damaged the foundation of the lighthouse. Because of Seminole control of the area it was impossible to make needed repairs, and the weakened building finally collapsed just about a year after its completion. In 1837, the government appropriated an additional \$7,000 to be used in rebuilding the lighthouse, but the money never was expended. It was not until the 1880s that another lighthouse was built at the inlet.³⁶ In the forties an effort was also made to have a lighthouse constructed at Indian River Inlet. Petitions from the legis-

lature and protests from citizens, however, failed to impress the national government.³⁷

Enforcement of national tariff acts was the responsibility of customs officers. The collector at St. Augustine administered a district that included Mosquito Inlet. As direct trade with the latter point expanded yearly, it became apparent that an official would have to be permanently stationed somewhere in the area. And before the end of the twenties a subordinate officer had been authorized there. James Darley—an Irish immigrant—was appointed the first inspector of customs in 1828.³⁸ The omnipresent David R. Dunham of New Smyrna succeeded Darley in the thirties. His superior, John Rodman, felt that he had been derelict in the performance of his duties and even told the Secretary of the Treasury that Dunham “would not have hesitated to wink at many violations of the Revenue laws productive of any advantage of himself.” Colonel Thomas H. Dummett replaced Dunham in the fall of 1835. The elderly colonel was just becoming familiar with his duties when the Seminoles drove him and his family out of the county.³⁹ In the early forties, Samuel H. Williams was both the inspector and deputy collector of customs at Mosquito Inlet. Augustus W. Walker—the collector of customs at St. Augustine—hoped to make his subordinate more efficient by providing him with a small sailing vessel that could be used to board and, if necessary, pursue fleeing ships.⁴⁰ Whether or not Williams obtained the needed vessel, he was certainly kept busy dealing with the expanding commerce of the area.

Vessels from Savannah and Charleston had been plying the waters of the Halifax River at least since the early 1800s. And by the 1830s, ships were making regularly scheduled trips between these cities and Mosquito Inlet. The schooner *Doris* of Charleston was one of these packet ships; another vessel sailing from the same port was the schooner *Gen. Geddes*.⁴¹ Captain R. Snow often brought his schooner *Triton* through the inlet and up the Halifax River.⁴² Routes were also established to St. Augustine. Sometimes these vessels continued on to New Smyrna or the planters living along the county rivers.⁴³ Cargoes shipped from St. Augustine and Mosquito Inlet usually went directly to Savannah and Charleston. Vessels were waiting at the latter points to transport the commodities to New York, Boston, or directly across the ocean to impatient buyers in England.⁴⁴

Traffic slowly increased on the St. Johns River, but at first commerce was confined to the lower portion of the river. Heavy tonnage sailing vessels simply could not navigate on the narrow river; also, their draft often exceeded the water level even in deep parts of the St. Johns. Only shallow-draft steamboats could overcome these obstacles. Such vessels had been used on many southern rivers during the 1820s, and before the end of the decade they had been introduced into Florida.⁴⁵

Perhaps the first steamboat to ply the waters of East Florida was the *Long Branch*. The vessel originally departed from Washington, stopped briefly at Charleston, and then steamed on to St. Augustine. The trip between the latter two ports was made in just twenty-four hours.⁴⁶ Shortly thereafter the *Mount Vernon* began operating on the St. Johns.⁴⁷ In 1831 the recently finished side-wheeler *George Washington* steamed all the way inland from Savannah to Jacksonville, completing the journey in thirty-four hours.⁴⁸

The side-wheeler *Florida* made the same voyage in 1834, but then continued on to Picolata, and finally steamed into Lake George.⁴⁹ By the following year she was making regular weekly trips between Savannah and Picolata, us-

ing the inland route. Passengers could embark at the latter town and take the stage overland the eighteen miles to St. Augustine. The same firm also used the *Wm. Seabrook* on this route.⁵⁰ At the same time the two-masted steam schooner *Dolphin* was beginning packet service between St. Augustine, Savannah, and Charleston. In 1836 a boiler explosion destroyed this unique vessel.⁵¹

The incipient river-front community of Volusia became an important transfer point during the Second Seminole War. Supplies needed for the campaigning army were transported by chartered steamboats up the St. Johns as far as possible. There, at Volusia, they were unloaded and then carted overland to interior posts. Smaller steamboats proceeded farther up the river. With some difficulty the shallow bar at the head of Lake Monroe was crossed by the steamboats *Santee* and *McLean*. The expedition commander, Lieutenant Colonel James Bankhead, then continued on and finally reached the head waters of the St. Johns in late 1837. The renowned military commanders Jesup and Harney probably felt honored by the decision to name two of the lakes in the area after them. Another of the lakes was named in honor of the current Secretary of War, Joel Poinsett.⁵²

Steamboats continued to travel far up the St. Johns after the war. In the early forties, the *St. Mathews*, owned by several St. Augustine citizens, was placed on a regular route between Darien (Georgia) and Picolata. Passengers, cargo, and mail were weekly carried up the river by this vessel. The *Wm. Seabrook* was also employed on this route.⁵³ The *Cincinnati* was another packet ship plying the waters between the St. Johns River and Savannah.⁵⁴

By the late 1840s the *Sarah Spalding* was making regular trips between Palatka and Enterprise.⁵⁵ She was still on this route in the early fifties, but had to compete for available business with one of the emerging river entrepreneurs, Jacob Brock.⁵⁶ The former New Englander used his available capital to purchase the Charleston-built, 249 ton steamer *Darlington*. Passengers and cargo were accommodated on separate decks. Two saloons and several cabins were constructed on the upper (passenger) deck. Drawing a little more than eight feet of water and with “fair speed” she was ideally suited for use on the upper St. Johns.⁵⁷ By 1854 the *Darlington* was making weekly trips between Enterprise and Palatka. At the latter point connections could be made with the steamers *Welaka*, *Carolina*, *Florida*, and *Seminole*, all of which made regular trips to Charleston or Savannah.⁵⁸

Steamboats made it feasible for people to live along the upper St. Johns. Needed supplies could be purchased at a reasonable price, and their produce could be shipped to distant markets. The communities of Volusia, Enterprise, and Mellonville all emerged in response to the opening of river traffic in the forties. The same growth did not take place on the other side of the county, however. This area stagnated and the small amount of commerce was easily handled by the several steamboats registered at St. Augustine.⁵⁹ These vessels also provided easy access to markets in Savannah and Charleston.⁶⁰ After the Civil War the railroads would help to shift the pattern of settlement, and the river-front communities Volusia and Enterprise would slowly wither away. These developments will be discussed in subsequent chapters.

Chapter X

Everyone Is Poor Here Now

The Public Schools are not yet in operation. We have no politicians; offices go begging; two of my neighbors who have commissions as Justice of the Peace decline; the office of County Treasurer has been vacant for two years, seeking a man to accept it. We have no jail and little need of one . . . No clergyman resides within our borders.¹

—John Milton Hawks, ca. 1871

“The poorer class are desirous of returning to their homes and remaining there being really tired of the war,” wrote Union General Israel Vogdes from Jacksonville in June 1865.² Most county soldiers probably agreed with Vogdes and marched with some vigor to their homes, families, and jobs. They returned to a chaotic situation. Bands of marauders terrorized citizens and plundered without opposition throughout the county. The still prevailing medium of exchange—Confederate currency—was worthless. The Union blockade had produced tremendous shortages in most commodities. And Volusians despaired further when they learned that the operation of state government had been suspended by United States authorities. The resumption of relations with the north worried Volusians too. Of overwhelming concern was the uncertain status of the emancipated black in southern society.

As Volusians contemplated an uncertain future, they were somewhat reassured when President Andrew Johnson finally announced his program for the “Reconstruction” of the South in late May 1865. His plan incorporated many of the proposals outlined earlier by Abraham Lincoln. After affirming their loyalty most rebels were pardoned. High Confederate officials and those owning large amounts of property had to apply personally to Johnson for pardons. The only Volusian requiring a special dispensation was the Confederate collector of customs Douglas Dummett.³ When a majority of white males had taken the required loyalty oath the state could hold a constitutional convention. The new constitution had to declare secession null and void, repudiate state debts incurred during the war, abolish slavery, and recognize all statutes enacted by the United States since 1860. After the constitution had been ratified the state could hold elections. When the new legislature ratified the Thirteenth Amendment, its national representatives could be seated in Congress and military authority could be removed. In July (1865) Johnson extended these terms to Florida.⁴

The presidential plan received broad support in Florida. Opposition to it was confined to irreconcilable rebels and rabid Unionists. One of the latter, Adolphus Mot, thought that the plan stood “in the path of future history, like

a sphinx at the gates of Thebes, offering problems to be solved, enigmas and secrets to be divined.”⁵ Most Floridians, though, accepted the presidential proclamation and voted for delegates to a constitutional convention held in October 1865. Delegates from every Florida county met in Tallahassee and drafted an acceptable constitution.⁶

The election of state officials took place in late November 1865. The former Whig, David Walker, ran unopposed for governor. A former Confederate soldier, Ferdinand McLeod, was elected to Congress. Many of the other offices were filled by ex-planters and ex-Confederates. This fact did not go unnoticed in Congress and when it was repeated in other southern states it inflamed many northerners. The tense situation was exacerbated when the “rebel” legislature enacted a number of statutes—collectively known as the “black code”—which severely discriminated against the new freedman.⁷

While all this activity was taking place, armed bands continued to raid throughout Volusia County. General John G. Foster, the military commander in Florida, received regular reports from his subordinates dealing with the prevailing lawlessness in the area. Volusia, General Foster wrote his immediate superior in December 1866, “is overrun with marauders, desperate men, outlaws and rebels, who are in search of deserters. . . . These men are mounted and rob, murder, drive off cattle, and burn houses whenever in their power.” The worried commander had already sent twenty infantrymen to Enterprise, but he felt that they would be unable to stop these forays and suggested that mounted troops be sent to the area.⁸ His successor, Colonel John T. Sprague, agreed with him on conditions in the county and added that: “Murder and robbery prevail to an alarming extent. The perpetrators are beyond the reach of civil law, if any existed, and being mounted, are too fleet and sagacious to be apprehended on foot.” Only mounted soldiers, Sprague informed officials, could put an end to these depredations.⁹

James L. Sandlin, who had aided the Union during the war, reported to Sprague in November 1867 that he had been “arrested” on the road between Enterprise and Volusia by two ex-rebels. Sandlin alleged that they pulled him from his horse and threatened to “put . . . [him] to a tree,” if he did not pay for a mule supposedly taken from a fellow Confederate during the war. After signing a \$200 promissory note—secured by James Sauls—Sandlin was allowed to continue on his way. One of the men, Benjamin Rawlins, later confronted Sandlin and told the frightened Unionist “that the rebels of that section of country intended to have satisfaction for thare [sic] wrongs done during the war and that the union men would be the sufferers.” Unless the military would protect them, Sandlin reported to Sprague, the union men of the county would “go to regular war and protect . . . [themselves].”¹⁰ J. L. Husband, an official of the Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands at Enterprise, confirmed Sandlin’s story and advised the Florida commander that “unless some action is taken in this case, there is no doubt but what similar scenes will be enacted.”¹¹

Attacks on northerners were not confined to Volusia County. In August 1866 Henry T. Titus assaulted a former union soldier, Myron L. Mickles, in the bar of the Taylor hotel at Jacksonville. When Mickles tried to defend President Johnson, Titus became extremely agitated and told the convalescing soldier that if he supported that “damned radical Congress” he ought “to be hung to the lamppost.” Titus then began raining blows on the stunned soldier and injured Mickles sufficiently so that he had to be hospitalized. The case went to

court in Jacksonville and the jury not only acquitted Titus, but assessed the trial cost of \$45 to Mickles.¹² This and similar incidents helped to convince many northerners that they should not emigrate to Florida.

The Deputy Collector and Inspector of Customs, Edward K. Lowd, advised his superiors in May 1868 that a local chapter of the Ku Klux Klan had been established in Volusia County. Lowd elaborated that the Klan had already notified several "loyal men" that they had to leave the county or suffer the "sad consequence prescribed for them in the event of a refusal." The Klan had recently sent the customs officer a drawing—complete with death's head and daggers—warning him that he had two weeks to "pack up" or else. "I will not be intimidated," Lowd wrote, and the defiant agent remained at his post without further incident.¹³

In addition to eliminating the violence in Volusia, the federal government was also trying to suppress the smuggling and abduction of blacks that they believed were being conducted along the coast south of St. Augustine. After receiving reports of covert operations at New Smyrna and along the Indian River, Colonel Sprague sent a special agent to the area in February 1866. The investigating officer, Lieutenant D. M. Hammond, went to New Smyrna and after interviewing the few residents wrote officials that he had "found nothing there of a character to awaken suspicion that any of the people there were implicated in any scheme for abducting or kidnapping colored persons." At Enterprise Hammond talked with several reliable citizens and concluded that Indian River inhabitants were not engaged in any illegal activities.¹⁴

Colonel Sprague continued to receive contrary reports, however, and advised officials in early April 1866 that he believed that a band of smugglers was about to begin operations "along the coast of Florida, entering the interior of the state by [New] Smyrna on the coast—thence to Enterprise near the headwaters of the St. Johns River. Connected with this, will be an organization for entrapping negroes, taking them to the coast . . . and then shipping them to Cuba." Sprague urged his superiors to dispatch fifty mounted men to Enterprise and an equal number to Tampa. This force, the Florida official maintained, "would defeat improper trade, and govern the vagrant citizens and outlaws infesting that section."¹⁵

General Foster tended to agree with Sprague on this subject and on April 11 sent an unknown number of soldiers to Enterprise. At the same time Foster dispatched a Captain Hayward "in citizen's clothes, through the southern part of the State to ascertain all the facts to be gained concerning the alleged kidnapping of negroes, smuggling, and the number and condition of the Indians." At the end of April he reported that the attempt to abduct blacks had failed: "I think the negroes in that section are too smart to be caught napping." He did add, however, that there was a strong possibility of smuggling in this area and recommended that a government cutter be permanently stationed near New Smyrna.¹⁶

Officials continued to receive reports detailing illegal operations along the east coast. Attempts to capture the supposed culprits always failed, however, and the investigating agents could only report "all quiet along the coast."¹⁷ The New Smyrna customs officer Edward K. Lowd maintained that smuggling operations were being conducted on the St. Johns and Indian rivers. He wanted \$300 to purchase a "Cat Boat"—a shallow-draft sailing vessel—and additional funds to employ an area pilot.¹⁸ After receiving so many false reports the gov-

ernment probably decided to ignore Lowd's request. And as coastal Volusia County became more settled, smugglers and "negro stealers" found it less attractive to conduct their operations there.

While all this mischief was taking place in Volusia County, state military authorities had to deal with an increasingly truculent population. General Foster maintained that the increasingly intransigent attitude was due to the "supposed policy of the Government and the result of the Philadelphia convention of August 14 [1866]."¹⁹ He was even more upset when Floridians maintained that a presidential proclamation of August 20 terminated military rule in the state. "The consequence," Foster reported in early October, "is that the civil authorities have essayed . . . to arrest soldiers and employees of the U.S. for trifling infractions of municipal regulations, while in the discharge of their duties, and fined . . . I have been much surprised to see the manifestations lately disclosed of deep seated hostility to Congress and to all Union men who are either denominated 'Yankee' or if from the south 'deserters.'"²⁰ While Floridians became more unrestrained in their actions and prepared to join the Union on their own terms, congressional "radicals" were formulating their own plan for reconstructing the South.

As Floridians watched helplessly a Republican dominated Congress met in early 1867 and enacted the First Reconstruction Act—commonly known as the "Military Bill." It stated that no legal government existed in Florida and, further, instituted military rule in the state. Military control would continue until Floridians ratified a constitution which enfranchised all male citizens. After the legislature approved the Fourteenth Amendment the state would be entitled to seats in Congress.²¹ As Colonel Sprague, the commander in Florida, reported in April 1867: "There will be no opposition . . . All classes admit that there is no alternative, but submission."²²

After accepting negro suffrage as inevitable, many ex-rebels recognized that their only hope for state control rested on obtaining the black vote. Calling themselves Conservative Democrats, they tried unsuccessfully to promote a coalition with the newly emancipated freedmen. Florida Republicans were divided into "moderate" and "radical" factions. Blacks ultimately supported the latter group. In November state voters barely approved the proposed constitutional convention. With most whites abstaining the Conservative Democrats were able to win in only two delegate races; the other forty-four delegates would be Republicans.²³

The second constitutional convention since the end of the war was convened in Tallahassee on January 20, 1868. The "moderate" and "radical" Republicans were not able to agree on a constitution, and each faction submitted a separate document for congressional approval. Congress subsequently accepted the constitution fashioned by the "moderates."²⁴ In the May 1868 election Volusians voted 39 to 102 against the constitution; the majority also marked their ballots in favor of George W. Scott—the conservative candidate for governor. A majority of Floridians supported the constitution, though, and also chose the "moderate" Republican, Harrison Reed, for governor. In local races, the Democrat Arthur Ginn was chosen to represent Volusians and the residents of Orange in the state senate. In the race for the state house of representatives the Republican William B. Watson was defeated by his Democratic opponent. The militant "radical" John Milton Hawks later alleged that Watson's defeat was due "principally to the treachery of a Republican, thirty

Negroes voted for the Democratic candidate, and elected him".²⁵ (See Appendix IV for a list of registered voters in Volusia County about 1867.) On July 4, 1868, Colonel John T. Sprague officially ended military rule in Florida.

In August Governor Reed appointed county officials. James H. Prevatt, a fifty-two-year-old farmer from Georgia, was the new county judge. The county commission included Edward A. McDaniel, J. D. Mitchell, and Andrew H. Alexander—who was also appointed the county sheriff in 1869. The Republicans James H. Fowler and John Milton Hawks were appointed county surveyor and superintendent of public instruction, respectively.²⁶ (See Appendix V for a list of county officials from 1868–1887.) Subsequent Republican governors continued the practice of appointing Democrats to many county offices. The Democrats also prevailed in most county elections for many years.

The revival of county government was a great relief to Volusians. And they were soon converging on the county seat—Enterprise—to register deeds, execute wills, and sue dishonest neighbors. In October (1868) the circuit court—John W. Price, presiding—held what was probably its first session since before the war. The newly appointed sheriff began to enforce the laws, which soon ended the disturbing lawlessness of the past few years.²⁷

A subject of continuing concern was the dilapidated condition of the courthouse. Mary Birchard—a northerner vacationing at Enterprise in 1867—claimed that there was "nothing courtly or elegant in its architecture." She added derisively: "I don't think a louder laugh ever echo'd thro' those halls of justice . . . than I gave at the sight of this enterprising public building."²⁸ While Volusians certainly decried this "yankee" criticism, they petitioned officials to undertake much needed repairs. They also wanted county authorities to erect a jail as soon as possible. Improvement of public roads was another pressing issue.²⁹

Citizens wanted the county commission to perform needed repairs on local roads, but many of them refused to work on the roads—although state law required their participation. When this attitude persisted for several years, some residents suggested that authorities levy a surtax on county property and use the money generated to purchase needed materials and hire laborers. County commissioners were reluctant to exercise this option and continued to rely on sporadic community participation. Whenever possible, scarce public funds were used to improve or expand roads. In the fall of 1869, for instance, commissioners appropriated \$100 for the construction of a bridge across Spruce Creek.³⁰ Although convict labor helped to alleviate the problem somewhat, the development of an integrated system of county roads did not take place until the present century.

After county voters approved the selection of Enterprise as the county seat in 1871, county commissioners purchased three acres there and erected a courthouse—the total cost of the project was \$2,650. The funds were raised by issuing 8 percent bonds which would mature in five years. In order to extinguish the bonds commissioners increased local taxes.³¹ Regular repairs were made on the building, and in 1876 an unknown correspondent for a Jacksonville newspaper claimed that it was "quite presentable." A much needed jail was finally built in the early seventies. In 1876, the county debt was less than \$8,000, and commissioners hoped that residents would approve a \$10,000 bond referendum which would be used to extinguish "all outstanding indebtedness, . . . repair roads and bridges, and build school-houses." The outcome of the November election is unknown.³²

While Volusians struggled through the early days of "Reconstruction," they still had to cope with the problem of earning a living. One resident claimed that "there are many, many things which a real, live . . . man could do to not only make a living, but win a fortune in a few years."³³ Most people, though, found neither fortunes nor profits, and were content just to "rub through."³⁴

Volusians realized that revival of local enterprise would have to take place in an economy that was moribund at the end of the war. At the same time whites had to deal with the transition from plantation agriculture to a free labor system. Not only were white Floridians dubious about employing blacks, but they soon faced a situation in which the acute labor shortage constantly forced wages up. In 1871 some county laborers were being paid \$25 a month and meals; at the same time the average wage for a hired hand was \$30 a month.³⁵ At these rates Volusians were forced to cultivate crops without any additional help.

The scarcity of fluid capital helped to compound the labor problem and also made it difficult for farmers to erect improvements or purchase equipment. Volusians even had to contend with the fact that land values in certain portions of the county had appreciated some 33 percent.³⁶ Other problems that plagued residents included the absence of local banks or similar institutions, limited access to market, and fluctuating prices.

Still, as one person remarked in 1867: "It is not considered disgraceful to work."³⁷ And with little more than this attitude Volusians struggled to make a living. Most of them were small, independent farmers, whose farms had an average value of about \$600. They cultivated an average of less than 20 acres and their yearly output amounted to only about \$4 per person.³⁸

County farmers concentrated their efforts on subsistence agriculture, although many produced small quantities of the traditional staples: tobacco, cotton, and sugarcane. In 1870 Volusians produced 14,200 bushels of Indian corn, 3,093 bushels of peas and beans, and 15,417 bushels of sweet potatoes. In comparison with the rest of the state they ranked near the bottom in production of nearly every farm product. Production of major staples was equally low: tobacco—550 pounds; cotton—134 bales; and sugarcane—34 hogsheads.³⁹ And for several commodities their output was less than it had been in 1860.⁴⁰ The difference can probably be attributed to the presence of slave labor.

Elijah Watson of Enterprise was a typical county farmer. In 1870, he had 4 acres under cultivation and that year produced 30 bushels of Indian corn, 2 bales of cotton, and 130 bushels of sweet potatoes.⁴¹ At Port Orange the industrious black homesteader Henry Tolliver produced 100 bushels of Indian corn, 3 bales of cotton, 10 bushels of peas and beans, and 150 bushels of sweet potatoes, all from 8 acres. Using a crude home mill he manufactured 250 gallons of molasses, most of which he probably sold. Additional money was obtained from the sale of clothing made by his wife. In 1870 the Tolliver family earned \$50 from all home manufacturing.⁴²

Whites also filed for homestead land. In 1868 Daniel L. Bennett applied for 160 acres near the west side of the still unfounded DeLand. He built a simple log cabin for his family and erected other improvements which included corn crib, smoke house, and cotton house. Bennett quickly cleared 25 acres, planted a number of orange trees, and a crop of provisions. Bennett finally received patent to the land in 1876.⁴³ Near the east side of Lake Winona Joseph Underhill, subsequently a county commissioner, settled on a 160-acre farm in 1868. Un-

like his neighbors, though, Underhill spent his first months erecting a church, and then cleared 5 acres. Within two years he had cleared an additional 15 acres and was cultivating a variety of farm products.⁴⁴ Joseph D. Bryan made a settlement just west of New Smyrna in 1870. The enterprising farmer quickly prepared 11 acres for cultivation and built a family dwelling. Other improvements included a barn, stable, and tool house. Besides subsistence farming, he engaged in commercial cultivation of oranges. With about 400 sweet orange trees he was able to produce a crop that later sold for \$500. Additional profits were obtained from the regular sale of cattle raised on other portions of his farm.⁴⁵ John L. Chandler, Reuben Marsh, Philemon N. Bryan, Robert W. Roberts, William Minshew, and Daniel Clifton, among others, received government land under the several homestead acts.⁴⁶

Besides subsistence farming, most Volusians were involved in commercial cultivation of oranges. The steady increase in fruit prices after the war convinced county cultivators that fortunes could be made in the successful farming of this new staple. One Floridian claimed that a 10-acre grove could produce a yearly profit of \$6,000. And this "royal income" was "within the reach of the very poorest man . . . who will come and set out the trees."⁴⁷ The Volusia farmer William Watts agreed and told his friend Menefie Huston "that even a man of my age, with a little shove off at the start[,] can make a fortune before three score and five."⁴⁸ In the early years grove size was restricted because county farmers could not afford to hire laborers and, too, they had to devote much of their time to raising crops of provisions. And so for most Volusians the fabled profits were still in the future. A few Volusians, though, did receive some return on their investment. In 1870, the major county producer was Thomas Peterson, who sold his entire crop for \$2,000. The homesteader Daniel Clifton earned \$1,000 from his grove in 1870. Another \$1,000 producer was Daniel Douglas. At Port Orange, Joseph Bryan made a profit of \$500. And a nearby farmer, Francis Harper, made the same amount.⁴⁹

Cattle raising was another source of profit for many Volusians. And for some years after the war this enterprise was probably the only way that residents obtained cash money.⁵⁰ In 1866 there were 42,591 head of cattle in the county.⁵¹ Without any real law enforcement in Volusia at this time, the small, lightly guarded herds were constantly attacked by the numerous outlaws still operating between the St. Johns and New Smyrna. The government tried to prevent these attacks and, too, county residents could be counted on to dispense frontier justice whenever they were fortunate enough to capture one of these bandits. Neither was very successful in bringing the raids to an end, however, and it was only when civil order returned to the area that the problem gradually came to an end. After the government established a cattle depot at Mellonville in 1866, Volusians began to drive their cattle there for sale.⁵² When the military left the area, local cattlemen continued to sell their beef for profit, and by 1877 there were only 846 head of cattle left in the county.⁵³

There was little manufacturing in Volusia County in the late 1860s and early 1870s. Elijah Watson owned a small steam-powered cotton gin which he used to clean 10,000 pounds of cotton in 1870. Watson charged area producers \$2,000 for this service. The steam engine was also used to operate a grist mill; this enterprise brought Watson an additional \$1,000. Watson also had a sawmill near Enterprise. A. Richardson had a water-powered cotton gin. From an investment of \$800 he was able to earn a net profit of \$1,700 in 1870. Alex-

ander McBride had a water-powered cotton gin and sawmill. His income from both was \$2,460.⁵⁴

In 1866 Henry T. Titus, Dr. John Wescott, and some New York investors established the New York and Indian River Preserving Company to prepare Florida seafood for the northern market. Operating along the Indian River, company employees were hired to catch fish, turtles, and oysters. The raw seafood was then to be cleaned, boiled, hermetically sealed in specially designed metal cans, and shipped to the New York firm Provost and Company. Problems plagued the company. The company steamer *Indian River* ran aground and was a total loss. A small steam tugboat was also damaged beyond repair. Probably their inability to master the complex processing technique was the major reason why they abandoned the venture in the spring of 1866.⁵⁵ In May 1866 several Europeans formed the Florida Provision Company, with initial capital of £5,000. They intended to establish plants on the Indian and St. Johns rivers, where they would can turtle, fish, oysters, meat, fruits, and vegetables. The venture, however, never progressed beyond the organizational stage.⁵⁶

At New Smyrna, several people were employed as "wreckers." In 1865 Henry Sheldon purchased the British schooner *Lucy F.* for possible use in the local salvage business. But he certainly must have competed with other residents for a share of the few "wrecks" that occurred in or near Mosquito Inlet.⁵⁷ The New England Swift brothers returned to the area after the war and resumed timber operations along the Halifax River. The reduced demand for ship timber eventually forced them from the area.⁵⁸

At the end of the war the *Darlington*, captured by Union forces in 1862, was returned to Jacob Brock. Within a few months the vessel was again operating on the upper St. Johns, carrying passengers, freight, and mail between Jacksonville and Enterprise. Another Brock owned vessel was the *Hattie*, built in Jacksonville in 1861, extensively damaged during the war, and rebuilt in 1867. A shallow-draft, light steamer, with two decks, the *Hattie* was specifically designed for use on the upper St. Johns. In 1868 she was making regular semi-weekly trips up the river, alternating with the other Brock vessel *Darlington*. And before the end of the year both vessels were operating in conjunction with the Pensacola and Georgia and Florida Central Railroad Companies.⁵⁹ County residents were delighted with this development which gave them some access to distant markets. The *Dictator*, owned by Louis Coxetter, was another steamboat making regular trips between Jacksonville and Enterprise.⁶⁰

At Enterprise Thomas Mason, Elijah Watson, and Henry Titus were engaged in mercantile ventures. Across the county at Sand Point, Titus and J. W. Joyner were operating the only dry goods store in coastal Volusia County.⁶¹ Alexander Stewart, James D. Starke, B. F. Fox, and George Coleman, who had recently moved from Wisconsin, all offered their medical services to county residents.⁶² In 1870, the Georgia native E. H. Howell was the only resident working as a school teacher. And at this time the former New Yorker Charles B. Bucknor was the only county attorney.⁶³ A family relative, William E. Bucknor, was one of two civil engineers; the other was the Ohioan, Henry Clay. Volusians could even commission the English painter Edward Chamberlain to complete an oil portrait or capture a majestic seascape on his canvas.⁶⁴

Attempts were made to colonize blacks on Volusia County land. John Milton Hawks organized one of these ventures. A rabid abolitionist, he worked

with blacks in the South Carolina sea islands in 1862 and helped them make the transition from slavery to freedom. In the fall of 1862 he joined one of the newly organized black regiments as a surgeon and remained with negro troops until the end of the war.⁶⁵

While Hawks was awaiting final discharge at Hilton Head (South Carolina), he formulated plans to settle black soldiers on government land in Volusia County. Along with several officers, Hawks formed the Florida Land and Lumber Company in October 1865 and immediately began recruiting blacks. A number of freedmen from the 21st and 33rd Regiments United States Colored Troops joined the company, investing their precious capital in the somewhat dubious venture.⁶⁶ After the passage of a homestead act in 1866 that was specifically enacted for their benefit, company blacks filed for public land along the Halifax River north of Spruce Creek. Hawks decided to name the incipient colony Port Orange, which he hoped would be as successful as the earlier Port Royal experiment in the Carolina islands.⁶⁷

Using company funds Hawks purchased a large steam engine and related machinery from a firm in Bangor, Maine. Additional funds were expended in acquiring the necessary equipment for a saw and grist mill. And rapidly dwindling funds had to be spent to employ skilled craftsmen who could integrate these components in a just completed two-story building. With the last few company dollars Hawks bought a shipment of logs and began operations in March 1866.⁶⁸

The poorly planned venture began to fail rapidly, however. Mill workers became upset when the company could not meet its payroll in the fall of 1866 and they probably ceased to work at the mill after this time.⁶⁹ Considerable turmoil ensued when several company blacks accused the Freedmen's Bureau agent S. C. Osborn of illegally distributing rations. A special agent, J. L. Husband, subsequently investigated and concluded that the "whole thing . . . was a base fabrication on the part of [James] Fowler gotten up entirely to serve his own ends."⁷⁰ A more serious problem was black dissatisfaction with the land that the company had chosen for them. Offered high wages by visiting planters, most of them abandoned their lands and moved elsewhere. Only nine families were still at Port Orange at the end of 1868.⁷¹

When the company was unable to pay its debts, creditors scrambled to press for payment in local courts. In October 1867 firm officials were able to prevent the local justice of the peace Christopher C. Sutton from selling a load of mahogany logs, but within two years other mortgage holders were able to force a public sale of company property.⁷²

Near Port Orange former Union General Ralph Ely made another effort at black colonization. Attracted by the prospect of fertile tracts of government land available to those paying a small filing fee, a number of blacks—many of them from Columbia, South Carolina—decided to emigrate to Florida with the enterprising general. The few preparations were completed before the end of 1866 and in early January the excited colonists steamed through the narrow entrance to Mosquito Inlet.⁷³

Before leaving Charleston Ely had requested that authorities provide the colonists with clothing, bedding, and medical supplies. Soon he was also anxiously writing the government that the blacks had exhausted their initial allotment of rations and "will be in a few days in a destitute condition." He also added that many had settled on their land, built simple palmetto shanties, and were preparing to cultivate their tracts.⁷⁴ His letter reached Colonel John

Sprague, who immediately dispatched a special agent, Charles F. Hopkins, to conduct a detailed investigation of affairs at the colony. Sprague also notified Hopkins that he had already sent an army surgeon to the settlement.⁷⁵

Hopkins visited the colony in February. He learned that about 1,000 blacks had originally settled around New Smyrna, but that 750 of them had already abandoned their homes and were working for whites in other parts of the state. "Many of those remaining," Hopkins wrote his superior, "have made similar arrangements, and will also leave, as soon as the necessary transportation can be procured. In the course of few weeks there will be but a remnant of them left at Smyrna."⁷⁶ Hopkins also confirmed black allegations that Ely and his cohorts were expropriating a portion of their rations.⁷⁷

After Sprague received the report he gloomily advised officials of the Third Military District: "The colony of freedmen at New Smyrna . . . is a failure." The venture had failed, Sprague continued, because of "bad management, the want of subsistence from speculation and carelessness and a prevalent disposition to impose upon the emigrants." Sprague concluded that these schemes often "result in an overheated disposition to plunder" the new freedmen. "A remedy will be promptly applied," Sprague promised his superiors.⁷⁸ A few days later Sprague sent another bureau agent, William J. Purman, to observe the operation of the colony.⁷⁹

Purman found 251 people still at New Smyrna. "Their condition is pitiable," he reported, "and their wants and anguish appeal not only to sympathy, but to feelings of humanity." The starving blacks were subsisting mostly on coontie, palmetto-cabbage, and fish, Purman noted. With the warm weather, mosquitoes and other bothersome insects were present in abundant numbers and were inflicting a "dreadful persecution" on the already disappointed settlers. Purman advised his superiors that "nearly all express an eager willingness to leave by the first possible opportunities."⁸⁰

The bureau agent discovered that General Ely was surreptitiously distributing rations to a black woman, Delphia, who used them to pay laborers working on her farm or sold the government food to black residents. Purman also uncovered some illegal rations at the Port Orange store of John M. Hawks, but the public official failed to pursue the matter—possibly because of his dubious relationship with Mrs. Ester Hawks.⁸¹

Spencer C. Osborn replaced Purman in April 1867. His regular reports indicated that blacks were suffering extreme hardship and were barely surviving. They were trying to cultivate food crops, Osborn reported in June, but were having little success in the thin, arid soil. And without farm animals they found it difficult to clear more than garden plots. The new agent sadly concluded that "these people have neither labor, homes, provisions or means to get out of the country, and must of necessity for some months to come be a burden on the Government." In June Osborn notified bureau officials that in two months he had distributed 5,000 rations to the 162 blacks still living in the area.⁸² After receiving similar reports from Osborn in July, authorities decided in August to stop issuing food and transport those willing to other parts of Florida. Most probably accepted the government offer, and John M. Hawks later claimed that not more than twelve families remained in the area.⁸³

Assisted by the Freedmen's Bureau, black Volusians made the first tentative efforts to establish schools in the county. In July a number of freedmen from Port Orange and New Smyrna, along with several local whites, formed the First Union Freedmen School Society of Volusia, which was open to anyone

willing to pay the initiation fee of \$1.00. The group intended to buy a lot somewhere in the area, on which the Freedmen's Bureau had promised that they would erect a schoolhouse.⁸⁴

In the fall of 1867 Ester Hawks opened a school at New Smyrna, which was attended by 40 young freedmen.⁸⁵ Without support she was probably forced to abandon her effort in 1868. The proposed Halifax schoolhouse was still uncompleted in June 1868. Dissatisfied residents finally finished the building themselves, but before it could be occupied someone expropriated the lumber.⁸⁶

The Constitution of 1868 and legislation enacted in 1869 provided the basis for a state school system. Overall control was to be exercised by a state superintendent of public instruction and a three-member board, both of whom were appointed by the governor. The counties were designated school districts with local superintendents and boards of public instruction. The county board chose trustees for each school and they both participated in the selection of teachers. The state and counties shared in funding the system. County commissioners could levy and collect a tax not exceeding one percent of the assessed value of taxable property. A separate statute instituted a state tax of one mill on the dollar assessed on all taxable property in the state. Counties were to receive state funds based on number of students in attendance.⁸⁷ In August the militant Republican John M. Hawks was appointed "Superintendent of Common Schools" for Volusia County.⁸⁸

In a halting manner Volusia County established a county school system. A board of public instruction was finally appointed in April 1869, with John C. Maley, chairman. The New Yorker William E. Bucknor was appointed superintendent at the same time. And the county commission levied a tax of one-tenth of one percent on property which was supposed to generate about \$500.⁸⁹ Tuition payments, however, supported the three schools operating in 1870. These schools had a gross income of \$500, employed 9 teachers, and had a total enrollment of 135 students.⁹⁰

One of these may have been the freedmen school formed in 1869 at Enterprise by Charles B. Chipman. As he triumphantly informed the head of the Freedmen's Bureau in Florida, Colonel Charles Gile: "I am now teaching about fifteen schollars by the light of pine nots [sic], in front of my shanty, after working through the day in trying to get a potatoe crop growing." Chipman wanted the bureau to build a schoolhouse for his energetic students and another at the nearby Saul settlement—where he maintained 25 eager blacks were awaiting instruction. Although his request was supported by Superintendent Bucknor, the bureau declined to advance any aid. Black Volusians were upset further when the bureau ceased operation in July of the following year and they were forced to rely on county resources.⁹¹

In 1871 the county tax base was \$609,053; yet local schools continued to be supported from private sources. A major problem was the prevailing apathy of county officials. Champ H. Spencer, the county superintendent from 1871–1872, reported that "it is almost impossible to get anybody to pay attention to attending school board meetings." Some officials even refused to discharge their duties.⁹² When George Alden became county superintendent in 1872, he found that affairs had been totally neglected. In the next few years Alden organized a local school board, obtained a competent appointee for school treasurer, and made the necessary enumeration of school-age children required before state funds could be obtained. He also wanted to increase local millage and hoped that badly needed revenue could be generated in this way.

With all this work completed in 1876 Alden prepared to open common schools in the fall.⁹³ County education after 1876 will be discussed in a subsequent chapter.

Another problem shared by both white and black Volusians was the lack of church buildings or resident ministers. In 1868 John Hawks claimed that a table blessing—performed by an itinerant minister from Jacksonville—was the only religious service which had been held in his neighborhood for the past two years. "It is hard," Hawks concluded, "to retain one's piety here."⁹⁴ At the same time another resident noted morosely that there were no churches in the county. "We want them," he said, but "we cannot get them, except from the north."⁹⁵ Blacks wanted churches, too, and Charles Chipman told bureau officials that a proposed schoolhouse at Enterprise could also be used as a church. This appeal, however, failed to produce favorable action.⁹⁶

Members of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, finally managed to erect two churches by 1870. These were rude structures costing a total of \$100 to build and having a combined seating capacity of 100.⁹⁷ During the next few years itinerant ministers from Orlando or Indian River held infrequent services in county churches.⁹⁸ Many blacks left the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, and joined the African Methodist Episcopal Church, which was organized in Florida in 1865. At its 1868 general conference AME Church leaders authorized ministers for coastal Volusia County.⁹⁹ Whether anyone was actually sent is not known, however.

The revival of postal services was a welcome development for the people of Volusia County. In July 1866 the lake-front community Enterprise was the first county town to open a post office. Within a year facilities were in operation at Blue Springs, Volusia, and Port Orange. The merchants James L. Sandlin and John Milton Hawks were postmasters at the latter two villages. Their unquestionable loyalty was probably the reason for their appointment. As people settled in other parts of the county additional offices were authorized. In 1868, the incipient village of Palmetto—located on the west bank of the Halifax River opposite the Bostrom settlement—was given permission to collect and distribute mail. One of the few residents, Samuel P. Wemple, was appointed postmaster and served until the facility was closed in 1870.¹⁰⁰

The relatively mobile population sometimes forced facilities to close. When the population of Cabbage Bluff—also known as Cabbage Point—continued to decrease in the early 1870s, postal authorities decided to close the two-year-old office in 1874. The office was transferred to the nearby village of Palm Landing, but when this community failed to develop officials again moved the post office to the expanding town of Beresford.¹⁰¹

In 1871 the recently settled community of Daytona opened an office, with Mrs. Isabella McCauley as postmaster. She was replaced a month later by Loomis G. Day. Mrs. Elizabeth J. Maley was appointed in 1873 and continued to serve local citizens until 1881. In 1875 Daniel Wilson was appointed postmaster at New Britain—soon known as Ormond. Oak Hill, Orange City, and Prevatt were other communities where post offices were authorized by 1876.¹⁰²

The ex-rebel Jacob Brock resumed mail deliveries on the upper St. Johns in January 1866. Using his recently returned steamer *Darlington*, Brock transported mail from Palatka to Enterprise. At first the mail was brought only once a week, but increasing demand forced postal authorities to inaugurate semi-weekly delivery in 1870. Brock charged the government \$3,500 for this service.¹⁰³ Mail was transported from Enterprise to Port Orange and New

Smyrna by John W. Price, who secured the contract in November 1865. Price lost the route in 1867, when Alonzo A. Hart offered to carry the mail for less money.¹⁰⁴

After the presidential election of 1876 the federal government finally withdrew from the South. At the same time the Conservative Democratic candidates George F. Drew and Noble A. Hull prevailed over Republican opposition in contests for governor and lieutenant governor, respectively. Many Volusians rejoiced that Florida had finally been "redeemed." But after savoring the victory for some time they returned to the more pressing business of earning a living.

Chapter XI

Prospects Is an Immense Word in This Country

A curse seems to rest upon this sunny land; nothing but Yankee enterprise will ever develop its resources.¹

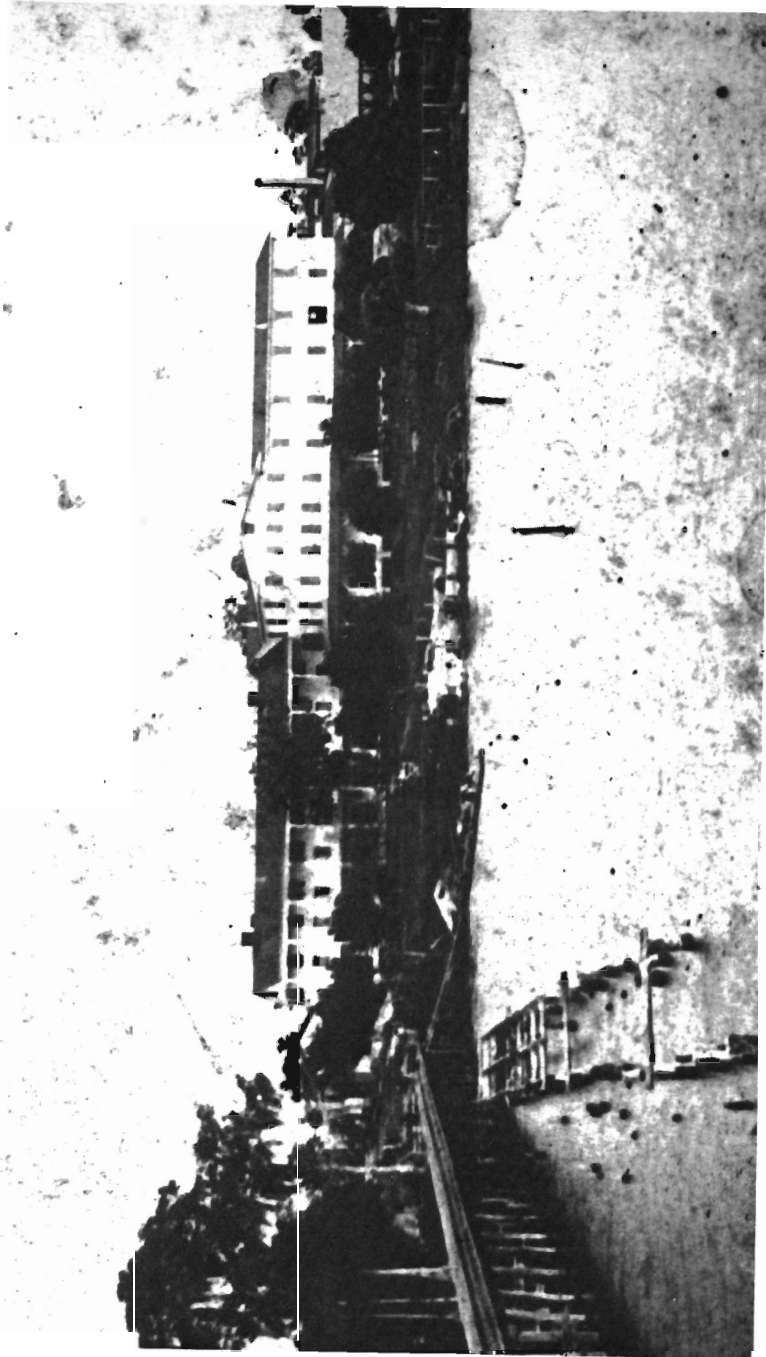
—Mary Birchard, 1867

While the northerner Mary Birchard was exaggerating somewhat, the emerging prosperity of Volusia County in the 1880s and 1890s was largely due to the infusion of northern capital. Agriculture remained the major occupation. Increasingly the orange, called by many the "golden fruit," replaced subsistence farming and county farmers began to purchase many items that they formerly produced at home. The demand for services encouraged prospective merchants, craftsmen, and similar individuals to settle in the rapidly developing towns. Prospects seemed sanguine indeed, and the rude county of 1866 had transformed itself into a mature, civilized society by 1900.

A number of towns began to expand in this period. Probably the most important settlement in 1876 was the antebellum town Enterprise. Jacob Brock settled on the site in the late fifties and began developing the incipient town until the war brought this work to an abrupt end. After the conflict the aging entrepreneur returned to Enterprise and maintained his association with the community until his death in 1877.

A post office was opened in 1866, Samuel F. Calhoun postmaster. In 1867 the Brock-owned town consisted of a dry goods store, bowling alley, blacksmith shop, courthouse and hotel.² Appropriately called the Brock House, the hotel was the most impressive building in the nascent town. It was situated on a slight rise near Lake Monroe and overlooked a mature orange grove. The building was 110 feet long, two-and-one-half stories high, and had an open porch facing the lake. One visitor claimed that fifty guests could be comfortably accommodated.³ At the edge of the lake Brock had constructed a wharf that extended into deep water.⁴ About a mile away was "Old Enterprise," originally settled by Cornelius Taylor, and subsequently purchased by Thomas Starke. In 1867 his heir, John W. Starke, was trying to dispose of the unimproved tract—which Mary Birchard felt was too beautiful to waste on "rattle snakes [*sic*], alligators & rebels."⁵

Well known as a resort community before the Civil War, Enterprise continued to attract visitors. The somewhat balmy climate induced a number of infirm people to stay there regularly during the winter months. Mary Birchard noted that the Brock House was filled with "invalids . . . who find this climate



Brock House in Enterprise in the 1870s or 1880s. From a stereo view owned by Douglas Hendriksen.

unrivaled [*sic*] for pulmonary disease.”⁸ The site was also highly regarded by sportsmen, who found the hunting and fishing in the surrounding area incomparable. One visiting wag humorously recorded that he had “shot the biggest alligator ever known in Florida; the stomach contained the remains of a steam launch, a lot of old railway iron, and a quantity of melted ice, proving that it existed during the glacial epoch.”⁹ Others came just to enjoy the picturesque scenery and spend the time in idle pleasures.

In 1867 Elijah Watson purchased one of Brock’s improved town lots for \$2,600. He opened a dry goods store on the site and did a brisk business with the 486 people living in the surrounding area.⁸ The enterprising merchant also operated a steam-powered cotton gin, grist mill, and saw mill. William S. Thayer and John Sauls opened a competing store in 1872.⁹ Enterprise was the county seat, too, and a courthouse and jail had been erected in the early 1870s.

In 1876 Brock sold his Enterprise property to Luther Caldwell.¹⁰ The latter renovated the Brock House—adding a 1,000 volume library and new furnishings. Located near the building was a “beautiful [orange] grove where the stately live oak, the graceful palm and balsamic pine afford a shelter and shade for croquet parties, and a resort for all.” Caldwell encouraged invalids, hunters, and those on holiday to reserve a room and enjoy “attractions nowhere else to be found.”¹¹ Caldwell was also involved in the formation of the Atlantic Coast. St. Johns and Indian River Railway Company—probably investing \$17,000 in the venture. Much to the delight of local residents, the company inaugurated regular service between Enterprise and Titusville in 1886. The next year citizens could travel to Jacksonville on the trains of the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway Company. Several steamboats made regular trips to Enterprise, too.

The side wheeler *Geo. M. Bird*, R. H. Stuart master, could carry cargo and also had a number of commodious staterooms. This vessel, the *Fred De Bary*, the *Rosa*, and the *Anita*, were later purchased by Frederick de Bary, who owned property near Lake Monroe, and began making regular trips between Jacksonville and Enterprise. The *Carrie*, Joe Smith master, *City of Sanford*, J. F. Rhoads master, and the *Arrow*, were other vessels regularly steaming up river to Enterprise.¹²

Caldwell had probably overextended himself and was forced to dispose of his Enterprise property. The local firm Bodine & McCarty bought the improved land in 1876 and immediately commenced “putting everything in order.” They also purchased an adjacent tract of ten acres—where they intended to erect another hotel. The new facility was to be three stories, with mansard roof, and was supposed to accommodate up to 200 people. The Enterprise partners also planned to subdivide this acreage into small town lots.¹³

On February 1, 1877, the twenty-five residents of Enterprise met and voted unanimously to incorporate. The first municipal elections were held at the same time. Citizens chose William Thayer to be the new mayor; William B. Watson, L. A. Donald, James D. Starke, John W. Price, Anthony Starke, George C. Brantly, and J. H. Bodine, composed the board of aldermen. Lewis R. Hernandez was the town marshal and also assessor of taxes and collector of revenue. And John Sauls was chosen by his fellow citizens to be the city clerk and treasurer.¹⁴ Nearly half the town held positions in city government, and citizens were probably relieved that they did not have any additional offices to fill.

In 1882 the rapidly maturing town included a drug store, three dry goods stores, a post office, a livery stable, three hotels, several boardinghouses, two

churches, and a newspaper—the *Enterprise Herald*.¹⁵ With some curiosity citizens began to frequent the town barbershop, operated by Leroy C. Chisholm, self-styled “tonorial artist.” Another new business was the jewelry store, owned by W. Branning. He offered local residents a “full line of solid gold and silver goods, rolled plate stock, of the latest style and best grades, . . . eye glasses and spectacles, bangle rings, and fish scale jewelry.” Many land transactions were handled by the town’s two real estate firms: Dickins & Starke and Newton & Bushnell.¹⁶

In 1886 citizens were shocked to learn that the board of aldermen had successfully impeached the mayor, J. E. Alexander, for alleged malfeasance. The board voted to hold a special election, and the popular John A. Bradley was placed on the ballot. The deposed Alexander opposed Bradley and appealed to voters for vindication. Even though the campaign was heated only sixty-three people voted. Bradley defeated the former incumbent in an election complicated by the presence of outside agitators from DeLand.¹⁷

Several churches competed for parishioners in the small town. Episcopalians organized the All Saints’ Mission and, assisted by Reverend Samuel B. Carpenter, erected a church near the lake in 1883. Members of the local Presbyterian church wanted to enhance the interior of their new church by installing finished wood pews. Member donations were supplemented by funds raised at a fair held in January 1886. Some three years later the pastor, S. V. McCorkle, proudly dedicated the new pews—which had been manufactured at DeLand by Carns & Pearson.¹⁸ Catholics also had a church at Enterprise, Father Swernbergh, pastor.¹⁹ The local Zion Baptist Church had already erected a building for worship, and in the spring of 1886, they were preparing to build a parsonage for their minister, Reverend J. F. Frazier.²⁰ Members of the Enterprise African Methodist Episcopal Church wanted their own church and regularly held fairs, covered dish suppers, and similar events to raise funds. The building was finally completed in the late 1880s and named in honor of St. Paul. The minister, Reverend A. A. Fleming, directed the congregation in the construction of a schoolhouse, probably completed in the spring of 1890.²¹

The Masons had a chapter at Enterprise in the 1880s.²² Some controversy ensued when community women tried to join the all-male Library Association. Conservative males objected to their participation alleging that females would “embrace the opportunity to flirt.” One wag suggested that males form a “Non-Flirting Association, even though it . . . [would be] as dry and quiet as the Great Sahara.”²³ In 1887 nine local men formed the Enterprise Base Ball Association and labored with others in the community to build a regulation diamond. The field was completed in July 1891, and the Enterprise team began challenging local clubs.²⁴ Their record is not known.

The people of DeLand wanted the county seat transferred to their rapidly developing town, and in February 1888, a spokesman for the community, Isaac A. Stewart, presented a petition to the county commissioners requesting that a special election on this issue be held. Stewart failed in his first effort to get the measure approved, but when he presented it a second time, a majority of the commission voted to hold a special election in March. The campaign generated a lot of “speech-making, newspaper broadsides and wire pulling,” Helen DeLand stated. The more populous DeLand easily out voted its nearest rival, Enterprise, and in 1889 a courthouse was erected on land donated by Henry A. DeLand.²⁵

Even before the unwanted election, Enterprise businessmen had become

alarmed over the deteriorating condition of the town. In an effort to reverse this process community leaders met in February 1887 and organized a local board of trade. Using funds contributed by members, the organization intended to drain unhealthy marshes, improve streets, and plant shrubbery.²⁶ After the disastrous 1888 election many citizens seemed resigned to the eventual stagnation of their town. A few railed against this attitude. The mercantile firm of Thayer & Sauls defiantly proclaimed: *STILL ALIVE!*²⁷ But such statements could not prevent the former bustling town from continuing to decline and assuming a position of virtual anonymity in the present century.

At the same time the nascent community DeLand was emerging into probably the most important town in the county. The town was promoted by the northern manufacturer Henry Addison DeLand. Born in Newark, New York, October 25, 1834, DeLand grew up in Fairport, attended the Macedon Academy and taught for a few years, and then entered the family business, DeLand Chemical Company. In 1872, the thirty-eight-year-old industrialist assumed control of the company, which at that time was the only domestic firm manufacturing baking soda and had annual sales exceeding \$500,000.²⁸

In the spring of 1876 DeLand decided to take a vacation and journeyed south, passing through Washington, Jacksonville, and finally up the majestic St. Johns River to Enterprise. Apparently a family relative, O. P. Terry, had selected a homestead site for DeLand about fifteen miles north of Enterprise. Accompanied by Terry, DeLand went to inspect his property, but found the intervening countryside so desolate that he was tempted to turn back. Only Terry’s exhortation of “better country beyond,” convinced him to persevere. At the future town site they stayed with Captain John Rich, who had just completed a rude log cabin. The young Helen DeLand commented that she “slept on the floor where I could look out at the stars and put my hand between the logs.”²⁹

DeLand returned in the fall, possibly to assist the incipient community. On December 6, 1876, he met with area settlers on his property and told them that he would donate land on which they could build a schoolhouse. He added that if the building were erected within 90 days he would give the settlers \$400. And DeLand promised another \$400 to any religious sect interested in constructing a church. The enthusiastic participants decided to honor their liberal benefactor by calling the new town DeLand.³⁰

The small band of hardy pioneers immediately began work on the schoolhouse. A fund raising committee solicited contributions. An ice cream social and similar events provided more money. And residents regularly contributed their labor. The simple frame structure was finally completed in March 1877, and the recently arrived Methodist Episcopal minister, Menzo S. Leete, dedicated it in a ceremony attended by some seventy residents.³¹ With the summer warmth descending upon them, the unwilling children—some accompanied by their proud parents—started classes in May, Miss Rowena Dean, teacher. Other early teachers were Lucy A. Fiddis, Addie Stedman, Charles Miller, and Mrs. Thomas Holbrooke. Blacks started their own school in the 1880’s, and increasing enrollment forced Negro leaders to build an addition before the end of the decade.³²

The first church services were held in the open near John Rich’s cabin. The young Frederick DeLand Leete, later a Methodist Episcopal bishop, fondly recalled these experiences: “We were seated on planks supported by blocks from logs, on three sides of a hollow square. . . . The occasion was not entirely seri-

ous. When one of the audience tried to get up, he found that the pitch held him firmly to the stump on which he had been sitting."³³ After the school was completed, common church services were held there, with the Reverend Leete officiating sometimes. When he was not present, Dr. Voorhis or J. Y. Parce read religious tracts to the congregation.³⁴

In October 1880 thirteen Deland Baptists met and organized the First Baptist Church. The following year Reverend A. L. Farr joined the congregation and helped to complete a church in 1882. In 1895 a more spacious building was erected. It cost about \$16,000 and had a seating capacity of 800. Blacks had their own church, Reverend J. N. Stokes, pastor.³⁵ After they received a donation of land, the Episcopal congregation decided to build a church. In 1883 when the Reverend Robert Wolseley arrived, enough money had been raised to begin work on the building. The structure was completed the next year and dedicated to their patron saint, Barnabas.³⁶ On August 1, 1880, Reverend J. T. Lewton founded a Methodist Episcopal Church at DeLand. The congregation was able to build a church costing \$2,500 in 1883 and pay for it on several successive Sundays.³⁷ And DeLand Presbyterians finally dedicated their church on September 4, 1887.³⁸

The first newspaper in the county, the *Volusia County Herald*, printed its original issue on May 10, 1877. The newspaper was owned by H. A. DeLand & Co., and edited by Reverend Leete and T. J. Southworth. The editors were hard pressed to find enough material to fill the regular weekly columns devoted to local events, but they still maintained that the paper was, "A Necessity in Every Family." The *Herald* lasted but a year and was succeeded by the more influential *Florida Agriculturist*, edited by Colonel C. Codrington, a Jamaican emigrant. In 1887 he sold the *Agriculturist* to E. O. Painter, who continued the printing for some years. In 1883 the Tennessee emigrant Sidney W. Johnston started the *Orange Ridge Echo*—subsequently printed by Christopher O. Codrington under the banner *DeLand Weekly News*.³⁹

In September 1877 a post office was opened in the town's only general store, owned by James B. Jordan. Dr. George W. Lancaster was the postmaster and also operated a separate drugstore with James Jordan. In 1878 the latter sold his mercantile establishment to the local residents John G. Kilkoff and George A. Dreka. Lancaster and Jordan subsequently dissolved their partnership, and the property was acquired by Moon and Harshey.⁴⁰

Michael B. Davis and McLaurine and Stockton operated dry goods stores which were probably opened in late 1881. The Wisconsin carpenter J. F. Allen opened a furniture store some time in 1881. Horses were quartered at the local livery stable, women purchased material or admired the latest fashions at the millinery shop, and prospective builders found finished lumber readily available at the two local steam-powered saw mills. The small town also boasted that it had a telephone line in operation between DeLand and nearby DeLand Landing. Another item of civic pride was daily mail service.⁴¹ A number of steamers still traveled up the St. Johns, stopping at DeLand Landing. In 1880 the Orange Ridge, DeLand and Atlantic Railroad Company was formed to build a feeder route from DeLand Landing to DeLand. The line was completed in 1884 and service initiated at that time. About this time the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway Company completed a route which intersected with the local line at DeLand Junction, located about four miles from the river. In 1887 this company built a new depot at DeLand, which provided residents with direct access to the railroad.⁴²

On March 11, 1882, nearly the entire town gathered at the community schoolhouse and, without a dissenting vote, agreed to incorporate. Municipal elections were held immediately thereafter. Cyrenius H. Wright, originally from Beaufort, South Carolina, was the unanimous choice for mayor. C. C. Codrington, J. J. Banta, George Dreka, H. C. McNeill, Vincent Kirk, and Joseph Y. Parce, also from Fairport, New York, composed the first board of aldermen. David M. Cooney ran unopposed for sheriff and this was also the case with Henry C. Strack, city clerk and treasurer. Voters also approved a proposed city seal. The official emblem was a circular disk in the center of which was an anchor intersecting with a cross and these two features were united by a heart. The inscription carried the year of incorporation and the city name.⁴³

DeLand began to expand rapidly in the 1880s. In 1883 F. S. Goodrich, the new mayor, opened a bank and helped to finance what most people considered a boom. New businesses opened with great regularity. In 1886 city businesses included six general stores, a grocery market, two drugstores, a millinery shop, the J. F. Allen owned furniture outlet, two bakeries, two restaurants, two stables, a jewelry store, owned by the town banker, F. S. Goodrich, two hardware stores, four saw mills, two barber shops, two fish markets, and a substantial wagon manufacturing concern. Residents also enjoyed the luxury of home delivered ice from the local factory of A. G. Kingsbury.⁴⁴ Visitors were comfortably accommodated by either the Parceland Hotel, a mammoth three-story frame structure, or the Jackson House, built at the corner of Boulevard and New York avenues.⁴⁵

In 1886 a holocaust consumed much of the town. The fire apparently started in a saloon owned by C. P. Wilcox and spread quickly to adjacent wood buildings. As the alarming cry of Fire! Fire! was shouted in every quarter, the members of the local fire department raced to bring their two small chemical engines and limited supply of water to bear on the raging flames. Property owners dampened blankets and placed them on outside surfaces. Some were unable to prevent red-hot sparks from igniting the dry wood and watched their investment go up in smoke. After the fire had burned itself out the saddened community inspected the damage and prepared to begin again. Fire insurance mitigated the loss somewhat. And most people were glad that the unsightly wood buildings were being replaced by attractive brick structures.⁴⁶

In the 1880s state Baptists decided to locate a prospective school for women at DeLand. The curriculum probably focused heavily on domestic skills, theology, and teacher training. Henry DeLand also started a school in the community. Named in honor of its benefactor, the DeLand Academy first started to instruct local scholars in the fall of 1883. Thirteen people enrolled for the first session and received instruction from Dr. John H. Griffith of Troy, New York. At first, classes were held in the lecture room of the recently completed Baptist church. DeLand recognized the need for more suitable quarters, and in 1884 erected a two-story frame building at the intersection of Boulevard and Minnesota avenues, which the trustees named in his honor. DeLand also offered \$15,000 and use of school buildings to Florida Baptists if they would locate a proposed college in DeLand. Church elders voted to accept this proposition, and the newly named DeLand college opened in October 1885, with thirty-three students. The new president was John F. Forbes, former professor in the state normal school at Brockport, New York. The curriculum included "classical, scientific and English courses, and a Normal Department to fit students for teaching." The wealthy industrialist, John B. Stetson, visited the area

in 1886, and encouraged by Henry DeLand donated \$1,000,000 to the school over the next few years. In 1889 the grateful trustees approved a resolution introduced by Henry DeLand that changed the name of the institution to the John B. Stetson University. When the central wing of a new complex was finished, school authorities decided to call it Elizabeth Hall, which delighted Mrs. Elizabeth Stetson. At the dedication ceremonies her appreciative husband surprised everyone by donating an additional \$50,000 to the college.⁴⁷ Additional buildings were erected and more students enrolled in the ensuing years.

Citizens regularly became embroiled in partisan politics. Republicans usually prevailed in municipal elections, but sometimes a popular local Democrat managed to win. In 1887 Republicans succeeded in sweeping all local offices but one. The relatively unimportant position of city clerk was won by the local insurance agent Silas B. Wright.⁴⁸ Some controversy developed when it appeared that the local magnates, Frederick Goodrich, John B. Stetson, and Henry DeLand, would not honor a \$15,000 bond negotiated in March 1888. These funds were to be used in the construction of a courthouse. The county commission alleged that the magnates were trying to renege on their pledge, and commissioners sharply criticized them in public meetings. Whatever their intention, the three men advanced the necessary funds and the courthouse was constructed in 1889.⁴⁹ In 1890 work started on a county jail, built of brick, which was erected by the local contractor John T. Clarke and the Pauly Jail Building Company of St. Louis.⁵⁰

White Republicans finally banded together in 1890 and formed a "club" to advance their interests. J. A. Hudson was the president, and the executive committee included Lance Adams, J. D. Ross, and L. H. Eldridge. At the same time black Republicans formed their own "club" and selected J. R. S. Robinson president.⁵¹

In June 1892 disaffected county farmers met at DeLand for the initial meeting of the People's Party of Volusia. Twenty-five people attended the meeting, and J. C. Keller was unanimously chosen permanent chairman. The meeting began in an orderly manner and several significant proposals were introduced for discussion. Candidates for state and county offices were also selected at the convention. As the June warmth descended on them, tempers began to flare and the meeting soon deteriorated to a "school boys' quarrel." In disgust party leaders finally decided to adjourn the convention.⁵² In July county Republicans held an orderly convention at DeLand and were able to choose a full slate of nominees. The Republican-controlled *Orange City Times* felt that Republican unity would ensure the demise of county Populists.⁵³ On a state level Populists achieved little success and the Democrats easily prevailed.⁵⁴

Prohibition forces formed several groups dedicated to eliminating the consumption of alcohol in the United States. At DeLand anti-liquor proponents established a chapter of the Woman's Christian Temperance Union in the 1880s. In March 1889 the state convention was held at DeLand, and the president of the international W.C.T.U. presided.⁵⁵ In the next decade the local organization worked vigorously in the community and maintained offices, including a reading room, near the center of town.⁵⁶

The St. Johns Lodge of Free and Accepted Masons, Silas B. Wright, Master, was active at DeLand in the early 1890s. A number of ex-Union soldiers established a chapter of the Grand Army of the Republic, C. A. Wood, commander.⁵⁷ In the 1890s B. E. Prevatt began printing the *Volusia County Record* at DeLand. A competitor alleged that Prevatt favored the Democrats, which must have re-

stricted circulation in the largely Republican community. At the same time Sidney W. Johnston began distributing the first issues of *The Supplement*, a weekly newspaper that concentrated on local happenings. A monthly religious newspaper, the *Florida Good News*, was also published at DeLand. And before the turn of the century students at John B. Stetson University were reporting campus events in the pages of the *Collegiate*.⁵⁸ Citizens still found time to relax, however, and enjoyed watching the local Clippers play other area baseball teams.⁵⁹

The bustling town offered a number of services and goods to citizens and nearby residents. The legal community was well represented and nine lawyers advertised in local newspapers. De Land also had several doctors: R. H. Gillen, J. P. Stoddard, Mrs. Vida L. Baerecke, T. Robinson (who practiced at Orange City, too), U. N. Mellette, George W. Lancaster, and D. Stuart Lyon. When the pain of a toothache became too extreme, citizens immediately made an appointment with the town dentist, Dr. Messimer.⁶⁰ Visitors were comfortably accommodated at the College Arms, a four-story wood structure built in 1894 by John B. Stetson. Winter guests could also stay at the Putnam House, owned by G. D. Gould. Those visitors desiring more ample quarters could obtain small apartments at the Carrollton.⁶¹ And, of course, a number of widows lodged boarders in their homes.

J. A. Erickson operated a notions shop or "racket store." A special treat for children was a trip to E. C. Jenkins' toy store. A number of grocery stores competed for local trade. Several merchants specialized in certain goods: W. D. Haynes retailed canned and bottled goods; J. A. Conrad & Co. handled table supplies; J. F. Bushnell sold fine flour, cereal products, and similar items; J. T. Vinzant had a large inventory of butter and cheeses; and E. Wendt's stock included fruits, candy, and cigars. The black entrepreneur G. W. Miller handled most of the black trade.⁶²

Another enterprising black, G. D. Taylor, operated a family-owned fish and oyster concern. And a black known only as Randall was listed as one of DeLand's restaurateurs in 1896. A few women enrolled in DeLand's business college, operated by Benjamin F. Beelar, an Indiana emigrant. H. A. Boley was the local optician. A. A. Wheeler, proprietor of the only laundry in town, must have done a thriving business, especially in the winter. And, finally, DeLand could even support a photographer, H. S. Cole.⁶³

A few people lived on the shores of Lake Winnemissett, situated about two miles east of DeLand. Many people from DeLand regularly journeyed there to enjoy a relaxing day spent in bathing, rowing, and admiring the scenery. After a peaceful day at the lake people dreaded returning to the hectic pace of city life.⁶⁴

About four miles southeast of DeLand was a small lake, around which James H. Prevatt made a settlement in 1858. His simple log cabin remained the only dwelling in the area for some time. He opened a store in 1876 and, at the same time, convinced postal officials to appoint him the new postmaster. The nascent community later added a pine log meeting house, which was used for church services and public school classes.⁶⁵

When Prevatt died in 1883 Henry DeLand bought the former's lake-front land, which he immediately began to develop. The settlement name was changed to Lake Helen, named after his daughter. Town limits were established, and streets were laid off and named. A saw mill was soon in operation, and in 1884 J. G. Sheldon opened a large mercantile establishment.⁶⁶ The same

year DeLand began to erect a commodious hotel, which he named after his son, Harlan DeLand. The building was a two-story frame structure, with second-story porch, and open cupola. There were also facilities for tennis, croquet, billiards, and boating. Winter visitors soon crowded into the hotel, some even sleeping on cots in the halls.⁶⁷

Nearby a small group of spiritualists had made a settlement at a site subsequently known as Cassadaga. George Colby was in charge of the group, and other settlers found them pleasant neighbors.⁶⁸ In 1886 Lake Helen Congregationalists established the First Congregational Church and worked to erect a church. The building was finally dedicated in April 1889. At first, local Baptists had to use the Congregational church, but in 1895 they were able to move into their own building. Lake Helen was also the state headquarters for the W.C.T.U. The organization had a large complex on 125 acres donated by the citizens of Lake Helen.⁶⁹

Another bustling town in this area was Orange City. In the winter of 1875 six businessmen from Wisconsin purchased about 6,000 acres around the future site of Orange City. The next spring the company agent, Dr. Seth French, settled on the property and arranged to have the tract divided into five-acre lots. As soon as the surveying was completed the company began to market the lots, asking \$100 for each parcel. A town site was marked off and everyone agreed to call the incipient community Orange City.⁷⁰ In February city founders convinced postal officials to open a facility in the community and a postmaster, James M. Smith, was appointed before the end of the month.⁷¹ And by July 1877 Orange City was able to host a festive Fourth of July celebration.⁷²

The new town expanded rapidly in the next few years. Prospective businessmen scrambled to erect improvements and display a crude, but enticing shingle. Hotels were constructed to accommodate the expected winter visitors, and anyone with an extra bedroom usually advertised it in his front window. Lawyers, doctors, teachers, and clergymen came to reside once they were convinced the town would not evaporate. As the dust began to settle people started to meet regularly to discuss important national issues and try to improve the community. Within seven years after the first settlement the town claimed a population of 500 and boasted some 100 homes already built. Soon after incorporation, the city council appropriated \$196 for the construction of a "lock-up." The town also had a newspaper, the *South Florida Times*, a church, a school, an anti-liquor organization, two public libraries, and an eight-piece brass band.⁷³ Steamers regularly stopped at Blue Springs Landing, and a feeder railroad line was built from this point to Orange City. The Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway Company also completed a route that intersected with the local Blue Springs and Orange City line about a mile west of Orange City.⁷⁴

The town also had the dubious distinction of having its own funeral parlor, D. Freeman, proprietor. He cheerfully advertised his service in the local newspaper, the *Orange City Times*, and blithely notified prospective customers that he had "coffins, burial cards and funeral supplies" in stock. "Embalming a specialty," Freeman stated in a casual manner. For those in failing health, Dr. George W. Walton offered his services. He graciously told people that he would make house calls and his rates were two dollars a visit in town before 10:00 P.M. Midnight to dawn visits cost the patient five dollars. Trips outside town would be charged depending on the distance. A "crayon artist," Mrs. A. W. Stoney, offered to do individual and group portraits—"orders solicited and satisfaction guaranteed." Burrill & Graham and C. W. Speer were town grocers.

W. C. Cannons offered to assist those interested in establishing an orange grove.⁷⁵

In 1888 the Florida Methodist Episcopal Church, South, established the St. John's River Conference College at Orange City. Money problems seemed to have plagued this institution from the beginning and enrollment continued to decline. In 1890 only two students were interested in enrolling in the fall session of the Ladies Literary Course.⁷⁶ This overly ambitious effort was probably terminated before the end of the year.

There was also a thriving Congregational church at Orange City. In 1883 there were twenty members and regular subscriptions had almost reached the point where the faithful could afford to hire a minister. They also wanted a church, and after Reverend S. V. McDuffee arrived as permanent pastor, they accelerated their efforts. The Ladies' Aid Society raised almost \$1,000. The Church Building Society contributed \$400, and individual parishioners donated the remainder. Certain members even donated the bell, organ, pulpit furniture, and clock, costing almost \$700. The building was finally completed in 1889 and dedicated in April in a happy spring ceremony.⁷⁷

There were two black churches in the community. In 1889 R. L. Spencer was the pastor of the local African Methodist Episcopal Church. He was succeeded in 1892 by J. Speight. The church had an extensive program which included Sunday "preaching," Sunday school, regular instructional classes, and a Thursday prayer meeting. Other blacks joined the Primitive Colored Baptist church, Reverend James Lieutenant, pastor.⁷⁸

The temperance movement had a large and enthusiastic following in the community. The state W.C.T.U. newspaper, *The Telephone*, was printed at Orange City, Mrs. E. A. Hill publisher. The local organization also had an office on the second floor of the Smith drugstore. Members regularly congregated there to discuss strategy and read the latest prohibition literature.⁷⁹

Residents still found time to enjoy themselves. In late 1886 a number of young men from the town and the neighboring community of Enterprise formed the Bachelor's Social Club. The men intended to hold a number of dances during the dreary winter months.⁸⁰ They may have helped to organize a February dance, at which about forty couples "stormed" the town and "reveled in the mazes of the terpsichorean art to the music of the DeLand orchestra. Lake Helen, Orange City, DeLand and Enterprise were represented."⁸¹

Other affairs were regularly held, too. In the spring of 1889 the Young Men's Reading Room was dedicated. Over 100 people attended the ceremony and enjoyed ice cream, strawberries, and music performed by a local quartet.⁸² The same week Miss Thursby gave a vocal recital at the Congregational church, piano accompaniment was provided by a Dr. Hughes—a recent graduate of the Royal Academy of Music.⁸³ In 1892 community women organized a literary and social club, Mrs. G. W. Taylor, president. The February meeting was to be devoted to a discussion of the American poet Henry Wadsworth Longfellow.⁸⁴ The next month Reverend J. Pitner was scheduled to deliver his lecture on the "Personal Recollections of a Yankee Cavalryman." Pitner had already presented the lecture in several northern cities and had received a favorable reception in St. Augustine the preceding year.⁸⁵ The sizeable northern population at Orange City must have looked forward with great anticipation to this particular talk. The Orange City Intellectual and Social Club met regularly, usually in member homes. Members at the April meeting listened to musical selections, including "The Last Rose of Summer" and "The Araby's Daughter."⁸⁶ Orange

City blacks followed with avid interest the fortunes of their team, dubbed The Red Bats. In one contest the local club drubbed a visiting team from New Smyrna, 42 to 26.⁸⁷ Orange City reached its zenith in the 1890s, but began to decline after that time.

Most settlers were interested in obtaining homestead land or purchasing unimproved tracts at cheap prices, so they usually avoided the more established communities. The older communities in the county naturally stagnated, as fluid capital was used to develop new sites. The small river front village of Volusia—once the largest town in the county—was particularly affected by this trend. In the early 1880s the village consisted of one real estate firm, one hotel, several boarding houses, three stores, T. P. Kelly, L. M. Richardson, and a Mr. Cohen, proprietors, and half-a-dozen log or frame dwellings.⁸⁸ Residents suffered a major setback when the Lake Eustis & St. Johns Railway Company decided to build a proposed depot on the west bank of the river at Astor. The company did build its line near Volusia, but residents still had to transport their produce to the nearest point on the tracks and wait for the train to arrive. Supplies had to be obtained at the depot in Astor, too.⁸⁹ The town continued to decline in the succeeding years, and only the most adamant settlers remained.

Several small communities were founded in western Volusia in the twenty years or so before the end of the century. In 1881 L. H. Eldridge laid out a prospective village on the shores of Lake Hester—about four miles east of Volusia. A post office was opened in May 1882, and Eldridge was appointed postmaster for Emporia, as the incipient commercial center grandiously referred to itself, in 1883. The area settled rapidly and within two years some 100 families were living in the immediate vicinity. Presbyterian faithful erected a church and hired a minister, Reverend Gilbert Gordon. The village also boasted a small public school, Miss Mary Jones, principal and sole teacher.⁹⁰

In 1882 William K. Lent, vice-president of the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway Company, founded the town of Seville along the railroad line near the border of the county. Already the community postmaster, Lent constructed a commodious brick residence for himself, established the Bank of Seville, and began the construction of a sumptuous hotel, in which he invested \$40,000. Northern investors were subsequently involved in the venture and with their capital the proprietor of Seville started to build a complex water works, costing \$60,000. Relations between Lent and his partners became increasingly acrimonious, and he finally withdrew from the company. In 1884 Lent married a New York socialite, but the marriage proved unsuccessful. Dependent over his failures Lent committed suicide at his Seville home—Shell Grove—in 1889.⁹¹ At the northern border, the village of Crescent City—now in Putnam County—was established in June 1876.⁹²

Another community established along the proposed route of the Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West railroad was Barberville, founded in 1882 by James D. Barber. In April 1884 a post office was opened and, as expected, Barber was appointed local postmaster. Two stores, one of which was probably operated by Barber, served the few residents who lived in the surrounding area.⁹³

At DeSoto Springs—also along the proposed railroad route—the town of DeLeon Springs was established around 1885. Residents of the small community—probably named in honor of the Spanish explorer, Juan Ponce de Leon—were able to persuade postal officials to open a facility in November 1885, and the local resident, Edwin F. Barney, obtained the position of community

postmaster.⁹⁴ Barney also owned the local hardware store, which featured “doors, sash blinds, paints, oil stores, & c., tinware, furniture, agricultural implements, etc.”⁹⁵ A local brick yard was operated by J. T. Clarke, who regularly fired several thousand bricks. The town, of course, had a “first class” hotel, the DeSoto House, which featured “forty large well-ventilated sleeping apartments, wide verandas and spacious grounds.” Temperance forces were evidently dormant at DeLeon Springs, as T. E. Savage regularly advertised his saloon, which dispensed “Irish, Scotch and Bourbon Whiskies, Pure Holland Gin, Apple and Peach Brandies, Wine and Beer on draft.”⁹⁶

The community was also interested in education, and just a few years after the town was founded, some thirty-seven students were receiving instruction from Mr. T. W. Bailey. The schoolhouse was also used for religious meetings and common church services were held there.⁹⁷ The town had its own baseball team, too, and in the fall of 1889 residents were preparing to build a local park.⁹⁸

A few miles away other northerners were involved in the development of property around Lake Dias. In early 1888 Lewis Billings and Dr. J. W. Brandt, both of whom were from New York, purchased a tract on the south shore of the lake, with the intention of erecting improvements. W. A. Cook tried to develop the land around a nearby lake, known then as Lake Clifton. Although a local newspaper maintained that there was a “genuine boom in the Lake Dias region,” the area failed to attract many settlers, and so development remained extremely tentative.⁹⁹

“Still They Come,” marveled an unknown correspondent for a Jacksonville newspaper in the spring of 1876, as he described the ever increasingly flow of immigrants into East Florida and particularly along the Halifax River.¹⁰⁰ Waterfront tracts were avidly sought by pioneers, who hoped to profit from tourists and oranges. Settlers also believed that the tremendous expansion would force land values up and, consequently, enable them to earn a handsome profit, should they decide to sell their acreage. So, hoping to find wealth in the sandy soil of eastern Volusia County a number of people founded communities, complete with homes, businesses, churches, and schools.

Near the north end of the county a few people settled on a portion of the old Ormond lands. Residents began to call the unimproved settlement Harwood—named after the important orange grower Norman B. Harwood, who was the local postmaster for several years.¹⁰¹ Residents probably travelled to nearby Ormond to obtain supplies, recent newspapers, and chat with friends.

In 1868 the Swedish emigrants, John Andrew Bostrom and his brother Charles, settled near the east bank of the Halifax River on a tract that later became part of Ormond Beach. On the opposite bank Samuel P. Wemple was living on a homestead tract that local residents called Palmetto. Wemple was also the postmaster at Palmetto and nearby residents regularly visited his simple palmetto-thatched home to collect their mail.¹⁰²

The Bostroms, meanwhile, erected a frame dwelling in 1869. Whenever possible lumber found on the beach was used, but when this was not available the Bostroms were forced to buy costly finished lumber in Jacksonville. Shingles were manufactured on the property, and the bricks for the chimney were obtained from nearby sugarcane plantations. On completion the brothers decided to call the place the Bostrom House, and joined by their sister Mary, they were soon renting rooms to passing tourists and prospective settlers.¹⁰³ Joseph D. Price, later a part owner of the Ormond Hotel, stayed there in 1876

and stated that it had been "fitted up very handsome[ly]." Price also mentioned that John's new wife was not well liked by the other members of the family, and when he first brought her to the family homestead, "Mary wanted to drive her out of the house."¹⁰⁴ The Bostroms did manage to overcome this discord and continued to develop their land. A wharf was constructed and the sand levelled somewhat to form a primitive trail between their property and the beach. And, of course, they began planting orange trees.¹⁰⁵

In the fall of 1873 Phillip Corbin, an executive of the Corbin Lock Company of New Britain, Connecticut, sent three of his employees—Daniel Wilson, George Millard and Lucius Summers—to Florida to select an attractive location for a proposed colony of company workers. Assisted by the Bostroms, company officials bought the Henry Yonge grant of 810 acres lying along the Halifax River and some contiguous government land from Rodolphus Swift. The property was divided into twelve equal parcels, with each lot containing some river-front acreage and land in back for an orange grove. A lottery was held to determine the distribution of the parcels. The twelve people who participated in the drawing were George Millard, Daniel Wilson, Lucius Summers, Phillip Corbin, James E. Francis, E. M. Penfield, A. A. Hull, Chester Penfield, Frank Penfield, George Brigham, William G. McNary, and the Dix sisters. The settlers agreed to call their colony New Britain.¹⁰⁶

In the spring of 1874 McNary, E. M. Penfield, and Daniel Wilson returned as the first settlers and began erecting improvements. Wilson built the first house, which was probably little more than a palmetto-thatched log cabin, and designated it the Colony House. The building was a frequent lodging place for newly arrived colonists and, too, it served as the first post office. In 1877 Wilson was succeeded as postmaster by another colonist Ambrose A. Hull.¹⁰⁷

The new town developed rapidly. In 1877 the population was over 100. Some thirty-four homes had already been built. A general store (James E. Francis proprietor), a blacksmith shop, and boat shop were among the new businesses. Mail was being delivered twice a week, via Enterprise and New Smyrna, and a new route would soon provide quicker service. In 1875 Reverend P. T. Pierson, a Methodist Episcopal minister, regularly visited New Britain and held church services in private homes. A schoolhouse was built in 1879, and the first somewhat dubious students started attending classes at that time. The building was also probably used as a common church and a community meetinghouse.¹⁰⁸

Initially transportation was a problem. Shallow-draft schooners made infrequent trips from Jacksonville. In 1876 the steam boat *Euphemia* began making regular trips between Jacksonville and Lake Crescent. At the latter point goods were transferred to wagons and transported overland to New Britain. The next year the *Hampton* and the *Flora* started making daily runs to Crescent City. The people of New Britain, though, were more interested in the proposed operation of the steam boat *Ina*, which the owner—Captain Briggs—planned to operate on the Halifax River. In the winter of 1885–1886 the St. Johns and Halifax River Railway Company completed a line from Palatka to Tomoka City, which was only a few miles west of New Britain.¹⁰⁹

On April 22, 1880 some twenty residents of New Britain gathered at Dix Hall to discuss possible incorporation. An incorporation resolution was introduced and unanimously approved. After some discussion the participants agreed to rename the community Ormond. Mysteriously the group decided to adopt the banana tree as the emblem for the town seal. At this meeting Daniel

Wilson was the unanimous choice for mayor, and L. P. Summers, J. P. Belden, J. E. Francis, Charles McNary, and J. A. Bostrom were elected aldermen, apparently without opposition.¹¹⁰

The local merchant Watson & Barker probably bought the Dix sisters' building, commonly known as the Dix Hall, and opened a general store on the bottom floor. The second floor hall was still used for public meetings. L. M. Murray was the proprietor of a "Mammoth General Merchandise Store," which was housed in a large two-story frame building. On the first floor patrons could inspect a variety of groceries; the top floor was devoted to dry goods. The firm even had a dressmaker on its staff. Ormond also had a tailoring business, millinery store, and shoemaker shop. The resident physician was Dr. L. L. Pinkerton, who had his office at the post office on the corner of Palmetto Street and Granada Avenue. He was also the owner of the Ormond Drug Store, which advertised "Drugs, Chemicals, Toilet Articles, [and] Fancy Notions."¹¹¹ In 1887 a bridge was built to connect mainland Ormond with the nearby peninsular strip.¹¹²

After the wooden bridge was complete John Anderson and his partner, Joseph D. Price, persuaded the New York investor Stephen V. White to finance the construction of a hotel on the peninsula. Using plans submitted by a local fourteen-year-old, George Penfield, work was commenced in late 1887. The building, called by the owners the Ormond Hotel, opened for business on January 1, 1888. It had seventy-five rooms, and Price and Anderson charged guests four dollars a day, almost double the usual rate.¹¹³ In 1890 the railroad magnate Henry Flagler acquired the property and added an eighteen-hole golf course, one of the first in the United States.¹¹⁴ In 1898 an unknown correspondent for *The Tatler of Society in Florida*, a magazine published in East Florida, lyrically penned the following remarks about the site.

Its location is picturesque and beautiful, tall trees afford ample shade, yet permit the sun to enter every room, broad verandas are the delight of every visitor. The drives and walks and bicycle paths are varied and beautiful, winding through tropical woods by the fascinating river or over the smooth, hard beach with the roar of the breakers making music. For the hunter there are guides and guns, for the fisher man rods and lines, links and sticks for the golfers, wheels for the cyclists, and an excellent livery for those who would drive or ride, there are boats and launches galore, places of interest to visit, and a hospitality that sits with gladness.¹¹⁵

Another hostelry on the beach was the Coquina Hotel, which advertised "Good Rooms, Excellent Table, Surf Bathing" and most importantly "Reasonable Rates." On the mainland the Granada was operated by W. L. Hammond.¹¹⁶

About two miles west of Ormond was the older settlement Tomoka City. In 1877 a post office was opened there and John Wiley was appointed postmaster. The facility was closed, however, the next year. In 1885 a public school was opened and J. B. Case of New Jersey taught local students for a few years, receiving forty dollars a month. After the disastrous freezes of 1894–1895, the settlement was abandoned and the people moved to nearby communities.¹¹⁷

In 1877 William S. Fleming—who owned 4,000 acres on the Halifax River between Ormond and the recently settled site of Daytona—began to erect a simple frame dwelling on a portion of his river-front property. After it was completed Fleming decided to call the site Holly Hill. Other settlers began to use this name and when a post office was opened in October officials agreed to call the new facility Holly Hill. A general store and a school were subsequently opened. In the early 1880s the slowly developing village had a population of

about fifty—which did not significantly increase in the next several years.¹¹⁸ In 1901 the town decided to incorporate and some thirty-one people approved the incorporation proposal. Vet Cave was easily elected mayor. The new city council included I. M. Mabbett, A. H. Carter (two-year term), W. A. McBride, Lotan Cave, and A. E. Mason (one-year term). Citizens selected Charles S. Harris to enforce the laws, and W. H. Poston and G. Harris were elected city clerk and treasurer respectively.¹¹⁹

In April 1870 the Ohio entrepreneur, Matthias Day, Jr., met Dr. John Milton Hawks in Jacksonville. Born in Mansfield, Ohio, May 11, 1824, Day had graduated from Oberlin College and worked for many years as a newspaper publisher. After the Civil War, Day joined the firm of Blymer, Day and Company of Mansfield and was also associated with Blymer, Norton and Company of Cincinnati. About this time he invented an arc lamp and sold his patent to a group of New York investors. Day journeyed to Florida, hoping to find an attractive site that he could develop.¹²⁰

Accompanied by Hawks, Day inspected the country along the Halifax River and decided to acquire land there. In March 1871 Day purchased 2,144 1/2 acres from Christina S. Relf—Samuel H. Williams' only child—paying her \$8,000 for this property. The land was to be paid for by 1873 and the mortgage was secured by liens on Day's northern property.¹²¹ A few years earlier Alfred E. Johnson and his partner, James Sawyer, bought 1,870 acres of the nearby Heriot tract from Oliver Swift of Massachusetts. On this land Johnson built a log cabin, commonly considered the first house in Daytona.¹²² In January 1872 Benjamin G. Heriot of Charleston sold 934 acres of this same tract to P. W. Burr for \$4,600.¹²³ All of this land was subsequently included in the town of Daytona.

Day immediately began to develop his property. James H. Fowler was hired to survey the site, divide the tract into town lots, and establish streets. R. Hodgman was subsequently hired to complete this work. The first sales were started before the end of March.¹²⁴ The busy entrepreneur imported fourteen men from Mansfield, including his cousin Calvin Day. Two of these men, Webber and Skelton, had a steam-powered saw mill in operation in early April.¹²⁵ Using these laborers, Day built a two-story frame structure, which he originally intended to call the Colony House, as he expected that new settlers would stay there while they were building homes. However, when an expected order of shingles from Jacksonville did not arrive and Day was forced to improvise with palmetto fronds, he dubbed the recently completed building Palmetto House.¹²⁶ On the first floor there was a parlor, office, and large hall, used as a dining room; the second floor was divided into eight rooms. One visitor claimed that it had originally cost \$3,000 to build, but at the time of his visit in 1874 was worth only \$800.¹²⁷

When Day was unable to make payments on the land, Christina Relf filed suit in Volusia County circuit court in the spring of 1872. Day did not contest the petition and the court naturally returned a verdict favorable to Relf. In the final judgment Day was ordered to pay Relf \$8,000, plus interest and court costs. Day apparently never satisfied this debt, and the plaintiff seemed unwilling to attach his foreign assets. In March 1872 Christina Relf, along with her father, and W. Howell Robinson sold the land to P. W. Burr and Charles E. Jackson for \$7,000.¹²⁸

Despite Day's withdrawal the small community continued to grow. A post office had been opened in May 1871, and in 1873, Mrs. Elizabeth Maley was ap-

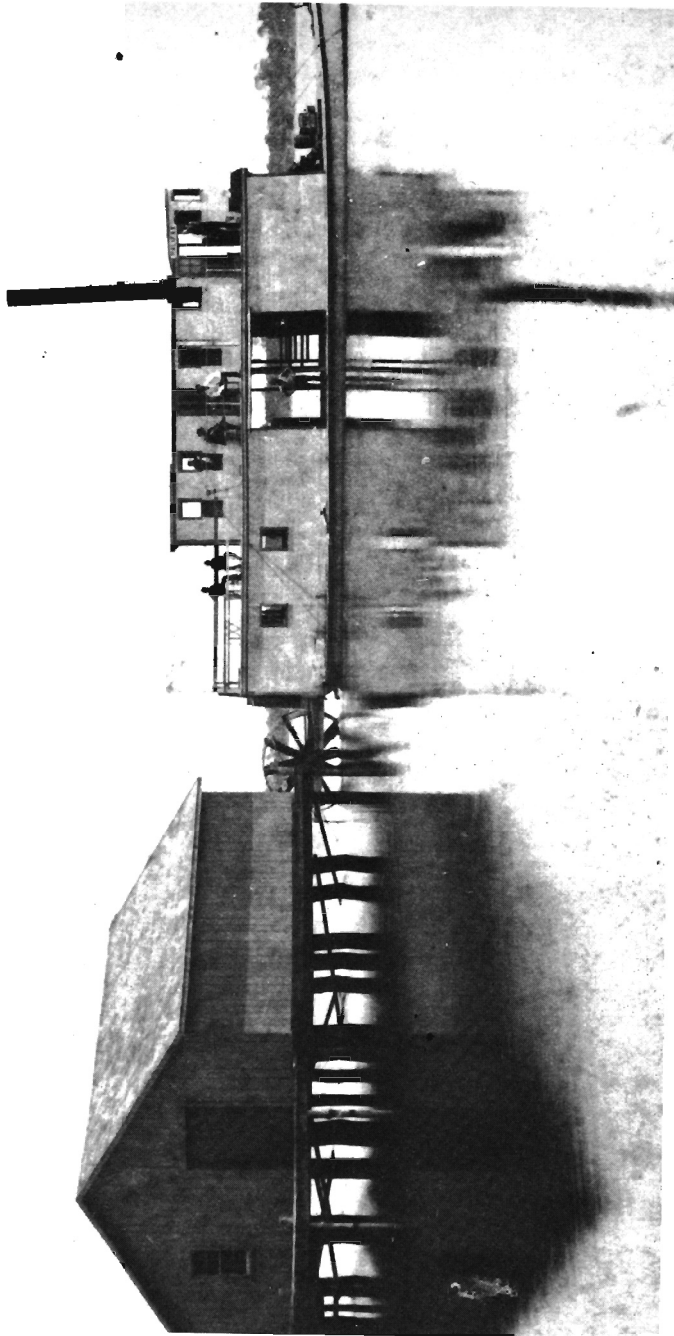
pointed and served until 1881. About twenty houses had been built before the end of 1873, and William Jackson had started a mercantile enterprise, lodged in a log cabin on the Palmetto House tract.¹²⁹ Residents used the building for town meetings and, also, held parties there. "Often the men of the town would roll back the barrels and merchandise and hold social gatherings there," Mrs. William Jackson later recalled. Sometimes the large tallow candles used to light the place would drip on favorite party dresses, "but [that] didn't spoil our fun," Mrs. Jackson said.¹³⁰

On July 26, 1876 local residents met at the Jackson store to discuss possible incorporation. The participants first voted on the question of incorporation, and the vote was overwhelmingly in favor of the resolution. Only two electors cast ballots against incorporation. Apparently without opposition residents decided to call their new town Daytona—obviously to honor the town founder Matthias Day, Jr. The town seal featured a palmetto tree standing near the edge of a river—probably the Halifax—and the town name and date of incorporation inscribed underneath. The Methodist Episcopal minister, L. D. Huston, was elected mayor. The city council members were William Jackson, John C. Maley, Menefie Huston, Dr. G. M. Wallace, D. D. Rogers, James Wilkerson, and G. R. Puckett. The old pioneer James D. Bryan was chosen town marshal.¹³¹

Also in 1876 a public schoolhouse was built, financed by private subscriptions. A board of trustees was organized, and George Puckett, George E. Coleman, John C. Maley, John W. Smith, and D. D. Rogers were the first appointees. Mrs. W. T. Pierson taught the first year, Lawrence Thompson the second, and Mrs. George Puckett the third. The building was also used at first for common or "union" church meetings. In 1880 Miss L. A. Cross established the Daytona Institute for young women to study fauna and flora. Town meetings, in the 1880s, were usually held on the second floor of Jackson's new store, completed in 1880.¹³²

In the 1870s several vessels were operating on the Halifax River and stopping regularly at Daytona. The steam boat *Ina*, operated by a Captain Briggs, collected cargo and passengers all along the river and may have operated in conjunction with a larger ocean steamer. Built in 1876 at Port Orange by W. H. Bennett, *Rover Brother*—a shallow-draft schooner—probably made at least occasional trips to Daytona. In early 1876 the schooners *Ida Smith* and *Kate Thomas* were making regular trips between Jacksonville and New Smyrna, Port Orange, and Daytona. A few years later the schooner *Ilo*, partially owned by the Halifax resident Charles Fozzard, was soliciting business from all the river towns.¹³³ In 1883 a Mr. Fulford purchased the steamer *Greenwich* in New York, and the vessel began a regular schedule of trips between Daytona and Jacksonville. Another steamer, the *Athlete*, also ran on this route until the railroad eliminated business.¹³⁴

In the 1880s the St. Johns and Halifax Railway Company, organized by Utey White, began construction on a narrow gauge logging road from Palatka into the surrounding forests. When residents of Daytona learned that the road was being built near their town they urged Mr. White to extend the line to their community. With funds provided by the New York investor, S. V. White, additional track was laid, and in 1886, the steam engine "Bulow" puffed into Daytona. In 1888 Henry Flagler acquired the railroad and laid standard gauge track along the entire line. In 1888 local residents formed a company to build a bridge from the mainland to the peninsula. Called the Daytona or Central bridge, it was completed about 1889. Settlement on the peninsula was rapid af-



The steam boat *Halifax* on the Halifax River in the 1870s. From a stereo view owned by Douglas Hendriksen.

ter this time, and D. D. Rogers decided to call the incipient settlement Seabreeze—named after a resort on Delaware Bay.¹³⁵

In February 1883 F. A. Mann distributed the first issues of the *Halifax Journal*. The newspaper was subsequently acquired by J. M. Jolley, who continued to support the Republicans. Also in the 1880s the *East Coast Messenger* was started at Daytona by J. M. Osbourne.¹³⁶ There were several churches at Daytona in the 1880s. Episcopalians erected a church in 1883 and christened it St. Mary. The local Congregationalists finally finished their edifice in late 1891. The Methodists had a regular pastor, J. Pastorfield, and probably held services at the schoolhouse. There was also a separate black Methodist congregation. Other blacks joined the Missionary Baptists, who erected a church in the early 1890s.¹³⁷

There were a variety of businesses at Daytona in the 1880s. On Orange Island John Manley owned the Halifax River Mills, which produced rough and “dressed” building lumber, shingles, and boat lumber. G. Thompson & Co. and W. B. O’Connell sold groceries, dry goods, and notions. Nash & Loudon sold these items and also manufactured boots and shoes. F. M. Snow had a grocery store and bakery. William Jackson, of course, had a large “general grocery” store. Hicks & Thompson were the proprietors of a candy manufacturing concern. J. H. Niver owned the local furniture business. Clark & Stover operated a variety or “notions” shop. The Atwood brothers dispensed patent medicines and probably their own remedies at their drugstore. The town also had a homeopath, Dr. J. E. Garrison—whose offices were located “two doors north of co-operative store.” Dr. George Wallace was a more orthodox practitioner of medicine. His office was located on Beach Street. And at this time Daytona even had a dentist, Dr. E. E. Dayton.¹³⁸

A Mrs. Hoeg purchased the Palmetto House, and in the spring of 1876 renovated it and also added four additional rooms. W. H. Trainer operated the Ocean View House and promised guests a menu that included “fish, oysters, vegetables, venison, other game and delicacies in their season.” He also had all the equipment necessary for “boating, sailing, fishing and bathing.” His rates were two dollars a day for “transient boarders” and eight, ten and twelve dollars for “weekly boarders.” In 1891 he embarked on an ambitious expansion and intended to add thirty-four rooms. Competing establishments were the Daytona House, W. H. Richardson proprietor, and the Stanley House, operated by Gatch & Williamson. On the peninsula, the Sea Side Inn was opened before the turn of the century.¹³⁹

About two miles south of Daytona the East Florida Orange Lands Company purchased an unknown number of acres from the Swift brothers around 1878. D. O. Balcom of Boston was employed by the firm to supervise the enterprise. In August (1878) a post office was opened at the still unimproved settlement—known as Blake—and Thomas Rogers was appointed local postmaster. In the late 1880s a school was opened, but the incipient town was still without other facilities or businesses.¹⁴⁰

A few miles south of Blake was Port Orange, where a number of freedmen had attempted to start a colony in 1865. The venture failed, however, and most of the blacks moved to other parts of the state. John Milton Hawks suggested the name Port Orange and the trustees of the Florida Land and Lumber Company adopted it as the name for their prospective settlement in 1867. A post office was opened in April 1867, and the militant radical John Hawks was chosen as the local postmaster.¹⁴¹ The need for a community meetinghouse

prompted citizens to meet and discuss this issue in October 1874. The participants formed the Port Orange Hall Society—organized for the purpose of building a town hall. Members were to subscribe needed funds. The enterprise, however, failed to progress beyond the organizational stage and in the late 1880s the building still had not been erected.¹⁴² A hostelry, the Port Orange Hotel—E. A. McDaniels proprietor—was one of the few businesses in the somewhat stagnating settlement.¹⁴³ Prospects improved little in succeeding years, and many prospective settlers went to Daytona or New Smyrna.

On the east bank of the Halifax about a mile north of the inlet B. C. Pacetti owned 210 acres that supposedly had been granted by the Spanish government to Antonio Ponce. While he was working on the lighthouse in the early 1880s General Orville Babcock bought part of the Ponce tract, intending to erect a resort there. He suggested that the still unfounded community be called Ponce Park, and when a post office was opened there in March 1884, this name was used. Unfortunately Babcock died before he could erect any improvements. Still some people decided to settle there. James Hardy opened a mercantile establishment; Mrs. T. H. Ferguson started a restaurant; Pacetti rented rooms in his home; and E. G. Rogers erected a hotel, supposedly costing \$2,000. Completed in 1890, the LaPonce Hotel had twenty-six rooms and a landscaped courtyard in the center.¹⁴⁴ Work on the nearby lighthouse was started in 1882 and completed in 1887. The substantial brick structure and adjacent buildings cost \$170,000 to construct.¹⁴⁵

When hostilities ended in 1865 the Sheldons left their temporary home near the still unfounded community of Glencoe and returned to New Smyrna. Their hotel of forty rooms had been destroyed in a Union attack on New Smyrna in 1863, and without capital, the family was forced to improvise in building a new residence. Scrap lumber was occasionally found on the beach. Pine trees were chopped down, roughly hewn, and laboriously positioned to form the foundation and side walls. The first roof was built of palmetto fronds. "This, though a poor looking building, was a joy to the poor, war-stricken Sheldons," Martha Sheldon later recalled. It remained the only building for some time, and at one point, the postmaster, the editor of the local newspaper (the *Florida Star*), and the collector of customs all had offices there. The Sheldons also operated a boardinghouse in a portion of the building.¹⁴⁶

Walter N. Hart visited the Sheldon settlement in early 1867 and derisively commented, "New Smyrna don't [*sic*] deserve a name. It consists of 3 houses. It has communication with the outside world via Enterprise only, and gets a mail once a week."¹⁴⁷ John Milton Hawks stayed there in 1870 and found that little had changed, although the community agitator, E. K. Lowd, had opened a boardinghouse on land acquired in 1866 from Ora Carpenter.¹⁴⁸ In 1874 the somewhat tentative settlement still had only seven families.¹⁴⁹

The small settlement started to grow in the 1880s, although when Mrs. John Detwiler first arrived in late 1883 she found only seven houses on the west bank of the Halifax and three on the peninsula.¹⁵⁰ The Blue Springs, Orange City and Atlantic Railroad finished laying the tracks on a line from Blue Spring to New Smyrna in March 1887.¹⁵¹ The construction of a railroad helped to persuade many dubious people to settle in New Smyrna and open businesses.

About 1887 P. N. Bryan opened a large mercantile establishment. His stock included "Notions, Boots, Shoes, Hats, Capes, and Clothing, Groceries, Hardware, Hay Grain, Feed, etc." The somewhat ubiquitous E. K. Lowd and his partner, Westall, were the proprietors of a competing store.¹⁵² G. R. Pitzer was the

owner of the New Smyrna Cash Store, which featured "Staple and Fancy Groceries, Confectionary and Stationary [*sic*]." His newspaper advertisement included the following dubious pledge: "Quick Sales and Small Profit is My Motto."¹⁵³ J. L. Rush had a store near the recently completed railroad station. Reverend J. A. Ball, a Congregationalist minister, was another New Smyrna merchant. McCrory, Strange & Co. rented space for their mercantile enterprise in the Wallace Fox building at the railroad station. R. J. Skipper had a well stocked drugstore, which also included the only soda water stand in town. Mrs. S. A. Roberts maintained a millinery shop in her home, as did Mrs. E. K. Lowd. H. Swartengreen was the proprietor of a thriving meat market and had just installed equipment to manufacture bread, pies, and cakes. The firm of J. H. King & J. P. Ragsdale were the town blacksmiths. P. N. Bryan had a steam-powered saw mill on a small island just east of town. He may have sold finished lumber to W. H. Fulford, who operated a local lumberyard.¹⁵⁴ E. K. Lowd, Jr., owned a competing business, which was located near the railroad station. W. C. C. Branning was the proprietor of a jewelry and watchmaking concern. And the Enterprise "tonsorial artist," Leroy Chisholm, moved his barbershop to New Smyrna in the late 1880s.¹⁵⁵ In the midst of all this activity citizens met in 1888 and voted to incorporate. P. N. Bryan was the unanimous choice for mayor.¹⁵⁶

There were several boardinghouses in the community. Mrs. Prevatt lodged guests in the Hill House. Mrs. Summerall managed the Atwater House and furnished "the good things of life to a hungry public." Mrs. Mier achieved so much success that she was forced to sell her home and purchase a larger one, so that she could accommodate more people.¹⁵⁷ E. K. Lowd built a two-story hotel in the 1870s which was known as the Ocean House. The property was subsequently acquired by Frank Sams. He added a three-story addition to the original building. The new structure featured a large dining room and a parlor, with fireplace. There was also a second story piazza. The hotel faced the river and "from the upper windows and piazza there is a delightful view of land and water, and the outlook is nearly if not quite to the ocean."¹⁵⁸

New Smyrna had three physicians: D. Cowie, B. F. Fox, and A. J. Goodwin, who lived on the peninsula. A. B. Hawley was the local dentist. J. C. Brown and S. G. Bayless helped citizens with their legal problems. In 1891 the bank at Daytona opened a branch in New Smyrna. The *New Smyrna Breeze* printed its first issue, May 5, 1887. The paper was financed by Mr. Eldridge of Pierson and managed by John Detwiler. In 1892 I. M. Auld started the *New Smyrna Inlet*, which was established to promote New Smyrna as a deep water port.¹⁵⁹

Christ Congregational church was formed by Reverend C. G. Selleck. After his death the Reverend J. A. Ball became the new minister for a short time. S. C. Kennedy succeeded him in the late 1880s. In the summer of 1889 the congregation was preparing to erect a church on a lot on Washington Avenue. The Methodists had separate congregations for northern and southern members. The northern congregation was apparently more industrious and erected a church at a "bee" in late 1890. Catholics did not have their own church, but a Father O'Boyle regularly held services in the community. Episcopalians also received regular visits from itinerant ministers.¹⁶⁰

In the 1880s a Mr. Austin from Orange City settled on a tract on the peninsula that he called Coronado—named after Coronado, California, where he had previously lived. A hotel was erected, about forty cottages were built, and a boardwalk was even installed. Residents from DeLand, Lake Helen, Enterprise, and even Orlando regularly vacationed there. After the New Smyrna Bridge

and Investment Company completed a bridge between the mainland and the peninsula in 1892 the place became even more popular.¹⁶¹

At the edge of New Smyrna was the small settlement of Hawk's Park—now known as Edgewater. In 1889 the town claimed to have 125 residents and 41 homes. A school was in operation, Mrs. S. N. P. Alden, teacher. The second floor of the schoolhouse was used for public meetings and religious services. The community also had a thriving literary society, organized in 1884, and the group held weekly meetings, featuring public lectures, debates, and theatrical productions.¹⁶²

Oak Hill was a few miles farther south. In the 1880s it had a post office, two stores, and two hotels. The Atlantic House, built by H. J. Faulkner, and the Sea View Cottage were the two local hostleries, although the latter may have failed by 1887.¹⁶³ Sand Point—subsequently called Titusville—was put in Brevard County when county boundaries were adjusted in 1880.

The fabled profits in orange cultivation was the inducement that brought many of the new immigrants to Florida. As Joseph D. Price told his family in 1876: "I tell them there is [*sic*] millions in oranges."¹⁶⁴ Unlike some other staple crops, oranges could be cultivated profitably on a few acres. Also small groves could be started, tended, and harvested by a single farmer. And finally the prospective farmer only needed the trees to begin cultivation. John Milton Hawks stated that he had heard stories of groves producing a net profit of \$2,000 per acre per year.¹⁶⁵ Whether this was apocryphal or not many people felt that fortunes could be made in raising the golden fruit.

Those with limited capital usually tried to obtain a homestead claim, which provided them with 80 or 160 acres of land after paying a nominal filing fee. Government land could be purchased at the minimum price of \$1.25 per acre; state land could also be obtained at this figure.¹⁶⁶ Increasingly, though, arable land was in private hands and sold for considerably more than the minimum price. At Ormond, hammock land—which one contemporary considered the best for raising oranges—was selling at between \$40 and \$100 per acre. Further south at Blake the East Florida Orange Lands Company was marketing its property at \$100 per acre. In 1890 arable land in Volusia County was selling at an average price of \$96.96 per acre (the average for the state at this time was \$19.80 per acre).¹⁶⁷

Wealthy immigrants could obtain producing groves. In the western part of the county the DeLand Land Agency, J. Y. Parce, agent, was trying to sell several groves. Near DeLand a 12-acre tract, 5 acres of which had been cleared and planted with two hundred fifty budded trees, was being sold for \$5,000. Nearby a smaller tract, which included a "new one story dwelling of 4 rooms, lathed but not plastered" and a well, was being marketed at \$2,600. At Enterprise the real estate firm, Rogers & Newton, advertised a 90-acre tract, featuring three hundred orange trees, at an asking price of \$10,000.¹⁶⁸

Oranges could be grown from seeds, but farmers usually tried to obtain seedlings or budded trees. At Jacksonville Coloney & Talbott maintained a large nursery and sold a variety of plants. Sweet seedlings, five-six years old, from the Dummett grove sold at a premium price of \$2.00. Less expensive varieties were also available.¹⁶⁹ Besides the trees farmers had to make additional expenditures for fertilizer, tools, and other equipment. Thus it is not surprising that the average encumbrance in 1890 on an improved acre in Volusia County was \$19.90, compared with the rest of the state which averaged \$4.78 per acre.¹⁷⁰

Florida farmers produced several different varieties of oranges, the most popular of which was probably the sweet orange family. Among the sweet oranges, the Bell and *Du Roi* commanded premium prices in northern markets.¹⁷¹ In 1881 they sold in New York for \$4.50 a box; other varieties retailed at between \$3.00 and \$4.00 a box. Oranges were also marketed in Chicago and Boston, where the prices were somewhat higher than in New York.¹⁷²

In 1880 county farmers cultivated 344 acres of orange trees and harvested a crop of 4,496 bushels. The crop was subsequently marketed for \$22,053.¹⁷³ At this time most groves were less than 10 acres in size and had less than one hundred trees. A typical producer was Leonard Odum. His grove was 4 acres in size, had 50 trees, and produced a crop of 100 bushels in 1880. Odum sold the oranges for \$260. He also produced 200 bushels of Indian corn, one bale of cotton, and one hogshead of sugar. Odum owned twenty-four milch cows, and fourteen head of cattle roamed freely on his property. The enterprising farmer marketed his Indian corn, cotton, sugar, and beef, making a gross profit of \$665.¹⁷⁴ Henry Clifton, Sr. sold his orange crop in 1880 for \$450, but earned \$1,620 from sales of beef and other cash crops.¹⁷⁵ In the years after 1880 county farmers continued to plant a variety of crops, but increasingly they concentrated their attention on orange production.

In the late 1880s the French immigrant Frederick de Bary was the major producer in the county. In the spring of 1871 he bought a tract of 458.84 acres—which was located on the northwest side of Lake Monroe—from Oliver C. Arnett. Six years later he mortgaged this property and obtained a \$20,000 loan from a relative—Arthur P. Ferdinand de Bary of Rheims, France. The wealthy Florida entrepreneur used this money to purchase the Starke orange grove at Old Enterprise for \$15,000. Bary also bought another tract at Old Enterprise for William G. Fargo—part owner of the famous express company—who reputedly intended to build a resort hotel there. Bary started to improve the Old Enterprise tract and, at the same time, he began planting trees on the rest of his property. By the mid-1880s he had 80 acres under cultivation and harvested a crop in 1885 that sold for \$10,000. His net profit was considerably less, though, as his labor cost that year amounted to \$7,500. Still, the Bary grove was valued at \$150,000.¹⁷⁶

J. H. Bodine had a smaller grove of 25 acres, which was valued at \$30,000. N. D. Harwood also had a 25-acre grove, which was supposedly worth \$50,000. Even the small 8-acre grove of Ora Carpenter had a cash value of \$10,000. Bodine and Carpenter both produced crops that yielded a net profit in 1885 of about \$1,000.¹⁷⁷ When such profits were possible it is not surprising that Volusia farmers continually increased their cultivation of oranges. And by 1890 there were nearly 5,000 acres of orange groves in the county. The crop that year sold for \$567,709.80—which was slightly behind Orange County.¹⁷⁸

Orange growers had their problems though. Diseases regularly destroyed a number of trees. Among the most troublesome diseases were "die-back" and "foot-rot." A more serious problem was "rusting." Although the affected oranges were not destroyed, the rust color of the skin adversely influenced market prices. At first the condition was thought to be caused by some unknown disease, but in the 1880s scientists had determined that it was caused by insects and were trying to develop a chemical that would destroy the attacking bugs.¹⁷⁹ The somewhat unpredictable weather was the greatest danger that orange growers faced. If temperatures remained low for too long, growers faced the prospect that the crop or even the entire grove would be destroyed. In the win-

ter of 1894–1895 a hard freeze gripped the state and destroyed many groves. Only 150,000 boxes were produced that year, compared with 2,500,000 boxes the previous growing season. “The blow was staggering,” Helen DeLand later recalled.¹⁰⁰

Orange growers also had to deal with marketing problems. Farmers usually sold their oranges to a commission merchant or consigned them to a northern firm. Neither method satisfied orange growers and they bitterly criticized buyers, alleging a number of dishonest practices. Proposed solutions usually involved control of the marketing process. In 1883 Austin S. Mann suggested that farmers form their own company to market oranges. The venture apparently never progressed beyond the initial stage. In 1889 certain northern entrepreneurs tried to establish an orange cooperative in Florida. Several major producers from Florida journeyed to New York in early August and listened to E. L. Goodsell. The prominent New York commission merchant wanted to form a company, financed by Florida fruit growers, that would market state oranges in northern cities. Perhaps the initial payment of \$100,000 deterred prospective participants from investing in the venture. The same year, though, the Florida Orange Growers’ Union was organized. The company failed, however, when small producers became dissatisfied with some of its practices and refused to participate.¹⁰¹ Although the Florida Farmers Alliance, organized in 1887, tried to win converts among citrus growers, their programs had little appeal for fruit producers and few of them joined the Alliance.¹⁰²

Volusia was also gaining a national reputation as a resort area. In the first years after the Civil War Enterprise was a favorite place for invalids, sportsmen, and tourists. Later other cities in western Volusia became well known and were increasingly filled with northern visitors. Coastal Volusia also received national attention. One prescient observer noted that the peninsula was destined “to be classed first among the watering places in Florida.” He added that the woefully inadequate transportation facilities were hindering the development of the entire area.¹⁰³ This deficit was rapidly being remedied, however, and by the end of the century the Flagler East Florida railway network had opened Halifax River communities to northern tourists and an incipient boom.

An increasingly large amount of capital was being invested in manufacturing concerns. In 1880 there were only three firms in Volusia whose gross production exceeded \$500. These were all saw mills, with combined capital of \$15,000. In 1880 their gross sales totaled \$20,944.¹⁰⁴ Ten years later there were twenty-six manufacturing establishments in Volusia County. Total capital invested was \$121,550, and gross sales amounted to \$190,516.¹⁰⁵

As the century came to a close prosperity was evident everywhere in Volusia County. Towns were booming. Agriculture was thriving. Schools were educating the young. Churches provided an appropriate forum for people to reinforce moral values. Libraries, literary societies, and many artistic performances gave the county a much needed veneer of culture. Volusia was finally growing up and would rapidly mature in the next century.

Chapter XII

The Birthplace of Speed

While James Hathaway was vacationing at the Ormond Hotel in the winter of 1902, he attended several bicycle races staged along the beach. Hathaway noticed that the bicycle tires left very little impression on the firm sand of the beach and suspected that this surface could also be used by the recently invented automobile. The wealthy Massachusetts manufacturer had brought his Stanley Steamer with him and decided to test his theory by driving the car along the beach. The automobile not only survived the test, but Hathaway discovered that a higher speed was possible on the beach than on existing roads. He talked with John Anderson and Joseph Price, managers of the Flagler owned Ormond Hotel, about the prospect of conducting a race on the nearby beach. Realizing that racing could bring the hotel national publicity, Anderson and Price agreed to finance a race and one was scheduled for the following March. W. J. Morgan, a New York newspaper writer, was hired to promote the event, and Hathaway attracted additional attention by publishing copiously in national magazines and newspapers.¹

Meanwhile Ransom E. Olds and Alexander Winston, pioneer automobile manufacturers, decided to hold their own race on the beach in April. The Olds vehicle, dubbed the “Pirate,” consisted of a cantilevered frame, supporting a single-cylinder engine, and was equipped with a sulky-type seat for the driver. The “Bullet” was a much heavier automobile and had a broad, squat hood, high chassis, and a single, narrow seat for the driver. As curious residents watched, the automobiles gathered maximum speed before passing a marker at the beginning of the one-mile course. Both vehicles were timed over the mile at fifty-seven miles per hour. Excited journalists rushed to the Ormond telegraph office and relayed their stories to dailies in the midwest and northeast. America had discovered the Ormond Beach speedway.²

In March 1903 the previously scheduled races were held at a site that promoters called the Ormond-Daytona Beach race course. Alexander Winston returned and drove a new “Bullet” over the “flying mile” course at a speed slightly better than the previous April, but still nowhere near the existing world record. He realized that at least part of his problem was due to lack of traction. Winston decided to notch his tires, and this change may have enabled him to establish a new world record in the kilometer event, completing this distance in thirty-two and four-fifths seconds. Driving an Oldsmobile “Pirate,” H. T. Thomas covered the one-kilometer distance in forty-one and four-fifths seconds—a record for automobiles weighing less than 1,000 pounds. Oscar Hedstrom, a motorcycle enthusiast, established a world record over the “flying

The steady growth of the county came to an end about 1926. Conditions steadily worsened, and the county suffered from the disastrous effects of what soon became a national depression, which were not ameliorated until about 1935. In the postwar period growth in the Halifax area has again assumed boom proportions. Development has now reached the point that it is threatening to endanger the total environment and Volusians will soon have to strike the difficult balance between prosperity and the quality of life.

The history of Volusia reveals the enormity of the task of developing a completely undeveloped area and the effort to leave the mark of community on a wilderness. The tenuous hold of even those few settlements that were successfully launched and their vulnerability to natural and man-made forces of destruction stands out in the panorama of the county's experience. Until a certain level of development was reached—in terms of numbers of people, variety of economic endeavors, establishment of towns, and the entire infrastructure of society—in the late nineteenth century, this vulnerability captured Volusia's experience. Even now there is a continuing dependence on a relatively ephemeral base of economic well-being for Volusia as a resort community and retirement haven.

Appendix I

Territorial Representatives of Mosquito County

- 1826 Joseph Woodruff
- 1828 Joseph S. Sanchez
- 1829 Joseph S. Sanchez and Francis J. Fatio
- 1831 Simeon Sanchez and William H. Allen
- 1832 Joseph S. Sanchez and Charles Robiou
- 1833 Joseph L. Smith and James Riz
- 1834 Joseph L. Smith and James Riz
- 1835 Charles Downing
- 1836 Charles Downing
- 1837 Charles Downing
- 1838 William H. Brockenbrough
- 1839 Senate—John Warren; Isaiah Hart; and William J. Mills
House of Representatives—William Williams
- 1840 Senate—John Warren; Isaiah Hart; and William J. Mills
House of Representatives—William H. Williams
- 1841 Senate—James G. Cooper; John C. Pelot; and Joseph S. Sanchez
House of Representatives—William H. Williams
- 1842 Senate—James G. Cooper; John C. Pelot; and William F. English
House of Representatives—William H. Williams
- 1843 Senate—Gabriel Priest; John C. Pelot; James G. Cooper; and Isaiah Hart
House of Representatives—Cornelius Taylor
- 1844 Senate—Gabriel Priest; John C. Pelot; James G. Cooper; and Isaiah Hart
House of Representatives—Thomas T. Russell
- 1845 Senate—Jesse Carter; Isaiah Hart; Benjamin Putnam; and Jacob Summerlin
House of Representatives—Alexander S. Spear¹

1. "Chronological List of the Members of the Florida Legislature, 1822-1873," Subject File Drawer: Legislature, State Library of Florida, Robert A. Gray Building, Tallahassee, Florida.

Appendix II

County Officials of Mosquito County, 1825–1845

County Judge

George Anderson
David R. Dunham
William Fail
Douglas Dummett

Justice of the Peace

Horatio S. Dexter
James Darley
Joseph S. Sanchez
Henry Wellman
Thomas Addison
Daniel J. Griswold
Joseph Hunter
Thomas H. Dummett
Samuel Taylor
Henry C. Demasters
George Anderson
Douglas Dummett
John J. Bulow
William Depeyster
Samuel Hill Williams
John Simpson

Francis Pellicer

William H. Williams

Sheriff

Thomas Addison
James Pellicer
William Williams
John C. Houston

Notary Public

Emanuel Ormond
James Darley
William H. Williams
Thomas H. Dummett
Joseph Hunter
William Depeyster
David R. Dunham
Henry D. Crane

County Clerk

James Ormond
Joseph Hunter
Henry D. Crane

Surveyor

James Pellicer
Henry D. Crane
Samuel Taylor

Auctioneer

William H. Williams
William Depeyster
Joseph Hunter
Samuel Hill Williams
Samuel Taylor

Coroner

John Ives
John D. Sheldon

Appraisers of the Union Bank

Thomas H. Dummett
John J. Bulow
George Anderson
Douglas Dummett
David R. Dunham¹

1. St. Augustine *East Florida Herald*, April 16, 1825; "List of Territorial Appointments," February 1827, *Territorial Papers of the United States, Florida*, Vols. 22–26, ed. Clarence Carter (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956–1962), 23:780 (hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers*); "Acting Governor McCarty to the President of the Legislative Council," January 28, 1828, *Territorial Papers*, 23:1020; "Appointments to Office by the Governor," February 17, 1833, *Territorial Papers*, 24:816; "Nominations to Territorial Offices," February 12, 1837, *Territorial Papers*, 25:374; *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, Fla.: Public Printer, 1842), p. 9; *A Journal of the Proceedings of the House of Representatives of the Territory of Florida* (Tallahassee, Fla.: J. Knowles, 1843), p. 25; St. Augustine *The News*, November 25, 1843; T. T. Long, Secretary, Florida State Senate, to Governor Richard K. Call, February 20, 1843, Records of the Florida Secretary of State, P68–01, on file at the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, Florida.

Appendix III

List of Heads of Household Mosquito County, 1830

James Darley
Duncan McRae
George Anderson
Robert Heriot
Joseph Hunter
Douglas Dummett
Mrs. J[ames] Ormond
John J. Bulow

Joseph Woodruff
William de Peyster
Daniel Darley
O[rlando] L. Rees
Charles W. Simons
Alfred F. Dunham
Francis Lee¹

1. U.S. Census Office, 5th Census, 1830, [*Census Reports*.] Original Census Schedules, Population, Florida, Mosquito County, National Archives Microfilm Publication M19, roll 15, p. 2.

Appendix IV

List of Registered Voters, Volusia County, ca. 1867

Oliver Arnett
Daniel Bennett
James Bennett
Gale Branam
Jackson Brooke
James Cannon
John Chandler
Jackson Clipper
Lewis Connor
Samuel Cook
James Daugherty
George Dial
Amos Emanuel
Asa Emanuel
Daniel Jenkins
Peter Lee
Redding Long
William Long
William R. Long
Reuben Marsh
Mablan Morgan
Thomas Nesbitt
Paul Alverson
Joseph Baker
Robert Baker
Jeremiah Blackwelder
Rufus Brooks
Ramon Canova
Daniel Clifton
Alford Davis
Isaac Davis
Henry Edmond
John Glenn
Charney Garrett
John Gruver
Nathan Hall
Archibald Hogans
William Hall
David Heyers

John Jonas
Robert Jones
Thomas Kelly
Henry Langrew
William Minshaw
Willoughby Minshaw
James Martin
Philmon Bryan
Levi Mothershed
John Moore
John Molleson
John Maley
Davis Nelson
Spencer Osborn
Bartole Pacetti
William Roberts
John Richardson
Christopher Sutton
Charles Smith
Henry Tolliver
Edward Thompson
Thomas Vass
Richard Vass
James Vass
Henry Wickware
David Wickware
Alexander Watson
Jefferson Curley
Douglass Dummett
Charles King
Edmond Lowd
Washington Pierce
Rudolphus Sheldon
Francis Harper
William Rawlenson
John Smith
William Smith
Richard Smith
Thomas Sterling

Hugh Yedder
Erastus Causey
Jacob Fussel
Berrian Fussel
Alfred Harris
Ebenezer Harris
Stephen Harris
Bryant Osteen
John Osteen
Charles Prevatt
John Paget
Benjamin Rawlins
William Rawlins
Wylie Roan
Peter Robinson
Henry Russel
Elijah Sapp
George Sauls
Jesse Self
William Shepard
Anthony Starke
Ruel B. Yeston
James Vanzant
Darby Watkins
William Watson
Primus White
Henry Wiggins
William Yates
Charles Adams
Calvin Macullar
Jospel Rimer
Robert Roberts
Benjamin Richardson
Joseph Richards
Lewis Richardson
James Roberts
James Sauls
James Sandlin
Henry Smith
Abram Simmons

Owen Turner
Joseph Underhill
Albert Adams
Richard Black
Joseph Bryan
Jesse Brown
Albert Cummings
George Frazier
James Fowler
Jack Floyd
Joseph Green
Alonzo Hoyt
John Hawks
Caleb Williams
Samuel Williams
William Williams
Josiah Yates
Mills Burnham
Hartley Crooker
David Carlile
Lawrence Carlile
James Carlile
Albert Faber
John Harrison
John Joyner
John B. Reddit
John J. Reddit
Henry Wilson
Tobias Blackwelder
Daniel Clifton, Jr.
John Clifton
John A. Clifton
Francis Clifton
Henry Clifton
John Coffin
Marion Goodman
Fisher Griffin
James Hull
James Hall¹

1. Miscellaneous Letters Received, Florida, Alabama, and Georgia, ca. 1867, Department of Florida, Records of Third Military District, Records of Geographical Departments, Divisions, and Military (Reconstruction) Districts, 1821-1890, U.S. Army Continental Commands, 1821-1890, Record Group 393, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. This list was originally arranged by precincts shown only by number and without any specific geographical correlation. Voters' names have been reproduced as they originally appeared on the list of registered voters, but the superfluous precinct designations have been omitted.

Appendix V

Volusia County Officials, 1868-1887

Sheriff

Andrew H. Alexander
William E. Bucknor
C. C. Hart
William A. Cone
B. F. Brooker
Uriah M. Bennett
G. P. Healy

Superintendent of Public Instruction

John M. Hawks
William F. Bucknor
Champ H. Spencer
C. G. Selleck
George J. Alden
James H. Chandler
James Wilkinson
A. Crenshaw
L. D. Huston
B. F. Fox

County Surveyor

James H. Fowler
J. W. Douglas
Samuel B. Wilson
James D. Broome

County Treasurer

Elijah Watson
James H. Chandler
C. C. Hart
William Thayer
James D. Starke

Assessor of Taxes

John H. Molleson
William F. Bucknor
Leonard W. Odum
John Anderson
Benjamin Richardson
Shepard J. Hughes

W. B. O'Connell
Silas B. Wright

Collector of Revenue

Lewis M. Richardson
William F. Bucknor
W. L. Norwood
J. B. Jordan
Philmon Bryan
T. F. Prudy
W. H. Clifton

County Commission

Edward A. McDaniel
J. D. Mitchell
Andrew A. Alexander
William B. Watson
Ora Carpenter
James H. Lambs
Alexander Bell
Alexander H. Stockton
William S. Abbot
James Rideout
B. W. Browne
Charles E. Jackson
William Allen
J. M. Ellwood
A. H. Stockton
P. E. Wager
Seth French
M. N. Voorhis
Henry J. Fauldner
George J. Scammell
William A. Cook
T. L. Rogers
Dennis Freeman
Hardee Bryan
L. D. Huston
James G. Poppell
John Price
Joseph Underhill

William Thayer
B. F. Fox
I. J. Wells
William C. Braddock
C. P. Wilcox
William Jackson
G. D. Bryan
J. C. Seiser

Justice of the Peace

David Carlile
Thomas J. Vass
Thomas P. Kelly
Benjamin Richardson
H. G. Lungren
Laban Wills
John W. Harvey
Uriah M. Bennett
Alfred Holstein
Edgar N. Waldron
William Stone
Henry T. Titus
A. E. Freeman
C. C. Sutton
D. T. Goodwin
B. E. Prevatt
A. B. Hawley
Henry Clifton
Charles Smith
L. D. Huston
Thomas Jenkins
J. H. King
Simon W. Cozart
E. D. F. Barnett
Augustus D. Ligon
George J. Alden
Thomas A. Rosser
William Butler
Charles L. Fox
R. M. Dillard
Samuel J. Cook
Charles McNary
W. L. Norwood
James H. Prevatt
M. L. Baker
Philmon Bryan
Charles H. Nauman
Joseph Y. Parce
G. L. Healy
L. M. Richardson
C. C. Sutton
Francis Packwood
Edward Summerlin

Joseph Lamon
Samuel Lowrie
William H. Bridge
Charles B. Bucknor
William B. Butler
Cyrenius H. Wright
Horace A. Tanner
Joe P. Wilson
P. C. Baker

County Judge

D. F. Morrison
George Lesman
Garland Hale
Malcolm L. Baker
H. P. Burrill
William W. Hulst
George W. Dickson
S. D. Mitchell
John Price
James B. Taylor
Eugene Marcile
George F. Calvert
James Finegan
Silas B. Wright
T. N. Jenkins
Charles Jackson
Cyrenius Wright
T. N. Jenkins
J. S. Dennis
James H. Prevatt
Charles B. Bucknor
Frederick John LaPenotiere
James C. Chandler

Clerk of Circuit Court

Milton H. Daniels
William Thayer
John W. Dickins
Henry J. Faulkner

Auctioneer

L. H. Eldridge
Herman Davis

Notary Public

Henry T. Titus

Commissioner of Pilotage

Simmons Bennett
George W. Wallace
Stephan Snow¹

1. Oaths of Office, Volusia County, 1845-1902, Records of the Florida Secretary of State, P68-01, on file at the Division of Archives, History and Records Management, Tallahassee, Florida.

NOTES TO CHAPTER V

1. Wesley Everett Rich, *The History of the United States Post Office to the Year 1829*, Harvard Economic Studies, Volume 27 (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1924), pp. 84-85.
2. *Message from the President of the United States to the Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the First Session of the Twenty-Ninth Congress*, Senate Documents, 29th Cong., 1st sess., no. 1, p. 862.
3. St. Augustine *Florida Herald*, April 11, 1833, August 28, 1834; "Post Route Advertisement," July 10, 1834, *Territorial Papers of the United States, Florida*, Vols. 22-26, ed. Clarence Carter (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1956-1962), 25:38 (hereafter cited as *Territorial Papers*); Department of State, *A Register of Officers and Agents, Civil, Military and Naval, in the Service of the United States, on the 30th of September, 1833* (Washington: Francis Preston Blair, 1833), p. 260.
4. Record of Appointment of Postmasters [Florida], Volume 10, page 177, Record of Appointment of Postmasters, 1832-1930, Records of the Post Office Department, Record Group 28, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Record of Appointments of Postmasters).
5. Record of Appointments of Postmasters, Volume 17, page 138.
6. *Ibid.*
7. *Ibid.*; Record of Appointments of Postmasters, Volume 26, page 302.
8. Record of Appointments of Postmasters, Volume 17, page 138; Record of Appointments of Postmasters, Volume 26, page 302.
9. Record of Appointments of Postmasters, Volume 17, page 138.
10. Record of Appointments of Postmasters, Volume 26, page 302; Map of the Seat of War in Florida, Compiled by Order of Bvt. Brig. Genl. Z[achery] Taylor, Principally from the Surveys & Reconnaissances of the Officers of the U.S. Army, by Capt. John Mackay and Lieut. [Jacob] F. Blake, ca. 1840?, "Headquarters Map File," Cartographic Records, Records of the Office of the Chief of Engineers, Record Group 77, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Mackay and Blake Map).
11. Mail Routes, Florida, 1855-1859, List of Star Route Mail Contractors, 1833-1877, Records of the Post Office Department, Record Group 28, National Archives Building, Washington, D.C. (hereafter cited as Star Route Mail Contractors).
12. *Ibid.*
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Index

- Abbot, William S., 136
Adams, Albert, 135
Adams, Charles, 135
Adams, Lance, 92
Addison, John, 15, 30
Addison, Thomas, 31, 132
Adia plantation, 9, 10
Alamana, 119
Alden, George, 82, 83, 136, 137
Alden, Mrs. S. N. P., 106
Alexander, Andrew H., 76, 136
Alexander, J. E., 88
Allen, Benjamin F., 64
Allen, J. F., 90
Allen, William, 136
Allen, William H., 131
Almy, Commander John J., 69
Alverson, Paul, 134
Anderson, John, 99, 109, 115
Anderson, John G., 19
Anderson, George, 26, 33
Anderson, George (son), 33
Anderson, James, 33, 41
Anderson, John, 136
Anderson, Sarah Petty, 33
Andrews, Christopher, 33
Anita, 87
Ariel, 119
Armed Occupation Act, 51, 54
"Armed Occupationists," 54
Arnett, Oliver C., 107, 134
Arnold, Henry J., 52
Arrow, 87
Astor, 96
Athlete, 101
Atlantic House, 106
Atwater House, 105
Audubon, John James, 31, 56
Auld, I. M., 105
Aurelia, 70
Avenger, 70
Avilés, Pedro Menéndez de, 3
Ayers, Charlotte, 61
- Babcock, General Orville, 104
Baerecke, Doctor Vida L., 93
Baggett, W. A., 122
Bailey, T. W., 97
Baker, Andrew, 60
Baker, James M., 62
Baker, Joseph, 134
Baker, M. L., 137
Baker, P. C., 137
Baker, Robert, 134
Balcom, D. O., 103
Ball, Reverend J. A., 105
Ballough, Charles A., 121, 122
Bankhead, Colonel James, 48
Bank of Darien (Georgia), 36
Bank of the State (South Carolina), 36
Banta, J. J., 91
Barber, James D., 96
Barberville, 96
Barnard, Edward F., 54
- Barnett, E. D. F., 137
Barney, Edwin F., 96, 97
Barnwell, Major John G., 67
Bartram, John, 10
Bartram, William, 10, 11
Bary, Arthur P. Ferdinand de, 107
Bary, Frederick de, 87, 107
Bayless, S. G., 105
Beauregard, 71
Beelar, Benjamin F., 93
Belden, J. P., 99
Bell, Alexander, 136
Bella Vista plantation, 10, 15
Bennett, Daniel, 134
Bennett, Daniel L., 77
Bennett, James, 134
Bennett, Simeon, 60
Bennett, Simmons, 137
Bennett, Uriah M., 135, 137
Bennett, W. H., 101
Bennett hotel, 117
Benton, Thomas Hart, 50
Beresford, 83
Beresford plantation, 11
Bethel, John O., 52, 59
Bethune, Mary McLeod, 121
Bethune-Cookman College, 121
Betts, Samuel, 16, 54
Bible, Lee, 111
"Big T," 115
Billings, Lewis, 97
"Billy Bowlegs War," 62
Birchard, Mary, 76, 85
Bird, Captain Pickens B., 67
Bisset, Robert, 9, 10, 15
"Blackhawk," 111
Black, Richard, 135
Blackwelder, Jeremiah, 134
Blackwelder, Tobias, 135
Blake, 103, 106
Blake, Lieutenant Jacob E., 26
"Bliebird," 111
Blue Springs, 52, 83
Blue Springs, Orange City and Atlantic Railroad, 104
Bodine, J. H., 87, 106
Bodine & McCarty, 87
Boley, H. A., 93
Bostrom, Charles, 97, 98
Bostrom, John Andrew, 97, 98, 99
Bostrom, Mary, 97, 98
Bostrom House, 97
Bowles, Robert L., 119
Bowles, William Augustus, 13
Braddock, William C., 137
Bradley, John A., 88
Brahm, John Gerard William de, 5, 6
Branam, Gale, 134
Brandt, Doctor J. W., 97
Branning, W. C. C., 88, 105
Breakers-by-the-Sea, 115
Brevard County, 62
Bridge, William H., 137
Briggsville, 119
- Brigham, George, 98
Brisbane, Colonel Abbot H., 44
Brockenbrough, William H., 131
Brock House, 61, 85, 87
Brock, Jacob, 23, 29, 59, 61, 66, 68, 79, 83, 85, 87
Brooke, Jackson, 134
Brooker, B. F., 136
Brooks, Rufus, 134
Broome, Governor James E., 58, 59, 63
Broome, James D., 136
Brown, Lieutenant Harvey, 25
Brown, J. C., 105
Brown, Jesse, 135
Brown, Thomas, 62
Browne, B. W., 136
Bryan, G. D., 137
Bryan, Hardee, 136
Bryan, James D., 101
Bryan, Philemon N., 78, 104, 105, 134, 136, 137
Bryan, Joseph, 135
Bryan, Joseph D., 78
Bryant, Francis S., 123
Bucknor, Charles B., 79, 137
Bucknor, William E., 79, 82, 136
Budd, Lieutenant T. A., 68
"Bullet," 109
"Bulow," 101
Bulow, Charles W., 30
Bulow, John Joachim, 26, 30, 31, 32, 37, 41, 43, 132, 133
Bulowville, 30, 31, 41, 42, 43, 44, 47, 54
Bunch, John, 16, 31
Bureau of Refugees, Freedmen, and Abandoned Lands, 73, 80, 81, 82
Burgess, R. W., 60
Burgman, C. F., 122
Burnham, Mills, 135
Burr, P. W., 100
Burrill, H. P., 137
Burrill & Graham, 94
Butler, William, 137
Butler, William B., 137
- Cabbage Bluff, 83
Cabell, Edward Carrington, 58, 59
Cacaroy, 1
Caldwell, Luther, 87
Calhoun, Samuel F., 85
Call, Richard Keith, 41, 46, 50, 52
Campbell, Sir Malcolm, 111, 113
Campbell, Ulm, 23
Campbell, William, 61
Camp Defiance, 51
Cannon, James, 134
Cannons, W. C., 95
Canova, Ramon, 134
Caparaca, 1
Carlile, David, 136, 137
Carlile, David N., 59
Carlile, James, 135
Carlile, Lawrence, 135
Carns & Pearson, 88

188 Index

- Carolina*, 53
Carolina (Confederate steamer), 68
 Carpenter, Ora, 23, 52, 104, 106, 136
 Carpenter, Reverend Samuel B., 88
Carrie, 87
 Carrollton, 93
 Carter, A. H., 100
 Case, J. B., 99
 Casements, The, 124
 Cassadaga, 94
 Causey, Erastus, 135
 Cave, Lotan, 100
 Cave, Vet, 100
 Celery City, 119
 Center, George, 21
 Ceta, Charles, 16
 Chamberlain, Edward, 79
 Chandler, James H., 59, 60, 65, 66, 136
 Chandler, John, 134
 Chandler, John L., 78
 Chevrolet, Louis, 110
 Chipman, Charles B., 82, 83
 Chisholm, Leroy C., 88, 105
Cincinnati, 29
Circale, 1
City of Sanford, 87
 Civil Works Administration, 126
 Clarendon Inn, 115
 Clark, J. A., 119
 Clark & Stover, 103
 Clarke, J. T., 97
 Cleland, John, 35
 Clifton, Daniel, 134
 Clifton, Daniel, Jr., 135
 Clifton, Francis, 135
 Clifton, Henry, 59, 135
 Clifton, Henry, Sr., 107
 Clifton, John, 135
 Clifton, John A., 135
 Clifton, W. H., 136
 Clinch, General Duncan L., 41
 Clipper, Jackson, 134
 Coacoochee (Wild Cat), 43
 Codrington, Colonel C., 90, 91
 Codrington, Christopher O., 90
 Coffin, John, 135
 Colby, George, 94
 Cole, H. S., 93
 Coleman, Doctor George, 79
 Coleman, George E., 101
 College Arms, 93
 Coloney & Talbott, 106
 Cone, William A., 136
 Confederate States of America, 65
 Connor, Lewis, 134
 "Conscript Act" of 1862, 66, 71
 Constitutional Convention of 1868, 75
 Cook, Samuel, 134
 Cook, Samuel J., 137
 Cook, William A., 97, 136
 Cooney, David M., 91
 Cooper, James G., 131
 Coquina Hotel, 99, 115
 Corbin, Phillip, 98
 Corbin Lock Company, 98
 Coronado, 105, 122
 Coronado Beach, 123
 County Courthouse, 76, 88
 Cow Creek, 119
 Cowie, Doctor D., 105
 Coxetter, Louis, 54, 79
 Cozart, Simon W., 137
 Crane, Henry, 52, 132
 Creek Indians, 6, 13, 39
 Crenshaw, A., 136
 Crescent City, 96, 98
 Crooker, Hartley, 135
 Cross, L. A., 101
 Cruger, Henry, 32, 33, 37, 42
 Cummings, Albert, 135
 Curley, Jefferson, 134
 Currickfergus, 15, 42, 44
 Damietta, 16, 32, 54, 55
 Daniels, Milton H., 137
 Darley, Daniel, 133
 Darley, James, 19, 28, 33, 132, 133
Darlington, 25, 29, 59, 61, 71, 79, 83
 Darracq, 110
 Daugherty, James, 134
 Davidson, Herbert M., 121
 Davis, Alford, 134
 Davis, Herman, 137
 Davis, Isaac, 134
 Davis, Michael B., 90
 Davis, Thomas A., 122
 Day, Calvin, 100
 Day, Loomis G., 83
 Day, Matthias, Jr., 100, 101
 Dayton, Doctor E. E., 103
 Dayton, Commander P., 68
 Daytona, 83, 99, 100, 101, 103, 104, 110, 117, 120, 121, 124
 Daytona Beach, 117, 122, 126
 Daytona Beach Chamber of Commerce, 117
Daytona Beach Evening News, 121
Daytona Beach Morning Journal, 121
Daytona Beach Observer, 121
 Daytona Beach Racing Association, 113
Daytona Beach Sunday News-Journal, 121
Daytona East Coast Messenger, 103
 Daytona 500, 114
Daytona Gazette-News, 120
Daytona Halifax Journal, 121
 Daytona Highlands subdivision, 124
 Daytona House, 103
 Daytona Institute, 101
 Daytona International Speedway, 113
 Daytona Lions, 117
 Daytona Normal and Industrial Institute, 121
 Daytona Primitive Baptist Church, 121
 Daytona Saint Mary, 103
 Daytona Transit Company, 120
Daytona Trumpet, 121
 Daytona 200, 114
 Dean, Patrick, 16
 Dean, Rowena, 89
 DeLand, 77, 88, 89, 90, 91, 92, 93, 95, 106, 120
 DeLand, Harlan, 94
 DeLand, Helen, 88, 89, 108
 DeLand, Henry Addison, 88, 89, 91, 92, 93, 94
 DeLand Academy, 91. *See also* Stetson University
 DeLand Chemical Company, 89
DeLand Collegiate, 93
 DeLand First Baptist Church, 90
DeLand Florida Agriculturist, 90
DeLand Florida News, 93
 DeLand Grand Army of the Republic, 92
 DeLand Junction, 90
 DeLand Land Agency, 106
 DeLand Landing, 90
 DeLand Methodist Episcopal Church, 90
 DeLand Presbyterian Church, 90
 DeLand St. Barnabas, 90
DeLand The Supplement, 93
DeLand Volusia County Herald, 90
DeLand Volusia County Record, 92
DeLand Weekly News, 90
 DeLand Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 92, 94
 DeLeon Springs, 96, 97, 120
 Demasters, Henry C., 52, 132
 Democratic Party, 18, 20, 21, 36, 58, 59, 61, 64, 65
 Demogeot, Victor, 110
 Dennis, J. S., 137
 Depeyster, William, 19, 20, 132, 133
 Despland Hotel, 117
 DeSoto House, 97
 DeSoto Springs, 96
 Detwiler, John, 105
 Detwiler, Mrs. John, 104
 Dexter, Edward, 70
 Dexter, Horatio, 33, 132
 Dial, George, 134
 Dickens & Starke, 88
 Dickson, George W., 137
Dictator, 79
 Dillard, R. M., 137
 Dix Hall, 99
Dolphin, 29
 Donald, L. A., 87
Doris, 28
 Douglas, J. W., 136
 Dowling, M. B., 59
 Downing, Charles, 18, 131
 Doyle, Michael J., 60
 Drane, Captain Augustus, 41
 Dreka, George A., 90, 91
 Dummett, Douglas, 20, 21, 23, 26, 32, 42, 46, 53, 60, 72, 132, 133, 134
 Dummett, Kate, 53
 Dummett, Louisa, 53
 Dummett, Mary, 53
 Dummett, Thomas Henry, 26, 28, 31, 32, 33, 42, 132
 Duncan, Sir William, 7
 Dunham, Alfred F., 133
 Dunham, David R., 23, 26, 28, 42, 54, 132
 Dunham, Mary, 33
 Dunlawton, 33, 41, 42, 43, 47, 60
 DuPont, Admiral Samuel F., 67, 68, 69, 70
 Dupont, Virgil R., 23, 54
 Dustan, Francis, 59
 East Coast Development Company, 120
 East Coast Telephone Company, 120
 East Daytona, 121
 East Florida Orange Lands Company, 103, 106
 East Gulf Blockading Squadron, 70
 Eaton, Joshua, 60
 Eckford, Henry, 16
 Edgewater, 106, 123
 Edmond, Henry, 134
 Edwards, William, 54
 Eldridge, L. H., 92, 96, 105, 137
Elizabeth, 70
 Ellwood, J. M., 136
 Ely, General Ralph, 80, 81
 Emanuel, Amos, 134
 Emanuel, Asa, 134
 Emery, D. J., 124
Emma, 70
 Emporia, 96
 Enacape, San Antonio de, 3
 English, Lieutenant Commander Early, 70
 English, William F., 131
 Enterprise, 22, 23, 25, 29, 51, 59, 60, 61, 67, 73, 74, 76, 78, 79, 82, 83, 85, 87, 88, 89, 95, 98, 106, 115, 120
 Enterprise All Saints' Mission, 88
 Enterprise Base Ball Association, 88
Enterprise Herald, 88
 Enterprise Library Association, 88
 Enterprise Saint Paul's, 88
 Enterprise Zion Baptist Church, 88
 Erickson, J. A., 93
Euphemia, 98
 Eustis, General Abraham, 44, 46, 48
 Faber, Albert, 135
 Fail, William, 52, 132
 Faith Hall, 121
 Fanning, Colonel Alexander, 49
 Farmton, 119
 Farr, Reverend A. L., 90
 Fatio, Francis J., 19, 131
 Fauldner, Henry H., 136
 Faulkner, Henry J., 137
 Faulkner, H. J., 106
 Federal Emergency Relief Administration, 125, 126
 Ferguson, Mrs. T. H., 104
 Fernandez, Leandra, 53
 Fernandez, Stephen, 55
 Ferris, Durius, 55
 Ferry Settlement, 9
 Fiddis, Lucy A., 89
 Finegan, James, 137
 Firecracker 400, 114
 First Reconstruction Act, 75
 First Union Freedmen School Society of Volusia, 81
 Fitzgerald, Thomas E., 120
 Flagler, Henry, 99, 101, 108, 110, 115, 117
Flambeau, 67
 Fleming, Reverend A. A., 88
 Fleming, William S., 99
Flora, 98
Florence Nightingale, 70
Florida, 28, 29
 Florida East Coast Automobile Association, 110
 Florida East Coast Commercial Company, 123
 Florida Land and Lumber Company, 80, 103
 Florida Land and Settlement Company, 119
 Florida Manufacturing Company, 67
 Florida Orange Growers' Union, 108
 Florida Provision Company, 79
 Floyd, Jack, 135
 Floyd, General Richard, 66, 69
 Forbes, John F., 91
 Forrester, Alexander, 19
 Fort Ann, 23, 53
 Fort Barnwell, 46
 Fort Brooke, 41, 46, 47
 Fort Call, 46, 48
 Fort King, 41
 Fort Kingsbury, 51
 Fort Mellon, 23, 25, 47, 48, 49, 51, 52
 Fort New Smyrna, 48, 49, 68
 Fort Peyton, 47
 Foster, General John G., 73, 74, 75
 Fougier, Marquis de, 33, 41
 Fowler, James H., 76, 80, 100, 135, 136
 Fox, Doctor Benjamin F., 79, 105, 136, 137
 Fox, Charles L., 137
 Fox, Wallace, 105
 Fozzard, Charles, 101
 France, William (Bill), 113
 Francis, James E., 98, 99
 Franciscans, 3
 Frazier, George, 135
 Frazier, Reverend J. F., 88
Fred De Bary, 87
 Freeman, A. E., 137
 Freeman, D., 94
 Freeman, Dennis, 136
 French, Doctor Seth, 94, 136
 Fulford, W. H., 105
 Furber, Acting Master E. G., 70
 Fussel, Berrian, 135
 Fussel, Jacob, 135
 Gadsden Trail, 25
 Ganymede subdivision, 124
 Gardner, Major Thomas, 48
 Garrett, Charney, 134
 Garrison, Doctor J. E., 103
 Gatch & Williamson, 103
 General Eustis Road, 25
Gen. Geddes, 28
Geo. M. Bird, 87
George Washington, 28
 Gillen, Doctor R. H., 93
 Gillett, Carson, 122
 Ginn, Arthur, 61, 75
Gladiator, 67
 Glenn, John, 134
 "Golden Arrow," 111
 Goodall, 122
Good Luck, 70
 Goodman, Marion, 135
 Goodrich, Frederick S., 91, 92
 Goodsell, E. L., 108
 Goodwin, Doctor A. J., 105
 Goodwin, D. T., 137
 Gordon, Reverend Gilbert, 96
 Gould, C. D., 93
Governor Milton, 71
 Granada, 99
 Grand Army of the Republic, 92
 Grand Atlantic hotel, 117
 Grant, Governor James, 6, 7
 Green, Joseph, 135
Greenwich, 101
 Griffin, Fisher, 135
 Griffith, John H., 91
 Griswold, Daniel S., 26
 Gruver, John, 134
 G. Thompson & Co., 103
 H. A. DeLand & Co., 90
 Hale, Garland, 137
 Hale, John, 52
 Halifax River, 1, 5, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 23, 26, 28, 30, 33, 42, 54, 55, 68, 70, 79, 80, 83, 97, 98, 99, 100, 101, 104, 108, 115, 117, 119, 120, 122, 123, 124
 Halifax River Mills, 103
 Hall, Daniel, 52
 Hall, James, 135
 Hall, Nathan, 134
 Hall, William, 134
 Hammond, Lieutenant D. M., 74
 Hammond, W. L., 99
Hampton, 98
 Hardy, James, 104
 Harper, Francis, 78, 134
 Harris, Alfred, 135
 Harris, Charles S., 100
 Harris, Ebenezar, 135
 Harris, G., 100
 Harris, Stephen, 135
 Harris, Acting Master T. A., 69
 Harrison, John, 135
 Harrow, Alfred S., 122
 Hart, Alonzo A., 84
 Hart, C. C., 136
 Hart, Isaiah, 131
 Hartford plantation, 42
 Hartsuff, Lieutenant George L., 62
 Harvey, John W., 137
 Harwood, 97
 Harwood, Norman B., 97
 Hathaway, James, 109
Hattie, 79
 Haulover, 26, 68
 Haw Creek, 48
 Hawkins, George S., 62, 63
 Hawkinsville, 23, 67, 69
 Hawks, Ester, 81, 82
 Hawks, Doctor John Milton, 72, 75, 76, 79, 80, 81, 82, 83, 100, 103, 104, 106, 136
 Hawk's Park, 106, 123
 Hawley, Doctor A. B., 105, 137
 Haynes, W. D., 93
 Healy, G. P., 135, 137
 Hedstrom, Oscar, 109
 Henry Adderly & Co., 67
 Heriot, Benjamin D., 33, 42, 100
 Heriot, Robert, 20, 33, 133
 Hernandez, Joseph M., 15, 17, 35, 36, 37, 41, 42, 43, 47, 48
 Hernandez, Lewis R., 87
 Heyers, David, 134
 Hicks & Thompson, 103
 Hill, Ana Maria, 15
 Hill, E. A., 95
 Hill House, 105
 Hillsborough Stream. *See* Indian River
 Hilton, R. B., 64
 Hoeg, Mrs., 103
 Hogans, Archibald, 134
 Holata Micco (Billy Bowlegs), 58, 61
 Holbrooke, Mrs. Thomas, 89
 Holdren, William H., 60
 Holly Hill, 99
 Holly Inn, 117
 Holstein, Alfred, 137
 Hopkins, Charles F., 81
 Hopkins, Edward, 64
 Hopkins and Allmand, 55
 Houston, George, 52
 Houston, John C., 52, 132
 Howell, E. H., 79
 Hoyele, Ernest, 124
 Hoyt, Alonzo, 135
 Hudson, J. A., 92
 Hughes, Shepard J., 136
 Hull, Ambrose, 14, 15, 17, 33
 Hull, Ambrose A., 98
 Hull, James, 135
 Hulst, William W., 137
 Hunter, Joseph, 42, 132, 133
 Huntington, Doctor Harwood, 124
 Huntoon Dead River, 52
 Huntoon Island, 52
 Hunton, William H., 52
 Husband, J. L., 73, 80
 Huston, Reverend L. D., 101, 136, 137
 Huston, Menefie, 78, 101
Ida Smith, 101
Ilo, 101
 "Impressment Act," 66
Ina, 98, 101
 Indian Removal Act, 39
 Indian River, 5, 9, 25, 26, 68, 70, 74, 79
Indian River, 79
 Indian River Inlet, 27, 69, 70
 Indian River Navigation Company, 26
 Indian scare of 1849, 57
 Ives, Jeremiah, 19
 Ives, John, 132
 J. A. Conrad & Co., 93
 Jackson, Charles E., 100, 136
 Jackson, William, 101, 103, 137
 Jackson, Mrs. William, 101
 Jacksonville, 71, 73, 74, 79, 87, 101, 106
 Jacksonville, Tampa, and Key West Railway Company, 87, 90, 94, 96
 Jeffries, Richard N., 23
 Jeffries, Joseph, 60
 Jeffries, Richard H., 60
 Jenkins, Daniel, 134
 Jenkins, E. C., 93
 Jenkins, Thomas, 137
 Jenkins, T. N., 137
 Jesup, General Thomas Sidney, 46, 47, 48
 J. H. King & J. P. Ragsdale, 105
 John Fraser & Co., 67
 Johnson, Alfred E., 100
 Johnston, Sidney W., 90
 Jolley, J. M., 103
 Jonas, John, 134

Jones, Daniel F., 59
 Jones, James H., 60
 Jones, Mary, 96
 Jones, Robert, 134
 Jordan, James B., 90, 136
 Joyner, John, 135
 Joyner, J. W., 79
 Julia, 70
 Jupiter Inlet, 70

Kalamazoo, 119
 Kate Thomas, 101
 Keating, Thomas, 115
 Keech, Ray, 111
 Keller, J. C., 92
 Kelly, Thomas, 134, 137
 Kelly, T. P., 96
 Kennedy, Reverend S. C., 105
 Kerr, James, 16
 Ketchell, William, 121
 Kilhoff, John G., 90
 Kilhoff & Dreka, 90
 King, Charles, 134
 King, J. H., 137
 "King" Philip, 47, 48
 Kingsbury, A. G., 91
 King's Road, 6, 9, 25, 26
 Kirk, Vincent, 91
 Ku Klux Klan, 74

Lake Alligator, 52
 Lake Ashby, 119
 Lake Beresford, 1, 52, 54
 Lake Clifton, 97
 Lake Crescent, 98
 Lake Dexter, 1
 Lake Dias, 97
 Lake Eustis & St. Johns Railway Company, 96
 Lake George, 6, 11, 13, 28
 Lake Harney, 29, 48, 52, 71
 Lake Helen, 93, 94
 Lake Helen First Congregational Church, 94
 Lake Hester, 96
 Lake Jesup, 29, 52
 Lake Monroe, 22, 23, 25, 29, 47, 48, 51, 54, 55, 56, 85, 87, 106
 Lake Poinsett, 29
 Lake Winnemissett, 93
 Lake Winona, 77
 Lake Woodruff, 1
 Lamar, John M., 60
 Lambs, James H., 136
 Lamont, Joseph, 137
 Lancaster, Doctor George W., 90, 93
 Lancaster & Jordan, 90
 Lansgrew, Henry, 134
 Lansing, Charles F., 123
 LaPenotiere, Frederick John, 137
 LaPonce Hotel, 104
 Lardner, Admiral J. L., 69
 Lawton, Charles, 32, 33
 Lawton, Joseph, 32, 33
 Lee, Francis, 133
 Lee, Peter, 134
 Leete, Bishop Frederick DeLand, 89
 Leete, Reverend Menzo S., 89, 90
 "Left Wing," 44, 46
 Lent, William K., 96
 LeRoy, Commander W. E., 68
 Lesman, George, 137
 Lewis, Winslow, 27
 Lewton, Reverend J. T., 90
 Lieutenant, Reverend James, 95
 Ligon, Augustus D., 137
 Lily Water Plant, 120
 "Live-Oakers," 36, 56
 Lockhart, Frank, 111
 Long, Redding, 134
 Long, William, 134

Long, William R., 134
 Long Branch, 28
 Loring, Reuben, 31
 Lowd, Ada M., 122
 Lowd, Major Allen, 58, 61
 Lowd, Edmond, 134
 Lowd, Edward K., 74, 75, 104, 105
 Lowd, E. K., Jr., 105
 Lowd, Mrs. E. K., 105
 Lowd & Westall, 104
 Lowrie, Samuel, 137
 Lucy F., 79
 Luffman, Shubel C., 23
 Luffman, William, 60
 Lyon, Doctor D. Stuart, 93
 Lytle, John S., 33

Mabbett, I. M., 100
 McBride, Alexander, 79
 McBride, W. A., 100
 McCauley, Isabella, 83
 McCorkle, Reverend S. V., 88
 McCormick, David, 16
 McCormick, Pollard, 16
 McCoy, Bill, 124
 McCrory, Strange & Co., 105
 McDaniel, Edward A., 76, 136
 McDaniels, E. A., 104
 McDonald, Arthur, 110
 McDuffee, Reverend S. V., 95
 McHardy, Robert, 15, 16, 32
 McGillivray, Alexander, 13
 McLaurine & Stockton, 90
 McLean, 29
 McMillan, J. D., 115
 McNary, Charles, 99, 137
 McNary, William G., 98
 McNeill, H. C., 91
 McRae, Duncan, 31, 33, 133
 McRae, Kenneth, 31, 33
 Macullar, Calvin, 135
 Mala Compra, 35, 43
 Maley, Elizabeth J., 83, 100
 Maley, John C., 82, 101, 103, 134
 Mallory, R. M., 122
 Mann, Austin S., 108
 Mann, Florian A., 103, 121
 Mann, Marie E., 120
 Marriott, Fred, 110
 Marsh, Reuben, 78, 134
 Marshall, John J., 60
 Martin, James, 134
 Mason, A. E., 100
 Mason, Thomas, 79
 Masters, Paul, 32
 "Matanzas Company," 42
 Matanzas River, 15, 26, 43
 Mather, Acting Master S. W., 68
 Maxwell, Augustus, 62
 Maxwell, Augustus E., 58, 59
 Mellette, Doctor U. N., 93
 Mellon, Captain Charles, 47
 Mellonville, 22, 23, 29, 56
 Memento, 121
 Messimer, Doctor, 93
 Mexia, Alvaro, 1
 Mickles, Myron L., 73, 74
 Mier, Mrs., 105
 Millard, George, 98
 Miller, Charles, 89
 Miller, G. W., 93
 Mills, William J., 131
 Milton, John, 64, 65, 66, 69
 Minchew, William, 71, 78
 Minorans, 7
 Mitchell, J. D., 76, 136
 Mitchell, S. D., 137
 Molleson, John, 134, 136
 Moncrief, James, 7, 16
 Moody, Jacob, 60
 Moon & Harshey, 90

Moore, John, 134
 Moore, W. H., 120
 Morgan, George S., 124
 Morgan, Mablan, 134
 Morgan, W. J., 109
 Morrison, D. F., 137
 Morrison, L. S., 122
 Mosquito County, 18, 19, 20, 21, 22, 23, 25, 26, 27, 30, 31, 33, 36, 41, 47, 54, 55, 56, 59
 Mosquito Inlet, 3, 6, 27, 28, 44, 53, 67, 69, 70, 71, 79, 124
 "Mosquito Roarers," 20, 41, 42
 Mothershed, Levi, 134
 Moultrie, John, 10, 15, 16
 Mount Olive, 14
 Mount Oswald, 9, 10
 Mount Royal, 10, 33
 Mount Vernon, 28
 Mukoso Lake. See Turnbull Bay
 Munzo, James, 16
 Murray, George, 53
 Murray, L. M., 99

Nash & Loudon, 103
 National Gardens, 120
 Nauman, Charles N., 137
 Nelson, David, 134
 Nesbitt, Thomas, 134
 New Britain, 98, 99. See also Ormond
 New Smyrna, 6, 8, 9, 14, 15, 17, 19, 23, 25, 27, 28, 32, 33, 41, 42, 48, 49, 53, 54, 55, 56, 57, 58, 59, 61, 62, 67, 68, 69, 70, 71, 74, 78, 79, 81, 82, 84, 98, 101, 104, 106, 122, 123
 New Smyrna Breeze, 105
 New Smyrna Bridge and Investment Company, 105
 New Smyrna Cash Store, 105
 New Smyrna Christ Congregational Church, 105
 New Smyrna Free Library, 122
 New Smyrna Inlet, 105
 Newton & Bushnell, 88
 New York and Indian River Preserving Company, 79
 Niver, J. H., 103
 Nococono, 1
 Norwood, Theodore, 19
 Norwood, W. L., 136
 "Nucleus," 18, 20

Oak Hill, 68, 83, 106, 119, 123
 O'Boyle, Father, 105
 Ocala, 69
 Ocean House, 105
 Ocean View House, 103
 O'Connell, W. B., 103, 136
 Odum, Leonard W., 107, 136
 "Old Enterprise," 61, 85, 107
 Oldfield, Barney, 110
 Olds, Ransom E., 109
 Orange City, 83, 94, 95, 96, 120
 Orange City African Methodist Episcopal Church, 95
 Orange City Congregational Church, 95
 Orange City Intellectual and Social Club, 95
 Orange City Methodist Episcopal Church, South, 95
 Orange City Primitive Colored Baptist Church, 95
 Orange City South Florida Times, 94
 Orange City Telephone, 95
 Orange City Times, 92, 94
 Orange City Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 95
 Orange County, 22, 59
 "Orange Grove" plantation, 54
 Orange Island, 103

Orange Ridge, DeLand and Atlantic Railroad Company, 90
 Ormond, 83, 98, 99, 106, 109, 115
 Ormond, Agnes, 32
 Ormond, Emanuel, 32, 132
 Ormond, Helen, 32
 Ormond, Isabella, 32, 133
 Ormond, James, 16
 Ormond, James, II, 16, 32
 Ormond, James, III, 32, 43
 Ormond, Russell, 32
 Ormond-Daytona Beach race course, 109, 110, 111
 Ormond Drug Store, 99
 Ormond Garage, 110
 Ormond Hotel, 99, 109, 115, 117, 124
 Osborn, James M., 121
 Osborn, Spencer C., 80, 81, 134
 Osteen, Bryant, 135
 Osteen, John, 135
 Oswald, Richard, 9, 10

Pacetti, B. C., 104, 134
 Pacetti, G. A., 115
 Packwood, Francis, 137
 "Packwood place," 53
 Paget, John, 135
 Painter, E. O., 90
 Palmer and Ferris, 36, 55
 Palmetto, 83, 97
 Palmetto hotel, 117
 Palmetto House, 100, 101, 103
 Palm Landing, 83
 Panton, Leslie, and Company, 12, 13, 16
 Parce, Joseph Y., 90, 91, 106, 137
 Parceland Hotel, 91
 Partizan Rangers, 71
 Pastorfield, J., 103
 Patrick, Lieutenant M. R., 51
 Patriot, 69
 "Patriots," 17
 Paul Revere 250, 114
 Peabody Auditorium, 124
 Pegues, John F., 23, 60
 Peliklakaha, 46
 Pellicer, Francis, 132
 Pellicer, James, 132
 Pelot, John C., 131
 Penfield, Chester, 98
 Penfield, E. M., 98
 Penfield, Frank, 98
 Penfield, George, 99
 Peninsula Improvement Association, 115
 Penman, James, 9, 15, 16
 People's Party of Volusia County, 92
 Permatex 300, 114
 Perry, Governor Madison Starke, 62, 64, 65
 Peters, W. H., 110
 Peterson, Thomas, 78
 Petty, George, 33, 54
 Peyster, William de, 32, 33, 37, 42, 133
 Pierce, Washington, 134
 Pierson, Reverend P. T., 98
 Pierson, Mrs. W. T., 101
 Pinkerton, Doctor L. L., 99
 "Pirate," 109
 Pitzer, G. R., 104
 Planters and Citizens Canal Company, 26
 Ponce, Antonio, 104
 Ponce de León, Juan, 3
 Ponce de Leon Inlet, 3
 Ponce de Leon Spring, 33
 Ponce Park, 104
 Pons, Bartholomew, 23
 Poppell, James G., 136
 Port Orange, 77, 78, 80, 81, 83, 101, 103
 Port Orange Hall Society, 104

Port Orange Hotel, 104
 Post, C. C., 122
 Post, Helen Wilmans, 122
 Poston, W. H., 100
 Prado, Captain Antonio de, 3
 Prevatt, 83
 Prevatt, B. E., 92, 137
 Prevatt, Charles, 135
 Prevatt, James H., 59, 76, 93
 Prevatt, Mrs., 105
 Price, John W., 76, 84, 87, 136, 137
 Price, Joseph D., 97, 98, 106, 109, 115
 Priest, Gabriel, 131
 Prudy, T. F., 136
 Puckett, Mrs. George, 101
 Puckett, George R., 101
 Purman, William J., 81
 Putnam, Benjamin A., 41, 42, 43, 131
 Putnam House, 93

Quesada, Governor Juan Nepomuceno de, 13, 14

Ramsay Bay plantation, 9
 Rawlenson, William, 134
 Rawlins, Benjamin, 73, 135
 Rawlins, William, 135
 Read, Leigh, 22
 "Real McCoy," 124
 Reconstruction Finance Corporation, 125
 Reddit, John B., 135
 Reddit, John J., 135
 "Red Sticks," 39
 Reed, Governor Harrison, 75, 76
 Rees, Orlando S., 33, 37, 42, 43, 133
 Reif, Christina S., 100
 Republican Party, 62, 64, 65
 Rhoads, J. F., 87
 Richards, Joseph, 135
 Richardson, A., 78
 Richardson, Benjamin, 135, 136, 137
 Richardson, John, 134
 Richardson, Lewis M., 96, 135, 136, 137
 Richardson, W. H., 103
 Rich cabin, 89
 Rideout, James, 136
 Ridgewood hotel, 117
 Rimer, Joseph, 135
 Riz, James, 131
 Roan, Wylie, 135
 Roberts, James, 135
 Roberts, Robert, 135
 Roberts, Robert W., 78
 Roberts, Mrs. S. A., 105
 Roberts, William, 134
 Robinson, J. R. S., 92
 Robinson, Peter, 135
 Robinson, Doctor T., 93
 Robinson, W. Howell, 100
 Robiou, Charles, 131
 "Rocket," 110
 Rockefeller, John D., 124
 Rodman, John, 27, 28, 32, 54
 Rogers, Commander C. R. P., 68
 Rogers, D. D., 101, 103, 121
 Rogers, E. G., 104
 Rogers, Thomas, 103
 Rogers, T. L., 136
 Rogers & Newton, 106
 Rosa, 87
 Ross, J. D., 92
 Ross and Holmes, 55
 Rosser, Thomas A., 137
 Rover Brother, 101
 Rozetta, 10, 16, 32, 41, 42
 Rush, J. L., 105
 Russel, Henry, 135
 Russell, Thomas T., 131
 Russell, William F., 25

St. Augustine, 3, 5, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 14, 15, 17, 19, 20, 23, 25, 26, 27, 28, 29, 32, 33, 36, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 51, 55, 71, 74
 St. Augustine Guards, 42
 St. Johns and Halifax River Railway Company, 98, 101
 St. Johns and Indian River Railway Company, 87
 St. Johns and St. Augustine Canal Company, 26
 St. Johns County, 19, 20, 21, 22, 33
 St. Johns River, 1, 3, 6, 10, 11, 13, 16, 23, 25, 26, 28, 29, 33, 41, 44, 46, 47, 48, 51, 53, 54, 55, 59, 61, 66, 67, 71, 74, 78, 79, 83, 89, 90, 115, 120
 St. John's River Conference College, 95
 St. Joseph convention, 21, 36
 St. Joseph plantation, 37, 42
 St. Mathews, 29
 Sams, Reverend C. F., 121
 Sams, Frank, 105
 Samsula, 119
 Sanchez, Joseph S., 19, 41, 47, 131, 132
 Sanchez, Simeon, 131
 Sandlin, James L., 73, 83, 135
 Sanger, H., 60
 Santee, 29
 Sapp, Elijah, 135
 Sarah Spalding, 29
 Sauls, James, 71, 73, 135
 Sauls, John, 87
 Saulville, 82
 Savage, T. E., 97
 Sawyer, James, 100
 Scammell, George J., 136
 Scobie, Nathaniel, 54
 Scott, General Winfield, 44, 46, 59
 Seabloom, P. F., 124
 Seabreeze, 103, 115, 121, 122
 Seabreeze Finance and Development Company, 122
 Sea Side Inn, 103
 Sea View Cottage, 106
 Seelye, Doctor H. H., 110
 Segrave, Major H. O., 111
 Seiser, J. C., 137
 Self, Jesse, 135
 Selleck, Reverend C. C., 105, 136
 Seminole, 29
 Seminole Indians, 6, 12, 22, 23, 27, 28, 39, 41, 42, 43, 44, 46, 47, 48, 49, 57, 58, 61, 62
 "Sequestration Act" of 1861, 66
 Seville, 96
 Shantz, Adam, 120
 Shaw, Clark, 60
 Sheldon, Henry, 79
 Sheldon, Jane Murray, 53
 Sheldon, J. G., 93
 Sheldon, John, 23, 25, 42, 53, 60, 71, 132
 Sheldon, Martha, 104
 Sheldon, Rudolphus, 134
 Shell Grove, 96
 Shepard, William, 135
 Shields, Robert, 60
 Sholtz, Governor David, 125, 126
 Simkins, Captain E. C., 67, 69
 Simmons, Abram, 135
 Simons, Charles W., 133
 Simpson, John, 52, 132
 Sims, A. T., 122
 Skipper, R. J., 105
 Slamm, Acting Master Jeff A., 70
 Smith, Charles, 134, 137
 Smith, Henry, 135
 Smith, James M., 194
 Smith, Joe, 87
 Smith, John, 134

192 Index

- Smith, John W., 101, 121
 Smith, Joseph L., 19, 131
 Smith, Mary, 60
 Smith, "Parson," 121
 Smith, Richard, 134
 Smith, William, 134
 Smith's Creek, 30
 Snow, F. M., 103
 Snow, Stephan, 137
 Solana, Matthew, 42
 South Atlantic Blockading Squadron, 67, 70
 Southern Life and Trust Company, 36, 57
 Southworth, T. J., 90
 Spalding, James, 11
 Spalding's Upper Store, 11, 12
 Spear, Alexander S., 131
 Speer, C. W., 94
 Speight, J., 95
 Spencer, Champ H., 82, 136
 Spencer, R. L., 95
 Spotts, Lieutenant, 70
 Sprague, Colonel John T., 73, 74, 75, 76, 81
 Spring Garden, 15, 33, 59
 Spruce Creek, 9, 15, 54
 Stamps, Thomas, 23
 Stanley House, 103
 Starke, Anthony, 87, 135
 Starke, Doctor James D., 79, 87, 136
 Starke, John W., 59, 60, 85
 Starke, Thomas, 59, 85
 Starkey, E. E., 122
 State Bank of New Smyrna, 122
 Stedman, Addie, 89
 Sterling, Thomas, 134
 Stetson, John B., 91, 92, 93
 Stetson University, 91, 92, 93
 Steward, Daniel M., 51
 Stewart, Isaac A., 88
 Stockton, Alexander H., 136
 Stoddard, Doctor J. P., 93
 Stokes, Reverend J. N., 90
 Stone, William, 137
 Stoney, Mrs. A. W., 94
 Strack, Henry C., 91
 Strain, Captain M. H., 67
 Stuart, R. H., 87
 Summerall, Mrs., 105
 Summerlin, Edward, 137
 Summerlin, Jacob, 131
 Summers, Lucius, 98, 99
 Sunbeam, 111
 Sutton, Christopher C., 67, 80, 134, 137
 Swamp Settlement, 9, 10
 Swartengreen, H., 105
 Swernbergh, Father, 88
 Swift, Obed, 55
 Swift, Oliver, 100
 Swift, Rodolphus, 55
 Swift, William, 55
 Swift brothers, 69, 79

 Tanner, Horace A., 137
 Taylor, Cornelius, 31, 51, 52, 54, 55, 61, 85, 131
 Taylor, G. D., 93
 Taylor, Mrs. G. W., 95
 Taylor, James B., 137
 Taylor, Mary Arabella, 52
 Taylor, Samuel, 52, 132
 Taylor, Zachery, 48
 Terry, O. P., 89
 Thayer, William S., 87, 136, 137
 Thayer & Sauls, 87, 89
 Thistle, Hezekiah L., 55, 56
 Thomas, H. T., 109
 Thompson, Edward, 134
 "Tithe Tax," 66, 23
 Titus, Henry T., 66, 73, 74, 79, 137
 Titusville, 79, 87, 105
 Thompson, Lawrence, 101
 Timucua Indians, 1, 3
 Todd, Lindsay, 16
 Tolliver, Henry, 77, 134
 Tomoka City, 98, 99
 Tomoka River, 1, 6, 9, 10, 15, 16, 17, 19, 23, 25, 30, 32, 33, 41, 54, 55
 Tonym, Governor Patrick, 9
 Toronita hotel, 123
 Trainer, W. H., 103
 Traub, Charles, 111
 Treaty of Fort Gibson, 39
 Treaty of Moultrie Creek, 39
 Triplex, 111
 Triton, 28
 Tucker, John, 10
 Turnbull, Andrew, 7, 8, 9
 Turnbull Bay, 9
 Turner, Owen, 135
 Turtle Mound, 54
 Twiggs, General David E., 49, 58

 Uchee Indians, 42
 Underhill, A. P., 117
 Underhill, Joseph, 77, 78, 135
 Union Bank of Tallahassee, 36, 57
 U.S.S. *Ariel*, 70
 U.S.S. *Arizona*, 70
 U.S.S. *George Mangham*, 71
 U.S.S. *Henry Andrew*, 68, 69
 U.S.S. *Keystone State*, 68
 U.S.S. *Norfolk Packet*, 71
 U.S.S. *Octorara*, 70
 U.S.S. *Oleander*, 71
 U.S.S. *Para*, 70, 71
 U.S.S. *Pawnee*, 68
 U.S.S. *Penguin*, 68, 69
 U.S.S. *Sagamore*, 70, 71
 U.S.S. *South Carolina*, 69
 U.S.S. *Wabash*, 68
 U.S.S. *Wanderer*, 69, 70
 U.S.S. *Wyandotte*, 69

 Valco Road, 119
 Vanderbilt, Alfred G., 110
 Vanderbilt, William K., 110
 Vanzant, James, 135
 Vass, Richard, 134
 Vass, Thomas, 134
 Vinton, Captain John Rogers, 49, 53
 Vinzant, J. T., 93
Virginia, 55
 Vogdes, General Israel, 72
 Volco, 119
 Volusia, 23, 25, 29, 44, 46, 47, 73, 83, 96
 Volusia County, 22, 59, 60, 61, 66, 67, 71, 73, 74, 75, 78, 79, 83, 85, 97, 106, 108, 115, 119, 123, 125, 126, 127
 Volusia County Development Company, 123
 Voorhis, Doctor M. N., 96, 136
 Vrooman, J. H., 123

 Wager, P. E., 136
 Waldron, Edgar N., 137
 Walker, Governor David S., 62
 Wallace, George W., 137
 Wallace, Doctor G. M., 101, 103

 Walton, Doctor George W., 94
 Ward, George T., 59
 Warren, John, 131
 Watkins, Darby, 135
 Watson, Alexander, 134
 Watson, Elijah, 59, 67, 77, 78, 79, 87, 136
 Watson, William B., 75, 78, 87, 135, 136
 Watson & Barker, 99
 Weedon, Frederick, Jr., 54
 Wellman, Henry, 132
 Wekiva River, 52
Welaka, 29
 Wells, I. J., 137
 Wemple, Samuel P., 83, 97
 Wendt, E., 93
 Wescott, James D., 62
 Wescott, John, 79
 Wheeler, A. A., 93
 Whig Party, 18, 20, 36, 58, 59, 61
 White, Governor Enrique, 14, 15, 16
 White, J. M., 111
 White, Primus, 135
 White, Stephen V., 99, 101
 White, Utley, 101
 Wickware, David, 134
 Wickware, Henry, 134
 Wiggins, Henry, 135
 Wilbur, Jacob W., 123
 Wilbur-By-The-Sea, 124
 Wilbur Land Company, 123
 Wilcox, C. P., 91, 137
 Wiley, John, 99
 Wilkerson, James, 101, 136
 Williams, Abner, 15
 Williams, Anita, 53
 Williams, Burton, 53
 Williams, Cabel, 135
 Williams, Eliza, 53
 Williams, Henry H., 59
 Williams, John, 42
 Williams, Samuel Hill, 15, 28, 33, 42, 54, 55, 100, 132
 Williams, Victoria, 53
 Williams, William, 15, 19
 Williams, William (son of William Henry Williams), 52
 Williams, William Henry, 15, 19, 20, 21, 22, 27, 33, 41, 43, 53, 131, 132
Wm. Seabrook, 29
 Williamson, Lieutenant J. C., 69
 Wildasin, Nellie F., 119
 Wilmans Opera House, 122
 Wilson, Daniel, 83, 98
 Wilson, Henry, 135
 Wilson, Joe P., 137
 Wilson, Samuel B., 136
 Winston, Alexander, 109
 Wolseley, Reverend Robert, 90
 Women's Army Auxiliary Corps, 126
 Wood, C. A., 92
 Woodruff, Joseph, 19, 33, 131, 133
 Works Progress Administration, 126
 Worth, General William J., 26
 "Wreckers," 79
 Wright, Cyrenius H., 91, 137
 Wright, Silas B., 92, 136, 137

 Yates, Josiah, 135
 Yates, William, 135
 Yedder, Hugh, 135
 Yeston, Ruel B., 135

 Zéspedes, Vincent Manuel de, 12, 13
 Zylestra, John P., 54