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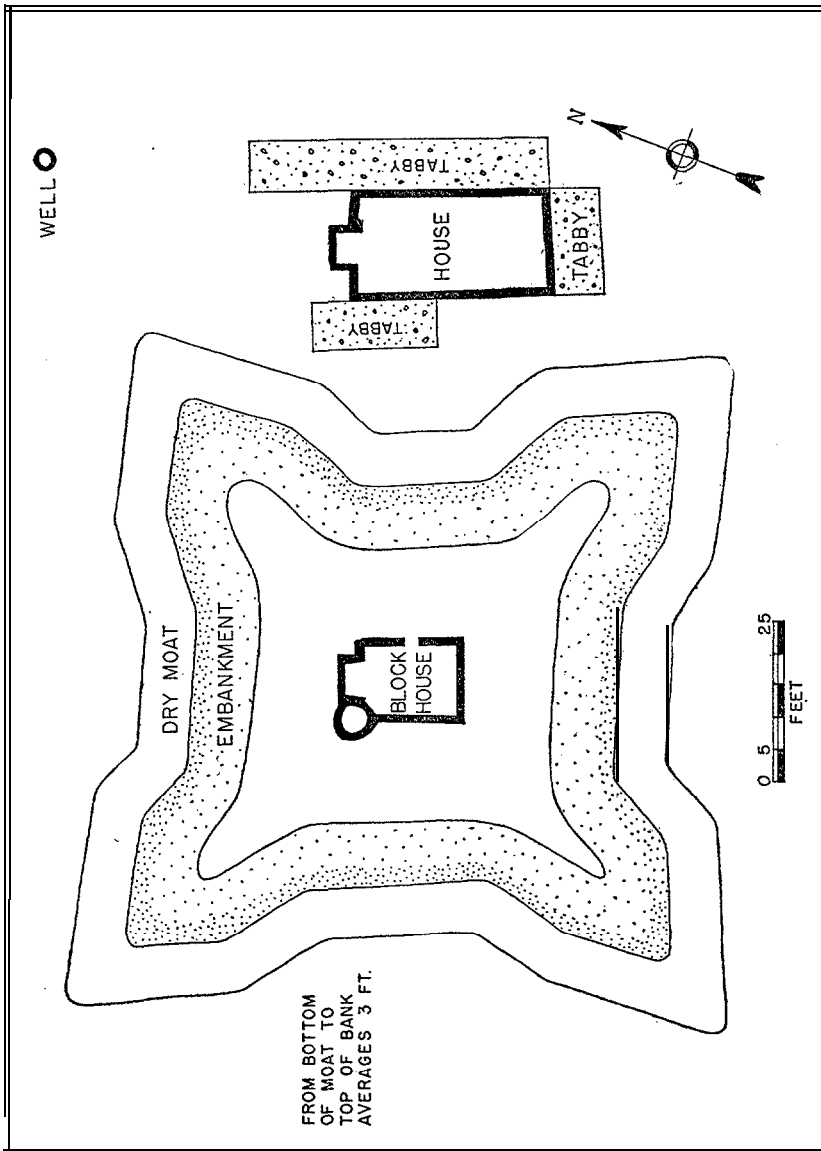
THE ADDISON BLOCKHOUSE

by JOHN W. GRIFFIN

The so-called Addison blockhouse, situated on the old Addison grant near the Tomoka River in coastal Volusia County, has long been an enigma. The alternatives of dating suggested by persons interested in it have ranged from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, and its builders have variously been claimed to have been Spaniards, Englishmen, or Americans. In order to lay plans for a valid interpretation of the structure to the public, the Florida Park Service undertook a study to determine its origin and history.

The blockhouse itself is a small coquina rock structure, about eleven and a half by fifteen feet in size (see plan). One end is completely dominated by a large fireplace almost seven feet wide and six feet high. To one side of this, and adjoining it, is a circular tower roughly six feet in diameter, rising to a height of about eleven feet. The tower is capped by blocks of coquina, giving a battlemented effect, and a series of loop holes are present about a foot beneath the top. The walls of the building, averaging six feet in height, are also battlemented, and are broken by a door on the east side.

Covered with moss and ferns, and lighted by sunshine filtering through the canopy of trees, the little building possesses all of the charm and romance of antiquity that could be desired, but reduced to the cold inked lines of measured drawings it appears little short of ridiculous. The combination keystone and lintel over the doorway is incredibly weak, the entry to the tower is partly above the protecting walls, and vision from the tower is obscured on one side by the chimney of the out-of-scale fireplace. A close examination of the masonry reveals that much of the building is a recon-



struction of the not too distant past, and we are fortunate in having the statement of the man who did some of this reconstruction. Writing in 1936, Mr. Charles A. Ballough said:

About sixteen years ago I was called upon to do some rock work for a company, developing the property on and near the Addison grant. A small coquina rock structure known as the blockhouse, was in need of repair, especially, on the walls. The fireplace and turret were in excellent condition and needed no repairs. The reconstruction, which consisted solely on the walls, was simply following the outlines of the previous wall structure. The ditch, or moat, surrounding the block-house was already there and appeared to have been dug at the time of the construction of the block-house.¹

As may be seen by examining the building, the outlines of previous wall structure which Mr. Ballough followed are the bottom several courses of stone. There is no real evidence that the original walls of stone ever extended higher than this, and there is a strong possibility that they were foundations for a wooden wall.

Although Mr. Ballough did not repair the fireplace and tower they, too, bear unmistakable signs of reconstruction. In summary, only the base of the tower, a considerable portion of the fireplace (omitting the upper part of the chimney), and the foundations of the walls are demonstrably original. From this evidence alone it would have been impossible to conclude that the building had ever been a blockhouse, since all of the features which make it appear so are the work of later hands. But the moat or ditch, mentioned in the quotation above, is a reality, and the trees growing in it and on the earthwork inside it testify that it is not a product of

1. Letter by Charles A. Ballough, Feb. 23, 1936, "To whom it may concern." Has been published in Edith P. Stanton, *Early Plantations of the Halifax*, Ormond, 1949.

the present century. The area enclosed by the moat is about forty feet square, with bastions at each of the four corners (see plan). The "blockhouse" stands in the middle of this fort outline.

Thus, establishing the fact that the present coquina structure may have been rebuilt to look like a fort, and may not originally have appeared as it does today, in no way invalidates the fact that the structure is located in a definite fort outline. There is no denying that a fort once stood on the Addison grant; the problem which confronts us is one of identification. Who built this fort, and when? In approaching this problem we shall combine the information of three disciplines; history, archaeology, and geography. Any explanation, in order to qualify, must satisfy all three sets of criteria.

EXCAVATIONS

When the site of the blockhouse was acquired by the Volusia Hammock State Park Association, arrangements were made with the St. Augustine Historical Program of the Carnegie Institution for an archaeological investigation of the ruins. Twelve days in April of 1939 were devoted to the work, and the archaeologist, Mr. W. J. Winter, prepared a field report which remained unpublished.² The materials found in the excavations were left in the care of the Park Association, and have been examined by the present writer.

To the east of the moat Winter found coquina foundations flanked by tabby floor areas in an area a little more than fifty feet from the blockhouse and within fifteen feet of the moat. About fifty feet to the north of these foundations was a circular coquina well. The well and the foundation area were cleared, trenches were extended through the earthworks in several places, and the bottom of the moat was excavated

2. A copy of this report is in the files of the archaeological survey of the Florida Park Service. The writer wishes to thank Mr. Winter for permission to publish the results of his excavations.

on the north, east, and south sides. The floor of the blockhouse was dug down to undisturbed earth, and the rubble and dirt were cleaned out of the tower. At various places on the site isolated coquina blocks were found, but test holes in these areas revealed no further trace of structures.

Artifacts came from both the blockhouse and the foundation area, but the moat and earthwork were relatively sterile, and the well contained very little. The writer examined these artifacts, and in addition submitted photographs to Mr. M. W. Thomas, Jr., of Colonial Williamsburg, Virginia.³ A description and listing of these materials will be published in a later paper. For present purposes it is sufficient to note that the pottery ("China" in popular parlance) was all of types known to have been manufactured between 1800 and 1840. The other materials - iron tools, hardware, glass bottles, and clay pipes - all fitted this same dating, although some of the types were also in use earlier. Not a single specimen, however, could be dated as from times not including the 1800-1840 range, and none of the specimens were Spanish in origin. There were no differences in materials from the blockhouse and the foundation area, indicating that the two structures were contemporaneous, or nearly so. In summary, the evidence from the artifacts suggests a dating within the first half of the nineteenth century.

When fully uncovered, the tabby floor and coquina foundations appeared to represent a house. The structure itself, enclosed by the coquina foundations, would have been about 16 by 38 feet in size, with a large fireplace in the north end (see plan). The three tabby areas flank the foundations, and may best be interpreted as porches or terraces. The largest one, eight feet wide and longer than the house, located on the east side of the foundations, may be taken as the

3. The writer wishes to thank Mr. Thomas for his kind cooperation.

front porch. Another tabby area, eight feet wide and sixteen feet long, probably represents a side porch at the south end of the house. The remaining area, nearly the same size as the preceding one, is on the west side of the structure, and may be interpreted as the back porch.

The evidence was insufficient to suggest whether the building had originally been one or two stories in height, but either the house was of frame construction above the foundations or large quantities of rock have been removed from the site. The simple rectangular floor plan suggests a gabled roof with the ridge running parallel to the long axis, which is to say, parallel with the blockhouse.

The blockhouse is within fifty feet of the house. Its walls parallel those of the house, its fireplace is also in the north end, and its door is in line with the postulated back porch of the house. There is little doubt but that it is part of the same structural complex.

We have already mentioned that much of the existing blockhouse is reconstruction, and probably the most important discovery made by Winter was a “. . . section of brick cistern dome, about 3 feet by 10 inches, starting at top of original wall of tower about 2 feet above ground level. Rest of tower is reconstruction.”

Remove the tower, the battlements, and the other reconstruction work, and what do we have? A small building with a huge fireplace and a cistern, located about fifty feet from the presumed back porch of a dwelling house. There is only one type of building that logically satisfies that description, and that is the outside kitchen building common in plantation days.

But, we must not forget that the blockhouse is located within a perfectly good fort outline. This was, for some time, the most puzzling feature of the site. If the earthworks had

not been present we could have, with some justification, abandoned our investigation, declaring that the blockhouse was merely a reconstructed kitchen of early nineteenth century plantation days.

Looking at the problem of the earthworks from the point of view of logic, several incongruities appear. If the fort was constructed while the house was standing - with some portions of the house not over fifteen feet from the moat - the house would constitute a danger to the fort. The ridge of even a one story house would be at a higher level than the palisade which probably stood on the earthwork, permitting an attacker to gain the house and fire down into the fort. Unless we are willing to concede that the builders of the fort ignored such an elementary problem of defense, we are forced to the probability that the earthworks are either earlier or later than the house, and kitchen. If earlier, it would seem illogical for an owner of over a thousand acres to separate his house from his kitchen by a moat which would only make passage between the two more difficult. The most reasonable assumption is that the earthwork is later than the house, but let us now see what history has to say.

THE FIRST SPANISH PERIOD

One of the most persistent local interpretations of the blockhouse is that it represents a fort of early Spanish times. This interpretation is based on a letter written by Captain Antonio de Prado in 1569, containing recommendations on the forts of Florida. In this letter, four forts are recommended; San Anton, in Carlos; St. Augustine, the major post; and San Pedro and San Felipe in Guale.⁴ For the St. Augustine fort, de Prado suggested two outposts of fifty men each, one at

4. Jeanette Thurber Conner, *Colonial Records of Spanish Florida*, Vol. I, Deland, 1925, pp. 291-293.

Matanzas and one at Nacoroco. Some investigators have claimed that the blockhouse is the post at Nacoroco.

Geographically speaking, the site of the blockhouse will not qualify. The post was to be located between two rivers, one going to Matanzas and the other to Mosquitos. Its obvious function was to protect this point. The Indian town of Nacoroco, as we know from the Mexia narrative of 1605, was at such a point - the mouth of the Tomoka River.⁵ The blockhouse is two miles from this point, and in such a location that it could not conceivably have protected anything until a road was built, which was not done until the British Period.

Perhaps the most significant thing about the de Prado letter is that it has been taken as a statement of accomplished reality, rather than in its actual nature of a series of recommendations. There seems to be no evidence that the recommendations concerning a post at Nacoroco were ever acted upon. Certainly, in 1573, when several witnesses attest in detail to the defenses of Florida, there is no mention of such a post.⁶ In the same year a shipwreck victim found a Spanish sentinel at Matanzas, but none below.⁷ There was no post at Nacoroco when Mexia visited it in 1605, nor does he mention there ever having been one.

So far as construction is concerned there are several discrepancies. DePrado speaks of triangular forts, "built of beams and timber, fagots and earth." Coquina was not mentioned for the simple reason that it had not yet been discovered by the Spaniards. In 1570 the Spaniards still did not know of the existence of stone in Florida, and suggestions were made that stone be imported from Cuba for the construc-

5. John W. Griffin and Hale G. Smith, "Nacoroco," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 27, No. 4, 1949. In a broad sense Nacoroco might be taken to include the Bay of Nacoroco (Tomoka Basin) and the River of Nacoroco (Halifax River).

6. Conner, *op. cit.*, pp. 83-103.

7. *Ibid.*, p. 69.

tion of forts.⁸ A letter written in 1583 may contain the first reference to the discovery of coquina,⁹ but as late as 1737 Arredondo knew only of the coquina on Anastasia Island.¹⁰

To these brief notes we may add the reminder that none of the excavated materials from the blockhouse can be said to have come from this period. With the criteria of history, archaeology, and geography all unsatisfied we must discard the sixteenth century fort as an explanation.

THE BRITISH PERIOD

The region around the Tomoka River was settled by Europeans for the first time during the British Period (1763-83), and one of the plantations would seem to have covered at least a portion of the later Addison grant. This was the 2000 acre tract of James Moultrie,¹¹ not to be confused with other grants to John Moultrie in the same region.

The grant was made in 1771, and land clearing operations commenced almost at once. In the claims later presented to the Crown it was stated that 150 acres of this tract were cleared and planted in indigo and provisions, the latter mostly corn. Twenty-five to thirty negroes were working on the plantation, and suitable structures were provided for them, as well as a house for an overseer. This house is of interest to us for it is described as, ". . . a dwelling House framed of Wood with a Stone Chimney one Storey high a Piazza & two small Wings . . ." This description could readily be applied to the foundation ruins and tabby porches uncovered on the Addison place.

An absolute identification of the ruins with the house men-

8. *Ibid.*, p. 315.

9. Letter by P. Menendez Marques, in Buckingham Smith papers, New York Historical Society. Index of these papers in Florida Historical Society Library.

10. Typescript of translation of Arredondo's report dated January, 1737, in Florida Historical Society Library.

11. W. H. Siebert, *Loyalists in East Florida*, Vol. II. Deland, 1929. Pp. 92-101.

tioned in the claims cannot be made, for no materials assignable to the British Period, and to no other period, were found in the excavations. The vast bulk of the nails found were of a stamped variety not made before 1800. There is a distinct possibility, however, that the British Period foundations were reused by the subsequent occupants, nearly a quarter of a century later.

The fort, in any event, remains unexplained. No mention is made of it in the Moultrie claims, or by the witnesses called to testify concerning these claims.

THE SECOND SPANISH AND TERRITORIAL AMERICAN PERIODS

In 1783 Florida was returned to Spain, and all of the inhabitants of plantations in the Halifax area left their lands. The period of abandonment did not last long, however. Before 1800 a few settlers had drifted into the deserted region, particularly near Mosquito Inlet. Very soon after 1800 an influx of settlers, mostly British, and many of them from the Bahamas, established themselves in the area.

One of these settlers was John Addison. His first grant of 1,800 acres was in the New Smyrna-Mosquito Inlet region, but in 1807 he transferred this acreage for 1,414 acres on the Tomoka River. This is the plantation on which the blockhouse is located. In 1816 Addison petitioned for absolute title to the land, for the Spanish procedure deferred the granting of absolute title until the land had been cultivated and improved for a period of ten years. The title was granted following confirmation by Joseph M. Hernandez and F. M. Arredondo, Jr., that Addison had cleared and planted the land, constructed buildings and fences, and possessed slaves and livestock.¹²

The period during which the plantations were being estab-

12. Historical Records Survey, W.P.A., *Spanish Land Grants in Florida*, Vol. II, Tallahassee, 1941. Pp. 8-10.

lished was not completely a peaceful one. Indian raids caused the temporary abandonment of many of the Halifax plantations about 1808. Seemingly these troubles were followed in a few years by other disruptive raids during the Patriot Revolution, even though the records scanned so far have not revealed specific details of raids along the coast south of St. Augustine. Robert McHardy, whose plantation was the second one north of Addison, filed a claim against the United States for damage to his property caused by operations of U. S. troops at this time. In 1843 his estate was awarded the sum of \$10,815 on this claim,¹³ which would seem to constitute an acknowledgement by the court of the justice of his claim.

James Ormond III tells of an attack on the Addison plantation during the Patriot uprisings. His account is second-hand, inasmuch as he was not in Florida at the time, but there seems to be little reason to doubt its validity. According to him, the planters of the region, reinforced by some dragoons from St. Augustine,¹⁴ ambushed and virtually annihilated the raiders as they left their boats at Addison's Landing.¹⁵

With the change of flags all of the plantation owners presented their claims to the U. S. Board of Commissioners. Addison's claim was officially confirmed by Congress in 1827, by which time he had died. His death occurred in 1825, and he is buried on the plantation, near the banks of the Tomoka River.

The property passed to his brother, Thomas Addison, who in 1825 transferred it to Thomas H. Dummett, with Dummett's slaves serving as security.¹⁶ In 1826 Dummett, who had evidently

13. *A Private Memoir of the Life and Services of Admiral J. B. B. McHardy*, Privately printed by the family, 1894. However, McHardy did not settle the Tomoka plantation until 1815, and the raid must have been on his lands nearer Mosquito Inlet.

14. Ormond says the dragoons were dispatched by Governor Coppinger, but if the date was 1812-13 as he gives it, the governor was Kindelan rather than Coppinger.

15. James Ormond III, *Reminiscences Concerning the Early Days of the Halifax Country*, Ormond, 1941.

16. St. Johns County, Deed Book F. Pp. 265-268.

overextended himself in the purchase and development of properties in the area, transferred a one-fourth undivided part of this plantation and the adjoining one he had purchased from John Bunch to the brothers Duncan and Kenneth MacRae.¹⁷ Sometime before 1830 the MacRaes obtained sole possession of the Addison tract, and the United States Census of 1830 lists Duncan McRae as a family head, and gives those under him as one white male (presumably Kenneth), one free female of color, and 64 slaves.¹⁸ In 1832 litigation developed around the title. John Gilliland, a nephew of Addison's from Ireland, with Joseph Hunter acting as his administrator sought to recover the property, complaining that Dummett's obligation had never been settled.¹⁹ The outcome of this suit, and its ramifications, were not pursued by the present writer.

Seemingly the MacRaes followed the trend toward sugar planting and the development of sugar mills, which became an intensive pursuit only after the change of flags.²⁰ The coquina mill ruins on the Addison grant, with the date 1832 carved above the door, must have been built by the MacRaes rather than by either Addison or Dummett. But the MacRae mill, as well as the other large ones of the area, was unable to operate for a sufficient time to justify its construction, for the year 1835 spelled disaster for the planters of the Halifax. The year opened with a freeze probably unequalled in recorded Florida history.²¹ The temperature dropped to 10 degrees in St. Augustine and hovered around freezing for 56 hours or more. Ice formed many feet offshore in the St. Johns River. The same year brought a heavy downsurge in the sugar market,²² and most of the planters, already in debt, were no doubt in a serious position.

17. St. John County, Deed Book F. Pp. 256-261.

18. U. S. Census of 1830, Mosquito County, Florida. Microfilm in P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

19. St. John County, File Drawer H-7.

20. Vignoles in his *Observations on the Floridas* (1823) so indicates. See page 14 of this work.

21. T. Frederick Davis, "Early Orange Culture in Florida and the Epocal Cold of 1835," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 15, No. 4, 1937.

22. Emory Q. Hawk, *Economic History of the South*, New York, 1934. Page 264.

In the meantime, affairs with the Seminole Indians were drawing to a head, and as the year 1835 neared its end, at Christmas time in fact, the plantations suffered their final blow. Without warning, the Halifax area was attacked, many of the plantations burned and looted, and the settlers forced to withdraw to Bulow's plantation where a small militia force was quartered, and where a small fort had been built. On the 18th day of January, 1836, an expedition from Bulowville engaged the Indians at Dunlawton plantation, near present-day Port Orange.²³ On the 23rd of January Bulowville was abandoned, and the entire Halifax area was left to the Indians.²⁴

It is at this point that most local histories leave us, with the plantations destroyed and the population withdrawn. So far as the blockhouse is concerned we are presented with two possible times of construction. Addison could have constructed the fortification around his kitchen in the unsettled times of the Patriot Revolution, or MacRae could have done the same thing as the situation with the Indians became more tense. In both cases, however, the objection that we have previously offered - that the house was a danger to the fort so long as it stood - confronts us. Actually, the events of the Seminole Wars in the region had just begun, and it is in the period subsequent to the abandonment of the plantations - in the period that logic had previously suggested - that we find the solution.

As late as February 17, 1836, a reconnaissance party from St. Augustine found the Addison plantation (Carrickfergus) still intact. Toward the end of February the Carolina Regiment of Volunteers marched southward from St. Augustine.²⁵ They

23. See James Ormond III, *op. cit.*, for an account of this battle.

24. Ruth D. Wilson, "The Bulow Plantation, 1821-1835," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 23, No. 4, 1945. Page 235.

25. Two officers of the Carolina regiment wrote books from which the following information is summarized. These books are: A Lieutenant of the Left Wing [W. W. Smith], *Sketch of the Seminole War and Sketches During a Campaign*, Charleston, 1836, and M. M. Cohen, *Notices of Florida and the Campaigns*, Charleston and New York, 1836.

were a portion of the troops which were to assemble as the left wing of General Winfield Scott's campaign against the Seminoles in central Florida. Portions of the Carolina regiment reached Bulow's burned and deserted plantation on the 25th of February, and occupied the fort which had been built there, and which still stood although the house was destroyed. On the morning of the 26th part of the regiment marched toward Carrickfergus, the plantation of Duncan MacRae. Here they encamped, having found the place destroyed. A corn crib still smouldered, indicating the recency of the destruction.

When Lt. W. W. Smith visited Camp M'Crae, as they called it, on the 28th of February he "found the Col. busily occupied with the Capt. of Pioneers in the construction of a Fort." ²⁶ The Captain of Pioneers was M. M. Cohen, whose comments are of considerable interest to us.

We have thrown up an extensive breast work, (with deep trenches around it) constructed a commissary store-house, and mounted a small cannon a-top of it. This piece we named M'Duffie . . .

We have also levelled the embankments [presumably drainage ditch embankments], burned the grass, cut the palmetto and scrub, and removed all objects that were within rifle shot of our camp, behind which the enemy could conceal himself. ²⁷

The fact that the commissary-store, with the 4-pounder M'Duffie atop it, was within the fort is definitely indicated in Lt. Smith's account.

Our enigma is no more. The earthwork and moat surrounding the blockhouse were constructed by the Carolina Volunteers in 1836. The objection of the nearby location of the house is removed, for it was in ruins when the fort was built.

26. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 190.

27. Cohen, *op. cit.*, pp. 148-149.

We may picture the situation as follows. The Carolinians arrived at the MacRae plantation, finding it in ruins, for as Lt. Smith says, "The dwelling house, sugar house, and every other building on the place except those two mentioned [a fowl house and a Negro shack], were destroyed."²⁸ If, as we suspect, the kitchen was originally of frame construction, only the chimneys and foundations of the kitchen and house remained standing. The fort was laid out around the old kitchen, and its ruins were converted into the commissary-store. Inside the moat, and atop the embankment, which would provide a banquette or firing platform, a wall or palisade was constructed.

A visitor to the site in 1876 describes the fort as "Octagonal in shape, about 18 feet high."²⁹ The outline is in no sense an octagon but other, and later, observers have made the same mistake. The height of eighteen feet certainly implies that at least a portion of the palisade was standing in 1876. The evidence all seems to point to construction regarded as typical of Seminole War forts, or pickets, by Potter:

The pickets are made by splitting pine logs about eighteen feet in length into two parts, and driving them upright and firmly into the ground close together, with the flat side inwards; these are braced together by a strip of board nailed on the inside. The tops are sharpened, and holes are cut seven or eight feet from the ground for the fire arms. A range of benches extends around the work about three feet high, from which the fire is delivered. All our forts in that country are so formed.³⁰

In the light of this information, and the 1876 description of the height of the fort, the present reconstruction of the blockhouse is ridiculous. Both the battlemented walls and the tower

28. Smith, *op. cit.*, p. 196.

29. Clipping in Marie Mann Boyd's scrapbook, an article by E. N. Waldron, quoting Calvin Day. Information from Mrs. J. E. Hebel.

30. W. Potter, *The War in Florida*, Baltimore, 1836, p. 98.

would have been below the line of the palisade, and could have served no function. It is more reasonable to assume that the kitchen was rewalled and reroofed to form the storehouse, and that a platform was extended above this building to a sufficient height for the cannon to have fired over the palisade.

The Carolinians probably also demolished the chimney of the dwelling house in keeping with their program of removing objects within rifle shot of the fort behind which an enemy could hide. This demolished chimney could well be the source of stone from which the reconstruction of the blockhouse in the present century was made. It is extremely unlikely that any masonry construction was undertaken by the Carolinians in establishing the post.

Camp M'Crae was occupied by the volunteers from February 27th until sometime in March of 1836, but we must not imagine that all of the troops were quartered in the small fort that they had constructed. Probably the majority were camped in the open fields. When Lt. Smith and his party joined the group on March 7th they so bivouacked, though rain drove them to the dubious shelter of a dilapidated Negro house about a half mile from the fort.³¹ A fowl house, the only other accommodation, was used as a hospital for the great number of men down with the measles.³²

The morning of March 10 found many of the soldiers scattered from the camp gathering wood and sugar cane. A soldier named Winster was walking within 20 or 30 yards of the sugar mill, which was located several hundred yards from the camp. Ben Wiggins, the old mulatto guide of the regiment, and an experienced man where Indians were concerned, whispered to Winster not to go farther - Indians were around.³³ Winster disregarded the warning, but Old Ben slowly and indifferently retreated, warning others as he passed them.

31. Smith, *op cit.*, p. 196.

32. *Ibid.*

33. This is the same Old Ben who figured prominently in the battle of Dunlawton, where according to James Ormond III (*op. cit.*) he rallied the forces with the statement, "My God, Gentlemans, is 'on na' goin' to run away from a parcel of dam Indians . . ."

Suddenly the air was rent with shots and Indian whoops. The sleeping members of the regiment quickly awoke, and the companies fell into line. The Indians were behind the sugar mill, and delivered a hot fire for a short time, with some of the balls striking the fort. However, when they saw that the troops were prepared to charge, the Indians quickly withdrew across the fields into the hammocks. The four-pounder M'Duffie had not been fired early in the engagement for fear of hitting some of the Carolina men scattered through the fields, and when it could have fired at the retreating enemy it ignominiously tumbled down.

Three of the Carolinians were killed in the engagement, including Winster, who had disregarded Old Ben's warning. Two of the three had been scalped.

Preparations were still being made to move the regiment and other troops in the area to the St. Johns River. Gradually the Carolinians congregated at MacRae, drawing in from St. Joseph and Bulow farther to the north. A unit of U. S. troops was stationed at Williams' plantation (present day Daytona Beach), and some supplies came to this point by the steamboat *Dolphin* from St. Augustine.³⁴ General Eustis himself made the trip to Mosquito on one occasion. On March 19, Major Kirby, at Williams', received orders to move his force to Tomoka to join the rest, in preparation for leaving the next morning for Volusia.³⁵ On the same day Captain Thomas Parker, commanding at MacRae, submitted a listing of the sick, presumably sufferers of the measles mentioned earlier, who would have to be left behind. The listing totals 76 officers and men, of whom 55 could bear arms and assist in the defense of the post if attacked.³⁶

34. Letters, Major Kirby to Commanding Officer at Tomoka, March 13, 1836, and General Eustis to Brig. General Bull, March 13, 1836. These letters, and those referred to in the succeeding two notes, are in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida.

35. Major R. M. Kirby to Brig. Gen. Bull, March 19, 1836.

36. Capt. Thomas Parker to Brig. Gen. Bull, March 19, 1836.

The major part of the force marched westward to Volusia, and thence into the interior. The sick, we must presume, were left behind, and later either joined the regiment or returned to St. Augustine. At any rate, MacRae was probably abandoned before the end of March, and so far as we have discovered was not reoccupied.

This should end the story of Fort MacRae, which had seen its brief span of service and tasted its brief moment of action, but there are always tantalizing loose ends. The cannon M'Duffie, which had stood in the fort, and which is mentioned so prominently in the accounts, is known to have accompanied the Carolinians to Volusia and beyond. Yet, in 1876, a spiked gun was taken from the fort.³⁷ The only reasonable assumption that can be made is that this was another gun, left by another portion of the troops which assembled at Fort MacRae to aid the convalescents in the event of an attack. When all had recovered from the measles they withdrew from the post, and possibly spiked the gun and left it behind. Research to date has failed to recover any evidence indicating a later reusage of the fort which could account for the piece.

The gun was taken to Daytona, and repaired in time to salute the 4th of July of 1876. Ten years later it was used to salute the entry of the first train into Daytona. "The proprietor of Bloomington [Kingston] had hauled out the old Tomoka cannon, which at this time fired its last salute, for in booming out to welcome the appearance of the train it burst, doing no damage except to itself."³⁸ A more symbolic occurrence could hardly be imagined by the writer of fiction - the frontier had passed, the railroad had entered.

37. I am indebted to Mrs. J. E. Hebel for this information, which comes from the clipping by E. N. Waldron referred to above.

38. *Halifax Journal*, Dec. 9, 1886. Information from Mrs. J. E. Hebel.