

ADVENTURES IN FLORIDA ARCHAEOLOGY

A look within the
layers of history on
Cape Canaveral

2023



EDITORS' NOTE



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When we started as archaeologists, thirty or so years ago, a career in this field was considered speculative, maybe even fanciful, but not really a viable occupation. Most of us were asked by our families and friends, “How are you going to support yourself?” A few found jobs in academia, but most archaeologists found positions at cultural resource management (CRM) companies as consultants, and many left archaeology altogether for careers in other fields.

Fast forward to today. There appears to be an ever-growing awareness within our country that the preservation and protection of our cultural heritage as well as dissemination of and erudition from our past is of great value. Local, state, and federal laws require that the effects of development on cultural resources (archaeological sites, historic buildings, structures and objects, and historic landscapes) be considered prior to development. As in many other fields, we now find ourselves in a unique position of not having enough archaeologists to fill the positions available. Fortunately, the universities in Florida have recognized the gap and are instituting programs targeted not only to academic archaeologists, but also to those who want to work for regulatory agencies and in the private sector. These programs will be training students with the theory, methods, and skills they need to complete an undergraduate or graduate program and immediately be employable.

The articles herein were penned by researchers from academia, government agencies, nonprofit organizations,

and private-sector cultural resources consulting firms. All show the importance of relaying the information we discover in our historical research and archaeological excavations to the public. The article on Pinellas Point reveals the importance, and ongoing struggle, of recording and presenting history accurately. The two articles about space archaeology show how academic programs are training the next generation of consulting archaeologists while making fascinating finds related to the space race and earlier settlements on Cape Canaveral. Ellie Minette explains the method of 3D laser scanning artifacts to preserve and make data accessible to researchers and the public around the world who otherwise would not be able to interact with the actual object—truly the future of archaeological study and museums. Historical research through documents and maps are affording us the opportunity to pinpoint historic Native American towns and rediscover lost African American cemeteries. The Emanuel Point Wrecks, some of the earliest found in the U.S., shed invaluable light on early colonial settlement. An archaeological study near St. Augustine led to the discovery of a Native American refugee camp dating to the late 18th-early 19th centuries.

From the depths of the ocean to “space” archaeology, our field has changed and will continue to change, but requires that we accurately interpret and tell the story of Florida settlers who came before us in academic journals, public displays, and popular magazines such as this one.

**SHARE
YOUR
RESEARCH**

***Adventures in Florida Archaeology* welcomes your articles and regional news that focus on aspects of archaeological study. For information and submission details, contact Dr. Anne Stokes, anne@searchinc.com or KC Smith, kcsmith614@hotmail.com.**

ON THE COVER

TOP: The Bumper 2 was the first rocket launched from Cape Canaveral in July 1950.
BOTTOM: Wall of a dense midden deposit, showing the dark upper soil layer.



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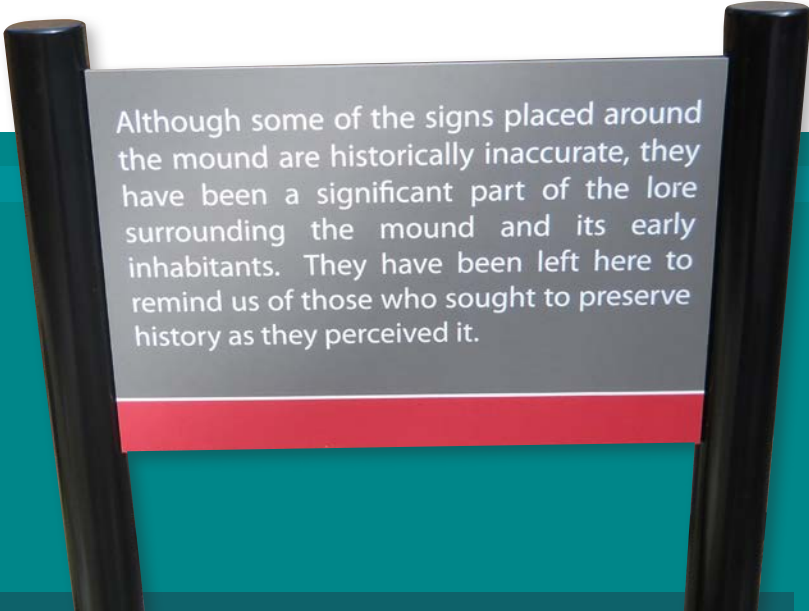
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Cliff Leonard, Hook Line & Sinker Design, Tallahassee
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FACT & FICTION:

PUBLIC INTERPRETATION AND THE PINELLAS POINT MOUND

ROBERT J. AUSTIN



Although some of the signs placed around the mound are historically inaccurate, they have been a significant part of the lore surrounding the mound and its early inhabitants. They have been left here to remind us of those who sought to preserve history as they perceived it.

Monuments, signs, and markers are parts of our historic landscape. They purport to tell the story of a person, place, or event briefly and, we presume, accurately. Unfortunately, many fail to achieve this last expectation. The reasons for this are varied—pride, hubris, racism, but all are rooted in the social context of the time and place of marker erection. The history of interpretation of the Pinellas Point Mound in St. Petersburg is an excellent example of how the social and political framework within which knowledge is constructed and conveyed influences what we see and read at historic sites.

As James W. Loewen makes clear in *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*, history is not the past. The past is what happened; history is how the past is presented. When visiting a historic site, it is important to ask who wrote the history you are reading, when, and for what reason. Let's look at the history of Pinellas Point Mound in light of these questions.

Pinellas Point: Just the Facts

The Pinellas Point Mound is a large, ramped platform mound and a surrounding shallow shell midden. The former also is known as the Princess Hirrihigua Mound or Princess Mound (8PI108). Located in Indian Mound Park in the Pinellas Point subdivision of St. Petersburg, it is one of the best-preserved portions of what was a very large Indigenous community that stretched along the southern terminus of the Pinellas peninsula from its eastern end, west to Maximo Point and then north to Frenchman's Creek along Boca Ciega Bay, a distance of about 3.5 miles.

Very little is known archaeologically about the mound. It was visited in 1872 by W. C. Van Bibber and Louis Agassiz (Bethell 1914:52), followed by S. T. Walker (1880), C. B. Moore (1900), R. D. Wainright (1916), and David Bushnell (1926). Artifacts from these early projects include undecorated pottery, "arrowheads," a bone tool, and unspecified implements (possibly shell). Walker reported that a skeleton and "Indian pipe" had been taken from the mound by previous diggers. Recent surface collections, monitoring projects, and surveys of the park have produced similar results: sand-tempered plain pottery, limestone-tempered plain pottery, a bit of Pinellas Plain, a few shell implements, and a projectile point. Based on these limited data, the mound may date as early as the late Weeden Island period or as late as the precontact Safety Harbor period. More importantly for the present story, no contact-period artifacts have ever been reported from the mound or anywhere on the lower Pinellas peninsula, nor have any radiocarbon dates been obtained.

Early Interpretations

Interpretations of the mound as a "temple mound" are based almost entirely on its form and presumed association with the Safety Harbor archaeological culture, the Tampa Bay region's late precontact cultural manifestation that was influenced by Mississippian cultures farther north. Except for the reported burial and observations of its layered composition, there is no evidence relating to the mound's function. A sign erected by the Daughters of the American Revolution (DAR) in 1968 indicating that the mound is of Calusa

origin, is almost certainly false. If any historically known ethnic group can be associated with the mound, it would be the Tocobaga, the historic descendants of the Safety Harbor culture.

Myths and Legends: Juan Ortiz, Princess Hirrihigua, and the Dominican Friar

In 1960, the Hirrihigua Chapter of the DAR erected a sign at the mound to commemorate the group's 50th anniversary. The sign tells the story of Princess Hirrihigua, an Indian Princess, and Juan Ortiz, a member of a Spanish expedition from Cuba sent to Florida in 1528 to find the explorer Pánfilo de Narváez. According to the story, Ortiz was captured by the princess's father, Hirrihigua, chief of the Timucua, and was condemned to death. The princess intervened three times to save Ortiz's life, and when he was threatened again, she helped him to escape to the village of Mucoso, angering her father. Hernando de Soto rescued Ortiz in 1539, and the latter became his guide and interpreter.

The story's origin can be traced back to the account of the Narváez expedition by Álvaro Núñez Cabeza de Vaca and second-hand accounts by the Gentleman of Elvas and Inca Garcilaso de la Vega, and may contain some elements of truth. Juan Ortiz, Hirrihigua (Orriyuga), and Mucoso (Mocoso) all existed; Ortiz was indeed captured by Indians and was rescued by de Soto in 1539. Hirrihigua was chief of the Uzita, who were related ethnically to the Tocobaga, not the Timucua; however, the Uzita are believed to have lived near the mouth of the Little Manatee River in what is now

southern Hillsborough County (Milanich and Hudson 1993:56). When Ortiz escaped, he fled to Mocoso, whose territory encompassed Hillsborough Bay down to the Alafia River (Milanich and Hudson 1993:124). While Hirrihigua's daughter (sometimes referred to as Uleleh [e.g., Fleming 1908], although there is no record of her real name in the early accounts) may have helped Ortiz escape her father, rescue narratives describing a chief's daughter saving a captured white male are widespread—the Pocahontas story being the most well-known and possibly influenced by the earlier Ortiz-Hirrihigua story (Blumlo 2017). Regardless, there is no evidence, archaeological or documentary, that any of these events took place on Pinellas Point. This did not deter a city historian, Douglas Davis, from recording the mound under a new site number, 8PI732, to commemorate the Princess Hirrihigua-Juan Ortiz story. Davis's site form provides no information on the mound nor any new information supporting the story. Instead, it presents the oft-repeated legend of Ortiz and his presumed saving by the Indian princess.

The Calusa Indian plaque mentioned above commemorates another historical event that is alleged to be associated with the Pinellas Point Mound—the death of a Dominican friar at the hands of local Indians. Historian Davis assigned yet a third site number, 8PI728, to the mound to honor the slain friar. According to Davis's site file form, "it was at this old Indian mound that Dominican friar, Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro, became one of the first martyrs on U. S. soil when he was clubbed to death by native Indians on June 26, 1549."



The story of Juan Ortiz and Princess Hirrihigua is conveyed on a DAR plaque erected in 1960.

In 1968, the local chapter of the Daughters of the American Revolution erected a plaque relating the death of Fray Luis Cancer de Barbastro by the Calusa Indians.

Like the Juan Ortiz story, the narrative of Father Cancer and his death is based on fact. Cancer was a Dominican friar who visited the Tampa Bay region in 1549 in an effort to convert the local Tocobaga to Christianity. He initially landed south of Tampa Bay and may have been in contact with the Calusa. However, when he reached the bay area, Father Cancer was killed by the Tocobaga, and members of his expedition either were killed or captured (Sauer 1971:189-190). Also, like the Ortiz story, there is no evidence to indicate that Pinellas Point was the scene of the friar's demise.

The Indian Maiden's Bones

In 1979, the Pinellas Point Mound was the focus of a controversy surrounding the reburial of a Native American skeleton. A local amateur group, the Suncoast Archaeological Society (SAS), approached the St. Petersburg City Council about reburying a female skeleton that had been excavated from the Bay Pines archaeological site in 1972 (Smith 1979a). SAS wanted to inter the remains of the "Timucuan Indian maiden" within a concrete tomb and bury it five feet below the mound's surface. Although the City Council initially gave its permission, news of the proposed reburial sparked immediate criticism from professional archaeologists, Native American groups, the Veterans Administration, and the public.

Because the bones had been excavated from a site on the grounds of the Bay Pines Veterans Administration Hospital, they legally belonged to the federal government. After hearing from archaeologists that the Pinellas Point Mound was not the appropriate place to rebury the remains, the City Council rescinded its motion. In the meantime, SAS gave the bones to members of the American Indian Society of Pinellas County (AIS) "for safe keeping" (Smith 1979b), and the AIS refused to give them back, insisting that they intended to bury the remains "whether it's legal or not." When told that the bones were considered federal property, an AIS spokesman reportedly stated, "They're being kept in an undisclosed place, and I won't tell anybody. They can come out and scalp us if they want to. They're not going to get them back" (Brown 1979).

Eventually, the Interagency Archeological Services Program (IAS), created by the National Park Service, became involved. According to a newspaper account, IAS intended to meet with AIS to resolve the issue.² Unfortunately, no information has been uncovered regarding the ultimate disposition of the remains. SAS no longer is active, and its president, Ray Robinson, passed away in 2000. The American Indian Society dissolved in 1989. Contact with some of the other principals involved (Bennie Keel, IAS; Harry Piper, local professional archaeologist; David Dickel, Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research) failed to stimulate

any recollections about their fate. Correspondence with staff at the National Park Service Southeast Archeological Center and Veteran's Administration History Office were equally unsuccessful.

Final Thoughts

We may never know whether the Hirrihigua-Juan Ortiz and Father Cancer associations with the Pinellas Point Mound are true. Certainly there is no archaeological or documentary evidence to support the claims, although such evidence may appear in the future. The DAR markers are still present at Indian Mound Park, along with interpretive panels of recent origin that attempt to rectify earlier inaccuracies. Keeping the early plaques on display despite their incorrect information offers the visitor a way to consider the questions posed at the beginning of this essay. Whose voices are being heard in relating the misconstrued history of the mound? What were the motives of those who erected the plaques?

The DAR is a nonprofit service group that promotes education and patriotism. In the course of its 130-year history, it has had many laudable accomplishments. It also has a history of supporting conservative nationalism, the segregation of African Americans, and reinforcing gendered and racial hierarchies (Truesdale 1996; Wendt 2020). Given this background, it is legitimate to examine critically the text on the plaques.

What is immediately obvious is that events purported to have occurred at the site are portrayed only through the lens of European history. Except for Princess Hirrihigua, Indigenous people are portrayed negatively. Even the Princess's story may have been fabricated in part. According to Jerald Milanich, the "hero" (or heroine) themes in the Spanish narratives appear much earlier in western literature, and the Princess Hirrihigua story may have been appropriated from these. The historic designations by historian Davis are equally ill-informed, with the Father Cancer story portraying Europeans as "martyrs" brutally slain by Native people.

What of the mound's precontact history? To date, this has been written primarily by white antiquarians from the 19th and early 20th centuries, reflecting the biases and assumptions of the times. The incident of the "Indian maiden's bones" illustrates just how harmful misinformation can be when used to direct meaningful action. The SAS excavations at Bay Pines recovered five intact skeletons, but only the remains of the "Timucuan maiden" were chosen for reburial at Pinellas Point. It is not difficult to believe that this decision was influenced by the Hirrihigua-Ortiz story. It was Robinson, no less, who assigned the Princess Hirrihigua moniker to the mound when he recorded the site in the Florida Master Site File in 1970. The City Council's decision to allow the interment of a concrete box containing Native

American remains in the mound also was ill-advised, being dependent on fiction rather than fact regarding the mound, its history, and the skeletal remains.

Absent from all of this are the voices of Indigenous people except when those voices were raised in protest to the mistreatment of their ancestors' remains. The moral of this story is that history is written by the dominant society and often is meant to reflect well on that society to the detriment of the conquered and dispossessed. While the newer display panels at Indian Mound Park attempt to present accurate information on the mound's age and function, at least to the extent that we currently understand these, it too was written by white archaeologists of European descent with no involvement by Indigenous people. While future archaeological research of the mound will surely modify these interpretations as new data emerge, its understanding clearly would be enhanced by adding an Indigenous voice.

Finally, and most relevant to this essay, we must fight the tendency to accept uncritically the histories presented to us at historic sites. The truths of the past are more complicated, and ultimately richer, than the condensed and often biased summaries that are presented to us.

Dr. Robert J. Austin is cofounder and principal researcher of the Alliance for Weedon Island Archaeological Research and Education, Inc. (AWIARE). This article originally was published in the Central Gulf Coast Archaeological Society Bulletin, Vol. IX, No. 2, July 2021.

Notes

¹ For an excellent related discussion, see James W. Loewen's *Lies Across America: What Our Historic Sites Get Wrong*.

²This information was reported in the *Evening Independent*, January 23, 1979, a daily newspaper that debuted in St. Petersburg in 1906.

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REACHING FOR THE STARS



Students and staff from the 2022 project take a break from fieldwork. All photos in the article are courtesy of the authors

EMILY TYLER AND SARAH B. BARBER

Cape Canaveral Archaeological Project Provides Training for Space Coast Students

As global climate change transforms Florida's coastline through high storm surges and rising sea levels, the state's waterfront cultural resources increasingly are at risk of damage or destruction. The Indian River Lagoon (IRL) on Florida's east coast is no exception. Historic sites around the lagoon include everything from Indigenous settlements that are more than 1,000 years old to 19th-century lighthouses and modern launch pads from the early years of the Space Race.

In a unique partnership, the U. S. Space Force (USSF) and the University of Central Florida (UCF) are collaborating to document at-risk archaeological and historical sites while providing students with hands-on training. The Cape Canaveral Archaeological Mitigation Project (CCAMP) is directed by Thomas Penders, archaeologist and cultural resource manager for the Space Launch Delta 45, and led by five UCF

archaeologists—principal investigators Drs. Sarah Barber and Neil Duncan, along with Drs. Amanda Groff, Sandra Wheeler, and Emily Zavodny.

CCAMP is archaeological field research paired with a class component, in which students conduct a project of their choosing to present as posters at the UCF Student Scholar Symposium and in the Sands History Center at Cape Canaveral. For some students, this is the first time they have been on an archaeological site. For others, the experience allows them to practice leadership skills by directing excavation teams, verifying field paperwork, and answering the questions of first-time archaeology students. CCAMP alumni have gone on to graduate school and careers in archaeology with USF's Center for Digital Heritage and Geospatial Information as well as with private firms.

The team has worked at seven archaeological sites and eight historical cemeteries. The former were evaluated via Phase I survey, which consisted of excavating 50 x 50 cm shovel test pits up to a meter deep to determine the presence of artifacts and the site boundaries. Three sites—the Burns Mound (8BR85), Penny (8BR158), and the Old Lighthouse (8BR234)—were investigated through Phase II excavations that consisted of 2 x 2 m test pits.

Brief History of Cape Canaveral

CCAMP seeks to unearth and understand the long, complex history of Cape Canaveral. Geological research suggests that the barrier islands that formed IRL emerged about 6,000 years ago. Until the late 1700s, the area was home to Indigenous peoples, including the Ais and Surruque. Although the Ais and their ancestors left evidence throughout the region, CCAMP students have studied their past lifeways most extensively at the Burns and Penny sites.

In the 19th century, homesteaders began to move to the Cape Canaveral area after passage of the Occupation Act of 1842, which encouraged settlement by any means necessary. In 1845, Florida became a state, and by 1847, construction was completed on the Cape Canaveral Lighthouse. CCAMP students have investigated the Burnham (8BR2352), Cape Road

(8BR233), and Wilson (8BR2353) cemeteries, as well as the Hotel (8BR240) and Lighthouse sites. All pre-date the establishment of Cape Canaveral Space Force Station in 1949. Most of the pre-USAF buildings were demolished to make way for the U. S. Space Program as the Cape became the hub of rocket launches in the 1950s and 1960s. This year, CCAMP students are investigating the Bumper Blockhouse Site (8BR4530), an early launch pad.

1,000 Years of Cape History: The Burns and the Penny Sites

Like many areas of coastal Florida, Indigenous sites predating European contact are located on high ground that also was used by European and American colonists. At Canaveral, the Burns and Penny Sites were both Ais and pre-Ais occupations, as well as the locations of 19th- and 20th-century homesteads and cemeteries.

Excavated by students from CCAMP from 2017-19 and again in 2021, the Burns Site included refuse deposits (middens) from living areas and an important community ritual space in the form of a burial mound. CCAMP students excavated four Phase II test units in midden areas to gather information about how past populations used their local resources. The Burns excavations recovered thousands of fragments of fish, shellfish, and animal bone; microscopic remnants of plants; tools made from shell and bone; and thousands of pot sherds. Radiocarbon dating of midden charcoal revealed that the site was occupied from about 900 to 1600 of the Common Era (CE).



This stone point was found in Test Unit F, located within the cemetery bounds.

An expediency tool made of deer bone was found at the Penny Site. This type of tool may have been used in leather making.



Units G, E, and I were excavated at the Burns Site during 2019.

During the 19th century, the Burns Site became the homestead of Florida’s lighthouse keeper, Mills Burnham and his family, as well as the site of an orange grove called “Burnham’s Grove” and, eventually, late 19th- and early 20th-century graves.

Since 2021, CCAMP has focused investigations on the Penny Site. The entire site was examined entirely via Phase I shovel testing. The efforts also uncovered dense middens in several areas and a sand mound. Field work in the past two seasons has been tracking evidence of a prehistoric structure. The excavations have yielded a range of artifacts, including bone pins, a shell hammer, sandstone tools, a stone projectile point, dense deposits of shellfish, and flakes from stone tool production. As with the Burns Site, the Penny site finds offer insights into the diet and environmental impact of the Ais inhabitants of this coastal region.

Penny Site is named for the graves of Nathan and Maria Penny, late 19th-century homesteaders on the Cape. In 2021, a student conducting a metal detector survey identified structural elements suggesting that the original Penny home may be adjacent to the cemetery’s boundary.

From Field to Lab: Students Analyze Data from CCAMP Projects

CCAMP student training doesn’t end when test pits are backfilled. Students continue to study excavated materials and digital data sets produced through activities like making maps with global positioning systems (GPS) and other survey tools. For example, graduate student Sami Savateri produced maps of artifact densities by converting the materials found in shovel tests into “heat maps” in geospatial software that showed concentrations of artifacts. Students have analyzed the bone, shell, pottery, and plant remains as part of projects for an internship, as independent study projects, and for undergraduate, master’s, and Ph.D. theses.



Check Stamped Rim sherd from the Burns Site.



Phase I shovel testing was conducted at the Hotel Site in 2018.

St. Johns Check Stamped Rim sherds from the Burns Site.



Animal bones and seashells are among the most recovered items at sites on the Cape. Many of these can be identified to the species level, providing unique insight into what the Ais and their ancestors ate. Shellfish, especially the tiny coquina clam found where the waves wash up on shore, was an important food source. In addition, many fish known to today's anglers were eaten, including drum, sea trout, and catfish. Larger fish and animals also were present, including at least five different species of shark, white-tailed deer, dolphin, and black bear.

CCAMP students are working with UCF professor Neil Duncan to understand the kinds of plants used by the Ais. Burned seeds and wood, along with microscopic remnants of plants known as phytoliths, have been recovered using flotation. Flotation involves dumping archaeological sediment into water to "float" burned materials, which would be lost through typical excavation, to the surface. While much of this research is still underway, students have identified remnants of local and traded plants used for food and medicine such as native greenbriar (*Smilax bona-nox*), acorn, and squash. Dr. Duncan and students also are investigating the microscopic pores of broken pottery, which can

preserve the starch residue of foods that were held inside and also can be identified to species. This specialized technique has not been used previously to study the foodways of Indigenous Floridians.

Pottery fragments provide many other details about ancient life. Students have identified a diverse array of pottery used by the inhabitants of the Burns Site. The St. Johns pottery, common on the Cape, is characterized by the inclusion of sponge spicules in the clay paste, which gives the pottery a chalky texture. St. Johns Check Stamped pots were made by stamping the clay with a carved wooden paddle before it was fired, giving it a distinctive pattern. Other decorated St. Johns Pottery, such as net impressed, brushed, burnished, and linear incised, have also been identified, along with other regional types such as Glades and Deptford pottery. To examine whether people were bringing pottery to the Burns Site from other parts of Florida, UCF master's student Emily Tyler is using Instrumental Neutron Activation Analysis (INAA). This technique determines the elemental composition of a sherd by irradiating it using a nuclear reactor, making it possible to detect the geologic origin of the clay used in making a vessel.



This cadaver dog is being rewarded for finding an unmarked grave. Photo by Joseph Piaskowski



A student collects a sediment sample from a unit adjacent to Maria Penny's burial plot.



Students cleaned the gravestones at the major cemeteries on base, including Penny, before Descendent Day.

Florida Homesteads and the Cape Canaveral Cemeteries

The cemeteries on the Cape present many challenges including neglect and the presence of unmarked graves. Students have completed research using methods such as cemetery surveys, gravestone cleaning and recording, archival investigation, soil probing, mapping, and in some cases shovel testing. This CCAMP season, a cadaver dog trained by the Brevard Sheriff's department was used to locate possible unmarked graves at the large Cape Road Cemetery. Across the eastern United States, cadaver dogs have been used to identify unmarked Revolutionary War and Civil War Era graves. These dogs are trained to detect the scent of small amounts of compounds emitted by bones, teeth, and decaying flesh. In addition, studies have included ground-penetrating radar (GPR) and soil probes.

CCAMP students have studied sites that date almost entirely to the 19th and 20th centuries. At the Hotel Site (8BR240), Phase I shovel testing identified remnants of the hotel foundation along with building debris such as kitchen tile and hardware. Similarly, students mapped the foundation of the original Cape Canaveral lighthouse (8BR234) and excavated portions of its brick interior wall.

Aerospace Archaeology: The Bumper Site

In 2023, CCAMP students began their first investigation of the Bumper Blockhouse Site (8BR4533), which was associated with the first launch from Cape Canaveral Space Force Station. To date, the testing has uncovered concrete wall fragments and metal cables that were part of launchpad infrastructure. This site was the location where the Bumper Program launched eight rockets in the 1950s.

Archaeology for the Past and Future

The CCAMP collaboration benefits everyone involved, highlighting the value of partnerships in archaeology. Several program alumni have turned their training into paid positions while others have moved on to graduate training, setting them all on the path to successful careers in archaeology. In turn, the United States Space Force receives high-quality archaeological site evaluations that fulfill federal regulations regarding the care of the sites on base. And local communities benefit from publicly accessible research results that enrich collective understanding of the region's past. Site data, photographs, and student reports can be found at the UCF Library's STARS website under the Brevard Archaeology collection, <https://stars.library.ucf.edu/cape-canaveral-mitigation>.

Emily Tyler is a master's candidate in anthropology at the University of Central Florida. Dr. Sarah Barber is a professor of anthropology who specializes in archaeology and also works in the National Center for Integrated Coastal Research at UCF.





CALL FOR PAPERS

2023 FLORIDA HISTORICAL SOCIETY ANNUAL MEETING & SYMPOSIUM

Submit your proposal for this year's FHS Annual Meeting and Symposium, which will be located at the University of Central Florida in Orlando, October 20 and 21.

We are excited to accept proposals for academic papers, workshops, panel discussions, poster presentations, and lightning rounds from academic historians, students, and independent scholars.

The 11th Annual Jerrell H. Shofner Lecture Series on Florida History and Culture will take place on the first day of the FHS Conference. Dr. Patricia Silver and Dr. Simone Delerme will discuss "Puerto Ricans in Florida" with moderator Dr. Elizabeth Aranda.



Deadline

Submit your proposal to
Connie.Lester@ucf.edu
by **July 1, 2023**

Email History@ucf.edu for more details.

CAPE CANAVERAL ARCHAEOLOGY: THEN & NOW



The Bumper 2 was the first rocket launched from Cape Canaveral in July 1950. CCAMP participants currently are trying to find the location of the Bumper Blockhouse. Photo courtesy of NASA.

BEN BROTEMARKLE

On February 25, 2023, the Florida Historical Society Archaeological Institute (FHSAI) and the Indian River Anthropological Society (IRAS) presented Dr. Amanda Groff and Mr. George Long in a program titled “Cape Canaveral Archaeology: Then and Now” at the Library of Florida History in Cocoa. They were interviewed for Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society. The following article is an edited transcript of that radio feature.

Ben Brotemarkle: By 1959, the new National Aeronautics and Space Administration successfully was launching lunar probes from Cape Canaveral. In the 1960s and '70s, George Long was the first archaeologist hired by NASA to survey its property in Brevard County.

George Long: [NASA] had been informed by the National Park Service...that it would be a good idea [to survey], considering the extent of the property, and interestingly enough, the public affairs department got very interested. They thought it would be good to develop an exhibit in addition to preserving the archaeological sites, and my purpose was to do a survey, locate sites on the NASA property and also the Air Force side—the Cape Canaveral Air Force Station, because they [also] were involved at the time over there. Locate all the sites, so they would know where they were, in case of new construction or in case anybody else wanted to do further in-depth research or investigation. And also to gather some artifacts up for an exhibit at the Visitor Information Center.

BB: NASA is naturally thought of as looking toward the future, but there are many layers of history on NASA property, including the presence of prehistoric Indigenous People.

GL: My main intent was to look at the prehistoric material. There were burial mounds and...a lot of shell middens, some of them were major, well-known; others were just small scatterings of middens. This is refuse material from eating the marine resources. And of course, here we have the Indian River Lagoon at the NASA property, we have the Mosquito Lagoon, and we have the Banana River, so you can expect to find a lot of archaeological sites. These went back to, some of the earliest would be, probably at least five thousand years before present, the Archaic Period sites. I found some pottery dating to that period, and then it keeps on going up into the Historic Period so there's no way to draw a line there. We even have archaeologists now, with Tom Penders out at the Cape, looking at some of the missile launch sites from the (19)50s.

BB: In addition to the NASA property on north Merritt Island, archaeologist George Long also surveyed the Cape Canaveral Air Force Station.

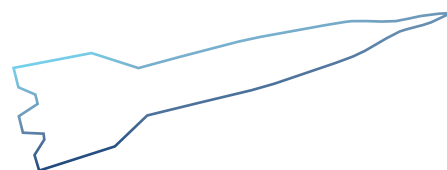
GL: There were remains of burial mounds, particularly along the east shore of the Banana River, which would be the part that's facing Merritt Island. There's a number of good sites along that area. A lot of the right-of-ways had been cleared there for power lines, so there were easy pickings, pottery sherds all over the place. From that site and over here on the NASA side, I did get an extensive surface collection, of pottery sherds and shell tools.

BB: As the first archaeologist to survey NASA property in the 1960s and '70s, George Long discovered and recorded prehistoric sites and artifacts, and colonial-era sites as well. Elliot's Plantation was on NASA property.

GL: That would be the British Period, 1763 to '83, in Florida. There were a number of plantations on the east coast, and Andrew Turnbull established the colony at New Smyrna. Apparently, the southern end of the plantations ended up on the area that was the NASA property. It's the...Canaveral National Seashore, and there were stories about a sugar mill ruins in the...heavily-treed area over on the Indian River side of State Road 3 that runs down the middle of that narrow part of Merritt Island. One of the local people who was very aware of sites here,...named Bill Andrews..., told me how to get there, and there was a sugar mill there. And a lot of interesting things have happened since then. I may have just recorded it, and then it took on a life of its own. People from New Smyrna, maybe Roz Foster from here, have got involved in it, and the National Park Service, they did a lot of intensive research and identified it as the Elliot Plantation, and found out that also on the other side, on the Mosquito Lagoon, there was a small ruin there of block, of coquina block probably, and tabby mortar, that Ripley Bullen described it, he thought it might be a Confederate saltworks that was there at the Ross Hammock site. But with this further research, they were able to tie it all together, so a major, major complex of British-period plantation. Very interesting.

BB: A team of archaeologists is building on George Long's work, with the Cape Canaveral Archaeological Mitigation Project. Cultural Resource Manager Tom Penders at the Space Force Station approached archaeologists at the University of Central Florida to continue vital work on the Space Coast. Archaeologist Amanda Groff is part of that team.

Amanda Groff: ...A lot of changing things...are happening along the coastline of Florida. A lot of the environment is changing, and we don't want to lose those archaeological sites. And so that is pretty much what mitigation is. We're mitigating any of those issues that could harm or cause archaeological sites to be lost. And this is a beautiful opportunity not only for students to get archaeological experience, but also for us to help preserve and save a lot of those archaeological sites that are at risk.





George Long conducts an archaeological survey on NASA property in the late 1960s. Long was the first person hired by NASA to do archaeological surveys and collect artifacts for display at the Visitor Information Center. Photo courtesy of George Long.

BB: University of Central Florida students are actively involved in the Cape Canaveral Archaeological Mitigation Project.

AG: They are the ones that are out there excavating. They are literally doing mapping. They are doing surveying. They are putting shovels in the ground, and they are doing Phase I and Phase II types of archaeology. And this is the type of work that our majors might go into who pursue archaeology. They are going to go into cultural resource management...and it can be difficult sometimes to get that experience prior to graduation. So, this actually makes them more marketable as well, having that type of experience they can take with them into the workforce, and potentially even into cultural resource management.

BB: Student archaeologists have recently discovered and documented exciting prehistoric artifacts like a drilled shark's tooth and a bone pin at the Penny Plot site.

AG: We've been working at this particular location since 2019-20, and we, too, are finding really interesting prehistoric artifacts. We're finding evidence of lots of shell use, so we're finding shell middens. We discovered a mound, not a burial mound, but a mound that appears to have been particularly in a living kind of location. So, we're finding really rich, prehistoric archaeological information, on top of the obvious historic relationship to that particular area....

BB: Like George Long before them, Amanda Groff and her team are documenting historic sites and finding historic artifacts, as well as evidence of prehistoric people in Cape Canaveral.

AG: There was a long history of lighthouse keepers... living out on the Cape, for obvious reasons, to protect those ships that were coming into port. But there were various other settlers in that area as well; for example, at the Nathan Penny site, or the Penny Plot site, it's named for Nathan Penny, who was a sailor, a postmaster. He passed away, I believe in 1811, and we never really knew exactly where he was buried or where his homestead was located. And that's part of what we're working for. And we made some interesting discoveries last year, with the help of USF, they did some various types of ground-penetrating radar and provided some maps for us to work from. And we ended up finding what appeared to be what look like nails that are pertaining to that particular time period. So, we think we have somewhat affirmed where Nathan Penny's homestead may or may not have been located.

BB: NASA has been around long enough that its early launch areas are becoming historic. Amanda Groff and her team have just started work on the Bumper Rocket Blockhouse.



AG: This is affiliated with Launch Complex 1, 2, 3, and 4, so the original launch complexes that were a part of the Cape. And we know where the actual launch pad itself is—it is still there, but there was a Bumper house that was affiliated with it that was made out of tar paper. And so—you know Florida—things don't last very long. ...What we are trying to do is locate where this Bumper Blockhouse would have been.... We actually have students going out, and we received permission to put in some Phase I shovel testing, we do metal detection, hopefully a GPR, some soil probing, just so we can basically say, "This is where the Bumper house was located." It's the seventy-fifth anniversary of this particular launch pad in two years, so I think that there's this hope that we can locate it so it can be a part of that celebration.

BB: Photos from the early Bumper rocket launches look like a 1950s sci-fi movie. Groff says those photos are helping archaeologists locate the Bumper Blockhouse site.

AG: Absolutely. In addition to students getting that archaeological experience, they are also getting research experience. And they are doing their own firsthand research, and one student in particular has been working really hard to do this background research on the Bumper Blockhouse. ...[She] very ingeniously took some of those historic photos and aligned them with what she was seeing on the landscape to try to better hone in on the potential location where the blockhouse was located. So, we're utilizing those photos as documentation that can hopefully help better pinpoint where the blockhouse is.

BB: The legacy of archaeological work that George Long started on NASA property sixty years ago lives on in more ways than one, through Amanda Groff and her students.

AG: George Long was my first archaeology teacher when I was an undergrad student at UCF. And over the, oh my gosh, almost a quarter of a century, we've grown closer and closer. And when we started working out at, in particular Penny, students started to do background research to better understand the history of that particular area. And they were pulling up old permits, old forms, and they were seeing George Long's name on it. And I was like, "Hey, I know that guy, let's give him a call." And so now when we have a question about potentially something that we're trying to locate, we just call George, and he has a memory that is as sharp as a tack. And he can tell me "...go to the light post, take a left, walk ten paces," and he knows where everything is. And so, it's so wonderful to have that legacy and connection with George that continues to this day.

BB: We spoke with George Long, the first archaeologist hired by NASA to survey their property, and Long's former student, Amanda Groff, who is doing archaeology on the same property with her students today.

To hear this episode of *Florida Frontiers: The Weekly Radio Magazine of the Florida Historical Society*, go to myfloridahistory.org/frontiers/radio/programs and click on episode #502.

George Long earned an M.A. specializing in archaeology at the University of Florida, graduating in 1967. From 1992 to 2016, he taught anthropology and archaeology at the University of Central Florida, where Amanda Groff was one of his students. Long was the first person hired by NASA to survey archaeological sites on its property in Brevard County.

Dr. Amanda Groff is a senior lecturer of anthropology at UCF, who specializes in archaeology and bioarchaeology. She also works with the Cape Canaveral Archaeological Mitigation Project (CCAMP), building on her former instructor's work. Her students doing archaeology at Cape Canaveral refer to themselves as Mr. Long's "grand-students."

DIGITAL MODELING OF ARTIFACTS:

NEW AVENUES FOR ENGAGEMENT

ELLIE MINETTE

Most archaeologists work in the field, a museum, or an academic institution. They work with the collections that are physically located at their job site. They conduct research and endeavor to publish their findings. Sometimes these findings are broadcast widely, such as the recent discovery of ancient footprints in New Mexico (Hunt 2021).

However, of the considerable amount of archaeology being conducted around the world, relatively little information about these findings makes its way to the public eye. Museums work to make archaeological materials accessible to the public, but they typically reach only the visitors, thus limiting public engagement with the artifacts. Academic institutions usually make their collections difficult to interact with, and they rarely put them on public display. Millions of artifacts have the potential to inspire and educate, but they're inaccessible at these institutions.

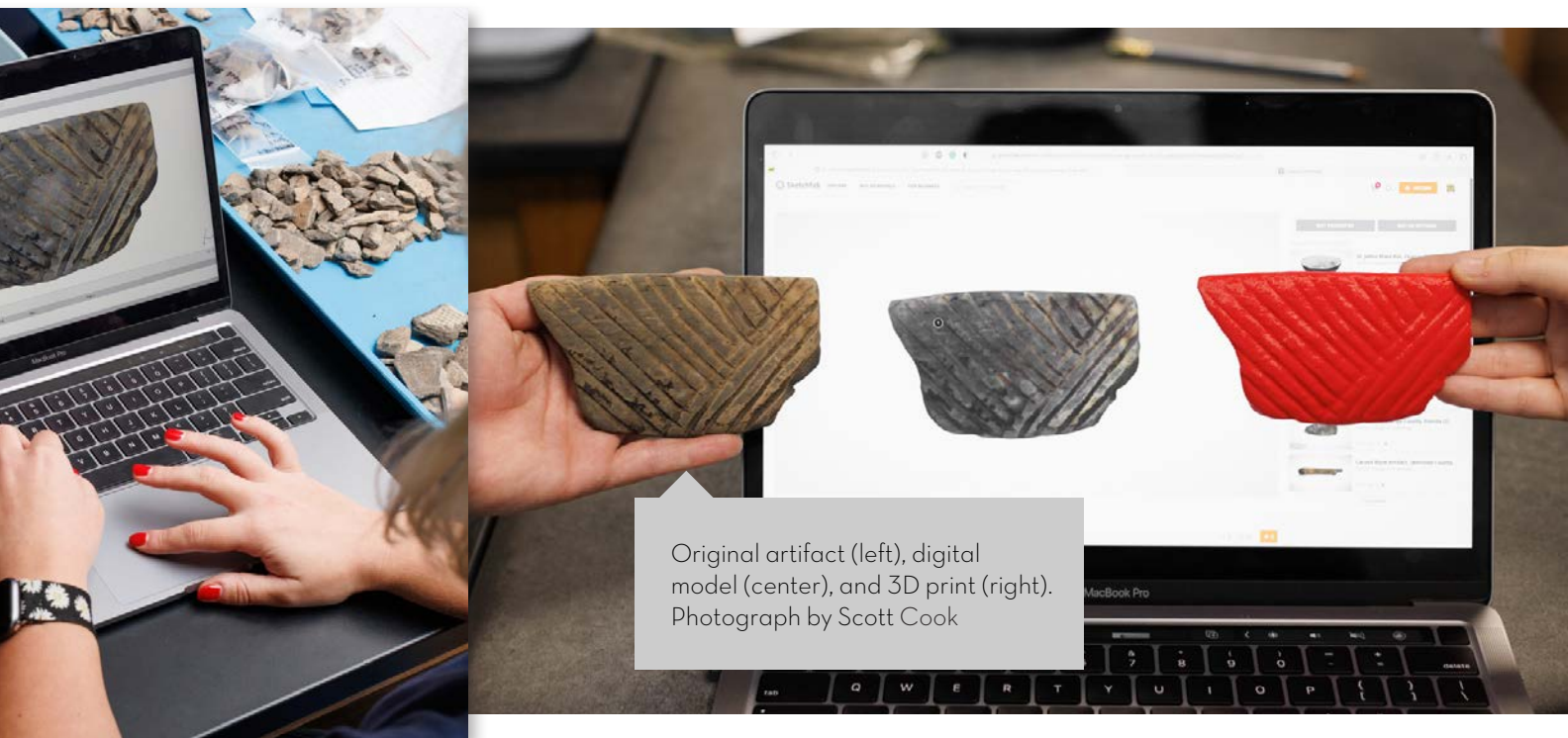
Archaeologists study material culture that has survived through time, but this does not ensure that it will last forever. Once a site has been excavated, a portion of it is permanently lost and destroyed. While there always will be the records and the recovered artifacts, these things are not permanent and are easily misplaced. Online files and databases provide an effective means of safeguarding against such losses. For many years, it has been common practice to digitize written records in laboratories; however, until recently there was no way to properly digitize the artifacts themselves. They could be photographed, but conventional photos are unable to capture the full magnitude and three-

dimensional detail of an artifact. Now, digital models can help to fill this gap.

A digital model is a three-dimensional (3D), manipulatable replica of an artifact. It is a virtual copy of the item that can be accessed online or on a computer. Any material thing can be digitized into a model—from artifacts to buildings to human beings. Everything from artifacts to buildings to humans can be digitized and, as such, models can be created for things that do not exist in the physical world in the same way that tangible objects do, such as video game characters or a human heart. These models can be uploaded online or stored on local hard drives to be used for research, entertainment, and education.

Digital models of artifacts are unique because they are a replication of the physical object. These digital copies are very accurate in size, color, and shape. They also can be viewed from any direction, meaning the model can be spun and flipped so all surfaces can be examined. In many ways, this makes a model more useful than a photograph, which can only capture a single viewpoint. If an artifact goes missing or is moved to a different lab, school, or museum, an accurate replica can be 3D printed for analysis and research. Moreover, artifacts can be printed repeatedly; there is no limit - excluding resources such as funding and supplies - to the number of replicas one can make. This allows an entire class or study group to handle identical artifacts simultaneously. It has been shown that students retain information better through tactile learning in the classroom (Means 2017). 3D replicas provide a new avenue of engagement with artifacts.





Original artifact (left), digital model (center), and 3D print (right). Photograph by Scott Cook

It is exceedingly difficult to study material remains or artifacts if they are located across the globe. Just as the Internet helps with the widespread sharing of written information, it also can help disseminate material knowledge. It's one thing to write about or photograph an artifact; it's another to have an accurate, tangible model of it. Digital models can be downloaded, printed, and analyzed from anywhere. They allow artifacts to be examined globally without ever leaving one's desk. The applications and uses of these models are just starting to be widely recognized.

Digital modeling helps to solve the issues of preservation and accessibility. 3D artifacts uniquely preserve objects in ways that 2D photos cannot. There also is the added benefit of being able to print a replica of an artifact that can be displayed or handled. The issue of accessibility is also solved because 3D models can be uploaded digitally and shared to various platforms. It is even possible to upload 3D models into frequently used programs in the Microsoft Suite. Numerous free programs and websites exist from which these models can be uploaded and posted. Sketchfab is one of the most well-known host sites for digital models, and its collections range from cultural heritage items to video game characters. Sites like Sketchfab are accessible to anyone with wireless capabilities. An object that was merely sitting on a museum shelf can now be modeled, digitally preserved, and accessed online. Digital models are undoubtedly the compromise between accessibility and preservation.

Numerous parties or stakeholders would benefit by implementing digital modeling technologies into the cultural heritage sector on a large scale. First and foremost, archaeologists would benefit from the increased research accessibility and availability of artifacts worldwide. Museums also would profit from such technologies. During the COVID-19 pandemic, many museums had to rely on their websites and online resources to engage with the public. Three-dimensional models of major artifacts could have made online resources more interactive and educational. In the same vein, members of the general public are stakeholders in this plan because museums want to engage and interact with these folks. Private collectors also have a stake in this approach because they can make their artifacts accessible to archaeologists without losing control of their physical collections. This enables archaeologists to study new material without having to travel or conduct full excavations. In the world of digital modeling, there are many stakeholders with various overlapping interests and benefits.

From classrooms to museums and even private collections, these digitized artifacts can pave the way for a more inclusive and accessible future for the field of archaeology. The focus of this piece is on the question: how can we preserve these collections while also making them more accessible to academics and researchers in addition to the general public?

Full photogrammetry set up.
Photograph by Scott Cook.



Over the past decade, archaeology has seen a dramatic shift in interest toward what professor and author Lev Manovich calls “new media” (Manovich 2010). He suggests that new media is all digital numbers and data on computers, including virtual reality, digital simulations, complex computer programs, and digital models. Edward González-Tennant remarks that historical research is mainly academic and that it does not engage with the public often or at all (González-Tennant 2018). He references Manovich when saying that these “new media” are the future of not only research public engagement, but of education as well.

Digital Modeling of Artifacts

While the term “new media” encompasses many different forms of technology, my research focuses on the digital modeling of artifacts. Typically, there are two ways to create 3D models. The first is laser scanning, which “[works] by emitting some form of light at a target object and then using a camera to capture the way this light deforms” (Porter 2016, 72). This data is then transformed into an accurate 3D model. There is some evidence that laser scanning can produce more precise models, but it is extremely expensive and temperamental (Porter 2016). The second method is photogrammetry: the technique I used to conduct all research related to this project. In contrast to laser scanning, photogrammetry is relatively affordable. An entire setup used to collect photogrammetric data costs approximately \$1,175. A base-level laser scanner can cost nearly \$3,000, with better models greatly

exceeding this price (Porter 2016, 73). I primarily digitize portable objects, so some of my equipment is different from large-scale site mapping tools. However, the same principal ideas and methods are used for both tasks. Photogrammetry works by taking a series of hundreds of photographs from different angles. Specialized software then identifies data points across individual photographs which can be used to connect them together to create a digital three-dimensional model of the subject (Luhmann 2013).

In addition, photogrammetry can be conducted almost anywhere. The ideal conditions are a clean, evenly lit lightbox, but by no means are these the only conditions for conducting photogrammetry. It can be done in the field with either a portable lightbox or by simply taking photos of an artifact or object *in situ* or on a relatively uniform background. These field photos run through the software and are made into an accurate 3D model that can be referenced to study and analyze the artifact. This is incredibly useful when artifacts are large or too delicate to move without damage, or for diagnostic artifacts discovered during no-collection surveys. Additionally, photogrammetry can be used to reconstruct entire sites. Archaeologists, historians, and preservationists can use this technology to reconstruct excavation projects, sites, and important architecture. When combined, these various applications of photogrammetry give the public a better understanding of the diverse scales at which digital archaeology can be conducted.

Original (left) and printed artifact (right) of shell cup from Panther Tracks. Photograph by Scott Cook



One of the most important places in which digital tools can be applied is the classroom. Studies show that hands-on learning is one of the most rewarding of learning (Nancarrow 2016), so teachers and students both can benefit from the integration of 3D models into everyday courses. It is easy for students and viewers to manipulate and explore models online, and it is just as easy for students to handle 3D replicas in the classroom. This allows artifacts to remain safe and preserved while providing students with a tangible educational experience.

The digital files can be stored on any computer and uploaded to many websites. Sketchfab is an incredibly useful site that hosts thousands of digital models—everything from shoes to shrimp to cathedrals to video game furniture, and it hosts a variety of users and viewers—one of the fastest growing sectors of which are cultural heritage institutions.

However, there are limitations to digital modeling. The ethical dilemmas of ownership and selecting which objects can be modeled are primary concerns. These issues are still being discussed, but it is always a good idea to consult with descendant communities when possible. Secondly, there is the fact that technology is constantly evolving. Whatever we think is cutting edge today will be outdated in ten years. Digital modeling may fall into this trap as well, but as long as archaeologists and digitizers keep up with the latest technology, I do not believe this will be an issue.

In my research, I use the Agisoft/Metashape software to create the models. There are other options, such as Reality Capture, but Agisoft/Metashape is the most widely used and accepted. It works by mathematically analyzing hundreds of photos to create a dense mesh of points. For example, I took a series of 200 photos of a projectile point from overlapping angles. After uploading and aligning the photos, I went back and edited the point cloud. This cloud was generated by connecting the points from the analyzed photos, the next step was to create a dense point cloud or mesh. The extra “noise,” or unnecessary and outlying points were then removed. After this, the program built a solid model and painted the texture and colors onto it. From just 200 photos of an object, there is now an accurate and precise 3D digital replication available for anyone in the world to see.

To print this projectile point, I uploaded it to MeshMixer and inspected it for holes. I repaired the holes and exported the new, patched model into the MakerBot 3D printing software. Once the object was situated on the printer’s build plate in an appropriate fashion, I clicked print, and a few hours later, I had a plastic replica of a projectile point in my hand.

Museums and academic institutions often have much more *stuff* than they have exhibition space. This disparity results in many collections and stories being left in the archives. Large museums or universities can publish large online exhibits with photos and information, but

smaller institutions do not have the ability to do so. Digital models can help bridge this gap. As already noted, these models are inexpensive and efficient, so it is reasonable to assume that the important parts of a collection could be digitized and uploaded with ease. This would make any institution's collections more accessible, not only to the local population, but also to a much broader online audience.

The goals of creating digital models of artifacts are to increase public engagement and accessibility to these collections. Artifacts all too often stay hidden and packed away in the boxes meant to preserve them. However, the public loses valuable learning opportunities when artifacts are kept in archives indefinitely. Creating digital models helps to solve this issue. Artifacts can be preserved and stored, but they also can exist online where anyone can access them. Increased artifact visibility is especially important with small college collections, which often are very impressive but lacking in publicity. Digital models that are free and available on the Internet can help to make these collections known.

An example of digital technology being printed and used is a Shell Cup from Panther Tracks, a pre-Columbian indigenous site in Central Florida. This impressive artifact is currently housed in the Rollins College Archaeology Lab (RCAL); because it was found on state land, however, it must be returned to the Florida Bureau of Archaeological Research repository in Tallahassee. The shell cup is still partially encased in concreted shell, which makes it heavy and fragile. It offers a great demonstration of how natural objects were turned into tools or ceremonial objects through human manipulation. However, it is difficult to pass the cup around, and the full scope of the object is lost unless one is holding it. To solve this problem, a digital model was created and 3D printed. Now, RCAL has an incredible digital model that people all over the world can examine, and when the cup is sent to Tallahassee, RCAL will have an accurate replica of the artifact that is made from plastic. This print is light and very difficult to break which makes it ideal for passing around among students. The intricate detail of the original is still captured, but the fragility and clunkiness are lost. While there is a big discrepancy between the weights of the two objects, the general idea of the artifact is still clear. This is an example of digital artifact models promoting engagement and education among a community that normally would not have the opportunity to interact with and learn from this object.

So why does this research matter? In short, it matters because the accessibility and engagement of archaeological collections must be increased.

Too many significant objects remain unstudied and unutilized. In many cases, archaeological sites were damaged or destroyed in the recovery of these collections. Therefore, it is ethically imperative that archaeologists work to make collections more accessible and publicly visible. By doing so, important knowledge about archaeology and history is made available to local communities and beyond.

For more than two years, I have studied, experimented with, and been passionate about digital modeling and photogrammetry. 3D prints present countless opportunities to increase engagement through tactile experiences and hands-on learning. Not only do they make archaeology accessible to every student, teacher, and curious individual with an Internet connection, digital models take archaeology out of the field and the lab and put it in the public eye.

Ellie Minette is a graduate student in the historical archaeology program at the University of West Florida, Pensacola, researching the relationship between digital and public archaeology.

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20

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THE PAST THROUGH SITES AND FINDS:

Historical Archaeology in Jefferson County

WILLET A. BOYER, III

In Jefferson County, Florida, evidence of the past is everywhere. People have lived in the area for more than 14,000 years, and some of the oldest archaeological sites in the U. S. are found in local rivers and springs and off the coast. Even if one considers only the historical period—the last 500 years, many cultures and events are represented.

The county is a part of the territory once occupied by the Apalachee Indians and their ancestors. They encountered the earliest European explorers in the U. S. when Pánfilo de Narváez and Hernando de Soto traversed the region in 1528 and 1539, respectively. In the 1600s, Spanish mission towns were built throughout modern Jefferson and adjacent Leon counties and elsewhere in peninsular Florida and coastal Georgia. In the early and mid-1800s, the region was the center of Florida's plantation agriculture—with numerous farms worked by enslaved people, as well as a center of fighting during the Seminole Wars. Historical structures and sites are still standing throughout Monticello and its environs that date from this later period, as well as byways that originally were Native American trails or Spanish roads before the U. S. acquired Florida in 1821.

In addition to visible sites that show the region's diverse historical and cultural heritage, below ground and under the surface of riverine and coastal waters, an enormous trove of information exists in the form of archaeological sites. Until recently, much of the local research focused on ancient Paleoindians associated with sites located on and in the Aucilla River, such as the one known as

Page-Ladson. However, for the past several years, the Aucilla Research Institute (ARI), headquartered in Monticello, has conducted surveys and field projects that have concentrated on the historical archaeology of the region, from the early contact period to the present day, intended to bring the region's more recent heritage to light.

Studying European Exploration of North America: The Early Contact Initiative

One part of the organization's field projects has focused on European exploration in North America. ARI's Early Contact Initiative strives to locate sites associated with early European expeditions, including those of Narváez (1528) and de Soto (1539). In particular, the Initiative strives to locate sites possibly linked to named Native American towns or villages mentioned in written accounts of the two explorers who crossed the region.

One of these is the site of the town of Asile, the westernmost chiefdom of the Timucuan Indians. Accounts from the de Soto expedition indicate that the explorer and his advance guard spent a night at Aisle before crossing the "River of Ivitachuco"—the modern Aucilla River—by building a bridge and fighting off an attack by the Apalachee Indians, whose territory began west of the Aucilla in modern Jefferson County. After beating back the attack, the Spaniards came to the first Apalachee town, Ivitachuco, which the Natives had set ablaze before retreating. De Soto and his men spent the night camped near the burning village before advancing to the principal Apalachee town of Anhaica, in modern-



Map section of *Carte de la Louisiane et du cours du Mississipi* (Map of Louisiana and the course of the Mississippi) was created in 1717 by French cartographer Guillaume de L'Isle. He included de Soto's route through Florida and the Southeast. US. Library of Congress

day Tallahassee. Asile was recorded as being “subject to Apalachee.” During the 1600s, Asile continued to be an important chiefdom, with the Spanish mission of San Miguel de Asile being founded in their territory. In addition, the Spanish hacienda of Governor Benito Ruíz de Salazar was founded in the Asile territory on the western bank of the Aucilla River, and served as a wheat farm and cattle ranch until the hacienda was abandoned in 1651.

In 2020-22, ARI conducted archaeological testing at a cluster of sites on the eastern side of the Aucilla, in Madison County, and on the western side of the river in Jefferson County. The remains were found to be a part of the Suwannee Valley archaeological culture, associated with the westernmost Timucuan chiefdoms. One of the sites tested, the Floyd’s Mound site had an additional upper layer with Fort Walton culture artifacts—the types of artifacts and ceramics associated with the historical Apalachee Indians. Radiocarbon dates suggested the site was occupied in the later precontact period, and the location of these sites is the area where the historical Asile chiefdom would have been. Further research will help to determine whether this may be the site of the early contact town of Asile described in the de Soto expedition chronicles.

Since 2015, ARI has worked for several field seasons at Wakulla Springs State Park in Wakulla County. During this research, a series of Fort Walton culture sites were discovered by volunteers working with staff archaeologists. Several sites were found to have

optically stimulated luminescence (OSL) dates, which showed that the sites were occupied during the early contact period. At one of the sites, Spanish artifacts dating to the early contact period were found. The location and the dates from the recovered Native American and Spanish artifacts suggest that these sites may represent the early contact town of Aute, first encountered by the Narváez expedition and later visited again by the de Soto expedition—one of only three sites associated with both explorers.

In addition to early contact period research, ARI is also doing laboratory studies on early contact Spanish artifacts to learn more about their manufacture and transport to the Americas. Recently, I coauthored, with Dr. John E. Worth and Caroline Peacock of the University of West Florida, a paper presented at the 2023 Society for Historical Archaeology Conference in Lisbon, Portugal, titled “Revising Sixteenth-Century Olive Jar Chronology: The View from Two Early Contact Sites in Florida.” This study analyzed Spanish olive jar sherds recovered from the Governor Martin site in Tallahassee, the 1539 winter encampment of the de Soto expedition, and the Tristán de Luna settlement site from 1559-61 in Pensacola. Our research showed that 16th-century olive jar sherds can be used to date historical sites from that period to within a decade or less, based on their shape and thickness. This information will be valuable in dating and identifying sites that have an early contact period component.

Rev. James Thompson (left) chats with Willet Boyer in the field.
Photo by Sylvester Peck, Jr.



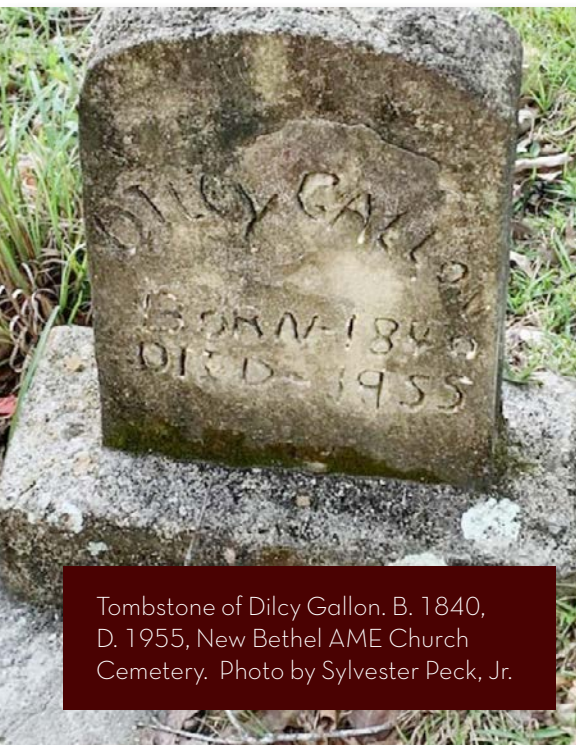
African American Archaeology in Jefferson County: Historical Sites and Cemeteries

Since 2019, ARI's Jefferson County Historical Sites Survey has worked to identify historical sites and cemeteries throughout Jefferson County, particularly those associated with the African American community. When Florida was acquired in 1821, Jefferson and Leon counties became the center of Florida's plantation agriculture. In Jefferson County, numerous plantations grew cotton using enslaved labor, and the State Library and Archives of Florida has numerous freedmen's contracts, signed in 1866 and 1867 by newly freed people to work growing crops for that year, as well as militia rolls dating to 1870 for three African American militia units created to protect Black voters during the first elections after the 14th and 15th Amendments were passed. The freedmen's contracts and the 19th-century militia company muster lists include men and women with family names that are prevalent in Jefferson County today, providing documentary proof that African American families in this region have historical roots dating back nearly 200 years.

ARI's Jefferson County survey seeks to identify historical cemeteries and historical archaeological sites that previously have not been recorded in the State of Florida's Master Site File. Sites recorded

in this database are assigned unique numbers and publicly recognized as cemetery and/or historical sites, providing some protection against disturbance. Jefferson County had only fifteen recorded cemetery sites when ARI's survey began; today, 153 such sites have been recorded, with the prospect of more being discovered and recorded as the survey continues. Many of the cemetery sites are associated with historical plantations or with homes or small communities that no longer exist, which makes the recording and preserving of the locations even more important.

Recording these sites has been possible largely because of local community members' willingness to share information about their family and community histories with archaeologists and researchers studying Jefferson County's past. Many residents have helped to identify places and their age and importance to the community, including, among others, Rev. James Thompson (above), head of the Springfield Pallbearer's Association; Mr. Thomas Glenn, County Commissioner Eugene Hall, and Mr. Marsaun Harris, whose families are associated with the Old Mount Zion Family Cemetery in western Jefferson County; members of the Gallon family, including Dennis Gallon, Rev. Dr. Elizabeth Gallon McGhee, Washington Gallon, and others; local historian Alonzo Hardy; Jacqueline Seabrooks



Tombstone of Dilcy Gallon. B. 1840, D. 1955, New Bethel AME Church Cemetery. Photo by Sylvester Peck, Jr.



Students at Trelawn, Photo by Dr. Willet A. Boyer, III.

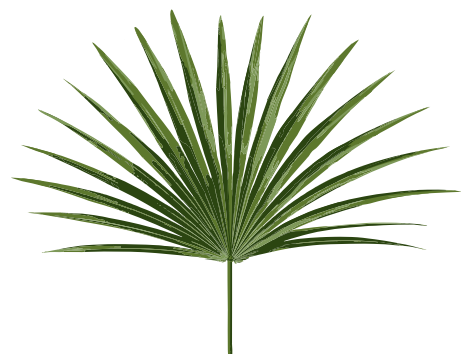
of the Property Appraiser's office and head of the Jefferson County Cemetery Preservation Association; Dr. Sylvester Peck of Florida A&M University, author of a history of the pallbearer's societies; and many other residents whose knowledge of the sites and of their history has been critical in understanding the cemetery and archaeological sites and their ties to the people of the region.

Since 2021, Jefferson County school students have worked with researchers and volunteers on archaeological digs and cemetery preservation and cleanups. Students studying American history helped to excavate the detached kitchen at the Byrd/Chamberlain archaeological site, associated with the Trelawn Plantation, founded in 1836 and also assisted with testing at the Palmer archaeological site in Monticello. In 2022-23, students have helped to clean and restore damaged areas at the Stokes/Sanders Cemetery in northeastern Jefferson County and at the 1821 City Cemetery in downtown Monticello. Through direct, "hands-on" educational programs, ARI and Jefferson County Schools have helped to teach students local, U.S., and world history through historical archaeology in the field and also to help students see their own and their families ties to the extensive historical and archaeological heritage of the region.

For the Future

Through the use of ground-penetrating radar (GPR), ARI archaeologists and volunteers hope to more clearly identify and define cemeteries in this region and thus to enable the sites' greater protection. GPR enables researchers to identify burial areas and structural foundations below the ground surface without digging and excavation; this allows sites to remain undisturbed and, thus, better protected and preserved for the future. As the field programs for the Early Contact Initiative and the Jefferson County Historical Sites Survey continue, more local students and community members hopefully can be directly involved in working to preserve the community's past long into the future.

Dr. Willet A. Boyer, III is a historical archaeologist, classroom educator, and ARI Associate Scholar. To learn more about ARI's field programs and research, or to share family or personal knowledge about North Florida history, contact Dr. Boyer at landoftherivers@hotmail.com.



A SWEET DISCOVERY: IDENTIFICATION OF HONEY ON THE EMANUEL POINT SHIPWRECK

JOHN R. BRATTEN AND CASSANDRA V. SADLER

In 1559, an eleven-vessel Spanish fleet departed New Spain with 1,500 soldiers, sailors, colonists, servants, slaves, and Mexican Indians, bound for present-day Pensacola, Florida. Commanded by Don Tristán de Luna y Arellano, the Luna expedition was the most ambitious Spanish attempt to establish a colony in, what would become, the United States (Worth et al. 2017). However, only five weeks after anchoring in Pensacola Bay, a powerful hurricane destroyed seven of the fleet's ships, including much of the colony's stores kept aboard the vessels, ultimately dooming the colony's survival.

Discovery of three of the sunken ships from the Luna fleet has revealed an unparalleled archaeological resource that permits modern researchers to fill in many of the undocumented details about the settlement, the fleet, and the people who built and occupied them. Maritime archaeologists discovered the first Luna shipwreck, Emanuel Point I, in 1992. Discovery of the second and third Spanish vessels by the University of West Florida (UWF) occurred in 2006 and 2016. With the effort of almost twenty student archaeology field school seasons, thousands of artifacts have been recovered from the Emanuel Point wrecks, enabling comparisons between the fleet and settlement site (also discovered in 2016), as well as insights into the expedition's foodways, shipboard pests, ballast origins, and defense.

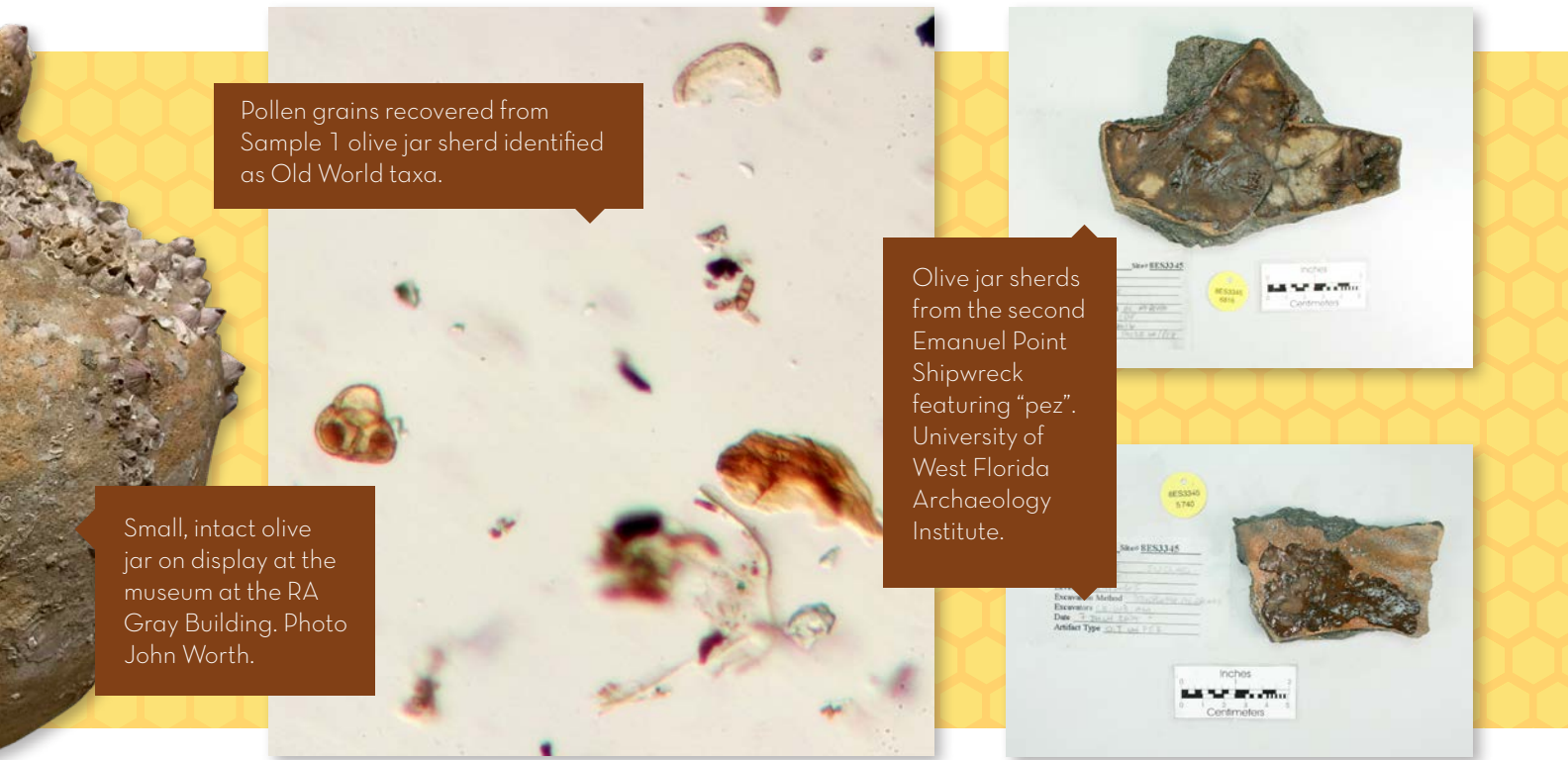
Archaeological investigations of the Emanuel Point shipwrecks provided several thousand fragments of Spanish olive jar (*botija*). This ceramic jar is a representative of the amphora tradition of the modern Spanish period and was a popular container for transporting wine, olive oil, and a number of other

commodities from Spain to colonies across the Atlantic during the 16th through 18th centuries. Many of the olive jar sherds recovered from the Emanuel Point shipwrecks retain a resinous pine pitch interior coating, referred to by the Spanish as *pez*, applied with the purpose of waterproofing the porous coarse earthenware vessels.

Laboratory analyses provide archaeologists with additional tools to help answer questions about diet and exchange. Pollen extraction and analysis is one such tool. The extraction of pollen incorporated within seeds, fruits, food products, and other organic materials allows researchers to identify the existence of consumable goods. Modern analytical techniques currently applied in the field of palynology have been adapted to examine pollen recovered from various types of artifacts and sediments from terrestrial sites. Previous underwater archaeological investigations have found that pollen also survives in marine environments, particularly in anaerobic, cool, and dark conditions favorable to organic preservation. In this particular study, laboratory techniques were employed to several coarse earthenware sherds retaining a resinous coating on their interiors in an attempt to identify pollen and, thereby, the identification of the vessels' contents.

With funding from the Pensacola Archaeological Society and the Margaret J. Smith Archaeology Institute at UWF, three olive jar sherds, all retaining *pez* on their interior surfaces, were sent to the laboratory of Archaeological Consulting Services, Inc. (ACI), for pollen processing and analysis. Samples were chosen from Emanuel Point I (8ES19808), Emanuel Point II (8ES3345), and Emanuel Point III (8ES4360) based





Pollen grains recovered from Sample 1 olive jar sherd identified as Old World taxa.

Olive jar sherds from the second Emanuel Point Shipwreck featuring "pez". University of West Florida Archaeology Institute.

Small, intact olive jar on display at the museum at the RA Gray Building. Photo John Worth.

on a visual analysis of the quality and volume of pitch present. Sample 1 previously was dried and conserved with acryloid B-72 while samples 2 and 3 were desalinated but waterlogged at the time of analysis.

According to Dr. John G. Jones, senior paleoethnobotanist with ACI, preservation may be highly variable in vessels recovered from shipwrecks as jars or broken jars may have suffered from sand abrasion and exposure subjecting them to oxidation. Therefore, "a conservative pollen extraction was employed." As stated in Jones' report:

"Approximately two square inches of residue (polymerized pine resin) was collected from each sherd. Flakes of residue (polymerized pine resin) were extracted in the ACS lab. Residues were shipped to Texas A&M University, where pollen was extracted using a technique involving the removal of silicates with HF, the removal of humates with weak KOH, the removal of unwanted organics with an acetolysis treatment, and a heavy density separation using zinc bromide. Residues were concentrated in glycerin, then returned to ACS's research facility for examination at 400x on a Nikon E200 microscope."

Pollen taxa identified by Jones are shown in Table 1. Pollen preservation was excellent in sample 1, and the grains were preserved in good to excellent condition. All of the examined grains in samples 2 and 3, which were few in number, were eroded and thought to be representative of the pine pitch itself.

A count of 200 grains is considered a full pollen count for this type of analysis and was achieved for sample 1. Jones characterized this count as consisting of two suites, one representing the pine pitch and the other with contents of the vessel. As stated in his report:

"Pine pitch lining the vessel interior likely originated in Spain; associated grains included the sample's arboreal elements including pine (Pinus), oak (Quercus), alder (Alnus), chestnut (Castanea), olive (Olea), tamarisk (Tamarix), and cedar/juniper (TCT). Though some of these taxa are known from the New World as well, the assemblage overall is typical of pine forests in Spain (Jones 1993). While olive and tamarisk eventually would be introduced into North America during the mid to late sixteenth century, these taxa were known only from the Old World."

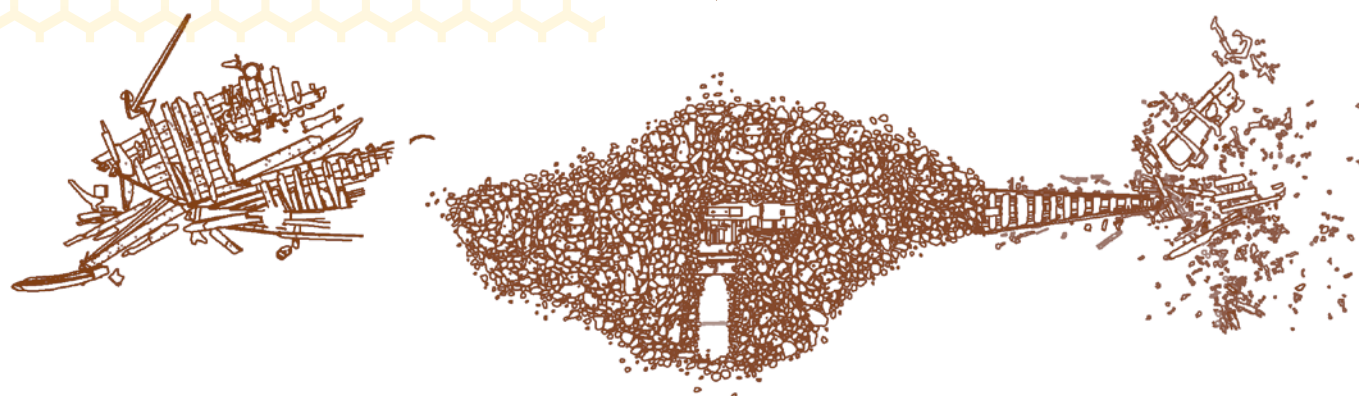
What was much more illuminating was Jones' interpretation of the grains that are transported by wind and those that are carried by insects. Again, as noted in his report:

“Wind-pollinated grains, normally produced by the plants in large numbers and readily dispersed, would be expected to make up the majority of the assemblage. Wind-pollinated grains, including Ambrosia-type, Solidago-type, Chen-Ams, Cyperaceae, Plantago, and grasses were all present in relatively low numbers. Insect-pollinated grains, poorly dispersed and produced in very low numbers, were represented by a large number of taxa, including Apiaceae, Araceae, Artemisia, Ericaceae, Fabaceae, Geraniaceae, Liguliflorae, Lythraceae, Rosaceae, Rubus, Rumex, and Verbenaceae. These taxa would not be expected in a sample unless deliberately introduced through the vessel's contents. All of these pollen types are common honey plants, the pollen collected along with the nectar. The contents of the vessel then may have been honey brought from Spain. Honey at the time was not produced in North America as honey bees were of Old World origin, indicating that honey preserved in the vessel would have originated in the Old World. Indeed, pollen taxa identified in the Shipwreck I vessel all represent common Old World taxa.”

Table 1. Pollen Taxa Identified in the Emanuel Point Olive Jar Samples

Taxon	Common Name
Ambrosia-type	Ragweed type
Solidago-type	Goldenrod type
Apiaceae	Parsley family
Araceae	Arum family
Artemisia	Sagebrush, wormwood
Cheno-Ams	Goosefoot, pigweed
Cyperaceae	Sedge family
Ericaceae	Heath family
Fabaceae	Bean or legume family
Geraniaceae	Cranesbill family
Liguliflorae	Dandelion group
Lythraceae	Loosestrife family
Plantago	Plantain
Poaceae	Grass family
Rosaceae	Rose family
Rubus	Blackberry, raspberry
Rumex	Dock
Verbenaceae	Vervain family
Alnus	Alder
Castanea	Chestnut
Olea	Olive
Pinus	Pine
Quercus	Oak
Tamarix	Salt cedar
TCT	Juniper, bald cypress
Indeterminate	Too poorly preserved to ID

Site plan for the first Emanuel Point Shipwreck.
University of West Florida Archaeology Institute



It is unfortunate that samples 2 and 3 only retained a few pine grains representative of the pine pitch lining. The poor preservation is likely attributable to sediment movement and scouring on the seabed of Pensacola Bay. Both Emanuel Point sites I and II rest at a depth of 12 feet. Emanuel Point III sits in a slightly shallower depth of 8 feet. Sample 2 was recovered from the structural remains of Emanuel Point II, beneath approximately 57 to 120 cmbs of sediment. Movement of the olive jar fragment over time caused by erosion of the wooden structure as well as the natural movement of sediment likely damaged any present pollen grains through sediment abrasion. Sample 3, recovered from the overburden strata of Emanuel Point III, likely experienced similar processes of mechanical degradation.

Variations in pollen preservation suggest that sample 1 was not subjected to the same degree of mechanical erosion as samples 2 and 3. Excavation records indicate the fragment was collected from an area of ballast, sand, mud, and shell and may have been less susceptible to physical movement. Additionally, the artifact was located within close vicinity to a copper cauldron. When recovered in close context to copper artifacts, organic materials have been found to experience greater preservation due to exposure to copper salts (Beukens et al. 1992). This may account for the greater degree of pollen preservation found in sample 1.

It should be noted that when subjected to chemical, mechanical, and biological degradation, certain pollen types display greater susceptibility to decay due to variations in grain compositions and structures (Havinga 1971). This selective deterioration is what is known as differential pollen preservation. *Pinus* and *Picea* pollen grains generally preserve in greater concentrations are easier to identify than other pollen taxa (Hall 1981) and this may account for the presence of *Pinus* in all three samples.

The degree of pollen preservation found in sample 1 encourages the continued analysis of additional samples present in the assemblage. Honey may have been brought by a Spanish passenger on the first Emanuel Point Ship to replicate a Mediterranean diet in the New World. It is likely that continued testing will allow researchers to identify other food stores such as wine/vinegar or olive oil.



Olive jar rim is from the second Emanuel Point Shipwreck. University of West Florida Archaeology Institute.

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Students from the University of West Florida examine items recovered from the Emmanuel Point III ship in 2016.

NATIVE AMERICAN REFUGEE CAMP NEAR ST. AUGUSTINE

A CURIOUS SITE FROM THE LATE 17TH TO EARLY 18TH CENTURY

GREG HENDRYX AND LISABETH (BETSY) CARLSON

The Shannon Road Midden (8SJ3149), located 10 miles north of the Castillo de San Marcos in St. Augustine, has produced archaeological evidence of a Mission Period component that contrasts with most other such components in the region. Specifically, it has yielded ceramics indicative of non-local types. Further, this Mission-era site is relatively small in size and does not appear in available archival or cartographic settlement data. The curious nature of the site led us to consider numerous interpretation options, particularly whether it is associated with the nearby seventeenth-century Franciscan Mission site of Nuestra Señora de Guadalupe de Tolomato, or whether instead it is an eighteenth-century Yamasee occupation, an Apalachee or interior Timucua work camp, or a refugee occupation dating to the late seventeenth to early eighteenth century. After considerable deliberation, we have come to interpret the site as a *late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century multi-ethnic refugee camp*. Here, we present a brief background of the Spanish Mission Period, an overview of our excavation and analysis results, and the basis for our interpretation.

Mission History

After the failure of its Jesuit Mission system (1567–1572), Spain established the Franciscan Mission system in 1584, which lasted until 1763, when Britain took control of Florida. The Franciscan system was predicated on Catholicizing the indigenous people of La Florida, transforming Native Americans from

military opponents into allies, and employing native help in maintaining the Spanish ranching system. This arrangement may seem particularly beneficial to the Spanish, but Native Americans benefited too. The Franciscan Mission system facilitated trade and concubinage, which enabled indigenous people to influence labor arrangements, marry into Spanish households, gain political and military assistance against other tribes, and acquire livestock, Spanish technology, and new cultigens.

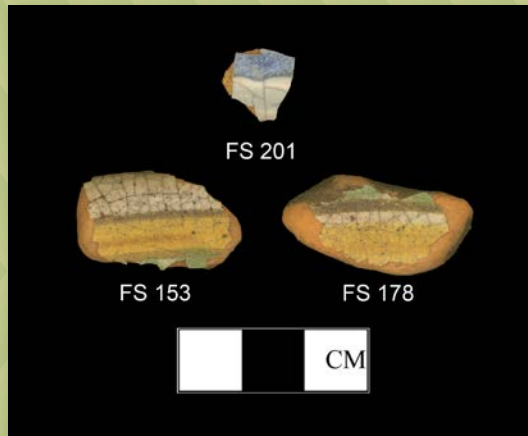
St. Augustine was the Franciscan Mission system's hub through its entire existence. By the middle of the seventeenth century, Spanish accounts referred to three indigenous provinces, each characterized by distinct linguistic and cultural traits. The *Guale* province was along the Georgia coast, north of Cumberland Island; the *Apalachee* region was west of the Aucilla River, centered around Tallahassee; and the *Timucua* region was east of the Aucilla River, centered in northeast Florida.

In 1670, the English settled at Charles Towne (present-day Charleston, South Carolina), setting the stage for decades of hostilities between Spanish and English settlers; at first, these hostilities played out primarily in the northern Timucua and Guale regions. The Spanish made haste in constructing the *Castillo de San Marcos* along St. Augustine's north side. This massive coquina fort included a moat, living quarters, bastions, and a

San Luis blue on white (top) and Aucilla polychrome (bottom) ceramics.

Grog tempered sherd with excurvate rim and flat lip (consistent with the Jefferson type).

Lead shot.



ravelin. Its construction took 23 years (1672-1695), and its completion by the end of the seventeenth century was timely; the beginning of the eighteenth century brought an increase in English raids. Those raids launched from the Carolinas under the command of Carolina Governor James Moore began in 1702 and destroyed missions across the region, displacing many survivors to the mission hub at St. Augustine. At the end of 1702, English forces waged a 51-day siege of the fort, but the soft coquina construct absorbed the blows of the cannon balls; indentations are still visible on the fort's river-facing side. The fort's occupants withstood the attack until reinforcements from Cuba arrived and the English were run off. Having failed to take the Castillo de San Marcos, the English turned their attention to the Apalachee region in the following years, then to the remainder of the Timucua region.

Mission Period Archaeology at the Shannon Road Midden

The Shannon Road Midden is a large multi-component site that includes a precontact Native American shell midden and a colonial home site. The Mission Period component is confined to a 25×30-meter (m) area called "Operation B" in the north-central portion of the site. My co-author, Betsy, directed the excavation in 2005, prior to development of the Palencia community. The field work included excavating shovel tests along a 5 m grid, and excavating two block units that totaled 52 m². The site is on the west bank of the Tolomato River and at the

time of excavation was in a hammock dominated by oak, cedar, and palmetto.

My involvement came when I attended my first principal investigator meeting as a SEARCH employee. During the meeting, Betsy asked me to write the results of the Mission Period component, and happily I agreed. First, I reviewed the artifact tables and considered what we had found and where we had found it. The site had been disturbed by plowing; as a result, the artifact count is inflated. The Operation B assemblage contains 3,930 Native American ceramics, 28 lithics, 63 Spanish-made ceramics, and 175 historic items (including lead shot, nails, tobacco pipes, brick, window glass, and numerous iron fragments [161]) that may be associated with the Mission Period occupation.

The Spanish-made artifacts include 58 olive-jar pieces (including one with a donut-shaped rim), one coarse earthenware jug handle, one piece of majolica, two pieces of Aucilla polychrome, and one small piece of San Luis blue on white. Olive jars and majolica each had long periods of production; however, three of the ceramic types from the site have a tighter span of manufacture. San Luis blue on white dates from 1550 to 1650 (appears in Florida after 1575); Aucilla polychrome dates from 1650 to 1700; olive jar with donut-shaped rim dates from 1650 to 1800.

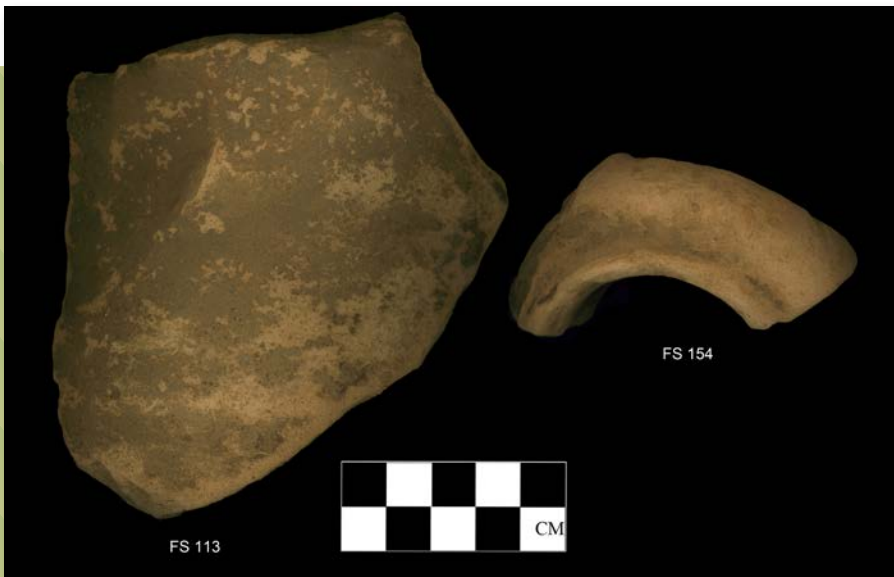


The Native American-made ceramic assemblage is dominated by the San Marcos series, which includes 3,682 sherds making up over 91% of the assemblage. This ceramic series was first produced by Guale people living along the Georgia coast. Its prevalence in the vicinity of St. Augustine, including in Spanish households, is well documented. The next most common ceramic type is St. Johns, distinguished by its chalky feel and microscopically visible sponge spicule inclusions. There were 164 St. Johns sherds recovered, some of which may predate the Mission component, as inferred by their deeper depth of recovery and by the high incidence of plain sherds compared to those that are check stamped. St. Johns pottery is the style the local Timucua were making at the time of Spanish arrival. Its presence as a minority type at the Shannon Road Midden and other Mission Period sites in the vicinity of St. Augustine may be partially the result of a high Timucua death rate at the time of early contact, which was due to their direct exposure to Spanish colonists carrying diseases to which the native population had no immunity. Accounts suggest that Guale people were continuously relocated to St. Augustine as early as the 1620s; by 1689, Guale outnumbered Timucua in St. Augustine by more than four times.

The Native American-made ceramic assemblage also includes a few Woodland-era sherds that predate the Mission Period, including three Deptford sherds (ca. 500 BC-AD 200 [locally]) that mend, and one charcoal-tempered sherd that likely dates to the Early Swift

Creek Period (ca. AD 300-500). There are also 41 minority types and 143 grog tempered sherds, and it is the grog tempered assemblage and a handful of the minority wares that led to our initial realization that a portion of the assemblage appears to be of non-local production. Among the minority types are five sherds with incisions and black filming that are small in size and tentatively typed as Ocmulgee Fields Incised, which is a late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century ware that some sources place in the northern Florida and southern Georgia region and that others place in the vicinity of Macon, Georgia. There are also three cord marked sherds, which are inconsistent with the local St. Augustine ceramic chronology and more indicative of either the St. Marys II type found to the north in Duval and Nassau Counties or the Prairie Cord Marked type common to north-central Florida in the Suwannee River Valley. However, production of these types is not believed to have continued into the late seventeenth and early eighteenth century; thus, their occurrence remains temporally and regionally ambiguous.

This leads us to the assemblage of 143 grog-tempered ceramics. One of the first things I noticed when viewing the assemblage was that the grog-tempered ceramics do not resemble the region's two known grog-tempered types: Late Woodland Colorinda and Late Mississippian/Early Contact San Pedro. Colorinda pottery is typically identifiable by microscopically visible sponge spicule inclusions within the grog particles; the assemblage had no such inclusions. The San Pedro ceramic series



Olive jar specimens, including donut-shaped rim.



San Marcos Line Block (rectilinear stamped) sherd.

consists of thick wares with coarse-sized grog particles. This series was officially defined by Dr. Keith Ashley and Vicki Rolland in 1997. I asked each of them to examine a sample of the grog-tempered sherds from this site; both concluded that the samples do not resemble the San Pedro type.

I was confident that I knew what the grog-tempered sherds were *not*; I just needed to figure out what they were. In a 1992 publication on the Fig Springs Mission (located in Ichetucknee Springs State Park and dating to the first half of the seventeenth century) John Worth describes the Mission-period's grog-tempered "Jefferson" series as having flat lips and excurvate rims, vessel walls ranging from 7-10 cm, and moderate to large quantities of fine to coarse-sized grog particles, all of which are characteristics of the Shannon Road Midden assemblage. In addition, a small number of the grog-tempered sherds from the Shannon Road Midden have random punctations, which is also a characteristic of the Jefferson ceramic series. The similarities between the Jefferson wares described for the Fig Springs Mission and those found at the Shannon Road Midden led to our interpretation of these exotic wares having been introduced to the St. Augustine area by refugee populations from the Interior Timucua or possibly Apalachee regions. Thus, the presence of Jefferson pottery as a minority ware at the Shannon Road Midden among an assemblage dominated by San Marcos pottery serves as our basis for referring to the site as "multi-ethnic." I contacted John Worth to ask what has

changed in the past three decades (since the 1992 Fig Springs publication) regarding his assessment of the Jefferson series. Dr. Worth commented that "we know quite a bit more," noting that it was the dominant type used by the Apalachee up to the period of the Moore raids in that region (1704) and that it continued to be produced after the Apalachee moved west to Pensacola and Mobile.

We have interpreted the site as a "refugee" site for a few reasons. First, its small size of 25×30 m conveys a sense of occupational brevity by a displaced group who performed intensive activities within a spatially restricted area, potentially to enhance safety measures from a perceived enemy. Two lead shot artifacts were recovered from the site, one of which was flattened from use. While it's not conclusive that these items were deposited during the Mission Period occupation, one was found in association with several large olive-jar sherds. If these are part of the Mission Period assemblage, then it's possible that these munition fragments represent Spanish-issued weaponry that served their endeavors to thwart invaders, particularly those advancing from the north.

The manner in which the material was deposited also indicates a very short-lived occupation focused on immediate necessity. The excavations revealed a series of four posts that align to form what is likely a wall of a structure; these are shown as Features 5, 7, 9, and 10 on the artifact distribution figure. An exceedingly dense

portion of the cultural assemblage was recovered immediately outside the structure, offering a dichotomy of “inside” space vs. “outside” space, the outside space having refuse and deposits from activities such as cooking, the inside space being clean and empty of trash. We suspect that if a structure was erected for any intention of longevity, that refuse would have been deposited in neat piles or subsurface receptacles placed further from the structure. One charcoal-laden hearth was documented (Feature 6 on the artifact density figure), and it was only 1.5 m beyond the structure, further supporting our interpretation of the confined nature of the activities.

The absence of cartographic or archived documentation denoting this site’s location also supports a late seventeenth- to early eighteenth-century refugee interpretation. Considerable strides have been taken in recent years to utilize map data and descriptive accounts housed in Spain’s archives to determine the location of Mission Period towns, and with great success; however, no Mission Period sites are known for the location that corresponds with the Shannon Road Midden, further supporting the interpretation that it was used only for a short period.

Moore’s Raid – Photograph of signage at the National Park Service’s Castillo de San Marcos, St. Augustine.



Narrative

The information gleaned from the Shannon Road Midden paints a picture of a pivotal and hostile period in Florida’s history, specifically a picture of the ways in which an embittered conflict between two European powers competing for domination affected native populations. We feel that the case for the site’s interpretation as “multi-ethnic,” based on distinct ceramic types from different regions, and “refugee,” based on the small size and manner in which material was discarded, is accurate. Using the Native American- and Spanish-made artifacts to date the site does nothing more than render a broad period of site use (1650-1800); thus, we turn to the historic context to refine temporal placement.

Although each of the alternative hypotheses offered in the opening paragraph remain plausible, we contend that the multi-ethnic refugee camp is likely the result of population displacement ensuing from outside pressures. Shortly after the settlement of Charles Towne, hostilities between English and Spanish colonists increased, and these hostilities had a direct effect on the native population involved with the Franciscan Mission system. English attacks during the late seventeenth century resulted in displacement. To this end, Dr. Jerald Milanich notes that, by 1686, the Guale and northern Mocama regions withdrew, and many fled toward St. Augustine. Therefore, the settlement at the Shannon Road Mission may date to the final 15 years of the seventeenth century. Another interpretation is that the site is an early eighteenth-century relocation resulting directly from Moore’s raids. Between 1702 and 1708, Moore’s attacks decimated the mission population. The raids initially focused on the coastal missions; by 1703 or 1704, Moore’s attacks had honed in on the Apalachee region; by 1706 or 1707, Moore’s focus had shifted to the Timucua region. Grog-tempered Jefferson ceramics were produced in the western Timucua and Apalachee regions throughout the seventeenth century and up to the period of the Moore raids. It is possible that during the raids of the Apalachee or western Timucua region between 1703 and 1707 the Jefferson pottery-producing natives who occupied these regions were uprooted and relocated to the Shannon Road Midden, within the safety zone around St. Augustine.

While it remains unclear whether the Shannon Road Midden is a late seventeenth- or early eighteenth-century refugee occupation, the archaeological evidence indicates that it is likely a product of the conflict between Spain and England. The information presented here can serve as a baseline for similar excavations in the region; more importantly, it offers an archaeological signature to support the historic context of upheaval and relocation.

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THE IMMORTAL MARY MCLEOD BETHUNE



Mary McLeod Bethune in 1915, 40 years of age.

LEONARD LEMPEL

Statuary Hall in the U. S. Capitol building honors two individuals from each state with impressive statues. For the past century, Florida has been represented by John Gorrie and Edmund Kirby Smith. Gorrie is known as the “father of air conditioning” for inventing a refrigeration device before his death in 1855. Born in St. Augustine, Smith was a Confederate General who spent little time in Florida (the Kirby middle name was added by his family after his death in 1893 to distinguish him from the proliferation of General Smiths). Gorrie’s statue will remain in the Capitol, but Smith’s was replaced in February 2022 by a magnificent statue of Daytona Beach’s very own Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune. Smith’s statue entered the Hall in 1922, at a time when statues of Confederate war heroes were in vogue. However, public artifacts honoring the Confederacy such as flags, statues, and monuments now are widely viewed as symbols of racism and treason that should be removed from public spaces. Smith’s virtually non-existent footprint in Florida also helps to explain why few have opposed the decision to remove him from Statuary Hall.¹

In 2016, the Florida legislature signed into law Senate Bill 310, which paved the way for choosing a replacement for General Smith in Statuary Hall. An appeal was made to the citizens of Florida to recommend Smith’s replacement; Bethune received 1,233 votes, about 800 votes more than runner-up James Weldon Johnson, the renowned early 20th-century black civil rights activist and novelist, who was the first African American to be admitted to the Florida Bar. In 2018, the Florida legislature made it official.²

While the vote difference between Bethune and Johnson may surprise some, Bethune’s popularity is easily explained. Bethune-Cookman University’s numerous alumni and their families are thoroughly enamored with Mary McLeod Bethune and her legacy. Furthermore, she was a community and national leader who joined, led, and founded several state and national organizations. Over her long career, she pointedly reached out across class, political party, and racial lines for allies. Unlike many African American leaders of the early 20th century who were intellectuals of light complexion and came across as elitist, Bethune never forgot her humble roots as a sharecropper and was proud of her dark skin. She was dignified, but at the same time appeared humble, and worked tirelessly to improve the lives of African Americans. In return she was adored by the black masses as well as by many whites. Several streets, parks, and schools are named after Bethune, and in 1973, she became the first African American and the first woman to have a national monument named in her honor in Washington, D. C.

The renowned black poet Langston Hughes immortalized Bethune’s popularity in his 1956 autobiography, *I Wonder as I Wander*. Hughes gave Bethune a ride to New York City after conducting a poetry reading at Bethune-Cookman College in 1929. The road trip from Daytona Beach to New York for African Americans in 1929 was usually difficult because blacks were denied service at virtually all roadside conveniences. However, with Bethune on board, Hughes regaled that his journey back to New York went smoothly because black folk “along the eastern seaboard spread a feast and opened their homes wherever Mrs. Bethune passed their way,”



Mary McLeod Bethune with a line of girls from the school. Circa 1905-1907. All images courtesy of the State Library and Archives of Florida, Florida Memory.

and for emphasis added that “chickens, sensing that [Bethune] was coming, went flying off frantically seeking a hiding place. They knew a heaping platter of southern fried chicken would be made in her honor.”³

Bethune’s popularity was well deserved—she rose from humble origins to national prominence during an era where being black and female posed formidable obstacles to success. Mary Jane was the fifteenth of seventeen children born to Samuel and Patsy McLeod, former slaves on a plantation near Mayesville, S.C. in 1875, the first of her siblings who was born free and the only one to attend school. She was so determined to become literate that she walked five miles each day to attend school in Mayesville. In 1895, she graduated from the Bible School for Home and Foreign Missionaries (later named the Moody Bible Institute) in Chicago, intending to serve as a missionary in Africa. However, Mary’s application was rejected, so instead she accepted a teaching position at the Haines Normal and Industrial School in Augusta, GA, where she met her future husband (see sidebar).⁴

After briefly living in Savannah and Palatka, FL, the Bethunes moved to Daytona in 1904, because Mary was determined to open a school that would service the city’s large and rapidly growing population of mostly poor, unschooled African Americans. The Florida Census of 1905 lists 1,151 of the city’s 2,199 residents as black (52.3%). The devastating freezes of 1886 and 1894-1895 that destroyed the area’s citrus industry forced large numbers of black farm workers to seek employment in Daytona. During the 1890s and early 20th century, blacks filled the numerous tourist

industry and railroad jobs created by the arrival of Henry Flagler’s Florida East Coast Railroad (FECR) in 1888 and the subsequent influx of affluent winter visitors. Other blacks worked in the turpentine camps and lumberyards that dotted the area.⁵

The black community that the Bethunes moved into consisted of three adjacent black neighborhoods west of the FECR tracks: from north to south, Midway, Newtown, and Waycross. The renowned black theologian Howard Thurman, who grew up in Daytona during the early 20th century, spoke of the vast chasm that divided blacks and whites:

The three neighborhoods formed a closely knit community of black people, surrounded by a white world. Daytona Beach (not Daytona) itself and Sea Breeze were exclusive tourist areas, located across the Halifax River from Daytona. I could work in Sea Breeze and Daytona Beach, but I was not allowed to spend the night there, nor could I be seen there after dark without being threatened...The white community in Daytona itself was “downtown,” no place for loitering. Our freedom of movement was carefully circumscribed...But in Waycross, Midway, and Newtown we were secure and at home, free to move and go about our business as we pleased. Thus, white and black worlds were separated by a wall of quiet hostility and overt suspicion.⁶



First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt and Mary McLeod Bethune in 1937.



Despite this “wall of quiet hostility,” a black middle class emerged in Daytona. The city directory of 1900 reveals that four of Daytona’s eight carpenters, and four of the city’s ten masons were black, as well as four of Daytona’s twelve churches.⁷ The directory also mentions a kindergarten serving the black community, which was established by the Palmetto Club, a combination civic, cultural, and philanthropic organization of white women founded in 1894. In 1899, the club established kindergartens for black children in Midway and Waycross whose mothers worked.⁸ Several Palmetto Club members were the wives of affluent Northern visitors who wintered in Daytona. Howard Thurman concluded that these wealthy northern families produced a relatively moderate racial climate in Daytona that “made contact between the races less abrasive than it might have been otherwise.”⁹

Although Bethune opened her school in Daytona to satisfy the educational needs of the city’s large, under-schooled African American population, she also recognized that her prospects for success were high, given Daytona’s relatively tolerant racial climate and potential assistance from wealthy white northerners. In 1940, Bethune revealed to sociologist Charles S. Johnson the deliberate process she used in selecting Daytona as the site where she would fulfill her dream of establishing a school to educate blacks. Bethune told Johnson that she had saved up just enough money while working for the Afro-American Life Insurance Company to scout out Florida’s east coast for a suitable location for her school:

As I studied the situation I saw the importance of someone going down there doing something. So I selected Daytona Beach, a town where very conservative people lived and where James M. Gamble (of Procter and Gamble Company of Cincinnati); Thomas White (of the White Sewing Machine Company of Cleveland); and other fine people [owned homes]. A fine club of white women in that section formed a philanthropic group, [the] Palmetto Club, through whom I thought approaches might be made.¹⁰

Bethune also must have noticed that Daytona’s expanding economy and the influx of wealthy snowbirds meant that the city’s black community, though poor by white standards, had more disposable income than was typical—enough so that parents could afford the modest tuition Bethune charged to attend her school. Nevertheless, when the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls opened in a rented house on Oak Street on October 3, 1904, conditions were Spartan for the five little girls, whose parents paid \$.50 per week tuition. Mrs. Bethune scavenged the city dump heaps and refuse piles of resort hotels for supplies and clothing for her students. The furniture consisted of packing crates and boxes, upturned baskets served as chairs, and the little girls slept on a castoff double bed with a mattress of donated corn sacks that Mrs. Bethune had sewn together and



Students at the Daytona Educational and Industrial Training School for Negro Girls, circa 1905.



Log cabin where Mary Jane McLeod was born on July 10, 1875 on a farm near Mayesville, South Carolina.

stuffed with Spanish moss. Generous neighbors donated groceries, or they were purchased from the proceeds of sweet potato pies baked by Mrs. Bethune and sold to black railroad workers.¹¹

In 1907, the school moved to the only available location, the city dump. Selling her famous sweet potato pies enabled Bethune to obtain the \$5.00 down payment for the property. Bethune and her school quickly endeared themselves to moderate elements in the white community by emphasizing domestic and industrial training (made famous by Booker T. Washington's Tuskegee Institute) and "Negro uplift." Moderate whites deemed such education acceptable for blacks since it prepared them for primarily menial jobs that would not threaten white dominance. After receiving a letter from Bethune in the spring of 1905, the city commission unanimously passed a resolution endorsing her industrial school. She invited whites to come to the school and see "The Booker T. Washington Idea of Education Demonstrated" and to hear the "Old Plantation Melodies and Jubilee Songs" Bethune also sought to spread good will by sending teachers and students out to the white community to entertain and educate. As part of the celebration of "Philanthropic Day" at the Palmetto Club in February 1906, "three young girls from the Industrial School in Midway sang a trio and their teacher gave a short talk on the work of the school."¹²

Bethune's efforts to help Daytona's black community went beyond education. In 1905, she convinced the city council to order the installation of storm sewers in

Midway and the hiring of two black policemen to patrol Midway and Waycross. Bethune's labors engendered grassroots reform by Midway's black residents who petitioned the common council in 1908 to lay cement sidewalks through their neighborhoods. Another petition "by colored citizens in the settlement of New Town" requested "more lights on Second Street."¹³ Howard Thurman eloquently recounted Bethune's importance to Daytona's black residents:

Very often she would come to our church... and...talk of her dreams for Negro youth.... Sometimes we attended her Sunday afternoon temperance meetings [at the school]. The most memorable aspect of those Sunday afternoons was the lack of segregation in the seating arrangements. Many tourists attended, sitting wherever there were empty seats. There was no special section for white people. In the first decade of the century, Mrs. Bethune provided a unique leadership, involved in all the problems of Negro life in town, and at times she was the spokesperson on behalf of the entire Negro community... The very presence of the school, and the inner strength and authority of Mrs. Bethune, gave boys like me a view of the possibilities to be realized in some distant future.¹⁴

Bethune impressed several wealthy white vacationers and winter residents with her strong will, spirit of sacrifice, and ambitions for the school. They, in turn, provided the financial resources that enabled the school to develop. Before moving to Daytona, she had identified James Gamble and Thomas White as potential donors. In addition, the school's early benefactors included oil baron John D. Rockefeller and prominent author Harrison Rhodes.

Bethune's school served as an oasis of integration and tolerance during the early 1900s, and eventually a training ground for black leaders and political activists. It became a co-educational junior college in 1923 when it merged with Cookman Institute of Jacksonville, and a four-year liberal arts college in 1943. The college became a major source of employment for black Daytonans, and anchored by the college. Midway became the center of Daytona's middle class during the first half of the 20th century. By the 1920s, its main business district stretched for several blocks along Second Avenue, benefiting from the rigid segregation that produced a captive clientele. Besides the college, Second Avenue boasted three physicians, one dentist, two churches, and forty-one small businesses, including nine black restaurants in 1924.¹⁵

During the harsh depression years of the 1930s, Bethune used her growing influence within the New Deal to bring employment to Daytona's black community and training programs to Bethune-Cookman College. In conjunction with Mayor Edward H. Armstrong, Bethune helped secure Public Works Administration (PWA) and Works Progress Administration (WPA) monies for the city. As head of the National Youth Administration's minority affairs division, a WPA subsidiary, Bethune was able to establish training programs at the college. By 1940, more than 62 percent of the 436 Daytonans working on federal projects were black—a higher percentage than in any other Florida city the size of Daytona. Using her friendship with President and First Lady Eleanor Roosevelt, Bethune secured \$500,000 in 1939 for construction of the Pine Haven Housing Project that provided more than 225 new homes for black Daytonans.¹⁶

Nationwide, the outbreak of World War II ended the Great Depression, but war threatened economic disaster for tourist-dependent coastal resorts like Daytona Beach. Once again, Mary McLeod Bethune came to the rescue. Her friendship with Eleanor Roosevelt helped bring to Daytona Beach a Women's Army Auxiliary Corps (WAAC) base in 1942, and a year later, Daytona was home to some 14,000 WAACs. As special assistant to WAAC commanding officer Colonel Oveta Hobby, Bethune selected black women to train as officers. Though she vehemently objected to the Jim

Crow WAAC base, Bethune did not resign in protest, but instead worked tirelessly to ensure that hundreds of black women became officers.

Despite now being over seventy years of age, Bethune continued her efforts to benefit Volusia County's African American community in the post war era. Continued harassment of blacks on Daytona's beaches and the county's refusal to designate a local black public beach, led her to organize in 1949 Bethune-Volusia Incorporated, better known as Bethune Beach. Located about twenty miles south of Daytona Beach, the Bethune Beach community was to be "owned and controlled by Negroes and available to them for construction of homes and recreation facilities." It was modeled after American Beach, a black beach resort on Amelia Island near Jacksonville founded during the 1930s by Abraham Lincoln Lewis and the now defunct Afro-American Life Insurance Company. Bethune Beach provided a bathing area where African Americans could avoid harassment and served as a training ground for black entrepreneurial activity.¹⁷

Beginning in September 1952, after a three-year court battle with the city, blacks gained access to Peabody Auditorium, Daytona Beach's new, state-of-the-art performance center. Nonetheless, African Americans could enter only on a segregated basis. A delegation of African Americans led by Mrs. Bethune managed to extract an agreement from officials whereby blacks and whites could use the same entrance, though all other proposed Jim Crow measures were imposed. Also, the court order had only mandated that blacks be admitted to city-sponsored events, which comprised just a small fraction of the performances at Peabody. With the auditorium's manager openly discouraging the contracting parties from admitting blacks, African Americans could attend only one performance during Peabody's first nine months of operation following the June 1952, court ruling. Once again, Bethune interceded. In March 1953, she informed the commissioners that "Negroes have gone a long way when they accept a segregated section, but it is unfair for the auditorium to be rented to people when Negroes cannot attend." The protests of the esteemed educator and leader, now in her late 70s, had the desired effect. The city manager instructed Peabody's manager not to discourage contracting parties from allowing blacks to attend events at the auditorium.¹⁸

Mary McLeod Bethune passed away quietly in her home on the campus of Bethune-Cookman College on May 18, 1955.¹⁹ One is left searching for superlatives to describe her contributions to human rights locally, nationally, and internationally. Suffice it to say that Bethune was one the great civil rights leaders of the first half of the 20th century and played a major role in

ignited the modern civil rights movement—a movement that had just commenced by the end of her remarkable life. Bethune’s induction into Statuary Hall will help validate her historic significance.

Following the legislature’s approval of the statue in 2018, local community leaders gathered and formed the Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune Statuary Fund, Inc., to raise the \$500,000 needed to produce a marble statue of Bethune for Statuary Hall. Soon after its formation, the Statuary Fund decided to raise additional monies to commission a smaller bronze replica of the marble statue to be placed in the new Riverfront Park in Daytona Beach.²⁰

On July 10, 2019, Bethune’s 144th birthday, Florida Governor Ron DeSantis sent a letter to the U. S. Capitol’s architect, requesting that General Edmund Kirby Smith’s statue in the National Statuary Hall be replaced with that of Mary McLeod Bethune. In his letter, DeSantis eloquently made the case for Bethune’s induction into Statuary Hall: “Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune was an influential educator, leader and civil rights activist who became one of Florida’s and our nation’s most influential leaders. Dr. McLeod Bethune’s statue will represent the best of who we are as Floridians to visitors from around the world in the U. S. Capitol building. Her legacy endures and will continue to inspire future generations.”²¹

In September 2020, final approval was given by the Capitol’s architect for master sculptor Nilda Comas to begin work on the Bethune statue in Pietrasanta, Italy. A native of Puerto Rico, Comas has studios in Ft. Lauderdale, Florida, and Pietrasanta. Both Comas and Bethune will make history; Bethune will be the first African American to represent a state in Statuary Hall, while Comas will be the first Hispanic woman to have a sculpture displayed there.²² In the spring of 2021, the Statuary Fund’s board of directors voted to expand the project by funding a K-12 curriculum module and a feature-length documentary film on Bethune. The curriculum module will be a collaborative effort between Volusia County Public Schools, Bethune Fund president and board chair Nancy Lohman, and retired Bethune-Cookman University professor and Bethune biographer, Nancy Long. The documentary is being produced by Better World Films LLC, co-founded and directed by Eric Breitenbach and Leonard Lempel, both retired professors at Daytona State College. Breitenbach is an accomplished photographer and film director/producer. Lempel is a historian whose research has focused on local African American history. They have collaborated on three previous documentaries.

The marble statue of Bethune was completed in May 2021. As is the tradition when a masterpiece is finished,

the statue was blessed. On July 10, 2021, an elaborate blessing program was held in Pietrasanta.²³ In October, the statue was unveiled at Daytona State College’s News-Journal Center, where it resided before travelling to Washington, D.C., for its unveiling in February 2022. A bronze statue, a smaller replica of the marble statue, eventually will be installed in the Daytona Beach Riverfront Park facing Bethune-Cookman University.

Len Lempel is a member of the Florida Historical Society Board of Directors. Before retiring, he taught history at Daytona State College. This article previously was published in the Halifax Herald, Vol. 39, No. 1 (Summer 2021), 6-15.

Footnotes

¹Architect of the Capitol, “Edmund Kirby Smith.” <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/art/edmund-kirby-smith>; Architect of the Capitol, “John Gorrie.” <https://www.aoc.gov/explore-capitol-campus/art/john-gorrie>.

²Jim Rosica, “Mary McLeod Bethune top choice to replace Confederate Army general statue.” *Florida Politics* (June 18, 2016). <https://floridapolitics.com/archives/213934-mary-mcleod-bethune-statue>.

³“The Extraordinary Life of Mary McLeod Bethune,” The National World War II Museum,” (New Orleans, July 20, 2020). <https://www.nationalww2museum.org/war/articles/mary-mcleod-bethune>.

⁴Audrey Thomas McCluskey and M. Smith (eds.). *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World, Essays and Selected Documents* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 2001), 4-5.

⁵Manuscript Census Returns, Florida State Census of 1885, Volusia County, Florida, National Archives Microfilm Publication M 845, roll 13, frames 113-27; *The Third Census of the State of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1905), 51; James W. Button, *Blacks and Social Change: Impact of the Civil Rights Movement in Southern Communities* (Princeton, New Jersey: Princeton University Press, 1989), 82.

⁶Howard Thurman, *With Head and Heart* (New York: Harcourt Brace Jovanovich, 1979), 10. In 1926, the mainland city of Daytona merged with the two beachside towns of Seabreeze and Daytona Beach to form the modern-day Daytona Beach. At the date of the merger, approximately half of Daytona’s population was black, while blacks were prohibited from living in the beach side communities. Following the merger, approximately one-third of the consolidated Daytona Beach was black.

⁷*Daytona and Peninsula, Map, Guide, Directory* (1900?), 2-3.

⁸*Daytona Morning Journal*, November 7, 1916.

⁹Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 9.

¹⁰McCluskey and Smith, *Mary McLeod Bethune: Building a Better World*, 47.

¹¹Rackham Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune* (Garden City, New York: Doubleday and Company, 1964), 5961; Ianthe Bond Hebel, ed., *Centennial History of Volusia County, Florida, 1854-1954* (Daytona Beach: College Publishing Company, 1955), 57.

¹²*Daytona Morning Journal*, November 7, 1916; *Daytona Daily News*, February 16, 1906.

¹³City Commission Minutes, April 10, 1905, May 8, 1905, August 8, 14, and 28, 1905, September 11, 1905, February 12, 1906, January 27, 1908; *Daytona Daily News*, February 13.

¹⁴Thurman, *With Head and Heart*, 23.

¹⁵*R. L. Polk & Co.'s Daytona City Directory, 1924-25*, Volume V (Jacksonville, 1924), 102-104.

¹⁶Leonard Lempel, "The Mayor's 'Henchmen and Henchwomen, Both White and Colored': Edward H. Armstrong and the Politics of Race in Daytona Beach, 1900-1940," *Florida Historical Quarterly* 79 (Winter 2001), 293-94; Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 214; R. L. Polk & Co.'s *Daytona Beach City Directory, 1944*, Volume XIII (Jacksonville, FL, 1944), 55-57.

¹⁷*Daytona Beach Morning-Journal*, August 28, 1949.

¹⁸*Ibid.*, June 24, September 17, and September 24, 1952; March 4 and 6, 1953.

¹⁹Hebel, *Centennial History*, 58; Holt, *Mary McLeod Bethune*, 194-195, 255-59, 287.

²⁰"An Evening's program Featuring DR. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE: America's Black Rose," Franco Cervietti Marble Studio, Pietrasanta, Italy, July 10, 2021, 5.

²¹"Governor Ron DeSantis Officially Requests Replacement of Florida Statue in National Statuary Hall on 144th Anniversary of Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune's Birthday," News Release from Ron DeSantis' office, July 10, 2019. <https://www.flgov.com/2019/07/10/governor-ron-desantis-officially-requests-replacement-of-florida-statue-in-national-statuary-hall-on-144th-anniversary-of-dr-mary-mcleod-bethunes-birthday/>.

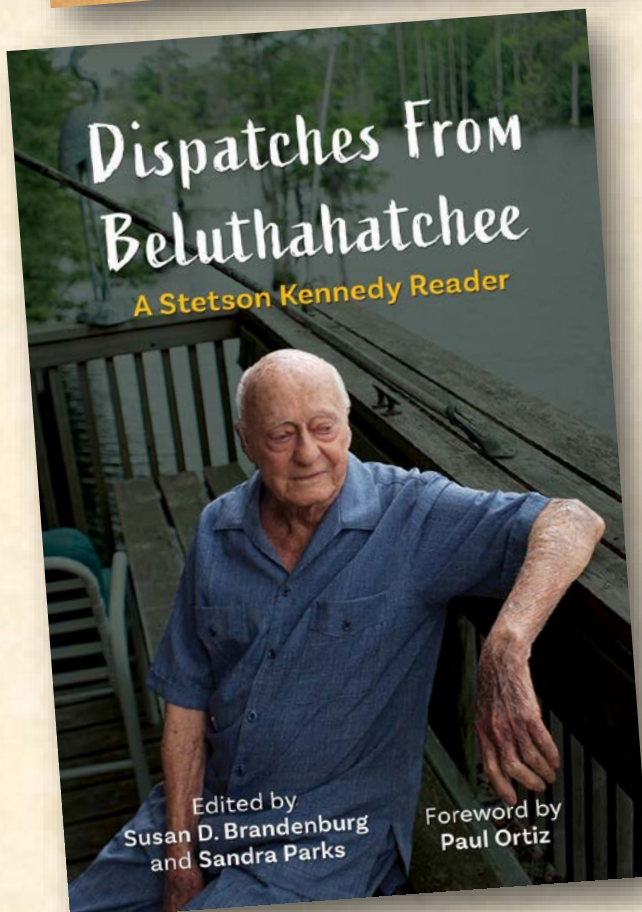
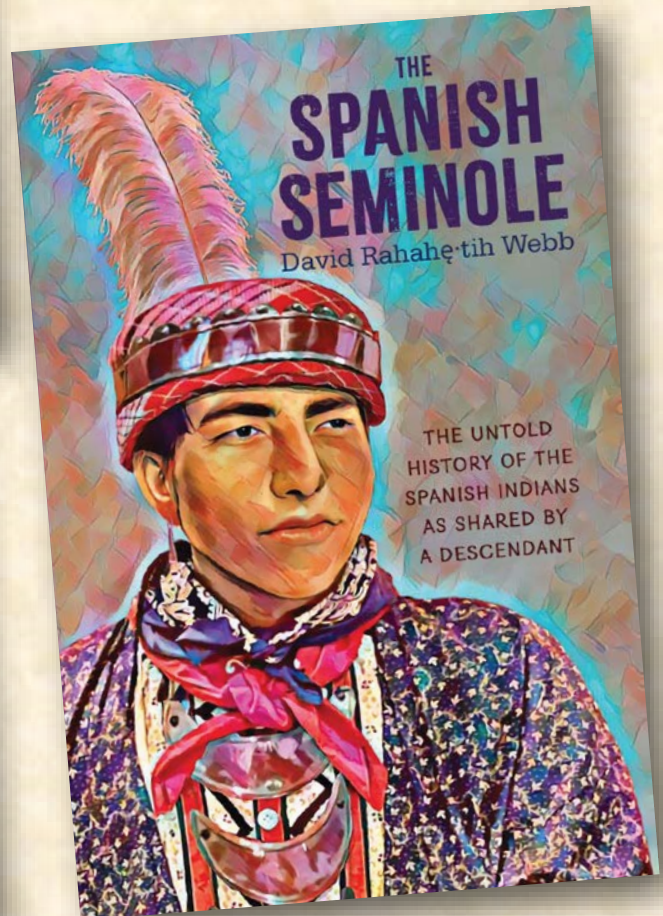
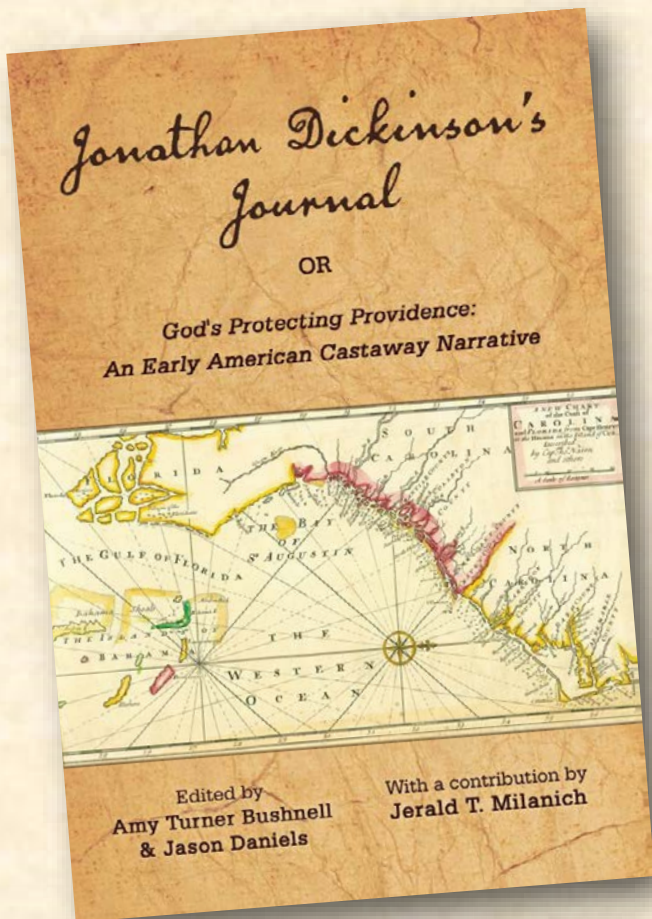
²²"Castor Provides Update on Dr. Mary McLeod Bethune Statue Headed to U.S. Capitol. Important Approval Granted by the Architect of the Capitol for Sculptor to Commence Work." <https://castor.house.gov/news/documentsingle.aspx?DocumentID=403382>.

²³The program included brief presentations by the Nilda Comas, the mayors of both Pietrasanta and Daytona Beach, leaders of the Statuary Fund, U. S. Congresswoman Kathy Castor, Bethune-Cookman University President Hiram Powell, and musical performances by several former Bethune-Cookman University students and an Italian choir. "An Evening's program Featuring DR. MARY McLEOD BETHUNE: America's Black Rose," Franco Cervietti Marble Studio, Pietrasanta, Italy, July 10, 2021.



The marble statue of Mary McLeod Bethune by sculptor Nilda Comas was placed in Statuary Hall in the U.S. Capitol in February 2022. Photo by Eric Breitenbach

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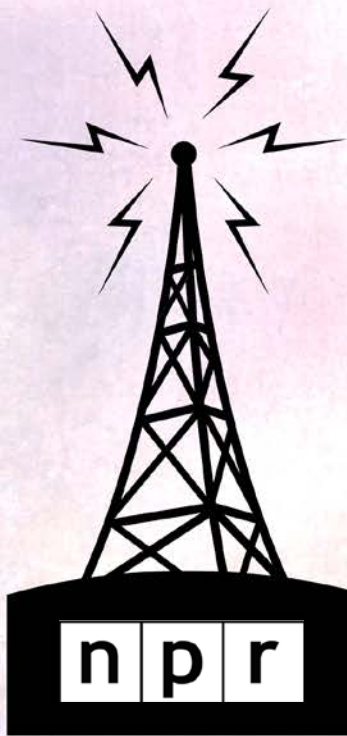


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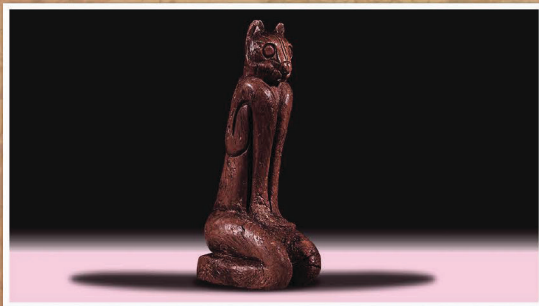
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