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Tequesta:

Forty Years of Miami Beach

By RUBY LEACH CARSON

It was nearly two decades after Miami was incorporated as a town before the challenging, ocean-front strip facing it across Biscayne Bay was considered ripe for development. Not until March 26, 1915, did Miami Beach, boasting 33 voters, make its bow as an incorporated municipality, bidding for a share of the area's fast-growing travel market.

Just what *is* Miami Beach?

During this, its fortieth anniversary year, its citizens are giving interesting definitions:

"Miami Beach is the capitol of vacationland," said Leon C. McAskill, 1955 director of the Miami Beach Hotel Association and former publisher of the Miami Beach Sun. "Miami Beach is unique even in the somewhat amazing and certainly unusual development of the United States. All the superlatives have been used — sometimes to the tiring point. Some descriptions are unflattering, most are in glittering praise. Whatever the opinion, the unadorned facts reveal an unprecedented growth, an ever increasing prosperity and a concentration of investment of 'smart money' the like of which is probably unmatched anywhere. When one remembers that only 40 years ago Miami Beach was a mangrove swamp, the present picture does approach the fantastic."

The city's present mayor, D. Lee Powell, in a signed article in the Miami Daily News of September 11, 1955, outlined Miami Beach as a community of more than 6,000 private residences and 20,000 apartment units . . . the homes of an estimated 60,000 persons.

"Miami Beach's community life," wrote Mayor Powell, "has been subject to the same growth and development as its tourist economy. As the city's resort pattern has shifted from a short winter season enjoyed principally by

the wealthy, to a year-'round vacationland visited by close to 2,000,000 persons a year. The city's permanent population has grown from a mere handful to the present estimated 60,000."

What does the city of Miami Beach officially call itself? On the city hall's outgoing mail is stamped this slogan: "The Closest Thing to Paradise We Know." And the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce has come forth with this: "The World's Placation Land." "*But it is not,*" says Samuel A. Rivkind, President of the Miami Beach Hotel Association, "the exclusive domain of the rich."

Much has been said in recognition of the city's fortieth birthday. The pioneers, the economists, the statisticians and the press, — all have been delightfully informative. These contributions will be valuable, along with the record books, when the historians close in during some future year to follow only the long shadows to their origin. And of those shadows, the longest will be the one cast by John S. Collins.

To begin the history of this now-distinguished resort city is to begin with the arrival there of the first man capable of foreseeing the area's possibilities and of starting the formidable reclamation necessary to make the dream come true. The Man of the Hour was Collins.

Almost immediately after Collins, however, five other men of destiny appeared on the mangrove-palmetto scene in this order: Collins' son-in-law, T. J. Pancoast; the Lummus brothers, J. N. and J. E., Miami bank presidents; and finally the sportsman millionaire, Carl Graham Fisher and his marine engineer, John H. Levi. Looking over the old records, it is inspirational to note that these six men, by their willingness to come to each other's assistance, brought success to themselves beyond their fondest dreams, and gave happiness to others. Only one of these men, J. N. Lummus, is living to help celebrate the city's fortieth birthday.

The concatenation of events which brought these men together in an epic struggle for reclamation could not have happened precisely at this time had not Henry M. Flagler brought civilization to the bay's edge. The arrival of his railroad in Miami in 1896 and the building of the great Royal Palm Hotel in 1897, had established a resort economy, creating a travel market which has continued to expand to this day.

If Flagler ever envisioned the bright future in store for the Miami Beach area, he made no further contribution to it. His main interest was transportation, therefore in 1903 he turned his attention to the building of the extension

to Key West, where his passengers could connect with the steamship company of which he was president.

By the time his locomotives began moving over the rails to Key West in January, 1912, the travel picture was changing. Automotive transport was "the thing", and its future would have tremendous impact upon Florida's economy. For the development of Miami Beach, John S. Collins was the first to recognize this fact, and by the building of a bridge for vehicles, he did something about it. By July of 1912, when the construction of this bridge began, Collins had already spearheaded other developments on the peninsula.

Collins was a distinguished and successful horticulturist in his native state, New Jersey, when in the 1880's his interest was aroused in the area that is now Miami Beach. He had become curious about the horticultural possibilities after the failure of a coconut planting venture in which he had been an absentee investor. More will be said about this highly dramatic venture.

It was not until the early 1890's, before the Florida East Coast Railroad had been brought south as far as West Palm Beach, that Collins made the trip to Miami. Charles Edgar Nash, in his book "The Magic of Miami Beach", (for which Pancoast wrote an approving foreword) describes Collins' emotions at this time:

He hired two blacks to row him across Biscayne Bay to the peninsula and we may imagine with what mingled emotions he first set foot on Miami Beach.

The situation was admirable, the climate was perfect. Here summer spent the winter and thousands of people would spend it, too, given the opportunity. It would eventually make an ideal winter resort and was just what he had been looking for. The future could be allowed to take care of itself, but was for the present — he walked into a virgin jungle of palmetto scrub, kneeled and dug into the earth with his hands, allowing the black, sandy loam to run through his fingers, the knowing fingers of a dirt farmer with more than half a century of experience behind him.

That settled it. The last vestige of doubt was gone. As he rose to his feet and dusted the clinging particles of sand from his hands Miami Beach was born. He knew that with water, fertilization, and proper care of this land could be made . . . into a town and the town into a city of trees and flowers and pleasant vistas.

To point to Collins' first active interest in this beach land, is to turn backward to the middle 1880's when he encountered an old friend at a pomological meeting in New Jersey. This friend, Elnathan T. Field of Middletown,

N. J., was enthusiastic about a coconut planting project which he and some associates had launched three years previously, in 1882. The project, however, had been halted by lack of funds since expenses involved had been greater than had been anticipated.

The various versions which have been published about this exciting early chapter in Miami Beach history agree in the main and vary only in the small details. Besides Nash, Authors E. V. Blackman, C. H. Ward, Kenneth L. Roberts, Tracy Hollingsworth, and J. N. Lummus, as well as countless journalists, have told the story. It's a good story for the homefolks to know, since visitors invariably ask: "Are coconuts native to this peninsula?" This article will rely for the most part on Nash.

A few coconuts, which had probably washed ashore, had succeeded in growing near an old wharf at Miami Beach by the year 1870, when they were seen by two northern visitors, Henry B. Lum and his 15-year old son Charles. For years these fellows kept thinking about the economic possibilities of planting coconuts along Florida's south east coast for shipment to northern markets.

By the year 1882 they had purchased from the government ocean-front land at 35 cents an acre and had interested several others, including Field and his fellow-townsmen, Ezra Osborn. The Lums' land included the present south Miami Beach and Lummus Park area. The land which Field and Osborn purchased from the government extended not only from the Lum property north to Jupiter, but southward to Cape Florida. Their acreage, with breaks, totaled 65 miles of ocean front. It cost them from 75 cents to \$1.25 an acre.

To help with the loading and unloading of provisions, and to do the planting, the coconut promoters hired 25 men from the New Jersey life-saving stations. Old lifeboats were bought and repaired. These, along with wagons, tents, mules, tools and food, as well as a small portable house, were put on board a Mallory line vessel bound for Key West. At Key West they were transferred to a chartered schooner, and taken to the Florida coast. The schooner anchored near the Lum acreage and began unloading men and provisions. Much was taken to shore in life boats, but much was floated ashore. The men dumped the mules into the water and led them as they swam with them to land.

The schooner then headed for Trinidad for the first load of coconuts for planting, and the men under the leadership of Captain Richard Carney

of Middletown, N. J., set up camp. There was a natural clearing on the site of Lummus Park, and here the tents were pitched and the sections of the portable house were bolted together.

Nash tells of the old Indian trail which ran north and south, winding among the trees and which was believed to have been used by the Tequesta Indians and later by the Seminoles. This was widened for a wagon trail. They were working on this when the first load of 100,000 coconuts was brought in for planting. The labor involved was formidable, since dense jungle growth grew close to the shore. Paths were hacked with machetes.

By spring of 1883 they had planted the 38,000 nuts allotted for Miami Beach, and had moved camp to the Cape Florida area to plant the rest. The next camp site was established on the present north beach area at the site of the Biscayne House of Refuge. Here, a shipment of 117,000 coconuts from Nicaragua was brought ashore for planting. The next site for operations was the Hillsboro House of Refuge above Boca Raton, and for this planting another load of 117,000 coconuts was brought, this time from Cuba.

Although the original plans had called for a planting of 450,000 nuts, by this time 334,000 had been planted. Nash writes that "by the end of the third year's work the liquid assets of the company had been virtually exhausted. This brought the active proceedings to a halt and nothing further was planned until Nature had a chance to show what results had been achieved."

The work had been so exhausting for the laborers that each year the company had had to recruit a new crew. It was reported that they had employed negro convict labor.

At this point, Collins was told of the project. He advanced to his friend Field the sum of \$5,000 so that the work could be continued. Of course, the project failed. Some of the nuts failed to put forth shoots. Some, having sprouted and started growing, were choked out by strangler fig vines and the fast-marching mangroves. Most of the nuts which germinated lasted only long enough to provide food for rabbits, wood rats and other animals. Only a comparatively few kept growing and bore fruit.

The men had overestimated a coconut tree's yield of fruit, underestimated the expense of the project, and had practically ignored transportation and marketing problems. There were about sixty stockholders in this first big effort to commercialize Miami Beach.

But, as Historian Nash points out, "Failure had no place in Collins' make-up." That was why Collins came down to look over the Field and Osborn beach acreage in the 1890's. Mention already has been made of his favorable reaction. It was some years, however, before he could return. Collins' grandson, Arthur Pancoast, told this writer that as early as 1900 Collins and Field had been acquiring the ocean-front land at Miami Beach by buying up shares of the coconut-planting company from the other stockholders. By 1906, Collins was a Miami Beach landowner, with a land-clearing project under way. Arthur Pancoast established the year from the fact that the family had record of a negro employee's death by a hurricane on the project at that time.

Back in his native city, Moorestown, N. J., Collins had left his business interest with his son, Irving; and in Merchantville, he had left his son-in-law, T. J. Pancoast, in charge. These interests included nurseries and the selling of farm machinery and builders' and farmers' supplies. This combined knowledge of plant life and the machinery needed for its cultivation, together with an adventurous and inquiring mind, equipped Collins sufficiently for pioneering development of the jungle strip across Miami's bay.

After thought and study and conferences with other experts, Collins decided to begin by planting an avocado grove. Field protested, remembering the coconut venture; but Collins had his way. When the clearing of land by manpower began costing from \$70 to \$300 an acre, Collins designed a tractor with special knife-bladed wheels. These tractors were made in the north, shipped by train to Miami and ferried to the beach on barges. The cost of clearing was then reduced to \$30 an acre.

To protect the young grove from the wind, Collins planted the twin lanes of Australian pine trees which later became Pine Tree Drive.

In 1909, when the apprehensive Field was glad to sell his half of the enterprise, Collins bought Field's share and became the proud owner of the largest avocado grove in the world. Arthur Pancoast revealed to this writer that Field had arrived upon the scene, which he and Collins were to develop jointly, *with the complete plans for a city in his pocket*. Collins realized such a plan was premature.

"Anyway, my grandfather was agriculturally minded," said Arthur Pancoast. "He wanted to make a go of farming developments on cleared swamp land first. Then that ocean strip not suited to farming he thought could be available for a city later. He did not think of starting a city develop-

ment until he needed a canal for solution of his farm transportation problems. Then he knew a canal would help in both developments.

“Just what sort of townsite Mr. Field had planned I do not know,” continued Mr. Pancoast. “Mr. Collins’ idea was to pattern it after Atlantic City, N. J. Mr. Fisher didn’t depart too much from that concept, as Atlantic City at that time was the summer playground of the United States, and Mr. Fisher wanted to make this the winter playground. From that point on of course, his showmanship and salesmanship took over, and the city has gradually evolved until it really is fabulous.”

From this point on, Collins had the enthusiastic support of his family. His son-in-law, T. J. Pancoast, arranged his business affairs in New Jersey so he could live at Miami Beach and help with its development.

He arrived in 1911 and helped Collins direct the work on his canal. It was dug from what is now Lake Pancoast, to Biscayne Bay, and quickly became one of the most beautiful features of Miami Beach. It still retains his name. Both Collins and Pancoast realized at this time that the canal would not only provide a quick way to get his avocados to market, but also would help open up an area which would soon be in demand for residences. If homes were to be built, then a bridge for vehicles would be needed.

The Collins family organized the Miami Beach Improvement Company on June 3, 1912, with Collins as president and Pancoast as secretary, treasurer and active manager. The following month, July 22, work began on Collins Toll Bridge which, when finished in March 1913, was to connect the beach at Dade Boulevard with Miami at North East 15th Street, a distance of two and a half miles. It was to be known as the longest wooden bridge in the world. At the formal opening on June 12, 1913, Mayor J. W. Watson of Miami was speaker.

The wooden bridge was only half finished, however, when the unexpected expenses caused a temporary halt in the construction. At the outset, Collins and Pancoast had borrowed \$25,000 for the project from two local banks — \$15,000 from the Bank of Bay Biscayne, of which J. E. Lummus was president; and \$10,000 from the Southern Bank and Trust Company, of which J. N. Lummus was president. That was early in 1912. By May of that year J. N. Lummus had resigned as bank president to organize and direct a Miami Beach improvement company to be known as the Ocean Beach Realty Company. J. N. Lummus was born in Bronson, Levy County, Fla., and had first visited Miami in 1895. He returned in 1904 to live.

In a booklet condensed from his book, "The Miracle of Miami Beach", Lummus stated that he and his brother, J. E. Lummus, and a few stockholders in 1912 purchased 605 acres of swamp land from Lincoln Road south and "immediately put men chopping down swamp, clearing and grading the Ocean Front at the South end. We paid from \$150 per acre to \$12,500 per acre for swamp land. The large price was paid for small tracts but we had to have them to put streets through. . . . Our development was south from 15th Street and was known as 'Ocean Beach'." Most of this purchase had been the Lum holdings.

Lummus pointed out that his Company was the first to file a plat and sell lots for a subdivision. It was filed July 9, 1912.

Collins' first plat was filed December 11, 1912. Collins' sale of lots was stimulated by his announcement that Collins Bridge had been refinanced and was on its way to completion! The fact that a patron saint had appeared upon the scene to give needed financial aid, not only to Collins and Pancoast, but also to the Lummus brothers, makes the year 1912 stand out as the year that gave birth to the city of Miami Beach. Of course, almost every Miami and Miami Beach citizen knows who this "patron saint" was:

It was Carl Graham Fisher.

This Indianapolis millionaire of Prest-O-Lite fame and fortune had come to Miami to make contact with his yacht, brought here by his marine-engineer friend, John H. Levi. The original plan had been for the two men to meet in Jacksonville. In January of 1912, Levi wired Fisher: "Arrived safely. Miami pretty little town. Why not meet me here instead of Jacksonville. John."

Fisher came, was captivated by the climate and tropical beauty everywhere, and bought a home on Brickell Avenue. He was so impressed with the wooden bridge which had been built half way across the bay by a gentleman in his 74th year, that he made Collins' acquaintance and advanced \$50,000 on the project. The total cost of the bridge was about \$100,000.

Collins, not to be outdone, not only put up the bridge bonds as security, but as an outright gift gave Fisher his first chunk of Miami Beach real estate — 200 acres, a strip 1800 feet wide from ocean to bay and nearly a mile in depth.

Fisher was so enthusiastic that he bought 200 acres south of the Improvement Company's land, and 60 acres on the bay front. Then he hunted up the Lummus brothers, whose work had slowed down, judging from J. N.'s own record. Lummus wrote:

In 1913 my Brother and I met Carl Fisher, who had a winter home on Brickell Ave., Miami. Fisher asked me why we did not do all this work at once. I told him we had an awful good reason and that was we did not have the money, so he loaned us \$150,000 and we paid him 8 per cent interest for the money and gave him 105 acres of swamp land from Lincoln Road South to 15th St. as a bonus for the loan. We had paid \$150.00 per acre for the land that we gave Fisher.

That, and that alone, is what started Miami Beach in a big way

On July 1, 1913, according to Lummus, he and Fisher signed a contract together with the First Clark Dredging Company of Baltimore to move six million cubic yards of bay bottom from the bay to the bay side of the beach. This was to fill in the bay land and deepen the bay for a Motor Boat Race Course. It was January 15, 1914 before Fisher's first plat was filed.

Fisher was only 38 years of age when he began cooperating with Collins, Pancoast and the Lummus brothers in the creation of Miami Beach. Levi was in charge of Fisher's developments which were to include man-made islands, hotels, polo fields, golf courses, streets and subdivisions. The work advanced despite the agonizing physical labor involved in the clearing of the mangrove trees and the accompanying discomfort caused by the hordes of mosquitos, and the constant danger of being bitten by poisonous snakes. Fisher's company was the Alton Beach Realty Company. It was bounded on the South by 15th Street, on the North by 20th Street, on the Ocean, and Purdy Boat Ways on the bay.

Even after the town was incorporated in 1915 under the name Miami Beach, many visitors thought of the beach strip as Alton Beach, so well advertised had been the Fisher interests there. Only the Collins interests were previously referred to as Miami Beach; and the Lummus area was called Ocean Beach.

Before the Collins Bridge was built all visitors and workers and the beach area's few residents were obliged to cross the bay by boat. Even for the auction sales of lands in the Collins and Lummus developments, the bidders for lots in the still-swampy area went to the sales by boat. E. E. ("Doc") Dammers, famous auctioneer of those days, presided at these events. He was best known for his policy of handing out new pieces of china to his delighted audience.

After the Lummus Company began selling real estate they operated three passenger boats from the foot of Flagler Street to the beach at Biscayne Street. Five cents one way was the charge. And business was good!

The bathing casino business got an early start at Miami Beach. The history of Miami by the American Guide Series tells of the first one which was a one-room shack built on the Lum property in 1901 by Dr. Gillespie Enloe. He leased it occasionally to Miamians for a week or two at a time. Then came Richard M. Smith of Hartford, Conn., who got the financial backing of a Miamian, Charles H. Garthside, for the two-story pavilion known as Smith's Casino to all the old-timers. In 1908 another Smith, Avery C. Smith of Norwich, Conn., bought out "Dick" Smith's share and made improvements and innovations. He built two ferry boats for cross-the-bay service for passengers from Miami.

A more pretentious bath house was built by Dade County's sheriff, Dan Hardie, on the ocean front near Smith's casino in 1914. The Hardie Casino was popular for its bathing facilities, restaurant and semi-weekly dances. Robert Gow, who among other duties, had charge of the restaurant, was the father of five youngsters of school age who enjoyed to the utmost the social activities the beach afforded. Alice Gow, now Mrs. Charles DeWitt Strong of Coral Gables, enjoyed most of all the school bus trips on the Collins toll bridge. "Those trips were fun," she recalled. "We took our fishing lines along and fished while the driver stopped to talk to the bridge tender. We were forgiven for being late to school when we finally arrived in Miami."

The Pancoasts built the Miami Beach Casino during 1912 and 1913 on the ocean at 23rd Street. This two-story structure was the finest the area had known, built of driftwood inside, and shingled outside. In 1914 a swimming pool was added. Arthur Pancoast had from time to time managed the Casino, even after Fisher took it over in 1916 and spent large sums on its improvement. Another interest was now consuming Arthur, however, and in 1923 he made the plunge — the building of the ocean front's first large luxury hotel. He opened it to a distinguished clientele in 1924 and operated it for 20 years, selling it in 1944. It was the Grossinger Pancoast after that, until 1955, when it was razed for the erection of the larger Seville.

In answer to the speculation as to who built and occupied the first home in Miami Beach, it is interesting to recall that 72nd Street and Collins avenue was the site for the Biscayne House of Refuge, established in 1876 and operated until 1926. Its purpose was to "afford succor to shipwrecked persons who may be cast ashore and who, in the absence of such means of relief, would be liable to perish from hunger and thirst in that desolate region." It was manned by one keeper and had facilities for a family, if the keeper had

one. Wm. J. Smith was the first keeper. So probably he should receive credit for being the first home-maker on the beach.

Then there was that portable house which Captain Richard Carney, one of the stockholders in the Lum-Osborne coconut planting company, brought to the beach in 1882 and kept there as his residence until 1886.

And even before Captain Carney moved that house to the rear of his estate in Coconut Grove, the house had a companion structure. Charles Lum built a two-story dwelling nearby and brought down his bride. The beach's first honeymooning couple lived there three years.

In J. N. Lummus's book there is a photograph of a tiny cottage which Mrs. Philip Clarkson had shipped from Chicago in 1913, and set up at 3rd Street and Collins Avenue. Lummus built his own home in 1914 on the ocean front at 12th Street, next to the present Tides Hotel. Some of the others who built in 1914 were S. A. Belcher, E. B. Lent, Willie A. Pickert, George A. Douglass, T. E. James and Mrs. John McSweeney. Collins built by the ocean in 1917. In 1914 T. J. Pancoast built a mansion on the edge of the deepened wading pool which connected Collins Canal with Indian Creek, and which had been named Lake Pancoast. Carl Fisher's first home was built on the Ocean and Lincoln Road in 1915.

The first hotel was built in 1914 and operated by its owner, W. J. Brown. The Wofford Hotel and Apartments was second, on the site of the present Wofford Hotel. The Breakers was third. By 1915 the beach had one of the largest Marconi wireless stations in the South. It had telegraph service, two bath houses, an 18-hole golf course, mail service, a free school bus and winter boat racing!

The cream of the sports world was brought to the beach by Fisher. The first annual regatta was held January 15, 16, and 17, 1915, by Fisher who not only dredged the course, but built the grandstand for the spectators and provided the trophy cups for the winners. He had secured the fastest speed boats and cruisers to compete. The national magazine *Power Boating* featured the event.

The beach was really getting under way, and the developers and the several hundred persons living there decided that NOW WAS THE TIME for incorporation.

On March 26, 1915, the town of Miami Beach was incorporated. Meetings were held in the Lummus office building and 33 voters were registered.

J. N. Lummus was given the deserved honor of being the first mayor. In his abridged booklet he wrote that "the Lummus Company paid all the cost of incorporating Miami Beach and paid the City Clerk's salary and all other bills until the Town could get in some tax money in 1916."

James Whitcomb Riley planted an Indian laurel tree in the parkway on Lincoln Road and James Avenue on April 12, 1915, and read verses he had written commemorating the building of the National Lincoln Highway, a Fisher-promoted enterprise. The tree which Riley planted was later moved to the Carl Fisher Park. The poem Riley read pointed to the fact that Miami Beach's Lincoln Road was named for this national highway. Fisher had become nationally popular not only for that Lincoln Highway going east and west across the United States, but for his leadership in the development of the Dixie Highway, running north and south.

This appreciation of a proper network of roads showed in Fisher's development of his Miami Beach land. His interest in recreation areas and sports facilities was revealed by golf courses and parks. There are now two city golf courses and ten city parks within the limits of Miami Beach.

Lummus Park from the time it was given for public use in 1912 has been one of the city's favorite attractions. The gift of J. N. and J. E. Lummus, it cost their Ocean Beach Realty Company more than \$40,000 for creating and maintaining between 1912 and 1917. The company built board walks, planted Bermuda grass and coconut trees and put in twelve pumps and two tennis courts when the park was given to Miami Beach. J. N. Lummus recorded these achievements in the 1952 abridgement of his book. He considered the park by 1952 to be worth at least sixteen million dollars.

When it became apparent another bridge across the bay was needed and that the wooden bridge could not last much longer, the two Lummus brothers and Carl Fisher each donated \$2,000 toward expenses involved in planning a \$600,000 county bond issue to build a three-mile causeway across the bay. When completed in 1920 it connected Miami's 13th Street with 5th Street at Miami Beach. Two lines of street car tracks were laid on it at a cost of \$740,000. Of course later the tracks were pulled up and the causeway widened, and a modern bus transportation system established. World War II resulted in its getting a new name — the McArthur Causeway. The causeway was planned by the Lummus Company's engineer, Roy Wilson.

Much credit is due the civil and construction engineers who pioneered the Miami Beach developments. Although John H. Levi was Fisher's direct-engineer at the outset, W. E. Brown remained throughout the Fisher de-

velopments at the beach. The first city engineer employed by Miami Beach was Robert M. Davidson, who stayed with the job for seven years, until he became city manager of Coral Gables. Later he became a real estate broker at Miami Beach. J. I. Conklin was the civil engineer in charge of the Collins Bridge construction.

In 1916 the Lummus Company sold part of its holdings to a group of northern millionaires: James A. Allison, who was Fisher's Indianapolis banker and his Prest-O-Lite partner and who was to be a Fisher partner in the Miami Beach developments; James and George Snowden, Carl Fisher and Henry McSweeney. They built Star Island and made roads, built residences and planted trees and shrubs on the peninsula west of Washington Avenue.

The first building to be erected on Lincoln Road was Fisher's ocean-front residence in 1915. His office was built in 1917 on Lincoln Road and Washington Avenue. Then followed the Lincoln Hotel, the Community Church and, in 1921, the Miami Beach First National Bank at Alton Road. From the beginning, August Geiger was Fisher's architect.

In 1924 Geiger built Lincoln Road's first commercial building, a structure with location for 17 stores, and situated on the site of Sak's Store and westward to the corner. When the Lincoln Road Association was formed, D. Richard Mead became its first president. Geiger served later for ten years. The Community Church from its beginning maintained a real community spirit. The Rev. Elisha King who became its pastor in 1921, remained as leader of his flock for 18 years.

The men did not do all of the work in the building of Miami Beach. Volumes could be written about the women! The wives of the mayors, from Mrs. Lummus and Mrs. Pancoast on down the line, were helpful in innumerable ways.

Mrs. T. J. Pancoast, president of the Miami Beach Woman's Club for 13 years, from 1928 to 1942, had been the guiding spirit of the development of the Miami Beach Public Library. This was started by the Woman's Club and Mrs. Pancoast not only gave of her time and thought, but helped financially. Her son, Russell T. Pancoast, was architect for the building.

To Russell Pancoast goes credit for much of the fine architecture seen in Miami Beach homes and business buildings. He designed the Surf Club, the Church by the Sea and was an associate architect for the Miami Beach Auditorium. Besides being a member of the Florida State Board of Architects, Russell Pancoast is a Fellow in the American Institute of Architecture.

The Lincoln Hotel attracted celebrities from the political, literary, sports and social world. Fisher's mother lived there in 1920-21. The James A. Allison family was there and their daughter Cornelia, was an attractive and popular teen-ager. As she later married a pioneer Miamian who was to become the 1938 president of the Miami Beach Board of Realtors, she remained at the beach.

Mrs. Frazure was persuaded to write some of her recollections for the June 13, 1954, issue of the Miami Beach Sun. She wrote, in part:

I remember

At night, driving along the ocean one could see the eyes of droves of land crabs shining in the car headlights and occasionally you would see the bright eyes of a wild cat I remember Carl Fisher's glass enclosed tennis court back of where the Albion Hotel now stands The polo field was south of Lincoln Road between Meridian Avenue and Alton Road.

(Mrs. Frazure also remembered when her father built Allison Hospital, now St. Francis Hospital, and)

. . . Carl Fisher's battered old slouch hat and the snappy Panama hat worn by the handsome first mayor of Miami Beach, J. N. Lummus, Sr. . . . on New Year's Day of 1921 the opening of the beautiful Aquarium that Father built at Fifth Street and Biscayne Bay and the night before, New Year's Eve of 1921, the opening of the Flamingo Hotel with a gala party, and the Sunday tea dances held there in the gardens the nine-hole golf course connected with the hotel and the famous Regatta for all types of craft, from Hydro-planes to Express Cruisers, held in Biscayne Bay in front of the Flamingo Hotel.

Referring to the trolley which made a circuit of Miami Beach, she aptly described it as "Toonerville" type. Horseback riding was one of the sports Fisher had introduced, and Mrs. Frazure recalled

riding horseback along the surf and the bridle paths circling Bay Shore and LaGorce Golf Courses, and the bridle path in the center of Pinetree Drive.

She remembered Jungle Inn, Miami Beach's "first speakeasy and gambling joint, which was located in the wilderness at approximately 67th Street and Indian Creek Drive", and that there was nothing between there and the Firestone Estate at 43rd Street and Collins Avenue (now the Fontainbleau) except Ocean Drive, a narrow beach sand road. With logic she concludes her reminiscences:

The peaceful life of those "good old days" is something to be remembered and cherished but we should not regret their passing to make way for progress on Miami Beach.

How well Mrs. Frazure has recaptured the flavor of life at Miami Beach at that time is appreciated by this writer, who as a newspaper reporter for the Miami Metropolis (now the Miami Daily News) lived at the Lincoln Hotel that season and covered beach activities.

That was the winter President-elect Warren G. Harding came to "straw-hat land" for his pre-inauguration vacation. The president-elect and men he expected to appoint on his cabinet came on Senator Frelinghuysen's houseboat, which was floated down Florida's inland waterways to Miami Beach. On the trip down, they had stopped at various Florida resorts to play golf, and now they were ready for golf at Miami Beach.

When they arrived on January 29, 1921, they were taken to the Lincoln Hotel for lunch. The host for this occasion was one of the party, Senator A. B. Cummins, who had spent the previous month at the Lincoln. This writer had enjoyed many conversations with the Senator and had even tried to swing golf clubs properly under his supervision. Such informal instruction was given on the golf course across the street from the Lincoln, where smart stores do business today. As early as that, Cummins had promised that this reporter might have a personal interview with the president-elect when he arrived.

The promise was kept, but with difficulty. Crowds in front of the hotel parted so that the smiling, bowing president-to-be could enter with his cabinet-to-be. At the luncheon, the writer was privileged to be seated between Harding and the honor guest at his right, who was — of course! — Carl Fisher. James A. Allison also was an honor guest. Harding was enthusiastic about Miami Beach and talked about it for half an hour. "Your own people here have not awakened to the possibilities of this playground of America," he began. "This beach is wonderful. It is developing like magic." He said much more, all of it carefully recorded.

This was the only personal interview given by Harding during this trip to Florida, although he was followed continuously by newspaper men. During the luncheon they stood outside the dining room on the terrace, looking inside through closed French doors. Among them were the male colleagues of the reporter who was getting the only interview. And this reporter, while not one to gloat, couldn't forget that her managing editor had phoned her early that day telling her not to bother her head about Harding's arrival — that any effort would be futile — and that the men "were taking care of it". But it was this exclusive interview that made the front page that evening, thanks to Senator Cummins!

The Harding party was lodged over the week-end at the Flamingo, the beach's second and most pretentious luxury hotel which had opened on January 1. On Sunday afternoon Harding visited Cocolobe, Carl Fisher's private island 38 miles south of Miami. While at the Flamingo, he occupied one of the villas on the Flamingo grounds. As a publicity stunt, the young elephant Rosie caddied for him. His friendly interest in Miami Beach was not forgotten. Harding Avenue was named for him.

One of Fisher's contributions which was deeply appreciated by the public was the Flagler Memorial placed on a tiny island in the bay. It was made in 1920 at a cost of \$125,000. H. P. Peterson was the sculptor. At the four corners of the base are symbolic figures representing Pioneering, Engineering, Industrialism and Prosperity. In this contribution Fisher was assisted by John B. Orr and Allison. The monument is located between Hibiscus, Rivo Alto and Belle Islands and can be reached only by boat. In 1939 it was deeded to the City by the Alton Beach Realty Company.

Miami Beach was ready for a Chamber of Commerce by 1921, when the population was estimated at 644, so on July 13 of that year T. J. Pancoast, Line Harger and Charles W. Chase, Jr., Lambert Rook and A. J. Zoller met to plan the organization. The Miami Herald files reveal that the By-Laws were adopted nine days later at a meeting at Smith's Casino and that Pancoast was elected president. By December over 350 members, (over half the beach population), had been recruited. A site by the entrance to the county causeway was chosen for a Chamber of Commerce building. The structure erected there was used until 1954, when headquarters was shifted to a new building at 1700 Washington Avenue. The old building is now the Junior Chamber International headquarters.

Miami Beach's Chamber of Commerce was directed by Ike Parrish from 1943 to 1953. The present general manager is John G. Proctor, whose aim, he says, is to devise and improve ways of serving visitors to the city and to constantly work on a community development program. Mr. Proctor said that the work of any one of the Chamber's present 18 committees would be a story in itself. F. B. Cresap is the 1955 president of the organization.

When T. J. Pancoast was elected as the first president of the Miami Beach Chamber of Commerce in 1921, he remained at its head for 20 years. He had been the second mayor of Miami Beach, serving from 1918 to 1920. His civic contributions included also the presidency of the Miami Beach Realty Board, which he held for several years. As a business executive, Pancoast

was president for the Miami Beach Improvement Company and later vice-president of the First National Bank and the Pancoast Hotel Company.

Collins Bridge was sold in December, 1920, after seven years of continuous use. It was replaced by the Venetian Causeway, built during 1922 and 1923 by the developers of the Venetian Islands at a cost of approximately \$2,505,300. Hugh M. Anderson was the guiding spirit in this enterprise. The Venetian Islands are among the most beautiful of the beach residential areas, and are greatly admired by the sight-seeing boats which make scheduled tours of the bay.

During 1923 and 1924 Fisher's dredges poured bay bottom land along the bayshore at 43rd Street for another luxury hotel and also for polo grounds. The hotel was the Nautilus, not to be confused with the equally swanky Nautilus built later on the Ocean. The first Nautilus required elaborate ground preparation. The rich top soil was scooped aside for the sand fill, and later spread over the surface. Fifty mules and Fisher's two young elephants, Rosie and "Young" Carl assisted in this work. Photographers of the era left pictures of Carl pulling a sand scoop, and Rosie carrying happy children on her back.

By July of 1924, the first coconut tree was planted on the Nautilus grounds and the road building was proceeding. The rock for this was hauled from the mainland on barges. They were floated up Collins Canal to the bantam line railroad which the Fisher interests were using. They found this little railroad almost indispensable, for with it they could pick up the tracks and little cars and deliver them wherever most needed.

Also of much interest at the time was the activity of the 1,000-horsepower dredge named "Norman H. Davis" which was said to force a 20-inch stream of wet bay land for a full mile. It could bring in 20,000 cubic yards of fill in 24 hours and it had on board a complete machine and repair shop and its own ice plant. Two other less powerful dredges also were used.

The Nautilus opened formally in 1925 and for some years was a favored luxury spot. Although the structure is no longer a hotel, it is more important than ever for now it houses the Mount Sinai Hospital. The polo grounds are now Polo Park, one of the city's garden spots. Fisher's fourth hotel, the King Cole, erected on North Meridian Avenue on Surprise Lake, is now the home of the Miami Heart Institute.

New construction in Miami Beach during 1923 showed the biggest increase since developments started. The value reached \$4,185,600. The big

Florida Boom was on its way. In 1924 the construction figures reached \$7,014,750. Real estate could be sold quickly, at a profit. This was the year Carl Fisher sold his Miami Beach Electric Company to the American Power & Light Company.

N. B. T. Roney, declared by J. N. Lummus to have built more houses than any one man on Miami Beach in those early years, was building the million dollar Roney Plaza that year. It opened in 1925 as one of the most elaborate hotels of the era. Instead of bringing interior decorators down from New York, as did the Fisher interests, Roney employed local talent, Miss Mary Albert Hinton, who was Miami's first interior decorator. This hostelry has been operated under several ownerships, its 1955 owner being J. Meyer Schine.

In 1925, the boom year, the state census showed the beach to have 2,342 voters. From here to the present time, comparisons by decades are interesting. In 1935, voters numbered 13,300. In 1945, 32,327 and in 1955, an estimated 55,000.

The estimated yearly tourists jumped from 50,000 in 1935 to an estimated 2 million in 1955.

Assessed property valuation the year the city was incorporated, 1915, was \$244,815. Ten years later it was \$44,094,950. Ten years later, 1935, there was a four million dollar drop, but by 1945 the assessed property valuation had climbed back up. It was \$85,757,650. In 1955, the figure reached \$374,645,800.

Nash wrote that at the beach early in 1925 "credit soared to such dizzy heights that small-timers came to swing big-time propositions on a little cash and a lot of confidence", and that "paper millionaires came to blossom as the rose". Fisher, Collins and Pancoast were said to have retained most of their unsold property until the hysteria died down, which came about after a stock market crash in November of that year. The boom continued to develop. Two more bay front hotels had appeared — the Fleetwood and later the Floridian, the latter on the site of the Allison Aquarium.

For the difficult days before and after the explosion of the boom, Beachites considered themselves fortunate in their leadership. Claude A. Renshaw had been made city manager in 1925, a position he holds as this is written in 1955. Typical of the regard with which he is held is this comment by Arthur Pancoast:

"Renshaw is level-headed, non-political in his thinking, and constructive. He has Miami Beach entirely at heart."

The mayor of Miami Beach from 1926 to 1928 was J. N. Lummus, Jr., the 26-year-old son of the first mayor J. N. Lummus. As "Newt" was born and reared on the beach, always alert to its problems, he was so highly regarded that he had served on the City Council between 1922 and 1952. He holds the record for being the Beach's youngest mayor. During his term the Venetian Causeway was finished, piping to carry water from Hialeah to the beach was installed, and the planning of the present City Hall and street widening were undertaken. Lummus, Jr., later served as Dade County Tax Assessor from 1929 to 1952.

Miami's third mayor, T. E. James, was a connection of the Lummus family, a fact which adds to the contribution this family made to the area. One of the most distinguished of the early mayors was, of course, John H. Levi, who was first elected to the City Council in 1918. Three years later he was elected to a two-year term as mayor, after which he continued serving on the council. He served there more years than any other member has to date.

Another pioneer to become mayor was Val C. Cleary, elected in 1930. Louis F. Snedigar, native Floridian, was elected Mayor in 1922, when he was 31 years of age. He was re-elected in 1924 and served until 1926.

Under Snedigar's administration the real estate boom was working itself up into a frenzy. And then, on January 10, 1926, an accident occurred which helped precipitate the "bust" in a most unforeseeable manner. The four-mast barkentine Prins Valdemar in an attempt to leave the Miami harbor, got grounded and rolled over on its side. Its 241-foot length completely blocked the ship channel leading into and out of the harbor. It was 25 maddening days before an 80-foot channel could be cut so ships could pass around it. Ships in the meantime had lined up on the gulf stream, waiting with boom-bought cargoes for delivery to awaiting merchants and builders. Even the causeway was lined with impatient freighters, and many ships inside the harbor were unable to leave. The results were fatal to the rising tide of the boom.

Kenneth Ballinger in his book "Miami Millions" wrote that the Prins Valdemar saved people a lot of money. "In the enforced lull which accompanied the efforts to unstopper the Miami harbor," he wrote, "many a shipper in the North and many a builder in the South got a better grasp of what actually was taking place here."

There is no space here to fully discuss the collapse of the boom; nor the still-famous "hurricane of '26"; nor the subsequent 1926 Miami bank failures — but Miami Beach survived them. The city even blossomed forth in the 1930's into a steady building program.

Golden Beach, which had been developing as a residential area during the 1920's, was incorporated in 1929 with the Dade-Boward county line as its northern boundary. The next municipality to develop as a result of the "spilling over" of the city of Miami Beach area, was Surfside. It was incorporated in 1935 to extend from the ocean to the bay and from 87th Terrace on the south to 96th Street. In Miami Beach proper, the '30's were devoted to hotel building. Although assessed property valuation dropped nine million dollars between 1930 and 1935, by 1940 the figures had leaped to over 70 million. The Miami Herald claimed in 1940 that Miami Beach had 3,041 homes and 239 hotels with 15,044 rooms. Besides these, there were 706 apartments. In the year 1940, forty hotels had been built.

Thomas W. Hagan, present editor of the Miami Daily News, in a signed feature article in the News on August 8, 1940, gave figures to show that hotels represented then from 13 to 38 per cent of Miami Beach building. "The 1940 construction," Hagan pointed out, "showed a trend toward more costly construction. Prophets — amateur and otherwise — disagree violently on the question of saturation." Hagan then gave more figures to show that the demand was at that time still ahead of the quantity and quality of supply.

That same issue of the News announced that the City had set aside approximately \$122,565 for its advertising and publicity program. Dorr & Hume, now Miami's oldest agency and operating under the name August Dorr Advertising, received the city account; and Steve Hannagan, favorite of Carl Fisher and the public generally, was to continue doing beach publicity.

Three more municipalities were to appear on the north of Miami Beach: Indian Creek Village, in 1939; Bal Harbour, in 1946 and Bay Harbor Island, in 1947. Bal Harbour extends from 96th Street to Baker's Haulover channel. Bay Harbor Island is on Broad Causeway which opened in 1951 and which connects Bay Harbor Island with the mainland at 123rd Street. This is a toll causeway. More will be said about this "Golden Strip" and its hotel and motel economy. The last two of these towns to develop had not appeared when World War II brought something else that was unexpected to Miami Beach.

That "something else" was the Army. The men stationed at the beach after the United States entered the World War in 1942 were referred to as the Army Air Forces Technical Training Command. Hundreds of soldiers, none above the rank of a non-commissioned officer, lived in the plush hotels and drilled in the streets. The newspapers since have declared that the G.I.'s who trained at the beach later returned with brides on post-war honeymoons,

and stayed to become permanent citizens. They occupied 85% of the hotels while in training.

Although the lights on Miami Beach were completely blacked out during the war, no lights or traffic of any sort were allowed north of Baker's Haul-over at night, where John M. Duff, Jr., had developed the Geen Heron Hotel. As a retired marine captain after World War I, Duff had engaged in the hotel business at the beach: first when he built the LeRoy Hotel and Villas in 1933; and in 1938 when he leased N. B. T. Roney's Cromwell Hotel. When World War II took the Cromwell, it also took Captain Duff. Currently Duff is managing director of the Golden Gate Hotel.

That the Miami Beach story is basically "hotels" is the opinion of Leon C. McAskill, executive director of the Miami Beach Hotel Association in 1955. Because of McAskill's first-hand knowledge while working with the hotels, and because he kept in intimate touch with the hotel development while publisher of the Miami Beach Sun, this writer asked him for permission to include here his own previously unpublished summary of the development of hotels at Miami Beach.

* * *

McASKILL'S REPORT ON HOTELS

The remarkable growth from a swampland to the world's most modern, concentrated vacation playground, established an industry that boasts one-fourth of the hotels in a state that is near the top in the nation for hotels.

Slowly through the depression years of the thirties the hotel industry in Miami Beach changed from the hands of "promoters" to the more stable and capable hands of experienced hotel men. By the end of the third decade of the century, the Miami Beach hotel industry had become of age and was becoming recognized as "big business". Growth and numbers and influence was halted, temporarily, by World War II. 85% of Miami Beach's hotels were taken over by the Air Force, and with the facilities provided, speeded the war's end by many months.

At the end of hostilities, Miami Beach and its chief industry entered the period of its greatest growth. After a gigantic reclamation project had restored the hotels, the construction parade began. Each year during the past decade has had a hotel building program that strove to outdo last year's final word in elegance and perfection of appointments.

In 1946 six new hotels were built with a total of 366 rooms. The largest of the six 1946 hotels was the Martinique with 137 rooms.

1947 saw the erection of the first postwar multi-million dollar glamor hostelry. The Sherry Frontenac added 250 rooms to Miami Beach's total room count. Six other new hotels that year brought 1947's added rooms to 785. 1947 also saw the first of the postwar additions built to existing hotels. Two hotels added a total of 84 rooms.

As an example of the solid investors now becoming attracted to the Miami Beach hotel industry, George Sax, Chicago banker, unveiled his glamorous Saxony Hotel in 1948. That year set a record for Miami Beach's blooming hotel industry. Seventeen new hotels with an amazing total of 1576 rooms added their glitter to the Gold Coast skyline in 1948. Three existing hotels added a total of 62 rooms.

Right next door to the Saxony, the competing-for-glamor Sans Souci led the 1948 parade. The Sans Souci added 253 rooms and two other newcomers added almost 200 more rooms to the now amazing total.

In 1950 the 250 room Casablanca headed the parade of new oceanfront houses, and seven other fine hotels built in the half-century year added (with the Casablanca) 1111 more rooms, and two major alteration jobs accounted for almost 200 more rooms in that year.

The Algiers at 26th and Collins, with 258 rooms and the Biltmore Terrace at the extreme edge of Miami Beach, were the leaders in size of the new houses built in 1951 with 258 and 230 rooms respectively. Three other new hotels brought the total of rooms added in '51 to 628.

In 1952 the beautiful Empress was that year's largest contribution to Collins Avenue and the Ocean. Total new construction in 1952 was 284 rooms, and 37 rooms in additions to existing hotels brought the year's total to 321.

1953 saw the largest hotel built since 1946, the DiLido with 329 rooms at Lincoln Road, Collins Avenue and the Ocean. Two other new houses added 160 rooms more.

Hotel history in Miami Beach was made in 1954 with Ben Novack et al., crashing into the world's spotlight with the fabulous Fontainebleau on the site of the old Firestone Estate, Collins Avenue and the Ocean. With 545 rooms and every imaginable facility — and Novack and Morris Lapidus, the architect, are not lacking in imagination — the Fontainebleau is already world famous. Other new structures and additions added 135 rooms at a cost of about one million dollars.

In the present year, building of newer and, if possible, finer hotels goes merrily on. The Eden Roc, the Lucerne and the Seville will be ready for the

1955-56 season. These three beauties will add 734 rooms to the ever increasing total, with the Eden Roc contributing 304 rooms. Major additions are being added this year, too. The Versailles, the Waldman (formerly Lord Tarleton) and the Shore Club are adding a grand total of 318 rooms.

The ten year total of hotels built in Miami Beach is 55, and the total increase in number of rooms 6988. The 14 major additions to existing hotels added 831 rooms to the total, making a grand total of 7801 added rooms for the period. Not included in the above totals, of course, are the many beautiful hotels immediately adjacent to Miami Beach in Surfside and Bal Harbour. Here, too, new hotels are building or are on the drawing boards, not to mention those recently built which include the Sea View, Balmoral, Bal Harbour, Emerald Isle, Arthur Godfrey's Kenilworth and the Golden Gate, among the largest.

The number of hotels within the corporate limits of Miami Beach is edging close to the 400 mark, and the number of hotel rooms now exceeds 30,000. The total valuation strains the imagination. It must be a half billion dollars, and the end is not in sight. One problem may be noted; we are fast running out of land. Remember, Miami Beach's land area is only eight miles long and a mile or less wide. (A total of 7 square miles of land area.)

The construction of the new Seville and the Lucerne may be the beginning of a trend. These two new beauties are being built on the sites of the Grossinger Pancoast and the Good, respectively, two of the famous hotels of Miami Beach's yesterdays.

No doubt others are doomed to the same fate. It pains those of us who knew the glories of Miami Beach in the 20's and 30's to see the passing of old friends and landmarks — but the eyes of Miami Beach look ever ahead — even when dimmed by a tear for departed glories.

* * *

Such is Miami Beach's hotel history, recorded by one who knows it. Among those who remember the old days at the beach are the 250 members of the Miami Beach Pioneers' Club, founded in 1949. Its president has always been E. M. Hancock, the city's building inspector.

During the decade from 1945 to the present, during which time many insisted that the beach had been over-developed, Editor Thomas W. Hagan's conclusions of 1940 had continued to hold, "that the demand is still ahead of

the quantity and quality of supply". And no doubt larger and still lovelier hotels will be marching in architectural grandeur against the sunrise of tomorrow.

When William Allen Chase became first president of the Miami Beach Motel Association in 1953, there were 41 motels along the three-mile shore which the Association calls the "Golden Strip". There are now 61 motels on the strip from 158th to 191st Street, extending from Baker's Haulover to Golden Beach. Tradition says that the Haulover sand strip got its name from the days before the deep channel had been cut across it and a man named Baker had been among those who dragged their boats across, from Biscayne Bay to the Ocean. The County has developed Haulover Park, a beauty spot just north of the channel.

What public relations men like Steve Hannigan, Joe Copps and Hank Meyer have done for Miami Beach, Hal Bergida is doing for the golden, three-mile long Motel Row. He gets to the public the story of the new de-luxe motels with their luxurious vacation facilities. The general area boasts shopping centers, fine restaurants, beauty parlors, fishing boats and pier fishing.

Local writers and radio programs have been a part of the great promotional program. John D. Montgomery beginning in 1929 published a paper for awhile at Miami Beach, and several other papers have come and gone. The present daily paper, the Miami Beach Sun, is owned by George B. Storer of the Storer Broadcasting Company, which owns WGBS. The Miami Beach Times, founded as the Democrat by J. H. Wendler in 1927, is now published by James Wendler.

The first radio station for the beach was installed at the Fleetwood in the 20's over the call letters WMBF—Wonderful Miami Beach, Florida. In 1926 WIOD — Wonderful Isle of Dreams — was installed on Collins Island, opposite the Nautilus Hotel. It was bought by the Miami Daily News in 1935. The present station at Miami Beach, WKAT, was started by Mr. and Mrs. Frank Katzentine in 1937. Mr. Katzentine is an attorney and a former mayor of Miami Beach, having been elected in 1932 for a two-year term.

As Associate Editor Ralph G. Martin of Newsweek wrote in his issue of January 17, 1955, "It takes publicity to make this Miami Beach magic". Newsweek then proceeded to pay tribute to Miami Beach's city manager, Claude A. Renshaw, and to its public relations director, Hank Meyer, who has held that position since 1949. Referring to Meyer, the Newsweek article said:

More recently it was Renshaw who brought in one of the best public-relations directors in the business. He is Hank Meyer, who just won a travel writers' grand award for the best travel promotion in the world. . . . It takes Miami Beach magic to fill these hotels, and it takes Hank Meyer to make that magic. And yet Hank talks of tomorrow and says: "Miami Beach isn't overbuilt; it's under-promoted."

The travel award to Hank Meyer, mentioned by Newsweek, was only one of many this nationally known publicity expert has received. In 1953 he was nationally "best" for photo coverage; in 1954 he was reelected by the Miami Beach Junior Chamber of Commerce as the outstanding young man of Miami Beach, and nominated to the selection as one of the ten outstanding young men in the nation. His latest honor was a citation for outstanding achievements in public relations in the field of government, awarded by the American Public Relations Association.

Newsweek climaxes its Miami Beach and south Florida comments by quoting Hank Meyer's comment about Miami Beach magic: "You can't bottle it, or pack it, or ship it. If the American people want this, and I know they do, then they will come down here to get it."

But to make the people "come down here and get it," Meyer says he tries to reach 160 million people as often as he can.

All of which brings the reader right back to the question posed at the beginning of this article. **WHAT IS MIAMI BEACH?**

Newsweek's story included this: ". . . 4,000 acres of noise and wonder, the garishness and fun of Broadway, the nightly parade of mink coats, no matter what the weather. Most of all, perhaps it's a sense of luxury." The article had already mentioned the miles of ocean front and the tropical beauty, but did the visiting editor see those thousands of pretty, modest homes, those 58 schools and 22 churches and facilities for outdoor, healthful sports, or attend the symphony orchestra concerts?

SO, WHAT IS MIAMI BEACH? Carl Fisher once told Steve Hannigan "Steve, Miami Beach was the only natural we ever had. But, Boy, what a natural it was!"

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Vizcaya

By ADAM G. ADAMS

The text of the plaque just unveiled is:*

JAMES DEERING 1859-1925

James Deering of Chicago, a founder of the International Harvester Company, a pioneer developer of South Florida, noted connoisseur of the fine arts and distinguished philanthropist, built Vizcaya and lived there from 1916 until his death in 1925. In the buildings and gardens of Vizcaya, an expression of the classic Mediterranean spirit of Italy and France, unique in America, Mr. Deering brought together many rare European art treasures, and inspired the designs which combine them so skillfully with local materials. Marion Deering McCormick and Barbara Deering Danielson, his nieces, made Vizcaya available to Dade County as a public art museum November 1952.

The purpose of this plaque is to keep green the memory of the persons and events which have made possible this magnificent heritage of Dade County.

The physical property is in wonderful condition. During the thirty years since Mr. Deering's death his heirs have kept constant vigilance against the ravages of time. And the Dade County Park Department continues careful maintenance and operation as a public museum.

But it is now a public place! Let's put our fingers on the throbbing pulse of a great private home of an artistic, perfectionist bachelor millionaire. Mrs. C. J. Adair, for 35 years the housekeeper, arrived in February 1917, two months after Mr. Deering. Her staff numbered thirty-two, among them two French chefs, four butlers, four house men, and six house maids. All the maid's uniforms were made in the house, as well as the men's summer whites. For morning work the maids wore fine blue and white striped cotton; in the afternoon black silk with white apron trimmed with lace and little bows in their hair. This staff straightened and cleaned the house every day. By eleven in the morning, floors had been vacuumed, (the handsome rugs were more delicately and carefully cleaned), and waxed, flowers arranged. The luncheon

* Parts of this paper were read at the dedication of the marker at Vizcaya, December 1, 1954.

table was set at noon, Mrs. Adair having fixed the floral center piece which was changed for dinner.

In 1917 Eustis Edgcombe, lately from Nassau, was employed in the gardens at Vizcaya. In 1918 when the "draft" took some house men, he began working in the house where he has worked ever since. Eustis remembers the bustle and excitement of the great house in action: Mrs. Adair, up at six thirty every morning feeding the wild birds at the entrance patio, Mr. Deering's interest in small details, his orders issued in writing, his kindnesses and fairness but always exacting.

Mr. Deering arrived at Vizcaya for Thanksgiving and stayed until June. The house was usually full of company, mostly Chicago friends with a sprinkling of Easterners and foreigners, and, of course, the families of his brother and sister were frequent visitors. There were usually extra guests for lunch, local friends and distinguished visitors. Mr. Deering was abstemious in his eating and drinking habits, but his table and cellar were famous for their magnificence.

And, lying at the dock to be kept in order by Mrs. Adair, was the "Nepenthe". It was equipped with the same monogrammed French linens and beautiful china, food and drink, as were used in the house, and always ready for a cruise, either for an afternoon or up to ten days which was Mr. Deering's limit.

Sammy Sands who still works at Vizcaya was the flower boy. There were five acres in Allapattah six miles away across town where the best soil was found, devoted to growing annuals. In slat houses and glass houses on the place were orchids and many other flowers. Five or six men were cutting blooms regularly to keep the "cold room" sufficiently well supplied for a complete change of flowers every day and on occasion twice a day. Cut flowers were kept all over the place, in the halls, patios, on the terraces and by the green house door. No rose bloom was cut in the rose garden. Roses, required on eighteen inch stems, came from Allapattah. Constant budding of roses on Texas stock, propagating and seeding were necessary to keep up with the enormous demand. A failure of supply was unthinkable. And then three times a week Sammy mounted his bicycle and delivered large boxes of flowers to Mr. Deering's friends, among them the Winstons, William Jennings Bryans, and the John B. Reillys.

Milk, eggs, fowls and vegetables were produced on the place. There were sweet corn, beans, peas, cucumbers, and cantaloupe. Seed were most carefully selected, many being imported.

Water from an artesian well west of Miami Avenue was piped into a basin at the north end of a ditch now dry and grown over. The porous walls of the ditch were sealed with cement. A free flowing stream of beautiful water flowed southward and down a cascade, then underground to the lagoon. This water also supplied the fountains which ran continuously at the entrances.

There were seven islands, where Mercy Hospital now stands, all to be kept spick and span. On Wednesdays and Sundays the public was invited to drive through the grounds. Mr. Deering was much interested in how many cars there were and had a careful count of visitors kept.

John J. Bennett, now a prominent engineer of Miami was employed to make the original boundary survey, and except for service in the army, remained until 1923. Altogether Mr. Bennett spent eight years with a crew of men doing the engineering work required for house and grounds at Vizcaya. He laid out the beds in the formal gardens by Mr. Chalfin's design. 6,000 pins were used to locate the border plants in one flower bed of intricate design.

William J. Broomfield was the head gardener. From a family of English gardeners and trained in the best school of that country's fine gardens, he found it difficult to apply knowledge of temperate zone horticulture to the semi-tropics. Trial and error and learning from natives, however, brought success.

Boxwood was first tried for parterre borders. Other plants also failed. Mr. Bloomfield at one time potted 30,000 seedling orange jasmin, *Chalcas exotica*, from the Brickell Avenue Plant Introduction Garden. But this plant was not satisfactory. Then by chance *Jasimum simpliciflorum*, a vine growing in the nearby jungle was tried. It was found that it was easily propagated by layering and then, although it was not known before, it responded beautifully to severe pruning. This plant is still the parterre border.

James Deering, although not so much interested in horticulture as his brother Charles, had a keen appreciation of the suitable. He imported from the western end of Cuba a cycad, *Microcycas calocoma*, one for each side of the main entrance. This plant is native to only one small area and is still extremely rare. In the entrance patio were four buccaneer palms, *Pseudo-phoenix*, a native of Elliott's Key and now rare on account of indiscriminate exploitation in 1925. To insure agreeable growing conditions, these beautiful little palms were planted in large cypress boxes. Mr. Broomfield says that it took 16 men to move a boxed tree. The trees no longer survive at Vizcaya, but specimens may be seen at Fairchild Tropical Garden.

Mr. Deering was keenly interested in varieties and correct information and what he was told he remembered. Once he called "Billy" Broomfield to identify a cut rose. Billy identified it by "growth habit" as a William R. Smith but had never seen a bloom of that color. These roses had come from a florist who confirmed the identification and said that the color had been changed with dye. This outraged Mr. Deering. The roses were thrown out.

Events leading to the development of Vizcaya of course began with the natural endowments of the sub-tropical shores of Biscayne Bay. Then followed the discovery of those endowments and ' ' now but ever gathering interest in them by persons who had lived and thr many generations in temperate zones.

It may be interesting to recall some facts about the economy of the United States at the beginning of the 20th Century that produced men like Deering and places like Vizcaya. There was no income tax, no inheritance tax, no Securities and Exchange Commission. An individual's accumulation of wealth was his own. And, burgeoning industry was providing ample means for the money makers to accumulate in enormous amounts.

Frederick Lewis Allen says that Andrew Carnegie's personal gain in the year 1900 was over 23 million dollars. There were others rising in the world, still others enjoying their inheritances. It is reported that the Vanderbilt family spent (in today's money) the rough equivalent of 36 millions on seven residences on Fifth Avenue in New York in the middle eighties. And furthermore, this same family was building other great houses at Newport and elsewhere.

We are not forgetting the Goulds, the Astors, the Carnegies, the Morgans, the Goelets, the Belmonts, the Wideners, and others who had vast and princely residences. In those days, some fun was poked at the rich, not much, for being rich was a serious business. Anna Robeson Burr describes Henry C. Frick, the steel millionaire, "in his place, seated on a Renaissance throne under a boldacchine, and holding in his little hand a copy of the Saturday Evening Post."

But, with all of their foibles, most of the great business men and industrialists have perpetually enriched their country. The Henry Frick home on Fifth Avenue is a wonderful art gallery. John D. Rockefeller practically established the University of Chicago single-handed, and contributed to countless other humanitarian causes; Andrew Carnegie gave library buildings to all who asked and made marvelous contributions to education; and Marshall

Field and his associates were wonderfully generous in public works in Chicago. This is but a scanty list of public benefactors. All of the Deerings have made generous contributions to humanitarian and cultural organizations.

In this connection, no Floridian should forget the great boon of Henry M. Flagler, his pioneering spirit, his courage, his vision, without which our State might have been dormant much beyond its awakening about 1900.

It was about the time that Henry M. Flagler and John D. Rockefeller were setting up The Standard Oil Company. So fast did Flagler make money that he was active in the Company for only 13 years. He, Rockefeller, and others had done well for a few years prior to incorporation in 1870. But, by 1883, Flagler had 10 million dollars and an ill wife, so he decided to retire from business. During the next 29 years, that is until his death, it is variously estimated that he spent in the development of his railroad and hotel properties in Florida, 50 million dollars, including a home at Palm Beach which cost \$2,500,000 in that day's money. His estate was appraised at 100 million dollars, and, since 1883, he had apparently done nothing but spend money.

And, at this time of ostentation by the very rich, the working man had not yet begun to share in the benefits of the Industrial Revolution. Let us look at the other side of the picture. About the turn of the century, the "average" annual earnings of American workers was about \$500 a year. The work week was 60 hours. Many children had to work for their daily bread, industrial accidents were very common, and unemployment was fearful. Labor unions were hardly known. The President of the A. F. of L. was a cigar maker. And, in 1907, 1,250,000 immigrants arrived in the United States to compete for work.

It was felt by most that one could expect a depression and consequent added burdens every ten years. There were depressions — 1887, 1897, 1907, 1914, 1920; you know the rest. Times were different then.

Let us have a quick look at 1912. The most important event of that year in Dade County was that Mary Brickell sold 130 acres to James Deering, where he proposed to build a grand dwelling.

Early that year the Key West Extension of the FEC, a wonder of the world, had been completed by Henry M. Flagler.

In April of 1912 the unsinkable Titanic went down, shocking the world.

In June, Governor Woodrow Wilson of New Jersey was nominated for President of the United States in a long bitter fight with Champ Clark. I was

a spectator at the 1912 Democratic Convention. A political convention is one thing that has not changed.

Theodore Roosevelt formed the Bull Moose Party, which defeated the Republicans.

The Income Tax Amendment having been initiated under William Howard Taft was ratified by the states. It is said that a proposal was made to limit any income tax to 10%. But the suggestion was "pooh-poohed". "No such enormous rate would ever be levied any way. Why bother with a ridiculous limitation."

Woodrow Wilson was elected in November, a liberal Democrat.

In 1913, the first income tax was levied as a part of the tariff bill; 1% on income up to \$20,000, with a personal exemption of \$4,000: tax \$160.00. Recently, LIFE magazine reported that Lou Wolfson turned down a \$60,000 bonus. He would have netted only \$6,000 after taxes anyway. Times were different in 1912.

A personal experience will further point up the tempo of the times. After Governor Wilson's nomination, I had lunch with him in New York City. There were three of us wishing to talk of politics in Tennessee. Gov. Wilson was noncommittal on that subject, but a charming conversationalist on other topics. Now, one marvels at the simplicity of that lunch, in a midtown hotel dining room where no one stared, and no one asked for autographs. There were no "assistants", no "secretaries", no reporters, no photographers, just a governor of a neighbor state, running for the Presidency, who was able to lunch quietly with friends. Times were different then.

Government was only beginning to take an interest in business. On one occasion when William Rockefeller was being questioned by Government Counsel, it is said he replied all afternoon to a long series of questions, "I decline to answer, on the advice of counsel". It is further reported that no one took the matter very seriously. In fact, the session was considered rather amusing by everyone present. But, by 1912, the Federal Government had begun suit against the Sugar Trust; the "Bath Tub" trust was dissolved and the Supreme Court Board of Arbitration awarded locomotive engineers a minimum wage and general wage increase. Theodore Roosevelt's anger at the "Malefactors of great wealth" and his "Big Stick" philosophy were taking effect in Government.

But, the world was peaceful, outwardly at least. In 1912 we had not heard the cry of "Hun", no complaint, "I did not raise my boy to be a soldier",

no "Over There". But, world shaking events were not far off. It is amazing to consider how naive, how simple we were. Few suspected we were sitting on a "powder keg". Yet in 1908, Cecil Spring-Rice, a British diplomat, was writing, "Our philanthropists have again appealed to the Kaiser to stop arming! As if they had any chance of succeeding except by arming themselves. The new German forces by the end of 1911 will be so great by land and sea that there will have been nothing like it since the time of Napoleon. The nations of Europe are in a quiver of anxiety. In fact, peace depends on the will of one man."

It makes me wonder, if in this peaceful setting, this contentment which most of us enjoy, there may be other cataclysmic events not far off. We pray for great leadership and intelligent understanding.

It was in such times that James Deering announced his intention of building a great house in Brickell Hammock. A contemporary says: "One must remember that, at the time, Miami's population was only about 10,000. There were over 1,000 people employed on the job, 10% of the population. It can readily be seen that the building of the Deering Estate was a major factor in the economy of the community during those early days of its history (Miami was 16 years old).

Now, what about the Deerings? William Deering of Portland, Maine was a millionaire dealer in woolen cloth. He became interested in harvesting machinery through a friend to whom he loaned money. After having loaned at different times, 30 or \$40,000.00, he decided to go to Illinois to investigate what was becoming of his money. There he became so interested in the new business that he gave up his interests in Maine and moved to Illinois.

Mr. Deering began the manufacture of harvesting machinery in 1873. In the early '80s he had with him in the business his two sons, Charles and James and a little later his son-in-law, Richard Howe. All of the boys worked at times in all departments.

James Deering was a man of brilliant mind. He had a fine engineering education, having been graduated by the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. He worked many years for Deering Harvester Company and for International Harvester Company. He was particularly a technical man, a "trouble shooter" and conducted trials of new machinery. It is said that he never really liked this work, and that he did it as a matter of duty. It is plain to see that his real love was art, and it is for this interest that we have most to thank him.

In 1901, William Deering retired and in 1902 the Deering Harvester Company was combined with McCormick Harvesting Machine Company to form International Harvester Company.

William Deering came to Miami about 1903. He resided at 3621 Main Highway where his grand-daughters still maintain a residence.

Mary Brickell's first deed to James Deering bears the date 31st day of December 1912 — it was about 130 acres of the Polly Lewis Donation, described by metes and bounds, and also by lot and block of a certain unrecorded plat . . . “now in the possession of the grantor”. There is no indication of the amount paid for the property. There were no revenue stamps required at that time.

But Henry Talley of Miami was present on the occasion of a transfer of deed by Mrs. Brickell in 1916 to Mr. Deering for another piece of land, being 1200 feet, starting at what is now the north boundary of the Rickenbacker Causeway Entrance, and extending south. The deed recites that Mrs. Brickell, “For and in consideration of the sum of Twenty-five Thousand Dollars and other valuable considerations, to her in hand paid”, etc., but the deed also carries a notation that \$139.00 in Internal Revenue Stamps were attached. This would indicate that Mr. Deering paid about \$115.00 a front foot for this property. The interesting part of Mr. Talley's connection with this transaction, was that he called on Mrs. Brickell by invitation. Mr. Deering came in and Mrs. Brickell handed him the deed whereupon Mr. Deering proffered a check. Mrs. Brickell, however, asked Mr. Talley to take the check. After Mr. Deering's departure, Edith Brickell, a daughter, and Mr. Talley took the check to the Bank of Bay Biscayne, where Mr. J. E. Lummus and Mr. James Gilman were waiting at the door. Edith then took the check and presently came back with a paper sack containing the money. Mrs. Brickell did not like checks any way, and certainly did not want to keep a check overnight.

Mr. F. L. McGinnis who was Mr. Deering's secretary says that Mr. Deering sold to his friend Winston the southerly two of the above lots at the price he paid for them. That deed, dated 13th day of December 1919, carries \$23 in stamps indicating \$115 a front foot, which verifies the preceding price.

From the beginning Mr. Deering was fussy about destroying any plants. It is still evident that no “bull dozers” were used to “clean up”. After the boundary survey and before any plans were made for building, engineers made a topographical survey and located every tree of over 6 inches in diameter. There was no hacking through the woods with a machete to carry a line

or sight a transit. If a bush or tree was in the way, it was tied back with ropes. Trees were located by coordinates from 100' squares bounded by cords stretched as well as possible without disturbing the trees and bushes. Mr. Deering even required that mules employed throughout the grounds be muzzled to prevent browsing on leaves as they passed.

As a final tribute to Mr. Deering's order not to cut a tree, the gate to the residence was located and a tree just had to be cut. It was a large tree. Mr. Chalfin, the architect, assembled a crew to wait until Mr. Deering left for the night. Then the tree was cut down, (it was too large to move) and taken out root and branch. The hole was filled and the place covered with leaves so that no sign was left of the depredation.

The Hammock did not quite reach Miami Avenue after passing the gateways. Many oaks were planted to give the effect of continuing woods around the entrance and this plaza and quite a large area east of Miami Avenue had to be planted to complete the present Hammock.

Miami Avenue had not been opened beyond Broadway (15th Street). One crossed the River on the turning Miami Avenue Bridge, then turned east to Brickell Avenue. There, barely wide enough for one Model "T", was a tunnel through the hammock on the site of the east lane of present Brickell Avenue. This track through the woods in 1912 extended through the present Vizcaya grounds, on the location of the lagoon which one sees between Miami Avenue and the house. The road continued south and came out to the present Bayshore Drive at the south entrance to Mercy Hospital and thence under the "bluff" to Coconut Grove.

This road was closed by agreement with the County Commissioners when Mr. Deering dedicated and built Miami Avenue between his walls as you now see it.

The dwelling was finished late in 1916. Mr. Deering was of rather a retiring nature. In many conversations, persons who knew Mr. Deering in his home, without direct questioning have expressed themselves as wanting it recorded that Mr. Deering was not of "wild" habits, that he had no "wild" parties, and that the reports that he did were pure gossip and do him a grave injustice.

Although the dwelling was finished by Christmas 1916, the gardens and the southern part of the property were not completed until some years later. All work ceased in April 1917 because of the war and very little was done until the early part of 1919.

Joseph J. Orr, a building contractor of Miami, was engaged on the construction of Vizcaya. Joe was a plaster's apprentice in 1913, and worked with his brother, John B. Orr, on the plastering and stucco work. The firm of John B. Orr, Inc., was the only contracting organization to serve from the inception of the work until completion. Joe Orr's first assignment was to work on the construction of the concrete and stucco wall which still surrounds the property. Mr. Orr says that the mechanics working on the fence wall, having been schooled in strict mechanical discipline, were using the finest of engineers' levels and other modern tools to do a perfect job. Mr. Paul Chalfin, the architect designer, upon observing the methods being used by a group of workmen, ordered the modern tools discarded, his idea being that the results would much better simulate the work of artisans who belonged to that architectural period upon which the planning and designing of the Deering Estate was based.

Mr. Orr says: "It was necessary to recruit artisans from all over the United States. Eventually, we had working on the job, (and I must say harmoniously) Americans, Scotch, English, Irish, Italians, French, Germans, Spanish, natives of British West Indies — in fact, from practically every nation under the sun. We had athletic clubs, soccer football teams, cricket and basketball teams, and many other social activities. Needless to say, Mr. Deering took a great interest in all of these programs, and, in many cases, donated prizes."

Roger L. Sullivan, now of the Insurance Department of the State of New York, writes that he was employed in New York by the electrical engineers when he was 19. He came to Miami on the Clyde Line. His first-class fare for the three-day trip including meals was \$24.75. He got a room at the Lenox Hotel on 10th Street near Avenue "C" (near Gesu Church). Mrs. Sturgis, the landlady, gave him a room and three meals a day for \$7.00 a week. One of the meals was a lunch packed for him to take to the job.

Mr. Sullivan rode to work with Eddie DeBrauwere, a plasterer, who had a Model "T". The fare was 10c each way. He had so many customers, Mr. Sullivan says, that it became necessary to reinforce the fenders and running boards so that the riders could stand, sit or hang on. It is also remembered by many that there were hundreds of bicycles belonging to the workmen on the grounds each day. Mr. Sullivan also remembers that he worked alongside Dan Moody, who afterwards became Governor of Texas. Mr. Sullivan makes a significant remark. He recalls that "Moody spent his spare time in study."

Thus from almost an entirely different world, comes to the people of Dade County, this property, the dream of a rich man of taste. His dream is executed in the grand manner, spacious, beautiful and inspiring. One may easily assume that Mr. Deering had in mind that the day would come when the public, the people, would have full enjoyment of these grandeurs. In no other way than through Mr. Deering's great fortune, and industry in artistic pursuits, and through the generosity of his heirs, could the people of Dade County have Vizcaya.

There are many persons living in Miami now who were employed in the construction of Vizcaya. Among them is the Chairman of the Dade County Commission, Mr. I. Douglas MacVicar. Mr. MacVicar, the Historical Association of Southern Florida takes great pleasure in dedicating this plaque and now commends it to your care.

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Florida Keys: English or Spanish in 1763?

By CHARLES W. ARNADE

For the first time since the lands of Florida had been brought under the Spanish banner by Ponce de León in 1513, the soldiers of the great King had to bring down Spain's flag in 1763 and depart from *La Florida*. On July 20, 1763 the troops of the King of England took possession of their victorious spoils of the late war with their archenemy, Catholic Spain. Florida had become English. Captain Hedges (or Hodges) with his Royal Scots led the vanguard of the English forces to East Florida. But Hedges soon was recalled from St. Augustine and a new commander for East Florida, by the name of Francis Ogilvie, took his place. For nearly one year Major Ogilvie was the "virtual governor"¹ of East Florida. Apparently this English officer was not a too pleasant man and the retiring Spanish commander was somewhat annoyed at Ogilvie and thought that Hedges had behaved more properly.² The Spaniards who had remained at St. Augustine after the English arrival hoped that Ogilvie would soon be replaced. Yet the over-all English commander in North America, General Thomas Gage, had seemingly no real complaints about Major Ogilvie, and John Stuart, superintendent of Indian affairs, thought that his "conduct had been extremely proper and not expensive."³

The shift from Spanish to English hands, although it proved to be an amiable one, could not pass without some minor problems. The Spaniards had little love for the English, both because they were citizens of a rival sea-going nation, and because the English had scorned the sacred Catholic religion. In the peace treaty England promised to respect the free exercise of the Catholic cult by those Spaniards who wished to remain in Florida. Yet naturally the Catholic hierarchy behind the scenes did everything in its power to persuade all citizens to leave Florida because those who remained would be "exposed to the errors of the various sects which will probably be introduced there by the new owners of that country."⁴ Therefore almost all the Spaniards left St. Augustine for Havana. The great exodus began on April 12, 1763 and lasted until January 23 of the following year.⁵ On January 21 the last Spanish governor of Florida, Melchor Feliú, and his admin-

istrative staff departed from St. Augustine. England was now the complete owner of this great province.

But there remained some problems which needed further negotiations between these two powers. Most of the Spanish inhabitants had held land and property. Much had been disposed of during the evacuation, yet other property had not found buyers. When the last Spanish contingents departed in the week of January 21, 1764, its members voted that seven Spanish army officials and one woman, plus their translator, Joseph Del Olmo, should stay behind and take custody of the undisposed Spanish property until a suitable arrangement had been settled with the English.⁶

On May 7, 1764 a Spanish agent by the name of Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente returned to St. Augustine to negotiate a definite agreement about the remaining Spanish property.⁷ Señor Elixio was a native Floridian, therefore in the Spanish sociological terms, a *criollo*. He had been a member of the complex Spanish bureaucracy at St. Augustine and held the title of *Oficial Mayor de la Real Contaduría*⁸, which could be translated as Chief Official of the Royal Accountancy. He had apparently departed for Havana with Governor Feliú on January 21. Elixio was an illustrious man and this author believes that this *criollo* from Florida was one more figure of the great period of enlightenment that extended to the whole Spanish empire by the end of the eighteenth century. If Florida, truly a poor colony compared to the other lands of Spain, shared the enlightenment, it was in the person of the little known Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente. He was a nationalist, and according to Mark F. Boyd and José Navarro Latorre, well versed in all phases of Spanish Florida and "a prominent advocate of the recovery of the lost province."⁹ This can be confirmed by the translated memorandum of Elixio which constitutes the basis of this essay. Dr. Boyd, who is thoroughly interested in this versatile figure believes that Elixio was "the most outstanding Creole produced in Florida and it is probable that Spanish participation in the war [of Independence] against England came through the weight of his arguments."¹⁰ Elixio knew Florida thoroughly and furthermore he was well acquainted with its Indians who respected him with reverence. It was this charming, cunning and apparently highly cultured man who had to share the negotiation table with the rough English soldier, Ogilvie.

As soon as Elixio reached St. Augustine he presented his credentials to Governor Ogilvie. But to the surprise of the Spanish commissioner the English major insisted on knowing if Elixio had come from Havana via the Keys, or *Cayos* in Spanish. Elixio, well versed in diplomatic subtleties, of

which the Spaniards were especially fond, showed complete ignorance and stated that he had no knowledge of the *Cayos*. Elixio wrote to the governor of Havana later, "I answered [Ogilvie] without delay, saying that I did not know what the said Keys were, for I had never heard mention of them, nor even imagined that any existed, for being a native of this country and being well acquainted with the jurisdiction of its territory, it was necessary that I would have information concerning them."¹¹

Naturally Elixio was lying. The Spaniards knew the Keys; since this commissioner was the best Spanish authority on Florida, well known among its Indians, he probably knew the Keys better than anyone else. At one time or another he had been on these islands. But Elixio in his negotiations was only engaging in the art of crafty diplomacy. When Ogilvie heard that the Spanish commissioner professed even not to know the Keys, he became quite upset. In unpolished words, quite in contrast to the refined manner of the Spaniards, he told Elixio that the Keys lay between the island of Cuba and the southern tip of the peninsula of Florida and formed the eastern shores of the Bahama Channel. Elixio listened politely, and when the English governor had finished his explanation the Spaniard pulled out his trump card. Well, naturally he had heard of these islands, who had not? But these were not the Keys or *Cayos* for he knew them as *Martires* or *Norte de Havana* and they belonged, and had always belonged, to the captaincy-general of Cuba. Elixio said that he was sorry that the English governor was so misinformed about them and thought that they were part of Florida. And since under the peace treaty of 1763 Cuba was recognized as Spanish territory, the *Martires* belonged unquestionably to Spain.¹² An international incident was again in the making. Did these islands, known to us as the Keys, belong to Florida or Cuba? At least at the bargaining table Elixio thought he had made a shrewd move and outwitted Ogilvie.

Now two men, indeed insignificant in the hierarchy of their countries' bureaucracies had suddenly lifted these islands out of oblivion and made them part of a great international rivalry of the century. Had Ogilvie acted under instructions or on his own? This author has found no documentary evidence that the English acting governor was instructed to bring up this issue. In a letter from Ogilvie to General Gage dated May 13, six days after the arrival of Elixio in St. Augustine, Ogilvie did not mention one single word about Elixio's presence or his dispute with this Spanish commissioner.¹³ Yet it is quite possible that Ogilvie acted under instructions, and maybe a document that proves this assumption rests in some archive.

The Keys, *Cayos*, *Martires*, or *Norte de Havana* were not unknown. As a matter of fact the visit of Ponce de León to these islands is well cited, and it was he who gave them the name *Martires*, which means Martyrs.¹⁴ As the lands of southern Florida were hardly civilized by their Spanish masters, so the *Cayos* were abandoned and remained an unintegrated territory at the mercy of its wild inhabitants, pirates, buccaneers, hunters, beachcombers and survivors of the many shipwrecks of the channel. On the islands lived uncivilized Indians, either Calusas or Tequestas. Elixio called them Costas,¹⁵ which Swanton identifies as Ais.¹⁶ The *Cayanos*, or inhabitants of the Keys, are well studied, even in view of the scarcity of material available, by John M. Goggin.¹⁷ These Indians of the *Cayos* had come to the islands in order to escape the pressure of the oncoming Creeks, to whom Elixio refers as Uchizes.¹⁸ And as stated by some historians, the immigrant Indians of the Keys were again defeated by the Creeks and their remnants, a very small number, escaped to Havana.¹⁹ Little exact data is known about this last defeat and sad exodus by the surviving Costas. The commissioner Elixio, in his report of the Keys which is published in this essay, gives us somewhat more precise information when he writes, "At the end of 1761, by virtue of the Uchizes Indians having persecuted the said Costas and having destroyed their towns, so they found it necessary to live in the said Cayo Hueso, the Costas resolved to abandon that place and retire to this city [Havana], where most of them have perished because of their hunger and their misery."²⁰ Indeed these islands were rough, and rough was survival for their persecuted inhabitants. Nature's wonders of sea, land and sky, with all the potential of prodigious greatness and immense miseries were at their summit in the Martyrs islands. Men had to fight against men and against nature. The Spanish banner and the Spanish cross were hardly noticeable in the *Cayos*.

Was Ogilvie right in saying that the Keys belonged to Florida, as indeed we accept today without ever thinking that at one time this fact was in dispute, or was commissioner Elixio telling the truth when he insisted that the Keys had always been a part of Cuba? The rich records in the photostat collection of the University of Florida, which are copies from the Indian Archive in Seville, Spain, do not give any conclusive answer. There is practically nothing about the *Cayos* as they rested in oblivion and an occasion never arose that brought the exact jurisdiction of the Keys under discussion. Yet in Seville is an interesting report by some missionaries who had visited the Keys, dated in Havana, September 28, 1743. The report is written by the missionaries to the governor of Cuba, rather than to the governor of Florida,

which would indicate that these islands were strictly under the jurisdiction of Havana and would therefore justify Elixio's claim. But the memorandum is titled "Testimony . . . about the . . . Indians of the *Cayos of Florida* . . ." ²¹ whereby one could deduce that these islands were recognized as territory belonging to Florida. Therefore it is practically impossible to solve the problem, and both Elixio and Ogilvie, if they so desired, could have searched in archives and probably found material to support their cases. The Keys was one more territory in the great Spanish empire with a variable jurisdiction which unfortunately later resulted in so many Latin American nations having continual disputes with their neighbors. More than one war was fought by these nations over undetermined colonial boundaries. Fortunately the matter of the Keys was only a minor incident which soon was forgotten.

Was Elixio right when he categorically stated that the peace treaty of 1763 exempted the Keys from English occupation? This treaty was wide in scope and European problems were the main concern of the two rival nations. Florida, not even a prize colony to Spain, was a relatively unimportant land. As the English army had taken Havana and therefore, for all practical purposes, Cuba, Spain was only too happy to exchange the peninsula for the more valued island. If the Spanish commissioner's assertion was correct, then one would have to say that England really should have ceded the Keys to Spain, as article nineteen of the peace treaty reads that the "King of Great Britain shall restore to Spain . . . the island of Cuba." Article twenty says that Spain will give England Florida. ²²

But the treaty did not state the boundaries of the province of Florida or what were the shores of the island of Cuba. In the preliminary articles signed between the two contending powers on November 3, 1762 in Fontainebleau, the matter of the evacuation of Florida by Spain was stipulated in article nineteen, which simply reads that Spain "cedes to Great Britain all territories in North America east and southeast of the Mississippi." ²³ This was certainly no clear elaboration of boundaries. In the final treaty which was signed in Paris on February 10, 1763, the Florida case was spelled out in article twenty, which says that "his Catholic majesty cedes and guaranties, in full right, to his Britannick majesty, Florida with the fort of St. Augustine, and the bay of Pensacola, as well as all that Spain possesses on the continent of North America to the east, or southeast, of the river Mississippi. And in general, everything that depends on the said countries and lands." ²⁴ Even

if one gives careful consideration to this article one could hardly determine if the Keys were meant to be part of England's share.

Although Elixio had used a shrewd political technique, adequate for the negotiating table, there was nothing he could do to stop the English governor from occupying the Keys, and Elixio knew this very well. Therefore, as Ogilvie wanted to pursue the matter further, the Spanish commissioner simply informed the English governor that he had come to St. Augustine not to talk about the Keys but rather to settle the matter of Spanish property that belonged to Spain's evacuated citizens. Elixio, in his report to the governor in Havana wrote that he then "considered it proper to keep still, saying finally that I desired nothing more than to please him [Ogilvie] and that what had occurred he should consider as conversation, since these were matters that pertain only to the *cortes* for their defense and definition."²⁵ This terminated the incident of the Keys, except that Elixio became more aware that those islands were quite important. He was now determined to make a study of them, hoping to convince the Spanish authorities of their strategic position. The English authorities in St. Augustine under Ogilvie and later under Governor Grant took the necessary steps to assure safe control of the Keys. Grant, on April 26, 1766, wrote to the Lords Commissioners for Trade and Plantations²⁶ of "the advantage which would attend the having a post or settlement at Key West."²⁷ Lord Shelbourne was well in accord with the idea.²⁸ England was ready to do as much as possible with those far, isolated islands and make them a part of Florida and her empire.

In the meanwhile commissioner Elixio had returned to Havana and one of the first things he did was to send the governor of Cuba a memorandum about the *Cayos*, stating their advantages to Spain. As the report of Elixio is an interesting document for the history of the Keys it is hereby translated and reproduced in its totality. It proves Elixio's interest, preparation and thorough nationalism. This royal official, with a minor position, was a powerful advisor behind the scenes. To him the Keys were Spanish and Spanish they had to remain. About the Keys he wrote:

[Fol. 9] Instruction of the composition and boundaries of the Martyrs Cayos, or by their other name North of Havana, to whose captaincy-general their jurisdiction and control must belong, according to the enclosed paper, no. 1. [This tells] what took place with the provisional English governor of the *presidio* of Saint Augustine de la Florida, Don Francisco Ogilvie [sic] (when I went there recently by order of His Excellency Count of Riela, to expedite the sales of the launches, *piraguas*,

timber, and other materials belonging to His Majesty [such as] churches, houses and [also other] property of the Spanish inhabitants who came from there). I also obtained information, which I will tell, from a vessel which came to this port from that of the said Florida, on February 23 of the present year. It went to the aforesaid keys by order of the proprietary governor, Colonel Diego Grant, with the commission set forth in the enclosed copy no. 2, given to the captain of the aforesaid vessel, Benjamin Barton. From this [order it appears] that the court in London is claiming or has already ordered possession of them [the Keys], which it can under no pretext or reason claim lawfully. I base myself on the following reasons:

The said Martyrs Cayos or Cayos of the North have never been included in the jurisdiction of command of the captaincy-general of Florida, for the boundaries of the latter only reached on the south the place named Voca de Ratones, which is the end of the mainland of those provinces, which I understand our court has ceded to England. This is in accordance with the transfer which Governor Don Melchor Feliú made of the aforesaid provinces [Florida] in my presence to the person commissioned to receive them on the part of England, namely Don Juan Gelles.

Two leagues away from the above mentioned Voca de Ratones is Cayo Viscayno, which is the first Key to the north of the Martyrs. Going thence south and west, one comes to that of Hueso which is the last one, among them being included Cayo Largo, Maticumbé el Viejo, el Moso, Cayo de Bacas, and Baya Honda. Besides there are many *Cayuelos* [little keys], which extend for forty leagues.

In Cayo Largo, which covers 14 leagues, no farm land is found, as the Cayo is liable to floods. But there is plenty of acana wood, mahogany, and other kinds of trees which this island produces, but no cedars.

Cayo Viscayno, Cayo Bacas and Cayo Hueso, the first being two leagues long, the second, six, and the third, four, have some land fit for cultivation, together with fresh water, and they never suffer inundations by the sea.

[Fol. 10] Cayo de Bacas runs north and south at a distance of twenty-five leagues from the port of Matanzas [Cuba], and Cayo Hueso a like number of leagues from the latter. Both have excellently sheltered anchorages with good foundations for frigates carrying forty cannons as does also Baya Honda.

All mentioned Keys were always inhabited by the Costas Indians, who were considered faithful subjects of the King our master, from the time of the [islands'] discovery. Without doubt they so proved it at all times since they admitted into their towns Spaniards and maintained their friendship. They had friendly relations with this city [Havana] whence they are provided with their necessities.

At the end of 1761, by virtue of the Uchises Indians having persecuted the said Costas and having destroyed their towns, so they found it necessary to live in the said Cayo Hueso, the Costas resolved to abandon that place and retire to this city [Havana], where most of them have perished because of the severity of their hunger and their misery. The few Costas who are left are in various districts of this island and in those keys which have none of their old-time natives, and really have been almost inhabited from that time up to the present by the English of Providence who are the ones who have profited by their timber and their turtle fishing.

During the winter various small Spanish vessels also go to catch fish and turtles, as this region abounds in them, and whence the city is provided during Lent. This has been proven this year when ten or twelve boats came laden with one or the other, and with which the inhabitants, troops, and engineers of the royal fortifications were entirely provided.

According to my information, it was the sovereign intention in former years that the aforesaid Costas should be favored by this captaincy-general [Cuba] until a garrison and missionaries were placed among them to teach them the doctrine and administer the Holy Sacraments to them. From this it came about that two fathers of the Society of Jesus went there for the aforesaid purpose. [They went] only on one occasion and I do not know why they were hastily withdrawn.

[Fol. 11] What is apparent to me, and I speak with sufficient experience, is that if firearms, powder and munitions had been supplied to them [the Costas], with which to defend themselves, I am convinced they would have immediately fought the Uchizes and would still be living in the Keys. Even if they were again settled on them they would appreciate greatly [the arms] because the Uchizes, confident that [the Costas] were coming unarmed, would decide to fight them in small canoes [with the intention of] seizing and killing them. I am convinced of this since on February 28, 1762, when making a voyage to this city

I was attacked by them [the Uchizes], in the very Cayo Hueso. Only after having talked to them and after they recognized me, they let me go with my life as well as five other Spaniards and two servants who were accompanying me. Only Don Francisco Escovedo perished. In all we numbered nine persons and the band of Uchizes [were] forty-eight.

The advantages and losses that can result to our crown, if the said Keys are inhabited by their natives or the English can well be considered from what has been said, but in order to give better information concerning the second [the English] I shall state them as follows:

First. If Cayo Bacas and Cayo Hueso were settled by the English, as they have made up their minds to do, they will station armed frigates there in case of war, sufficient enough, in their estimation, to capture all the Spanish vessels coming down through the channel. No one can pass the new channel or that of Bahama, which is the same, without being seen by them, because necessarily this is the landmark [the vessels] take in order to assure their voyage.

Second. If they succeed in attracting the Uchizes Indians to their friendship and alliance, who are now opposed to them, they will maintain themselves in said Keys, and when it seems best to them, they will transport them to this island [Cuba], where they will cause great hostilities in its estates, and will always withdraw without receiving any harm, for besides that the passage is short, as can be seen, the inhabitants here live carelessly in the open country, and the Indians are an invisible enemy.

Third. If warehouses of goods and effects are established there, which is their main concern, and for which I am certain since various traders from the north already solicited them, and even have come to investigate them, one will not be able to restrain the Spaniards from trading illicitly with the English. If they [the English], are so near, it will be easy to go in a short time from any port of the Gulf of Mexico and from this city [Havana] or from the city of Matanzas [Cuba] in one night and return the next night. This voyage can be undertaken without any danger even by the boats of the wood cutters. Also those boats [fol. 12], who legally go to engage in catching fish or turtles, will be injured by the English who will deprive them of what they catch. A serious loss will result, not only to the duties which accrue to his Majesty from such commerce and to his subjects who make a living by

this commerce, but also to the supply of so important revenue to this island.

Lastly, I add that I learned for certain from the above mentioned Benjamin Barton, captain of the aforesaid English vessel, that next summer several families or traders are to go from Bermuda to settle on the Keys. Also [I heard] that some people from the American north, who requested settlement on [the Keys] and who were first refused, have just received letters from their attorneys or agents at the court of London, advising them that they had already obtained permission, although on condition that they were to be assessed taxes in accordance with the will and order of the above mentioned governor of East Florida, Don Diego Grant.

Captain Benjamin Barton also informed me that on sounding the entrances of the ports of the Keys, he found the entrance to the port of Hueso (distant, as I already said, twenty-five leagues in a north and south direction from this port) five fathoms of water at the very least. [This is] a sufficient depth for any frigate of fifty cannons to navigate. It is to be noted that the difference in size of these boats and those which I mentioned above passing through Cayo Bacas and Baya Honda is not much. It is true that I never had any special order to study those [boats] since such investigation does not pertain to my profession. [Therefore] I have never taken the greatest care to measure the depth of the water in all those regions [of the Keys] whenever I sailed through them.

Havana, April 12, 1766.

Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente
[rubric]²⁹

Strangely enough, this report by Elixio was worked out with aid and information provided by the sea captain, Benjamin Barton, from Providence in the Bahamas. As a matter of fact, as Elixio had stated, the people of Providence used the Keys freely to cut wood and fish for turtles. Seemingly, previous to 1763, when the Keys were nominally under Spanish tutelage, the boatsmen from the Bahamas had not to worry about interference from the Spanish authorities. When, in the spring of 1764, Elixio was on his way to see Ogilvie, he counted fourteen boats from Providence at the Keys.³⁰ During his dispute with Ogilvie about the *Cayos* in May of the same year, the Spanish commissioner told the acting governor about the English people of Providence having quite free access to the Keys. As Ogilvie had become angry about

Elixio's assumption that the Keys were Spanish, so he also became incensed with the islanders of the Bahamas for intruding upon territory of East Florida without his permission. Ogilvie told Elixio "that the people from Providence were certain unruly rascals, and that an order would soon have to be sent . . . to seize and punish them."³¹ It is hardly possible to say whether Ogilvie was more angry with the Spaniards or with the inhabitants of the Bahamas.

From now on the English authorities at St. Augustine were determined not only to prevent Spanish hegemony over the Keys but also to stop the incursions of the Bahama islanders. Yet Providence in the Bahamas was the closest English settlement to the Keys and therefore the authorities in East Florida had to ask the help of the authorities in Providence to guard the Keys from Spanish threats and request them to see to it that their own sea-going islanders would not make the Keys a free public hunting ground. It can be assumed that the inhabitants of Providence were not enthusiastic about these restrictions and the authorities not too well disposed to assume their new duties. The boatmen might have wished back the good old days when the Keys were Spanish. Governor Grant even warned the people of Providence that if anyone would hunt and cut at the Keys, they ". . . will be prosecuted to the utmost rigor of the law, for committing such trespasses against the Crown."³² Grant commissioned Captain Benjamin Barton from Providence to go with the boat *Dependence* to the Keys and enforce the laws of England. Barton was requested to return then to St. Augustine and give Grant "a very particular account and description of the Keys."³³

Going to the Keys in late February of 1766 in order to comply with Grant's order, Barton slipped to Havana for a couple of days³⁴ where he had an interview with Elixio and where apparently he gave the Spanish nationalist a description of the *Cayos*. Elixio, who had previously visited the Keys, probably more than once, used his and Barton's new information to write his memorandum. That Barton had freely given information to the Spaniards was understandable since as a citizen from Providence he was anxious to see the Spaniards return to the Keys. It was only natural that Barton saw Elixio because this *criollo* was the great propagandist and lobbyist for the return of the Spanish flag to the lands of La Florida. Did Barton give later the same report to Governor Grant?

The matter of the Keys simply faded into a *status quo*. England, by virtue of the treaty of Paris, occupied them with the forced help of the authorities from the Bahamas and maybe some settlers from Bermuda. But the

boatsmen from the Bahamas tried to circumvent the new English restrictions and kept good relations with the nearby Spaniards, hoping that the day would return when the Spanish banner would again fly over Florida and they could fish at their leisure again. The Spanish governor in Havana simply ignored the assertion of the English that article twenty of the treaty of Paris gave them the Keys, and insisted that the *Cayos* were under his jurisdiction. Governor Grant complained to the home agencies that an agent of his from Havana "assures me that the Spanish governor of the Havanah looks upon the Keys of Florida to be the property of Spain, that as such he gives passports to vessels to go to those Keys, not as formerly under the name of Florida Keys, but to the Northern Keys."²⁵ And truly Spanish boats from nearby Havana and Matanzas in Cuba continued to go fishing in the *Cayos* as if nothing had changed. Besides this the Spanish Crown did nothing drastic to materialize Spain's claim, and most likely Elixio's concise report gathered dust in some filing shelf. England, too, did nothing energetic to avoid Spanish infiltration.

The Keys, *Cayos*, *Martires*, Martyrs, *Norte de Havana*, or Northern Keys continued their isolated, leisurely life in the midst of nature's wonders. Many years had yet to pass until civilization, detrimental or beneficial, would reach their shores.

NOTES

- ¹ Charles Loch Mowat, *East Florida as a British Province, 1763-1784* (Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1943), 9.
- ² Melchor Feliú to Julián de Arriaga, Havana, April 16, 1764 in *Photostat Collection of Spanish Florida Manuscripts from the Archivo General de Indias* at the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History, University of Florida (hereafter cited as *PC-AGI*), 86-6-6, St. D. 2542, no. 43, fols. 4-5.
- ³ John Stuart to Thomas Gage, St. Augustine, July 19, 1764, in the *Gage Collection* at the William Clements Library, University of Michigan.
- ⁴ Archbishop De Lepante to Julián de Arriaga, Madrid, December 23, 1763, *PC-AGI*, 86-7-22, St. D., no. 18, fol. 6.
- ⁵ Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763-1765," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XIX (1940-41), 145-54.
- ⁶ "Razón de las familias . . . [que] se transportaron del presidio de Sn. Augustín de la Florida a esta ciudad . . ." signed by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, Havana, February 20, 1764, *PC-AGI*, 86-6-6, St. D. 2542, no. 43, fol. 17.
- ⁷ Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente to the Governor of Cuba, Havana, February 26, 1766, in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D. 2595, no. 2, letter no. 1, fol. 1.
- ⁸ "Las personas que salieron desde la Florida con motivo de su entrega a Inglaterra," by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, Havana, May 8, 1770, in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D. 2595, no. 4, fol. 5.
- ⁹ "Spanish Interest in British Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quart.*, XXXII (1953-54), 92.
- ¹⁰ Personal communication, Tallahassee, June 6, 1955.
- ¹¹ *Supra*, n. 7, fol. 1.

- ¹² *Loc. cit.*
- ¹³ *Gage Collection*, William Clements Library, University of Michigan.
- ¹⁴ Woodbury Lowery, *The Spanish Settlements within the Present Limits of the United States, 1513-1561* (New York, London, 1901), 141; see *Memoir of Do. d'Escalente Fontaneda respecting Florida* (Miami, 1944), *passim*.
- ¹⁵ "Ynstrucción . . . de los Cayos de Martires, por otro nombre del Norte de la Havana," signed by Juan Joseph Elixio de la Puente, Havana, April 12, 1766, in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D., no. 2, letter no. 3, *passim* (hereafter cited as Ynstrucción).
- ¹⁶ John R. Swanton, *The Indians of the Southeastern United States* (Washington, 1948), 878.
- ¹⁷ "Archaeological Investigations on the Upper Florida Keys," *Tequesta*, no. 4 (1944), 13-35; "The Indians and History of the Matecumbé Region," *Tequesta*, no. 10 (1950), 13-241; "The Tekesta Indians in South Florida," *Fla. Hist. Quart.*, XVIII (1940), 274-84; cf. Robert E. McNicoll, "The Caloosa Village Tequesta," *Tequesta*, no. 1 (1941), 11-20.
- ¹⁸ Ynstrucción, fol. 10.
- ¹⁹ See Swanton, *op. cit.*, 192; Goggin, ". . . Matecumbé," *op. cit.*, 20-21.
- ²⁰ Ynstrucción, fol. 10.
- ²¹ Havana, September 28, 1743, *PC-AGI*, 58-2-10, no. 15, 41 fols.
- ²² "The Definitive Treaty," *The London Magazine, or Gentleman's Monthly Intelligencer* (March, 1763), 152.
- ²³ *Tratado definitivo de paz . . .* (Madrid, Imprenta Real de la Gaceta, 1763), 37.
- ²⁴ *London Magazine, op. cit.*, 153.
- ²⁵ *Supra*, n. 7, fol. 2.
- ²⁶ Lords Commissioners of Trade to the Earl of Shelbourne, Whitehall, August 1, 1766, in *Transcriptions of the British Colonial Records* (mimeographed by WPA), II, 611.
- ²⁷ In *ibid.*, II, 605.
- ²⁸ Earl of Shelbourne to James Grant, Whitehall, December 11, 1766, in *ibid.*, II, 623.
- ²⁹ Ynstrucción, fols. 9-12.
- ³⁰ *Supra*, n. 7, fol. 1.
- ³¹ *Loc. cit.*
- ³² James Grant to Benjamin Barton, East Florida [St. Augustine], February 4, 1766, in *Transcriptions, op. cit.*, II, 609; also in *PC-AGI*, 87-1-5, St. D. 2595, no. 2, letter no. 2, fols. 5-6 (translation in Spanish).
- ³³ *Loc. cit.*
- ³⁴ Ynstrucción, fol. 9; cf. James Grant to Commissioners for Trade and Plantations, St. Augustine, April 26, 1766, in *Transcriptions, op. cit.*, II, 606.
- ³⁵ *Ibid.*, II, 607.

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On Blockade Duty in Florida Waters

EXCERPTS FROM A UNION NAVAL OFFICER'S DIARY

Edited by WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS

When the United States Gunboat "Sagamore" was commissioned on November 23, 1861 a young Connecticut doctor, Walter Keeler Scofield, was assigned to her as medical officer with the rank of assistant surgeon. On the first day of this duty he began to keep a diary, or, as he called it, a daily journal. He faithfully made entries almost daily until April 9, 1864.

During most of that time the "Sagamore" was on blockade duty in Florida waters. At times the gunboat was also sent on raids such as those on Tampa, Symrna, and the salt works at St. Andrews Bay. The accounts cover two distinct subjects. The young doctor made good use of his time to continue his medical studies in preparation for an examination he was to take. He filled his notebooks with comments on his studies and thereby revealed quite a bit of the medical lore of the day. About one half of the content describes life in a blockading squadron with numerous references to places, events and people along the Florida coast that came under his observation.

The diary is written in long hand, mostly with pencil. It is in the form of brief notes rather than a complete account. The short statements are usually not punctuated, but are separated by a longer space. He evidently intended to use the notes for a fuller account of the experiences and observations.

Dr. Scofield's account of his Florida experiences is contained in ten small notebooks. It was until recently in possession of his son, Edward C. Scofield of Stamford, Connecticut. Miss Mary Higgins, a retired school teacher and a friend of Mr. Scofield, winters in Miami. Miss Higgins brought the diary to the attention of Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau of the History Department of the University of Miami and secured from Mr. Scofield permission to make a copy of those portions relating to Florida. The excerpts here printed are taken from that typescript also prepared by the editor. A copy of the typescript is deposited in the library of the University of Miami. Mr. Scofield also authorized the printing of any material relating to Florida. The original notes have since been given by Mr. Scofield to the Library of Yale University. The Yale Library has also graciously approved the use of the material for this printing.

This, then, is not a complete reproduction of Assistant Surgeon Scofield's notes. It consists rather of those items which refer to Florida. These selections are printed without alteration. For the sake of clarity a dash (—) has been inserted to indicate definite breaks that might have been marked with periods.

Deletions are indicated by the usual three periods . . . when they occur within a sentence or four periods when they come at the end of the sentence. Scarcely any footnotes seem necessary as all of the pertinent names and places will be sufficiently familiar to students of Florida history.

Sunday Dec 29 [1861]. Pilot comes out 5 miles to take over reefs and sand Banks into Key West — Odd [old] Light House on screws bored in quicksand — Sunday on island — ringing of bells — beautiful view — coconut trees — ships at anchor, 6 gunboats — Mail yacht fr Havana with Oranges — Watched with glasses for hours at persons on island dreped [dressed] for summer & negroes & slaves —

Monday Dec 30. Went on shore first time from "Sagamore" at coal dock [of] Capt. Giger — Appearance of town — . . . thin, sallow men and women, jolly fat slaves — post office, Drug store, stores, Billiards, Hotel —

Tuesday Dec 31. Walk all over island to Light House on shore . . . — railroad 200 negroes at work — Custom House by Sen. Mallory not finished — low wide house — hurricanes — Verdue [verdure] astonished a Northerner in mid-winter — Afraid of gale — Advice of pilot not go out in Gulf this day —

Jan 2d 1862. Under weigh by pilot — . . . over sand bar $2\frac{1}{2}$ fathoms (15[feet]) draw $10\frac{1}{2}$ feet water — buoys — too many prevent pilots from making too much money. No wrecks now not make any money — $\frac{1}{2}$ inhabitants left town — some to confed army & others to Bahama islands —

Jany 4th 1862. Sighted Santa Rosa Island at 12 M. Immense sand banks & brush 40 miles in length — Light House to right of Fort McRay — Fort Pickens to right of lighthouse which is fronted by a land battery. Stars and Stripes on Fort Pickens — Fort Barrancas opposite Billy Welson's Zouaves encampment on Santa Rosa

Friday Jan'y 10th 1862. Made land at 10 A. M. Cape St Blas & lighthouse thereon — reached the blockading vessels in sight at 12M. . . . intention of going next day up the bay. . . . 15 ft or more of water and several thousand bales of cotton at Apalachicola — Plenty of oysters and game farther up the bay

Thursday Jan 16/62. . . . Mr Fales & Lt Bigelow went ashore on the island near the planter's or the pilot's house . . . not a sign of a human being —

Friday Jan 17/62. Went a mile and a half farther up the harbor opposite the planter's house . . . Rebel steamers (two) seen in the distance by the black smoke — also two sails probably small sloops on the lookout — The "Sagamore" controls three of the passages to the town of Apalachicola — the fourth pass is rather shoal water . . . Animals seen on St. Vincent's island — all the windows broken out of the planter's house — abandoned sand battery and earthwork —

Saturday Jan 18/62. . . . Boat ashore . . . 17 in all in 2d cutter — Extensive sand beach hard near waters edge & deep soft farther up — fort made in the sand supported by wooden fence inside where several guns might have been placed — also several remains of barracks that had been burned, probably when the enemy retreated. Also four embrasures of sand & sod & dirt to the left Went thru the garden into the house & found it all deserted apparently in great haste, water remaining in pans — went up stairs in right hand chamber & sought for books papers tools & whatever of value — Medical stores in reception room of right side of the house — trophies of saws nails cooking utensils & mirror — . . . Wrung a hens neck and brought her away from the henpen — The rooster escaped into the woods in the rear it being dusk — stream of water in the rear of considerable length running along by the house — . . . [Found] Letter of Captain of 4th Regt of Volunteers of Florida

Saturday Jan 25/62. . . . Oystering in the afternoon on the bar about two miles away from the "Sagamore" & same distance from Apalachicola. Small sloop watching operations. Oysters plentiful — Immense bed of them . . . Got a launch load 10 or 15 bushels in three hours

Sunday — Jan 26/62 — . . . Dislike of officers and crew to leaving the oyster grounds of Apalachicola & the island with its game & plenty of fresh Beef, Veal, Mutton, fowls etc — Sent to Commodore saying it was not necessary to supply us with fresh meats from the supply ships if we only had free permission to take food by foraging on St. Vincents Island

Tuesday Jan 28/62. Went farther up the channel at East Pass — . . . Regret the exchange of St Vincent's island for this place. No oyster bed found as yet

Saturday Feb 1/62. . . . Visited the Light house and the habitation for man on poles — entrance to Light House 4 feet above level of ground — perhaps high tides prevalent — The lens and lamp taken away and several of the 16 large plate glass lights smashed — . . . Human skeleton found nearly perfect underneath the house

Tuesday Feb 4/62. Ashore at crooked river mouth . . . deep water — four or five feet — Appearance of many deserted small negro quarters a little back from the shore — light seen on this shore two nights before

Thursday Feb 6/62. Chase of a rebel sloop from Apalachicola — fired two shells from the Parrott gun . . . Chase continued to the anchorage ground — . . . The 1st cutter went ashore on the mainland at 2 PM — . . . Found several small houses which were probably deserted this morning. Found a large herd of cattle and gained knowledge of several sloops in course of construction. Proposals for an expedition at 3 A M to-morrow to destroy the sloops by fire

Friday Feb 7/62. Expedition of launch 1st & 2d cutters & crews to the house — destroyed a capsized boat — foraged 5 or 6 bushels of good sweet potatoes — killed 3 fowls one for Cap & other two for ward room . . . Paper from Tallahassee *Floridian* & *Sentinel* dated Jan 25/62 — Account of Cedar Keys capture burning of vessels cargoes depot & capture 16 prisoners & Lieut Meeks — Use of salt in Apalachicola — . . . Hopes of the Confederates — the great debt of Florida

Saturday Feb 8/62. . . . The "Marion" received 3 runaway negroes & one negress who gave information of value regarding the defenses of Apalachicola — Schooner "Phoenix" ready to start destined to go out of East Pass — determination to catch her . . .

Monday Feb 10/62. . . . plenty of beef for foraging parties —

Tuesday Feb 11/62. Meat proved unsavory not fattened & run wild no chance of being in any other condition than tough . . .

Saturday Feb 15/62. . . . large numbers of cattle deer wild turkey &c [etc.] according to the pilot who willingly surrendered himself to the "Mohawk" — By trade a fisherman along these shores — Contrabands two in number — one escaped from centre of Georgia & travelled here on foot mostly —

Monday Feb 24/62. Mr Fales & Williams ashore two miles up Crooked River — found and visited two plantations. one belongs to J G Gontz. Captured one hive of honey and the bees also . . . —

Friday Feb 28/62. A number of armed men seen on the Florida shore — light of last evening meant for a decoy. fired a shell nearly to the shore which was answered by three rifle shots

Monday March 10/62. Launch 1st & 2d cutters gone on shore to try the effects of the howitzer upon the houses — 1st time firing no effect — second time made several holes with canister —

Tuesday March 11/62. Launch 1st & 2d cutters on an expedition. Went 14 miles towards Apalachicola, within about a mile of the town during a fog in hopes of securing a schooner. The fog lifted showing the town of Apalachicola and four steamers, two of them having steam up ready for chase probably — Saw light House at West Pass also St George's island — Quickly put about when the situation was discovered. Only trophies obtained was a steer and several bushels of oysters

Monday Mch 31. . . . Had three contrabands on board who made their escape down Apalachicola river 150 miles in a small boat. They report the evacuation of the town consequent upon our reconnoitring expedition two weeks since. Vertification by the negroes that a trap was laid for us by the rebels kindling a fire on the Florida shore opposite the anchorage of the "Sagamore" hoping to catch some of our boats on shore — Their great fright of our shells when exploding near them — Apalachicolians have fled up to Richo's bluff 90 miles up the river, taking all their effects

Wednesday Apr 2/62. . . . Preparations for a night expedition up the Apalachicola river, composed of the "Sagamore's" launch and two cutters, also the "Mercidita's" launch and two cutters — Signal for starting at 9 P M Stillness reigns aboard the "Sag" —

Thursday Apr 3/62. Departure of Capt Drake & Commander Steelwagon to take possession of Apalachicola in the two gigs — Hoist the Stars and Stripes and demand an unconditional surrender — . . . arrival of one sloop in charge of Mast. mate of "Mercidita" . . . No people at town excepting a few slaves — Several more sloops & schooners supposed to be coming — No steamer within fourteen miles of the mouth of the river . . .

Friday Apr 4/62. . . . Capture of several vessels — brought one schooner down with forty bales of cotton Burnt four vessels schooners sloops after many ineffectual attempts to get them out of the river . . . Consternation of the inhabitants — steam mill whistle — large town wide streets stores warehouses . . .

Wednesday Apr 16/62. Expedition launch & 1st cutter up to Eastern plantation & found it a mere sham — a few negro huts — Found the six hives of honey at Ghent's plantation removed and the following inscription written upon the door of the house with a coal. "I hope to God you will get yanked for Trespassing on an honest man's property" Then just below was written "The battle is not always to the strong nor the race to the swift"— Found four bales of cotton floated up on shore worth 100 dollars each . . .

Wednesday Apr 23/62. . . . Expedition on shore at 9 P M to discover the meaning of a light on shore — Found the fire a mile back from the shore after wading thru swamps and moras[s] nearly up to the neck — Found a man named “Yenks” [Jenks ?] a Swiss by birth and his son Rufus nine years of age — Williams . . . aimed a pistol at his head . . . and requested his presence on board the “Sagamore” — He told a long story of the times about his part of the country — Owns 300 cattle and the plantation opposite our anchorage. Explanation of fire to be to call his cattle together by making new pasture to spring up on the burnt spaces. The father & son slept on the berth deck during the night — Our movements watched by men on shore —

Thursday Apr 24/62. Father & son returned ashore at 5½ A M today. Promises to be down next Thursday and bring some papers

Teusday Apr 29/62. Two boats after a sloop of 17 tons ashore four miles up the bay. . . . Trapped five men and a boy by getting between them and their boat on St George’s Island—a portuguese Italian and Irishmen — guarded in expression of their sentiments — Election at Apalachicola next Monday — Let them go again — Thousands of pigs and one bear on St George’s Island

Sunday May 4/61 [62]. . . . Arrival of two men one woman and her five small children from Apalachicola — Received permission to proceed up Crooked River in search of a doctor as the woman needed one. No Physician at present in Apalachicola — Great destitution prevails in that town. Inhabitants live on oysters and fish. No accomodations on board the “Sagamore” for the woman — First sight of a woman since the first of January — . . . No guns, ammuniton or cotton in the wharhouses. [warehouses]

May 6/62. . . . Desertion to the enemy of Leonard an Englishman and a disrated boatswains mate of the “Sagamore”. Took a revolver with six charges but no sustenance. Wretched exchange of the good rations and ease of ship life for ekeing out a living among the rebels— . . . Living on mainland infested with mosquitos vermin reptiles &c. Homeless and starving course before him now. . . . May be taken as a spy by the rebels as he is dressed in sailor’s clothing.

Wednesday May 7/62. . . . Remarkably genial salubrity of the Florida climate. 2d cutter Mr Fales ashore at Cat Point — Found David Leonard waiting for the boat at Yents [?] plantation. He was soaked in mud in water as if wading through quagmire trying to desert. . . . Communications with

Italian refugees at Cat Point — Some say a sufficiency to eat and some say not — Eat pickled oysters — no salted fish because no trade and salt is \$5.00 by the bushel. Two refugees came . . . to get permission to proceed up Crooked river after something to eat — Condemns the secession ordinance in toto. Reports also that New Orleans is taken and a great fight has taken place in Virginia. . . .

Monday May 19/62. Five months out of Boston. Made four mince pies— . . . Party ashore cleaning out the Light keeper's house for a smoking and lounging saloon — Expedients of unemployed minds and bodies to kill time —

Teusday May 20/62. 2nd cutter ashore . . . with a crew of men, probably ten men — Went inside Crooked river and Mr Lewis fired at a duck when in an instant a whole volley from a company of rebels in ambush was fired at our men in the boat. The bullets whistled by the heads and bodies of every man — the officers and four of the men jumped swum to the opposite side of the river and run for the woods, the balls all the time whistling around them. Six of the crew remained by the boat but jumped out and seizing the boat by the keel swum out with the cutter being protected by cutter's sides from the balls of the enemy — The rebels cursed our men calling them yankees &c — Cutter came off with six men in rowing as fast as they were able to with the flag union down. Our 1st cutter was sent to aid them and launch also, found all the lost ones on shore — the "Sagamore" fired constant volleys of shot and shell from her armament. Eben Ames . . . was shot through the arm. . . . A sail appeared at the mouth of Crooked river and was fired at by our cannon. It proved to be the sloop with the two Italians who were on board a short time since— . . . They had Barret Gunners mate lying on his back in the sloop shot thru the lower third of the thigh. . . Mr Fleming received a ball through the seat of his pants between his legs without injuring him

Thursday June 5th/62. . . . Left the inner anchorage at daylight. Rusticating at Light House and in the Light keeper's house — Written account of the Crooked river affair to Jennie — Caught only a hundred mullet —

Friday June 6/62. . . . Arrival of the Portuguese with his sister-in-law and her three children from Crooked river — they report the rebels preparing two iron clad gunboats to come down and attack us some dark night. . . . Iron on side of the two steamers reported to be two inches in thickness — Gave the fugitives tea, sugar, cakes and ship's bread to take to Apalachicola with them The Portuguese had been in Tallahassee jail for a week

or two. The rebels threaten to hang the friendly Portuguese who brought the wounded man Barrett off to the ship on the 20th of May last, if they can catch him

Monday June 9/62. . . . sighted the "Connecticut" on her homeward trip. . . . Sent off twenty bales of cotton care of McBride to be sold in New York — We are to proceed to Key West as soon as the "Young Rover" is supplied with coal. . . .

Thursday June 12/62. . . . About 50 steamers schooners and prizes in this port. . . . [Key West]

June 16/62. . . . Went ashore at 3 P M for a stroll till six — . . . No fruit on island after June 20 . . . Long walk — No pilot permitted after June 15 without a license.

June 21/62. . . . Diarrhoea cured among us by Key West rain water —

June 27/62. Off Havana at 7 A M — Watching the ships coming out of the harbor. Boarded two American vessels and one Spanish schooner from whom was learned that no Confederate flag was flying in Havana. . . . Started at about 9 A M for Tampa via Tortugas. . . .

June 29/62. Arrived at Egmont Key . . . Went ashore with Drs Lewis and Flint to see a girl six years of age with dysentery at the Light Keeper's house. . . . Not very encouraging prospect. Alligator five feet in length tied by neck to a tree. . . .

June 30/62. Under way at 5 A M to run 20 miles from Egmont Key to town of Tampa. . . . proceeded to three miles or less of the town. Departure of a flag of truce . . . Unconditional surrender to be demanded of the citizens. Men to be seen occasionally at the town. Returning the 2d cutter threw up one oar as a signal the rebels would not surrender — Lieut Bigelow raising his hat, 'Good day sir' to officer in rebel boat . . . no reply by the rebels — Lieut Bigelow 'I am sent by the Commander of the "Sagamore" and "Ethan Allan" to demand surrender of town unconditionally and all the ammunition' — Rebel replied "Have you any written communication — We have no such thing in the book as surrender", and turned away for the shore. They were given time to leave the town until 6 P M when the "Sagamore" opened on the town with the 11 inch and the rifle. After the third shot from us they replied from one of their three batteries firing solid shot which fell short two hundred yards or more. Fired twenty shots this P M. They fired nineteen shots from three guns — They are believed to have seven or more cannon. Firing stopped on both sides at sunset. . . .

July 1st 1862. Steamed in two hundred yards nearer and opened fire from the Parrott and the XI inch — Fired every fifteen minutes for two hours and rapid firing after until twenty shots were fired in all. Charges worth from \$10 to \$15 each — One went in the fort one or two away back in the woods, most of them falling short. No reply elicited from the battery silenced. . . . Stopped before 12 M. Made preparations to return when a large new secession flag was hoisted which was aggravating. Fired four shots at that one of which went in the rear we know not where as it did not explode as the others did, and threw up no dirt. Sketch of Tampa. Pretty, quiet place

July 7th 1862. Musquitos very thick great pests

July 8/62. . . . Excursion ashore to helpless refugees, half starving — . . . Return of Mr Fales from Coos' house up Manatee river, two quarts honey and some milk. . . . Taking refugees to Key West proposed by Act. Mast. Crowles—

July 11/62. . . . Boat decoyed ashore between here and Cedar Keys, officer shot and three men killed. 50 men at Tampa when we bombarded, now there are 200. . . .

July 14, 1862. . . . Arrival of "Rhode Island" at 5 P M . . . No stores to be had—. . . Received a small mail from headquarters at Pensacola — some of the men received letters dated February

July 16/62. Gophers five in number brought on board by the negroes for gopher soup Sent for by the negroes to go ashore and "see dem women. Some of dem am sick." Sometime today. . . . Went ashore at 4 P M . . . View from top of light house extensive — Men on shore setting out green potato tops near light house expecting them to sprout & grow. Dread of Negroes and white refugees of an attack by the rebels. Return of the boat that started for Point Harrison saying that rebels were concealed & watching us on Mullet Key

July 17/62. White refugee came on board at 3 A M saying they thought a force of rebels was watching them. Sent 2d cutter ashore immediately with an armed crew but finding nothing they proceeded to find the launch and both boats went up to Koon's plantation near Point Harrison — Arrived at 2 P M today finding nothing — brought us a watermelon and 2 qts. Milk. . . .

July 28/62. Musquitos last night were excessively troublesome, obliging most of us to go without sleep during the night—Supposed to have been brought off by the bathers last evening. . . . Contrabands came off with fish

and to get stores for the week, supplied by the government. All hands turned out of berths by misquitos & slept on deck — Breeze sprung up at 2 A M and stiffened the limbs of the sleepers, forcing them to go below.

July 30th/62. Misquitos abundant. Arrival of Mr Clay from the mainland. 3 gophers & nothing else.

Friday August 1st 1862. Contrabands six in number arrived this morning in the boat that "Charles" went to the mainland with, having gone there to forage — Got 200 lbs sugar but no fruit or provisions &c schooner ran the blockade night before last laden with sugar bound to Nassau. Arrival of a schooner from Key West to take all the white folks on Egmont Key to Key West. Chartered [chartered] by the husbands at Key West who are working on the coal depot. . . .

Saturday August 2d. Contrabands off with fish — White refugees brought beef fresh and sweet potatoes from the mainland. Arrival of the "Tahoma" bringing us a large mail and come to relieve us

Aug. 3d. . . . White refugee "Clay" off this morning for pay for beef, though he is furnished with a ration or a part of it. . . .

Aug 18/62. [St Andrews Bay] . . . 2 male 2 female & one child contraband came off to us this morning in a boat they had stolen at St Andrews. Their owners came down this P M to claim them under a flag of truce but did not succeed. Tent built for the contrabands on Hurricane Island — More contrabands in the woods on their way to us. Rebel salt works in full operation. . . .

August 19th, 1862. Rec'd Tuscaloosa Ala. papers of July 20th with report of commencement of bombardment of Tampa. White man, Mr White came down to communicate with Mast. Mate Moore. . . .

August 20/62. . . . Mrs King came on board after one of her slaves but did not get him. Professes to be union now but threatened to boil the Yankees in the salt kettle a few days ago

Aug 22/62. . . . Shipped "Jack" and "Ananias" 2 contrabands in the naval service — . . .

Aug 26/62. . . . Expedition to within three miles of St Andrews alarmed the citizens of that town — Saw the large salt works.

Sept 4/62. Laying outside all day — Quiet contrabands — troublesome mess arrangements —

Sept 11/62. Started at 7 A M for St Andrews — arrived there at 9:30 A.M. Sent a flag of truce ashore to say to the authorities —“We mean to destroy all your salt works but will not enter your homes or molest any other property.” Work of demolishing kettles commenced at 10 A.M. Launch with the howitzer 2d cutter 1st cutter and gig ashore — Rebounding of the sledge hammers in the attempts to destroy the kettles of cast iron turned upside down. . . . Salt nicely crystallized in cubical crystals. Destroyed 30 salt kettles during the day. Insulting remarks of some of the secesh bystanders. Went up into East Bay and anchored in there at night — Caught one sailing yacht. Light seen burning further up the bay, the people busy probably in carrying off the salt pans.

Sept 12/62. Work of destroying wrought iron boilers commenced — Much hard labor performed during the morning — Came off at 2 P.M. Many pans had been removed during the night. Spoils brought off of hammers axes spades old iron and a young pig. . . . Anchored off St. Andrews town at 3 P.M. Sent a boat ashore to communicate with the authorities— . . . Gave up the sail boat to Judge Mim. The rebels promise to erect no more salt works. Rec'd a letter unsealed to transmit by mail to N. Jersey. . . .

Sept 18/62. Enroute to West Pass Apalachicola to assist in preventing a rebel ram from coming down Apalachicola river and escaping

Sept 19/62. . . . Steamer “Conn.” on her homeward trip. The “Conn” will not stop at Key West where the Yellow Fever prevails with much malignancy. . . .

Sept 24/62. Steamed up to buoy two miles nearer Apalachicola — Loading with sand to protect the boilers — Lumber from Floyd's house . . . — 36 cows killed during the stay of the “J L Davis” at this place

Oct 14/62. . . . Contraband arrived. Reports 86 bales cotton on schooner four miles up the river, also that the rebels were fortifying Apalachicola

Oct 16/62. Flag of truce from town after surgeons to dress stump of man who had his arm blown off at Apalachicola. Drs Stevens & Draper went up under flag of truce. Started at sundown for Key West

Oct 22/62. En route to Indian River on East Coast of Florida —

Oct 23/62. Steamed until noon when a sail was seen bearing S. E. Chase put to her. Sloop with cargo of salt, calico gunpowder taken as a prize — Anchored at night in near a Florida Key in 12 ft water. Wrecker inside waiting for prey. . . .

Oct 26/62. Started at daylight for Jupiter Inlet. Arrived there at sundown. Sent launch & 2d cutter but they could not be got across the bar. . . .

Oct 27/62. Went ashore and up through Jupiter Inlet but found no vessels — Obtained 50 pumpkins 1 chicken 4 bushels salt 2 muskets & 1 chair. . . .

Oct 28/62. Captured a schooner from Nassau running for Indian River — took her in tow. Sent our launch & Lt Lawrence's launch & 2d cutter up Indian River eight miles. Inhabitants deserted their houses before our arrival. Shot a hog a pig 2 chickens, secured some oranges but no prize sloops. Under way at sundown for Key West with schooner in tow —

Monday Nov 24. Expedition up Indian River gone all day and not yet returned this 10 P.M.

Tuesday Nov 25/62. Whaleboat returned at 9 AM bringing off some captured ammunition some trifles, one sloop & one schooner captured, no cargo in them, provisions sent up to officers & men of the launch & those towing down the vessels — . . . Went down inside through a creek twenty miles to Jupiter Inlet

Nov 27/62. Schooner arrived at noon after much hardship & difficulty in towing forty miles through the Everglades

Nov 28/62 Sloop arrived at noon and with the schooner was towed behind the "Sagamore" to Cape Florida

Dec 1st 1862. Chased a schooner that came near us to enter Indian River. Prize caught by firing two shells at her — . . . 'Where from'— 'Nassau' — 'Ship Ahoy what ship is that'— ' "By George" of Nassau' 'Where bound' 'Key West' answered the conch captain with perfect sang froid manner — Took them back to Indian River. Cargo 10 bags coffee 150 lbs each 40c per pound 47 gross matches 20 sacks salt — Fishing from ship & on shore. One cow & one steer shot by Mr Fales belonging to secesh judge Russell —

Dec 4th 1862. Left the "By George" at Cape Florida starting for Key West. We then steamed up to Cape Florida and went ashore after cocoanuts — obtained about a hundred. . . .

Jan. 2d 1863. . . . Left Key West at 2 P.M. . . . 8 union refugees on board expecting to go on an expedition on Indian River —

Jan 5 1863. . . . Jupiter Inlet Captured the sloop "Avenger" inside loaded with gin dry goods soap and coffee. Gin received on board for safe keeping — . . .

Jan 8'63. . . . Captured the prize sloop "Julia" six miles north of Jupiter Inlet — Captain of her one Cummings or Matthews half drunk — Insulting language to our captain by this secessionist — He formerly owned land at Jupiter with one Smith but was ruined by a freshet forming new inlet and thus flooding his corn and potatoes six months ago. . . .

Jan 9th 1863. Started the "Avenger" & "Julia" for Key West inside the reefs. Then we went outside to the ship "Lucinda" of Bath ashore near Ajax Reef. . . . After getting the "Lucinda" out of danger we went inside the reefs to go to the relief of another ship ashore. Steamed up within a few rods and found wreckers taking off the ships tackle, the ship having bilged. . . .

Jan. 13th 1863. Steamed up to Indian Key having left Key West at daylight — Boarded a fishing schooner— . . .

Jan 14th 1863. . . . Lay at anchor all day near Indian Key—Capt. English & Mr Richardson ashore at the wreckers houses. . . . Purchased sponges as large as a half bushel for 50 cents also some 3 dozen eggs. . . .

Jan 21 1863. Bark "Gem of the Sea" at Indian River — Found refugees on shore at the sand point. Lieut. of "Gem of the Sea" Baxter went on expedition up the river absent ten days. 4 bales cotton. . . .

Jan 24/63. Boat 2d cutter went inside also the gig—Nearly swamped coming out in the breakers. One more sea would have filled the boat & would have disposed of its contents to the sharks. No desire to go ashore in any part of Florida held by the rebels —

Jan 25/63. . . . 2d cutter & gig gone inside this afternoon with Col Crane & the man who brought Mrs Hall & children down to the tent or encampment on shore at the entrance of the inlet — Living on pork and fish. When they could get no venison. . . .

Jan. 28th 1863. Sloop discovered in Jupiter Inlet at daylight. . . — Cargo of gin coffee flour and salt. Captain of the prize "Elisabeth" or "Eliza" escaped in the night up the river in a small boat with a case of gin, bag of coffee — Boat sent after him to capture the captain — Sweeden a man we had caught once before while attempting to run a blockade. He made a boast at that time saying the "Sagamore" never would catch him again.

Feb 8th 1863. . . . Boat sent in at 2 P.M. for refugees — . . . Under weigh at 4 P M for Key West— . . . Sea sickness of the refugees — Wife daughter Mr Hall & sons. Contribution by the "Sagamore" to Mr Hall and family \$50. . . .

Feb 18 1863. Steamed four miles to the mouth of Miami river— Sent gig 1st & 2d cutters Capt English in to explore the river. Anchored on grouper fishing ground — Boats went up six miles saw three men & two women living in the wilderness. Got sugar cane cocoanuts, lemons limes, potatoes & fish — . . .

Feb 19th 1863. Found ourselves two miles above Indian River when the fog cleared up — Sent a boat in & brought out Col Crane — Col Crane and party had found and destroyed 158 bags of salt and found four bales of cotton a tierce of sperm oil and light house apparatus

Feb 20 1863. Brought off five bales of sea island cotton 250 lbs each — \$1250.00 — Secured the two light house lamps pumps four or five lamps with concentric tubes two copper pails and one hundred gallons of sperm oil

March 8th 1863. At daylight saw a small sloop's mast close to shore several miles below Jupiter — Sent a boat in and captured a small sloop with four bales of cotton — Brought the Captain Patterson & one man on board — Hitched the sloop behind the schooner and proceeded on our way. . . . Boats went in to Miami — Dutchman came out after old newspapers having seen none in a long time. Mr Wood, Babson went inside see the young damsels — Brought off cocoanuts and pigs — . . .

April 2d 1863. Started at 11 A.M. for Bayport — Arrived off the town or hamlet but not in sight of land at 4 P.M. Six boats started at 7½ P.M. for Bayport — . . . Long talked of expedition will not find much so pilot Mr Ashley says —

April 4th 1863. The "Acilda" was signalled to come to the ship. Capt Lenas came on board and was ordered to proceed to Crystal River immediately. No intelligence from the expedition. . . .

April 5th. . . . Under way standing up to Crystal River where was the "Acilda". She had communicated with the expedition this morning — The boats attempting to enter at Bayport were fired upon from a battery and two rifle pits — Set a sloop load of corn on fire and made the crew prisoners . . . — Rebels set one schooner load of cotton on fire and removed the rest up the river. Our boats were forced to retire with two wounded slightly. . . . The expedition when last seen this morning was in battle array just ready to enter Crystal River. . . . The "Sagamore" under way and proceeded to Cedar Keys. . . .

April 6th. "Fort Henry" signalled the arrival of contraband at 3 P.M. and at 6 P M signalled the arrival of the boats. Mr Fleming & Mr Slamm came alongside at 10½PM. Mr Babson & crew came at 11 PM the other boats remaining with the "Fort Henry". Went into Bayport. . . . Went in sight of the port before entering the harbor for six miles. When the boats reached the fort the rebels opened fire from one rifled 12 pounder and threw a shell a mile astern of all the boats. They fired a shell which splashed in the water just astern of the "St. Lawrence's" launch throwing the water in the boat — Rebel riflemen also opened on the boats from behind cabbage trees and out of rifle pits — About 60 rebel riflemen — One of our shells exploded on the breastworks of the fort killing two rebels Had the rebels waited a little longer before they opened fire our boats could never have got out of the scrape. Rebels set fire to a large schooner loaded with cotton turpentine & rosin — 150 bales of cotton — Boats received charges of canister grape & balls Wonderful providential escape of the men and boats on backing out of the scrape. They went up to Crystal River entrance where Acting Master Stearns was killed Went up to Macassa Bay — captured a sloop load of corn — threw over the corn cutting the bags and set the sloop on fire and burned her. Captured two prisoners on her and then shortly after let them go again. Yulee & Chamberlain keep soldiers one hundred of them —

April 9th 1863. Went ashore at Sea Horse Key. Saw Rebel battery rifle pits and magazine deserted. Went into Light House

April 16th 1863. [In Key West] Arrival of "Matanzas" with a Brigadier General on board.

April 17th. "Matanzas" had 200 officers for negro regiments in New Orleans—

April 26. Captured the schooner "New Year" with 56 bales cotton and 9 barrels of turpentine — We flew the British ensign though the captain of "New Year" was well aware that we were an Amer. gunboat. . . .

May 23d. . . . Sighted the familiar land of Florida viz a long sand bank and a few scraggy trees in the rear. . . .

June 1st 1863. . . . Anchored down between the two keys at the mouth of Charlotte Harbor. At sundown musquitos began to come off from the shore in great numbers. At 8 P.M. it become intolerable below deck and almost so on deck — Turned in at 12 midnight — Put close head net over and laid in one position and perspiring with sheet and comforter on which were to

keep off the mosquitoes. None got through the head net though troublesome to lay in one position — Did not get to sleep until 3 A.M. Officers slapping and drawing corks and annoying with lights. Alcohol mosquito bars of no avail. . . . Dilapidated looking officers & men next morning. The pests were equal in number to those in Tampa Bay last July.

June 22d. . . . Misquitos very plentiful in the evening, not a moment's peace on deck or below. Slapping & killing them and finally retreating under the mosquito bars. Got under head net and sweat it out with a sheet & coverlid over me. Preferable to mosquito bites, sweating is.

June 25th, 1863. . . . Steamed on . . . course south for another sail Fired a parrott shell and also a second one . . . — The stranger hoisted the English colors and hove to . . . — Proved to be a prize a large schooner of forty tons containing 150 bales of cotton, 50 of which was sea island also forty barrels of turpentine — Worth probably \$50,000. Brought the seven prisoners on board the "Sagamore" . . . "Frolic" had started from Crystal River for Havana and was trying to make her way back when captured. . . .

June 26th. Searching the prize crew's clothes — Found a thousand dollars worth of gold doubloons spanish — . . .

July 18th. At sunrise at Cape Florida found the ship "Joseph Meigs" ashore on the reef near the Beacon letter P. Sent 2d cutter to her Ship on her beam ends — slooping masts angle of 45 degrees — loaded with army stores ice hay &c. Got a barrel of potatoes & ice. Wreckers at work on her. Went ashore day before yesterday. Capt says if another ship nearby had not seen him strike he would also have been on the reef. . . . 2 boats went ashore and up the river to Miami — Fletchers home — Burned a starch mill belonging to a rebel Lewis — Brought off cocoanuts — about a cart load — also squashes — $\frac{1}{2}$ barrel of starch resembling arrowroot; . . . also side saddle — crockery, books lead pipe &c &c &c . . . Pleasant weather mild equable climate and good health. Who wouldn't be content here ?

July 22d 1863. . . . Found three women three children and seven men all refugees on board the "Pursuit" — Good looking women and children something uncommon in the state of Florida so far as we have seen it. . . .

July 24, 1863. Sighted Cape Canaveral Light House at daylight. . . . Steamed ten miles off to the 'Haulover' — went within three hundred yards of shore. Sent 2d cutter in. . . searched along shore and found eleven barrels

of turpentine ready to be shipped. Barrels of 40 gallons each worth four dollars each 40 X 11 = 440 gallons X \$4 = \$1760.00 Better than getting fired on and run the risk of finding empty schooners. . . .

July 25th. . . . Mr. Carlisle & Capt Burgess on Board. Said the steamer "Oleander" 306 tons . . . would participate in the attack on Smyrna if Capt English said so. Captain English agreed. All hands up anchor at midnight. Under way for Mosquito Inlet.

July 26th. No service today. Preparations being made on the "Sagamore", side wheel steamer "Oleander", Mortar schooner "Para" and schooner "Beauregard" for a Sunday expedition up to Smyrna. Boats all called away at 10 A.M. in order to be prepared. I was appointed to go on the "Beauregard." Only doctor down here — If I am wounded we will be a helpless party. . . . Five boats in tow os steamer "Oleander" also the schooner "Beauregard". Went over bar and thumped heavily almost stuck. . . . Went up a little beyond the first houses on the outside bluff about a mile and a half in when the "Beauregard" finally grounded and it was concluded to leave her. Surrounded by marsh and bluffs. Steamer went up 800 yards farther to the large white hotel house and began to shell rapidly. . . . "Oleander" shelling all day — Mosquitos numerous and towards night became with the sand flies exceedingly troublesome — Firing into the houses, woods, swamps and everywhere. Wasteful use of ammunition —. . . Shells fired during the evening — flash-smoke-whining noise and explosion. Pacing deck tormented by mosquitos till 11½ P M Handkerchief over face. Ought to have a wire mask and leather gloves. . . . Laid down in cabin by candle light and wrapped overcoat over head but no go but for a short time. Wrapped navy blankets around head but did not succeed in keeping off pests. Went on deck but did not sleep in a chair or in any other way— . . .

July 27th. . . . Glad to see the break of morning and be relieved of our tormentors. Arrival of steamer from the "Sagamore" with two guns and ammunition. . . . Shot a horse and set fire to the thatched buildings on the bluff. burned great black smoke and was soon consumed. Roast pig from shore — Boats left "Oleander" at 2½ AM and went up the river. Got a sloop which got aground and had to wait for the afternoon tide. . . . Saw the gig fired on by the three or four rebels near the three stone pillars. Immediately came back when we recommenced shelling. Long House gutted 30 or 40 shots. Expended 280 shells wastefully. Volunteer party to set fire to the houses. Set the houses on fire after shelling to cover the advance and the twenty sailors got parts of the piano, chairs, mirrors, tables, hens, pigs, papers &c when

they were fired upon by two or three rebels just as they were crossing the creek. Sailors — down went everything and run. No man hurt in this expedition. Sloop got down at high tide, “Beauregard” got off, schooner prize got under way and with the boats proceeded down the river, the expedition being completed without a man being injured so no need of a doctor. . . . Arrived aboard ship at sundown felt refreshed to sniff the ocean air fresh and pure. Don’t wonder men have fevers in such a comfortless place as this. Enough to make anyone sick. Greatest punishment for a blockade runner is to take his vessel and put him ashore in the state of Florida — Swamps mosquitos and sand fleas. . . .

August 9th. . . . Our five prizes in tow on our way for Cape Florida

August 10th. Arrived at entrance to river leading to Miami at 10 A.M. Capt English and Richardson went in and got two barrels of limes, $\frac{1}{2}$ bushel of alligator pears — Mr Richardson bought one barrel and half a dozen boxes of coonte at 6 cents the pound for a speculation in Key West where it will sell for 15 cents. . . .

Following the entry of August 10, Dr. Scofield was detached from duty and returned to his Connecticut home for a time. He later rejoined the East Coast Blockading Squadron. But on his second tour of duty in Florida he was assigned to one of the supply ships. He continued to add a few notes to his journal each day, but few of these entries are pertinent to the purposes of this paper and none have been included.

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* The manner of numbering the successive issues has been changed several times. In each case the designation used at the time is reproduced.

VOLUME ONE, NUMBER THREE, 1943

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- “Flagler Before Florida.” by Sidney Walter Martin
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- “Pirate Lore and Treasure Trove.” by David O. True
 “Medical Events in the History of Key West.” by Albert W. Diddle
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"Diary of a West Coast Sailing Expedition, 1885." by Mrs. John R. Gilpin

"Perrine and Florida Tree Cotton." by T. Ralph Robinson

"The Perrines at Indian Key, Florida, 1838-1840." by Hester Perrine Walker

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NUMBER EIGHT, 1948

"Jacob Housman of Indian Key." by Dorothy Dodd

"Thomas Elmer Will, Twentieth Century Pioneer." by J. E. Dovell

"The Lower East Coast, 1870-1890." by W. T. Cash

"Miami: A Study in Urban Geography." by Millicent Todd Bingham

"Discovery of the Bahama Channel." by Robert S. Chamberlain

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NUMBER NINE, 1949

"Cape Florida Light." by Charles M. Brookfield

"A Dash Through the Everglades." by Alonzo Church

"Recollections of Early Miami." by J. K. Dorn

"Early Pioneers of South Florida." by Henry J. Wagner

"William Selby Harney: Indian Fighter." by Oliver Griswold

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NUMBER TEN, 1950

"Colonel Thompson's Tour of Tropical Florida." by George R. Bentley

"The Indians and History of the Matecumbe Region." by John M. Goggin

"Army Surgeon Reports on Lower East Coast, 1938." by James F. Sunderman

"John Clayton Gifford: An Appreciation." by Henry Troetschel, Jr.

"Across South Central Florida in 1882."

Reprint from New Orleans *Times Democrat*

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NUMBER XI, 1951

- “Miami on the Eve of the Boom: 1923.” by Frank B. Sessa
 “The Pennsuco Sugar Experiment.” by William A. Graham
 “Random Recollections of Tropical Florida.” by Dr. Henry Perrine (reprint)
 “Across South Central Florida in 1882.”

Reprint from New Orleans *Times Democrat*

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- “Newspapers of America's Last Frontier.” by Jeanne Bellamy
 “We Chose the Sub-Tropics.” by F. Page Wilson
 “Starch-making; A Pioneer Florida Industry.” by Mrs. Henry J. Burkhardt
 “South Florida's First Industry.” by Earnest G. Gearhart, Jr.

An Early Map of Key West

- “William Adee Whitehead's Description of Key West.”

edited by Rembert W. Patrick

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- “Building the Overseas Railway to Key West.” by Carlton J. Corliss
 “John Loomis Blodgett (1809-1853).” by R. Bruce Ledin
 “Chakaika and the “Spanish Indians”.” by William C. Sturtevant

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NUMBER XIV, 1954

- “Stronghold of the Straits: Fort Zachary Taylor.” by Ames W. Williams
 “Miami; From Frontier to Metropolis; An Appraisal.” by F. Page Wilson
 “The South Florida Baptist Association.”

by George C. Osborn and Jack P. Dalton

“A Petition from Some Latin American Fishermen, 1838.”

Edited by James W. Covington

“Volunteers Report on the Destruction of Lighthouses.”

Edited by Dorothy Dodd

Contributors

The Treasurer’s Report

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Contributors

ADAM G. ADAMS is a past president of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, and now heads the Acquisitions Committee of its Board of Directors. He has added a deep interest in the History of South Florida to an already well developed interest in the history of his native state of Tennessee where his family have lived for several generations.

CHARLES W. ARNADE is a member of the History Department of the University of Tampa. While he was a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Florida he worked extensively in the famous Stetson Collection of documents from the Spanish Archives relating to Florida. He held the coveted Doherty Fellowship for study in Hispanic American History.

RUBY LEACH CARSON came to Miami in 1916 to be a reporter on the *Miami Metropolis*, now the *Miami Daily News*. She has been an interested observer of the growth of Miami Beach and has known personally most of its pioneers. The Historical Association of Southern Florida was born at a meeting in the Carson home in 1940. She holds an M. A. degree in history from the University of Florida, and is the author, among other things, of the book, *Fabulous Florida*, soon to be reprinted.

WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS is a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Florida. He did an M. A. thesis on the History of Tampa in the Spanish American War, and continues his studies in Florida History working in the P. K. Yonge Library of Florida History. He transcribed the Scofield diary and edited the portion here presented while a student at the University of Miami.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

TREASURER'S REPORT

FISCAL YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31, 1955

On hand Sept. 1, 1954			
Building Fund -----	\$	8,577.71	
Marker Fund -----		224.22	
General Fund -----		1,444.46	\$10,246.39
Contributions to Building Fund -----			1,030.40
Increase in valuation 6 shares Standard Oil N. J. ----			268.80
Dues collected -----		4,126.00	
Sale of prior issues of Tequesta -----		112.00	
Profit on books sold -----		72.43	
Interest and dividends -----		230.13	
		4,540.56	
Less —			
Publication cost of Tequesta -----		704.30	
Program meetings (to offset this, \$137.50 contributed last year) -----		393.36	
Treasurer -----		115.54	
6 News Letters -----		351.09	
Miscellaneous -----		425.13	
		1,990.02	
The difference transferred to Building Fund -----			2,550.54
			14,096.13
On hand Aug. 31, 1955			
Building Fund -----		12,427.45	
Marker Fund -----		224.22	
General Fund -----		1,444.46	14,096.13
This is represented by:			
Securities -----		811.20	
Interest-bearing bank deposits -----		11,902.89	
Non interest-bearing bank deposits -----		1,382.04	14,096.13

	Number of Members by Years										Total	Total
	\$2	\$3	\$5	\$10	\$25	\$50	\$100	\$250	\$350	Hon.	Mem- bers	Col- lected
1952	33	329	190	29	7		2	1			591	\$2,918
1953		333	205	50	12		5	1			606	3,574
1954		315	198	66	18	1	6		1	3	608	4,045
1955 (to date)		270	196	63	21	1	6		1	4	562	3,945

We appreciate the generosity of Withers Transfer & Storage Co., 357 Avenue Almeria, Coral Gables, in providing fireproof protection for our archives, and of Jack Callahan, C.P.A., duPont Building, Miami, in auditing our accounts.

EDWIN G. BISHOP, *Treasurer.*

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*This printed roster is made up of the names of those persons and institutions that have paid dues in 1954 or in 1955 before September first, when this material must go to press. Those joining after this date in 1955 will have their names included in the 1956 roster. The symbol ** indicates founding member and the symbol * indicates charter member.*

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