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Tequesta:

Building The Overseas Railway To Key West*

By CARLTON J. CORLISS

In my boyhood I was an avid reader of adventure stories, and one of the first impressions I gained of that far-flung chain of tropical islands which extends in crescent formation from Biscayne Bay to Dry Tortugas was from a lurid and exciting tale of pirates, buccaneers and smugglers who haunted that region and carried on their nefarious operations in the surrounding seas, the Bahamas and the West Indies.

The Florida Keys are indeed rich in romantic interest. Along these palm-fringed shores sailed the picturesque caravels of Spanish explorers and adventurers—Narvaez, De Vaca and De Soto—and the galleons which bore Cortez, Coronado, Iberville and Bienville on their history-making voyages of discovery, conquest and colonization.

During the Spanish occupation and on through Florida's territorial period, the numerous sheltered bays and inlets which dot this "Coast of Adventure" were familiar hiding places and rendezvous for "Brethren of the Coast" whose very names sent chills up and down the spines of honest mariners.

Historians searching for truth find it difficult sometimes to determine what is legend and what is history, what is fact and what is fiction. But of one thing there is no doubt—from the earliest days of American occupation in Florida an important center of activity in the Key country was the ancient Cayo Hueso ("Isle of Bones"), or Thompson's Island, known today as Key West.

Key West dates its growth as an organized community from the 1820's, and for a period of more than fifty years—until 1890—it was the most populous city in Florida.

* A talk before the Historical Association of Southern Florida, Miami, April 7, 1953.

EARLY RAILWAY ADVOCATES

Oddly enough, Key West was one of the first cities in the South to advocate a railroad. As far back as 1831, at the very dawn of the railway era in America, when there were fewer than a hundred miles of railroad on the North American continent, the enterprising editor of the *Key West Gazette* was suggesting a railroad linking the town with the mainland of Florida.

In 1835, while railroads were still in their infancy, the *Key West Inquirer* was urging that steps be taken to build a railroad. And in the 1850's, the first representative South Florida ever sent to the Congress of the United States—Senator Stephen R. Mallory of Key West—was pointing out to men of influence in Washington and elsewhere the advantages of extending a railroad to that “American Gibraltar.”

In 1879, the Jacksonville, Tampa and Key West Railroad was incorporated in Florida to push a line southward through the state.

The following year the Great Southern Railway Company was organized in Georgia to build a railroad to Key West, with plans for extending its service by steamship to all parts of Central and South America.

Then, in 1883, the distinguished Confederate soldier, General John B. Gordon, of Georgia, revived the railway project, and work on the Georgia end of the road was actually started.

In 1898, there was published in the *National Geographic Magazine* a prophetic article bearing the title “Across the Gulf by Rail to Key West.” This article gave a fairly accurate forecast of future developments and concluded by saying that surely a railroad to Key West would some day be built; and that it “would be one of man’s greatest achievements.” The author concluded with the question: “Who will be the Cyrus Field to undertake this mighty work?”

HENRY M. FLAGLER, EMPIRE BUILDER

At that time the East Coast of Florida was being transformed into a winter paradise by one man—Henry M. Flagler. From Jacksonville southward for a distance of 366 miles, to the new town nestling here on the Miami River, were numerous villages and towns and cities which owed their beginnings and their growth to the opening of Flagler’s railroad.

We all know the story of how Julia B. Tuttle and Henry M. Flagler joined hands to bring the City of Miami into being and start it on its way

to becoming the fabulous metropolis and winter playground of today. The first train reached this city on the 16th of April, 1896.

Beyond the Miami River, 156 miles southward, lay Key West, then many times greater in size than Miami and possessing a harbor capable of accommodating some of the largest ships afloat. At that time and for years thereafter the maximum depth of Biscayne Bay was about twelve or fourteen feet. Key West, on the other hand, could accommodate vessels having a draft of thirty feet. It was the deepest harbor south of Norfolk.

Came the Spanish-American War and the American occupation of Cuba, followed by greatly increased trade and commerce with the Island Republic. Because of superior port facilities, Tampa, on the West Coast of Florida, became an important port of embarkation in connection with the war activities in the West Indies.

Then, soon after the turn of the century, came the news that the United States Government was preparing to build the long-discussed Panama Canal. Statesmen, editors and businessmen were speculating as to the probable overall effect the canal would have on American industry and commerce. Flagler wanted his newly developed East Coast Empire to be in a position to share in the benefits, including the greatly expanded trade opportunities with Central and South America and the Pacific region—opportunities which inevitably would result from the opening of the Canal. As Flagler saw it, this could be accomplished in only one way—by carrying his rails to a deep-water harbor. This appears to have been the impelling factor in Flagler's decision to push the Florida East Coast Railway to Key West.

FLAGLER'S DECISION

In the summer of 1902, Flagler engaged a group of young and hardy engineers and sent them into the region south of Miami to conduct preliminary surveys. Under the direction of Location Engineer William J. Krome, of Illinois, then a young man of twenty-six, surveys were made of possible routes through the Everglades to Cape Sable, with a view to bridging the Bay of Florida for a distance of thirty-three miles to Big Pine Key, thence to Key West over the chain of keys.

Another survey was made to The Narrows, dividing Biscayne Bay and Barnes Sound, thence across Key Largo to Turtle Harbor, where expensive terminal facilities would be necessary. After careful study, on the recom-

mentation of the engineers, both the Cape Sable and Turtle Harbor proposals were abandoned, and Mr. Flagler reached his decision to build the railroad over the Keys.

It is related that, with the engineers' reports before him, Flagler called in his vice president, Joseph R. Parrott, and asked him if he was sure the road could be built. He did not ask if it would be a profitable undertaking, but simply if it could be built from an engineering standpoint. Parrott is reported to have replied: "Yes, I am sure." Flagler's reply was: "Very well, then go ahead. Go to Key West." It was a momentous decision for any man to make. Henry M. Flagler was then in his 75th year. The East Coast of Florida, with its thriving cities and towns, was largely his personal achievement. At his age he might have rested on his laurels and spent the rest of his days basking in the sunshine of his Palm Beach home. It would seem that he could have been content. He had everything in life that a man could want—wealth, friends, recognition of a life rich in great accomplishments—but he felt that his job was not finished, and until it was finished, he was not content.

"Go ahead" was his decision. These simple words of Henry M. Flagler set in motion a chain of developments the like of which South Florida has never before experienced. The developments took the form of an epic struggle of man against natural obstacles, against the sea and the elements, a struggle unlike anything else in human experience. The titanic struggle began in 1904 when engineers staked their right-of-way through the Everglades and the swamps and jungles and shark-infested waters over the 128-mile route from Homestead to Key West. The struggle ended in 1916—twelve years later—when the last of the majestic concrete viaducts was completed to form the permanent structure—a structure which today carries the Overseas Highway across the Keys—a structure which has stood firm and unshaken against the onslaughts of wind and sea for nearly half a century.

ENGINEERS MEREDITH AND KROME

The man chosen to take general charge of the project was Joseph Carroll Meredith, who took up his work as chief constructing engineer on July 26, 1904. Meredith, an Indianan, was a noted bridge engineer, whose construction experience eminently qualified him for the stupendous undertaking. His latest project was the construction of docks at Tampico, Mexico, for the Mexican Government. Meredith was small of stature, but a man of great

energy, resourcefulness, determination and courage. He was intolerant of inefficiency or indifference. From early morning until late at night his every thought seemed to be of the railroad. He pushed himself relentlessly and ever sought to spur his assistants to greater efforts. But the pace was too much for him, and on April 20, 1909, after nearly five years of driving effort, with little time off from his labors, he died suddenly. Meredith was succeeded by his principal assistant engineer, William J. Krome, who, as you recall, had been in charge of the original surveys. No better man could have been found for the great tasks that lay ahead. Educated at the University of Illinois and Cornell University, Krome had spent several years on railroad engineering projects in Missouri and elsewhere before coming to Florida. Krome was a brilliant engineer and a tireless worker. Under his direction all obstacles were overcome and the work was carried successfully to completion.

The engineering staff of Chief Engineers Meredith and Krome included Division Engineers William Mayo Venable, who for many years has been prominently identified with the Blaw-Knox industries of Pittsburgh; P. L. Wilson, who later had charge of important construction projects in the Miami area; J. Ernest Cotton, Miami's first director of service, and most recently project engineer of the City of Miami; Col. Clarence S. Coe, the first city manager of Miami; Grier R. Smiley, later chief engineer of the Louisville & Nashville Railroad; Bridge Engineer R. W. Carter; Division Engineers H. L. Cook, James H. Cox, William A. Glass, now head of the Water Department of the City of Miami; Henry H. Hyman, Southern district manager, Florida Power and Light Company; E. R. Davis, J. Max De Garmo, F. B. Dunn, J. G. Frost, LeMoyne Harris, A. L. Hunt, R. L. Langford, M. E. Malone, H. S. Moreland, B. A. Parlin, W. C. Taylor, H. O. Weiss, and Capt. G. W. Payne.

Among the many Floridians, now living, who were identified with the project, in addition to those mentioned above, are: J. D. Ingraham, assistant general passenger agent, Florida East Coast Railway, Jacksonville; James Weston Dunaway, of the Moore Furniture Company; Frank J. Pepper, of the real estate firm of Pepper & Cothren; J. Merlin Spaulding, real estate operator; R. F. Archibald, J. Jack Wentworth, Miami; Charles ("Gunner") Morgan, of Spanish-American War fame; W. R. Hawkins, Oak Hill; Elbert A. Froscher and Anton Waldin, Homestead; Al. Lindgren, Goulds; Cleveland McGowan, Pigeon Key; Harry Bracken, Ed. Goehring, Ed. Strunk, Frank Bentley, Harry M. Baker, John J. Kirchenbaum, R. F. Spottswood, John M.

Spottswood, G. R. Steadman and James B. Sullivan, Key West; G. M. Higgs, West Palm Beach, and C. ("Tub") Williams, of Miami and Hollywood, California.

Prominent among the South Floridians no longer living who were identified with the construction, in addition to those already mentioned, were: M. F. Comer, Capt. Ed. H. Sherran, Calvin E. Oak, Gilbert Meredith, Alva K. McMullen, T. F. Whitten, Henry W. Gibbons, Leonard Spaulding, B. A. Deal, and Richard Ring, of Miami; Barney Waldin, Lawrence Bow and J. F. Free, of Homestead; Fred Barrett and C. D. Kittredge, of Fort Lauderdale; and Judge E. R. Lowe, of Tavernier.

It is my good fortune to have been employed in the office of Chief Construction Engineers Meredith and Krome from the beginning of 1909 until August, 1914, through the most active period of construction. Until the spring of 1909 the chief engineer and his staff occupied offices on the Terminal Dock in Miami. Then the offices were moved to Marathon, and that remained the headquarters of construction operations until the project was completed. Our first office in Marathon was on a quarterboat, but we moved to a new office building on its completion in the summer of 1909.

PROGRESS OF CONSTRUCTION

In the limited time at my disposal this evening, I shall not attempt to describe in detail the route over which the road was built or many of the technical problems with which the engineers were confronted. There are engineers in Miami and present this evening who are far better qualified than I am to discuss the technical aspects of the construction. I can touch on only a few high spots.

After leaving Florida City, two miles south of Homestead, the route traverses about nineteen miles of everglades to Jewfish Creek, thence it traverses some twenty-nine islands before reaching the island of Key West. Because of the formation of these islands, the route crosses forty-three bodies of water ranging all the way up to seven miles across.

Construction commenced from Homestead southward in the summer of 1905, and in December, 1907, the rails reached Knights Key, eighty-three miles below Homestead. Here, in Knights Key Channel, a large dock, reached by a long wooden trestle, was nearing completion. Knights Key Dock was opened February 6, 1908, and passenger train service was extended southward to that point on the same day. For the next four years, until

the road was completed into Key West on January 22, 1912, this was an important terminal where trains from the North met the Peninsular & Occidental Steamship Company's ships plying to and from Havana, Cuba. During that period, Knights Key Dock was a port of entry, with customs officials in charge. It had a post office also. Over Knights Key Dock travelled many of the distinguished people of the times en route to and from Cuba. Today, not a vestige of the dock is to be seen.

On the 106-mile route between Jewfish Creek and Key West, the route tranverses 37 miles of water, nearly all of which is open sea. About twenty miles of the line were bridged by the construction of fills or embankments, and 17.17 miles were bridged by concrete viaducts and concrete-and-steel bridges. All told, there are thirty-seven permanent structures of this kind—twenty-nine concrete viaducts, six concrete and steel structures, and three drawbridges. (A fourth drawbridge, built at Indian Key Channel, was removed many years ago.)

MAJOR PROJECTS

The most important projects of all were Long Key Viaduct, Knights Key-Moser Channel Bridge, commonly called the "Seven-Mile Bridge," Bahia Honda Bridge, and the Key West Terminal.

Long Key Viaduct, the first great bridge to be built, presented many formidable problems, some of which were unique, unprecedented, the solution of which taxed the ingenuity of the engineers. The experience gained from this project proved to be of great benefit in the construction of other bridges.

Long Key Viaduct is a reinforced concrete structure. It consisted originally of 180 fifty-foot arches, to which 42 35-ft. arches were added before the road was opened, bringing its total length up to 11,958 ft., or 2.15 miles.

In October, 1906, during the construction of Long Key Viaduct, a severe tropical hurricane swept over the Florida Keys and wrought great destruction to plant and equipment, as well as to the completed embankments at exposed points. Many pieces of floating equipment employed on the Long Key project were sunk or otherwise destroyed; others were badly damaged. The quarter-boat (No. 4) on which about 150 men were housed broke away from its mooring and went to sea, where it was buffeted by high winds and mountainous waves until it went to pieces, scattering the men over a wide area of storm-swept seas. About 100 of the men were lost; others were picked by passing ships from one to four days after the storm had abated and were

carried to ports as far distant as Liverpool, England. One ship, the "Alten," rescued twenty-four of the men and took them to Savannah, Georgia. All men who were rescued were brought back to the project to relate their experiences and to resume their work.

One of the most dramatic incidents of the Long Key disaster was the case of a father and son. When quarter-boat No. 4 went to pieces, miles from land, the two men, desperately hoping to save a trunk containing cherished family possessions, took it overboard with them, and for hours in the storm-swept seas they clung to the trunk—one at either end. For a time it served as a life preserver, but for some reason one was finally forced to let go his grip, and he disappeared beneath the waves. The other struggled to retain the trunk, but was finally forced to let it go. After the most harrowing experience, each one was rescued by a passing ship. Each was taken to a different port. For several days each supposed the other had drowned. We can well imagine the joy of father and son when they were finally reunited.

It was out of such human experiences as these that the great work took form and was carried to completion. Although the incident just related was perhaps more dramatic than many, nevertheless a day never passed during the years in which the railroad was under construction without its incidents involving human life, without its narrow escapes, its joys or its sorrows, without its excitement, its thrills, and without some seemingly insuperable difficulty overcome, some undertaking successfully accomplished, or without some new problem to challenge the ingenuity and resourcefulness of the builders.

THE SEVEN-MILE BRIDGE

The longest of all structures is the "Seven-Mile Bridge," commenced in 1909 and completed in 1912. This bridge consists of 335 80-foot and 60-foot deck plate girder spans of steel, resting on concrete piers, a concrete viaduct one-and-three-quarters mile in length, consisting of 210 53-foot arches, and a drawbridge 253 feet in length. Altogether, the bridge contains 546 concrete foundation piers—far exceeding the number in any other bridge in the world. Each of the piers in the main structure rests on bedrock as much, in some places, as twenty-eight feet below the water line.

This was the most costly structure of all to build, and it presented many formidable engineering problems.

During the construction of this bridge, two severe hurricanes—one in September, 1909, the other in September, 1910—interrupted the work and

wrought great damage to the floating equipment and some damage to the structure itself. During one storm five deck-plate girder spans, which had not been securely bolted into place, were blown from the bridge into the sea. (Curiously, a keg of nails perched on the edge of the bridge was not blown off or even shaken from its position.)

BAHIA HONDA BRIDGE

The third great bridge is between Bahia Honda and Spanish Harbor Key. Known as the Bahia Honda Bridge, this structure is 5,055 feet in length. It consists of 13 through truss spans each 138 feet in length; 13 through truss spans each 186 feet in length, and one span 247 feet in length, as well as nine deck-plate girder spans, each 80 feet in length. Here the channel is 24 feet deep at low tide—the greatest depth encountered at any point along the route. For this reason a different type of construction was adopted; namely, through truss spans, which enabled the foundation piers to be spaced farther apart than could be done with the deck plate girder type or the concrete arch type of construction.

KEY WEST TERMINAL

At Key West, a major project was the construction of the terminal site, which involved reclaiming 240 acres of land from the sea by the dredging process. This required the shifting of many millions of cubic yards of material and the construction of thousands of feet of retaining walls. While this project was getting under way, the commandant of the Naval Station took steps to halt the work on the ground that the Navy might some time want to use the bay area from which the mud was being taken for target practice, in which case shallow water would be desirable. Mr. Parrott, then president of the railroad, assured the Navy Department that if the mud were ever needed, the railway company would return it to its original location. Interestingly enough, the Navy now occupies the terminal area which the railroad made.

Another major project at Key West was the construction of a permanent pier 1,700 feet in length, 134 feet in width, to accommodate large ocean-going vessels.

A third project at Key West was the construction of ferry slips, by the aid of which freight and passenger cars were for many years loaded on ferries, transported across the 90 miles between Key West and Havana, and placed on tracks in Cuba without breaking bulk.

The Key West-Havana ferry service was established January 8, 1915, about three years after the railroad was opened to Key West, and continued to be operated regularly until the disastrous hurricane of 1935, when all operations on the Key West Extension ceased.

SEVERAL UNIQUE FEATURES

The construction of the Key West Extension was in several respects unique in the annals of railway building. In fact, nearly everything about the project was unlike anything ever before undertaken and called for great ingenuity and many improvisations on the part of the engineers.

The project was unique in its geographical location—upon a chain of coral reefs across wide expanses of open water, every mile of which was exposed to the fury of the hurricane.

It was unique in the extent to which all materials and supplies used in the construction had to be brought from points hundreds or thousands of miles distant.

All fresh water for use of locomotives, steamboats, and other water craft, stationary engines, as well as water for washing, bathing, cooking and human consumption, was unobtainable on the Keys and had to be hauled long distances over land and water to the construction sites.

Never before or since has a railway construction project of such magnitude been so completely dependent upon watercraft. Never before had a railway construction project of such magnitude been carried to completion with as little animal-drawn or motor-driven equipment. In the early days of construction, a few mules were employed on the grading work. Aside from that, not a horse or a mule or a wagon or a motor car was employed in the construction between the mainland of Florida and Key West.

The Key West Extension was unusual at least in the fact that it was built almost exclusively by railway company forces, without the aid of contractors.

MATERIALS BROUGHT LONG DISTANCES

Materials of every sort known to construction work were necessary. Thousands of tons of cement; miles of reinforcing iron; miles upon miles of heavy deck-plate girders and fabricated steel; and shiploads upon shiploads of cement, gravel, crushed rock, coal and other supplies had to be brought

to the project from long distances. At the height of construction there was never a time when steamships or four-masted or five-masted schooners with construction materials were not unloading cargo at some point in the construction zone or on the high seas bound for the project. Because of lack of docking facilities at some points, many of these ships anchored off-shore and their cargoes were unloaded on lighters and towed to points where needed.

The magnitude of the undertaking may be better understood when it is pointed out that each of the huge piers in the main channels of the Seven Mile Bridge required a mixture of sand, gravel, cement and other materials equal in bulk to the cargo of a five-masted schooner.

Numerous shiploads of German cement were required. All cement used below the high tide line was of German manufacture, brought to the project direct from Germany. Cement for that part of the structure above the water line was of American manufacture, most of it brought in ships from a plant in New York State. Sand and gravel were brought in ships from points as far distant as Chesapeake Bay and crushed rock from points as far away as the Hudson River.

Great quantities of lumber, piling, crossties, and bridge ties used in the construction came from northern Florida and southern Georgia.

Steel for the bridges and rails for the tracks came from Pittsburgh and other steel manufacturing centers. Large quantities of food for the workmen were supplied by Chicago packing houses and other sources many hundreds of miles distant.

Many miles of temporary wooden trestles were erected to carry the railroad across channels while the permanent structures were being built. Many others were constructed to reach marl deposits and to provide docking facilities.

Altogether, 35 miles of temporary wooden trestles were built during the construction period. Besides, large quantities of piling were used for foundation piers, docks, anchor piles, and so on. At least 70,000 units of piling were used in the construction.

Fender piling for the piers at Key West were of jucaró wood—a dense, mahogany-like tree that grows in Cuba. Jucaró is more impervious to the toredo and other destructive water insects than are most woods.

When the amphibious character of the project is considered, it is obvious that a huge fleet of all kinds of watercraft had to be brought into service.

Indeed, far more watercraft than land vehicles were employed. These consisted of eight stern-wheeled steamboats, most of them brought from the Mississippi and Ohio rivers; three tug boats, two sea-going steamers, at least sixty power launches, large and small, twelve dredges, eleven pile drivers, eight concrete mixers for over-water work, two traveling concrete mixers for work on land, ten traveling excavators, eight derrick barges, 150 huge lighters or barges, about fifteen house boats and quarterboats, catamarans, a compressor barge, a floating machine shop, a floating blacksmith shop, covered supply barges, pump barges, and innumerable skiffs, rowboats, pontoons, and miscellaneous water equipment.

On land, there were locomotives, supply cars, freight cars, locomotive cranes, mechanical dump cars and earth spreaders. The care and maintenance as well as the protection of this huge fleet was in itself a job of vast proportions.

THE PROBLEM OF LABOR SUPPLY

From the inception of the project, a major problem was that of obtaining satisfactory engineers and construction men for supervisory purposes. These men were drawn from all parts of the world, and they were selected with great care. Many of them had been employed on other great construction projects and were accustomed to handling men.

Equally difficult was the problem of obtaining ordinary and skilled and unskilled labor. Advertisements were inserted in northern newspapers; recruiting agencies were engaged in New York, Philadelphia and other cities, and in a period of five or six years, at the height of construction, upwards of 40,000 different men were brought from New York and other distant cities to the project. Yet at no time did the total construction force exceed 5,000 men. Some men worked for years without interruption; many others worked only a few months; still others but a few days.

Early in the construction period a group of Italians was recruited in New York and sent to Jacksonville by ship, thence to Miami by rail. From this point they were to be sent by stern-wheeled steamboat to the Keys. But the men thought they had already come to the end of the earth. They took a look at the weather, which was a bit rugged, then they looked at the old stern-wheeler, and then they proceeded to stage a mutiny. Refusing to go a foot farther, they vociferously demanded that the company return them to New York. Chief Engineer Meredith went among them and sought to reason

with them. But the angry men swarmed around him, and when it appeared that they were on the verge of committing some act of violence, he gained their attention and assured them that no man would be employed against his will—that everyone of them would be returned to New York. That was done. Although many Italians were later employed on the project, no more Italian labor was recruited en masse in New York for the Key West Extension.

One of the largest groups of laborers, and some of the most dependable workers, came from the three British islands of Grand Cayman, Little Cayman and Cayman Brac in the Caribbean Sea. Each year, mostly in January, hundreds of these men came in their own vessels—the type commonly used in the fishing and turtle trades. These “Caymanders,” as we called them, worked steadily with rarely a day lost until about two weeks before Christmas each year. Then they would quit, almost to a man, take to their boats and go home to spend the holidays with their families. A mixture of British and West Indian, many of these Caymanders had sandy complexions, red or blonde hair, and not a few had Negroid features. Two-thirds of them bore one of three surnames—Jackson, Sands or Eubanks. They were good workers and excellent watermen.

Hundreds of Spaniards from Northwest Spain and the Minorcan Islands in the Mediterranean Sea were employed as common laborers; others as boat calkers, boat builders, carpenters, and the like. They spoke only Spanish. Nearly all of these Spaniards, as well as the Caymanders, came from and returned to their native lands without touching foot on the mainland of the United States.

The most numerous groups of all was made up of the common “skid-row” variety of American transients, recruited chiefly in New York and shipped to the Keys with the understanding that they would reimburse the railway company for their boat transportation to Jacksonville or Key West. A great many of them were “down-and-outers,” representing just about every occupation and profession.

A record was kept of occupations and professions represented by these men, so that persons of special skills could be located if and when needed. The list included lawyers, doctors, pharmacists, sculptors, preachers, artists, actor, salesmen, teachers and about every other profession and occupation imaginable. All of the men started as laborers on the roughest kind of work, such as shoveling coal, sand and gravel, unloading ships, pushing wheelbarrows, building embankments, drilling and blasting rock, and so on.

On pay day, many of them would quit and go on a spree that often lasted several days. When their money was gone they would sober up and return to work. Others would quit, return to New York by boat, spend a few weeks there, and return under a new contract.

Florida and Bahama Negroes were found to be excellent workers in certain jobs, such as clearing and grading land and shoveling coal, gravel and sand, but they, too, were likely to quit whenever they had a few dollars coming to them.

In spite of the care taken to select only men fitted for the work, much trouble was experienced with incompetents and with those who hired out with no other idea than to get a trip to Florida at the railroad's expense. Out of this attitude grew a peonage charge which resulted in a Federal indictment of the engineers in charge. These charges received highly sensational treatment in the press. When, after hard fighting, the railroad succeeded in bringing the case to a trial, the result was a verdict of acquittal. At the same time the court rebuked the prosecuting attorney for wasting its time with a charge which had so flimsy a foundation.

THOSE PESKY MOSQUITOES

One of the most vexing of all problems connected with the construction of the Key West Extension was the presence of mosquitoes and sand flies. Sand flies were most disagreeable at a certain season of the year. Mosquitoes, however, seemed to be with us the year around. All camps, as well as offices, mess halls and other buildings in which men lived or worked had to be screened. Great quantities of pyrethum powder and numerous smudge pots were burned. They helped temporarily, but they did not halt the breeding process, and the blood-hungry mosquitoes made life a torment for the workmen. Indeed, it is safe to say that mosquitoes drove more men to quitting the job than any other cause. One year a hurricane swept across the Keys and filled all fresh water pools with salt water during mosquito breeding season. Greatly to our relief, we had no mosquitoes for several months after the storm.

During the period of construction, three severe hurricanes swept over the Keys—in 1906, 1909 and 1910. In the 1906 storm, as already mentioned, the greatest damage was done and the greatest loss of life occurred at Long Key. The hurricanes of 1909 and 1910 also inflicted great damage to plant and equipment, as well as to exposed stretches of embankment.

The engineers and supervisory forces had profited from the storm of 1906, and, as a result, were able to save much of the equipment. Refuge canals were dredged at sheltered points in readiness for the storms, and on receipt of hurricane warnings the floating equipment was moved from the construction sites to these canals and kept there until the danger had passed.

In the 1909 storm the tug boat "Sybil" capsized in Bahia Honda Channel, resulting in the loss of 13 lives. The only surviving member of the crew was later found unconscious on the embankment under an over-turned wheelbarrow, several feet above the surface of the water. He was never able to tell how he got there.

Although the 1910 hurricane was probably the worst of the three—and was described by natives as the worst in history—the engineers and foremen, profiting from past experience, kept the damage to plant and equipment at a minimum. Only one life was lost on the entire project.

Damage wrought by hurricanes and precautions which were taken to protect against the blows had the effect of delaying completion of the work for two or three years and added millions of dollars to the cost.

In each hurricane several steamboats, barges and other floating equipment were sunk and much time and energy was given to restoring them to serviceable condition. The steamboat "Columbia" was sunk at least two times to my knowledge and restored in both instances, apparently as good as before.

After the severe storm of 1909 it became apparent to the engineers that the coralline limestone rock then being used to protect the embankment was not adequate to perform that function under severe conditions. In numerous instances blocks of stone and other material then being used to protect the embankment were washed out to sea, leaving huge gaps in the embankment. It was discovered, on examination, that wherever marl had been placed on the embankment, the road had withstood the storms without serious injury. Even the marks of the clam-shell and orange-peel buckets were visible on the marl after the storm had abated. The engineers then decided that marl was the answer to their problem. Several marl deposits were located up and down the Keys; trestles were built out over these deposits; dredges were brought in, and Goodwin dump cars were employed to carry the marl to exposed parts of the embankment. The marl thus dumped contained sufficient moisture to run off gradually, forming a rather smooth beach-like

protective coating. Altogether, millions of yards of marl were deposited over the exposed areas of the embankment. Thereafter, hurricane tides washed over miles of exposed sections of track without doing serious damage.

FRESH WATER A PROBLEM

As already indicated, one of the greatest problems of all was that of obtaining fresh water. Not only did water have to be fresh, but it had to be pure; otherwise it might lead to sickness and epidemics. Efforts to locate fresh water at various points on the Keys were unsuccessful. A geologist was engaged, deep wells were driven at several points, but without success. Consequently water had to be hauled from the mainland and distributed to all points where needed for the use of locomotives, stationary steam engines, cooking and human consumption. Water requirements for a single month ranged up to 4,500,000 gallons. This was equal to 700 carloads a month.

In the early stages of construction the water was towed from Miami to the Keys by steamboats. Later it was taken from Manatee Creek, in the Everglades; still later from deep wells near Homestead, and shipped to the Keys in cypress tanks on flat cars—two tanks to a car—each car holding about 7,000 gallons. At Marathon and other points water was transferred from railway cars to tanks on barges, six tanks to a barge, and then towed by steamboat to the numerous construction sites and camps below Marathon.

KEY WEST CELEBRATION

The greatest day in the history of the Florida Keys and in the life of Henry M. Flagler was January 22, 1912. As planned weeks in advance, Chief Engineer Krome and his men brought the construction of the line to a sufficient state of completion to enable trains to operate through to Key West. On that day, Henry M. Flagler rode into Key West on a special train, accompanied by scores of distinguished guests, and there, on his arrival, was given the greatest ovation of his life.

Key West had declared a 3-day holiday to celebrate the occasion, and it seemed as if the entire population was present to witness the arrival of the first railway train most of them had ever seen and to welcome the man who had made it possible. In a brief speech Mr. Flagler, then in his 83rd year, said with a full heart, "Now I can die happy. My dream is fulfilled."

A few months later, Florida's great benefactor passed to his reward, and in cities and towns up and down the East Coast, from Jacksonville to Key West, flags drooped in mourning, and at many points schools and churches paid tribute they had never before paid anyone, tolling their bells for the man who had done more than any other for that part of the state.

THE FINAL BLOW

The railroad to Key West continued in operation for a period of twenty-three years until finally, on Labor Day, 1935, one of the most destructive hurricanes that ever visited the Florida Keys inflicted severe damage to many miles of embankment—not, however, to the great steel and concrete bridge structures which form the vital part of the project.

At that time the nation was in the throes of a great depression. The Florida East Coast Railway was in receivership. Economic conditions had undergone a marked change since Flagler decided to build the road to Key West. Improved highways, automobiles, motor buses and trucks had become important factors in transportation. Seagoing car ferries, operating between New Orleans and Havana, had seriously affected the flow of traffic over the Florida East Coast Railway. Trade with Cuba was at low ebb. These, and other factors had so greatly changed the picture that the decision was reached to abandon the road south of Florida City rather than to spend the money necessary to restore it to workable condition. Consequently that part of the road was sold to the State and converted to the Overseas Highway.

A RAILROAD STORY

While we may regret the passing of the railroad, we must remember that this is still a great thoroughfare of travel and communication and is helping to accomplish the development of Florida which Flagler envisioned and which was so close to his heart.

If Flagler's aim was to create homes and employment opportunities for the people, then his efforts were immensely successful. The Florida East Coast Railway and its offspring, the Overseas Highway, stand as monuments to the memory of that great man, as symbols of his indomitable courage and his faith in the future of this good land.

The Overseas Highway is a part of our American heritage, a part of America's exciting railroad history. Its story is in the main a railroad

story. The hundreds of thousands of motorists who travel over the highway each year may be told how many millions it cost to build, but they will never know its cost in terms of sweat and backaches, toil and blood, and of human lives; they will never know how many men were swallowed by the sea or otherwise perished in the 12-year struggle to lay the foundations and erect the structures of steel and concrete upon which the highway rests—structures which have stood unshaken against the onslaughts of wind and water and hurricane—year after year—decade after decade—and which stand today—nearly half a century after completion—as solid and as firm as on the day they were built.

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John Loomis Blodgett (1809-1853)

A PIONEER BOTANIST OF SOUTH FLORIDA*

By R. BRUCE LEDIN

John Loomis Blodgett was one of the first to collect plants on the Florida Keys, as well as on the mainland of South Florida. He sent his dried specimens to John Torrey** for identification. Blodgett's work in South Florida covered the years from 1838 to 1853 and his plant collection represented botanists' main knowledge of South Florida prior to 1890.

Not much is actually known about his life*** (14, 18). During his lifetime, and for almost 40 years after his death, no one had undertaken to write his biography. He apparently never married and he did not write of his work nor about plants.

Nothing is known of his family or ancestors, but it is known that he was born in South Amherst, Massachusetts, in 1809. From 1827 to 1831 he studied medicine at the Berkshire Medical Institution in Pittsfield, Massachusetts, a school which was founded in 1821 and had its last commencement in 1867. He graduated from this school in 1831, writing a thesis on "The Use of Friction to the Skin". In 1834 he moved to Ohio and later to Mobile, presumably seeking a warmer climate for his health. Later he went to Mississippi and here he was hired as a physician and surgeon for the Miss-

* The writer is very much indebted to Joseph Ewan, Associate Professor of Botany, Tulane University, New Orleans, for giving considerable aid in searching for documents which might give some new information on Blodgett's life and work.

** John Torrey (1796-1873) was the first important botanist of the United States and the leading botanist in his day. He was born in New York City, graduated as an M. D. in 1818 from the College of Physicians and Surgeons of Columbia University in New York, taught chemistry at West Point for three years, and became Professor of Botany and Chemistry at his Alma Mater. He also lectured at Princeton University. He was the founder of the Lyceum of Natural History (now the New York Academy of Sciences), was the first president of the Torrey Botanical Club, and helped found and build the herbarium of the Smithsonian Institution (now U. S. National Herbarium). During his active life, many survey expeditions were sent throughout the United States (Rocky Mountains, California, Mexico boundary, Pacific Northwest, 40th Parallel, Florida, etc.), and the botanists on these expeditions sent plants to Torrey for identification. Many of these plants were new to Science and, as a result, Torrey named hundreds of new species. In 1872 he visited North Florida (St. Augustine to Tallahassee) in search of rare plants.

*** The most complete biography was written by Sargent (18). Other references (13, 15, 20, 21, 27) to Blodgett's life are based on Sargent's work.

issippi State Colonization Society. This Society (12), formed in 1827, was the fourth branch of the American Colonization Society which was organized in 1817 and continued to exist until 1912; its main function was to transport liberated slaves from the United States to Liberia in Africa.

In April of 1837, Blodgett, Rev. J. F. C. Finley, and Captain Richards set sail on the schooner "Oriental" from New Orleans with a company of liberated slaves (26). They landed in Liberia a few months later and proceeded to set up a colony, naming it "Greenville" for James Green, one of the first advocates of emancipation. Blodgett's stay in Liberia was less than two years; he left in December of 1838. During his stay in Africa, he probably became acquainted with Miss Mary Skinner, daughter of Dr. Ezekial Skinner, the Colonial physician of Liberia. Miss Skinner "accompanied her father to assist him in his benevolent labors, and especially to take and preserve drawings of the plants and other interesting objects in the natural history of Africa" (26). It is possible that she might have interested Blodgett in natural history.

When Blodgett returned to the United States late in 1838, he settled in Key West. This was a thriving town only 16 years old and populated by about 600 people from New England and the Southern States, as well as from the Bahamas and Cuba. "Wrecking" was their main business (2). The year 1838 also marks another important date; this was the year that Henry Perrine established his tropical plant introduction garden on Indian Key.

Blodgett was a physician, surgeon, and druggist. It is not known what drew him to Key West. He may have been interested in living in the most tropical section of the United States for his health or because of his introduction to tropical flora in Africa. He most probably was active in servicing the Navy and Army stationed in Key West, both of which were in great need of medical men (8). Several outbreaks of yellow fever and small pox had previously occurred. There is no record, however, that Blodgett ever joined the Army or Navy. In the spring of 1853 Blodgett returned to Amherst, Massachusetts, and died in that city in July of the same year, when only 44 years old (1).

In the 15 years that he lived in Key West, Blodgett explored the Keys and the mainland, collecting plants and, as stated, sending them to Torrey for identification. He had a clear field in this respect, a virgin territory, for with only one exception no collecting had been done in this part of the United States. There were some botanists and plant collectors (Doctor Bur-

rows, Doctor Henderson, Doctor G. W. Hulse, Lt. B. R. Alden, Lt. I. H. Allen, and Doctor M. C. Leavenworth) who were stationed at Ft. Brooke (Tampa) during the Seminole Wars, but they collected only in that area or in northern Florida (15, 17, 25). Others (Dr. S. B. Buckley, Dr. J. Baltzell, D. Drummond, H. B. Croom, Dr. Alexander, Dr. A. W. Chapman, Wm. Baldwin, E. F. Leitner, and Count de Castlenau) also collected only in northern Florida (15, 17, 25). One, E. F. Leitner, actually set out on a trip into the southern part of the State in 1832, but unfortunately before he had gone far he was scalped by the Indians. Another, Thomas Drummond, in 1835, planned to travel from Apalachicola to Key West but he "could not conveniently penetrate into South Florida" (17). The so-called "Carolina" botanists (Andre and Francois Michaux, Mark Catesby, Frederick Pursh, John and William Bartram, John Ellis, Thomas Walter, Stephen Elliott, Nathaniel Ware) also failed to reach South Florida (10, 11).

The one person who collected plants in Key West prior to Blodgett was Rev. Alva Bennett of Troy, New York, who was in Key West from October 1834 to April 1835 (2, 25). He served as rector at St. Paul's Episcopal Church. He was in ill health and remained in Key West for only six months. His collection of plants of that Island, which was also sent to Torrey, was, at most, a meager one.

The plants Blodgett collected are still in existence and may be found in the New York Botanical Garden, The National Herbarium in Washington, D. C., The Gray Herbarium of Harvard University, and Kew Herbarium in London.

Apparently Blodgett was so enthusiastic over the tropical vegetation that he started to collect plants shortly after his arrival in Key West. In Torrey and Gray's "Flora of North America", Volume I, 1838 to 1840 (25), Blodgett is given credit thus: "We received a nearly complete and excellent set of plants of that Island (Key West) from Mr. J. L. Blodgett, which, however, reached us too late a period to receive notice in this volume". Some of these plants, however, were published in Volume II of the Flora, 1841-1843. In this second volume, then, the plants of South Florida were first made known to the world. Only a little over two dozen species were recorded and most of these were in the two families, *Rubiaceae* and *Compositae*.

In 1842 Thomas Nuttall included a number of trees and shrubs of South Florida in "The North American Sylva" (16), stating: "While the work was in progress, Prof. Torrey informed me of the arrival of a large collection

of dried plants from Key West, in East Florida, made by Doctor Blodgett of the U. S. Army [sic]. All of the trees in this herbarium—at least forty species—were in the most generous manner given up to me for publication by the professor. Most of them form distinguishing features in the tropical landscape of the West Indian Islands . . . are now for the first time added to the flora of the United States . . .”

In 1843 it is known that Dr. Alvin W. Chapman, of Marianna in North Florida, visited Key West and met Blodgett and collected plants with him. The two made several boat trips, one of which was up to Charlotte Harbour on the West Coast of Florida. Later Chapman set up a correspondence with Blodgett. Apparently Chapman relied on Blodgett for his knowledge of South Florida plants. For in a letter to a Doctor Holden, U. S. A., Ft. Jefferson, Florida, dated January 23, 1866, Apalachicola, Chapman states: “My chief knowledge of Keys production was obtained from Dr. Blodgett who resided on Key West some twenty years ago and died in Amherst, Mass., in the summer of 1853”.* In Chapman’s “Flora of the Southern United States” (3), published in 1860, nearly 250 species of plants are listed from Key West and South Florida, most of them collected for the first time by Blodgett.

Species not published by Torrey and Gray, Nuttall, and Chapman were eventually recorded by Charles S. Sargent in his “Silva of North America” (1890-1896) (18), and by John K. Small in his “Flora of the Southeastern United States” (1903, second edition 1913) (19), and in his “Ferns of the Southeastern States” (1938) (24). Both Sargent and Small had access to Blodgett’s herbarium specimens.

During Blodgett’s remaining years in Key West, he became interested in collecting marine algae. He was undoubtedly influenced by a visit in 1849 to Key West by W. H. Harvey of Dublin, Ireland, an authority on algae. Blodgett sent specimens to Harvey and these are included in Harvey’s “*Neveis Borealis-americana*”.

We owe much to Doctor Blodgett for opening the eyes of the northern botanists to the wealth of West Indian material in South Florida. Many of the trees, shrubs, vines, ferns, cacti, orchids, etc., that grow wild here were made known to the world through his work, and Blodgett is given credit for collecting many of them for the first time in the United States. It was not until the 1880’s—nearly thirty years after Blodgett’s death—that any further extensive collecting was done in South Florida.

* This quotation is from a letter belonging to Mr. Joseph Ewan.

Some of the plants that he collected are considered as being rather rare today—*Strumpfia maritima*, *Catesbeana parviflora*, *Cupania glabra*, *Hippomane mancinella*, *Guaiacum sanctum*, to name only five. One species, *Torrubia floridana*, has never been collected since. Apparently it was found on only one island just off Key West, and this island was reportedly destroyed a number of years ago by a hurricane. Unfortunately, Blodgett gave very little information on the places he collected his plants, or dates, etc., and, as a result, several plants sent in by him have been declared by later botanists to belong to our native vegetation when in reality they were cultivated by earlier settlers. The plants are *Clusia rosea*, the pitch apple; *Duranta repens*, the golden dew-drop; *Terminalia cattapa*, the tropical almond; *Tecoma stans*, the yellow elder, and *Xylophylla augustifolia*, the sword bush.

Blodgett's name will always be well known to the botanists of South Florida, for several plants, some of them quite common, have been named for him. These include the following: *Aphora* (now *Ditaxis*) *Blodgettii* (Euphorbiaceae or Spurge family), *Cyperus Blodgettii* (Cyperaceae or Sedge family)—named by John Torrey; *Metastelma Blodgettii* (Asclepiadaceae or Milkweed family)—named by Asa Gray; *Solanum Blodgettii* (Solanaceae or Nightshade family), *Paspalum Blodgettii* (Gramineae or grass family), *Salvia Blodgettii* (Labiatae or Mint family)—named by A. W. Chapman; *Guettardia Blodgettii* (now *G. elliptica*) (Rubiaceae or Madder family)—named by R. J. Shuttleworth; *Vernonia Blodgettii* (Compositae or Sunflower family), *Chamesyce Blodgettii* (Euphorbiaceae or Spurge family)—named by J. K. Small; *Rhus Blodgettii* (Anacardiaceae or Poison Ivy family)—named by Kearney.

Harvey in 1858 named for Blodgett a genus of algae—*Blodgettia*—of which the species, *B. conferooides*, is an interesting marine green alga known only in association with a filamentous fungus which is epiphytic in its cell walls. It probably represents more nearly a marine lichen, for the alga and fungus are always associated together.

A LETTER FROM J. L. BLODGETT TO JOHN TORREY

The following, so far as can be determined, is the only one of Blodgett's letters in existence. The original is in the library of the New York Botanical Garden and I am indebted to Dr. Harold Rickett, Bibliographer of the Garden, for sending a copy of it to me. Doctor Rickett states that in the upper left corner of the first page of the letter there is a note, presumably

written by Torrey, stating "Ans. Nov. 1845". The letter is addressed to "John Torrey, M. D., No. 67 Crosby St., Medical College, New York".

Key West 15 Oct 1845

My Dear Sir

I received your letter dated Princeton May 24th but not mailed until Aug. 5th. yesterday—having been absent on a Botanical Tour to the Maine¹—otherwise I might have obtained it 5 or 6 weeks earlier. My change of buisness does not seem to change my taste as you express a fear. On the contrary judgeing from the time that I have spent to the total neglect of buisness—the expense incurred, the hardship endured, & the health exposed, I think my taste for botany is above fever heat. It is very easy for one to think of making a complete Botanical exploration of Florida but it [is] not easy to put in practice. To do this you must make up your mind to wade swim & crawl, exposed to a heat of from 120 to 140 degrees excepting a few days in the winter, your hand well gloved & your face covered with gauze to prevent being devoured by Mosketoes.² For if it is not generally known it is certainly a well established fact in Natural History that these insects have undisputed sway of a large portion of South Florida especially in the neighbourhood of Cape Sable & they are not to be endured for a moment even without some kind of protection—Add to this the drenching rains, want of shelter at seasons most favourable to making collections, loss of your labour as is sometimes unavoidable on account of the weather being unfavourable to the cureing of them and you have then some idea of the difficulties to be encountered. I do not know how soon I shall be able to [do] all that you desire but I intend occasionally to make an excursion as heretofore. On the trip which I have just completed I started with a determination to penetrate to the lake Okechobe but after spending 6 weeks about the coast rivers borders of the everglades & the praire which terminates the peninsula I found myself completely exhausted being finally siezed with Haemoptysis & was obliged to abandon the idea of penetrating the interior at this time. You may think that my description of South Florida is extravagant. But with the exception of Key

¹ Apparently by 1845 Blodgett was quite engrossed in collecting plants. His main profession in Key West was, of course, doctoring, but he seems to have preferred sailing up and down the Keys, exploring, searching, and collecting plants in pinelands, hammocks, and swamps. It is not known if this was his first trip to the mainland or not.

² Blodgett chose the worst month to make this trip—September—for then, as well as now, mosquitoes, rain, humidity, and the threat of hurricanes are at their highest.

West the whole country to the southward of Tampa Bay containing 15000 square miles will not for a century hence contain 10,000 inhabitants.³ But now to the subject of your letter I have collected the ripe fruit of the *Batis Maritima* which shall be sent to you by the first vessel which will be in a few days. I will also furnish such information as regards its habit that may be of service to. I have examined it often. It has perplexed me more than any other plant—I doubt if it has any very close affinity for anything else but of this you are more competent to judge.⁴ Of my collections I suppose I may have some 3 or 400 species that I may not have transmitted to you. But many of these are in a bad condition especially those gathered in my last trip which from ill health I was unable to secure properly. But I think that most if not all of them can be made out. You shall if my life is continued get sight of them sometime next June when I hope my collection will be much augmented. I shall only give you now some notice of species which have struck me with the most interest. Of *Palmae*, *Cocos nucifera* is certainly a native of Florida. I have found it in many places always near the beach or upon low mangrove shores of Islands.⁵ Another species of *Cocos* is probably a native as I have often observed its fruit which is much smaller size floating about the shores but have not observed it growing.⁶ The Royal Palm of the West Indies I have found

³ We really cannot blame Blodgett for his shortsightedness in failing to see how South Florida would develop. By 1945 the population of South Florida (17 counties south of Tampa) was nearly 650,000! In 1845 the population was approximately 2,500.

⁴ *Batis maritima*. Torrey wrote Blodgett and asked him to send some fruits of this interesting plant. Torrey published a paper about it in 1853, entitled "On the Structure and Affinities of the Genus *Batis* of Linnaeus" (Proceedings of the Smithsonian Institution, Volume 6, Article 3). He wrote: "Several years ago the *Batis* was detected at Tampa Bay, East Florida, by Dr. Leavenworth, and shortly afterwards at Key West, by Mr. Blodgett. From this latter gentleman, I have received the ripe and perfect fruit, preserved in spirits" (17).

Batis maritima is the saltwort or beachwort, a shrub-like plant with almost prostrate stems; the leaves are fleshy, thick and watery, one inch long, half terete, pale green; the flowers, which apparently were quite a puzzle to the early botanists, are in cones and are not showy. This plant is a native of the beaches of Florida and west to Texas, and is also found throughout the West Indies, Central and South America. It grows along the sandy and rocky shores and near mangrove areas and salt marshes.

⁵ By the 1840's the coconut was evidently well established on the Florida coasts. But as to its being a native to Florida, Torrey wrote in the letter over the words *Cocos nucifera*, "certainly not; not orange either".

⁶ The palm seeds that Blodgett collected along the seashore were *Manicaria saccarifera*, the Timite palm, a native of Trinidad. The globular seeds are carried by the Caribbean or Antilles currents into the Gulf Stream and are sometimes washed up on our beaches.

growing in all its majesty both upon the eastern & western coasts.⁷ Another species of palm having something the appearance of the date Palm but with fronds much longer & armed with the most horrid spines. I have not had leisure to ascertain what it is. But am told that it is common in Mexico.⁸ I think that I have now 7 species of *Eugenia*.⁹ One which I discovered on my last trip the proudest of all being a lofty tree of the hammocks with a straight trunk & furnishing a beautiful timber.¹⁰ I cannot at this time give you an account of all. I am in hopes of being able to enable you to add a new genus to our conifera.¹¹ I have some strange epidendrous plants¹² & my collections of Graminea and Cyperoideae to me as I have not paid much attention to those orders are overwhelming. I found them in great variety on prairies & the borders of the everglades. I have quite a variety of aquatic plants. A *Nymphaea* with yellow nearly inodorous flowers not so large

⁷ This statement concerning the Royal Palm, *Roystonea elata* (formerly called *R. regia*), is quite interesting, especially since Blodgett states that he had seen it growing on both the east and west coasts. Three reviews on the history of the palm in Florida (4, 18, 22) state that William Bartram in 1774 was the first to report the Royal Palm growing in Florida; he found it below Lake George near De Land in Central Florida. The next reference to the palm is by Nuttall in 1842 (16), when he states in the preface to his "Silva", "In the Islands of the Everglades, considerable inland in East Florida, we have been informed that a palm about 90 feet high, forming a magnificent tree, has been seen; but of this plant we have been unable to obtain, as yet, any further account". Blodgett, undoubtedly, wrote to Torrey before 1842 and informed him of this palm. Here, then, in this 1845 letter, we have confirmation of the Royal Palm being native to South Florida, and it is also one of the earliest references to the palm in Florida, preceded only by Bartram's reference. In 1860 Cooper (5), who explored and collected plants from March 6 to June 10, 1859, from Key West to Jacksonville, reported that he had found the palm mentioned by Nuttall, on Cape Sable, Cape Romano, and north of Ft. Dallas (near Little River). Chapman (3) included this report in his second edition in the supplement (1884).

⁸ This palm must be *Phoenix sylvestris* which was planted very early on the Keys, possibly introduced by Henry Perrine from Mexico.

⁹ *Eugenias* are conspicuous plants in the hammocks and on some of the Florida Keys, especially Big Pine Key, and Blodgett could have very easily collected seven species; at least ten species are known today (23).

¹⁰ This could be *Eugenia confusa*.

¹¹ Blodgett might have been referring to the Gymnosperm, *Zamia floridana*, a common plant in the pinelands of South Florida. It is called "Coontie" and was a source of starch for the early Indians, Seminoles, and early white settlers (9).

¹² Blodgett apparently collected very few of our native epiphytic orchids. This is understandable for most of them occur in dense hammocks and cypress swamps. Only three species are found commonly on the Keys—*Epidendrum tampense*, *E. cochleatum*, and *E. boothianum* (6).

as those of the *Odorata*.¹³ A submersed *Parnassia*,¹⁴ *Utricularias*, *Pinguiculas* & some to which I am able to give no cognomen. To the *Euphorbiace* I have made some additions—*Turnerace* 3 or 4 species. *Rubiace* I have found but few. *Convulvulaceae* several. One with tuberous roots in shape size & taste almost precisely like the sweet potatoes but the most splendid flowering vine I ever beheld—The flowers almost precisely the colour of those of the *Lobelia Cardinalis* a little deeper if anything. I found it growing in the rocky barrens near the southern extreme of the peninsula. I brought home some of the tubers & am trying to domesticate them.¹⁵ Of the Order *Calycereae* I think I have 2 or 3 sp.¹⁶ Do you remember a succulent leafless jointed vine¹⁷ attached to a stick which I left with you on my visit to Princeton.¹⁸

¹³ This no doubt is *Castalia flava* (synonym, *Nymphaea flava*), the "banana waterlily", (7, 23). John J. Audubon had shown in his painting of the Whistling Swan (Plate No. 411 of "Birds of America") three yellow flowers of this water lily. E. F. Leitner named the plant *Nymphaea flava* on the strength of Audubon's painting without ever having seen the plant in its native state (7). Audubon and Leitner were severely criticized, since the scientists of their day refused to believe that there was a species of yellow water lily native to the southern states. Blodgett's statement in this 1845 letter that he had found a yellow water lily should have furnished definite proof that such a plant existed. It was not until 1884, however, that Chapman published the species for Florida (3), basing it not on the reference in Blodgett's letter but on collections by A. W. Curtiss in 1874 from the St. John's River, 30 miles south of Jacksonville, and by A. P. Garber in 1877 from what is now the Miami area. It was also collected by F. Rugel at Alachua in 1848, and by Mrs. Mary Treat in 1876 near Cove Springs, Florida. Apparently in the last century the yellow water lily had a greater distribution, for Audubon and Blodgett must have seen it in the Cape Sable area, Garber had seen it in the Miami area, and Curtiss and Treat found it south of Jacksonville. Curtiss (7) stated that it was disappearing from the St. John's River for it could not compete with the recently introduced water hyacinth. Today *Castalia flava* is a rare and restricted plant; in South Florida it is confined to the area around Lake Okeechobee.

The "odorata" is *Castalia odorata* with pinkish or white flowers and is found throughout the eastern United States.

- ¹⁴ There are no *Parnassia* species or any number of the *Saxifragaceae* native to South Florida.
- ¹⁵ This *Convulvulaceae* morning glory is *Exogonium microdactylum*, the "wild potato", that grows in the rocky soils of the pinelands of South Florida below Miami, but is not known on the Keys (23). It is indeed an attractive vine and the flowers are a beautiful crimson color. The roots that grow in the rocks resemble sweet potatoes. It is worth growing in the garden as an ornamental vine for its attractive flowers. It is interesting to know that Blodgett was so taken by this plant that he took the tubers back to Key West to grow the plant as an ornamental. It is one of our neglected native plants that does well under cultivation.
- ¹⁶ The only member of the *Calycereae* (*Brunoniaceae*) native to South Florida is *Scaevola plumieri* which grows in sandy soil along the coast (23).
- ¹⁷ The climbing milkweed with small leaves that fall early and leave long green naked stems, is *Metastelma scoparia* (23).
- ¹⁸ Torrey, in a letter to Asa Gray, mentions a visit from Blodgett in 1843: "He brought with him about 150 plants not in his former collections. He has visited a number of the Keys since we last heard from him" (17).

It belongs to the Asclepiadeae. I have since obtained the fruit. But I cannot find it descrd in Decandolles Prodrumus,¹⁹ perhaps you can enlighten me. I hope you will retain for me a labelled specimen of all the plants that I have transmited to you. In my next I will give you something of the Geological features of South Florida & its antiquity.²⁰

Yours Truly

J L Blodgett

¹⁹ It is interesting to know that Blodgett had a copy of A. P. DeCandolle's Prodrumus Systematis Naturalis, a work that was started in 1824 and was to include descriptions of all the plants of the world.

²⁰ If there were any additional letters from Blodgett, they have not been discovered.

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Chakaika and the "Spanish Indians":

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES COMPARED WITH SEMINOLE TRADITION*

By WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

The oral traditions of the local Indians are a neglected major source of data on the history of Florida. This paper provides an example of one of the types of historical information which are recoverable, with sufficient patience and care, from the present day Florida Seminole.

Non-utilization of the historical traditions of the pre-white occupants is not a situation unique with the students of Florida's past. It is typical of most areas of the world where Europeans have crowded out non-literate aboriginal peoples, and has been defended with the argument that history transmitted purely orally becomes distorted within a very short time to the point of being valueless as history (Lowie, 1917). Other students have assumed that such traditions may be relied on completely, where documentary evidence is inadequate or lacking. Neither of these opinions is justified. The reliability of oral tradition varies from culture to culture, depending upon the importance the people place in accurate historical knowledge, and upon other factors in their cultural attitudes and behavior. The factors involved are as yet incompletely known. The reliability of the oral traditions of a group must therefore be assessed by comparing the traditions of specific historical events with documentary data on these same events, in order to decide how much reliance may be placed on traditions of events for which no documentary data exist. Some American Indian tribes, such as the Aztec and others in the Valley of Mexico, preserved remarkably accurate accounts of their own history (Radin, 1920, pp. 3-6). Others, for example the Hopi in Arizona, have very little interest in the historical past, and the few traditions they preserve have proved practically worthless as historical

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sources (Whorf, 1941, p. 88). This paper will show that the Florida Seminole fall somewhere between these two extremes in the reliability of their traditional history.

Several approaches to the question of historical traditions have proven useful in talking with Seminole informants. Older individuals are acutely aware of the tremendous changes that have taken place in South Florida during their own lifetimes, and can give much interesting data in terms of personal reminiscences. The more distant past is involved in traditions of the origins and early history of the Seminole tribe and of some of the Seminole sibs and sib sections (matrilineal descent-groups). War anecdotes are easily obtained by questioning on two topics: personal names and place names. Seminole children are named soon after birth by an elderly man or woman of the tribe. While veterans of the Seminole Wars were still alive, they normally gave as names words referring to their own war experiences. Thus most older people now alive had childhood names¹ of this sort, and are able to recount the incidents from which their own and others' names derived. Many places are named from some incident associated with the locality; these are frequently happenings of Seminole War days, and are normally known to those familiar with the places. Another approach, of a different sort, is to inquire about incidents mentioned in the historic documents—this is sometimes successful, but often is not; it is most likely to elicit useful data where the names of the participating Indians or the Seminole names of locations (e.g., Indian towns) are on record, as well as some further identifying material meaningful from the Indian point of view. In investigating the traditions of specific happenings, such as those considered in this paper, a combination of several or all of the above methods, with various informants, is rewarding.

However, no approach will succeed unless the investigator has managed to break down some of the Seminole reticence towards imparting any details of their culture to outsiders. They are in general highly distrustful of all inquisitive foreigners; a feeling with which it is easy to sympathize when one reflects on their experiences with whites over the last two hundred years. Further, some knowledge of the language is almost essential in order to utilize personal and place names as keys to historical traditions. As would be expected, there are great differences between Seminole individuals in the extent of their historical knowledge and interest, as well as in their willingness to impart such information to the outsider. Many of the best

¹ See "Note on Orthography and Personal Names."

informants speak so little English that the use of an interpreter is necessary, yet competent and willing interpreters are practically non-existent.

Among the most interesting and most obscure aspects of Seminole history is the relations of the Seminole bands entering Florida from the north, with the various Indian groups which preceded them in the peninsula. One such group was known to the whites in the early 19th century as the "Spanish Indians," and the Indian name of a single one of these has survived in the documents—Chakaika.² He appears as the leader in the attack on Col. Harney's detachment on the Caloosahatchie River, July 23, 1839, and in the raid on Indian Key, August 7, 1840, and was killed by Harney at his home hammock in the Everglades on Dec. 10, 1840. These three events, coupled with Chakaika's name, and the possibility that the "Spanish Indians" were Calusa remnants,³ were chosen for more intensive investigation among the modern Seminole, as one aspect of the author's anthropological field-work among the Florida Seminole from May, 1952, to February, 1953.

The Seminole now in Florida belong to two bands, a northern, Creek-speaking group, and a larger, Mikasuki-speaking southern group. The latter were the only ones among whom this study was pursued. Unfortunately, the press of other topics permitted only a preliminary survey of Seminole historical traditions; even on the events dealt with here by no means all available Seminole sources were tapped. However, information was obtained from two of the men best informed on Seminole history, and parts of the data were checked with several other individuals.

The information from historical documents will be presented first, followed by the Seminole oral traditions.

DOCUMENTARY SOURCES

When Europeans first explored and settled Florida, they found the southwest part of the peninsula occupied by a tribe known as Calusa, with the smaller associated tribe of Tekesta on the southeast coast (Swanton, 1946, Map 1; Goggin, 1950b). By the time Seminole bands began reaching the area, in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, the Calusa had largely dropped from sight. At this time the documents refer to a group of "Spanish Indians" in the region. There has been some discussion as to

² See "Note on Orthography and Personal Names."

³ On the Spanish Indians as Calusa, see Swanton, 1922, p. 344; Goggin, 1950b, pp. 21-22; Boyd, 1951, p. 21; McNicoll, 1941, p. 17; Douglas, 1947, p. 207.

the fate of the Calusa, and the identity of the Spanish Indians, which is in general rather inconclusive, due to the paucity of data. A brief survey of most of the primary sources gives a few scraps of information, upon which the discussion has rested.

In 1763, the "Coloosa" on Key Vaca and Key West, "consisting of about eighty families, left this last protection of their native land, and went to the Havannah," on the withdrawal of the Spanish from Florida (Romans, 1775, p. 291). Swanton (1922, p. 343; 1946, p. 142) and Goggin (1950b, p. 20) think it likely that these were Tekesta, not Calusa, since there is evidence of the Calusa in Florida subsequently.

In 1769, Romans⁴ used a "Spanish Indian" guide at the mouth of the St. Lucie River. However, writing in 1775, he stated that Cape Sable and the coast between that cape and Cape Romano were "the last retreats, and skulking places, of the *Coloosa* savages, when their more potent neighbors, the *Creeks*, drove them off the continent." (Romans, 1775, p. 289).

In 1774, William Bartram learned from an old "Creek" (i.e., Seminole?) Indian in north Florida that there was a "little Town . . . , near the Bay of Carlos [Charlotte Harbor], called Calusahatche, and this nation they called Calosulges, Ulge in the Muscoge Tongue signifying People or Nation, [and that] there were some remnants of other different Nations antients of the Itmous [isthmus]" called "Painted People" and "Bat Necks" (Bartram, 1943, p. 171).

In 1798-99, Hawkins mentions the same town, as "Cull-oo-sau hat-che," in a list of the "towns of the Simenolies," but does not give its location nor the band affiliation of its occupants (Hawkins, 1848, p. 25).

In the early part of the 19th century South Florida Indians made rather frequent visits to Cuba. Spanish sources⁵ mention the following visitors to Havana:

In 1814, three "caciques" (chiefs) of "the coast of Tampa," named Uquisilisinifa, Capichalafola, and Cosafamico were in Havana. In 1819, five parties were mentioned: Callope, cacique of Isquitulufa; Opoilacho, cacique of Talucalques; three Indians from "the coast of Tampa"; fifteen Indians; and seventy-five Indians from Tampa. In 1820, four more groups of visitors arrived: eight Indians from "the coast of Tampa"; Gulas, Tmacha,

⁴ Manuscript quoted in Forbes, 1821, p. 97.

⁵ Morales Patiño, MS. I am indebted to J. M. Goggin for this reference and for the information contained in it which is given here.

and Ochismucu, three caciques from Tampa; 112 Indians from "the coast of Tampa"; and Yottaja-Arico, Opo-arico, and Yafa-Fastonasque, three caciques from Tampa (Morales Patiño, MS.). Many of these personal names are certainly Creek (see "Note on Orthography and Personal Names"); they are however considerably distorted, apparently at least partly from mis-copying of manuscript writing, and several cannot be analyzed. These latter may possibly be Calusa; more likely, they are Creek but too distorted to be understood. The two towns named are interesting—"Isquitalufa" certainly ends with the Creek word *talo:fa*, 'town,' while *Talucalques* almost certainly represents *kalo:salki* (with the Spanish plural ending *-s*), Creek for 'Calusa people' (identical with the form given by Bartram). Nevertheless, Opoilacho, the chief of "Talucalques," apparently has a Creek name (see "Note").

Forbes, writing in 1821, says that "Payo Vaca, or Cow Key, is remarkable for having been inhabited by the Coloosa Indians from Havana." (Forbes, 1821, p. 109). This derivation of the Indians "from" Havana is puzzling; it seems likely that Forbes is here misquoting Romans, whom he gives as a general source of his information (Forbes, 1821, p. vi)—in fact, this part of Forbes work is largely a paraphrase of Romans (1775); indicative is, e.g., Forbes' use of Romans' unusual spelling "Coloosa." On the other hand there may actually have been a brief re-settlement of Key Vaca by Calusa (or Tekesta) returning from Cuba, as Goggin suggests (Goggin, 1950b, p. 21).

In 1821, the population of the "Southern parts of the Floridas" was given by the Indian Agent Peniere as thirty, in five families (Morse, 1822, p. 149). He does not give any tribal affiliation for these individuals, but in 1822 the "Kaloosas [were] . . . all extinct," while "South of Tampa, near Charlotte's Bay, [there lived a band of] *Choctaws*."⁶ This last quotation, coupled with the statement in Schoolcraft (see footnote 29 below), led Swanton to suggest that these "Choctaws" were probably actually Calusa (Swanton, 1922, p. 28); this hypothesis is strengthened by Bartram's informant having specifically stated that there was a town of Calusa on Charlotte Harbor. However, Vignoles' account published in 1823 states that as well as bands of Seminole in Florida, "there are among them many refugees from the Creeks, Choctaws, Alabamas, and other hostile tribes, the scattered remnants of those who in 1818 broke up the Seminole settlements. . . . Many of the

⁶ Morse, 1822, pp. 364 and 308. The statement about the "Kaloosas" is copied, without crediting the source, by Cohen, 1836, p. 31.

emigrant Creeks and others . . . got down to Tampa bay At the present time the greater portion of these Indians are about Charlotte harbour" with some in the Cape Sable region and "not more than fifty" on the east coast "immediately west of cape Florida." (Vignoles, 1823, pp. 134-136). If we believe Vignoles, therefore, there may actually have been Choctaw around Charlotte Harbor, perhaps in addition to Calusa remnants. Certainly there were "Spanish Indians" in the sense of Spanish-Indian crosses, for in 1824 there were three or four small settlements in the Charlotte Harbor area consisting of Spaniards intermarried with Indians. Some of the Spaniards were said to have lived there thirty years. These were fishing settlements, exporting dried and salted fish to Havana. The people lived in palmetto thatched houses, and in addition to fishing, cultivated some corn, pumpkins, and melons. In 1831 the population of these settlements was estimated as about 65 Spanish men, about 65 Indian men, about 30 Indian women, and from 50 to 100 children.⁷

In 1828, at Hillsborough Bay, there was a "Spanish-Indian half-blood from Charlotte Harbor; a very powerful man, well formed, though rather stout, as quiet and obedient as a spaniel, and could dive deeper, and stay under water longer, than any man I ever saw."⁸

A mixed Spanish and Indian man, "runner for the latter, who procured powder for them from Havana," was captured in 1836 at Charlotte Harbor. The Americans got information from this captive about the Indian losses at an engagement a short time before near Okahumpka, far to the northeast near Lake Harris (Cohen, 1836, p. 173). Thus the Indians near Charlotte Harbor were at least aware of events to the north in 1836.⁹

The best source on the non-Seminole inhabitants of South Florida of this period is the book published by John Lee Williams in 1837. He states that Lower Matcumbe was "the last place of refuge of the Muspa and Caloose Indians, who formerly inhabited the eastern shore of the Mexican Gulf." Captiva and Sanibel islands, in Charlotte Harbor, were "formerly occupied by a tribe of Muspa Indians." (Williams, 1837, pp. 36, 32). Toampa or Calde's Island, in Charlotte Harbor,¹⁰ in 1832 has fifty or sixty inhabitants, living in eighteen or twenty palmetto houses, largely consisting of the family of a man named Calde, "a stout, healthy old white-headed Spaniard, very

⁷ Dodd, 1947. I am indebted to J. M. Goggin for this reference.

⁸ McCall, 1868, p. 178. This statement was also called to my attention by J. M. Goggin.

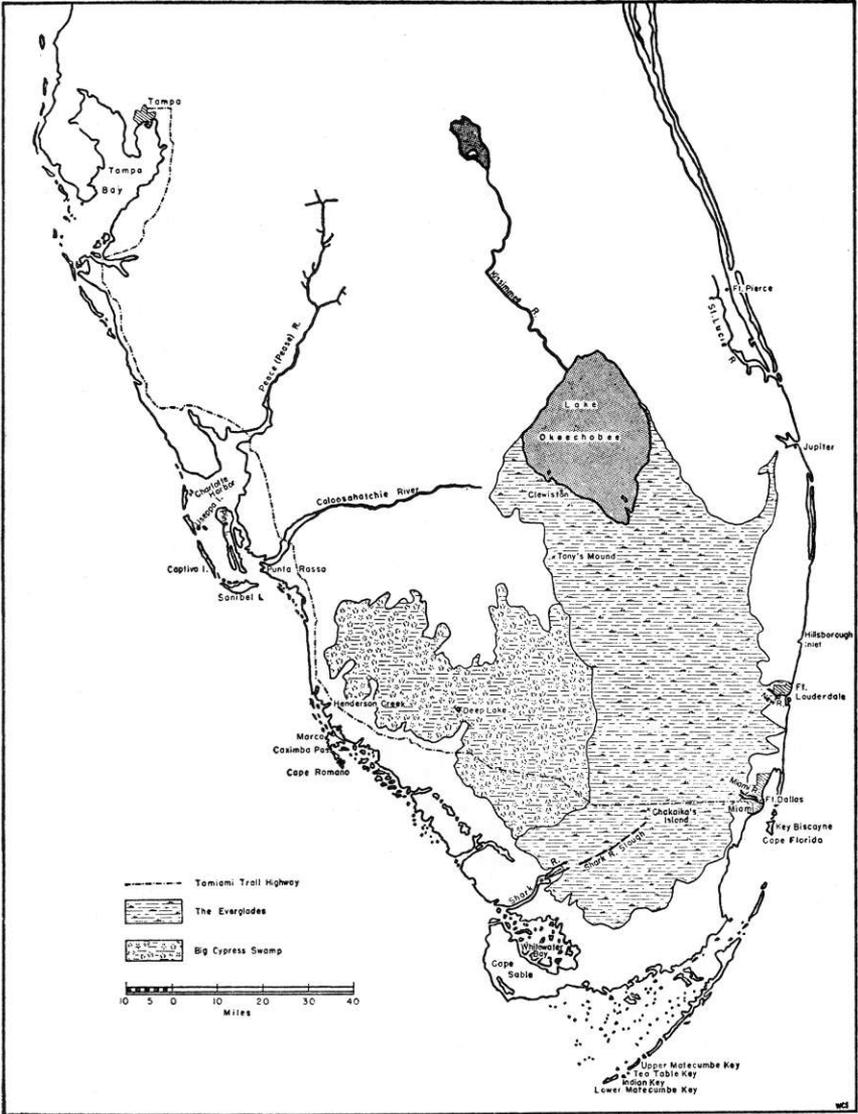
⁹ As pointed out by Boyd, 1951, p. 22.

¹⁰ Probably the present Useppa Island (Goggin, MS.).

industrious." "There are three other fishing establishments in the bay . . . the Spaniards and Indians who occupy them, cultivate very little land . . . as they live principally on fish . . ., turtle, and coonti; the last, they bring from the main. . . . The Muspa Indians, once a numerous tribe, formerly inhabited these wild haunts." (Williams, 1837, pp. 25, 294, 33). These remarks make it seem probable that the population here was a mixture of Spanish and a Calusa sub-tribe. The fact that the people did very little farming, in spite of the fertility of the land (Williams, 1837, p. 25), agrees with what is known of the subsistence techniques of the early Calusa. The Calusa were non-agricultural, whereas the Seminole and the bands associated with them did intensive farming whenever they were unmolested by the whites for a sufficient period. Of Indians farther south, Williams states: "The inhabitants of several large settlements around the Caximba Inlet, the heads of the Hujelos, St. Mary's, and other southern streams, never appeared at the agency, to draw annuities, but lived by cultivating their fields, hunting, trading at the Spanish ranchos, bartering skins, mocking birds and pet squirrels, for guns, ammunition and clothing, and sometimes assisting in the fisheries. . . . They never agreed to remove [to the Indian Territory in the present Oklahoma], either personally, or by their representatives; and they were easily excited to fight, rather than leave the home of their ancestors. Their knowledge of the passes of the country, and their long connection with the Spanish traders and fishermen afforded perfect facilities for supplying the Seminoles with arms and munitions of war . . ." (Williams, 1837, p. 242). Whether or not these people were Calusa remnants, it is almost certain that they were the "Spanish Indians" who soon became involved in the Seminole Wars. A scrap of evidence that at least some of these Indians may have been Creek-speaking, and hence not Calusa, is afforded by Williams' statement that the "Hujelos, or Swallow River . . . is, by the native Indians, called Chittahatche, or Snake River." (Williams, 1837, p. 50). The name is in the Creek (Muskogee) language, and is properly translated by Williams.^{10A} Thus some or all of these Indians may be the non-Seminole, non-Calusa refugees mentioned in this region by Vignoles in 1823. According to Vignoles these bands had friendly relations with wreckers from the Bahamas (Vignoles, 1823, p. 135).

In 1837 an army expedition covered the country from the Caloosahatchie River south to Cape Sable, and took 243 prisoners (Sprague, 1848, pp. 188-189). Although the band affiliations of these people is not stated in the

^{10A} "River Hijuelos was Yonge's River, below Cape Romano" (Davis, 1946, p. 186).



source, many must have belonged to the group under consideration here, and some were undoubtedly in the two or three parties of deportees who arrived in New Orleans from Florida in May, 1838, on their way to the Indian Territory. In one of these groups were 80 "Spaniards" from the Charlotte Harbor fishing settlements ("Bunce's Rancho"—cf. Dodd, 1947), and in another "two Spaniards" are mentioned. Lt. Reynolds took a party of over 1,000, including the above, up the Mississippi to relocation in Indian Territory; but "seven Spaniards of the party who objected to going farther were left [in New Orleans] upon their promise not to return to Florida until the close of the war." An Arkansas newspaper said of this party, "among those who have gone up are about 150 Spanish Indians or Spaniards who have intermarried with the Seminoles." (Foreman, 1932, pp. 364-365).

In 1839 "South of Pease Creek and Lake Okeechobee, near the extreme southern point of the peninsula, was a band of Spanish Indians, under an intelligent chief, called Chekika, speaking a language peculiarly their own, a mixture of Indian and Spanish. They numbered about one hundred warriors . . . Numbers had visited the Island of Cuba, and looked more to the Spaniards as their friends, than they did to the Americans. Hospetarke [a Seminole], whose wife was a Spanish woman, lived in this quarter. A few men of his tribe joined him. Large numbers were added of those who were pursued by troops further north," (Sprague, 1848, p. 99). If the language above referred to was Calusa, rather than Mikasuki or some other definitely Muskogean one, it would not be surprising if there had been a considerable Spanish influence on the vocabulary. However, Sprague gives no vocabulary, and we know of no more than a half-dozen or so Calusa words preserved in any documents. Spanish Indian relations with other Indian bands must have been fairly close at this period, for besides Hospetarke, a Seminole named Holartoochee "was banished from his tribe four years for adultery, during which time he lived with the Spanish Indians inhabiting the Everglades, who treated him with great distinction. At the breaking out of hostilities, he rejoined his band." (Sprague, 1848, p. 98).

Foreman refers to Chakaika's band as "Spanish Seminole," but no primary source known to the present writer refers to them as Seminole.¹¹

In 1839 these Spanish Indians first became actively involved in the hostilities between the Seminole and the U. S. Army, presumably as a result of their increasing intercourse with the Seminole, who had been gradually pushed

¹¹ Foreman, 1932, p. 373. No authority is cited by Foreman for this usage.

down into their country. In fact, we may guess that the above-mentioned Hospetarke played a prominent part in inducing them to enter the conflict. At any rate, their first clash with the whites was a joint attack of Seminole and Spanish Indian forces on a detachment under Lt. Col. W. S. Harney, encamped on the Caloosahatchie River, in July, 1839.

In May, 1839, Maj. Gen. Alexander Macomb, sent to Florida for this purpose, made an "arrangement" with several Seminole who came to meet him at Fort King. Macomb proposed to the Indians that they remain within the area in southwest Florida bounded by Charlotte Harbor, the Peace River, down the Kissimmee to Lake Okeechobee, and west of a line from there to Cape Sable. The U. S. Army was to protect the Indians within this area from molestation by whites, and hostilities were to cease immediately (Sprague, 1848, pp. 228-229). The Indians present agreed to this, and Macomb issued a general order announcing the cessation of hostilities. Several things about this agreement are notable. It was a purely oral agreement, not a treaty. Macomb presented it to the Indians as a presumably permanent arrangement, while the government did not intend to abandon efforts to remove the Seminole west of the Mississippi. Macomb wrote the Secretary of War, "Nor did I think it politic, at this time, to say anything about their emigration, leaving that subject open to such future arrangements as the government may think proper to make with them." (Sprague, 1848, pp. 228-232). An observer reported at the time, "The chiefs never asked Gen. Macomb whether they would be permitted to remain permanently south of Pease creek, and he never told them that they would not." (*Niles' National Register*, June 22, 1839, p. 265; also in Coe, 1898, pp. 145-146). Nothing was said, either, about the Seminole giving up their Negro slaves and associates. Thus the chief reasons for the Seminole fighting were apparently settled in their favor: they were not asked to emigrate or to give up their Negroes, and the army would stop attacking them and would protect them from other whites. Under the circumstances, it is not surprising that, according to Gen. Macomb, the Indians "readily accepted, manifesting great joy on the occasion." (Sprague, 1848, p. 232). From the Indian point of view, the whites had admitted defeat, and sued for peace on the Indian terms. A St. Augustine newspaper of a few days after the "arrangement" said, "The Indian interpreter who was here said that, 'the Indians would sell us, for the next twenty years, skins and venison; that peace would be again, and the whites and Indians live as they had done.'" (quoted in Coe, 1898, pp. 144-145). This aspect of the settlement raised a storm of protest in Florida. The

newspapers of the state soon pointed out that it was still the intention of the government to force the emigration of the Seminole (see Coe, 1898, pp. 145-148), and on June 22 published a letter from the Secretary of War saying, "I am of the opinion that the arrangement made by gen. Macomb will lead to the pacification of the country and enable me to remove the Indians from the territory much sooner than can be done by force." (*Niles' National Register*, July 6, 1839, p. 289, quoting the *Tallahassee Floridian*). There can be no doubt that the substance of these reports soon reached the Seminole, via their Negro interpreters or others, so that they were aware of the government's intention not to abide by what must to them have seemed the terms of the agreement.

Macomb made his agreement with three or four individuals, whom he thought to be chiefs. He mentions "Chitto-Tustenuggee, principal chief of the Seminoles, and successor to Arpeika, commonly called Sam Jones, brought to this post [Fort King] by Lieutenant-Colonel Harney," from near Key Biscayne, Oche-Hadjo, and Harlock-Tustenuggee (Halleck-Tustenuggee) (Sprague, 1848, pp. 228, 231). To these, Sprague adds Thock-lo-Tustenuggee (Sprague, 1848, p. 228). However, at this time there seem to have been four independent bands of Indians in southwest Florida. One group was under Arpeika (Sam Jones), of which Chitto-Tustenuggee and perhaps Holatter-Micco (Billy Bowlegs) were the active war-chiefs; another was led by Hospetarke (Shiver and Shakes), with Passacka (Parsacke) as war-chief; a third was under Otalke-Thlocko (The Prophet), perhaps with Sho-nock-Hadjo as war-chief; finally, there were the Spanish Indians under Chakaika.¹² A reliable source stated that among these bands "No community of feeling exists, other than that which is necessary for mutual safety."¹³ Today and as far back as Seminole tradition reaches, this has been the case; there are no formal mechanisms, and few informal ones, of affiliation between bands. From these groups apparently only Chitto-Tustenuggee dealt with Macomb; and of him it was reported in July 1839, from Fort Lauderdale, that Harney's Negro interpreter, Sandy, "acknowledged that *he* appointed Tuste-Nuggee, with whom general Macomb made the "treaty", "successor" to Sam Jones! Sam, however, altho' thus unceremoniously deposed by Sandy, has too much sense to quarrel about the *medium* through which the great war chief of the

¹² This represents a combination of data in Sprague—given by Sampson, a Negro interpreter who lived with the Indians in the area from 1839 to 1841 (Sprague, 1848, pp. 315-319); by Joe, a Spanish (?) Indian captured in 1841 (Sprague, 1848, p. 350); and by Sprague as of the end of 1840 (Sprague, 1848, p. 254).

¹³ Sampson, the interpreter, in Sprague, 1848, p. 318.

whites acknowledged himself *whipped*; provided *he* obtains all the results of victory." (*Niles' National Register*, July 20, 1839, p. 321, quoting the *Alexandria Gazette*).

Under these conditions, it seems likely that not all the bands in the area were even aware of the meeting with Macomb; and those that were, reasonably considered the agreement reached to have been unilaterally broken, as soon as they discovered that the whites had made it in bad faith. Hence, although the subsequent attack on Col. Harney seemed to the whites a "massacre," in violation of Macomb's arrangement, one cannot blame the Indians for their actions in this instance.

Harney had gone to the Caloosahatchie to establish a trading post, carrying out one of the terms of Macomb's agreement. His party of 25 soldiers, two Negro interpreters, and a civilian trader with four employees (Sprague, 1848, pp. 234-235, 315-317), set up a store and camp 300 yards apart, in the pine woods on the north bank of the Caloosahatchie River some 15 or 20 miles from its mouth (Sprague, 1848, pp. 233, 316, 317; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 24, 1839, quoting the *National Gazette*; Reavis, 1878, p. 134). A large group of Indians soon camped on the opposite side of the river and commenced apparently friendly trade (Sprague, 1848, pp. 236, 316; Reavis, 1878, p. 134; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 24, 1839, p. 402, quoting the *National Gazette*). The soldiers took no precautions, not even putting out sentries—Harney in later years excused himself for this negligence by saying that he had left to establish the post before the arrival of the Florida newspapers bearing the letter of the Secretary of War referred to above, and that if he had known about this letter he would have anticipated trouble with the Indians (Sprague, 1848, pp. 233-234; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 24, 1839, p. 402, quoting the *National Gazette*; Reavis, 1878, pp. 133-134, 141).

The evening of the third day after the establishment of the post, Shonock-Hadjo "counted every man in the camp, and took the precaution to see where and in what manner they slept at night." That night, the Indians had a dance in their camp. At about four a. m. the next morning, the 23rd of July, 1839, a force of about 160 Indians fell upon the sleeping party. Harney's men were completely unprepared—most did not even reach their guns—and the attack was entirely successful. Some 13 were killed immediately, fourteen escaped unarmed via the river, and six were captured. Of the last, two were killed four days later, one three months later, one disappeared and one escaped some months later in the Big Cypress Swamp, and Sampson, one

of the Negro interpreters, escaped after two years of captivity. It was particularly planned to kill Col. Harney; two days before the attack, Billy Bowlegs had spoken to him to ensure his staying and sleeping ashore; however, the attackers delayed briefly for plundering in the quarters of the enlisted men, so that Harney was able to escape "with only drawers and shirt." At least some of the dead were scalped (customary behavior for both sides in this war), and some may have been disemboweled.

The camp was attacked by a force under Chakaika, the Spanish Indian, while at the same moment Hospetarke led the attack on the store. Others prominent in the fight were Holatter Micco (Billy Bowlegs) and Sho-nock-Hadjo. Chakaika's party had come around the coast in canoes. The attack yielded the Indians considerable plunder: one keg of badly-needed powder; about \$2-3000 worth of goods, liquor, tents, and provisions belonging to the trader; \$1500 in silver coins; many personal belongings of the soldiers; six carbines; a number of percussion caps; a large boat;¹⁴ and fourteen Colt rifles, at that time new to the army. Sampson later stated that the rifles "being of Colt's construction, were useless; and they left them on the ground, after taking off the locks." But one report says that when Harney reached Chakaika's home hammock in the Everglades the following year, he "recaptured thirteen or fourteen of Colt's rifles, taken from him at Caloosahatchie by the Indians." (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 303, quoting a letter in the *Tallahassee Floridian*). The loot was not divided systematically; the liquor was drunk during the next three days, the chiefs took charge of the powder and rationed it carefully during the ensuing months, the dry goods were later worn and the coins "sold and manufactured into silver ornaments" at the Big Cypress Swamp camps. Ornaments made from silver coins are still seen occasionally among the modern Seminole.

After the attack, the Indians recrossed to their camp on the south side of the river, where they stayed four days drinking and celebrating. The fourth day, two of their captives were tied to a pine tree, whereupon the Indians "inserted in their flesh slivers of light wood, setting them on fire, and at the same time placing torches at their feet. In this way it was five or six hours before they died." One of the men thus killed was Sandy, the interpreter who had "promoted" Chitto-Tustenuggee in the dealings with Macomb—one wonders if there is any connection between the two facts, especially

¹⁴ This boat was found in November, 1841, between Lakes Thompson and Okeechobee, presumably then in the possession of the "band of Lew-fall-micco." Sprague, 1848, p. 333.

since Sampson, the other captured interpreter, was allowed to live. On the fourth day, Chakaika and his band left in their canoes, returning to the Everglades via the "Malco River,"¹⁵ and the others returned to their camps in the Big Cypress, taking their captives along.¹⁶

This attack had the effect of immediately re-opening the war throughout Florida. For example, as soon as the news reached Fort Mellon, far away on the shore of Lake Munroe, the lieutenant in charge seized by subterfuge a party of forty-six Seminole peacefully visiting the fort to obtain provisions, and was soon escorting them to Fort Moultrie, S. C., on their way to the Indian Territory (Sprague, 1848, p. 236; *Niles' National Register*, Aug. 17, 1839, p. 385).

The Secretary of War, at least, recognized one of the primary causes of this latest failure of negotiations—in his next annual report to the President, he said, "Composed, as the Florida Indians are, of the remnants of tribes that have taken refuge there, and acknowledge no common head, no treaty stipulations that are not sanctioned by each and every tribe can be considered binding; nor can the government consider the country pacified, until there has been a general submission of all the chiefs of the various tribes of Indians inhabiting the peninsula." (Sprague, 1848, p. 237).

The Spanish Indians next appear in the record on August 7, 1840, when they carried out the famous raid on the settlement on Indian Key, in which Dr. Perrine lost his life. This episode has been well covered by writers on South Florida, so it is only necessary here to present the outline of the events, together with the few details that are of interest with regard to the behavior of the Indians.¹⁷

At about two a. m. the morning of August 7, 1840, seventeen canoeloads of Spanish Indians (variously estimated at from 50 to 136 individuals) under

¹⁵ A comparison of Sprague's sketch map (his frontispiece) with U.S.C. & G.S. Chart 1254 suggests that the Malco R. is the modern Henderson Creek, opposite Little Marco Pass north of the present town of Marco.

¹⁶ By far the most detailed, and apparently the most accurate, account of the attack on Harney's forces and of the subsequent behavior of the Indians, is that given by the interpreter Sampson, on his escape from the Indians two years later (quoted in Sprague, 1848, pp. 315-319). Other sources utilized in the above description are: Sprague, 1848, pp. 232-236; *Niles' National Register*, August 24, 1839, p. 402, quoting the *National Gazette*; Reavis, 1878, pp. 132-141.

¹⁷ For the details of the attack, and the white individuals involved, see Bellamy, 1947; Coe, 1898, pp. 154-155; Dodd, 1948; Douglas, 1947, pp. 221-222; Klose, 1948; Palmer, 1926; Perrine, [1885?]; Robinson, 1942; Sprague, 1848, pp. 244-246; [Walker], 1841; Walker, 1926.

Chakaika were discovered on the beach of Indian Key, a small island lying between Upper and Lower Matecumbe Keys, some twenty miles from the mainland.¹⁸ Immediately on being discovered, they began the attack of the settlement, killing seven of the inhabitants (and scalping at least one of these), looting the store, and burning most of the buildings. Most of the inhabitants escaped to a nearby schooner, or hid until the Indians departed. None of the attackers were killed. Mrs. Perrine and her three small children escaped about noon, while the few Indians left on the Key were busy looting the store. They took a large launch, partly loaded with plunder, and poled and paddled for about a mile before they were picked up by a whaleboat from the schooner. The Indians saw them and fired at them, and two Indians in a canoe from Lower Matecumbe started after them, but gave up the chase and put in at Indian Key to take off the remaining Indians, whose boat the Perrines had taken.

The cause of the attack is unknown. A sister of Chakaika told her captors in the Everglades that "there were *three Spaniards* in the Everglades, who supplied the Indians with salt and ammunition; one of them, *Domingo*, advised them to attack Indian Key, and insured their success." (Anonymous, 1841a.) It has been suggested that the 1836 imprisonment of two Indians by the trader on Indian Key was a factor (Dodd, 1948, pp. 14-15; Douglas, 1947, p. 230). Whether for this reason or because the primary purpose of the raid was plunder, the main objective seems to have been the well-stocked store; the Indians concentrated on looting, rather than searching out and killing the inhabitants, and one of the few unburned buildings was the house of a man said to have been particularly friendly to them in their previous trading visits to the Key (Perrine, [1885?], p. 64; Coe, 1898, p. 155; Dodd, 1948, pp. 14-15; Douglas, 1947, p. 230). The naval lieutenant from Key Biscayne who investigated on the day of the raid believed "that the Indians were conducted to this attack by some person or persons acquainted with the localities of the Key, . . . [because] their landing was effected on the outside of the Key, at a point most remote from their approach, yet at a corner of the town uninhabited, whilst every consideration, if ignorant of this fact, would have induced them to have landed at a point directly opposite. . . .

¹⁸ All primary sources give the above date; the identification of the band and their leader rests on Sprague, 1848, pp. 243-244; *The News*, August 21, 1840; and McLaughlin, 1848, p. 9. The estimates of the number of attackers come from Murray, 1848, p. 11; McLaughlin, 1848, p. 10; and *The News*, August 21, 1840.

Again, negroes were seen among them, who, with others, were heard to speak English, and these last not in the dialect of the negro. . . . Lieutenant Commandant Rogers, in the *Wave*, had left there but the day before for Cape Roman, carrying with him from Tea Table Key [the naval base about a mile distant] every man, capable of doing service, but five. That his departure was communicated to or looked for by the Indians, there cannot be a doubt. In the presence of his force, their invariable policy forbids the belief that they would have ventured upon the attack." (McLaughlin, 1848, p. 10). Although the attackers apparently understood when Dr. Perrine spoke to them in Spanish, the Perrines also report having heard them say in English, "Stop that," and "They are all hid—the old man upstairs." ([Walker], 1841, p. 7; Bellamy, 1947, p. 74; Sprague, 1848, p. 244). One of Dr. Perrine's daughters wrote many years later that she had afterwards heard that the Indians had been on a nearby island (Lower Matecumbe Key?) three days before the attack, waiting until the Navy vessels left the area (Walker, 1926, p. 21).

During the morning and afternoon of the seventh, the attackers removed large quantities of goods from the store and houses, carrying loads in their canoes and in several boats captured on the Key, to the northeast end of Lower Matecumbe Key, about a mile away.¹⁹ Among the loot were four kegs of powder, which were later turned over to the custody of the Seminole chiefs in the Big Cypress,²⁰ and materials such as clothing, "calicoes", flour, tobacco, soap, brandy, molasses, etc. ([Walker], 1841, p. 7; Sprague, 1848, pp. 245-246). Harney later discovered at Chakaika's home in the Everglades some \$2000 worth of "cloths, linnens, calicoes, ready made clothing, all kinds of tools, powder, &c." from Indian Key. (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308, quoting the *Tallahassee Floridian*; Anonymous, 1841a). After having control of the region for about twelve hours, the Spanish Indian boats left from Lower Matecumbe at two p. m., August 7, before the arrival of the naval forces from Key Biscayne.

In December, 1840, Harney was ordered to find and attack the Spanish Indians in the Everglades. In carrying out this assignment, Harney displayed great vindictiveness and cruelty towards the Indians. Although this may have been due in part to anger over the success of Chakaika's attack on his command the preceding year, other incidents in Harney's life show that it was

¹⁹ Perrine, [1885?], p. 60; Bellamy, 1947, p. 76, says Upper Matecumbe Key.

²⁰ Sampson, in Sprague, 1848, p. 317.

not foreign to his character.²¹ On leaving for Cape Florida to begin the expedition, Harney promised his superior officer "that he would return with the scalp of that piratical savage." During a slight delay at New Smyrna on the way south, Harney obtained a coil of new rope from a fisherman, to be used later in hanging Chakaika and his men (Reavis, 1878, pp. 145-146).

The expedition, about 90 men in some sixteen canoes,²² left Fort Dallas on the Miami River on December 4, 1840. They took along as guide a Negro named John, who had been captured by the Indians in 1835 from his owner, Dr. Crews (or Cruise). He had escaped several months before, and come into the Army camp on Key Biscayne offering to lead the Army to the Indian camps in the Everglades, but had been kept in irons until Harney accepted his offer, which he carried out in full (*The News*, Jan. 1, 1841; *Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308, quoting a letter in the *Tallahassee Floridian*). This was presumably the man seen by Henry Perrine at Fort Dallas after the Indian Key raid—"a negro, who was in irons and confined in a cell as a suspected spy . . . [who] had been there since before the attack on Indian Key, and . . . had told his captors of the intended raid; but they had placed no reliance upon his statement. I think he had come to the fort voluntarily to tell the story, but, not being believed, was put in irons." (Perrine, [1885?], p. 77).

Proceeding in their canoes into the Everglades via the north branch of the Miami River, Harney's men reached on December 6 an island called "Ho-co-mo-thlocco . . . from the Indian name of the wild fig,²³ where they found a cornfield. Some seven miles northwest they came to "Efa-noc-

²¹ Harney was indicted for the fatal beating of a slave in Saint Louis in 1834; according to an antagonistic fellow-officer, "his character, particularly in the army, is anything but enviable, being notorious for profanity, brutality, incompetency, speculation, recklessness, insubordination, tyranny and mendacity." (Harney, 1861, pp. 5-8). Although his biography by Reavis (1878) is highly laudatory, it makes plain that his attitude towards Indians, friendly as well as enemy, in Florida and elsewhere, was anything but fair and sympathetic.

²² The best account of this expedition, which is the one chiefly used in the following description, is a diary by one of the officers (Anonymous, 1841a; reprinted in less intelligible form as Anonymous, 1841c). This source says there were 90 men and 5 officers in 16 canoes. Other sources give 100 men, of the 2nd Dragoons and 3rd Artillery (Sprague, 1848, p. 254), 88 men—50 dragoons, 38 artillerymen (Reavis, 1878, p. 145), and 90 (*Florida Herald and Southern Democrat*, Dec. 31, 1840) or about 90 (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308, quoting the *Tallahassee Floridian*).

²³ Although this must be a Muskogee word (the final element is the common suffix -Lakko, 'big'), it does not contain the modern Creek Seminole name for the strangling-fig, *Fiscus aurea*, (hilokwapi:) nor for any other plant known to the writer.

co-chee," "from a dog having died which was left here,"²⁴ which had a cleared camp-ground but no field, being "the usual stopping place of the Indians, when they visit *Sam Jones*, or go from his camp to the Spanish Indians." About six miles northwest of this, they reached the next day a hammock known as "Cochokeynehajo, from the name of an Indian who cleared and cultivated it."²⁵ On this island the soldiers found a picture of an Indian and the figures "8" and "9" cut into a tree, which they guessed indicated the presence of a white man with the Indians. This may not have been the case, since 60 years later the Seminole themselves occasionally cut drawings of men and animals into the bark of trees. The next island, "called by its owner *Intaska*," contained "a large hut built of cypress bark, and under it a bed made of boards."²⁶ This was undoubtedly a house similar to the modern open-sided Seminole structures with board sleeping-platforms, which are still occasionally roofed with slabs of cypress bark instead of the usual cabbage-palm leaf thatch. *Intaska* also contained a field in which were growing corn, beans, and pumpkins, which are still the principal Seminole crops.

As the party was resting on *Intaska* about noon on the 8th, two canoes approached, which were attacked by the soldiers in five canoes. Two Indian men and a woman were wounded and captured, and another woman and four children captured. The captives were carried back to *Intaska*, where Harney ordered the two male captives hung from a tall tree with the rope he had brought. The next day, the wounded woman died and was buried on the island. From these captives it was learned that *Chakaika* and some of his band were on an island some five miles away, so the troops left for his island at dusk. The night was dark and rainy, and John, the guide, had difficulty keeping the canoes on the trail. As they neared *Chakaika's* island, Harney sent ahead a force under two lieutenants to surprise the camp. "They did not reach it until some time after sun-rise [on the 10th]; but such was the confidence of the Indians in their own security, that our party were not discovered until they had crept up into their camp, and commenced firing." In the initial attack, one Indian man was killed, and two men, one boy, and five women and children escaped. *Chakaika* was chopping wood some distance

²⁴ The name begins with Muskogee í:fa, 'dog.'

²⁵ The man's name was probably kocáknáha:cí: (in Mikasuki—the Muskogee equivalent would be nearly identical, but with a final -ô: rather than -î:); see below for discussion of this spot.

²⁶ According to Goggin, "the only cypress in the area is at the head of the Miami River and on Snapper Creek, both some distance away, or else on the west side of the Glades." (John M. Goggin, personal communication, May 16, 1953).

from the rest at the moment the soldiers arrived. He dropped his ax and "ran off howling" into the grass. Several soldiers ran after him, but all but one private soon gave up the chase. Private Hall, 2nd Dragoons, had almost overtaken Chakaika, when the Indian "smiled and extended his hand" (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 23, 1841, p. 322), whereupon Hall shot him through the brain. He fell dead into the water, where the soldier scalped him. Chakaika was a large man—"said to have been the largest Indian in Florida" (Anonymous, 1841a)—six feet tall, weighing over 200 pounds, and "considered the strongest man of his tribe." (*The News*, Jan. 8, 1841). Two men who escaped to another island about four miles away were followed by a small party of soldiers. There were several other Indians on this island, who as the soldiers approached raised a white flag and called to John to come and talk. As he neared, the Indians fired, wounding him and two soldiers. Hearing the firing Harney sent two canoes of men and later followed himself with another group. Three more soldiers were wounded, and all the Indians escaped from the other side of the island with some of their possessions and spread the alarm to the occupants of nearby hammocks. The attackers returned to Chakaika's island. A canoe soon came up to the island and succeeded in removing "an Indian or *Spaniard*, who was concealing in the high grass," before the soldiers could reach the spot. Later, while Harney was out with some canoes to bring Chakaika's body back to the island, by hiding in the tall grass he captured one man and six women and children who came up in a sailing canoe. In the evening (of the 10th) Harney strung up on one of the look-out trees Chakaika's dead body and two of the male prisoners. The third man was saved, on his promise to act as a guide to Sam Jones' camp (*The News*, Jan. 1, 1841). The goods found in the camp were auctioned off among the soldiers, netting more than \$200. These were partly plunder from Indian Key; also found were "a fine barge, and a great quantity of coonti." Among the prisoners were Chakaika's mother, sister, and wife.

The evening of the 11th, one of the wounded dragoons, Allen, died. He was buried the next morning on Chakaika's island, "with the honors of war." This was the only man Harney lost during the expedition.

The troops now headed out of the Everglades, taking along the captives. On the 12th, near Intaska, two Indian men were killed and one old woman and seven children captured. On a nearby island some of the party found "a great number of palmetto huts, very well thatched, and a number of plantins and banana trees"; while there, they captured a boy who had been out fishing.

Heading for the Shark River, Harney's men reached the head of a stream "which the Indians call Poncha" late in the afternoon of the 14th, and continued downstream until late at night. Though the upper part of the river was "choked up with cane and reeds," after a mile or so "it opened out most beautifully into a broad and navigable river," with a course "about West." About 12:30 (at night?) on the 15th they reached the sea, where the river was found to have two or three mouths. In the afternoon of the 16th Cape Sable was reached, which Chakaika's wife told one of her captors "used to be the great resort of the Indians when on their fishing and turtle excursions, as well as among the neighboring Keys." On the 19th they reached one of the Matecumbes, from which they shipped aboard a sloop for Key Biscayne.²⁷

According to one account, the bodies of the men hung by Harney were discovered and buried a few days later by Sam Jones.²⁸ In any event, the Big Cypress bands were much aroused over Harney's treatment of the captured men and "declared eternal hostility and cruelty to the whites," Sam Jones saying, "We have given them heretofore, . . . when prisoners, a decent death, and shot them instead of hanging them like a dog." (Sampson, in Sprague, 1848, p. 319).

The prisoners taken by Harney were sent to Tampa, and re-shipped from there in March, under Major Bellnap to the Indian Territory (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, p. 308; Feb. 20, 1841, p. 396; April 10, 1841, p. 90). From this point this group of Spanish Indians seem to have disappeared from history, unless it be they to whom several families of Oklahoma Seminole referred in 1932, when they told Krogman of their "Spanish ancestry" (Krogman, 1935, p. 8). It may have been this group of captives, or a subsequent one, among whom "Lieutenant Reynolds, while conducting the first party of emigrants West, in 1841, found . . . persons who possessed so much Spanish blood, that he offered to leave them at New Orleans, and some of them accepted the offer. He left them in that city, and they probably now pass for Spaniards" (Giddings, 1858, p. 98, fn. 1). Perhaps more likely, Giddings has confused the date of this occurrence and is referring to Reynolds' 1838 party (see above, and Foreman, 1932, p. 366 fn. 7).

On the first of January, 1841, Harney again led troops into the Ever-

²⁷ Except where otherwise indicated, the foregoing description of the expedition is from Anonymous, 1841a.

²⁸ Coe, 1898, p. 156. This is a secondary source, which gives no indication of the authority for the statement.

glades, this time looking for Sam Jones' camp. There were about 140 men in this force, in four or five six-to-ten-man canoes and the rest in especially built five-man canoes. The Negro John was taken as interpreter, and for guide the Indian captured at Chakaika's island and saved for the purpose. The latter's name is given as "Mico," which is a common final element in modern Seminole adult male names—in this form, Muskogee (mikko, 'chief'). This expedition reached Prophet's Landing, entering the 'glades by the New River, but during two weeks of searching, although they came on many recently abandoned camps and fields, saw only 13 Indians, of whom four were killed and three captured. These were mostly the band of a man named "Chia," who on being captured said that "Sam Jones, immediately on hearing of Colonel Harney's first expedition, had sent over to the Seminoles [The Prophet's band?] for powder and lead, and said that he would go into the Big Cypress, where, if he was pursued, he would fight to the death. Chia and his party were going to join him" when the soldiers found them. Under threat of hanging, Chia tried to guide Harney to Sam Jones in the Big Cypress, but the search was abandoned when it appeared that Sam Jones' party had instead headed north towards Lake Okeechobee (*Niles' National Register*, Jan. 16, 1841, pp. 307-308; April 3, 1841, pp. 71-72).

In April 1841, the bands in the Big Cypress held "a great council . . . , to prevent intercourse with the white man. A law was passed, that should any Indian, male or female, be found in communication with a white man, they should be put to death. Plans were concerted to convey information in the most rapid maner. The canoes [of Harney] seen in the Everglades, had determined them to keep within the [Big Cypress] swamp. It was understood in a council, that being so reduced in numbers, and in so confined a space, they must now ambush the enemy, fire, and then run." (Sampson, in Sprague, 1848, pp. 316-317). This "council" was probably the Green Corn Dance at Billy Bowlegs' town mentioned in October, 1841, by an "Indian captured in the Everglades." According to this informant, named "Joe," there were 241 warriors present at the Green Corn Dance, from Sam Jones' band, Hospetarke's band, "Seminoles" (probably The Prophet's band), and "Spanish Indians" (Sprague, 1848, pp. 349-350). "Joe" was probably the "Spanish Indian" who acted as guide in October, 1841, for the expedition of Captain M. Burke, which crossed the Everglades from Fort Dallas via Chakaika's island and The Prophet's Landing to Punta Rassa, then went up the Caloosahatchie to Lake Okeechobee, across the lake, to Fort Pierce and Jupiter, and back to Fort Dallas, seeing only two Indians during the entire

trip (Sprague, 1848, pp. 333-345, 349). The Indians had all withdrawn into the Big Cypress, as a result of Harney's expeditions proving that the soldiers could now reach any part of the Everglades in canoes. Burke's "Spanish Indian" guide is the last mention of this band known to the writer—all mentions and listings of Florida bands at later dates omit it. The only bands Sprague gives after 1841 are: Seminole, Creek, Tallahassee, Mikasuki, Yuchi, Hitchiti, and, in 1847, four "Choctaw" warriors.²⁰ Thus we again find "Choctaw" as perhaps another name for "Spanish Indians."

Presumably in the early years of the present century, Swanton interviewed "an old Seminole Indian in Oklahoma, who declared that he knew of these Florida Choctaw, asserting that one youth descended from them is still living among the Seminole of Oklahoma. He added that when the Seminole reached Fort Smith during their removal west the Choctaw who were with them wanted to remain with the Choctaw who had emigrated from Mississippi, but the Indian agent would not allow it. He knew nothing regarding the origin of this band of Choctaw, but thought they had emigrated to Florida from Mississippi about the time when the other Seminole settled there" (Swanton, 1922, p. 345). Hence Indian tradition in Oklahoma disagreed with Swanton's identification of these late "Choctaw" with the earlier Calusa.

SEMINOLE TRADITION

Present-day Mikasuki Seminole traditions about the previous non-Seminole inhabitants of Florida are quite vague. The general name for these people is *yathâmpa:Lî:*, 'bad people.' Informants deny that there were ever any Choctaw (*câhta:Lî:*) in Florida, and do not recognize the terms "Bat Necks," "Painted People" (Bartram, 1943, p. 171; see above), or "Muspa" (Williams, 1837, pp. 36, 32; see above). The people known as *kalasa:Lî:* (Calusa) are but vaguely remembered. It is known that the Caloosahatchie River is named for them—*kalashahcî:*, 'Calusa river'—but it is generally believed that these were Spanish people. That is, *kalasa:Lî:* is sometimes treated as a synonym for *ispa:na:Lî:*, 'Spaniards.'

The "Bad People" are so called because they killed Seminole. It is said that they were first seen coming out of the water near Pine Island, in the form of fiddler-crabs. They were a "wild" people, at home in the swamps, who spoke a language different from those of the Seminole. Soon after

²⁰ Sprague, 1848, pp. 438, 444, 501, 507, 510, 512. The reference to the "Choctaw" (Sprague, p. 512) is repeated in Schoolcraft's (1851, p. 522) printing of Sprague's list.

emergence from the water, they were found by the Spaniards who at that time lived in a town called *ohō:ncásáskî:*, 'hanging skirt,' in a hammock some ten miles southwest of the present site of Ocala. The girls of the Bad People were pretty, and many intermarried with the Spaniards of Hanging Skirt, where all or most of the tribe soon lived. The Spanish supplied their Bad People friends and allies with guns and other goods, and gave them corn and taught them how to raise it.

At this time, there was a Seminole town at a place named *o:cakaplokôhkî:*, 'two hickory trees stand up,' two days' walk north of Hanging Skirt. For many years the Seminole used to walk for one day south from their town to a small creek (the name of which is not remembered), where they slept. On the next day they walked to Hanging Skirt to trade buckskin and other goods with the Spaniards, then the same day they went back to the creek, where they spent that night, before going home the next day. Relations with the Bad People were at first friendly—some Seminole men from *o:cakaplokôhkî:* even married Bad People girls and went to live at Hanging Skirt with their wives.³⁰ However, eventually the Spanish incited them against the Seminole, and on several occasions a war party of Bad People, with their Spanish guns, followed a returning trading party of Seminole to the creek where they killed some. Finally, a party of Seminole men determined to trick their trackers. Arriving at the creek on their return from Hanging Skirt, they built a large camp fire and, laying rolls of Spanish moss like men around the fire, hid in the surrounding bushes. The Bad People came up and fell on the camp, yelling and shooting into the dummies, whereupon the hidden Seminole shot and killed the whole party.³¹ The Seminole returned home, and sent out a war party which camped at the creek. Two Seminole went to Hanging Skirt, where they invited the chief of the Bad People, a man named *cissila:nî:* ('yellow rat,' in Muskogee), to go to their camp at the creek to join in a feast of bear meat. When he arrived, he found many people present, who invited him to sit down. This he did, cross-legged. While the men engaged him in conversation, two Seminole with guns walked up and shot him in each leg, so that, although still alive, he could not walk. There followed a four-day³²

³⁰ Following the normal Seminole custom, even of today, whereby a man lives with his wife's family after marriage.

³¹ This incident strongly resembles an affair in 1702, when a Muskogee army headed by Georgia traders defeated a Spanish and Apalachee army by the identical stratagem, on the banks of the Flint River. See Swanton, 1922, pp. 120-121, for an account of this.

³² Four is the Seminole pattern-number—more or less equivalent in this case to "a few." Hence the battle referred to may not have lasted precisely four days.

battle between the Seminole and the Bad People and Spaniards in Hanging Skirt. Although their opponents had many guns, and big ones, the Seminole defeated them, and killed nearly all. The Indians set fire to the town at Hanging Skirt. When it began to burn, a Negro man who had hidden under an empty barrel during the attack came out and warned the Indians to run away since the place was about to blow up. The Indians followed his advice, whereupon the town exploded. Since then, Hanging Skirt has been known as *tapohcóbákáki*:, 'broken[?] big explosion.'

The surviving Spaniards and Bad People walked south, to the Peace River, and across it and over to a place called *hoí:Láycmóca:pî*:. The Seminole later tracked them, captured a few and traded them to the whites for knives, lead, and powder. In one case, they found one family, killed the man, and captured the women and girls, which they sold to the whites, perhaps at Tampa. Women captives were worth maybe five dollars in trade, and small girls \$2.50.

The place where the Bad People settled is named *hoí:Láycmóca:pî*:, 'field of *hoí:Láycî*:', after a Bad Person named *hoí:Láycî*:, 'stick it in the ground[?]' (in Muskogee). The Bad People lived there, built canoes there, and used the mounds at this place as a dance-ground. This location, some 15 miles (i.e., S) of Clewiston, is now known as "Tony's Mound" in English, because long ago (though long after the Bad People had left it) a Seminole nicknamed *to:niwayyî*:, 'sells Tony' (because he once sold a slave named Tony) cultivated a field there.³³

What ultimately became of the Bad People is unknown to the Seminole. Some went in canoes down the Shark River, to Key West, and over to Cuba, where they settled. Others went back north where they intermarried with the whites and thus disappeared. A fair number were captured and sold by the Seminole. However, many people think that there are still some Bad People around somewhere in the Everglades. They are invisible, or some say that they look like deer.

One Seminole man, now dead for many years, is said to have known some of their songs, which he had learned from captive Bad People. In 1932 Frances Densmore recorded 17 "Calusa" songs from the late medicine-man of the Cow Creek Seminole (Densmore, 1933, p. 96). She reports that the singer said these songs "came from the mountain men." . . . [and that] the white people call those Indians the Calusa and . . . they spoke Spanish

³³ For a brief description of this impressive archeological site, see Allen, 1948.

. . . long ago the Calusa and Seminole camped near one another and the people of each camp visited freely in the other, learning songs and joining in the dances. Later they fought, and the Seminole defeated the Calusa."³⁴

The Seminole of today insist that Chakaika and his band were not yathâmpa:Lî: or kalasa:Lî:, but Seminole, and Mikasuki speaking. One of the best-informed individuals believes that the ancestors of the present Mikasuki Seminole and of Chakaika's band were originally one group, in the north, but that when the troubles with the whites began and the Seminole were forced gradually south, Chakaika's people came down the east coast of the peninsula whereas the others came down the west coast, and the two groups did not know of each other's locations until after Chakaika's death.

Chakaika is known to the Seminole as cakâykî:, or cakâykico:bî: ('big Chakaika'). This is a boyhood name, not an adult name.³⁵ In Muskogee, it means approximately 'follow after,' or 'caught up with' (although another informant translates it 'chopper'). The suffix -co:bî:, 'big,' is applied because he was the leader of his band.³⁶ Such a suffix is often omitted in using a personal name, so the use of "Chakaika" (and its variant spellings) in the documentary sources is not surprising. It is probable that the final -a of the usual written forms is derived from the Muskogee form of the word.³⁷

Perhaps Chakaika was a member of the Wind sib, says one old man, since it is remembered that after his death members of this sib tried to claim his possessions. He lived with his two wives in a large camp in the southern Everglades, at an island known today as yatcásâskî:, 'hanging person (or people).' Informants have no knowledge of him ever having been associated with Billy Bowlegs, or any other Seminole, in any attacks on the soldiers, although it is said that he had gone on raids in canoes way to the north, before his attack on Indian Key. He believed he was safe at his hammock, since the whites were thought to have no canoes.

The raid on Indian Key and the hanging in the 'glades are well remembered, even by some who do not know the name of the leader of the band. However, as one would expect, the accounts differ somewhat in details. The fullest description obtained will be presented first.

³⁴ Densmore, 1942. Other data obtained from informants and presented in this manuscript are inaccurate, so no great reliance should be placed on the above report.

³⁵ A Mikasuki who died only three or four years ago also had cakâykî: as his boyhood name.

³⁶ It seems more likely that he was called "big" because, as the documents but not the traditions report, he was of tremendous physical size.

³⁷ See "Note on Orthography and Personal Names."

Leaving the women and children at Hanging People, Chakaika and his men went to attack Indian Key, going down the Shark River³⁸ and through Whitewater Bay in their canoes. The voyage took several days. When they reached the little town on Indian Key,³⁹ the Indians killed and burnt several white people, burnt their houses, and got a lot of whiskey, lead, powder, and new blankets. They then returned with their loot, going back up the Shark River. When he arrived at home, Chakaika got drunk on the canoe-load of whiskey he had brought back. He had a Negro boy about sixteen years old (whose name is not remembered), who had been captured from the whites some time before. In his drunkenness he beat the boy, who ran off. Being afraid to return, he waded through the swamp until he met some soldiers. They asked him what had happened, and found that he knew where Chakaika was.⁴⁰ The soldiers, guided by the boy, reached Chakaika's camp about day-break. Chakaika rose up from his comfortable bed of brand-new blankets, singing drunkenly, and saw the skiffs of the soldiers approaching. He told his people that the soldiers were coming, to get in canoes and go away fast. The soldiers shot Chakaika and wounded him, perhaps breaking his leg. Some of his people were killed, some were caught, and some escaped. The soldiers had seen the bodies of people Chakaika had burnt at Indian Key, so they wrapped him in a blanket, hung him from a large "rubber tree" (*Ficus aurea*, the strangling fig), and burnt him.

After the soldiers left, his surviving kin returned to the spot and looked all around, then moved to the Big Cypress where they found the other Mikasuki, who were at that time living somewhere northeast of Deep Lake. The two groups eventually intermarried, and the war experiences of each were told to the other.

Another version relates that Chakaika and his party went to Indian Key and stole goods. One morning about two weeks after their return to Hanging People, Chakaika went out for firewood and came on the soldiers waiting for him. He ran off, but the soldiers shot and killed him. The others in the camp ran off in all directions—some escaped, and others were killed. The informant did not know who buried Chakaika; perhaps no one, since he was killed by the soldiers. He is said to have left no descendants. The man who told this version said that his mother's mother, a Mikasuki

³⁸ Called in Mikasuki LaLno:tiLhahcî:, 'toothed fish (i.e., shark) river.'

³⁹ Known to the present Mikasuki only by its English name—î:ncînkî: in a Mikasuki context.

⁴⁰ The name of the leader of the soldiers (i.e., Harney) is not known to the Seminole.

woman of the Otter sib, had seen Chakaika while he was alive. In fact, she was at Hanging People before the soldiers arrived, but left for another place just before the attack.

A third version of the tradition states that long ago the Indians (whose leader's name was not known to the relator of this story) went to Indian Key, where they burnt the town and killed the whites. They thought they had killed all the inhabitants, but one woman and her child (whether boy or girl is not known) escaped in a skiff by lying on the bottom. The Indians thought it was simply an empty boat adrift. When she got about a mile away, she started rowing and rowed all the way to Key West. The attackers got a lot of whiskey from Indian Key, which they took with them on their return into the 'glades via the Shark River. They stopped at a large hammock called oko:máhóyLî:, a few miles southwest of Hanging People. Many were drunk, some were not. The woman who escaped from Indian Key called the soldiers at Key West, who tracked the attackers back into the Everglades. The Indians saw the sails of their boats, but thought they were Indian sailing canoes. The soldiers caught them at oko:máhóyLî:, where they killed most of them. Some escaped to Hanging People, where the soldiers caught some more and hung them. From this incident the hammock derives its present Mikasuki name.

CHAKAIKA'S ISLAND TODAY

The precise location of the hammock where Harney caught and hung Chakaika cannot be determined from the inaccurate maps of the period of the Seminole Wars,⁴¹ and modern maps omit it. Modern Mikasuki however know the hammock—the one they call yatcásáskî:—and pointed it out to the present writer. In a similar manner, the location of oko:máhóyLî: (see the third traditional version above) and of kocáknáhá:cmóca:pî: could be determined. The latter is undoubtedly the island called "Cochokeynehajo, from the name of an Indian who cleared and cultivated it," where Harney's force found symbols cut into a tree.⁴² The Mikasuki name means 'field of kocáknáhá:cî: (a man's name),' and the place is said to lie a bit north of the Tamiami Trail, some 10 or 12 miles east of Hanging People.

Chakaika's Island, yatcásáskî:, is located 1.25 miles due south of a point on the Tamiami Trail 0.07 mile west of Bridge No. 42. The point is 1.9 miles west of the canal intersecting the highway about one-half mile west of

⁴¹ E.g., Sprague, 1848, frontispiece; Ives, 1856.

⁴² See above.

"Tamiami W Base" (U.S.D.A., 1944). This is approximately 20 highway miles west of the Miami city limits, and half a mile east of the present location of William McKinley Osceola's Mikasuki camp. The hammock is in the Shark River slough, less than a mile from its western edge. The old Seminole canoe trail from the Shark River to the Big Cypress ran a mile or two east of the hammock, and until a few years ago its route was clearly visible in the vegetation here.⁴³

The island is a large, high hammock, about three acres in extent. Except for a rectangular clearing of about an acre on the northeast part (the highest land in the hammock), it is covered with heavy vegetation, including three large strangling-fig trees, the largest of which, near the center of the hammock, is very tall and clearly visible from the Tamiami Trail.

A rather thorough examination of the surface of the whole hammock showed much evidence of prehistoric occupation, but the cultural deposit is practically limited to the clearing, where it is about seven inches thick and especially rich toward the north end. The clearing probably is due to cultivation by recent Seminole, although no corn, pumpkins, bananas, nor indeed any other escaped domesticates, except one lemon tree, were seen, which is unusual for an abandoned Seminole field. No refuse of the sort one would expect from recent Seminole occupation was found, and the only evidence of recent visitors was one small piece of rubber matting.

On the surface were found numerous potsherds and animal bone fragments, some shell, and four fragments of bottle glass. The following list summarizes the identification of this material, for which the author is greatly indebted to John M. Goggin.

<i>Sherds:</i>	<i>Rim</i>	<i>Body</i>
Glades Plain-----	10	137
Glades Tooled-----	9	0
Belle Glade Plain-----	1	0
Key Largo Incised-----	2	0
Unclassified incised gritty ware-----	1	2

⁴³ Don Poppenhager, personal communication, Jan. 31, 1953. The writer is indebted to Mr. Poppenhager for providing air-boat transportation to the hammock and for assistance in making the archeological surface collection.

Other artifacts:

- Three dark green bottle glass fragments, dating from before ca. 1900.
- One patinated clear bottle glass fragment, which may be post-1900.
- One Busycon shell pick fragment.
- One Macrocallista shell knife ??

Animal bones:

- Deer, turtle, fish, small mammal, alligator.

Shell:

Marine:

- Ostrea* sp.; *Macrocallista* sp.; *Venus* sp.; *Busycon* sp.; *Strombus* sp.; *Lucina* sp.

Freshwater:

- Ampullaria* sp. (snail).

This hammock, given the University of Florida archeological site number Da69, was on the basis of the above specimens occupied "primarily in Glades IIIb (or perhaps Glades IIIc, although we need more historical material to prove it)."⁴⁴ These are the last pre-Seminole archeological periods in the Everglades region, dating from about 1500 to about 1800 (Goggin, 1950a, p. 10; Goggin, 1952, p. 36). It is probable that the remains found are not the refuse of Chakaika's camp, since the bottle fragments are the only possible trade goods, yet Chakaika's group must have used many objects obtained from the whites through trade or plunder. More intensive archeological investigation of the site would undoubtedly turn up such material, possibly as well as later objects left by Seminole. With luck, the burial of the soldier, Allen, might be found. The bodies of Chakaika and his two men probably will not be found. Even if they were eventually buried, which is uncertain, the burial may have been of the recent Seminole above-ground type,⁴⁵ in which case none of the remains would have survived the 113 years since.

CONCLUSION

The documentary and traditional material given here shows that there were several different Indian groups in southwest Florida in the first part of the 19th Century. There were certainly "Seminole" bands, and individuals with mixed Spanish and Indian ancestry. There was probably a small group

⁴⁴ John M. Goggin, personal communication, Feb. 19, 1953. For the time-span of most of the pottery types given above, see Goggin, 1950c.

⁴⁵ See Neill, 1952, fig. 25.

of "Choctaws," although present Florida Seminole tradition states that the Choctaw were never in Florida. There was probably a Calusa settlement, the town of Caloosahatchie, at least in the earlier part of the period. There was certainly also a band of "Spanish Indians" whose association with the Seminole was at first even weaker than the loose connections between different Seminole bands. These Spanish Indians were perhaps Choctaw, perhaps Calusa remnants, or perhaps a more independent Seminole band. The last hypothesis is considerably strengthened by the apparently unanimous present Seminole opinion that Chakaika and his band were Mikasuki Seminole. The group existed only a little more than a century ago, and there are definite Seminole traditions of other, *non*-Seminole bands in Florida ("Bad People," Yuchi, and perhaps Koasati). Furthermore, the Seminole recognize the fact that their ancestors were associated, at a much earlier period before entering Florida, with still other groups speaking neither Muskogee nor Mikasuki (e.g., Choctaw, Shawnee, Osage). There is considerable evidence that at first the ties were very tenuous between the numerous Indian bands which entered Florida and later more or less amalgamated into the Seminole. Thus it is possible that the Spanish Indians were a group of Mikasuki-speakers who reached South Florida somewhat earlier than the other Seminole, and had closer relations with the Spanish in South Florida and Cuba. Seminole traditions probably can cast no more light on the subject—but they at least emphasize that this is an as yet unsolved problem. The solution may come from archeological investigation in the Charlotte Harbor region or at Chakaika's Island, or more likely from a search of historical documents in Washington, Cuba, or Seville.

For the three specific incidents here dealt with, the documentary and traditional accounts differ in fullness and emphasis, as well as in detail. No traditions survive, as far as the author could discover, of the attack on Harney's force on the Caloosahatchie. From the Seminole point of view, there was probably nothing unusual about this fight; the factor of the misunderstandings and bad faith in Macomb's "agreement" was not unusual either. We are fortunate in having the rather full account of the Indian side of the engagement preserved in the story by Sampson.

The traditional accounts of the raid on Indian Key agree quite well with the documentary sources, and add the information that the route followed was down and back via the Shark River. The locations of Chakaika's home, Hanging People, and of Indian Key are remembered. The distance of the trip, and the amount of plunder obtained, both probably unusual fea-

tures, are emphasized. The number of whites killed at the Key is exaggerated. Although the escape of Mrs. Perrine and her children is apparently remembered, one tradition incorrectly states that she rowed all the way to Key West.

The most important difference between the traditional and documentary accounts is the shortening of the interval between the Indian Key raid and Chakaika's death. Whereas actually four months intervened, the traditions make it at most a week or two, and view Harney's expedition as a direct result of the Indian Key raid. In fact, the modern Seminole seem to feel that Chakaika was justly punished for what he did at Indian Key. This is certainly a far different view than that reported for the Seminole at the time; the present Indians do not especially identify themselves with Chakaika, and they are today a thoroughly peaceful and law-abiding people. Several incidents of Harney's raid are more or less correctly remembered: the soldiers' use of boats, the role of the Negro guide, the complete surprise of the attack, the fact that Chakaika was at the time chopping wood at some little distance from the rest, and the hanging of Chakaika and some of his men, while some were captured and others escaped. Some of the other details are incorrectly remembered. The most important contribution of tradition is the precise location of the hammock where Chakaika lived and was hung.

If we had only the traditional accounts of these happenings, we could be fairly certain that they referred to specific historical happenings, and that the places remembered as involved are accurately located. But we could not rely on the chronology, nor could we be sure that other equally important events of the same time were not omitted. This is probably the case with most Seminole traditions dealing with the Seminole Wars. For earlier times, the traditions are vaguer and certainly less accurate in detail, but are still of some use as strict history, especially when used with other evidence. For later periods the traditions are more and more accurate and full. As one reaches personal reminiscences of happenings actually observed or participated in, the accounts give more information on Indian understanding and attitudes, as well as on the historical events themselves.

The utilization of this major source of Florida historical data will require field-work more difficult than the interviewing of the usual sorts of "old settlers," but it is at least equally rewarding. Seminole tradition gives a very different viewpoint of historical happenings which in itself is highly desirable and interesting, as well as providing new information which can be added to historical knowledge. Until the last few decades, the Seminole

were probably the most important as well as for long the most numerous inhabitants of mainland South Florida. Before about 1860, they were important in the history not only of the whole state, but of the United States. They are an interesting people who should receive more attention from historians and others.

NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY AND PERSONAL NAMES

The orthography used here for the transcription of Mikasuki Seminole is one worked out by the author. The symbols have approximately the following values:

p, b, t, f, h, m, n, l, w, y — nearly as in English

k — as English “k” in “skin” or nearly as “g” in “again”

s — nearly as English “sh” in “shin”

c — nearly as English “ch” in “chin”

L — voiceless “l”, a sound not occurring in English, but remotely resembling “thl” in “athlete” or “l” in a rapid pronunciation of “slip”

i — as “i” in English “pin” or “e” in “pen”

i: — nearly as “ee” in English “feel”

o — nearly as “o” in English “mote” or “u” in “put”

o: — nearly as “o” in English “pole”

a — as “o” in American English “pot”

a: — as “a” in English “father”

~ — over a vowel indicates nasalization, as in French “*pain, on,*” etc.

Double consonants, such as -kk-, are about twice as long as single ones.

Accented syllables are louder than un-marked ones:

✓ — over a vowel indicates a high, level pitch of the voice;

^ — indicates a high pitch falling to a low one;

unmarked syllables are usually lower in pitch than marked ones.

Muskogee (also called Creek), the language of the modern Cow Creek Seminole and of the Oklahoma Creek and Oklahoma Seminole, is related to Miasuki but the two languages are not mutually intelligible. For Muskogee, the best system of transcription is that of M. R. Haas (1940, pp.

149-150). Her symbols have almost the same values as the ones used here for Mikasuki. Unfortunately, lack of time prevented the present writer from getting Cow Creek Seminole translations for all the Mikasuki expressions given here. Therefore, in the following discussion of names, Swanton's transcription has been converted into Haas' only insofar as the present writer's knowledge, and comparison with Loughbridge's dictionary (Loughbridge and Hodge, 1914), would permit. The major defects in my transcriptions of these Muskogee words are probably occasional omissions of long marks (:), writing of some double consonants as single ones, and inadequate marking of the tonal accents.

Almost all Mikasuki personal names, male and female, are in Muskogee. The only major change made in the Muskogee words is the replacement of the final vowel, whatever it may be, with -i: in Mikasuki. Women get but one name, which they bear from childhood to death, whereas men now receive a childhood name which is replaced by an adult name at age 10-15. In former days, these adult names were gained via feats of military valor, and an individual might receive several during his adulthood—although apparently the first adult name was usually the one most commonly used even when a man had subsequently received other war names. As will be seen in the list below, adult male names are and were almost invariably of two parts, of which the first normally is the name of an animal, sib, town, or tribe, and the second is often derived from the title of a civil or military official. In day to day conversation, the second element is now frequently omitted, and this was apparently the case a hundred years ago also, since we frequently find the same individual alternatively referred to by the first element alone or by the whole name. Modern Mikasuki interpretations of the meanings of men's names are frequently unsatisfactory, for two reasons: the words are in Muskogee, not Mikasuki, and the official positions of which the titles are so often the basis of the final name elements are mostly no longer in existence among the modern Seminole. Hence, in the interpretations given here, I have in most cases followed Swanton (1928a, pp. 101-107 and *passim*). A few meanings are from my informants (mostly Mikasuki speakers) or from Loughbridge and Hodge (1914).

Almost all personal names in the historic documents are given in their Muskogee forms, even when the individuals referred to are definitely known to have been Mikasuki. It seems very probable that for several centuries there have been a large number of Muskogee-Mikasuki bilinguals in both groups, as there are in Florida today. It is also likely that most interpreters

available used Muskogee and English, rather than Mikasuki and English, even when dealing with Mikasuki. Before the splitting-off of the Mikasuki Seminole from the Creek Confederacy, Muskogee must have been the language they normally used in dealing with outsiders, and there is no reason to suppose the situation changed after the split, since undoubtedly many more outsiders knew Muskogee than knew Mikasuki.

The following are the Indian names mentioned in this paper. The order of presentation is (1) Indian name, as written in the sources (only a few variants are given, of the multitude that occur). (2) English name, where given. (3) Mikasuki Seminole pronunciation. (4) Muskogee equivalent. (5) Translation of the latter. (6) Comments.

Arpeika, Aripeka, Arpeik, Appiaca, Apeiaka, Arpiucki, etc. (2) Sam Jones (3) abayakha:cî: (in normal shortened form, ábaya:kî:) (4) a:paya:kâ: ha:cô: (5) a:paya:kâ:, 'yellow rat snake (*Elaphe obsoleta*)'; ha:cô:, 'crazy, furious in battle' (6) This was one of Sam Jones' war names. His first adult name was tastanakata:fî:, 'wise warrior.'

Callope (6) I am unable to suggest any interpretation for this (Spanish) spelling.

Capichalafola (3) probably kapikcayaholî: (4) kapikca yahola (Swanton's spelling would give "kapica" rather than "kapikca") (5) kapikca, 'lye-drip'; yahola, "refers to the yahola cry, a long-drawn-out shout uttered by the bearers of the black drink while the chiefs and warriors were taking it" (Swanton, 1928a, p. 101). (6) The interpretation of the spelling "Capicha" as kapikca is obvious; that of "lafola" is less certain. For another case where Spanish "f" perhaps represents "h" (possibly an error in reading an original manuscript "h"), see Uquisilisinifa below.

Chakika, Chekika, Chakaikee, Chikika, Chekikia, Chekeka, Chaikika, Chokika, Chikiko, Chechika (3) cakâykî, or cakâykico:bî: ('big cakâykî:') (5) 'follow after,' or 'caught up with' (or perhaps 'chopper') (6) A boyhood name, not his adult name the latter is not remembered). The spelling adopted in this paper is a compromise between the most common spellings (Chakika, Chekika) and the Misasuki pronunciation.

Chia (6) I am unable to suggest what this spelling stands for or to provide an interpretation.

Chitto-Tustenugge (3) cittotastanakî: (4) cîtto tastanákki: (5) cîtto, 'snake'; tastanákki:, 'warrior.'

- Chochokeynehajo (3) kocáknáha:cî: (4) kocókni ha:cô: (5) kocókni, 'short'; ha:cô:, 'crazy, furious in battle.'
- Cosafamico (6) The last part is certainly Creek míkko, 'chief.' The first part is dubious; if it represents kosa (the name of a Creek town), which is a possible initial name-element, the "-fa-" remains unexplained. Another possibility is kowasa:ti (the Koasati tribe), but this seems a bit too far from the Spanish spelling.
- Gulas (6) This Spanish spelling is difficult to interpret; if the name is Creek, there is a remote possibility that it stands for kalasi (the last vowel is dubious), 'Calusa,' although if so, as a name there should be another, final, element, and kalasi has not been recorded by Swanton or myself as a Creek or Seminole name-element.
- Halleck-Tustenuggee, Harlock-Tustenuggee (3) ahalaktastanakî: (4) ahalak tastanákki: (5) 'potato warrior.'
- Holatter-Micco, Oh-lachta Mico, etc. (2) Billy Bowlegs (3) holahtmikî: (4) holahta míkko (5) holahta was a Muskogee ceremonial official (mentioned but nowhere defined in Swanton, 1928a and 1928b); míkko, 'chief.'
- Holartoochee, Holatoochee (2) Davy ? (3) holahto:cî: (4) holahtoci (5) 'little holahta.'
- Hospetarke, Hospertacke (2) Shiver and Shakes (3) hospatâ:kî: (4) ? -pata:ka ? (5) perhaps contains pata:ka, 'bed.'
- Lew-fall-micco (3) yofa:lmikî: ? (4) yofa:la míkko ? (5) 'Eufaula (a Muskogee town) chief.'
- Oche-Hadjo (3) oci:há:cî: (4) oci: ha:cô: (5) 'crazy hickory.'
- Ochismucu (3) probably oci:smikî: (4) oci:sî: míkko (5) oci:sî:, the name of a town, perhaps from a Hitchiti word meaning 'people of foreign speech' (see Swanton, 1922, pp. 413-414); míkko, 'chief' (6) Of the names from Spanish documents (Morales Patiño, MS.), this is the most susceptible of interpretation.
- Opo-arico (6) The "opo" may represent the Creek (and Mikasuki) initial name-element hopo:y-, which may perhaps be from Creek hopo:ya, 'a seeker' (Loughbridge and Hodge, 1914, p. 146). The final element is doubtful. No sound similar to the Spanish (or English) "r" occurs

in Creek or Mikasuki; if hopo:y- is from hopo:ya, then perhaps the division should be Opoa-rico, in which case one might guess that "rico" represents Creek Lákko, 'big.' However, compare Opoilacho and Yottajo-Arico below.

Opoilacho (6) In this case, the interpretation of "Opoi" as Creek hopo:y- is much more certain than for "Opo" above; similarly, "lacho" represents Lákko, 'big' more probably than does "rico" above.

Otalke-Thlocko (2) The Prophet (3) hotalkiLákkî: (4) hotalki Lákko (5) hotalki, 'wind'; Lákko, 'big.'

Passacka, Parsacke (6) Creek, Mikasuki, and meaning unknown to me.

Sho-nock-Hadjo (3) sō:nakha:cî: (6) This is still in use as a Mikasuki name, but the Creek equivalent and the translation are unknown to me.

Thock-lo-Tustenuggee (2) Tigertail, Fish King (3) LaLotastanakî: (4) LaLo tastanákki: (5) 'fish warrior.'

Tmacha (6) The initial letter in this Spanish spelling is evidently an error. If it is a mis-reading of an original capital "I", then the name may have been Creek i:ma:La (Mikasuki i:ma:Lî:), 'warrior of the second class' (Swanton, 1928a, pp. 198 fn. 4, 301), which is a possible initial name-element and a common final one.

Uquisilisinifa (6) "-sinifa" perhaps represents the common Creek final name-element hiniha, 'chief's lieutenant' (Swanton, 1928a, p. 192). The rest of the name is obscure; one might suggest that "-ili-" represents Creek illi:, 'leg,' which sometimes occurs in names following the name of an animal, but this is dubious and leaves "uquis-" unexplained.

Yafa-Fastonasque (3) probably yahatastanakî: (4) yáha tastanákki: (5) 'wolf warrior.'

Yottaja-Arico (6) The interpretation of this Spanish spelling is obscure. There is a remote possibility that "yottaja" represents the Creek name-element yofa:la, 'Eufaula (a Creek town).'

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The Association's Historical Marker Program

The Historical Association of Southern Florida has dedicated two historical markers since those reported in 1952 *Tequesta*. Both are roadside type. They are of the same material and design as that adopted for the initiation of the program in 1952. The Association's committee on historic sites and markers chooses the sites and prepares the inscriptions.

On October 26, 1952, a marker was dedicated at Miami Interational Airport, Roger W. Toomey, manager of Pan American Airways' Latin-American Division made the principal address. Adam Kralik, oldest Miami employee of the airline in terms of service, and Adam G. Adams, President of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, unveiled the marker. Mr. Adams presented it to Dade County. I. D. McVicar, chairman of the Airport Committee of the Board of County Commissioners, accepted it for the county.

M I A M I
I N T E R N A T I O N A L A I R P O R T
(formerly Pan American Field)

Here Pan American World Airways amphibians took off on pioneer flights vital in linking the Americas. By Federal order on October 16, 1928, original 116 acres became first customs entry airport on U. S. Atlantic mainland. In 1929, first regular airmail was flown to Nassau Jan. 2; to Puerto Rico Jan. 9. On Feb. 4, Col. Lindbergh inaugurated regular airmail to Panama. In 1931, when Pan American began using flying boats from Dinner Key, Eastern Air Transport here started first scheduled passenger service to New York. In 1945, field was purchased by Dade County, expanded and renamed Miami International Airport.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, 1952

On October 28, 1953, a marker was dedicated at Dinner Key, marking the site of the aviation base that was Miami's first air link with Latin America. Paul C. Aiken of Washington, D. C., former assistant postmaster general in charge of international air mail made the dedication address. Mayor Chelsie J. Senerchia accepted the plaque for the City of Miami.

On the same occasion the circle at Dinner Key was designated "Clipper Circle", and the entrance roadway from South Bayshore Drive was named Pan American Drive.

DINNER KEY

Picknickers in sailboat days gave the key its name. In World War I, it was a naval air base. In 1930, Pan American World Airways here inaugurated flying boat service to Latin America, erecting huge hangars and a terminal. The U. S. Government dredged first channel in history especially for aircraft. Over 100,000 visitors a month came to see the giant flying clippers.

Coast Guard established seaplane base in 1932. In World War II, Navy and Pan American operated flying boats here until Latin American Airports built for hemisphere defense enabled use of more economical landplanes. City of Miami purchased key in 1946.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, 1953

Contributors

CARLTON J. CORLISS writes about railroads from personal experience. He has forty-four years of railroad experience. He spent nearly six years on the building of the Overseas Railway to Key West during the height of construction activity. He entered F. E. C. service as labor recruiting clerk in Miami under the first chief engineer, Joseph C. Meredith, and served under Mr. Meredith's successor, William J. Krome, as chief clerk of the headquarters office at Marthon. While engaged in this work, he met and married Loretta Billings, daughter of C. H. Billings, a Miami pioneer. Since 1937, except for a short period on leave of absence to write a railroad history, Mr. Corliss has been manager of the Public Section, a branch of the Public Relations Department, of the Association of American Railroads in Washington. He is author of *Main Line of Mid-America*, the centennial history of the Illinois Central Railroad; *Trail to Rails*, a story of the transportation development of Illinois, and numerous articles on railway history.

R. BRUCE LEDIN was educated at the University of Minnesota and the University of Indiana. He came to South Florida in 1946 as an instructor in botany at the University of Miami. While there he became interested in native plants and in the history of botany in South Florida. Many naturalists visited this region in earlier days and described what they found in nature, and incidentally something of what was going on in the way of human activity. In 1951 he joined the staff of the Sub-Tropical Experiment Station at Homestead where his work is along practical lines of horticulture. He is author of "Compositae of South Florida", and co-author of "400 Plants of South Florida".

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT early developed an interest in American Indians which led to his majoring in anthropology as an undergraduate at the University of California, and then as a graduate student at Yale University. Discovering the Florida Seminole to be a largely neglected group, he spent three summers and an autumn during 1950 to 1953 visiting their camps to learn about their languages and customs, gathering information for his PhD dissertation on the tribe. This experience has given him an interest in the customs of the Seminoles and in their part in Florida history which he intends to pursue further.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

TREASURER'S REPORT

FISCAL YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31, 1953

On hand Sept. 1, 1952			
Building Fund.....	\$2,166.26		
Marker Fund.....	123.72		
General Fund.....	1,306.96		\$3,596.94
<hr/>			
Dues collected.....	3,615.00		
Contributions to Building Fund.....	699.98		
Contributions to Marker Fund.....	60.50		
Miscellaneous Income.....	296.76		4,672.24
<hr/>			
Publishing Tequesta.....	685.55		
Program Meetings.....	260.34		
Treasurer.....	185.82		
Corresponding Secretary.....	8.50		
Miscellaneous Expenses.....	378.64	1,518.85	
<hr/>			
On hand August 31, 1953			
Building Fund.....	5,259.15		
Marker Fund.....	184.22		
General Fund.....	1,306.96	6,750.33	
<hr/>			
		\$8,269.18	\$8,269.18

At the close of the fiscal year, the surplus of \$2,392.91 was transferred to the Building Fund. Withers Transfer & Storage Co. of Coral Gables is providing fireproof protection for our archives without charge.

With our increased resources, it seemed good business practice to place your treasurer under a \$5,000 surety bond, which has been done.

NUMBER OF MEMBERS BY YEARS

	\$2	\$3	\$5	\$10	\$25	\$100	\$250	Total Members	Total Amount Collected
1950	423		135					558	\$1,521
1951	408	2	168	19	2		1	600	2,150
1952	33	329	190	29	7	2	1	591	2,918
1953		302	190	50	12	5	1	560	3,406

EDWIN G. BISHOP, *Treasurer.*

Callahan & Stuzin, Certified Public Accountants, duPont Building, Miami, have contributed their services in an audit of our books. Their review included the following procedures:

1. Reconciliation of book balances with balances confirmed directly with bank depositories.
2. Examination of bookkeeping entries for cash receipts and disbursements.
3. Comparison of receipts and disbursements recorded with cancelled checks and bank statements.
4. Verification of footings in cash receipts and disbursements record.
5. Compared Treasurer's Report with books of account.

LIST OF MEMBERS

EXPLANATORY NOTE: *The Society provides several classes of membership. Regular or "Annual" members at three dollars a year make up the great majority of the list. For those who wish to contribute more for the promotion of the Association's work, the other classes of membership provide the opportunity, and the publication of their names in the proper category of membership is a means of recognition. "Sustaining" members pay five dollars a year, "Patrons" pay ten dollars a year, "Donors" pay twenty-five dollars a year, "Sponsors" pay one hundred dollars a year, and "Benefactors" contribute two hundred and fifty dollars or more a year.*

*This printed roster is made up of the names of those persons and institutions that have paid dues in 1952 or in 1953 before September 30, when this material must go to press. Those joining after this date in 1953 will have their names included in the 1954 roster. The symbol ** indicates founding member and the symbol * indicates charter member.*

Annual Members

- Ada Merritt Jr. High School, Miami
 Adams, Elliot, Jacksonville
 Albertson Memorial Library, Orlando
 Allard, Mrs. Frederick, Pacific Palisades, Calif.
 Allen, Robert L., Deland
 American Museum of Natural History, New York
 Andrews, Melvin D., Miami
 Anthony, Roscoe T., Palm Beach
 Archer, Ben, Homestead
 Ardis, John T., Miami Beach
 Ayars, Erling B., S. Miami
 Baker, Therese C., Stuart
 Barker, Virgil, Miami
 Bartow Public Library, Bartow
 Baum, Earl L., Naples
 Baxter, John M., Miami*
 Beal, K. Malcolm, Miami*
 Beck, Mrs. Alfred J., Ft. Lauderdale*
 Benson, John L., Coral Gables
 Bingham, Mrs. Millicent T., Washington, D. C.
 Bird, Mary G., Coral Gables
 Bishop, Edwin G., Miami*
 Black, Mrs. Charles E., Miami*
 Black, Dr. Linnie, Miami
 Black, W. L., Jr., Coral Gables
 Bliss, H. Bond, Miami*
 Blouvelt, Mrs. Arthur, Coral Gables
 Botts, G. W., Jacksonville
 Bowen, Crate D., Miami*
 Boyd, Mark F., Tallahassee*
 Bradfield, E. S., Miami Beach**
 Brickell, James B., Oxford, Md.
 Brickell, Mrs. James B., Oxford, Md.
 Briggs, Harold E., Carbondale, Ill.*
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 Brook, John, Jr., Coral Gables
 Brown University Library
 Brown, William Mark, Miami*
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 Burton, Mrs. Robert A., Miami*
 Bush, R. S., Miami
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 Byrd, Mrs. Wade, Miami
 Campbell, Mrs. Park H., S. Miami*
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 Carnine, Miss Helen M., Miami
 Carson, Mrs. Ruby Leach, Miami Springs**
 Cartee, Mrs. Horace L., Coral Gables
 Cass, Mrs. Glen B., Miami
 Castillo, Miss Angela del, Washington, D. C.
 Catlow, Mrs. William R., Jr., Bloomfield, N. J.*
 Chase, H. R., Miami
 Christian, Mrs. Mary Poole, Clewiston
 Clarke, Mary Helm, Coral Gables*
 Close, Kenneth, Miami
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 Cole, R. B., Miami
 Columbia University Library
 Combs, Walter H., Jr., Miami*
 Combs, Mrs. Walter H., Sr., Miami*
 Connor, Mrs. June, Tampa
 Cook, John B., Miami
 Cooney, Mrs. Robert E., Miami
 Coppedge, Gene, Silver Springs
 Coral Gables Public Library*
 Cox, Mrs. Jessamine S., Miami
 Coyner, Ed., Miami
 Crow, Lon Worth, Miami*
 Crow, Mrs. Lon Worth, Miami*
 Cullen, Ralph O., Coral Gables
 Cunningham, Mrs. J. L., Coral Gables
 Cunningham, J. L., Coral Gables
 Curtis, Kent, Oregon, Ill.
 Cushman School, The, Miami*

- Dade County Teachers' Professional Library
 Davies, Edward G., Miami
 Davis, Arthur Vining, Miami
 Davis, Katherine Fite, Coral Gables
 DeBoe, Mrs. Mizpah Otto, Coral Gables
 de Lamorton, Fred, Tampa
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 Dorn, Mrs. J. K., Sr., Miami
 Dorn, J. K., Jr., Miami
 Dorothy, Mrs. Caroline, Miami*
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 Gillette, George, Wauchula
 Givens, Robert H., Jr., Miami
 Goggin, John M., Gainesville
 Goldweber, S., Miami
 Graham, James S., Ft. Lauderdale
 Graham, William A., Miami Springs
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 Hancock, Susan, Okeechobee
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 Hanna, A. J., Winter Park*
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 Hart, Mrs. Reginald, Coral Gables
 Harvard College Library
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 Havee, Mrs. Kathryn, Miami
 Heldenberg, Miss Anne C., Washington,
 D. C.
 Hendry, Judge Norman, Miami
 Herin, Thomas D., Miami
 Hess, Alfred, Miami
 Higgs, Charles D., Fontana, Wis.*
 Holland, Judge John W., Miami*
 Holland, Hon. Spessard L., Washington,
 D. C.*
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 Holmdale, Mrs. A. G., Miami
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 Hooker, Roland M., Miami
 Hudson, Mrs. F. M., Miami*
 Huggins, Mrs. Lulu C., Miami
 Humes, Mrs. Ralph H., Miami*
 Irwin, F. H., Miami
 Jahn, LeRoy S., Miami
 Jenkins, Leon R., Miami
 Jones, Col. A. B., Miami
 Jones, L. A., Miami*
 Jones, Mrs. L. A., Miami*
 Jones, Mrs. Macklin, Miami*
 Jones, Mrs. Mary D., Coral Gables
 Kaplan, Dr. Jacob H., Miami Beach*
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 Kiem, Stanley, Miami
 Kilvert, Maxwell A., Winter Park*
 King, C. Harold, Miami
 Kistler, The C. W. Co., Miami
 Kniffen, Claude L., Coral Gables
 Kohl, Mrs. Lavinia B., Palm Beach
 Kussrow, Van C., Miami Beach
 Lake Worth Public Library

- Latimer, Mrs. Florence A., Coral Gables
 Lawrence, Mrs. W. A., Miami*
 Lee, David C., Jr., Skokie, Ill.
 Lewis, Miss Carlotta, Coral Gables
 Lewis, Miss Mary D., Tallahassee
 Leyden, Mrs. Charles S., Coral Gables
 Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School
 Lipp, Morris N., Miami Beach
 Littlefield, Miss Helena, Coral Gables
 Loftin, Scott M., Jacksonville
 Longshore, Frank, Miami
 Lowe, Mrs. Louis M., Miami
 Lummus, Tom J., Miami
 Lyell, Robert O., Miami
 Lyell, Mrs. Robert O., Miami
 Lyman, Jack B., Miami
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