

# Tequesta: THE JOURNAL OF THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

Editor, Charlton W. Tebeau

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NUMBER XVI

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*Tequesta:* is published annually by the Historical Association of Southern Florida and the University of Miami. Subscription \$3.00. Communications should be addressed to the Corresponding Secretary of the Society, 1340 duPont Building, Miami 32, Florida. Neither the Association nor the University assumes responsibility for statements of fact or opinion made by contributors.

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# Tequesta:

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## Miami: 1896 to 1900

By RUBY LEACH CARSON

While the founding of the city of Miami in the year 1896 was the ultimate result of several national trends, the one connected directly with the development of the Florida east coast southward to Miami was the tourist rush of the eighties.

Florida in the eighties was rediscovered.

While many "unreconstructed" Floridians of the decade referred to this influx of northerners as "the second Yankee invasion", (the Union Army invasion of the sixties having been the first), they nevertheless rejoiced in the recognition which the state's warm winter climate was receiving. Not only invalids, but vacationists and wealthy pleasure-seekers were coming in increasing numbers.

This trend brought the Standard Oil millionaire, Henry M. Flagler, on a honeymoon trip with his second wife during the winter of 1883-84. Most of their time was spent in St. Augustine, where Flagler was planning to make his home. Although he was only fifty-three at the time, he was thinking of retiring from activity with the Standard Oil Company.

Flagler's biographer, Sidney Walter Martin, wrote that on this trip Flagler was impressed by the Florida East coast's need of a benefactor; but that the capitalist's only plan at the time was to return to St. Augustine the following year and begin building the luxurious Ponce de Leon Hotel.

Work on this project in 1885 showed the need of better transportation, hence Flagler purchased and improved the narrow gauge railroad which ran between Jacksonville and St. Augustine. Thus began the development of the Flagler's railroad and resort hotels down the east coast of the Florida peninsula. Although in 1892 he obtained a charter to extend his railroad as far south as Miami, his reaction upon occasions when pressed to do this would

indicate that he had no real plan. It remained for Miami's Julia Tuttle, with the aid of the three Big Freezes in 1894-95, to influence him to do this.

Neither Flagler nor the State of Florida would have been ready for this Florida east coast development in the seventies. Nor would Miami's co-founder, Mrs. Tuttle, have had title to the city's future site, with the land-bait of alternate sections all ready for the entrapment of a railroad man who would make possible a city. These three—Florida, Flagler and Julia Tuttle, were not yet ready in the seventies to merge their interests.

The trend in the north which produced capitalists like Rockefeller and Flagler was a part of the great national economic expansion that had followed the War Between the States. While Flagler was busy in the seventies developing the Standard Oil Company and amassing his great fortune, the State of Florida was first writhing under the heel of Carpetbag Rule, and later emerging from the economic, social and political miseries which the War had brought upon her.

While this was going on, Mrs. Julia Tuttle's father, Ephriam T. Sturtevant, in a small way was following the land-grabbing trend of the times and was homesteading land on Biscayne Bay, in the Lemon City area. He had come from Cleveland, Ohio, with William B. Brickell, who began homesteading land south of the mouth of the Miami River.

Early Dade County courthouse records show that Sturtevant was active in local politics. He is shown in 1872 to have been a Judge of the County Court of Dade County that year, as well as one of the Board of Inspectors in the November, 1872, election, and also a successful (by two votes!) candidate for the State Senate from the Dade-Brevard district.

Although Julia Tuttle visited her father in the seventies, the illness of her husband, Frederick Leonard Tuttle, in Cleveland had kept her there, managing his business interests. This business experience was to be used in Miami's behalf later. Through her father's inside information concerning the economic plight of the State of Florida during the years he was state senator (1872-73 and 74), Mrs. Tuttle watched developments with a trained eye. After the death of both husband and father, by 1886, she remained alert for the proper time to push a development around Biscayne Bay, near the Miami River.

By 1881 the State of Florida was in a position to offer inducements to railroads badly needed for the opening up and developing of central and southern Florida. This improved economic condition resulted from the sale of State-owned lands to Hamilton Disston for enough money to lift the lien

against all state-owned lands designated for internal improvements. Florida could now make grants of alternate sections of lands to railroads, along the line the roads followed. Henry B. Plant took advantage of this gift of land and by 1884 had extended the South Florida Railroad from Sanford, through Orlando, Kissimmee and Lakeland to Tampa.

By 1891 Mrs. Tuttle had envisioned a city at the mouth of the Miami River, where the Fort Dallas buildings were standing, and was buying the land. Her first bid for a railroad was revealed by James E. Ingraham, who was at that time the president of Henry B. Plant's railroad in Florida. It was upon Mrs. Tuttle's return to Cleveland to prepare to move to Florida, that she invited the Ingrahams to her home for dinner. She then told him about her land and expressed the belief that someday a railroad would be built to the Miami River. She hoped the railroad would be his; but to whatever railroad came, she said, she would give enough land for a town site. Ingraham was sufficiently interested later to make a survey, but he found that plan impractical.

In the early nineties, Mrs. Tuttle made this offer of land for a town site to Mr. Flagler—not once, but frequently. The Brickells joined her, offering some of their land also for a town. There came a time, of course, when the offer was gladly accepted.

The "Big Freezes" of December 24 and 28, 1894, and February 6, 1895, had by their combined disastrous effects upon the citrus and vegetable industry brought ruin and suffering at every turn. The desolation about him and the sight of settlers deserting their homes and returning north, drove the unhappy Flagler to action.

Of course Mrs. Tuttle took advantage of this situation to send word to him that these freezing temperatures had not touched the Miami River area. Flagler sent her old friend, James E. Ingraham, who was now his land commissioner, to investigate. The famous bouquet of orange blossoms which Mr. Ingraham took back to Flagler at St. Augustine—a bouquet which Ingraham and Mrs. Tuttle had picked, was all the added inducement Flagler needed. Here was proof, beautiful and fragrant, that there had been no freeze in the Biscayne Bay area. So he would extend his railroad south from Palm Beach, where it had terminated in 1894.

The marker which the Historical Association of Southern Florida dedicated to Mrs. Tuttle at S. E. First Avenue and Third Street, Miami, on July 25, 1952, tells the story briefly:

"Mrs. Julia D. Tuttle of Cleveland, O., acquired 644 acres on the north bank of the Miami River in 1891. She resided in the remodelled officers' quarters of old Fort Dallas 100 yards S. E. of this spot until her death Sept. 14, 1898.

"With rare foresight and energy, she persuaded Henry M. Flagler to extend his railroad to Miami in 1896.

"As inducement, Mrs. Tuttle gave him 100 acres for a railroad terminal and hotel and 263 acres in alternate city blocks (more than half her land), thus earning her fame as 'The Mother of Miami'."

U. S. Senator Scott M. Loftin, in dedicating the marker, said that such astute and far-sighted business men as John Egan, Richard Fitzpatrick, William F. English, Dr. J. V. Harris and members of the Biscayne Bay Company had purchased one after another the property on which Miami now stands, yet failed to realize that they held the site of a future city in their hands.

"It remained," said the senator, "for a wise and remarkable woman to envision its possibilities."

The railroad had reached as far south as the site of Fort Lauderdale when on March 3, 1896, Flagler sent John Sewell with a crew of twelve Negroes to Miami "to start the city," as Sewell describes his assignment in his book "Memoirs and History of Miami, Florida". Sewell came on one of the two boats which were running at that time from Fort Lauderdale into Miami through the canal which had just been completed into Biscayne Bay. He had brought along his younger brother, E. G. Sewell, "to start a store in the new settlement."

With his letter of introduction to Mrs. Tuttle, John presented himself to the "Mother of Miami" and began consulting with her about the proposed Royal Palm Hotel site and its boundaries, and the city boundaries.

"I found Miami all woods," he wrote. The Sewell brothers were unable to get immediate lodging at the Miami Hotel, which Mrs. Tuttle was erecting on Miami Avenue near the River. Fortunately, there was a floating hotel, the steamboat Rockledge, operated by one Captain Vail, so they stayed there until they could move to the Miami Hotel. This boat had been following the Flagler construction work.

Miami had begun to experience growing pains from the moment Flagler's first crews of engineers and surveyors arrived. They were housed in tents. John Sewell found that Mrs. Tuttle had opened up Miami Avenue from the river north to 14th Street and that on this clearing were several shacks and tents.

One month before, on February 6, Isidor Cohen had arrived with merchandise for a store. Under the date of February 8, 1896, in his published diary, Cohen wrote: "A bank is about to be opened. Dr. Graham is planning to publish a newspaper which will be named the Metropolis. Buildings are springing up in every direction as if by magic." Cohen opened his store on the south side of the River on February 12.

On March 26, 23 days after their arrival, the Sewell brothers opened a shoe store, the first store to be located north of the Miami River. Eight hours later, J. E. Lummus opened a general store. Then came the Townley Brothers Drug store and the F. T. Budge Hardware store. Dr. James M. Jackson was invited to come from Bronson, Fla., to start a Miami practice, an invitation which the doctor accepted.

The following month, on April 15, 1896, the first train arrived in Miami. The event is described by J. N. Lummus in his book, "The Miracle of Miami Beach". J. N. (brother of J. E.), had come here from Bronson, Fla., and "remained in Miami until after the first train of the Florida East Coast Railway puffed its way into the village over wobbly tracks," and he added that "the old wood burning engine, with its big bell top, was spouting smoke and the whistle and the bell were going full tilt."

Beside the locomotive, that first train into Miami consisted of a mail coach, baggage car, day coaches (first and second class) and a chair car. Cohen's diary shows that Miami's railroad station was first located on its present site, then moved to the bay near N. E. 6th Street.

It was logical that with a train to bring printing equipment, a newspaper would be the next big event in the new town; but the Miami Metropolis did not get out its first issue until exactly a month later, on May 15. It was as Cohen wrote, "a Flagler paper", and its publishers were Dr. Walter S. Graham, an attorney, listed as editor; and Wesley M. Featherly, listed as local editor. This paper was the forerunner of the Miami Daily News. The early issues, available for reading on microfilm, along with the memoirs of several pioneers, provide local historians with plentiful and rich source material for reconstructing the pioneer days.

The Bank of Bay Biscayne had opened up May 3, in time to get good press notices in the paper's first issue. The president was William Mark Brown and Julia Tuttle was one of the directors. The editor's "plug" for Mrs. Tuttle is a measure of the respect which the publishers held for her business ability.

The restrictions which Mrs. Tuttle demanded in connection with the sale of lots were mentioned by several writers of the day as the cause of some grumbling. No liquor could be sold within the city limits. There was a fire clause, a provision for residences to be placed at least 25 feet back from the street line and a clause for the confining of factories and colored people in certain areas. Her daughter, Miss Fannie Tuttle, and her son, Harry, were of great assistance to Mrs. Tuttle in her various projects. A. E. Kingsley was her general agent.

The stage was now set for the incorporation of the city. The Metropolis reminded its readers that there was need of a strong municipal government as soon as possible. It stated that there would be 1,500 people there before the first of July (1896). On July 28, the community's 343 voters met and elected Flagler's architect, Joseph A. McDonald, as chairman. The voters then elected McDonald's son-in-law, John B. Reilly, as mayor and established boundary lines and approved an official seal.

The above election had not been conducted without some preliminary plotting and scheming between the town's two factions—the Flagler, or “corporation” crowd, and the anti-corporationists. Cohen, belonging to the anti, complained: “The railroad crowd is certainly taking control of politics in this neck of the woods.” The Metropolis was a Flagler paper until 1905, when it was purchased by S. Bobo Dean. In 1923 Dean sold it to James M. Cox, and its name was changed to the News.

Katherine and Alfred Jackson Hanna gleaned some delightful angles of those times for their book “Florida's Golden Sands.” Since the railroad owned the public utilities, interesting complaints were received because of poor service. “The generative plant often gave out and plunged the city in darkness,” wrote the Hannas. “The boiler plant of the utility, using pine wood and coal for fuel, gave forth gasses and soot.”

“Probably,” continued these writers, “no other town along the Flagler line of march kicked more strenuously against its benefactor; at least there is no evidence of so much critical agitation in other communities which owed their growth to the same source.”

Cohen listed the leaders of the anti-corporation faction as being John M. and Thomas L. Townley, Sam Fitts, John Frohock, Guy Metcalf of West Palm Beach, and, of course—himself. Although Cohen added promptly, he “entertained the highest respect for Henry M. Flagler personally”. Cohen looked forward to a promised people's newspaper. “Then,” he concluded, “watch the fur fly.”

Besides the Flagler water and light systems, the city by the end of 1896 had a city hall, a jail and a volunteer fire department. Miami Avenue was lined on both sides with stores and Julia Tuttle had started the first laundry, the first bakery and the first dairy. John Seybold, later of bakery fame, was then a restaurant proprietor. Dr. P. T. Skaggs had started a medical practice. Attorneys mentioned in the first issue of the *Metropolis* were those in the firm of Robbins, Graham & Chillingworth of Juno, which was the seat of Dade County. This firm set up a Miami branch office. Also in Miami in the early days were Attorneys G. A. Worley, Robert R. Taylor, Redmond B. Gautier, Judge H. F. Atkinson, Mitchel D. Price, Judge J. T. Sanders and perhaps others.

John Sewell's invaluable memoirs list the real estate agents in the order of their coming: F. S. Morse, E. A. Waddell, A. E. Kingsley, John B. Reilly and Robbins & Graham. He said that Morse was agent for the railroad lands and that Reilly handled Flagler lots on both the Brickell and Tuttle sides of the River. Flagler was to get one-half of all the city lots, Mrs. Tuttle one-fourth and the Brickells one-fourth.

The Brickell family, which donated to the city as much land on the south side of the river as Mrs. Tuttle gave on the north side, was an important factor in the history of Dade County. The family consisted of Mr. and Mrs. William B. Brickell and three sons—Charles, Clinton and Wm. B., Jr.; and four daughters—Edith M., Belle B., Maude E. and Alice. They owned an unbroken tract of hammock land from the Miami River southward for three miles, almost to Coconut Grove. Alice Brickell was postmistress, and her father operated a trading post.

Lack of space prevents mention in this brief sketch of all of the pioneers who helped develop the city. Lemon City was enjoying growth and a winter colony in the Coconut Grove area had been thriving since the late eighties. Social life there centered about the Biscayne Bay Yacht Club, of which Commodore Ralph M. Munroe was president and the noted author, Kirk Munroe, was secretary. The Peacock Inn was popular with the bay's winter visitors before Miami was incorporated.

Thus the city of Miami, a planned city with tourism its expected destiny, ended its first year and began its second year in 1897 with the mid-January formal opening of Flagler's hotel, the Royal Palm. This picturesque hotel on the bay north of the mouth of the Miami River immediately made Miami a resort of national importance. Visitors with yachts could bring them right

up to the Royal Palm Hotel docks through the channel which Flagler had cut across the bay.

In 1897 three more physicians were available in the area, Dr. R. H. Huddleston, Dr. Edwin W. Pugh and Dr. Eleanor Gault Simmons. Dr. John Gordon DuPuis began practicing in Lemon City in 1898.

An issue of the *Metropolis* dated May 15, 1897 said that Tom Peters (who during the boom was to buy the Halcyon Hotel) had made \$2,350 on a tomato crop he had planted in the fall of 1896. He shipped 1,175 crates at \$2.00 each.

The *Metropolis* gave the 1897 Miami population figures as two thousand, with an expectation of an extra thousand during the next tourist season. It boasted that Miami was the only city on the east coast south of St. Augustine with a sewerage system; it had the most paved streets and a good waterworks system, an ice factory, four good hotels, a bank and six church organizations. Moreover, said the paper, "Miami is a moral city. There are no saloons in the place." On February 3, 1898, a Board of Trade was organized.

An unplanned destiny for the new city of Miami, but one which was foreseen by Mrs. Tuttle, made its appearance before Miami was two years of age. This was its projection into inter-American affairs as a result of its proximity to the Caribbean countries. Although the Cuban insurrection had touched the Florida coastline through filibustering activities, the United States did not intervene in Cuba's behalf until Congress declared war against Spain on April 25, 1898.

Many Americans, such as Florida's United States Senator Wilkinson Call, had been articulate in a desire for American intervention during the Cleveland administration. Historians of the period state that Cleveland side-stepped the issue in protest against the trend of imperialism which had swept the nation. Shortly after the battleship *Maine* was sunk by the Spanish on February 15, McKinley, who was then president, asked Congress to declare war.

Local writers of the period say that Miamians feared an attack from the Spaniards, although no warship could get into the shallow channel. It was common knowledge, however, that some of the filibustering ships which carried supplies to Cuba were loaded at New River, the site of Fort Lauderdale. The *Metropolis* of May 21, 1897, had mentioned one such trip by the *Dauntless* and had hinted at others.

From the time the insurrection had flared up in Cuba in 1895, the Cuban refugees had organized juntas in Key West, Tampa and Jacksonville.

Floridians cooperated with these refugees in providing arms, ammunition and men and sending them to Cuba for defense against Spanish oppression and to help secure Cuban independence. Most famous of the filibustering ships was *The Three Friends*, operated by Napoleon Bonaparte Broward, who would later be governor of Florida.

Describing the effect on Miamians of this war, Helga H. Eason in her article, "Sand in Their Shoes" which appeared in the Wilson Library Bulletin, wrote:

"The Spanish-American War was hard on the new city. A near panic existed when the cream of Miami's young men marched off to train in Tampa, and the citizens expected fully that Spanish warships would fire on the city. But it was not the Spanish that wreaked havoc, but the American Army, for seven thousand soldiers were sent in to protect the 1,500 civilians. It was the citizens who had to protect themselves against the soldiers, for they molested wives, broke into homes, shot coconuts off trees, shot and slashed whites and Negroes alike. The encamped army profited business men and doctors, but women were not safe on the street after dark."

Cohen wrote that the soldiers "kept things extremely lively for several months", and Sewell's memoirs carry an account of the organizing and drilling of Minute Men. Any male Miamian from the age of 16 up was eligible to take part in these nightly drills.

Sewell wrote that the first prize ship captured from Spain during the Spanish-American War was brought to the Miami dock. It was the Cocoa, and had been purchased by Flagler. According to Sewell, the first Spanish prisoners brought to American soil were landed here and that the whole city went to the dock to see the Spanish general and his soldiers transferred from boat to train. "The Spaniards did quite a business selling their money, trinkets and even the buttons on their uniforms to Miami citizens for souvenirs," he wrote.

Miamians were saddened during this trying time by the sudden death of the city's co-founder, Mrs. Julia Tuttle. Her death on September 14 followed an illness of only a few hours.

Tragedy struck the city in 1899 in the form of a yellow fever epidemic. On October 22 of that year, the State Health Officer, Dr. Joseph Y. Porter, quarantined Miami. His public proclamation and some of his reports of the epidemic to the State Board of Health have been made available by Dr. John G. DuPuis in his book "History of Early Medicine in Dade County".

Dr. Porter's quarantine statement, with its suggestion for depopulation, is worth reading today. "Five distinct cases of yellow fever have been seen," Dr. Porter stated, "and from clinical histories submitted there are doubtless several others. The infection is distributed over the town, mild in character, but unmistakable in recognition. To limit the spread of and destroy the infection as rapidly as possible, a depopulation of Miami is recommended."

Dr. Porter presented his plan for this.

"If fifty or more persons will leave for Hendersonville, N. C., which place will admit yellow fever refugees from this section," he said, "a special through train will be provided by the East Coast Railway System. A less number than fifty will not be taken by connecting lines at Jacksonville. As soon as possible a detention camp for refugees will be provided, at a convenient point, for those who cannot go as far as Hendersonville, N. C. The quarantine of Miami and the surveillance of this section as far north as New River (Fort Lauderdale), will be maintained as rigidly as human agency can effect it."

The quarantine station, according to Dr. DuPuis, was set up at Fulford, around 166th street north, and all who wanted to leave Miami to go north were required to stay there for two weeks. If no symptoms developed within that time, they were permitted to leave.

Dr. James M. Jackson as local health officer for the State Board of Health, set up a sanitary watch over the town and supervised the house-to-house inspections. According to Dr. Jackson's testimony, the disease was introduced into Miami by the cattle steamer *Laura*, a wooden vessel from Neuvitas, Cuba.

As the first victim of the disease had been staying at the Miami Hotel, everyone who had had any communication with him was quarantined on the steamer *Santa Lucia*, a floating detention camp. From the Miami Hotel, according to the record, the disease spread across the street to a boarding house. Not long afterward, the Miami Hotel burned to the ground. The cause of the fire was never given.

Dr. DuPuis quotes a letter dated October 30, 1899, which showed that Flagler said he would provide funds for a hospital. He not only erected a hospital but brought experienced nurses from Key West and Jacksonville and paid all of their expenses. The state records show that Flagler in other ways contributed to the financial relief of the afflicted.

The quarantine was lifted on January 15, 1900, with a record of 220 cases, but only 14 deaths. One of these deaths was that of John G. Pope, who

had moved from Kissimmee to Miami to construct buildings for the Flagler interests. One of his five children, Youell Pope, now living in Miami, recalls how well the health officers guarded the city boundaries during the quarantine. The day the quarantine was put into effect, one of his schoolmates, John Graham, son of the Metropolis publisher, was not allowed to return home—outside the boundaries—without a permit.

In 1900 the four-year-old city of Miami could face the new century with a feeling of security—for its economy and its high enthusiasm had been tested by disasters, and had risen above them.

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# Miami In 1926

By FRANK B. SESSA

Three decades have passed since Miami experienced its most exciting and colorful year. Yet the image remains bright in the minds of those who lived through it and its stories and legends have stirred the imagination of more recent arrivals. If present day economic activity is frequently considered a boom time economy, the word "boom" to Miamians holds only one meaning: The fantastic speculation in real estate in 1925.

The year 1926, when Miami had reached half its present age, was in many respects a year of anti-climax. It mattered little that bank deposits, building permits, postal receipts and other indices of economic well-being were at their highest point for any year but 1925. The boom had come and gone and only a severe hurricane was needed to provide a dramatic ending.

Miami, and most of the country which thought about Florida at all in the summer of 1925, thought only of real estate. Little or no attention went to the changes taking place in the Florida scene. It is true that a considerable number of books, magazine articles and newspaper stories about Florida appeared with increasing frequency, all of them descriptive of Florida's progress, but equally true that the emphasis was put on the most exciting development in the area, chronicled over and again in tales of remarkable profits some fortunate individuals had taken from speculative real estate ventures.

As the *New York Times* put it:

Everybody is telling stories of Florida and the wonderful real estate developments there. . . . Hardly anybody talks of anything but real estate, and one is led to believe that nobody in Florida thinks of anything else in these days when the peninsula is jammed with visitors from end to end and side to side—unless it is a matter of finding a place to sleep. Ten minutes to half an hour in any spot in the state would convince the most skeptical eyes and ears that something is taking place in Florida to which the history of developments, booms, inrushes, speculation, investment yields no parallel.

That newspaper had, in an editorial "Triumphant Florida," approached a week earlier the question from a different viewpoint. Five years ago, it

observed, the last great unclaimed wilderness in the United States was the State of Florida. "Today, hand in hand with a real estate boom that makes a Klondike rush seem tame, a sound and solid development is in progress, the child of the best pioneer instincts." At the moment "development" was the rage, with much of it in the hands of those who had made good elsewhere. They had come to Florida for the winter, had been "fired with the old zeal" to reclaim "miles of dismal swamps" and turn them "into villages, towns, hotel and club sites, orange, grapefruit and coconut groves, etc." Those coming to Florida fell into two groups: "resorters" who filled hotels, beaches, links, and those who wanted a home away from bitter northern cold. The real wealth of Florida, the editorial continued, lay in the richness of its soil which, once drained, will grow anything. "The old spirit of adventure which built the West still persists. There is a certain gusto about the conquerors of Florida. Feeling that they are building a tropical empire, they are working with lavish hands."

The work of the "lavish hands" made itself manifest largely in large hotels, projected subdivisions, and ornamental gateways. The more solid achievement of Miami and its environs was not so readily apparent. It is true, of course, that these were physical aspects of the boom. They could be seen. As Paul P. Wilcox, Assistant City Manager and editor of the *City Manager's Report to City Commission*, expressed it, "without reading a word, a story of Miami's growth can be obtained in pictures by slowly turning the pages of this record."

The document is a remarkable one. It delves into the expansion of Miami in its five years of city-manager government, 1921-1926. It is half statistics of the various departments of municipal government and half propaganda for the future of the city. Sandwiched in with figures showing harbor expansion, use of bridges, and output of public utilities, are statements as to "Miami's Possibilities," and "Pertinent Points." The latter part of the book is devoted to the industrial possibilities of Miami, Miami as a resort city, Nothing can stop Miami, and more Pertinent Points.

Free-lance English journalist, Theodore Weigall, although most impressed with the bizarre aspects of the boom, also felt something of the solid achievement of Miami. In a column in the London *Daily Telegraph*, written after he had left Miami, he observed: "Behind the boom, behind frenzied speculation, behind even those ludicrous charabancs crowded with shirt-sleeved 'realtors' selling lots on time-payment to the music of the saxophone, there is something happening in Florida that is very significant and very real."

Real estate had been the chief business of Miami for the past several years and it was, of course, the chief activity of the boom. It made the boom, but with it came an expansion of building, the development of excellent harbor facilities, and the expansion of railroad facilities. Too, Miami made a population gain of considerable size and that remained a permanent development. If sidewalks and streets were cut into the wilderness that failed (until recently) to materialize into housing areas with homes and landscaped lawns, there were scores of new buildings, hotels, and apartment houses erected and wide streets paved that would be crowded later.

Annexation, held in abeyance for the better part of two years, came before the electorate once more in the summer of 1925. Once more opposition mobilized. The town of Silver Bluff published a full-page advertisement in the *Miami Herald*, the gist of which was that the community should remain independent until Miami had expanded to its present limits and until it had made needed improvements such as extensive street-paving, sewers, and so forth. The issue was settled on September 2, 1925, however, when the voters of the various communities about Miami approved annexation. The city area grew from thirteen to forty-three square miles; and Silver Bluff, Little River, Lemon City, Buena Vista, Coconut Grove, and Allapattah became an integral part of it.

Miami's building activities took a forward spurt beginning in mid-summer, 1924, but the city made its outstanding record during the calendar year 1925 when the value of building permits issued touched \$60,026,260. For the city fiscal year, from July 1, 1923 to June 30, 1924, the figure for permits issued was \$11,176,981, an increase over the previous fiscal year of 93.3 per cent. In the fiscal year, 1924-25, the figure reached \$31,835,741, or an increase of 108.5 per cent; but of that figure the first six months of 1925 totaled \$21,711,001. The largest single month was the month of October when 1,499 permits were issued in the amount of \$10,289,889. Miami ranked sixth in the amount of building permits issued in the United States. For the entire year, 1925, it ranked ninth in the nation's cities, with only New York, Chicago, Detroit, Philadelphia, Los Angeles, Boston, Cleveland and Washington, D. C. ahead of it. The building record for the major communities in metropolitan Miami, in 1925, reached the amount of \$103,272,192, according to the January 1, 1926, issue of the *Miami Herald*.

Building statistics translated themselves in part into a number of large structures erected or contemplated during the most active period of Miami real estate in 1925. Dade County proposed a \$1,600,000 county courthouse

and city hall with construction to begin about September 1; the Miami Bank and Trust Company, a half-million dollar ten-story building, the Miami Realty Board, through the Miami Realty Board Investment Company, a half-million dollar, fifteen-story building; and the First Baptist Church a twelve story building to cost \$1,250,000. Less than a month after its first announcement, the church had decided upon a twenty-two story church and office building—which never materialized. It was to be twenty stories high and have two additional stories in a tower. The plan approved by the building committee involved \$1,500,000. Not to be outdone, Trinity Southern Methodist Church announced, on May 13, 1925, that it was starting a drive to raise \$250,000 as the first part of the sum needed to erect a million-dollar church and office building.

John H. Kinkaid, of Cleveland, planned a twelve-story apartment-hotel for the corner of North Bay Shore Drive (now Biscayne Boulevard) and Fifteenth Terrace. The Fred French Corporation, which had been building successful apartment hotels in other cities under the French plan, received a permit to construct the \$1,200,000 building on Bay Shore Drive which eventually became the Everglades Hotel. Owners of the Congress building received a permit to enlarge that structure by adding fifty feet of frontage and raising its height to seventeen stories. The permit came to one million dollars. Rand Properties planned to construct the Huntington Building at the southwest corner of Southeast Second Avenue and First Street. The project when completed would cost, according to estimate, one million dollars.

Among hotels for which permits were secured was the Robert Clay Hotel, to be erected in Dallas Park by the Meyer-Kiser Corporation of Indianapolis. It was planned as a luxury hotel of ten stories with 164 guest rooms, each with bath. A permit was secured for the erection of a \$1,200,000 hotel at the corner of North Bay Shore Drive and First Street, eventually the Columbus Hotel. One of the most ambitious projects was that of Rand Properties, the Roosevelt Hotel, to be located on the northwest corner of Northeast Second Avenue and Fourteenth Street. The fifteen-story building, designed by Louis Kemper of Detroit, would have a frontage of 120 feet on Second Avenue and 210 feet on Fourteenth Street. Halted in construction by the effect of the railroad embargo of late 1925 and early 1926, the unfinished building long remained a boom landmark. It is now the Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School. As projected, the sponsors envisioned a \$2,750,000 luxury hotel. The site, however, was far enough from the bay and from transportation and shopping centers to be considered a white elephant by most

prospective purchasers who might have completed and operated it. Still another project was a twelve-story, million-dollar hotel to be located on the northwest corner of Bay Shore Drive and Northeast Fifth Street (the Alcazar). In the same area, along North Bay Shore Drive, the Watson Hotel, sixteen stories and costing \$700,000 was announced in August.

The projected All States Society Hotel, a twelve-story building, planned for the southeast corner of Northeast Second Street and Tenth Avenue, was to be the culmination of a long-nurtured plan to attract visitors to Miami. There had been organized in Miami, prior to boom times, a number of state societies, organizations made up of former residents of the various states. Their function seemed to be to hold meetings and plan recreational outings and entertainment to which visitors to Miami from their respective states were invited. The plan, apparently a successful one, received frequent mention in the Miami dailies, both for the social events the societies planned and for their help in publicizing Miami. This hotel would be one to which visitors who were strangers to the area might come; there, they would be sure to meet in a strange city people with whom they had something in common.

The more than thirty-one million dollars spent during the city fiscal year, 1924-25, and the more than fifty-nine million dollars in permits for the fiscal year, 1925-26, were responsible for the large hotels currently found along Biscayne Boulevard between East Flagler Street and Northeast Fifth Street, for the Congress Building, the Huntington Building, the new building of the Bank of Bay Biscayne (presently the Biscayne Building), the Realty Board Building (presently the Pacific Building), the Meyer-Kiser Building (presently the Dade Commonwealth Building), the News Tower, and the twenty-two story Dade County Courthouse. These are the buildings that give Miami most of its present-day sky-line.

Not all of the projects for which prospective builders secured permits were completed or even begun. Cases in point were the announced project of a new \$2,000,000 hotel on Brickell Avenue, south of Point View and along Southeast Twenty-third Road; and the two churches mentioned above never completed their combination office-building, church structures.

Despite plans that did not mature Miami's building record, and that of the surrounding communities, constituted one of the substantial, lasting achievements of the boom era. Although the buildings were planned in a burst of optimism in the period just before the crescendo of real estate activity, they were completed in most cases and were available for occupancy

when the demand for space and accommodation came in later years. All of Florida, for that matter, had participated in the building boom.

As a major indication of Miami's progress and new-found place in the business world, Miami publications stressed the growth of the city's financial institutions. Reports of marked gains in deposits and resources also found their way into the columns of the *New York Times*, the *Wall Street Journal* and the *Commercial and Financial Chronicle*.

Miami had not had a clearing house until January of 1924, and then not all of the banks joined the association. Most reports made in the *Miami Herald* and the *Miami News-Metropolis* were labeled as Clearing House Association banks; occasionally reports of the deposits of smaller institutions were made. Clearings for the year 1924 totaled \$212,333,780.40. In 1925, totals began to climb rapidly. The figure for January fell just under \$40,000,000, the one for February, over \$46,000,000. The totals for those ten months were \$861,291,549.46, as compared with \$159,386,235.59 for the same period of the previous year. Returns on May 2, were \$3,267,406.56, on May 4, \$4,257,426.60. The highest figure in the spring, however, was \$4,500,000 (April 13) and the second highest figure \$4,400,000 (June 30). By August 31, the figure reached \$6,278,850. For the calendar year clearings passed the \$1,000,000,000 mark, a gain of 475 per cent over 1924. The figure given by the Comptroller of the Currency and that listed in *Statistical Abstracts* is \$816,788,000, but for those publications the period of compilation ends on September 30.

As with clearing house statistics, Miami's bank deposits showed a sharp upward trend in 1925, with the peak occurring in the late summer. The bank deposits of the city's banks belonging to the Clearing House Association reached in the quarter ending September 30, a peak of \$189,148,319, a 48 per cent increase over the figure for the period ending June 30, 1925.

On October 8, 1925, the *Miami Herald* published the figures of the amount of deposits in representative banks, indicative of the growth of Miami banking in the first nine months of 1925. At the conclusion of the year, (January 3, 1926), the same paper published figures showing the gain made by representative Miami and Miami Beach banks. Taken separately, the twelve-month gains are imposing; compared with the figures for September 28, 1925, they show a decrease of several million dollars in deposits. The First National Bank of Miami had dropped in ninety days from \$63,029,867.82 to \$55,255,861.54, and the second largest bank, the Bank of Bay Biscayne, dropped in the same period from \$57,713,440.91 to \$54,517,610.64.

It should be noted also that the Southern Bank and Trust Company with deposits in excess of \$14,000,000 was included, yet the year's totals for eight reported banks fell a little less than \$2,000,000 below the total for September 28.

A natural result of the rise of property values in Miami was the increase in assessments. Although assessments were made for the fiscal year ending on June 30, "regardless of when the assessor makes his call, he values the property as it was January 1st, for all." The net valuation for Miami in 1923, was \$70,341,895, for 1924, \$87,651,714, and for 1925, \$166,898,974. With the addition of the newly annexed areas in September, the latter figure increased in amount to \$184,242,219. The valuation for 1926 was set at \$389,648,391. (1956 evaluation is \$689,441,010).

The *Wall Street Journal*, on December 24, 1925, set Miami's per capita wealth at \$7,470, based upon a population in greater Miami of 177,061, with real estate valued at \$750,000,000 and \$199,651,065 on deposit in Miami banks. It did not include Coral Gables and Miami Beach.

Postal receipts in Miami climbed rapidly throughout the boom period. By the close of 1924, they were \$493,000, just \$7,000 short of the \$500,000 volume of business the Post Office Department required for the two-division system, one for handling mail, the other for financial activities. In view of the rapid growth of the city, postal authorities decided to institute the system as of July 1, 1925. "Extraordinary conditions" in Miami, because of the influx of people, led the Postmaster General (Washington) to open up a branch of the department in Miami to handle postal problems as they arose.

One dream of Miami expansionists, passenger and freight service by sea, came to full realization in 1925. Early in January, the S. S. Berkshire, of the Merchants and Miners Line, arrived in Miami's port. Music, noise, and cheers greeted the ship's arrival. Miami, observed the *Miami Herald*, was now linked by water with Philadelphia. By September, the *Herald* was able to report that very shortly steamships would bring almost 2,000 passengers every seven days, an increase of 400 per cent over the service offered one year before. The *New York Journal of Commerce*, on September 19, 1925, carried an advertisement for the Clyde Line, announcing direct service without transfer to the heart of the City of Miami; and on November 13, it carried three block-advertisements for New York to Miami steamship service: the American and Cuban Steamship Line, the New York and Florida Navigation Corporation, and Oceanic Lines. The arrivals of the steamship H. F.

Alexander, on October 24, 1925, marked the inauguration of service by the Admiral Lines, and touched off a large celebration with boats and small yachts going out to meet it as it entered the channel and with bands and crowds on hand to welcome its docking. Even the London *Daily Telegraph* noted that the S. S. Kroonland, formerly in the Red Star Line's transatlantic service, had begun, on December 11, a new service from New York to Miami. Among the 400 passengers were several golf champions who were to winter in Miami.

Miami's water-borne freight handling increased just as did steamship passenger service. The volume of imports in 1925 increased more than 350 per cent over those in 1924. Exports increased almost 100 per cent.

To the *Miami Herald*, a major indication of the volume of real estate and commercial activity in Miami was the enormous increase of its advertising lineage. It had carried daily advertising statistics in a small box in a lower corner of the front page for some time past, but in April, 1925, it began to stress the rapid expansion of space devoted to advertising. The *Nation* also considered the *Herald's* advertising advance significant. In fact, it had seen no "more impressive confirmation" of Miami's boom than a statement of the *Herald's* advertising lineage in *Editor and Publisher*. The *Miami Herald* led the nation's "seven day a week" newspapers at the end of the first quarter, the second quarter, and for the entire year of 1925. By the end of October, the *Miami Herald* had carried 34,106,030 agate lines of paid advertising, exceeding the 1924 world's record (twelve months) of the *Detroit News* by 3,501,512 lines. In the matter of the number of classified advertisements published the paper also had an extraordinary record. On September 1, 1925, the number of advertisements published had surpassed the record of the entire previous year (363,320). By the end of the year the *Miami Herald* had published 674,738 classified advertisements.

The *Miami Daily News* could not compete on equal terms with the *Herald* in either numbers of classified advertisements or in lineage. Its lineage for real estate advertisements (1925) amounted to 8,256,402 lines as opposed to 12,654,586 lines for the *Herald* to September 30. It did, however, produce the largest single issue in the country. The occasion was the formal opening of the *News Tower* and the twenty-ninth anniversary of the city. Some fifty carloads of newsprint were needed for the 504-page issue of twenty-two sections.

In the late summer and fall of 1925 Miami had received a number of sharp setbacks. The housing shortage, the embargoes, the increased tempo

and effectiveness of anti-Florida propaganda, and reports of increased vigilance by internal revenue agents over realty transactions all combined to jeopardize the delicate balance of Miami's economy. It remained for the "season" to arrive to answer the question of the city's immediate future. No one had expected real estate sales to maintain the extraordinarily high levels of the summer indefinitely; the question of concern to most of the community's inhabitants and boosters was whether sales would be brisk enough to continue forward progress.

With some of the real estate fever subsiding, Miamians turned their attention, in the late fall, to preparations for the coming of the tourists. The *Miami Herald* surveyed a number of Florida cities and published their estimates of the coming season, based, said the paper, upon actual hotel reservations. Tampa expected its largest group of visitors for the ninety-day season, Sebring anticipated a 300 per cent increase, and Key West presently had more visitors than at the height of the previous season. Late in December, however, there appeared a news item that might indicate all was not well or going as hoped. Miami rents, reported the *Wall Street Journal*, were coming down, "the most hopeful sign of a prosperous winter." Apartments advertised for \$3,500 a season on November 1, now brought \$1,500 or less. Miami Beach apartments were reported as being 30 per cent lower than before. Such a report could be considered a harbinger of winter prosperity only by indirection. A bumper season meant crowded conditions, more reservations than accommodations, and rentals under such circumstances tended to climb. Rents appreciably lower than formerly might attract more visitors ultimately, but they would be looked upon temporarily as a recession.

Despite such indications, Miami went ahead with its seasonal plans. On Christmas Day, visitors were treated to the spectacle of the "Gray Ghost," Red Grange, and his Chicago Bears professional football team defeating the Coral Gables Collegians, 7-0. On New Year's Day, the famous Four Horsemen and Seven Mules of Notre Dame defeated the ex-Princeton Stars, 6-0, in the last thirty seconds of their game held in the Coral Gables stadium. Spectators had paid three to five dollars for grandstand seats and seven dollars to sit in reserved seats in boxes.

With a great deal of fanfare two special trains departed from the Pennsylvania Station in New York for Coral Gables for the opening of the Biltmore Hotel. John McEntee Bowman, its builder, had chartered two trains, one from the Seaboard Air Line Railway and one from the Atlantic Coast Line Railroad. The trains, with picked engineers, raced toward Miami; they

carried specially invited guests and notables who were to attend the hotel's formal opening. The Seaboard passengers had some inconvenience. Although theirs was the shorter route, their rail journey ended at West Palm Beach and, with their baggage, they had to complete the journey by bus.

Tahiti Beach, the private beach of the Biltmore Hotel, opened officially on February 7. By 11:00 A. M., a steady stream of motor cars was making its way to the South Sea native-style huts with thatched roofs of palmetto and palm fronds. Native Tahitians served fruit "Tahitian style," that is, they sliced coconuts with machetes and brought the guests oranges and bananas on sticks. Even more bizarre were the gondolas with native Italian gondoliers brought to America by Bowman, to carry romantic guests on afternoon and moonlight trips along the winding route of the local "Grand Canal," a six-mile stretch from the gondola basin south of the Biltmore Hotel to Tahiti Beach, a "stretch of water the Venetians have beautified with reproductions of lights and ornaments used in Venice."

Other events of some consequence to the community and of interest to the visitors were the opening of new hotels, like the Floridian and Roney Plaza on Miami Beach, the opening of the Venetian Way (along the route of the old Collins Bridge), Rosa Raisa singing "Aida" and Mary Garden singing "Thais" at the Coral Gables Stadium, and the "on-again, off-again" Tunney-Stribling prize fight.

Racing, of course, attracted many visitors to Hialeah until March 15. A new attitude had appeared toward the race track, however, for some opposition to horse racing had developed. A check of Miami department stores, after the close of the racing season, revealed an improvement of business. Woolworth's reported a 10 per cent increase in sales, Burdines, more business than in a long time, and Sewell and Brothers, "somewhat better than usual." S. A. Ryan, of Ryan Motors, offered \$1,000 toward the establishment of a fund to be used to abolish horse racing in Miami: "I have 28 salesmen and many of them are out at the track every day instead of being on the job." The Miami Credit Men's Association joined the movement for a shorter racing season. Creditors could not collect, according to the association president, because debtors had lost on the races; the "long season and the large amount of money diverted from regular channels are working a serious injury on the business men and community in general."

Plenty of entertainment and attractions were offered to visitors, but the season of 1925-26 was not considered a success. By ordinary standards, perhaps, it would have been, but not after the extraordinary summer. If Clarence

W. Barron, publisher of the *Wall Street Journal*, reported the Florida East Coast Railway officials as saying they carried 2,500 persons into Florida (75 per cent to Miami) and only 1,500 out daily, the complaints of Miami business and hotel men seemed to belie the implications of a bumper crop of visitors. The Chamber of Commerce bent every effort to get hotels to guarantee a reduction of rates for the coming off-season period. N. B. T. Roney, at Miami Beach, was also attempting to get his fellow hotel owners to cut rates.

In real estate, as with the tourist trade, optimistic notes sounded as the 1925-26 season approached. John J. McGraw, famous manager of the New York Giants Baseball Team, was advertising Penant Park. His advertisements indicated the folly of waiting "until the ninth inning." In his description of the property, said the *New York Times*, he disclosed "a wealth of vocabulary that undoubtedly would stun any National League umpire: 'Soft zephyrs' and the 'rustle of the fronds of the palms in gentle Aeolian music.'" McGraw, whose development lay near Sarasota, advertised extensively in Miami papers.

In Miami, Rand-Shepard Company reported transactions totaling about \$3,000,000. The Tatums announced a bonus of \$400,000 paid to its seventy-two salesmen and its office force. Company sales, in 1925, had amounted to \$65,000,000 as compared with the 1924 figure of \$14,000,000. Fisher interests reported sales of almost \$2,000,000 in the first three weeks of January. Coral Pines, Incorporated, sold 133 acres to the Cambridge Company for \$7,500 an acre, or just under \$1,000,000. A twenty-five foot site in the 200 block of North Miami Avenue sold for \$5,000 a front foot. In view of the fact that January was not considered an especially good real estate month, local seers found the outlook good. In the first twenty days of January, 7,400 realty instruments were filed with the County Recorder, 370 a day. At that rate, the figure would reach 11,100 as compared with 9,704 in January, 1925.

For many realtors, however, the vaunted upswing did not come. They fell back on various devices to attract patrons. J. S. Bain placed a two-page, eye-catching spread in the *Miami Daily News*. He invited one and all to meet Jack Dempsey at his office, 213 Northeast First Avenue. The J. C. H. Corporation advertised that it had employed several baseball players of the Champion Pittsburgh Pirate team to sell real estate: Max Carey, Lee Meadows, Emil Yde, and "Pie" Traynor. Yde and Meadows had been with the firm for some time. They were engaged "not only because of their great

popularity but because of their personality and business acumen." In February, the trend turned toward auctions, auctions of ocean front property, of apartment and hotel sites, and of business sites. The *Miami Daily News* found by March that the auction idea had grown in favor in the Miami area, "a new development in the history of Miami," although that plan of selling real estate had been used extensively in the North. The real estate editor had not consulted his back files. In 1923, auctions of real estate had been quite common although not as extensive as early in 1926.

Sales were disappointing. February, normally a good month, had revenue stamp sales far below those of February, 1925, \$46,560 as compared with \$62,693, representing an estimated dollar volume of business of \$46,560,000 and \$62,693,000 respectively.

Coral Gables attempted to bolster up its disappointing sales record with an announcement of outstanding projects for 1926: the Coliseum, a million-dollar structure; the Urmev Arms, a \$12,500,000 project with 1,855 rooms; and a building program of the American Building Corporation of Cincinnati, involving \$75,000,000 worth of homes in the Riviera section. The University of Miami also moved forward. Its regents announced that more than \$7,000,000 had been pledged by less than twenty residents of greater Miami. Merrick had given 160 acres of land valued at \$1,000,000 and \$4,000,000 in cash. A real estate dealer, had also pledged a generous sum, \$1,000,000. The corner stone laying took place, February 4, before 7,000 spectators. Arthur Pryor's band played for the ceremonies.

If Miamians were seeking a means to revitalize a failing real estate market, outside observers were seeking explanations as to the cause of the decline. Although many persons earlier had offered the prognostication that when the saturation point of realty sales had been reached, the whole flimsy structure of Miami's economy would collapse, most writers, when the end came, were unwilling to accept so simple an explanation. Miami's experience had entailed much more than real estate frenzy and they were well aware of the fact. The *New York Times*, as a case in point, had used the descriptive word "lull" rather than "collapse" in describing Miami's apparent recession. It found that the mid-February boom, predicted by Florida realtors, had failed to materialize; there was, instead, a decided "lull." Hundreds of investors had failed to unload, even at their original purchase price, with resales virtually at a standstill. Some Miami observers, continued the *Times*, found only that prices were stabilizing, admitted that values were temporarily at a peak, but insisted there would be no decline in prices. Others found the situation

disturbing for two reasons. What would happen when buyers, who had invested all of their money with the expectation of selling at a profit before the second payment came due, found themselves unable to meet the second payment? What decision would be made on the deferred-sale problem with regard to income taxes due March 15? If money had to be raised through excessive discounting, many would lose considerable sums of money. The paper ended with the comment:

The promised boom has not materialized. Real Estate men say a digestive period has set in. Florida, they say, may suffer from a slight attack of colic due to swallowing more than she could really digest. But the attack won't be serious. Reverses may come, they say, but Florida as a great vacation State is here to stay.

Many Miamians and those who had invested heavily in the state were unwilling to concede the disappearance of the bonanza without a struggle. The line they followed was essentially one that admitted speculation of the flamboyant sort had passed; values now had stability, and investors would find excellent opportunities for venture capital. In short, Miami was sound. No bubble had burst in Miami or in Florida, for no "bubble" was ever known there. None therefore could burst. Miami and Florida were durable and permanent, solid and substantial. G. L. Miller, whose firm had invested heavily in Miami mortgages, advised that no alarm need be felt in regions where economic contraction was taking place. The area was well rid of speculators and "Get Rich Quick Wallingfords." Business men actually had a chance to take stock, to reorganize their affairs on a safe, sane basis. By the 1926-27 season, the undesirable elements would be gone and Florida would forge ahead steadily.

Lon Worth Crow, President of the Miami Chamber of Commerce and head of the realty board, observed that the real estate market could not rise indefinitely. "We are glad," he said, "that the asking price of property has reached a reasonable basis." A quieter market would be the foundation of steady, normal activity. He listed funds to be spent for improvement in the area as evidence of Miami development in 1926. Expansion of railroads, utilities, new buildings, city improvements, to name a few, would total \$406,405,000 by the year's end. John B. Devoney, a Miami realtor recently returned from a northern trip, advised his fellow citizens that they must be prepared to show northern capital the difference between the situation then and what it had been the previous summer. Developments would undergo the closest scrutiny before investment followed. The chief argument being

used against Miami, he said, was the high cost of living. Workers who had come to Miami and left were giving it a "black eye."

The Miami phase of the Florida boom was over, at least so far as real estate was concerned. And it was by real estate sales and real estate valuation that most persons, in and out of Miami, judged Miami's economic condition. That the dollar volume of building permits, bank deposits, and various other indices remained high or at satisfactory levels, escaped the average observer. In vain might the Miami booster point out that 1926 levels were well above those of 1924; the year 1925 was, after all, a freak year and to use it as a basis of comparison was grossly unfair in their eyes. Miami, in truth, did need a period of stabilization, a chance to catch up with itself. That period did not materialize. Whatever chance the city might have had to recover some measure of its boom-time economy was wiped out by the hurricane that struck in September, 1926. It should be noted, however, that the boom was over before the storm struck.

The disappointing season of 1925-26 came as a shock to Miami. Men of sounder judgment and standing in the community spoke of a period of readjustment and stabilization. Miami had, perhaps, advanced too rapidly; it must now pause, consolidate its gains, and then move ahead again, this time with speculative enterprises under firm control. In the future episodes like that of the summer activity of the binder boys must be carefully avoided. Miami was sound: it had all of the things it had before 1925 and much more.

By the summer of 1926, however, there were many signs that "readjustment and stabilization" entailed something more than a leveling-off of real estate prices and an abatement of speculative fever. Bank clearings exceeded those for the first six months of 1925 (\$441,472,094.77 as compared with \$380,641,072.98), but deposits were down to a noticeable degree. Three of Miami's smaller banks had closed during the summer "to conserve resources": the Bank of Buena Vista, the Bank of Coconut Grove, and the Bank of Little River. All three were quickly replaced by newly organized institutions. Building permits were also slightly lower in dollar volume for the first six months of 1926. They were almost \$1,000,000 below the figures for the corresponding period of 1925, but, boosters pointed out, more than \$3,000,000 above the same period of 1924. The construction industry maintained a high level still when it is considered that the city stood twelfth among the nation's cities in building activities in the first half of the year. Much of the building then carried on had been projected or contracted before the embargo had hampered construction; and, in addition, a considerable portion of real

estate profits of the boom period had found their way into a building program that was nearing completion.

In July, too, delinquent tax sales began with some 15,000 parcels of land offered, some of which had been in great demand a few months before. About 10 per cent of the offering was taken up on the first day. The twenty bidders, according to the *Miami Herald*, were not so much interested in possessing the land as they were in collecting the interest obtainable under Florida law. On the second day of sales 2,200 parcels, with an assessed valuation of approximately \$500,000, were offered to purchasers. The sale ended on July 13 with about 50 per cent of the property going automatically to the state when no bidders appeared. Total assessed value of the property sold amounted to about \$1,500,000 and the sale brought local authorities about \$400,000.

Another indication that real estate prospects were somewhat nebulous was the organizing of Coral Gables Consolidated, Incorporated, described by Merrick as a "plan primarily of national financing under which will be brought to completion a ten-year program of development and sales of Coral Gables properties." Merrick was president and chairman of the board of directors of the new corporation; his associates were to be officers in various capacities. To finance the corporation, 100,000 shares of 8 per cent, cumulative stock at par value of \$100 per share were offered. With an additional issue, 500,000 shares of common stock with no par value were offered. Although the new organization had authorized and issued stock valued at \$10,000,000, the value of the properties turned over to the new company amounted to about \$100,000,000, according to the announcement. The formation of the corporation (with some six subsidiary companies) meant, in reality, that Merrick's sales were then insufficient to carry the heavy burden of promised and proposed improvements.

Despite these and other signs of a waning prosperity Miami's newspapers continued their optimistic comments about the community and the state in general. Miami business and that of the country too, said the *Miami Daily News*, was entering the last half of the year on a "basis saner, safer and sounder than it has been for a period of years." Business was not better in a profit-taking sense, however. The real estate business in Florida, for instance, had improved materially over that of 1924. The year 1925 should not be used as a basis of comparison, for such a comparison was unjust. "During the last seven months of 1925, particularly, dealing in Florida real estate was so highly speculative as to be little more than a gambling proposi-

tion." At the moment "real investors" had become the purchasers of Miami real estate; they investigated before they bought, did not over-extend themselves, and remained financially able to meet their obligations. Two days later the paper carried a suggestion of the Florida Association of Real Estate Boards that the state remove the "unsightly signs, decaying entrances, arches, street intersection signs leaning at angles and other evidences of the speculative period from the so-called 'developments,' whose authors have left the state."

The real estate situation received thorough scrutiny at the 1926 meeting of the Florida Association of Real Estate Boards held in Daytona in July. The consensus of those present seemed to be that Florida had gotten the bad phases of a real estate boom out of its system and was now ready to forge ahead. The failure of the boom, observed one speaker in retrospect, came from "an overindulgence in superlatives" which caused "a reaction in the minds of the conservative buyer, the seeker after permanent investments." That the spirit that had produced the boom lingered on may be seen from a souvenir passed out to delegates by the president of the St. Petersburg Inter-urban Transit Company. It contained the "Decalogue of Florida," which advised, "Thou shalt prepare thyself for the happy habitation of man; thou shalt drain thy swamps, bridge thy rivers and build thee highways to the uttermost parts of thy hinterland. . . ." The remainder of the decalogue followed the same pattern.

If it were true that Miami had reached a leveling-off period, a period free of the rigors of a summer of real estate frenzy and all it entailed, then the city might reasonably expect to resume its forward progress of 1923 and 1924. Many Miamians confidently looked forward to a good season, 1926-27. Statistics, they admitted, did not show the phenomenal gains of the previous summer, but they still showed a greater volume of business activity in 1926 than in 1924. No valid reason for pessimism existed. As a result Miamians returned to their pleasant, pre-boom pastime of planning for the coming season.

In July, however, a hurricane struck the lower east coast of the state. Miami felt the blow, which hit July 27, but the major damage occurred at Palm Beach where at least one estimate set the wind velocity at 100 miles per hour. In Miami, hurricane warnings had been posted at noon. Miami's damage consisted of a ruined avocado crop, damage to the Baker's Haulover Bridge approach, and the splintering and washing away of some old South Beach concession booths. In all, according to estimates locally, the damage

amounted to about \$100,000. Ten days later the *Miami Herald* published an editorial on hurricanes. It called attention to an inconspicuous news item in another part of the paper, a notice that a storm was forming in the Caribbean area. Such notices, said the editor, should receive close attention from the people now and for the next six months. Fourteen years had passed since a major hurricane had visited the region and many Miamians had never experienced one. For those on land no danger existed, for buildings properly constructed held no danger. One should prepare, however, by taking such precautions as removing loose items from porches, tricing up awnings, and staking trees on lawns. Hurricane warnings would be given well in advance, and the weather bureau would trace the hurricane step by step by plotting its course, speed, and so forth. The Miami area, in conclusion, had little to fear but damage to fruit groves. The *Miami Herald* had given some sound as well as misleading advice; it might well have added a warning that under no circumstances should one leave his place of shelter until the storm had passed from the area.

On September 17, an Associated Press dispatch, from Turk's Island in the Bahamas, reported that a tropical storm of hurricane intensity had passed over the island the day before. Although no fatalities had occurred, property damage appeared to be enormous and nearly all of the lighters in port had sunk. The storm, arising near St. Thomas Island, moved rapidly in the direction of the Florida coast. By 11:00 A. M. Friday, September 17, storm warnings were raised. The Weather Bureau in Washington warned: "This is a very severe storm." The *Miami Daily News* later in the day carried a banner headline that read: "MIAMI WARNED OF TROPICAL STORM." The following morning the *Miami Herald* told its readers that hurricane warnings had been posted from Key West to Jupiter Inlet (some distance north of Miami), and that weather forecaster Richard W. Gray had remained on duty until midnight. Hurricane winds might arrive during the next morning or afternoon. By the time the evening edition of the *Miami Daily News* was on the streets, the paper displayed a headline warning that the hurricane would strike Miami.

News of possible trouble for Miami was not long in spreading northward. The *Boston Evening Transcript*, September 18, 1926, reported that the "advance guard" of the hurricane was sweeping Miami. The barometer there had dropped slowly and the wind had risen steadily. At Miami Beach a heavy surf pounded twenty or more feet above the high water lines. On the morning of September 19, the *New York Times* and the *New York Herald Tribune*

had their first reports of the hurricane's strike from a "fragmentary message" picked up by the Tropical Radio Telegraph station at Mobile, Alabama. The station had made contact with Ward liner S. S. Siboney, which in turn, had established communication with a makeshift transmitting plant at Hialeah. The sole information obtainable reported seventy-five persons dead, Miami in ruins, and damage to the extent of \$100,000,000. Miami Beach had been inundated to a depth of three feet, six feet of water covered the County Causeway.

Neither of Miami's two major papers published an edition for Sunday, September 19. The *Miami Tribune*, whose plant the storm wrecked, printed its issues in the plant of a sister paper, the *Palm Beach Times*. No outside account, expressing hostility to Miami, could have been more sensational than that of the *Miami Tribune*, which found Miami "quivering like a broken reed." "Every Building in Miami Wrecked; Sheriff Calls for 600 Troops for Stricken District," it reported. The seventeen-story Meyer-Kiser Building leaned about fifteen degrees toward First Street; it was "so badly twisted" it must be torn down. Cromer-Cassel's huge new department store lay in ruins as did Burdine's. Coconut Grove, Homestead, Goulds, South Miami, all were in ruins.

First reports were grossly exaggerated. The New York *Herald-Tribune* headline reported: "500 DIE, 38,000 Homeless in Florida Storm; Miami Area Swept; Red Cross Speeds Relief." The *New York Times* headline reported: "1,000 DEAD IN FLORIDA STORM, 3,000 HURT; MIAMI WORST HIT; 60 MILE SWATH OF DESTRUCTION LEAVES 38,000 HOMELESS; SCORES OF TOWNS ARE RAZED OR FLOODED; SHIPPING WRECKED."

Before long eye-witness accounts began to appear in out-of-state newspapers. One of the earliest reported the newly constructed El Commodore Hotel as being twisted on its foundation. Reese Amis, a *Miami Daily News* reporter, left Miami Saturday afternoon and made his way to West Palm Beach in a borrowed car. There he filed his story. The hurricane had hit Miami between 2:00 and 3:00 A. M. The weather bureau a few hours before had given warning. The barometer stood at 29.95 inches then and had dropped rapidly to 27.15 inches at 5:00 A. M. when all weather instruments exposed had blown away from the top of the post office. Gray, the meteorologist, estimated the wind velocity at the time at 130 miles per hour. After the first blow, a lull of about an hour and a half followed. The people in the meantime were digging themselves out of wrecked homes and were aiding the

injured. At 7:30 A. M., the second hurricane broke and the damage was even greater, for buildings weakened by the first blow, went in the second.

Ray Jackson, a Negro Pullman car porter, told his story on the train's arrival in New York:

It was the worst thing I ever saw. . . . Our car was right at the station, and from the time the storm hit about midnight Friday until we left at 1:30 Sunday morning, we were right in the middle of it. There were three separate storms. It began to blow and rain just after midnight, Friday, and until about 7 o'clock Saturday morning it was terrible. You couldn't see ten feet in front of you and the wind blew so hard it rocked the car like it was a cradle. . . . Along toward daylight Saturday morning you could see limbs of trees, roofs of houses and great big timbers sailing along through the air. . . . You could set in the car and see parts of houses go sailing by and telegraph poles would snap off right close to the ground.

The Miami Tribune Building was twisted until it hung over the street. . . . I noticed one building that was being erected near the station. It was several stories high and was built of steel. The wind hit it and swished those heavy steel beams all out of shape. It looked like a pile of scrap iron.

Still another eye-witness, who has left us an account, was Kirby Jones, Representative of the American Bakeries Company. Jones had come out of the area on the first train.

It was this lull which indirectly caused much of the casualties. Hundreds of persons, believing the storm was over, started for work. But about 8 o'clock the rain began again and the wind grew more and more violent.

The city was covered with a pall of darkness which obscured everything. Between 9 o'clock and noon the wind velocity reached its maximum. Thousands of homes were ripped from their foundations and the air was filled with flying timbers.

I was in a building seeking shelter from the storm when the roof caved in. There about 150 other people were with me at the time. All of us fled to a school house about a block away. It was a pitiful sight to see that crowd running through the driving rain, barely able to make headway against the terrific force of the wind.

From the mass of conflicting detail, the *New York Herald-Tribune*, on September 24, 1926, pieced together the best account of the storm and the disaster it brought with it. It had originated in the area of the Virgin Islands and had passed swiftly through the Bahamas and the West Indies. On Thurs-

day, Miami felt it would be by-passed but the storm did not turn north as first indicated, instead it turned west toward Nassau and Miami. Although the papers carried warnings, many Miamians had laughed at them, for they remembered the July hurricane that "played hide and seek in the West Indies for more than a week" and then went north to Palm Beach.

Early Friday evening a strong northeast wind had come from Biscayne Bay; by midnight it had reached hurricane force. Many residents of Miami Beach, driving home late, were stranded halfway along the causeway. Two or three dozen of them spent the night huddled together as water came over the causeway. Several automobiles were swept into the bay waters. The last electric lights went out around 4:00 A. M. To that time damage seemed to be confined to the unroofing of a few houses. As the first evidences of dawn appeared there came a lull with absolute calm for thirty minutes. To the newcomers it would seem as if the storm were over; to those who had hurricane experience before, it meant simply that the wind would shortly shift to a different direction and become a "more vicious wind." During the lull many of those who felt the danger had passed started for work or to clean up some of the debris. "None went far. Great waves, tangled wreckage and houses blown across their paths sent them scurrying to safety." The wind had risen again rapidly, this time from the south, and increased in velocity until between 8:00 and 9:00 Saturday morning. The storm had continued for nine hours before subsiding sufficiently to permit search for the dead and injured. Miami's "ornate skyline was twisted into a wild medley of cocked roofs, crushed towers and suspended beams."

The damage to homes and properties in and about Miami was tremendous. After a few days members of the City Relief Committee surveyed damaged areas. They estimated total damage at \$76,000,000, excluding losses in personal property which was expected to run into several millions of additional dollars. Of the estimated 55,000 homes in the greater Miami district about 40 per cent had been damaged. Apartment houses seemed to have fared better. Of 1,800 (estimated number), only 30 per cent were damaged and that damage was principally to roofs. Hotels suffered little structurally but lost their awnings and window glass. On Miami Beach the Flamingo Hotel lost its huge glass dome, the Fleetwood Hotel its wireless antenna (it housed a radio station, WMBF), and the Floridian, Roney Plaza, Nautilus, and William Penn parts of the main roof or roof structures. The Pancoast Hotel suffered more severely with its damage estimated at about \$150,000. In Miami, only one office building was wrecked, the Meyer-Kiser Building, a

\$1,500,000 structure that rose seventeen stories into Miami's skyline. The building was condemned and the order for tearing it down issued. Apparently, its width was out of proportion to its height, and since it was turned broadside to the wind, it buckled. Not an inconsiderable part of the damage was to places of amusement, to tourist camps, and to the small hastily built houses of Hialeah. During the boom when labor and materials were scarce, "anyone who could drive a nail got a job." Bracing was used "sparingly," and the way in which one-story concrete block garages collapsed would indicate that blocks were merely laid one on top of another with just a bit of mortar to hold them in place. State construction engineers agreed that in almost every case of collapse of a house, faulty construction was the cause. Older type of houses had weathered the storm without difficulty. In almost every case of collapse it was a boom house constructed of wood or a Mexican-type house of concrete block, that is, with walls rising about three feet above the roof. When the wind caught and toppled these top sections, part of the lower wall went with them and the whole building collapsed. Running well into millions of dollars, too, was the damage done to landscaping around the more expensive homes. The committee set the figure at \$6,000,000, although the *New York Times* thought the final amount would run several times the first estimate.

Losses in dead and injured for Miami and environs were set in the first few days at 107 known dead, 1,400 persons injured, and 225 missing. In the hospitals of Miami and neighboring communities were currently 450 persons who had been hurt in the storm. One interesting sidelight was the thanksgiving services held in Miami, Hollywood, and Ft. Lauderdale, thanksgiving that the toll was not higher than it had been. Earlier several ministers, locally and out of state, had suggested that God had wreaked his vengeance upon the Godless area, a point not overlooked by a foreign observer who wrote in the *Manchester Guardian* that there was one aspect of "this appalling event upon which we shall assuredly hear a great deal." He went on to point out that to the simpler folk of America the display of wealth and luxury in Miami had seemed to be a denial of the "spirit that ruled America until the other day." Miami and Palm Beach, he said, had been denounced "as the modern counterpart of the Cities of the Plain. Nothing is easier than to foresee the influence of divine [sic] judgment that will be drawn by the millions of plain people who inhabit the Fundamentalist regions." The Reverend Everett S. Smith, however, chided those who would find Divine interference in the visitation of the hurricane. If "He wanted to punish Miami" for wickedness, He would have destroyed more dance halls and fewer churches.

The problems of relief for those who had suffered severe financial loss or were destitute because of the hurricane and reconstruction, unfortunately became involved in politics. The source of conflict seems to have been the fear on the part of some that to publicize the full extent of the damage would have a deleterious effect upon the region's attraction as a tourist center. Just how many persons were affected by the attendant adverse publicity is a matter of conjecture. It is true that the season of 1926-27 was a disappointing one, both from the standpoint of real estate operations and of winter visitors. Miami might well have made a faster comeback, however, had the national depression not been in the offing.

The year 1926 is, in many respects, a more interesting one than its predecessor. If it lacked "land by the gallon, brass bands, barbecues and sales by blueprint," it is the year which saw the completion of a considerable portion of the planning of much of Miami that we know today. It has afforded an excellent opportunity to study the period of adjustment of a community subjected to the shock of a boom. It is interesting to note, too, that not only have the predictions of Miami's recovery from the boom come true, but the extent of Miami's expansion far exceeds even the "wildest claims made by more ardent supporters."

# Mango Growing Around Early Miami \*

By HAROLD W. DORN

My brother, Robert, and I had our introduction to Miami on a bright October day in 1910. We had come South with farming on our minds. The Florida East Coast station was yellow then as now, but the frame houses and the rock streets were white, the coconuts in Royal Palm Park were green and brown, and Biscayne Bay was a heavenly blue. The city boasted 5000 souls and, with a strong premonition of its destiny, called itself the Magic City.

It had then, more than now, an anxious interest in its tourists. But when the railroad cancelled its faster winter trains, sometime after March first, the population, both city and rural, returned to its more durable interests in agriculture and real estate. Spring, to a greater degree than winter, was the time when its tomato crops were matured, picked and marketed. The fields stretched along the country roads, whether paved or mere winding trails, from the large Little River and Arch Creek sections on the north down west of Miami to Larkins (now South Miami), and even Perrine, on the south. Another section was starting in the glades around the new settlement at Homestead. Dade County was even then, and has continued to be, the largest tomato growing section in Florida.

This county in the early century had an almost equal interest in fruit growing. Primarily the plantings were in grapefruit groves, with their principal area west and south of Miami and bordering the Coconut Grove area. The Peacock brothers, the Merricks, the Hicksons and many more were taking advantage of the favorable prices for early grapefruit, in which Dade County so far had almost a monopoly. At a guess, 1910 saw an important production from some 800 to 1000 acres, ranging from a few scattering young groves in the Redland area up to the Bryan groves in Dania and Fort Lauderdale. Broward County had not yet been carved out of Dade. At no time has orange growing occupied an important place here.

Along with the citrus family, Robert and I, in our first exploring, found a scattering of two other families of trees, avocados and mangoes. By Novem-

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\* Portions of this article appeared in *The Florida Sub-Tropical Gardener*, Palm Beach, September through December, 1955.

ber any mango fruit was long gone and it was almost impossible to find a late avocado. But trees of both were scattered here and there through the young city and around nearly all the homesteads, north, west and southwest. Gradually we pieced together the story of these two tropical trees, confined by their tender nature to this section relatively free from winter frost.

Even then there were a few commercial grove plantings of avocados in budded varieties, though there were far more seedlings, ranging from a couple of trees to several acres. Mango growing was confined to scattered trees, mostly seedlings, except for several small blocks of budded trees. The reason for this looks much plainer now than then, when mango growing, as an industry, was in its earliest stage. Today the grower finds a bewildering bill of fare of mango varieties for his planting. In 1910 and 1911, he probably planted the seed of the fruit some neighbor had given him and shortly produced the identical thing in one of the three common seedling varieties, the Turpentine, the Red Elevens or possibly the Peach. All were small and certainly not distinguished looking fruit. All had an attractive flavor to the mango fancier, but were filled with fibre which was firmly attached to the large seed. Definitely they were no basis for commercial culture and sale, though a few did find their way, packed in hampers or tomato crates, to the few cities in the rest of Florida large enough to have a trade in fruit.

I can still recall these seedlings poured out in the old fashioned display window of the grocery store of E. N. Brady at the southwest corner of present Flagler Street and Miami Avenue, then as now, the center of Miami. They made their presence known by their aroma as one passed inside the swinging screen doors, brightening up the dark interior with their yellow shades, with some pink on the turpentines and even a little red on the Red Elevens, where the black spots did not cover it.

The progressive mango fan, even then, had a little better choice than that. It was possible to buy nursery stock in several budded varieties if one could find where. The most famous of these was the Mulgoba, with a more distinguished history than the small random overflow from the West Indies which Miamians knew best. Its introduction from its original home in the foothills of India was the first important step in a modern mango industry for Florida. This had happened unnoticed years before. In 1889 Professor Elbridge Gale and the United States Department of Agriculture had collaborated, with an assist from a favoring Providence, in bringing three small live trees half way around the world by ship. Undoubtedly they were in-arched stock, the cumbersome method by which superior mango varieties

were then propagated. Professor G. Marshall Woodrow, formerly Professor of Botany at the College of Science, Poona, India, (near Bombay) said in his booklet, *The Mango*, published in 1904, "Plants of the Mulgoba variety were sent to Florida by the writer in 1889, and have given much satisfaction".

Travelers agree that mango trees dot the landscape of India, many several hundred years old, with the native rulers propagating those most desirable in their gardens. The Indian mango, unlike the scrub West Indians, is monoembryonic and does not come true from seed. There had been a selection for quality going on in India for centuries, both by natives and the English, from which our Department of Agriculture reaped the benefit, as did we.

These trees were planted by Professor Gale near West Palm Beach, which has had an honorable share in the development of this tropical fruit. The freeze of 1895 radically changed the horticultural geography of Florida, as did the later ones of 1899-1900. Even the comparative safety of West Palm Beach was not enough and two of the trees died. However one Mulgoba was left and in 1898 it produced a good crop of fruit. From so slender and precarious a beginning has come an industry, but slowly and with many other chapters.

This fruit was evidently a tremendous advance over the small seedlings. Even today, after nearly sixty years, the Mulgoba has no superior in basic quality. It has been the most distinguished of all imports from India. Practically without fibre, its smooth flesh has a delightful, mild but piquant flavor. Many of its descendants excel it in size and outward color, though its fruit hanging outside the trees has a large patch of distinctive scarlet. Its great trouble has been its failure to bear fruit regularly. The original trees in India are reported to be at an elevation of some 3000 to 4000 feet, quite different from this new home at sea level. More than one fruit tree has been thrown completely out of stride by a great change in surroundings (or ecology, if one prefers), by differences in altitude, temperature and moisture. Fortunately the climate of Florida corresponds, though not too closely, to the dry winters and wet summers of the mango's native home.

Offhand, I would think Mulgobas of the lower East Coast have produced fifteen or more commercial crops in the past forty-five years. We have had one tree in our old home grove which seems to have done a little better than that, even though only a dozen or two fruit may result. The trees seem to do best after as cold a winter as does not actually frost the terminal wood, perhaps confirming their origin in a more chilly altitude. In the warmest winters,

they may not even bloom. It must be said here in extenuation, that no variety of mango in Florida has produced forty-five crops in forty-five years. Not even the persistent seedlings can withstand freezing weather, nor can they set a crop with frequent rains during blooming period. There must have been about ten years in forty-five when frost or rain has prevented a mango crop, more often in the first thirty years than the past fifteen. The last severe cold in south Florida was in January, 1940; it appears that our winters have become a little milder. Yet one raises Mulgobas for love, not for money.

Other selection of varieties was decidedly limited. It was possible, even then, to buy trees of the Paheri and Bennett Alphonse. George Cellon listed the first in his catalog and he had a little private stock of the second. Both were original imports of the new Bureau of Plant Introduction of the U. S. Department of Agriculture. This is where Dr. David Fairchild enters the picture. He had been placed in charge of mango introduction and from 1901 on had sent in some eighty selected Indian varieties to the Miami Garden. Paheri and Bennett proved to be two of the best.

The full name of the latter is Douglas Bennett's Golden Alphonse. Bennett was another of those far-ranging Englishmen in India, who had helped to tidy up and catalogue the fruit trees of that sub-continent. He had found a number of Alphonse varieties, including the "white Alphonse" and others. The Bennett was, (and is, for there are still a few trees around), hardly larger than the old seedlings. However, its quality is outstanding. Without fibre, it has a fragrance all its own, and its smooth flesh has a highly distinctive flavor. Even its skin, with its olive green tinge and pale yellow color when ripe, is different. It has always seemed to me as marked off from all the other Indian varieties which have fruited here.

Over on the other side of Florida, the Reasoner brothers had even then made some direct importations of their own from India. Due to lack of roads until the late twenties, they seemed as far from Miami as Alabama is today. It was not until 1928 that I finally visited their nursery on a country road southeast of Bradenton, where I saw their importations from perhaps thirty years earlier. Unfortunately none had proved to be outstanding by Florida standards, nor had most fruited freely in their new home. Their large Gola and Langra Benarsi have been fruited on the lower East Coast, in fact we had a few to pack this year. A few enthusiasts still keep the old varieties alive. But the experience of the Reasoners, as well as the Bureau of Plant Introduction, has shown how difficult it was to find mango trees at any

Indian cross-roads that will conform to the exacting demands of tree culture and successful modern fruit marketing in the United States.

There was another mango variety to be obtained in Dade County, the Cecil. Out in the country, on the old Orange Glade Road, then 20th Street in the city, and now 8th Street or the Tamiami Trail, where the present 17th Avenue crosses it, was the home and original citrus grove of the Hickson brothers. Back from their white house on the corner stood this tree, already large. There Robert and I saw for the first time the scaffolding and small wooden tree boxes needed in the inarching practice. Then and for some years later, there was only one nurseryman who could bud the difficult mango in the general manner of citrus propagation, George Cellon, of whom more later.

The Cecil was named for the younger Hickson brother. It is, of course, the same as the Manila of the countries below us, a yellow fruit of rather small size, long and narrow, with a long seed and little fibre. It has a tart flavor, which some still prefer, in this day of sweet mangoes. Undoubtedly it belongs to the other great family of mangoes, the Indo-Chinese or Saigon, many of which, but not all, come true to variety from seed.

In the late spring and summer of 1911, when our tomato farming was finished, Robert and I had the opportunity to investigate the local mango situation. On our motorcycle, we two visited and interviewed nearly everyone we could hear about who had an interest in both mangoes and avocados. It was soon plain that two men could qualify as authorities on these tropical fruits, Edward Simmonds and George B. Cellon.

Edward Simmonds was in charge of the old Brickell Avenue Plant Introduction Garden, a gift or loan from some of the Brickell family. It was on the west side of Brickell Avenue a few blocks south of the Miami River, reached from town by the Avenue D or Miami Avenue bridge. Simmonds and his wife were English, from London. He, as a practical gardener of great skill, and a product of the famous Kew Gardens, was also an executive with considerable imagination. The function of this small section of the United States as host to the immense plant variety of the far-ranging tropical world, permanently excited him. Not only could he make these frail travelers from the tropics grow and flourish, but he had a vast enthusiasm for their possibilities.

His assistant was Charles Steffani, since then for many years Agricultural Agent for Dade County. His superior in this project, both so practical and so idealistic, was Dr. David Fairchild, head of the Bureau of Plant Introduc-

tion, but Fairchild was traveling over the tropical world, in India and elsewhere. In all our random visits to the Garden in those early years, I think we met him in person only once, before he made his permanent home here, in the late twenties. It was a good team; Fairchild selected and shipped these tropical plant possibilities and Simmonds took care of them on arrival and did his best to make them flourish. Far from all of these immigrants succeeded in their new home; that was recognized as one of the unavoidable hazards of this planned migration.

Edward Simmonds was never too busy to show his large and flourishing plant family to visitors. Something must be done with all these silent boarders, and interest aroused among those who would spend their own time and money in expanding their culture. The Department of Agriculture had a very practical objective, to introduce a sufficient volume of commercial plants and trees to assure that, after a period of trial and error, they would contribute not only to a greater variety of food and other products for Americans, but also add to the wealth of the American producing sections. There are other interesting stories among their importations, probably the greatest in drought or disease resistant grains. Lower Florida, however, was fortunate in that the products of so great an area of the tropical world were funnelled into a small section. That section, it must be said, was not truly tropical, but the nearest to it available on the U. S. mainland. Frosts descended upon us, occasionally severe, and these new plants all had that gauntlet to run, before their value to us was proved.

Simmonds was a quiet man with a friendly smile and a rollicking eye, which took in everything. He and his charming wife lived in a frame house on Brickell Avenue in the northeast corner of the Garden. He was never to be found there except at meal time. Somewhere out in the small maze of slat-houses and planting bins, he and his assistants labored silently, with an air of secret and urgent enterprise. There we would find him, with a battered old felt hat atop his graying hair, planning some new move in his campaigns. What was new? Oh, yes, he would say, here is something I want to show you, and away we would go. New plants had arrived and were or were not doing well, some tree was doing famously, here was a new fruit. The Garden was old enough so that the present showing in some items was impressive, but not so old that it had become routine. Simmonds and Steffani and the station itself, even in that quiet setting, seemed to be in a perpetual excitement, at least to anyone interested in horticulture.

In that summer of 1911, we saw for the first time the fruit of some of the Bureau's mango introductions, and on the original trees, or at most one

remove. That Sundersha tree near the house was large, with an impressive crop of the enormous fruit. Simmonds shook his head a little. With all the show, it wasn't a good mango. It proved later to be a somewhat better parent than a fruit in its own right. The Amini was loaded, good color, but small. I believe he had the Paheri in bearing, too, not showy, but he was enthusiastic about its eating quality. Then there were other mango trees, large enough to bear, but with no fruit. Showing the label and giving it an extra pat, he would tell us when the tree had been imported and from where and what the fruit should be like. Some trees were small and if they did not bear this year, probably they would next.

He was engaged in work on avocados, too. As I recall, he had a good sized Pollock tree, and either then or soon, his seedling of the Pollock, which was named after him. This Simmonds he was watching carefully and in it he felt surer every year that the growers could avoid the tendency of the Pollock to fail to bear in some years. The big importation of Central American avocados was still a good many years ahead.

Two things were much on his mind. One was the new Haden mango. We had heard of it before, but here was first hand information. Its fame had in a way already preceded it. In the previous summer it had borne an excellent crop on the estate of Captain Haden at Coconut Grove.

Captain John J. Haden, of the Eighth U. S. Infantry, in 1896 had been stationed at Fort D. A. Russell in Cheyenne, Wyoming. Eye trouble forced his retirement. While planning to move somewhere in the southeastern states, he happened to note an article in *Cosmopolitan Magazine*, describing the new Flagler railroad that had just been completed into Miami. A subscription to the new and lively *Miami Metropolis* sharpened his curiosity, so in the early fall he came to Florida, with his wife, Florence.

After traveling around central Florida for a time by wagon, they arrived in Miami in November, 1896. He was shown the still older Coconut Grove section by two pioneer real estate men, Fred Morse and E. A. Waddell. The first time he took Mrs. Haden there, they went from Miami to Coconut Grove by boat and walked back by the old hammock road. They soon bought a thirteen acre tract overlooking the Bay, about a mile south of the old Peacock Inn, and built their home there.

From the start, the Captain was interested in tropical plants and fruits and collected all he could find, especially mangoes. When the original Mulgoba tree in Palm Beach County produced its notable crop in 1898, he had

gone to see it. He brought home a couple of dozen fruit and soon planted the seed in grove formation southeast of his house. This was east of the extension of Douglas Road south from the old Coconut Grove road, now known as Ingraham Highway. Mrs. Haden later sold that part of the property to Hugh Matheson. Most unfortunately, Captain Haden died in 1903 and never saw the full result of his experimental planting. Mrs. Haden continued to live on the old place for many years, until she died recently, a gracious lady who was always grateful for any praise of her husband's fruit.

The block of trees bore there for many years. On all I have seen, the other fruit was smaller, though most had at least some color. Only one tree had this large, brilliant red and yellow fruit. In the summer of 1910 it produced a heavy crop, which had deeply impressed the local horticulturalists. These are the important dates for the mango in Florida, 1898 and 1910.

Nature works slowly and with the mango at least, makes her own crosses. Every effort for man-made crosses of this fruit by artificial pollination has failed, right up to today. Because of this, the other parent of the Haden mango is unknown, but the evidence points strongly to the old seedling turpentine variety rather than the Red Eleven, the only two possible sources. It is notable that the fruit is larger than both its parents together and its color higher than their combined color. The early season, the thick, shiny skin, and the seed fibre evidently come from the turpentine. The shape and the flavor are evidently a combination.

It would be difficult to overestimate the importance of the Haden mango to the industry that was starting to develop. It was the first breakthrough into notable size and color, with acceptable quality. Even today, after direct competition with a seemingly endless array of newer varieties, Haden fruit runs more heavily than most to the sizes which the various commercial outlets prefer,—not including its “dwarfs”, of course. Its clear, bright colors dominate the assortments of other fruits in the grocers' bins. Some of its blood is in many of its present competitors.

The Haden also represents the hybrid strain, which is important to us in domesticating foreign fruits. The Indian imports, with a different background, at least in altitude where found, crossed with the already adapted sea-level relatives, usually produce trees better suited to our conditions, and more prolific. Simmonds was a strong advocate of this crossing. It has proved an especially valuable advance in our fall-bearing avocados. The entire Booth series of hybrids is the result of a natural crossing of Guatemalan imports with the local West Indian type.

Edward Simmonds had secured some quantity of budwood from Mrs. Haden the previous summer, part of which he had turned over to Cellon, the nurseryman. He himself had some growing buds in his older trees, but of course had nothing for sale.

Simmonds other enthusiasm was for the Saigon mango. This, also known as the Chinese or Indo-Chinese type, is the other great family of the mango. Its native home was in Indo-China, the Philippines and other tropical mainland and islands of that vast area. He had received a barrel of seed from the Bureau some nine years before, shipped from the port of Saigon. The resulting trees were his especial pride in those days. He admired their strong growth, and their long, glossy, dark green leaves. This indicated, he was sure, a better adaptation to our conditions than the Indian type, which at times, in the rocky upper end of the Garden, could look a little stunted and its leaves rather shabby. He had some fruit to show, but we noticed that even then not all his trees were bearing. These Saigons were the typical long yellow fruit, not highly differentiated, without fibre and with only occasionally a touch of pink. They mostly come true from seed.

The necessity of budding any Indian variety, to give the grower any assurance of uniformity of product, had been a limiting factor so far, as budding, even inarching, had proved decidedly difficult. The prospect of planting a grove from seed looked easy and cheap. I have often wondered what would have happened if the Haden had *not* come along just at that time. Dade County might have started off the same way it had on avocados, with seedling groves of long yellow and green mangoes, and lost another ten years. We would have been about even with Cuba, the other West Indies and Mexico, whose better fruit is mostly the same type.

It became evident that we *had* to visit George B. Cellon, as he seemed to be the key to any actual planting of mangoes. Luckily he wasn't far away. To reach his nursery our motorcycle took us up the then Avenue B, now Second Avenue Northeast, from down-town Miami to Buena Vista, now at 36th Street. This was then the only road north from Miami. Buena Vista was a separate suburb and on the way there one could see Biscayne Bay off to the east through the pine trees. At Buena Vista we turned west on the Allapattah Road (36th St.), which led out to the farming section there. Three quarters of a mile west, Cellon owned some thirty or forty acres of land on the south side. This was planted to oranges on the road frontage, behind the mortared native rock wall that surrounded his whole domain. We turned off on a private road, later to become Seventh Avenue, Northwest.

Down this was his house, a two story cement block building. Perhaps it was a fragment of France in this new country, for it looked like some rural villas there. The stone of the house was "rusticated" in the European manner, and the front had a two story portico. The wall in front was curved into the driveways that led around the house, and marked off by pillars with a jaunty cement capping. Back of the house lay that mysterious and mostly secret area of his slat houses, where he was then and later to perform those miracles of tree production.

George Cellon was a descendent of a French family that had emigrated to South Carolina long before. He himself had been born in north Florida. In Gainesville, Florida, he and his brother had operated the East Florida Nursery through the later part of the 19th century. That "East Florida" is interesting. Cellon himself went back to the period when the distinction was not yet between North and South Florida in the popular mind. There hardly was a South Florida to be reckoned with; one lived in either East or West Florida.

The terrible freeze of 1895 had badly damaged his nursery in Gainesville. He, like Flagler and many others, heard reports of that far southerly section of Florida, where coconut palms grew wild and the orange trees had not been damaged. When Flagler extended his railroad to Miami, and another freeze followed, George Cellon had moved here. His nursery catalogues proudly stated "Established 1901". He had immediately planted a small grove and started his new nursery. He had done it all alone and had never changed his location.

Robert and I first met him on that hot summer morning, posting his ledger in his office in the northwest corner, ground floor of that timeless house. He was a slight dark man, never robust, dressed in his working clothes, like everyone else. He could dress up to go to bank or on a trip with the best of them in those days, when almost no one but Everest George Sewell really dressed up in the modern manner. I never realized until later how thoroughly French he was, intelligent, canny, cautious, earthy, direct and ruthless in judgment of people, with a profound practical sense of what could and what could not be done. Yet, for a practical man, he lived a life of "calculated risk" in this new country. The orange grove had been planted as a hedge of caution, but launching a nursery business devoted to avocados and mangoes among the few thousand souls from Palm Beach south at the turn of the century was pure audacity. He had seen from the start that the climate gave the section its unique advantage in tropical fruits, while half of Florida could still grow citrus.

That judgment, which was to be vindicated ever since, he explained to us that morning. He took us out into the nursery, where the more tender plants stood in their rows of small wooden boxes under the half shade of lattice, with the older trees out in the sun to harden. He went over the limited varieties with us, the best which that period and an intelligent search afforded. He had the Pollock and Trapp avocados, both West Indians, of course, and both local products. The Pollock had been found in a yard on the north side of Miami, north of old First Avenue and south of the original cemetery that bordered the west side of Avenue B. The Trapp tree had originated beside the home of C. L. Trapp and Harlan Trapp on the small bluff overlooking Biscayne Bay, opposite Dinner Key. In those days the Trapp fruit was not picked before September and October and often held into November, even December.

In mangoes, he had trees of the Mulgoba, Paheri and Bennett Alphonse for sale. The Mulgoba had been his particular pride. His current catalog had a plate duly trade marked, showing the fruit in the primitive printing colors of the time. He had the best nurseryman's instinctive grasp of a good commercial fruit. The common seedling mangoes were beneath notice, but the Mulgoba could be halved and eaten with a spoon, as the plate showed. He also bought, shipped and sold both mangoes and avocados, continuing this for some years. When we called on him again a little later, he gave us a Mulgoba fruit, I think our first.

Of course, Cellon knew all about the Haden mango. It should supersede the Mulgoba to a great extent but it still had to be proved in commercial planting. He was right then engaged in converting a few sticks of budwood into the first thousand of the many thousand nursery trees he was to produce, a feat of horticultural magic for which he was uniquely equipped. He finally did this in just under two and a half years. But no details now, please. This was going on in a part of the enclosure which no one except him and his men ever saw. Others tried to bud the mango, but Cellon and Del Drawdy, his assistant, actually did it.

On that first visit we also met Mrs. Cellon. She was the Lula of the Lula avocado, which is another story. Like some daguerreotype out of an old album, she fitted the shadows of the timeless house, quiet, and shyly smiling. They had no children.

We were to see a great deal more of George Cellon. In the next dozen years, we were to buy some thousands of small trees from him, both avocado

and mango. I recall taking the mule and wagon from our location on present Sunset Road and driving up to the nursery for more than one load of trees in their shingle boxes. With a few errands in town, it took a full day, there and back. I would think that the late Tom Pancoast of the Collins grove at the Beach and Dorn Brothers could have given as good a recommendation as anyone on the quality of his trees and their ability to grow and produce freely under reasonable care. Cellon had an immense, and sometimes vocal, pride in his own integrity, with which I could never differ. I can see him, under a mango tree, clipping off a corner of his plug of tobacco with his budding knife, and shaking the knife at me. "Harold," he would say, "you and Robert plant these trees yourselves, plant them high and keep them watered as I tell you, and they will grow. They are racehorses." That last word was emphasized by a final shake of the knife, with all the pride of their creator. And they were racehorses.

On the south side of Sunset Road, and the east side of 69th Avenue, if it were carried through as a public road, is a row of mango trees,—or what is left of it, after the perils of wood fires that were to plague the county for thirty years. The first of these are Mulgobas, the south part the first Haden trees that we bought from Cellon, planted in November, 1912. They are some of the first Haden trees ever put out for commercial planting in this or any other county. They passed from our care, when the grove was sold after the 1925 boom. I chanced on George Cellon on the street in Miami during that land boom. He shook his head sadly. No one was buying trees any more (neither were we!). Everybody wanted just to buy and sell land and horticulture was temporarily forgotten.

This advocacy of planting tropical trees for a tropical country impressed Robert and myself from the start. Undoubtedly Simmonds and Cellon were right. We had already picked out some land west of present South Miami and were told by a number of growers, even then, that this should be one of the best locations for both avocados and mangoes in the County. It had been ten years since Florida had experienced a bad freeze and the main citrus section in central Florida was reported to be pushing south rapidly along the Ridge and elsewhere.

Yet the larger grapefruit growers of the county mostly considered avocados and mangoes beneath them. Or at least they were too experimental, with very limited demand. None of the Peacocks, the Hicksons, the Potters, the Davis brothers, with several groves in charge, the Friendly Groves under Mr. Jones, or Charlie LeJeune or Dick Rice, branched out into avocado grow-

ing. The Hickson brothers and Ed Davis were interested in the mango, but on a small scale. George Merrick, who was coming up with a rush, did most of his expanding in grapefruit acreage after 1910, and became the largest owner-shipper of citrus in the county, before he turned to subdividing land. All these men rode with the grapefruit market into its decline. Other sections of the state increasingly undermined Dade County's advantage, even in the early season, and the land boom in 1925, plus the hurricane in 1926, practically finished the entire citrus section around Miami. The Redland area continued, but with increasing difficulty.

So the planting of avocado groves, and mangoes, too, was practically all in the hands of new interests. In the period between 1910 and 1920, the largest single block on the mainland was the Bliss grove, running from present northeast Second Avenue east to the Bay from about present 40th to 50th Street. It comprised about 40 acres, and was later sold to James Deering. Still later Biscayne Boulevard was pushed through it and it has now disappeared in the vast increase of urban home building. So has the large grove, planted by the Collins family on Miami Beach, west of Indian Creek and north of Dade Boulevard, once the largest single producing avocado grove in the county, which meant in the United States. Both these groves had a bordering row of mangoes around them. The Trapp was the principal avocado variety, because it would outlast the summer period of Cuban imports. The avocado was far better known than the mango in the North, mostly because of the Cuban fruit. Yet the two fruits were usually mentioned together and their history is closely intertwined.

The man who, aside from Cellon himself, first plunged into a main planting of mangoes was W. E. March. He owned the Halcyon Hotel, Miami's especial pride, next only to Flagler's Royal Palm. He also owned and farmed the old Frohock tract of glade land north of Snapper Creek and west of the railroad. In the course of our first farming, adjoining his large tomato field, we had met him and learned of his mango planting. This consisted of Mulgobas, with I think a few Paheris, and was located on the old Cutler Road, now occupied by the Fairchild Garden. To reach it, we continued along the Bay road several miles below the W. A. Larkins home and dairy, at the east end of present Sunset Road. It had two long rows of very large Mulgoba trees along the road, with smaller trees behind them. March either shipped his own fruit or George Cellon bought it from him. It was not until some years later, when March sold the grove to Snowden, the oil man, that we bought a couple of crops of the fruit.

The frontispiece of Cellon's 1912 nursery catalog was an enlargement of a photograph, in colors, with some artistic license, showing a large well-fruited Mulgoba tree in the foreground with smaller Mulgoba trees filling in the rear. Under the tree are George, in his Sunday best, and W. E. March, also in coat, tie and hat, plus four visitors from India. These young men, one with turban and one with fez, are labeled The Hindoos and, as I recall, were visitors from an Indian agricultural college, evidently interested in what was happening to their mango in this strange, rocky country. In the lower left corner is inserted the Cellon trade-mark, two halves of the Mulgoba in red and yellow, on a small plate, with a spoon under the loose seed. I must confess I regard the picture with an affection beyond that justified by its artistic merit.

Another factor in the nursery business in tropical fruits, not much later, was William J. Krome. He had been engineer for the extension of the Florida East Coast Railway to Key West, making a brilliant solution of the problem of a dependable road-bed between the Keys. His avocation was the raising of avocados and mangoes on his grove a mile and a half north of Homestead. Later, he started a nursery at the same location. His avocations alone would have been full time work for anyone else. When the county road was put through to Homestead, it gave the new town much readier access to the outside world, and we traveled down to see him and Mrs. Krome occasionally. Later we bought several blocks of avocado trees from him, which did well.

I recall visiting him one Saturday afternoon about 1920 at his small office and shed in the grove at the northeast corner of present Krome and Avocado roads. He had been keeping records of production from his Trapp avocados from some years, as an extra-extra chore. Even then the Trapp was considered to be a tree given to good crops in alternate years. A great part of this was caused by holding the fruit to the latest possible dates. However, he told me that he had just found that his trees with the most pronounced alternate year tendency had in the previous six years borne a higher total of fruit than those that had borne every year. The willing workers carried a crop until they were exhausted, and after a rest, went at it again. Humans are like that, too. Krome himself, in a way, was like the willing workers, as I thought later. A slender, taut, withdrawn man, he had no mercy on himself and died much too young of a failing heart, and perhaps a similar exhaustion. The last time I saw him, Francis Dolan and I were calling on him about our fight to secure a duty on foreign avocados and we needed his

counsel. He was propped up in bed, under doctor's orders, with a mind as clear and incisive as ever. Only the body had failed him.

He ranged around in the expanding world of varieties in both fruits, and with Cellon, was a pioneer on the new California and Guatamalan avocados. I recall buying a Cambodiana and a Totafari mango from him from my home place, but the Haden was still king. However it did not do as well in the Redland district as it did around Miami. The best nurserymen were constantly on the prowl for an extension in varieties. Partly this would be for profit, but there was a large intangible motive of extending our knowledge, as well as our standing in the world of horticulture.

Mrs. Krome followed her husband most ably in the fields of groves and nursery. From the earliest days they had built up an extensive and interesting collection of mangoes and she fortunately continues today to be one of our foremost authorities on mango varieties.

By 1920 Robert and I undoubtedly had more avocado trees under our care than anyone in the Miami area, unless it was the Collins grove. But our groves were scattered, and mostly we managed them for other owners in the North. As to mangoes, that is Hadens, whether we exceeded the Collins grove I do not know. It still had a good many Mulgobas, showing its early start. The Haden had fully lived up to its advance billing. Many householders, after one look at its brilliant coloring, wanted a tree for their yards. Our increasing number of newcomers would plant several acres of avocados and perhaps only a few budded mangoes. Quite commonly mangoes were used for an outer row, partly as a windbreak. Their faster growth, greater height, and heavier head, plus the fact that their fruit came off before the hurricane season, made this eminently sensible.

Our own problem was to interest people living a thousand to 1500 miles away in putting money into fruits of which they had hardly heard. Even samples by mail in season did not produce as much interest as we would have liked. A doctor in Chicago, even if he had spent some winter vacations here, was much like the big local grapefruit growers. He was accustomed to seeing Florida grapefruit in the stores for six months of the year, knew it well, and had bought a great many. But there were only a few expensive avocados in the best fruit stores. He would really have to hunt for a mango in Chicago, or its season passed so swiftly that he had missed it. Our winter tourists could see mango trees in bloom, but never any mature fruit. They could go out any day and pick grapefruit and oranges. Dr. Fairchild was always con-

cerned with the ultra-conservative taste of the American people in the matter of new foods. I am sure that many of our samples of new fruits, that we considered both fine eating, attractive and highly marketable, met with a lot of "consumer resistance". We were still planting grapefruit and oranges, but we would manage to wangle an order to plant a couple of acres of the new avocados and anything from a couple of trees to a windbreak row of the still stranger mango.

Our efforts to make these new fruits known had an even more important angle for us. We had started to ship avocados and mangoes ourselves in 1913 and in 1914 we built a packing house on the Larkins side-track of the Florida East Coast Railway for all local produce, vegetables as well as fruit. The largest local item was still tomatoes, though R. W. Brown here had almost a monopoly on them at the start. Our largest line was grapefruit, with a volume from 1915 to 1925 some ten to twenty times that of avocados.

At the start mango volume trailed away behind even avocados. The Haden trees we had planted from 1913 to 1915 finally started to come into production. However, Dade County had received a bad blow in the freeze of February, 1917. Some of our finest trees from Cellon were entirely killed, when less than a year old. Avocado trees three and four years old were killed back to wood an inch or more in diameter. Mango trees suffered also, but it was interesting to note that the damage was not quite so drastic as on the West Indian varieties of avocados. Out in the northwest section of Miami even some citrus trees were badly hurt. On the other hand, the new Homestead area produced a few avocados that same summer, having missed as low temperatures as we, and the Collins grove escaped much damage. Yet our tender tropical charges that were still alive came back nobly. Within a year it took close examination to find where they had been hurt. However, this freeze placed the variations of the county and its climate in perspective for us. No other low temperatures in 45 years have been any worse, though a number other freezes have been destructive to tropical trees in that time, and tender vegetables have been hurt still more often.

In the summer of 1920 we had our own first important crop of Haden mangoes, all from young trees and of most reassuring quality. At the start, anthracnose did not seem to exist in our new section and we did not realize how well off we were. That trouble from black spotting started later and the end of the next ten years found the situation very much impaired.

The twenties witnessed further increase in mango production, especially in the first five years. A state census in 1925 showed about 8000 mango trees

planted in Dade county, within its present boundaries, less than 150 acres. There was serious cold in 1928 and at least one rainy winter. The collapse of the land boom in 1926 turned peoples' thoughts back to fruit growing and farming, but very few had any money and progress was slow. That decade saw the first of the hybrid mango additions to the Haden. These were the green and prolific Brooks and the huge and brilliant Springfels.

After 1930 the finding of new hybrid mangoes stepped up. It was all due to the valuable habit in individual residents of planting the seed of some fruit they had admired. Mostly these were Haden fruit, with some Mulgoba and Sundersha. Only one parent is known in any case and sometimes determining either parent later is a guess. By now we have many grandchildren of the first hybrids in bearing. The Haden set a standard difficult to surpass, but the proliferation of new varieties,—or at least new seedlings,—continues endlessly. Anyone with a promising seedling tree can have more like it budded, or turn the tree over to some nurseryman, and presto, another new variety appears. Some hybrids have been crosses with the Saigon type. The Saigons themselves have been neglected all along, mostly because of the steady commercial requirement for high color.

Today we are probably in the middle period of the mango in Florida, with many contenders for popularity. Similarly forty years ago in middle Florida, a great number of orange varieties had their advocates. It is doubtful that the mango, in its final mature stage, can ever be limited to the equivalent of the Pineapple and Valencia orange for larger planting, but there looms a gradual "combing out" of varieties. Undoubtedly promising new fruits will continue to appear and we may yet find the perfect mango.

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## A Seminole Personal Document

By WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT

Local history relies for some of its detail and much of its atmosphere on the autobiographical reminiscences of elderly local natives and early settlers. Several years ago I had the good fortune to become acquainted with one of the oldest people born in the Miami region and a continuous inhabitant of it, and to record some of his family traditions and his personal reminiscences of life in this area. This old man differs from the ordinary native whose memories are collected for local history, in being an Indian.

In the summer of 1950 I was engaged in linguistic research among the Mikasuki Seminole on the Dania Reservation.<sup>1</sup> I had been working about three weeks with Joseph W. Jumper, a young Seminole high school student, when I suggested to him that he try to arrange for an elderly person to record some texts on my wire recorder. Joe had himself recorded a few texts, but I had nothing from anyone else. The most noticeable old man on the Dania Reservation was Sam Huff: he was the only one there who always wore the old-fashioned Seminole 'big shirt'—a garment with constricted waist, long skirt, long sleeves, and top buttoned down the front, decorated with inset strips of colored cloth and patchwork designs (see figure 2). I discovered later that he and Joe enjoyed an informal joking relationship, apparently on Sam Huff's initiative (although this never passed the bounds of propriety; in the Seminole view, one must be careful how one interacts with elderly people, nearly all of whom possess some magical powers). At this late date, I do not remember whether the original suggestion that Sam Huff be approached was mine or Joe's—but my notes do record the fact that I did not tell Joe what sort of text I wanted. In fact, I did not care, as my intention at that time was merely to collect a sample of speech for linguistic analysis. Joe told me later that he had not suggested any specific topics to the old man. So the subjects Sam Huff talked about, and their organization, were entirely his own choice.

Why did he agree to do it? Joe Jumper, who urged him to, was a particular friend of his and Sam Huff as well as many other older people thought him outstanding among the younger generation in his steadiness, quietness, and helpfulness. He also knew that he would be paid for the work.

About three weeks later he came to me on his own initiative to earn more money by recording—but this time he sang, rather than telling any story.

I did not carry out my intention of transcribing Sam Huff's remarks in a phonemic orthography and analyzing them grammatically. I must therefore rely here on Joe Jumper's translation into English. The wording of this is more natural and the translation more complete than is usually the case when recording equipment is not used, because the narrator was not interrupted, the translation being done from the recording, playing it for short stretches and repeating these whenever the interpreter was in doubt. By this stage of our work, Joe was aware of my desire for full and accurate translations, and had had some experience in providing these from wire recordings. My own knowledge of Mikasuki at the time was minimal, although I was able on occasion to question the interpreter about short phrases which seemed to me to have been omitted. I have slightly revised my record of the translation for publication, but the revision consists solely in putting Joe's words into grammatical and connected English sentences. I do not want to give the impression that Sam Huff speaks broken Mikasuki (of course he does not), or that his English is sufficient for such a recounting (it is not—he has but a few words of English, adequate only for the simplest conversation). On the other hand, there seems no point in preserving the rather sub-standard English of the interpreter, which has no bearing on the content of the texts. I have not rearranged the order of what Sam Huff said, or omitted anything. Additions of my own necessary for following the sense are put in square brackets.

In 1952, I interviewed Sam Huff again, going to him with Joe Jumper and asking him to expand on some points in his earlier remarks. The questions translated by Joe, and the answers in Mikasuki, were recorded on a wire recorder and later translated by another interpreter. This information and data from other Seminole collected in 1952 are the basis of my discussions preceding and following the text and in the footnotes—except where citations to published or manuscript literature are given.

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Sam Huff is in most respects a perfectly ordinary Seminole. He has the respect due to age, but little more. His accomplishments and achievements have been few, and he has not gained renown among his fellow tribesmen for any special capabilities or knowledge, with the possible exception of a reputation for being a better than average singer—but his voice is now broken with age, and since he is Christian he no longer attends the religious cere-

monies at which his knowledge of songs would be an asset. He is outstanding only in his age, his dress, and his sib (matrilineal descent group) membership.

In 1952 Sam Huff replied to a question, with some hesitation, that he was 80 years old. Copies of 1917 and 1923 censuses in the files of the Seminole Agency at the Dania Reservation give his (estimated) birth date as 1883. Sam Huff's own estimate may be better, since in a photograph taken not later than 1897 (figure 1) he appears to be more nearly 25 than 14. He was born, then, about 1872, at Pine Island, an old Seminole settlement northwest of the present Dania Reservation, where he spent most of his boyhood years.

This place, known in Mikasuki as *coyisoká:cokô:lî:*,<sup>2</sup> 'pine island (or clump) place,' is well described in the published literature. It is between the North and South New River Canals, opposite the head of the South Fork of the New River and four or five miles within the Everglades. It is shown on various maps (e.g., Squires, 1925, and Torras and Charlton, 1925; the area is not yet covered by Geological Survey maps) as a crescentic hammock extending some one and a half miles north and south and one and an eighth miles east and west, in sections 17, 18, 19, and 20 of Township 50 S, Range 41 E—about three miles northwest of the center of the town of Davie, and about four and a half miles northwest of the Dania reservation.

J. A. Henshall spent two days in late February, 1882, visiting the Seminole village here, and wrote a pleasant account of his observations (Henshall, 1884: 152-166). Traveling about twenty miles up the South Fork of the New River in a Seminole dugout canoe with sail, he emerged into the Everglades and met Indians sailing between their village of 25 or 30 houses on Pine Island, and their fields on smaller islands nearby. He noticed the busk (Green Corn Dance) grounds with its ball pole at one side of the village.<sup>3</sup> Among the inhabitants were Little Tiger, Little Tommie, Big Charley, and Tommy Doctor. "These Indians lead a quiet, peaceable, and semipastoral life, cultivating fields of corn, pumpkins, sweet potatoes, beans, bananas, etc., in the rich hamaks on the adjacent islands, their villages being in the pines on the border of the mainland [of the big island]. They also make starch from the "komptie," or wild arrowroot,<sup>4</sup> which grows abundantly in the pine woods, and in the winter they hunt deer and bears. Such a life is not without its charms, shut out, as they are, from all the world by impenetrable cypress swamps, the only avenues to civilization being by way of the streams which drain the Everglades, the currents of which are so swift during high water that few attempt to ascend them to the Everglades, and still fewer

succeed. In the spring and early summer the Everglades are comparatively dry; as Little Tiger said: "In two moons, all water gone—canoe no go more." During the autumn and winter the men go to the settlements, mostly to Miami on Biscayne Bay, by way of the Miami River, where they sell deerskins, buckskin, beeswax, komptie starch, vegetables, bird plumes, alligator teeth, etc., and buy cloth, calico, ammunition, tobacco, etc., and occasionally wy-ho-mee (whisky)" (Henshall, 1884: 159-160).

Duncan (1898:ccxi-ccxiii) summarized the situation in this region sixteen years later. He found two settlements on Pine Island, the family heads including Miami Jimmie, John Jumper, Jimmie Tustenugee, Doctor Tommie, Tommie Jumper, Old Charlie (Sam Huff's father), Charlie Willie, and Willie Billie. Tommy Doctor, met by Henshall at Pine Island, in 1898 was living on a smaller island about four miles southeast, with several other families in the same neighborhood.

In 1952 Sam Huff told me that all the inhabitants of Pine Island when he was young were Mikasuki, with two exceptions. The Miami Jimmie mentioned by Duncan—the Mikasuki form of his Indian name was yahaha:cî:, 'crazy wolf'—was a Cow Creek of the Tiger (i.e., Florida puma, *Felis concolor coryi*) sib. The wife of Old John Jumper (the John Jumper mentioned by Duncan) was also a Cow Creek Tiger. She was the mother of Annie Tommie (wife of Doctor Tommie), who is the mother of the six well-known Tommie brothers (Ben Frank, Frank, Brown, Jack, Sam, and Tony B.M.). Sam Huff remarked that although Old John Jumper's wife was Cow Creek, and the children learned Creek from her, the family ordinarily spoke Mikasuki. The band affiliation of the children and their children is today a point of discussion; there is room for doubt, since band affiliation does not follow matrilineal descent as strictly as does sib membership, but is influenced by residence and language.

I was told by a usually well-informed Seminole—who, however, sometimes is mistaken as to dates—that the Pine Island settlements dispersed about 1900. He remembers visiting the place in 1901 and finding it abandoned. He maintained that some of the people moved onto the New River nearer the present Fort Lauderdale—among these was Old John Jumper's wife—and some moved south, closer to Miami. I presume Annie Tommie and her sons went with her mother; Sam Huff may also have gone with them. The family of Tommie Jumper may have been among those moving south. At any rate, according to Nash (1931:21) "the Osceolas and Tommies who were crowded from their Fort Lauderdale hammock in the days of the boom

and the Jumpers crowded from the coast a few miles south," moved to the Dania Reservation in 1926, when the government began the program there (Nash, 1931:70-71).

Sam Huff is a member of the small sib called *oklihô:ta:Lî:*, 'big towns people,' in Mikasuki. This is one of the sibs present among the Mikasuki Seminole but absent among the Creek-speaking Cow Creek Seminole, who refer to it as *talwaLákko*, 'big town' (cf. Spoehr, 1941:15). Information on the history of his sib obtained from Sam Huff in 1952, taken together with corroborative and contradictory testimony from other Seminole, and with information in the literature, gives some new data on Seminole history. Sam Huff told me that his mother's mother had said that their sib was from 'white town,' which they were forced to leave by the army which chased them eventually to south Florida. At some point in their history, so their tradition runs, they found the Otter sib and in effect adopted it—the two sibs thenceforth not intermarrying and in other ways behaving as though they were one, while remembering that in origin they were different. At present, the Otter sib is much the larger and more prominent; as a result, members of Sam Huff's sib often casually refer to themselves as Otters, and are so referred to by others. Furthermore, some members of the sib consistently refer to themselves as *kôta:Lî:*, 'frog people,' perhaps in an effort to raise their status, for the Big Towns sib is considered by many nonmembers to have a somewhat subordinate position among the sibs, all the rest of which have totemic names. Actually, frogs do serve as "totem" animals for the Otter sib and also, by extension, for the Big Towns sib—in the sense that sib members must defend them against joking by members of other sibs (this is a common Mikasuki Seminole pattern; most sibs have several such animals, including the eponymous one, which they must defend). Other Seminole deny the right of Big Towns people to call themselves Frogs, and some insist that the sib was discovered and adopted by the Otters, rather than vice versa (cf. Greenlee, 1952:26; details he gives differ somewhat from fuller data I obtained from the same informant in 1952).

Spoehr (1941:15) has noted the uniqueness of the nontotemic Mikasuki Big Towns sib, and suggested that it may represent a disrupted town which subsequently acquired sib status. This seems a likely explanation and some further evidence may be cited. The tradition that the Big Towns sib was "found" by the Otters points in this direction. The Cow Creek term for the sib, *talwaLákko*, is also interesting (note that the Mikasuki name is equivalent, except that the adjective is plural and I have quoted the name

with the ordinary plural suffix used with sib names, -a:Lî:, here translated 'people'). This is one Creek name for the originally Hitchiti-speaking town of Apalachicola (Swanton, 1922:129-130; Haas, 1945:72-73). Furthermore, Apalachicola was referred to by Bartram in 1777 as the chief town of the "peace" dual division of the towns of the Creek confederacy, and he also stated that when it broke up, some of its inhabitants joined the Seminole (Swanton, 1922:132-133). The towns of the peace division were commonly referred to as "white," as opposed to the "red" or war towns—although the modern Creek apparently do not use these terms (Swanton, 1928:249; Haas, 1940b: 479), and the distinction is not known among modern Florida Seminole. Yet the association of white with peace, and of certain towns with peace, is an old one among the Creek (Swanton, 1928:249-259; for the dual division of towns, cf. Haas, 1940b). Hence Sam Huff's tradition of his sib's origin from 'white town' makes sense with the early position of Apalachicola. The tradition is known to other Seminole: another informant remarked that members of the sib often boast, "I'm big white city."

Hitchiti and Mikasuki are dialects of the same language; the Big Towns sib comes from 'white town'; Apalachicola, a Hitchiti town, was once the leading town of the peace or "white" division of the Creek. I suggest that the Mikasuki Big Towns sib derives from the refugees from Apalachicola who joined the Seminole in the eighteenth century.

As will be seen, Sam Huff omitted many facts about his life in the account he recorded for me. His father was Old Charlie. One of his mother's sisters married Robert Osceola, by whom she had at least five sons and two daughters; four of these sons (members, of course, of the Big Towns sib) are now leading men among the Tamiami Trail Seminole. Of Sam Huff's siblings, my genealogies show only two brothers and one sister, all deceased. In order of age, these are: Charlie Tommie, the eldest, father of Katy Smith (wife of Morgan Smith); a sister, *koyihcî:*, the wife of Willie Billie (mentioned by Duncan) and the mother of (at least) two living sons and three living daughters, who, with the numerous children of the daughters, are all Big Towns sib members; and Frank Charlie. Sam Huff is the youngest sibling.

I do not know Sam Huff's boyhood name. His adult name is *hacikocok-niha:cî:*, 'crazy short tail' (for brief comments on Seminole names, see Sturtevant, 1953:67). An indication of the isolation of Seminole busk groups about 1890 or somewhat before, is the fact that Whitney Cypress, a man about Sam Huff's age who died in 1951, had the same adult name. The old men say that two living people should not have the same name, but it



(USNM neg. 13187)

FIG. 1. Group at Pine Island about 1897. Back row, left to right: Charley Tiger (with gun), Sam Huff, Jackson Charlie (with gun), John Osceola, Ben Frank Tommie. Front row seated, left to right: kiLóhyi:, ayóhçi:, koyihçi: (without coin necklace), lithohki: (the first two were sisters of Willie Tiger, the third of Sam Huff, the fourth of Doctor Wilson; identifications of the women are less certain than those of the men behind).



*(Photo by Art Cohen)*

FIG. 2. Sam Huff at the Dania Reservation in 1956.

occasionally happens that busk groups are not in sufficiently close communication to prevent duplicate names being given—and once given, a name cannot be changed. Sam Huff was named at an east coast busk, perhaps at Pine Island, whereas Whitney Cypress was named by Old Doctor at a busk in the Big Cypress area.\*

The name "Sam Huff" was presumably borrowed from a local white man. Note that Sam Huff's brothers had different surnames. In the earlier records (e.g., Spencer, 1917) the name is spelled Hough; more recently and today the spelling I use is the ordinary one. I remember having seen a mention of a Fort Myers sheriff named Sam Hough; if my memory is not playing me false (unfortunately I cannot now locate the reference), this must be the source of the name. Today, the full English name is always used by the Indians: "Sam Huff," never "Sam," and never his Indian name. I have followed this usage here.

Before 1909, Sam Huff married a woman known as Jenny Tiger or (more commonly) Rosalie, a member of the Tiger sib who is apparently a granddaughter of Old John Jumper who lived at Pine Island—and thus either Cow Creek or Mikasuki, depending on the relative weight given descent and residence. Sam and Rosalie Huff had one son and three daughters, all of whom are still alive. The eldest, Pocahontas, was born about 1909 (Spencer, 1923) and in 1950 was living at the Dania Reservation with her children and her present husband, Josie Jumper. Lena, born about 1912 (Spencer, 1923), in 1950 was also living at Dania with her children and present husband, Jack Billie. Frank Huff, born about 1914 (Spencer, 1923) in 1950 was living on the Brighton Reservation with Mary, his Cow Creek wife, and their children. Alice, born about 1918 (Spencer, 1923), was living at Dania with her children and her present husband, Charley Billy Boy.

About 1920, Sam Huff was apparently living in the Dania-Fort Lauderdale region (perhaps on the hammock mentioned by Nash, referred to above), for the Chicago Natural History Museum has two photographs (negatives 45522 and 45547) received in 1921, the captions of which refer to him as living in Broward county. In one, he is shown with an alligator skin (he told me that he used to sell alligator skins at Brown's Store at Boat Landing on the present Big Cypress Reservation—this must have been before this time); in the other, he is "eating breakfast" with a group of Mikasuki in a temporary camp.

In 1939, Sam Huff was living in a camp by himself on the Brighton Reservation, where Rosalie was also living with two of their daughters and

their children. Sam Huff and Rosalie had then "long been divorced," although they remained friendly (Spoehr, 1944:143-144).

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Translations of the two texts recorded in 1950 follow. Both were narrated at the same sitting; between the two, the only interval was the time necessary to play back the first for the narrator's benefit (and amusement).

Right over there [Pine Island, northwest of the Dania Reservation] there used to be a big Indian camp, I mean it was big, and plenty of medicine-men lived there. There were four camps right there—I mean there were five camps—and they lived in them. There were plenty of medicine-men living in those five camps. They had Green Corn Dances there, too. They lived there and had [ceremonial] gatherings [this term is used for both busks and Hunting or Snake Dances]. They stayed in those camps, and that's where I began to know. Four camps had gone away then, but one was still there, and the people were there in it.

There were no white people, except by the ocean where there was a house called "station" with one white man living in it.<sup>6</sup> There were just a few white people around, and they were from far away. When they [the Indians] first saw them coming, two people went down and told them to get out of this place and keep on going. If they wanted to spend the night, they would let them go to sleep, but they mustn't say anything. So they brought them back [to the Indian camps] and they spent the night and went away again.

[Then] everybody was going to different places, scattering out to make many little camps. The white people were moving closer, and they built a town at Palm Beach.<sup>7</sup> They were gradually moving down.

We didn't have any automobiles like we have today. They had what's called 'wagons tied up with horses.' Mr. Stranahan was living in Ft. Lauderdale, but it wasn't a town then; he was living sort of in the woods.<sup>8</sup> Miami was beginning to be a town, but Lemon City was already a town.<sup>9</sup>

They took letters and papers in a big wagon with a top on it and seats, four seats, and people rode in it, although it was carrying the mail. They changed the letters in Ft. Lauderdale, and another one took them to a place called Lantana, on this side of Palm Beach, and they changed there in Lantana to a big boat. From there the ship took the mail to a little village, and a little train came from the north and took the letters to the north. Farther north there was a big train which came and took those letters back, and

scattered them all over. That's what they did for a long time, until Miami was a big town, and then the trains went all the way to Miami.<sup>10</sup> There were no automobiles, only wagons fastened to horses to take the mail to the train station.

They used wagons to go to town for a while, and the town was gradually getting bigger. They started making wagons without horses, and finally they built houses for those cars, and the cars kept increasing. Things kept going along, and gradually a big city grew up.

Steam shovels began to make canals in the Everglades. Steam shovels came out of Ft. Lauderdale, and others came out of Deerfield, heading for [Lake] Okeechobee.<sup>11</sup> "Just as soon as they hit the lake, the water is going to dry up in those Everglades, and as soon as the water dries up, they're going to start plantations"—that's what the white people said to the Indians. Another steam shovel went out from Dania, and another one from Miami.<sup>12</sup> Just as soon as they hit Okeechobee, the water was going to dry up. But I didn't believe it, until they hit Okeechobee. Then the water dried up, and even in Okeechobee it was dry too.<sup>13</sup> The Everglades became small, and the trees grew very fast.

There was nothing at the little ocean in front of Miami [i.e., Biscayne Bay] except a few fishermen riding around. There were mangroves along both sides. The mangroves went as far as a place called Little River, and ended there. I saw that the place was all cleaned up, the last time I was there.

On the other side of Miami, where the little white ocean [Biscayne Bay] leads, there is a little island called Coconut Grove, but the Indians call it 'Peace Treaty.'<sup>14</sup> In between Miami and Coconut Grove they had a war, with soldiers coming from the ocean. At that time my grandmother was coming this way [from the north], coming on and on until she had some children, and she just kept on coming until she got here, and stayed here.

Governor Hendry was captain of the soldiers, but he was helping the Indians. He had plenty of cows, and a house. He was helping the Indians, but they made him captain of the soldiers. The soldiers wanted to fight the Indians some more, but Governor Hendry said not to fight any more with the Indians.<sup>15</sup> Near Coconut Grove there was a big soldiers' boat, a *big* boat. It was right where the deep water comes close to shore. It was a big boat, and there were some soldiers in it ready to fight. Governor Hendry was captain, and there was another captain named Jesup who was a captain of soldiers.<sup>16</sup> Governor Hendry and Captain Jesup talked and talked, and Governor Hendry said, "I think we'll just quit fighting the Indians, because

if we killed all the Indians it would be too bad. Let's make friends; right now we'll make a peace treaty with the Indians." And they said, "If you Indians want to do that way, it's all right with us." There was an Indian man named Alec, from the Wind sib,<sup>17</sup> who talked to the white people and said, "That's all right with us." In those days we didn't have any man who could talk English. They just used their fingers, trying to talk with them—that's the way they talked.

Alec came back and said to them, "The Indians will kill a lot of white people, and the white people will kill a lot of Indians, and so on until they will kill all the Indians, then it's going to be too bad, so we'd better quit right now and have a peace treaty. Let's quit and make friends and shake hands. If a white man gets angry with an Indian, and the Indian gets angry with a white man, and they kill each other, let it go, because they two caused it themselves." The Indians said, "That's the way the law is going to be, that's all right with us." That's the way they wanted it, so we went over to the big boat where the soldiers were and shook hands with them and the white people gave them something. A guard of soldiers was sent over here, and some people thought that it was a trap, but some Indians went with them, and when they got to the boat there was a ladder that went from the boat to the ground, and they went in. They visited them, and shook hands with them, and the white men gave the Indians gifts, and the soldiers said, "If you want to give us something, you can give us chickens." After they got through, they came back to their camps.

"When two people, Indians or white people, get angry with each other and kill each other, that's the way it's going to be [i.e., no retaliation]," they said. The soldiers in that boat came out and visited them, because we didn't have any fighting any more.<sup>18</sup> The Indians called it Peace Treaty for a long time, but the white people began to build houses and then it began to be Coconut Grove. They started making houses, and they call it Coconut Grove now.<sup>19</sup>

That's the way I heard it [that is to say, the above is tradition].

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II. When I was a baby, first—I mean, when my mother and father held me—When children are born, they drink milk, but I wasn't that way. I wasn't born a healthy baby, I was born sick.

There were some white people living at Miami by the little ocean [Biscayne Bay]. Just a little over on the other side of Lemon City there was a

small island, and some poor white people were living on that island making coontie.<sup>20</sup> They made it and sold it, or just sent it off and sold it. Those white people said, "Why don't you bring that baby to us? We might make him well for you." My parents said, "Well, let's take him over, and find out what they can do for him." My parents were living at Snake River.<sup>21</sup> I wasn't well enough to stand up, so I was staying in bed.

When I was a very little boy, I couldn't walk, or talk, or sit up. All the Indian doctors were doctoring me, but I couldn't get well. "Let's take him over to the white people. They don't have any medicine to use on him, they're poor people and they don't know where they're going to get that medicine, but we'll take him over and find out what they can do for him." A baby grows with milk, but I wouldn't drink any milk and I didn't get anything to eat, but just lay there on the bed. They took me over to them—but they were *poor people*. They were making coontie, eating it and selling it. "We took you over, and they made the medicine themselves, and they used it on you. You were lying there on the bed, and we went over very often to see you." It was a long time, I think I lay there about three months, but I didn't know anything [yet]. He went over to tell them that I was feeling better, and eating food. They didn't have any cow's milk or any kind of milk, so I didn't drink any—that's the way I grew up.

When children grow up with their mothers, they drink human milk, but I wasn't that way when I was growing up. I was born with a sickness, I wasn't like the other children born without sickness. I was lying there and the white people said, "You can have him [back] if you want to." They took me back. That's when I was beginning to understand.

I had some brothers. I had one older brother who was drinking liquor in Fort Lauderdale. That was not very long ago. He was drinking all kinds of liquor, and one night he didn't come home. Morning came, and I went to find out what had happened to him. First I went straight to the liquor store. It had rained all night long, but I started off that morning. I went straight to where they bought whiskey—I mean I didn't go all the way: there were some trees, and under the trees he was lying. He had a little sheet covering his face. It was raining and raining on him, while he was lying there on his back. I went over. "That's all," I thought, "his insides are getting rotten." He couldn't talk, he just looked at me. The whiskey was sitting there, and I moved it. I was standing watching him. He was looking at me, he couldn't talk. He was lying down. I came back, and told his daughter what had happened. Morgan Smith's wife, that's his daughter—

I told her. "Let's go see," she said, and we all went over. The police brought him back. They brought him back and he lay there not very long, and died.

My sisters were the same way. They were older than me, because I didn't know it at the time. My brother and I were still growing up when they died. My sisters, they died and died.

Only *kascfilotkî*'s father<sup>22</sup> was left. He's my cousin. He got wrecked with a car just a little ways from here. Three people were in it, and they all died. They took them out of the water, and there were three of them, lying beside the road. That's why I don't have any brothers.

They all died except two sisters—but one of them died not very long ago, and the other also died a short time ago. Only I am left. Only I am left, that's why I'm here today.

In Brighton there were some people I'd heard about, but I stayed here. They went to Brighton, and I went with them—I mean, I went after them, and got over there. They cut the ground for the Indians [marked out the Brighton reservation],<sup>23</sup> and after they finished it, then they all moved to that place. I went over there and stayed, and then they turned back to come over here, and I started back again and came over here. The Christian people around here were going over to Brighton, but I didn't know what they were doing, that's the reason I didn't go [at first]. My thinking was different, I didn't know what they were doing. I didn't want to join them.<sup>24</sup>

I got sick. I was drinking and I got sick. They put me in the hospital. I was lying down and I didn't know anything. I woke up, but my ideas were bad. I thought people were killing each other right in the house. I lay there until I felt better. There was a paper lying on my bed, about the size of this [pointing to an 8" x 11" pad]. It was Christ's picture. I thought someone was telling me, "This is Christ's picture, you can look at it while you lie there." One person went in there and handed me that picture and went out. I thought it was those people in the hospital, but it wasn't. I lay there, and when the time came that I felt better, "You don't have any sickness," they said.

While I lay there I changed my mind. It wasn't my fault, I thought. "Somebody thought it and put a picture on my bed too, and that's all. Drinking liquor. As soon as I get out of this place," I thought, "I'll go straight to where the Christian people are." That's all. They went over and brought me back to Brighton. I was lying there [in the hospital] in Sebring, and they brought me back. I stayed there [at Brighton] for a while, then I started off and came over here [to Dania], and I joined the Christians.

I thought I was going to sit there in my house without doing anything. They told me to sweep the church. "Work on the church, clean the inside," they told me. I was working there with Stanley [Smith], and they built another church,<sup>25</sup> but I was still working in the same place, and I'm working there now, and I stay here now.

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It is legitimate to ask how representative these texts are. One is struck by the lack of material requiring a knowledge of Seminole culture for understanding, by the large gaps in the chronology of the narrator's life, by the small amount of anything really personal. In fact, much of what Sam Huff said deals with his own or other Indians' relations with whites, or with changes in South Florida in which the Seminole participated only very indirectly.

One suspects that his choice of topics was determined by what he thought a white man would be interested in and would understand. I had, after all, only been working about three weeks among the Seminole, quietly and largely with one informant, and a young one at that. Sam Huff did not know then that I was interested in Seminole culture, and if it occurred to him he must have realized that I knew little about it. When I returned to question him in 1952, I had been in evidence much longer, it was well known whom I had talked with and in general what my interests were, and on this occasion Sam Huff did give me some data which required more knowledge to understand. However, this was in response to direct questions about the history and membership of his sib. I did not ask him to tell me what he intended by his earlier narrative, or to expand on his life-history as such, to fill in the gaps in the chronology, to talk about his family and relatives, or to give any information which might be used for psychological interpretations.

I do not have any comparable texts from other Seminole, although I do know something about the normal Seminole life cycle and attitudes. It is striking to me that Sam Huff did not mention any of the turning points of his life except for his conversion. I would have expected (on the basis of my present knowledge) at least a passing reference to his receiving an adult name, to ceremonial participation, to his marriage, to his children, and perhaps to his divorce. His attitude towards whites—if it was fairly shown by his remarks—is markedly lacking in affect. He accepts what has happened, here and elsewhere, without complaint. Many non-Christian Seminole and some Christians in a similar context would surely remark more explicitly on the effects and perhaps the injustices of white pressures.

These reminiscences present little or no new historical detail (except for the indirect evidence about Apalachicola). It cannot even be said with certainty that they are a fair sample of the point of view of an element of South Florida's population which has been little investigated before. Sam Huff himself might reminisce differently to a Seminole audience, or to an outsider whom he knew to be well acquainted with and sympathetic to Seminole history and culture (a status I had not yet reached).

Yet I find these two texts very interesting, and I hope others will also. As an anthropologist, they interest me as a rare type of document: an American Indian's nondirected, spontaneous life-history (cf. Kluckhohn, 1945); but they are disappointing in the little information they contain on Seminole culture or on the personality of the narrator. From the historian's point of view, these reminiscences are unique for Florida, whether or not they are representative; again, they are disappointing in the amount of new data they contain. My own view may be biased, for I cannot help but remember how poignant the story seemed to me when I first heard it translated, listening with the interpreter to the cracked voice of the old man droning calmly on, sometimes dropping so low as to be scarcely audible, and remembering the sad, unassuming, gently humorous old man seated before the recording machine, telling in some sense the story of his life for a strange foreigner and their mutual friend of a new and very different Seminole generation.

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- <sup>1</sup> My linguistic and ethnographic field work was supported by grants from the Department of Anthropology and the Peabody Museum of Yale University, as part of their Caribbean Anthropological Program aided by funds from the Wenner-Gren Foundation for Anthropological Research, Inc. Part of the subsequent work on the material collected has been done at the Bureau of American Ethnology, and the present paper is published with the permission of the Secretary, Smithsonian Institution.
- <sup>2</sup> For a description of the orthography used here for Mikasuki words, see Sturtevant, 1953:66. I write Creek (the language of the Cow Creek Seminole) in the system developed by M. R. Haas (see Haas, 1940a:149-150), substituting L for her barred l.
- <sup>3</sup> The U. S. National Museum and the Bureau of American Ethnology have two photographs of a ball game at this place, as well as one giving a general view of a camp at Pine Island. All three were taken by H. A. Ernst of Youngstown, Ohio, and received by the museum from him in 1897. One of the ball game ones is reproduced in Sturtevant, 1954:2, while the photograph of a camp is in Hough, 1932:8. Figure one reproduced here is part of another photograph in the same collection. The whole photograph is reproduced in Hough, 1932:7.

- 4 A cycad, *Zamia* sp., common in this region where both Indians and whites manufactured starch from its roots. See, among many other sources, Burkhardt, 1952; Cory, 1896:10-11; Gearhart, 1952; Small, 1921.
- 5 The following statement from Cory, 1896:16, may represent a changed condition, or the year mentioned above may have been exceptional: "The Indians visit each other a great deal. Many of those living on New River go to the Big Cypress every year, usually to attend the Green Corn Dance and visit their relatives."
- 6 U. S. Life-Saving Station No. 4, on the sea beach opposite and about two miles north of the site of old Fort Lauderdale. In 1879-1882 the keeper was Wash Jenkins, whose closest white neighbors were at Biscayne Bay and near Lake Worth (Henshall, 1884:150, 152-153). The "station" was also known as the Fort Lauderdale House of Refuge (Norton, 1891:226).
- 7 West Palm Beach first appears in the U. S. Census volumes in the census of 1900—Palm Beach is not listed—when it had 564 inhabitants. Fort Lauderdale then had a population of 91, and Dade county as a whole—which then included the present Broward, Palm Beach, and Martin counties—had 4,955. In the census of 1880, Dade county returned 257; in 1890, 861. All these figures exclude Indians, except the 1900 total for the county which includes 109 Seminole. In 1910, West Palm Beach had grown to 1,743.
- 8 Frank Stranahan (1864-1929) moved to Fort Lauderdale in 1893, perhaps as the first settler, and operated a store there for many years. Most of his early customers were Indians (Dovell, 1952:v. 3 p. 174; Douglas, 1947:298).
- 9 In the census of 1890, precinct three (which included Miami) returned a population of 364; in 1900, Miami had a population of 1,681. Lemon City is first listed in the 1910 census, with 1,214 inhabitants, when Miami had 5,471. Mrs. Douglas (1947:290) puts the spurt in Miami's population at about 1895. Lemon City was "settled by Key West people long before the railroad" (i.e., before 1896) (ibid., p. 297).
- 10 Before 1893, the railroad on the east coast reached no further than Daytona. At that time, the mail went via stage coach from Lemon City to Lantana, with a night layover at Fort Lauderdale, then from Lantana to Juno via boat on Lake Worth, from Juno to Jupiter on a short railroad, and from Jupiter to Daytona via boat. The railroad reached the Palm Beaches in 1894 and Miami in 1896 (Dovell, 1952: v. 2 pp. 612, 617).
- 11 Dredging of the North New River Canal from Fort Lauderdale began in 1906, and of the Hillsborough Canal from Deerfield about 1912 (U. S. Congress, 1911:16, facing p. 120; Florida Everglades Engineering Commission, 1914:7, 11).
- 12 The dredge on the South New River Canal starting between Dania and Fort Lauderdale, began operation in 1906, and the one on the Miami Canal began in 1909 (U. S. Congress, 1911:16-17, facing p. 120).
- 13 By February, 1913, the North New River Canal had been cut through and excavation was nearly finished; the Hillsborough Canal was six miles from connecting and about two-thirds excavated; the South New River Canal was open throughout and about half excavated; the Miami Canal was within 10 miles of tidewater and dredging was two-thirds finished (Internal Improvement Fund, 1915:66). Two months later the dredging of the Miami Canal was completed (Florida Everglades Engineering Commission, 1914:7,11); however, it was never completely excavated (Marjory Stoneman Douglas, personal communication, Nov. 2, 1956).
- 14 The Mikasuki word is *aponkhi:Lómi:kí*; literally 'to make good word(s).'
- 15 Sam Huff pronounced the name *káfnahínli*. In 1952 he said: "káfnahínli: raised cattle in the Big Cypress on Indian land. He was well acquainted with the Indians. Sometimes the Indians killed his cattle for meat, and he knew it but he didn't say anything to them. The government wanted to make him an army captain. When he was told, he said, 'If just one Indian gets into the swamps, he can kill a lot of people.' . . . His children are still living today, but I don't know them." Another informant called him "Captain Hendry," and said that he fought in the last battle with the Seminole,

in the Big Cypress. This was Francis Asbury Hendry (1833-1919), who came to Florida in 1851. He was a 2nd Lieutenant in the Florida militia during the Third Seminole War, and later a Confederate cavalry captain. In 1870 he became one of the earliest settlers of Fort Myers, and for a period owned more cattle than anyone else in the state. Hendry County was named after him (Rerick, 1902:v.2, pp. 557-558; Robertson, 1903:19,316; Gonzalez, 1932:28-29,64-65,76). He was for long a friend and helper of the Seminole (see Sturtevant, 1956:6,17; Douglas, 1947:297-298). As a member of the Florida Legislature in 1897, he introduced a bill to set aside a tract of land for the Indians, which passed the House but failed in the Senate (Coe, 1898:250-251). Although his contacts were closest with the Indians of the Big Cypress area, in 1881 he took Little Tommie from the Pine Island settlement, with his protégé Little Billie of the Big Cypress, to a state fair at Jacksonville (Henshall, 1884:165).

- 16 The name was pronounced *cisa:pkí:*; according to Mikasuki patterns of pronunciation of English words, this can represent only Jesup (or Jessup) among English names I can think of. Among the officers participating in the Seminole wars (Robertson, 1903; Heitman, 1903), I find only Brig. Gen. Thomas S. Jesup with a possible name. He commanded the troops in Florida from December 1836, to May, 1838 (Coe, 1898). In 1952 Sam Huff said: "*cisa:pkínaknô:sí:* ['old *cisa:pkí:*'] was the army captain, and he and *káfnahíni:* talked it over. When they talked it over, they made peace." Another informant recognized the name as that of an army leader who fought the Seminole in many places. He thought—apparently erroneously—that he had led a search for Indians in the Miami region.
- 17 This man, known to my informants only by his English name (pronounced *alíkí:* in Mikasuki), was a veteran of the Seminole Wars, born in north Florida or the Creek country, a contemporary of Sam Jones. He lived to a great age—120, according to one account—and spent his last years in the coontie country west of Miami, attending bunks at Hanson Grove. He is said to have fought against *cisa:pkí:*. His home was presumably the "Aleck Town" shown (probably wrongly) at the head of Arch Creek on a map in Norton, 1891 (p. 20). In December, 1887, A. M. Wilson met "Old Alleck" at a settlement on the bank of Snake Creek (cf. footnote 21). He described him as "the oldest looking man I ever met. The old fellow is bent and shriveled with age (he told me he was one hundred years old, and I incline to believe he is older), his sight and hearing are both badly impaired. . . . I made known my business [efforts to persuade the Indians to take up homesteads, and to find lands available for the purpose] to old Alleck through my interpreter, who listened very courteously to all I had to day, and then gave vent to the most derisive and sarcastic laugh I have ever heard, after which he proceeded with a long harangue, not a word of which was intelligible to me because of his hoarse guttural style of utterance, but I was told by my Indian friend that he would not accede to any of my propositions. Seeing it was folly to waste time upon him, I proceeded about 2 miles" to another settlement (Wilson, 1888:6).
- 18 This story is a curious one. The name 'Peace Treaty,' also applied by other informants to Coconut Grove, is probably based on a historical incident. But the account as presented by Sam Huff I have not been able to identify positively with any recorded occurrence. Certainly Jesup and Hendry were not involved in any military activities at the same time, and I cannot find any mention of either one having been in the Miami region during the Seminole Wars. Nor can I locate a description of any conference with the Indians in this area. Perhaps the talk was a minor one, resulting from the instructions given Lt. John C. Henry of the Navy in July, 1842, in connection with the closing of hostilities at the end of the Second Seminole War. His headquarters were at Indian Key, and he was left with the schooners *Wave* (129 tons) and *Phoenix* (95 tons), and instructed to "keep one vessel on either side of the Peninsula. . . . Interpreters will be furnished you for the purpose of communicating with the Indians, and you will endeavor, by every means, to open an intercourse with them, when you will seek to impress upon them, that it is the president's wish, that hereafter the red and white man shall live in friendship in Florida, and cultivate together the arts of peace; that he desires to *give the red man* a portion

of the territory *to live in forever*, and to permit him to trade with the whites after his own manner, and for any thing he may require, whether it be for provisions, for powder, or for clothing; that Colonel Worth is empowered to make all these arrangements for them, and awaits their coming to him at Tampa Bay or Cedar Key, to have a talk with him, and determine together what portion of the territory shall be their home" (Sprague, 1848:491-492, 351). It is possible that the tradition has confused Lt. Henry of the Navy with Capt. (earlier Lt.) Hendry of the Army—both names could be *hínlí*: in Mikasuki. Sam Huff implied that *hínlí*: was in charge of the boat. The soldiers might then be the marines who garrisoned Fort Dallas on the Miami River in 1842 (Sprague, 1848:351). The reference to trade could have been transmuted into a ceremonial exchange of gifts, and Col. Worth at Tampa confused with the earlier and better known commander, Jesup. Difficulties in interpreting (mentioned by Sam Huff) and oral transmission of the tradition would account sufficiently for the garbling. Marjory Stoneman Douglas (personal communication, Nov. 2, 1956) has pointed out another possibility. The tradition may refer to Lt. Col. W. S. Harney, who was active against the Seminole in this region during the Second Seminole War (Sprague, 1848: passim; Sturtevant, 1953:50-54). His name would probably not be *hínlí*: in Mikasuki, but the similarity in names may have led to a later confusion with the better known F. A. Hendry. If this is the case, the "peace treaty" may then refer to Gen. Macomb's "arrangement" of 1839, made at Fort King with several Seminole, among them Chitto-Tustenuggee whom Harney brought from the Miami region (Sprague, 1848:228-229; Sturtevant, 1953:44-46).

- <sup>19</sup> A post office was established at Coconut Grove in 1873 (Douglas, 1947:280). The town is first mentioned in U. S. Censuses in 1900, when "Precinct 4, Coconut Grove, including part of Miami City" had 949 inhabitants. The same precinct, without a name, had 105 in 1890. In 1910, with a redistricting of precincts, "Precinct 10, Coconut Grove" had 929 inhabitants.
- <sup>20</sup> See footnote 4 above. John M. Goggin (personal communication, Nov. 5, 1956) informs me: "At the mouth of Oleta River, across the inland waterway, is a hammock island in the marsh. It was a prehistoric Indian site ([Univ. of Fla. archeological site number] Da 25), but it once had an early modern Seminole or White occupation as citrus trees are scattered throughout the woods. This could have been the homestead of Sam Huff's white benefactors."
- <sup>21</sup> Mikasuki *cínthahcí*:, 'snake river,' described as somewhat north of Miami, is undoubtedly Oleta River, which runs into the head of Biscayne Bay north of Arch Creek and is labelled Snake Creek on maps before about 1924. Sam Huff's family may have been living at "Aleck Town" (cf. footnote 17).
- <sup>22</sup> The individual is unidentified, and I cannot vouch for the entire accuracy of the spelling of his daughter's name.
- <sup>23</sup> This reservation in Glades county for the Cow Creek band was established about 1936 (Marmon, 1952:2,4).
- <sup>24</sup> Reference is presumably to the small number of Baptist converts made in the 1930's by Oklahoma Creek missionaries, chiefly Rev. Willie King. In 1931, there were no Seminole attending church, no church buildings, and no missionaries (Glenn, 1931). In 1936, a church was opened on the Dania Reservation (Federal Writer's Project, 1939:320), where in 1938 there was reported to be a congregation of twenty, under Rev. King (George La Mere in Corse, n.d.). In 1943 Rev. Stanley W. Smith, another Oklahoma Creek, took over the church which at that time had eleven members, all women. His efforts were crowned with almost immediate success; in 1946, Smith baptized 97 Indians, and by May, 1949, there were "221 candidates for baptism," mostly Mikasuki (Anonymous, 1949; Miami Herald, n.d.).
- <sup>25</sup> The Seminole Baptist church underwent a schism in the fall of 1949. Rev. Sam Tommie (a Florida Seminole) became the preacher in the church at Dania, while Smith established a separate "Mekusukey Independent Seminole Indian Mission" adjacent to the reservation.

## Contributors

RUBY LEACH CARSON has been writing about the Miami scene since she came here as a reporter in 1916. The study of Florida History at the University of Florida earned for her a Master of Arts degree, her thesis topic being a study of Governor Bloxham. See *Tequesta*, XV, 1955, for her "Forty Years of Miami Beach."

HAROLD W. DORN, a resident of the area since 1910, knows well the people and activities of which he writes, being a fruit grower and broker, with an interest in history which he pursues wherever his work or vacation happens to take him.

FRANK B. SESSA is Director of Libraries for the City of Miami. His graduate degrees are in history and he was for a time a member of the history staff at the University of Miami. He has made a special study of Miami in the booming twenties.

WILLIAM C. STURTEVANT has been studying the Florida Seminole for a number of years, and his writings have appeared in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, *The Florida Anthropologist*, and *Tequesta* (1953). He is currently working in the Bureau of American Ethnology at the Smithsonian Institution and hopes to get back to Florida to do some more work with the Seminoles.

## HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

## TREASURER'S REPORT

FISCAL YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31, 1956

On hand September 1, 1955			
Building Fund.....	\$11,616.25		
Securities .....	811.20	\$12,427.45	
General Fund.....		1,444.46	
Marker Program.....		224.22	
Fixed Assets (Not included at 8/31/55).....		898.72	\$14,994.85
Contributions to Building Fund.....	377.66		
Contributions to Marker Program.....	612.71		
Contributions to Audio-Visual Program.....	150.00		
Contributions of securities and appreciation.....	462.80		
Total contributions.....		1,603.17	
Additions to fixed assets.....	279.57		
Dues collected.....	4,779.00		
Sale of prior issues of Tequesta.....	84.00		
Profit on books sold.....	137.41		
Interest on bank deposits.....	293.55		
Dividends on securities.....	85.27		
Miscellaneous income.....	4.96		
Total other income.....		5,663.76	
		7,226.93	
Less Disbursements:			
Publication cost of Tequesta.....	745.36		
Program meetings.....	624.36		
Secretarial expense.....	219.69		
President's Newsletter.....	291.86		
Audio-Visual program.....	279.57		
Marker program.....	410.34		
Miscellaneous expense.....	754.88		
Total disbursements.....		3,326.06	
Net Income for the Fiscal Year.....			3,940.87
			<u>18,935.72</u>
On hand August 31, 1956			
Current Assets:			
Museum Building Fund (In interest bearing bank deposit).....	15,000.00		
General Fund (In non-interest bearing bank deposit).....	1,483.43		
Securities at current market.....	1,274.00	17,757.43	
Fixed Assets:			
Furniture & Fixtures.....	222.67		
Audio-Visual equipment.....	518.45		
Illustrated lecture.....	437.17	1,178.29	
Total Net Worth.....			<u>\$18,935.72</u>
Total members for 1956 (to date).....	540		
Total 1956 dues collected.....	\$4,487.00		

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

ROBERT M. McKEY, *Treasurer.*

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## LIST OF MEMBERS

EXPLANATORY NOTE: *The Association provides several classes of membership. "Sustaining" members who pay five dollars a year make up the basic membership. 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. "Patrons" pay ten dollars a year, "Donors" pay twenty-five dollars a year, "Contributors" pay fifty dollars a year, "Sponsors" pay one hundred dollars a year, and "Benefactors" pay two hundred and fifty or more dollars a year.*

*This printed roster is made up of those persons and institutions that have paid dues in 1955 or in 1956 before September 15, when this material must go to the press. Those joining after this date in 1956 will have their names included in the 1957 roster. The symbol \*\* indicates founding member and the symbol \* indicates charter member.*

## Sustaining

- |  |   |
|--|---|
| Abercrombie, John S., Miami                      | Blakey, B. H., Coral Gables             |
| Ada Merritt Junior High School, Miami            | Bliss, H. Bond, Miami*                  |
| Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables                     | Blocker, John C., St. Petersburg        |
| Adams, Elliott, Jacksonville                     | Bloomberg, Robert L., Miami             |
| Adams, Lewis M., Miami                           | Blouvelt, Mrs. Arthur M., Coral Gables  |
| Adkins, A. Z., Jr., Gainesville                  | Bowden, Beryl, Clewiston                |
| Albertson Public Library, Orlando                | Bowen, Crate D., Miami*                 |
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| Andrews, Melvin D., Miami                        | Briggs, Harold E., Carbondale, Ill.     |
| Anthony, Roscoe T., Palm Beach                   | Brigham, Florence Storrs, Miami         |
| Archer, Ben, Homestead                           | Brook, John, Jr., Coral Gables          |
| Arnold, Glenn H., Atlanta                        | Brookfield, Charles M., Miami*          |
| Arnold, Mrs. Roger Williams, Miami               | Brooks, Mrs. Dorothy M., Miami          |
| Avery, George N., Marathon                       | Brooks, J. R., Homestead                |
| Ayars, Erling E., South Miami                    | Brooks, Marvin J., Miami                |
| Bailey, Ernest H., Coral Gables                  | Brown University Library                |
| Bailey, Mrs. Ernest H., Coral Gables             | Brown, William J., Miami                |
| Baker, Therese, Stuart                           | Brown, Mrs. William J., Miami           |
| Barker, Virgil, Miami                            | Brunstetter, Roscoe, Coral Gables       |
| Bartow Public Library                            | Buker, Charles E., Sr., Coral Gables    |
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 deLaMorton, Fred, Tampa  
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 Dorn, H. Lewis, South Miami  
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 Dorn, Mrs. J. K., Jr., Miami  
 Dorn, Harold W., South Miami  
 Dorn, Mrs. Mabel W., South Miami  
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 Dranga, Mrs. Anna, Miami  
 Dunaway, Mrs. Carl Ellis, Miami\*  
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 Freeman, Harley L., Ormond Beach  
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 Frutkoff, Theodore, Coral Gables  
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 Griggs, Mrs. Nelson W., Miami Shores  
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 Halstead, W. L., Miami  
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