

# Tequesta:

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JUPITER LIGHTHOUSE IN THE EARLY 1880's (About 1883). Picture taken by Assistant Keeper Spencer. Reproduced by Mr. Sam Quincy, courtesy PALM BEACH COUNTY HISTORICAL SOCIETY.

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# Tequesta:

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## Jupiter Lighthouse

By BESSIE WILSON DUBOIS

At sundown, July 10, 1960 the keeper of the Jupiter Inlet lighthouse on the southeast coast of Florida, climbed the spiral iron staircase, 105 feet up and turned on the light. As the great prised mantle began to move, the historic old light rounded out one hundred years of service.

The past century has seen many changes on the east coast of Florida but the red brick tower stands as serene and staunch as when the first keeper beamed its rays across the Gulf Stream. From the days when the broad Atlantic was the main super-highway of the world to the present jet age, it is still keeping vigil.

If the first two keepers, Thomas Twiner and J. F. Papy, could have accompanied Raymond C. Phillips the present keeper, up the steps that July night they would have found few changes inside the tower. They might have noticed the two places where the iron steps are replaced with wooden ones. That mishap took place about 1920 when an assistant keeper wound the great weights controlling the mechanism which turns the mantle so vigorously that they jumped the pulleys and plunged down through the steps to the bottom of the tower.

Their keen eyes might have seen the place under the iron cage holding the lamp where the mortar was squeezed out from between the bricks during the hurricane of 1928 when the tower swayed an unbelievable seventeen inches. A bar over one of the bullseyes is also a reminder of that dreadful September night in 1928.

They would have marvelled to see Mr. Phillips turn on three 250-watt electric bulbs and set the mechanism going with the flick of a switch. In their day they lit the mineral lamps and wound the weights at regular intervals. The illuminating apparatus still moves on ball bearings with a soft humming sound instead of the mercury floats used in many of the other lighthouses along the coast. The bullseyes surrounded with the prisms which catch the light and reflect it to focus the flash seen 18 miles at sea, are the same costly ones ground in France that were placed there a hundred years ago.

Out on the balcony, however, the first keepers would gaze about them in amazed bewilderment. In 1860 there were no white people for miles in any direction, just a great wilderness abounding in game, birds, fish and wildlife of all descriptions including a few very recently hostile Indians. The first keeper's dwelling was built with thick coquina walls and an inside well so the occupants could withstand siege if necessary.

Now in 1960 they would see a fairyland of lights extending from the exclusive Hobe Sound colony, eight miles north to the neons of the city of West Palm Beach, seventeen miles south. The Loxahatchee is bridged in three places; railroad trains and busy highway traffic pass across it. They would be surprised to see the wide well marked inland waterway which used to be Jupiter Narrows and a meandering stream called Lake Worth Creek. They will be glad to see the inlet is open. It used to close periodically. When the fall rains came, pressure built up in the river until a small ditch dug by hand in an hour would become a half mile wide pouring a torrent of brown water far out into the Atlantic.

Sounds would certainly confuse the first keepers. They were accustomed to the cries of the night birds and the booming of the ground swells during their watches on the balcony. Now a muted roar similar to the ocean seems to come from the backwoods. This Mr. Phillips would tell them is the sound of the rocket engines being tested at the huge Pratt Whitney plant west of Jupiter. The lights that twinkle in the one-time wilderness are in the homes of hundreds of the employees of this plant. A jet plane or two flying overhead would further bewilder the poor men but if the base at Cape Canaveral chose this moment to send a missile blazing into space, they would be ready to turn back to the peace of a century ago.

Thomas Twiner kept the lighthouse from June 12th, 1860 until J. F. Papy took over January 1, 1861. His term of service lasted only until August

of the same year. Soon after the beginning of the Civil War all the lighthouses along the southeastern seaboard had been darkened but the lighthouses at Jupiter Inlet and Cape Florida still kept their nightly vigil. Blockade runners were slipping through the inlet with cargoes of contraband from Nassau and making their way up the Indian river. The ray from the Jupiter light often revealed them to the Federal patrol boats. Southern sympathizers tried to prevail upon Keeper Papy to darken the light. He professed to sympathize with the South but he could not bring himself to turn off the proud new light that had been put in his charge. Finally he was confronted by a determined group of men, one of whom was one of his assistant keepers. Mr. Papy was turned away and enough of the mechanism of the light was removed to make it unserviceable. The costly lenses were not damaged. The men marched to Cape Florida and also put the lighthouse there out of commission. They then wrote a letter to Governor M. S. Perry of Florida apprising him of their action and it is signed by three of the men. Dr. Dorothy Dodd, Florida historian and state librarian, discovered this letter among the records in Tallahassee and told the story in an article published in the 1954 issue of *Tequesta*, Journal of the Historical Association of Southern Florida.

The records in National Archives in Washington of 1861 report "that lawless persons visited the Jupiter Inlet lighthouse and removed the illuminating apparatus". Dire and exaggerated reports prompted by war hysteria must have reached Washington the following year for in 1862 the report reads "Jupiter Inlet, tower and lantern destroyed".

Lt. George G. Meade the designer of the lighthouse and the builders must have read this last rumor with startled incredulity, for the tremendous effort and almost heartbreaking difficulties that went into the building of this tower must have been vividly remembered.

The building of the lighthouse is a saga in itself. It began when Congress in March of 1853 appropriated the sum of \$35,000 to erect a lighthouse to mark the reef lying off Jupiter Inlet and to guide the vessels as a landfall. It was to be a light of the FIRST ORDER, which meant that it would be one of the tallest and most powerful in the country, to indicate the approach of a coastline with a visibility of 18 to 27 miles. The lenses were to be of the newest and most costly make, designed by Augustin Jean Fresnel and ground in the glassworks in France.

Being an inland light, it was to have a masonry tower 90 feet high (later changed to 105 feet). The site selected, at the junction of Loxahatchee and Indian Rivers close to the inlet was on an elevation of forty-six feet and was a part of the 9088.60 acre Fort Jupiter reservation of Seminole War days. President Franklin Pierce signed the order setting aside 61½ acres for this purpose, October 22, 1854.

Five hundred tons of material were assembled and transported to Indian River inlet in deep sea sailing vessels. There it had to be loaded on shallow draft scows and lightered to the site, a distance of over 35 miles, ten of which were through Jupiter Narrows, which at that time was a shallow winding creek in some places only 20 inches deep, bearing no resemblance to the wide well marked waterway traversed by yachts, tugs and barges today.

The men struggling to move these heavily laden scows were plagued by swarms of mosquitoes and sandflies that with the extreme heat made life miserable almost beyond endurance. At this point some surveyors in the Everglades incensed the Indians by destroying the garden and prized banana plants of Billy Bowlegs and hostilities broke out anew. The men working on the lighthouse began to be harassed by angry Seminoles from the abundant cover. The work came to a halt. For many years a darker layer of brick marked where the work ceased at this time. Because of the difficulties encountered, Congress was obliged to increase the appropriation. The lighthouse was finally completed in 1859 at a cost of \$60,859.98, nearly twice the original appropriation. The walls, tapering from 31½ inches thick at the 20 foot foundation to 18 inches thick at the base of the cage holding the lamp are of solid masonry except for air flues. The tower was left a natural brick for fifty years when because of dampness inside the tower it was painted with red art cement. This color against the blue sky and white clouds gives the tower a distinctive beauty which makes it a joy to artists and photographers.

All during the Civil War the light was darkened. It was said that signals were sometimes shown from the tower to help the blockade runners. When Confederate Secretary of War, John C. Breckenridge, fled down the Indian river, enroute to Cuba after Lee's surrender, he mentioned passing the darkened Jupiter light.

Soon after the war ended, an agent was sent to Jupiter, and with the help of Captain James A. Armour, the missing parts of the illuminating apparatus were found down Lake Worth creek and on June 28, 1866, the light again

flashed out over the Atlantic. Captain Armour was an assistant keeper under a Captain Wm. B. Davis of Key West for two years when he became the head keeper, a position he held very capably for over forty years. A bride came to share the lonely post in 1867 and Mary Armour who died in infancy was the first white child born in Jupiter. The Armours had seven other children.

Once a year the U. S. Buoy tender anchored off the inlet and delivered the year's supplies of oil, paint and other necessities to keep the lighthouse serviced. The *Geranium*, the *Fern* and the *Cypress* in turn performed this service. These ships, equipped to lift and clean the large ocean buoys, anchored off the inlet. If the inlet were open the supplies were sent in skiffs up to the lighthouse dock. If the inlet were closed as was the case periodically, the supplies were placed on the beach above the high tide mark and transported from there across the beach and ferried to the lighthouse. In later years one of the villagers was hired to perform this task. At the foot of the steep steps leading up to the oil room, the wooden cases were broken open and a five gallon metal can was hooked on each end of a yoke fitted across the man's shoulders. At the door of the oil room, the keeper waited with a cloth saturated with linseed oil in his hand. Each can was carefully wiped to remove any trace of salt water before it was placed on the shelves.

October 20, 1872 must have been a memorable day to the lonely lighthouse families. During a roaring northeaster, a Mallory steamer, the *Victor*, broke a shaft off Jupiter, and filling fast was driven ashore south of the inlet. One of the assistant keepers, H. D. Pierce, was on duty in the tower about midnight and saw the Coston lights. He with Captain Armour and Charles Carlin, the other assistant, sailed down to the inlet and reached the scene of the shipwreck in time to help bring the passengers and crew safely to shore. The crew camped on the beach and the passengers including two ladies and a child were made comfortable at the lighthouse. The next day another passing Mallory ship, upon signals from the lighthouse, picked them up from the beach.

Almost immediately after the shipwreck seven canoe loads of Seminoles appeared on one of their rare hunting trips from Fisheating Creek. The *Victor* began to break up and as the cargo of merchandise worth \$150,000 began to be strewn up and down the beach, the Indians joyfully joined in the salvage. Mr. Pierce was standing on the lighthouse dock when a packing case surged by on the incoming tide. An Indian stood beside him and moved

toward the case but Pierce read the markings on it and cried, "That's mine". That is how Mrs. Pierce became the owner of a handsome Wheeler and Wilson sewing machine that did a lifetime of stitching for her family.

The Indians camped out on the dunes behind the wreck and had a glorious time. One of the braves found a case of Plantation bitters and joyous whoops were heard all the way up to the lighthouse. Billy Bowlegs now ninety-eight years of age, still recalls the rich canoe loads of salvage brought home by the Indians from this shipwreck although he himself was not present.

The lighthouse families found several prize dogs which managed to swim ashore from the vessel. They were appropriately named, Vic, Storm and Wreck.

Early travelers coming down the Indian river by sailboat often camped out near the lighthouse and found the keeper's coquina house a haven of hospitality. It was a joy to climb the tower after the long trip through the maze of mangroves to gaze at the wide panorama of ocean, rivers, creeks and woods. Among these early travelers was a Dr. James A. Henshall who made two trips to this part of Florida. He related in his writings that Jupiter lighthouse had been shaken from top to bottom by two earth tremors on Jan. 12, 1879. Earthquakes in San Francisco, Chile or Japan can be accepted with credence but it seemed unbelievable that two keepers exchanging watches at midnight in our own Jupiter lighthouse came down the spiral stairway like a couple of marbles in a child's toy. An inquiry to Dr. Dorothy Dodd at the Florida State Library revealed that the Earthquake History of the United States published by the U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey in 1947, records two shocks lasting thirty seconds each between 11:45 and 11:55 P. M. Jan. 12, 1879. Since there were no newspapers in south Florida at that time it was not reported as far south as the Jupiter light but it was felt in the northern part of the state. Cape Canaveral lighthouse was shaken so severely that oil was thrown on the reflectors according to Dr. Henshall. This was not related to the Charleston quake which took place in 1886.

Dr. Henshall's party enjoyed fabulous fishing while at the lighthouse and also hunting with Captain Armour and his dogs. One of the Assistant keepers, Mr. Spencer took some remarkably fine photographs about 1881-1884. One shows an enormous jewfish or black grouper which was caught by Dr. Henshall's crew off the lighthouse docks. Capt. Armour brought a steelyard down on the dock and weighed in the huge fish at 360 pounds. Mr. Spencer also made a rare and historic photograph of the lighthouse at that time and the

new keepers dwelling that was constructed in 1883. An enormous manatee and a 12 foot panther shot by Captain Armour are also recorded by Mr. Spencer's camera.

Captain Armour had two narrow escapes while Dr. Henshall was at the lighthouse. Once when an inexperienced hunter accidentally discharged his rifle, the bullet just missing him and the second time while descending from the dome of the lantern, on an iron ladder which rested on the railing of the balcony surrounding the lantern, the rail broke as he set his foot on it. He does not relate how Capt. Armour saved himself but he says that the captain was noted for his intrepidity and level headedness or he would have been dashed to the ground a hundred feet below.

The one dwelling, even with the addition of a new kitchen in 1875, had long been too small for three lighthouse families. The government complained a little querulously in the 1879 report of the isolation of the site and the difficulty experienced in servicing it. Finally in 1883 a new two story keepers' dwelling was built and the old one completely repaired and renovated. The light and oil house were also put in good as new condition.

Although the head keeper did his best to keep the men busy applying that extra coat of paint to every exposed surface and the grounds in perfect order, boredom did set in. Fishing, hunting and courting young ladies in the neighborhood were favorite pastimes. One of the early assistant keepers, Dwight Allen, who had spent his youth at sea climbing the rigging of sailing ships, gave the community a thrill by walking nonchalantly around the roof of the tower and ended the performance by standing on his head at the peak.

Then there was the tale of pirate treasure said to have been buried on the reservation. The loot was supposed to consist of gold and vessels taken from a church in Mexico by a pirate crew who careened their vessel up in Pecks lake. One of the surviving pirates was said to have come back at intervals, until he died, to dig up enough treasure to supply his needs.

Stories of two abortive attempts to discover this treasure are told. A former chief at the Navy station related that one group secured a road grader about 1910 and began to dig away part of the hill. The work was proceeding nicely when to their dismay two limousines from the Dept. of the Interior unexpectedly rolled into the yard of the Navy station. The work was hurriedly changed into smoothing out the road.

An assistant keeper of the lighthouse next tried to dig up the treasure.

His activities soon became common knowledge on the reservation and every day a few onlookers gathered to watch and heckle him as he pitched sand from his ever deepening excavation. One night some practical jokers borrowed the big iron washpot from the Captain's back yard and buried it at the bottom of the hole. The poor fellow's excitement when his shovel rang on the iron was pitiful to see. He did not recover from his disappointment enough to continue the search.

In 1890 the light was transferred from the Seventh to the Sixth Lighthouse district so that it could more conveniently be serviced from the inside route by way of the Indian river instead of outside. A few years before a substantial boat landing had been built with a long runway connected to the land by palmetto piling. In 1887 the signal service was given permission to erect a small telegraph building on the lighthouse reservation and this led to two interesting incidents.

The government in 1886 established a Life Saving Station on the beach south of the inlet. Capt. Charles Carlin, former assistant keeper of Jupiter lighthouse, was put in charge of the station and its six crew members. When the first Western Union cable was brought over from Nassau, it could not be brought ashore until the crewmen had telegraphed to Washington from the lighthouse for permission.

During the Spanish American war many local residents feared that our proximity to Cuba and the presence of a government installation in Jupiter might lead to an attack by the Spaniards. These fears seemed justified one evening when the Carlin ladies rocking on their front porch, saw a fiery rocket curving toward the lighthouse. Their screams brought the men on the run. Arms were hastily assembled and joined by the lighthouse keepers and the rest of the Life Saving crew they set sail for the inlet determined to repel the invaders at any cost. All the men, that is except one timorous soul who gathered all his valuables and hid out with them in the woods.

At the inlet a huge battleship could be seen hove to some distance from shore. Boats were approaching from the ship and as they neared the beach the men on shore cheered when they recognized the uniforms of the U. S. Navy. The battleship *Oregon* on a good will voyage around the Horn had been out of touch with land for some time. They had no news of the situation in Cuba and wanted to telegraph Washington from the lighthouse before proceeding. It was a gala night at the lighthouse for all except the fellow who hid out in the woods. He was ragged unmercifully.

Across from the lighthouse, a steamer, found to draw too much water to navigate the narrows, was moored to serve as a floating hotel to accommodate guests who enjoyed the superlative fishing in these waters. Among these distinguished guests was President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland. The former first lady to her great joy, landed a huge and gleaming tarpon.

At the foot of Jupiter lighthouse the barefoot mailman shouldered his mailbags and started his trek south. Steve Donhano's beautiful murals in the West Palm Beach postoffice portray him vividly with the red brick lighthouse in the background.

The Indian River steamers in 1890 began to bring settlers and visitors down from Titusville. At first they were met by horse-drawn hacks, then the roadbed was laid for a narrow-gauge railway seven and one half miles long which became known as the Celestial railway because of its stations of Jupiter, Neptune, Venus, Mars and Juno, the last, the terminus of the railroad, was at the head of Lake Worth. In 1890, Juno became the county seat of Dade County and the Jupiter-Juno area, the transportation center of south Florida.

In 1895 great changes took place in sight of the lighthouse. Mr. Flagler's railroad came through. The Fort Jupiter reservation was opened to homesteaders and the dredging of the inland waterway began. The Indian river steamers were towed up the Loxahatchee to sadly rust away and the Celestial railroad was dismantled and sold.

In 1905 a naval wireless station was established on the Jupiter lighthouse reservation. The first towers were wooden ship's masts that arrived by flatcar. They were pushed off the cars into the river and floated to their destination. In order to enlist enough manpower to raise the masts, Mr. Will Poland who contracted to set them up, gave a great jollification with plenty of beer and the job was completed in record time. In 1911 these were replaced with a 125 foot galvanized metal tower.

A weather bureau station was also established at the lighthouse and during the hurricane season residents up and down the river watched for the ominous red flags with black centers.

In the year of 1908 Captain Armour retired after over forty years of faithful service. His son-in-law, Captain Joe Wells, succeeded him. He was dignified, competent and well liked. He held the position for six years and was followed by Captain Thomas Knight, who stayed only a few months. He exchanged posts with Captain Charles Seabrook who had come down to

Hillsboro light from the Tybee Island light on the Georgia coast. Captain Seabrook, a native of Charleston, S. C., remained in charge of the Jupiter lighthouse from 1919 until he was forced by ill health to retire in 1947. He, like Captain Armour, loved to hunt and fish and charmed his many friends with his ready wit. He and Mrs. Seabrook raised a fine family of six children.

In 1925 a survey showed that the lighthouse reservation had not been properly located and the new area of the reservation was fixed as 113.22 acres instead of the original 61.50. In 1930 the site consisted of 121.95 acres having been increased by an executive order of June 12, 1925. The appraised value of the land was \$113,580 and of improvements, \$125,000.

Pictures of the lighthouse about 1910 show a screen around the light. In those days the ducks were so numerous they often covered the river from bank to bank. Edwin Seabrook related that migrations of ducks and other birds would become blinded and strike the light at night. Early records of the lighthouse show many replacements of panes of glass. Edwin said that the keepers' families often could pick up a tub full of ducks at the foot of the tower in the morning. They were saddened occasionally to find a big crane or heron entangled in the screen. Insects, he said, were sometimes so bad that the men could not stand on the little balcony surrounding the light, when on duty and the screen in the morning would be so encrusted with bugs, they could be scraped off by the bucket full. Whether all these specimens had anything to do with Ed becoming an entomologist we do not know but during World War II he did notable work for the Army in this capacity and is now in charge of mosquito control in Palm Beach County.

The great migrations of birds seem a thing of the past. The screen was removed from the light some years ago and the present keeper says birds rarely fly against the light now. Neither do the keepers while away the night hours potting wildcats from the top of the tower.

During World War I ships passing the Jupiter Inlet Naval Wireless Station were required to maintain radio silence but a platform was built on the weather bureau house and a signalman stationed there with flags. Each ship was required to stop and give her name and destination. This was necessarily slow business and often several ships could be seen circling the buoy then in the ocean off the inlet, awaiting their turn.

In 1928 Jupiter light was converted from the old mineral oil lamps and system of weights, to electricity. The weights were shipped up to Charleston,

S. C. A diesel motor was installed as an auxilliary in case of power failure. On September 16, 1928 the navy station began to get warnings of a tremendous hurricane approaching the south east Florida coast. The reports became increasingly more terrifying and so did the hurricane. It rode the incoming tide with a blood chilling whistle wreaking death and devastation in its path. The power went off at the lighthouse reservation just before dark. To the dismay of all, the diesel refused to start and it was discovered to be useless until a new part was secured from Charleston, S. C. To Captain Seabrook, a veteran lighthouse keeper, it was unthinkable that the Jupiter lighthouse should remain dark at such a time. In spite of a badly infected right hand he found and installed the old mineral lamps. The problem of how to turn the mantle remained. By now the storm had increased to an unbelievable fury and the assistant keepers felt that their place was with their families. Captain Seabrook prepared to go up the tower himself and turn the mantle by hand.

His sixteen year-old son Franklin was horrified to see red streaks running up his father's arm from the infected hand. He begged to go instead. The boy was blown back four times before he managed to creep up the steep steps leading to the tower. Inside, it must have taken sheer courage to climb those spiral stairs. The tower swayed, it was later estimated, seventeen inches. The apparatus clanged and groaned with an alarming uproar. For four hours Franklin doggedly pushed the mantle around by hand, timing it as nearly as he could. One of the priceless bullseyes blew out and he could hear a cracking sound as the mortar was ground out from between the bricks by the working of the iron bolts holding the cage, but the light did not fail. The people at the lighthouse took turns, even Mrs. Seabrook, moving that mantle around by hand for two more nights until a neighbor, Robert Wilson, heard of their plight and lent them his Kohler light plant. Congresswoman Ruth Bryan Owen especially commended Franklin Seabrook for his heroism. The bullseye that was blown out, was carefully salvaged by Captain Seabrook and sent to Charleston where it was reassembled and held together with an iron bar, is back in place in the mantle. The lighthouse has weathered many severe storms but the 1928 hurricane was doubtless the worst of the century.

Because of tight security restrictions, very little was known of the activities of the lighthouse keepers and Navy personnel on the lighthouse reservation during World War II. The lighthouses became the responsibility of the Coast Guard in 1939, and the keepers a part of this branch of the service.

On the night of February 21, 1942, a German submarine, U-504, fired two torpedoes into the empty tanker *Republic*, off Hobe Sound. The Hobe Sound and Jupiter residents felt the jar of the exploding torpedoes. Several men in the engine room were killed and the rest of the crew made their way to shore. In rapid succession several other ships met a similar fate in sight of the lighthouse. The *DeLisle* was damaged but was salvaged and towed away. A loaded tanker, the *W. D. Anderson*, went up like a torch and sank in deep water with only one survivor.

To Captain Seabrook fell the sad duty of recovering the bodies of the men killed on the *Republic* and the *DeLisle* for the Martin County coronor. Strangely, he had learned and practiced the embalming profession as a young man, which must have been helpful to him at this time.

The lighthouse and adjoining Navy station became the scene of great activity. Coast guardsmen a-top the tower watched the ocean constantly for submarines. Marines arrived to stand guard at the gate. It was rumored that something very new and secret called radar, was being installed.

Civilians were not allowed on the beaches at night. The inlet closed in the winter of 1942 and stayed closed all during the war making it very convenient for the Coast Guardsmen on horseback, patrolling the beach. They crossed the inlet on a bank of sand where the deep green water used to flow. Jupiter became used to blackouts and heavily armed combat troops whizzing in and out of the lighthouse reservation.

Then finally it was over and the tracking of missiles from Cape Canaveral became the next activity at the station.

The Jupiter lighthouse, recently painted and completely renovated for the hundredth anniversary is still an important light station. Two new modern one story dwellings are being constructed as living quarters for the keepers. A twenty-four hour watch is still being maintained as it has for the past hundred years. No longer however does a keeper stay at Jupiter lighthouse for a lifetime. The present keeper, Raymon C. Phillips D.C.C., U. S. Coast Guard has been at the station three years. Keepers serve a tour of duty and are replaced.

The original keeper's dwelling, 26x30 feet which housed three families, burned down in 1927. The two story dwelling built in 1883 was ordered demolished in 1959.

The light flashes for 1.2 seconds, eclipses for 6.6 seconds, flashes 1.2, eclipses 21 seconds, then repeats the cycle. A radio beacon transmits one dot

and three dashes (the letter J) on 306 kilocycles. The light is 1,000,000 candlepower.

In 1959 the people of the entire area held a Centennial celebration to commemorate the completion of the lighthouse. Beards and old-fashioned costumes transformed the townfolks into old timers of a century ago. Men who refused to grow beards were arrested and tried in kangaroo court. The only modern touch was that the ladies, flounced and sunbonneted, formed the jury. Singer Perry Como, now a Jupiter Inlet Colony resident, was apprehended beardless, playing on the Tequesta golf course. Even though he appeared before the jury with luxuriant false whiskers he was penalized to the delight of the crowd.

A group of Seminole Indians set up camp in the middle of the celebration area and on a platform; at the edge of the Loxahatchee river directly across from the lighthouse, a pageant of the colorful history of the Jupiter area was performed by local talent in authentic costumes ably directed by Mrs. Julia Yates. General Thomas S. Jessup of Seminole War fame, President and Mrs. Grover Cleveland, Jonathan Dickinson and his party who had been shipwrecked on Hobe Sound beach and held captive at Jupiter Inlet in 1696, and the lighthouse keepers of long ago, were all present.

The climax came when the entire cast assembled on the platform and the Coast Guardsmen in dress uniform marched on and stood at attention with flags softly waving in the night breeze while the national anthem was played.

The red brick lighthouse, floodlighted for the occasion, stood beautiful and dignified in the background. It was a moving and impressive scene, fitting tribute to a beloved landmark, the men who built it and the keepers who had served the light faithfully for a century.

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Mrs. Frederick Voss, whose father, Charles Pierce, was an assistant keeper at Jupiter lighthouse in 1872, supplied information on the shipwreck of the Victor. Mr. Albert DeVane of Lake Placid, Florida interviewed Billy Bowlegs for us. The Seabrook family, especially Franklin and Edwin, gave us much data on the twenty-eight years their father was keeper of Jupiter lighthouse. Mr. Raymond C. Phillips, D.D.S., U.S.C.G., also was helpful and Mrs. Susan Carlin Albertson told me of the visit of the *Oregon* to Jupiter Inlet.

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# Key West and the Spanish American War

By WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS

Key West, because of its location and harbor, was destined to be of far greater importance than any other city of its size. Ninety-two miles from Havana, its spacious harbor and its naval base meant that the United States Navy would inevitably utilize it as an important supply depot and coaling station. Its strategic value was so great and at the same time so apparent that the failure of the Navy to prepare the base for action in time remains a cause for surprise.

In addition to the strictly military and naval activities for which it was destined, Key West for many years had been deeply concerned with the course of events in Cuba. Prior to the outbreak of that revolution which led to the war between Spain and the United States, the city was a center of Cuban revolutionary agitation. The revolutionary Cuban junta, under the leadership of Jose Marti and Tomas Estrada Palma, had organized a total of sixty-one Cuban political clubs in Key West. These groups participated in raising funds for the rebels, in smuggling arms and men into Cuba, and in disseminating stories heralding the heroic deeds of the rebels.<sup>1</sup>

Both men and news traveled quickly between Cuba and Key West, and as a result the residents of the city were more accurately informed of events on the island than any others in the nation. It may have been because of this, and because of the appearance in the harbor of the ships of the Atlantic Squadron, that Key West was able to foresee not only the coming of the war, but to predict when it would begin. The Atlantic Squadron arrived just as the U.S.S. "Maine" departed on its last voyage, on January 24, 1898. On February 3, the Miami *Metropolis*, a weekly newspaper, commented editorially on the fact that Key West was not only talking about the war, but declaring that it would begin within "sixty days or so". Actually seventy days were to elapse before President McKinley sent his message to Congress asking for authority to use the Army and Navy in Cuba.

Key West was the first city to hear about the sinking of the "Maine", and was also the first to have an opportunity to welcome the survivors back home.

The city mourned the loss, but watched succeeding events with mixed emotions. It became aware of increased activity on the part of the warships in the harbor, and received literally scores of correspondents from the major newspapers and periodicals of the nation. As one writer put it, Key West became the seat, not of war, but of war correspondents.<sup>2</sup> It might be added that the stories filed by those same correspondents, although datelined Havana, frequently originated in one or another Cuban club, and that little if any effort was made to verify them.

Shortly after the "Maine" disaster, the Navy began to take some steps to prepare the Key West base for use. Large stocks of supplies, of coal and ammunition in particular, were sent to Key West, and the Army was requested to strengthen the fortifications that protected the city from attack. The steps taken, however, go far to belie the statement that the Navy was better prepared for war than the Army. The story of the accumulation of supplies without having any place to put them resembles the description of the Army base at Tampa a bit later. The haphazard manner of operation resulted in untold waste of both time and money, and in an inability to fully utilize the facilities of a strategically located base.

Storage space for both coal and ammunition was nearly non-existent. The coal bunkers of the base could not even begin to hold the vast tonnage that was being sent. High explosives and ammunition arrived only to have to be stored temporarily in unsafe wooden buildings. The difficulty was simply that the Navy Department had not separated the command of the base from that of the fleet. The ranking admiral of the fleet automatically was in command of the shore establishment, and, naturally enough, his attention was focussed primarily on the fleet. Not until May 1, a full week and more after the departure of the fleet, was an officer of flag rank appointed to command the base. On May 7 Commodore George C. Remy arrived to take command.<sup>3</sup>

In the meantime the base had struggled along making whatever arrangements could be made. Warehouses, wharves, and docks of all sizes had been leased from private owners in the city. A contract had been let for the construction of coal bunkers large enough to hold 15,000 tons of coal, and the Army had cooperated by lending the Navy the use of an ammunition magazine at nearby Fort Taylor. Coal was temporarily stored on the barges in the harbor while waiting for the bunkers. The Army mined the entrance to the harbor and hastily began work on the fortifications.<sup>4</sup>

The arrival of Commodore Remy brought a degree of organization to the work, and real progress was made. Even then, however, it was to prove impossible to complete any of the major construction until late in 1899, long after the war was over. The Commodore was first delayed by an inability to find satisfactory quarters in the city for either office space or living room. On May 20, in desperation, he commandeered the newly arrived U.S.S. "Lancaster" and made it his flagship. After that he was able to proceed with the work at hand.

Probably the most pressing problem was the matter of the coal. The steam-driven ships required large amounts, and transferring it from the barges to the ships was a time consuming operation. Furthermore, it was belatedly discovered that the new bunkers under construction were being so placed that large warships could get no closer than six miles! Shallow water thus made the continued use of the barges necessary, unsatisfactory as they were. Remy solved this difficulty by reclaiming and using some old navy facilities located in the Dry Tortugas, near Fort Jefferson. Coal sheds were renovated, and new ones built, large enough to hold 20,000 tons. This, together with the 15,000 tons in the city, was deemed ample for the needs of the Navy at the time. To make the city bunkers accessible to the largest ships, arrangements were made to have a deep channel dredged through the shallow water. The channel, as well as the new bunkers, was completed the following year.<sup>5</sup>

By this means the coal problem was taken care of, and through the only too rare cooperation between the Army and the Navy the ammunition was properly stored, but many other matters demanded attention. Remy and his staff were to be kept busy. One task was to find a means whereby the base could fulfill one of its more important duties, the repair of vessels. Key West Naval Base did possess machine shops, but they were antiquated and totally inadequate. It was necessary to enlarge and modernize them at least so they could make minor repairs to ships and machinery. This was perhaps the simplest of the problems facing Remy. New machinery and tools, and skilled mechanics and workmen were imported from the Navy Yard at Philadelphia, and temporary wooden buildings were quickly thrown together. Plans were made, and work begun, on permanent shops, but in the meantime Key West was able to successfully repair sixty-four naval vessels that would otherwise have been forced to go to a larger base farther away.<sup>6</sup>

Apart from the naval activity, which alone would have been enough to strain the port facilities, the harbor was busier than it had ever been.

Innumerable freighters and transports were constantly arriving and departing, and there was a constant flow of tugs and yachts acting as dispatch boats for the newspapers. But probably the most interesting group of ships in the harbor was the collection of captured Spanish vessels. These ranged from small fishing boats to freighters of considerable size. Thirty-four were brought into port, and the courts condemned and sold as prizes of war a total of twenty-nine. Some 444 crew members and twenty-two passengers were being held as prisoners.<sup>7</sup>

At first the captured Spaniards were held on board the ships under guard in the harbor, but an incident that took place early in May brought an order to transfer them to Fort Taylor. A boatload of young Cubans demonstrated their hatred of the Spanish by rowing out to one of the prizes and circling it while shouting curses and insults up at the hapless prisoners. The incident was roundly condemned in the Florida newspapers, and the guards aboard each ship were ordered to open fire on any boat making an unauthorized approach. Residents of Key West atoned for the action after Clara Barton, aboard the National Red Cross ship "The State of Texas," discovered that the prisoners were running out of funds, food and tobacco. She appealed to the city for money, and the people of Key West responded generously.<sup>8</sup>

The increased business of the port, and the expansion work underway at the naval base had brought a boom in the business of the city. Hotels were full, and rooming houses turned away prospective customers; every available warehouse was in use, and unemployment was a matter of choice rather than necessity. The Navy had been compelled to import labor from other areas, and add them to the personnel of the base. Construction work was the principal reason for the surplus of jobs over applicants, but even the telegraph office had added to its staff. Navy payrolls had expanded, and whenever a ship entered port, its crew added to the potential business. The merchants were reaping a full harvest, and anticipated a long period of prosperity since it was obvious that the work would not be completed for some time to come.

Making things even rosier for the city was the fact that the Army had also moved into Key West. The Engineers had inspected the defenses of the city in March, and had begun work shortly after. At one time, Key West had been considered as one of the few places in the country possessing adequate fortifications. The defenses consisted of Fort Taylor in the city itself, and

Fort Jefferson, seventy miles to the west on Garden Key. Both forts were old, and were considered inadequate in 1898. Jefferson had been turned over to the Public Health Service for use as a quarantine station, and in any event was too far away. Taylor's guns had been modern when installed during the Civil War, but were outranged by the guns of new battleships. The Engineers decided that Taylor could be of some use, but that Jefferson was too dilapidated for repair.

New batteries were planned, and large caliber coast defense guns were rushed to Key West from the north. Fort Jefferson was reclaimed, and a garrison of two companies of infantry sent out. Work was started on batteries placed at the entrance to the harbor, and new guns were ordered for Fort Taylor. The Twenty-fifth Infantry, plus some coast artillery troops, arrived to garrison the city. Key West Barracks, the only active post in the city, was enlarged, and the post hospital was prepared for service on a larger scale.

Work on the batteries proceeded rapidly, but the task was of such magnitude that it was impossible to complete it until 1899. Vast amounts of material had to be brought to the city in addition to the thousands of cubic yards of sand purchased locally. Labor was recruited in Jacksonville, Mobile, and other Gulf cities. Temporary batteries were hastily emplaced to offer at least the semblance of protection, but the most that could be said for the work of the Army was that it added considerably to the prosperity of the merchants and contractors of the city.<sup>9</sup>

Work on the defenses began in March, a month before the start of the war. With the opening of hostilities, the services faced the prospect of large numbers of casualties, with the Army in particular anticipating numbers of sick and wounded from its projected Cuban campaign. It planned to bring the most seriously injured or sick to Key West, but the hospital facilities at Key West Barracks were not considered sufficient. The solution to this problem was without doubt the easiest and most satisfactory answer that was found to any of the many questions that arose. Just before the war began, the Mother Superior of the Convent of Mary Immaculate in Key West had written to the Navy. She offered the buildings of the convent itself, and of the school operated by the Sisters to the Navy for use as a hospital. The only conditions laid down were that the buildings should be returned in good condition after the war, and that the Sisters remain in the capacity of nurses. This last was a task they were well fitted for, having served in that capacity in many yellow fever epidemics in the past.<sup>10</sup>

The Navy had gratefully accepted the offer, but soon afterwards turned the hospital over to the Army. The convent and school were converted into a 500 bed hospital, with small sheds erected on the grounds for isolation wards. The staff consisted of seven medical officers, nine civilian doctors, twenty-three nuns, and thirty-four hospital corpsmen. Between April and August, a total of 547 patients were treated, six of whom died. The hospital thus proved to be of great value. It was probably one of the few service installations that was ready to serve at full capacity when needed. By their action, the Sisters added one more page to an already full history of past service to the community.<sup>11</sup>

While Key West was thus able to supply hospital facilities, it was completely unable to satisfy all the demands made upon it. The most serious deficiency was the lack of an adequate water supply. Normally the rainfall was sufficient for all needs. It was gathered in large cisterns and stored until needed. However, the swollen population created a demand far in excess of normal, and the situation was complicated by the fact that the previous winter had been an exceptionally dry one. By April the situation was serious, and one naval officer estimated that by July the island would be completely dry.

Once again it was necessary to find a temporary solution while awaiting more permanent relief. The Army was once more asked to cooperate by arranging for the shipment of water from St. Petersburg via barge. This was done, and barges with a capacity of 100,000 gallons began making the trip to Key West, although the water thus secured was rather costly. Between the cost of the water itself and the transportation, the price came to two cents per gallon. Part of this supply had to be sent out to Fort Jefferson, as that islet was even drier than Key West.<sup>12</sup>

Both the Army and the Navy then rushed plans to supplement the normal water supply in other ways. During the Civil War the Navy had constructed a distilling plant capable of producing 7,000 gallons of water per day. This was now brought back into service, and new and larger plants were built. The Army completed the first one on May 25, with a capacity of 50,000 gallons per day. With the others that were put into service in a short time, the water problem was ended. About the beginning of July heavy rains fell and all worries were ended.

During the time when the water shortage was at its worst, Key West escaped what might very well have been disaster. General William Shafter,

in command of the troops in camp at Tampa, was ordered by Adjutant General Corbin to take a total of 10,000 soldiers and take them to Key West. They were then to be sent to Fort Jefferson, and await transportation to Cuba. Since Jefferson was being supplied with water from Key West, and Tampa was then making daily shipments of water to Key West, it is not difficult to picture the consternation had the troops actually been sent. As it was Shafter frantically wired Corbin, reminding him of the water shortage, and the order for the troop movement was cancelled. The incident is difficult to understand, since Corbin, on May 7, had authorized the use of Army funds to purchase water to be sent to Key West, and then in the face of that, went ahead with the troop order on May 10. On top of that, Fort Jefferson was scarcely capable of housing 10,000 troops with all their equipment.<sup>13</sup>

One other service in the city was stretched to the limit by the situation while the Army and Navy were so much in evidence. Ordinarily Key West possessed a three man police force for its nearly 18,000 people. With the services coming to town in force, an additional man was added to the police department, but that was to prove to be little help. The police found themselves completely unable to maintain order, especially in the area of the numerous bars and taverns. The population of Key West, heterogeneous enough in any case, had been made more so by the addition not only of the sailors, but by the arrival of the Twenty-fifth Infantry, a Negro regiment, and the many civilian workers at the base and on the fortifications. The situation was just too much for the four men on the police.

Trouble first became evident in brawls taking place in some of the taverns, with servicemen clashing with the civilians. These were numerous enough in themselves, but might have been handled had there not appeared an ugly racial tinge in some of the fights. Key West had protested against the sending of a Negro regiment, but its warnings had been ignored, and undoubtedly some resentment remained. Trouble soon boiled over when some Negro troopers marched to the city jail in order to free one of their fellows on April 17. The policemen were brushed aside, and the jail door broken down. From then on the situation grew worse.<sup>14</sup>

Several fights in the streets degenerated into riots in which several lives were lost and many people injured. The police were helpless. Newspapers throughout the state took note of the situation, and most of them condemned the city rather than the troopers. It was reported that the people of Key West were living under a virtual reign of terror, and the Tampa *Times* declared

that Key West and its people were at fault for abusing the colored soldiers. It pointed out that Negro soldiers in Tampa did not cause any trouble, a statement that was not quite true. Finally, Key West made an appeal to the military authorities, and Army and Navy both took steps to restore order. Large patrols were sent out every night to keep the peace. Civilian workmen were threatened with discharge if involved in further trouble, and temporarily the soldiers were confined to quarters.<sup>15</sup>

With order restored, the city was once again able to relax and enjoy the unprecedented prosperity. All the signs pointed to a long period of boom business. Even though it was clear by July that the war would soon be over, both the Army and the Navy had declared that the construction then under way would be completed. That meant that jobs would be available for any who wanted them, and that the merchants and contractors would continue to have as much business as they could handle. The work, particularly that on the docks and the dredging of the channel, also promised greatly improved harbor facilities for future use.<sup>16</sup>

Key West, however, received a stunning blow on August 16, just four days after the end of the war. The ships in the harbor began taking aboard all shore personnel of the Navy, together with many of the civilian workers, and left port, headed toward Hampton Roads. One company of Marines was left behind as a guard, and even that was removed shortly after. Six days later the Army followed suit, and by August 22 the only uniforms to be seen in Key West were those of the Marines and of a small guard detachment of the soldiers. Work on the construction projects was at a standstill, and most of the non-native labor had also left. The only reason given for the move was the announcement by a young naval surgeon that three cases of yellow fever had been discovered in the Marine detachment.<sup>17</sup>

Key West knew yellow fever only too well, having had epidemics sweep the city in 1892 and again in 1897. The disease was probably the most dreaded scourge of the tropics, and Florida, following a severe epidemic in Jacksonville, had created a State Board of Health to combat the contagion. Dr. Joseph Y. Porter was the State Health Officer, and was one of the few doctors in the state who was confident that the disease could be at least controlled. Since the cause of yellow fever was still unknown in 1898, all measures were aimed at preventing the entry of the infection from other areas. The means of doing this was the imposition of a quarantine each year against ships arriving from tropical ports. Dr. Porter was also constantly alert, watching for any indi-

cation that the fever had appeared, and hoping that he could isolate the original victims and prevent the spread.

In 1898 there were several rumors of the appearance of yellow fever in Florida. Aware that with many thousands of soldiers camped in Florida the danger was greater than ever, Dr. Porter was more than ever on the alert. In July his attention was called to the discovery in Key West of a number of cases of a fever whose symptoms somewhat resembled those of yellow fever. He personally examined each patient and assured himself that they had nothing more severe than dengue, a non-fatal fever with a duration of about ten days. With that he paid no more attention to it.

It was this dengue fever that had stricken the Marines. The naval surgeon, described as being fresh out of school, promptly diagnosed it as yellow fever. The Secretary of the Navy was so notified, and the order to evacuate Key West followed. Dr. Porter protested in vain. He was joined by Dr. William Murray of the Marine Hospital Service, and by Dr. A. H. Glennan of the Public Health Service. All agreed that the fever was dengue and not yellow fever, and all protested against the action of the Navy. Their fear was simply that panic might ensue, and that Key West would be needlessly subjected to a quarantine on the part of all cities and states of the Gulf area.

As far as Key West was concerned, there was no panic, but the city was promptly quarantined by states and cities from Louisiana to Tampa. For a period of several weeks Key West was isolated, and as a result business came to a halt. The merchants who had stocked up in anticipation of continued boom business were most severely hurt, especially when the goods in question were perishable.

The Navy continued to reject the protests of Dr. Porter and his associates, and persisted in its diagnosis of yellow fever. Within a few weeks, however, Dr. Porter was vindicated. The three Marines gave the dengue fever to a number of others, but all recovered within the ten day period without ill effects. In Key West itself some 6,000 people became victims of the fever, but again all recovered. There was no fatality connected with the illness, and this alone was enough to wring a reluctant admission from the Navy that perhaps they had been wrong. On September 12 the ships and men began returning to Key West. Again the Army followed suit, and the city once more resumed a more normal life, even though some time was to pass before Mississippi and several other places consented to lift the quarantines. With

the possible exception of the merchants who had suffered the greatest losses, Key West was glad to forgive and forget as soon as the work on the base and the fortifications was once again in progress.

All in all, the period of the war had been filled with excitement for the city. Perhaps the most important effect of the war was the vast amount of construction of a permanent nature, much of which was of value to the port in peacetime. The amount of money spent in the city by the Army and Navy ran into many millions, to which should be added the sums spent by the individual soldiers, sailors, and workmen. One very hasty scanning of the records resulted in verifying the expenditure of over \$2,244,850 between March 1898 and July 1899.<sup>18</sup> How much more was expended is at present unknown, but it is certain that the sum far exceeds that which has so far been verified. It can be said without fear of contradiction that Key West gained far more than it may have lost, even with the false alarm concerning the yellow fever.

Immediately after the war the city was able to benefit by means of the increased trade with Cuba, and with its new channel, its improved facilities, and the continued presence of the services, was able to enjoy a vista of uninterrupted prosperity for some time to come.

#### NOTES

- <sup>1</sup> Richard Vernon Rickenbach, "A History of Filibustering from Florida to Cuba, 1895-1898" (Unpublished Master's thesis, University of Florida, 1948), p. 13. See also Carlisle Calderon, *Report to the Spanish Legation* (Washington, 1896), and Horatio Rubens, *Cuba, the Story of Liberty* (New York, 1932), for a full story of the activities of the Cubans in Key West and elsewhere.
- <sup>2</sup> *Chicago Times Herald*, February 19, 1898, as cited in Marcus M. Wilkerson, *Public Opinion and the Spanish American War* (Baton Rouge, 1932), pp. 128-132.
- <sup>3</sup> Reginald Belknap, "The Naval Base at Key West, 1898," in *Proceedings*, U. S. Naval Institute, XLI (September, 1915), pp. 1443-1473. Belknap is very bitter about the failure of the Navy to take any steps to prepare the base ahead of time. He was Commodore Remy's aide at the time.
- <sup>4</sup> National Archives, War Records Division (Old Army Section) *Record Group 98, Tampa*, p. 200. (Archives sources hereafter cited as NA-WR, for army records, and NA-NR, for naval records.)
- <sup>5</sup> Albert Manucy, "The Gibraltar of the Gulf of Mexico," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XXI (April, 1943), p. 328-329. *Report of the Navy Department, 1898*, 2 vols. (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1898), I, 210-242.
- <sup>6</sup> NA-NR, *Record Group 181*, Key West File No. 1.
- <sup>7</sup> NA-WR, *Record Group 98*, File No. 2681, 2770.
- <sup>8</sup> *Times Union and Citizen* (Jacksonville), May 2, 1898. George Kennan, *Campaigning in Cuba* (New York, 1899), pp. 15-17.
- <sup>9</sup> NA-WR, *Record Group 92*, File No. 108663. *Report of the War Department, 1899*, II, Part 1, 28-29.

- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 1898, I, Part 1, 398, 716-719. Albert Diddle, "Medical Events in the History of Key West," *Bulletin of the History of Medicine*, XV (1944), 460.
- <sup>11</sup> *Report of the War Department*, 1898, I, Part 1, 716-719.
- <sup>12</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 83.
- <sup>12A</sup> NA-WR, *Record Group 98*, File No. 1634. *Register of Contracts*, QMGO, 1896-97-98, p. 243. Item No. 91724. *Times Union and Citizen* (Jacksonville) May 25, 1898.
- <sup>13</sup> *Report of the War Department*, 1898, I, Part 1, p. 84
- <sup>14</sup> *Times Union and Citizen* (Jacksonville), April 26, May 2, 26, 1898. *Tampa Times*, April 18, 26, May 25, 1898.
- <sup>15</sup> NA-WR, *Record Group 98*, File No. 1897.
- <sup>16</sup> See Albert Diddle, op. cit. NA-WR, *Record Group 181*, Key West, Letter Sent Book August 16, 1898; Lancaster Box No. 2, *Report of the Navy Department*, 1898, I, 787-788. NA-WR, *Record Group 98*, File No. 4692, 4760, 4765, 4820, 4864. Dr. Porter's story is best told in the *Tenth Annual Report of the State Board of Health of Florida* (Tallahassee, 1899). The details of the story are scattered, and unfortunately the writer was unable to locate any Key West newspapers, but the following newspapers carried rather full accounts: *Times Union and Citizen* (Jacksonville), especially issues of August 19, September 3, 7, 8, 14. *New York Times*, especially on August 17, 18. *Tampa Times* during the entire period.
- <sup>18</sup> This figure is at best a partial account of the monies spent. Time has not yet permitted a thorough search of the records of the War and Navy Departments in the National Archives, but the figure cited includes sums the expenditure of which has been verified.

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# Captain Brannan's Dilemma: Key West 1861

By VAUGHAN CAMP, JR.

Captain James Milton Brannan, First Artillery, United States Army, and senior ranking officer on the island of Key West, found himself confronted with a military dilemma. The date was January 13, 1861, and the threat of civil war hung like Banquo's ghost over the land. Brannan's little company represented the total might of the Federal government in South Florida,<sup>1</sup> but it was placed, or, so the Captain believed, in an untenable tactical position. His troops were concentrated in the Army Barracks, which lay on the northeastern shore of the island, while the only defensible position, Fort Taylor, lay on the Western shore of this last of the Florida Keys.<sup>2</sup> The direct route between the post and the fort was covered with the typical scrub growth of the island, while the only passable road ran at a right angle through the ever increasingly hostile town of Key West.

The second largest town in Florida, Key West was essentially a Southern town. In 1860 it had a population of 2,862 inhabitants, including 451 slaves and 160 free negroes.<sup>3</sup> Although a few of the inhabitants were immigrants from the New England area, and there was an added sprinkling of Bahamians, the majority of the citizens were either native to the Island City or were migrants from the nearby Southern states. Certainly, the major leaders of the community, with few exceptions, were wholly Southern in sympathy.

As early as 1832, in the heat of the discussion over the National Tariff Act of that year, a local newspaper editorially outlined the position of these leaders. It read:

We have always thought that the value of our union consisted in affording equal rights and equal protection to every citizen; when, therefore, its objects are so perverted as to become a means of impoverishment to one section, whilst it aggrandizes another, when it becomes necessary to sacrifice one portion of the States for the good of the rest, the Union has lost its value to us; and we are bound, by a recurrence to first principles, to maintain our rights and defend our lives and property.<sup>4</sup>

Although this overt secessionist feeling died down with the compromise resolution of the tariff issue it burst into flame again with the presidential

election of 1860. Florida delegates, supported by the citizenry of Key West, supported the candidacy of John C. Breckenridge at the abortive Democratic Convention in Charleston. In the divided Baltimore Convention, the Florida delegation helped the break-up of the Democratic party by walking out of the meeting and joining with other Southern delegates in the nomination of Buchanan's vice-president.

The selection of Breckenridge as the standard bearer of the Southern wing of the party was hailed enthusiastically in Key West. The influential *Key of the Gulf* extended its editorial endorsement on January 7th, and it seems to have expressed the will of the majority of the citizens.<sup>5</sup> There was some slight opposition from the followers of John Bell of the Constitutional-Union Party, but there was no feeling for the candidacy of Steven A. Douglas, who lacked any kind of organization in the Democratic State of Florida. Any supporters of Lincoln and the radical Republican were careful to keep their affiliation quiet.<sup>6</sup>

Local sentiment was in full agreement that the possible election of Lincoln portended the dissolution of the Union. Looking backwards upon it in 1912, Jefferson Browne reported that, "the election of Abraham Lincoln, the first president to be elected upon the sectional issue of antagonism to the South and its institutions, stirred up the people of Key West, in common with the rest of the Southland."<sup>7</sup>

On November 30th, shortly after the results of the election became final, Florida Governor, M. S. Perry, in conjunction with the legislature, issued a call for a statewide convention to meet in Tallahassee, on January 3, 1861, to take into consideration the future relationship between the people of the State and the Federal government. Upon the receipt of the Governor's message, in Key West, a mass meeting of all citizens was called.<sup>8</sup>

The assemblage, which was held on the night of December 12th, "was the largest meeting ever held in Key West up to that time."<sup>9</sup> Only one of the evening's speakers, Colonel W. C. Maloney, spoke out against secession and in favor of remaining within the Union. The real contest lay between those who favored immediate secession and those who believed that Florida should wait and follow the lead of the border states. After an evening of recriminatory speeches the meeting was adjourned until the following night.

On the evening of December 13th, the meeting reconvened and proceeded to the task of selecting three men to represent Monroe County in the Tallahassee convention. A count of hands showed the election of two outright seces-

sionists, William Pinckney and Winer Bethel, and one moderate, William Marvin. "The strong sentiment for secession was manifested by this vote — Judge Winer Bethel and Mr. Pinckney, pronounced secessionists, were selected by an almost unanimous vote, and Judge Marvin, who did not favor immediate secession, received a bare majority."<sup>10</sup> The pro-secessionists eventually controlled the entire delegation. They questioned the propriety of Marvin, a Federal Judge, attending a meeting aimed at the breaking up of the Union. Marvin was replaced by Asa Tift who favored immediate rupture with the Federal government. The tension of the local situation was heightened by the departure of these delegates for the state capitol.<sup>11</sup>

This, then, was the attitude of the City of Key West which lay between the tiny command of Captain Brannan and the defensible shelter of Fort Taylor. The Captain's position was not unique. Throughout the seceding Southern states other commanders of army and navy units found themselves faced with the same problem. A few, like Robert Anderson, at Charleston, and A. J. Slemmer, at Pensacola, resolved to hold Federal property and their military positions at all costs. The majority, however, turned over Union forts, arsenals, and supplies to the States, upon demand. Excoriated in the press, these officers could point out the small size of their commands, in comparison to the State forces available, and, also, that the question of the ownership of such property had never been resolved.

Brannan was of the same mind as Anderson and Slemmer. The entire career of the forty-one year old Captain had been one of preparation for command decision. Born on July 1, 1819, at Washington, D. C., he had received an appointment to the United States Military Academy in 1837. His graduation with the class of 1841, had not been spectacular, as he stood twenty-third out of a class of fifty-two. In the same class Braxton Bragg stood fifth, Jubal A. Early eighteenth and J. C. Pemberton twenty-seventh.<sup>12</sup> Commissioned a Brevet Second Lieutenant, Brannan was first stationed at Plattsburg, N. Y., where he acquired active field experience during the disturbances of 1841 and 1842. By the time of the outbreak of the Mexican War Brannan had become a regular First Lieutenant and was adjutant of the 1st Artillery. Other members of that regiment, destined for fame, were Joseph Hooker, Irvin McDowell, John B. Magruder, Ambrose P. Hill and Thomas Jonathan Jackson. With this regiment Brannan took part in Scott's campaign from Vera Cruz to Mexico City, earning a brevet to Captain and a severe wound in the doing. He remained with the occupation forces and was one of the founding members of the Aztec Society, together with U. S.

Grant and R. E. Lee. In view of the Seminole disturbances in Florida, Brannan, with one company of the 1st Artillery, was transferred to Key West in 1856.<sup>13</sup>

Even before the Key West secession meeting was held Brannan was considering his alternatives. On December 11th, he wrote the Adjutant General, Colonel Samuel Cooper, that he believed that secession in Florida was inevitable. He went on to say that he had "reliable information that as soon as that act is committed an attempt will be made to seize upon Fort Taylor."<sup>14</sup> He then requested specific instructions. Should he "endeavor at all hazards to prevent Fort Taylor being taken or allow the State authorities to have possession without any resistance."<sup>15</sup>

Brannan was greatly hampered in his relationships with Washington by the lack of adequate communications. There was no telegraph service linking the island and the mainland, and the Captain had to rely on the Mordecai and Company steamer *Isabel*, or passing ships out of New Orleans or St. Marks. The *Isabel* made the round trip between Key West and Charleston, S. C. once every two weeks. Counting rail service between Charleston and Washington, Brannan could count himself lucky if his letters reached the War Department in a week and a half.<sup>16</sup>

Communication difficulties were not so great for State officials. On January 5, 1861, Florida Senator David Yulee, in Washington, telegraphed Joseph Finegan, in charge of the military affairs of the State of Florida, in Tallahassee, saying that "the immediately important thing to be done is the occupation of the forts and arsenals in Florida."<sup>17</sup> Hampered by the Secession Convention Finegan made no move to secure the Key West posts.

Yulee was also calling upon the War Department for a list of officers in the Regular Army from his state and for a statement of "the numerical force of troops now in garrison at the various posts in the State . . . and the amount of arms, heavy and small, and ammunition, fixed and loose."<sup>18</sup> The Department returned a polite answer that the "interests of the service forbid that the information which you ask should at this moment be made public."<sup>19</sup>

In view of his communications difficulty Brannan operated in a vacuum. He knew the date of the Secession Convention in Tallahassee, and could, with some degree of accuracy, determine the possible date of Florida's repudiation of the Union. The idea that the State might remain within the Union did not enter the Captain's considerations.

There was on the island at least one other man as determined as Brannan that Fort Taylor should remain in Union hands. This was Captain E. B. Hunt, United States Engineers, in charge of the construction of the Fort. Hunt had been the chief engineer on the works for the better part of three years. Fearful that the product of his skill would fall into the hands of the enemies of the Union, Hunt urged upon Brannan "to assume the military command of Fort Taylor."<sup>20</sup> The engineer added that "I shall heartily cooperate in my appropriate capacity . . . and shall in a few days complete all the defensive preparations now required."<sup>21</sup>

At least two other members of the Key West Community felt much the same way as did Captain Hunt. Maloney reports that Brannan's future action was taken "by the advice of Judge Marvin and Charles Howe, Collector of Customs."<sup>22</sup> Marvin, who had counselled that Florida wait and note the actions of the border states in the Key West secession movement had apparently had a change of heart.

The decision once made that Fort Taylor must be garrisoned, Brannan moved with celerity. To confuse any persons who might desire to forestall his movement "Captain Brannan . . . attended the religious services on Sunday as usual."<sup>23</sup> This was a simple blind, for at midnight the Captain assembled his troops and all equipment in the barracks area. Dividing his men into small groups, the Captain quietly marched each squad through the peacefully sleeping city. The movement, begun at twelve o'clock, was completed before sunrise.<sup>24</sup>

Key West awoke to a *fait accompli*. There was some grumbling among the citizens, but no concerted action was taken against the Army command. Routine business between the citizens and the troops was carried on as if there had been no change of position.<sup>25</sup>

The indomitable Captain had no sooner occupied his new quarters than he fired off a message to the Adjutant General, announcing his unauthorized move:

I have the honor to report that in consequence of the recent seizure by unauthorized persons of several forts and arsenals in the Southern States, I have placed my entire command in Fort Taylor for the purpose of protecting it. I shall, until orders from the General Government to the contrary, defend it . . .<sup>26</sup>

Brannan's position was still not an enviable one. Fort Taylor was one of the most modern in the United States, but it was still incomplete. Construction on the Fort had begun in 1845, but most of the works had been

swept away by the vicious hurricane of the following year. After some little delay construction had been resumed, with a projected completion date of 1861. Together with another unfinished work, Fort Jefferson, in the Dry Tortugas, Fort Taylor was designed to deny an enemy entrance to the Gulf of Mexico through the Florida Straits.

The work was a "double casemented brick fort of the Bauban [sic] plan."<sup>27</sup> It mounted extremely heavy coastal defense armament, consisting of

Forty 10-inch Rodmans, and ten 24-pounder howitzers on the first tier; thirty 8-inch Columbiads, six 30-pounder Parrott rifles; two 10-inch Rodmans, eighteen 24-pounder howitzers on the second tier, and twenty 10-inch Rodmans, two 15-inch Rodmans, three 300-pounder Parrott rifles, three 100-pounder Parrott rifles, three 30-pounder Parrott rifles, one 10-inch siege mortar, and four 8-inch siege mortars on the parapet.<sup>28</sup>

The fort had been constructed on a wide sand spit projecting out about a quarter mile from the western shore of Key West. Built with four bastions and four curtains, it adequately covered the harbor against possible naval attack. Unfortunately the designers had not foreseen the possibility of civil war and had neglected the fortification of the land approach from the city.

If this did not constitute enough of a problem, Brannan was plagued with the smallness of his command. The fort had been designed for a minimum garrison of one thousand men.<sup>29</sup> The Captain had forty-four. His artillery company combined with the mechanics and laborers under the direction of Captain Hunt, gave the fort a garrison of about a hundred men.<sup>30</sup> In the early days of 1861 a determined assault, properly carried out across the spit might have sustained heavy casualties, but probably would have carried the fort.

Brannan immediately set about placing his command on a war footing. Rations and water were collected, and he was able to announce to the War Department on January 15th, that he had four months provisions and seventy thousand gallons of water on hand. But, he added, "we cannot stand a siege against any organized army." Reinforcements were imperative and two heavily armed naval vessels should be dispatched to Key West immediately to prevent the landing of any military forces beyond the range of the fort's guns.<sup>31</sup>

Captain Hunt was ordered to throw up two sand revetments covering the sand spit approach. The engineer and his laborers threw themselves furiously

into the work and the embankments were completed in record time. Ten 8-inch guns were mounted so as to enfilade any attacking force.

Although Brannan had given up the barracks he had no intention of abandoning them. Once the emergency measures necessary for the protection of the fort had been completed, he put the entire command at work, building a road between Taylor and the barracks. This road traveled in a straight line between the two points, thereby bypassing Key West to the North, giving the Captain freedom of movement. A few of the troops and four guns were stationed in the encampment area.<sup>32</sup>

Meanwhile, Florida had plunged headlong into secession. The Tallahassee convention had assembled, amid great State and National excitement, on January 3, 1861. On January 10th, the major business of the Convention, the Ordinance of Secession, was brought to the floor and there passed by the overwhelming majority of sixty-two to seven. Governor Perry signed the act into law on the same day.<sup>33</sup>

Some of Brannan's anxiety over his position would have been eased had he received news of the convention's action on the day following the passage of the secession ordinance. The convention instructed Governor Perry that

It is the sense of this convention that the governor should not direct any assault to be made on any fort or military post now occupied by Federal troops, unless the persons in occupation of such forts and posts shall commit overt acts of hostility against this state . . . unless directed by a vote of this convention.<sup>34</sup>

But neither Brannan or the people of the North knew about the intentions of the State officials. Even before Florida had passed its Ordinance of Secession the *New York Times* reported that "the forts and other Federal property have been taken possession of by the governor."<sup>35</sup> Communications remained open between the North and Fort Pickens, at Pensacola, but no immediate news came from Key West, due, in most part, to its geographic isolation. Public fears that Forts Taylor and Jefferson had fallen into State hands was alleviated on January 28th, with the publication, in the *New York Times*, of a letter from Key West. The author, who signed himself "Engineer", stated:

I write a line to say that we are now quiet and at peace, *because we have put ourself on a war footing*. . . . There are now an artillery company of 44 men, and an enrolled force of mechanics and laborers who are ready to defend their workmanship. A total of over a hundred can probably be relied on, and the work itself is very strong against assault.<sup>36</sup>

The letter ended with a fervent plea for naval assistance and adequate water communications. Two days later the *Times* confidently announced that "the government property at Tortugas and Key West is . . . perfectly secure."<sup>37</sup>

The War Department was not as confident. Brannan's original letter of December 11, 1860, had not reached Washington until January 3rd. In the absence of Samuel Cooper, who was considering the possibility of handing in his resignation, Brannan's orders came through Lieutenant Colonel G. W. Law, Aide-de-Camp on the staff of General Scott. On January 4th, Law directed Brannan to move his entire command into the confines of Fort Taylor, and there to do everything in his "power to prevent the seizure of your fort."<sup>38</sup> The aide went on to state, that while Fort Jefferson was to be garrisoned, Brannan was to look for help only from cruising naval vessels and the mechanics and laborers of Captain Hunt's construction force. He then closed with the ominous warning that "there is some apprehension that an expedition is fitting out in Charleston to take one or both of the forts, Taylor or Jefferson."<sup>39</sup>

On January 26th, Brannan, who had received no communication from the Department for a month and a half, wrote Washington to announce that there had been no demonstration against the fort. The work was growing stronger with the passage of every day, and the doughty Captain had no doubt that while "a force will soon appear . . . from the main land," he could beat it off.<sup>40</sup> He urged that his company be raised to a hundred men and that he be supported on the flank by a naval sloop-of-war.<sup>41</sup>

Brannan's contact with the outside world, but not with the Department, came with the arrival in Key West of Captain M. C. Meigs, on January 22nd. Meigs was an Engineer of the command of Major L. G. Arnold, who had been dispatched to relieve Fort Jefferson. His visit could not have been a happy one for he had been ordered to ask for guns and ammunition from the small supplies available at Fort Taylor. In compliance with the command, Brannan reluctantly gave up six 8-inch columbiads, four field pieces, and an ample supply of ammunition.<sup>42</sup>

Late in January, or early in February, contact between Key West and the War Department was restored, thanks to the Navy. By the end of the first week of February, Brannan could report that he believed that there would be no attempt on the part of the newly formed Confederate forces to take Fort Taylor. So secure did he feel that he transferred seven more of his 8-inch columbiads to Major Arnold. One danger remained, however, his

powder was going bad, as were his friction tubes, used to fire his long range rifles.<sup>43</sup> He was later to report that the flag of the Confederacy was being flown over many homes and stores, but that he did not "apprehend any attack on this fort."<sup>44</sup>

The optimism of Captain Brannan had a heartening effect in Washington. If, by a display of soldierly valor, Fort Taylor could be held securely, why not the great bastions at Charleston and Pensacola? The newly inaugurated President was reluctant to take action for the relief of Fort Sumter, situated in the birthing place of the secession movement, however, he had no such qualms about Pensacola. On April 1st, he ordered Colonel Harvey Brown, U.S.A., to take command of an expedition to reinforce and hold Fort Pickens. Brown was authorized to defend himself if attacked, and "if needful for such defense, inflict upon the assailants all the damage in your power . . . ."<sup>45</sup> General Scott, aged, but still the most able American military commander, warned Brown that he was not to "reduce too much the means of the fortresses in the Florida Reef, as they are deemed of greater importance than even Fort Pickens."<sup>46</sup>

The last hopes of the Southern sympathizers in Key West that Fort Taylor could be seized and the island turned over to the Confederacy were dashed in late March and early April. The expedition of Colonel Brown, although using Fort Jefferson as its base of supply, was strong enough to reinforce Brannan in the face of any threat. Reorganized naval forces began to use the island harbor for coaling. Troops, too, began to arrive in strength from Texas.

On February 18, 1861, soon after the passage of an ordinance of secession by the State of Texas, General David E. Twiggs, U.S.A., commanding the Department of Texas, had issued a General Order. The Army was to deliver up all military posts and supplies to the State immediately. Loyal troops were then to evacuate the State by marching to the coast, where transportation would be provided.<sup>47</sup>

Five companies of the 1st Artillery were among those effected by Twigg's order. Three of these were stationed at Fort Duncan, under the command of Brevet Major William B. French, while two more were garrisoned at Fort Brown, under the leadership of Captain Henry J. Hunt. War Department orders had been dispatched to French, as senior officer, on February 7th, anticipating the surrender of the Southern partisan, Twiggs.

If Twiggs gave up, French was to march both his and Hunt's commands to Brazos Santiago, where he would find a steamer in readiness to embark his men. So important did the Department consider this transfer that it sent an assistant adjutant-general with the ship, to expedite the movement. The Major was further commanded to leave two companies at Fort Jefferson, two more at Key West, and send the remaining one to Fort Hamilton, N. Y.<sup>48</sup>

In compliance with his orders, French moved out upon receipt of Twiggs' General Order. Although deprived of most of his artillery horses, the Major's command managed to drag their 12-pounder *canons-obusier* down the valley of the Rio Grande to Point Isabel. Finding it impossible to reach Brazos Santiago, French contacted the awaiting steamer and the complement was laded at the more southerly harbor.<sup>49</sup>

Late in March, Captain Hunt, with two companies were disembarked at Fort Jefferson. Major French, with Companies F and K, 1st Artillery landed soon after at Key West.<sup>50</sup> As senior ranking officer, French immediately assumed command from Captain Brannan. The period of the Captain's dilemma was at an end.

But there was no abatement in the alarums and excursions. The shocking news of Anderson's fight and surrender at Fort Sumter was received soon after April 13th. Confederate flags continued to fly over many of the homes and business houses of the city. Captain E. B. Hunt, the engineer, plaintively wrote the Chief Engineer, in Washington, that he still feared that a determined assault would result in the loss of his handiwork. He reported that he had information of a letter from Sephen Mallory, Confederate Secretary of the Navy and one time inhabitant of the island city, to a prominent citizen "that when the C. S. Army were ready, an attempt to take these works would be made."<sup>51</sup>

Captain Meigs was also complaining to Washington. To his mind, Fort Taylor could not resist a landing on Key West, nor was it "better fitted to withstand bombardment than Fort Sumter. The burning woodwork of its barracks would soon drive out its garrison."<sup>52</sup> In the face of a possible landing, a volunteer company of a hundred and nine men was raised among the loyal Union men of the island.<sup>53</sup>

Despite all of this pessimism, any threat to Key West was long since past. The Confederate government was never able to mount any kind of attack against Fort Taylor, indeed, it never seems to have even contemplated

such an action. At first glance, and in view of Mallory's first hand knowledge of the value the position, this Confederate neglect seems inexcusable, but the answer was to be found in the lack of a Southern navy. The key, with its important harbor and defensive work, was to remain in Union hands throughout the war.

Because of the island's peripheral geographic location the importance of Brannan's action in Key West had been overlooked. Standard histories play up the actions of Anderson and Slemmer, but ignore completely those of Brannan. If they mention Key West at all, it is merely to say that it was the only naval base in the South which was never held or attacked by Confederate of State forces.

The strategic value of Key West to the Union in the war is inestimable. Had it fallen into Confederate hands, it would, without doubt have been recaptured by the North, due to Federal naval superiority, but the reconquest would have involved the expenditure of many lives. More important, such a recapture would have taken time, a commodity which the Union could ill afford to give up, in view of the European diplomatic reaction to the war.

Without secure control of the island, Lincoln's declaration of an effective blockade of the Southern coast would have been a farce, for the Navy had no other Southern coaling station so necessary for its short cruising range blockading fleets. Early in the War, Southern blockade runners operated quite successfully from Havana and the British controlled Bahamas, however, fast Federal cruisers operating from Key West were to wreak havoc among these vessels during the last three years of the conflict.

Key West was the key to the Gulf of Mexico. Slemmer's little force at Pensacola would have been overwhelmed had not reinforcements continued to flow to him around the Southern tip of Florida. Union captures of Ship Island, New Orleans, Galveston and Mobile would have been all but impossible with the island in Confederate control.

In-so-far as historic immortality is concerned, Captain Brannan was unfortunate. In carrying out what he conceived to be his duty no bullets sung past his ears, no bombs burst over his head, the reputation-making press was missing, and the Captain had little ability for self aggrandizement. Nevertheless, the resolution of Captain Brannan's dilemma remains one of the most important command decisions of the Civil War.<sup>54</sup>

## FOOTNOTES

- <sup>1</sup> There is no muster roll available for Brannan's company. In a letter to the War Department, on January 14, 1861, he speaks of forty-four men: *The War of the Rebellion: A Compilation of the Official Records of the Union and Confederate Armies*, (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1902), Series I, Vol. I, p. 342. All future notes are from Series I, and the title will hereinafter be cited as *O.R.* A letter to the *New York Times*, signed Engineer, also gives Brannan's strength as forty-four men: *New York Times*, January 28, 1861, 1. If this figure is correct Brannan's company was far below strength, for the Army Table of Organization called for artillery company strength to range between sixty-four to a hundred men and officers: William Addleman Ganoe, *The History of the United States Army*, (New York: D. Appleton-Century Co., 1943), 116.
- <sup>2</sup> See map: Writer's Program, Works Progress Administration, *A Guide to Key West*, (American Guide Series, New York: Hastings House, 1941), inside cover. Also see map. Walter C. Maloney, *A Sketch of the History of Key West, Florida*, (Newark, N. J.: Advertiser Printing House, 1876), insert. Hereinafter cited as Maloney.
- <sup>3</sup> United States Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, *Fifteenth Census of the United States*, (Washington; Government Printing Office, 1931), 196. Jefferson Beale Browne, *Key West: The Old and the New*, (St. Augustine, Fla.: The Record Company, 1912), 171. Hereinafter cited as Browne.
- <sup>4</sup> *Ibid.*, 90. Browne gives no source for this quote.
- <sup>5</sup> *Key of the Gulf*, (Key West), January 7, 1860, 1.
- <sup>6</sup> Donald Gordan Lester, *Key West During the Civil War*, (Master's Thesis, University of Miami, 1949), *passim*.
- <sup>7</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, 90.
- <sup>8</sup> *Ibid.*, 91. Maloney, *op. cit.*, 63.
- <sup>9</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, 91.
- <sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*, 91.
- <sup>11</sup> Maloney, *op. cit.*, *passim*.
- <sup>12</sup> Ellsworth Eliot, Jr., *West Point in the Confederacy*, (New York: G. A. Baker and Co., Inc., 1941), xxi.
- <sup>13</sup> *Dictionary of American Biography*, (New York. Charles Scribner's Sons, 1937), II, 600-601. Hereinafter cited as *D.A.B.*
- <sup>14</sup> *O.R.*, I, 342.
- <sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 343.
- <sup>16</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, 80-81.
- <sup>17</sup> *Confederate Military History*, (Atlanta, Ga.: Confederate Publishing Company, 1899), XI, 21. Hereinafter cited as *C.M.H.*
- <sup>18</sup> *O.R.*, I, 348-349.
- <sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 351.
- <sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 343.
- <sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 343.
- <sup>22</sup> Maloney, *op. cit.*, 64.
- <sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*, 64.
- <sup>24</sup> *Ibid.*, 64-65. *O.R.*, I, 343.
- <sup>25</sup> Maloney, *op. cit.*, 65.
- <sup>26</sup> *O.R.*, I, 343.
- <sup>27</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, 78.
- <sup>28</sup> *Ibid.*, 78. The best description of Fort Taylor is to be found in Ames W. Williams, "Stronghold of the Straits: Fort Zachary Taylor," *Tequesta*, XIV, 1954, 3-24.
- <sup>29</sup> *New York Times*, January 12, 1861, 1.

- <sup>30</sup> *Ibid.*, January 28, 1861, 1.
- <sup>31</sup> *O.R.*, I, 343.
- <sup>32</sup> Browne, *op. cit.*, 78. For a few years, during the war, this road was known as Brannan's Road, but the name gradually dropped out of use to be replaced by "Rocky Road". The street was later officially designated Division Street. The name has since been changed to Truman Avenue.
- <sup>33</sup> *C.M.H.*, XI, 10-12.
- <sup>34</sup> *Ibid.*, XI, 13.
- <sup>35</sup> *New York Times*, January 9, 1861, 1.
- <sup>36</sup> *Ibid.*, January 28, 1861, 1. It is probable that "Engineer" was Captain E. B. Hunt, as he was the only engineering officer present, on that date, at Fort Taylor.
- <sup>37</sup> *Ibid.*, January 30, 1861, 1.
- <sup>38</sup> *O.R.*, I, 345.
- <sup>39</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 345.
- <sup>40</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 344.
- <sup>41</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 344.
- <sup>42</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 344-347.
- <sup>43</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 345.
- <sup>44</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 360.
- <sup>45</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 366.
- <sup>46</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 366.
- <sup>47</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 515-516.
- <sup>48</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 587-588.
- <sup>49</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 369-371.
- <sup>50</sup> The date of Major French's arrival is not clear. Browne states that he took command at Key West on April 6, 1861: Browne, *op. cit.*, 92. This is obviously in error, for on March 27, 1861, Major French was signing letters as Commanding, Fort Taylor: *O.R.*, I, 364.
- <sup>51</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 383-384.
- <sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*, I, 398.
- <sup>53</sup> Maloney, *op. cit.*, 66-67.
- <sup>54</sup> After being relieved of his command at Key West, Brannan took part in Union operations around Jacksonville, Florida. His rise in the Army was rapid, and after being attached to the Army of the Cumberland he commanded a Division of that Army at the battles of Hoover's Gap, Elks River, and Chickamagua. Brannan, now a Brevet Brigadier General, accompanied Sherman on his Georgia campaign and directed the artillery in the siege of Atlanta. Early in 1865 he was breveted Major General. With the close of the war he remained in the regular Army at his permanent rank. He commanded the Federal troops used to break the Philadelphia railroad strike in 1871. Brannan retired from the service, as a full Colonel, in 1882, and died ten years later. *D.A.B.*, II, 600-601.

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# Two Opinions of Key West in 1834

CHARLTON W. TEBEAU, *Editor*

This might very well be sub-titled "A Lesson in Historical Writing". The first account is written by one who obviously disliked the city, very likely by a service man who was unhappy at being assigned to duty there. Historians may wonder if this was Key West or an expression of his disgust with his own situation. In like manner, the reply signed by two officers of the United States army may be looked upon as a defense of their administration of the post. They make no mention of the non-military aspects of the critical remarks signed simply T. P. The historical problem: What was the Key West military installation really like in 1834?

Both of the articles appeared in the *Military and Naval Magazine of the United States*, Volume III, 1834. The first was in March, pp. 19-20; and the second in June, p. 308.

*The Military and Naval Magazine of the United States.*

Volume III. March, 1834. PP. 19-20.

## KEY WEST.

To the Editor of the *Military and Naval Magazine*.

SIR:—Key West having been lately re-garrisoned by a company of Infantry, it may not be uninteresting to your military readers to be presented with a short account relating to its history. Key West is one of a number of Islands known by the appellation of "Florida Keys." It is situated in latitude  $24^{\circ} 8' N$ , and in longitude  $82^{\circ} 6' W$ . Its length (from E. to W.) is about  $4\frac{1}{2}$  miles, and varying from one half to a mile in breadth. Its population, comprising all classes of inhabitants, is about 250. There are but few houses in the town, and these are principally situated on the beach. The inhabitants are frequently placed in unpleasant circumstances arising from an occasional failure in the supply of water; they depend entirely upon the quantity of rain-water which they can collect, and it is obvious that in a season of drought, where little rain falls, their distress arising from a scarcity

of this necessary element must be great. In these seasons of privation, the nearest supply is obtained from Havana, but this city being situated at a considerable distance from Key West, the price demanded for water brought thence, is of course considerably augmented. It is true, that in the centre of this Island there are several springs of water, but these are of such a brackish quality as to be rendered totally unfit for culinary purposes.

The only importance of this island consists in its harbor; it has no commerce, neither as yet has the labor of the husbandman brought its soil into cultivation: its general aspect is the same as when it was first brought into existence, excepting where the habitations of man have supplanted the vigorous growth of the forest, or have redeemed the sandy shore from its pristine nakedness. Here are a United States Court, a Custom House, and two Lighthouses, though I should not imagine that the duties received at the Custom House are more than sufficient to defray the expenses of its officers, together with those on attendance at the Light-houses. Its dues are derived from wrecked cargoes of foreign vessels, which are brought into the harbor and there disposed of, either by public sale, or by private composition with the owners, and the consequence is that every person resident on the island is engaged in one out of only two occupations; he is either a Government officer, or he is a wrecker. The ownership of this Island is claimed conjointly by four individuals: about three years since, after a time in which the shipping suffered heavy damages and loss, and when the coffers of the Custom House were unusually laden, it was represented to the Government that unless a company of United States troops were sent to the island as a protection, it was to be feared that the funds of the said Custom House would fall a prey to the lawless hands of piratical intruders. At great expense, and at some inconvenience, a command was in consequence established at Key West, though their utility in such a spot is more than doubtful. The island itself is engirt with a protection of far more avail than can be derived from companies or regiments of soldiers; and, while the dangerous reefs by which it is surrounded continue in existence, it is but at a very small point where danger may be apprehended from any invasion. And at this point, viz: the channel of the harbor, surely much more effective precautions might be provided by shipping, than are furnished by one company of soldiers, stationed more than a mile from the only pass likely to be disputed. The Government have expended about \$40,000 upon this post, though its present conveniences would not betoken an expenditure of one twentieth part of that sum. There is a large frame building erected, covered in only by a roof,

and intended as quarters for the officers, but no workman has for a length of time back, plied his busy tool upon the edifice, and now it is fast going to rottenness and decay. Should it ever reach a period of completion, it is extremely probable that the first storm which may range among these desolate isles, will lay it prostrate with the ground, and reduce it to total ruin. As it exists at present, it would be difficult to assign its appropriate place among the orders of Architecture; in the Eastern States they would "guess" it was intended for a meeting house, by reason of a sanctified looking steeple erected on its roof. Besides this unfinished edifice, there are three or four miserable buildings, in which the officers and men are quartered; therein to be devoured by cockroaches, sand-flies, mosquitoes, and chigoes. These latter insects are by no means of a nature or quality to be trifled with, as the feet of many persons, citizens alike with soldiers, can testify. The climate is so hot, even at this period of the year, (January 14th,) that summer clothing is not one whit too cool. The troops are obliged to retire to rest with the going down of the sun, and ensconce themselves with all haste under the protection of mosquito bars; or, failing in this, they have to wage unceasing war with those insect tribes, whose aggressions are so troublesome, and whose arms are so potent — potent in that they possess the power to destroy comfort and to chase away sleep from the eyes of their victims. These are annoyances, together with one of a different species, but not one iota more agreeable in its effects, and which consists in the immoderate and exorbitant price demanded alike for articles of necessity and luxury. Talk of protection, indeed! An uninterested person would suppose that, instead of being the protectors of others, the troops themselves have a right to demand protection from them, suffering as they do from a combination of so many hardships.

Yours,

T. P.

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*The Military and Naval Magazine of the United States.*

Volume III. June, 1834. PP. 308.

KEY WEST.

SIR:—In the March number of your Magazine, you have admitted a communication over the signature of "T. P." purporting to be an "*account relating*" to the history of Key West, which is calculated to mislead your

“military readers.” The writer has not well gathered his materials, for a travelling journalist, as his statements show; and if he be a *military resident*, he is most certainly an indifferent observer, and has not taken a very judicious step towards *relieving himself* from all the “*potent hardships*,” which have combined “to destroy his comfort.”

The Government has not expended “*forty thousand dollars*” upon the post at Key West; and it is possible, that if *twenty times* that sum had been expended, the “*conveniences would not betoken*,” in the estimation of T. P., a better proportion, than what he has already assigned.

The “large frame building erected” (and he, might have added, upon a brick and stone basement, of 7 feet height) was built according to instructions from the proper Department, and “*should it ever reach a period of completion*,” will be as comfortable as any barracks in the United States; and “*it is extremely probable, that the first storm which may range among*” those “*desolate isles*,” will leave it *upright*, notwithstanding it is so “fast going to rottenness and decay,” although its *style* of “*architecture*,” may not be understood or appreciated by every body from “*down east*.” The observatory which T. P.’s fruitful imagination likens unto “*a sanctified looking steeple*,” should lead him to pleasant reflections, from association, if he could not perceive its utility in a military point of view, for purposes of reconnoissance: — “*Besides this unfinished edifice, there are*” seven (instead of “*three or four*”) other “*buildings*,” in which “*officers and men*,” have been quartered for twelve months, without being “*devoured by cock-roaches, sand-flies, mosquitos and chigoes*,” having the all sufficient “*protection of mosquito bars*” and a good police.

During a residence of two years and three months at Key West, we have not experienced the necessity of retiring “*to rest with the going down of the sun*,” on the contrary, the troops did not “*ensconce themselves under the protection of mosquito bars*,” until 9 o’clock P.M., for the reason, that the men required more time for *recreation*, than the regulations permitted, — to obtain which, tattoo was deferred for thirty minutes, during that part of the year which requires that it should be beaten at half past 8 o’clock; — nor were we subjected to “*annoyance*” from “*sand-flies and chigoes*,” to the extent implied by your correspondent, at Key West, but at other places at the south, we have found them, as well as a *variety of other insects*, somewhat troublesome: and lastly, it has been within the knowledge of the undersigned, that

the troops on one occasion, at least, were useful in extending "*protection*" to the inhabitants of the island: and we did not "*suppose*" that any "*uninterested person,*" could think "*the troops themselves*" had "*a right to demand protection from them;*" we thought them better soldiers, than to so seem.

Respectfully yours,

J. M. GLASSELL, Major U. S. A.

F. D. NEWCOMB, Lt. A. Q. M. U. S. A.

P. S. — Please request such papers as have noticed T. P's production, to give this a passing glance, and oblige the writer.

J. M. G.

F. D. N.

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# A Forgotten Spanish Land Grant in South Florida

By HENRY S. MARKS

In 1821 the United States finally ratified the treaty of St. Ildefonso, transferring Florida from Spain to the United States.<sup>1</sup> After the acquisition various acts were passed by Congress for the adjustment and validation of private land claims within the ceded territory. This was necessary, for the treaty provided for the full acceptance by this country of the land grants made by the Spanish government under authority of the king — provided that the grant was issued not later than January 24, 1818.<sup>2</sup> One such act, passed by Congress on May 8, 1822, provided for the establishment of two adjudication boards of three commissioners each for the settlement of all Spanish claims in East and West Florida.<sup>3</sup> But these tribunals were not given permission to settle any claim which exceeded one league square in area. They were only to report to Congress the proceedings in these larger claims. Thus, to obtain a valid title to each grant lying within the confines of Florida the grantee or his or her heirs or assigns had to present before one of the boards any and all proof of the validity of the grant. Six years later Congress provided for the settlement of the larger claims. All petitions concerning lands containing a greater quantity of land than the commissioners were authorized to decide were to be received and adjudicated by the judges of the superior court of the district in which the land lay, by not later than the first Monday of December, 1829.<sup>4</sup>

Many of these Spanish grants were extremely complicated and required years of legal maneuvering to settle. Some, even today, are still in litigation. One of the more interesting of these disputed claims was the large grant of Arrambide that is mentioned in the texts of nineteenth century Florida writers. This grant was presumably located at the mouth of the New River, the present location of Ft. Lauderdale.

The inception of the Arrambide grant was on December 4, 1813. At this time a provincial deputation was held at Havana, Cuba, with the governor of Cuba present and attending as presiding officer.<sup>5</sup> One Don Juan

Xavier de Arrambide and Gorecochea, a native of Puerto Real, who was then residing in the capital, made a solicitation that there should be granted to him "a certain extent of land in East Florida, with the object of establishing on it mills for sawing timber and of exporting resins." <sup>6</sup>

In accordance with Arrambide's wishes, the provincial deputation or council granted him "two leagues square to each cardinal point of the compass of the land he may choose, from the mouth of the Rio Nueva [the New River] which discharges itself on the coast of East Florida, and the Punta Larga, [Key Largo] on the south part, following the same course to the seashore, permitting him to cut timber without the square set forth, and when the bounding lands are not granted to other inhabitants, prohibiting him from burning them and offending the Indians, returning the proceedings to the commission, that they may propose the best mode of distributing the remaining lands, conforming as nearly as possible to the said decree. Havana, December 4, 1813." <sup>7</sup>

This provincial committee (whose main purpose was to consider, consult, advise and determine the distribution and disposition of the public lands in both Cuba and the two Floridas) granted the above land to Arrambide in complete and absolute ownership under the jurisdiction of the laws of the Indies, which gave the committee the right to dispose of lands not already peopled. All that was necessary for the grant to be validated was the following formality: "The city council of St. Augustine in obedience . . . [to the governor] . . . determined to grant the favor solicited by Arrambide, which was 'to dispatch to him the title of property of the said two leagues to the north of the river Miamis, which are on the northwest side of the Cayo Biscayno' ".<sup>8</sup>

Immediately after the awarding of the grant Arrambide settled upon it with a number of others, all from the island of Cuba, evidently with every intention to carry out the terms of the grant. As the actual point of settlement was left to Arrambide,<sup>9</sup> he chose a position "two miles north of the river of Miamis, which is at the northwest side of Cayo Biscayno."<sup>10</sup> The grant was thereafter usually associated with the settlement of Miami. John Lee Williams, in 1837, stated that "on the north side of the Miami, is located the large grant of Aronbede Arrambide of ninety thousand acres of land. It . . . embraces the head of the gulf, and the River Rattones, with the included plane that descends from the glades to the sea."<sup>11</sup> But unfortunately the settlement was abandoned after several years due to the hostility "of the Indians and fugitive negroes who infested that part of the country."<sup>12</sup>

On July 15, 1817, Arrambide made James Bixby his attorney, with full power to sell all, or any portion of the grant.<sup>13</sup> Bixby proceeded to negotiate a sale between Arrambide and an Archibald Clark (or Clarke). The sale was presumably consummated on December 1, 1817, for the sum of \$20,000.<sup>14</sup> However, only 80,000 of the 90,000 acres were assigned to Clark, no mention ever being made of the remaining 10,000 acres.<sup>15</sup> Nothing further was done by Clark regarding the improvement of the grant until the acquisition of Florida by the United States. Clark then presented his claim to the adjudication commission. Here lies the difficulty, for one Joseph Delespine also claims title to the same property.

Joseph Delespine, in presenting his rival claim to the commission, states that the grant was given to Arrambide, but was sold, through power of attorney, to "one George J. F. Clarke, a Spanish subject, according to the formalities required by the Spanish law, [on] April 29, 1820."<sup>16</sup> Delespine states further that Clark obtained permission from the then Governor of East Florida to have a survey of the land ordered but that Indian hostility to whites prevented the carrying out of the survey at the time. Clark then, on January 4, 1822, sold the property to a John B. Strong. Here there is a contradiction, for among other papers in the Delespine claim Strong is given as power of attorney for Arrambide, and not as actual purchaser of the property.<sup>18</sup> In any event Strong, whether he be an actual purchaser or attorney for Arrambide, sold or conveyed the grant to Joseph Delespine on February 25, 1822.<sup>19</sup> The grant contained, at this time, "92,162 acres, be the same, more or less", and the sale price was \$20,000.<sup>20</sup> Delespine now presented his claim before the adjudication commission at St. Augustine, seemingly in direct contradiction of the claim by Archibald Clark. But the commission referred both claims to Congress for its confirmation, as evidenced by the following decrees:

Pertaining to Archibald Clark's claim:

. . . the decree of the board . . . having ascertained the above claim to be a valid Spanish grant for the 80,000 acres made previous to January 24, 1818, do therefore recommend it to Congress for confirmation. December 15.<sup>21</sup>

Pertaining to Delespine's claim.

. . . the board having ascertained the above to be valid Spanish grant for the 92,160 acres, made previous to January 24, 1818, do therefore recommend it to Congress for confirmation. December 14.<sup>22</sup>

Thus the adjudication board actually approved both claims! Five years after the board recommended the validation of the two grants Congress provided for the settlement of the larger claims. Archibald Clark never petitioned the superior court of this district, the Superior Court of East Florida, asking for the confirmation of his grant. Since all petitions to this court had to be presented not later than the first Monday in December, 1829, Clark's claim became null and void after this date. Joseph Delespine did present his claim to the court, in November, 1830.

This court validated his claim, but the United States appealed to the United States Supreme Court. After much deliberation the Supreme Court reversed the verdict of the lower court. It declared the grant null and void for three reasons.<sup>23</sup> The conditions of the grant had not been met for there was no survey and no settlement as required. Delespine had not applied for validation previous to the December 1829 deadline. Finally the provincial council in Havana had no authority to make such large land grants. The land now reverted to the federal domain, later to be developed by many people into one of the three most important regions of Florida.

#### FOOTNOTES

<sup>1</sup> 8 *U.S. Statutes* 256 (1819). From Article 8 of the Treaty of Amity Settlement and Limits, Between the United States of America and his Catholic Majesty (Ratified on February 19, 1821).

<sup>2</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>3</sup> 3 *U.S. Statutes* 709 (1822).

<sup>4</sup> 4 *U.S. Statutes* 284 (1828).

<sup>5</sup> The Spanish governor, as the deputy of the King of Spain, was the sole judge of the merits of a grant and he had the undoubted power to reward the merits of the grantee. He also had the power to place conditions or restrictions upon the grant. 42 *United States Supreme Court Reports* 24.

<sup>6</sup> U. S., *American State Papers*, v. 4, Documents of the Congress of the U. S. in Relation to the Public Lands from the 1 sess, 18 Cong., to the 2d sess. 19th Cong., December 1, 1823 — March 3, 1827, Washington, 1859, p. 708.

<sup>7</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>8</sup> 40 *United States Supreme Court Reports* 319.

<sup>9</sup> Although, in the governor's decree, there may be no description of any place where the land granted should be located, still it is binding as far as it went — provided the land was vacant and without injury to third persons. 40 *United States Supreme Court Reports* 319.

<sup>10</sup> *American State Papers*, *op. cit.*, p. 710.

<sup>11</sup> John Lee Williams, *The Territory of Florida; or Sketches of the topography, civil and natural history, of the country, the climate, and the Indian tribes, from the first discovery to the present time, with a map, views, &c.*, New York, A. T. Goodrich, 1837.

<sup>12</sup> *American State Papers*, *op. cit.*

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 709.

<sup>14</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>15</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 710.

<sup>17</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>18</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 712.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 713.

<sup>20</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>21</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 709.

<sup>22</sup> *Ibid.*, p. 713.

<sup>23</sup> 40 *United States Supreme Court Reports* 319.

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# “Notes on the Passage Across the Everglades”

THE NEWS — St. Augustine: January 8, 1841

This anonymous author tells the story of the raid led by Colonel William S. Harney from Fort Dallas to the Mouth of the Miami River across the Everglades to Chakaika's Island. The raid and the killing of Chief Chakaika who had participated in a raid on Harney's post on the Caloosahatchee River on July 23, 1839, are well known. (See: *Tequesta*, Number Nine, 1949, Oliver Griswold, "William S. Harney: Indian Fighter," and *Tequesta*, Number XIII, William C. Sturtevant, "Chakaika and the Spanish Indians".) This day by day report of the expedition's activities adds only a few details to the known story of the encounter with Chakaika's band. But it is possibly the earliest account of a journey across the watery wilderness by a modern white man. The Indians had long been able to navigate the shallow winding channels with the shallow draft dugout canoes. Harney used canoes and Indian guides to follow the red man to his last hiding place. The island is located just south of the Tamiami Trail on the western edge of the Everglades near the Dade-Monroe County line. (EDITOR'S NOTE).

Colonel Harney, 2nd Dragoons, with Capt. Davidson, Lieuts. Rankin and Ord, 3rd Artillery, Dr. Russell, and myself, started from Fort Dallas with 90 men, and sixteen canoes. We left on the 4th of December, at night, and proceeded up the left prong of the Miami River. The night was very dark and rainy, and we met with considerable difficulty in ascending on account of the rapidity of the current and the shoal and rocky bed of the river. About a mile above the forks we came to a body of high saw grass, this continued for about a mile and a half, when we came in open view of the Everglades, and the grass became more scattered. The pine barren was kept close on our left, until we came to a small island on our left, when our course became more westerly; thus we continued until distant about eight miles from the mouth of the river, when Capt. Davidson becoming separated from us we halted to the leeward of an island which was entirely overflowed, and waited until he came up, where the night was passed in our open boats. It continued to rain nearly all night, and our situation was anything but comfortable.

Dec. 5 — By daylight this morning we were up and at it with our paddles; our course was generally West-South-West, but this we varied according to the direction of the channels, and our depth of water, till about 1 o'clock; the men being very much fatigued, having had to pull their boats through the mud and grass a greater part of the way, we insisted on

John, our guide, carrying us to some high land, where we might encamp and give the men a little rest. The officers had almost lost confidence in his knowledge of the country, as at one time he could not tell us in which direction the sun rose; and as we concluded not to follow him in the direction he was going any longer, he insisted that he was right, and that his object was to carry us where he could find the greatest depth of water, and that he could carry us a nearer way, but it was very shoal; which proved in the end to be correct, as he had not gone more than a few miles when it was with the greatest difficulty, we could move the boats. The Colonel called to him to stop, as he would go no further in that direction; but he insisted that the island was not more than a mile distant, and the Colonel suffered him to proceed. Sure enough, contrary to the expectations of us all, he in a short time halted at a low tuft of bushes, about half a mile in circumference, which seemed to us all to be entirely flooded with water, but after penetrating about 300 yards, we came to a magnificent little spot in its centre, about 150 yards in circumference, here we found an old Indian camp which evidently had been deserted for some months. It was encircled by a number of shrubs of the wild Pappaw; and two large and curious wild fig trees, about ten feet apart, decorated its centre. This is a remarkable tree; it first makes its appearance as the creeper, and seizes on the largest tree it can find, continuing to encircle it in its meshes until it deprives it of life, when it feeds upon the decayed matter and becomes a beautiful tree. These had each attacked a palmetto and one of them was dead, but the top of the other was still blooming in the centre, although completely surrounded. We hailed, with a great deal of pleasure, the touch of dry land, as we were wet to the skin; it having rained all day, and the wind blowing from the North. As soon as it became dark, we kindled a large fire-dried ourselves-got a good supper, eat it with a great deal of gussto-talked over what we had undergone, and what we intended to do-stretched ourselves on our blankets and slept soundly and sweetly, till daylight warned us to be up and a doing.

Dec. 6 — After getting some hot coffee, again started on our course. The day has cleared off beautifully, and we are moving slowly and silently along, in momentary expectation of falling in with some Indian canoes. John can see from the top of a tree the field from which he escaped, and we expect to have a devil of a fight when we get there. Nothing now presents itself to view except one boundless expanse of saw-grass and water, occasionally interspersed with little islands, all of which are overflowed, but the trees are in a green and flourishing state. No country that I have ever heard of bears any

resemblance to it; it seems like a vast sea, filled with grass and green trees, and expressly intended as a retreat for the rascally Indians, from which the white man would never seek to drive them. We have plenty of water at present, and go along with a great deal of ease. We reached the island, as expected at about 12 o'clock. When we came in sight, the Colonel took four canoes, with Lieut. Rankin, and went ahead, having first painted and dressed himself and men so much like Indians, that they could scarcely themselves detect the imposition. He directed Lieut. Ord to follow with the rest of the canoes, and Capt. Davidson, as he was unwell, to remain behind with the large boats. I was in the next canoe to Lieut. Ord, who, as he was turning to give some order to his men, lost his balance, and such a pretty summerset "I never did see;" he carried boat, provisions, ammunition, and guns all with him. When his head appeared on the surface of the water, he said to me, "go ahead with the boats;" I inserted my handkerchief in my mouth and evaporated. The order was to keep just in sight of the Colonel, and, in case he should not be able to manage the force on the island, to come to his assistance; but the delay threw me behind, and I soon lost sight of, and with the greatest difficulty found, the island. We had to wade through mud and water three or four hundred yards, up to our waists, before we gained dry land; here we found a corn field of about an acre, and the richest land I have ever seen, being one black heap of soil of endless depth. This island is called from the Indian name of the wild fig, "Ho-co-mo-thlocco." It being early we did not remain here long, but pushed on to another island, about seven miles distant, the usual stopping place of the Indian, when they visit Sam Jones, or go from his camp to the Spanish Indians; we arrived early in the evening; and had to wade 200 yard before we gained a footing; we found here signs of a few days old, where they had been cutting bushes. I ascended the top of a fig tree with John, and he pointed out to me our course, and the direction of the different islands. We could see, far to the South, the pine barren skirting the Everglades, and the tops of the grass and bushes burnt to make out the trail. The island, Ho-co-mo-thlocco, bears about East-South-East from this, and the island where we go to-morrow, about South-West and by South. This island is called "Efa-noc-co-chee," from a dog having died which was left here; it contains about half an acre of cleared land, but has never been cultivated, and is used alone as a camp ground.

7 Dec. — Off again; our course for a short distance was about north, then changed it to north west, and continued in this direction until we reached another Island, which is called Cochokeynchajo, from the name of an Indian

who cleared and cultivated it. It is distant from Efanoccochee about six miles, and its course is about north west. We found on this Island, the figure of an Indian drawn on a tree, and the figures S and 9. Which is the first indication of a white man's being among them. Being early when we arrived here, the Colonel, contrary to the opinion of the guide, determined not to remain here until night, but took Lieut. Ord ahead with him, and two canoes, to surprise the next Island. Following on with the rest of the boats, we had not gone more than a mile, when we lost the trail of their boats, and continued to wander to every point of the compass until late in the evening, when we made out to reach the Island from which we started about sun-set, and found John, who had returned for us. Considered ourselves very fortunate to reach this Island again, as we could not follow with any certainty our trails for one hundred yards. To the westward of this Island, the main body of water seems to change its course, and flow with some current to the Northwest, which induces us to think we were in the centre of the Everglades. It was late at night when we reached the Island, where Lieut. Ord had gone. But notwithstanding the thousand channels which flowed and wound in every direction, and although it was so dark that we could not distinguish land from water, John never once missed the track. Found on this Island, which is called by its owner Intaska, a large hut built of cypress bark, and under it a bed made of boards, coming in play very timely and was quickly appropriated. It is the largest and richest Island we have yet seen, and the various vegetables growing on it, such as pumpkins, beans, corn, &c.; and deer tracks were very numerous. Its course from Cochokeynchajo, N.N.West.

8 Dec. — We shall remain on Intaska until 4 o'clock this evening, when we will proceed to another Island which bears north  $10^{\circ}$  West from this, where we expect to surprise some Indians, as we can now see a large smoke in that direction. When we visit this, our course will then change to the southward, and we will make for their strong holds on the sea board.

9th Dec. — Yesterday about 12 o'clock when some were asleep and all silent, awaiting the time of starting, the Colonel called out from the top of a tree, that two canoes were approaching the Island on the south side. In a moment, all were up with their guns in hand; the boats were silently approaching, and we being on the other side, Lieut. Rankin was immediately ordered to man four canoes, and move slowly along to meet them. The grass was so high that the Indians did not discover him until within a few hundred yards, when they immediately wheeled their canoes and made off with all their strength. But there was no eluding our snake-like boats, and our tried

soldiers. They made the boats fairly jump out of the water. When within short distance, and seeing the Indians approaching a deep body of saw grass, our soldiers commenced a running fire, and soon disabled one of the men and overhauled him. The boats halted at the saw grass and the Indians leaped out; but our men were as quick as they were, and pursued them through it for some distance to a pond, where they disabled another, and accidentally wounded a squaw, who was endeavoring to escape with her child on her back. In another direction, they overhauled a squaw with a girl about 12 years old, and two small children; making in all, eight persons. None of them were killed; and as soon as we could get them through the mud to the boats, we returned. Col. Harney was looking on at the race from the top of a tree, and made the Island ring with his cheering. As soon as Lieut. Rankin started, I got a canoe and followed on and joined in the pursuit, but did get up before they had got into the grass. When we returned to the Island, the Colonel ordered rope to be made ready, and swung the two warriors to the top of a tall tree, where they now hang, "darkly painted on the crimson sky." The Indians report that Chakika is on an Island five miles from this with a strong force, and we will start about dark to attack him. Captain Davidson has been sick ever since we started, and he is now so ill that it is feared we will have to return on his account.

10th Dec. — The squaw is dead: she died about 12 o'clock, and we buried her on the Island. Shortly after, the other squaw reported that another party was coming on the same tract that they came. The Colonel sent out Lieuts. Rankin and Ord, (I accompanying,) to intercept them, but after waiting until nearly sun-set, we had to return without meeting any of them. As soon as the sun went down, the camp was broken up, and we were again on the water. The night was very dark and rainy, and the guide could, with the greatest difficulty, keep in the trail. When we were within a few miles of the Island, the Colonel sent Lieuts. Rankin and Ord ahead to surprise the Island. They did not reach it until some time after sun-rise; but such was the confidence of the Indians in their own security, that our party were not discovered until they had crept up into their camp, and commenced firing. One warrior was shot dead, and two warriors, one boy, and five squaws and children taken prisoners. Chakika, who was chopping wood, threw down his axe and ran off howling; but his hour had come; notwithstanding his herculean strength, he could not escape. Hall, one of the Dragoons, pursued him alone when all the men were exhausted, fired and killed him, took his scalp, and returned. Two warriors escaped, and Lieut. Ord discovering their trail, pursued them

to another Island, about four miles distant, where there were a number of squaws and three or four warriors. On his approach, the Indians hoisted a white flag, and called to John to come up and talk; but while he was approaching with Lieut. Ord, he was shot through the thigh, and at the same time one of the Dragoons, (Allen) was dangerously wounded in the thigh, and Turner in the leg. A great number of balls were fired at Lieut. Ord, but none struck him, In approaching, the men had to wade about two miles in water and mud up to their hips; and when they came up, were so much exhausted and the guns nearly all wet, that they had to retire under the cover of a small scrub, about four hundred yards distant. When Col. Harney heard the firing, he sent Lieut. Rankin and myself with two canoes, to his assistance, and when we had got in about a mile of Lieut. Ord, we met John all bloody, who reported that one man was killed, and that they were firing rapidly, and that we could not approach with our canoes. We immediately jumped out and hastened forward as rapid as we could through the deep mud and water. When we got up. Lieut. Rankin attempted to charge with his men, but three of them were wounded at the first fire, and he was forced to retire and await the arrival of Col. Harney. The balls flew thick around our heads, and the Indians behaved with a great deal of coolness. Their object of firing was to give the squaws time to escape. When Colonel Harney came up, we charged the Island, but they had all escaped from the back part, and taken off most of their plunder. The circumstance was very unfortunate to the expedition, as the Indians who escaped communicated the intelligence to the other Islands, and put them on their guard. Shortly after our return to Chakika's Island, a canoe was seen approaching with two Indians in it. The Colonel immediatley despatched Lieut. Rankin with two canoes, to pursue them; but, before he got up they had got up. They had approached and taken an Indian or Spaniard, who was concealed in the high grass and hastened off. — Lieut. Rankin pursued them closely for about three miles, and gained on them so closely that a rifle was fired by the Indians, and the ball passed very near Lieut. R. Unfortunately the boat disappeared, and the guns all got wet, and the pursuit was discontinued. We are now laying here to give the men some rest, as they have almost all given out, having been in hot pursuit for several days. Col. Harney went out about half and hour ago after Chakika's body, and discovering a sail approaching, he hid his canoes in the grass until they came up, and captured one warrior and six squaws and children — which makes our whole number of killed and captured, twenty-five. We have now crossed the long fabled and unknown Everglades, at least as far as we can go in boats in this direction. A large cypress swamp

extends for many miles along the border, running north-east and south-west the great resort for the Indians, where they build their canoes. This evening, the Colonel had our two prisoners exalted to the top of one of the lookout trees, with the body of Chakika by their side. We found in Chakika's camp a large quantity of plunder, consisting of cloths, linnens, calicoes, ready made clothing, all kinds of tools, powder, &c. &c.; and had an auction of them which amounted to upwards of \$200. The articles were stolen from Indian Key at the time of the massacre. We also got a fine barge, and a great quantity of coonti.

11th Dec. — Our tent or shed was pitched last night within a short distance of the tree on which Chakika was suspended. The night was beautiful, and the bright rising moon displayed to my view as I lay on my bed, the gigantic proportions of this once great and much dreaded warrior. He is said to have been the largest Indian in Florida, and the sound of his very name to have been a terror to his Tribe. We have among the captives, his mother, sister, and wife. Left Chakika's Island about 10 o'clock this morning and are now returning as far as Intaska, in a south-easterly direction, when we will change our course to the south-west and make for the sea.

12th Dec. — we continued our course to the South-East until we passed Intaska, when we changed direction one point to the West of South, and encamped, at sunset, on an island of about three acres in extent. Met with nothing here except an innumerable host of mosquitoes. The sister of Chakika informed us that there were three Spaniards in the Everglades, Who supplied the Indians with salt and ammunition; one of them, Domingo, advised them to attack Indian Key, and insured their success. Started about 11 o'clock this morning in a South-West direction, and had not gone more than five miles when we approached a small island, on which we had no idea that there were Indians, but on coming up we found a large yawl boat, killed two Indian men, and took one squaw and seven children prisoner. Lieutenants Rankin and Ord hurried on to an island about two miles distant, where they found a great number of palmetto huts, very well thatched, and a number of plantins and banana trees, but the Indians had gone some time before. The squaw could talk English very well, and informed us that 4 women had gone to an island, a short distance off, to dig potatoes, and the Colonel sent a Serjeant with a few men after them, but could not find them. We remained until 4 o'clock in the evening, when we saw a boy approaching, who had been fishing; the boats laid in the grass until he came near, when they came out took him without any resistance. Left a Sergeant, with two boats, at this island,

to wait until the women came up, and we are now on our way to the next island, which is four or five miles distant. The island has turned out to be the town Lieut. Rankin visited this morning, and not more than two miles distant.

13th Dec. — The morning has come, and the Sergeant returned without finding the squaw. The Colonel sent Lts. Rankin and Ord ahead, this morning, to an island which is almost in our course, and we are now following in a Southerly direction. The day is rainy and disagreeable. We arrived in the evening at another, where we encamped; and also passed one on our way.

14th Dec. — We have started again on our journey, and expect to reach the head of Shark River to-day; and to-morrow get a sight of the big water, Thank God, we won't have to wade to another island, although there are several in our way. The Indians may assault and give us a crack before we get out, which would annoy us very much in our present incumbered state. This is the prettiest day we have had since starting. I forgot to notice the death of poor Allen, who was wounded, he died on the evening of the 11th, and, on the morning of the 12th, was buried on Chakika's island, with the honors of war. He is the only one of our party we have left in the glades as yet.

15th Dec. — We reached the head of the river which the Indians call Poncha about 4 o'clock yesterday evening, and hailed it with three cheers. We have now accomplished what has never been done by white man. The head of the river was at first choked up with cane and weeds, but we had not gone more than a mile when it opened out most beautifully into a broad and navigable river. Continued down it till late at night, but the guide losing his way, we encamped in our boats and waited till morning, when we went ashore on a high bluff, and got out breakfast. We shall reach the sea by 12. We have been twelve days and twelve nights crossing, Reached the mouth of the river about half after twelve. Its course was about West, and empties into the sea by two or three mouths. The bars are very shallow, and not navigable for steamboats. This is the only outlet of the water of the Everglades on this side of the Peninsula. We did not remain long at the mouth, but rigged our sails and went on about sixteen miles and encamped on a point of the beach; here we caught a number of opossums, which seemed to be the only inhabitant. The sun set on the sea most beautifully, and threw its variegated rays over the dense forest of mangrove, which bounds the whole coast.

16th Dec. — We remained here until about 12 o'clock today and I amused myself collecting the beautiful shells which cover the beach. We reached Cape Sable, the most Southern point of the Territory about 5 o'clock, and the men are busied in building fires and forming the camp.

17th Dec. — Here at Cape Sable, is the site of Old Fort Poinsett, established by Surgeon Genl. Lawson. The breast works are made of sand. The prospect is very pretty, as you can see a number of Keys to the Southward. Chakika's wife informs me that this used to be the great resort of the Indians when on their fishing and turtle excursions, as well as among the neighboring Keys. We have been laying here all day in the sand; the day has been very warm.

18th Dec. — Lieuts. Ord and Rankin went to an island yesterday, about seven miles distant, and they have not yet returned. The officers have returned, and we left the Cape this evening (18th) and travelled on until late, when we anchored under the lee of some nameless Key, and fastened onto an old turtle crawl. We spent here the most disagreeable night we have had since starting; having to sleep in the open boats, piled up with squaws and children, and the wind blowing very cold from the north-west. However we weathered it out, and started very early on the 19th, and at night encamped on Matacumbra in sight of Indian Key, where we are now encamped. On starting from the camp, Lieuts. Rankin and Ord were sent ahead with the small canoes on a nearer tract. We hear they have reached Indian Key, as the Colonel sent a boat there last night. He has now gone up himself to charter a vessel, or make some other arrangement for our conveyance to Key Biscayne. — The labors of our expedition, I think, are over, and we will soon have accomplished the most arduous, dangerous, and successful expedition that has ever been undertaken in Florida. Every thing seemed to operated favorably towards us. We invariably had a dark night to aid us. whenever we intended to surprise an Indian camp.

20th Dec. — We are now on board the sloop Reform, on our way to Key Biscayne. Well, we are once more safe at our post.

## The Association's Historical Marker Program

In ceremonies on Sunday afternoon, April 3, 1960, a historical marker was dedicated at Grace Methodist Church, 6500 North Miami Avenue, Miami, Florida. Mr. Gaylord L. Price, chairman of the Association's historical marker committee, presided. The marker was unveiled by Mr. Charles E. Bragg, Jr., chairman of the official board of the church and Mr. Loy Morrow, lay leader of the church. Dr. Charles T. Thrift, Jr., President of Florida Southern College and a regional vice-president of the Historical Association, made the dedicatory address. Judge Ray H. Pearson, chairman of the Board of Trustees of the Church, accepted the marker from Mr. Wayne E. Withers, president of the Association, who made the presentation.

### GRACE METHODIST CHURCH

Oldest church in continuous service in Dade County. This sanctuary, built in 1959 is the third. The second was built in 1905 at 6311 N. E. 2nd Ave., after a hurricane destroyed the first. The original church was built in 1893 where an Indian trail (N. E. 61st St.) crossed Military Trail (N. E. 5th Ave.) in Lemon City. The church was named Lemon City Methodist by its founders who had met for several years in Pierce's sponge warehouse on Biscayne Bay. This pioneer church was renamed Grace in 1934, nine years after Lemon City became a part of Miami.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA—1960

## Contributors

VAUGHAN CAMP, JR., is a member of the Social Science faculty at the University of Miami. He was a graduate student at the University of North Carolina and the University of Florida, doing research in Florida history at both institutions.

MRS. BESSIE WILSON DuBOIS, of Jupiter, Florida, has made a hobby (she calls it an obsession) of collecting the materials for the history of the Jupiter-Juno area. Her family has been associated with the area since the 19th century. Her husband and his father often took the job of ferrying the year's supply of oil from the beach to the lighthouse.

HENRY S. MARKS studied history at the University of Miami and the University of Florida and is currently a doctoral candidate in history at the University of Alabama. He contributed an article on land grants to the 1958 *Tequesta*.

WILLIAM J. SCHELLINGS, PH. D., University of Florida, is a member of the history faculty at the Norfolk branch of William and Mary University. He had articles in the 1955 and 1957 *Tequesta*.

## HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA

## TREASURER'S REPORT

FISCAL YEAR ENDING AUGUST 31, 1960

On Hand September 1, 1959

## Current Assets:

Museum Building Fund (In interest bearing bank deposits) :

(1) Savings Account .....	\$26,555.45		
(2) Savings Certificates .....	3,000.00		

General Fund (In non-interest bearing bank deposit) .....	902.58		
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Securities at current market .....	2,326.00		
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Contribution to Museum Building Fund Receivable .....	1,000.00		
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Non-Association Publications on Hand for Sale.....	674.70		
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Tequestas on Hand .....	743.00	\$35,201.73	
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## Fixed Assets:

Furniture & Fixtures .....	222.67		
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Audio-Visual Equipment .....	518.45		
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Illustrated Lecture .....	437.17	1,178.29	\$36,380.02
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Contributions to Museum Building Fund Received.....	90.00		
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Contributions of Securities .....	\$649.14		
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Less Depreciation of Securities since 8-31-59 .....	614.52	34.62	34.62
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Total Contributions .....		124.62	
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Dues Collected .....	5,516.93		
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Income from Books (Non-Association) .....	672.91		
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Sale of Prior Tequestas .....	84.00		
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Interest on Bank Deposits .....	881.71		
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Dividends on Securities .....	79.55		
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Miscellaneous Income .....	62.21		
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Total other income .....		7,297.31	
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		<u>7,421.93</u>	
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HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA  
**TREASURER'S REPORT (Continued)**

Less Disbursements:			
Marker Program .....	\$	287.00	
Tequestas on Hand, Sept. 1, 1959	\$743.00		
Publication cost of Tequesta.....	859.36	\$1,602.36	
Less—Tequestas on hand.....	742.00	860.36	
Program Meetings .....		745.26	
Secretarial Expense .....		330.00	
President's Newsletter .....		392.60	
Library .....		93.09	
Non-Association Publications on hand for sale, Sept. 1, 1959 ----	\$674.70		
Purchase of Books (for sale) ----	370.32	\$1,045.02	
Less—Publications on hand --	596.66	448.36	
Sales Tax .....		14.93	
Miscellaneous Expense .....		702.43	
Office Supplies, Printing .....		23.20	
Incidental Expense—Executive Secretary.....		86.05	3,983.28
Net Income for Fiscal Year .....			3,438.65
			<u>\$39,818.67</u>
On Hand August 31, 1960			
Current Assets:			
Museum Building Fund (In interest bearing bank deposits) :			
(1) Savings Account .....	\$29,277.16		
(2) Savings Certificates .....	3,000.00		
General Fund (In non-interest bearing bank deposit) .....			
Securities at current market .....	863.94		
Contribution to Museum Building Fund Receivable	2,360.62		
Non-Association Publications on hand for sale.....	1,000.00		
Tequestas on hand .....	596.66		
	742.00	\$37,840.38	
Fixed Assets:			
Furniture & Fixtures .....	\$	222.67	
Audio-Visual Equipment .....		568.45	
Illustrated Lecture .....		437.17	
Architect's Plans .....		750.00	1,978.29
Total Net Worth .....			<u>\$39,818.67</u>

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

ROBERT M. McKEY, *Treasurer.*

Total Members for 1960 (as of Aug. 31, 1960) 528  
 Total 1960 Dues Collected (as of Aug. 31, 1960) \$5,241.93

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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 the names of those persons and institutions that have paid dues in 1959, or in 1960 before September 30 when this material must go to the press. Those joining after this date in 1960 will have their names included in the 1961 roster. The symbol \*\* indicates founding member and symbol \* indicates charter member.*

## Sustaining

- Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables  
 Albertson Public Library, Orlando  
 Aldrich, Miss Pearl, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Aldridge, Miss Daisy, Miami  
 Allen, Joe, Key West  
 Allison, Mrs. John D., Miami  
 American Museum of Natural History  
 Anderson, Robert H., Miami  
 Anthony, Roscoe T., Palm Beach  
 Archer, Ben, Homestead  
 Arnold, Glenn H., Atlanta, Ga.  
 Arnold, Mrs. Roger Williams, Miami  
 Atkins, C. Clyde, Miami  
 Avery, George N., Big Pine Key  
 Ayars, Erling E., Miami  
 Baker, Mrs. Therese, Stuart  
 Barker, Mrs. Edwin J., Miami  
 Bartow Public Library  
 Baskin, M. A., Coral Gables  
 Bassett, Rex, Jr., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Bathe, Greville, St. Augustine  
 Baum, Dr. Earl L., Naples  
 Baxter, John M., Miami\*  
 Beal, K. Malcolm, Miami\*  
 Beardsley, Jim E., Clewiston  
 Beck, Mrs. Alfred J., Ft. Lauderdale\*  
 Beckham, W. H., Jr., Coral Gables  
 Bellous, C. M., Jr., Opa Locka  
 Beyer, R. C., Miami  
 Bills, Mrs. John T., Miami  
 Bingham, Mrs. Millicent T., Washington,  
 D. C.  
 Bishop, Edwin G., Miami\*  
 Blackburn, Elmer E., Miami  
 Blaine, Rev. B. Michael, Melbourne  
 Blanton, Judge W. F., Miami  
 Blassingame, Wyatt, Anna Maria  
 Blouvelt, Mrs. Arthur M., Coral Gables  
 Board of County Commissioners, Bartow  
 Bowman, Rt. Rev. Marion, St. Leo  
 Boyd, Dr. Mark F., Tallahassee\*  
 Bozeman, Major R. E., St. Petersburg  
 Bradfield, E. S., Miami Beach\*\*  
 Brady, Mrs. H. R., Key Biscayne  
 Brantner, Mrs. Wilma, Marathon  
 Brickell, Miss Maude E., Miami  
 Brigham, Miss Florence S., Miami  
 Brody, Maurice S., Miami  
 Brook, John, Jr., Coral Gables  
 Brookfield, Charles M., Miami\*  
 Brooks, J. R., Homestead  
 Brooks, Marvin J., Miami  
 Brown University Library  
 Bruninga, W. Henry, Miami  
 Buhler, Mrs. J. E., Miami  
 Bullen, Ripley P., Gainesville  
 Burghard, August, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Burrell, William, Jr., Miami  
 Burton, Mrs. Robert A., Miami\*  
 Bush, Mrs. Franklin C., Coral Gables\*  
 Bush, R. S., Miami  
 Busse, Raymond J., Miami  
 Byrd, Mrs. J. Wade, Miami  
 Caldwell, Thomas P., Coral Gables\*\*  
 Caldwell, Mrs. Thomas P., Coral Gables\*  
 Campbell, Park H., South Miami\*  
 Campbell, Mrs. Park H., South Miami\*  
 Capel, Fred B., Coral Gables  
 Capron, Louis, West Palm Beach  
 Carnine, Miss Helen M., Coral Gables  
 Carson, Mrs. Ruby Leach, Miami\*\*  
 Cartee, Mrs. Horace L., Coral Gables  
 Carter, Kenneth W., Grosse Point Woods,  
 Mich.  
 Catlow, Mrs. William R., Jr., Westfield,  
 N. J.\*  
 Central Florida Museum, Orlando  
 Chance, Michael, Naples  
 Cheetham, Joseph W., Miami  
 Clark, Jerry C., Miami

- Close, Kenneth, Coral Gables  
 Coconut Grove Library  
 Cole, R. B., Miami  
 Combs, Mrs. Walter H., Sr., Miami\*  
 Comerford, Miss Nora A., Coral Gables  
 Connell, Maurice H. & Associates, Miami  
 Connor, Mrs. A. W., Tampa  
 Cook, John B., Miami  
 Coral Gables Public Library\*  
 Corley, Miss Pauline, Miami\*\*  
 Coslow, George R., Miami  
 Covington, Dr. James W., Tampa  
 Craighead, F. C., Homestead  
 Criswell, Col. Grover C., Pass-A-Grille  
 Beach  
 Cummings, Rev. Geo. W., Venice  
 Cushman, The School, Miami\*  
 Dalenberg, George R., Miami  
 Darrow, Miss Dorothy, Coral Gables  
 Davis, Hal D., Coral Gables  
 De Boe, Mrs. Mizpah Otto, Coral Gables  
 Deedmeyer, George J., Miami\*  
 Deedmeyer, Mrs. George J., Miami  
 de Lamorton, Fred, Tampa  
 De Nies, Charles F., Hudson, Mich.  
 Dismukes, Dr. Wm. Paul, Coral Gables\*  
 Dodd, Miss Dorothy, Tallahassee\*  
 Dorn, H. Lewis, South Miami  
 Dorn, Harold W., South Miami  
 Dorn, Mrs. Mabel W., South Miami  
 Dorothy, Mrs. Caroline, Coral Gables\*  
 DuBois, Mrs. Bessie W., Jupiter  
 Dunaway, Mrs. Carl E., Miami\*  
 Dykes, Robert J., Miami  
 Eaton, Judge Joe, Miami  
 Eckel, Mrs. Frederick L., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Elder, Dr. S. F., Miami\*  
 Emerson, William C., Rome, N. Y.  
 Everglades Natural History Association,  
 Homestead  
 Fairchild, Mrs. David, Miami\*  
 Fenn, Abbott T., Salisbury, Vt.  
 Fite, Robert H., Miami  
 Fitzgerald, Dr. Joseph H., New York City  
 Fitzpatrick, Monsignor John F., Ft.  
 Lauderdale  
 Florida Southern College, Lakeland  
 Florida State Library, Tallahassee  
 Fortner, Ed., Miami  
 Freeland, Mrs. William L., Miami\*\*  
 Freeling, J. S., Miami  
 Freeling, Mrs. J. S., Miami  
 Freeman, Mrs. Ethel C., Morristown, N. J.  
 Freeman, Harley L., Ormond Beach  
 Frey, Mrs. Edith J., Miami\*  
 Frutkoff, Theodore, Coral Gables  
 Fullerton, R. C., Coral Gables  
 Fuzzard, Miss Jessie M., Miami\*  
 Gannaway, Mrs. K. C., Miami  
 Gautier, Thomas N., Miami  
 Gelber, Seymour, Miami Beach  
 Gibson, Mrs. Walter C., Miami\*  
 Gifford, Mrs. John C., Miami\*  
 Glenn, Roscoe E., Miami  
 Godfrey, Clyde, Miami  
 Goodwill, William F., Coral Gables  
 Greenfield, Arnold M., Miami  
 Griffen, F. S., Miami  
 Griggs, Mrs. Nelson W., Miami Shores  
 Griswold, Oliver, Miami  
 Hall, A. Y., Punta Gorda  
 Hall, Willis E., Coral Gables  
 Hallstead, P. Frederick, Marathon  
 Halstead, W. L., Miami  
 Hampton, Mrs. John, Sparks, Md.\*  
 Hancock, Mrs. J. T., Okeechobee  
 Handler, Frances Clark, Miami  
 Harding, Col. Read B., Arcadia  
 Harllee, J. William, Miami  
 Harlow, Rev. Frank E., Coral Gables  
 Harlow, Mrs. Frank E., Coral Gables  
 Harrington, Frederick H., Hialeah  
 Hart, Mrs. Reginald, Coral Gables  
 Hartnett, Fred B., Coral Gables\*  
 Harvard College Library  
 Havee, Justin P., Miami\*  
 Havee, Mrs. Kathryn, Miami  
 Heinlein, Mrs. Mary C., Homestead  
 Hellier, Walter R., Ft. Pierce  
 Hendry, Judge Norman, Miami  
 Herin, Thomas D., Miami  
 Herin, Judge Wm. A., Miami\*  
 Hess, Mrs. E. L., Miami  
 Hill, Mrs. A. Judson, Miami  
 Hills, Lee, Miami  
 Hillsborough County Historical Commission,  
 Tampa  
 Hodson, Mrs. Harry, Miami  
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Miami  
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Jr., Miami  
 Holland, Cecil P., Miami  
 Holland, Hon. Spessard L., Washington,  
 D. C.\*  
 Holmdale, Mrs. A. G., Miami  
 Hooker, Roland M., Miami Beach  
 Houghton, Mrs. A. S., Miami  
 Hubbell, Willard, Miami  
 Hughes, Mrs. Fleda V., Miami  
 Humphreys, Mrs. D. M., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.  
 Isom, Rudolph, Miami  
 Jacksonville Free Public Library  
 James, Ernest W., Miami  
 Jones, Mrs. L. A., Miami\*  
 Jones, Mrs. Mary A., Miami  
 Kelley, Mrs. Floy W., West Palm Beach  
 Kendall, Harold E., Goulds  
 Kent, Mrs. Frederick A., Miami

- Kent, Selden G., Miami  
 Kenyon, Alfred, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Key West Art and Historical Society  
 King, Dr. C. Harold, Miami  
 King, Mrs. Otis S., Miami  
 Kislak, Jay I., Miami  
 Kitchens, Dr. F. E., Coral Gables  
 Knight, Telfair, Coral Gables  
 Knowles, Mrs. J. H., Miami  
 Kofoed, Jack, Miami  
 Kohl, Mrs. Lavenia, Palm Beach  
 Lake Worth Public Library  
 Lane, Geraldine B., Miami  
 Laxon, Dan D., Hialeah  
 Leffler, Admiral C. D., Miami  
 Lemon City Public Library & Improvement  
 Association, Miami  
 Leon County Public Library, Tallahassee  
 Lewis, Miss Carlotta, Coral Gables  
 Leyden, Mrs. Louise, Coral Gables  
 Lindsey Hopkins Vocational School  
 Lindsley, A. R., Miami Beach  
 Littlefield, Miss Helena, Miami  
 Lochrie, Robert B., Jr., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Longshore, Frank, Miami  
 Lucinian, Dr. Joseph H., Miami Beach  
 Lummus, J. N., Jr., Miami  
 Lummus, Tom J., Miami  
 Lyell, Dr. Robert O., Miami  
 Lyell, Mrs. Robert O., Miami  
 Lynch, S. John, Sarasota\*  
 MacDonald, Miss Barbara, Miami  
 MacDonald, Miss Betty, Miami  
 Manley, Miss Marion L., Miami  
 Manly, Albert B., Homestead  
 Manly, Charles W., Miami  
 Manning, Mrs. Wm. S., Jacksonville  
 Mansfield, William N., Miami Beach  
 Marchman, Watt P., Fremont, Ohio\*  
 Marks, Henry S., Hollywood  
 Martin, Mrs. Kirby A., New York, N. Y.  
 Martin, Melbourne L., Coral Gables  
 Mason, Mrs. Joe J., Miami  
 Mason, Dr. Walter Scott, Jr., Miami\*  
 May, Philip S., Jacksonville  
 McCune, Adrian, Miami Beach  
 McDonald, Mrs. John Martyn, Miami Beach  
 McGregor, Angus H., Miami  
 McKay, Col. D. B., Tampa  
 McKee, Arthur, Jr., Tavernier  
 McKim, Mrs. L. H., Montreal, Canada  
 McNicoll, Dr. Robert E., Gainesville\*  
 McNeill, Robert E., Jr., New York, N. Y.  
 Merrick, Mrs. Eunice P., Coral Gables\*  
 Merritt, Dr. Webster, Jacksonville  
 Miami Edison Senior Library  
 Miami Public Library\*  
 Miami Senior High School Library  
 Miami Springs Memorial Public Library  
 Mikesell, Ernest E., Miami  
 Miller, Raymond M., Miami\*  
 Mission of Nombre Dios, St. Augustine  
 Mitchell, C. J., Stonington, Conn.  
 Mitchell, Harry James, Key West  
 Monk, J. Floyd, Miami  
 Moore, Dr. Castles W., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Moulds, Andrew J., Coral Gables  
 Moulds, Mrs. Andrew J., Coral Gables  
 Muir, William W., Miami  
 Muller, Dr. L. R., Miami\*  
 Munroe, Wirth M., Miami\*  
 Murray, Mrs. Julian E., Miami  
 Murtha, Miss Mary, Miami  
 Nelson, Mrs. Winifred H., Miami  
 Newberry Library, Chicago, Ill.  
 Newman, Mrs. Anna Pearl, Vero Beach  
 Norris, Hardgrove, Miami  
 Northington, Dr. Page, Miami  
 North Miami High School Library  
 Pace, Mrs. Johnson H., Miami\*  
 Pace, Rev. Johnson H., Jr., Jacksonville  
 Padgett, Inman, Coral Gables  
 Palm Beach County Historical Society  
 Pancoast, Lester C., Miami  
 Pardo, Mrs. Ramiro V., Miami  
 Parker, Alfred B., Miami  
 Parsons, Mrs. Frances G., Miami\*  
 Patrick, Dr. Rembert W., Gainesville  
 Patterson, George L., Jr., Miami  
 Pearce, Mrs. Dixon, Miami  
 Peirce, Gertrude C., Miami  
 Pemberton, Mrs. P. G., Miami  
 Pendergast, Mrs. Eleanor L., Miami\*  
 Pendleton, Robert S., Miami  
 Peters, Mrs. Thelma, Miami\*  
 Philbrick, W. L., Miami  
 Pierce, Miss Ruby Edna, Palm Beach  
 Platt, T. Beach, Miami  
 Plowden, Gene, Miami  
 Poling, Frances W., Miami  
 Prael, William, Miami  
 Prevatt, Preston G., Miami  
 Price, Gaylord L., Miami  
 Prince, J. W., Naples  
 Prunty, John W., Miami  
 Quigley, Ellen N., Miami Beach  
 Railey, F. G., Miami\*  
 Railey, Mrs. F. G., Miami\*  
 Rasmussen, Dr. Edwin L., Dock Hill, Miss.\*\*  
 Reed, Miss Elizabeth Ann, Delray Beach  
 Reese, Mrs. J. H., North Miami  
 Reynolds, Mrs. H. Jarvis, Coral Gables  
 Rivett, Lois C., Miami  
 Riviera Beach Library  
 Robertson, Mrs. L. B., Miami  
 Rollins College Library  
 Rose, Harvey K., Miami  
 Rosner, George W., Coral Gables\*

- Ross, Mrs. Richard F., Boca Raton  
 Santanello, M. C., Kendall  
 Sapp, Alfred E., Miami  
 Saunders, Dr. Lewis M., Miami  
 Sawyer, Clifton A., Warwick, R. I.  
 Saye, Roland A., Jr., Miami Beach  
 Schubert, Andrew F., Jr., Miami  
 Schultz, Mrs. Joseph L., Miami  
 Sells, Arthur M., Miami  
 Sessa, Dr. Frank B., Miami  
 Sevelius, E. A., Miami  
 Shappee, Dr. N. D., Miami  
 Shaw, G. N., Miami  
 Shaw, Henry O., Miami  
 Shaw, Miss Luelle, Miami\*  
 Shepard, L. C., Coral Gables  
 Simon, Stuart L., Miami  
 Sisters of St. Joseph, St. Augustine  
 Slaughter, Dr. Frank G., Jacksonville  
 Smith, Gilbert B., Coral Gables  
 Snodgrass, Miss Dena, Jacksonville  
 Southern Illinois University, Carbondale  
 Southgate, Howard, Winter Park  
 Sparks, Mrs. Charles, Fortville, Ind.  
 Speer, H. L., Starke  
 Spinks, Mrs. Elizabeth J., Miami\*  
 State Historical Society of Wisconsin  
 State University of Iowa Library  
 Steel, Wm. C., Miami  
 Sterling, Ray T., Miami  
 Stern, David S., Miami  
 Stetson University Library, DeLand  
 Stevens, Mrs. T. T., Miami  
 Straight, Dr. William M., Miami  
 Stranahan, Mrs. Frank, Ft. Lauderdale\*  
 Stripling Insurance Agency, Hialeah  
 Strong, Clarence E., Miami\*  
 Talley, Howard J., Miami  
 Tampa Public Library  
 Taylor, Henry H., Jr., Miami  
 Teachers' Professional Library, Miami  
 Tebeau, Charlton W., Coral Gables\*  
 Tebeau, Mrs. Violet H., Coral Gables  
 Ten Eick, Mrs. M. Nunez, Tampa\*  
 Tennessee State Library and Archives  
 Tharp, Charles Doren, Miami\*  
 Thomas, Arden H., Miami  
 Thrift, Dr. Charles T., Jr., Lakeland  
 Tietze, Robert A., Coral Gables  
 Tietze, Mrs. Robert A., Coral Gables  
 Tonkin, Mrs. Mary E., Coral Gables  
 Toombs, Mrs. Betty L., Miami  
 Turner, Vernon W., Homestead  
 Tussey, Mrs. Ethel W., Miami  
 Ullman, John, Jr., Ft. Lauderdale  
 University of Florida, Gainesville  
 University of Miami Library, Coral Gables  
 University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia  
 University of South Florida, Tampa  
 University of Tampa Library  
 University of Tennessee Library, Knoxville  
 Valentine, Mrs. J. Manson, Miami  
 Vance, Mrs. Herbert O., Coral Gables\*  
 Wachter, Jack, Miami  
 Walsh, Mrs. Charles H., Winter Haven  
 Walters, Walter M., Coral Gables  
 Warner, Miss Elmina, Miami  
 Warner, William C., Miami  
 Warner, Mrs. William C., Miami  
 Washington, James G., Miami  
 Waters, Fred M., Jr., Coral Gables  
 Watson, P. L., Miami Beach  
 Wenner, Henry S., Jr., Miami  
 Wentworth, T. T., Jr., Pensacola  
 West India Reference Library, Kingston,  
 Jamaica  
 Wheeler, B. B., Lake Placid  
 White, Mrs. Louise V., Key West  
 White, Richard M., Miami  
 Wight, William S., Coral Gables  
 Wilgus, Dr. A. Curtis, Gainesville  
 Will, Lawrence E., Belle Glade  
 Williams, Dr. H. Franklin, Coral Gables\*  
 Willing, R. B., Miami  
 Wilson, Albert B., Miami  
 Wilson, F. Page, Miami  
 Wilson, Gaines R., Miami\*\*  
 Wilson, Mrs. Gaines R., Miami  
 Wilson, Peyton L., Miami\*  
 Wilson, Miss Virginia, Miami  
 Wirth, Miss Josephine, Miami\*  
 Withers, Charles E., Coral Gables  
 Withers, James G., Coral Gables  
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