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# Tequesta:

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## William Adee Whitehead's Reminiscences of Key West

*Edited by* THELMA PETERS

William Adee Whitehead, a young civil engineer, went to Key West from New Jersey in 1828 to be with his brother John, a property owner and merchant in the little island city. With a multiplicity of talents and a lively interest in his surroundings William entered wholeheartedly into the life of the community. In 1829 he was employed to make an official survey of the island, and the following year, still under age, he was appointed collector of customs, a position he held until he moved away from Florida in 1833, at which time he was also serving as mayor. In 1835, to a request for information about Key West from a gentleman in St. Augustine, he responded with a four-thousand-word descriptive, historical, and economic report.<sup>1</sup> His pencil sketches of the town are almost as detailed as photographs and remain the best pictorial record we have of early Key West.<sup>2</sup>

After he left Florida Whitehead engaged in business in New York City and in Newark, New Jersey, and seemingly prospered. But he was more than a business man, he was always something of a scholar. He became a charter member of a historical society in New Jersey and steadily pursued the study and writing of local history. For thirty years he also made meteorological observations which he reported at intervals to a New York news-

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<sup>1</sup> Whitehead's report to the "gentleman in St. Augustine" is given in its entirety in Rembert W. Patrick, editor: "William Adee Whitehead's Description of Key West," *Tequesta*, XII (1952), 61-72.

<sup>2</sup> Two of Whitehead's pencil sketches of Key West are reproduced in Jefferson B. Browne: *Key West The Old and The New*, The Record Company, St. Augustine, 1912.

paper and to the Smithsonian Institution.<sup>3</sup> Though he never returned to Florida he never lost interest in Key West. When his son and his brother John returned from a visit to the island in 1864 he must have enjoyed listening to an account of their experiences. He must have been pleased knowing that his family name of Whitehead, his own given name and the given names of his sisters and brother, Caroline, Margaret, Emma, and Thomas were all perpetuated as street names in Key West.

When the first published history of Key West, *A Sketch of the History of Key West* by Walter C. Maloney, made its appearance in the Fall of 1876 Whitehead immediately acquired a copy. The year that Whitehead left Key West was the year Maloney arrived there. Whether the two men met is not known but they surely corresponded. Whitehead's memories of his youth were stirred by Maloney's *Sketch* and he began to write *his* reminiscences. These were printed serially in a Key West newspaper, *Key of the Gulf*, in 1877. Whitehead had his copy of Maloney rebound so as to include thirty blank pages on which he pasted the clippings of the Reminiscences. This unique personal volume, Maloney and Whitehead in one binding with Whitehead's wispy signature on the fly leaf, eventually became a part of the Mark Boyd Collection and is now owned by the Library of the University of Miami.

Fires, hurricanes, and insects have long ago destroyed most nineteenth century Key West newspapers. It is fortunate Whitehead preserved the clippings. No one else seems to have done so.

Only the first of the Reminiscences has the author's initials. All of them are written in third person and the author refers to himself either as Mr. Whitehead or as the Collector of Customs. That he kept a detailed Journal we know for he quotes from it at length in Reminiscences Eleven and Twelve. The availability of the Journal would account for the clarity and accuracy of the Reminiscences. These are no fuzzy musings of an old man but an intelligent, lively, and often humorous, blending of historical fact and personal anecdote, and are sure to delight Florida historians.

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<sup>3</sup> Browne (above) has a short biographical sketch of Whitehead, page 200, Appendix D. He says that Whitehead presented a fine portrait of himself to the City of Key West shortly before his death, further proof that Whitehead never lost interest in the island city which he had pioneered.

## REMINISCENCES OF KEY WEST

No. 1 (March 31)

Mr. Editor.

On turning over the pages of Mr. Maloney's interesting Historical Sketch of Key West,—particularly interesting to those whose recollections, like those of the writer, extend back to within a few years of its settlement—many circumstances and many men connected with the events he narrates have been brought to mind, that might otherwise never have been awakened from their long repose in memory's treasure-house. As there may be some among your readers to whom additional facts, and further illustrative matter relating to the Island may be acceptable, I will from time to time, with your permission, occupy a portion of your columns with reminiscences having that aim.

It is a difficult matter to the members of an active business community of 12,000 persons, like Key West of the present day, to realize the quietness ordinarily prevailing, or the avocations of the inhabitants when there were only four or five hundred on the island. There were times when the hours hung very heavily upon both young and old, and the absence of the restraining and modifying influences of educated and refined females was much felt in the early years of the settlement. Men, even of the better class, are apt to become regardless of both the outward and the inward elements of *true* manliness when left to themselves, and in those days the want of varied and healthful means of recreation and amusement, to supply the absence of refined society, naturally led to long sittings over "the wine cup" at the dinner table of the only general boarding house—to frequent private carousals—and to almost nightly miscellaneous assemblages, where the sound of the violin regulated the agile steps of the dancers, in houses both of white and colored residents. Yet there were not many given to habitual inebriation and only a few were known as leading avowedly immoral lives. The changes adverted to by Mr. Maloney as consequent upon the arrival of several ladies connected with the Naval, Judicial and Commercial Officers, were effective and gratifying.

The want of varied amusements naturally led to efficiency in the various games of cards, and only those who, like the writer, disliked to excite the ill tempers of their partners by misleads or improper trumping, failed to become experts from practice. So too, was Chess generally played, and so skillfully that much amusement was at one time caused by the arrival of a

young army officer, who prided himself upon his playing well, but who in a short time was convinced that if he wished to be victor in the game, he must go elsewhere, having been beaten by every one with whom he played.

Mr. Maloney draws the attention of his readers to the advantages they enjoy above their predecessors in their postal facilities. It is not to be presumed that the anxiety and longing which the waiting for that *monthly* mail occasioned, can be imagined by the present generation. Although a chance vessel might now and then bring with her a newspaper, yet the regular files, by which alone the continuous history of affairs in the outer world is known, coming only monthly, were welcomed with peculiar pleasure. The Custom-house was a favorite place of resort at such times. The Collector receiving generally several different files, the gentlemen of the bar, merchants and others would gather on his piazza and as they looked over their papers and descanted upon the contents—each interested in a different topic as his taste or profession prompted—the effect was sometimes very ludicrous. One, with an exclamation intended to attract the attention of all the others, would let fall some precious morsel of “foreign news,” to which would chime another “a great fall in Cotton”—a third would announce that “Clara Fisher was playing in New Orleans”—a fourth would insist upon all listening to “an excellent anecdote”—and a fifth enunciate with much emphasis an “important decision of the Supreme Court,” the mixture of politics, news, and extraordinary circumstances creating a miniature Babel. And then, too, the important air with which the mass of mingled intelligence thus accumulated would be promulged, was very amusing, so much self-satisfaction being evinced at having it in their power *once more* to speak of the affairs of the great world of which for a whole month they had been in ignorance. Sometimes an item of general interest would elicit opinions and discussions, in which all of these visitors at the Custom-house would take part. Memory recalls one such occasion, when announcements were read of wonderful improvements in the transmission of the mails between New York and New Orleans. The number of days is not now recollected, but it far exceeded the number now required. Among those present was Captain Bunce, a Baltimorean by birth, an estimable man of many peculiarities, a believer in “total abstinence” and yet of a hilarious disposition, and of a mathematical and scientific turn; who expressed his wonder at some remarks made, indicating that the speaker thought the minimum time had been reached. His face brightened up at his own joke—as it was considered—and he exclaimed, “Why, my dear sir, mark my words, before many years you will see the

mails transported from place to place in almost no time at all. Tubes will be laid in the ground; they will be exhausted of air; the mail bags will be put in at one end, the air will be forced in behind them, and away they will go." A laugh went round at his vivid picture of the imagination, in which he joined, not one of those present entertaining, for a moment, the idea of *such* an improvement. He did not live to see his prognostications verified, but not many years thereafter a petition was presented to Congress—presented it is thought by Senator Mallory from Key West, for an appropriation to test this very mode of transmitting the mails—and in many places tubulated rail-ways and similar modes of transportation are now in operation. The writer has never heard of any suggestion towards such results, antedating that of Captain Bunce in the piazza of the Custom House at Key West. W.A.W.

No. 2 (April 7)

#### DADE COUNTY AND INDIAN KEY

Dade County with its twelve votes in the Presidential contest, is no longer looked after with the interest it was a few months ago, and, as was recently announced in the New York Tribune, "has ceased to be of national importance." There are however some facts in its history interesting to the residents of the mother county—Monroe—which warrants its being referred to somewhat more particularly than the scope of Mr. Maloney's address permitted. They will show that, in connection with its principal settlement, it has before been a somewhat prominent topic of discussion at the National Capital.

It was with much surprise to the good people of Key West that they found their county shorn of its full dimensions by the act of the Territorial legislature, in the winter of 1835-6, establishing the County of Dade. It was done at the instance and through the influence of Mr. Jacob Housman, the owner of Indian Key, with ulterior objects in view that were fully developed in following years, calling into exercise many instrumentalities and measures as unscrupulous in action and intent as can well be imagined. No one can call in question the right of any individual to promote his own interests in any way he may think advisable, provided the means adopted are not such as are subversive of morality and good neighborhood, and calculated to produce ill effects upon the community at large. But such was the tendency of

Mr. Housman's plans. Dade County, to him, meant Indian Key and nothing more, for the inhabitants of Key Vacas were well known to be averse to a separation from Monroe County.

The County established, the next step was to create a County Court and to direct the Judge of the Superior Court of the District (possessing Admiralty Jurisdiction) to hold *two terms annually* at Indian Key. A bill to that effect was passed by the same legislature that established the County, the members not being sufficiently enlightened as to the number of qualified jurors available, or the intent of the measures, to object to it. So well convinced however was the State Department, and Congress, of the little necessity for the passage of this act that the repealing power (too seldom employed in those days) was put in requisition, and in June 1836 it was struck from the Territorial Statute Book. The influence previously excited was again brought to bear at the next session of the legislature, and, aided by a recommendation of the Governor in his message to the Council, to pass early whether constitutional or not, leaving it to Congress to repeal them if they were not what they should be, the objectionable measure was re-enacted.

But why so persistent? The act of 2nd March 1835 "relating to wrecks on the coast of Florida" made it obligatory upon all engaged in saving vessels or merchandize, to take the property that might come into their possession to some *Port of Entry* within the jurisdiction of the United States. A Port of Entry at Indian Key was the ultimate aim of the intriguers, and they very naturally conceived that the want of an Admiralty Court would be a total objection to making that island a depot for wrecked property.

Only give them the Court they would *manufacture* jurymen as occasion required. The Court obtained for the time being, memorials were prepared for signatures in all the principal ports from New Orleans to Boston, and even in inland places, asking for Indian Key the privilege of a Port of Entry. The one sent from the Key itself, professed to be from "citizens of Indian Key, shippers, underwriters, masters of vessels and others interested in the commercial and wrecking concerns of the Gulf and Reef of Florida," two hundred and ninety-one in all, the fact that there were only about fifty actual residents on the island of all sizes, ages, conditions and colors, not being alluded to. In these documents the advantages of the island were depicted in glowing colors. "In the important points of depth of water, goodness and security of anchorage"—said the "citizens" of Indian Key—"the

harbor is not excelled by any in this southern country, vessels of the largest class may be brought with ease and perfect safety into the waters of this port" \* \* "when a custom house was asked for on this coast Indian Key was scarcely known. Had its local advantages and certain situation been as well understood as they now are, a port of entry would have been established here rather than at any other port or place on this coast." Subsequently they even went so far as to give the names of two Captains of Revenue Cutters and a Captain of the Navy who were ready to certify to the remarkable depth of water on the reef and in the harbor.

The writer does not recollect what was done under the act of Council relating to the Superior Court, but the County Court was organized by the appointment as Judge of one Thomas Jefferson Smith, from New York, who having been long enough at Key West to impress the people generally with his worthlessness, had betaken himself to Indian Key and become the factotum of its owner. As no success attended the application for the Port of Entry at the session of Congress in 1837-8, renewed and more earnest efforts were made at the ensuing session. Among other characteristic measures this Smith was sent to Washington, and through the possession of some recommendations from Van Buren, Marcy, Butler and other politicians of New York, where he had held at one time the office of Commissioner of Insolvency, he succeeded in getting the management of a newspaper called "The Metropolis," which being an Administration paper gave him for a time some influence and led him to anticipate great success in his employer's cause. His supposed important position did not always prevent his meeting with rebuffs even from his party adherents. Upon the strength of his being Judge of Dade County Court, he had the effrontery to claim admittance to the floor of Congress under the rule according that privilege to Judges of District Courts, but he was soon found out and excluded. While attending to the interests of Housman he, of course, was not neglectful of his own, and Judge Webb being about to resign his office, Smith had the audacity to aspire to the position and to think—to use his own language in a paper in the writer's possession—that the President was "favorably disposed toward him." It is sad to think how much injury an unscrupulous man may do to others when he sets about it. But here I leave the subject for the present.

No. 3 (April 21)

## DADE COUNTY AND INDIAN KEY

Continued.

The success of Thomas Jefferson Smith in convincing the members of the Congress of 1838-9 that Indian Key merited being made the special pet of the government was not as great as his employer expected.

Mr. Whitehead, who had been Collector of the Customs at Key West for nearly eight years, having resigned his commission on the 30th June 1838 and taken up his residence in New York, the good people of the island were anxious that he should go to Washington to protect their interests, and a formal request to that effect was made, but declined. His knowledge of the circumstances and requirements of the District rendered his services essential however, and on the 30th December a remonstrance, prepared by him in behalf of the merchants &c. of Key West, against the proposed Port of Entry was presented in both House and Senate. The object being to refute arguments, not to abuse individuals, the remonstrance referred to no one by name, and in its references to the "one-man power" that suggested the measure and would carry it out, no more was said than was actually necessary to exhibit its anticipated effects.

On the 10th January a petition was presented by Smith in reply to this remonstrance. What little argument it contained was easily answered, as was very soon made manifest, and it abounded in gross personal abuse of Mr. Whitehead. To this Mr. Whitehead submitted in reply a Memorial to both houses, opening with this paragraph—"he would therefore respectfully represent that the character of Thomas Jefferson Smith, being such as where best known, does not entitle him to the notice of gentlemen, he would not present a reply to the personal matters contained in the document referred to [in the preamble] had it not been made public by an order of one or both of your honorable bodies to print and have the same distributed as other public documents usually are. That consideration induces him to pursue the contrary course, and he would respectfully express a hope that your honorable bodies will cause the same publicity to be given to this memorial that was given to the petition of Mr. Smith." Appended to this memorial were letters from Lieut. L. M. Powell, U.S.N. stating that among the signers of the document emanating from Indian Key asking that it might be made a Port of

Entry were all the sailors and marines attached to his vessel—from Capts. Hunter and Coste of the Revenue service, refuting the statements made respecting *their* estimation of the advantages of the harbor—from Capt. Thos. R. Gedney, U.S.N. acknowledging that he had made a mistake in what he had written about the depth of water—from Col. John W. Simonton, showing the falsity of many of Smith's statements—from F. A. Brown and O. O'Hara (addressed to Charles Downing the representative from Florida) giving some sober, powerful reasons why the Port of Entry should not be established—and an extract from South Floridian of the 10th of November which, under the title of "Sneaking Villiany Exposed"—showed the low measures resorted to by Smith to obtain a letter of recommendation for the Judgeship from Key West, he having drafted the letter himself to be signed by one Meegin, addressed to representative Downing, in which that gentleman was told "you will get Dade County if you keep the right side of Smith, and Housman and Baldwin" \* \* "Marvin is not half as popular as Smith &c." So complete was the refutation of Smith's statements, and so thoroughly was his character exposed, that the Memorial when printed was in great demand, so many were there of the officials and others at Washington who had suffered from his abuse in the columns of his paper. For a time the question of Port or no Port was quite a subject of discussion among the frequenters of the Capital.

Smith's effrontery however, was not easily silenced. Calling upon Senator Norvel and exhibiting the recommendations which have been before alluded to, he succeeded in getting that gentleman to withdraw Mr. Whitehead's Memorial, on the grounds that when he presented it, he was not aware of its character, but having ascertained that it contained a very gross attack upon "another gentleman of whose character he entertained a very favorable opinion" he was unwilling that the Senate should "become the medium of calumny upon any man." This action of the Senator, and a letter from a Key West gentleman certifying to the low character of Meegin, (forgetting that the more he degraded Meegin the greater his degradation from having solicited his influence to obtain office) Mr. Smith incorporated in an abusive article, occupying a column of his paper, in which Mr. Whitehead's name appeared in capital letters, but which did not refute an iota of the charges made against him; ending with "I shall now dismiss Whitehead, leaving him in company with his friend Meegin."

Mr. Whitehead, however, was not so easily disposed of. He wrote to Senator Norvel and furnished additional evidence that what he had called "calumny" was in every particular true, requesting that the petition of Smith which had elicited his memorial should also be withdrawn from the files of the Senate and the accusation brought against him on its floor should be as publicly and in the same manner withdrawn. The petition was withdrawn in consequence but the Senator not making the *amende honorable* as requested, Mr. Whitehead had his letter to him published in the National Intelligencer, including a letter from Mr. John P. Baldwin of Key West, (the gentleman who had testified to Meegin's low character), stating that Smith had acknowledged to him that he, Smith, had written the letter for Meegin to sign, the very "calumny" of which he had complained. Shortly after this *denouement* Smith suddenly left Washington and went to Indian Key and Key West, not remaining at the latter place but a few hours as the Floridian announced "on good authority," that he had been called on in Washington to replace a sum of money which had been paid by mistake by one of the Departments "which rendered him the object of too much attention on the island."

While these occurrences were transpiring at Washington, Dade County and Indian Key were also subjects of consideration at Tallahassee. On the 25th January 1839 a petition was presented to the Legislative Council, from the inhabitants of Monroe County and the inhabitants of Key Vacas in Dade County, praying 1st. for a repeal of the law establishing Dade County, and 2nd if the repeal was not granted, asking for a repeal of the laws creating a County Court and requiring terms of the Superior Court to be held at Indian Key. The petition was accompanied by affidavits of persons who testified to seeing men confined in the stocks in the warehouse of Mr. Housman for days at a time by his order and fed on bread and water, without any beds, bedding, or mosquito bars. This was referred to a Committee of which Wm. Marvin was chairman and received due attention.

The Committee in due time reported that "It is in vain for these men to appeal to the laws of redress. The suit must be tried in the County of Dade and there, there is no Jury. Their only redress is in their own strong and staunch hearts." They recommend that, inasmuch as Dade County had been recognized by Congress, and had had assigned to it a representative in the Council, the law establishing it should not be repealed, but, "that the Jurisdiction of the County Court of Dade County be taken away, and transferred to the County Court of Monroe County, and the Jurisdiction of the Superior

Court of Monroe, until the number of persons in Dade shall justify the reestablishment of the courts of that County." A bill to that effect was reported and passed on the 19th February, and although Mr. Housman remonstrated against the unfavorable impression made by this action, the Council did not reverse it. On March 16th, 1840, Congress was petitioned by the members of the Bar, and Officers of the Supreme Court for the Southern District, praying for the repeal of the Territorial Act of 1837, reestablishing a term of the Superior Court in the County of Dade, and that the territorial legislature be *prohibited from reestablishing it without the sanction of Congress*. This the writer believes put an end to holding terms of courts at Indian Key.

As to the Port of Entry question Mr. Smith succeeded in having his petition returned to the files of Congress in the session of 1840-41, but as the antidote, in the shape of Mr. Whitehead's documents, were also referred, the Committee on Commerce asked to be discharged from their further consideration a week afterwards, and that is thought to have been the last of the attempts to elevate Dade County and Indian Key in the estimation of Congress. Smith married in Washington in 1840 and died there in 1860 or 1861.

If any of your readers, Mr. Editor, wish to have any confirmation of these statements they are referred to the Proceedings of the Legislative Council, Documents No. 41 of House of Representatives, 25th Congress, 3rd session, Senate Documents 71 and 140 of the same session, and the Washington National Intelligencer of March 12th 1839.

#### No. 4 (April 23)

As the names of the men alluded to in Mr. Maloney's address, who walked the streets of Key West forty and forty-five years ago, meet the eyes of their contemporaries, numerous are the incidents, humorous or otherwise, which come to the mind, clothing the long forgotten figures once more with all their peculiarities. Among others thus summoned from the past, the writer was pleased to recognize Henry S. Waterhouse M.D., Postmaster, Weigher and Gauger and otherwise identified with the business interests of the place who came to the island from Vermont about 1828. Brought from his northern home by ill-health, the figure he presented when brought to memory is in keeping with that fact. A slightly framed individual was he,

with a sallow complexion and cadaverous expression of countenance, having a peculiar mouth considerably modified from its natural expression by a set of false teeth, which he was wont to assure his friends were manufactured from "a tusk of the hippopotamus or sea horse," and so we will consider him seated on the piazza of a small wooden house near to Clinton Place, fronting on Whitehead Street, or within his mosquito-netted door as circumstances required, amusing himself, and—perhaps—the neighborhood with the so-considered melodious notes of his violin: "Robin Adair," "Old Lang Syne," "Hail Columbia" and other airs of the period being made familiar to all; but ready to put the instrument aside at any moment to receive a guest and discuss the news of the last mail, with such an air of sober-mirthfulness that was in admirable keeping with Coombe's delineation of "Dr. Syntax," and which in connection with other peculiarities led to his being known and spoken of by that title.

The writer will not venture any opinion as to his skill as a physician, but he was a man of some reading, had quite a collection of books, larger than any other on the island, and his intelligence combined with his eccentric manners and well developed disposition to look after his own interests made him quite a marked man in the little community.

As days and weeks would roll away at that period of the island's history without any news or novel occurrences, the resources of the inhabitants were often times put to the test for subjects for conversation and amusement. At one time a bulletin board was placed on the Doctor's piazza for the reception of items of wonderful news which the active brains of some would concoct and privately post thereon, sometimes purposely written in such remarkable chirography as would baffle the most skillful readers, excepting that here and there some momentous word or particular reference would be plainly given to arouse curiosity and lead to a more diligent study of the rest. The Doctor was apt to consider all that appeared on the board as truth, and would wonder at the marvelous revelations that sometimes were made; deception being little anticipated and considered by no means proper even in joke. This trait reminds the writer that, on a certain first of April, the Doctor received a note in the heat of the day purporting to come from Judge Webb, who then had rooms in the old Court-house, asking him to come to him and to bring his "pullakins" along, (a common term for *forceps*). The Doctor had never heard the dentist's instrument so called, and putting on his hat walked over to the Custom House to have the purport of the note

explained and immediately started off with forceps in hand to relieve the Judge of his presumed aching tooth. The walk up Whitehead Street in the hot sun was not very pleasant and some comparison could not but be forced upon the Doctor's notice, between his own heated perspiring body and the coolness and composure of the Judge, who, seated in his airy apartment, received him with all courtesy and commenced talking about matters and things in general. Availing himself of the first lull in the conversation, the Doctor enquired how long the Judge's tooth had troubled him, and was astonished to learn that he was not, and had not been a sufferer. "What is the meaning of this note then, Judge?" he asked, exhibiting the one he had received; and it would be difficult to portray the expression of his face when the Judge replied, "It means, Doctor, that this is the first of April." No answer was returned and the Doctor wended his way back to town vowing that he would be careful how he responded to sudden calls again no matter who might be the party requiring his services.

The Doctor felt considerably proud of being the first postmaster and was very attentive to the duties of his office. Two years elapsed before the office was thought of sufficient importance to have regular stamps, but when obtained the Doctor was as much pleased as a child with a new play thing, and wished his friends, no matter whether their letters went by mail or not, to have all their letters stamped. The writer has now in his possession one stamped not only with the date but also with the words "Ship," "Paid" and "Free" constituting his whole assortment.

The Doctor possessed some power at *repartee*, one instance of which is well remembered. In those days there were few entertainments given other than dinners or suppers, at which it was usual for each guest to add to the hilarity of the occasion by either singing a song or telling a story. On one occasion the Doctor had been repeatedly called upon and as often declined, and just as he was comforting himself with the thought that the attention of the company had been effectually drawn into another channel, the young District Attorney Chandler returned to the charge with a demand for "that story" and the Doctor succumbed.

In his peculiar manner emphasizing each point by a ridiculous movement of his right fore-finger from the end of his nose to the table before him he told of a thief who had secreted himself in a church with a view to appropriate some of the valuables within it, and after securing them found that

his only mode of egress was by an open upper window to reach which he must climb up by the bell rope, and on attempting to do so, the bell tolled, arousing the neighborhood and leading to his arrest.

“As they were leading him away,” said the Doctor, taking his finger from his nose and pointing it at the District Attorney, “he turned around and addressed the bell, as I now do you Mr. Chandler, if it had not been for your long tongue and empty head, I would have escaped.” The company who had been wondering at the prosaic character of the story and at a loss to discover wherein its interest lay, were taken entirely by surprise at its close, and its point fairly “brought down the house.”

Finding that the climate agreed with him the Doctor sent to Vermont for his wife and one child, a small boy, but the voyage so disordered the system of Mrs. Waterhouse that she died not long after arrival. Subsequently the Doctor, anticipating a more extensive practice and new openings for business at Indian Key, removed thither taking his boy with him, and both were accidentally drowned while on a fishing excursion some time in 1835.

#### No. 5 (no date)

### INCIDENTS OF THE SEMINOLE WAR

The small detachment of United States troops under Major Dade, which had been stationed at Key West for some time, left towards the close of 1835 for Tampa Bay, and not long after their departure, the startling intelligence was received that with the exception of three, all had fallen in an attack made upon them by the savage foe, on the 28th of December, on their way into the interior. It consisted of eight officers and one hundred and two men. The three men who escaped, although wounded, brought the painful tidings to Tampa, and fifty-three days after the conflict, a detachment of the army found the remains of the killed on the field undisturbed. The eight officers were recognized, and all were buried where they fell.

It is scarcely necessary to say that the island was thrown into a state of great agitation and alarm by this untoward event, brought home to all more closely from the fact that both officers and men had been long enough at Key West to become generally known personally. In accordance with a public notice a general gathering of the townspeople was held in the neigh-

borhood of Clinton place—a motley assemblage reminding one of Falstaff's army—the news that had been received was read, committees appointed, and some measures adopted for the common defence. Additional anxiety was felt from the fact that a family at Indian River had been murdered, (the fact not being then known that it was owing to personal differences), and the Lighthouse and public property at Cape Florida abandoned in consequence. One of the measures adopted for the protection of Key West was the establishment of a night patrol on land, expected to challenge every night-walker, whether friend or foe; and for a time a water patrol likewise, that in one or more boats was expected to circumnavigate the island every night. A realization of the danger that would undoubtedly be incurred by thus watching for a foe that, if in the vicinity would be hidden in the neighboring keys, and possess a decided advantage over the exposed crews, soon led to the abandonment of this precautionary measure.

Well founded fears prevailed that, as the United States forces at Fort King and elsewhere towards the north, were deemed adequate to control the movements of the Indians in that direction, their course would necessarily be directed to the southern shores of the peninsula, and very soon, with the exception of Indian Key, every settlement between Key West and St. Augustine was abandoned.

The Collector of the Port in letters to the War and Navy Departments, drew attention to the urgent necessity of a co-operation of army and navy forces in protecting the lives and property of the inhabitants, particularly of Key West, which had become a place of refuge for all the fugitives. These letters were responded to under the date of the 29th of January, orders being issued by the War Department for the reoccupation of the port, and the transmission in advance of arms and ammunition of which the island was woefully deficient. A letter to Commodore Dallas at Havana, with whom the Collector was personally acquainted, caused him to sail immediately in his Flagship, the Frigate Constellation, and on the 14th of January he was at anchor in the harbor, materially relieving the inhabitants from their alarm.

In a few days a detachment of sailors and marines was sent from the Constellation to re-establish the light at Cape Florida and to render the buildings so secure as to place the keeper in comparative safety. Commodore Dallas remained in the harbor until the 6th of February, when he

sailed for Pensacola, receiving before his departure a letter from a committee of the citizens at large, thanking him for his promptness in coming to their assistance, which he most cordially acknowledged.

It is an interesting fact connected with this visit of the *Constellation* that *Lieutenant* George G. Meade, who was a brother-in-law of Commodore Dallas, was on board, having not long before graduated at West Point, on his way to join the army at Tampa—little dreaming of the future before him and the events that would connect his name so honorably with the war with Mexico, and make it live in history as the General Commander at Gettysburg.

On the arrival of Commodore Dallas at Pensacola, he dispatched the *Warren*, Captain Wm. F. Taylor, and subsequently the *Concord*, Captain Mix, to watch over the safety of the island; and on the 12th of April General Macomb, Commander-in-Chief of the Army, paid it a visit on board a Revenue Cutter, was escorted over the island and made acquainted with its position and necessities, and left the next day for Tampa.

Intelligence however had been received of the withdrawal of the Indians from the southern shores of the peninsula, and confidence was for some time restored.

No. 6

(No date or title)

During the great anxiety which prevailed in the winter of 1835-6, under apprehensions of an attack from the Indians, incidents would occasionally occur which, however serious they seemed at the time, would subsequently, when recalled to mind, afford much amusement. One of these is thus described by a then resident on the island, in a letter which has been preserved.

“About 2 a.m. I was aroused from a sound sleep by a call from ‘the officer of the day at night’ as he styled himself, who stated that two or three of the patrol had ‘heard in the woods the low-distinct-sound-of-a-drum,’ and he consequently thought it his duty to call the gentlemen to headquarters, instead of ascertaining the cause of the alarm himself. However, some allowance should be made for his action, or rather want of action, as it was evident he had taken some quantity of spirits *down* in order to keep his spirits

*up.* 'Very like a whale,' I thought, but like a good militia man I 'buckled on my armor,' took my guns and pistols, kissed my wife, and went forth to combat in all haste."

The writer's experience having been similar, he will complete the account by saying that the improbability of the Indians giving notice of their approach by beating a drum, however "low" the sound produced, was not admitted to be a valid objection to proceeding to solve the mystery. Three or four gentlemen, consequently, started off to the United States Barracks to see whether the only drum that was known to be on the island was in its place. Such was found to be the case, but nevertheless the sound heard *might have been* some signal agreed upon between the Indians and Negroes, and it was therefore advisable that some of the houses of the latter should be visited. The improbability of any co-operation of the Negroes with the enemy was not allowed to have any weight, but the idea was pretty effectually eradicated when their fright was witnessed at being thus aroused from their slumbers by a number of armed men. It was while standing on the premises of Mr. Weaver, whose Negroes were being thus unnecessarily alarmed, that the mysterious "low-distant-sound-of-a-drum" was found to proceed from a dog basking in the moonlight on the top of a cistern, for annoyed by fleas, he would announce it to the world by bringing his knuckles (if hind legs have knuckles) in contact with the cover of the cistern whenever he attempted to get rid of them. The "officer of the day at night" felt much aggrieved at having his attention drawn to the solution of the mysterious sounds he had heard, but no other was discovered. The gentlemen on returning to their homes found their families in great anxiety at their prolonged absence, and one found his wife preparing to take a boat with her children and baggage.

This night patrol continued until the summer rains set in, when it was found much more comfortable to drowse away the hours under cover than in perambulating the streets, and the conclusion was arrived at that there was no impending danger requiring its continuance.

The summer of 1836 passed without any occurrence worthy of special notice, but in September the lighthouse at Cape Florida was attacked by the Indians and destroyed by fire. John Dubose, the keeper, was not at his post at the time, and the man in charge who had sought safety within the lighthouse and barricaded the entrance would undoubtedly have been burnt to

death, when the enemy resorted to firing the stair case, had he not had with him a keg of powder. This he threw into the fire and the consequent explosion arrested the progress of the flames by destroying the steps, leaving him in safety at the top of the lighthouse, out of the reach of the enemy. How long it was before he was rescued the writer does not remember.

This renewal of active aggressive movements may have been prompted by the withdrawal from Key West of a company of the 4th Infantry, under Lieut. Alvord, sent to join the army at Tampa, and also the withdrawal from Indian Key, much to the chagrin of the inhabitants, of the Revenue Cutter Dexter, Capt. Rudolph, which had been stationed there for two or three weeks.

Not long before the burning of the lighthouse at Cape Florida an attack was made upon a small turtling vessel at anchor at Key Largo by about thirty of the enemy, two of the crew wounded and, on the abandonment of the vessel she was set fire to by the Indians.

In the ensuing month, October, in consequence of these and other depredations, the Sloop-of-War *Vandalia* sent an expedition up the coast, destroyed an encampment of Indians on one of the islands, burned their boats, but did not capture any. So near were they, however, to the enemy that some of them were recognized as those who had had frequent intercourse with the whites before the war, and were considered peacefully inclined. There was no doubt entertained that this party had been engaged in committing many outrages along the coast, whither they were drawn by the advantages afforded them in the way of living, by the native arrow-root and the abundance of fish. On the 23rd of November Commodore Dallas returned to the island in a Sloop-of-War, accompanied by a schooner, and was on shore several days with his family—guests of the Collector.

No. 7 (May 16?)

#### THE DESTRUCTION OF INDIAN KEY

The event which caused the greatest excitement along the reef, during the war with the Seminoles was the destruction of Indian Key. The attack was made about half past two o'clock on the morning of Friday, August 7th, 1840, and the writer is pleased to be able to put in print a letter in his

possession written by that worthy and highly respected citizen, Charles Howe, who was Collector of Key West from May 1861 to July 1869. He was at that time Inspector of the Customs at Indian Key. Shortly after the affair he wrote as follows to a friend in New York.

“We were awakened by the awful yells of the savages and the discharge of rifles all over the island, and the breaking of doors and windows. I endeavored for a moment to imagine it was a dream, but it was only for a moment—the danger was too near at hand to admit a doubt of its reality—too startling and appalling to be an illusion of the fancy. The flashes of the rifles, visible through our bedroom windows admonished us of our perilous situation. We sprang from our bed and aroused our two youngest children,, the other three, who had been sleeping in a corner room, came running to our door enquiring what they should do. I could only say to them that the Indians had come to murder us and that they must prepare to die, as we had but a few minutes to live and that they must think of that Saviour who stood ready to receive them. We, of course, supposed that the Indians had already surrounded our house, and for the moment were fully persuaded of the certainty of immediate death if we attempted to open either of our doors, but Special Providence seems to have inspired and directed us from the hands of the monsters.

Mrs. H. with much self-possession and daring bravery, with one child in her arms, was the first to proceed to our back door and open it, and finding the enemy not there, I immediately followed with the other children, and we all ran into our garden among the mulberry trees. From thence we crept round to our back fence, and watching for a moment when there was none near by, I jumped over and pulled off a few palings, and taking one child, Mrs. H. the other, the three elder ones following, we ran for the water and reached it without being discovered. We then waded about 200 yards to one of the sailboats. As we were getting on board they saw us, and came running to the beach and on my wharf, and fired a few shots but without effect. I was soon under sail and out of the reach of rifle balls.

With deep felt thanksgiving, I looked around me and saw my wife and children all safe, although in a deplorable condition—nothing on but our night clothes—the children nearly naked—without water or

provisions, and naturally expecting that everything we possessed in the world would be destroyed or taken from us: but still, even in this condition we felt grateful that we had so wonderfully escaped the barbarous hand of these infuriated savages.

We proceeded to the Transport schooner *Medium* lying in the harbor of Tea-Table Key. We of course knew nothing of the fate of the other inhabitants, but naturally conjectured they were all massacred; but it fortunately proved to be otherwise, and out of about 60 in all, only six were killed and one wounded. Some others were badly burnt and otherwise injured.

The Indians remained on the island until 12 o'clock M. and after completing the work of destruction, by burning every building except my old house, they left it with 34 boats and canoes heavily laden with plunder.

I came back to the island in about half an hour after they left. It was a horrible sight! Poor John Mott, his wife and two children lay lifeless upon the common, most shockingly mangled. Dr. Perrine consumed in my new house—James Sturdy, a lad 12 years of age, brother to Mrs. Elliott Smith, drowned in the cistern of a large warehouse. My house and kitchen, negro houses and carpenter's shop were not set on fire, but plundered of everything of any value to them, such as clothing, bedding, provisions, silver, jewelry, spy-glasses, cooking utensils, sails, awnings, water-kegs, tools, boats, &c.

You can form some idea from this of what our situation was. But that same compassionate Providence which had already so marvelously interposed in our behalf did not leave us long to suffer for those comforts which our situation so much required. Some of my negroes, of whose fate I was ignorant, made their escape with some of Capt. Housman's in a boat to Key West. Immediately on the news reaching there, friends Gordon and Mallory and their amiable wives, whose benevolence and kindness I never can forget, sent us a large trunk full of all kinds of clothing suitable for myself and family, more than I was willing to take for our own immediate wants, and I distributed a part among the other sufferers. Until the arrival of this trunk, which was four or five days, I had only the bare shirt I escaped in, and an old pair of

pantaloons. We fortunately found one window curtain which fell outside of the window as the Indians took it down and was left, that Mrs. H. cut into slips for the younger children. They carried off three of my negroes, one of whom was an invaluable woman, whose loss we much lament. The remains of another, a girl, have since been found in the Bay.

My new house, which was occupied by Dr. Perrine, was the first building burnt. The Dr. was in the cupola, endeavoring to parley with the savages, by telling them, in Spanish, that he was a physician, and that they must spare him, but they turned a deaf ear to his entreaties, and set fire to the garret rooms to prevent his escape. The family was properly restricted to the canal, connected with the bathing room, (which I had constructed expressly to escape with my own family), soon after the commencement of the war. There they remained until the house burned down and were all saved. \* \* \* \* With all my losses and sufferings I have much cause to be thankful. They could have injured me much more. My books, papers, glass-ware, crockery &c. were all saved. Our clock, looking-glasses, and sideboard were not disturbed, only divested of their gauze covering which appeared to have been done with great care." [Mr. Howe makes no allusion to the grounds for this exemption from the entire destruction with which the property of others was visited, but those who knew the man will see in it, in all probability, the result of the kindness and uprightness which had always characterized his dealings with the natives.] "I can truly say that the horrors of that memorable morning will never be erased from my mind, and I doubt if from the memory of our youngest child." \* \*

This letter was written on the 15th of October 1840, when there was a small military force stationed at Indian Key, sufficient it was thought to ward off any further attacks.

No. 8 (May 23?)

#### AFFAIRS OF HONOR(?)

Half a century ago it was much more the custom than in late years to seek *redress* for wrongs, fancied or real, by giving your adversary an opportunity to take your life, by placing yourself before him to be shot at. There was always a lurking hope, it is true, that through superior skill or adroitness you might hit him first, but should you not, you were only illustrating

the folly of "fleeing from the ills we have, to those we know not of." Among these so-called "Affairs of Honor" which interested the inhabitants of Key West at that time was one, the incidents of which might be wrought into a sensational novel with great effect.

Among the young adventurers from the United States who in 1818-9 were led to connect themselves with the revolutionary movements in Colombia, South America, were Charles E. Hawkins and Wm. A. McRea. What part they bore in the struggles of the young Republic, or how long they were residents of it, the writer is uninformed, but, while still in its service, some difficulty arose between them, leading to a contest with swords; and Hawkins carried to his grave a notable scar across one of his cheeks, the result of the encounter. Years passed away. McRea returned to the United States and commenced the practice of the Law; Hawkins entered the Mexican Navy and they met not again until the autumn of 1828 at Key West. Hawkins was awaiting the action of the Superior Court of the Southern District of Florida upon some prize cases in which he was interested, and McRea as United States District Attorney, was in his official capacity necessarily connected with the trial and adjudication. Thus were the two quondam enemies brought again in opposition to each other.

It was of course thought advisable that past differences should no longer be allowed to effect the relations of the parties, and through the mediation of mutual friends a reconciliation was effected. Not only so, but the event was thought worthy of some fitting commendation and in due time a supper was given by Captain Hawkins at Mrs. Mallory's Hotel, at which McRea was the honored guest, and all the gentry on the island were present. The greatest hilarity and good feeling prevailed and the guests separated full of encomiums upon both the host and his entertainment.

Captain Hawkins had been twice married, and had his second wife with him on the island. She was a young thoughtless girl who had seen very little of the world, possessing some literary attainments and personal attractions. It was observed with great surprise by the few who witnessed it, that on the morning after the supper she was taken privately and evidently in great distress and put on board of a vessel about to sail for middle Florida. A few hours elapsed and the mystery received an explanation, which greatly excited the little community. Hawkins as host the evening before was necessarily detained until all his guests had departed, and on reaching his house at a

late hour, his surprise may be imagined on seeing a man leap from the window of his wife's room as he entered it, and to find that that man was McRea, his newly re-acquired friend. All he could do was to salute him with a discharge from his pistol, but without inflicting any personal injury.

Having sent off his wife to her friends, Hawkins' next step to retrieve his honor was to give McRea an opportunity to deprive him of his life also. A challenge was sent and accepted, and on the morning of Monday, February 9th, 1829, the parties met somewhere on the south beach. Captain C. C. Hopner of the Mexican Service acted as friend to Hawkins, and Dr. R. A. Lacy as the friend of McRea. Four shots were exchanged. Hawkins' first ball passed through McRea's overcoat and glanced,—his second went through his pantaloons, near the waistband, bruising his body—the third passed through his hat, and the fourth lodged in his thigh near the body and terminated the contest. Only one shot of McRea's touched his adversary, the third, which slightly grazed Hawkins' wrist.

McRea was moving about again on crutches in the course of a few weeks, but before he made his appearance in public, Hawkins had left the island for Mexico to close up his relations with that republic, and did not return until some time in May, by which time McRea was again in full use of his limb, and in the enjoyment of perfect health. But on Sunday morning, May 24th, as he was walking up Whitehead Street, and had nearly reached the small bridge that there crossed the head of the old Pond, as it passed Caroline Street, he received in his back from a double-barreled gun in the hands of Hawkins, who was secreted in a house on the South side of Whitehead Street, no less than thirty-three shot, and in two hours was a corpse.

In an obituary of him, written at the time by a friend and *apologist*, it said, "It had been intimated to him that he would be attacked, but believing he was contending with an enemy too honorable and brave to avail himself of an assassin's cover, he refused (though urged) to resort to legal means to prevent it; always supposing that he would be able to resist any open assault which he might receive. Thus has he fallen—a sacrifice to his own honorable feelings, and the dastardly act of a coward; but he still lives in the memory of his friends, and in the good feelings of the community."

"That Mr. McRea had faults is admitted. Who has them not? But his faults were of that kind which friendship would only desire to obscure from

the public gaze; they were those alone which sprung from a disposition too ardent and feelings too easily excited, and soon forced aside by such a host of redeeming qualities that all those who best knew him, were always willing to pardon the one in consideration of the strong claims which the others gave to their kindest affections."

He was buried on May 25th and on the 3rd of June his murderer was taken on board of a Revenue Cutter to St. Augustine, there to be incarcerated to abide his trial in November.

Hawkins' second wife, she on whose account the murder was committed, having been divorced from him not long after, he was enabled, while occupying his snug quarters at St. Augustine not only to make the acquaintance, but to woo and win a young lady, a resident of that antiquated city, and to make her the third Mrs. Hawkins. They were married in the prison, and their wedding tour may be presumed to have been limited to a walk in the corridors, or from one to another room of their enforced quarters.

Several months elapsed before Hawkins was transferred to Key West for trial, but when the time arrived, his wife remained behind in St. Augustine. The writer will not attempt to portray the bitterness of the parting. It must be left to be conjectured by these readers. He who was so attractive that even his prison walls could not prevent his influence being felt beyond them, about to be taken from her side, who had submitted even to imprisonment for his sake, and sent to a distant court to be tried for his life was sad indeed! It was a very romantic situation to be placed in certainly. Should he be hung it would, without doubt, be very painful to witness it, and should the Jury—the finding of a Florida jury being, in the opinion of a certain old Judge, one of the things the Almighty might be naturally expected to know nothing about in advance—should the jury acquit him, she could at once reform him. She had better therefore remain in St. Augustine.

Arrived at Key West, what was to be done with the culprit? There was no prison worthy of his acceptance as a place of residence, and as to finding a qualified and unbiased Jury, that was therefore an impossibility. Under some arrangement therefore, with the details of which the writer is unacquainted, the whole island was allotted to his bounds. In February 1831 his wife arrived to share his *imprisonment*, and, supported by the United States, he was as much a gentleman of leisure as any one on the island. Mrs. H. was

—or thought herself to be—proficient in music, and day and night her piano might be heard discoursing the most elaborate unintelligible compositions to comfort and amuse her “dear Charles.”

At last the legislature intervened. An act was passed, the tenor of which is not recollected, by which Hawkins was discharged from further accountability for the murder of McRea, and left the island with his wife for parts unknown to the writer.

### No. 9

I gave in my last communication an imperfect account of the romance which surrounded a so-called “Affair of Honor” and its subsequent effects. There was another that came off in 1833 less objectionable in its features, as it did not grow out of anything affecting the moral antecedent of the combatants. It involved, however, the death of one of them, and that one the party least to blame.

David C. Pinkham of Kentucky, but last from Pensacola, a lawyer of considerable ability was one of those who came to the island on the establishment of the Superior Court in 1828, bringing his wife with him. He was between thirty-five and forty years of age, and soon after his arrival associated himself in business with a Mr. Macon. On the accession of Mr. Whitehead to the Collectorship of the District in 1830, Mr. Pinkham was so strongly recommended for the position of Deputy that he was appointed, and for nearly two years satisfactorily discharged the duties of the office, being gentlemanly in his deportment and attention to all having business at the Custom-house.

Mr. Pinkham it was who sent the challenge in the case referred to, his opponent being Dr. Benjamin B. Strobel of Charleston, who became a resident of the island some time after Mr. Pinkham’s settlement. He stood well in his profession and was appointed Surgeon to the Military post. As might be expected where the practice in a community of only five or six hundred people was divided among two or three physicians, there was plenty of leisure to loiter away in the counting-rooms and other places of concourse, if inclination prompted, enabling anyone to become familiar, if not identified with, all matters of public or private disputation. This was the disposition of Dr. Strobel.

During the summer of 1832, the Collector being absent, the duties of his office devolved upon Mr. Pinkham, and a number of wrecks being brought in loaded with foreign merchandize entailing processes with which he was not familiar, it was not surprising that matters should not have gone on as smoothly as they would have done under other conditions. On the return of the Collector in the autumn he received a communication from one or two merchants, two subordinate officers of the customs, and Dr. Strobel, complaining of the manner in which they had been treated by Mr. Pinkham, and asking for his dismissal, principally on the ground of his unpopularity. But as their special grievances did not warrant it, and "popularity" in those days not always being in accordance with the more essential qualification, fidelity to the government, he was not dismissed. Dr. Strobel's special grievance was that the Deputy-Collector had struck from the Marine Hospital roll the name of a man whom having been seen walking about the town, he thought well enough to be discharged, without first consulting him, Dr. Strobel being at that time in charge of the Hospital patients.

Although no evil resulted and the man restored to his position on explanation, yet the abuse and irritating conduct of the Doctor—whose complaints were least in consequence if at all—did not cease, and at last so wrought upon Pinkham that nothing would do but he must seek redress by standing up to be shot at, for having had nothing to do with firearms it amounted to little else.

A challenge was sent to Strobel and accepted, and towards the end of March 1833 a duel was fought on the south beach, and Pinkham fell at the first fire with a bullet in his chest. Strobel's friend was the Captain of the Revenue Cutter that cruized between Charleston and Key West, and as his vessel was about to sail for the former place, Strobel found it convenient to embark in her and, if the writer mistakes not, never returned; his family leaving the island to join him shortly afterwards.

Pinkham lingered until the 11th of April,—some hopes being entertained at one time that he would recover—when he died, his *honor* satisfied and his wife left defenceless among strangers. He was buried in the burial-ground then used, and a marble slab subsequently placed over his grave, and his wife was sent to her friends in Kentucky. Thus were two homes broken up through the irritations caused by senseless disputations. "The tongue is an unruly member full of deadly poison."

There was an earlier challenge passed, some time during the winter of 1828-9—the moving cause is not remembered—between Richard Fitzpatrick whose name appears several times in Mr. Maloney’s Address, and Edward Chandler, a young lawyer residing on the island, but although the writer remembers seeing and speaking to the former gentleman, while he was engaged in getting his duelling pistols ready, better councils prevailed, and the meeting did not take place.

The name of Mr. Fitzpatrick recalls the very questionable proceeding of the importation of bloodhounds from Cuba, wherewith to hunt down the Indians during the Seminole War. Mr. F. was the Agent sent by the Territory to procure them. He sailed from St. Marks on the 27th of November 1839, reached Matanzas on the 6th of December and sailed thence about the 13th, stopping at Key West on his homeward trip with thirty-three dogs in charge.

A very telling caricature was got up in New York representing the Agent engaged in drilling his squad of ravenous animals, the picture being too revolting for its subject to be at all ludicrous.

This important re-inforcement for the Territory sailed from Key West on the 24th of December and, after a tempestuous voyage, arrived at St. Marks on the 7th of January 1840, and a few days thereafter reached Tallahassee and was duly inspected by his Excellency Governor Reed, who, in a message to the legislature on the 28th of February, reported, “No occasion has yet occurred for testing the usefulness of the dogs brought from Cuba. It is still believed, however, that they may be used with effect.” It is believed now, however, that that was the last heard of them officially.

Would you like to know, Mr. Editor, what was the expense incurred for this importation? I can give it to you.

Cost of the 33 Blood-hounds in Cuba -----	\$2733.00
Expenses at Matanzas and Key West &c. -----	303.99
Charter of Sloop Marshall to Matanzas and back -----	600.00
Advanced to the 5 Spaniards who came with the dogs ----	136.63
Passports for them -----	26.96
87 lbs. fresh beef for the dogs bought in Tallahassee ----	6.96
“My compensation” said Mr. Fitzpatrick -----	1000.00
	\$5006.83



reef there would be little doubt of his thinking a Wrecker of more intrinsic value than all the Ornithologists in Christendom. Audubon was more than fifty years old when he visited Key West, but was energetic and active. He died in 1851.

In January 1833 a well informed young German by the name of Leitner came to the island. He had been educated at one of the first scholastic institutions of his native land and, although he had been in the country only about one year, spoke English perfectly. Why he should so soon have sought the shores of Florida is not known. His principal pursuits were connected with botany, and he possessed a remarkable talent for preserving plants, their beauty and natural appearance suffering little by the process. He was very enthusiastic and pleased at the idea of being the first botanist to visit this region.

When walking with him, no matter how earnestly engaged in conversation or interested in topics under discussion, his eye was ever quick to perceive every common flower or blade of grass that might enrich his collection, and at once would he bolt away to secure it.

From Key West Mr. Leitner went up the reef, and for several years remained exploring the islands and mainland. So rich and varied were his acquisitions that even the Indian war could not drive him away and with a view, doubtless, to extending his area of research, in January 1838 he joined an expedition against the Indians under Lieutenant Towell and was killed at Jupiter Inlet. What became of his manuscripts and specimens the writer never heard.

In one of these communications mention was made of Dr. Henry Perrine, and of his melancholy end, having been burnt to death by the Indians in his house at Indian Key in August 7th 1840.

Dr. Perrine first became known to the people of Key West in 1835. In May of that year, when holding the position of Consul at Campeche, he shipped to the Collector of the Port, directly from Campeche, a pair of rabbits of peculiar breed, a number of hives of, or rather hollow logs containing stingless bees, and some cactus plants, it being his intention, on return to the United States, to engage in the cultivation and propagation of tropical plants and animals. He was unfortunate with his first experiment; one of

the rabbits died on the voyage and the other fell a victim to an ill-judged attempt to obtain its liberty soon after its arrival. Many of the bees had died or got out of the logs before they reached Key West, but there were a sufficient number left to enable their peculiar characteristics to be tested. That they were stingless was fully demonstrated, but the quality of the honey—probably from the scarcity of flowers and plants that would have afforded them suitable food—was very poor. For the same reason they did not increase in numbers, although taken great care of on the Custom-house premises, and after two or three years they were all dead. The cactus plants were distributed among those gentlemen who had gardens, but it was thought that the island already possessed the species.

Dr. Perrine very properly conceived that success in his plans to introduce many of the plants peculiar to the Isthmus of Darien and of Mexico depended greatly upon their becoming acclimated, as it were, by a *gradual* transfer from the warmer to the cooler regions, and it was the establishment at Key West, or on some other island, of what might be termed an acclimating nursery that led him to entertain the thought of becoming a resident. It was his original intention to bring with him some of the native Indians of Mexico, but he was advised, before doing so, to obtain some expression of opinion from the Legislature of the Territory, by law or otherwise; as the operation of some recent laws against all who did not bear indubitable evidence of having nothing but white blood in their veins, rendered it uncertain what the treatment of the native Indians might be;—and moreover legislation in those days was of a very dubious quality, being “unstable as water.”

After some examination of localities Dr. Perrine went to Washington with the view of obtaining some governmental privileges in consequence of his projected improvements on the public lands, with what success the writer cannot state. He soon identified himself with Indian Key interests, and being in Washington 1837, used what influence he had in trying to have it made a Port of Entry—which project as we know, failed to meet the approval of Congress.

Dr. Perrine returned to Indian Key in 1839, bringing his family with him and lost his life, as we have seen, on the 7th of August 1840. His family returned to the North and not until the last year was any member of it in Florida. The writer is informed that some months ago a son of his visited this part of the State looking after some grant of land which his father had secured during his life time.

No. 11 (June 16, 1877)

## CHARLOTTE HARBOR FORTY-SEVEN YEARS AGO

Reference is made in Mr. Maloney's Address (page 5) to an old resident at Charlotte's Harbor, alluded to by Mr. Whitehead, the Collector of the Customs, in the papers deposited by him for preservation in the Clerk's Office. I am enabled to give some extracts from a journal kept by that gentleman during the trip which enabled him to make the acquaintance of this old settler, which furnishes some information respecting the condition of the settlements at Charlotte's Harbor at that time, now nearly half a century ago, which may prove interesting to some of the present day.

A few words of explanation may be serviceable. In the winter of 1831-2 an act passed the Territorial Legislative Council, imposing a heavy tax upon the foreigners engaged in fishing at Charlotte's Harbor—why the harbor was so named the writer does not know. By whom this act was drawn and introduced is not remembered, but the ultimate object of it was undoubtedly, to drive the Spaniards from that locality, and it is presumed that some smart individual thought "it would pay" to dispossess the old settlers and fall heir to their business. For some years about twenty vessels (fishing smacks) owned in Connecticut had been employed in this vicinity, principally during the autumn and winter, fishing for the Havana market, taking home with them annually, as a result of their sales, about twenty-five thousand dollars. They carried the *live* fish only to market, the Spaniards carried only *salted* fish and were located in a different quarter, consequently the interests of the two bodies of men did not come in collision at all.

Mr. Whitehead's Journal reads as follows:

"November 22nd 1831. Left Key West in the Revenue Cutter Marion on a cruize, intending to visit the Spanish fisheries on the western shore of the Peninsula, for the purpose of reporting to the Government the condition of the people residing there, and the propriety of allowing them to continue their business. \* \* \* 24th. The lookout at the mast-head discovered the land and the entrance to the harbor about 10 A.M., but the wind was light, and what little there was being ahead, we were obliged to drop our anchor for the night.

"25th. Until 12 o'clock the Lieutenants were busily engaged in sounding the bar, and having ascertained the deepest water we entered

the harbor and anchored a mile or two within. In the afternoon the Capt. and myself took a boat and pulled for one of the fisheries about seven miles distant. On landing we were received with a grand chorus from five dogs, which we interpreted as a welcome, for they immediately left us to enjoy the comforts of the place by ourselves. Not a living soul was to be seen (save the dogs—and it is doubted that they had souls) but the absence of canoes and nets accounted also for the absence of inhabitants. Their dwellings were all of palmetto and most of them of tolerable size—about fifteen feet square. They reminded me of Ichobod Crane's Schoolhouse, to enter which every facility was afforded, but which it was impossible to get out of. Such being the nature of the fastnings of their doors I took the liberty of "prying" into one of them. A few stakes driven into the ground with cross pieces for their bars—a small loft for corn—a hanging shelf with one or two pieces of crockery, and two or three stools, composed the furniture, and no house that I saw, at any of the other of the Fisheries, contained more, while many of them had less.

"Perambulating about the houses we came to one where there was a figure of *an angel* which might have been only the figure head of some vessel—but knowing the religion of the people and giving them the credit of attending to some of the rites it enjoins, we could no less than suppose it was here they performed their orisons. We learned afterward that there were nearly thirty men, half Spaniards and half Indian, who congregated here; how many women we did not ascertain. Leaving *our cards* at the door of the chief fisherman we returned to the vessel.

"While riding at anchor in the bay, which is a very extensive one, extending far into the land towards the east, while an extensive sound, filled with many islands connects it with *Carlos Harbor* towards the south, no signs of civilization near, I could not but be struck with the aspect of repose worn by every thing, as if nature's domain had never before been invaded in that quarter. \* \* \* At five the next morning I started in one of the boats with the Second Lieutenant and four men on a cruise to the southward. We arrived at the first Fishery in time to procure breakfast. This was the establishment of *Caldez*, the patriarch of the whole, consisting of fifteen dwellings and one or two storehouses, with a population of somewhat more than twenty men. The number of

females or squaws (and they were all of the Indian race at all the settlements) we could not learn, but we supposed there were some six or eight, and many children of both sexes in "the dress that Nature gave them" were running about, the color of their skins betraying the mixed blood of the Spaniard and the Indian.

"To the old man *Caldez*—who was about seventy years of age and a *resident* forty-seven years upon the island—I was well known, and every arrangement that their circumstances would admit of, was made to add to our comfort and entertainment. A bag formed of some coarse material was laid out for our table-cloth, on which was deposited a large dish of cold fish, some bread, cold potatoes and onions, which, with some coffee, made in a hurry, formed our breakfast. *Caldez* took upon himself the duties of butler and waiter, inspecting with all imaginable care the two plates and the cups and saucers placed before us, removing *with his fingers* any spot indicating a less degree of cleanliness than was presented by the rest of the article. The knife drawn from his belt, which very probably had, but a few minutes previously, been employed in slaying some noble fish, was carefully wiped against his hunting shirt before it was presented for our acceptance, but as for forks, there were none to be had. Our appetites however were keen, and we found no difficulty in making an excellent meal of the viands set before us. \* \* \* We did not reach the next fishery, at least thirty-five miles from where we left our vessel, until about sun-down. A hot sun, rendered doubly oppressive from the want of wind, made our voyage any thing but agreeable, and I was not sorry, therefore, when we placed our feet on solid ground again with a prospect before us of a comfortable supper. We here found the forks that had been missing at *Caldez's* but alas! the knives were now gone. Necessity, however, is the mother of invention and we soon found means to dispose of our provender without them.

"We here found about a dozen buildings with a population of about fifty: men women and children. The head fisherman received us very hospitably and gave up his own cot for the night to accommodate us. We sat however quite late in the porch of his house, he giving me, through my companion who spoke Spanish, some account of their business, but when we did retire the humble character of our quarters did not prevent our enjoying a refreshing sleep, and we arose the next

morning before daylight, much invigorated and recovered from the effects of our scorching day before. We continued on our way after partaking of our coffee which was in readiness for us. \* \* \*

No. 12

CHARLOTTE HARBOR FORTY-SEVEN YEARS AGO

(Continued)

I continue the extracts from Mr. Whitehead's Journal of his visit to the harbor in 1831.

"The last fishery, to which we now directed our course, was distant about five miles, lying a mile or two up a very romantic river, whose borders presented a succession of the richest verdure. We did not find the head fisherman at home, so our stay was short, merely giving me time to make the inquiries I thought necessary as to the number of inhabitants, the number of buildings &c. We turned back and wafted by a pleasant breeze we glided through the narrow passes and among the many islands of the sound, with far greater celerity than had marked our progress the day before.

"The establishment of our friend Caldez hove in sight early in the afternoon, and on landing we found a repast prepared for us, which was a second edition of our breakfast the day before. While our boat was filling with limes, fish, clams &c. heaped upon us by our well-meaning entertainers, I wandered back into the island a short distance, and was surprised to find that quite a considerable mound I was ascending was composed entirely of oyster shells, and on my return noticed it to Caldez, who then stated that a tradition had come down to him from the former inhabitants of the island, that a number of Indians had resided on the various islands in this vicinity some hundred and fifty years ago, whose only food were the fish and wild animals they caught, the hunting of which, with an occasional war with the natives of the mainland, being their only occupation; and that it was thought these mounds of shells had been raised while they inhabited the islands, although at present, there were no beds of oysters in the immediate vicinity."

The writer would here remark *en passant* that during the first years of the settlement on Key West, there was a mound ten or twelve feet high, and of considerable circumference, composed in a great degree of shells, about half way between the Custom House and Whitehead's Point, which was opened about 1833 in the presence of the Commander of some Man-of-war here at the time, and the Collector of the Customs, but nothing was found save stones and shells, although the excavation was made to extend below the surface of the surrounding ground. In 1824-5 one mound was discovered which contained many bones, pieces of gold &c.—at least that was the story told subsequently, and which led to making the excavation above referred to.—Bones were sometimes found when digging foundations and in 1826-7 an almost entire skeleton of gigantic size was turned up.

Returning to Mr. Whitehead's Journal; after giving Caldez's account of the war of extermination between the different tribes, culminating in the fierce battle alluded to on page 5 of Mr. Maloney's Address, it proceeds:

“Seventeen canoes are reported to have been launched upon the boisterous waves of the Gulf, and only the individuals they contained, of their whole race, were saved from annihilation, as an overruling Providence wafted them across to the Cuba shore; where, old Caldez asserted, some of their descendants are yet to be seen. I had heard part of this tradition before, but never in so connected a form as related by our *old* entertainer. It certainly bears the aspect of truth.

“We reached the Cutter about sundown of the 27th, somewhat fatigued, but (as to myself) gratified with our jaunt. Wherever we landed we were hospitably received and entertained, and I have understood that it is generally the case, but if they did overrate their hospitable feelings rather more than usual towards us, I can very well account for it, from their entertaining a suspicion that my visit had some connection with the relations that were to exist in the future between them and the government. It is certainly the policy of every nation to preserve its fisheries for its own citizens, but here there was no intrusion upon the established rights of any one. No American had ever established himself near these, while some of the Spaniards employed had been residents long before the cession of the Territory to the United States, and old Caldez himself had visited the island he now inhabits, *before* the “Declaration of Independence” was promul-

gated. He and others of them would have become citizens long since had any one taken the trouble to explain to them the necessary advantages.

“On the 28th we weighed our anchor and the next morning found ourselves again at Key West, where on the 30th we sailed for Havana, some changes wished for by their merchants in the commercial regulations of that port, rendering it advisable that I should see the Intendant. I had that honor accorded to me after being there a day or two, and returned to Key West on the 7th December.”

The information obtained by Mr. Whitehead was made the basis of communication to the Secretary of the Treasury and the Delegate from Florida, Joseph M. White, which being laid before Congress, led to a withholding of the approval by that body the Act which has been referred to, imposing a tax upon these Spaniards. It was shown that in the course of three years they had paid nearly \$5000 into the Treasury for duties, besides the amount expended at Key West for salt and other necessaries—that the whole male population numbered about one hundred and twenty, half of which number probably were Indians; the number of Indian women was about thirty, and there were from fifty to one hundred children—that they had some of the Florida Indians among them, and that their settlements might draw others beyond the Indian boundaries were the only circumstances that seemed to militate against the privileges they were enjoying. To prevent any smuggling, in 1833 an Inspector of the Customs was appointed to reside at Charlotte Harbor; the first one being Dr. Henry B. Crews, who was killed in the spring of 1836, a victim, it was thought at first, to the hostile Indians, but afterward with greater probability to his own harsh treatment and improper conduct manifested towards one in his employ.

No. 13

WRECKING FIFTY YEARS AGO (JULY 7, 1877)

Judge Marvin in his admirable treatise on “Wrecks and Salvage,” published in 1858, briefly refers to the laws regulating wrecking on the Florida Coast prior to the establishment of a Court at Key West having Admiralty Jurisdiction, which did not take place until 1828 ;and notices the passage of an Act of Congress in 1825, which prohibited the carrying of any wrecked

goods found on the coast to any foreign port and requiring all such goods to be taken to some port of entry of the United States. Under the present systematic, well devised mode of transacting the varied business complications which wrecking creates, it is difficult to realize the state of things existing just after the settlement of the island. The territory was ceded by Spain to the United States in 1821, and—as will be seen in Mr. Maloney's able and interesting historical Address—Key West was made a Port of Entry in 1822. Previous thereto the Bahama wrecking vessels had uninterrupted range along the whole coast, and whatever vessels or goods came into their possession were taken to Nassau. The first steps towards regulating the business were, of course, not favorable to their further enjoyment of these privileges. In 1822 two New Providence wrecking vessels were seized, because they had on board some negroes who were slaves, their introduction into our limits being construed into a violation of the laws, then operative, respecting the slave-trade, but so long as their crews were composed of free negroes or whites, there was no law prohibiting their cruising on the coast. In July of the following year, however, July 1823, the Legislative Council of the Territory passed an Act, requiring the Salvors of any wrecked property to bring it to Key West, where, if an agreement as to compensation could not be made between them and the Captain or Supercargo of the vessel distressed, a report had to be made to a Justice of the Peace or Judge of the County who summoned a Jury of five men to decide what salvage should be paid; two of whom were to be chosen by the salvors, two by the Captain or Supercargo, and one by the Judge or Justice, who also directed the sale of the goods &c. Under the provisions of this Act vessels from the Bahamas could wreck and turtle on the coast, first reporting at Key West on their arrival and regularly clearing thence on their return. They could not, however, export turtle, although allowed to sell them at Key West.

Some idea may be formed of the crude manner in which officers were appointed and laws administered in those days from some facts that have come down to us. Early in 1824 the Rev. Charles Felch arrived from Tallahassee clothed with authority from Gov. Duval to *select* proper individuals to fill certain offices in Monroe County, he being furnished with *blank* commissions, and authorized to confer them upon the persons he might appoint and administer to them the oaths of office.

Among other appointments made was that of Griffith M. Roberts to the office of Sheriff, but as he was not a citizen, the same functionary—what he

was called does not appear—granted him a temporary certificate of naturalization, which some months thereafter Mr. Roberts was endeavoring, through the District Judge at St. Augustine, to exchange for one of a more formal character. Subsequently John Whitehead, as Judge of the County Court, was authorized to make appointments, both civil and military, blanks being sent to him “to fill up with the names of suitable persons,” but the population had increased by little in numbers, as he reported to the Governor, it would “not afford a sufficient number of capable men, and even if it could a Court could not be organized from the difficulties which would attend the getting of a Jury.” His position as Judge was a nominal one, only serviceable by enabling him to take depositions and in expediting the settlement of questions of salvages. These questions were frequently more complicated than they otherwise would have been by the semi-martial law that Commodore Porter and his officers were wont from time to time to consider in force, much to the annoyance of those engaged in mercantile operations—personal preferences leading them sometimes to interfere with the execution of certain duties except by particular persons. The Act itself (of 1823) under which the wrecking business was conducted, was of doubtful force, and in 1825 a decision was made in Charleston which called in question the legality of some of its provisions and threw so much doubt over all of them, that salvors felt reluctant to act under it and purchasers were equally averse to investing their money in goods which might be wrested from them in any port to which they might be shipped. Consequently, in October of that year Richard Fitzpatrick was sent to Tallahassee to consult with the Territorial Authorities and the Legislative Council as to the remedies to be applied. The importance of the wrecking business to the Territory at that time will be seen when it is stated that *three per cent* on all sales was collected for the territorial treasury, and that the gross amount of sales in 1825 exceed \$290,000. Whether any immediate benefit resulted from Mr. Fitzpatrick’s embassy, the writer does not remember—but that same year Congress passed the Act referred to by Mr. Marvin, prohibiting the carrying of any wrecked goods to a foreign port, and in 1828 the Superior Court with its admiralty jurisdiction laid the foundation of the present condition of things.

In one of these reminiscences, mention was made of the jovial entertainments which were among the features of social enjoyment in the early days of the settlement, and at which songs and stories were made the vehicles of wit and mirthfulness; and I am tempted to introduce to the present generation one of the songs with which Mrs. Mallory’s dining-room often re-

sounded forty-five years ago not from any special merit it possesses but simply as a relic of olden time. I copy it as it was sung by the German who composed it.

THE FLORIDA WRECKER'S SONG

Air — "The Garden Gate."

Come all good people von and all,  
 Come listen to my song,  
 A few remarks I have to make—  
 They'll not detain you long—

About our vessels stout and good  
 As ever yet were built of wood,  
 Sailing when de breakers roar—  
 De breakers of Florida shore.

Key Tavernier's our rendesvous,  
 At anchor dere we lie,  
 Ve see de vessels in de Gulf  
 Unfearing pass us by.

De night come on, ve drink and sing  
 Vile de current sets de vessels in,—  
 Midst de rocks vere de breakers roar  
 De breakers of Florida shore.

Ven morning dawn ve run away  
 And every sail we set,  
 And if de vind it should prove light,  
 Vy den de sails ve vet;

To gain her first each eager strives,  
 To save de goods and peoples lives—  
 Midst de rocks vere de breakers roar  
 Ve wreckers of Florida shore.

*T E Q U E S T A*

Alongside got, ve find she's bilged,  
Ve know vell vat to do,  
Save all de cargo dat ve can,  
De sails and rigging too.

Den to Key West ve quickly go  
And soon our salvage ve do know,  
Dere every ding is fairly sold  
And de money down to us is told.

Den von veeks cruise on shore ve take  
Before ve sail again,  
And drink success to sailor lads  
Who're ploughing on de main.

Den if you're passing by dis vay,  
And on de reef should chance to stray,  
Ve'll velcome you once more on shore  
Midst de rocks vere de breakers roar.

# First in Palm Beach

By LOUIS CAPRON

You remember, of course, the story of Lang, the Confederate deserter, and the beginnings of Palm Beach. J. Wadsworth Travers opened with it in his "History of Beautiful Palm Beach", and it has always been the traditional genesis.<sup>1</sup> This is Mr. Traver's version:

"It was in 1867 that Palm Beach had its beginning. . . . In October of 1867, George W. Sears of Miami made a trip to Indian River in a 'sharpie' and returning, managed to enter a small opening between the ocean and the lake, near where the inlet now is. He sailed past a point where the Cluett home now stands, and seeing a man standing by a palmetto tree, went ashore to investigate. He learned that the fellow was a deserter from the Confederate army and that he had a pal named Matthews, though the latter was away at the time. He was surprised to hear that the war had ended two years before. Upon Captain Sears return home, he told Charlie Moore of the beautiful lake he had discovered and Moore and a companion immediately secured a dory and provisions and set sail for the lake. Arriving at their destination, they looked everywhere for Lang, the deserter, but he had vanished.

"Moore liked the place and decided to make it his home, but his companion concluded that there were too many snakes and wild animals, so he returned to Biscayne Bay. Moore later took up a homestead and it is upon this land that the first church in Palm Beach — the Episcopal — was erected."

Moore is supposed to have appropriated the dwelling deserted by Lang, the Confederate deserter. And it has always been supposed that, learning the war was over and that it was safe for him to return, Lang had headed back to his former home. But it wasn't so and Lang wasn't very far away — that is, as distances are today.

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<sup>1</sup> J. Wadsworth Travers, *History of Beautiful Palm Beach*, (Palm Beach 1928).

In 1871, "The Florida Gazetteer", compiled and published by J. M. Hawkes, M. D., New Orleans, 1871, 214p, contained the itinerary of a party that had travelled down the East Coast of Florida in 1870. This was republished in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* in October, 1939 and January, 1940, and shows the lack of communication in those days and explains why Moore lost track of Lang.

"JUPITER LIGHTHOUSE — Here is the end of your boat travel inside . . . The family of the lighthouse-keeper, although quite social at their own house, very rarely make afternoon calls, after the manner of townspeople. They had not even called on Mrs. Gleason, their next door neighbor, to the south, although they had lived so near for three years — only a hundred miles, and four creeks and rivers to ford.

"From the top of the lighthouse may be seen Lake Worth, seven miles south. . . Lang, who until 1868 lived alone on an island in that lake, knows of a short haulover where boats can be taken from a branch of Jupiter across into the lake."

And further on:

"LAKE WORTH, on our right, was formerly a fresh lake, but Lang wanted a private inlet of his own, so he cut a canal a hundred paces, through the beach, and let in the salt water. Then he had a 'pretty kettle of fish', for the water became salt and the fish all died, and floating ashore died by cartloads, making such a stench that Lang had to clear out to find clearer air. And so this inlet for awhile made a salt water bay, the favorite resort of myriads of fish from the sea. But on a certain unlucky day a few months before our visit there, a relentless northeaster had closed up Lang's cut with quicksand, and lo! the incoming creeks are changing the waters of the lake to fresh again; which process in its turn kills the salt water fish, and thousands of them were floating, or lodged along the shore, in every stay of decay, and scenting the air for miles. . . .

"Our first night on the beach was near Lang's Island, and our larder was replenished from his four acre potato patch, which was running wild."

So *that's* why Lang left! But where was Charlie Moore? And now hang on to your hats, the most fantastic part of the story is still to come!

In 1873, the publishers of *Forest and Stream*, a sportsman's magazine, sent an expedition to Florida to explore the region around Lake Okeechobee and report on the routes thither and the hunting and fishing. It started about December 1, 1873 and was headed by Mr. F. A. Ober, a young naturalist of Massachusetts. They were gone about four months, and Ober wrote several papers about it under the pseudonym of "Fred Beverly." These were published, with other similar articles, in *Camp Life in Florida, A Handbook for Sportsmen and Settlers*, compiled by Charles Hallock, in 1876.

In these articles, Ober confined himself strictly to matters of interest to "sportsmen and settlers," but in 1887 he wrote a book for boys entitled *The Knockabout Club in the Everglades*. In it he incorporated a grim and grisly who-done-it which may explain the final disappearance of Lang. It is the story of two boys who are on an exploring expedition to Lake Okeechobee. They reach Fort Pierce, and the story continues:<sup>2</sup>

"The trading post at Fort Pierce was to have been placed at our disposition; but the man in charge wanted a day to move out, and so we waited, not removing anything from our boats. About midnight a small boat came off to us stealthily, and the boatman in it awoke us with the startling intelligence that a murder had been committed ashore, and we were needed to join the force of residents who were going out to hunt up the murderers.

\* \* \*

"The circumstances attending the murder were these: Two young men ('crackers') named Drawdy and Padgett came up to the cabin of a Mr. Lang, a German, who had started a nursery some miles from the lagoon, in the pine woods. After taking dinner with him, they requested him to set them across the creek in his boat. He complied, taking them over the creek, about an eighth of a mile from his house; and at about the same time he should have landed them, his wife (at the house) heard the report of fire-arms, since which he hadn't been seen. That was two days before our arrival, but his distracted wife had just got to the lagoon with the news as we reached Fort Pierce. There were very few people in this section, the sheriff was nearly one hundred miles away, and it really looked — as one of the men who brought the news declared — as if there were no law in this country at all.

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<sup>2</sup> F. A. Ober, *The Knockabout Club in the Everglades: The Adventures of the Club in Exploring Lake Okeechobee* (Boston 1887). citing pp. 90, 93, 94, 96, 100, 126.

“We were all much excited. Everybody said it was outrageous, and that something should be done; but nobody was ready to take the lead, and so the murderers went at liberty, defying the law.”

\* \* \*

“We — that is, Sally Osceola, Billy, Jimmy, and Jarneky — then said good-by to my partner, the Antiquarian, and trudged over the sand hills into the pine forest. Late in the afternoon we reached the only cabin on the trail, the house said to contain the men who had shot Mr. Lang. There was nothing to do but to stop there a while, as the trail led right by their garden, though our camping-place for the night was four miles beyond.

“The owner of the cabin, Jernigan, I had known two years before, when he had led me off into the forests with the intention (as I afterwards believed) of losing me there and appropriating my ‘plunder.’ He was an evil-appearing man, with a black-looking face half hidden by a rusty beard, and always carried a gun over his arm. He hailed me with apparent joy, and introduced me to young Drawdy, one of the suspected murderers, — a simple-looking, not ill-favored young man.

“While I was drying my clothing — for I had forded a creek a mile above — this young man came into the house and got his gun, drawing out the buckshot, seventeen in number, from the barrel, and then firing off the powder. *The other barrel was empty!* The significance of this lies in the fact that with this gun he had shot the German, and had not reloaded it since, as was later proved when he was captured.

“Jernigan tried to make himself agreeable, and was eager for news from the lagoon, saying he had heard that Mrs. Lang was at Fort Pierce trying to get a posse out to search for the slayers of her husband. He was anxious to know if anything would be done, and particularly inquired if Mr. Stewart, the sheriff, had arrived. He said he didn’t know much about Mr. Lang, but had heard that he was a mighty bad man. ‘They do ’low round here,’ he explained, ‘thet he hed been taken with *heart disease*, and crawled off and died. It’s a right smart sudding disease, and persons has ofting been tuk with it, specially sich as Lang, which shoots our cattle when they feel like it.’

“It was apparent that he knew something of the murder, if he had not been concerned in it; and I thought that my best policy (at least for the

time being) was a non-committal one. I realized that I had unsuspectingly stepped into a nest of serpents, and heartily wished myself back at Indian River. But it would not do to recede, and so I went on with my Indian friends.

“At Ten-mile Creek, four miles beyond, the sun went down as Billy was making our camp-fire.”

\* \* \*

“. . . let us retrace my trail now, in order to finish my account of the doings of Jernigan and his crew.

“It was nearly a week later when, having finished my exploration of the country to be traversed with the boat, I returned to Indian River. I had a guide to a point within twenty miles of the lagoon, and thence went on alone, as the trail was well marked, though nearly ten miles of the distance was under water, through which I waded half knee-deep. At about mid-afternoon I reached Alpattiokee Creek, where we had first camped, and arrived at Jernigan’s cabin ‘an hour by sun,’ or just before sunset.

“Jernigan and all the men were out hunting, his wife said; but she gave me a good supper, and then, in spite of her earnest appeals to stay till after her husband’s return, I went on towards the coast. It was then seven miles to the lagoon. Two miles beyond was Five-mile Creek, which was a very bad piece of water to cross, and I wished to get to the other side of it before dark. So I was walking swiftly on, at the very top of my speed, and had almost reached it, when I heard a whistle near me. Looking around, I saw Jernigan and Drawdy approaching, on horseback; while two other men could be seen slinking off into the distant woods. They said they had been out hunting; but they were heavily armed and came from the direction of St. Lucie Prong, where stood the dwelling of Mr. Lang! They rode close up to me, and urged me to go back with them to the cabin. I held my rifle carelessly in the hollow of my arm, but it was quite ready for action in case of any suspicious movement on their part; and so I stood, half at bay, while they seemed to be making up their minds what course to pursue.

“Jernigan was the man I wished to engage to take my boat across country to Lake Okeechobee, as he had the only oxen and cart-wheels in this section of the country. He was very willing to do it, as I made him a

liberal offer, but was afraid to go into Fort Pierce to get the boat. If I would meet him at the creek, he would engage to carry my party the whole distance. This I could not do, and he finally agreed to go in for the boat in ten days' time, as he first had 'right smart of planting to do;' but I was to treat him squarely, and not say anything to his hurt, for he had heard 'how them Indian River fellers spicioned' him and his partners of the Lang affair.

"Then I said good-by, and pushed on again, as they turned about and made towards their cabin. It was then quite late, and night was already spreading its gloom over the swamps as I reached the hammock bordering the creek, and walked over the slender poles across it in fear and trembling. Ah! but it was gloomy above that deep alligator hole, into which a single misstep would have plunged me!

"It was fairly dark as I waded the 'branch' struck off across the marshy plain, and pushed on into the woods. Just before darkness obstructed the view, I glanced back, and saw something that made my blood tingle with anticipatory danger. I saw the four men I had left behind me circling to right and left — two on each side, as if to flank my course and head me off before I could reach the lagoon.

"Nothing has since occurred to justify me in the surmise that they intended to cut off my retreat and put me out of the way, as one possessing dangerous information against them, except some dark hints from Jernigan, two weeks later, that I nearly lost the 'number of my mess' that night.

"The people at the Fort (Fort Pierce) had collected quite a number of facts regarding the murder, forming indeed a perfect chain of circumstantial evidence against the two Drawdys and Padgett, with Old Jernigan as accomplice. The sheriff had been here, but was afraid to act, as Jernigan and his friends were reported strongly intrenched in their cabin and had threatened to shoot every man coming out to arrest them.

"To complete the episode (which occurred several years ago), let me insert an extract from a Florida newspaper of two years later, which was sent me while absent from home in the West Indies. Jernigan had often said to me that he would never be taken alive, and it seems by this account that it was no idle boast. The following is the extract:

A Murderer Killed. — Information has been received from Fort Thompson, Manatee County, saying that Elias Jernigan, one of the murderers of O. A. Lang, was killed near that place on the 18th of January, by a posse who were attempting to arrest him. The facts in relation to the murder of Mr. Lang are written by Mr. C. S. Williams, and published in the 'Union.' Mr. Williams, in the course of a long sojourn in the Indian River country, became acquainted, we believe, with Mr. Lang, who, in some respects, was an odd genius. He says: 'Mr. O. A. Lang was a shrewd German gardener, educated and accomplished in his business, and well versed in botany and other scientific studies. He came to this country about ten years since, and some eight years ago settled with his family on Lake Worth, Dade County, Florida. Here he lived a solitary life, having no neighbors nor associates, except a few "beach-combers," or "wreckers," and some straggling Seminoles; introducing foreign plants and cultivating vegetables and fruits about six years. He it was who opened the communication between the Atlantic Ocean and Lake Worth, since become noted as the subject of a claim by W. H. Gleason under his contract with the state for ditching, — Gleason claiming that Lang did it in his employ. While living here, Lang made careful and thoroughly scientific examinations of the fauna and flora of that section, and prepared several books of preserved foliage as specimens, with botanical descriptions attached. Wearied of his monotonous life, he removed to a location on the St. Lucie River, some twenty miles or more from its mouth, where he established a home, and finally secured a title to a tract of land, part of which was on an island in the river, and there he made a clearing, and planted various tropical fruits, etc., but for some reason he acquired the enmity of his neighbors — if families living several miles distant can be called neighbors, and it was reported that he was in the habit of shooting their hogs and cattle. Whether this was true or not, or whether it was but a pretext for getting rid of him, is uncertain, but one morning, about two years since, two men came to his house, pretending to be hunting horses. They were known to him, living not far away, and he took them in to breakfast, gave them such information as he could, and finally put them across the river in his boat, when they shot and killed him — his wife distinctly hearing the shots. His body was sunk in the river, but it rose after a few days, and was cut in pieces by the murderers, and the parts stuffed into alligator holes. Subsequent developments revealed the fact that four men were connected with the murder, of whom the Jernigan above-mentioned was one. Some were arrested, and one is now in prison for the crime; the others left the country. Mrs. Lang, with her two or three children, abandoned their plantation, and is said to be living with relatives near New Smyrna. The improvements have gone to ruin, although sugar-cane, bananas, and other fruits are growing there, to be

gathered only by wandering Indians and stray hunters. For several years Lang kept a diary, which is said to be in the possession of a resident of Indian River, and contains much that would be of value to citizens and fruit-growers if it were published.’”

Finally, a quote from the *Tallahassee Sentinel* of Feb. 28, 1874, appears to confirm this version of the Lang story.

“*Murder in Brevard County.* About the first of this month A. Long (sic) living on Five-mile creek, near the St. Lucie River, was decoyed from his house and killed by Thomas Daughtrey and Allen Padgett. It is supposed he was murdered for his money. Our correspondent says the country is infested with lawless characters. The notorious Green, who murdered Griffin on the Halifax about two years ago, is living in the neighborhood where Long was killed.”

But Ober did not have the whole of the fantastic story. An earlier trip to Florida in 1872 had convinced him that the only way to reach Lake Okeechobee and explore it, was by boat. So he had a light boat of shallow draught built and brought it with him in 1874. He collected his party at Fort Capron “Though I had undertaken the exploration alone and unaided, when the final start was made my party included five persons besides myself and the two drivers. . . . The Professor had come to me recommended by the leading naturalist of America. He was a valuable acquisition, erudite and companionable, The Doctor, his friend, was an indefatigable collector and naturalist, who had visited nearly every Indian tribe in North and South America, and had much experience in tropical countries. Two students accompanied them, fresh from college and enthusiastic. But the mighty man of valor was a Dutchman, whom we will call Van Buster, whose only aim in life seemed to be to see strange sights and lands, and report thereon.”

The “Professor” was John Whipple Potter Jenks of Brown University in Providence. He was collecting material for the University museum. His notes of the expedition were not published until 1887, when they provided a series of six articles in the November and December issues of *Forest and Stream*, under the title, “Hunting in Florida in 1874.”<sup>3</sup> The following year he had a booklet printed under that title for complimentary distribution. It

<sup>3</sup> J. W. P. Jenks, *Hunting in Florida in 1874*, A collection of Articles from *Forest and Stream*, Vol. 29: 323-325, 344-345, 362, 384-385, 402-403, 424-425 November and December 1872) citing pp. 12 & 23ff.

corroborates Ober's story and adds the fascinating detail that Mr. J. "promised his daughter in marriage to "a young man of nineteen, whom we will call Tom," if the deed should be carried out successfully. The "Professor" was present at the wedding.

His meeting with Ober is described by Jenks as follows —

"At 4 P.M. we landed at Fort Capron, the projected base of our swamp operations. Stepping from the boat, a Yankee explorer [Ober] bound also to Lake Okeechobee, grasped my hand, and in a trice told me that he had brought out a sail-boat all the way from New York City, with the intention of having it carried across the country, sixty miles, by an ox-team, to Fort Bassinger, on Kissimie River, down which he proposed to navigate it till it should usher him into the lake, and, moreover, he was only waiting to make up a party of four, having already secured one. Here was a dilemma. The addition of my party would make the number six, while the utmost capacity of the boat would accommodate but four. It was, however, quickly decided that we should all go to the river together, and then mature our plans according to circumstances. To secure the services of an ox-team and driver, the "Explorer" and Erwin volunteered a tramp of ten miles to the cabin of a "cracker" who was understood to be able to furnish the team. On their return the following day they reported themselves successful, and Saturday fixed upon as the date of departure, the "cracker" engaging to take the boat and all luggage to the river at the point designated for forty dollars.

"As the day of our departure drew near, I was informed that we should pass through a settlement of outlaws, ten miles distant, every man of whom had left his native region for that region's good, and located himself outside of "law and gospel" just over the frontier line of civilization. The owner of our team was accounted a leader among them, and by way of cautioning me, my informant related, under the promise of secrecy, the particulars of a murder, within three weeks, by two of the gang, of an honest, industrious German, who had made for himself a home just outside of their settlement. He being a man of education and some degree of refinement, not affiliating with them, and, withal being envied the possession of a better orange plantation than they had, though wholly the result of his own industry, it was decided to get rid of him on the damning charge of being a stealer and killer of cattle. Among Floridian "crackers" this is a far more heinous crime than that of taking human life, and once fastened upon a man, if only on suspi-

cion, immediately puts him out of the protection of such law as may exist. Finding their victim could not be driven away, their usual resort to treachery was adopted, and the deed committed to two desperate ruffians, one a young man of nineteen, whom we will call Tom, and who will figure largely in the sequel of this narrative. To him, as the story was told me, our team owner promised his daughter in marriage, if successful. At first, every effort was made to provoke a quarrel that would give some shadow of excuse for the execution of their plot; but the imperturbably good nature of the honest German would not beguile him into a dispute. At length under the pretext of desiring some orange-slips from his excellent grove, they called at his cabin and asked for dinner. Both dinner and slips were cheerfully given them, and then requesting their host to set them across the deep creek about a quarter of a mile from his house, he went with them for the purpose, but did not return. Soon after leaving, his wife heard four gun and three pistol shots in quick succession; but surmising they were fired at game, waited till near dark for her husband's return, and then repaired to the creek, only to be horrified by the sight of blood in the boat still securely fastened on the other side. It was subsequently proven that the assassins sought to cover up the evidence of their guilt by dragging the body a half mile below, and thrusting its desmembered fragments into alligator holes. The wife, snatching up her young child, traversed the gloomy wilderness for ten miles, at the dead of night, to Fort Capron and reported the deed. The following week the sheriff of the county with a posse of ten men, started for the settlement with the intention of arresting the guilty parties. When within five miles of it he was met by a delegation informing him that his design was known, and the whole neighborhood was assembled in one cabin with plenty of arms and provisions, and ready to endure a siege, but no one could be arrested while a man or woman remained alive. Under these circumstances and considering "discretion the better part of valor," the sheriff beat a hasty retreat. Thus the matter stood two weeks subsequent, as I was about to enter the community, my informant closing up his narration with the remark that he felt it his duty to let me know the character of those to whom I was about to trust myself and my party, but cautioned me on no account to breath a suspicion of any one or reveal the secret to either of my companions, lest it might be suspected by the outlaws that we had some knowledge available to the government, and, on the principle that "dead men tell no tales" find our last resting place in concealed alligator holes, even if their cupidity should permit us to return from the swamp after they had fleeced us to the

extent we might permit. Forewarned, forearmed, I the more persistently determined to penetrate the mystery and walk the strand of Lake Okeechobee."

In crossing Five Mile Creek, a wheel broke, and after considerable delay the party reached the teamster's cabin with their belongings. There they were told that the load must be lightened. "Fred and myself volunteered to remain, while Doctor P. and Erwin insisted upon advancing." However, "Just before they were ready to start, the Teamster came to me and said he had in the woods another pair of steers that six months before had been yoked. These Tom would catch and with a light cart take the luggage of Fred and myself on the morrow . . . a neighbor had left a boat at the fort, in which he would take Fred and myself to the lake and back to the fort in one day, while the oxen were resting. Then we would return to his cabin together." However, after various delays they met the Teamster returning with the ox-cart, who reported there was no boat at the fort and it was sixty miles from there to the lake, so they returned to the cabin together.

"As suggested by Tom, towards sundown of the day following our return I observed men, women and children gathering at the cabin, mostly on foot, but some on horseback and others in ox-carts. At length a man rode up of graver mien and with horse more richly caparisoned than any other I had seen. Soon Mr. J. brought him to my tent, and taking me aside said, "This man is a justice of the peace, and has come sixty miles to marry Tom to my daughter to-night, but there is a hitch in the arrangement, as last week's mail has failed to bring the license sent for. . . . Now what do you advise, as the justice cannot wait two weeks for another mail, and my neighbors for ten miles around are all gathered to witness the ceremony? As the malfeasance would be wholly on the part of the justice, inasmuch as should he perform his part with their consent, they would be legally married to all intent and purpose, it was finally decided that Mr. J. and Tom should give the justice a written obligation, with myself as witness, to send him the certificate as soon as possible, which document they both signed by making their mark, after I had assured them it was written correctly. Nothing further hindering, Tom and his bride took position on the platform connecting the two rooms of the log cabin, while the justice pronounced them, without any questioning or pledging, husband and wife. Tom had exchanged his teaming suit for a similar one, only more cleanly, and his bride contented herself with plain calico without ornaments of any kind, but with shoes and stockings — the

first time I had seen her wear any. After the ceremony, the bride's mother and grandmother stepped up and shook hands without kissing, and were followed by her father without coat or vest, shoes or stockings, but with shirt sleeves rolled up to his elbows, and his pants to his knees. After a long pause, I considered it my turn to shake hands with them, though, with all my knowledge of their antecedents, and at how fearful a price Tom had gained his bride, I could hardly bring my mind to congratulate them upon their union. The ice broken, there was a rush for handshaking, after which Mr. J. brought out a fiddle with two strings and called for dancing. Unable to aid in this part of the festivity, I soon retired to my tent, though disturbed till daylight with the music and toe-tripping."

"I have learned from newspapers," the Professor says in his concluding pages, "that soon after I left the region a determined sheriff went into the settlement with a posse, and shot Mr. J. dead in his tracks while resisting arrest, but brought Tom to trial, who was, for the want of positive evidence, convicted only of manslaughter, and died within a year in the State prison."

\* \* \*

"Less than a year after," the professor adds in concluding this account, "I found the following in the *Boston Transcript*, but by whom written I know not, nor, through correspondence with true men in the vicinity of Fort Capron, have I been able to obtain other than conflicting accounts of the arrests and trials.

Now that spiritualism is being brought so prominently forward, it is interesting to learn, from the Chicago Tribune, that an ingenious attorney in Florida was the first person to discover a practical value in it. His client, Tom Drawdy, was accused of murdering one Lang, and the jury was composed of eight colored and four ignorant white men. There was no doubt of the murder; there was no flaw in the evidence. But the counsel found one. He maintained that no proof of Lang's death had been given and, in all probability, he was still hiding to obtain revenge. This made a commotion, but the main argument was yet to come. The gentlemen of the jury had heard that spirits were very common all over the North; that some had even been heard of in St. Augustine. Supposing the jury brought in a verdict of guilty and hanged an innocent man, what could they expect but that his spirit would haunt them through life, appearing with staring eyes and clammy tongue, the death damp on his hands and the horrors of the tomb round about him? Of course they must take the responsibility, and they did, by acquitting Tom Drawdy forthwith.

There is another version of this fantastic trial in *Historical, Industrial and Commercial Data of Miami and Fort Lauderdale, Dade County, Florida,* by F. W. DeCroix, published about 1911.

“August Lang was an old German, and rumor has it that at one time he was gardener of the German Emperor. . . . A sad ending came to this honorable old man. (He) moved his family from the Lake Worth district, and settled up on the ‘Ten Mile Creek’, just above White City, in St. Lucie County. One day the old man was missing. Search was made, but to no avail, he could not be found. One day a man named Hendry told a story that paralyzed the country. In a quarrel amongst Lang, Drawdy, and a man named Padgett, Drawdy and Padgett killed Old Man Lang, and cut up his body and placed it in some alligator holes, the ’gators destroying the corpse. Young Hendry had witnessed the killing, and the two murderers so frightened him that he became insane over the tragedy, but before losing his mind, he revealed the facts and the two were brought to trial. In those days there were no white men available for jury duty, and the two were tried by negroes.

“They were brought to Ocala, and received a sentence of eight years. Now comes the part where the attorney for the murderers had his share in the history of this case. The negroes who were jurors in the trial of Drawdy and Padgett, naturally superstitious, were affected to a considerable degree by stories of ghosts, hobgoblins and such. The least mention of the dead was sufficient to cause a stampede of all the negro race in the country, whether they were in court or in church. The wiley attorney for the defense, in a moment when the jurors were about to announce sentence, sprang up with a shout and with fear upon his features, with a long bony forefinger pointing to the trembling blacks, shouted, ‘You want to hang these men? Why, their ghosts will come back and haunt you for the rest of your days!’ That settled it, with the sentence and frightened screams mingled together, they rushed from the building, and scattered broadcast. One authority states that some of the blacks are running yet.”

The reason, of course, that white jurors were scarce, was that most of the white residents of suitable age, had fought in the Confederate army and were still un-reconstructed — and, therefore, not citizens.

It would be a shame not to include in this collection, a letter in the Tri-Weekly Florida Union of Saturday, Sept. 12, 1874, not only because it sheds new light on law-enforcement of the day, but even more because of its transcendent prose.

### A Dastardly Murder

Titusville, Fla., Sept. 5th, 1874

To the Editor of the Union:

Sir: Some time since this section of the State was thrown into intense excitement over the report of the most dastardly and brutal murder ever committed and under the most atrocious circumstances. The facts were immediately communicated to Governor Stearns, who has taken every step in his power, as the Executive of the State to bring the chief actor of this horrible crime to condign and speedy punishment. In order that the readers of this article may not be confounded in the locality of this outrage, I will simply state, that this murder was committed on four mile creek, near the extreme southern end of Brevard county, a stream running into the St. Lucie river, which empties into the St. Lucie sound, one hundred and twenty-five miles south of this place. The victim of this complicated and revolting murder was a German, by the name of A. Lang, who, with his young wife, had sought out this remote locality for the purpose of horticultural pursuits, it being below the frost line. A man of science and education. As a botanist he had no equal, having at one time been the chief gardener to the King of Saxony. It was here, whilst surrounded only by his wife, engaged in the introduction of rare flowers, as well of the different varieties of choice tropical fruits, foregoing all the luxuries and comforts of life — he was struck down without a moments warning by the hand of the assassin, under circumstances so revolting, and so cowardly that it created terror and awe in the heart

of every good and law abiding citizen. One Allen Pagett, and one Thomas Drawdy, with others unknown, concocted a plan for his destruction. Under the garb of friendship they went to Lang's house, and after receiving his kind and generous hospitality, they requested him to set them across the river, which he cheerfully complied with — having no idea or conception of foul play — he went into the boat unarmed, whilst Pagett and Drawdy carried each a double-barrel shot gun, but a few moments had elapsed, when the sharp crack of several guns was heard at the landing, and A. Lang passed from this life to eternity. Not satisfied with their foul and hellish murder, in order to hide their crime from the face of man, they placed weights to his mangled corpse and sank it into the St. Lucie river, in a secluded spot, under the mangroves. "But murder will out." The spirit of A. Lang, with the shattered trunk once more came to the surface — it would not stay down; and then in the clear light of Heaven, without a witness, save that all-seeing eye, in order to blot the record out, of their cold and unrelenting act, they drag his body ashore, and then commenced one of the most horrible debaucheries of barbarism ever known in any civilized country. With their knives and axes they chopped the body into pieces, and with long sticks put the remains into the alligator holes under the banks of the St. Lucie river. Their bloody and most damnable work did not awe them, After a lapse of time, Mr. Lang not returning, his wife almost frantic with grief, knowing but too well the meaning of the firing of those guns, left her home with an old woman by the name of Betsey, and went into Fort Pearce, a distance of ten miles. Gathering some friends, they returned, and instead of finding her beautiful rural home, it was a sad waste. Those lawless men had destroyed it all — plants, flowers, and thousands of fancy trees, were either pulled up or cut down, and the work of years destroyed in a single hour. You may ask why is this?

Why are not the laws put into execution? I will tell you. The Governor of Florida has found it impossible to find persons to accept his appointments, and the county being sparsely settled, the settlers being more or less in constant dread of these lawless men, not knowing at what moment they might share the same fate of A. Lang. But thanks to Governor Stearns and his prompt action in this matter, and through Hon. John Price, Judge of this district, in the absence of county offices in Brevard County, the High Sheriff, Arthur Speer, and the High Sheriff, Kit Hart, of Orange and Volusia counties, with a strong posse of men with Bench warrants, proceeded to arrest this gang. They returned with Thomas Drawdy, have placed him in strong irons and ere this reaches you the ringleaders will be in the Orange county jail, and it is to be hoped for the sake of this progressive and civilized age in which we live these men may be hanged, and the law vindicated. Now let J. B. C. Drew, U. S. District Attorney do his duty, under complaint in regard to robbing stranded vessels &c, on this coast, and this beautiful country will soon be the pride of every Floridian.

Yours, ARIZONA.

Tri-Weekly Florida Union.

Saturday, Sept. 12, 1874

But if we are going back into the origins in the Palm Beaches, Lang is recent. This garden spot has probably always been a chosen living place of man except during its periodic subsidences under the sea. Several thousand years ago, no doubt, it was the home of some relative of the "Vero Man," that prehistoric gentleman whose bones were uncovered under the marl in excavating a canal spillway near Vero Beach half a century ago, and whose pre-glacial status is still under discussion.<sup>4</sup> Various other skeletons brought up from varying depths indicate a continuity of life in this region but no

<sup>4</sup> George Grant McCurdy, "Archaeological Evidences of Man's Antiquity in Florida", *The Journal of Geology* XXV (February 1917).

personalities. It was not until the Seminole War and the year 1841, that an individual stands out, and his name was given to the place now known as West Palm Beach.

On November 5, 1841, Captain R. D. A. Wade of the Third Artillery, accompanied by Lieutenant Thomas of the Third Artillery, who, in a fateful September twenty-two years later was the General George Thomas who won the title, "The Rock of Chickamauga," Assistant Surgeon Emerson, and 60 N. C. officers and men, embarked at Fort Lauderdale in twelve canoes and with provisions for fifteen days. In the bay at the Hillsboro Inlet, they captured an Indian who led them to a village, fifteen miles to the west, where they surprised and captured twenty Indians and killed eight. A little later, finding the going difficult, they left the prisoners, the boats and a guard in charge of Surgeon Emerson and proceeded on foot.<sup>5</sup>

"Under the guidance of an old Indian, found among our prisoners, who is called Chia-chee," Wade reported, "I took up a line of march through nearly a mile of deep bog and saw-grass, then through the pine-barren and some hammock, to a cypress swamp, a distance of some thirty miles northward. Here (on the 8th instant) we were conducted to another village, which we also surrounded and surprised, and captured twenty-seven Indians, took six rifles and one shot gun, and destroyed a large quantity of provisions and four canoes. The next morning we set out on our return to the boats.

... Having seen much in the old man, Chia-chee, to inspire my confidence, I permitted him to go from our camp . . . to bring in other Indians, which he promised to do in three or four days. This promise he subsequently redeemed, having . . . brought in six . . . at Fort Lauderdale." On November 6, both Captain Wade and Lieutenant Thomas were advanced a grade in rank.

Captain Wade was laconic. His report was to the military point and said little about the country. A rough map of the area accompanied the report and was incorporated in future maps, but the details had to wait for fifteen years, when the Second Seminole War was long over and the Third, or Billy Bowlegs War, was building up. Jefferson Davis, then Secretary of War, faced with military operations in the unsettled, uncharted and practically unknown Everglades, turned over to Lieutenant J. C. Ives,<sup>6</sup> of the Topo-

<sup>5</sup> John T. Sprague, *The Florida War* (New York 1847 p. 392.

<sup>6</sup> J. C. Ives, *Memoir to Accompany a Military Map of the Peninsula of Florida South of Tampa Bay*, April 1856.

graphical Engineers, the job of compiling a military map of the country south of Tampa Bay, and a memoir descriptive of the area based on expedition reports from the recent war. Ives turned the "general Direction" of this over to Captain A. A. Humphreys, of the Topographical Engineers. This was very fortunate for us, because Humphreys, then a lieutenant, although unmentioned in dispatches, probably because he was a surveyer and not a West Pointer, accompanied the Wade expedition and kept a copious journal. We know this because a foot note to the section, "Inland Routes from Fort Jupiter to Fort Lauderdale", reads, The information here given is taken from a journal kept by Lieut. Humphreys, Topographical Engineers, while passing over the line in company with Captain Wade's command, in 1841."

There were probably no longer any Indians in the Palm Beach area. Wade had carried them off as prisoners. When General Harney had a "Military Map" drawn up in April, 1857, after numerous scouts had been ordered by the General, there was nothing to show Chai's Village or Chai's landing either on the area map of Major C. S. Pemberton, who had charge of the scouting parties in this section, or on the master map drawn by Captain J. W. Albert under orders of General Harney. But, thanks to Humphreys, there is on the Ives map, and a detailed description is in the Memoirs. "Chachee's Village" appears on the map, and "Cha-chi's Landing" in the Memoir, although Chai was now living in the Manatee region with his wife, Polly. "Cha-chi's Village" appears also on the "Jeff Davis Map" of 1856.

Wade's party was in the vicinity of the Palm Beaches twice, once on his way north along Lake Worth, and again on the trip south from Fort Jupiter along the higher, dryer route further inland. Thus we have two descriptions of Cha-chi's enterprise. Let us take up the south bound first.

"Lake Worth, is a pretty sheet of water, about twenty miles long and three quarters of a mile in width; bounded on the west by pine barren, and on the east by the sand hills of the beach, which are sometimes twelve or fifteen feet in height, and covered with cabbage trees, wild figs, mangroves, saw palmettos, &c., with here and there a variety of the cactus. In the center of the lake, a mile and a half from the head, is an island [Munyon's Island], bearing a tree resembling the wild fig in appearance, with a fruit like the olive in shape and size, of a yellow color when ripe, and used by the Indians as food. A delicate running vine is also here found, yielding a vegetable about three quarters of an inch long, with a flavor similar to that of the cucumber. Opposite to the middle of the haul-over, only eighty yards across, descending twelve feet to the sea, at

an angle of forty-five degrees. Two and a half miles further on is another haulover, one hundred yards in width. Below, along the eastern border of the lake, are long strips of cultivable ground about two hundred yards wide, separated from the beach by ponds and wet prairie. These were formerly tilled by the Indians who had large villages in the neighborhood. The soil is light but very rich, being almost entirely vegetable mould. Rock occasionally makes its appearance on the surface, and heaps of sea shells are strewn here and there. The country on the west side would afford fine grazing.

“Six miles from the last haulover, on the west side of the lake, is Chachi’s landing. A broad trail, half a mile in length, formerly led from this place over a spruce scrub towards the villages of the Indians whose gardens were on the opposite side of Lake Worth, which they reached by hauling their canoes over the trail. The last fields were five miles from the foot of the lake.”

“The second inland water route from Fort Jupiter to Fort Lauderdale . . . diverges from the one just described, at the point where the water leaves Lake Worth Creek. An extensive sawgrass pond or marsh extends from this place, twelve and a-half miles south, to Chachi’s Village, which is a mile and a half west of Lake Worth. Lagoons of deep water, covered with spatterdocks, are here and there to be met with. In many places canoes have to be pushed and hauled, but at others the water expands into grassy lakes, a quarter of a mile in extent, and generally from one to two miles apart. To the east can be seen a growth of spruce with some pines, and to the west a line of cypress bordering the pine barren back of it. Capt. Wade’s command were two days in going from Fort Jupiter to Chachi’s Village. The site of this is on a pretty island, bounded on the northband east by a deep clear pond half a mile wide, and between a mile and a-half and two miles long. On the west and south it is surrounded by the grassy lake. The trail to Lake Worth leads, a third of a mile, to a small pond a quarter of mile across, on the opposite side of which is the haulover. Westward, a small trail runs from the village to the swamp bordering the Everglades, the eastern boundary of the former being about seven miles distant. Capt. Wade’s command examined this trail at a time when the water was rather low and did not attempt to take the canoes over, as it would have been necessary to haul them a mile and a-half over perfectly dry and rather rough ground. There were indications that it had been frequently traversed in boats during high water. The grassy lake was followed by the exploring party two miles and a half to the north-west. For the last quarter of a mile the water was but a few inches deep. A dry pine barren, more than a mile across, through which runs the wagon-road from Fort Jupiter to

Fort Lauderdale, forms the boundary of the Lake. Beyond this is a small pond, and an eighth of a mile further a string of them, deep enough to paddle in, and generally not more than forty feet apart. At the end of half a mile the water again overspreads the surface of the ground to the depth of two feet; dotted with small islands of cypress and pine.

“Leaving Chachi’s Village, and travelling six miles a little east of south through the grassy lake, where the water continues about two feet in depth, the pine barren is again encountered at a point where the lake makes into it for a short distance. Turning to the west, at the end of a mile of alternate water and dry land, a series of ponds is arrived at. When the water is high, canoes can cross to the Everglades at this place without difficulty.”

Chachi, or Chai Chi, or Chai, or Chi, under an assortment of names, became a scout for the army. Lieut. Com. John T. McLaughlin of the navy commanding an expedition in the Everglades, says, in a report Dated December 26, —

“I . . . shall send a party into the Mangrove lake, near Key Biscayne, with which Chai professes to be acquainted. . . . Chai is now my only guide. His brother, taken by Captain Wade, is an excellent one, and could be induced to volunteer with Chai.”

It could have been on one or another of these more or less aquatic expeditions that Chi’s name was given to “Chi’s Cut” that runs into the lower end of “Key Biscayne Bay.”

When the war ended, Chai-chee did not return to his old haunts on Lake Worth, but settled across the state in the Manatee region, where we find reference to him in Lillie B. McDuffee’s fascinating story of early days in that region, “The Lures of Manatee”, a new edition of which is now available.

“Among the Indians mentioned by the Rev. E. F. Gates, as showing a marked friendliness towards the settlers, were old Chi-ee and his squaw, Polly. Chi-ee had been a famous chieftain but at this time was in exile from the Seminoles because of the help he rendered the white soldiers in capturing his brother tribesmen. . . .

Contrary to the usual laconic mood of the Indian, Chi-ee as he grew better acquainted, became loquacious and through the Span-

iard Manuel, who understood the Indian language, he related many legends of his people which had been handed down from one generation to another."

But Chai-chee's aid to the enemy was not to be forgiven, and a proclamation was published in 1852 by Governor Thomas Brown as follows:

"State of Florida:

"To all to whom these presents shall come, Greetings —

"Whereas it has been presented to me by a petition of a number of the citizens of the county of Hillsborough that a certain Indian of the tribe of the Seminoles now in Florida by the name of Chi and his wife have been outlawed by their tribe for the offense of acting as a guide to the United States troops during the period of Indian hostilities in Florida and that the faith of the general government has been pledged for the protection of the said Chi and his wife. Now know Ye that the faith of the state of Florida is hereby extended for the protection of the said Chi and his wife granting to them the privilege of remaining in the state and it is hereby required of all good citizens to protect the same Chi and his wife and to see that they are not delivered to their tribe or sent beyond the limits of the state except by and with their own free will and consent. Witness my hand and the great seal of the state of Florida which I have caused to be affixed hereto. Done at the Capitol in Tallahassee this twelfth day of October A. D. 1852.

(signed) Thomas Brown Governor."

December 19, 1955, a party of surveyers commanded by Lieutenant George L. Hartsuff of the army, wantonly destroyed the prized garden of Billy Bowlegs, the acting chief of all the Seminoles remaining in Florida, and met his angry protests with horseplay. He called the Seminoles again on the war path and the next day wiped out the camp of the surveyers, killing two and wounding Hartsuff.<sup>7</sup> The army was again activated, troops poured into Florida, and expeditions of the regular army and Florida volunteers penetrated Indian country with Indian guides — including Chai. But Chai did not survive this war. He met a tragic end, but it was fifty years before his epitaph was written.

<sup>7</sup> Ray B. Seley, Jr. "Lieutenant Hartsuff and the Banana Plants", *Tequesta* XXIII (1963) 3-14.

A young lieutenant, Alex S. Webb, graduated from West Point in June, 1855, and was immediately assigned to the Second Artillery and to duty in Florida. Fifty years later, as a Brevet Major General, retired, he dug up his journal of those days and wrote an article, "Campaigning in Florida in 1855." It was published in the Journal of Military Service Institute. On June 6, 1856, he found the following entry —

"I forgot to mention the death of Corporal Manning of my company, of Chi, the Indian,. . . Chi committed suicide. He evidently felt that he was neither Indian or white, and got himself out of the world to avoid meeting parties of Indian scouts."

Thus Chia-chee, Cha-chi, or Chi, the first resident of the Palm Beaches we know by name, came to a violent end by his own hand. But Old Polly, his wife, remained to be immortalized by Canova.\* The famous Captain Jacob Mickler came in with a bunch of Indians he had captured and, "after securing a receipt for the Indians, . . . was furnished with a guide, an old Spaniard, named Phillipi, and an Indian squaw, called Polly, a former wife of Chi-ee, a famous Seminole chief." Canova was of the party, which was to cross the watery waste of the Everglades.

"Polly, who was to act as our guide, gave her directions to Phillippi, who interpreted them to us in English. She had crossed the Everglades eighteen years before, and yet she knew the way as if she had made the trip a hundred times. No mariner's compass could have guided us across this trackless waste with more precision than this hideous old hag."

"The weary, toiling soldiers became discouraged. . . . They at last openly declared that Polly was misleading them. . . . The next day Miami was in sight."

\* \* \*

"After travelling two miles we came to a spot where Polly commenced an excited discussion in Seminole, with Phillippi. That old worthy said that Polly pronounced the little rivulet at our feet to be the head of the Miami river. Polly piped out in her shrill, panther-like voice:

\* Andrew P. Canova, *Life and Adventure in South Florida* (Tampa, 1906).

‘Sookus-hecheck-opko! lokasee; ojus!’

We all understood the word ‘lokasee,’ and permission was speedily obtained to follow a bear which was running across from one island to another. The chase was a short one; the bear took refuge on an island and was soon surrounded and killed.”

“That night we camped at the lower end of Biscayne Bay, and the next day we passed through Upper and Lower Cards Sound, into Barnes’ Sound, and through Chi-ee’s Cut-Off, into Saddler’s Bay. Chi-ee’s Cut-off is where the waters of Barnes’ Sound connect with Saddler bay. The water was twenty-five feet deep, and clear as it could be.”

‘We built a fire and soon had a mammoth chowder ready, together with some cooter steak. Polly’s eyes scintillated with suppressed joy, but when she tasted the delicious mixture, her bosom heaved, her lips parted, and lifting her withered hand toward heaven, she ejaculated;

‘Good — too much!’”

Old soldiers never die — they just misremember! F. M. C. Boggess was one of these “old soldiers.” In 1900 he published his memoirs under the title, “A Veteran of Four Wars, A Record of Pioneer Life and Adventures and Heretofore Unwritten History of the Florida Indian Wars.” It was published by the Champion Job Rooms, Arcadia, Fla., in 1900. This excerpt marks his earlier years and has a half-familiar ring —

“The Indians knew how to travel through them (the Everglades). In 1850 there was a boat company that went in the mouth of New River. They had an old Spaniard and his Indian wife. His name was Chico; his wife Polly Murphy. They got out of provisions and were lost. They told Polly if she did not pilot them out they intended to kill her. She became much frightened and began crying. She took some dry leaves and crumbling them she laid them on the water shielding them from the wind. All at once she cried out, clapping her hands, telling them she knew where she was. They went in the direction indicated by the leaves and entered Shark River.”

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# A Short History of *Liguus* Collecting

## with a List of Collectors — 1744 to 1958

By RALPH H. HUMES

Of all the land snails found around the world, few excel the genus *Liguus* in color, beauty of design and architectural perfection. These attractions have inspired hundreds of collectors to search for these beautifully colored creatures since they were described by Müller and others in the eighteenth century—over 200 years ago.

The early describers, Müller (1774), Montfort (1810), apparently did no collecting, Peale and Say (1825), were naturalists as well as scientists. They did not confine their activities to a single field but were interested in the entire fauna and flora of every area they studied.

The classification of land mollusca had barely begun when Müller began his study of land shells. Nearly every unfamiliar shell he encountered was a new species or genus waiting for someone to describe it. Imagine the thrill and excitement these early collectors and scientists must have experienced on landing upon a sandy beach of some unknown Florida Key and wandering into a lush, cool hammock and there, for the first time, finding the multicolored, conical, tree-climbing snails which we now call *Liguus*; glistening everywhere from the trunks and branches of trees!

One can imagine the thrill, the excitement of the hunt, which drives the contemporary "snailer" from his bed at four o'clock in the morning to return home hours after the sun has set. This thrill must certainly have inspired the early collectors, too. Only the intense love of nature and the out-of-doors, coupled with the excitement and anticipation of a rare "find" or the wonderful fellowship experienced on a snailing trip could entice the snailer to endure the hardships and risk the hazards which confronted him on every snailing excursion. For what other reasons would men or women endure mosquitoes, horseflies, deerflies, ticks, redbugs, bees, wasps, scorpions, centipedes, fire ants, poison ivy and poisonwood, and subject themselves to the ever-present

dangers of poisonous snakes, potholes and alligators, the female of which will charge with a bellow if one wanders too close to her nest.

Up to the turn of the present century, very little was known about Florida tree snails, although Montfort, Peale and Say knew of Cuban *Liguus*, as that island is fertile ground for all types of land mollusks, the home of some 4,000 species of land snails. Early in the 1800's British sailors hunting for fresh meat and water along the Florida Keys found *Liguus*. Some of the specimens taken by these early collectors found their way into British Museums, where they are still on display.

Three men: Simpson, Pilsbry, and Clench, stand out as the giants of authority on Florida's tree snails, *Ligus fasciatus*.

Charles Torrey Simpson, an all-around naturalist, collected his first *Liguus* in 1882. Simpson wrote in *Lower Florida Wilds, 1920*, "Out of Doors in Florida", "Florida Wild Life", "Ornamental Gardening on South Florida", etc. Pilsbry called his Florida's first naturalist and the father of Florida *Liguus*. Simpson described and named 19 color forms in the "Proceedings of the U. S. National Museum", 1929, where he was an associate. With more than 30 years in the field, acquiring a fine collection, he certainly knew a great deal about them. The collection was given to the University of Miami where some of his types may still be seen. This man of sturdy legs walked the railroad tracks to Key West—180 miles—riding the train only where there were no snail hammocks in sight. He also did much hiking and collecting in Long Pine Key, not only for shells but plants as well. Charles Mosier, well known naturalist, and John K. Small, the famous botanist, were often his companions on collecting and exploring trips.

In the days of the horse and the Model T Ford, Simpson rode to Flamingo in a charcoal wagon intent on collecting shells. Instead, with the help of an old negro charcoal burner who lived alone in the area, he brought back a load of orchids and planted some on his trees along Biscayne Bay; (*Oncidium luridum*).

Dr. Henry A. Pilsbry's monograph on *Liguus* in "Land Mollusca of North America", 1946, cites at least 16 forms he described. During his long tenure at the Academy of Natural Sciences in Philadelphia, Pilsbry was known as

the Dean of American malacology. He began his work on *Liguus* about 1899, and in 50 years amassed a collection of more than 20,000 specimens.

Dr. Pilsbry was my companion on several glade buggy trips. At each stop, stretching out on the ground, he would rest. Some times fingering or scratching for tiny shells on the surface of the ground, or dozing off for a few seconds. It took only a few minutes and he was ready to go again which seemed remarkable since, at the time, he was in his eighties.

Dr. William J. Clench, curator of mollusks at the Museum of Comparative Zoology, Harvard, Cambridge, Mass., described some seven or more Florida *Liguus* color forms as well as a good number of Cuban types. Dr. Clench said he had 30,000 *Liguus* specimens to draw from for his "Reclassification of Florida *Liguus*", 1939. Clench has been a student of *Liguus* for many years and is the only living member of the big three.

He and his associates were the first to draw a map to scale of the Long Pine Key area, beginning near the entrance of Everglades National Park. W. S. Schevill drew the first walking map of Long Pine Key; Clench improved on this map tremendously. Besides giving the hammocks numbers, he was also the first to name these hammocks in honor of his associates, contemporaries and collectors of the time.

Dr. Frank Craighead, Ralph Humes, Richard Deckert, Archie Jones, Captain C. C. von Paulsen and C. N. Grimshawe, along with others, continued this practice, numbering and naming many more hammocks with the help of aerial maps provided by the naturalists department of Everglades National Park. Dr. Craighead has spent an enormous amount of time interpreting and correcting these maps.

Charles Mosier was a fine naturalist and friend of Simpson. He collected mostly in the Long Pine Key area. For a while he was superintendent of Royal Palm State Park which is now a part of the Everglades National Park, and lived there in the old Lodge. This wooden structure was a landmark for years, and the meeting place of naturalists from all over the world. The dilapidated old structure was finally torn down by the Park Service. Mosier had a fine collection of *Liguus* and enjoyed giving many shells away. Eventually the collection was offered for sale and can be seen at the Beal-Maltbe Museum, Winter Park, Florida.

Another collector who has described color forms of *Liguus* is Henry Frampton, owner of a biological supply house in Miami. Naming several fine varieties, he had a few more in manuscript (names accepted and in common use) which was published by Margaret Doe in *Nature Magazine*, citing figures and plates with names. Since this complied with the rules of nomenclature, she was inadvertently credited with naming these color forms: *gloriasylvatica*, *violafumosus*, *nebulosus* and *lucidovarius*. Later Dr. Clench straightened out the figures, numbering the plates and text to stop further confusion as to authenticity.

Dr. deBoe named "*L. f. solisocassis*." The description was actually written by Richard Deckert, an old-time herpetologist and fine shell collector. Deckert also helped Pflueger describe his "*L. F. doheryti*" from Lower Matecumbe Key. Ralph Humes authored "*L. f. wintei*", a color form found by Erwin Winte, an Everglades National Park Ranger.

Frank Young, a professor at the University of Indiana, recently named "*L. f. von paulseni*" in honor of Capt. C. C. Von Paulsen, U. S. Coast Guard Ret., who found the new race on Middle Torch Key. Young also rediscovered "*Liguus fasciatus pictus*" on Big Pine Key. This shell was thought to be extinct since 1912, and was not found in the newer collections. Frank was brought up in south Florida and has written many useful papers on *Liguus*. He is also an authority on "Lig" localities.

J. N. Farnum was one of the first to collect in the interior of the lower Everglades around Pinecrest, 50 miles west of Miami. Working out of state road headquarters at 40 Mile Bend during construction of the Tamiami Trail, he numbered his hammocks and drew a map of their locations as Dr. Clench had done in the Long Pine Key area. He found many new forms which were later named by Dr. Clench and Margaret F. Doe. The Museum of Comparative Zoology at Harvard bought two fine collections from him.

The "Lig" country stretches from Pompano Beach across the state to Marco and down to Key West. It is a large area divided into sections by snailers and hunters. These geographical areas are abbreviated as follows: C. P. "Central Plains", a new area seven miles south of the Loop Road, named by Humes and Jones, it is the buffer area between (Pine Crest) and L.P.K., (Long Pine Key); L.P.K. located west of Florida City, now in the Everglades National Park; and, C.C. for "Collier County". Other shell localities carry

the descriptive names given them by the discoverer. Grimshawe named a hammock north of the trail Meon for "My own", others were "Pants" hammock, the "Iron Pot", "Bloodhound", "Horsefly", and so on.

The total number of hammocks in south Florida has never been counted accurately. The estimate would probably run to almost a thousand. There are about 400 within the boundaries of Everglades National Park. Fire and storm have destroyed a large number of small hammocks.

Before the drainage canals were dug in the early 1900's, new hammocks were not forming because the water table was higher which made the land unsuitable for hammock growth. Dry areas of today are producing young islands of growth which in time will become typical hammocks. There is some danger of Australian pine and mellalucca taking over large sections of the open glades.

Before the drainage of the Everglades, it was not uncommon for adventurers to start at the Mouth of Miami River using canoes or Indian dugouts, poling to the headwaters, then across the glades to Ft. Myers, down to Cape Sable and over Florida Bay to Biscayne Bay and back again to Miami. In those days it was easy to collect shells along the perimeter of south Florida by boat. The large hammock areas in the central Everglades were not known before the Tamiami Trail was cut through the Everglades.

With the publication of Simpson's and Pilsbry's manuscripts, 1912-1920-1929, amateur "Lig" collecting increased appreciably. A fair number had been collecting before the 1926 hurricane. This storm destroyed some of the shoreline hammocks along the keys, particularly Matecumbe, the home of *L. fasc.*, *dohertyi*. This shell has not been found since and lucky were the collectors that had them in quantity for exchange later.

About this time, or soon after, the first snail club was formed. The collectors met in a small building under the bridge which spans Miami River at 12th Avenue. There were about 15 members, all of whom were well acquainted with the glades and shell localities. Any of these men could, by glancing at a shell, recognize the locality or place of origin.

I don't know what the purpose of the club was unless to extract as much information as possible from the newer members, as well as keeping

complete tab on what was being found. Remarks were often made calculated to mislead the unsuspecting neophytes. Stories were tall, locations were never divulged. So, as might be expected, members just dropped out, each keeping his own secrets and collecting harder than ever. At the time of the '35 hurricane, there were a good hundred collectors in the fields on weekends. The *field* means most of the three lower counties in south Florida.

It was hard going in the days before the glade buggy and the airboat. Some hikes into new areas meant overnight camping, or even longer. There were times when a twenty mile circuit was walked in a day.

Then it was common practice to take a large number of shells, new collectors in particular, while many others felt they needed large series from each locality to have a good collection. Many hammocks were heavily stocked with shells, so it was easier to bag them and sort out the culls at home.

In spite of the good fellowship among snailers, competitive collecting has always been keen. This, of course, didn't help conservation a bit.

The Everglades west of Miami are flat and monotonous to most travelers. To the hunter, fisherman, "snailers" and general out-of-doors people, it has an special lure which continues to grow on one. There are seasons when the glades are dust dry and times when the area is covered with water as far as the eye can see. It also can be very hot on bright days and cool to cold at night. The white puffy clouds, against a deep blue sky, seem to be just overhead. Surrounded by air, water and grass, the hammocks in the distance appear dark and inviting because these hammocks are the home of the lowly snail.

*Liguus* bearing hammocks are found in the Caribbean pine forest, the open glades, along the Cypress strands and the dune areas of the shores. Wherever one comes upon a new hammock, the urge to prospect it for something new in shells or plant life is always exciting.

What snailer doesn't remember Mac's Place at 40 Mile Bend on the trail and the cold beer after a hard day collecting. I can remember drinking two cans and will swear it never passed my throat; I was so dehydrated. Mac's Place was the meeting place of the hunters, froggers, fishermen and "glade rats" in general which, of course, includes the snailers. Some lively and

interesting discussions were always going on. Shell talk was sure to be one topic of the day and many a hot discussion followed. Jokingly, it became known as the liars' club. I remember old Mr. Ebbitts, who started late as a collector, coming into Mac's more than one weekend with a handful of fine *Liguus* and not one of the more experienced collectors would tell him what he had or where he had been, although each knew the exact shell and where he collected it. Old Mr. Ebbitts didn't mind, he simply said, "I'll find out for myself, eventually."

Much misinformation was practiced at Mac's. Snailers are known to be straight-faced liars and this was the place to learn—from professionals. Most of the misleading information was in fun, however, and not intended to be vicious, unless you objected wasting the day looking for the phantom hammock.

Collecting was at its peak just before World War II. Many new hammocks were found. At the height of collecting there were often 25 or more collectors in Pinecrest area alone, over one weekend, and their take must have been at least 1,000 shells. This intensive collecting continued after the war and did not slow down much until about 1950. Fires were prevalent during the heyday and many ugly things were attributed to the collectors. Much of this was not deserved. Hunters contributed their share of fires along with the campers and fishermen. We were making a survey of the Park in a glade buggy with the ranger and our glade buggy's exhaust started a glade fire that lasted for three days. Even after the fires, if any "Ligs" were left they often came back prettier and larger than before. A burned hammock usually lets in more light and air, which produces more food so the fewer shells thrive better.

At the first word of the formation of an Everglades National Park the rush for shells was on. Many hammocks were collected hard, anticipating the time when the area would be closed to all collecting.

*Liguus* were sold among collectors and dealers all over the Miami area and elsewhere. There was a fad on *Liguus* necklaces, and it was not uncommon to see them around the necks of fashionably dressed ladies on the streets of Miami.

By this time rare and good forms were becoming scarce. Many collectors found it necessary to re-plant good types from the original hammocks to locations unknown to other snailers. This practice made collecting very

fascinating. Rare color forms popped up everywhere. Roadside trees were "planted", backyards and even along the streets of Miami. It wasn't necessary to go out into the field. Sometimes, just checking your neighbor's grapefruit tree was rewarding. You can imagine the transplanter often lost his prize shells to others.

In 1942 the first new race of *Liguus* to be found in a long time was discovered by William Osment on Howe Key. *Liguus fasciatus osmenti* Clench. Osment has always been an avid collector. You name the trip and kind and he is ready. I have collected with him in Cuba and in the Everglades for both plants and shells. In Cuba we found *Epidendrum phoenicun* which we promptly named the chocolate orchid because of the scent. The species was known before but not in many collections; the common name is still the chocolate orchid.

I was with Osment and his family on the second trip to Howe or House Key. It was loaded with rattlesnakes. I think we killed seven on that trip. I have never seen snakes more abundant than at Howe Key. Many years before, on the high ground of Madeira Bay, there were snake stories beyond belief. One old-timer declares there was a boa 23 feet long and the guardian of Madeira Bay.

In 1954 (published date) Erwin Winte found a new color form in the Long Pine Key area—*Liguus fasciatus wintei* Humes. Winte has been a long time conservation officer. He has done much on the preservation of *Liguus*. You will read more about him later.

Captain Von Paulsen surprised the collecting clan with the latest find. He discovered *Liguus fasciatus von paulseni* Young, on Middle Torch Key. Von Paulsen, a Coast Guard Captain and aviator, was the first to fly the National Park Service over the Everglades to determine possible boundaries for the Everglades National Park. He assisted Dan Beard, first superintendent, and many other notables toward this end. He is still a collector and will take anything he sees; even now, in his seventies. Both of us being of World War I vintage, we have had many a muscle cramp together. I have known times when his vocal chords would not respond to speech from sheer exhaustion; I was there in the same condition.

Collecting now by the old-timers that are still living and able to do so, is limited to just a few shells at a time and only matched forms. A locality

collection which used to be the vogue is now considered unimportant. I suppose the new batch of young collectors are trying to represent as many localities as possible doing exactly as we did as beginners, taking every shell that we could find.

The end of collecting *Liguus* is not over by a long shot! There are many hammock areas where shells can still be found in abundance.

Erwin Winte was the first, to my knowledge, to transplant or "farm out" *Liguus* successfully. Proving that one could cross two distinct forms and make a hybrid. Others have been successful, too. Archie Jones raised a rare form, *splendidus*, from "eggs" to "3-year-olds" in his back yard. He brought food in on branches several times each week.

On the strength of these experiences, Jones, Winte, Von Paulsen and I, formulated the idea of taking rare forms we had "hidden out" and transferring them to the Everglades National Park, to protect the species from extinction. With the understanding help of Dan Beard, the Park's first superintendent, permission was granted by the Park Service. Time will prove this to be a very wise decision on their part. Most of the color forms will be preserved for posterity to study and admire. These four men that are now collaborating on the project have all had twenty-five years experience in the field, and I doubt if anyone now living knows more about the habits and needs of these mollusks. Only shells which were not native to the Park were brought in. Nearly all of the fine and rare races, more than 30, are now doing well and are not lost to science.

Expanding populations along both east and west coasts of Florida may have pushed the Seminoles deep into the Everglades, but it obliterated many *Liguus* localities for building sites especially in Dade and Broward Counties. It is more than likely the time will come when no hammock will be left with enough trees to support a small colony of *Liguus*.

The Everglades National Park is the last refuge for shells and many rare forms of plant life.

Seminoles seem to like these shells as there are nearly always some living around the Indian Camp hammocks which suggests that they might have brought them in, but not likely for food purposes as the animal has a

very bitter taste. If "Ligs" were symbolic to the Indians, it is strange none were ever found in the graves of either the Caloosea, Tequesta or the Seminoles. Yet each of these tribes were well acquainted with marine shells and used them for many purposes, according to Dr. John M. Goggin, late head of the Anthropology Department of the University of Florida.

Along with this fascinating hobby, I have enjoyed years of wonderful companionship. I have eaten turkey soup made by old Captain Tony's squaw and Seminole soup is the worst combination of ingredients. But no matter what the ingredients were, it always tasted like gar fish or skunk. Many times we have had trouble along the snailer's trail, a twisted ankle, a broken toe, or our glade buggy stuck in a mud hole. These and many other experiences have been the fate of snailers and other gladers. Once I ran into a cactus. It stuck an inch-long thorn under my kneecap, but there was my companion to help carry me out. Another time a large centipede stung me on the forearm. Believe me, this was no fun! I was in pain for 17 hours and nothing could be done about it.

Enduring friendships are formed while following an obscure Indian trail in the dark; riding the waves in a small boat; crossing an angry bay; the long ride home at night from the Lower Keys after a fruitless day; or, lying flat on our bellies in the sawgrass to avoid lightning in a thunderstorm. These and many other experiences one cherished for a lifetime. I believe all "snailers" are my friends, and I am proud to mention a few I have made over the years: Archie Jones, Erwin Winte, Capt. Von Paulsen, Roy Fields, Capt. Norman White, the McGinty Brothers, William Osment, C. N. Grimshawe and Dan Beard, and the entire Park personnel along with many others.

The following list of over 200 persons includes most of the known collectors. The dates indicate approximate beginning of collecting. These scientists and amateurs have contributed all we know today about the tree snail—*Liguus fasciatus*. No doubt there are more collectors not accounted for here. It would seem an impossible task to list them all, even with the help of many old-timers, as well as the excellent assistance of Dr. W. J. Clench. My apologies to those unintentionally left out. The whole history of shell collecting has been far from entirely selfish. Many of these people have shared or given collections to public schools, private institutions and museums. My own collections may be seen intact at the Everglades National Park Museum.

In spite of the tremendous number of shells taken over such a long time and by so many people, there are still quantities of "Ligs" in various areas.

If you want to be a "snailer" the equipment is simple, and so are you! All that is required is a long pole with a cup on the small end, a machete to cut your way in and out of the underbrush and sawgrass, and a very small collecting bag. And, if you're stupid enough to tramp mud and water for as much as eight to ten miles a day, you're welcome to try it. I have had it!

On second thought, who wants to go next Sunday?

\* \* \*

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#### Editor's Note:

The names of many persons listed here are incomplete. We decided it better to publish them in this form rather than to omit them. More complete names and additional names may be possible in a 1966 supplement.

## LIST OF LIGUUS COLLECTORS OR WRITERS

1744-1958

- Tucker Abbott: Curator Mollusks, Academy Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 Dr. C. G. Aguayo: University of Havana: former Curator Mollusks, now University of Puerto Rico, Mayaguez, Puerto Rico  
 Charles Allen, St. Petersburg, Fla.  
 Benny Anchinlick  
 Anton, 1839  
 A. F. Archer: Professor, Tift College, Forsyth, Georgia  
 James Arias: Miami fireman, 1935  
 R. Atmus: manager factory, Springfield, Massachusetts  
 F. C. Baker: former Curator Mollusks, University of Illinois  
 Dr. H. B. Baker: Associate of Pilsbry Academy Natural Sciences, Philadelphia  
 Dr. Blenn Bales: Circleville, Ohio; Marine shells mostly  
 Dr. Thomas Barbour: former Director Museum, Harvard MCZ  
 Dr. Barge: unknown  
 D. W. Barnes: early conchologist of Ohio  
 Les Barrett: Engineer-Architect, Miami, Florida, 1930  
 John Bartlett: Malachologist, 1844  
 Dr. Paul Bartsch: former Curator of Mollusks, U. S. National Museum  
 Fred M. Bayer: Asst. Curator, University of Miami  
 Dr. J. H. Beal: Beal-Maltbie Museum, Winter Park, Florida  
 Adele Koto Bedell: mostly marines, Beloit, Wis., 1937  
 Dr. J. C. Bequaert: Tropical Medical Snails, formerly of Harvard now of University of Arizona. Author of shell manuscripts.  
 Dr. P. Bermudez: Conchologist, Cuba  
 W. G. Binney: early collector, 1844 conchologist  
 A. D. Blalock: Big Pine Key, Florida  
 W. F. Blanton: County Judge, Miami, Florida  
 Feliz Braddock: Plaster-contractor, hunter, Miami, Florida  
 Mary Brickell: sold Brickell hammock shells to tourists at 5c each  
 W. S. Brooks: Ornithologist, Orleans, Mass. Spent the month of March 1920 collecting the lower Florida Keys; Cape Sable; Flamingo and Choceloskee for *Liguus* for the Museum of Comparative Zoology  
 Brugiere: 1792  
 Buck Buckshorn: Tool & Diemaker, Miami, Florida  
 Luther Bunell, Miami, Florida  
 C. M. B. Cadwalader: Former Director, Academy Natural Science, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 R. E. Call: school teacher—book on shells, Indiana  
 Ed Campbell: iron worker, Miami, Florida  
 Campbell: Florida Power & Light Co.  
 J. Christensen: Lawyer, Miami, Florida  
 F. Christie: Musician  
 Geo. H. Clapp: collected with Simpson. Aluminum Co., Pittsburgh  
 W. F. Clapp: former Curator of Mollusks, M.C.Z.  
 W. J. Clench: Curator Mollusks, M.C.Z.  
 H. V. Coffee: Orange State Oil Co., Miami, Florida  
 W. D. Collier of Collier County, Florida: planted Ligs. 1873

- T. A. Conrad: geologist Academy Natural Science, Philadelphia about 1950  
 Wm. Crouch: Accountant, Miami, Florida  
 A. C. Currier: amateur collector, Michigan author, michigan shells  
 Cecil Curry: Lawyer-Judge, Miami, Florida  
 W. H. Dall: former Curator Mollusks U. S. National Museum  
 Davis: fireman, Miami  
 Mr. and Mrs. Deberg: traveling salesman, Miami, Florida  
 Dr. and Mrs. Otto DeBoe: author, Miami, Fla.  
 Dr. W. F. DeCamp: Civil War surgeon, Grand Rapids, Michigan  
 R. F. Deckert: 1st *Liguus* collector at Pinecrest region with Farnum, Herpetologist, Miami, Florida  
 Jim Dill: Ex-Lt., U. S. Army, hermit of Pinecrest  
 Margaret Doe: author, described several *liguus* unintentionally in *Nature Magazine*  
 Ted Dranga: dealer-collector from Hawaii and Miami  
 S. C. Ebbets: newsman, Miami, Florida  
 D. L. Emery: collector, St. Petersburg, Florida  
 W. J. Eyerdam: collector for Smithsonian and Harvard Museums  
 Dr. G. B. Fairchild: Entomologist, Panama  
 J. N. Farnum: naturalist, early Pinecrest days  
 E. G. Feria: Cuba  
 Roy Fields: orchid grower, Miami, Florida  
 John Finlay: Wilmington, Delaware; mostly marines  
 Florence Forsyth: Lepidoprist, Florida City, Florida  
 R. W. Foster: Research Associate, M.C.Z.  
 Dr. H. Fox, Sr.: M. D., Miami, Florida  
 Dr. Harold Fox: Father and son collectors  
 Henry Frampton: Biological supply and dealer, author of several color forms of *Liguus*, Miami, Florida  
 Fred Fuchs, Sr.: Homestead, Florida  
 Fred Fuchs: Postmaster, orchid grower, Homestead, Florida  
 Theo. Gill: worked mainly on fish U. S. National Museum  
 Howard Gilmore: Eastman Kodak, Massachusetts  
 J. A. Goggin: D.D.S., Miami, Florida  
 Dr. J. M. Goggin: Anthropologist, University of Florida  
 Calvin Goodrich: former curator Museum University Michigan  
 Dr. A. A. Gould: author Shells of Massachusetts  
 C. N. Grimshawe: Investigator for City of Miami, Civil Engineer, Miami, Florida, large collection  
 Dr. Paul Guitart: formerly Director of the Kate Plumer Bryon Memorial School in Guines, Cuba, now living in Indiana  
 F. K. Hadley: dealer, Newton, Mass.  
 Layman Hardy: science teacher, Miami, Florida  
 Albert Hay: Supt. Orange Bowl, Miami, Florida  
 Alfred Hay: Pogy.  
 Henry Hemphill: Conchologist, 1882  
 H. H. Henderson: explorer—collector  
 J. B. Henderson: U. S. National Museum  
 Dr. L. G. Hertlein: Curator of Mollusks, California Academy Science  
 Jack Hickey: postal employee, Miami, Florida

- W. Hodges: Massachusetts collector  
 Carl Hughes: U. S. Coast Guard, Miami, Florida  
 H. Hull: citrus grower, Miami, Florida  
 R. H. Humes: sculptor, 1933, collaborator Everglades National Park. Donated his collection to E. N. P.  
 A. L. Humphries: U. S. Dept. of Agriculture Entomologist  
 Eleanor Hutchinson: amateur collector, Miami, Florida  
 Wm. H. Hutchings: and daughter  
 R. W. Jackson: farmer, Cambridge, Maryland  
 Paul Jester: Bank clerk, Miami, Florida  
 Archie Jones: Drug company executive, Miami, Florida. Collaborator E.N.P. Large collection  
 Kenny Jones: son of Archie, started at eight years of age  
 C. W. Johnson: former Curator Mollusks Boston Society Natural History  
 Les Karcher: U. S. Coast Guard, Miami, Florida. Chief Boatswain Mate  
 Dr. A. H. Kasper: Miami, Florida  
 G. B. Kesson: planted shells on Marco Island, 1907  
 Mrs. Kitchings: Sugar Loaf Key  
 George Klager: contractor, Miami, Florida  
 A. S. Koto: Manufacturer, Beloit, Wisconsin  
 Phillip Kyne: Miami, Florida  
 Charles Lang: tinsmith, Miami, Florida  
 Isaac Lea: patron Academy Natural Sciences, Philadelphia, Pa.  
 N. W. Lermond: Naturalist, Maine. Had museum at Thomaston  
 Newt. Lewis: Game Warden, Miami, Florida  
 Lincoln: Dealer, West Florida  
 Linne, 1758: early scientist  
 Lippincott, Jr.: publisher  
 Livingston: Civil Engineer, early collector, Homestead, Florida  
 G. A. Lohr: Aviator, Miami, Florida  
 Lossman, 1900: Lossman Key  
 Dr. and Mrs. Y. C. Lott: Naturalist, orchid grower  
 H. N. Lowe: author, San Diego, California  
 Marion Lowe: Key West, also plant collector  
 W. B. Marshall: former assistant Curator U. S. National Museum  
 Harold Martin: Salesman, Miami, Florida, 1938  
 Judy H. Mason: Curator Rollins College Museum (Huggins)  
 Alicia Masnata, Miami, Florida: Mostly Cuban shells  
 Robert N. Masters: accountant, Miami, Florida  
 Doug, Matthew: well driller and plumber, Miami, Florida  
 Mrs. B. McClendon, florist  
 Paul McGinty: Boynton Beach, Florida, brother of Tom  
 Tom McKinty: general collector, author of shell literature and collaborator with Pilsbry on his monograph  
 Geo. McLaughlin: fireman, Miami, Florida  
 Chester Melville, Chestnut Hill, Mass.: general collection  
 Dr. Mendel, Jr.: Miami, Florida  
 Dr. Edwin Mercer: collected with Simpson

- Phil. Modzger: Pharmacist, Marathon Key Vaca  
 Denysde Montford: conchologist, 1810  
 Roy Montgomery: Handcrafts, Miami, Florida, dealer  
 Wayne Montgomery: Builder, Miami, Florida  
 C. B. Moore: explorer, archaeologist, 1904  
 Earl Moore: Naturalist, Miami, Florida. Started collecting as a small boy.  
 Louise Moore: artist, Miami, Florida  
 Hebard Morgan: author, 1904  
 Charles Mosier: Superintendent, Royal Palm State Park, 1920  
 Ed. Moylan: realtor, Miami, Florida, large collection  
 Muller, 1744: early conchologist  
 John Olsen: Geologist, Miami, Florida  
 Wm. Osment: Hollywood, Florida, found *L. fasciatus osmenti* Clench on Lower Keys.  
 Orchid grower.  
 Osteen: (Supt. Royal Palm State Park?) Homesteader  
 Ralskey Owens: bookkeeper, Miami, Florida  
 T. Peale: conchologist, early collector, 1825  
 L. Pequeno: dealer in Cuba  
 Ed. Peterson: game warden, Miami, Florida  
 Pfeiffer: conchologist, 1850  
 A. Pflueger: taxidermist, Miami, Florida  
 John Pflueger: taxidermist, Miami, Florida  
 Binky Pilsbry: daughter of H. A.  
 H. A. Pilsbry: former Curator Academy of Natural Science, author shell books, 1907  
 Don Poppenhager: hunter, explorer, Miami, Florida  
 John Porter: explorer, collector, Miami, Florida  
 Whitie Porter: explorer, collector, Miami, Florida  
 A. W. B. Powell: Director Auckland Museum, N. Z.  
 C. S. Rafinseque: early naturalist  
 V. Raul: dealer, Key West  
 J. S. Raybon: explorer, machologist, 1904  
 A. G. Reeve: conchologist, early collector  
 H. A. Rehder: Curator U. S. National Museum Mollusks  
 P. S. Remington: professor mathematics, St. Louis, Mo.  
 H. Rhodes: State Conservation Officer, Miami, Florida  
 Thomas Say: Academy Natural Science, early writer on Mollusks  
 Herb Schaller: Miami City plumbing inspector  
 Jack Schmidt: dealer, Lake Worth, Florida  
 Dr. Leanne Schwengle, Philadelphia, Pa.: large general collection  
 Dr. H. A. Seeds: Miami, Florida orchid grower  
 Shanor: U. S. Department of Agriculture  
 W. F. Shay: early collector  
 C. T. Simpson: former Assoc. Curator U. S. National Museum, author Florida books.  
 Collected first "Lig" 1882  
 Harold Skinner: Miami, Florida  
 H. H. Smith: Curator Mollusks, University Alabama  
 Maxwell Smith: author shell books, Lake Worth, Florida. Large general collection now  
 in the University of Florida Museum

- Sparling: fisherman  
 Wm. Sperline: fisherman, Florida  
 Carl Squires: Civil Engineer, Dade County Maps, Miami, Florida. Large collection  
 Jim Stanley: photographer, Miami, Florida  
 E. Stiles: Miami, Florida  
 Dr. Strong: 1822  
 Mrs. C. Susong: wife of druggist, Miami, Florida, fair collection  
 N. Swainson, 1822  
 Oscar Swed: taxidermist, Miami, Florida. Brought in first *L. fasc. gloriasylvatic's* from Pinecrest No. 31  
 Margaret Tervas: author  
 J. W. Thomas: aviator, Miami, Florida  
 Chester Thompson: dealer, Key West, Florida  
 L. A. Thurston: early explorer  
 J. R. Le B. Tomlin: largest private collection shells, England  
 Dr. C. de La Torre: President, University of Havana, author shell books  
 G. W. Tryon: former Curator Mollusks, Academy Natural Science, Phila., Pa.  
 Valenciennes: early conchologist, Paris, France  
 Henry Van der Schalie: Professor, University of Michigan  
 T. Van Hyning: former Curator Florida State Museum  
 Louise M. Vaughn; Miami License Department  
 E. Von Martens: Former Curator of Mollusks, Berlin, Germany  
 C. C. Von Paulsen: Capt., U.S.C.G., Miami, Florida, found form *L. fasc. von paulseni*  
 Geo. Waldeck: veterinarian, Miami, Florida  
 A. Walrath: naturalist  
 A. R. Walrath: Ichthyologist, N. Y.  
 Charles Walton: Australia  
 Monroe Walton: collector, Electrical Contractor, Glendale, California  
 J. H. Weaver: merchant, Miami, Florida  
 W. F. Webb: dealer, Tampa, Florida, author book molluska  
 J. A. Weber: ornithologist, author shell material  
 Welch: early collector Solidad, Cuba  
 Welch: brother of above, Miami, Florida  
 A. J. Wetherby: collected in Cuba, early  
 Williams, Miami, Florida  
 Walter Williamson: collected with Grimshawe, later lost exploring the Amazon  
 N. J. Winkelman: naturalist, Miami, Florida, electrical contractor  
 Paul Winkelman: orchid grower, Miami, Florida  
 Rev. Winkley: New England Collector  
 Mina Winslow: former Curator Mollusks University of Michigan  
 Erwin Winte: Everglades National Park Ranger, Re—"wintei", Miami, Florida  
 Charles Wright: early exploring in Cuba  
 Frank Young: professor University of Indiana, author of many papers on *Liguus* and "*Lig. fasc. von paulseni*". His aid has been extremely valuable to the E. N. P. project on shells.

# Three Early Spanish Tampa Bay Maps

By CHARLES W. ARNADE\*

One of the most difficult chapters of Florida history is historical cartography of Florida or the story of the mapping of all or parts of Florida. As a matter of fact, most trained historians, anthropologists or archaeologists of the Florida scene gladly shy away when it comes to old Florida maps. This is not because old maps from the Spanish periods and the English interlude are scarce; they are plentiful. After spending a whole month working full-time with Florida maps I came to the conclusion that it is easy to accumulate as many as five hundred or more different maps made during the two Spanish and the English periods. These maps are not only Spanish or English charts but there are also many in French, especially in French archives. The early sixteenth century maps came mostly from Portugal, Italy and even Germany. In the early seventeenth century one must also look to the great Dutch map makers who produced gorgeous atlases. We have an abundance of maps, charts, diagrams, etc. dealing with Florida. But the "historico-cartographical research" (to use the expression of the great explorer and cartographer Adolf Erik Nordenskiöld) of Florida has been neglected. There is no doubt that the *Atlas of Florida* recently published by the University of Florida Press is of value but it is more for the layman and its historical value is only a brief summary. It never intended to be anything else. After all, history is only one of over twenty parts and it is more "a pictorial presentation of Florida's present" than the past. The atlas is of no value for important and detailed research in historical cartography of Florida.

The difficulty lies in the dispersion of sources—all over the world—of the key Florida depositories. The libraries on the state university campuses,

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\**This Florida map research was undertaken thanks to a summer grant in August, 1963 from the William Clements Library of the University of Michigan at Ann Arbor. This grant was financed by the Lilly Endowment Foundation. I wish to express my thanks to the Clements Library and the Lilly Foundation for their generous support. No footnotes have been provided as the reader can easily detect the sources mentioned from the bibliography.*

state libraries in Tallahassee, places in St. Augustine and private college libraries all have copies of many maps, but they are thrown into folders or drawers, or are lying in corners. Not a single Florida librarian is a true map expert or has dedicated himself to a systematic study of Florida maps. A few men, including Mr. David True from Miami, have undertaken map studies but their writings are highly technical and generally argumentative—trying to show that the other fellow was wrong in his interpretation of this or that map, as exemplified by the Caraci article. We lack good descriptive guides such as the one done in 1912 by the great cartographer Phillip Lee Phillips when he annotated the Woodbury Lowery collection of American maps which has a wealth of Florida charts. We need to classify the maps, keep them in order, make them available, and we need to understand them and then discuss them. None of this has been done and therefore the historian and the anthropologist avoid this pile of confusion which in reality should be one of his most important accessory tools.

I have a 140-page typed study of Sixteenth Century maps which I have selected as important to the mapping of the peninsula of Florida. The second part of the study gives biographical data of several cartographers whose studies I consider important to Florida cartography and Florida history. And in the third part I single out a man and his important cartographic contribution to the Florida scene. This is Dr. Louis C. Karpinski (1878-1956) who as Professor of Mathematics of the University of Michigan was an avid student and collector of early maps dealing with North America. He took many trips to various European archives in search for maps. His collection of photostats contains over seven hundred maps, mostly unpublished, known as the Karpinski Collection. These photostats are available in a few university libraries, but not in Florida (except a few isolated parts). I consulted the University of Michigan Karpinski Collection located at the William Clements Library of Rare Americana. I made a list of all maps dealing with Florida, exclusive of Pensacola, and copied the Karpinski annotations and I hope to publish the list in the third and last part of my above mentioned map study. My study is not technical, but is an attempt to bring some order into a confusing picture. Its purpose is also to bring an awareness of the availability of maps and their importance to Florida history. I have limited myself to the Sixteenth century because much that has been written deals with this period and it is highly technical and arguable, therefore of limited comprehension and use as a secondary source. Then I decided to acquaint the Florida audience

with cartographers who have written about Florida, and finally I list the Florida maps of the Karpinski Collection for further studies of the mapping of Florida during the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries.

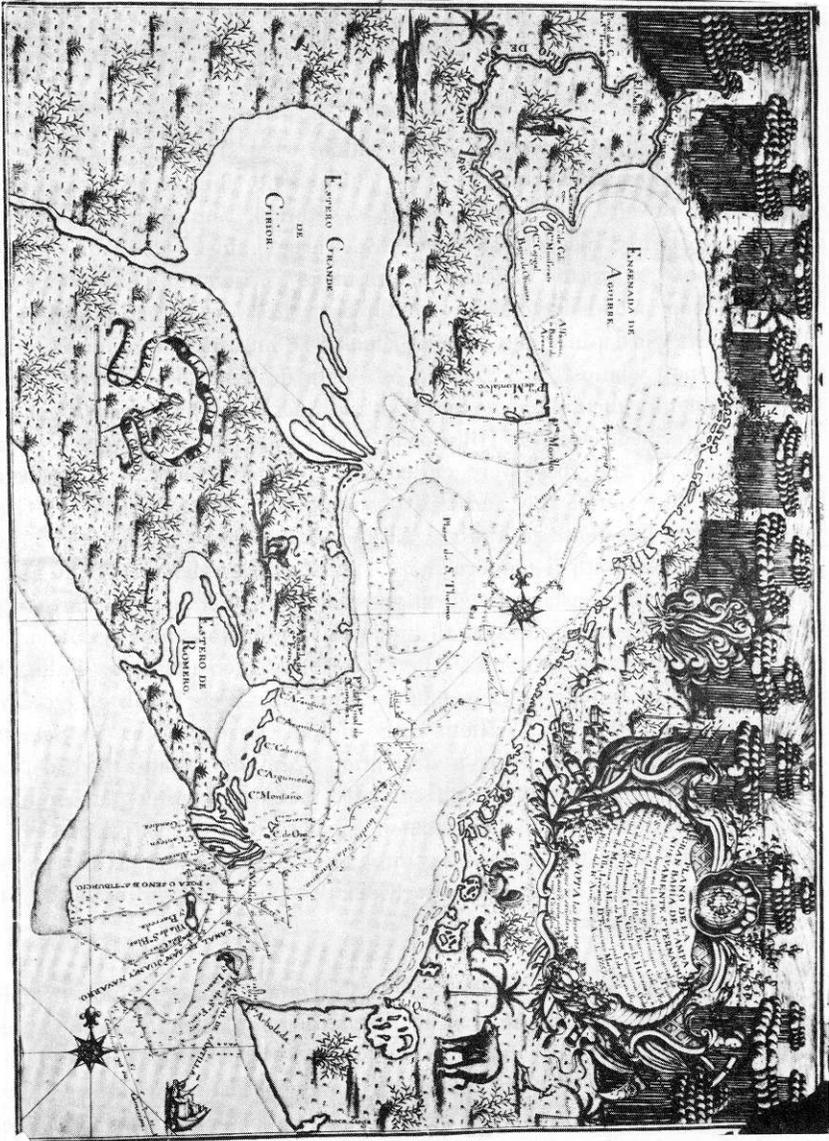
In doing my research at the delightful and respected William Clements Library I ran into many interesting maps depicting various areas of Florida. One thing became obvious in studying the maps of the first Spanish period. The Spaniards mapped the Florida coast very well but they were deficient with regard to the interior. On the coast certain areas were far better mapped than others. The coastline from the Cape to Charleston was the best studied and recorded. The tip of the peninsula—the roundout from about Miami to Fort Myers—was the worst mapped. But the Keys were well studied and the Karpinski Collection has some exciting maps of the Keys. The Gulf coast of the panhandle was well mapped only with the permanent establishment of Pensacola in the Eighteenth century.

The same is true of the Gulf coast of the peninsula and especially its central section with Tampa Bay as the heart of this coastal area. The whole history of Tampa Bay—when it was first discovered, its subsequent importance to the Spaniards and the inability of the Spaniards to properly record the Bay—has not been studied. But I believe Spanish documentation is abundantly available. One would have to go through the rich collection of Spanish documents reaching far over one hundred thousand sheets of documents (most of them at the P. K. Yonge Library at the University of Florida) to locate data on Tampa Bay. There is no doubt the Spanish knew the Bay. But there also is no doubt in my mind that regardless of the Sixteenth century landings at or nearby the Bay and its appearance, erroneous as it may be, on Sixteenth century maps, exact knowledge of the Bay was always questionable and indeed it was forgotten for long intervals. As a matter of fact, there does not seem to exist—at least not located so far—a fairly detailed map of the Tampa Bay area done during the Sixteenth or Seventeenth century. Apparently the first maps we have come from the second half of the Eighteenth century—all within a short period of time. Indeed three unrelated maps of Tampa Bay have been located. Their dates are 1757, 1783, and the third is undated, but must go back to the Spanish period. This means that the first map dates back to the very end of the First Spanish Period and the 1783 map falls into the Second Spanish Period.

The 1757 map (no. 1) is probably the most detailed chart of the three here described and we know its author and we have a definite date. The adorned inscription says that it is a "chart of the great bay of Tampa, and again [named] San Fernando." It states that this bay is located at Latitude 29° west of Tenerife. It says that this chart was drawn by the order of the General Commander of the Royal naval forces in Habana, Blas de Barreda, and the Inspector of the Naval Ministry in Habana, Lorenzo de Montalva. The actual charting expedition of an unknown number of ships was under the command of the Spanish "pilot", Francisco Maria Celi. I have not searched for biographical data about Maria Celi, but I am sure that tedious efforts in the documents would result in positive data such as found about the man who composed the 1873 map. Looking for information on such a man is a long affair of trial and error but often leads to interesting new facts. This Tampa Bay map—to my mind the best of the Spanish maps—should encourage more background information which would include a search for Maria Celi.

This map is according to my experience the earliest detailed map of Tampa Bay. The map was known to the late Clarence Simpson who in his excellent *Florida Place-Names of Indian Derivation* under the entry writes that "the first careful hydrographic survey of the present Tampa Bay appears to have been made in 1787 by Don Francisco Maria Celi, pilot of the Royal Spanish Navy, who although recognizing the then current name of Tampa, renamed it San Fernando. . . ." Neither Simpson nor Dr. Mark F. Boyd of Tallahassee, who edited the Simpson compilation, tell where they located the map or information of the map. But other historians who have written about Tampa and the Southwest coast apparently were unaware of the vital Maria Celi map. The able archaeologist, Ripley P. Bullen of the Florida State Museum in Gainesville, told this author that he was aware of the maps thanks to the courtesy of Dr. Boyd.

My copy comes from the Karpinski Collection and is listed number 193 in the William Clements Library Karpinski classification. Karpinski found the original in the Spanish Naval Museum in Madrid under the Classification 9a-2a,43 and the original is 66.4 to 47 centimeters in size. Karpinski does not tell us if it is in color but because of its exquisite drawings I assume that it must be in color. Some municipal, educational or cultural organization in the Tampa Bay area should get an exact copy of this map and display it in a conspicuous place to the public. I think it is a key document and it is an

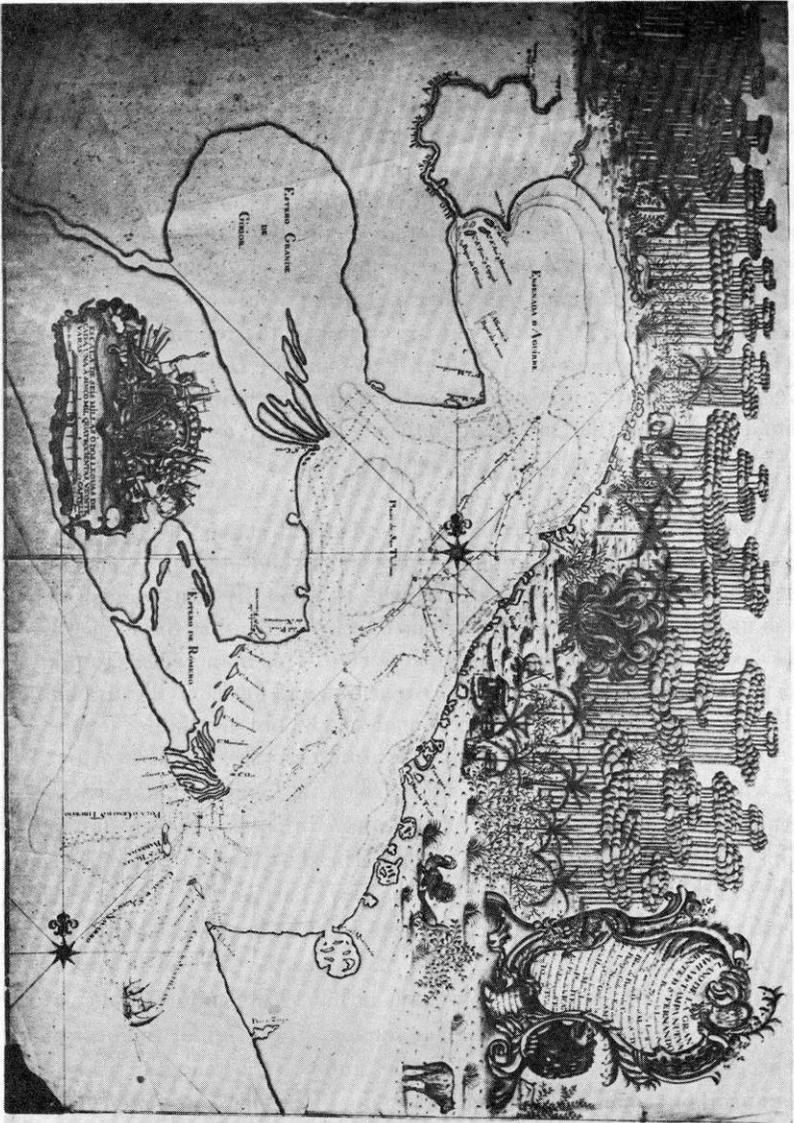


Map No. 1 — Celi Map

artistic work. I am not qualified to judge the geographical or nautical accuracy of this map or the others. But I find the drawings and the names highly interesting. First of all, the map shows only one native inhabited area, where today's Highway 41 runs between Gibsonton and Ruskin. At the same time, the map does not have the Alafia and Little Manatee Rivers in this area.

The map shows no Indian settlements in what are today the urban areas of Tampa, Clearwater and St. Petersburg. The animals depicted do not reveal any novelty. Interesting is the vegetation, and the huge tall palm clusters certainly meant that there were large palms. The name given to various spots and to the bays and rivers make a fascinating story. For example, the map proves beyond any doubt that the word Pinellas comes from the Spanish word *pinal* and today's Pinellas Point has the same name as in the 1757 map where it is identified as *Punta de Pinal de Ximenez*. Most of the other names mentioned in the map, with some exceptions as *Boca Ziega*, have not survived. Only the Hillsborough and Palm Rivers were given names by Maria Celi and they were called *San Julián Arriaga*, and *Franco* respectively. Old Tampa Bay and Hillsborough Bay were named *Estero Grande de Girior* and *Enseñada de Aguirre*. All the other names should entice interesting comparisons with a modern map. I assume that the soundings and the tide lines and the coastal configurations are of great interest to cartographic and nautical experts. Naturally all kinds of implications and deductions can be made in the game of names. There are today such names as *Palma Ceia* and *Terra Ceia* and *Terra Ceia Island*. What does *Ceia* mean or from what does it derive? Attorney William Goza of the Florida Historical Society in conversation thinks that it is a derivation from the Spanish word "*ceja*" which usually means eyebrow but can also mean projecting part or bridge. This certainly makes much sense. But it can also be a derivative of *Celi* (the pilot who chartered the Tampa Bay area in 1757)—the author of this map. His name was given on this map to a small cape in Hillsborough Bay near today's Davis Island.

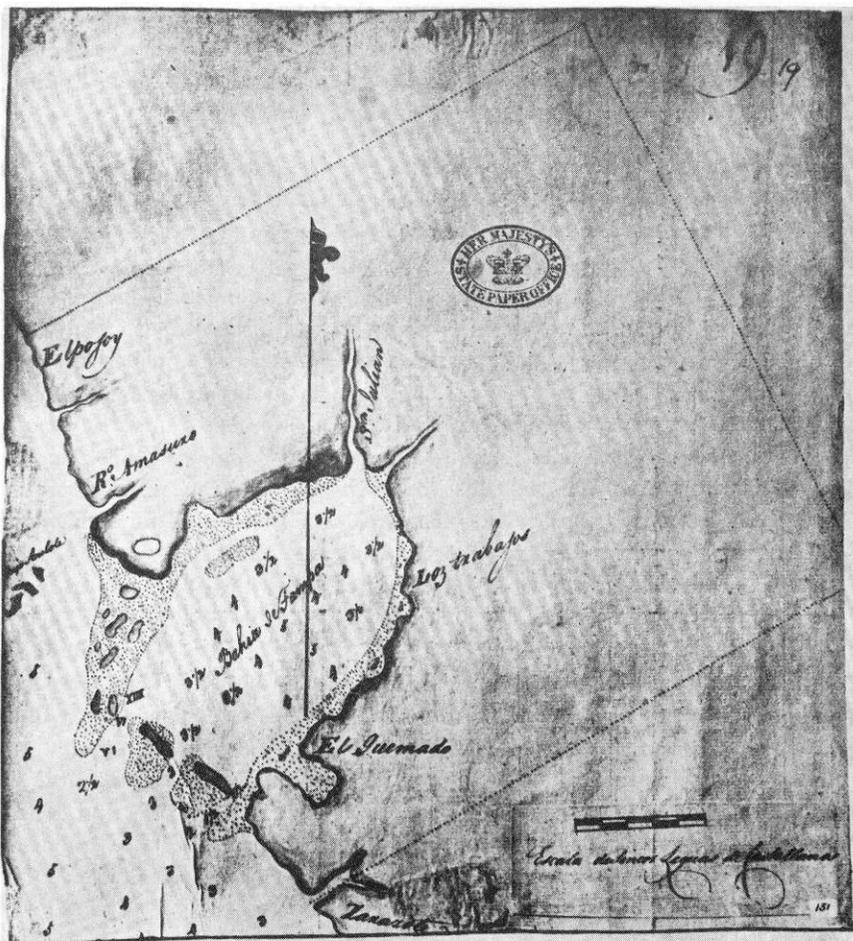
There exists another version of the Celi map (no. 2) which has slight variations in the content but not in the delineation. The inscription makes it certain that this is the same Celi map first drawn in 1757. But the inscription on the upper right side of this map is somewhat different in the wording and also spoiled in one margin by the adorning frame. This inscription lacks a date but states that the vessel used by Celi was the "*Xebex*"



No. 2 — Celi Imitation Map

named San Francisco. A xebex is a small, three-master ship having an overhanging bow and stern and both square and lateen sails. This inscription also identifies a Lieutenant [?] Ximénez as the commander of the xebex San Francisco. It is not known if this version (no. 2) or the other version which has the date of the Celi expedition (no. 1) is the original. Apparently the No. 2 map in the heavily adorned lower left scale (not adorned in the No. 1 map) has on the very edge a date which is so tiny that every effort with all the modern means available has failed to make the date legible. The best guess is 1763. Everyone consulted, including Dr. Bullen, seems to think that no. 2 is the reproduction and no. 1 the original. The no. 2 map lacks much of the drawing of the animals and the vegetation. Only the scale box is more adorned. This No. 2 version, which we think is the reproduction, is available. It is shown in the book by Arthur P. Whitaker, *Documents Relating to the Commercial Policy of Spain in the Floridas*, p. 156. Dr. Whitaker fails to cite the date of the map and only identifies it as "Map of Tampa Bay (Eighteenth Century.)"

Our next map (no. 3) is far less detailed and is the undated map. We have no record of an author. Two versions have been located—one with English words and the other in Spanish. It obviously is a Spanish map which was used during the English Period. I feel positive that the map was done in the last decades of the First Spanish Period. This map comes from a series of maps sketching the area from St. Augustine and Jacksonville through Gainesville to Tampa Bay. These sectional maps are available in the *English Crown Collection of Maps of North America*: Section Three, the originals of which are in the Public Record Office in London, but have been made available as photostats in a multivolume edition by Archer Butler Hulbert. This collection is available in Florida in the library of the Florida State University in Tallahassee. This Tampa Bay chart is plate 131 of Series III of the *Crown Collection* and the FSU lists 1785 as the date. This to my mind is erroneous. The related maps of the St. Augustine-Gainesville area have been published by Dr. James C. Covington in his 1961 Seminole study. Covington has the more neatly drawn English version. The original Spanish maps were reproduced by me in my 1961 cattle study. But Covington reproduced the Tampa Bay section in its English version. The map presented here (no. 3) is the more detailed original Spanish version. Covington located his maps in the legal claims of Messrs. Gordon and Fish and he was unaware of their existence as originals in the Crown collection.



No. 3 — Undated Map (Original Spanish Version)

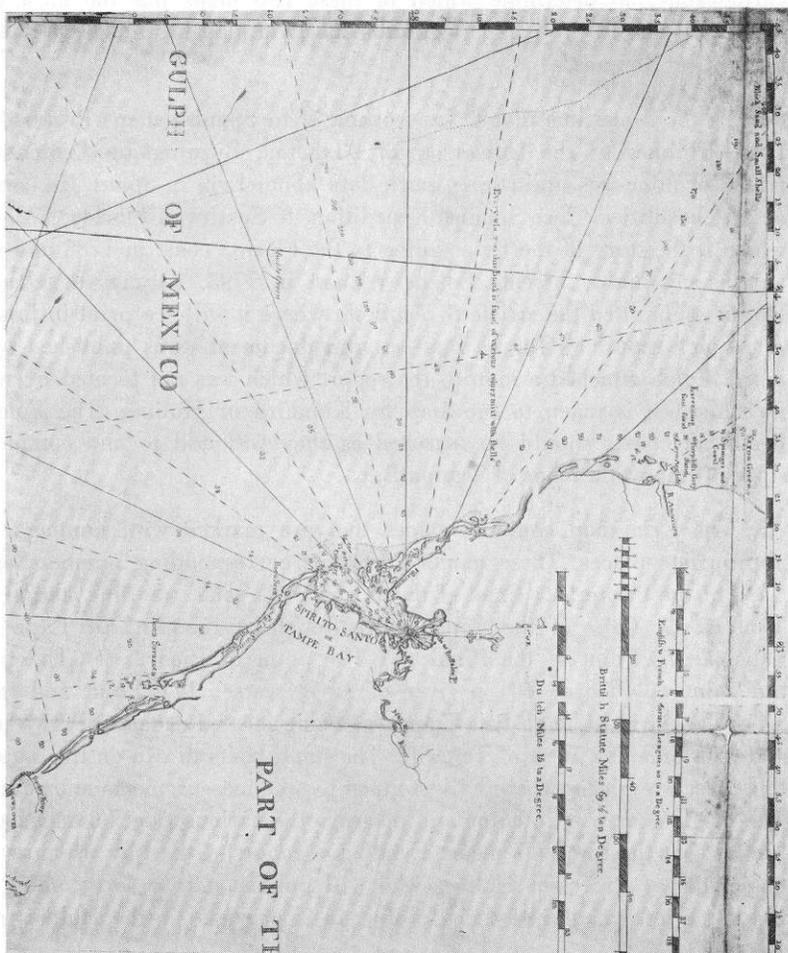
As one can see, the Spanish version has sounds in the Bay. The map is quite crude and the configuration very primitive with hardly any names. One can see that in the original version two points in the Bay are identified as Los Trabajos and El Quemado (not on the English version.) The same names in the same places are given on the 1757 map. I think that this map antedates the 1757 map. It is also interesting to note that in the Spanish version the name Zarazote is listed more or less where Sarasota is today. The English version has the name copied as Zararote. This map has its value.

Maybe the third chart\* (no. 4)—the one of 1783, the first year of the second Spanish occupation—should not be included here, since the English period produced excellent maps especially by such men as Romans and Jeffreys. There is especially the often quoted Romans map of Tampa Bay of 1774 (no. 5). This is the one which all researchers know and which is continually cited when the history of Tampa Bay is discussed. Consequently it is not described here as I was interested in presenting new maps with new information. But I must say that all the three maps described here should be compared with the English charts, especially the Romans Tampa Bay map. It must also be said that both Romans and especially Andrew Ellicott in his important journal published in 1802 (republished 1962), speak of a careful survey done at a very early date—before Maria Celi—of Tampa Bay by Captain Braddock. The vital Ellicott Journal first published in 1802 was apparently unknown to Simpson. Ellicott wrote, “On the West side of East Florida it affords two remarkable fine harbors: One is known by the name of Hillsborough Bay (Bay Tampa [sic] or Spirito Santo). The latitude is 27° 36 N. and the longitude 83° West from Greenwich. It is very spacious, and will admit any vessel over the bar not drawing more than twenty-four feet water. The first Englishman who explored, and gave an account of this bay was a Capt. Braddock who commanded a privateer from Virginia and cruised on the west coast of East Florida, in the years 1744 and 1745: his survey is yet considered as good as any extant (p. 27).” No Braddock map has been located—apparently the survey and map are lost. The Maria Celi map still remains the earliest known map of Tampa.

The 1783 Spanish chart (no. 4) is the Tampa map of José de Evia which I stated might not totally fit into our scheme because it belongs to the Second Spanish Period. I located my copy in the Karpinski Collection and the Clements Library classification is Map No. 164. Karpinski found the original

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\*See page 98



No. 5—Romans Map, 1774

in the archives of the Spanish Ministry of War at Madrid. Evia had other maps of great interest to Florida. This one (no. 4) is a chart of Tampa Bay. It covers a much wider area than the Celi map. It remains for a trained cartographer to determine which of these two maps has the most correct measurements. In my inexpert opinion the Evia map has not been influenced by Celi or Romans.

At the same time that I was working with Spanish maps Professor Jack D. L. Holmes of the University of Alabama, Birmingham Center, and a friend of mine was unearthing much data about Evia in Spain. He composed an article entitled "Two Spanish Expeditions to Southwest Florida, 1783-1793" which is the story of the Evia sailing to the Florida coast in 1783 and that of another Spaniard, Vicente Folche y Juan in 1793. At my suggestion Dr. Holmes submitted the article to *Tequesta* where it will see print in this issue. The Folch report of Tampa Bay—a vital document—was published by Kinnaird. Folch attached a map to the report which was not located by me and no reference is made to the map by Kinnaird or Holmes. The Folch and Braddock charts should be searched as they will add to and complete the story of important maps of Tampa Bay.

The Evia map contains names that are marked with numbers in the appropriate places. These names and their corresponding numbers are: 1) Cape of the Pasaje; 2) Cape of the Cruz; 3) Aguada, watering station of the Toneles; 4) Cape of the Aguada; 5) Ranch of Joaquín; 6) Cape of the Sabalos; 7) Point of the Pinal; 8) The point of Piedra; 9) The inlet of the point of Piedra; 10) a river of sweet water; 11) Point and inlet of Siboro. Evia in his map lists Tampa as being located at latitude  $27^{\circ}$  and  $36'$  and longitude 292 West of Tenerife. The small boats drawn on the map mean that these are places where Evia stopped to take measurements and soundings. The original map is in color and portrays the various tide limits. I have not found what the three A's mean. Evia has a report of the Bay which is in the possession of Professor Holmes who will publish it in a forthcoming book. But some information of the life of Evia is provided in the Holmes article.

I have discussed briefly three different Spanish maps which I think are basic for the study of Tampa Bay—these three maps are little known. They should be added to the Romans map which is the best known. I repeat, in order to complete the story we must look for the early Braddock chart and the later Folch map. The historian and anthropologist should also become acquainted with the written Evia report of Tampa Bay which Professor

Holmes will publish in his book and the Folch report published by Kinaird. I am sure that true and dedicated research will produce additional sources. The early story of the chartering, exploration and settlement of Tampa Bay has not yet been told with accuracy. I think it can be done by tedious but rewarding research.

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# Two Spanish Expeditions to Southwest Florida, 1783 - 1793

By JACK D. L. HOLMES

During the critical years between the close of the American Revolution and the signing of the Treaty of San Lorenzo in 1795, Spain's attention in North America was focused on the creation of Florida as a bastion of defense against the encroachments of Spain's enemies. The newly-independent United States, settlers from which poured ever onward toward Spanish Florida and Louisiana, was one potential enemy. Another was the English, with their headquarters in Jamaica and the Bahamas. By 1783 English privateers operated regularly from Provincetown on the island of Nassau, and one vengeful Scot even proposed that the governor of Nassau invade and conquer Spanish Louisiana in 1782.<sup>1</sup>

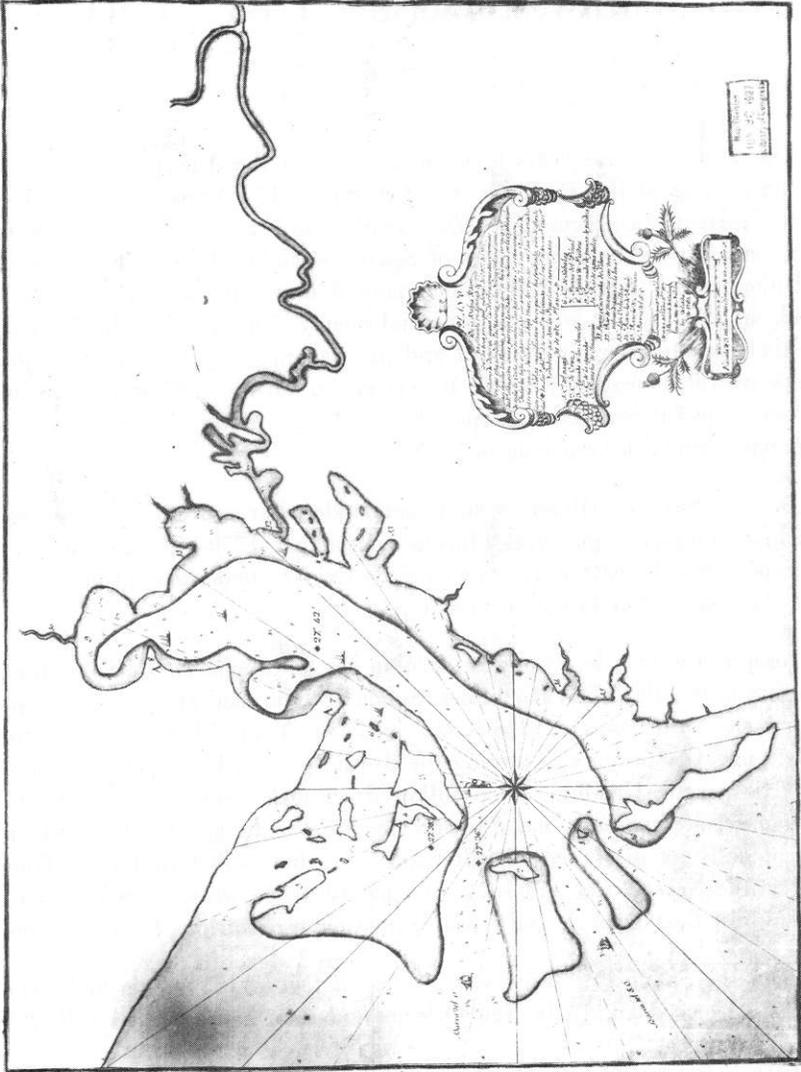
In 1783 Spain's brilliant, young commander, Bernardo de Gálvez, fresh from his triumphs in the West Florida campaigns (1779-1781), ordered an experienced naval officer at Havana, José de Evia, to undertake an inspection of the Gulf coast from Tampa to Tampico.

Joseph Antonio de Evia was born in the northwestern Galician town of La Graña in July, 1740. His father, Simón de Evia, had already sailed and mapped the Gulf coast of Louisiana in 1736. Young José followed the family's naval tradition by entering the Royal Naval School at El Ferrol in 1753. His practical training soon followed on such vessels as the *Dragon*, the *Volante*, *Magnánimo*, *San Pío* and *San Carlos*. Evia, who achieved the ranks of assistant pilot, second pilot and first pilot, sailed frequently from Cádiz to the New World and back. On one occasion, while he was serving on a ship off Cartagena de Indias, he helped capture various British vessels.

After the Spanish declared war on the English in 1779, Evia took command of an armed launch in New Orleans and soon had captured a British

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<sup>1</sup> Jack D. L. Holmes, "Robert Ross' Plan for an English Invasion of Louisiana, 1782," *Louisiana History*, V, No. 2 (Spring 1964), 161-77.



Tampa Bay by José de Evia, 1783  
Servicio Geográfico del Ejército (Madrid)

galeot bound for Fort Bute de Manchak with supplies and reinforcements. In Mobile Bay, during February 1780, Evia captured another English ship, even though his own ship was sunk. During the siege of Mobile, Evia supported the land forces with the artillery of his vessel. Prior to the peace settlement, Evia sailed with messages from the Conde de Gálvez to his various naval commanders. In 1780, as commander of the packet-boat *San Pío*, Evia captured an English frigate of eighteen cannon off the coast of Havana.

After the war, Evia was assigned to duty as adjutant of the Royal Arsenals of Havana, but in 1783 he was promoted to frigate ensign and charged with a highly important commission. In June, Bernardo de Gálvez issued his instructions to Evia for the exploration and charting of the Gulf coast from West Florida to St. Bernard Bay, and from Tampico returning to St. Bernard Bay. The primary concern of the Spaniards was to correct the naval charts used for navigation of their island sea.<sup>2</sup>

On September 5, 1783, Evia set sail from Havana on the *Comendador de Marsella*, a two-masted lugger. He sailed for Cayo de Huesos (Bone Key), which he sighted on September 7, and anchored off its northern coast in two fathoms of water. The latitude at this point was 24° 36', according to the observations made by Evia. He claimed this was seven minutes variation from the earlier Spanish charts.<sup>3</sup>

After making several additional observations and taking on water, Evia left on September 12, sailing a course North by North one-quarter West toward Punta-Larga, which he reached the following day. After anchoring in three fathoms of water off the southern tip in the shelter provided against winds blowing out of the first and fourth quadrants, Evia wrote in his diary, "I continued cruising along the shore at a distance of one mile from land,

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<sup>2</sup> Jack D. L. Holmes, "Gallegos notables en la Luisiana," *Cuadernos de Estudios Gallegos*, Fascículo LVII (1964), 110-13.

<sup>3</sup> Diary of all that occurred during an inspection made by First Pilot of the Armada José de Evia for the exploration of the coast of West Florida . . . Havana, December 26, 1783, a copy of which is enclosed in Francisco de Borja y Borja (Captain-general of the Spanish Armada) to Fray Bailío Antonio Valdés y Bazán (Chief of Squadron), No. 132, Havana, December 31, 1783, Museo Naval (Madrid), MS Vol. 1036. Other copies from the Museo Naval are in *tomo* 469, folios 143-48; copy enclosed in Francisco Fernández de Córdoba (Secretary of the Viceroyalty of New Spain) to the Marqués de Sonora (José de Gálvez, Minister of the Indies), Mexico, January 5, 1787, in *tomos* 476 and 291. Another copy is in the Archivo General de la Nación (Mexico), Historia, *tomo* 62. With minor variations, which can be attributed to the scribes, these various copies are identical. Evia's diaries have been edited by this writer and will be published in Madrid by José Porrua in 1966.

in three fathoms of water and in the direction of Sanibel, keeping a course to the Northwest and Northwest by one-quarter North."

Evia anchored in a sheltered spot off Sanibel Island in two fathoms of water. From his anchorage he could see at the distance of two leagues Boca Ciega, which he described as a sand bar covered with a shallow sea. Further Northwest was the Boca del Cautivo (Prisoner's Mouth), which boasted a depth of seven feet. Two leagues further, Evia described the sand bar protecting Boca Grande: "This is a mile wide and it has a depth of fourteen Spanish feet."<sup>4</sup>

While at Sanibel Island, Evia cautioned future navigators attempting to cruise in those waters: "The anchorage of Sanibel can be found by a palm grove, located two leagues to the South—the only one appearing on the coast." Special care should be taken, he warned, to avoid the banks extending into the sea in the form of sand bars. Although the banks were broken by apertures at various distances, they should be crossed with great care to avoid grounding, especially at low tide.

On October 10, Evia inspected present-day Charlotte Harbor and, accompanied by his carpenter, explored the surrounding hills for a distance of a league and a half. He found good stands of oak and sabine suitable for naval construction, together with many fine quality pines, some of which he described as being twelve feet in circumference. Inasmuch as Havana was one of the leading naval construction ports in Spanish America, it is easy to explain Evia's excitement over his discovery.<sup>5</sup>

Evia later described the inlet of "Mayac,"<sup>6</sup> which ran for six leagues from north to south and was fed by a large river of fresh water.<sup>7</sup> Along the coast he found good quantities of excellent pine, but he noted they were virtually inaccessible. The depth of the small gulf was from two to three fathoms and Evia felt it was suitable only for ships drawing less than ten

<sup>4</sup> The Spanish foot was eleven inches.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Joseph Piernas' proposal to form a settlement on the Calcasieu River in southwestern Louisiana in 1795, in which he mentions the value of the "innumerable trees for naval vessel construction." Jack D. L. Holmes (ed.), *Documentos inéditos para la historia de la Luisiana, 1792-1810* (Madrid, 1963), 151. An excellent discussion of the woods suitable for naval construction found in Louisiana and the Floridas is in George H. V. (Victor) Collot, *A Journey in North America...* (2 vols. plus atlas; Paris, 1826, and reprinted, Florence, 1924). II, 151-58.

<sup>6</sup> Probably Pine Island Sound.

<sup>7</sup> This appears to be the Caloosa Hatchee River.

feet of water due to the poor shelter and even worse bottom, into which the anchors could barely penetrate. The bay abounded in fish, however, and Evia said that from twelve to fourteen fishing vessels annually plied the waters between this bay and Havana carrying their catch to the Cuban market. Moreover, there was abundant evidence of hunting—bears, deer and numerous varieties of birds. He found springs of fresh water on all the keys and on some, small lagoons which were full throughout the year. The bay was located approximately where early Spanish charts had placed it, but Evia thought it should be slightly more to the West. It could be approached, he concluded, by sailing five leagues from Sanibel along numerous small channels of seven to eight feet in depth.

As Evia continued his cruise, he passed Boca-Grande and two leagues North by Northwest he discovered another opening into the bay called Friar Gaspar. It was partially covered by a sand bar and situated the same as the preceding islands and bars.

A hiatus in his journey occurred here, however, when contrary winds prevented him from sailing North or Northwest until October 21. As he waited for a change in the winds, he wrote pertinently in his diary that the tides in the region lasted for six hours and regularly changed by two feet from high to low during calm winds. On the other hand, he noted, when heavy winds from the third and fourth quadrants bore down on the coast, the tides experienced wider variations. But when the wind blew from the land, the gulf became so shallow that Evia recommended pilots wait until the tides changed before attempting to cross the bars. The winds along Florida's southwest coast differed radically from summer to winter, he added. In the former he found the breezes quite mild until noon; they were refreshing gusts from the sea. In the winter, on the other hand, particularly after November, the winds became violent and posed a threat to all mariners navigating the coast. Coming from the third and fourth quadrants, these "northers" were strong enough to whip the sea into white froth.

Despite the weather, Evia prepared to reconnoiter Tampa Bay. "This bay," he wrote, "has a good bottom for any frigate, with several channels of two fathoms depth and good shelter for small vessels." He located several large rivers bordered by substantial forests of pine and oak. Two sand bars further north were identified as those titled Castor and Polux Keys on the Spanish charts. They were located at the mouth of Tampa Bay, about a mile

in width, and extending out to sea for a league to the Southwest. Evia described the various soundings made here and in other portions of the bay. The principal bar on the western side of the bay was observed at  $27^{\circ} 36'$ .<sup>8</sup>

On November 5, the expedition sailed for Anclote Key, which Evia observed at  $28^{\circ} 14'$  on the afternoon of the same day. Boasting a fair anchorage of three fathoms on the southern part of the key, Evia found that Anclote Key marked the end of the clean, deep water on Florida's west coast. Further North, sailing toward Apalachee Bay, he found it was difficult to sight the coast due to breakers and numerous sand bars which prevented even small boats from skirting the beaches.

Cape San Blas was Evia's next destination, and he sailed on a north-westerly course until he arrived at  $29^{\circ} 35'$  North latitude. After taking various observations and soundings, Evia doubled back on an easterly course until he reached Apalachee Bay and examined the Apalachicola River with its small bay. The latter he found too shallow and offered little protection against the winds from the second and third quadrants, but he said the best anchorage was to be found along the western shore in two fathoms of water. Here, he observed, the current flows with great force toward the Southeast due to the battering winds out of the third and fourth quadrants.

Evia had already mentioned that such winds were especially strong in the winter, and he found himself suddenly in the middle of one of those storms he feared. Fearing he would be swamped in an effort to sail west toward Santa Rosa Bay and Pensacola, Evia hauled to and ran before the wind. His return to Tampa Bay was swift; he arrived at noon on November 12th and anchored his vessel to wait for the storm to blow itself out. The heavy seas, sharp west winds and extremely dark skies made all members of the crew a little uneasy.

Still at Tampa, on November 20th Evia talked with a number of Indians representing the Uchices, Talapoosa and Choctaw tribes. They had traversed numerous rivers on a five-day journey by horseback to hunt around Tampa Bay. They told Evia they had come to sell their peltries to the English in exchange for fire-arms, powder, balls and flannel. Expressing great friendship toward the Spaniards, the Indians gave Evia freshly-killed meat and the Spanish officer reciprocated with several desired gifts.<sup>9</sup>

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<sup>8</sup> Evia's chart of Tampa Bay is found in the *Servicio geográfico del Ejército* (Madrid).

<sup>9</sup> Trade with the Indians of Florida was regularized in the 1784 conferences held at Mobile and Pensacola.

The storm continued until the 28th. On the 29th Evia once again set sail, but he found the storm was still alive out at sea. Forced to lower most of his linen, Evia decided to run before the wind once again and set a southerly course. On December 2 he reached the Marquesas Keys. The storm was still alive, so he continued on course to Havana. The following day he reached Jaruco and turned over his plans to startled Spanish officials there. Because of the inclement weather, Evia's progress had been slowed down, but he was anxious to return after careening his vessel and taking on fresh supplies.

Evia explained the distances between the major islands and bays of southwest Florida as follows: from Punta Larga to Sanibel, 14 leagues; Boca Grande in the Bay of Carlos to Sarasota, 14 leagues; Sarasota to the principal mouth of Tampa Bay, 7; Tampa to Anclote Key, 11; Anclote Key to Apalachee, 40; Apalachee to Cape San Blas, 26; and Tampa to Cape San Blas, 66.

Evia's charts differed in many details from the early Spanish ones, and he noted in his diary that the English charts made in 1779 were even more inaccurate than the Spanish ones.<sup>10</sup> Since his primary purpose was to correct navigational charts, Evia had indeed accomplished his mission. His reports and charts were later used by the Naval Ministry in their complete series of plans and maps of the Gulf of Mexico.<sup>11</sup> Ultimately, Evia explored the entire Gulf Coast, between Tampa and Tampico and his remarkable exploits were the outstanding example of Spanish exploration in North America during the closing decades of the eighteenth century.<sup>12</sup>

An expedition of a different nature took place ten years after Evia sailed up the Gulf Coast of Florida. Vicente Folch y Juan was sent to examine Tampa Bay to ascertain whether or not a Spanish settlement there would be

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<sup>10</sup> Evia is probably referring to George Gauld's charts. See *An Account of the Surveys of Florida... to Accompany Mr. Gauld's Charts* (London, 1790). Copies of Gauld's charts are also found in William Faden, "An Accurate Chart of the Coast of West Florida and the Coast of Louisiana... Surveyed in the Years 1764, 5, 6, 7, 8, 9, 70 & 71, by George Gauld." February 4, 1803, Servicio geográfico del Ejército (Madrid), P-b-2-13, and published in their *Cartografía de Ultramar, Carpeta II (Estados Unidos y Canadá)* (Madrid, 1953), No. 106.

<sup>11</sup> Evia's maps and charts were used in the so-called Lángara *Carta esférica que comprende las Costas del Seno Mexicano...* of 1799. Charles W. Hackett (ed. & trans.), *Pichardo's Treatise on the Limits of Louisiana and Texas* (Austin, 1931), I, 350.

<sup>12</sup> This writer is currently preparing a book-length study of the various diaries and voyages of Evia during the eighteenth century, partially sponsored by the Faculty Research Committee of the University of Alabama, to be published in 1966.

desirable. Should he approve of the site, he was ordered to gain the consent of the Lower Creeks to a Spanish trading post and fort for the settlement.<sup>13</sup>

Few officers were more qualified to undertake such an expedition. Folch was born in Reus, in the Catalonian province of Tarragona, on March 8, 1754. He entered military service as a sub-lieutenant in the Light Infantry Regiment of Catalonia in 1771, having also attended the Military Academy of Barcelona, where he achieved distinction in his study of mathematics and engineering. After serving in the African campaigns of Melilla (1774-1775) and Algiers (July 8, 1775), he participated in the unsuccessful Spanish siege of Gibraltar in 1780. Later that year, under the orders of General Victoriano de Navia, Folch sailed with the Army of Operations to America, but arrived too late to take part in the campaign against Mobile.

In 1781 he was named interim commander of the fort at Mobile, a position he occupied on several other occasions. Under the orders of Pensacola's commandant, Arturo O'Neill, he sent an expedition in 1789 to destroy a camp of runaway Negro slaves on the Tensaw River. In 1792 he turned command over to Manuel de Lanzós and waited for a new assignment from his superiors. The Captain-General of Cuba, Luis de las Casas, noted that Folch had served with the naval forces at the Baliza post, near the mouth of the Mississippi. With his administrative and naval experience, Folch was an ideal choice to command the Tampa Bay expedition.<sup>14</sup>

Folch undertook his journey in the fall of 1793 and by December 17, he was ready to report his findings to the captain-general.<sup>15</sup> His report was accompanied by a map showing the depth of Tampa Bay and environs in feet rather than in fathoms. He agreed with Evia about the sandy, shell-covered bottom, but on Punta de Civelos he found hard mud bottoms.

"The banks," Folch wrote, "frequently subject to floods, are heavily overgrown with mangroves, *uvero*s, myrtles, and thorns, so that in some places

<sup>13</sup> Las Casas' instructions to Folch, Havana, August 21, 1793, AGI, PC, leg. 1439. See also, Enrique White to Carondelet, Pensacola, August 17, 23, 1793, both printed in Lawrence Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley, 1765-1794*, vols. II-IV, American Historical Association *Annual Report, 1945* (3 parts; Washington, 1946), pt. III, 200-201.

<sup>14</sup> Biographical data on Folch is in Jack D. L. Holmes, "Three Early Memphis Commandants: Beauregard, DeVille DeGoutin, and Folch," *West Tennessee Historical Society, Papers*, No. XVIII (1964), 14-26.

<sup>15</sup> His report is in the AGI, Audiencia de Santo Domingo, old series, leg. 5. It has been translated in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, III, 237-42.

it is impossible to penetrate them, and in others very difficult." He added, "there are, however, some stretches of beach here and there, where the swampy ground which precedes the solid ground extends for more than a mile."

Folch traced four rivers flowing into Tampa Bay. The first, which the Indians called Acachy and the Spaniards, Millian, was graced with fine forests of oak, but Folch thought the pine of poor quality. This river would offer shelter to a war frigate, despite the narrow channel leading to a natural site for careening vessels.

The second river, the Manaties, Folch discovered was navigable only by canoes for some six leagues. Bound by swampy banks, its bordering trees were considered useless for construction. It would offer, however, some shelter for smaller vessels drawing less than seven feet of water.

The Indians called the third river Nattasy, and the Spaniards called it *Río de los Ojos de Agua*. The depth at its mouth was five feet, although, strangely enough, it grew deeper as one ascended it. Brackish or salty water extended for a distance of four leagues inland, and the oaks were even better than those found along the Millian River. The pines were of very good quality and Folch described several species.

The fourth river, named Tala Chakpu by the Indians and *Río de los Ostiones* (Oyster River), took its name from the oyster banks located near its mouth. Although they made ascent of the river difficult, the effort was worth while, according to Folch. Up the five-foot deep stream was a delightful fresh water spring which gushed from a twenty-inch hole. Here, stated Folch, was the ideal spot for a settlement. Small vessels could navigate the river for a distance of eight leagues. Although the quality of the land was poor, he felt isolated patches along the river banks could produce cotton, vegetables, tobacco, indigo and corn. The ideal form of economic activity should be cattle grazing, Folch believed.

Nearby were the Indian villages of Cascavela and Anattylica. Folch discovered the Indians would welcome a Spanish trading post at Tampa Bay, and even offered to settle nearby. These Indians hunted and trapped, and their peltry was delivered to St. Augustine, St. Marks or Pensacola, depending on their proximity. "In exchange for the skins at these posts," Folch wrote,

“they are given blankets, *mitasas*, breechclouts, striped and white shirts, glass beads, vermilion, Limbourg shawls, saddles, bridles, spurs, woolen strips of various colors, knives, combs, mirrors, carbines, shot-guns, powder, bullets flints, chintz, flannel, nankeen, thread, needles, bracelets, pins, and various other gewgaws of this kind.” Prices for their goods were established in the agreement between the Southern Indian nations and the Spaniards reached at Pensacola in 1784.<sup>16</sup>

Turning to the question of establishing a fort on Tampa Bay to insure the friendship of the natives, secure Spanish title to the Floridas, and to protect fishing vessels in the Gulf, Folch recommended the stationing of a full-size garrison of fifty men plus their corresponding officers. For a permanent post, based on the pattern of other Florida posts such as Mobile and Pensacola, Tampa would also require gunners, a chaplain, surgeon, medic, royal quartermaster, interpreter, armorer, mason, carpenter, calker, baker, blacksmith, two shipmasters, twelve sailors and a generous supply of convict labor.

Folch recommended the occupation of the islands between Apalachicola and Boca Raton by industrious American families. To initiate such a settlement, Folch suggested that fifty families be given land, cattle, exemption from duties, and standard low prices for salt (to be used in salting meat, which industry would find a ready market in Havana, suggested Folch). In an effort to settle the Florida Keys, Folch proposed that Spain advertise in American newspapers.

Should his proposed scheme succeed Folch envisioned a barrier of settlers, who would resist any aggression from England. It would insure Spanish domination in the Gulf of Mexico on the basis of evident possession, which was preferable to tradition—“the force of which customarily alters with the times.” Folch called attention to the Nootka Sound troubles of 1790, in which Spain had been forced to relinquish her claims in Oregon to the British due to her failure to settle the region. If Tampa and its adjacent coast and islands were well settled, such a disaster would not occur there.

Finally, Folch suggested that the settlements he proposed would put a stop to the English from Providence coming to fish and cut wood or to

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<sup>16</sup> See *supra*, note 9.

trade with the Indians. The seriousness of this point was not lost on Spanish officials who the previous year had witnessed William Augustus Bowles, a Marylander supported by the Nassau officials, organize several hundred Indians, who attacked and captured the Panton warehouse at St. Marks.<sup>17</sup>

Implied in Folch's report was the point that Spain should employ an adequate coast guard to protect her settlements from ravaging foreign corsairs. The governor-general of Louisiana, the Baron de Carondelet, had considered such a coast guard essential to the protection of coastal shipping between Cape San Blas and the Mississippi, and Folch believed it should be extended along the lower Florida coast as well.<sup>18</sup>

The Spanish officials, believing that the Indians would favor such a settlement, providing it was supported by a Panton trading post, prepared to carry out Folch's suggestions.<sup>19</sup> Although he was not chosen to command the post, eventually Spanish wheels of administration moved their slow way and Tampa was garrisoned by a small post.

Thus, the two expeditions of Evia and Folch to the Tampa area did more than provide a background for its ultimate colonization. Their charts and diaries, together with their definitive reports, provide us with substantial information on how the Spaniards viewed southwestern Florida during the closing years of the eighteenth century.

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<sup>17</sup> Lawrence Kinnaird, "The Significance of William Augustus Bowles' Seizure of Panton's Apalachee Store in 1792," *Florida Historical Society Quarterly*, IX (1931), 156-92.

<sup>18</sup> On Spanish suggestions for a Gulf coast guard, see Holmes (ed.), *Documentos para la historia de la Luisiana*, 45 note.

<sup>19</sup> Las Casas to Duque de Alcudia (Manuel Godoy, Minister of State), No. 4, Havana, February 1, 1793; and White to Carondelet, Pensacola, October 10, 1793, in Kinnaird (ed.), *Spain in the Mississippi Valley*, III, 135-36, 216.

## Contributors

CHARLES W. ARNADE, Ph.D., Professor of History and Social Science at the University of South Florida, a specialist in the Spanish period of Florida history, has been a contributor of articles to the *Florida Anthropologist*, the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, and *Tequesta*. He is the author of *The Siege of St. Augustine* and *Florida on Trial, 1593-1602*.

LOUIS CAPRON of West Palm Beach has done much research in nineteenth century Florida. The results are found in articles for *National Geographic* and for the Smithsonian Institution. His four books for juveniles are soundly based in Florida history.

JACK D. L. HOLMES, Ph.D., has degrees from two Florida universities and the doctorate from the University of Texas. In 1961-1962, he did research in Spain as a Fulbright Scholar. He is an Associate Professor of History at the Birmingham Center of the University of Alabama.

RALPH H. HUMES is best known as a sculptor. This article reflects his interest in South Florida and Liguus history and collecting. He came to Florida in 1932, spent 1958-1965 in Arizona, but returned to Florida and lives in Winter Park.

THELMA PETERS, Ph.D., specialized in Florida history at the University of Florida. She has contributed articles to the *Florida Historical Quarterly* and to *Tequesta*. She is Chairman of the Social Science Division of Miami Dade Junior College.

## The Association's Historical Marker Program

On Sunday, January 19, 1964, officers and members of the Association joined civic officials and citizens of Coconut Grove in Coconut Grove Bay-front Park to dedicate a marker on the site of the Peacock Inn. The ceremonies, originally scheduled for November 24, were postponed because of the assassination of President John F. Kennedy. Mrs. Jean Louise Flagler Mook, granddaughter of Henry M. Flagler, who had been among the many famous guests at the famous hostelry, gave the dedicatory address. Mrs. George E. Merrick, nee Eunice Peacock, a granddaughter of Charles Peacock and who was born at the Inn, and Wirth M. Munroe, son of Commodore Ralph M. Munroe, also a pioneer resident, unveiled the marker. President Roland A. Saye, Jr., presented the marker to the City of Miami, and City Commissioner Alice C. Wainwright of Coconut Grove accepted it for the city. Mrs. Merrick spoke in behalf of the Peacock family.

### PEACOCK INN

When Charles Peacock and son Alfred began building Peacock Inn on this site in 1882 there was no other hotel between Key West and Lake Worth. The hotel was called Bay View House at first and this area was called Jack's Bight before it was called Coconut Grove.

John Frow acquired the Peacock Inn land from the original patentee, Edmund D. Beasley in 1877 and deeded it to Charles Peacock in 1884.

Many famous tourists visited Peacock Inn. Henry M. Flagler called Mrs. Peacock the mother of Coconut Grove.

THE HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA—1964

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, INC.  
MIAMI 37, FLORIDA

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS  
FOR PERIOD 1964 THROUGH 1965

RECEIPTS	1964	1965
DUES, Annual -----	\$ 7,080.00	\$ 7,604.00
Contributions to Museum Fund -----	5,776.50	5,341.99
Interest Earned -----	293.10	288.80
Dividends Earned on stocks -----	123.39	168.93
Sale of prior "Tequesta" issues -----	75.00	229.10
Sale of other books, novelties -----	778.85	1,432.84
Marker Fund Income -----	175.00	750.00
W. C. Parry Railroad Donations -----	742.12	1,320.67
Museum Donations -----	77.50	218.00
Brochure -----		300.00
Other Income -----		
Library Card File -----		152.50
Miscellaneous -----	307.28	67.40
Inventory Ads -----		1,378.29
TOTAL RECEIPTS -----	<u>\$15,428.74</u>	<u>\$19,252.52</u>
DISBURSEMENTS		
Salaries -----	\$ 5,100.00	\$ 5,290.00
Office Expense and Printing -----	457.60	1,225.43
Printing "Tequesta" annual -----	791.00	1,096.00
Printing NEWSLETTERS -----	755.96	400.10
Printing Other -----		582.56
Meeting Expense -----	361.36	168.98
Audio-Visual Expense -----	60.48	
Library Expense -----	80.93	361.23
Marker Fund Expense -----	193.41	
Purchase of Books for resale -----	425.23	873.35
Building and Grounds Maint. -----	3,564.17	3,501.83
Interest Expense -----	1,223.32	460.72
Insurance Expense -----	322.42	273.49
Payroll Taxes -----	108.73	224.37
Mortgage - Principal -----	3,401.68	3,140.55
Florida 3% Sales -----		3.08
Miscellaneous Expense -----	724.03	71.34
W. C. Parry R.R. Expense -----		420.11
Building Improvement -----	276.90	
Common Stock Purchase Adjustment -----		1,170.00
Office Furniture -----	82.50	
TOTAL DISBURSED -----	<u>\$17,929.72</u>	<u>\$19,262.94</u>
Net Gain (Loss) -----	( 2,500.98)	( , 10.42)

T E Q U E S T A

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COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ASSOCIATION EQUITY  
AS OF 1964 AND 1965

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, INC.  
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33137

CASH	<u>1964</u>	<u>1965</u>	Difference
1st National Bank of Miami:			
Checking Account -----	\$ 1,080.63	\$ 1,070.31	
Savings Account -----	8,091.01	5,876.81	
Petty Cash — Museum -----	100.00	100.00	
TOTAL CASH -----	<u>\$ 9,271.64</u>	<u>\$ 7,047.12</u>	<u>(\$2,224.52)</u>
 SECURITIES (At Market Value)			
Standard Oil Co. (N.J.) -----	\$ 1,530.00	\$ 2,339.66	
Continental Casualty Co. -----	924.00	603.00	
Hooker Chemical Co. -----	1,435.50	1,480.87	
Eastman Kodak Co. -----	769.50	1,266.00	
TOTAL STOCKS -----	<u>\$ 4,659.00</u>	<u>\$ 5,689.53</u>	<u>\$1,030.53</u>
 OTHER ASSETS			
“Tequestas” on Hand (Estimated) -----	\$ 1,155.00	\$ 1,549.00	
Other Publications -----	367.38	502.67	
Utility Deposit -----	50.00	50.00	
Office Supplies -----		335.80	
TOTAL OTHER ASSETS -----	<u>\$ 1,572.38</u>	<u>\$ 2,437.47</u>	<u>\$ 865.09</u>
 FIXED ASSETS AT COST			
Museum Property:			
LAND & BUILDING -----	\$49,705.44	\$49,705.44	
Furnishings & Equipment -----	2,801.29	2,801.29	
TOTAL -----	<u>\$52,506.73</u>	<u>\$52,506.73</u>	
Less Balance Due on Mortgage -----	18,138.03	15,000.00	
MUSEUM EQUITY (Net) -----	<u>34,368.70</u>	<u>37,506.73</u>	
TOTAL FIXED ASSETS -----	<u>\$34,368.70</u>	<u>\$37,506.73</u>	<u>\$3,138.03</u>
TOTAL ASSETS -----	<u>\$49,871.72</u>	<u>\$52,680.85</u>	<u>\$2,809.13</u>
 LIABILITIES			
Federal Income Tax Withheld -----	\$ 142.29	\$ 140.59	(\$ 1.70)
HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION EQUITY -----	<u>\$49,729.43</u>	<u>\$52,540.26</u>	<u>\$2,810.83</u>

## 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 1964, or in 1965 before September 30 when this material must go to the press. Those joining after this date in 1965 will have their names included in the 1966 roster. The symbol \*\* indicates founding member and the symbol \* indicates charter member.*

## Sustaining

- |                                       |  |
|---------------------------------------|--|
| Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables          | Blauvelt, Mrs. Arthur M., Coral Gables   |
| Agnew, Mrs. Margo, Coconut Grove      | Bloomberg, Robert L., Miami              |
| Albertson Public Library, Orlando     | Bose, John II, Miami                     |
| Aldridge, Miss Daisy, Miami           | Bow, Mary M., Miami                      |
| Alexander, John L., N. Miami Beach    | Bowen, F. M., Miami                      |
| Allen, Charles E., Ft. Lauderdale     | Boyd, Dr. Mark F., Tallahassee*          |
| Allen, Joe, Key West                  | Bozeman, R. E., Washington, D. C.        |
| Allen, James M., Miami                | Brigham, Florence S., Miami              |
| Allen, Stewart D., Miami              | Brisbine, Dawes, Miami                   |
| Allison, Mrs. John D., Miami          | Brookfield, Charles M., Miami*           |
| Allyn, Rube, St. Petersburg           | Brooks, J. F., Key West                  |
| Altland, Mrs. Patti, Big Pine Key     | Brooks, Marvin J., Miami                 |
| Altmayer, Mrs. M. S., Jr., Miami      | Brown, Clark, Jr., Arcadia               |
| American Museum of Natural History    | Brown, Daniel M., Jr., Miami             |
| Anderson, Mrs. Nils E., Miami         | Brown University Library                 |
| Ansbaugh, Mrs. Fay X., Ft. Lauderdale | Bryant, Donald, Miami                    |
| Arbogast, Keith, Miami                | Bryant, Mrs. Ruby, Miami                 |
| Archer, Marjorie Leach, Homestead     | Buchheister, Carl W., New York           |
| Arnold, Mrs. Roger Williams, Miami    | Buhler, Mrs. Paul H., Jr., Miami         |
| Ashbaucher, Lorin F., Miami           | Bullen, Ripley P., Gainesville           |
| Ashmore, G. H., Miami                 | Burghard, August, Ft. Lauderdale         |
| Atkins, C. Clyde, Miami               | Burns, Edward B., Orlando                |
| Avery, George N., Big Pine Key        | Bush, James D., Jr., Miami               |
| Axelson, Ivar, Miami                  | Bush, Lewis M., S. Miami                 |
| Baker, Mrs. John A., Miami            | Busse, Raymond J., Miami                 |
| Baker, Sarah S., Coral Gables         | Caldwell, Thomas P., Coral Gables**      |
| Bartow Public Library                 | Caldwell, Mrs. Thomas P., Coral Gables*  |
| Bates, Franklin W., Miami             | Campbell, Park H., S. Miami*             |
| Becker, W. Charles, Miami             | Campbell, Thomas V., Miami               |
| Berger, Allen, Miami                  | Capron, Louis, West Palm Beach           |
| Berry, Mrs. Richard S., Miami         | Carbajo, Antonio, Miami                  |
| Bevis, William H., Ft. Meade          | Carnine, Miss Helen M., Coral Gables     |
| Beyer, R. C., Williamsburg, Va.       | Carr, Mrs. Margaret McCrimmon, Miami     |
| Bills, Mrs. John T., Miami            | Carson, Mrs. Ruby Leach, Miami**         |
| Bird, Mrs. J. Wade, Miami             | Cartee, Mrs. Horace L., Coral Gables     |
| Bishop, Edwin G., Miami*              | Carter, Mrs. George deLani, Coral Gables |
| Blanton, Judge W. F., Miami           | Carter, Miss Harriet Vanessa, Miami      |

- Carter, Kenneth W., Grosse Point Woods,  
 Michigan  
 Catlow, Mrs. William R., Jr., Miami\*  
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 Chance, Michael, Naples  
 Clarke, Mary Helm, Coral Gables  
 Close, Kenneth, Coral Gables  
 Clowes, John M., Miami  
 Cochrane, Frank, Toronto, Canada  
 Coconut Grove Library  
 Cole, R. B., Miami  
 Comerford, Miss Nora A., Coral Gables  
 Conesa, Miss Lillian, Miami  
 Connolloy, William D., Jr., Miami  
 Cook, John B., Miami  
 Copeland, Mrs. M. A., Plantation Park  
 Coral Gables High School  
 Coral Gables Public Library\*  
 Corley, Miss Pauline, Miami\*\*  
 Coslow, George R., Miami  
 Covington, Dr. James W., Tampa  
 Craton, Michael, Hamilton, Ontario  
 Creel, Joe, Miami  
 Criswell, Col. Grover C.,  
 St. Petersburg Beach  
 Crivello, Carl, Miami  
 Culpepper, Mrs. Kay M., Miami  
 Cummings, Rev. Geo. W., Venice  
 Cushman, The School, Miami\*  
 Darrow, Miss Dorothy, Coral Gables  
 Davis, Sidney, Ft. Myers  
 DeBoe, Mrs. Mizpah Otto, Coral Gables  
 Deedmeyer, Mrs. George J., Miami  
 de Lamorton, Fred, Tampa  
 Detroit Public Library  
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 Dismuskes, Dr. William P., Coral Gables\*  
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 Dodd, Dr. Dorothy, Tallahassee\*  
 Dorothy, Mrs. Caroline, Coral Gables\*  
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 Dunn, Hampton, Tampa  
 Dykes, Mrs. Marion B., Miami  
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 Elder, Dr. S. F., Miami\*  
 Erickson, Hilmer E., Boca Raton  
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 Fite, Robert H., Miami  
 Fitzgerald, Dr. Joseph H., Miami  
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 Florida State Library  
 Florida State University Library  
 Florida Southern College  
 Flynn, Stephen J., Coral Gables  
 Foor, Mrs. Floyd M., Miami  
 Fortner Ed, Ocala  
 Foss, George B., Jr., St. Petersburg  
 Freeland, Mrs. William L., Miami  
 Freeling, J. S., Miami  
 Freeling, Mrs. J. S., Miami  
 Freeman, Mrs. Ethel Cutler,  
 Morristown, N. J.  
 French, Dexter S., Miami  
 French, Mrs. Dexter S., Miami  
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 Goza, William M., Clearwater  
 Graves, David, Miami  
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 Griswold, Oliver, Miami  
 Gross, Zade Bernard, Clearwater  
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 Hartnett, Fred B., Coral Gables\*  
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 Herin, Thomas D., Miami  
 Herin, Judge William A., Miami\*  
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 Hodsdon, Mrs. Harry E., Miami  
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Miami  
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Jr., Miami  
 Holloway, Mrs. June, Miami  
 Hubbell, Willard, Miami  
 Hughes, Russell V., Sarasota  
 Huntington, Henry E., Library  
 Hurley, Lawrence J., Miami  
 Jacksonville Free Public Library  
 Jacobstein, Mrs. Helen L., Coral Gables  
 James, Mary Croft, Miami  
 Jenkins, Wesley E., Miami  
 Jewell, Warren, Miami  
 Jones, Mrs. Mary A., Miami

- Judson, Charles B., Miami  
 Kasper, Dr. A. F., Miami  
 Kelleher, Phillip A., Jr., Miami  
 Kemper, G. K., Coral Gables  
 Kent, Selden G., Miami  
 Kenyon, Alfred, Ft. Lauderdale  
 King, Sidney, Surfside  
 Kirk, Cooper, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Kitchen, Mrs. Karl K., Miami  
 Knight, Telfair, Coral Gables  
 Knott, Judge James R., West Palm Beach  
 Knowles, Mrs. J. H., Coconut Grove  
 Kofoed, Jack, Miami  
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 Lake Worth Public Library  
 Laxson, Dan D., Hialeah  
 Lemon City Library & Improvement Assoc.  
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 MacAdams, Mrs. Ruth, Miami  
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 MacDonald, Miss Betty, Miami  
 MacDonell, George N., Miami  
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 Manley, Miss Marion I., Miami  
 Manning, Mrs. William S., Jacksonville  
 Manucy, Albert, St. Augustine  
 Marchman, Watt P., Fremont, Ohio\*  
 Marks, Henry S., Huntsville, Ala.  
 Martin County Historical Society  
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 Martin, Melbourne L., Coral Gables  
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 Mason, Mrs. Joe J., Miami  
 Mason, Paul C., Hialeah  
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 Miami Edison Senior Library  
 Miami Museum of Modern Art  
 Miami Public Library\*  
 Miami Senior High School Library  
 Miami Springs Library  
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 Miller, Raymond M., Miami\*  
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 Monk, J. Floyd, Miami  
 Monroe County Public Library  
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 Moulds, Mrs. Andrew J., Coral Gables  
 Mueller, Edward A., Washington, D. C.  
 Muir, William W., Miami  
 Muller, Dr. Leonard R., Miami  
 Munroe, Wirth M., Miami\*  
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 McKay, John G., Jr., Coral Gables  
 McLin, C. H., Coral Gables  
 McNichol, Herbert T., Coral Gables  
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 Newman, Miss Margaret, Clearwater  
 North Miami High School Library  
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 O'Kane, Robert, Miami  
 Old Island Restoration Foundation,  
     Key West  
 Pace, Rev. Johnson Hagood, Jr.,  
     Jacksonville  
 Padgett, Inman, Coral Gables  
 Palm Beach County Historical Society  
 Pancoast, Lester C., Miami  
 Pardo, Mrs. Ramiro V., Miami  
 Parker, Alfred B., Coconut Grove  
 Parker, Theo R., Freeport, GBI  
 Parks, Mrs. Arva., Miami  
 Parmelee, Dean, Miami  
 Patton, Mrs. Dan O., Miami  
 Peirce, Gertrude C., Miami  
 Pendleton, Robert S., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Peters, Mrs. Thelma, Miami\*  
 Platt, T. Beach, Coconut Grove  
 Powell, Mrs. Robert A., Miami  
 Powers, Mrs. Lila, Miami  
 Powers, Ted, Miami  
 Prahll, William, Miami  
 Prevatt, Preston G., Miami  
 Price, Gaylord L., Miami  
 Prior, Leon O., Miami  
 Proby, Mrs. Kathryn Hall, Miami  
 Ougley, Ellen N., Miami Beach  
 Rader, Paul C., Miami  
 Rasmussen, Dr. Edwin L., Ft. Myers\*\*  
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 Reeder, James G., Miami Shores  
 Reynolds, Mrs. Caroline P., Coral Gables  
 Rhodes, Mrs. W. H., Miami  
 Riddle, John Paul, Coral Gables  
 Rigby, Ernest E., Miami  
 Rivett, Lois Culmer, Miami  
 Riviera Beach Library  
 Robb, Louis M., Miami Beach  
 Rollins College Library  
 Romfh, John H., Miami  
 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.  
 Schooley, Harry, Ft. Myers  
 Schubert, Wenzel J., Miami  
 Schunicht, William A., Miami  
 Seley, Ray B., Jr., Miami  
 Sellati, Kenneth N. G., Kendall  
 Sevelius, E. A., Miami  
 Shappee, N. D., Miami  
 Shaw, G. N., Miami  
 Shivers, Otis W., Miami  
 Simmons, Glen, Homestead  
 Simonsen, J. B., Miami  
 Skill, Mrs. Pearl T., Homestead  
 Slaughter, Dr. Frank G., Jacksonville  
 Smiley, Mrs. Nora K., Key West  
 Smith, Gilbert B., Coral Gables  
 Smith, Mary Ellen, Miami  
 Smith, McGregor, Jr., Miami  
 Snodgrass, Miss Dena, Jacksonville  
 Sokoloff, Norman, Lt. Col. USN Ret.,  
   Coral Gables  
 South Miami Public Library  
 Southern Illinois University Library  
 Southwest Miami High Library  
 Sparks, Mrs. Charles, Fortville, Ind.  
 Spelman, Henry M., III, Boston, Mass.  
 St. Lucie County Board of Public  
   Instruction, Ft. Pierce  
 State Historical Society of Wisconsin  
 State University of Iowa Library  
 Stedman, Carling H., Miami  
 Stetson University Library  
 Stranahan, Mrs. Frank, Ft. Lauderdale\*  
 Stripling Insurance Agency, Hialeah  
 Stuart, Mrs. Jack F., Miami  
 Sullivan, Dr. Raymond S., Miami  
 Sullivan, Mrs. Raymond S., Miami  
 Sumner, Ralph M., Wauchula  
 Swanson, Ralph, Miami  
 Taft, Adon C., Miami  
 Talley, Howard J., Miami  
 Tampa Public Library  
 Tarboux, Miss Frances, Miami Shores  
 Teachers Professional Library, Miami  
 Tebeau, Charlton W., Coral Gables\*  
 Tebeau, Mrs. Violet H., Coral Gables  
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 Tennessee State Library and Archives  
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 Thornton, Dade W., Miami  
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 Thrift, Dr. Charles T., Jr., Lakeland  
 Tibbetts, Alden M., Miami  
 Tietze, Robert A., Coral Gables  
 Tietze, Mrs. Robert A., Coral Gables  
 Tio, Aurelio, Santurce, Puerto Rico  
 Tumin, Mrs. David U., Coral Gables  
 Turner, Vernon W., Homestead  
 Tussey, Mrs. Ethel Wayt, Miami  
 Tuttle, Dorothy B., Miami  
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 Tuttle, Leonard M., Miami  
 Ullman, John Jr., Ft. Lauderdale  
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 University of Miami Library  
 University of South Florida Library  
 University of Tampa Library  
 University of Tennessee Library  
 Vildostegui, Matias M., Coral Gables  
 Wallace, Lew, Jr., Miami  
 Walsh, Mrs. Charles H., Winter Haven  
 Waters, Fred M., Jr., Coral Gables  
 Weintraub, Mrs. Sidney, Miami  
 Wellman, Wayne E., Miami  
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 Wentworth, T. T., Jr., Pensacola  
 West, Jon, Miami  
 West India Reference Library, Jamaica  
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 Wheeler, B. B., Lake Placid  
 Whigham, Mrs. Florence R., Miami  
 White, Robert R., Miami  
 Whitmer, Dr. Kenneth S., Miami  
 Wight, William S., Coral Gables  
 William, Dr. H. Franklin, Coral Gables\*  
 Williams, John B., Miami  
 Williams, Lawrence C., Hialeah  
 Wilson, Albert B., Miami  
 Wilson, Gaines R., Miami\*\*  
 Wilson, Mrs. Gaines R., Miami  
 Wilson, Peyton L., Miami\*  
 Wilson, Miss Virginia, Miami  
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 Withers, Wayne E., Coral Gables  
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 Barge, Dr. Hubert A., Miami  
 Barry, Msgr. William, P. A., Miami Beach  
 Barton, Alfred I., Surfside  
 Baskin, M. A., Coral Gables  
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 Belcher, E. N., Jr., Coral Gables  
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