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# Tequesta:

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## Florida's Clipper Ship

By EDWARD A. MUELLER

The clipper ship era is rightfully regarded as the zenith of America's white-winged sailing ship mercantile marine. Starting in the late 1840's and lasting up to the Civil War, American clipper ships dominated the shipping lanes of the world, especially the stormy passages around Cape Horn to that promised land of gold—California.

Most sea-faring people speak somewhat knowingly and with fond affection of such famed craft as SEA WITCH, FLYING CLOUD, RAINBOW, GREAT REPUBLIC, LIGHTNING, GLORY OF THE SEAS—all romantic names that tell of the glorious and short-lived era when America truly ruled the waves. Almost every school boy has been exposed to the fabled stories of life in the clipper ship days—the sleek, lofty sparred craft with their gummy captains, the bullying mates—that sailed with the setting of new record performances uppermost in their thoughts.

Almost all clipper ships were built within a 300-mile radius of New York City. The famed builders of these ships—men such as Donald McKay of East Boston, William Webb of New York, to mention two of the best-known consistently launched speedy ships from their shipyards using the skilled shipwrights of New England and the rising tide of immigrants from the Old World as the basis of their labor supply. All clipper ships were "Yankee" in origin with one or two possible exceptions that were built south of Virginia.

When the clipper ship frenzy was at its highest, several Floridians decided to build such a vessel. Launched in Key West in 1856, the ship was christened STEPHEN R. MALLORY after the then United States Senator from Florida, who had spent much of his career in the U. S. Customs Service and legal practice in Key West. Later, Mallory was to become the Confederacy's Secretary of the Navy, this appointment being based on his experience as Chairman of the U. S. Naval Affairs Committee for a period of years just prior to the War and also the political need for a Floridian in Jeff Davis' cabinet. Mallory was also the father of a later Stephen Mallory who went to the U. S. Senate.

A very unique feature of the clipper, STEPHEN R. MALLORY, was the use of mahogany timber in her construction! She was the only clipper ever constructed of this relatively hard wood. Most builders used the relatively soft pine woods of the northeast for their hulls. Both the mahogany and the oak for the frame and ribs may well have come from Florida. There were magnificent stands of mahogany on Madeira Bay and the upper Keys, and there was an abundance of live oak grown in the state much sought after for shipbuilding. She was built with iron and copper fastenings and her hull was coppered in 1857. A survey taken at this time classed her as No. 1, second from the top in eleven classifications.

Unfortunately, minute details on the MALLORY are lacking but she was 164' long, 35' 9" wide, and her hold depth was 17' 10½".<sup>1</sup> A medium three-masted clipper of some 959 tons, she was described as not being extremely sharp-lined but designed to be a good carrier with a fair turn of speed. She had two decks, a round stern and a figurehead.

The MALLORY'S constructor was John Bartlum, a native of the Bahamas who settled in Key West and built vessels there until his death in 1870. A son of his, George J. Bartlum, went on to become a several-times Mayor of Key West around the turn of the century after employment in the U. S. Customs Service.

Another native Bahamian, William Curry, was undoubtedly the prime mover behind the building of the STEPHEN R. MALLORY. Moving to

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<sup>1</sup> These dimensions are "inside" hull dimensions and are used for calculating tonnage. The length is that "between perpendiculars," the actual overall length was many feet more. Her actual draft, when lying in the water, was listed as 20 feet.

Key West in 1837, then a hamlet of wreckers and fishermen, he started as a clerk in the merchandising business. Also, in his youth he had served with U. S. Naval forces as a quartermaster. During his period of service, the Second Seminole Indian War was in progress. When the War was over, he served a clerkship in Key West before teaming up with George L. Bowne in a partnership in 1855. Bowne and Curry were interested in the salvage of the numerous wrecked vessels in the area of the Florida Keys and most especially in the furnishing of supplies and ship's stores to the wreckers. Bowne and Curry also built ships, including two pilot boats, the G. L. BOWNE and EUPHEMIA, the latter being named after Curry's wife who was a daughter of Captain John Lowe, a prominent wrecking captain. In 1846, the young firm met with disaster as a severe gale destroyed their store and much of their general merchandise. Bowne and Curry rallied however, and purchasing property at Front and Simonton Streets, set up an enlarged business complete with storehouses, ample land and wharfage. Their ship-building enterprise was climaxed in 1856 by their expenditure of \$80,000 to build the STEPHEN R. MALLORY. Bowne and Curry are listed as the official initial owners at the time of her first documentation in November, 1856.

Around 1861, Bowne withdrew from the business because of ill health and sold out his interest to Curry. Curry, by this time, fairly well possessed of a family, reestablished the business as William Curry and Sons with his three sons and son-in-law coming into the business.

At the time of his death in January, 1896, William Curry was probably the most distinguished and well-known merchant in South Florida. Business was virtually suspended by Key Westians to attend his funeral.

Available accounts indicate that the STEPHEN R. MALLORY made at least one voyage around Cape Horn from New York to San Francisco. In September, 1858 she cleared New York and arrived in 'Frisco some 146 days later (or 151, according to another authority). This is relatively slow time, the record being 89 days set by the FLYING CLOUD and ANDREW JACKSON. Another vessel, the TALISMAN, sailing on the same day as the MALLORY, made the passage in 136 days.

Vessels such as the MARY WHITRIDGE, FLEETWING, GALATEA and SEAMAN'S BRIDE, sailing in September 1858, made passages of 136,

145, 144 and 185 days, so the MALLORY'S running time can not be considered to be excessive in view of what her compatriots' performance was.

A "crack" of the clipper era, FLYING FISH, made passages from Boston to San Francisco of 114, 113, 107 and 106 days clearing in September of 1853, 1854, 1855 and October 1856 respectively. This consistency points out the relative faster speeds that could be accomplished by a swifter ship.

At the time of her initial documentation, Graham L. Lester was listed as her official master. (The actual captain could be someone else.) On October 14, 1860, while on a voyage from London to Key West, a Captain Seaman in command, she was passed by another ship. The MALLORY had nothing standing but her fore lower mast. Her after house was stove, ballast shifted, and she had a heavy list to starboard. With half her crew below trying to shovel her ballast back to windward and the rest on deck rigging shears to set up a spare topmast at the stub of the mainmast, her master signalled "do not want assistance!" The Captain's optimism paid off as the STEPHEN R. MALLORY successfully made port despite her severe dismasting.

During the Civil War, Key West was under northern control. In September, 1862, the ship was registered at New York City. At that time, her owners were a partnership of Lemuel Brown, Hiram Benner and William Wall of New York City and Bowne and Curry. Lester was still listed as the master.

A year later in October, 1863, the ownership was again changed to reflect Benner acquiring Curry's share (Bowne still owning a fourth). The New York people remained as before, but Benner of course, had a larger share. Towards the end of November, 1863, she was sold foreign, probably to British interests. This was the period of the great raids on Yankee commerce by the Confederate Cruisers (ALABAMA, FLORIDA, etc.) and great quantities of American ships either transferred to other flags or were sold foreign to avoid loss. Ironically, it was the Confederate Navy cruisers which were commissioned by the Confederate Secretary of the Navy, Stephen R. Mallory, that drove his namesake from the sea.

Sometime in the spring of 1864, STEPHEN R. MALLORY was sold in London and did not subsequently appear in Lloyds or any of the official registers thereafter. Her ultimate fate is a mystery—she may have been scrapped—or renamed to sail on for many additional years.

# Reminiscences of the Lake Okeechobee Area, 1912-1922

*By* DOROTHY DARROW

The Darrow family moved to Florida in 1911. The family consisted of my father and mother, Dr. Charles Roy Darrow and Dr. Anna A. Darrow, my grandmother Darrow, my brother Dick, and me. We had come south mainly because of my father's health and to get away from the Chicago climate. My father who was on the staff of the Illinois Charitable Hospital and Cook County Hospital had as one of his patients a Mr. Louis Larson of St. Augustine. Mr. Larson was the Northwest Passenger Agent for the Florida East Coast Railroad. He sold my father on Florida in preference to California to which state my parents had been thinking about for a move. In 1909 they came to Florida and passed the state medical board examinations. Mother was always proud of the fact she had made the highest passing grade up to that time, a general average of 98. In 1911 my father developed a bad heart after an attack of la grippe and that caused them to make the decision to move. All of our household belongings, including our pet maltese cat, Peter, arrived in Jacksonville in September 1911.

We had lived in Jacksonville less than a year when my father heard from Mr. Larson about a new town to be built at the head of Lake Okeechobee. It was one of Henry M. Flagler's projects and it was planned to be a second Miami. Among the inducements offered to get my father to move was that he would be the railroad physician for the extension line to be built down from New Smyrna. As soon as school was out in June we prepared to leave. In July 1912 we left Jacksonville headed for the new town of Okeechobee. Mother, grandmother, and Peter came down to Fort Pierce by train and stayed at the Faber Hotel while waiting for the rest of us. We were driving down in a new Model-T Ford car which my dad had just bought and which he did not know how to drive. The Ford agency sent with us one of its men to teach my dad to drive enroute.

The roads in Florida at that time were not paved and left much to be desired. It was a most memorable trip and one that took three days. The heat and mosquitoes were very bad. It seemed that we pushed more than half the way. What little hard surfaced road there was consisted of crushed oyster shell taken from Indian mounds. The road was one lane and the surface had the effect of a washboard. Whenever we met another vehicle which made us get off of the road we got stuck in deep sand. The more one tried to get out the deeper the wheels sank. Then saw palmetto fronds had to be cut and put under the rear wheels to get traction and all of us but the driver pushed. How many times we did this is anybody's guess.

The road over to Okeechobee was impassable for an automobile due to high water. Also there was no place for us to live. Dick and my father went over to the settlement which until a short time before had been called Tantie. They lived in a tent while they built a temporary shelter for us. The local sawmill owned by Harmon Raulerson sawed the pine lumber for a shed which was later used as our garage, servant's quarters, and washhouse. To saw this lumber with a hand saw was a real job. It was full of resin and the saw teeth had to be cleaned periodically with kerosene. To drive nails into it was even more of a job as they would bend before going into the wood. Finally, just before Christmas they were ready for us. The three of us, with Peter, drove over in Mr. W. L. Bragg's buggy drawn by a pair of horses. Mr. Bragg was the representative of the Model Land Company, a subsidiary of the Florida East Coast Railroad.

While in Fort Pierce we had lived in the Budd Cottages located on the banks of the Indian River. They were built in a large grove of live oaks and sabal palms. The one thing that I remember about this place was the abundance of pineapple juice. A "croker sack" full of ripe pineapple culls could be gotten by any one who would go to a packing-house for them. Nearly everyone had a pineapple press in his yard and every ice-box had a pitcher of cold juice in it.

One of the first problems that had to be solved was what was to be done about a school for Dick. There was no high school in Okeechobee and he was in the tenth grade. The solution was to send him to a private academy. At that time Rollins College in Winter Park was both an academy and a college. Plans were made to enroll him there in the fall of 1913. Transportation was another problem. Captain Clay Johnson of Fort Myers owned a

small side-wheeler steamboat which made regular trips from Fort Myers to Okeechobee with supplies. I recently wrote my brother and asked him to describe his first trip to Winter Park and I quote: "I took the boat from Okeechobee to Fort Myers via the Caloosahatchee River. It was a pretty trip down the river. It took a day and a half as we stopped to gossip, pick up freight, etc. We got to Fort Myers about noon of the second day and I remember having a time getting my trunk hauled to the railroad station. Can't seem to remember where I stayed that night but I have no recollection of a hotel. Captain Johnson probably let me sleep on the boat. I well remember the train ride to Winter Park on the Atlantic Coast Line though. It was a local with no diner or train butcher and I didn't have anything to eat all day. When I got to Winter Park I was the most forlorn and lonesome kid in the world. I was a half day early for the opening of the college and no one but me got off of the train. The agent wanted to know should he put my trunk inside or was I going to have it hauled out to the college. I had it taken up to Chase Hall, the boys' dormitory and parked in the lobby. I had a room assigned and fortunately we had dinner in the 'beanery'. That night the kids turned the bed over on me and I was ready to go back home, only I didn't have the price of a ticket. I can't remember all the places we stopped. Moore Haven was one of them, then another down the river where we pulled up alongside of the bank and took on a load of wood. Then at Labelle, and I think that covered the first day. I can't remember a thing about Fort Myers, except that the dock was much higher than the deck of the boat. That's a 'fur piece' back and I thought nothing of it."

I was more fortunate. There was a one-room school in Okeechobee, and there was only one teacher, a young man named Arthur Weaver from North Carolina. He stayed only a part of the year and the term was finished by Faith Raulerson, one of Peter Raulerson's daughters, and now Mrs. Ellis M. Meserve. She recently told me how hard she worked to keep ahead of her brother Cornelius and me in fifth grade arithmetic. She said that we were entirely too smart for her. The entire enrollment of the school was nineteen pupils in 1912. I was resented at first because I was a Yankee. It took a few days to get used to cracker talk such as, "Hit don't make no never minds", "Let's get shet of it", and "Do you want I should carry you home?" We were seated by grade levels and went up front to the long recitation bench when it was time to recite. I made grades five and six in one year. Not only that but I learned something.

Our next teacher was a Miss Emma Bell from South Carolina. In the meantime Okeechobee was growing in population and additions were being built to the school and several more teachers were employed. Miss Victoria Ingraham was the principal when I finished the eighth grade in 1916. There was still no high school so that I, too, went to the Rollins Academy for my freshman year. In 1916 a red brick schoolhouse was built and it included all grades from one through twelve. I was the first graduate of the high school in 1920 in a class of four. In the class were also Beryl Lovvorn, Alma Camp, and Willie Dubois. The principal was W. R. Terrell, a younger brother of the recently deceased Judge of the Florida Supreme Court, Glenn Terrell. Mr. Terrell entered my grades for a scholarship offered in our senatorial district. This was given annually to a student with the highest average grades over a four year period in that district. I was awarded the scholarship and chose to go back to Rollins College from which I graduated in 1924 with an A. B. Degree.

Getting to Winter Park hadn't improved too much over 1913. I left on the Florida East Coast Railroad at six o'clock in the morning and changed trains in New Smyrna for Orange City Junction where I caught the Atlantic Coast Line train for Winter Park arriving about ten P. M. A few years later I took the Atlantic Coast Line to Sanford and transferred to a bus which took me to Geneva where I caught the train for home. It took much less time to go that way. The trip was quite an occasion. I knew practically all of the train crews and shared meals with them. We frequently stopped to allow the crew to shoot quail, turkey, or deer, and of course to chase cattle off of the track as there was open range. One never knew just when we would arrive in Okeechobee. The stations on the line had intriguing Indians names such as Osowaw, Bithlo, Hilolo, Holopaw, and Yeehaw. The only "outcast" station on the line was Kenansville, named for Mr. Flagler's third wife's brother. When the train was nearing Okeechobee the whistle was blown and some one would be there to meet me, Dick, mother, dad, or our Negro cook. The train brought in the morning paper from Jacksonville, the Florida Times-Union, and it was sold in our drugstore, so that some one in the family always met the train. I frequently surprised them. I rode on a pass so it cost me nothing.

There were not many people living in Okeechobee when we moved there. Peter Raulerson with his family were the first settlers and they had come down from Bassenger. He was in the cattle business. The houses were mostly log cabins and quite a few had dirt floors. There were not many glass window

panes, instead wooden shutters were used. One was forced to sleep under a mosquito netting canopy, called a 'skeeter bar.' The cooking and eating areas were usually separate from the house and connected to it with a breezeway. There were fireplaces in the living room for the cool winter months. Sheets and pillowcases were made of unbleached muslin and coverlets were hand-made quilts. Cooking was done on wood stoves with a reservoir on the side for heating water. When our stove arrived from Montgomery Ward and was found to have an oven thermometer it created a sensation. Water was gotten from hand pumps or wells, but almost everyone had a rainwater barrel in which to collect soft water. The pump water contained minerals and tannin from tree roots which yellowed the washing.

Securing food was a problem. Louis Raulerson, Uncle Pete's oldest son, ran a small general store in which most staples were kept. The post office was in here, too, and mail was brought in by horseback from Fort Drum. The staples for the store were either brought over from Fort Pierce by wagon or from Fort Myers by steamboat. We bought flour, sugar, and grits by the barrel. Salt pork, or sow belly, was the main meat. When a steer or hog was butchered the meat had to be eaten right away as there was no refrigeration. We had brought with us a three unit fireless cooker which proved a boon to mother in keeping meat. The food was partially cooked on top of the stove and soap stones heated at the same time. Both were put in the cooker and food would cook and stay warm for several days. Even the tough meat from range cattle came out tender. Local foodstuffs grown were mainly sweet potatoes, collards, turnips, and cow peas. There were small citrus groves and every yard had its guava trees. We varied our diet with wild game, turkey, venison, rabbits, ducks, quail, snipe, doves, and even coots. My grandmother Lindstedt could cook game so that even coots tasted pretty good. We usually brought back with us from a hunting trip several swamp cabbages. Fish were plentiful and they helped to vary our diet. We soon raised our own chickens and had over five hundred white Orpingtons. Most families had a milk cow so that occasionally we had fresh milk. The crackers made biscuits with flour, lard, clabber, and soda. Mother made 'light' bread which the crackers called any bread raised by yeast, except baker shop bread which was 'wasp nest.' We bought a lot of our staples by the case, such as canned milk, fruits, vegetables, etc. Sears, Roebuck and Montgomery Ward catalogs were our "Bibles."

The yards of houses had no lawns, instead the dirt was swept clean with brooms made of small branches. The yards had allamanda bushes, pink vines, crepe myrtle, and always a cape jasmine bush. I was amused when I went to New York City and saw cape jasmine blossoms sold as gardenias for twenty-five cents apiece.

It was not until some time in the 1920's that water was piped in from Lake Okeechobee. Before that we had running water in both bathroom and kitchen. My father had had erected an enormous rainwater cistern from which we got water. While conveniences were still in the backyard dad had gotten plans from the State Board of Health for a sanitary outhouse. It was placed the required distance from our pump, the enclosure was ventilated and the lower part was bricked in, the lids were made so that they would not stay open and a bucket of slaked lime was close at hand. This was quite an innovation and one which my dad hoped would help to teach sanitation. All too frequently the droppings from the outhouses were tossed on the ground a short distance from a dwelling, thus helping to spread hookworm. Children ran barefoot the year around—all but the two Darrow kids—and the larvae would be picked up by their feet causing ground itch and then hookworm. Many of the youngsters were found to be infested with hookworm when we first moved there. Another annoyance gotten from the ground, but not so debilitating or serious, was migrating larva. This caused an intense itching as the larva burrowed under the skin in small furrows.

We had a variety of pets. Our maltese cat was the first of her breed ever seen over there and she was referred to as the Darrow's blue cat. Her kittens were much sought after and one of mother's favorite stories concerned buying back one of her kittens for a setting of white Orpington eggs. We had all gotten too attached to Muggins to give him up. He lived to be nineteen years old and when he died in Fort Lauderdale he had an obituary in the local paper. We had all kinds of dogs from curs to thoroughbreds: Bassett hounds, Irish setters, and Airedales. Our pig was famous for getting drunk at syrup making time when the boys would feed him fermented skimmings. He would come home drunk as a coot and squealing every step of the way. Our goose was too good a watch dog. She would hiss and then fly at wagons. She caused several runaways until we clipped one wing. We used to like to ride Piggy but he was so smart that we couldn't get on his back unless we gave him a sweet potato. Then he would head for the house and if we didn't get off fast we would get knocked off against the side. Once we had a sack of

sweet potatoes in the garage on the far side of the car next to the wall and Piggy found them. He had eaten so many that we had to jack up the car to get him out.

In those days we had to make our own amusements. Reading was our evening diversion. We had brought with us a good library which included a set of the *Encyclopedia Americana*, Webster's *Unabridged Dictionary*, a complete set of Dickens, books for identifying birds, butterflies, and wildflowers. My father read aloud from Dickens and Sir Walter Scott's *Ivanhoe*. He was an avid reader and kept up with current periodicals and novels. *Ridpath's history* was in our collection and though its authenticity may be questioned it did give Dick and me an historical background. Among its many illustrations there are two that I can still vividly recall—Joan of Arc and John Hus going up in flames. Hunting, fishing, and just exploring in the woods and marshes we thoroughly enjoyed. We hunted at night for wildcats, coons, possums, panthers, and alligators. It was not against the law at that time to kill alligators and Dick skinned them and sold the hides for more spending money.

Hunting was not only recreation but at times a necessity as we would get meat hungry. Cotton tail rabbits were one of our main sources of meat. Our hunting grounds for these was the Kissimmee prairie which was pocked with bull holes. One of us would drive the Model-T while the other sat astride the hood with a gun. Shooting the rabbits didn't require half the skill that staying on the car did as the driver dodged the bull holes.

I thoroughly enjoyed just roaming the woods, and on the prairies and marshes. I rode horseback whenever I had to chance to get our horse Old Jim or when Connie Raulerson would let me ride his cowpony, Pinder. Before our car could be gotten over from Fort Pierce we had bought a horse and buggy in which mother made her calls so that it wasn't often that I got a chance to ride Old Jim. Faith and I rode many miles and many hours on horseback. When we lived in Chicago my brother and I spent a great deal of time in the Academy of Science and in the Field Museum of Natural History. The knowledge we picked up there came into good use in Okeechobee.

Flowers in spring were especially beautiful. Small ponds would be ringed with the yellow and blue of butterworts. Ditch banks would have large blue violets and the smaller white violets. After I had a course in botany I

was thrilled to find the sundew and insectivorous plant, as were the pitcher plants. Marshes would be full of blue flags and the pine uplands would be misty with the blue of lupine. Bayheads would be in bloom with the sweet bay and the loblolly bay. We identified terrestrial orchids and the biggest thrill of all was finding acres of yellow lotus in bloom in the Eagle Bay marsh. Sometimes the woods would be fragrant with the shrub whose flower was called the tar flower. In the fall we always enjoyed picking the red lillies and later the red berries of the Dahoon holly.

Picnics would be gotten up on any pretext. The Scharfschwerdts would come in from Bluefields and we all would head for Trout Creek. This small stream was one of the tributaries of Taylor's Creek, or the Onosohatchee River. One of the last battles of the Seminole Wars was fought here and we delighted in digging bullets out of the trees. Dick and I also found a mastodon's stooth embedded in the muck and sent it to the Smithsonian Institution. If our car was not available we would hitch the shafts of our buggy to the rear end of the other Ford and away we'd go using a bamboo fishing pole for a brake.

Dick and I owned a twenty foot Old Town canoe in which we made day long excursions down the creek, around the perimeter of the lake, and on the Kissimmee River. We never got far from the shore on the lake because a sudden blow might come up and capsize the canoe. In the summer these canoe trips were mostly fishing expeditions. We fished with rod and reel for bass and if they weren't biting would still fish for bream. Our favorite bait was a large white grub which we found in the stalks of the yellow pond lily. In the winter months we hunted for geese, ducks, coots, and snipe. Once Dick shot a duck and before it hit the ground an osprey grabbed it. Once when I had shot a duck I walked over to a patch of tules to pick it up and almost put my hand on a very angry cotton mouth moccasin. I had several unpleasant experiences with cotton mouth moccasins. The one that frightened me most occurred when I attempted to kill one that had crawled under my brother's house. As I stooped down to aim the shotgun at him he came for me with a rush.

Another snake story involved my grandmother Lindstedt. She was deathly afraid of snakes and to the day she died she did not know that she had been bitten by one or she would have died much sooner. Dick was raising white mice to sell to laboratories and when he was away at college I

took care of them and when my grandmother was visiting us from Chicago she would help me out with this job. This evening just at dusk she went out to the garage to feed them and when she came in she told me that one of the mice bit her and she showed me the teeth marks in her finger. I couldn't imagine how that happened as they were very tame so I went out to investigate. I found that a small chicken snake had gotten into one cage and was so full of baby mice that he couldn't get back out and it was what had bitten her. I put iodine on the bite and never told her what had bitten her. No infection ever set in either.

Driving around the roads required skill. I learned to drive a car when I was twelve years old by steering and stopping it as Dick and Otto pushed it through deep sand or out of the mud. Steering was no problem as one could hardly get out of the deep ruts. But when we took off across the woods and prairies it was another question. The lights of our first Model-T ran on the magneto and to be able to see it had to be driven in low gear to race the engine and brighten the lights. But for four young people that wasn't fast enough and radius rods took a beating as we hit low stumps. We spent one night in the woods disconnecting the radius rod, building a fire and heating it until it could be pounded straight, and then getting it back in. I must add that part of the night was spent swatting mosquitoes. Another hazard to driving were the bridges across small ditches. They were built hump-backed and springs didn't last too long. Also cattle would get up on the graded roads at night and unless we happened to shine their eyes they were hard to see.

After the road to Fort Pierce became passable for automobile travel we would go over there for a swim in the ocean. There was no bridge across the Indian River and we went over to Tucker's Cove in Clarence Summerlin's launch. What a sight we looked in our get-ups. Mosquitoes were a real problem and this is what we wore: over our bathing-suits a light weight long coat, a wide brimmed hat with netting hanging from the brim and tucked in around the coat collar, newspapers wrapped around our legs and stockings over them. We'd get the outer layer off as quick as possible and make a dash for deep water. Fort Pierce at that time was known to us as Fort Fierce. I think there was no place on the Florida East Coast that had more mosquitoes. It was their headquarters I am sure. Even train passengers were warned by the crew not to get off there when the train stopped twenty minutes to take on water. Every house had a swisher made of split palm fronds

hanging by the front and back doors and they were used to drive away mosquitoes. I thought I'd never see one of these things again but I did in the fall of 1966 when I bought one in Luxor, Egypt, to fan away flies.

About 1915 the Southern Utilities Company built an electric power plant. Then a moving picture theater was started by the Scharfschwerdt brothers. It was located in our warehouse just behind our drugstore. The seats were folding camp chairs and a player piano was used to entertain while the reels were being changed. The machine was hand cranked and the illumination for it was furnished by an arc of brilliant light made by two pieces of ignited carbon placed so that they touched. Reels would break and had to be spliced. All of this complicated business I learned to do as well as being the chief piano player. I should have known better than to learn to operate the machine because I frequently got stuck doing it while Dick and Otto would vanish and forget to come back. Lottie Scharfschwerdt sold the tickets. The movies were shown only on Saturday nights and other nights the hall might be cleared and dances held. Roasted peanuts were sold at the door and after the show the Scharfschwerdt's English setter would make the rounds looking for some that still had nuts in them. When he found one he'd crack it open and eat it.

There were no churches when we first lived in Okeechobee. An itinerant Baptist preacher came around and a sect called Pentecosts would hold meetings in the schoolhouse. The latter would talk in unknown tongues and work themselves into a frenzy and might go sailing down the aisle to fall in a coma in the yard. This was strange doings to my grandmother Lindstedt and once she nearly broke up the meeting by yelling at the top of her voice to my mother as a woman went sailing down the aisle babbling in unknown togues, "Catch her, Anna, she's crazy." My grandmother was born in Sweden and although she had come to the United States when she was fourteen years old she never lost her accent which made it sound even funnier.

The itinerant preacher who came around was Edward M. C. Dunklin and he was affectionately called Brother Dunklin. The Everglades was a haven for all sorts of vagabonds, escaped criminals, moonshiners, migrants, Negroes and Seminole Indians. The July 1927 issue of *The American Magazine* has an account of him written by Frank E. Brimmer. Mr. Brimmer writes, "On one occasion Brother Dunklin walked eighteen miles to a place where no one had heard a sermon for many years. He was sitting reading

his Bible when rocks were thrown at him. After preaching he asked for a contribution and received 30¢, two pieces of chewing gum, two buttons, half a match, and two bullets. A judge offered him twenty-five cents for every bullet he received and when the men found out that he was not afraid they quit dropping bullets in the collection plate and a year later he received a substantial contribution from the same place. Many times it was impossible to drive a horse where he wanted to go. Then he took off his clothing, hung it on a stick over his shoulder, and plowed through the mud and water. He often fought off moccasins and stepped around alligators. When he asked at a house where he was staying for food for himself and his horse the man of the house told him that it was bad enough to provide food for him but to feed his horse was just too much. So Brother Dunklin told him to feed his horse and he'd go hungry. The man was converted shortly after that. He was a friend of desperado gangs and some of them were really tough fellows. People in Okeechobee built him a home on a lot he owned and also gave him a car."

There were plenty of Indians around from the Cow Creek tribe. They had great faith in mother and called her "Squaw Doctor". If she was not in when they came to the office in our drugstore to see her they would wait patiently sitting on the floor until she got back. Many years after I left Okeechobee I met Billy Smith, a chief of the Cow Creek Indians, and asked him if he knew who I was. He grunted and replied, "Uh-huh, think so, you Squaw Doctor's pickaninny." Mother always had to talk to the men as the women were very taciturn. She used the sun's position in the sky as a time by which they could take medicine. She never charged for her services and was repaid with venison, wild turkeys, and huckleberries. I recall vividly one delayed trip to Fort Pierce because some squaws had brought us twenty-five quarts of huckleberries and they had to be canned to keep them from spoiling. The Indian ailments were mostly malaria and hookworm. Old Aunt Polly Parker, estimated to be well over a hundred years of age at that time, Billy Bowlegs, the Osceolas, and the Jumpers all came into our drugstore. One Indian was unusual because he spoke excellent English. His name was Billy Stewart and he had been bitten by a cotton mouth moccasin and survived. When gangrene set in he was taken to St. Augustine to a hospital there and stayed for many months as the flesh from the entire back of one leg sloughed off. The nurses had taught him to read and write. He would often come into our store as an interpreter for other members of his tribe. As

I recall him he was of the Micosukee tribe. Those Indians poled around the lake and up the creek in dugout canoes.

Ellis Meserve who lives in Okeechobee recently told me that it was fascinating to watch the Indian squaws buy merchandise in Louis Raulerson's store. They would point to what they wanted, pay for it, have it wrapped, and then go on to the next item. Every item had to be wrapped no matter how small or large. Ellis also told me about the time that he and his father-in-law, Uncle Pete Raulerson, were rounding up cattle and they met Kneehigh Tiger and his squaw. Kneehigh Tiger was on horseback and his squaw was walking behind carrying a sack of groceries slung over her shoulder. Ellis asked Kneehigh why his squaw was walking and received this answer, "Squaw no gottem horse." A very logical response. Ellis Meserve married Faith Raulerson and I told him I thought his claim to fame should be that he was the first and only passenger on the first train to come into Okeechobee and he also opened the first hardware store.

Fishermen on Lake Okeechobee were a strange lot in those days. One didn't ask them many questions and frequently they would not give their names when coming in for medical attention. Many were criminals who had come to the Lake region to lose their identity. They never gave us any trouble and mother never had any fear of them and she never carried a gun even though many of them knew she always carried change for one hundred dollars with her. They had great respect for her.

A woman doctor of course was a rarity and one as feminine looking and as pretty as she was was almost unbelievable. Many times mother was asked how she happened to be a doctor and as many times I have heard her tell the story.

In 1902 when my parents were living in Ogden, Utah, mother became very ill. My father was away from home at the time was sent for. When mother recovered she remarked to my father that she wished she was a doctor so that she could have diagnosed what ailed her. My father told her that his one ambition had always been to study medicine. Plans were made right then for the two of them to study medicine. There were plenty of obstacles in the way. First was financial and the next finding a school which would accept high school graduates and a woman. The fact that mother was eight months pregnant with me had also to be considered. In January of 1903

they moved to Kirksville, Missouri, and entered the school of osteopathy there. They had decided to get that training first and practice osteopathy while putting themselves through medical school. Mother entered school three weeks late because I was born February 2nd. In 1905 they were accepted in the now defunct Chicago College of Medicine and Surgery after taking and passing entrance examinations. It was the medical school of Valparaiso University located in Indiana. It later became the medical school of Loyola University in Chicago. They graduated in 1909 and practiced in Chicago until moving to Florida.

Men at first were reluctant to use her services but eventually there was no hesitancy on their part. When our drugstore was built offices were set up in the rear of the store. Mother did most of the outside calls while my father took care of office practice. Both were also licensed pharmacists. I wish I knew how many hundred babies mother delivered. Her charge for an obstetrical case was ten dollars, plus one dollar a mile if it was any distance. I have known seventy-two hours to pass before I would see mother. Our Negro cook, Jim Holman, always kept a hot meal waiting for her in the warming oven and I think he worried more about her than we did. My father was an eye, ear, nose and throat specialist in Chicago but all that changed in Okeechobee. Both of them did all kinds of medical work, even taking care of animals. Will Raulerson once asked mother to prescribe for his three weeks old shoat which was having convulsions after having drunk too much fermented cane skimmings. Not being familiar with the word 'shoat' she thought it was his child. On finding out that it was a pig she decided to treat it anyway. Asking how much it weighed she figured out the dosage the same as she would for a twelve pound child. The pig survived and from then on she was a veterinarian as well as a medical doctor. Her reputation was made with the Indians when Billy Bowlegs brought in a four year old boy whose illness she diagnosed as acute pericarditis. Billy had told her that the "pickaninny die sunup" but according to mother's notes she told him, "pickaninny no die if you do as I say." Then she persuaded them to camp near Judge Hancock's house and bring in the boy every day and she instructed them in his bringing up. She let them listen through a stethoscope to her heart and then the child's. Much to her surprise they agreed to do all she had told them. Five years later they brought the boy back in to see her and she found his heart in good condition and he seemed to be a normal healthy child. The Indians thought so much of her that they put beads around her neck the same as the squaws wore. Some of the home

remedies curative powers she was never able to fathom. Her most curious remedy was one used for stricture. She found the wife had been giving her husband a brew made from crickets' legs. To quote from the notes mother left, "The ten years I spent over in the Glades are in retrospect among the happiest and most colorful of my forty-seven years as a physician. I had to cope with things that medical books and lectures do not teach. Every moment was a challenge. Historians told us that the early pioneers of the Everglades were outlaws and hid in the wilderness to be lost from civilization. Sometimes when filling out a birth certificate and I asked where the parents were born the answer would be to write 'unknown' and not to ask any more questions. Some of these pioneers were considered tough. This I became aware of when I was called upon to take care of the Ashleys, the Mobleys, the Rice gang, and the Upthegroves. Leland Rice had his lower jaw shot off and was carried to our house in the middle of the night. Dr. C. R., Dick, Dolly, and I worked for hours stopping the hemorrhage and overcoming shock. Early the next morning we put him on the train for St. Augustine where his jaw was wired together. A couple of months after that I was driving along the parkway when a man stepped out and flagged me. He asked if I was Doc Anner and then he said that he was Leland Rice and I want to thank you and Doc for being so kind to me. He was killed later after robbing a bank at Homestead. The other brother was sent to prison and I was called to the Ashley home near Jupiter to see their sick father. When I treated Laura Upthegrove, who lived on the ridge near Pahokee, I didn't know that she was in with the outlaws." Mother said that even the cattle and hogs were tough. A man came into our store one day and reported that on the way over from Fort Pierce a bull had rammed his Ford car head-on. My father could testify from personal experience that hogs were tough. A wild boar attacked him while he was out quail hunting and he had to shoot it. I well recall that we skinned it late at night and buried skin and marked ears deep. To be a hog thief was the worst reputation one could have.

My father's practice was different from mother's. He examined eyes and fitted glasses, did minor surgery of all kinds such as amputations, tonsilectomies, curettages of carbuncles, opening boils, etc. I think his worst job was cleaning up slashes and cutting out catfish fins. There were plenty of broken bones to be set, too. A lot of the breaks were caused by cranking Ford cars. He pulled teeth and according to our old cash book the fee was fifty cents a tooth. People would come with wounds stuffed with old felt hats and cobwebs which they had used to stop bleeding. The felt hat remedy caused

very bad infections but surprisingly enough cobwebs did not. Both were a mess to clean up though. The fishermen on the Lake always went barefoot and would often step on catfish heads on the skinning benches. The side fins of a catfish were very infectious and generally septicimea set in where they had punctured the foot. Sometimes a bad abcess would form and a huge piece of the foot would slough out .

One of the most unusual cases was that of John McLaughlin who was a trapper. He was up near Fort Drum about fourteen miles from Okeechobee when he shot a racoon. It crawled off into a hollow stump and as he was certain he had killed it he reached in to get it out when he was bitten by a diamondback rattlesnake on the thumb and index finger. He realized instantly that he would be dead before he could ride horseback to Okeechobee for help. He took his hatchet, put his hand on a stump, and chopped off the fingers just above the joints. Then he put a tourniquet around his arm, tied himself on his horse, headed it for Okeechobee and gave it a whack on the rump. He was unconscious when he got to our drugstore but my parents saved his life and amputated the fingers after removing the splintered bone. In 1947 when mother and I were in Okeechobee he met her on the street and gave her a big hug and kiss.

When the railroad was built into Okeechobee and a turpentine camp was located near town a rough element came in with them. My father was the railroad physician and the Negroes always seemed to spend Saturday night carousing and cutting on each other. One night an especially tough Negro named Big Six was sitting on our steps when we got home. I can hear my dad say, "Six, what the hell's the matter with you now?" and hear his reply, "Doc, they bin woikin' on my haid wid an axe." They really had, too, because I helped my father put forty-seven stitches in his scalp.

All kinds of characters came into our drugstore. During prohibition days they drank anything that had any amount of alcoholic content, bay rum, Lydia Pinkham's Vegetable Compound, and Hostetter's Bitters. I was alone in the store one evening when a fisherman came in and asked for bay rum. It and everything else he asked for were gone when he spied a bottle on the shelf labeled Electric Bitters and bought that. I watched him as he went behind the store, up-ended the bottle, and drank the entire contents. When my dad came back from supper I told him what had happened and he roared with laughter. He said he knew where that fellow could be found

for the next few days as that concoction was a potent cathartic, summing it up with words to the effect that, "that'll larn, him, by golly."

We had a series of automobiles because cars quickly wore out from the use they got on the sandy or muddy roads. The prize car we had was a Maxwell. I learned to drive gear shift with that one by the simple expedient of being told to drive it home one day. Once we went to Jacksonville in it and when we got on the ferry at South Jacksonville the motor wouldn't stop running although the ignition switch was turned off. My dad had fished as young man off the Grand Banks and he used all the words he had learned from the fishermen telling that car what he thought of it. The motor had overheated and the fuel in the carburetor had vaporized. Anyway, the next morning he came around to our hotel with a nice shiny new Oakland sport roadster.

Like mother in retrospect these were ten interesting and happy years. At first Dick and I hated Okeechobee, the crackers, and the primitive existence we had. For two children to be taken from a big city such as Chicago and set down in the wilderness with no modern conveniences it was none too happy an experience. But as children will, we became adjusted and had a wonderful time. I wouldn't trade those ten years for any other ten years of my life. I learned so much about nature, a sense of responsibility, and hard work. My parents were strict disciplinarians for which I am most grateful. I never had a whipping which I am certain I must have deserved many times. The punishment I got always seemed to fit the crime. Once I filled hundreds of capsules with quinine to pay for a window pane through which I had shoved my brother. It is with a keen sense of appreciation that I look back on "Those Happy Golden Years."

In writing this paper about Okeechobee I have received help from a manuscript left by my mother, Dr. Anna A. Darrow. I corresponded with my brother, Richard G. Darrow, now an attorney in Tucson, Arizona. I talked with Harmon Raulerson, a son of Peter Raulerson, who lives here in Miami. I recently made a trip over to Okeechobee and spent most of a day with Faith and Ellis Meserve, and I also talked with Hiram Raulerson, who is a grandson of Peter Raulerson, and with whom I went to school.

# John Newhouse, Upper Everglades Pioneer and Historian

*By* J. E. DOVELL

The old cliché that runs to the effect that most humans are damned to oblivion at birth will never apply to John Newhouse (Jan Van Nyhuis or Jan Van Nijhuis) since most histories of the Upper Everglades will be derived, in part, from his writings and thus preserve his name for posterity. The known historical productions of Newhouse total less than 150 typed pages: a long narrative of 50 pages (variously titled "Everglades History", "Memories of Early Days in the Glades", and "Pioneering in the Everglades"); six narratives of from 3 to 30 pages each; and two short incomplete narratives or sets of notes. None of these manuscripts have been published under his name for reasons that will become apparent later.

Very little information exists on John Newhouse. His estate when probated after his death in 1958 amounted to approximately \$5,000 and was divided among 48 relatives, virtually all of whom were residents of the Netherlands. He was born November 29, 1880, at Ermelo, Gelderland Province, the Netherlands. He migrated to the United States where he went to Iowa before entering the Upper Everglades in the fall of 1914 as one of the original settlers of the community of Okeelanta, four miles south of Lake Okeechobee, on the Fort Lauderdale Canal. He came to Palm Beach County at the age of 34 and spent the remaining 44 years of his life there. No record exists that he ever traveled outside the lines of Palm Beach and Broward counties. Apparently he had no desire to make any references to his earlier years in Europe or the United States.

John Newhouse was one of the countless thousands of persons from all over the United States and many other countries of the world attracted by the land selling boom that followed the inception of Everglades drainage operations by the State of Florida after 1905. The financing of the drainage operations was largely underwritten through the sale of numerous large blocks of public land, and almost always involved alternate sections so as

to enhance the value of the remaining sections retained by the state. The sales were to promoters and/or speculators. These buyers, in turn, organized land sales-companies which divided the large purchases into small tracts for resale, usually in five or ten acre tracts. By the establishment of offices in many of the nation's large cities, through the employment of many salesmen and the use of massive advertising campaigns an unknown number of Everglades acres were disposed in sales contracts for deeds. Few of the purchasers of the sales contracts ever saw their tracts. Much of the land involved eventually went back to the state for unpaid taxes. Many hundreds of persons, among them John Newhouse, came to Florida, figuratively buoyed by the great publicity waves created by the real estate operators.

The trials and tribulations of the settlers in the Everglades have been recounted elsewhere. Some of the farmers along the Okeechobee lakeshore existed, if they did not prosper. After a short period at Okeelanta, Newhouse worked at the Bolles Hotel at Ritta on the south shore of Okeechobee, clerked in a general store, served in land survey crews, was employed by the Brown Company on their "Shawano" farm on the Hillsborough Canal for several years, and lastly secured a job as a maintenance and handy-man at the state's agricultural experiment station near Belle Glade. He retired in 1938 and spent the remaining 20 years of his life on a tract he had purchased at Okeelanta, the place of his original Florida settlement in 1914. His small one-room home was modestly furnished, and was kept "Dutch-clean". There were few modern conveniences in this home when I visited there in 1948. By the time of his demise in 1958, he had disposed of most of the land around the house. He never married and was probably best recognized locally as one of the section's last adult bicycle riders for he never acquired an automobile.

When I was engaged in the research for a dissertation (which I modestly titled "A History of the Everglades") there was no dearth of historical information (in files and publications) concerned with the various aspects of politics, military operations, economics, and engineering projects. There were numerous volumes and articles of travel accounts, and even several fairly voluminous reports on the Seminole Indians. The ever-increasing mass of notes that I produced in this search proved the validity of a citation that I had previously used in an earlier manuscript:

"Shortly after the American occupation of Florida, when a great deal of ink was being spilled over Governor Andrew Jackson's

conduct in the Florida Territory (1821), a wag remarked that the Florida Territory was: "VERY PRODUCTIVE—OF DOCUMENTS" (D. Y. Thomas, "Report on the Public Archives of Florida," *Reports of the American Historical Association, 1906*, Volume II, 158).

There was, however, little or no information (that historians now refer to as social or cultural history) by residents of the Upper Everglades from their first settlement until the beginning of the publication of the area's first newspaper in 1924. From Dr. R. V. Allison, Soils Chemist in Charge, subsequently Fiber Technologist, of the Everglades Experiment Station, I learned of John Newhouse's manuscripts referred to above. Newhouse had written his narrative (in lead pencil) in copy or composition books. He graciously loaned several of these to me. The notes I derived from these manuscripts later became the basis of most of a 26 page chapter on "Glades Life in the Early Days."

One anecdote bears retelling. I had quoted a sentence that Newhouse wrote: "The real estate propaganda said, 'Take a tent, a bag of beans, and a hoe; clear a few rows in the sawgrass, plant the seed and in 8 weeks you will have an income.'" In a book published on the area in 1948 the "8 weeks" was misquoted as "a week". Newhouse's wry comment in a letter to me on the misquote was: "Even real estate agents knew better than to lie that much!"

In the early 1930's Dr. Allison was planning the preparation of an Everglades history. Newhouse's writings were to be a part of Allison's larger study. From Allison's first association with the Experiment Station in 1925 until his retirement in 1966 his hopes and works were largely directed toward the installation of some order in the chaos that had existed in the vast scheme of Everglades reclamation from the beginning of the undertaking by the state in the administration of Governor N. B. Broward in 1905 to this day.

Several years later, while I was preparing an article on Dr. Thomas E. Will (*Tequesta*, VIII, 1948, 21-55) Newhouse responded to a request for an elaboration of his memories of this pioneer resident, developer, and leader with a seven page single-spaced epistle. He also read and criticized the manuscript on Dr. Will and offered to compose the rough draft of an article (what he called always "scribblings") on land sales in the Everglades during the 1912 Everglades land boom. He protested that "we now have many persons

here far better qualified by education and position to write the history of this region than I, but if Dr. Allison and you are of the opinion that these scribblings are worthwhile perhaps I'll start on this." He added: I'll leave it to you to polish it up; when—and if—you want to use it in the future. I will do so, if the spirit is still moving me."

Thus, in the late 1940's when he was reaching the Biblical "three score and ten" Newhouse moved into his second and final period of historical writing. He was probably motivated by the long letter on Dr. Will, his perusal of the article in manuscript before its publication, and the pleasure he felt and expressed on receipt of the article in print. Almost a year later he asked for a copy of the journal "to send to friends in Europe."

Before the writings of this second period of his literary activity appeared he expressed his fears to me that his productions might be placed in a public library (like some of the earlier ones given to the P. K. Yonge Memorial Library of Florida History at the University of Florida) "where everyone can go there, and tear it apart, and misquote it, until it looks silly. . . . If you would keep whatever I might write in your own care, to use it in the future as you see fit, I would not mind it so much."

Some months later he wrote: "I have done some scribbling on Everglades history this summer. . . . This writing is about the meeting of Florida Everglades Land Company buyers held in West Palm Beach in 1912. . . . I would like to make you a proposition—I do not like to send them to the library at Gainesville to have them distorted as was done to the other papers, but I would like to send them to you personally. You can look them over, and if you like work them over, and write an article about it under your name—not mine—then place a copy of it in your library. You can watch it better in Gainesville than I can from here. Anyone could have written this, in following the minutes of that meeting. . . . I have also written something about the growing Everglades taxes, from 1913 to 1930, when they rose from 27 cents an acre to \$4.40. This last piece contains about 2,000 words and I have to correct it yet. If wanted you can have it under the same conditions as the other piece. Anyone could have written it."

Whereas the writings of the 1930's involved many of his personal experiences, these of the second period involved the experiences of others, and so in his mind there occurred a distinction—anyone could have written it!

At the suggestion that some of this material, at the solicitation of the editor, might be published in the 1950 edition of *Tequesta*, Newhouse wrote: "I do not want to break into print, at this late date in my life. I have always shied away from publicity. But if you, or Dr. Tebeau see something worthwhile in it, I'll be glad to help you along with it."

Within a few weeks, in March 1950, the material on the 1912 land buyer's meeting arrived, written as usual in a composition book. In his letter of transmittal Newhouse wrote: "I do not mind having this piece printed; but I still shy away from having this done under my name. I meant it as notes for you to keep for reference, for possible future writing by you about the Everglades, like the information about Dr. Will that Lawrence Will and I sent you. . . . I understand that professional people are supposed to have articles published, occasionally to keep up their standing." The latter sentence might well be regarded as a layman's version of the famous academic dictum that echoes through the halls of learning: "Publish or perish!"

In his letter of May 2, 1950 to Dr. Charlton W. Tebeau, Editor of *Tequesta*, Newhouse gave another reason, beyond his innate shyness, why he would rather see one better qualified prepare the materials for publication. ". . . all what I know about the English language I have had to teach myself, while working long hours, at hard labor. I never had an hour of English instruction in school or from tutors. And although I am glad that I have learned to read, write, and speak it hopefully well, I can understand that there will be many mistakes, and various expressions that can be improved. That's why I would like to see it worked over by someone who has had more advantages than I." In response to Dr. Tebeau's invitation to Newhouse to join him in the activity of the bond of Izak Walton, the old Everglades pioneer stated: "Thank you for your interest in me, but alas, I am no fisherman. I am a book worm. Give me a paper, an interesting magazine or book, and I am dead to the world!"

Newhouse's then known writings were concluded with the two articles on land buyers and Everglades taxes. However, two additional articles, written in Dutch (in the usual lead pencil and in composition books) were loaned to me by Lawrence E. Will of Belle Glade, Florida. Internal evidence leads to the belief that Newhouse wrote these articles (one on sugar cane and sugar manufacturing and the other on Southern Negroes) for consumption

by persons in his fatherland. Both articles are more descriptive than historical in content.

The material on sugar cane and the manufacture of sugar is almost entirely factual. The material on the Negroes begins with his boyhood revulsion toward human slavery engendered from reading *Uncle Tom's Cabin* and is summarized in his conclusion after some 30 years in South Florida: "Though my opinion about slavery didn't change about the negroes I think different."

Perhaps if Newhouse's artistic talents had been expressed in brush and colors similar to the expressions of Grandma Moses the popular schools of the "primitives" would claim him. No doubt historiographers would label him an unlettered amateur. But the name tag becomes inconsequential, for his contributions to the history of the Upper Everglades will be valuable for many generations yet to come.

Newhouse's original manuscripts have been placed in the Yonge Library of Florida History, the Belle Glade Public Library, and the Library of the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society. Likewise, typed copies of the manuscripts are also in these libraries and in the libraries of the high schools of the Upper Everglades region where it is hoped they will be used for reading and research. Large portions of his manuscript "Pioneering in the Everglades" have been quoted or paraphrased in several Florida histories and in numerous articles in the journals of the Historical Association of Southern Florida, *Tequesta*, and the Florida Historical Society, *Florida Historical Quarterly*.

# Who Was Juan Ponce de Leon?

By CHARLES W. ARNADE

Juan Ponce de León, a potent figure in the age of discovery, marked by his landing in Florida the beginning of recorded Florida history. He is classified in the annals of history as a *conquistador*, which literally translated means "conquerer." The word *conquistador* is constantly used when describing the discovery and early settlement of Spanish America. They are the daring leaders of this conquest, but no one has really ever defined when one of these men qualified for the coveted title of *conquistador*. Indeed it was not an official title but an honor, and not even publicly bestowed—when one's deed became admired he, the one who had performed this deed, was called *conquistador*. The American word "pioneer" is of the same nature. When was one a pioneer in American history?

The able Jesuit historian, John Francis Bannon, has only recently published a most readable but scholarly pamphlet which he entitled "The Spanish Conquistador: Men or Devils". Besides the introduction by Bannon, there are collected in his booklet eleven essays by recognized historians writing about the conquests and the *conquistadores*. The celebrated William Hickling Prescott said in 1847 that the Spanish *conquistador* "was a singular compound of the bigot, the pirate, and the knight errant. He was fierce, rapacious and cruel." And Prescott has only harsh, indeed bad, words for the *conquistador*. All this is summarized when he says that "The magnitude of the evil accomplished by him (the *conquistador*) was unhappily in full proportion to the atrocity of his intentions and character." This represents the 19th century attitude.

At an earlier time the judgments were even harsher. For example, the famous Germat poet, Heinrich Heine, stated unequivocally that the Spanish *Conquistadores* "were bandits." The great Venezuelan writer and historian, Rufino Blanco-Fombona, said in 1922 that "The *conquistadores*, viewed with great objectivity, are no more the bandits of Heine than they are the brothers of Saint Francis. Neither are they the heroic types to which the fighting men of a great and democratic nation of our century must conform." They are to

this Venezuelan historian “simply Spaniards, Spanish adventurers of the sixteenth century. In them are found all the virtues of their nation and of the age to which they belong. And in them, too one finds the national defects of that day...”

The French historian, Jean Descola—well recognized in the words of Father Bannon as a scholar who was “very denitely a Hispanophile”—wrote in 1954 a book which won the *Grand Prix d’Histoire* and was entitled *Les Conquistadors*. Descola said that he might have been a bandit “at certain times” but one thing above everything else characterized the *Conquistador*: he “never lost his sense of grandeur” and he fiercely believed in a powerful God and a powerful Devil. The English professor Frederick Alexander Kirkpatrick published in 1934 his well-known book *The Spanish Conquistadores*, only recently issued in paperback form. In it Kirkpatrick sketches more the main events of the conquest rather than giving the biography and motivating forces of the *Conquistadores*. But he admires their persistence and “their enterprise with invincible constancy...” Kirkpatrick reminds us that we must always remember that in the age when the *conquistadores* lived and conquered inhumanity was a trademark of this century—the Spaniards were not worse than the Englishmen of their time. He writes that “one would hesitate to claim that their work was more efficient or more humane” in the English conquest and colonization of Ireland.

Father Bannon asks the question: “Were the Spanish *Conquistadores* Men or Devils? He does not answer it but provides the judgments of others of all ages. The truth is that the bad opinions associated with the *Conquistadores* are part—indeed the core—of what is known as the Black Legend. And today there are many historians, among them many Americans, who are totally whitewashing the Black Legend. England and Spain after the discovery were, as we all know, locked in a long and ferocious rivalry for mastery of sea and land. It was the English historians who described with colorful exaggeration the negative features of the *Conquistadores*, often using the critical reports of Spanish priests, especially that of the potent Padre Bartolomé de Las Casas of the 16th century. Neither the Black Legend nor the whitewashing of recent days give the truth—the truth is in between. These men to me are a combination of the medieval knight and the American pioneer of the 19th century—maybe a cross between Sir Lancelot and David Crockett. Or as the Spaniard Francisco Morales Padrón put it in 1955, the *Conquistador* showed “fortitude in the face of adversity and suffering.” This

is just like the American pioneer, and again in the words of Morales Padrón, the *Conquistadores* "one and all were motivated by honor and fame." This is the creed of the medieval knight.

Juan Ponce de León certainly showed fortitude in the face of adversity and suffering, and he was motivated by honor and fame. But it must be made clear that Juan Ponce de León is far more famous today—over four centuries since his death—than in his day. He is not conspicuously mentioned and Kirkpatrick has even his name only twice in his rather voluminous book. His exploits lack the dazzling doings and results of a Pizarro or Cortés, or the importance of key thrusts by such men as Balboa, to Panama and the Pacific shores, or Diego Velásquez conquering the Cuban island. It lacked the unbelievable epic features of such expeditions as Francisco Orellana made into the Amazon or that of Pedro Valdivia's conquest of Chile. It even was in want of detailed and colorful reports by participants and therefore has left us a pile of unanswered questions which unfortunately have been colored by a great deal of myths and false claims. And the Ponce de León exploits fail in the excitement of a personal epic like that of Cabeza de Vaca crossing alone from Florida through Texas to Mexico. It also does not compare in importance with the grandiose marches through North America by Hernando de Soto and Juan Vásquez de Coronado.

Maybe the past has been unfair with Juan Ponce de León, and the present is more equitable. At the same time, the historical career from the inconspicuous past to the attentive present of Juan Ponce de León might be of charm to this conquistador but in most parts it lacks factual historical basis. Juan Ponce de León, discoverer of Florida, is a figure involved in riddles covered by a loose shift of weaved myths. And the reason why Ponce de León has become more important as time progressed is a most simple one. His achievement rests in the discovery and settlement of Puerto Rico and Florida. These two areas in the 16th century were not of prime prominence. The expansion of the conquest during the 16th century had a different directional importance—some areas became the basis for movement toward other regions and others simply were deadends. The island of Cuba served as the beachhead for the great conquest of Mexico, and Mexico in turn became the starting point into California, Texas, Central America and the vast Pacific Ocean. The Panama isthmus was the beachhead for the fabulous conquest of Peru, and from Peru the roads lead to many other places in South America. Naturally all these *conquistadores* of strategic areas were

celebrated far more than those men who went into closed passages. Ponce de León conquered Puerto Rico and this island did not develop into a basis for further important conquests. When he left the island for his journey to Florida, there were high hopes that the new land to be discovered would serve as a highway to other great empires in the north. But Florida was a disappointment and the Spanish had a difficult time settling the peninsula and were often ready to give it up. All thrusts into the North American continent ended in failure. Florida under the Spanish was a history of hardships and failures and Florida did not become a road to other riches. Consequently, Ponce de León was not hailed as a man who has brought to his crown great bounties.

Today the story is different. It is needless to say that Florida is a booming area and that Florida can provide statistics showing its phenomenal growth. Florida is a fountain of hope and wealth and it justifies the hope that Ponce de León carried with him when he sailed to discover this land. It took four centuries to fulfill the *conquistadores* dream that Florida was a land of riches or potential wealth. And although there is not a shred of documentary evidence that Juan Ponce de León came to seek a fountain of youth, there remains little doubt that to some extent the myth of the fountain of youth—so abused by amateur historians and business promoters—has partially come true as Florida's economy is based on a great part on the influx of older peoples seeking the sub-tropical sun and the Florida shores for their retirement.

Although the boom of Puerto Rico is not as spectacular as that of Florida, this Caribbean island as a Commonwealth of the United States is certainly an area of great progress. It is today probably the most progressive spot in the Caribbean or the old Spanish Main of centuries ago. While in the days of Ponce de León, Puerto Rico was overshadowed by the valued islands of Cuba and Española. Today the one problem that Puerto Rico faces is its split personality. The Commonwealth is Hispanic in language and ways of life, but Americanization is corroding the Hispanic tradition and this is something much opposed by many of the intelligentsia. Naturally there developed a nostalgic yearning for the past. That this exaggerated look to the past is unrealistic is admitted by a brilliant political science professor at the University of Puerto Rico, who is at the same time an advocate of Puerto Rican independence and a tireless critic of "Americanization." Professor Gordon K. Lewis writes in 1963 that "The American critic who compares the

twentieth-century Puerto Rican with the sixteenth-century *conquistadores*, to the disadvantages of the former, rarely pauses to reflect upon conclusions that might be derived from comparing his own type with the independent American farmer we read of in the pages of Crèvecoeur. The modern Puerto Rican must be judged by what he is, not by what his ancestors were. . . ." But the Puerto Rican is a product of the past and being part of a nation that is predominately non-Hispanic, they constituting a small minority, finds inspiration in the island's past and obviously considers the father of the island, Ponce de León, a man to be glorified and to be elevated on a historical pedestal.

This partly explains the boom in studies about Ponce de León published in the last years in Puerto Rico. On the other hand Florida—with its highly commercialized quadricentennial festivities guided largely by historical amateurs—has shown little interest in Ponce de León. No publication by any of the quadricentennial officials, agencies, etc., was planned. A book published in 1963 by Ethel King went unnoticed, in part due to faulty distribution by a publisher of little prestige who failed to provide review copies to leading journals.

The Juan Ponce de León Florida-Puerto Rico comparison is revealing. He is the official discoverer of both places. This is an undisputed fact. In Florida the Spanish tradition is negligible and the Spanish heritage bypassed or only emphasized for crass commercial benefits, and the rather short American period, starting in 1821, is much more emphasized. This is well exemplified by the amount of time allotted to the Spanish periods in any Florida history course at Florida colleges and public schools. The reverse is true in Puerto Rico where as said the emphasis is to glorify the Spanish heritage and periods, and where historical figures, led by Juan Ponce de León, of the Spanish period are glorified. But then in Florida there are hardly any people, with the exception of a very small core in St. Augustine and a few isolated cases in Pensacola, whose genealogy goes back to the Spanish period. Florida prefers to celebrate its recent heroes and when Mr. Allen Morris, with the help of Mr. Baynard Kendrick through the pages of the Tampa Tribune called for a vote of the five most celebrated Floridians only Juan Ponce de León received a fair number of votes. All others came from the American period.

The reasons why in Florida has been shown little interest in its historical figures of the Spanish period is simply a scarcity of qualified historians

capable by language and paleography to undertake research with primary Spanish documents. On the other hand, Puerto Rican historians are not hindered by these difficulties and such men as Vicente Murga Sanz and Aurelio Tió have done careful studies in ordinal Spanish documents for more Ponce de León data as is exemplified in their recent books. The more emotional approach, making Ponce de León a symbol of the Spanish heritage of the Island is presented in the 1960 book by Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, whose title in English is "The Colonial Mind of Ponce de León." The 292 pages say little new and the main theme could have easily been reduced into an article. To the author, Ponce de León was a typical example of his time and he summarized the best of the Spanish heritage. This is highly valued in Puerto Rico but it hardly means anything to the Floridian.

One more matter has to be considered when discussing the lack of enthusiasm for Ponce de León in the annals of Florida history. The Florida expeditions by Ponce de León represent only two chapters—and not the most important ones—in the full life of this *conquistador*. His pursuits in Puerto Rico were the most important ones and covered crucial years of Ponce de León's life. While unquestionably documentation for Ponce de León leaves much to desire and historians Murga Sanz and Tió have carefully searched all over the world for new sources, records of the doings of Juan Ponce de León in Puerto Rico are far more available than those in Florida. As a matter of fact, we totally lack primary source material—documents—about Ponce de León's two journeys to Florida. We have only indirect printed information by later reporters whose accuracy is questionable when dealing with details. Every honest and scholarly effort to find in the archives over the world, especially Spain, more Ponce de León data have failed. We know that one of the historians who is our only source, Antonio de Herrera, possessed some of the Ponce de León Florida reports. Herrera lived in the 16th century and he had access to the Ponce de León papers but failed to return them. This loss is tragic and the main source for all later misinformation which resulted in the myths of Ponce de León in Florida.

This sparsity of information is truly frustrating and there is little hope for finding the lost documents or even new data. Consequently no definite biography of Ponce de León is ever possible unless the impossible—the lost documents come to light—happens. And we will not be able to sketch the Florida happenings better than has been done in the past as we are always forced to consult the same sources which are the 15th and 16th century

chroniclers, especially Herrera. Therefore, such a well-intentioned study as that appearing in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* years ago by Frederick Davis is basically correct in its broad outline. But everyone who writes about Ponce de León, even if he has the best intention of doing a scholarly work—searching for the truth—will have to face the Ponce de León myths. And there are many who innocently, because of a vested interest, or especially due to geographical loyalties are fanatically devoted to one or all myths. For example, the most readable Ponce de León biography in English, the 127 page book by the late Edward Lawson, reveals the author to be an intentional victim of one of the two myths, and although Mr. Lawson was well aware of most all available sources, he failed to list some in his bibliography—those not devoted to his beliefs.

Generally speaking the myths can be reduced to three. The first one deals with the story of the Fountain of Youth and Ponce de León's search for those marvelous waters. The second refers to geographical locations, which entails the various claims that Ponce de León was here and there—went up the Gulf Coast as far as . . .—and especially pin-pointing an exact first landfall. St. Augustine has the distinction of claiming both, the Fountain and the landfall! The third myth, and maybe in this case the word "myth" is a misnomer, has to do with the matter of when Florida was discovered, in 1512 or 1513. The biography of Ponce de León that follows takes into account all available sources and is a summary of what we know of the man.

The story of the life of Ponce de León starts out with difficulty—maybe a fourth myth. Since it does not affect personal or business interests in Florida this potential myth has not developed into a controversy in Florida. We simply are not sure about the date of birth and the parents of Juan Ponce de León. We have a near consensus as to the place of birth—Santervás (also spelled Santhervás) in Castilla la Vieja (Old Castille), now known as the province of Valladolid—of the *conquistador*. Tió in his two books claims to have solved the problem. He writes in the 1956 study, "The origin in Spain of Don Juan Ponce de León has always been an insoluble riddle for those researchers who tried to decipher it. . . . All attempts to solve the mystery of the Spanish origin have ended in failure." Tió cites some of those who have tried. Then Tió writes "We have had the good fortune to find the key that permits us to solve the mystery." He cites several new documents in Seville which indirectly refer to Juan Ponce de León. Tió writes "that by a process of elimination we have discovered who was this brother of Juan Ponce de León

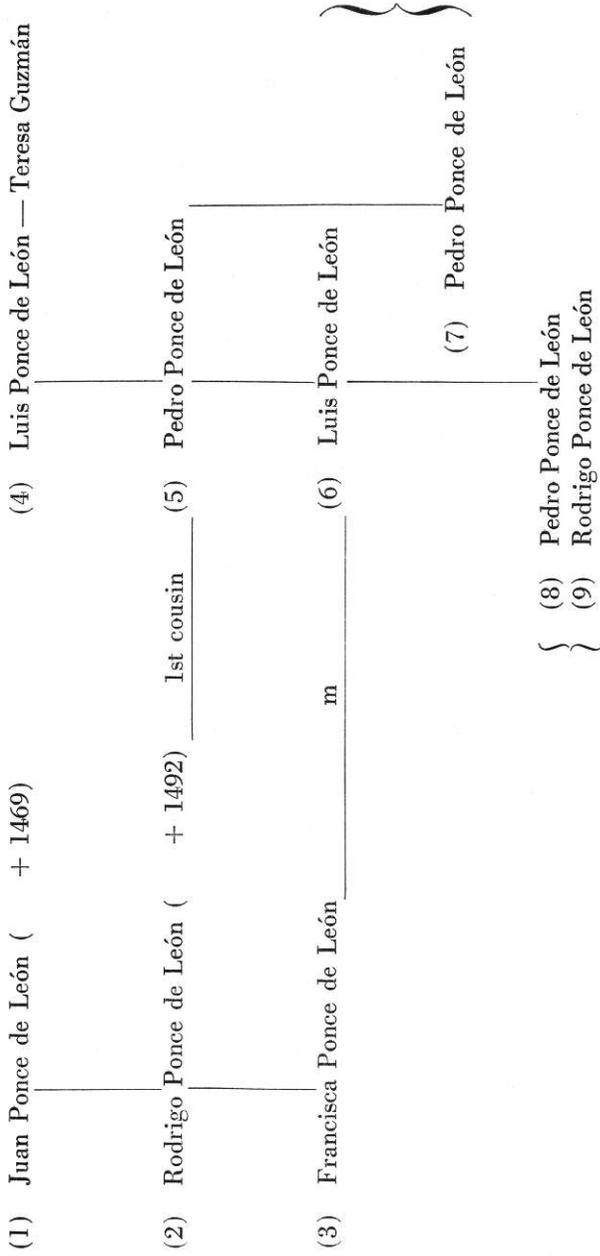
[mentioned in the documents] and which was his line of ancestors in Spain." Yet Tió's genealogical explanation which he later amplified in his 1961 tome fails to persuade some readers that he has found the answer. It is simply impossible to understand the Tió presented genealogy and such was mentioned in my review in the *Florida Historical Quarterly* of October 1962. In a long personal letter to me dated May 8, 1964, he provides a somewhat clearer picture. Mr. Tió in this cordial and urbane correspondence said that "simplicity is impossible in a genealogy of men who remarried and had 23 known offspring, each with different family names, according to old Spanish custom."

Tió is quite right in the immense number of offspring. There was a Count also called Juan Ponce de León (1)\* (related to the Florida Ponce de León) who was the father of the rather famous Rodrigo Ponce de León (2) (known as the second Cid Campeador.) This Count Juan Ponce de León(1), who died in 1469, had 21 accounted illegitimate sons and perhaps more. One of the "perhaps more" sons of Count Juan Ponce de León could have been the *conquistador* of Florida and Puerto Rico, Juan Ponce de León. This is a supposition presented in the scholarly Ponce de León biography of Murga Sanz which shows more depth and clarity than that of Tió, who has a personal genealogical interest in the Puerto Rican descendants of Juan Ponce de León. Anyhow, the Murga Sanz and the Tió sketches of Ponce de León's origin—one author ignores the other—are not too far apart. The same key figures make their appearance. But Murga Sanz presents them and elaborates only possibilities, while Tió makes confusing deductions to which he is strongly devoted. Manuel Ballesteros Gaiibrois in 1960, ignoring or unaware of the Tió 1956 book, wrote in what to me is an honest statement: "It is curious that such a person like Ponce de León, who in his life will fulfill such important tasks, and who will possess the royal trust and that of men like [Nicolás] Ovando and Diego Colón, has left behind so few tracks about his origins. Really we do not know who were his parents, where he was born and when he was born." Edward Lawson in his English biography simply states that "no record of birth has been found." Frederick Davis' study is not concerned with the life of Ponce de León, but only with his Florida expeditions.

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\*These numbers in parentheses after names of the family refer to the same numbers on my short genealogical chart.

SIMPLIFIED GENEALOGICAL TABLE



Tió's complicated genealogical deductions make the *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León the brother of Don Pedro Ponce de León (8),\*\* who in 1520 was Caballero of the distinguished order of San Juan de Jerusalén. This is claimed in both Tió's 1956 and his 1961 book. Nothing is known of the brother of Juan Ponce de León. But Pedro's parents, according to Tió's 1956 study, were Don Luis Ponce de León (6), first Marquis of Zara (or Zahara) and the Marquise Doña Francisca Ponce de León (2) a second cousin by marriage. The Florida *conquistador* was the second legitimate son and Pedro (8) was the first. They had other children who all held distinguished titles and positions. Tió writes that "Juan Ponce de León was not of humble birth as it has been claimed." He said that most writers were unaware of the true genealogy of Ponce de León and many "based their claims on an anonymous document which attacked him (Juan Ponce de León.) This 'anonymous of Simancas' said that he had been stable boy of the Prefect Knight of Calatrava Pedro Núñez de Guzmán and that he went to America on the second voyage of Columbus as a foot soldier." Tió, in an unpublished answer of November 16, 1963, to my review of his 1961 book in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, states that his genealogical discoveries and deductions show that "the solution is inescapable, Juan Ponce de León emerges as a cultured member of Spain's nobility" who later became "an intimate of King Ferdinand."

As said, Murga Sanz in his Ponce de León biography, generally considered the best Ponce de León study, fails to come to such specifics. Murga Sanz also has a Francisca Ponce de León identified as Marquisa of Zahara who was married to her second cousin, Luis Ponce de León (6), who is identified as a lord of Villagarcía and Rota. It should be recalled that Francisca was the daughter of the second Cid Campeador, Rodrigo Ponce de León (2). But while Tió in 1956 makes the Florida Ponce de León the son of Francisca (3) and Luis Ponce de León (6), Murga Sanz cites an interesting document which makes the Florida Ponce de León the cousin of Francisca (3). He says that the *conquistador* might have been an illegitimate son of Francisca's (3) grandfather, the Count Juan Ponce de León (1) (whose illegitimate son Rodrigo (2) was the second Cid Campeador.) The old Juan Ponce de León (1) (grandfather) died in 1469 and his illegitimate son Rodrigo (2) (second Cid Campeador) died on August 27, 1492. Francisca's oldest son named Rodrigo (9) was given the right of primogeniture. Tió too has a

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\*\* (8) according to Tió's 1956 book but (7) according to his 1961 book.

Rodrigo as the son of Francisca, but claims that a Pedro (8) was the oldest son. Murga Sanz fails to mention this Pedro, who is the key figure for Tió genealogy since he (Tió) located a document which makes this Pedro—supposed son of Francisca (3) and her legitimate husband (6)—according to Tió's 1956 evaluation a brother of the Florida *conquistador*, Juan Ponce de León.

In Tió's 1961 detailed study he reproduces nearly verbatim, but often expanded, his genealogical deductions but now—most probably because of Murga Sanz's study which he does not acknowledge—writes that "It is possible" that the *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León was the cousin of Francisca Ponce de León (3) and the brother of her husband, Luis Ponce de León (6). In this way Tió and Murga now seem to agree that the *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León was a cousin of Doña Francisca Ponce de León (3), who indeed was the daughter of the second Cid Campeador (2). There is confusion as to where exactly Francisca's husband, Luis (6), fits into the picture. He is a second cousin to his wife Francisca (3), and while Murga Sanz makes the *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León a possible son of an undetermined mother of Francisca's potent grandfather, Juan Ponce de León (1) (+1469), Tió in his revised 1961 work makes the *conquistador* a possible brother of Francisca's (3) husband Luis (6) (second cousin of his wife) and his May 3, 1964 letter shows he is now convinced of this.

One might assume that the Murga Sanz claim is rather a riddle when he affirms that the Florida Ponce de León was a possible son of the venerable Count Juan Ponce de León (1). Since Francisca was his granddaughter, she certainly would have to identify the Florida Ponce de León as uncle rather than cousin, as she does in the valuable document discovered by the same Murga Sanz. At the same time the supposed riddle can be explained. Ballesteros Gaibrois explains that the word *primo* (cousin) did not have the same strict definition and was then used very loosely as someone related, especially if he were illegitimate. Ballesteros Gaibrois rightly insists that the transmission of last names as is done today according to strict traditions was not in vogue at that time. A personal letter to me from Murga Sanz in April 1964 confirms the Ballesteros Gaibrois claim, but is denied in the Tió May, 1964 letter to me. In the letter Murga Sanz says that Francisca (3) was also illegitimate—daughter of Rodrigo (2), the famous second Cid Campeador. He writes that saying "my cousin is like saying my relative." Murga Sanz writes in the letter that this makes it impossible to determine the exact relationship. He

continues saying that it simply means that Ponce de León is a relative to the second Cid Campeador (2)—“the degree of blood relationship cannot be determined with the documents located and available to us.”

Tió disagrees. He states in his lengthy letter of May 8 that under no circumstances can the Florida Ponce de León be a son of the venerable Juan Ponce de León (1) who fathered so many illegitimate children and who died in 1469. (Tió accounts 23 offspring rather than the accepted 21.) Tió has a powerful argument. While the birth certificate of Ponce de León has never been located (this would clear up most all of the confusion) his year of birth is always, by everyone, given as 1460. Murga Sanz states this date “lacks proofs.” But he accepts it as the best we have. Tió insists in his 1961 book that he knows of a document (not reproduced) which is a legal paper dated September 8, 1514, in which Juan Ponce de León declared that he was born in 1474. There are no good reasons to doubt the Tió affirmation but it would have been advantageous for him to have reproduced this key document. It would mean that when Ponce de León discovered Florida he was 39 rather than 53 which does make a difference in our Ponce de León research. It would make the myth of the Fountain of Youth less appealing. This author is willing to accept the 1474 date until a more convincing document is found since the 1460 date has no documental basis and comes to us from unscholarly and indiscriminatory older secondary sources and might be based on “old wives’ tales.” In our own discussion this would make it impossible for the Florida Ponce de León to be the son of the productive Juan Ponce de León (1) deceased in 1469.

Tió finds it most plausible that the Florida Juan Ponce de León is the legitimate son of Pedro Ponce de León (5) and Leonor de Figueroa and therefore, as stated, was a brother of Luis Ponce de León (6) who was married to a second cousin, Francisca Ponce de León (3). So Francisca was indeed a true cousin of the Florida Ponce de León and at the same time sister-in-law. My opinion is that the famous Rodrigo Ponce de León (2), the second Cid, was the first cousin of Pedro Ponce de León (5) who has emerged as the most probable father of the Florida Juan Ponce de León. Tió writes in his explanatory letter of May 8, 1964, “Juan Ponce de León [the Florida discoverer] thus may have been Luis Ponce de León’s (6) brother, his business partner in the New World, second cousin to his wife Doña Francisca (3) and her brother-in-law as well. In the power-of-attorney sworn to by Doña Francisca (3) in her own right (the key document of Murga Sanz),

what mattered was her blood ties as cousin of Juan Ponce de León, and not her ties through marriage as his sister-in-law. Since her husband Don Luis (6) was required by law to consent to her legal wish by signing, so as to validate the document, no mention had to be made that he was also her second cousin. . . . According to my research, Father Murga's conjecture on Juan Ponce de León's ancestry is absolutely groundless." Tió insists that it has "been based mostly on centuries-old misconceptions which probably grew out of an anonymous report to Cardinal Cisneros [who was the Inquisitor General of Spain during the time of Ponce de León], which according to its fiery style could have been only written by [the celebrated] Father Las Casas."

In all this confusion and controversy one thing is apparent. The *conquistador* of Puerto Rico and Florida, Juan Ponce de León (2), is related by blood to the celebrated Rodrigo Ponce de León (2), who died in 1492 and who was a heroic figure in the last phase of the Moorish expulsion from Spain. We know this because Francisca Ponce de León (2)—the illegitimate daughter of Rodrigo who was married to the lord of Villagarcía and Rota, known as Luis Ponce de León (6)—identifies the Florida Juan Ponce de León as a relative. According to Murga Sanz it is conceivable that the Florida Juan Ponce de León was an illegitimate son of Rodrigo's (2) father, also known as Juan Ponce de León (1), who died in 1469. His famous son Rodrigo (2) was illegitimate too. The illegitimacy of the Florida Ponce de León hardly matters. Rodrigo (2) was celebrated and aristocratic; Francisca (3) was illegitimate too and she was a Marquisa of Zahara. She married a second cousin whose title is either Marquis or Count of Zahara and Lord of Villagarcía and Rota (6). The consistency of illegitimacy is responsible for this confusion which results in vast genealogical claims in all directions.

While I am not as anxious to reject as rapidly the Murga Sanz conjectures it is now more conceivable that Ponce de León was not the son of Rodrigo Ponce de León (2) but might as well have been the son of Pedro Ponce de León (5), an aristocratic lord whose complete name and title was Pedro Ponce de León y Fernández de Villagarcía, the fourth lord of Villagarcía, who was a close relative of the second Cid, Rodrigo Ponce de León (2) and who was at the funeral in 1492 in Seville of Rodrigo Ponce de León (2).

In sum, Juan Ponce de León, contrary to some earlier claims, mostly due to the above cited anonymous report to Cardinal Cisneros, was not of humble birth but came from a line of aristocratic lords the leading figure of

whom was the second Cid, Rodrigo Ponce de León (2), a famous hero of blue blood. We still lack his birth and baptismal records and therefore we still cannot assume completely who Ponce de León's father and mother were, but we are quite close to the truth and the possibilities are indeed few. While Murga Sanz has presented a commendable biography he has shown an understandable reluctance to get deeply involved in complicated genealogical search which Tió has undertaken with great competence. Yet he, Tió, has often presented a confused picture. At one time in his letter of May 8, 1964, he claims that Rodrigo Ponce de León (2) was the brother of Pedro Ponce de León (5) which sounds quite inconceivable.

As stated, historians have accepted earlier undocumented statements that the *Conquistador* Juan Ponce de León was born in 1460, but it appears that he was born in 1474. Everyone seems to agree, with some documental evidence but not enough to satisfy the serious historian's requirement for absolute veracity, that the *Conquistador* was born in Santervás de Campos, which today belongs to the county of Villalón in the province of Valladolid. Documents of descendants of Ponce de León provide the historian with the deduction that the *conquistador* came from the village of Santervás. This village in 1460 belonged to the monastery of Sahagún, and Murga Sanz located documents at the Simanca archives which show that the place-name was spelled "Sant Erbas", but Murga Sanz's search in the monastery and village records failed "to show any references to the Ponce de Leóns." He found out that the Ponce de Leóns used two other monasteries in Castille and León because of historical customs and traditions.

The far origins of the Ponce de Leóns are somewhat complicated but have also become a matter of controversy. It has been generally assumed with ample genealogical documentation that the Ponce de Leóns of the 15th century came in the 12th century from southern France as direct descendents of the Counts of Toulouse and Saint Gil. It is said that their common ancestor was Pedro Poncio de Minerva who, according to Lawson, left France in 1142 to become major domo of King Alfonso IX of the kingdom of León. This is hardly possible as Alfonso IX reigned from 1188 to 1230. Lawson takes his data from the genealogical studies of the Puerto Rican Angel Panaigagua, which also were profusely consulted but also corrected by Tió. Tió claims that Poncio de Minerva, who came from Southern France as a young boy, was related to King Alfonso VII, whose reign was from 1126 to 1157. Poncio Minerva was raised in the court of Alfonso VII and from

1140 to 1164 was an intimate advisor of the King (after 1157 Alfonso VIII ruled) and was also Governor of the City of León. There are no reasons to doubt the Poncio de Minerva-Alfonso VII relationship.

The story of the origins of Juan Ponce de León says that with the passing of time the many descendents of Poncio de Minerva (now being called Ponce) split into two branches, located in the south around Seville and Cádiz and in the north around León and Valladolid. The *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León was from the northern branch and it is written that the second Cid Campeador, Rodrigo Ponce de León (2), was a central figure of the southern branch. Lawson, using Prescott's classic study of Ferdinand and Isabella, the Catholic Kings, states that a Pedro Ponce de León (5), Duke of Cádiz [sic: for Rodrigo (2)], was the "head" of the southern branch. (It should be recalled that this Pedro (5) was the Marques of Villagarcía and that his son (7) and grandson (8) were also called Pedro Ponce de León and that either one of these two Pedros (6 or 7) was the brother of the Florida Juan Ponce de León and this brother is the key figure in Tió's genealogy. It must also be recalled that Rodrigo (2), the second Cid and the real Duke of Cádiz, was the father of Francesca (3), who unquestionably was the cousin of the *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León.) We are relatively sure that Juan Ponce de León was born in the north. Therefore a sharp division into the two branches: northern and southern, is apparently not a sure fact. They were interwoven.

Murga Sanz fails to show interest into the early origins of the Ponce de León's, but Tió, after much searching, affirms categorically that Juan Ponce de León did not descend from the famous Poncio de Minerva who came from France. During the reign of Alfonso VII of Castille (1126-1157) and that of his son, Ferdinand of León (1157-1188) three gentlemen called Poncio—Poncio de Minerva, Poncio de Cabrera, Poncio Velaz—lived. Of these, Poncio Velaz was the son of Poncio de Cabrera. Poncio de Cabrera is the ancestor of the Florida Juan Ponce de León and this Poncio de Cabrera was also a high official, indeed mayor domo of Alfonso VII. Poncio de Cabrera was from Cataluña and came from distinguished birth. Therefore Juan Ponce de León is "of pure Spanish descent and he has no blood of the gentleman Poncio de Minerva" writes Tió. The Puerto Rican author is convincing in his presentation and documentation. It is acceptable that the old claims that Juan Ponce de León origins can be traced back to France are erroneous. He comes from an old northern Spanish aristocracy closely

associated with the rulers of León and Castille. His paternal ancestry is from the Osorio family of Castille and his maternal origins are also of blue blood from the House of Cabrera and the Trava of León and Galicia. Also, part of his ancestral genealogy are the Dukes of Urgell and Cataluña. Poncio de Cabrera, mayor domo in the 12th century, is the direct antecedent of Juan Ponce de León.

The Ponce de León Cabrera family was related to another distinguished and most extensive family, Núñez de Guzmán of the house of Toral. For example, the patrician Juan Ponce de León (1)—the one with the many illegitimate sons—and father of the second Cid Campeador (2) had eight children, among them the Cid, with Doña Leonor Núñez de Prado, who belonged to the Núñez de Guzmán family. One of the daughters of the productive Count Juan Ponce de León (1), Ines, was married to Luis de Guzmán and aristocratic lord of Algava. Another daughter was married to Juan de Guzmán, lord of Teva. Furthermore, the grandfather, of the count of Villagarcía and Rota (6) (husband of Francisca Ponce de León) (3), also called Luis Ponce de León (4) (the same as his grandson) was married to Teresa Guzmán of the house of Toral.

At the time of Juan Ponce de León's birth the head of Toral house was Ramiro Núñez of the Núñez de Guzmán family. Ramiro's brother was Pedro Núñez de Guzmán. Later Pedro Núñez de Guzmán became a Grand Master of the Order of Calatrava and a confidant of the Spanish Crown. During his earlier life Pedro Núñez de Guzmán was not too well off financially, but might have fought with Rodrigo Ponce de León, the Cid Campeador, in the reconquest of Granada. Anyhow, the celebrated Chronicler Gonzalo Fernández de Oviedo tells that the future *conquistador* of Florida and Puerto Rico served as a page and servant of Pedro Núñez de Guzmán. To be a page at that time one had to be of noble lineage and sons of Counts, Marquises and Dukes became pages in noble related houses in order to later "wear the larkspurs of a gentleman" of true blood.

It is not completely clear what his precise duties were as he is referred to as a page boy, a squire and also a servant. Without proof the biographers of the *conquistador* state that he accompanied Pedro Núñez de Guzmán in the war against the Moors during the Granada campaign. As Murga Sanz thinks that Juan Ponce de León is the son of Count Juan Ponce de León (1), he states that it is possible that he, the *conquistador* Juan Ponce de León,

fought on the side of Rodrigo (2), the Cid Campeador, in the conquest of Granada. It is assumed that he fought as the squire of Pedro Núñez de Guzmán. Fernández de Oviedo tells us that when Ponce de León arrived in America he was an experienced military man who had learned his trade in the war against the Moors.

There is nothing else available about Juan Ponce de León in Spain. The next we hear about him was that he had joined Columbus in 1493 and was accompanying the great discoverer in his second voyage to America. Most all biographers object to the citations of the celebrated Father Las Casas in his famous history of America, published in the 16th century as a witness of most of the events, that Ponce de León was a stable boy of Núñez de Guzmán and a footsoldier when traveling to America. Two matters are cited to refute the Las Casas statements. First of all we possess documents that contain the signature of Ponce de León, which is that of a man who knew how to write well, and this knowledge was in those days reserved only to upper ranks and not to stable boys and footsoldiers. Furthermore, his name is not listed among the officials and to some this means that Ponce de León paid his own passage, which is a most convincing argument that he was not a footsoldier, but a gentleman.

It should be said that this matter of not being listed creates a doubt that Ponce de León traveled in 1493 with Columbus. No single document has been found in which the name of Ponce de León is listed among the voyagers of Columbus. The information simply comes from Fernández de Oviedo. But we have also claims that Ponce de León accompanied the 1502 expedition of Nicolás Ovando to America. Ovando had been sent to America to replace Columbus, who had assumed too much power. Ovando sailed in 1502. Murga Sanz states that the name of Ponce de León is also unavailable in all documentation consulted which deals with the Ovando voyage in 1502 to America and Murga Sanz is inclined to think—mostly on emotional grounds—that Juan Ponce de León came with Columbus in 1493. Tió, although he shows little interest in this matter, is also emotionally inclined to accept the 1493 journey to America. It is he who insists that the absence of the name of Ponce de León on the official traveling logs of Columbus shows his aristocratic origins. His contentions are based primarily on the well-known Samuel Eliot Morison's biography of Columbus where Morison states that Columbus in his second voyage carried with him around 200 enlisted young aristocrats, veterans of the recently won Granada campaign against the Moors. These

men, after the Granada victory, had nothing to do and on their own initiative and paying their own expenses boarded the 1493 Columbus ships to America. No list of these men of good birth is available. García y Gararafa, in his genealogical dictionary, expresses serious doubts that Ponce de León came to America in 1493. Lawson refuses to discuss the issue and simply states that Ponce de León "came to Haiti on the second voyage of Columbus."

Ballesteros Gaibrois, who in his biography of Ponce de León evaluates the primary documents unearthed by such scholars as Tió and Murga Sanz, is inclined to dismiss the claims that the *conquistador* of Florida came to America in 1493. It is a fact that no record of Ponce de León activities in America until 1504 have come to light. In that year he shows up as a protegee of Ovando in the province of Higüey in northeastern Haiti. After rendering valuable services in an Indian campaign at Higüey, Ponce de León in reward was made governor of the province. From 1493 to 1504 is a long time for a man of such energy and background as Ponce de León not to be mentioned in the fast-moving events in Española, the island center of Spanish activities of those days. Furthermore, Ovando came in 1502 to renovate the power structure established by Columbus and his followers. It is reasonable to assume that Ovando would use the men of his confidence, the ones who came with him, in his key operations. Indeed, this is what he did. It is therefore unlikely that if Ponce de León came with Columbus he would be used by Ovando. Therefore, it is my opinion that Juan Ponce de León probably came in 1502 to America with Ovando but that documentation to prove this has not been located. At the same time the claims that he came in 1493 with Columbus are much more unlikely. He does make his recorded appearance in 1504 leaving us with 30 years (since his birth) of total obscurity in regard to his person, although competent historians and paleographer have searched long and conscientiously in all kinds of dusty archives for new documentation.

From the time he assumed the governorship of Higüey in 1504 until his death in 1521, the life and doings of Ponce de León are far better known, and with few exceptions are clearly written up. The main exception is his 1513 Florida trip, which therefore gave rise to those three mentioned myths. He did a good job in Higüey, where he acquired a considerable estate raising crops and possessing many horses and cattle. It is said that he built himself a substantial house. It is here that Father Las Casas, who participated in the Higüey campaign, met Ponce de León and had much discourse with the future

*conquistador* of Florida. Juan Ponce de León stayed put for six years in Higüey, bringing peace and prosperity to the region. The island adjoining Higüey is today known as Puerto Rico, but was then called San Juan de Borinquen. The Indians called this medium sized island "Borinquen" and the Spanish discovered it during the second trip of Columbus, naming it San Juan Bautista (Saint John the Baptist). It should be recalled that some claim that Juan Ponce de León was on this second trip of Columbus. There had been some interest in the island and the natives had established some contact with neighboring Higüey. In 1508 Ovando gave incentive to Ponce de León to cross over to San Juan de Borinquen and explore the island and possibly establish settlements.

Undoubtedly, Juan Ponce de León was most successful in his endeavors in Puerto Rico and this phase of his life is well sketched and hardly pertinent for Florida history. At the same time, Ponce de León had to face tremendous odds. The island he had brought under Spanish rule had been known, and it was near and within easy access to Española (Hispaniola), which after all was at this time the center of the Spanish colony in America. Many wanted to divide the Puerto Rican pie and at the same time a struggle was occurring for ultimate leadership and royal favor to run all the overseas empire of Spain, which still was restricted to the Caribbean. The Columbus family was ferociously fighting for their rights and the Crown was under all kinds of pressures from all angles. Although Ponce de León had a strong "in" with the King, Ferdinand, through his old master, Núñez de Guzmán, who had risen to a confidant and aide of the King, and although the King seemed to have taken a strong liking to Ponce de León, the Crown felt that it was not a convenient move and in the best interests of the Crown to make Ponce de León the one and only "boss" of the island of San Juan. The correspondence of the King shows a deep and honest sorrow for slighting Ponce de León, and the Crown was most interested that this good servant of Spain should be offered new opportunities if Ponce de León wished to undertake new ventures beyond Puerto Rico. Indeed, the King suggested such a move. This, then, is the initial phase of the conquest of Florida. It originated not with Ponce de León, but rather from the King.

King Ferdinand began his suggestions on July 25, 1511 when he told his Treasurer General in America "that, because I have held him (Juan Ponce de León), and continue to hold him a servant of the Crown he should talk with you and should discuss all that appears to him in which I can do him

a favor and he can serve us; especially if he should wish to take any new settlement in his charge as he did the island of San Juan." On September 9, 1511 he wrote to Puerto Rico requesting all officials to "show good will and much love for Ponce de León." On the same day, King Ferdinand wrote a letter to Ponce de León, thanking him for his communication and the dispatch of gold and suggesting "that he (Ponce de León) should get to know if there are nearby islands ready for Spanish conquest." On November 1 of the same year, the King ordered that the *residencia* of Ponce de León for his various duties, including the governorship and the conquest of the Island of San Juan, should be taken. A *residencia* was an obligatory and public review that any official had to face before a job transfer or retirement. This move by the King meant, among other things, that he wanted Ponce de León to be ready for a possible departure from the island.

The next letter that has been found dates from February 23 and is from the King to Ponce de León, and it is a key letter in the discovery of Florida. On the same day a more or less identical letter was sent from the King to the royal officials of Española in which was included a contract for Ponce de León to "discover the island of Benimy." Here then in both communications appear the island spelled either Benimy or Biminy in the communications but later written as Bimini. As we all know, the royal contractual search for Bimini by Ponce de León, a product of the correspondence with the king, led to the definite discovery of Florida. When Ponce de León arrived on the Florida shores in 1513, indications tend to confirm but do not provide total proof that he thought Florida was the island of Bimini.

From where the King or Ponce de León got the notion of the island of Bimini is yet unresolved, and we are only dealing in the realm of possible answers. Again we have the case of a missing document, unlocated by everyone who has searched for it in the many archives. The letters of February 23, 1512 by the King, giving Ponce de León a contract to go to Bimini, are in response to a letter from Ponce de León to the King, of unknown date. In this missing letter, Ponce de León unquestionably talked to the King and his officials, especially to the general treasurer, and mentioned in the letter and in the talks the island of Bimini. The King wrote to the royal officials in the February 23 letter, "Juan Ponce de León wrote me that which you will see by the enclosed letter [the lost one] about the settlement of an Island which is called Binyny." If we had this letter we

might know more from where the Bimini information came and who had already been at Florida before the arrival of Ponce de León.

Two matters in the royal correspondence are of interest. First of all, in the letter of September 9, 1511, in which the King suggested that Ponce de León get to know if there are nearby islands to conquer, King Ferdinand speaks of "the secret of these islands." Ballesteros Gaibrois asks what this means. He thinks that the information that has come to the attention of the Spaniards (and we don't know to whom and by whom) has more than the usual information and has excited the attention of the Crown. That a story or stories of supernatural people or powers of this Bimini island had reached the Spaniards is quite conceivable. Maybe this King's letter is the real origin of the Fountain of Youth myth.

The second point of interest refers also to a letter of King Ferdinand and this one is dated February 23, 1512 to the Royal Officials in Española, which contains the contract for Ponce de León to conquer and settle Bimini. The King wrote, "I think that he [Ponce de León] has reason to be content, because the Adelantado don Bartolomé Columbus (the son of Columbus) talked to me here that he wished to discover this island [of Bimini]. I believe he might have discovered it with better advantage to our treasury than we will do with Juan Ponce de León. . . ." This means that the story of Bimini was not something that Ponce de León alone had acquired, but that it was of common knowledge among the conquistadores of Española. It must have been information (myths) of an exciting nature to attract the attention of Bartolomé Columbus. That the King was not willing to let the second Columbus discover and settle Bimini (Florida) is nothing surprising, as Ferdinand was not willing to extend more the rights of the Columbus family, which in fact he was trying to reduce. Consequently, and in view of the Puerto Rican matter, he felt he could discharge his obligation and set his conscience at peace by giving Ponce de León the chance to discover Bimini.

The Bimini contract given to Ponce de León by the crown was of a new type and less rewarding than those of earlier days given to other *conquistadores*. The King wrote to the Royal Officials in the letter already mentioned that "all that now can be discovered is very easy to discover and this is not taken into account by those who want to discover [new lands]. They rush to the contract that was made with the Admiral [Christopher Columbus, when he discovered America]. They do not reflect that then there was no hope of

what was discovered and neither was it thought that such a discovery was possible." The letter indicates that Ponce de León indeed, after having been encouraged by the King to look for new lands, had mailed to Ferdinand a contract draft which the King found "very immodest and devoid from reason", words used by Ferdinand in his letter to the Royal Officials.

The contract that the King mailed for Ponce de León's acceptance was dated February 23, 1512. A good English translation is available in the Frederick Davis study and in the book by Lawson. Let us only state the 17 key points, with the help of the excellent summaries of Ballesteros Gaibrois and Murga Sanz: (1) He had three years to do the task and 12 months to initiate the expedition from the day the contract was duly signed and registered by everyone concerned; (2) The expenses of the expedition would be the responsibility of Ponce de León; (3) He was allowed to recruit people from Spain and Española; (4) Ponce de León had a priority in his claims of Bimini and the lands discovered if he initiated the expedition within one year; (5) Ponce de León should assume the executive and all the judicial functions in the new territory; (6) He should have the ownership of all the houses and estates that he will establish with his own funds in these new lands; (7) The construction and direction of forts is a royal prerogative and therefore not under the jurisdiction of Ponce de León; (8) Ponce de León shall receive for 12 years from the day of the discovery the appropriate "tenth" of all the revenues and profits, with the exception of those specified as royal properties; (9) The distribution of the Indians to the Spanish lords should be done by the Crown, but the Crown will give priority in the allotment of Indians to those who have participated in the Ponce de León expedition; (10) Gold and precious metals, plus other possible valuable commodities, shall be the property of Ponce de León and his men, with the exception of the "tenth" during the first years to the Crown; thereafter, the tax had to be a ninth for the second year, an eighth during the third, seventh for the fourth, sixth for the fifth year, and from then on, one fifth; (11) Ponce de León should receive the governorship of all the discovered neighboring islands of Bimini as long as these places are unknown and unassigned; (12) Ponce de León is given the title of *Adelantado* of Bimini and of the other lands that he would discover. This title was a desired one, going back many centuries, and was "a kind of royal deputy placed over an extensive territory and endowed with civil and judicial functions," according to C. H. Haring. And Professor Haring tells us that "Of the seventy or more individuals who in the sixteenth century contracted with the Crown to subdue

or colonize new areas in America, the rank of *Adelantado* was vouchsafed to somewhat less than half . . . ; (13) The exploitation and collection of gold, if there were some, would be the same as done in Española or as ordered by the King; (14) Ponce de León was forbidden to have in his expedition foreigners and people not resident in Spain or Spanish dependencies and colonies; (15) Everyone in the forthcoming expedition to Bimini before leaving must deposit before the Royal Officials of Española valid bonds; (16) Any frauds and other dishonesties must be reported to the Crown and its appropriate officials and anyone who was negligent of dispatching such reports should be as severely punished as those guilty of fraud; (17) Ponce de León was required to mail detailed reports of his discoveries.

The King had signed the contract on February 23, 1512 but Ponce de León did not register the expeditionary force until January 29, 1513 at the port of Yuma in the province of Higüey on the island of Española. According to the contract, he had one year from that date to discover Bimini. Although time meant nothing in those days, some historians show concern about this delay. Furthermore, in a letter dated August 12, 1512 the King personally addressed Ponce de León, showed concern and "commanded" Ponce de León to come to see him in Spain to have a personal conference. There is no doubt that Ponce de León and the contract for Bimini faced difficulties. The Columbus group was still anxious to go in search of Bimini and obviously did much behind the scene to kill the Ponce de León contract. Ponce de León, even before the King had suggested that he go in search of new islands, had wanted to go to Spain for a private royal conference. His rivals and enemies had impeded such a trip. Furthermore, it is possible—Lawson is of such opinion—that Juan Ponce de León was quite disappointed with the contract which, as the King had said, was much scaled down from his original demands.

Again we face a dark spot in the life of Ponce de León, as we have no record that proves that he went to Spain. Lawson writes, "There can be little doubt that he made this voyage, as the urgent tenor of the King's command would not permit its being disregarded." The Lawson assurance lacks a certain logic. The Murga Sanz biography, based on painstaking research, fails to mention a trip to Spain. Furthermore, the time element is a good argument against such a trip. The King requested his presence in a letter of August 12, 1512. This indeed was a rapid mail, as letters usually took much longer. Furthermore, Ponce de León's *residencia* was not finished until October 6, 1512, something told to us with documentary evidence by Lawson

himself. The next day, October 7, Ponce de León filed an appeal of the decision of the *residencia*. This meant he was still in America. Then on January 29, 1513 he registered in Española his Bimini expeditionary force, which we know because of a newly discovered and important document in the Archives of the Indies in Seville, found by Murga Sanz.

On March 3, 1513 the Ponce de León expedition for Bimini lifted sail from the Port of San Germán in Puerto Rico. Therefore, we know that Ponce de León was in America in October, 1512, January, 1513 and March, 1513, when he left for Bimini. The King's request to come to Spain to discuss Bimini was dated August, 1512 and reached America in September or October. How could Ponce de León have been in Spain to discuss the forthcoming Bimini expedition between October, 1512 and January, 1513, or between January, 1513 and March, 1513? Usually a trip to Spain and back, taking into account connections, etc., took more or less one year. Any historian dealing with the period is aware of this. This is one reason why Murga Sanz does not even discuss the matter.

If Ponce de León did not go to Spain to talk about Bimini, then we are unaware what reason he used to excuse himself from the appointment with the King. It is possible that the King wanted to persuade Ponce de León to go and therefore accept the contract, although it was somewhat disappointing to Ponce de León. Somehow, Ponce de León was persuaded or came on his volition to accept the contract without seeing the King. This, then, would have made unnecessary the long journey to Spain. Furthermore, conditions had improved in Puerto Rico and apparently had made Ponce de León less bitter. And this certainly was a situation the King wanted to smooth over. At any rate, Ponce de León apparently did not go to Spain and seemingly was busy collecting men and provisions and getting boats. As said, on January 29, 1513 he registered his expedition and this document of registry discovered by Murga Sanz represents so far the best new data unearthed in the Florida discovery by Ponce de León.

Still the data are not complete. Juan Ponce de León sailed to Florida (Bimini) with three ships. These were named Santa María de la Consolación, Santiago and San Cristóbal. Apparently Ponce de León initially had hoped to make the trip to Bimini with two ships—the Consolación and the Santiago. These two sails Ponce de León registered in January 1513 at Yuma, on the island of Española. Ponce de León sailed with the Consolación and Santiago

to San Germán in Puerto Rico, where they arrived in February, 1513. In Puerto Rico Ponce de León acquired a third ship, called San Cristóbal, which was captained by Juan Pérez de Ortubia. We do not have the registry of the San Cristóbal and therefore do not know its crew. As we possess the registry of the Consolación and the Santiago, we now know about two-thirds of the force that came with Ponce de León when he discovered Florida in 1513. Indeed, it is a pity that the identity of the San Cristóbal crew has not been located. It would complete the roster of the brave force that officially discovered Florida.

The Consolación carried Ponce de León himself, and its captain was Juan Bono de Quejo. The registry unfortunately does not give us the tonnage or description of the ship. Since some of the material that Ponce de León carried was duty free, it was therefore not registered. The crew, however, was registered. The Consolación carried ten sailors, ten civilians and eight cabin or ship boys. Among the civilians was one woman, identified only as Juana Ruíz, and therefore she was the first European woman to come to Florida. Among the cabin boys was one named Jorge, who was identified as a Negro, and this one is then the first Negro in Florida. Among the civilians, there is listed a "Fernandico, Indian, slave." No other identity is given. It is conceivable that he was a native of some Caribbean island captured in an Indian war, which was the only permissible way of making an Indian a slave. It is also possible that he was an Indian who knew Bimini or Florida, and was taken as an interpreter and guide. Another individual among the civilians was "Juan de León, slave." Since he is not identified as an Indian, it is conceivable that he too was a Negro, although such racial identity is not given as was the case of the shipboy, Jorge. All the names except two, which were totally illegible, who traveled to Florida in the Consolación are listed in the Murga Sanz book. The same is true of the Santiago. This unspecified ship carried eight naval men and six cabin boys. The captain, identified as "mainmaster", was Diego Bermúdez. Aboard was also the mare of Juan Ponce de León.

As said, the two ships arrived in the port of San Germán in Puerto Rico—near today's San Germán—on February 8. We have no information why Ponce de León selected San Germán as the embarkation point for his Bimini expedition. It should be stated that he had founded San Germán and certainly must have strong reasons—which might have been purely personal—for selecting the spot. It might have been that he still found opposition,

mostly based on jealousy, from his rivals in Puerto Rico and Española. These men had openly abandoned their objections to the Ponce de León Bimini venture under pressure from the King. Fifteen days after Ponce de León with his three ships had left San Germán for Bimini, the official in Española reported to the King, and Ferdinand answered, "It is with great pleasure that I have received your news that Juan Ponce de León has left for Bimini." The King forcefully requested all the officials to aid in every way possible Ponce de León's effort to discover Bimini and other islands. The King requested the officials to report to the Crown every piece of news about the Ponce de León trip and the planned discovery. The Columbus family and its partisans, composed of many high officials, regardless of their promises of good will to the King were not ready to let Ponce de León get away with new discoveries. There is hardly any doubt that Diego Columbus, the discoverer's son, dispatched a trusted lieutenant to spy on Ponce de León or to discover Bimini ahead of Juan Ponce de León. This man was the sailor Diego Miruela, whom Ponce de León found apparently shipwrecked on Bahama Island on their return trip from Florida in July, 1513. It was quite ironical that Ponce de León came to the aid of Miruela and carried him back home. We know next to nothing of the results of the 1513 Miruela spying trip, and this includes the answer to the often asked question of whether Miruela reached Florida ahead of Juan Ponce de León, or if he got lost in the Bahama islands. At any rate, Ponce de León failed to find a great rich island called Bimini, although he sailed in the Bahamas but did not touch what we call Bimini today. He did find a new land he called Florida, and he maintained his rights and title to Florida, and it was not taken from him by the Columbus family.

Ponce de León returned to Puerto Rico from his Florida discovery on October 15, 1513 and he had left on March 3. He and his crew sighted Florida, which they thought at first to be an island, on April 2, 1513. The evening of the same day they anchored off the coast and stepped ashore, more probably the early morning of April 3 than the night of April 2. Either on April 2 or 3, they named the new land La Florida. Florida had been officially discovered and its continuous history had begun. When he and his expedition reached Florida on that day of April 1513, he was unaware that this land he discovered would one day become a booming civilization. And he was unaware that he left great controversies which gave rise to many myths. On that day of April 2 he was in Florida, but history would not let us decide where, in what spot, he was. Only one source, composed three quarters of a

century later, has come down to tell us of the 1513 trip—even in the year of when the trip was taken this source is wrong, as it vaguely claims 1512, which has proven to be incorrect. This is the Herrera account. And the Herrera part that describes the Ponce de León discovery of Florida—really quite short—has been used by innumerable authors, and many of them have done all kinds of interpretations, interpolations and calculations to make Ponce de León land at their favored spot. A few others have honestly tried to deduce the exact landing site.

In April, 1513 Ponce de León with his three ships, *Consolación*, *Santiago* and *San Cristóbal*, reached Florida somewhere between Cape Kennedy and the mouth of the St. Johns River. It is a good bet that the landing was closer to the St. Augustine area than any other spot in this 200 mile range. But it is most doubtful that Ponce de León entered what is today the St. Augustine harbor. After remaining a few days at their original landing spot, Ponce de León and his crew sailed in Florida waters and in this way started the recorded history of Florida. Unquestionably other European sailors had seen Florida and even landed on its shores. The early pre-1513 cartography of America and the Caribbean prove this assertion. But to Ponce de León goes the honor of the official discovery of Florida, in 1513, which took place not too far away from the present-day site of St. Augustine.

#### BIBLIOGRAPHICAL ESSAY

There has been done thorough and intense research on Juan Ponce de León but in all instances by Spanish speaking, especially Puerto Rican, historians. Two of them have produced key works which are absolutely necessary for any Ponce de León discussion. These are the able Catholic prelate and the celebrated historian Vicente Murga Sanz and the dedicated amateur historian Aurelio Tió. Both men have, with ample funds and time available, searched with patience and persistence in all archives of Spain for Ponce de León material. One can hardly duplicate these efforts and only unexpected discoveries by chance in unexpected corners or boxes in public or private archives might bring to light new information. The documentation located is still sketchy in many parts, especially those dealing with Ponce de León's early life and his Florida ventures. This has given cause for various deductions and since Murga Sanz and Tió competed in their search they have become rivals and presented the reader and researcher with different interpretations and deductions of what they considered their important archival

discoveries. Father Murga Sanz has written a well-annotated biography of Ponce de León which today represents the most definitive study of the Florida discoverer. Mr. Aurelio Tió has two books which contain much Ponce de León material, including valuable documentation he has discovered. He has not written a biography of Ponce de León.

A third Spanish-writing author is the Spaniard, Manuel Ballesteros Gaibrois, Professor of History at the University of Madrid. His Ponce de León book is not an original study based on primary sources nor is it a straight biography, but rather an interpretative monograph and in this capacity it is first rate. The document index, organized chronologically and containing 254 key documents or bundles of documents related to Ponce de León, is one of the most valuable research aids in any Ponce de León research. But since the book was published in 1960 it did not include the second Tió book information. Unfortunately the Ballesteros Gaibrois book is hardly known by Florida historians.

To the Florida reader and those who do not know Spanish there is only one slim biography, written by the late Edward Lawson of St. Augustine. Today the book leaves much to be desired in view of the new documental discoveries by the Puerto Rican researchers. But for the unspecialized student and the interested man on the street the Lawson book stands as a readable and concise biography which in its broad outlines tells the truth as we know it from better-known sources which are listed. Only in one spot does Lawson permit his prejudice enter the picture. He was devoted to a preconceived belief that Ponce de León landed in St. Augustine and he later published under contract for a private tourist business two pamphlets in which he tried to prove that the Fountain of Youth was located in St. Augustine at a known spot advertised to tourists. But this should not mean that his earlier biographical book is not of value. Unfortunately, a recent biography in English of Ponce de León published by an obscure publisher in Brooklyn is an utterly defective book as explained in my review in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*. It suffices to say that among the legion of mistakes is one which confuses the Spanish word caballero (gentleman) for caballo (horse). There is one article by Frederick Davis in one of the older issues of the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, but this is not biographical and only deals with Ponce de León's expeditions to Florida. It is a solid and unbiased article and since practically no new documents dealing with the Florida phase of Ponce de León have come to light the Davis article is basic

to this phase, and in my mind is far preferable to the Lawson chapters dealing with the Florida Ponce de León expeditions. As a final word: anyone interested in further sources of studies dealing with or marginal to Ponce de León should especially consult the Murga Sanz footnotes and bibliography and do the same with regard to the Aurelio Tió books and that of Ballesteros Gaibrois. Before terminating this study, I would like to warn that it is conceivable that very little new Ponce de León material will be discovered in the future and that we might have reached a near termination point of Ponce de León research which will leave many questions unanswered. Hope has not been abandoned of a sudden and unexpected find of additional data. But no one should bet on it.

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#### PERSONAL LETTERS

Aurelio Tiό to Charles W. Arnade, Nov. 16, 1963 (enclosing an answer to my review in the *Florida Historical Quarterly*, XLI, 1962. The answer was not published. It is entitled "Review of a Review").

Charles W. Arnade to Aurelio Tiό, Nov. 26, 1963.

Aurelio Tiό to Charles W. Arnade, August 3, 1963.

Charles W. Arnade to Aurelio Tiό, Sept. 24, 1963.

Aurelio Tiό to Charles W. Arnade, Dec. 2, 1963.

Charles W. Arnade to Aurelio Tiό, March 25, 1964.

Aurelio Tiό to Charles W. Arnade, April 17, 1964.

Charles W. Arnade to Aurelio Tiό, April 24, 1964.

Aurelio Tiό to Charles W. Arnade, May 8, 1964. Long and important letter containing a valuable explanation or rationalization of his deductions as contained in his two books.

Charles W. Arnade to Aurelio Tiό, May 15, 1964.

Charles W. Arnade to Vicente Murga Sanz, April 8, 1964.

Vicente Murga Sanz to Charles W. Arnade, April 21, 1964.

## Contributors

CHARLES W. ARNADE, a professor of History and Social Science at the University of South Florida is best known for his research and writing on Spanish Florida. See for example *The Siege of St. Augustine* and *Florida on Trial*.

MISS DOROTHY DARROW identifies herself in the article she writes. She is on the library staff of Dade County School system.

J. E. DOVELL, author of *Florida: Historic Dramatic, Contemporary, History of Banking in Florida*, and frequent contributor of articles in professional journals is a professor of Social Science at the University of Florida.

EDWARD A. MUELLER, a frequent contributor of articles on steamboating in Florida, is editor of *Steamboat Bill*, the quarterly publication of the Steamship Historical Society.

## The Association's Historical Marker Program

On November 19, 1966, a marker was dedicated to the oldest public library in South Florida, now the Lemon City Branch Library of the Miami Public Library system at 430 N. E. 61st Street, Miami. Judge Ray Pearson, who had grown up in the community was the keynote speaker.

### LEMON CITY BRANCH LIBRARY

Oldest public library in South Florida. Opened April 7, 1894, by Lemon City Library and Improvement Association in Lemon City, then the largest settlement in Dade County. The first library building was on present N. E. 63rd Street near Biscayne Bay. On May 10, 1902, the library was moved into its second building 65 feet west of this marker. That historic edifice (demolished in 1964) was also used for county-wide socials, plays, public forums, religious services. On Feb. 26, 1942, this pioneer library became a branch of Miami Public Library. On July 1, 1963, it was moved into the present building.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA—1966

## The Association's Historical Marker Program

A marker commemorating Miami's first telephone exchange was dedicated on November 29, 1966, in ceremonies in the Gulfstream Room of Bayfront Park Auditorium. The wall plaque type marker was later affixed to the Southern Bell Telephone Company Building at 36 N. E. Second Street. Mrs. Leonard R. Muller of Miami, a granddaughter of Alexander Graham Bell, in the keynote speech gave some recollections of her famous ancestor.

### FIRST TELEPHONE EXCHANGE

"Greater Miami's First Telephone Exchange began operating near this site early in 1899. The City of Miami granted a franchise in December 1898, and the Miami Telephone Co. was incorporated in February, 1899. The first switchboard was in a drugstore at Miami Avenue and Southwest First Street. The exchange was later moved to a building on the south side of Flagler Street in the block east of Miami Avenue. Lines were quickly extended to Lemon City and Coconut Grove. The company provided the first music to be broadcast in the area from the switchboard to subscribers who listened on their telephones. In June, 1917, with some 2,000 subscribers, this company and Southern Bell Telephone and Telegraph Co. formed the South Atlantic Telephone Co. The exchange became part of the Southern Bell Co. Dec. 31, 1924."

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA—1966

## The Association's Historical Marker Program

At a breakfast in Fort Lauderdale in Hollywood International Airport restaurant on Wednesday, May 31, 1967 at 8:00 o'clock, the Fort Lauderdale Historical Society and the Greater Fort Lauderdale Chamber of Commerce joined the Historical Association of Southern Florida in the dedication of a marker to Mackey Airlines. The program was informal. Colonel Joseph Mackey and others associated with him in the early days of flying spoke of their early experiences.

### MACKEY AIRLINES, INC.

Founded in 1946 by Colonel Joseph Mackey, Mackey Airlines became (August 5, 1952) the first certificated carrier in Broward authorized to engage in scheduled foreign transportation. Operations began January 5, 1952 between Fort Lauderdale, West Palm Beach and Nassau, N. P. Bahamas. Increased certification later allowed service to all Bahama Islands from Fort Lauderdale-Hollywood, Miami, West Palm Beach, St. Petersburg, Tampa and Jacksonville, Mackey operated without mail pay or subsidy. Passengers increased from 15,000 to 150,000 annually. Mackey and Eastern Airlines merged January 1, 1967.

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA—1967

## HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, INC.

STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS  
FOR PERIOD FROM SEPTEMBER 1, 1966 THROUGH AUGUST 31, 1967

RECEIPTS	1967	1966
Admissions to Museum -----	\$ 178.00	\$ 353.00
Contributions to Museum Fund -----	506.38	2,939.21
Dividends earned on stocks -----	257.18	195.54
Dues — annual -----	6,691.00	8,075.00
Interest Earned -----	199.27	188.13
Sale of prior "TEQUESTA" issues -----	327.80	179.65
Sale of OTHER BOOKS, novelties -----	3,642.58	2,409.24
Miscellaneous -----	6.50	1,260.00
W. C. Parry R. R., donations -----	784.97	1,209.07
Funds transferred from Savings Account -----	2,000.00	-----
Marker Fund Income -----	-----	353.00
Other Income -----	-----	614.22
Inventory Ads -----	-----	243.75
Mortgage Pledge -----	-----	830.00
<b>TOTAL RECEIPTS -----</b>	<b><u>\$14,593.68</u></b>	<b><u>\$18,849.81</u></b>
DISBURSEMENTS		
Building Repairs & Ground Maintenance -----	\$ 1,243.89	\$ 2,964.73
Insurance — General -----	402.54	325.47
Library Expense -----	140.25	553.02
Meeting Expense -----	73.00	356.18
Miscellaneous -----	100.00	309.46
Purchase of Books for resale -----	410.06	783.95
Office Expense -----	550.88	425.14
W. C. PARRY R.R., expense -----	267.53	483.95
Postage -----	370.11	-----
Printing TEQUESTA annual -----	1,248.00	1,369.80
Printing NEWSLETTERS -----	154.65	224.72
Printing — Other -----	1,985.76	1,504.00
Salaries -----	5,764.00	5,720.00
Taxes—Payroll & Sales Tax -----	355.60	257.89
Utilities — Light, Sewer & Telephone -----	609.37	-----
Marker Fund Expense -----	-----	666.70
Stocks Purchased -----	48.00	-----
Mortgage — Principal -----	1,000.00	1,000.00
<b>TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS -----</b>	<b><u>\$14,723.64</u></b>	<b><u>\$16,945.01</u></b>
<b>NET GAIN OR (LOSS) -----</b>	<b><u>\$ (129.96)</u></b>	<b><u>\$ 1,904.80</u></b>

## T E Q U E S T A

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ASSOCIATION EQUITY  
AS OF AUGUST 31, 1967

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, INC.

	1967	1966	Difference
<b>CASH ON HAND</b>			
First National Bank of Miami—Checking-----	\$ 397.24	\$ 711.71	
First National Bank of Miami—Savings -----	4,271.21	6,074.94	
PETTY CASH—Museum -----	50.00	50.00	
<b>TOTAL CASH ON HAND—8-31-67</b> -----	<b>\$ 4,718.45</b>	<b>\$ 6,836.65</b>	<b>(\$2,118.20)</b>
<b>SECURITIES (at market value—8/31/67)</b>			
Continental Casualty Co. -----	\$ 609.00	\$ 798.00	
Continental Oil -----	1,048.13	-----	
Eastman Kodak Co. -----	1,515.00	1,429.50	
Hooker Chemical Corp. -----	1,386.00	1,196.25	
Standard Oil of N. J. -----	2,801.25	2,937.68	
<b>TOTAL STOCKS</b> -----	<b>\$ 7,359.38</b>	<b>\$ 6,361.43</b>	<b>997.95</b>
<b>OTHER ASSETS</b>			
Inventory on Hand—8-31-67 “TEQUESTAS” --	\$ 1,279.00	\$ 1,638.00	
Inventory on Hand—8-31-67			
OTHER PUBLICATIONS -----	2,982.45	657.42	
Office Supplies -----	-----	322.24	
Utility Deposits -----	50.00	50.00	
<b>TOTAL OTHER ASSETS</b> -----	<b>\$ 4,311.45</b>	<b>\$ 2,667.66</b>	<b>\$1,643.79</b>
<b>FIXED ASSETS AT COST</b>			
Museum Property:			
Land -----	\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00	
Building -----	34,705.44	34,705.44	
Furnishings & Equipment -----	2,953.79	2,953.79	
<b>TOTAL</b> -----	<b>\$52,659.23</b>	<b>\$52,659.23</b>	
Less Balance due on Mortgage -----	(13,000.00)	(14,000.00)	
<b>MUSEUM EQUITY (Net)</b> -----	<b>39,659.23</b>	<b>38,659.23</b>	
<b>TOTAL FIXED ASSETS</b> -----	<b>\$39,659.23</b>	<b>\$38,659.23</b>	<b>\$1,000.00</b>
<b>TOTAL ASSETS</b> -----	<b>\$56,048.51</b>	<b>\$54,168.29</b>	<b>\$1,880.22</b>
<b>LIABILITIES</b>			
Notes Payable -----	(\$1,000.00)	-----	
Accounts Payable (Payroll Taxes) -----	(177.86)	166.16	
<b>TOTAL LIABILITIES</b> -----	<b>(\$1,177.86)</b>	<b>166.16</b>	<b>(\$1,011.70)</b>
<b>HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION EQUITY</b> -----	<b>\$54,870.65</b>	<b>\$54,358.87</b>	<b>511.78</b>

## 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 1966, or in 1967 before September 30 when this material must go to the press. Those joining after this date in 1967 will have their names included in the 1968 roster. The symbol \*\* indicates founding member and the symbol \* indicates charter member.*

## Sustaining

- |                                    |  |
|------------------------------------|--|
| Abbott, John F., Miami             | Bishop, Edwin G., Miami*               |
| Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables       | Black, Leon D., Jr., Coral Gables      |
| Adams, Anne I., Miami              | Black, Mrs. Margaret F., Coral Gables  |
| Adams, Eugene C., Miami            | Blauvelt, Mrs. Arthur M., Coral Gables |
| Adams, Mrs. Eugene C., Miami       | Bloomberg, Robert L., Miami            |
| Adams, Richard B., Miami           | Blount, Mrs. David N., Miami           |
| Adams, Mrs. Richard B., Miami      | Bowen, F. M., Miami                    |
| Adkins, Herbert W., Coral Gables   | Boyd, Joseph A., Jr., Hialeah          |
| Admire, Jack G., Coral Gables      | Boyd, Dr. Mark F., Tallahassee*        |
| Admire, Mrs. Jack G., Coral Gables | Boyd, Mrs. William E., Jr., Miami      |
| Aldridge, Miss Daisy, Vero Beach   | Bozeman, R. E., Gulfport               |
| Allen, James M., Miami             | Brady, A. N., Miami                    |
| Allen, Joe, Key West               | Brigham, Florence S., Miami            |
| Allen, Paul A., Miami Beach        | Broking, Gilbert S., Miami             |
| Allen, Mrs. Paul A., Miami Beach   | Bromsen, Maury A., Boston, Mass.       |
| Allen, Stewart D., Coral Gables    | Brookfield, Charles M., Miami*         |
| Altmayer, M. S., Jr., Miami        | Brooks, J. F., Key West                |
| American Museum of Natural History | Brooks, Marvin J., Coral Gables        |
| Anderson, T. David, St. Petersburg | Broward, Charles S., Jr., Coral Gables |
| Arbogast, Keith L., Miami          | Browde, Miss Willa, Miami              |
| Archer, Marjorie L., Homestead     | Brown, Daniel M., Jr., Miami           |
| Arnold, Mrs. Roger Williams, Miami | Brown University Library               |
| Ashbaucher, Lorin F., Miami        | Bryant, Donald, Miami                  |
| Atkins, Judge C. Clyde, Miami      | Bryant, Mrs. Ruby, Miami               |
| Axelson, Ivar, Miami               | Buchheister, Carl W., Wakulla Springs  |
| Balfé, Mrs. E. Hutchins, Miami     | Buckleley, Edward S., IV, Miami Shores |
| Bankston, Mrs. Dolores, Miami      | Buhler, Mrs. Paul H., Miami            |
| Bankston, Jarrell M., Miami        | Bullen, Ripley P., Gainesville         |
| Barnes, Frances H., Miami          | Bumstead, Evalyn R., Miami             |
| Batcheller, Mrs. George E., Miami  | Bumstead, John R., Miami               |
| Bates, Franklin W., Miami          | Burghard, August, Ft. Lauderdale       |
| Bates, Barbara, Miami              | Burns, Edward R., Las Cruces, N. M.    |
| Baxter, John M., Miami             | Bush, Frank S. F., Opa Locka           |
| Baya, George J., Esq., Miami       | Busse, Raymond J., Miami               |
| Beare, Richard, Miami              | Byrd, Mrs. J. Wade, Miami              |
| Beare, Mrs. Richard, Miami         | Caldarone, Caesar, Waterbury, Conn.    |

- Caldwell, Mrs. Thomas P., Coral Gables\*  
 Capron, Louis, West Palm Beach  
 Carbajo, Antonio, Miami  
 Carnine, Miss Helen W., Coral Gables  
 Carson, Mrs. Ruby Leach, Miami  
 Carter, Mrs. George deL., Coral Gables  
 Carter, Miss Harriet V., Miami  
 Casey, Mrs. Helen S., Coral Gables  
 Castillo, Robert, Miami  
 Catlow, William R., Jr., Miami  
 Catlow, Mrs. William R., Jr., Miami  
 Chastain, R. B., Jr., Miami  
 Clarke, Lynn B., Coral Gables  
 Clarke, Mary Helm, Coral Gables  
 Close, Kenneth, Coral Gables  
 Cochrane, Frank, Toronto  
 Coconut Grove Library  
 Cold, Ronald F., Miami  
 Coller, Mrs. Harris A., Coral Gables  
 Collot, Harry A., Miami  
 Comerford, Miss Nora A., Coral Gables  
 Connett, Mrs. Virginia, Coral Gables  
 Connolly, William D., Jr., Miami  
 Cook, John B., Sanibel  
 Cooperman, Albert B., Miami Beach  
 Cooperman, Mrs. Esther, Miami Beach  
 Coral Gables Public Library\*  
 Corley, Miss Pauline, Miami\*  
 Covington, James W., Tampa  
 Cravens, Miss Jacqueline, Coral Gables  
 Creel, Joe, Miami  
 Criswell, Col. Grover C., Citra  
 Culpepper, Mrs. Kay M., Miami  
 Cummings, Rev. George W., Venice  
 Cushman, The School, Miami\*  
 Museum of Modern Art, Miami  
 Davis, Sidney, Ft. Myers  
 DeBoe, Mrs. Mizpah Otto, Coral Gables  
 DeCarion, Mrs. G. H., Miami  
 DeLamorton, Fred, Tampa  
 Detroit Public Library  
 DiIullo, Mrs. Luedith, Downey, Calif.  
 Dodd, Miss Dorothy, Tallahassee\*  
 Dorothy, Mrs. Caroline, Coral Gables\*  
 Douglas, Marjory Stoneman, Miami\*\*  
 Dressler, Philip, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Dugger, Charles M., Jr., Miami  
 Duncan, Marvin L., Miami  
 Dunn, Hampton, Tampa  
 DuPree, Mrs. Thos. O'H., Coral Gables  
 Elder, Dr. S. F., Miami\*  
 Erickson, Hilmer E., Miami Shores  
 Estocapio, Don, Miami  
 Everglades Natural History Association  
 Fenn, Abbott T., Fitchburg, Mass.  
 Fields, Robert Ken, Miami  
 Fisher, A. A., Jr., Miami Shores  
 Fisher, E. H., Coral Gables  
 Fite, Robert H., Miami  
 Fitzgerald, Dr. Joseph H., Miami  
 Fitzgerald, Willard L., Jr., Coral Gables  
 Henry W. Flagler Elementary School  
 Henry M. Flagler Museum, Palm Beach  
 Flynn, Stephen J., Coral Gables  
 Ft. Lauderdale Historical Society  
 Fortner, Ed., Ocala  
 Foss, George B., Jr., Esq., Miami  
 Foster, Miss E. L., Miami Shores  
 Foster, Mrs. William T., Miami  
 Franklin, Mrs. Gail, Miami  
 Fraser, Donald L., Miami  
 Freedberger, Peter, Miami  
 Freeland, Mrs. William L., Miami\*\*  
 Freeling, J. S., Miami  
 Freeling, Mrs. J. S., Miami  
 Freeman, Mrs. Ethel Cutler, Morristown, N.J.  
 Freeman, G. L., Miami  
 Fritz, Miss Florence, Ft. Myers  
 Fullerton, R. C., Coral Gables  
 Fuzzard, Miss Jessie M., Miami\*  
 Gabianelli, Vincent J., Miami  
 Gaffney, Virginia, Miami  
 Gardner, H. A., Miami  
 Garner, Levi C., Miami  
 Gauld, Charles A., Miami  
 Gautier, Charles C., Miami  
 Glennon, Mrs. James A., Miami  
 Gocking, Anthony J., Miami  
 Godfrey, Clyde, Miami  
 Golden, Mrs. Margaret, Miami  
 Goza, William M., Clearwater  
 Graber, Boris M., Miami Beach  
 Graves, David, Miami, Florida  
 Greenberg, Gerald, Miami Beach  
 Greenia, Jack, Miami Beach  
 Grey, Hugh M., Venice  
 Grey, Mrs. Hugh M., Venice  
 Griener, Richard E., Miami Springs  
 Grinde, O. Henry, No. Miami  
 Gross, Zade B., Clearwater  
 Halstead, W. L., Miami  
 Hamilton, Mrs. Warren W., Homestead  
 Hampton, Mrs. John, Sparks, Md.\*  
 Harding, Col. Read B., Ret., Arcadia  
 Harllee, Ella, Washington, D.C.  
 Harllee, William J., Miami  
 Harrington, Frederick H., Hialeah  
 Hart, Mrs. Reginald, Coral Gables  
 Hartnett, Fred B., Coral Gables\*  
 Harvey, C. B., Key West  
 Havee, Justin P., Miami\*  
 Haydon Burns Library, Jacksonville  
 Hendry, Judge Norman, Miami  
 Henry, Mrs. Arthur N., Miami  
 Herin, Thomas D., Miami  
 Herin, Judge William A., Miami\*

- Hernandez, Gale, Miami  
 Hesslein, Frank, Coral Gables  
 Hialeah City Library  
 Hiers, J. B., Jr., Miami  
 Higbie, William S., Miami Shores  
 Higgins, Mrs. Donald E., Cotuit, Mass.  
 Hills, Lee, Miami  
 Hillsborough County Historical Commission  
 Hines, Kermit J., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Hines, Sue, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Hodsdon, Mrs. Harry E., Miami  
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Miami  
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Jr., Miami  
 Hoover, Mrs. John W., Coral Gables  
 Hoyt, Mrs. M. J., Miami  
 Hubbell, Willard, Miami  
 Huntington Library, San Marino, Calif.  
 Hurwitz, Robert, Miami  
 Hurwitz, Mrs. Robert, Miami  
 Hutchinson, Mrs. Robert J., Coral Gables  
 Indian River Jr. College Library  
 Ingersoll, Jean, Miami  
 James, Mary Crift, Miami  
 Jenkins, Wesley E., Miami  
 Jennings, Alvin R., Miami  
 Jennings, Mrs. Alvin R., Miami  
 Jernigan, Ernest H., Ocala  
 Johnson, Mrs. Herbert H., Miami  
 Johnson, Robert V., Miami  
 Jones, Beverley B., M.D., Coral Gables  
 Jones, Mrs. Rosemary, Coral Gables  
 Jones, Mark B., Venice  
 Jones, Mrs. Mark B., Venice  
 Judson, Charles H., Miami  
 Karg, Betsy, Opa Locka  
 Karg, Kitson, Opa Locka  
 Kelleher, Phillip A., Sr., Miami  
 Kelleher, Phillip A., Jr., Miami  
 Kent, Selden G., No. Miami Beach  
 Kenyon, Alfred, Ft. Lauderdale  
 Kettle, C. Edward, Miami  
 Kettle, Mrs. C. Edward, Miami  
 Kiem, Miss Iris, Miami  
 King, Sidney, Surfside  
 Kirk, C., Ft. Lauderdale  
 Kitchen, Mrs. Karl K., Miami  
 Kline, Burton, Miami  
 Knight, C. Friseur, Coral Gables  
 Knight, Telfair, Coral Gables  
 Knott, Judge James R., W. Palm Beach  
 Knowles, Mrs. J. H., Miami  
 Kos, Jerome C., So. Miami  
 LaCroix, Mrs. Aerial C., Miami  
 Lake Worth Public Library  
 Laxson, Dan D., Hialeah  
 Liebensperger, Miss June, Miami  
 Lewis, Gerald, Miami  
 Lewis, Mrs. Gerald, Coral Gables  
 Limmiatis, Ernest, Coral Gables  
 Lindsley, A. R., Miami Beach  
 Lloyd, A. F., CEC, FPO New York City  
 Lunnon, Mrs. James, Coral Gables  
 Lynch, Thomas P., Coral Gables  
 Lynch, Mrs. Thomas P., Coral Gables  
 MacArthur, Scot, Miami Shores  
 MacDonald, Miss Barbara, Miami  
 MacDonald, Miss Betty, Miami  
 Mack, William J., Tarpon Springs  
 Macnow, Larry M., Miami Beach  
 Malone, Randolph A., Coral Gables  
 Manley, Miss Marion L., Miami  
 Manning, Mrs. William S., Jacksonville  
 Manucy, Albert, Richmond, Va.  
 Marchman, Watt P., Fremont, Ohio\*  
 Marks, Henry S., Huntsville, Ala.  
 Martin, Melbourne, Coral Gables  
 Mary, Robert T., Miami  
 Mason, Dix, Miami  
 Mason, Mrs. Joe J., Coral Gables  
 Mason, Dr. Walter S., So. Miami\*  
 Matheny, John W., Miami  
 Matheny, Mrs. Juliet L., Miami  
 Matheson, Finlay L., So. Miami  
 McDonald, Mrs. John M., Boca Raton  
 McDorman, C. S., Boca Raton  
 McKay, John G., Coral Gables  
 McKey, Mrs. Lucille, Miami  
 McKey, Robert M., Jr., Miami  
 McLarty, Robert P., Vero Beach  
 McNaughton, M. D., Miami  
 McNichol, Herbert T., Coral Gables  
 McNicoll, Robert E., Coral Gables  
 Merrill, Ron, Hialeah  
 Merritt, Robert M., Miami  
 Mertz, John S., Miami  
 Meyer, Hank, Miami Beach  
 Miami Dade Junior College South  
 Miami Public Library\*  
 Miami Senior High School Library  
 Miami Springs Library  
 Mickler, Mrs. Thomas, Chuluota  
 Mileo Photo Supply, Coral Gables  
 Miller, William Jay, Miami  
 Minear, Mrs. L. V., Jupiter  
 Monk, J. Floyd, Miami  
 Monroe County Public Library  
 Moulds, Mrs. Andrew J., Coral Gables  
 Moylan, E. B., Jr., Miami  
 Mueller, Edward A., Washington, D.C.  
 Muir, William Whalley, Miami  
 Muir, Mrs. William W., Miami  
 Muller, David Fairchild, Miami  
 Muller, Leonard R., Miami  
 Muller, Mrs. Leonard R., Miami  
 Mustard, Alice Isabel, Miami  
 Mustard, Margaret Jean, Miami

- Neelands, Lois R., W. Miami  
 Neff, Miss Marie E., Miami  
 Nelson, Winifred H., Miami  
 Newberry Library, Chicago  
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