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Tequesta:

The Federal Music Project In Miami 1935-1939

By MARILYN S. STOLEE*

In his annual message to Congress, January 4, 1935, President Franklin D. Roosevelt said:

Work must be found for able-bodied but destitute workers. The Federal Government must and shall quit the business of relief We must preserve not only the bodies of the Unemployed from destitution, but also their self-respect, their self-reliance, and courage and determination.

This speech set the stage for great changes in federal relief policies and programs which were to occur.

The Roosevelt administration's earlier efforts in relief programs had met with only partial success. The all-time peak of relief was reached in early 1935 when about twenty million people, seventeen percent of the population, received relief. On April 8, 1935 Congress approved the Emergency Relief Appropriation Act with an appropriation of \$4.88 billion.

On May 6 the President created the Works Progress Administration (W.P.A.) with Harry Hopkins as administrator. Mr. Hopkins had worked in Washington since April, 1933, as administrator of the Federal Emergency Relief Act (F.E.R.A.) and Civil Works Administration (C.W.A.). His firm belief in work relief had come to dominate federal policy. He felt that direct relief, the "dole," small amounts of cash, food, or rent payments, was degrading to recipients and did nothing to increase people's purchasing powers. He believed that the worker must have something approaching real work if he were to be physically and psychologically ready for re-employment in private industry when the emergency ended. The purpose of work relief was to maintain the morale, skills, and physical

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condition of employables, defined as fit for employment, but unable to find jobs. By providing meaningful work with a security wage the government also hoped to prime the pump of the sluggish economy.

Work relief in the earlier programs had meant unskilled manual labor on public construction projects. However, there had been an increasing emphasis on diversification of work so as to allow workers to perform activities related to their ordinary occupations. Throughout the summer of 1935 the W.P.A. staff planned "small, useful projects" that would remove employable persons from relief rolls. There was a special effort to devise work programs for white-collar workers including artists, musicians, actors, and writers.

Late in the summer of 1935 Hopkins announced the formation of Federal Project Number One within the W.P.A.'s Division of Professional and Service Projects. It included projects in the fields of writing, art, music, and theater. The programs were to be operated from Washington as federally sponsored projects. However, they were designed as a co-operative federal-state-local structure. The actual administration of relief remained in state and local hands under federal rules and regulations. Local agencies certified relief eligibility and referred persons to suitable programs. Each of the arts projects had a national director, a regional staff, a state director, and a local administrator.

Even before 1929 unemployment among musicians had become chronic. One reason was technological. The phonograph and radio reduced the demand for "live" music. In 1928 the sound track for moving pictures appeared and caused the dismissal of pit orchestra personnel and organists. As the depression widened, hotels reduced or discharged their dinner-hour orchestras and established symphonies cut their personnel. Private music teachers, as well as performers, had an increasingly difficult time. The inclusion of music courses in the public schools narrowed the clientele for private lessons; and as families were forced to economize, music lessons were cancelled. The American Federation of Musicians estimated that during the years from 1929 to 1934 approximately seventy percent of formerly employed musicians were out of work; and that a large portion of the remainder was not realizing a decent living from the profession.

The W.P.A. created the Federal Music Project to employ, to retrain, and to rehabilitate unemployed musicians. The concert division established performing units which presented public performances. There were symphony orchestras, bands, chamber music ensembles, opera, and choral units. The education division planned research activities, experiments in musical therapy, teaching and training of persons unable to pay for music

study, courses for project teachers and leadership for community music activities.

Dr. Nikolai Sokoloff, who had been the conductor of the Cleveland Symphony for fifteen years, became the Music Project's national director. His reputation assured the respect, support and cooperation of professional musicians as he organized the program. His stress upon technical competence insured a high level of artistry.

The Florida Federal Music Project was organized in the fall of 1935. Dr. Clarence C. Nice of Jacksonville was appointed the State Director. The state was divided into five areas with headquarters at Tampa, Jacksonville, Miami, Orlando, and Pensacola. There were performing groups and educational activities in each city.

In November, 1935 Lamar Stringfield, director of Region Five of the Federal Music Project, came to Miami to plan the formation of a municipal symphony orchestra. He met with representatives of the city commission, Miami Chamber of Commerce, and Women's Federation of Music Clubs. He announced that there were twenty-three musicians on local W.P.A. relief rolls who would serve as a nucleus for the orchestra. Plans were made to supplement these with other musicians so that the orchestra would have fifty-five members who would present their first concert in December.

Music Project employees were obtained by auditions. Anyone certified as eligible for relief to the W.P.A. by the local employment agency, who claimed to be a musician, was given an audition by a board of musicians. At this time the board consisted of two professors from the University of Miami, Arnold Volpe and Walter Grossman, and a representative of the Miami Federation of Musicians Union. In addition to relief personnel, ten percent of the project members could be non-relief people. These were usually the conductor, first-chair performers, teacher supervisors, and musicians not otherwise available. A constant problem for the orchestras was balance of instruments. For instance, if there were no French horn player available, one had to be obtained whether he was on relief or not.

The first concert by the new Federal Music Project Orchestra was given on December 15, 1935 in the Miami High School Auditorium. Lamar Stringfield returned as guest conductor. The Miami Symphony Society sponsored the concert. Admission costs were fifty cents or one dollar for adults and twenty-five cents for children. The program was evenly divided between classical music and modern American compositions. Henry Cavendish in the *Miami Herald* reviewed the concert very favorably

and quoted Alexander Orr, Jr., city commissioner and Chairman of the Miami Symphonic Society,

This concert is presented with the hope and belief that a continuation of such activity will be supported as a desired asset to social and cultural life here . . . with the works progress administration offering immediate assistance to definitely and permanently established music as an integral part of entertainment to Miamians and their guests. . . . Miami can well become an outstanding music center.

The federal musicians made two other public appearances in December. They performed at Jackson Memorial Hospital and they gave a concert on Christmas Eve at the Bayfront Park bandshell.

On Sunday, February 2, 1936, the Miami Concert Orchestra (throughout the life of the project the names Miami Concert Orchestra, Miami Federal Symphony, and Miami Symphony were used interchangeably) presented its first concert in a series at Bayfront Park at four-thirty in the afternoon. Walter Grossman, a member of the faculty at the University of Miami, was the conductor. These concerts were free and they were well publicized in the daily newspapers; the program was printed in an article which told about guest soloists and special music. For example, the concert on April 26, 1936 was in conjunction with Southern Memorial Day services conducted by the Southern Cross Chapter of the United Daughters of the Confederacy. The program featured a special symphonic arrangement of "Dixie." These Sunday concerts continued through May.

April was a very busy month for the W.P.A. musicians in Miami. Dr. Nice conducted two Easter concerts on Miami Beach on a specially built platform at Fourteenth Street. For the occasion the Miami Federal Symphony was augmented by musicians from Jacksonville, Tampa and Orlando. A two hundred voice civic chorus sang Easter music. Other highlights of the month included playing for President Franklin D. Roosevelt when he arrived at Port Everglades after a fishing trip in the Bahamas; at a reception for the Pan American Day celebration; for the opening of the Federal Art Galleries; and for the national convention of the Federation of Women's Clubs at the Miami Biltmore.

In June a new series of Friday evening concerts in Bayfront Park, called Community Music Nights, was announced under the joint auspices of the Miami Recreation Department and the Federal Music Project. The program was in three parts: (1) a half hour of orchestra music, standard classics; (2) community singing led by the Civic Chorus; and (3) orchestra music featuring lighter music. These concerts were well publicized and

well attended. The orchestra featured American composers and an occasional original composition, as well as special occasion music (July Fourth), special guests (Gold Star Mothers), and special performers (Clarence C. Nice, Jr., son of the state director). In an editorial the *Miami Herald* commented on Federal Music Project activities:

Miami is the fortunate possessor of one federal symphony orchestra. . . . For nearly a year this orchestra has been furnishing Miami with weekly free concerts at Bayfront Park. . . . The crowds have steadily increased. . . . Efforts are made to inculcate the love and appreciation of the finest in music, an essential in the spreading of culture and education.

During this first, busy year, the music education division was very active. In May, 1936 more than seven hundred people were receiving some form of free musical instruction in Miami. Students included members of the Civilian Conservation Corps, a class of blind adults, orphaned and delinquent children in institutions, children of W.P.A. workers, and other dependent groups. Only group teaching was permitted. This free instruction was actually thought to benefit rather than compete with regular teachers as it widened their professional opportunities by stimulating interest in music which otherwise might never have been developed. Throughout the years of the Music Project, Miami newspapers carried announcements of classes and recitals.

In addition to music instruction, the federal musicians presented music appreciation programs in the Dade County Schools. Mr. A. B. Wilson, W.P.A. District Supervisor, said that the purpose "was to instill a desire for good music and thus make it possible for the coming generations to contribute something of worth to the musical world in contrast with the jazz offerings of the present age."

There were some attempts at music therapy in Miami. There was work at the Miramar School for Crippled Children. There were concerts "to soothe patients" at the Dade County Tuberculosis Hospital and at Jackson Memorial Hospital. After a series of Monday afternoon recitals at Jackson Hospital, the group of seven to ten musicians decided not to play any more classical music. The patients preferred light, popular music. One afternoon an elderly patient beat time with his foot to a "show tune"; he became so enthusiastic that he jumped up, danced around, and laughingly called for a partner!

The presentation of grand opera in Bayfront Park in Miami was certainly the most interesting and pretentious project of the Federal Music Project. As part of the Miami Project, a civic chorus had been organized

early in 1936. The W.P.A. sponsored the chorus, but membership was available to any interested person. Over one hundred singers rehearsed the opera "Aida" throughout the summer months. Professional operatic performers from New York City, who had volunteered their talents to the Federal Music Project, came to Miami to sing the lead roles in this and other operas.

More than five hundred people worked on this first production—many W.P.A. personnel were involved. Construction workers built the stage; artists and theater people created the scenery; and women of the sewing project made costumes. Members of the Civilian Conservation Corps camp at Kendall served as extras in the production—playing roles as soldiers, slaves, and citizens. The United States Treasury Department cooperated by contributing money for materials and supplies and collecting the receipts. The City of Miami contributed five hundred dollars. After meeting expenses all proceeds were for additional free musical entertainments.

After three months of preparation, on Wednesday, August 12, an overflow crowd of six thousand persons attended the performance of "Aida." There were seats for forty-five hundred; so fifteen hundred paid for standing room. Newspaper accounts did not say what this price was; regular prices were reserved seats at one dollar and general admission ten cents. For later productions the charge was twenty-five cents general admission, ten cents for students.

The performance was cut short by heavy rains and rescheduled for Saturday, August 15. More than five thousand people viewed this "open-air production"; although thunder rolled an accompaniment to the musical score and there was a brief shower. Frank J. Kelly, acting city manager, sent a telegram to President Roosevelt expressing thanks for W.P.A. musical units. "The press and public have been enthusiastic in their praise and we wish to express in this official message our very great appreciation for this generous and valuable contribution to the cultural life of Miami."

The "Winter Opera Series" opened in Miami on November 27, 1936 with the production of "Rigoletto." The Miami Recreation Department was the co-sponsor. W.P.A. musicians from Tampa joined Miamians in a ninety voice chorus and a sixty piece symphony orchestra. Again the weather interfered, but despite the wintry breeze that swept across Bayfront Park, twenty-five hundred persons attended the opera. The Miami City Commission requested a repeat performance on December 4. Thirty-five hundred people attended and the *Miami Herald* review said that the "audience was receptive throughout."

On December 16, "The Pirates of Penzance" was presented—the first

of a projected series of Gilbert and Sullivan operettas. In early February performers from Key West and St. Petersburg assisted the Miami Company in presenting "H.M.S. Pinafore." There were reserved seats and mail order requests came from all over South Florida. Also that month, "Rigoletto" and "Aida" were repeated.

For reasons which were never announced, but were probably due to government economy measures, there was no more opera that winter. On July 23, 1937, as a "complimentary gesture," the W.P.A. presented "Aida" for the fortieth triennial conclave of the Knights Templars being held in Miami. The opera was chosen because much of the symbolism of Masonic lore traced back to Egypt.

The next opera to be presented was "Il Trovatore." It was scheduled for November 26; then it was postponed until December 3 because of the illness of a leading performer. After two more postponements due to unseasonably cold weather the presentation was in Edison High School. Many productions had been plagued by unfavorable weather so Music Project officials announced that opera would be presented permanently at Edison. However, there was just one more presentation—"Cavalleria Rusticana" and "I Pagliacci," on December 11.

In reviewing this production Henry Cavendish in the *Miami Herald* said:

The importance of this year's operatic efforts . . . lies in the fact that they augur well for the future. There is abundant evidence of a healthy and meritorious opera movement in Miami, giving every indication of finer things to come.

Later in the month a *Miami Herald* editorial urged support of opera:

The performances of opera already presented attest to the high standards of the artistic merit of the company. . . . Through government aid and the cooperation of the city, Miami has added opera to its seasonal attractions. . . . Miami's cultural stature warrants the opera company. . . .

Throughout 1937, in addition to opera productions, the Miami Symphony Orchestra had continued to present Friday evening concerts in Bayfront Park. Walter Grossman was the conductor, and the programs followed the pattern established in the first year—classical music, lighter music, and community singing. Newspaper accounts of these concerts referred to "symphony in God's open air." At the end of the year Dr. Nice announced that the four federal symphonies in Florida, Miami, Jacksonville, Tampa, and St. Petersburg, would be merged permanently into the Florida Federal Symphony Orchestra. It was more economical

to have one organization that could tour the state, and there were people in music circles who wanted a first-class symphony orchestra in Florida which was now possible with W.P.A. sponsorship.

Mr. John Bitter, who at a later time was Dean of the School of Music at the University of Miami and conductor of the University of Miami Symphony Orchestra, was appointed director of the Florida Symphony when it was formed early in 1938 and he conducted through 1939. He had been music director of the Little Symphony in Jacksonville. The organization of the Florida Symphony took place in Jacksonville which became the headquarters. It was an all professional orchestra consisting of approximately sixty musicians who auditioned for membership. In order to have the best talent, as well as complete instrumentation, non-relief people joined the orchestra.

In an interview Mr. Bitter recalled the tours which the Florida Federal Symphony made. W.P.A. money was for salaries and a minimum of operating expense; therefore, Mr. Bitter raised funds from cities and organizations who sponsored concerts. He himself drove the tour bus, and he often had to change tires. The Symphony performed in Miami just once; the distance was too great and the W.P.A. wished to avoid competition with the University of Miami Symphony. Community sponsors advanced funds and sold tickets. The Junior Service League presented the Symphony in St. Augustine; the Eustis Music Club sponsored concerts in Eustis; and the Ocala Choral Society and the Primary Parent-Teachers Association co-sponsored in Ocala. In smaller cities the concerts were held in the high school auditorium and occasionally Mr. Bitter had to use a smaller orchestra due to inadequate space.

The then Florida Senator Claude Pepper commented on the Florida Federal Symphony Orchestra for a publicity handout prepared by Music Project headquarters:

The Work Projects Administration, through the Florida Federal Symphony Orchestra under the able direction of John Bitter, has made a great symphony orchestra out of Florida's own unemployed musicians. This organization is a living example of what an intelligent and sympathetic program may do with those who have had the misfortune to be among the unemployed. . . .

Mr. Bitter said,

In retrospect, I feel that a perfectly remarkable job was done. For the first time music was brought to people who had never heard it before. Little groups, amateur and professional, were

germinated. High school orchestras were started with the help of W.P.A. teachers. The organization was never free of political strife, but we don't remember this now.

1938 was not an active year for the Miami Federal Music Project. The City of Miami hired Caesar La Monaca's band for the free concerts in Bayfront Park. State officials asked that civic and music groups contribute funds to supplement federal music activities, but this plan never developed. Letters to the editor in Miami newspapers gave some insight into this situation. Writers indicated that Miamians could support only one orchestra, and that this should be the University of Miami Symphony.

On November 30, 1938 it was announced that a new Miami federal concert orchestra had been formed, "to replace the organization disbanded here last December." With a nucleus of fifteen musicians it was expected to be enlarged to thirty-five members. It was not planned to present Bayfront concerts as improving economic conditions had left few talented musicians available. Rather, they planned concerts in institutions and hospitals and in small city parks in cooperation with city recreation departments.

Thus, on January 13 and 19, 1939, the Miami Federal Orchestra gave its first concert in Lummus Park and in Little River Park. This series was under joint sponsorship with the City of Miami Recreation Department. A twenty-piece orchestra directed by William G. Utermohlen performed on a simple stage built on the back of a truck. Mr. E. E. Seiler, director of the Recreation Department at that time, recalled that he planned this stage to bring recreation and entertainment to the neighborhood. This concept of decentralizing city services has become very popular in recent years; but Mr. Seiler developed this method to utilize the talent which W.P.A. made available to the Recreation Department.

The orchestra also presented Friday evening concerts in Flamingo Park on Miami Beach with the cooperation of the Miami Beach Recreation Department. The Dade County Commissioners sponsored a series of eight Sunday afternoon concerts in Matheson Hammock Park in the spring. The City of Miami furnished chairs and its portable stage. Over five hundred people attended each concert; special bus routes provided transportation for those people who needed it. In August, the orchestra, under the direction of Mr. George Wolf, began playing in Bayfront Park again.

The public was not aware of any changes in local concerts or teaching activities, but on July 1, 1939 Congress passed an appropriation bill which changed the structure of W.P.A. and its arts projects. The Federal Music

Project's name was changed to the Florida Music Project and the sponsor was the State Planning Board from July 1939 to July 1940. The University of Florida sponsored it from July 1940 until July 1942; the State Defense Council sponsored light concert and dance band units to aid the war effort by playing for various bases, hospitals, and service clubs.

Newspaper coverage of the Federal Music Project was extensive. W.P.A. publicity men from the Federal Writers Project wrote complete press releases. In addition, music page reporters reviewed concerts and publicized activities. Newspaper editorials supported and encouraged the Federal Music Project as well as all the arts projects. Editorials praised the fact that art and culture were improved in Miami not only for the benefit of Miamians, but for the improved image this gave the city. Of the Miami Federal Symphony the *Herald* wrote: "For nearly a year this orchestra has been furnishing Miami with weekly free concerts. . . . Efforts are made thereby to inculcate the love and appreciation of the finest in music, an essential in the spreading of culture and education." In writing about opera the *Miami News* said:

The impression around Miami has been that culture is a microscopic quantity in this Sodom of the slot machine. The reception accorded 'Aida' considered along with the successful symphony and concert season is indication that this impression will have to be revised.

In trying to evaluate this Federal Music Project thirty-five years later, one must remember Project goals to employ, to retrain, and to rehabilitate unemployed musicians. There was always a basic antithesis between a professional program and a relief program. The demands of high artistic achievement could not always be accommodated. People who recall these music programs all say that musicians were helped. Local band leader Caesar La Monaca said that musicians could not have done unskilled labor without damaging their hands. He was able to have a Boys Drum Corps of three hundred sixty boys because W.P.A. provided fourteen teachers to help with the training of this group. Reporter Henry Cavendish remembered many musicians who were able to eat and to maintain their dignity through the Federal Music Project. As well as maintaining skills and morale and providing a livelihood, the Project brought pleasure to hundreds of people who attended concerts and took lessons.

Miami's Bootleg Boom

by Patricia Buchanan*

The United States House of Representatives was entangled in one of its periodic debates over appropriations of funds to enforce national prohibition when Congressman Fiorello LaGuardia from notoriously wet New York announced to his colleagues, "There are more prohibition law-breakers in Florida than in my state." When challenged to prove it the peppery LaGuardia answered, "Oh, I have been down to Miami." Florida's Representative R. A. Green immediately requested five minutes to answer the New Yorker's charge. In defending his state Representative Green told the House, "Florida is as dry as the Sahara Desert." The Floridian's rebuttal was extremely short. An *Associated Press* dispatch from Washington explained:

When Representative Green likened his state to the Sahara, he found his words drowned out by laughter and returned to his seat.

In the prohibition decade of the 1920's Florida was a bootlegger's paradise. With its long coastline and liquor supply bases nearby in the Bahamas and Caribbean, Florida won the dubious honor of being one of the leakiest spots on the country's legally dry border.

Miami's response to the national experiment in instant salvation was well established in the first few months of 1920. Less than thirty days after the country went dry, the *New York Times* reported:

Miami is agog with tales of smuggling in every club, hotel, restaurant and cafe . . . and as they talk they drink. . . . Civil and state authorities are not against the smuggling and they agree with the people that the nation should be wet.

Although the stage was set in 1920, it took a couple of years for Miami's bootleg bonanza to get underway. When it did it was sparked by an influx of money in the hands of free spending tourists responding to a spectacular land boom and a high pressure publicity campaign directed by promoters who lauded the climate and were not shy about suggesting that Miami had all but repealed the Eighteenth Amendment. Scores of clubs and casinos scattered throughout the Miami area provided enter-

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tainment for thirsty natives and tourists while at the same time produced a steady market for local rumrunners. Most of the hotels served drinks quite openly. An English visitor found wines and spirits were even served at official city functions, and recalled "at least two proper old-fashioned saloons" located not more than 200 yards from Miami's police station. At the time of his visit he concluded, "Prohibition in Florida has quite definitely collapsed."

In 1920 Miami had hoped to meet the challenge of national prohibition with the same cheerful determination it had earlier coped with local and state dry laws—it would simply ignore the whole thing. But it wasn't quite that easy. When the Magic City blossomed into an Eden for tourists and land speculators, it also sprouted a bootleg boom that no one could ignore. The liquor smuggling operation began on a modest scale—a rumrunning game played in the spirit of good natured competition between smugglers and enforcers. But in the latter part of the decade the game was played with bullets. Men died and citizen's emotions ran high as some of the violence spilled into the streets. Local newspapers reported stories of hijacking and murder, corruption in public office and plots to smuggle aliens as well as liquor. Occasionally there was even the whisper of traffic in narcotics.

This was not what Miamians anticipated in 1920 when they declared their intention to disregard national prohibition. Like thousands of other proper, peace-loving, and thirsty Americans, Miamians had pronounced bootlegging a "respectable crime." But midway in the prohibition decade the rumrunning game got rough. When the bullets began to fly in earnest some of the local "liquor traders" abandoned the highly profitable but risky business believing that deadly gunfights had no place in the proper activities of respectable smugglers. Bootlegging had changed from a friendly competitive sport to a fierce conflict between hunters and hunted. To Miamians and local bootleggers alike it appeared that somebody had changed the rules in the rumrunning game.

THE IMPOSSIBLE DREAM

Miami accepted the "noble experiment" with high good humor in 1920. Prohibition was here but enforcement wasn't. The eighteenth Amendment was not expected to produce any problems that would disturb enterprising Miamians who were busy building their city and their future.

Bootlegging was as much a natural tourist attraction as palm trees and sparkling Atlantic beaches. The *Miami Herald* was quick to point out that tourists should be handled with care as far as the Volstead Act was con-

cerned. "Officers Carry Out Enforcement of Prohi Amendment in High-handed and Autocratic Manner" read a page one headline in the June 22, 1920 issue. The story explained that officials had searched the car of a teetotaler on his way to Miami for a dental convention, and the *Herald* warned, "This might affect tourist travel next winter." In addition the paper pointed out that the traveler "had also invested heavily in Miami real estate on previous visits."

Miami's first significant prohibition case came in the early spring of 1921 when New York millionaire, Harry S. Black, a part owner of the Flatiron Building, was arrested at the swank Royal Palm Hotel. He was charged with having anywhere from 20 to 53 cases of liquor aboard his private railroad car, the "Bayside," on a siding at Coconut Grove. The *Miami Herald* reported that ninety bottles were produced as Exhibit A at the trial; four members of the six-man jury tested the evidence; Mr. Black was acquitted in five minutes.

During 1920 and 1921 Miamians were amused by newspaper reports of local grapefruit shipped to Detroit which "did not comply with Mr. Volstead's well know law," and they read about federal agents who pulled the corks on 240 bottles and 25 gallons of moonshine which they "poured into the sewer through a manhole behind the post office . . . under the horrified eyes of a hundred men and women." There were newspaper headlines of "Big Booze Haul in Coconut Grove"; a story of the "largest and most complete still ever seized in Dade" some five miles west of Perrine, and the sad tale of two Miamians who were captured by prohibition agents with 37 cases "just as their little gas launch, V6837, was chugging merrily into a sequestered cove near Cape Florida."

Some enforcement efforts were clearly accidental. Railroad employees reported "wet spots" surrounding a trunk in the baggage room at the local Florida East Coast depot, and baggage smashers discovered two cases of "leaky tools" that turned out to be Haig and Haig Scotch whiskey. Minor auto collisions on Miami's streets also occasionally netted material for the prohibition agencies. The sheriff's department acquired about twelve sacks of bootleg liquor from a fisherman who had hauled them out of the water near Key Biscayne after harassed rumrunners had apparently pitched the load overboard. When the fisherman threw a party with his loot the rumrunners appeared and demanded their merchandise back. The disgusted fisherman turned it over to the sheriff saying he'd "rather give it to Andrew Volstead."

Local newspapers dutifully reported attempts of officials to dry up soggy Miami. In the fall of 1920 they recorded the first major skirmish

between local Wet and Dry forces. Like major cities all over the country Miami had discovered collusion between law enforcement officials and the bootleg fraternity. The Miami Mayor announced, "We are determined to get rid of bootleg policemen." The force behind the cleanup in the police department was the Dade County Ministerial Association which was determined to break up an alleged "ring of officials who make it possible for liquor and kindred crimes to flourish unchecked." The Association carefully pointed out that there had been only two convictions out of fifty-two liquor cases filed since the beginning of national prohibition. It was also noted that the brother of the prosecuting attorney for Dade County had been arrested in Savannah in connection with a \$40,000 boatload of liquor illegally "imported" from the Bahamas. The upshot of this Wet-Dry battle was the removal of six policemen from the force on charges ranging from graft to collusion with bootleggers. Two were dropped for drunkenness. The *Miami Metropolis* explained, one case was the "plain variety" but the other was "somewhat spectacular" as the ex-policeman had "roused the neighborhood of Waddell Street and Avenue C by firing his revolver every time a chicken crowed."

When local efforts to enforce the Eighteenth Amendment proved more amusing than effective, Washington decided to take a hand in the matter. Miamians got word of the federal government's plan for their city when a "liquor and drug smuggling drive on the Florida coast" was announced in Washington February 4, 1922 by Colonel L. G. Nutt of the Internal Revenue office. A special smuggling squad with Miami as its headquarters was to operate along the entire Florida coast. Colonel Nutt was placed in charge of the federal forces gathering in Miami and on March 20 they struck. The forty agents were divided into eight squads and by 4 p.m. on the first day they raided twenty-two places including everything from Jack's Chili Parlor at the entrance to Elser Pier, to the Hillcrest Inn off Dixie Highway and an old fish dock near the south Miami bridge. The news which was probably most startling to Miamians was the *Metropolis'* banner headline on March 20 which read, "Bankers Involved in Booze Trade" with the sub-head, "Col. Nutt's Forces Unearth Sensational Evidence." Prohibition agents who had been working undercover prior to the drive charged that bootleggers gave local bankers as references, made arrangements with the bankers to hold the purchase price in trust until the liquor deal was completed and signed contracts to that effect. The next day the vice president of the Miami National Bank was arrested on a charge of conspiracy for allegedly having signed an agreement to hold four \$1,000 bills and one \$50 bill until a liquor cargo was delivered.

In the *Miami Herald* Colonel Nutt stated he was amazed at the ease

with which his agents obtained evidence. In his report to Washington he gave this example of the typical proposition by a Miami bootlegger:

We will contract for all the liquor you want, Scotch, Irish, champagne. We will go and fetch it in 24 hours and deliver it to the railroad station if you wish it shipped, will attend to place it in cars and will buy the necessary grapefruit or tomatoes to cover it up. That is all that is necessary; just pile it into refrigerator cars, with a camouflage of fruit or vegetables, and with the cars sealed the shipment will go wherever you wish.

Colonel Nutt's report stated that Miami runners obtained liquor in Bimini, Gun Cay and Nassau for about \$18 a case. They sold it for twice that amount in Miami and as high \$100 a case in northern cities. According to Colonel Nutt, they also made a nice profit on the fruits and vegetables.

In the first two days of the campaign it appeared that Colonel Nutt's flying squads were making real progress, but on March 22 the *Metropolis* carried this startling banner headline, "Prohibition Raids Prove Failure." Colonel Nutt admitted that when he raided the liquor establishments the proprietors and employees had frankly told him they had been tipped off. He also complained that he was getting no help from the Anti-Saloon League or the Ministerial Association of Miami, and they complained because he had gotten only the small operators and had not touched the "big fellows in the liquor game." Only twenty arrests were made and eventual convictions amounted to less than half a dozen. The Miami National Bank's vice president was cleared by a United States Commissioner who declared, "He was but a stockholder and not a principal in the plot." Several months after Florida's first prohibition drive had ended the *New York Times* summed up the results. Colonel Nutt and his prohibition squad left Florida "before it was laughed out of the state," said the *Times*, "but not before the snickers were audible."

Lest Miami's lackadaisical attitude toward the prohibition law seem too much a blot on the city's record, it can be pointed out that the national Congress in Washington was setting a perfect example of inaction by almost completely ignoring the problem of enforcement during the first four years of prohibition. And it was doing so with the approval of most of the nation's important prohibition leaders. The Dry forces feared that if an investigation showed casual and superficial enforcement was widespread the Wets would be armed with a new weapon. Reflecting this policy an assistant prohibition commissioner from Washington announced at the height of the bootleg boom, "The situation in Miami has greatly improved."

Touring the area he claimed, "I didn't see any evidence of drinking" or "a single man under the influence of liquor while I was in Florida." If the Congress in Washington and the nation's Dry leaders were satisfied with enforcement efforts, so was Miami. And so were the bootleggers. One optimistic rumrunner predicted in 1922 that bootlegging liquor from the Bahamas would "outstrip the real estate game as the state's leading enterprise."

Equally pleased with the situation were the liquor suppliers in the Bahamas. With the arrival of American prohibition more than twenty giant liquor concerns sprang up in Nassau almost overnight. Prominent in the ranks of liquor magnates were the names of well-known Bay Street merchants: Christie, Collins, Kelly, Sands and Symonette.

In 1920 the governor of the Bahamas had advised the startled island legislature, "The Colony's financial situation has been transformed." An expected deficit of \$154,000 had become a surplus of \$555,000. The *New York Times* commented, "Prohibition is the greatest opportunity for the Bahamas since piracy went out of style."

What interested Miamians most in the Bahamas was the little boom-rang-shaped island of Bimini some scant fifty miles off the Florida coast. With Nassau as a source of supply, big warehouse boats tied up in Bimini's quiet harbor to supply enterprising Miami rumrunners scuttling back and forth to the Florida coast.

At one time there were nine liquor licenses authorized by the Bahamian government for this little island with its slightly more than 300 population. Competition kept prices reasonable and regular customers got a special discount. Bimini was described as a "supermarket" of wet goods where the runner went in and, with complete confidence in the quality of the merchandise, ordered his liquor "sight unseen." He would then have the cargo loaded aboard his boat at no charge by the liquor firm, buy gasoline for the return trip to Miami, and get a free lunch.

The cargo was packed six bottles to a burlap bag with straw and paper for padding. The package, called a "ham," was designed to insure safe transportation for the precious cargo on what was likely to be a rough boat trip. Although only extremely bad weather kept the runners in port, the "hams" were often tossed over the side if prohibition agents hove into sight. With a little luck they were retrieved later by the runner if they hadn't floated away or been appropriated by some eager local citizen. Miami youngsters in light skiffs scoured Biscayne Bay. One local lad combined a minor bootleg operation with his paper route, but the en-

terprise collapsed when the "authorities"—his older brother—discovered his cache under the house and "confiscated" the lot.

The Miami-Bimini liquor smuggling operation was carried on with just about every type vessel that could be kept afloat. There were old fishing boats with engines that coughed their way to the island and back, as well as millionaires' private yachts flying famous club pennants. There was even a flat bottomed sixteen footer with a converted automobile engine which regularly made the trip on a calm sea and a lot of luck.

On dark moonless nights fast little thirty and forty footers especially designed for the bootleg trade made the run. Some of the finest of these rum boats were produced by Louis Nuta, Sr. A slight miscalculation on the part of the federal government in World War I had proved a boon for this Miami boat designer, builder and marine engineer. Thousands of Liberty engines had been manufactured for World War I aircraft which were never produced; after the war the engines were available in large quantities for almost nothing. These were the engines that could power a rum boat from Bimini to Miami in two hours and outrun anything the Coast Guard had in the water. In Nuta's shop on the Miami River there was a long row of Liberty engines.

The boat preferred by his customers in "the trade" was a thirty-four footer with two Liberties which could make a top speed of twenty-five miles an hour fully loaded. The unfortunate boatman who found it necessary to outrun the Coast Guard or prohibition agents could, however, toss his cargo over the side and the little boat would slip away at forty-five to fifty miles an hour

A thirty foot boat was usually the minimum size for a profitable operation according to Nuta, but he remembers some as large as sixty feet. The Miamian who owned an old fishing boat and converted it for speed with Liberty engines probably made the most money in the long run. He hadn't invested much and stood to lose less if his vessel was captured and confiscated. A really fine rumrunning boat, built from the keel up in Nuta's shop, cost as much as \$12,000 to \$14,000. But prohibition officials often cooperated, Nuta recalls. "They'd let a local runner make enough trips to the islands to pay for his boat and *then* confiscated it."

The Coast Guard was also relatively cooperative, at least at first. When the Coast Guard captured a rumrunner and confiscated his vessel, the boat was often put up for auction and Nuta could buy it back for a fraction of what he'd spent to build it. Very shortly it would be out of his shop and back in the rumrunning business again. This curious circular

traffic came to a halt when Coast Guardsmen began hauling the confiscated boats to their Fort Lauderdale base and burning them on shore.

The Coast Guard made another move even more distressing to the rumrunners. Tired of being left in the wake of the fast rum boats, the Coast Guard began to use the confiscated vessels in their own fleet. Rumrunners then found themselves being chased by their own speedy little boats. After one experience like that, the rumrunners were back in Nuta's shop with the plea, "Louie, you got to make us faster boats!" And so more Liberty engines came out of stock.

Nuta still shudders a little to think of some of the would-be rumrunners who tried to get him to put four-hundred horsepower Liberty engines in boats that would be hard pressed to hold together powered by a three horsepower Sea Gull. But for the most part the men engaged in liquor smuggling were experienced seamen who knew the tricky Florida-Bahama waters and the myriad hiding places along the Miami shoreline. If a sixth sense told a rumrunner the Coast Guard was nearby he would stash his cargo in an mangrove swamp and suddenly become just another innocent fisherman.

These were the early years of the prohibition era. Rumrunners and enforcers played hide and seek in the mangrove swamps and on the high seas. The Eighteenth Amendment produced high profits for the adventurous, amusing stories for the local press, and it hadn't unduly inconvenienced any thirsty resident or tourist. But the undercurrent of violence in the rumrunning game was soon to explode to the surface.

RUM WAR WITH REAL BULLETS

The "King of the Florida Smugglers" was dead, mortally wounded by a Coast Guardsman's bullet in a chase up Biscayne Bay which ended in front of the Flamingo Hotel on Miami Beach right under the noses of scores of gaping spectators. The "King" was Duncan W. "Red" Shannon. His death on February 25, 1926 was evidence that what had begun as a friendly game of rumrunning in the early 1920's was fast becoming a deadly business of bullets. During the last half of the prohibition decade wild accusations and threats of violence were flung at Coast Guardsmen and prohibition agents, while at the same time some members of those agencies evidenced a decided tendency to shoot first and question later, or not at all.

At the time of his death, "Red" Shannon was under federal indictment for both whiskey running and alien smuggling. He had escaped capture by Coast Guardsmen on at least two previous occasions and his fast thirty foot motorboat, "Goose," was well known to them. On the day of his last

battle with the Coast Guard, Shannon and a crew of two left Gun Cay in the "Goose" with 170 cases of liquor headed for Miami. The Coast Guard's thirty-five foot patrol boat K-1445, a converted rumboat, was cruising near the county causeway south of Star Island when, just at dusk, crewmen sighted the approaching rumrunner. The "Goose" fled north heading for the yacht basin at the Flamingo Hotel which faced the bay at Fifteenth Street. The rumrunners refused to heave to and Coast Guardsmen opened fire as the vessels neared the docks. Hotel guests attending a tea dance rushed to witness the capture. An unconscious and critically wounded Shannon was placed on a mattress on the hotel lawn and then taken to Allison Hospital on Miami Beach where he died the following morning. The Commander of the Coast Guard vessel, Ensign Philip E. Shaw, is said to have recognized Shannon as a former shipmate who once sailed with him on a fishing schooner out of Boston. The two men captured with Shannon were Fred Walther of Miami and Addison Nickerson of Little River.

The big question from the local press was, "When were the shots fired?" The *Miami Herald* found witnesses who stated, "The Coast Guard fired after the men had raised their hands." The *Miami News*, no longer the spokesman for prohibition under S. Bobo Dean, was now owned by former Governor James M. Cox of Ohio. It said:

... it is known that Shannon, Nickerson and Walther ... had their hands above their heads in token surrender when guardsmen fired on them.

A few days after the shooting, Justice of the Peace H. W. Penney issued warrants charging Ensign Shaw and his four crewmen with manslaughter. The Coast Guard reacted strongly to the way things were going. When a constable appeared at the base to serve the warrants, a Coast Guardsman shot at him. This incident was closed with an apology from the Coast Guardsman involved, but Ensign Shaw and his crew were shortly indicted by a Dade County Grand Jury which raised the charges from manslaughter to second degree murder.

While this case went through a long two year legal process, Coast Guardsmen became involved in other incidents which produced even more explosive reactions from the local press and public. Less than six months after Shannon's death, Miamians picked up their Sunday papers to read about a gun battle involving Coast Guard patrol boat CG-297 and a rumrunner on the Miami River near the Granada Grill and Apartments at 150 Southeast Fourth Street. "Diners Flee Shots in Rum Chase" read the banner headline in the *Miami News*; "Rain of Bullets Strikes Terror

Among Women," the subhead reported. The paper described the scene:

Guests . . . ran terror stricken from their rooms and dinner tables as volley after volley of shots, fired from Coast Guard patrol boat 297, showered about them.

The lives of fifty persons were endangered, said the *News*, as Coast Guardsmen "pumped hot lead after the 'rummy' as fast as they could pull their triggers."

Guests at the Granada Grill, who had ringside seats, described the affair to a *Herald* reporter. When shots rang out at about 7:30 Saturday evening they had rushed to the riverbank immediately outside the restaurant where they "looked down almost on top of the pilot of the rum boat." With the Coast Guard in hot pursuit, the rumrunner was "lying flat in his boat and stuck his head up only to steer." When he did, a Coast Guard rifleman went into action. A number of people were in the line of fire, the *Herald* reported.

Witnesses saw the rumrunner's boat dart under the Miami Avenue bridge which was too low for the big Coast Guard vessel. There was a "short delay" before the bridge was opened for the patrol boat, and in the meantime Coast Guardsmen commandeered a private vessel to continue the chase upriver. By this time a large crowd had gathered on the riverbank. When Coast Guardsmen lost the rumrunner and headed back downriver, "their vessel was object of cat-calls, boos and hisses," according to the *Herald*. "The crowd hooted the guardsmen and cheered the vanished smuggler," said the *News*.

The *News* also reminded its readers that this was not the first time the Coast Guard had endangered the lives and property of Miamians and their guests. Referring back to the Shannon affair, which it now termed an "ambush by Coast Guardsmen," the paper recalled that on this occasion Coast Guard bullets "tore through the rigging of yachts" and had "narrowly missed crowds that surged down to the Flamingo docks."

The manager of the Granada Apartments, T. M. Weiss, reported his guests "were incensed by the Coast Guard's action" and he planned to send complaints to the Coast Guard at Fort Lauderdale or Washington. By Monday other witnesses were voicing their complaints to a Dade County Grand Jury, and on Tuesday Coast Guard officials ordered the commanding officer at the Fort Lauderdale base to make a complete investigation. Heated protests against this "indiscriminate firing" were made to Washington officials by Senator Duncan U. Fletcher and Representative W. J. Sears.

One week after the incident the Dade County Grand Jury filed a report saying:

We denounce as a reckless, needless and uncivilized practice the methods used by Coast Guardsmen in Biscayne Bay and the Miami River.

Grand Jurors recommended their report go to the Treasury Department in Washington requesting officials to discipline Coast Guardsmen involved because their action "tends to create a prejudice in the minds of the public." They also wanted Washington to tell the Coast Guard to shoot only in self defense on Biscayne Bay and the Miami River. According to the Grand Jury, "Coast Guardsmen have become a serious menace."

Following an investigation, Coast Guard officials in Washington issued a formal report completely exonerating the officers and men of patrol boat CG-297. The report said Coast Guardsmen were merely doing their duty and that furthermore the shots fired totaled exactly five. Coast Guard officers in Washington were also a little piqued at the disparaging comments made regarding their men's marksmanship. "No shots went wild or struck other than the place they were intended," the report stated. Senator Fletcher "expressed surprise" at the report, according to the *Herald*, and he planned to "pursue the case further." The verdict from Washington "has met with pronounced disapproval by many citizens in Miami," the *News* reported.

The next time the Coast Guard got involved in a major shooting on the river, Miami's Mayor E. G. Sewell charged the menace from such activity was becoming "worse than a disease." This time witnesses reported machine gun fire from a Coast Guard vessel chasing a rumrunner upriver. More than 200 shots were fired, witnesses said, some of them tracer bullets which streaked through the dark morning sky. The rum boat was found abandoned near the Southeast Second Avenue bridge with 240 sacks of liquor aboard and one bullet hole. Some bullets hit a houseboat docked at the riverbank and others struck buildings on shore. One bullet pierced the six inch wall of the Gautier Funeral Home, some one and one-half blocks from the river, and was found lying on the chapel floor. (This story has improved considerably with age. By 1960 a newspaper feature story reminiscing about the 1920's reported the bullet had been found in the chest of a corpse.)

As a result of the machinegunning on the Miami river, Senator Fletcher asked for an official investigation; city commissioners sent a protest to Tallahassee and Washington, and the Coast Guard, which had already

lost the rumrunner, also lost its patrol boat's commander who was "requested to tender his resignation."

The "Red" Shannon affair returned to the headlines in February of 1928 when Ensign Philip Shaw and his four crewmen were tried for second degree murder in the death of this "King" of the rumrunners. An assistant attorney general from Washington, defending the Coast Guardsmen, obtained a special venire which excluded Dade, Broward and Monroe residents from the jury "because of Anti-Coast Guard prejudice in those counties." The case occupied the attention of Miamians for more than a week. The Miami judge who was to have heard the case "found it necessary" to leave the city to attend to other matters in Tampa so a vacationing San Francisco judge was assigned to the case. The prosecuting attorney, County Solicitor Robert Taylor, posed this question to prospective jurors, "Are you willing to give a citizen protection from over zealous officers as well as lawbreakers?" This was too much for the judge who ruled the question out.

The prosecution attempted to build a case showing the Coast Guardsmen had fired after Shannon's hands were raised. One of the star witnesses was Miami Beach developer Carl G. Fisher who owned the Flamingo Hotel and was standing alongside his private dock when the shooting occurred. Fisher skillfully maneuvered around the questioning reminding the court he was slightly near-sighted and didn't recall whether the men raised their hands before or after the shooting. The trial dragged on, the *News* complained, while competing attorneys "shoved small boat models over the courtroom floor." The prosecution claimed the Coast Guard had no right to fire on a man engaged in a mere misdemeanor, but the judge reminded the jury that "such is not the law." After four hours deliberation the jury returned a verdict of not guilty.

Although Coast Guardsmen had won their round in court their enforcement efforts had hardly captured the enthusiastic support of local residents, nor had the service put any appreciable dent in the liquor traffic. Majority opinion placed the service on the wrong side of the Wet/Dry battle. Not even the murderous activity of the "Gulf Stream Pirate" could solidify the press and public opinion behind the enforcement efforts of the Coast Guard.

THE GULF STREAM PIRATE

"It's my personal hanging and I want to invite my friends to it," said Horace Alderman, a Miami based rumrunner who was to die August 27, 1929 on a specially constructed gallows at Coast Guard Section Base 6

at Fort Lauderdale. The murderous activities of this man, who became known as the "Gulf Stream Pirate," provided Miami with one of the most sensational cases of the entire prohibition decade. Although the man himself was far from typical of the local Florida rumrunners, his story is a fitting climax for a decade that began with good natured disregard of the law and ended in death and violence. It may also throw a little more light on the curiously ambivalent attitude of the local press and public toward prohibition lawbreakers.

The "Gulf Stream Pirate" told the story of his lawbreaking career in a document titled "Life Story of James Horace Alderman" which he wrote in prison while awaiting the decisions on numerous appeals of his case. His activities ran the gamut from poaching fish to liquor and alien smuggling, and ended with the slaying of two Coast Guardsmen and a federal agent. In his "Life Story" Alderman set out the details of his religious conversion while in prison, a factor which his attorney, R. A. Hendricks, used to win public support in petitioning higher authorities to commute the death sentence.

The incident that led Alderman to the gallows took place on August 7, 1927. According to his own account, he and a new crewman, Robert W. Weech, also a Miamian, left for Bimini about nine o'clock on the night of August 6. After some difficulty with a faulty engine they arrived at the island about daylight to be met by a boat piloted by Bimini's major liquor supplier, Bruce Stanley Bethel, who warned them a seventy-five foot Coast Guard vessel was in the harbor. Alderman anchored his boat outside the harbor leaving Weech aboard and used Bethel's boat to pick up his liquor supply. According to Alderman it was Bethel who warned him that Weech was not to be trusted, and it was Weech who insisted on making the trip back to Miami in the daylight rather than waiting for the safety of night. About noon or 1 p.m. on August 7, Alderman and Weech headed back to Miami with their liquor cargo.

At approximately the same time Coast Guard boat, CG-249, commanded by Boatswain Sidney C. Sanderlin left the Fort Lauderdale base headed for Bimini. In addition to the seven-man crew there was one passenger, Secret Service Agent Robert K. Webster. The Coast Guard vessel was taking Webster to the island where he was to investigate reports that counterfeit United States currency was being used in the liquor smuggling business. Some seventeen miles out of Bimini and thirty-four miles east of Fort Lauderdale Coast Guardsmen sighted Alderman's vessel, C 13997, and ordered it to stop. Several shots were fired across the bow before the rumrunner hove to. Alderman and Weech were then taken aboard the

Coast Guard vessel as was their cargo of twenty-one and one-half cases of liquor packed in the customary "hams."

What happened next depends on who's telling the story. According to Alderman, he fired in self defense, picking up a gun from among several on the chart table in the pilot house of the Coast Guard boat. The first man he killed was Victor A. Lamby, motor machinist's mate first class, then Boatswain Sanderlin and finally Secret Service Agent Webster. Another Coast Guardsman, acting ship's cook Jodie L. Hollingsworth, was shot in the eye.

The Coast Guard's story was that Boatswain Sanderlin was the first to die, shot in the back by Alderman with a gun he had managed to keep hidden. Lamby, who witnessed the murder, started aft to arm himself and Alderman immediately shot him in the back. Alderman then ordered the Coast Guardsmen to reload the liquor on the rum boat. With the cargo, the five remaining Coast Guardsmen, and Agent Webster all aboard the rum boat, Alderman ordered Weech to set fire to the Coast Guard vessel and thus destroy all evidence of the affair. He also supposedly planned to have his captives walk the plank. Weech flooded gas into the bilges of CG-249 but the vessel failed to ignite. On the rum boat Alderman was distracted by the faulty engine that had been troubling him all the way to Bimini, and the remaining Coast Guardsmen and Agent Webster rushed him. In the scuffle Webster was killed and Hollingsworth wounded.

The Secret Service also has its version of the story, and in this one Agent Webster is the hero. In a "split second move Webster lunged at Alderman knocking him off balance" and gave the Coast Guardsmen their chance to overpower the rumrunner. According to this version "had it not been for the heroic action of agent Webster, all hands aboard . . . would have perished."

When the rumrunners were finally overpowered, the Coast Guardsmen discovered their boat's radio was still operative. Another vessel, CG-2246, was summoned from Fort Lauderdale to assist the remaining Coast Guardsmen and take the now badly beaten and unconscious rumrunners to Fort Lauderdale. Alderman and Weech were put in the Broward county jail and four days later transferred to the prison at Jacksonville. The order for the transfer came from a judge of the United States District Court who explained that the action was taken "in view of the alleged threats to storm the Broward county jail."

Just who was planning to storm the jail is debatable. A Broward county police officer hinted at a lynching for Alderman and was quoted in the *Miami News* as saying, "The good people of Fort Lauderdale aim

to try him themselves." A later report from Jacksonville indicated the transfer was made to prevent "any possible liberation by friends of the pair who were reported to have planned a break from the Broward county jail."

At any rate at 9:30 p.m. on August 11 a "Black Maria with its siren screaming" tore through downtown Fort Lauderdale at fifty-miles an hour taking Weech and Alderman to a waiting Coast Guard vessel. Guarding the pair were twenty-five armed Coast Guardsmen, one United States Marshal, and three policemen "with revolvers in hand," according to the *News*. The prisoners were placed in irons and shackled to the deck of CG-248. With a Coast Guard plane circling overhead the boat carrying the two rumrunners headed for Jacksonville escorted by a second vessel, CG-247. At some point during the trip a large vessel suspiciously circled the government boats. Coast Guardsmen manned their three-inch guns but the mysterious ship went on its way without interfering.

At the time of the transfer federal officers were quoted as saying that fifty armed men from Miami were in Fort Lauderdale. It was inferred these men might attempt to free Alderman or perhaps silence him as there were vague hints that he was part of some vast rumrunning ring. Whatever the plot regarding the two rumrunners, if in fact there was a plot, the Fort Lauderdale base commander, Beckwith Jordan, summed up the Coast Guard's view when he said, "Thank God Alderman and Weech are safely away from here."

A Coast Guard Board of Investigation was convened at Section Base 6 to investigate the murders. The service made public the report of one of its investigators who pointed to the "deplorable state of affairs on the southeast coast of Florida" where it appeared that "decent elements in the communities have been overawed by the criminals." The Commandant of the Coast Guard maintained that the criminals infesting the waters surrounding Florida "have become increasingly desperate and will not hesitate at murder."

In September a Federal Grand Jury, called into special session at Jacksonville, indicted Alderman for first degree murder. According to the prosecutor the case "beats any dime novel in color and brazen defiance of the law." The trial, originally scheduled for November, was postponed until January 1928. In a Federal Court in Miami a twelve-man jury began hearing evidence against Alderman on January 19. The principal witnesses against him were the surviving Coast Guardsmen including Jodie Hollingsworth who had lost his right eye as a result of his encounter with the rumrunner. Alderman claimed he shot in self defense. On the witness stand he testified Coast Guardsmen had threatened him saying:

Now we have got you and we are going to do to you like we did Red Shannon. He was shot in the back of the head with his hands in the air.

After four hours deliberation the jury returned and the foreman, Fred E. King, announced the verdict, "guilty as charged" without recommendation for mercy. At 10:35 a.m. on January 27 Judge Henry D. Clayton sentenced Alderman to death by hanging. "It was the first time such a sentence had been passed on a rumrunner for murder of government agents on the high seas," reported the *Miami News*. The rum boat's crewman, Robert Weech, who had cooperated with authorities, pleaded guilty to a lesser charge and was sentenced to a year and a day at the federal penitentiary in Atlanta.

Alderman was taken back to the Jacksonville prison to begin a long period of waiting while his case was appealed. Before the United States Circuit Court of Appeals at New Orleans the government argued that Alderman was "a pirate and not entitled to mercy." On March 27, 1929 the Court refused his appeal and Alderman's attorney announced, "The only place left to go is the United States Supreme Court."

After ten months in the Jacksonville prison, Alderman was transferred to the new Dade county jail in Miami. Although there had been no unusual public sympathy for Alderman at the time of his trial, his well publicized conversion to Christianity while in the Jacksonville jail had won him some new friends and supporters in Miami. A woman pastor from a Miami church was in Washington to ask for a pardon or commutation for Alderman at just about the time the Supreme Court got his appeal. The high court refused to review Alderman's conviction and sentence, and his attorney announced on June 20, 1929 that he planned to appeal to the Department of Justice for commutation of sentence to life imprisonment. He based the petition principally on the fact that "Alderman had become a convert to Christianity and is a changed man," according to the *Herald*. The local press reported that Alderman had converted five others at the Jacksonville jail and held prayer meetings at both Jacksonville and the Dade county jail.

Eleven of the twelve jurors who convicted Alderman were persuaded to sign petitions in his behalf. Even the judge who handed down the death sentence joined in the appeal with a letter to the Department of Justice recommending commutation. The *Miami Herald* quoted part of the letter from Judge Henry D. Clayton:

Alderman was raised in the primitive age of a new community with no opportunity for right training and education.

Both local newspapers agreed "hundreds of Miamians and residents of south Florida have signed petitions in his behalf."

The final appeals were made directly to the White House. One report indicated three separate appeals were made to President Herbert Hoover. On August 3, 1929 a headline in the *Miami Herald* read "Hoover To Let Alderman Die On Scaffold," and the *Miami News* reported Alderman's comment, "Hoover let me down but God is with me still."

The execution was originally scheduled to take place at the Broward county jail at Fort Lauderdale. On August 12, five days before the scheduled execution, United States District Judge Halsted L. Ritter indicated the hanging would be at the Fort Lauderdale Coast Guard base to comply with a law requiring the locale be the nearest federal reservation. The judge evidenced concern over the public sympathy for a convicted murderer and wondered publicly, "Why is it necessary to send flowers and puddings to him?"

On August 14 Alderman's attorney admitted he had "exhausted all steps" which could lead to commutation. His client, he said, was writing a book of his life. In this document Alderman wrote of his thoughts on the morning of August 15, two days before his execution, when he woke in the bright sunlight to recall a dream of salvation:

And as I was looking into the very brightest part of my dream the guard that is placed to guard over me these last three days handed me a paper and oh, it give the full details of the scaffold and just how it was built and where it was located, saying, James Horace Alderman will go to his death Saturday in the forenoon, August 17, 1929.

The *Miami News* reported public indignation that Alderman was "to be delivered into the hands of 150 Coast Guardsmen, most of whom hate him." According to this news story one of the topics of public discussion was:

. . . whether the rope used to hang him breaks under the convict's weight or is large and cumbersome slowly strangling him to death.

As Alderman was taken from Miami to the Broward county jail on August 15, the *Miami Herald* reported, "Alderman was smiling and wearing a red rose pinned to his tie as he told jail officials farewell." He left a Bible as "legacy to his family," and according to the *Herald* reporter

. . . it is to remind them of the husband, father, grandfather as

they last knew him, a Christian who had placed his future in the hands of his maker. . .

Both local newspapers were indignant at the order of Judge Ritter barring newspapers from the execution and "forbidding anyone connected with the hanging to make public any information concerning it." Alderman was denied his request that a "few friends witness his death" and that newspapers be represented "to publish a true story of the execution." The *Miami News* reported that those who had seen the place of execution:

. . . describe it as a ghastly place for a hanging even without the pall of secrecy that will deny the convicted the presence of his friends.

The police reporter for the *Miami Herald* was determined to circumvent this pall of secrecy. With the cooperation of a Miami undertaker, reporter Henry Reno planned to take over as the driver of the hearse and "roll right in and out of the hanging." A problem came up when someone remembered that every government man in the county knew Henry Reno on sight. Amusement editor Edgar Hay was recruited for the job. Although the plan went off as scheduled, publisher Frank Shutts, fearing a contempt of court charge, ordered the story withheld.

The *Miami News* produced an artist's drawing of the hanging with Alderman, two deputies and a minister climbing the steps to the scaffold. Under the sketch of the frame scaffold was the neat notation, "hangman under platform in rear".

The execution took place on August 17 inside a steel seaplane hanger where Coast Guardsmen had erected the scaffold. The interior of the hanger had been described in a story prior to the execution in these eerie terms:

High vaulted walls make the slightest whisper or handclap echo and re-echo. Lights throw shadows thirty or forty feet on the sides.

The time of the execution was 6 a.m. With either some assistance from a witness or perhaps merely the aid of a vivid imagination, the *News* reported, "Alderman helped to place the black hood over his head." The trap was sprung at 6:04 a.m., the *News* story continued, and at 6:19 a.m. Alderman was pronounced dead; his "choking struggles could be heard for two minutes within the gray light of early dawn."

The body of the "Gulf Stream Pirate" lay in state at the King Funeral Home at Miami where friends and the merely curious gathered to discuss

the merits of the case. "The chapel became an impromptu debating hall," the *News* reported. "The sentiment of some favored Alderman," the story continued, "others had not forgotten the three government men whose life he paid for with his own."

Some never came to a decision on the curious questions involved in the case of the "Gulf Stream Pirate." Did Alderman embrace religion as a true convert, or at the suggestion of a particularly astute attorney? If truly a repentant Christian, did this somehow entitle the Pirate to a special kind of leniency from the law? In his "Life Story" Alderman wrote, "I have left a record of two different men." A murdering rumrunner and a Christian convert. But which man went to the gallows? Miamians were unable to decide.

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150 Years Of Defense Activity At Key West, 1820-1970

by Clayton D. Roth, Jr.*

A small coral island approximately four miles long (east and west) and two miles wide (north and south), Key West, the last large island in the chain of the Florida Keys, is presently the residence of a United States Naval Base and Air Station. They perform a vital role in the defense of the southeastern section of the United States and in the life of the city of Key West, southernmost city in the United States. The recorded history of this strategic island dates back to the time of Columbus and is rich with tales of piracy, Indian warfare and the daring deeds of Spanish adventurers.

Juan Ponce de Leon acquired the distinction of being the first of these Spanish adventurers to sight this island during his expedition to Florida in 1513. He named the uninhabited island "Cayo Hueso" (pronounced Ky-O Wes-O), meaning bone or grave rock.¹ Later, many other Spanish explorers—some equally as famous as Ponce de Leon; most, however, not so renowned—utilized Key West's safe harbor while on voyages to the Keys, mainland Florida, or more disparate areas of Imperial Spain.

A fertile but deserted island in 1820, Key West possessed a rather infamous history as a pirate haven during the late sixteenth through eighteenth centuries. Its commodious and deep harbor combined with its strategic location in relation to the Spanish Main provided a valuable base for the buccaneers. They were so far removed from the center of Florida's Spanish authority in St. Augustine and Pensacola that it devolved upon the lax Spanish government in Cuba to keep a watchful eye on their predatory activities among Spain's ill defended commercial routes, especially those near the Florida Keys. This political division of authority had existed for so long that when the British acquired Florida in 1763, the Spanish made an effort to claim that the Florida Keys belonged to Cuba rather than to the mainland but Spain never contested the issue.²

*This paper is based upon a Master of Arts thesis in history written in 1970 at the University of Miami.

¹Ponce de Leon found a great number of human bones on the island. Since there were no inhabitants on the island at the time of his visit the exact origin of the bones are in doubt. See: Jefferson B. Browne, *Key West: Old and New* (St. Augustine: The Record Co., 1912), pp. 8-9.

²Charles W. Arnade, "The Florida Keys: English or Spanish in 1763?", *Tequesta*, XV, 1955, pp. 41-53.

During the late eighteenth century use of Key West harbor by the pirates or occasionally by the Spanish declined and came to an end by 1800. The pirates, challenged by the formidable might of the powerful British and the fledgling muscle of the ambitious Americans, found safer coves in other "Cayoës" and territories of the decaying Spanish empire. The Spanish, by possessing Havana harbor, had no need for Key West's duplicate but smaller harbor only ninety miles away. The Americans, on the other hand, guided by their expansionist policy, began to include this unique island in their contingent military plans. No other port between New Orleans and Charleston seemed to have so much to offer.

The United States took possession of Key West on March 25, 1822 after Congressional ratification in 1821 of the 1819 Treaty with Spain.³ In little more than one year, Commodore David Porter of the West Indies Squadron established the first Key West Naval Station.

The occupation and surveying of Key West by the American Naval forces signified that the island would not only be an integral part of the United States but also that it would perform a prominent function in the American military posture. As Gibraltar is to the Mediterranean Sea, Key West would be to the Caribbean Sea.⁴

The new base, utilized by both the Navy and Marine Corps, commanded and gave ready access to a large portion of the Caribbean Sea. By providing a safe as well as strategic harbor, it enabled Commodore Porter's squadron to effectively combat the pirates infesting this area. Thus, the Key West Naval Station acquired early national attention by being the focal point of that struggle.

On December 20, 1822, President James Monroe sent an urgent message to Congress asking that a special type force be created which would be capable of pursuing the pirates into shallow water, thereby enabling American forces to attack the buccaneers in their hitherto safe domain. Congress appropriated \$160,000 for the creation of an effective West Indies Squadron and made the destruction of Caribbean piracy one of the young nation's foremost priorities. Commodore David Porter, (1795-1843) experienced with Tripoli pirates during the Barbary Wars and a distinguished veteran of the War 1812, resigned from the Navy Board to take command of the anti-pirate squadron.⁵

³Hubert Bruce Fuller: *The Purchase of Floridas Its History and Diplomacy*, (Cleveland: The Burrows Brothers Co., 1906), pp. 298-323.

⁴*Niles Register*, July 19, 1823.

⁵Porter's career during this period is extensively covered in Richard Wheeler: *In Pirate Waters*, (New York: Thomas Y. Crowell Co., 1969), Chapters 7-11.

He utilized deep-draft vessels for heavy combat on the open seas and augmented these ships with eight small schooners that could pursue the swift pirate vessels much further inshore. Porter also added the first steam vessel ever to fight for the United States Navy, a second-hand ferry called *Sea Gull*. It towed the "mosquito patrol" consisting of five rowing barges for close action. The barges *Mosquito*, *Gnat*, *Midge*, *Gallinipper*, and *Sandfly* soon proved to be appropriately named incessant pests to the pirates.

The two thousand buccaneers on the loose in West Indies water pilaged cargoes valued in the millions of dollars and murdered hundreds of innocent traders and seamen. The energetic American commercial interest could not continue to tolerate this depredation if it wished to maintain its vigorous growth. Businessmen and underwriters gave exuberant support to the squadron's forceful measures. Although the British offered assistance in this endeavor, America expressed the desire to fight the deadly contest with the pirates alone and exert its own youthful arms against this most treacherous foe.

The pirates, who had easily avoided capture by Spain's and England's deep-water vessels, became rapidly terrorized as Commodore Porter's assortment of twenty-two craft and 1,100 men began to prod them out of their once safe Cuban and Florida Keys hideouts. In shallow water or on becalmed days the Americans ran the pirates ashore, burned their ships and shacks, ransacked their caves, recovered much booty and sometimes allowed a few pirates to live long enough to be later tried and hanged. Now, for the first time in these waters, the pirates were being effectively and mercilessly hunted, captured and killed. Their former methods were ruthlessly and pitilessly applied to them. In hand-to-hand combat with American sailors and marines, the buccaners proved to be no match. Some terrified pirates, threatened with being fatally treated to the wrong end of a musket, rope or cutlass, panicked and attempted to escape their fate by throwing themselves overboard, hoping to swim to a safer area, only to drown in the swirling waves or be consumed by the awaiting sharks.

In a series of stirring and overwhelming victories, Porter's squadron of gallants succeeded in routing out nearly all the nefarious buccaneers at their last and most important stronghold on the Isle of Pines off the Cuban coast. Commerce once more could traverse the Caribbean unmolested except for an occasional reckoning with nature's capricious wrath. The city of Key West now commenced its development into a prosperous American possession with a nationally prominent naval base in its harbor.

In the midst of the victorious year, 1823, yellow fever first introduced

its troublesome and frightful spectre. The marines stationed on the island, in hurriedly constructed sheds, were not adequately protected from either the insects or the elements. By late July the fever struck with severity. This proved to be an ominous portent. At first, the fever grievously affected only the marines but quickly spread to the sailors and officers of Commodore Porter's fleet docked in the ill-fated harbor.⁶ The Key West Naval Station reported forty-eight deaths before the yellow fever epidemic abated in October. The West Indies Squadron returned to the Key West Naval Station in January, 1824, hoping that the lethal malady would prove to be an isolated miasma cured through swamp drainage and land filling. By the end of May, however, Commodore Porter ruefully informed his Washington superiors that the dreaded fever, in spite of divers precautions, had reappeared and he had no other recourse but to return his men to the healthier northern waters by the middle of June. The previous year's experiences repeated themselves to a lesser extent this time, due to Porter's propitious withdrawal, with prolonged suffering for some crew members and the loss of twelve able seamen.⁷ This terrifying menance continued to harass the inhabitants of Key West for the next seventy-five years until the discovery of its elusive cause and subsequent eradication.

Because of the virulence of its first occurrence and recurrence, yellow fever accomplished what the pirates failed to do. The existence of the Key West Naval Station ended in 1826 when Lt. William Farragut disposed of the buildings and dispersed the personnel. Pensacola became the site of a new naval station and the center of activity for the West Indies Squadron. A coaling and supply station remained on the island for a time. During the Indian Wars of the 1830's and 1840's in Florida, Pensacola sent several expeditions to Key West for short tours of duty, but the Department of the Navy did not re-establish a naval station on the island until 1856.

While the Navy feared to remain in Key West, the Army showed less hesitation in establishing an outpost on the island. After lengthy negotiation, the Federal government acquired land from the island's proprietors. In February, 1831, Major James M. Glassel arrived on the island in command of a garrison consisting of two companies of infantry, and encamped on the newly purchased acreage. The War Department began its occupation of the island by building only temporary structures to house men and supplies. Army officials in Washington, D.C., decided to conserve scarce funds by abandoning the impermanent outpost in 1834. But due to the Indian uprisings in Florida in late 1835, General Winfield Scott deployed,

⁶E. Ashby Hammond, "Notes on the Medical History of Key West, 1822-32," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, Vol. 46, No. 2, pp. 94-95.

⁷U.S., *American State Papers: Naval Affairs*, Vol. 2, No. 270, 19th Cong., 1st sess., p. 232.

on January 29, 1836, a detachment of troops to reoccupy Key West and also sent "150 stand of arms, together with the necessary ammunition" to re-establish the military post.⁸ Semi-permanent quarters were again constructed for the accommodation of the troops. Formulation of plans for the erection of permanent fortifications in Key West augured well for the future of its military establishment. To strengthen the Florida coasts, the War Department decided in February, 1845, to commence the construction of a permanent fortification on the southwestern portion of the island.⁹

In comparison to the other sections of the United States the Gulf and South Atlantic states seemed the most open to aggression during the second quarter of the nineteenth century. The weakness of the military defenses of this neglected area could no longer be endured. Spain and England had taken steps to strengthen themselves on their side of the Gulf. The time had now come for the United States to secure its own possessions. In view of any possible danger from these powers, the fortification and occupation of Key West as a military and naval station was deemed most important to the nation's security and would become particularly so in time of war.¹⁰

Captain George Dutton of the United States Army Corps of Engineers began directing the construction of the Key West fort in June, 1845. He employed many German and Irish immigrant artisans and mechanics recruited in New York City. Key West slaves, hired out to the United States government by their owners, supplied much of the heavy and difficult unskilled labor.

The army built the fort in the form of a trapezoid designed to mount 314 guns and house 1,500 men. Despite many difficulties such as the destructive force of hurricanes, recurrence of yellow fever and at times the insufficiency of available funds, the fortification slowly assumed its fore-ordained shape.

The Department of War, on October 8, 1850, named the Key West fort in honor of the hero of the Mexican War and the then President of the United States, Zachary Taylor. At an estimated expenditure of \$1,500,000, Fort Zachary Taylor (together with its even more expensive sister fortress on Garden Key) would enable the United States to defend its southern coast with a minimal long term expense. Fort Taylor secured the Key West harbor for visiting navy and merchant vessels traveling among the Gulf and Atlantic ports.

⁸U.S., *Territorial Papers of the United States: Florida Territory*, Vol. XXV, p. 231.

⁹Ames W. Williams, "Stronghold of the Straits: Fort Zachary Taylor," *Tequesta*, XIV, 1954, p. 4.

¹⁰U.S., Congress, House, *Report on Fortification of Key West and the Dry Tortugas*, 28th Cong., 1st sess., Vol. III, April 2, 1844, House Doc. No. 407, pp. 1, 2, 15-19.

In 1856, the Department of the Navy re-established a United States Naval Depot or storehouse in Key West. The construction of buildings began in that year. By April, 1857, when the walls were ready to receive the roof, work on the storehouse was suspended because Congress failed to provide any funds. It remained in this uncompleted state for several years until after the Civil War had begun, when it was finally finished.

Annual appropriations by Congress for Fort Taylor varied from \$75,000 to \$150,000. The original estimate had long been exceeded but Fort Taylor seemed far from ever being ready for activation. Not until Christmas Day, 1857, did Captain Edward G. Hunt (the fort's engineer) finish the fortification's magazines and store the ammunition. At the start of Civil War neither Fort Taylor nor the Naval Depot had completed their building programs. Congressional fiscal austerity, caused chiefly by southern filibustering against expenditures being allocated to martial endeavors during President James Buchanan's administration, brought about the unpreparedness of these installations. The failure to appropriate sufficient funds for these works occasioned material shortages to occur. The continued visitation of the yellow fever menace resulted in numerous suspensions of work, especially during the perilous season from mid- to late-summer. Hence, when war finally did break out between the northern and southern states, Key West was ill-equipped to perform its assigned role.

The turmoil that affected the nation at this time soon engulfed Key West in its divisiveness, since its citizens also were divided in their sympathies. These last hectic ante-bellum years spurred Captain Hunt to feverish activity in order to ready Fort Taylor. Soon, however, it would be apparent to all that this fort which the government so hastily constructed had become obsolete as a defense against the new ordnance developed shortly before and during the Civil War.

The prompt action of Captain John M. Brannan enabled the Union forces to retain possession of Fort Taylor against the island's Confederates. Brannan, as senior ranking officer on the island and commanding a detachment of forty-four men of the First Artillery stationed at the Key West Barracks, quietly and secretly move his squads across the island and into the hitherto unoccupied fortification. When the disunited city awoke on the morning of January 15, 1861, and discovered Brannan's coup, resident excitement ran high. The southern sympathizers were turbulent and threatened to storm the fortress but they never made a concerted, determined attempt to expel the Federal garrison.¹¹ So Key West's Fort Taylor be-

¹¹Vaughn Camp, Jr., "Captain Brannan's Dilemma: Key West in 1861," *Tequesta*, XX, 1960, pp. 31-45.

came one of three southern forts to continue under the authority of northern forces for the duration of the Civil War.¹² As a consequence, the Key West Naval Base was the only one of its kind in the South not seized by the Confederacy. At Pensacola Federal forces held Fort Pickens and neutralized Confederate taking of the city and the naval base.

After President Abraham Lincoln's proclamation of a blockade of southern ports on April 19 and 27, Key West Naval Base became designated as headquarters of the Gulf Blockading Squadron under Flag-officer William Mervine. In September this squadron was split into East and West sections. The East Gulf Blockading Squadron retained Key West as its headquarters throughout the War between the States.

The navy relied heavily on the facilities at Key West during this epic conflict. No other port in the United States contained as many different types of vessels. Not only were warships utilizing the large Key West harbor to help the blockade of southern ports but Commanders Farragut and David Dixon Porter organized their separate squadrons into a fleet of bomb vessels and armed steamers preparatory to taking possession of New Orleans and its defenses on the Mississippi River, a most important maneuver for the Union cause.

Merchant vessels seeking a safe harbor to rendezvous on their way to northern ports also stopped in Key West. In addition, 299 captured blockade runners coming from London, Havana, Charleston, New Orleans and other ports and carrying thousands of tons of supplies for the beleaguered South were brought to Key West docks, certainly a significant factor in deciding the Civil War's victorious outcome for Lincoln's government. These captured vessels and contraband cargoes were condemned by the Federal District Court and then sold by Judge William Marvin to the highest bidders. Judge Marvin distributed half of the proceeds of these forfeiture auction sales to the crews who seized the blockade runners and retained the residue for the U.S. government. Commander Mervine soon complained that the selling of prizes by the Key West District Court had "become a great evil." Confederate intermediaries, he pointed out, always stood ready to buy all the light-draft, swift sailing ships offered for sale. These agents then sailed the recently purchased vessels to Nassau or Havana, registered legal title to British subjects and employed them again in the evasion of the blockade.¹³ In several instances this resulted in Union forces capturing the same ship two or three times.

¹²The other two southern located forts were Garden Key's Fort Jefferson and Pensacola's Fort Pickens.

¹³U.S., *The Official Records of the Union and Confederate Navies in the War of the Rebellion*, (Washington: The Government Printing Office, 1894-1897), Series I, Vol. 17, p. 52. Hereafter cited O.R.N.

The Key West Naval Depot became activated, after thirty-five years of disuse, on June 3, 1861, and 500 men were stationed at the base. The army and navy commanders began quarreling on June 8, which ruined the prior hearty and cordial cooperation in their relations at the start of the Civil War. Major William French at Fort Taylor and Commander Mervine at the Naval Station exchanged heated letters. The relations within the military establishment on Key West remained strained until Commander Mervine was transferred in August.¹⁴

Although the possibility of naval attacks upon Key West by the Confederacy diminished, intervention by European powers into the American Civil War on the side of the southern states seemed to be increasing. The Chief of Engineers, General Richard Delafield, directed that every effort be exerted to ready Fort Taylor for action. The difficult diplomatic situation prompted acting Rear-Admiral Theodorus Bailey, commanding the East Gulf Blockade Squadron in 1862, to warn Secretary of the Navy, Gideon Welles, that "should our relations with England or France, or both, result in hostilities at any time, it would not be unreasonable to suppose that an early and powerful effort would be made to seize upon this place (Key West)." Admiral Bailey averred that "the military importance of holding this gateway to the Gulf of Mexico can hardly be overestimated, and . . . the occupation of but few places in the country would occasion such serious inconvenience, more especially with the present rebellion on our hands."¹⁵ Fortunately, the threat from Europe did not materialize, for the military on Key West were ill prepared to furnish a stout resistance against a forceful and tenacious foe. Yellow fever epidemics, destructive hurricanes, labor and material shortages, and just plain boredom undermined the vitality of the Union forces stationed on the island of Key West.

Warfare necessitated innovation in defensive safeguards. To supplement Fort Taylor, Captain Hunt received from the War Department plans and directions for erecting two Martello Towers on opposite ends of the island. These towers were not authentic "Martello Tower" types since they were to be square rather than circular in structure. Both towers were to be built simultaneously and as quickly as possible because they were considered to be equally vital to the complete defense of Key West. Plans for two additional towers were formulated but the idea never reached fulfillment. The continuing development of ordnance with heavier firepower made the Martello towers obsolete. Work on them halted shortly after the war ended and the original two towers were never completed.

¹⁴*Ibid.*, Vol. 16, pp. 541-544.

¹⁵*O.R.N.*, Series I, Vol. 17, p. 530.

The ordnance mounted in unfinished Fort Taylor and in the halfbuilt towers was never called into action. The Confederate States could never launch a naval offensive strong enough to capture Key West, its fort and towers or the invaluable harbor. As a blockading and coaling station and as a base to protect the seagoing trade of the area, the military quartered on Key West played an important role in the War for Southern Independence.

Relations between the citizens of Key West and the military deteriorated completely when orders were received in February, 1863, to evict anyone who had kinsmen fighting for the rebel cause. The proscribed townsmen were to forsake the property they possessed in Key West and be placed behind Confederate lines, even though they themselves might be strongly pro-Union in sentiment. Fortunately, these orders were rescinded, but it would be a long time after this incident before friendly intercourse between the civilians and military again resumed.

Yellow fever struck in 1862 and 1864. Medical science was helpless in providing a cure and every precautionary measure failed. Only if a fever victim survived the dreaded black vomit phase of the disease could the patient expect to recover. Many overcame the fever's debilitating effects. Many others succumbed. Military personnel seemed most susceptible since the majority of those affected were unacclimated northerners stationed on the Key West army and naval bases.

Upon the cessation of Civil War hostilities, the fifteen ships maintained in Key West harbor by the United States Navy dispersed to other bases. For the next thirty years little occurred in naval construction activity at the Key West Naval Station. The Army withdrew all its troops from Fort Taylor in 1870 and it became merely a storehouse under the care of watchmen and custodians. The harbor served only as a coal depot and supply station for passing ships.

In 1875, Key West saw a brief flurry of military activity. President Ulysses S. Grant prepared for possible intervention in the revolution then raging in Cuba. The revolutionists against Spanish authority sought the assistance of the United States and President Grant was eager to provide it. He assembled a fleet in Key West harbor and began having marine units readied for combat operations. European diplomats, however, actively discouraged President Grant in this undertaking. He acquiesced to their vehement objections by dispersing the ships and troops.

The Department of the Navy sent Lieutenant Robert E. Peary, a recent Annapolis graduate (who would later be the first explorer to discover

the North Pole), to Key West in 1881. Lieutenant Peary's first order was to inspect the naval pier being built in the Key West harbor. Because of difficulties with the contractor, Peary took over and completed the pier himself, thus saving the government \$24,000. During his stay Lieutenant Peary contracted yellow fever. Fortunately, he recovered quickly with no impairment to his health or abilities.

The construction of the naval pier is typical of the activity undertaken by the military in Key West during this quarter century. Small repairs were made to the government docks, barracks and fort but no major construction. In 1883, the Navy began to dredge a channel that would be fifteen feet deep at low water. This would help save large vessels time in plying between Key West and the Gulf ports. Except for this single endeavor, the Key West area was far down the list of governmental military priorities.

Everything connected with the permanent defenses at Key West was dependent upon annual appropriations for maintenance and repair. Without this constant funding they rapidly went to decay. After the Civil War the same conditions prevailed in most of the permanent defenses of the United States. It was not until 1889 that the Departments of War and Navy realized that the United States was becoming increasingly helpless against "the attack of any third-rate power possessing modern iron-clad vessels armed with heavy rifled cannon."¹⁶

By the year 1892, both departments had reassessed the value of Key West in their military planning. After years of neglect, they had come to realize that: "Changes in methods and means of warfare have only increased its strategic value. It is and will remain the most important coaling station which the United States can possess within its borders."¹⁷ Since Key West contained a secure harbor for vessels of any draft, the naval authorities regarded its possession as vitally important not only as a coaling station but as a repair base as well. Key West harbor was considered to be of extreme value as a fulcrum in all naval operations involving the West Indies.

The Department of the Navy bought additional land in 1895 so as to enlarge the Key West Naval Station's capacity in the event of a conflict with Spain. Construction of more coal sheds continued as a further precautionary measure. The worsening relations between the United States

¹⁶U.S., War Department, *Report of the Secretary of War, Chief of Engineers, House Ex. Doc.*, 1889, 51st Cong., 1st sess., pp. 4-5.

¹⁷U.S. Department of the Army, *Key West Barracks, Florida, Office of the Chief of Military History*, p. 2.

and Spain had awakened the army and navy authorities to the necessity to reactivate their bases in Key West. Battery "H", of the Third Artillery commanded by Major James R. Merrick, arrived in 1896 to garrison the reconstituted army post. Key West was expected to bear a prominent part in the defense of the United States' position in the Gulf of Mexico.

The task of making Fort Taylor serviceable proved to be so formidable that it was not finally ready for combat until 1899. Key West's population could not provide all the laborers required for the immense job so recruitment of workers began in other Gulf cities. However, only the contractors and merchants of Key West benefitted much from the army engineers' construction and repair activities. The army enlarged the city's only active post, Key West Barracks, and prepared the post's hospital for an expected large number of war casualties. The army did not, however, perform a major role in the military utilization of Key West during the Spanish American War.¹⁸ But the naval station became the most important in the nation.

The battleship *U.S.S. Maine* left Key West for Havana harbor on January 25, 1898, to stand by to remove United States citizens if revolutionary hostilities threatened them. The United States White Squadron arrived in Key West the next day. For the next few weeks it was within sight of the island so that the eyes of the gunners on land as well as those on the ships could be sharpened. Then a torpedo boat, the *Ericsson*, came full speed alongside the flagship and maneuvers abruptly ended. It informed the squadron that the *Maine* had blown up in Havana harbor. The warheads went on the torpedoes. On Sunday, February 27, the White Squadron went out of existence as the seamen slapped on black paint and then wartime grey. On April 22, the fleet steamed for the troubled island of Cuba.¹⁹

In Key West, the impact of the *Maine* disaster was poignantly personal. The ship had for sometime been in and out of Key West harbor. Officers and men had had an active part in the island's social life. While the nation flamed with discussion fed by the highly combustible journalism of the times, Key West buried many of the *Maine's* dead, some in a mass grave and others in lots with a simple "Unknown" on their small markers.

Since the vessel had taken on 280 tons of coal at the naval station but a sort time before leaving for Havana, Commandant James M. Forsyth at Key West Naval Station received orders to explore a possible cause of the mysterious explosion of the *Maine*. Commander Forsyth was to in-

¹⁸William J. Schellings, "Key West and the Spanish American War," *Tequesta*, XX, 1960, p. 23.

¹⁹Albert Manucy, "A Handbook of Fort Jefferson History," (Unpublished manuscript, deposited in Everglades National Park Library, May, 1942), p. 54.

investigate the plausible theory that explosives might have been planted by a saboteur in the coal pile at the Key West Naval Station from which the *Maine* had received her last load of fuel. His log book calmly noted: "Commence to examine anthracite coal pile. Carefully removing it with shovel under close personal inspection." Five volunteer inspectors watched the tedious turnover. Three days later, the log simply stated: "Finished overhauling anthracite coal pile, found no sign of anything suspicious."²⁰

The actual cause of the explosion was never discovered and the United States Naval Institute briefly concluded its report: "The *U.S.S. Maine* was destroyed by a mysterious explosion in the harbor of Havana, Cuba, February 15, 1898. This hastened the declaration of war with Spain. Of the crew of 354, only sixteen escaped injury or death."²¹

On April 23, the first shot of the Spanish American War was fired in full view of watchers along Key West's shore. The *U.S.S. Nashville* fired a shot across the bow of the Spanish steamer *Buena Ventura*. Her captain, ignorant of the newly declared war, raised the Spanish flag and was promptly taken captive and his ship, the war's first prize, was brought to Key West.²² A few days later, the Key West Naval Station was lighted by electricity for the first time.

Commodore George C. Remey, with Lt. John H. Shipley as flag-lieutenant, arrived in Key West on May 7, aboard the monitor *Miantonomah*. Even though the war had begun three weeks earlier, no preparations of facilities had been made for a senior land based naval officer at Key West.

Commodore Watson arrived in Key West at the same time Commodore Remey did. Although junior in rank to Remey, Watson had been appointed to command the blockade forces. Confusion reigned, temporarily, at the naval station with the presence of two senior commanders afloat in the harbor. Inevitably, confusing instructions were issued. The captain of the *Merrimac*, Commander James M. Miller, received such conflicting orders. Not knowing whether he should remain in port or leave, Commodore Remey heard Commander Miller's exasperated declaration: "I am between the devil and the deep sea!" "Which am I?" asked Commodore Remey with a quiet smile.²³ He straightened the matter out and issued

²⁰Oliver Griswold, *The Florida Keys and the Coral Reef*, (Miami: The Graywood Press, 1965), p. 54.

²¹*Ibid.*

²²"Navy Has Roots in Key West," *Key West Citizen*, November 9, 1969.

²³Commander Reginald R. Belknap, "The Naval Base at Key West in 1898," United States Naval Institute, *Proceedings*, B. C. Allen (ed.), (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute), Vol. 41, No. 5, Sept.-Oct., 1915, Whole No. 159, pp. 1454-1455.

instructions that only his office would control the movements of navy vessels within the harbor.

The Key West Naval Station's organization consisted of the Commodore and two staff officers; the commandant of the Naval Station, a lieutenant and a boatswain at the base; one pay officer with one pay clerk and three tugs. The sloppy security situation that prevailed at Key West at this time is measured by the protection given to the top secret cipher code. The one copy of the code belonged to the commandant of the naval station, James Forsyth, and he kept it in his house under his bed. The house stood open day and night and, as the commandant had no family, access was quite easy for a stranger. Since there was no orderly or other guard on the premises it would have been very simple for an intruder to injure or shoot the commandant and escape with the code.

The establishment of the base office occurred just as all forces began moving toward Key West after the bombardment of San Juan. The demands placed upon the office inundated its small staff. A large requirement for coal had to be anticipated and provided. Provisions, water and other supplies had to be furnished. Prize vessels were being brought in daily. Blockading vessels were in and out continually. A night patrol offshore had to be maintained. Some Spanish prisoners incarcerated in Fort Taylor needed to be cared for. Several times it was necessary to procure on sudden notice a convoy for minor expeditions intent upon landing supplies and men for Cuban forces. All the while a steady stream of information flowed in and out. The eager and insistent press correspondents, whose plaint "Cu-be, or not Cu-be, that is the Key Westion,"²⁴ were everywhere about and had to be placated. In addition, local disturbances in Key West sometimes went beyond the ability of the local police to cope with necessitating the use of marine patrol squads. Bureaucratic short cuts were definitely needed, hence, throughout the existence of the base administration, all its business was transacted with a minimum of actual paper work.

Security in Key West harbor was somewhat erratic. Since there were no harbor regulations day or night, little control could be maintained over anchorage. Vessels not belonging to or serving the navy came and went at will at any hour. Base Commander Remy not only did not have effective control over any but naval vessels, but naval movements were hampered by local civil authorities. State quarantine laws were enforced which required all incoming vessels, regardless of ownership, to wait and pay a fee to the state quarantine officer. This, and other local irregularities, and the probability of having to enforce strict sanitary measures in the

²⁴Browne, *op. cit.*, p. 146.

event of yellow fever breaking out, caused Remy to urge in the strongest terms that Key West be placed under martial law. Secretary of the Navy, John D. Long, replied that he and the Secretary of War, Russel A. Alger, ardently agreed and urged affirmative action upon the request. President William McKinley, however, would not authorize the application of martial law stating that it might be construed as an unfavorable reflection on Key West and the Florida authorities.

Troops from the Marine Corps had last been in Key West in 1826. In 1898, they established a second marine base. On April 22, just two days after Congress made war inevitable by declaring Cuba to be a free and independent nation, Colonel Robert W. Huntington's marine battalion boarded the *U.S.S. Panther* and started on their journey to Key West. At the Key West marine camp they made their final preparations for the invasion of Cuba. Some 623 enlisted men, twenty-three officers and one navy surgeon formed the new battalion. Forty-six of these marines remained on Key West as provost marshals under Captain Harry White until September 8 when the strength of the camp was reduced to one man, First Sergeant Clarence E. Vadow. The sergeant looked after the property that had been left behind.

Key West served a very significant function as a naval base during the war with Spain; more in fact, than it appeared ready to render. The lack of fresh water presented the most immediate and continuing problem. There also arose several other reasons for dissatisfaction with the island: 1) it lacked ready and easy communication with the mainland, and 2) the constant danger from yellow fever epidemics and other tropical diseases. Despite these drawbacks Key West was acknowledged to be of greater strategic value than all the seven naval yards and stations at New Orleans, Pensacola, Charleston, Port Royal, Guantanamo, San Juan and Culebra combined. However, the war ended before Key West could be upgraded into a first class base. At the end of the war, the Key West Naval Station returned to a state of peacetime quiet and remained inactive for almost twenty years.

Throughout the early history of Key West medical science proved unable to cope with the dreaded and resurgent yellow fever disease but conquered it immediately after the Spanish American War. The breakthrough came when it was discovered that yellow fever and malaria were carried by the anopheles mosquito. It then became possible to control and finally eradicate this scourge. Perhaps because of the strict quarantine maintained by the Florida State Health Department, the dread yellow jack struck none of the overcrowded military installations in 1898. It was typhoid fever that killed twice as many soldiers and sailors as did combat.

The fever and fear of it had retarded Key West's development to the end of the century.

After the termination of the Spanish American War the War Department closed down its installations in Key West except for Fort Taylor, which was allowed to decay and become largely a storage area, no longer a vital stronghold for defense.

Except for the commissioning of the Key West Naval Radio Station in 1907, the navy did not build any improvements to the aging base until 1914. With the beginning of World War I considerable construction activity once more commenced on the Key West Naval Station. It became headquarters for the Seventh Naval District during the First World War, charged with the task of supplying and maintaining forces afloat and assigned the mission of keeping German submarines from operating in the Gulf, especially preventing them from utilizing Mexican oil supplies.

The preeminence of Key West's location as the country's southernmost naval base, with its rapid access to the open sea lanes for surface ships and submarines, its ideal weather conditions for flying, all proved invaluable in making the naval station an around-the-clock, around-the-year training and experimental area for the navy. The implements for modern three dimensional warfare started to make their debut; traditional surface forces were augmented by seaplanes, submarines and blimps.

The commissioning of the Key West Naval Air Station occurred on December 18, 1917. Located on the northern edge of the City of Key West, its primary use was for anti-submarine patrol operations and as an elementary flight training station. Aircraft utilizing its facilities included small twin cockpit training seaplanes and observation dirigibles. Twenty-five to thirty aircraft operated from the base at one time. Lieutenant Stanley V. Parker of the Coast Guard, the first commanding officer of the Air Station, became the first aviator to make a flight from the base. This event occurred on December 22, 1917, in a Curtiss N-9 seaplane. After being deactivated at the conclusion of World War One, the Naval Air Station slowly sank into comparative inaction. The releasing of its personnel, the destruction or dismantling and removal to other locations of most of its buildings signified that from 1920 to 1940 only sporadic employment of the remaining facilities could be made.

The activities at the Key West Naval Station after the First World War also gradually diminished. On June 30, 1932, the naval base was closed to a bare maintenance status and the headquarters of the Seventh Naval District moved to Charleston. The only occupant of the defunct base was the Navy Radio Station with personnel of seventeen men. Dur-

ing the station's idle years, W. P. A. workers carried out the maintenance duties.

The threat of war in Europe during 1938-39 forced military attention again upon this outpost overlooking the unprotected Caribbean. Early in 1939, several visitors inspected Key West as a prelude to reopening its dormant naval station. Among these notable visitors between February 14-18 were President Franklin D. Roosevelt, Admiral Leahy, then Chief of Staff, and Admiral Cook, Chief of the Bureau of Aeronautics. By March, units of the Patrol Wing began flying into the old air base with increasing frequency, mooring their planes overnight beside the still standing but badly decomposed 1918 ramps and refueling facilities at the Key West Naval Station.

With the outbreak of World War Two, President Roosevelt declared a state of national emergency on September 8, 1939. Three days later, the Key West Naval Station closed its facilities to visitors and all private yachts, including the smaller pleasure boats, docked in the submarine basin were ordered to vacate the area immediately. Commander Granville B. Hoey arrived in Key West on November 1 to reopen the station, in January, 1942, the Seventh Naval District reestablished its headquarters in Key West. Construction of a temporary air base on the original World War One site, expected to take from four to six months, began at this time.

During the war years the naval station spent \$31,384,538 on new construction alone. In addition, the navy acquired 3,200 acres for anticipated expansion. Between December 7, 1941, and V-J Day, 1945, 14,000 ships logged into Key West or adjacent anchorage. Merchant vessels forming convoys accounted for 43% of this huge total. The naval station had the primary function of supporting other naval activities in the Key West area and repairing and overhauling numerous escort vessels that convoyed merchant shipping in the Caribbean area.

Reestablishment of the Key West Naval Air Station occurred on December 15, 1940, by order of the Secretary of the Navy, Frank Knox. It served both as an operating and training base for fleet aircraft squadrons. The station eventually developed to care for over 4,000 personnel and three squadrons amounting to nearly fifty planes.

Throughout the war years living conditions for the navy's sea and air personnel proved to be harsh with few offsetting comforts. Water, sewage, housing, civilian medical facilities and the limited opportunities for recreation afforded by the city of Key West presented many difficulties. The navy finally solved its chronic water shortage by constructing a pipeline to the deep water wells of Homestead, Florida, and then pumping the water

to Key West. For the first time Key Westers no longer needed to depend upon the erratic rainfall and distilling plants for fresh water. The navy did have trouble, however, importing fresh meats and vegetables which could only be bought at a premium in Miami, 170 miles away. The nearest naval hospital was located 700 miles away in Pensacola. Mosquitoes plagued the islanders in the summer months. Fortunately, no malaria epidemics occurred and only an occasional case of dengue fever was reported in the town.²⁵ Working and living conditions gradually improved as increasing funds were allocated for expansion and construction of permanent facilities.

German submarine activity paralleled the vast program of construction and territorial expansion on the part of the Key West Naval Base and Air Station. This Nazi menace to Gulf and Caribbean shipping lasted throughout 1942, until the summer of 1943. In early 1942, daring German submarines slipped in close enough to Florida to sink allied shipping within sight of land. The peak of this implacable adversary's activity was reached in May when underseas raiders torpedoed forty-nine ships off the Florida coast. It is believed that only two submarines per month came over from Germany, but that as high as nine were operating in the Caribbean area later. To combat this threat, Patrol Wing Twelve was commissioned in September, 1942. The patrol established its headquarters in Key West. By March, 1943, the air station supported one squadron of eighteen planes and two smaller squadrons having twelve planes each. All three squadrons furnished air coverage over the adjacent waters. These planes effectively combatted the German threat and by December, 1943, the Nazi Submarines had sunk their last merchant ship in the Caribbean area.

The last month of 1943 also saw the establishment of Fleet Air Wing Five as a training unit in Boca Chica to provide anti-submarine warfare and other types of training for land and sea based aircraft. Anti-submarine training has remained a primary function at Boca Chica field ever since.

Another event of this period involved combined land, sea and air maneuvers conducted by the navy and army throughout Florida in November and December, 1943. This coordinated testing finished up in Key West. Boca Chica's planes employed sacks of flour to simulate bombs. Only a few ill consequences occurred. One small craft, for example, had its fresh paint job smeared by a wayward flour bag.

On February 8, 1945, Naval Auxiliary Air Station Boca Chica was designated a full fledged naval air station. But this was short lived be-

²⁵"Golden Anniversary," Naval Air Station, Key West, (An unpublished manuscript from the Public Affairs Office, Key West Naval Air Station), p. 6.

cause one month later the Boca Chica and Key West Naval Air Stations were merged once more under the present designation of United States Naval Air Station, Key West.

At the conclusion of World War Two, the Key West Naval Station did not undergo retrenchment as did many other installations. It continued to be maintained as a training and experimental site since the excellent climate permitted year around use of the facility.

During the Second World War, sand bags and modern ordnance improved Fort Taylor's usefulness as an active coast artillery installation. Two years after this violent and destructive conflict terminated, the army left Key West entirely and transferred its surplus property, including Fort Taylor with its land, to the navy's jurisdiction. Today, Fort Taylor is used by the navy as a storage area for scrap metal which has undoubtedly helped to preserve this relic of a bygone age.

The United States Naval Station became established under flag rank on April 1, 1948. During the following years the Naval Operating Base settled into the quiet tranquility of her important task of anti-submarine warfare training. For the next fourteen years the navy carried on its usual "peacetime" activities, until October 22, 1962, when, for the first time in one hundred years, the United States was presented with a threat to its mainland. The Cuban crisis erupted.

Reconnaissance planes had revealed Russian construction of offensive missiles in Cuba only ninety miles from Key West. Several weeks before President John F. Kennedy's announcement of a "quarantine" blockade, military activities in Key West started building up. Military units, personnel and equipment were repositioned by classified movements. Almost continuously flights arrived from or departed for Cuban surveillance. An immediate and substantial increase in military personnel quickly filled all available space in the naval base's quarters. Each of the military services found representation in the expanded service population of Key West. Some departments doubled and others almost trebled their work load. Adjacent waters swarmed with ships and army units moved into the area, notably the Sixth Missile Battalion. Security measures during this crisis were as tight as at any time in Key West history. Not one ship nor submarine remained moored in the harbor, a sight never seen before. The sounds of the reconnaissance patrol squadrons zooming overhead could be heard day and night, but few of the citizens of Key West evacuated the city.

President Kennedy lifted the quarantine on November 20. Six days later, he with the Joint Chiefs of Staff and many top ranking officers of

the Army, Navy, Marine Corps and Air Force held a highly classified meeting on the Key West Naval Station to review military installations and forces stationed on the island during the Cuban crisis. They represented the largest group of Flag and General officers ever to visit a naval base at one time in the history of the United States.²⁶

After the Cuban missile crisis had settled down to a matter of watchful waiting, the majority of temporary military personnel were redeployed. The Key West Naval Station and Air Base resumed normal routine. Normal, at present, consists of an average of 3,000 officers and men on constant alert to maintain our preparedness should another threat to the continental United States develop suddenly.

Key West is among those particular places in history which served as a staging area or embarkation point for great events occurring elsewhere. Dramatic actions, such as the crusade against Caribbean piracy, the Civil War blockade, the war against Spain, the World War Two anti-submarine activity and the 1962 Cuban "quarantine", catapulted Key West into the forefront of national attention. This Gibraltar of the Caribbean continues today to maintain a vigil over our southeastern coast and its strength helps to deter potential adversaries from embroiling the United States in another destructive conflict.

²⁶"Your Navy in Key West," (1969 Unofficial Guide published by Boone Publications, Inc.), p. 6.

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Samuel Hodgman, Haines City, Florida Pioneer

by BRUCE W. BALL*

“Ella is unable to do any work. She is so weak for want of proper food. . . . For the past few weeks none of us have eaten anything but biscuits and coffee. . . . We used the last of the coffee this morning and do not have a cent nor the prospects of earning one.” “I hope times will be better when the quarantine (Yellow Fever) is off.”

These words were written by Samuel C. Hodgman of Climax, Kalamazoo County, Michigan who, with his family, settled at Haines City, Florida in 1885.

The recent discovery of his correspondence to his mother from Haines City, ranging over a period of nine years from 1885 through 1984, gives us a tragic, yet fascinating narrative account of his privations, hardships and suffering in attempting to provide for his family on this new frontier.

Hodgman was a wounded Civil War veteran with a small government pension. He was a civil engineer and surveyor, and also the inventor of a metal measuring tape used by civil engineers and surveyors. A man of some education, his handwriting was well formed, and the spelling and grammatical construction of his letters is excellent. The long cold Michigan winters and lack of surveying business brought him south in 1885. He and his brother Charlie bought adjacent tracts of land in or near the town of Haines City. “Charlie” apparently never came south, nor did he accept Samuel’s offer “to break ground and start a grove, provided money was sent to cover cost of trees and fertilizer.”

Despite Hodgman’s energy and determination to make a success of his new life, as shown in the early letters, he was plagued by constant failure and bad luck. He was unable to obtain regular surveying work; develop his land, or even to establish a kitchen garden. Lack of cash and fertilizer, inability to cope with the hot climate, and problems of marauding hogs and wild animals were a constant problem, and these, plus failing health, made his life and that of his family a daily struggle just to survive. Throughout all of his reverses and poverty-stricken existence, he continued

*Mr. Ball is a Miami philatelist who acquired the Hodgman letters for their covers. When he made contacts in Haines City for further information about Hodgman, he discovered a local organization much interested in the letters for their historical value, and turned them over to be added to the Haines City historical collection.

to be optimistic about the new country and his chances of eventual success and good fortune.

The first letter, written in 1885 and datelined Eustis, Fla., tells of his trip to Florida, accompanied by his wife Ella, daughter Minnie and son Rob. His nephew, Will, joined him at a later date. His wife eventually died of a gangrenous infection; his nephew Will of catarrh (tuberculosis). Hodgman and his daughter also suffered from catarrh, and all suffered terribly from malnutrition and the most primitive living conditions.

All of the seventy-two letters in the correspondence are datelined Haines City, except for three which were written from Eustis and Naples. Excerpts from his letters follow in chronological order:

June 14, 1885, . . . "the mosquitos no worse than in timbered country in Michigan, but lots of fleas. A seven foot alligator was killed in the lake here today. I am in hopes of securing a position on a new railroad running through here. . . . The road will be 60 to 80 miles long from Sanford to Ocala. (Author's note: The South Florida Railroad was built through Haines City, but did not stop until a Dr. Hitt, another pioneer of Haines City, had the bright idea of naming the town (formerly known as Clay Cut) Haines City in honor of General H. S. Haines, Civil Engineer for the Railroad). "I have not travelled around much since I have been here, as I did not think it best to go out in the hot sun until I get a little more used to it. . ."

July 21, 1885, "I wish you were all down here to enjoy this country and see the chance there is for making money where a person has a little to start with. . . . I visited an orange grove today only six years old from the bud that is heavily loaded with fruit. There are only ten acres in the place and half of it in oranges, yet I suppose \$1000 an acre would not buy it. On the same place are grapes, pineapples, lemons, guavas, limes, tea plants, etc. People here make more off five acres than off an 80 acre farm in the north."

August 8, 1886, "At times don't know where the next meal is coming from. I have had no work at surveying since spring to amount to a days work in all. The failure of the orange crop, and setback of vegetables left the people without any resources except land sales, and they have been kept back by the scare last spring. . . . With all the hard times, I would rather be where I am situated as I am than I was at Traverse City." (Michigan).

August 15, 1886, "Settlers are coming in . . . and my chance will come by and by. Our melons and sweet potatoes are doing very well despite

the hot weather. It is 96 today, but we usually have a fine breeze in the evening. I have had no luck with the raspberry bushes Charley sent, nor the seeds from Uncle Ed. Most plants which flourish in the north are not suited for this hot climate."

August 22, 1886, "At times don't know where the next meal is coming from, but I have managed to live so long and expect I will have all I can handle soon. Money is terribly hard to get."

September 19, 1887, "There is no use talking, we are having hard times here. We do not have enough to eat at times, and what we do have is just the one thing—bread and musty pork. Nobody peddles meat here because most of the settlers are poor. As for clothing, we are fast learning to do without. I do not have a whole pair of pants to my legs. I have only a pair of plow shoes and no hat but a straw which is pretty well weather beaten and is falling apart from decay."
"Ella is worse off in some respects. She has just washed her last calico dress for the last time, and has worn her only pair of shoes some two months since they wore clear through the bottoms to the skin of her feet. Minnie has none at all. I have received but one dollar for work or anything else since last May or June."

January 22, 1888, "The hogs ruined all my early beans and peas. Rob killed a seven foot rattlesnake and sold the skin for \$1.00. A few days later one was killed near Lake Hamilton with nine rattles weighing twelve pounds. . . . I can't plant any more garden for want of fertilizer. There are two 5 acre lake front lots in town that I could get for \$100 each if I had the money now. They are splendid vegetable land. Vegetables are being shipped from here now and bring good prices."

January 27, 1888, "Have a job of surveying, and will take my pay in teeth. I'll let Ella have the pay as all her store teeth are gone but one."

February 19, 1888, "I used part of the money to buy a hat, and the rest has had to go to keep starvation away. Rob has not been able to work for the past two weeks, and neither have I."

March 11, 1888, "Meanwhile Ella and I are both in effect barefoot. Our feet are on the bare ground part of the way. . . . A good many vegetables were shipped from here last week, 27 crates in one day. Can buy 15 acres of dry land for \$180."

March 12, 1888, Naples, Florida, postmarked Orlando, Fla. "Our mails are quite irregular and will be until the steamer which is expected to

run between here and Punta Gorda is ready for work. Most of the engineers will be through in a few days, but two parties of which mine is one will stay for awhile. The lots are not staked out yet and it is not certain whether they will be. I suppose that we will have to run a railroad survey line soon whose "ends" for the present will be at Haines City and Marco Pass, a few miles south of here. I expect it will be pretty bad going in some places, especially the mangrove swamps. Rob and I don't get much time for fishing although fish are very plentiful and good. I think the time is not far distant when this will be one of the most important pleasure resorts in Florida. The country is poor, but it is a good site for a town and is the farthest point south which is fit for human beings to congregate in. Wish I could send you some shells which are in abundance here." (Author's note: This letter was written by Hodgman while on a tour of duty in south Florida as a member of a survey team which was opening up the Collier County area.)

March 18, 1888, "100 acres of rice will be planted in June, and when that comes off, the land will be planted to cane. New groves are all the time being set out. Meantime, it is mighty tough. Bread and water three times a day aren't very satisfying."

March 25, 1888, "Rob will send in a few days to Orlando for some shoes for Ella. She has only one now that she can keep on her foot. Shipment of vegetables continues—40 crates some days."

May 27, 1888, "I had one days surveying which put bread in our mouths."

July 1, 1888, "Have posts set out to fence in garden, but no money for wire . . . and when I have to wait for the pay for my work it is pretty poor pickings in our house. Uncle Sam is terribly slow in paying his debts. Haven't seen a magazine in more than a year. . . . I have not been doing very much the past week as it has been too warm to work in the middle of the day. The hottest time with us is from 7 to 10 A.M. The mercury gets up to 98 with little breeze. I am at the mercy of the hogs. They come in every night and root up what they can find in the garden."

July 8, 1888, "The hogs, having destroyed all my garden, we are terribly hard pushed to get something to eat."

August 5, 1888, "Rob made about \$4 last week picking up 'cow chips'. That kept the table supplied for a time with some of the essentials."

October 21, 1888, Disinfected, (punched) letter. (Editor's note: During

the yellow fever epidemic of 1888 all mail had to be punched with nails set in a paddle, or run through a set of cogs which made regular indentations in a straight line across the letter and envelope. Such letters were then placed on wire racks in a railroad boxcar which was closed, and sulphur fumes from iron pots wafted for six hours through the letters and newspapers, which supposedly purified or killed the "fomites" or germs which were believed contained in the letters.) "Yours of the 14th received. Ella . . . is not able to do any work. She is so weak for want of proper food. . . . For the past few weeks none of us have eaten anything but biscuits and coffee. . . . We used the last of the coffee this morning and do not have a cent nor the prospects of earning one. . . . I am getting so weak that I can't do half a days work. . . . The hogs ruined all the sweet potatoes about town, but they are gone now. I hope times will be better here by and by when the quarantine (yellow fever) is off."

October 28, 1888, "Sunday has come again and we are still alive if we don't kick very much. We have managed to get along somehow even if our stomachs have been pinched. I will try and finish clearing and grubbing a garden patch on Charley's lots just as soon as I can get something to eat besides bread and water."

Hodgman's land was apparently not of the best. He wrote frequently of the need for fertilizer if his gardening was to be productive. His land and that of his brother was apparently overgrown with palmettoes which he laboriously dug out by hand. On October 25, 1888, he wrote: "Monday and Wednesday dug in the hammock. I can dig a strip six feet wide and 60 feet long in a day by working pretty busily." On October 21 he had described the nature of the palmetto which made it so difficult to uproot. "There are a good many palmettoes to be dug out. Just imagine a log 6 to 8 inches in diameter and from 4 to 15 feet long partly on and partly under the ground and tied down by a double row of wires two or three inches apart for the whole length and it will give you some idea of a good healthy palmetto root. It is really a tree with the roots at the side instead of the end." Only those who have wrestled with a palmetto root can really appreciate the description.

November 25, 1888, "Rob is now clerking for \$3.00 a week and board himself. We have been living on oatmeal the last week. Rolled oats, 25¢ a package makes us three meals. Went fishing last Tuesday. Polled my boat about a mile and a half through the marsh and caught eight fish which I sold. Ella has been confined to bed for several days. Her sores are bad . . . and limbs pain her so that she cannot keep up."

- November 28, 1888, Disinfected, "We have just cut two bunches of bananas so we are beginning to enjoy some of our fruits. Next year we will probably have plenty of bananas and some figs, pineapples and guavas. The bears drove the hogs off the island, so we have them back again every few nights. Two families arrived from Louisville to build on and improve some land five miles south of here. This may start a boom here, as the Louisville Club now owns some 1200 acres of land in this area. Rob is studying to fit himself for teaching. He will try to attend a Normal School for about ten weeks if he can raise the needful . . . as soon as I can get something besides bread and water, I will be able to do some work."
- December 2, 1888, "The yellow fever seems to be about played out, and travel will soon commence. The orange crop is immense, and will keep most of the men busy to handle it."
- December 16, 1888, ". . . Received package of old clothes. . . . A great many people are coming into South Florida, and things are beginning to stir up a little . . . no use to plant vegetables until I can fence out neighbor's chickens and buy fertilizer. We have to use the strictest economy. If we have pork, we can't have lard, and can't buy potatoes at all. The longer I stay here the less I feel like going north again to live. Those that have lived here and gone north temporarily are glad to get back again."
- February 10, 1889, "Went surveying last Monday. \$10 worth of teeth. We are to have quite an addition to our town. Mr. L. A. Marshall of Chicago, a stone contractor, bought four acres of high ground and will clear and build a residence to cost 5-8 thousand."
- March 3, 1889, "Have no work yet, and Rob has none. We expect a new stock of goods here next week. New blood and capital are being transfused here which will help us some when it gets to work. Caught some fish and sold 10¢ worth. . . . Beans bring 6 to \$6.50 a crate."
- April 4, 1889, "I have had only 30¢ in money for about two months which I earned by filing and setting a saw. . . . I gather cow chips for fertilizer. . . . Got a pair of shoes from M.W. & Co. of Chicago, cost \$2.25 (shoes \$1.65 and express .60¢). Expect sugar plant costing \$750,000 will be put in about five miles north. 3500 acres of saw grass will be drained and planted to cane. I expect that in a few years this will be one of the best sugar regions in the world. The mill at St. Cloud is now producing 15,000 pounds a day."

- April 14, 1889, "Received back pay from government. Also increase and new pension. Paid some bills, but not all. We were very destitute. Our crockery nearly all used up—only one towel in the house. Ella had not a single calico dress or night gown. Rob has work at \$1 a day."
- April 28, 1889, "Minnie has been quite sick with roseola. My money has run out again."
- May 10, 1889, "Chickens have ruined the garden. Had a days work surveying. Walked to Auburndale for necessities—eleven miles away . . . tomatoes bring \$5 a crate."
- May 19, 1889, ". . . Am drafting a drainage law for the state, and if done in time will be sent for action by the Legislature."
- May 26, 1889, "Rob mounting snake skin 8 feet long and 4½ inches in diameter—13 rattles. I am working on a map of Haines City and vicinity."
- June 30, 1889, "I have my map about finished—as soon as I can get the money I shall have a plate made and publish it."
- July 14, 1889, "Two days of surveying, \$20.00. I hope the railroad means business and wants me for chief engineer."
- July 28, 1889, "There have been quite a number of land sales in the vicinity. Haven't had a thing to do to earn any money since I last wrote."
- August 3, 1889, "We are having a hard time for victuals now as I am having no work."
- August 25, 1889, "no work, grub limited."
- September 15, 1889, ". . . as our one room is somewhat overcrowded, I shall build on a couple more rooms as soon as I can."
- September 29, 1889, "Ella is suffering all the time. I think despondency on account of our poverty is helping it along a good deal. I notice that when we run out of coffee, sugar, meat and flour all at once and have to do without several days at a time she seems worse. Went fishing yesterday and caught 7 pounder and some small ones which made us two meals. My map as yet don't amount to anything financially. I'll be lucky to get back the cash I paid for it to say nothing of the surveying and making the original map."
- June 15, 1890, "I have been putting the siding on my house. We have a store here now and hope to get another soon."

- August 17, 1890, "Can't do anything on my home until I raise funds for windows, at least. Am not able to do any work on land, and I think I will soon have to give up surveying. Ella is still confined to her bed unable to sit up at all. Minnie is troubled in the same way, but not enough to keep her in bed. I still try what I can do without machinery in getting out a crude phosphate — enough to make a practical test of its value as fertilizer. We are to have another store opened in a few days. . . . I think I wrote you that I had been appointed school supervisor for this district. I am now in correspondence with prospective teachers, and we will probably have a school in operation before long. We are to have five months school. The county allows us \$41.25 per month, and we have to pay a teacher \$50.00 — the balance is raised by subscription."
- August 31, 1890, "Rob is cutting wood for the railroad. He cannot average \$1.00 a day and board himself."
- September 7, 1890, "Ella is somewhat better. I made \$3 and the first thing I did was buy a bottle of 'Dr. Pierce's Favorite Prescription' which she is taking. Also got cloth for windows to shut the rain out until I can do better."
- September 14, 1890, "School begins tomorrow, but Minnie can't go yet until her mother can fix her up."
- November 1, 1890, (Details of Ella's death with description of symptoms.)
"The doctor pronounces it 'phagadenous ulceration' or malignant postule. The sores on her body continued to worsen and especially the one on her hand which was large as a silver dollar. Gangrene set in and she died at 3 PM . . . I have given up all hope of work at surveying — only an occasional job, and cannot endure hardships of railroad work even if I could get it. I cannot leave home to hunt up work."
- April 19, 1891, "I have to go tomorrow about ten miles from here to inspect three pieces of land, and will have to make a rough survey to locate them. Will take one man with horse and wagon. I dread the job."
- May 3, 1891, "Rob plans to take up bird skinning. He sold the skin of one Ivory Billed Woodpecker — a rare bird as large as a crow, for \$6.00 to a taxidermist in Chicago. Things have a more hopeful look here than they have for the past two or three years. Truckers have done fairly well this year and groves are beginning to bear . . . There are now more than 50 or more orange groves in a five mile area."

- June 7, 1891, "Local people have begun shipping grapes . . . will have about 2000 pounds . . . pretty good for the second year after cutting. Walked to Bartow and got excused from jury duty. Fee \$7.20."
- August 16, 1891, "The place is filling up, and all of the houses are occupied. There has not been a case of malarial sickness since I have been here that originated here. Minnie is learning nicely. She brings home 'perfect' cards every Friday night."
- August 30, 1891, "Haines City is now filled up — not a vacant house in town. Forty bushels of limes shipped this summer at \$1 a bushel."
- October 25, 1891, "Have survey job in view at Winter Haven. The railroad runs from Bartow Junction to Punta Gorda and to Lakeland . . . Peaches have been in bloom for two or three weeks and I have a seedling muscadine grape full of blossom buds."
- December 20, 1891, "I am getting interested in a railroad now, and am in correspondence with the prime movers . . . last night I received a letter asking the cost of a preliminary survey. If the road is successful it will help Haines City a great deal even if I don't get a job."
- February 14, 1892, "Have been sick. Had one half days work, \$3, the only money I have earned for a month."
- March 27, 1892, "Minnie is well now and does nearly all the cooking. She makes splendid biscuit. . . . Caught 9 bass from 1 to 7 pounds. Received appointment as Notary Public for the State at large which will perhaps give me a quarter once in awhile."
- April 10, 1892, "Will has situation in the office. \$30 a month."
- August 14, 1892, "My persimmon has climbed up to eight feet four inches and still growing . . . It is a breezy comfortable day. We don't have any hail storms or tornadoes down here and only just a little frost. No sun strokes nor hydrophobia. I have made arrangements to correspond for a Bartow newspaper, the 'Courier Informant'. There is interest in mango culture here. Mr. W. B. Campbell, two miles south of here will realize nearly \$50 this year from three bearing trees. One man in Winter Haven has just shipped 90 crates to New York."
- March 2, 1893, Letter from Will datelined Titusville, Fla. and addressed to his father at Climax, Michigan. "I am not very well. My lungs are weak, and I am hardly able to crawl around. I do not have any work to do. Everything is handled by the deck hands. I seldom have more than three or four packages. I get my board for looking after

the baggage, and \$40 for express. I think about six months more of Florida will use me up completely."

July 9, 1793, "It is very lonesome here. So many have gone away, and more going."

September 3, 1893, "There is something of a scare about yellow fever, but only one case is actually known. But it is enough to set hundreds of people wild. We have not the least fear of it here.

September 10, 1893, "Will is in the hospital — probably won't get well. No money for 'Amick' cure."

December 31, 1893, "We are well as usual except Minnie's catarrh. If I am not able to get medicine for her before long I am afraid she will go as Will did. Haven't earned a dollar in two months or more."

January 4, 1894, "I was busy yesterday filing saws and trucking. Earned \$1.50, the first money I have had for several weeks. The newspapers talk about our railroad again, this time an electric road. I have not much hope of getting work on it, but it will open up the country and make a market for land now lying idle."

January 28, 1894, "Rob left today for the road again. He begins on the 'Hotel Limited', an extra fast train from Sanford to Tampa, as flagman at \$40 a month. If I don't get work soon I shall sell my instruments and drop the surveying business."

August 12, 1894, "The mercury got up to 98 yesterday, one of the hottest days I can remember. I worked as much as the heat would let me last week . . . Minnie is some better but difficult . . . She needs to be with a good woman for a year or so. I would gladly live alone if she could only have that advantage. I am feeling better than I was a week ago, still I am losing flesh all the time. My legs are weak. When I sit or lie down a short time it is hard work to get up again."

Here the correspondence ends. Perhaps his mother to whom almost all of the letters were addressed had died. Hodgman lived until May 1, 1900. Apparently his health and his economic well being improved in later years. Certainly he lived an active life. It is possible that he had exaggerated the hardships of the earlier years.

Besides the letters to his mother and the map of Haines City in 1889—and how many communities can boast such a map at that stage of their development—he is credited with building St. Mark's Episcopal church

in the early 1890s. Bishop William Crane Gray who assisted in the building of churches all over the frontier in southern Florida raised the money for the materials and Hodgman did most of the work of building it. The bishop visited once while the building was under construction. In recognition of Hodgman's efforts to provide Episcopal church services the bishop ordained him a deacon.

Hodgman conducted Episcopal services and assisted visiting clergymen who occasionally came that way. On August 18, 1889 he wrote his mother: "We expect a clergyman here from Thonotosassa on the second Sunday & the Bishop has promised us a visit in the winter." On September 15, he wrote: "I did not have much of a congregation today on account of the rain but read the service all the same. We are going to try hard to get funds to buy an organ if possible to make our service more attractive." On August 12, 1894 he was still reading the service, and mentions working on the church. "Had service today. It was so warm there were only half a dozen present. . . . I keep it going." And on December 31, 1893, he had written: "Putting up church, material all furnished."

For all of his ill health and poverty and complaints he never considered leaving Haines City. In fact, he repeatedly disclaims any interest in living anywhere else. He also certainly left a more tangible legacy than most of his fellows on this or any other similar frontier.

The Matecumbe Methodist Church

by JEAN U. GUERRY*

Only the imagination can tell us of the religious services held by the first Christian settlers on upper Matecumbe Key.

If anything was ever written about them, those records lie at the bottom of the sea, washed by ten thousand tides, and lost forever to the eye of man. Furthermore, the memories of all who might tell us the tales of those beginnings have been wiped clean by that false conqueror, Death.

But, knowledge of their Bahamian origin and of the traditions passed down would indicate that long before they had a church building or even an organized "society" these rugged colonists met for informal worship, prayer and hymn singing in private homes. And perhaps, even as the first homes were being built, they occasionally paused to worship under a shady mahogany tree. In any case, there is really no point in time when the Church was "started" in the upper keys; it was brought here, already alive and healthy, and only grew and developed in the hearts and lives of these noble pioneers.

There is no question but that the first services held by these settlers were Methodist in nature. This we know because the people had come from the Bahamas where the Methodist church was the stronghold of faith. Testimony is given to this by G. G. Smith in his HISTORY OF METHODISM IN GEORGIA AND FLORIDA. Telling of the appointment of the first pastor to Key West, January 17, 1844, he adds the comment: "Quite a colony of Wesleyans from the Bahamas had settled there [Key West]. . . The type of Methodism on the island is said to be more thoroughly Wesleyan than perhaps in any other charge of the Southern Church." The rolls of Methodist Churches in the Bahamas still today contain all the Conch names associated with the Keys area.

It seems the first "fact" we can lay our hands on is the one found in many sources that tells of two ministers, Sonelian and Giddens, who traveled up and down the keys from Key West by schooner, holding services wherever they could find enough people to call a congregation. These men began their itinerant ministry in 1881 and continued it until the Florida Conference of the Methodist Episcopal Church, South, began ap-

*Reverend Guerry was the pastor of Matecumbe Methodist when he prepared this article. He has since been transferred to Lakeview Methodist in Miami.

pointing regular ministers to serve the Upper Keys. The first such appointment was made in 1887 when the Conference sent the Rev. J. M. Sweat to be the pastor of the newly organized Key Largo Circuit.

Mr. Sweat's circuit was considerably smaller than that of Sonelian and Giddens, containing only four "organized societies," two of them with churches—Newport, which had been built in 1885, and Barnett's Chapel (Tavernier) which had been erected a year later. Sweat's schedule was to preach at Basin Hills on the first Sunday in the month and to remain there the following week working among the people. On the second Sunday he moved, by boat, to Newport, following in the same routine there. The third Sunday found him at Tavernier and the fourth at Matecumbe (known then as Matecumbia).

From 1888 until 1916 the Key Largo Circuit was changed almost annually to meet the particular needs current at the time the conference met. Various members and combinations of churches were organized which included appointments all the way from Coconut Grove to Pigeon Key and occasionally as far south as Key West itself!

It was during this period of shifting that the first Church was built on Upper Matecumbe Key—the child of a deathbed promise. In 1894 Preston Pinder led in the construction of a little frame church building on the ocean at the site of the present Golden Acres Trailer Park. He fulfilled the desire of his grandfather, Richard Pinder, who had made this dream known several years earlier as he lay dying.

The congregation that worshipped each Sunday in the little church came not only from Upper, but also from Lower Matecumbe, Windley (then called Umbrella) and Plantation Keys. Many people traveled several miles, usually by rowboat or sailboat, to answer the call of the bell that rang from the tower out across the water each week. Services were held EVERY Sunday, for when the regular pastor was serving the rest of his circuit, services were conducted at Matecumbe by laymen, most often Preston Pinder or Johnny Russell. These two men, being concerned about the spiritual life of the rest of the Conchs frequently traveled to other keys to conduct worship or Sunday School classes. This, in a sense, made Matecumbe the hub of all religious activities in the region.

Sometime toward the close of the first decade of the twentieth century, it was decided to move the little church to a more central location. This was a monumental task! Two large rafts were found and lashed together. During flood tide they were brought up on the beach as far as possible. Then, while the tides were changing, the building was rolled down to the

water's edge and placed on the raft. When the tide came up again the raft set sail with its precious cargo, and the House of God was moved to its new location, an act reminiscent of the bearing of the Ark of the Covenant by the Hebrews to a new spot in a land flowing with milk and honey.

The new setting for the church had been carefully chosen. It came to rest in a grove of buttonwood and palm trees on property that is now owned by the Cheeca Lodge. Not long after, it was decided to establish a church cemetery. As was the custom in those days, a spot right next to the church was chosen, and now this place became more sacred and revered because it contained all that was left of the mortal bodies of loved ones.

About this time, the Flagler Railroad became a reality and the circuit riders of the keys furled their sails, shipped their oars and began making their rounds on the "iron horse" rather than horseback as most of their other frontier counterparts did. "Uncle Johnny" Watkins, a Key West Conch, a devout and holy man, and probably the most beloved of all preachers to serve the area, was now the pastor of Matecumbe. His concern for the spiritual growth and needs of the people prompted the Florida Conference on several occasions to make special gifts to the keys churches and to be more charged in their concern for these Christian brethren of the islands. Circuits were divided as often as possible and more preachers sent to the keys.

Yet there was still a problem in obtaining ministers for special occasions that occurred when it was not the regular pastor's time to be in the area. Thus it was when Florence Pinder and Alonzo Cothron decided to be married, they had to "import" a preacher from Key West. But this they did, and on June 9, 1926, the Rev. L. Munro came from Key West to perform the first wedding held in the Matecumbe Methodist Church.

With more people now discovering the charm of America's "South Sea Islands" the population was being expanded by more than just the birth-rate. In 1933, thirty seven persons were received into the church on Profession of Faith, and fourteen were received by transfer, boosting the total membership to ninety-two. A regular pattern of growth was established in the little congregation for a few years until the records of 1936 reflect the terrible tragedy that befell what had now become the town of Islamorada.

The membership stood at 112 when the Florida Annual Conference met in June of 1935 and sent the Rev. R. E. Carlson to be the new pastor of the Matecumbe Circuit. But the JOURNAL of 1936 gives a membership of forty nine, an awesome reminder of the infamous '35 hurricane

that claimed the lives of the new pastor and his wife along with hundreds of others.

This same hurricane destroyed the lovely little frame church that had been so carefully built and maintained by the people. The only trace of it was found months later when a group of fishermen discovered the church bell high and dry on Rabbit Key, some eleven miles from where it began its gruesome journey. The bell was hung in a buttonwood tree where it stayed for some time, but eventually someone removed it and the fate and location of that long-loved instrument is still unknown.

The brave remnant of the '35 horror struggled back to its feet and as they rebuilt their homes, their community and their lives they rebuilt their church, choosing now a site on higher ground close to what had been the railroad and is now the roadbed for U.S.1 highway.

A small concrete block sanctuary was constructed with the parsonage next to it. The church began to experience the growth that hit the entire area after the "hurricane scare" wore off. In 1946 Matecumbe Church was set up to share its pastor with only one other church—Marathon. Two years later, under the careful guidance of Donald ("Deac") Weist, the church was strong enough to move out on its own, and the Conference of 1948 sent the Rev. W. E. Nelson to be the first full-time pastor of the Matecumbe Methodist Church.

America's "fabulous fifties" was felt as keenly in the Florida keys as it was anywhere in the country. The new church building was less than twenty years old when the congregation realized it was totally inadequate to meet the challenge of the new day that had dawned in Islamorada. Even the addition of a Sunday School annex was insufficient to meet the press of growth, so, in the tradition of their forefathers of 1894 and 1937, the people got together and launched a campaign for a new building. The result was the beautiful sanctuary that now stands on U.S. 1.

The little building that served so nobly during the days of rapid growth under the ministry of the Rev. E. S. Kerrick was now no longer needed by the Methodists. Since a small group of people had organized a Baptist Chapel in Islamorada, it was given to them and goes on still today serving as the sanctuary for the First Baptist Church of Islamorada.

With a new sanctuary and a new Sunday school building, the need now became apparent for a new parsonage. Construction began on a beautiful four bedroom house, and though Hurricane Donna in 1960 hurled her savage fury at the half-completed structure, the work went on and the minister and family moved into the new pastoral home in 1961.

The Providence of God stepped in again in 1964 when more room was desperately needed; a small building that sat next to the church annex became available for purchase. With this acquisition the church became the possessor of an entire block of land except for one small corner containing the "Hurricane Monument."

The church today offers many ministries and programs both for members and visitors. In recent years they have offered professional dramatic and choral groups a place to perform for the entire community. A summer youth program and youth center with its own full-time director has begun to be operated. Its Crusader Choir, composed of children and youth from the second through the ninth grades, has presented programs and concerts not only of sacred music but of secular music as well, becoming a program source for civic clubs and motels.

This choir prepared and presented a program on the history of the church last year in connection with an anniversary celebration commemorating the building of the first church, seventy-five years ago.

First Impressions

The Earliest Description of Florida
to Circulate in Russia (1710)

*by Max J. Okenfuss**

Russians first learned about Florida in a rather curious fashion. In the first quarter of the eighteenth century, Russia possessed an energetic and ambitious tsar in Peter the Great. Continuing the policies of his forebears in the previous century, Peter looked to the West for the skills, schools and institutions which would make Russia a major European power, but he did so with such persistence and thoroughness that most contemporaries saw a sharp distinction between his reign and those of his precursors.

Becoming a European power meant fighting European wars. In addition to an old enemy, Ottoman Turkey, which dominated the Black Sea and the southern reaches of Russian rivers, Peter suddenly found himself at war with Sweden across the Baltic in the north. Fighting both these powers required a navy, one which could guard coastlines, protect trade, transport armies, and if possible, carry the battle to the enemy's homeland. With the enthusiasm and energy for which he was famous, Peter created a navy.

Within a very few years, Serbs from Venice, Hollanders, and Englishmen had arrived to teach mathematics and naval skills in Russia. Master shipbuilders and artisans were recruited throughout Europe, and foreign-born officers were commissioned in the nascent Russian navy. Russian youths were sent to learn the naval arts in European shipyards, and Russian seamen were placed in naval apprenticeship upon the vessels of several European nations. Within a decade Russia acquired not only a navy, but also the urge to participate in the age of exploration. Russian expeditions soon were charting the Arctic coastline, exploring the Kamchatka peninsula and eastern Siberia, eventually colonizing Alaska and the California coast, and they nearly established a trading company in Hawaii in the nineteenth century.

Peter's new schools required textbooks in Russian, and the tsar order-

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ed the translation of a wide range of European works, including manuals of navigation and sea-faring, and of land-surveying, geometry textbooks, and handbooks of artillery, fortifications, ship-building and the like. Among them was a *Geography, or A Short Description of the Globe*,¹ which first appeared in March 1710, and was later reprinted three times in 1715 and 1716.

This was not the first Western geographical work to be translated into Russian. The Russian translator of 1710 told his readers of an earlier edition of the massive Atlas or Cosmography of J. and W. Blaeu, famous Dutch cartographers of the seventeenth century. He noted that his was a shorter work, and designed for a wider, more general audience. This earlier work was never published in Russia, although it apparently circulated rather widely in manuscript copies. The *Short Description* of 1710 can be regarded as the first printed geography to appear in Russia.

Although portions of the book were added by the anonymous Russian author-translator, the basic text was taken from another Dutch compendium by Johannes (Jean) van Keulen, published in French as *Le Grand Nouvel Atlas de la Mer* (Amsterdam, 1682), and in Dutch as *De groote Nieuwe vermeerderende Zee-Atlas* (Amsterdam, 1697). Van Keulen was the basic source for the short section on Florida in the Russian geography (pp. 96-97), a translation of which is printed below. It may be considered the first impression of this portion of the Americas to circulate among Russian students and the Russian reading public. Some of its judgments were common to other European geographers of the day, as indicated by the footnotes.

Concerning the country of Florida

Florida is a fertile land with a pleasant climate²
and it abounds with luscious if strange fruits.³

It also has many wild beasts of every sort, bears, wolves, leopards, bobcats and jaguars. In its waters are snakes and crocodiles and other such crawling reptiles, with which the inhabitants of the land have an incessant struggle,⁴ and they beat them [to death] and eat them.

¹*Geografia ili kratkoe zemnago kruga opisanie* (Moscow, 1710).

²"This countrey lying Parallel to Castile in Spain, is said to be of the same temper both for Aire and Soyl [soil], but that it is abundantly more fruitful"; Peter Heylyn, *Cosmographie in foure Bookes* . . . (2nd ed. London, 1660) p. 1031. "Florida est plaisante, & mediocrement fertile"; Van Keulen, *Le Grand Nouvel Atlas*, f. 4v.

³"Well stored with several sorts of Fruit, as Mulberries, Cherries, Chestnuts, Grapes and Plums of both excellent taste and colour"; Heylyn, *loc. cit.*

⁴"Divers serpens, & coleuvres, & crocodils se tiennent dans ses fleuves, avec qui les habitans combattent sans cesse"; Van Keulen, *loc. cit.*

The people of this land are coarse folk, who go about on foot, and to whom all the blessings of civil custom are alien, since they have constant wars among themselves.⁵ And whenever a stranger is captured alive, they feed him, and when he is filled, and fattened, at one of their festivals, they consume the one they have murdered. And although they confess the resurrection of man's soul, they bow down to idols,⁶ and in their behavior toward new-comers, they are very stern, and are not reliable.

⁵"So stomachfull, that they do naturally love War and Revenge, insomuch that they are continually in War with one, or other"; Heylen, *loc. cit.* "Leurs moeurs sont mal honnestes, . . . & de s'approprier de larcin"; Van Keulen, *loc. cit.*

⁶"They have also a grosse believe of the soules immortality, but are otherwise Idolaters"; Peter Heylen, *Mikrokosmos. A Little Description of the Great World* (8th ed. Oxford, 1639), p. 785.

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*The manner of numbering the successive issues has been changed several times. In each case the designation used at the time is reproduced.

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by Charles W. Arnade

NUMBER XXIX, 1969

"Sponge Fishing on Florida's East Coast." by Davis Shubow

"The Iron Horse on the Florida Keys." by Carlton J. Corliss

"Pioneering on Elliott Key, 1934-1935." by Charlotte Niedhauk

"Who was the Frenchman on Frenchman's Creek?" by Walter P. Fuller

"A Scottish View of West Florida in 1769." by Charles A. Gauld

"Richard Keith Call's 1836 Campaign." by George C. Bittle

"Sketches of the Florida Keys, 1829-1833." by E. A. Hammond.

NUMBER XXX, 1970

"The Federal Music Project in Miami, 1935-1939" by Marilyn S. Stolee

"Miami's Bootleg Boom" by Patricia Buchanan

"150 Years of Defense Activity in Key West, 1829-1970" by Clayton D.
Roth, Jr.

"Samuel Hodgman, Haines City, Florida, Pioneer" by Bruce W. Ball

"The Matecumbe Methodist Church" by Rev. J. U. Guerry, Pastor

"Contents of Tequesta, Volumes I-XXX, 1941-1970

T E Q U E S T A

 HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, INC.
 MIAMI, FLORIDA 33157

 STATEMENT OF CASH RECEIPTS AND DISBURSEMENTS
 FOR PERIOD FROM SEPTEMBER 1, 1969 THROUGH AUGUST 31, 1970

RECEIPTS	1969	1970
Admission — Museum	\$ 87.70	\$ 182.40
Contributions	318.78	1,427.75
Contributions — Tequesta	1,350.00	775.00
Collections — Special Benefit		1,382.00
Dividends — Earned on Stocks	406.59	516.78
Dues — Annual	10,040.00	8,574.00
Interest Earned	181.18	81.28
Miscellaneous	33.80	5.00
Sale of Books — Tequesta	647.70	677.83
Sale of Books — Commodore's Story	360.09	253.95
Sale of Books — Other	656.71	408.17
Sale of Novelties	78.30	240.65
TOTAL RECEIPTS	<u>\$14,160.85</u>	<u>\$14,524.81</u>
DISBURSEMENTS		
Books Purchased for Resale	\$ 669.23	\$ 1,637.84
Building Repair & Maintenance	2,095.70	1,441.21
Dues & Subscriptions	19.00	58.00
Insurance — General	501.00	516.00
Miscellaneous	217.05	691.85
Printing of Tequesta		1,871.04
Office Expenses & Supplies	405.71	10.30
Novelties, Purchased for Resale	40.00	74.40
Printing, Mailing & Postage	2,604.18	667.01
Salaries	6,230.00	8,100.00
Taxes — Payroll and Sales Tax	316.54	462.98
Utilities — Light, Sewer & Telephone	560.06	663.26
Stocks — Purchased	97.35	35.53
Mortgage Principal	1,000.00	1,000.00
TOTAL DISBURSEMENTS	<u>\$14,755.82</u>	<u>\$17,229.45</u>
NET LOSS	<u>\$ (594.97)</u>	<u>\$(2,704.64)</u>

HISTORICAL ASSOCIATION OF SOUTHERN FLORIDA, INC.
MIAMI, FLORIDA 33157

COMPARATIVE STATEMENT OF ASSOCIATION EQUITY
AS OF AUGUST 31, 1970

	August 31, 1969	August 31, 1970	Difference
CASH ON HAND			
First National Bank of Miami (Checking) ..	\$ 91.15	\$ 305.23	\$ 214.08)
First National Bank of Miami (Savings) ..	4,643.13	1,724.41	(2,918.72)
Petty Cash — Museum	50.00	—0—	—0—
TOTAL CASH ON HAND	\$ 4,784.28	\$ 2,709.64	\$ 2,704.64
SECURITIES (AT MARKET VALUE)			
Continental Oil	\$ 984.00	\$ 735.00	\$ (249.00)
Eastman Kodak Co.	1,800.00	1,530.00	(270.00)
Occidental Petroleum — Pfd.	1,785.00	873.37	(911.63)
Standard Oil of New Jersey	5,467.00	6,192.25	725.25
C. N. A. Financial — Pfd.	291.00	243.00	(48.00)
C. N. A. Financial — Common	370.00	274.50	(95.50)
TOTAL SECURITIES	\$10,697.00	\$ 9,848.12	\$ (848.88)
OTHER ASSETS			
Inventory on Hand —			
Tequesta (Estimated Value)	\$ 150.00	\$ 350.00	\$ 200.00
Other Publications	2,500.00	2,750.00	250.00
Utility Deposits	52.00	52.00	—0—
TOTAL OTHER ASSETS	\$ 2,702.00	\$ 3,152.00	\$ 450.00
FIXED ASSETS AT COST (MUSEUM PROPERTY)			
Land	\$15,000.00	\$15,000.00	
Building	34,705.44	34,705.44	
Furnishings and Equipment	3,033.79	3,033.79	
TOTAL	\$52,739.23	\$52,739.23	
Less Balance due on Mortgage	(10,000.00)	(9,000.00)	\$ 1,000.00
TOTAL FIXED ASSETS	\$42,739.23	\$43,739.23	\$ 1,000.00
TOTAL ASSETS	\$60,922.51	\$58,191.65	\$ (2,103.52)
LIABILITIES			
Accounts Payable			
Mortgage Principal	\$(1,000.00)	\$(1,000.00)	\$
Payroll Taxes	(302.40)	(296.10)	6.30
TOTAL LIABILITIES	\$(1,302.40)	\$(1,296.10)	\$ 6.30
TOTAL EQUITY	\$59,620.11	\$57,522.89	\$(2,097.22)

LIST OF MEMBERS

Explanatory Note: The Association provides several classes of membership. "Sustaining" members who pay ten dollars a year make up the basic membership. For those who wish to contribute more for the promotion of the work of the Association other classes of membership provide the opportunity, and the publication of their names in the appropriate category of membership is a means of recognition. "Patrons" pay fifteen dollars a year, "Donors" twenty-five, "Contributors" fifty, "Sponsors" one hundred, and "Benefactors" two hundred and fifty or more.

This printed roster is made up of the names of those persons and institutions that have paid dues since September 1, 1969. Those joining after September 30, 1970 will have their names in the 1971 roster. The symbol ** indicates founding member and the symbol * indicates charter member.

Sustaining

- | | |
|--|---|
| Abbott, John F., Miami Shores | Brooks, J. R., Upper Key Largo |
| Adams, Adam G., Coral Gables | Broward, Mrs. Chas. S., Jr., Coral Gables |
| Adams, Eugene C., Miami | Brown, Daniel M., Jr., Miami |
| Adams, Franklin B., Miami | Brown University, Providence, R.I. |
| Adams, Marvin D., Coral Gables | Bullen, Ripley P., Gainesville |
| Adams, Mrs. Marvin D., Coral Gables | Bumstead, Evvalyn, Miami |
| Adams, Mrs. Richard D., Miami | Bumstead, John R., Miami |
| Admiral, Jack G., Coral Gables | Burghard, August, Ft. Lauderdale |
| Admiral, Mrs. Jack G., Coral Gables | Burns, Edward B., Las Cruces, N.M. |
| Allen, Mrs. Eugenia, Miami | |
| Allen, Stewart D., Coral Gables | Cables, June E., Homestead |
| Altmayer, M. S., Jr., Miami | Caldwell, Mrs. Thomas P., Coral Gables** |
| American Museum of Natural History | Capron, Louis, West Palm Beach |
| Antique Auto Club, Miami | Carlton, Mrs. Patricia P., Ft. Lauderdale |
| Arbogast, Keith L., Miami | Carson, Mrs. Ruby Leach, Miami** |
| Arnold, Mrs. Roger Williams, Miami | Cartee, Mrs. Horace L., Coral Gables |
| Ashe, Miss Barbara Rose, Coral Gables | Castillo, Robert, Miami |
| Ashe, Mrs. Bowman Foster, Coral Gables | Catlow, Mrs. William R., Jr., Miami* |
| Axelson, Ivar, Miami | Chowning, John S., Coral Gables |
| | Clark, George T., Miami |
| Bain, Mildred L., Miami | Clark, Mrs. Marie, Coral Gables |
| Baker, Mrs. John A., Miami | Coconut Grove Library, Miami |
| Baker, Mrs. Rita L., Miami | Cole, Mrs. Kelley, Miami |
| Balfie, Mrs. E. Hutchins, Miami | Conklin, Dallas M., Long Beach, Calif. |
| Bankston, Jarrell M., Miami | Connolly, William D., Jr., Miami |
| Barnes, Francis H., Miami | Cook, Miss Mary C., Bucksport, Me. |
| Bartow (Fla.) Public Library | Coral Gables Public Library* |
| Bates, Franklin W., Miami | Corliss, Carlton J., Tallahassee |
| Baxter, John M., Miami Beach* | Corson, Mrs. Ruth, Miami |
| Baya, George J., Esq., Miami | Coslow, George R., Miami |
| Beare, Richard, Miami | Covington, James W., Tampa |
| Beare, Mrs. Richard, Miami | Creel, Joe, Miami |
| Bills, Mrs. John T., Miami | Criswell, Col. Grover C., Citra |
| Black, Leon David, Jr., Coral Gables | Culpepper, Mrs. Kay M., Miami |
| Black, Mrs. Margaret F., Coral Gables | Curry, Miss Lamar Louise, Coral Gables |
| Blauvelt, Mrs. Arthur M., Coral Gables | Cushman, The School, Miami* |
| Bleier, Mrs. T. J., Miami | |
| Bloomberg, Robert L., Miami | Davis, Hal D., Coral Gables |
| Blount, Mrs. David N., Miami | Deeds, Mrs. Elizabeth Gautier, Miami |
| Borton, F. W., Miami | Detroit (Mich) Library |
| Bowden, Beryl, Clewiston | Dorothy, Mrs. Caroline, Coral Gables* |
| Boyd, Mrs. William E., Jr., Miami | Douglas, Marjory Stoneman, Miami** |
| Bozenan, R. E., Washington, D.C. | Dressler, Philip, Ft. Lauderdale |
| Brigham, Florence Storrs, Miami | Dubnick, Charlotte S., N. Miami Beach |
| Brookfield, Charles M., Miami* | Duncan, Marvin L., Miami |

- Dunn, Hampton, Tampa
 Dusman, Gilbert H., Coral Gables
 Dusman, Mrs. Dorothy R., Coral Gables
- Edelen, Ellen A., Miami
 Erickson, Hilmer, E., Miami Shores
 Everglades Nat. His. Ass'n., Homestead
- Feif, Dr. William B., Miami
 Fisher, E. M., Coral Gables
 Fite, Robert H., FPL, Miami
 Fitzgerald, Dr. Joseph H., Miami
 Fleeman, David B., Miami
 Flora, Elizabeth Jane, Jacksonville
 Florida Historical Society, Tampa
 Florida State University, Tampa
 Ft. Lauderdale Historical Society
 Fortner, Ed, Ocala
 Foss, George B., Jr., Esq., Miami
 Franklin, Mrs. Sandra, Miami
 Freeland, Mrs. William L., Miami**
 Freeman, Mrs. Ethel C., Morristown, N.J.
 Fullerton, R. C., Coral Gables
 Fuzzard, Miss Jessie M., Miami*
- Gardner, H. A., Miami
 Gardner, Levi Conway, Miami
 Garofalo, Charles, Atlanta
 Gauld, Charles A., Miami
 Goza, William M., Clearwater
 Grey, Hugh M., Venice
 Grey, Mrs. Hugh M., Venice
 Gross, Zade B., Largo
- Halstead, W. L., Miami
 Hampton, Mrs. John Baltimore, Md.*
 Hancock, Mrs. J. T., Jacksonville
 Harding, Col. Read B., Ret., Arcadia
 Harrington, Frederick H., Hialeah
 Harvey, C. B., Key West
 Harwood, Mrs. Manton E., Miami
 Haydon Burns Library, Jacksonville
 Hendry, Judge Norman, Miami
 Herin, Thomas D., Miami
 Herin, Judge William A., Miami*
 Hesslein, Frank, Miami
 Hialeah, City Library
 Hiery, J. B., Jr., Miami
 Hills, Lee, Miami
 Hillsborough County Historical
 Commission, Tampa
 Hodson, Mrs. Harry E., Miami
 Holcomb, Lyle D., Jr., Miami
 Hoyt, Robert L., Miami
 Hubbell, Willard, Miami
 Hudson, James A., Miami
 Hudson, Mrs. James A., Miami
 Huggins, Mrs. Lulu C., Miami
 Hume, David, Miami
 Huntington, Henry E., Library,
 San Marino, Calif.
 Hutchinson, Mrs. Robert J., Coral Gables
- Institute of Jamaica, Kingston
 Jacobs, Miss Ruth, Miami Beach
 James, Mary Crofts, Miami
- Jennings, Mrs. Alvin R., Miami
 Johnson, Mrs. Herbert H., Miami
 Jones, Mrs. Beverly B., Coral Gables
 Jones, Joe M., Miami
 Jones, Mark B., Venice
 Jude, Mrs. James R., Coral Gables
- Keep, Oscar J., Coral Gables
 Kincaid, Ben J., Jr., Coral Gables
 Kirk, Cooper, Ft. Lauderdale
 Kitchell, Bruce P., Jr., Miami
 Knight, Telfair, Coral Gables
 Knott, Judge James R., W. Palm Beach
 Knotts, Tom, Yankeetown
 Knowles, Mrs. Nellie Parker,
 Coral Gables
- LaCroix, Mrs. Aerial C., Miami
 Lake Worth (Fla.) Public Library
 Land, Mrs. Marjorie, Miami
 Larrabee, Charles, Miami
 Laxson, Dan D., Hialeah
 Leffler, Miss Cornelia, Miami**
 Leonardy, Dr. Herberta Ann, Miami*
 Lewis, Mrs. Gerald, Miami
 Limmiatis, Ernest, Coral Gables
 Lindsley, Mrs. A. R., Miami Beach
 Lippert, Mrs. Anne A., Miami
 Litowitz, Mrs. Robert, Miami Beach
 Locke, R. R., Miami
 Lunnon, Mrs. James, Pago Pago, Samoa
- MacArthur, Scot, Miami Shores
 Malone, Randolph A., Coral Gables
 Mangels, Dr. Celia C., Miami Shores
 Manley, Miss Marion I., Miami
 Manning, Mrs. William, Jacksonville
 Marathon (Fla.) Public Library
 Marchman, Watt P., Fremont, Ohio*
 Marks, Henry S., Huntsville, Ala.
 Mason, Mrs. Walter Scott, Jr., Miami*
 Matheny, John W., Miami
 Matheson, Finlay L., Miami
 Matheson, R. Hardy, Coral Gables
 Maxwell, Mrs. Arlene, Miami
 McDonald, Mrs. John Martyn,
 Boca Raton
 McElyea, Norris, Jr., Miami
 McKay, John G., Jr., Coral Gables
 McNaughton, M. D., Miami
 Mead, Mrs. D. R., Jr., Miami
 Metcalf, Mrs. George W., Coral Gables
 Miami-Dade Junior College
 Miami Public Library*
 Miami Senior High School Library
 Mickler, Mrs. Thomas, Chuluota
 Millard, Max, Miami
 Miller, Irving E., Miami Beach
 Miller, William Jay, Miami
 Minear, Mrs. L. V., Jupiter
 Monk, J. Floyd, Miami
 Morningside Elementary PTA, Miami
 Moulds, Mrs. Andrew J., Coral Gables
 Moylan, E. B., Jr., Miami
 Mueller, Edward A., Washington, D.C.

- Muir, William Whalley, Miami
 Muller, David Fairchild, Miami
 Muller, Dr. Leonard R., Miami*
 Munroe, Mrs. Wirth M., Miami*
 Munson, William B., Miami
 Murphy, John S., Coral Gables
 Murray, Mary Ruth, Coral Gables
 Mustard, Alice Isabel, Miami
 Mustard, Margaret Jean, Miami
- Newberry Library, Chicago
 North Miami High School Library
- O'Kane, Robert, Miami
 Old Island Restoration Foundation,
 Key West
 Orlando (Fla.) Public Library
- Pancoast, Mrs. Alice A., Miami
 Pancoast, Katherine French, Miami
 Pancoast, Lester C., Miami
 Pancoast, Mrs. Lester C., Miami
 Pardo, Mrs. Ramiro V., Miami
 Parker, Alfred B., Miami
 Patton, Mrs. Dan O., Miami
 Pearce, Mrs. Frank H., Coral Gables
 Pearce, Gertrude C., Miami
 Pendleton, Robert S., Ft. Lauderdale
 Peters, Mrs. Thelma, Miami*
 Phoenix, Mrs. Julius W., Jr., Miami
 Pierce, Harvey F., Coral Gables
 Platt, T. Beach, Miami
 Plockelman, Cynthia, H., FCD.,
 West Palm Beach
 Potter, Robert E., Hialeah
 Proby, Mrs. Lucien C., Jr., Miami
- Rader, Paul C., Miami
 Rasmussen, Dr. Edward L., Ft. Myers**
 Read, Mrs. Albert Cushing, Miami
 Reed, Miss Elizabeth Ann, Delray Beach
 Reiger, John F., Coral Gables
 Renick, Ralph, Miami
 Reviroso, Mrs. Rene, Miami
 Richards, Mrs. Bartlett, Jupiter
 Rogers, Mrs. Walter S. C., Coral Gables
 Rogers, Robert C., Coral Gables
 Rollins College Library, Winter Park
 Rosborough, Dr. Melanie R.,
 Coral Gables
- Ross, Mrs. Harry E., Miami
 Ross, Miss Mary I., Coral Gables
 Ross, Mrs. Richard F., Boca Raton
 Rubin, Mrs. Joseph, Miami
- Sands, Harry B., Nassau, Bahamas
 Santanello, M. C., Miami
 Schaadt, Mrs. Cleo L., Hialeah
 Schatman, Mrs. Marilyn, Coral Gables
 Schooley, Harry, Ft. Myers
 Schuh, Robert P., Miami
 Schunicht, William A., Miami
 Seley, Ray B., Jr., Miami
 Sellati, Kenneth N. G., Miami
 Serkin, Manuel, Coral Gables
 Shiver, Otis W., Miami
 Shubow, David, Coral Gables
- Sincavage, Joseph, Homestead
 Smathers, Frank, Jr., Miami
 Smith, McGregor, Jr., Miami
 Smith, Mrs. Wm. Burford, Miami
 Sneider, Mrs. Stanley, Miami
 Snodgrass, Miss Dena, Jacksonville
 Snyder, Mrs. Frederick R., Sr., Miami
 Southern Illinois University, Carbondale
 Stamey, Earnest M., Hialeah
 Stanford University Libraries
 State Historical Society of Wisconsin,
 Madison
 Stedman, Carling H., Miami
 Stetson University, DeLand
 Stewart, Dr. Franz H., Miami
 Stewart, Dr. Harris B., Jr., Coral Gables
 Storch, William V., West Palm Beach
 Straight, Dr. William M., Miami
 Stripling Insurance Agency, Hialeah
 Sutcliffe, William H., Coral Gables
 Sweeney, Mrs. Edward C., Miami
- Tampa Public Library
 Tarboux, Miss Frances, Miami Shores
 Tardif, Robert Girard, Miami
 Taylor, Mrs. F. A. S., Miami
 Teachers' Professional Library, Miami
 Teasley, T. H., Coral Gables
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 Thomas, Wayne, Tampa
 Thrift, Charles T., Jr., Lakeland
 Tio, Aurelio, Santurce, P.R.
 Tussey, Mrs. Ethel Wayt, Miami
 Tuttle, Rev. Henry W., Miami
 Twing, George S., Coral Gables
 Twing, Paul F., Miami
- University of Miami Library,
 Coral Gables
 University of South Florida, Tampa
 University of Tampa Library, Tampa
 University of Tennessee Library,
 Knoxville
- Van Beuren, Michael, Marathon
 Van Roy, Gretchen E., Coral Gables
 Virgin, Dr. Herbert W., Jr., Miami
 Voss, Gilbert L., Miami
- Waldhour, E. Ardelle, Coral Gables
 Walker, Evan B., Miami
 Wallace, Lew, Jr., Miami
 Ware, Capt. John D., Tampa
 Ware, Mrs. Willard M., Miami Beach
 Waters, Fred M., Jr., Coral Gables
 Watters, Mrs. Preston H., Miami
 Weinkle, Melvin B., Coral Gables
 Weintraub, Albert, Miami
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 West Palm Beach Public Library
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 Wilson, Gaines R., Miami**
 Wilson, Mrs. Gaines R., Miami**

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 Withers, Wayne E., Coral Gables
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 Atmus, Rudolph E., Islamorada
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 Chase, Randall, II, Sanford
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 Crow, Lon Worth, Jr., Coral Gables
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 Deen, Mrs. James L., Miami
 Dismukes, William P., Coral Gables*
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 Fascell, Dante B., Miami
 Ferendino, Andrew J., Coral Gables
 Field, Dr. Henry, Miami
 Florida Southern College, Lakeland
 Florida State Library, Tallahassee
 Franklin, Mitchell, Lancaster, N.B.,
 Canada

Freeman, Harley L., Ormond Beach
 Frohock, Mrs. Jack, No. Miami
 Fuchs, Richard W., Florida City
 Fuller, Walter P., Clearwater
 Gaby, Donald C., Miami
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 Goldstein, Charles, Miami
 Goldweber, S., Perrine
 Hancock, Mrs. Eugene A., Miami
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 Harvard College Library
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 Head-Beckham Insurance Agency, Miami
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 Highleyman, Mrs. Katherine D., Miami
 Holland, Hon. Spessard L.,
 Washington, D.C.*
 Houser, Roosevelt C., Miami
 Hutchings, Miss Frances L., Miami
 Johnson, Mrs. Katherine I., Coral Gables
 Johnston, Thomas McE., Miami
 Kendall, Harold E., Goulds
 Kent, Mrs. Frederick A., Miami
 Key West Art and Historical Society
 King, Dr. C. Harold, Miami
 Kistler, The C. W. Company, Miami
 Krome, Mrs. William J., Homestead*
 Landon, M. E., Miami
 Leon County Public Library, Tallahassee
 Lewin, Robert, Miami
 Lindgren, Mrs. M. E., Miami
 Lipp, Morris N., Miami Beach
 Longshore, Frank, Miami
 MacNeill, Malcolm G., Miami
 Martin, Mrs. Kirby A., New York, N.Y.
 McCarthy, Don L., Nassau, Bahamas
 McKey, Mrs. Robert M., Coral Gables
 McNeill, Robert E., Jr., New York, N.Y.
 Mead, Mrs. D. Richard, Miami Beach
 Merrick, Mrs. Eunice P., Coral Gables*
 Miami Beach Public Library
 Mines, Dr. R. F., Miami
 Mitman, Earl T., Miami
 Mudd, Dr. Richard D., Saginaw, Mich.

Nettleton, Danforth H., Miami Lakes
Nitzsche, R. Ernest, Miami
Nordt, Mrs. John C., Miami

Otto, Mrs. Thomas O., Miami Beach

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Pardue, Leonard, Miami
Pearce, Mrs. A. Dixon, Miami
Pendergast, Mrs. Eleanor L., Miami*
Pepper, Hon. Claude, Miami Beach
Peters, Gordon H., Miami Shores
Philbrick, W. L., Coral Gables
Phoenix, Mrs. Julius W., Jr., Miami
Pierce, J. E., Miami
Preston, J. E. Ted, Miami

Queensberry, William F., Coral Gables

Raap, D. Gerard, Miami
Rader, Earle M., Miami
Rast, Mrs. Jesse Lawton, Miami*
Richmond, Charles M., Miami
Ross, Mrs. Stanley E., Coral Gables
Russell, T. Trip, Miami
Ryan, Mrs. J. H., Miami Beach

St. Augustine Historical Society
Shank, H. W., Coral Gables
Shaw, Henry O., Miami
Shaw, Miss Martha Luella, Coral Gables*
Shaw, W. F., Miami
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Flat Rock, N.C.
Simmonite, Col. Henry G., Coral Gables
Slack, Theodore C., Miami
Smith, Charles H., Miami

Smith, McGregor, Miami
Sottile, Mrs. James, Jr., Coral Gables
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Spinks, Mrs. Elizabeth J., Miami*
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Stiles, Wade, Miami**
Stillman, Chauncey, New York, N.Y.
Swenson, Edward F., Jr., Miami

Thatcher, John, Miami
Thomas, Arden H., Miami
Thompson, Edward H., Miami
Tibbetts, Alden M., Miami
Town, Miss Eleanor F., Coral Gables

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University of Florida, Gainesville
University of Pennsylvania, Philadelphia

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Vanderpool, Mrs. Fred W., Miami Beach*
Van Orsdel, C. D., Coral Gables

Wakefield, Thomas H., Miami
Weintraub, Mrs. Sidney, Miami
White, Richard M., Miami
Whitten, George E., Miami Beach
Wilkins, Woodrow Wilson, Miami
Willcox, W. L., Miami
Wimbish, Paul C., Miami Beach
Wolfe, Miss Rosalie L., Miami
Wolfe, Thomas L., Miami
Wooten, Mrs. Eudora Lyell, Miami
Wooten, James S., Miami
Wright, Dr. Ione S., Miami Shores
Wynne, Mrs. Dorothy, Miami Beach

Young, Montgomery, Miami

Donor

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Brannen, H. S., Miami Springs
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DeNies, Charles F., Hudson, Mich.
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Dohrman, Howard I., Miami
DuPuis, John G., Miami

Emerson, Hugh P., Miami

Gautier, Redmond Bunn, Miami

Hardie, George B., Jr., Miami
Hardin, Dr. Henry C., Jr., Coral Gables
Highleyman, Daly, Miami
Hildreth, Robert R., Coral Gables
Hill, Edwin H., Miami
Howe, Mrs. Elden L., Coral Gables
Huston, Mrs. Tom, Miami

Kislak, Jay I., Miami
Knight, John S., Miami

Lloyd, J. Harlan, Miami
Loening, Grover, Key Biscayne

Lumms, J. N., Jr., Miami

Magnuson Properties, Inc., Miami
Mallory, P. R. Foundation,
New York, N.Y.
McCabe, Mrs. Robert H., Coral Gables
McCrimmon, C. T., Miami

Nabutovsky, Barbara, Miami

Parks, Mrs. Arva M., Miami
Plumer, Richard B., Miami

Rosso, Daniel M., Miami

Shipe, Paul E., Coral Gables
Smith, Wilson, Miami

Taylor, Henry H., Jr., Miami

Timoner, Joan, Miami

Wallace, George R., Miami Beach

Weintraub, Joseph, Miami

Wessel, George H. V., Hialeah

Weinkle, Julian I., Coral Gables

White, Mrs. Louise V., Key West

Wilson, D. Earl, Miami**

Wipprecht, Mrs. Marion I., Coral Gables

Wolfson, Col. Mitchell, Miami

Contributors

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Hill, William H., Miami

Irvine, Mrs. James, Miami

Keyes Foundation, Miami

Pappas, T. J., Miami

Peoples American National Bank,
N. Miami

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